

BULLYING IN SECURE SETTINGS: A MIXED METHOD STUDY
IN MALAYSIAN JUVENILE JUSTICE INSTITUTIONS

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Date : ...30th JANUARY 2018.....

DEDICATION

To children & young people in Malaysian juvenile justice institutions.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions. It examines the role of personal characteristics and aspects of institutional environments, and explores how these factors relate to bullying behaviour. The research collected quantitative and qualitative data using a mixed-method approach. The study comprised a survey completed by 289 male and female young people, aged 12 to 21 years old, in 8 juvenile justice institutions, using the scale version of Direct and Indirect Prisoner behaviour Checklist (DIPC-SCALED_r) and Measuring the Quality of Prison life (MQPL) instruments. In addition, 24 interviews were carried out with 16 young people and 8 institutional staff, comprising both male and female participants. The findings showed that 95 per cent of young people reported at least one behaviour indicative of bullying others, and 99 per cent reported at least one behaviour indicative of victimisation in a month. The DIPC-SCALED_r scored significantly higher on verbal forms of bullying and victimisation than psychological, physical, sexual, theft-related and indirect forms. In addition, eight predictors are found to underpin bullying behaviour, including four personal characteristics i.e. time spent in the institution; experiences of punishment inside the institution; gang membership; and no self-harm; and four institutional dimensions i.e respect; bureaucratic legitimacy; fairness; and family contact. In the interviews, young people and staff members identified four functions underpinning aggressive behaviour in the institution, including 'protecting oneself from threatening events', 'exerting control over others', 'access to goods' and 'building alliances'. Furthermore, young people and staff members identified eight predictors that influenced their choices and decisions in bullying others. The strong desire to protect and enhance one's sense of power and self-worth underpins illegitimate coping such as bullying others. In contrast, perceived negative outcomes of bullying conduct decreased an individual's likelihood of bullying others. To conclude, bullying behaviour seemed to be normalized in juvenile justice institutions.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a report of a mixed method study of bullying and victimisation in secure settings. This study primarily seeks to investigate the extent of bullying and victimisation in eight juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia. It seeks to explore how personal characteristics and aspects of institutional environments influence bullying behaviour among male and female young people. This first chapter of the thesis presents the background to the study, emphasizing the foundational studies about bullying conducted in the past and the concept of bullying in this study. This chapter then specifies the problem of the study, the purpose of the study and describes its rationale. The chapter concludes by outlining the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Background to the study

At this juncture it is useful to outline the academic developments that influenced the research work presented in this dissertation. Research on bullying has grown very rapidly, initially in schools but also in a variety of other settings. The evolution in thinking about school bullying can be attributed to the pioneering work of Olweus (1978). According to Olweus (1978, 1993), bullying encompasses a wide variety of negative and potentially harmful behaviours including actual and attempts to inflict injury or discomfort on others. That is, including physical aggression, peer exclusion and verbal abuse (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson & Liefoghe, 2002). In this regard, there should be an oppression of a less powerful person by a more powerful one (Farrington, 1993; Smith & Brain, 2000). This distinction is important, because the effects of being repeatedly attacked or threatened by a more powerful person or group are likely to differ from the effect of being threatened or attacked by someone of equal power (Rigby, 2003). Within secure settings, bullying is recognised as a reliable subsection of aggression, peer abuse and violence (Barter, 1997; Gibbs & Sinclair, 2000; Barter, Renold, Berridge & Cawson, 2004; Ireland, 2005; Kendrick, 2011; Sekol, 2013), and single incidences of aggression may be considered as bullying if the victim believes that he or she has been aggressed towards (see Ireland, 2002a; Ireland, 2005). An incident can also be

deemed as bullying when the imbalance of power between the bully and his/her victim is implied and not immediately evident (Ireland, 2002a, p. 26). Included in this definition is that bullying may include direct and indirect forms of aggressions. Direct bullying is overt behaviour that includes physical, verbal, sexual, theft-related, psychological forms; meanwhile, indirect bullying refers to covert aggression that includes gossiping, ostracizing forms of aggression (Ireland, 2002a; Ireland & Archer, 2004; Ireland, 2005).

In the early 1990s, research into school bullying became a significant area of enquiry, spreading in a number of countries such as England (for example, Whitney & Smith, 1993; Rivers & Smith, 1994), Australia (for example, Rigby & Slee, 1992; Rigby, 1994), Canada (for example, Craig & Pepler, 1998) and the United States (for example, Hoover, Oliver & Hazler, 1992; Schwartz, Dodge & Coie, 1993). It remains the case that the majority of research conducted into bullying has been confined to schools and predominantly reflects a school-focused perspective. However, there are studies of bullying in other settings such as among siblings (for example, Menesini, Camodeca, Nocentini, 2010; Espelage et al., 2014), in the workplace (for example, Hershcovis, 2011; Boddy, 2011), and in secure settings, including residential care homes (for example, Barter et al., 2004; Sekol & Farrington, 2010; Ritzman, 2016), prison and other correctional facilities (for example, Edgar, 2005; South & Wood, 2006; Ireland & Qualter, 2008; Allison & Ireland, 2010).

Bullying in secure settings is not a new field of study. In 1980, McGurk and McDougall carried out research among incarcerated young delinquents (see McGurk & McDougall, 1991). No further research was conducted until a few researchers attempted to conduct research into bullying among forensic populations (for example, Connell & Farrington, 1996; Ireland & Archer, 1996; Power, Dyson & Wozniak, 1997; Edgar & O'Donnell, 1998; Gibbs & Sinclair, 2000). In these early studies, the school-based definitions and measurements of bullying were used as a basis for conducting bullying research. However, the school-based

criteria, which includes the repeated oppression and imbalance of power, are inappropriate to apply in a secure setting (Ireland, 1999; Ireland & Archer, 2004; Ireland, 2005). In fact, early school-based definitions did not recognize indirect forms of aggression (Ireland, 2005). In the context of secure settings, Ireland (2002a, 2005) has conceptualized bullying as include single incidences and may distinct between direct and indirect forms of agressions. Using Ireland's concept in measuring bullying behaviour, researchers have emphasized the nature and extent of bullying in secure settings by exploring the characteristics associated with the bullies and victims (for example, Power, Dyson & Wozniak, 1997; Ireland & Ireland, 2000; Ireland & Monaghan, 2006; Sekol & Farrington, 2016), the role of social structure (for example, South & Wood, 2006; Allison & Ireland, 2010; Ireland & Power, 2013), contributions of environmental factors (for example, Ireland, 2012; Sekol, 2016; Ireland, Ireland & Power, 2016), bullying outcomes (for example, Ireland & Archer, 2002; Blaauw, Winkel & Kerkhof, 2001; Blaauw, 2005; Wiklund, Ruchkin, Koposov & Klinteberg, 2014), the development of a model of bullying in secure settings (for example, Ireland, 2012), and the development of anti-bullying programs or policies (for example, Ireland & Hill, 2001; Smith, Pendleton & Mitchell, 2005). Nonetheless, research on bullying in secure settings is rather limited (Sekol et al., 2016). This study seeks to enhance the current knowledge of bullying and victimisation in secure settings. This study offers a new perspective on this subject by analyzing the role of personal and environmental factors in influencing bullying behaviour in eight juvenile justice institutions. To explain this phenomenon mixed method approaches were conducted.

1.2 The problem of the study

Bullying and victimisation in secure settings is a perennial problem. Much of the research reveals that the prevalence of bullying in secure settings is high, with over half of residents involved in bullying either as bullies or as victims with significantly deleterious effects (see for example, Ireland & Ireland, 2008; Allison & Ireland, 2009; Sekol & Farrington, 2010; Bender, Perron, Howard & Jenson, 2010). In fact,

involvement in bullying and victimisation increases risks of unhealthy behaviours and poor psychological health problems (see for example, Grennan & Woodhams, 2007; Geffner, Griffin & Lewis, 2014) and is linked to both suicides and suicidal behaviours (for example Liebling, 1995; Blaauw et al., 2001). Suicide rates among prisoners are five to eight times higher than in the general population (Fazel, Benning, & Danesh, 2005) and half of all suicides take place within one month of entering the secure setting (Liebling & Crewe, 2012). Also, evidence suggests that the continuation of aggressive behaviour in secure settings appears to have an effect on later offending, and this has led to the failure of secure settings in reducing reoffending (see for example, Gatti, Tremblay & Vitaro, 2009; Trulson, Delisi & Marquart, 2011; Mulvey & Schubert, 2012; Lambie & Randell, 2013).

Bullying and victimisation in secure settings is a very complex problem that requires innovative solutions. To provide solutions, further understanding about causal factors behind this phenomenon is needed (see Connell & Farrington, 1996; Ireland, 2005; Sekol, 2013). Theories suggest that both personal and environmental factors are associated with bullying behaviour in secure settings. In fact, research has further confirmed some personal characteristics and institutional environmental dimensions that exacerbate bullying behaviour. This mixed method study primarily seeks to contribute to and extend current understandings of bullying and victimisation in secure settings. It seeks to investigate the role of personal characteristics and institutional environments in shaping and influencing bullying behaviour among young people in eight juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia. In so doing, this study analyses the survey data of 289 male and female young people and interview data of 16 male and female young people and eight institutional staff members.

1.3 Purpose of the study

This study employed a survey study and in-depth interviewing in order to address the following research questions:

1. What is the extent of bullying behaviour and victimisation occurring among young people in juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia?
2. Do personal characteristics and institutional environments influence bullying behaviour among young people in juvenile justice institutions?
3. What can we learn from the perspective of young people and staff members about bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions?

In relation to the first question, this study provides an empirical analysis of the frequency of bullying behaviour and experiences of being bullied in eight juvenile justice institutions over the period of one month. Included in this analysis is the volume of six different types of bullying and victimisation forms i.e. physical, verbal, sexual, theft-related activities, psychological and indirect. Comparing the different forms, the study explores the form that is more likely to occur in juvenile institutions. Furthermore, this study identifies the extent of young people with higher levels of involvement in bullying behaviour and experiences of being bullied. Also, it provides an analysis of the composition of five different groups involved in bullying, notably; bully, victim, bully-victim, young people with casual involvement, and non-involved. In relation to the third question, this study further explores the extent of bullying and victimisation by exploring the nature and function of bullying behaviour in the institution. In doing so, the study explores experiences from young people who are identified as bullies and non-bullies as well as staff members.

In relation to the second research question, this study investigates causal factors related to bullying behaviour. In particular, this study focused on 15 personal characteristics, including 'age', 'gender', 'ethnicity', 'drug use', 'smoking', 'experience of self-harm', 'experience of psychiatric treatment', 'the length of sentence', 'type of offence', 'time spent in the institution', 'prior confinement', 'visitation', 'contact', 'experience of punishment', 'gang membership'. In this respect, this study hypothesized that personal characteristics would not influence bullying behaviour. In relation to environmental factors, this study focused on 21 institutional environmental factors that are classified into five dimensions i.e

'Harmony', 'Professionalism', 'Security', 'Conditions and Family Contact', and 'Wellbeing and Development'. It has been hypothesized that institutional environmental dimensions are less likely to influence bullying behaviour. Finally, combining characteristics and environmental factors, this study aims to establish a model of 'plausible predictors' of bullying in secure settings. Guided by relevant theories, this study provides a sophisticated exploration of the interrelationship between a set of predictors in the one model. Also, in relation to the third research question, this study further explores how some personal and environmental factors shape the way young people evaluate their options, and make decisions either to engage or not engage in bullying behaviour. This was done through the perspective of young people and staff members. To answer all these questions, therefore, mixed method approaches were used.

1.4 Rationale for the study

This current study has several characteristics that make it significant. First, this research seeks to examine both bullying behaviour and victimisation by exploring the role of environments in secure settings. There is evidence that secure settings are sensitive and potentially volatile places (Liebling, 2004; Crewe, 2009), where specific factors that exist within the institution are thought to interact with young people's behaviour. Nonetheless, the association between institutional specific factors and bullying behaviour is less well researched. Therefore, Allison and Ireland (2010) suggested that more research into bullying should be encouraged to tap into the structure and dynamics of the institutional environment and young people's culture. In fact, there are limited studies which examine possible contributions of environmental factors to bullying and victimisation in young people's facilities (Sekol, 2016). To fill this gap, this study investigated the role of 21 environmental dimensions in influencing bullying behaviour among young people in juvenile justice institutions. In addition, this work includes some institutional environmental dimensions that have rarely or never been examined that might be significant in explaining young people's bullying behaviour. Although there are literally

thousands of studies on institutional life, 'there is limited sociological knowledge about their institutional social structures, the intricacies of their culture, their mundane pains, and the behaviours and adaptations that they generate' (Crewe, 2009, p. 3). Therefore, it is essential to understand these rather neglected dimensions of institutions, and their association with bullying culture. Using a comprehensive institutional environmental measurement and interviewing method, this study provides a rich understanding of the institutional environment.

Secondly, this research emphasizes importation causal factors in explaining bullying behaviour in secure settings. Importation is a special case of aggression or bullying propensity. The most commonly employed importation factors are age, gender, marital status, drug-related problems, and gang membership (for example, Trulson, Caudill, Haerle, & DeLisi, 2012; Walters & Crawford, 2013). Taking account of all common factors, this study also emphasized some neglected importation factors in explaining bullying behaviour in secure settings such as 'type of offences', 'time-spent in the sentence', 'visitation', and 'experience of self-harm', 'drug use and smoking prior to incarceration'. By studying all these factors, thus, we can get a better understanding of not only bullying and victimisation in secure settings, but also the importation model. It may also confirm factors that appear to be or not be significantly related to bullying or misconduct in previous studies. Although some importation variables appear to be relevant, it requires additional study to ensure the reliability of extant findings (Steiner, Ellison, Butler & Cain, 2017).

Thirdly, this work seeks to explore bullying and victimisation by learning from the perspective of both young people and institutional staff members. While the study employs a quantitative approach, it also provides qualitative data on institutional bullying. To date there has been greater attention to quantitative approaches in researching bullying and victimisation (for example, Edgar, O'Donnell & Martin, 2003; Ireland & Archer, 2004; Ireland & Ireland, 2008; Allison & Ireland, 2010; Ireland et al., 2016; Sekol, 2016). To the best of the researcher's knowledge, until

recently, there has been a lack of research emphasizing the use of qualitative approaches to explore bullying and victimisation in the secure setting. There are only few studies investigated institutional bullying by using qualitative approaches (for example, Spain, 2005; Sekol, 2013; Connell, Farrington & Ireland, 2016). Spain (2005) argued qualitative methods are highly credible in exploring perceptions and experiences of bullying among young offenders. Such methods reported using the actual language of the young people and thus facilitate expressions of feelings and perceptions about their experiences. It is expected that qualitative exploration is a good reflective research practice that can significantly enrich the validity of bullying research (Spain, 2005). As Liebling (2014) argued, quantitative surveys are both time-bound and restrictive, forcing participants into fixed choice categories that leave no room for elaboration. Therefore, this study employs a mixed-method approach that allows participants to give voice to their own interpretations thoughts and experiences. In this regard, the varying perspectives opened up by qualitative interviews may produce a fuller picture of bullying and victimisation phenomenon in the secure setting.

Fourthly, this study focuses on young people in secure settings who remain under-researched in Malaysia by utilizing a sample of young people aged 12 to 21 from eight juvenile justice institutions. In relation to this, fifth, this study is based in Asia. While there is considerable interest in institutional bullying in the UK and elsewhere in Europe, research into this phenomenon is less prevalent in other countries. In Asia, the growth of criminology is quite slow compared with America and Europe (Liu, 2009; Liu, Henbenton, & Jou 2013). In fact, interest in criminal justice research in Malaysia has been very minimal (Farrar, 2013). To the best of my knowledge, this study is the first to examine bullying and victimisation among children and young people in Malaysian juvenile justice institutions. Overall, this study provides an account of neglected areas of bullying and victimisation in secure settings. This study is intended to fill knowledge gaps in this phenomenon both empirically and theoretically.

1.5 Thesis organization

This thesis consists of nine chapters and the organization of this thesis reflects the temporal order of the research process. This introductory chapter has introduced the context within which the rationale for the study emerged. Chapter 2 discusses current knowledge about issues, practices and policies surrounding juvenile justice in Malaysia. The chapter addresses the prevalence of young people involved in crime. It follows with a specific explanation as to how the Malaysian government deal with troubled young people. As in most countries, young people in Malaysia are protected by special legislation, which is the Child Act 2001. This Act defines young people as a person under 18 years old, and this group should be treated differently from adults. In Malaysia, the *parens patriae* doctrine includes a best interest principle that actively promotes the wellbeing of young people in Malaysia. For the best interest of young people, in accordance with the United Nation Convention Right for Children (UNCRC) and international standards, imprisonment of a young person shall be used only as a last resort and it is intended to be for the shortest appropriate period of time. Currently, there are more than 20 facilities for young people established under the jurisdiction of the federal government through two different authorities: the Department of Welfare and the Department of Prison. Each institution is responsible for providing treatments and supports required by young people as stated in the Child Act 2001, the Prison Act 1995 and the Approved School Regulation 1981. Included in this chapter is a discussion about the problems occurring in institutions with particular emphasizes on maladaptive aggression and bullying behaviour amongst young people in Malaysian juvenile justice institutions.

Chapter 3 provides a theoretical and empirical review of bullying and victimisation in secure settings. Based on the literature, the concept of bullying in secure settings has been broadened to include the concept of institutional misconduct, peer abuse, peer violence, and aggressive behaviour. Therefore, in this chapter, the discussion of theories and empirical studies surrounds these behavioural problems. Four theories are discussed in this chapter: the Multifactor Model of Bullying in Secure

Settings (MMBSS), theories of sanction effects, strain theories, and importation and deprivation models. In short, the theoretical perspectives lead to divergent explanations with regard to the role of personal characteristics, and the institutional environment, in encouraging bullying behaviour. However, each theory has limitations in its capacity to explain bullying or other forms of institutional misconduct. Therefore, this chapter incorporates tenets from different theoretical perspectives into an integrated explanation of bullying behaviour to provide a comprehensive explanation for bullying phenomenon in secure settings. In line with the concepts proposed in theories, current empirical studies are discussed. The discussion is divided in two major themes; individual differences and institutional deprivation. Through the extensive review of empirical studies, at least three forms of individual differences and two major aspects of institutional environmental factors have been found to be significantly predictive of bullying behaviour among young people in secure settings. Nonetheless, each study has its limitation, and these limitations have shaped the direction, focus and approach of this study. Indeed, both the theoretical and empirical literature informed the conceptual framework underpinning this study which is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4 explains the conceptual framework for the current study. Guided by theoretical and empirical explanations, the framework visualizes the main factors, concepts or variables to be studied, and hypothesises the relationships among them. Briefly, the conceptual framework of this current study shows how strain variables, including personal characteristics (importation model) and the institutional environment (deprivation model) might be independently associated with bullying behaviour. In particular, it shows how three forms of personal characteristics and two major aspects of institutional environment influence the onset of bullying behaviour. Also, as proposed by some theories discussed, the framework presents the role of external and internal conditions in mediating or altering the relationship between personal as well as institutional environmental factors and bullying behaviour. Furthermore, this chapter explores each variable

that constitute the building blocks of the conceptual framework. A detailed discussion of these variables and how these variables are measured (operational definition) is advanced. To conclude, this chapter shows how the framework informed the selection of appropriate research methods, discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 discusses the research methods used in the study. Driven by a critical realist paradigm, mixed methods approaches were used. It focuses on constructing knowledge about bullying in secure settings using quantitative approaches; nonetheless, recognizing the interpretative understanding by allowing subjects of the study to speak in their own terms. In this regard, this study focuses on collecting, analyzing and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study within two phases. This produced a complete analysis of the bullying and victimisation phenomenon in secure settings. Research began with a quantitative survey of 289 young people who were selected randomly in eight juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia. Using a purposive sampling technique, 24 participants comprising 16 young people and eight institutional staff members were selected for qualitative in-depth interviews after the completion of the survey study. Quantitative data were analysed using specific statistical units of analysis, including descriptive and inferential analysis. Meanwhile, the Interpretative Phenomenological Analytic (IPA) method was used for analysing and interpreting qualitative data. Ethical principles were discussed and applied in order to maintain high scientific standards in the methods employed in the collection and analysis of data. The results of the data obtained are presented in the following chapters.

Chapter 6 discusses the quantitative data. In particular, it presents findings from the survey study based on self-report questionnaires. It begins by presenting the demographics of the 289 young people who participated in the study. It then explains the results of the participant self-report questionnaire into bullying and victimisation. It reveals that more than 95 per cent of participants exhibited at least

one behaviour of bullying others and one incident of being victimized. In regard to bullying behaviour, eight predictors are reported to contribute more in explaining bullying behaviour; including four personal factors i.e. 'time spent in the institution', 'experience of punishment inside institution', 'gang membership' and 'no self-harm', and four institutional environmental dimensions i.e. 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness', and 'family contact'. In particular, young people who spent longer in the institution, who experienced punishment inside the institution, who affiliated with gang members, who held high self-confidence and who held more negative perceptions of those four institutional dimensions were more likely to engage in bullying behaviour. Further explanations are obtained through qualitative interviews, the findings of which are elaborated in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 presents an analysis of the qualitative data. It discusses in particular findings from the in-depth interviews, accommodating further explanation of survey findings as well as the research questions. It begins by exploring circumstances that maintain bullying behaviour as further explanation of the extent of bullying and victimisation identified in the survey study. In the interviews, young people and staff members identified the nature and functions of bullying behaviour in secure settings. Bullying behaviour was seen to serve at least four functions, including 'protecting from threatening events', 'exerting control over others', 'access to goods' and 'building alliance'. Further, this chapter discusses in how eight predictors, including four personal factors and four institutional environmental dimensions, reflected young people's choices and decisions in bullying others. Young people and staff members agreed that these predictors contributed to bullying behaviour. Nonetheless, there are circumstances that influence young people's choices and decisions on bullying behaviour. With regard to personal factors, the desire to bully others can be explained in relation to one's sense of power or control over others. Also, bullying behaviours can be explained in relation to one's feelings of worthlessness that are affected by some institutional environmental conditions. In particular, the strong desire to protect and enhance a

sense of power and self-worth necessitates illegitimate coping such as bullying others. In contrast, perceived negative outcomes of bullying conduct decreased the likelihood of bullying others. Further discussions of research findings are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 8 critically discusses findings in light of existing theories and other existing knowledge on bullying and victimisation in secure settings by integrating findings from both the survey and interviews. This chapter begins by discussing findings related to the extent of bullying and victimisation in the institution. In the institution, young people hold more positive beliefs about the use of aggression by justifying their acts of bullying for the purpose of self-protection, disciplinary building, building alliances and meeting needs. Using such excuses, or neutralisations, bullying behaviour was seen as a cultural norm rather than a sub-cultural phenomenon. Therefore, the prevalence of bullying and victimisation in the institution is high. This chapter also discusses findings related to eight predictors that influence bullying behaviour. Consistent with the conceptual framework proposed for the study, bullying behaviour is found to be shaped both by characteristics that young people carry into the institution and the institutional environment. Nonetheless, freedom of action was involved. Overall, existing research has confirmed the findings of this study. This demonstrates the strength of this study in not only producing new empirical evidence, but also supporting existing knowledge of bullying and victimisation phenomena in secure settings.

Chapter 9 concludes the present study by reviewing the findings of the research. Included in this review is how the aims and research questions underpinning this study were accomplished. This study has confirmed that bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions are highly prevalent and bullying behaviour is determined by both personal and environmental factors. Nonetheless, this study has limitations and this is discussed in this chapter. The limitations of this study were related to issues about the inability to undertake research in higher security

institutions, the lack of information on institutional physical aspects and the self-report questionnaires used. Further, this chapter presents recommendations for future study, including gaps in the present study and other areas of interest. Recommendations for practice are also discussed. Based on the findings, practices are suggested at both micro and macro levels and these will require the combined efforts of practitioners, juvenile justice systems, policy makers and the government. At the micro level, a more comprehensive anti-bullying prevention program should be practiced and the institution can use the information about the eight predictors that are found to influence the onset of bullying behaviour to help inform the prevention of bullying. In the macro level, efforts to control overcrowding in secure settings are required. That is including diversion programs for non-serious young people and early release policies for those who have strong educational and employment opportunities as well as those who showed that they have been rehabilitated.

2 CHILDREN AND YOUNG OFFENDERS IN MALAYSIA: THE POLICY AND PRACTICE CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter documents the policy and practice context and culture of the juvenile justice system in Malaysia, exploring how policies are translated in practice. The chapter begins with an explanation of the prevalence of Malaysian children and young people involved in offending. Focusing on the Child Act 2001, it proceeds to explain the legislative context underpinning policy and practice with young people. The chapter continues by outlining the history and the evolution of juvenile justice institutions for young people in Malaysia with the close involvement of the British administration. This chapter includes an overview of practices in juvenile institutions in Malaysia. Included in this chapter is a discussion of issues associated with bullying and aggressive behaviour among young people in institutions as well as the conditions that both promote and reinforce bullying. The chapter concludes by recognizing the importance of researching bullying and victimisation in Malaysian context.

2.2 Children, young people and offending in Malaysia

The population of Malaysian children and young people age 10-19 years old is estimated to be 5.5 million (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2016a). They comprise approximately 19 per cent of the total population.¹ In Malaysia, the involvement of children and young people in crime is viewed as a social problem of great concern. From 2005 to 2011, an average 2340 cases of offending were reported every year in which approximately eight young people were being arrested daily (see Table 1). At least 2000 instances of youth offending were reported each year; among this number, male young people were more likely to be arrested

¹ The current Malaysia population is reported at approximately 31.7 million, of which 16.4 million are males and 15.3 million are females (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2016b).

compared to female young people. Although the number of children and young offenders reported every year is small, compared to other countries, it is significant given the small population of children and young people in Malaysia.

Table 1 Children and young people convicted between 2005 and 2011²

Year	Male	Female	Total
2005	1816	287	2103
2006	1924	223	2147
2007	2039	272	2311
2008	1881	211	2092
2009	2122	217	2339
2010	2481	189	2670
2011	2580	137	2717

Source. Department of Prison Malaysia, 2011

More recent statistics released by the Malaysia Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA) report a dramatic increase in the number of young people arrested on grounds of juvenile delinquency from 3,399 cases in 2012 to 8,704 cases in 2013 (Mallow, 2015). In 2014, 5153 children and young offenders were sentenced, comprising 4837 male and 316 female offenders (Department of Social Welfare Malaysia, 2014). The number of offenders declined to 4569 cases in 2015 with 417 repeated offence cases (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2016c). Young offenders in Malaysia tend to commit property-related offences, drug use, people-related offences and minor offences. Offences related to property are prevalent especially for male young offenders (see Table 2). These include theft, housebreaking/

² The data obtained from the Department of Prison Malaysia was only between 2005 to 2011. Nonetheless, the data of young people convicted between 2012 and 2015 was obtained from other sources.

burglary, vehicle theft, robbery, and dealing in stolen property. In particular, 43 per cent of male offenders arrested were detained for property offences such as burglary and stealing vehicles. Most cases, however, related to vehicle theft. In 2013, the highest property crime was, reportedly, motorcycle theft with 3173 cases (Mallow, 2015). Female young offenders were more likely to commit drug-related offences (38%) followed by property-related offences (22%).

Table 2 Children and young people sentencing in 2014 according type of crimes

Type of crimes	Male	Female	Total
Property-related crimes	2072	70	2147
People-related crimes	743	36	779
Minor offence act	85	6	91
Drug use	1013	119	1132
Weapon/Fire Arms	73	1	74
Gambling	52	7	59
Traffic offenses	213	6	219
Infringement of supervision terms	5	-	5
Escape from an institution	1	-	1
Others ³	580	71	651

Source. Department of Social Welfare Malaysia, 2014⁴

As in other countries, the increasing number of children and young people involved in crime is largely an urban phenomenon brought about mainly by the increasing

³ Others type of crimes recorded include application of beyond control by parents or guardians; possession of pornography; corruption-related offences; person without identity document and so on (Department of Social Welfare Malaysia, 2014).

⁴ To the best of my knowledge, these statistics are the most up to date statistics published by the Department of Social Welfare of Malaysia.

pace of industrialization and urbanization. Indeed, these relationships have been long debated by criminologists (for example, Durkheim, [1893] 1997; Shaw & Mckay, 1942). Urbanization often led to great hardships for young people in Malaysia and appears to be the cause for the majority of young people's involvement in crime (Soh, 2012). Crime and delinquency go hand in hand with long-term social and economic disadvantages that are affected by urbanization such as poverty, unemployment and residential turnover (Soares, 2004; Bruinsma, 2007; Kubrin, 2009). Whether male or female, young people's inability to deal with socioeconomic disadvantages appear to be major reasons for crime and delinquency in Malaysia (Hashim, 2007; Baharudin, Krauss, Yaacob & Pei, 2011). Economic disadvantage is seen as one of the major factors underpinning the likelihood of being arrested at a younger age and/or the likelihood of entering prison at a younger age (Teh, 2006; Soh, 2012). In fact, there is a significant increase in property crime in Malaysia with increasing unemployment (Sidhu, 2005). Nonetheless, economic disadvantage, in itself, is not a cause but combined with other circumstances may influence participation in crime activities (Soh, 2012). Involvement in offending is also influenced by factors closely related to young people's socialisation within dysfunctional families. It has been reported that children and young offenders in Malaysia often come from 'broken homes' or 'troubled families' characterized by divorced parents, coercive or indifferent parenting, abusive or neglectful parents, and low family income (Esmaeili & Yaakob, 2011; UNICEF, 2013). In fact, young people with dysfunctional families tend to associate with delinquent peers (Choon, Hasbullah, Ahmad & Ling, 2013). Association with delinquent peers at a young age, eventually, paves the way to juvenile crime (Choon et al., 2013; UNICEF, 2013). Overall, the involvement of children and young people in crime tends to be driven by social and economic factors. Nonetheless, factors related to individual psychology may also increase young people's involvement in criminal activities. In Malaysia, juvenile offenders showed serious cognitive distortion and depression (Nasir, Zamani, Yusoff & Khairudin, 2010). It has been argued that young people with cognitive distortion

may rationalize their offending behaviour as acceptable and therefore increase their likelihood of being involved in criminal offences (Nasir et. al., 2010; see Barriga et al., 2000).

2.3 Legal response to children and young people involved in offending

In Malaysia, the criminal offences of young people can be divided into two categories. Firstly, acts or omissions prohibited and punishable by law under the respective legal system and secondly, acts which are known as 'status offences'.⁵ Two status offences exist in Malaysia, and include acts of being beyond the control of parent(s)⁶ and exposure to moral danger.⁷ Indeed, young people who commit criminal offences are not exempt to be punished by law. It should be noted that Malaysia, like most countries, has a distinct legislative system for young people. Young people are recognized to be less responsible for their involvement in crime and illegal behaviour, which has not yet solidified into a criminal pattern. Therefore, they have to be treated differently from adults. Many countries identify a discrete minimum age of criminal responsibility which is a statutory age limit over which, children and young people may be processed in the adult criminal justice system and below which, young people should be processed differently from adults. According to the Malaysian Child Act 2001, a person under the age of 18 shall be treated differently from an adult, particularly in respect of procedure and punishment.⁸ Apart from this, the Prison Act 1995 states that a person who is under

⁵ Rule 3.1. of the United Nation Standard Minimum rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules), 1985 extends the application of its provisions to cover 'status offences' prescribes in various national legal systems where the range of behaviour considered to be an offence is wider for juveniles than it is for adults.

⁶ For example, running away from home and being habitually disobedient is an incorrigible (Section 46 of the Child Act 2001). In this regard, parents may request in writing to the Court for children to be detained in an approved school, place of refuge, probation hostel or centre on the grounds that the parent or guardian is unable to control over the child [Section 46 (1) of the Child Act 2001].

⁷ For example, a girl's involvement in prostitution or in employment which facilitates sexual intimacy (Section 38 of the Child Act 2001).

⁸ Section 2 of the Child Act states that a 'child' is (a) a person under the age of 18 years and, (b) a person who has attained the age of criminal responsibility (in relation to criminal proceedings) as

the age of 21 years shall not be allowed to associate with adult prisoners. Therefore, a person under 21 years shall be treated as young person.⁹ However, no incarcerating action will be taken against a child under 10 years of age¹⁰, due to the notion that a child of this age is unable to understand the nature and consequence of their acts (Hussin, 2005). In this regard, a Court shall not make an order requiring a child under the age of 10 to be committed to or detained in any juvenile institution or approved school.¹¹ In fact, a child between 10 to 12 years of age who has committed a crime is presumed to be *doli incapax*.¹²

In Malaysia, children and young people are protected by the Child Act 2001 (or Act 611). Act 611 is commensurate with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which was adopted by the Government of Malaysia in 1995. This Act recognizes children and young people as an important asset. It consists of 135 Sections, amending the provision relating to the care, protection and rehabilitation of children and young people. Included in this Act are provisions pertaining to the management of young people who have committed offences, and provisions surrounding the administration of the Juvenile Justice System in Malaysia. This Act was implemented through the Court for Children for children who have committed crime in Malaysia.¹³

prescribed in Section 82 of the Penal Code. Also, Section 85 of the Penal Code states that children should be separated from adults while at police stations or Courts.

⁹ In accordance with the CRC and international best practices, Malaysia has established special juvenile justice protections that apply to children who were under the age of 18 at the time the alleged offence was committed and in some cases may be extended to young people up to the age of 21 (UNICEF,2013).

¹⁰ Section 82 of the Penal Code.

¹¹ Section 62 and 66 of the Child Act 2001.

¹² Section 83 of the Penal Code states that no behaviours can be classified as a criminal offence to a child above 10 years of age and under 12, who has sufficient maturity. *Doli incapax* derived from recognition of the immaturity of children who do not possess a fully developed understanding of what is right and wrong, nor has the ability to fully appreciate the consequences of his acts (see Bartholomew, 1998).

¹³ Section 11(1) of the Child Act 2001 stated that the Court for Children is established for the purpose of hearing, determining or disposing of any charge against a child; and exercising any other jurisdiction conferred or to be conferred on Court for Children by or under the Child Act 2001 by any other written law.

The Child Act recognizes that children in conflict with law need to be protected at every stage of the juvenile justice process as promoted in the UNCRC.¹⁴ In accordance with the Act, children and young people who are charged with any offence are required to go through legal processes involving three phases: arrest; trial and post-trial. During the process of arrest, any police officer may arrest, without a warrant, any person whom she/he reasonably believes has committed or aided any other person to commit offences.¹⁵ The arrested child or young person shall be dealt with in accordance with the Criminal Code Procedure.¹⁶ They will be remanded in a police detention centre or any detention centre that is established only for children, and they will be detained until the trial process has concluded.¹⁷ Nonetheless, they may be released on bail, but they will be fined if they fail to attend the court when required.¹⁸ In the trial process, the court shall require the parent or guardian of a child to attend the court trial before which the case is heard or determined during all stages of the proceedings.¹⁹ During the trial, the Court should consider the probation report before deciding how to deal with the child.²⁰ Also, the parent or guardian is allowed to challenge the Court during the trial.²¹ The post-trial process is when the court has proved an individual offence; the person

¹⁴ In Articles 37 and 40 of the UN Convention Right for Children (CRC).

¹⁵ Section 110 (1) of the Child Act 2001

¹⁶ Section 110 (2) of the Child Act 2001

¹⁷ A place of detention means any place for detention as established under Section 58 of the Child Act 2001. It includes accommodation in a police station, police cell or lock up, separate or apart from adult offenders.

¹⁸ Section 88(2) of the Child Act 2001 stated that if any parent or guardians of a child fail to attend the court when required they will be fined up to RM5000 and not more than two years imprisonment.

¹⁹ The trial process is stated in the Section 88 (1) of the Child Act 2001. Also, Section 12(3) of the Child Act 2001 stated that no person shall be present at any sitting of the Court for Children except members and officers of the Court, the parent, guardians, advocates, witnesses, person directly concerned in that case and the person responsible is determined by the Court.

²⁰ Section 90(13) of the Child Act 2001 stated that a probation report shall be prepared by a probation officer and the report shall primarily contain such information as to the child's general conduct, home surroundings, school record and medical history as may enable the Court to deal with the case in the best interests of the child; and may put to him any question arising out of the probation report.

²¹ Section 90(7) of the Child Act 2001 stated that the Court should, except if the child is legally represented, allow the parents or guardian or any relative or other responsible person to assist him in conducting his defence.

has been convicted.²² It should be noted that a sentence of death is never pronounced or recorded against children and young offenders.²³ Referring to Section 91(1) of Child Act, the Court has the power to admonish and discharge the child, order the young people to be placed in the care of a proper/an approved person, order the child to pay a fine, make a probation order, inflict whipping not exceeding 10 strokes of a light cane and order the young people to be imprisoned.²⁴ Section 96(2) of Child Act 2001 gives judicial discretion to a judge to make an order other than imprisonment. In accordance with the Convention Right for Children (CRC) and international standards, in Malaysia, imprisonment of a young people shall be used only as a last resort (Hussin, 2007; UNICEF, 2013). For the best interest of young people, nonetheless, imprisonment of young people is intended to be for the shortest appropriate period of time.

2.4 Imprisonment of children and young people

In Malaysia, the use of confinement as a form of punishment has been in practice since the Malay Sultanate of Malacca, that is, before the colonial era (1400-1511). The sultanate was governed with the 'Laws of Malacca' which was strongly influenced by Islamic principles (see Adil & Ahmad, 2016). During this period, local people who were convicted of adultery, fornication, theft and other capital crimes were held in buildings designed to confine people before they were punished in accordance with Islamic punishment provisions (Ismail, 2015). However, the advent of Islam was put to a halt from the 15th century onwards during colonial era. The British colonization (1786-1956) changed the country's legal landscape by implementing English statutory law and established the civil court system (Ismail,

²² Section 90(10) of the Child Act 2001 stated that if the Court finds the child is not guilty, the Court shall record an order of acquittal.

²³ Section 97(1) of the Child Act 2001 stated that a sentence of death shall not be pronounced or recorded against a person convicted of an offence if it appears to the Court that at the time when the offence was committed he was a child.

²⁴ Section 91(12) of the Child Act 2001 stated that if a Court for Children is satisfied that an offence has been proved the Court shall, before deciding how to deal with the child, consider the probation report.

2015). In 1879, the first prison was established and the Prison Act was enacted in 1952 followed by the Federal Prison Regulations in 1953, which was based on the concept of modern treatment (Department of Prison Malaysia, 2012).

The juvenile justice system was introduced beginning in the late 1940s. Historically, the driving force behind the introduction of legislation for children was the recognition of social problems affecting children and young people (for example, poverty, racial violence, the removal of parental control and school closure), which occurred after the Japanese occupation.²⁵ With the perception of increases in youth violence in the mid-1940s, the British administration responded by establishing the first legal framework of juvenile justice in the form of the Juvenile Delinquency and Juvenile Welfare Committee, namely the Juvenile Court Act 1947. This Act was introduced essentially to prevent and to salvage children and young people who would otherwise potentially become involved in a life of crime. Therefore, the Juvenile Court (now officially known as the Court for Children) and juvenile custody were established. Henry Gurney School²⁶, which opened in 1950 and is the oldest juvenile institution in Malaysia, currently accommodates over two hundred young people convicted in the Court for Children.²⁷ Later in 1953, the British administration under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme formed the Sungai Besi Boys School (now officially known as the Tunas Bakti School) in the capital of Malaysia for the purpose of sentencing young people who are involved in

²⁵ The Japanese occupation (1941-1945) altered the pattern of social problems, race relations and political cultures. During the occupation, the Japanese carried out large-scale mobilization and militarization of young men, mostly Malays, who became new elites. In 1945, the Japanese force surrendered and the British Military Administration (BMA) returned to Malaya (now known as Malaysia). Most of the young Malays were too shocked and confused to act to oppose the British. A series of Acts and Ordinances were introduced in response to the social upheaval brought about by Japanese occupation.

²⁶ The Henry Gurney School is an advanced approved school particularly for young male convicts, which was officially opened during the British Colonial period by Sir Henry Gurney on 15 May 1950 in Malacca.

²⁷ The Court for Children consists of a Magistrate and two advisors under the Section 11 of the Child Act 2001. The Court is private and only (a) members and officers of the Court, (b) parents, guardians, advocates, witnesses or other persons directly concerned in the case, and (c) persons who are permitted to be present at the Court under the subsection 12(3).

crime and/or who are deemed beyond parental control. Since then, a number of juvenile justice institutions have been established throughout Malaysia within the last six decades. Today, there are 28 juvenile institutions (UNICEF, 2013); two Henry Gurney schools, nine juvenile approved schools or Tunas Bakti Schools,²⁸ 11 probation hostels,²⁹ and six Juvenile Rehabilitation Centres (operated by Prison Department) for young people,³⁰ all established under the Child Act 2001,³¹ as temporary custody for children and young people who have been committed by the Court for Children, as being in need of rehabilitation and treatment.

In Malaysia, *parens patriae*³² doctrine includes a best interest principle that actively promotes the wellbeing of children and young people. All 28 juvenile institutions are placed under the purview of the federal government through the Department of Prison and the Department of Social Welfare. The Henry Gurney School is a closed institution that is under the authority of the Department of Prison, which only accommodates young people between 14 to 21 years of age³³ for up to 36 months. The facility has a track record for accepting and dealing with young people who have committed more serious crimes.³⁴ Besides this, the Department of Prison also provides one fully separate Juvenile Rehabilitation Centre and five co-located centres within adult prisons. The co-located facilities are fully separate from adult facilities, with special provision for the care and treatment for young offenders. As with the Henry Gurney School, Juvenile Rehabilitation Centers accommodate

²⁸ Out of this eight, six are for boys and three for girls.

²⁹ Out of this eleven, eight are for boys and three for girls.

³⁰ Also known as a 'Youth Rehabilitation Centre'. There are currently six facilities that co-located with adult prisons and one facility is fully separated.

³¹ In 2002, the Child Act 2001 was introduced as a new comprehensive children's legislation that repealed Juvenile Courts Act, Juvenile Courts Act 1947, Child Protection Act 1991 and Women and Girls' Protection Act 1973 (see in Dusuki, 2006).

³² A doctrine based on English common law that gives the State the power to take on a guardian or parenting role for children (see in Worrell, 1985).

³³ Section 74 of the Child Act 2001.

³⁴ It appears to the Court to judge that the offence committed is serious in nature under the section 75(C) of the Child Act 2001.

serious and chronic offenders between the ages of 14 to 21, within a high-security regime that operates in accordance with the standard prison regime.

Apart from this, young offenders who are more resistant are separately housed at the juvenile approved school, which operates under the jurisdiction of the Department of Social Welfare. This institution accommodates juveniles aged 12 to 18 years old who are commonly disruptive in milder settings. The period of stay in the institution is made statutorily for a maximum of three years, but young offenders may be released on licence after one year on the basis of good progress and conduct. A Probation Hostel is essentially a short-term form of custody that is also under the jurisdiction of Social Welfare Department. It accommodates up to 60 young offenders for not more than 12 months. It also functions as a measure of immediate detention for those who are remanded, for which, currently, there is no adequate service to cater for detainees' need. Although the juvenile institution is under the jurisdiction of two different authorities, their articulated values and practice approaches share some common features.

2.4.1 Juvenile justice institution and its practices³⁵

The administration of juvenile justice institutions is guided by the Child Act 2001 and the Approved School Regulation 1981. Under these regulations, all young people have to be treated with adequate care and protection. That is, every child deprived of liberty must be treated with humanity and respect and in a manner that takes into account their needs, including needs related to education, vocational

³⁵ In Malaysia, juvenile justice institutions are also called approved schools. In this regard, these facilities are designed to look less like prison and more like the school. In fact, the programmes offered in the institution focus on enhancing education and vocational skills. Some institutions offer formalised schooling in-house (UNICEF, 2013). In Malaysia, each institution includes between five to 20 hectares of space encircled by either barbed wire fence or stone walls. Institutional facilities include administrative buildings, dormitories, room/cell for detention, workshops for vocational training, classes for academic studies, a library, a dining hall, a bakery, an indoor hall, a seminar room, a space for outdoor activities, and other equipment (e.g. computer room, a gymnasium, a TV room, a wash room, a washing area, and a prayer hall) (see Bee, 2002).

skills, meaningful treatments, accommodations, and contact with family members (UNICEF, 2013). The head of the institution, alongside a team of social workers, is responsible for providing children's daily needs as well as delivering comprehensive treatment and care to the children. They work closely and directly with the children, and they are responsible for creating a positive institutional environment by not only delivering the service but also through the development of supportive professional relationships with the children. The administration of each institution is assisted by a Board of Visitors appointed by the Minister of Social Welfare for a term of two to three years.³⁶ Their participation represents the valuable contributions that the lay community can make in the treatment of juvenile delinquents (Bee, 2002). Both Prison and Welfare Department facilities employ a mix of professionals. While all staff members undergo a basic induction training programme, none have received specialised training on managing young people in conflict with the law (UNICEF, 2013).

Each institution has responsibility for the children from the time of arrest or referral until the release and reintegration of the young people back into society. Treatments provided in the institution are geared towards preparing the young people from the very instant they step into the school for their ultimate return to their family and society. In both Prison and Welfare Department facilities, the approach to rehabilitation is based largely on a standardised regime of discipline, religious instruction and vocational training (UNICEF, 2013). Education and vocational training are an important component of rehabilitation in the institution (Bee, 2002; Kassim, 1995). Young people who are still receiving schooling are allowed to continue their formal education.³⁷ Young people who have dropped out

³⁶ The members usually meet once a month at the school to hear reports on the progress and work of the institution from the principal and to make recommendations wherever necessary.

³⁷ They are allowed to continue schooling outside the institution, where they will get formal education in conventional schools with other children. Nonetheless, they have to live in the institution throughout their sentencing period. Institutional staff members are responsible for

of school and have not attained any education/formal qualifications are encouraged to attend literacy classes, where they learn reading, writing and counting (also called 3M). They are also encouraged to participate in vocational training.³⁸ Vocational training is provided in the hope that young people will be able to secure employment based on the skills acquired after their release from the institution. In fact, some institutions offer certificate-based vocational training programmes that provide young people with the qualifications necessary to get a job after they are released (UNICEF, 2013). Overall, by participating in these programmes, young people are afforded the opportunity to develop not only their competitive skills, but also to change their thinking, goals and values (Wahid, 1978; Hassan & Ahmad, 2015). Nonetheless, very few young people actually benefit from such education and vocational training programmes in the institution (UNICEF, 2013). In fact, many young people in institutions have never received appropriate treatment for reducing offending behaviours (Hassan & Ahmad, 2015). While studies supported the efficacy of cognitive-behavioural approaches (for example, Vaske, Galyean & Cullen, 2011; for a useful review see Hofmann et al., 2012³⁹) and family-based therapies (for example, Baldwin, Christian, Berkeljon & Shadish, 2012) with violent adolescent offenders, in Malaysia such treatments have been insufficiently practised in the institution (Bee, 2002; Hassan & Ahmad, 2015). This is, perhaps, affected by the limited number of trained and skilled practitioners available in the institution (UNICEF, 2013). In accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights for Children (UNCRC), the Child Act 2001 has emphasized the goals of treatment and rehabilitation of young people in the institution, while protecting

fetching them to and from school. Formal education is also provided in some institutions (especially female institutions) at primary and secondary level.

³⁸ For boys, vocational training involves carpentry, motor mechanics, welding, electrical wiring, handcraft, compression bricks and bricklaying, bakery, plumbing and agriculture (see Bee, 2002). For girls, training includes bakery, tailoring, embroidery, handcraft and culinary (see Bee, 2002).

³⁹ This study reviewed 269 meta-analytic studies with representative sample of 106 meta-analyses examining Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT). It has been found that CBT lead changes to problem behaviours, including criminal behaviours and the strongest support exists for CBT of anxiety disorders, somatoform disorders, anger control problems, and general stress (Hoffman et al, 2012).

them from punishment, retribution and stigmatization. However, a lack of successful treatment for young people could be used to support the use of more retributive, proportionality-based approaches to disposition (Tate, Reppucci & Mulvey, 1995).

Young people are also granted privileges during incarceration. In the institution, they are supported to maintain contact with friends and family members through visitation under the necessary supervision. They are occasionally taken for picnics, camping trips, or other trips outside the institution. Also, they are granted home-leave, where they can go back to their hometown or family home for short periods of time. As part of their privileges, early release will also be granted to some young people.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, these privileges or rewards are granted to young people based on their performance in the institution. Young people who perform desirable behaviours will be granted these privileges, and privileges will be withdrawn from young people who perform undesirable behaviour. The common undesirable behaviour includes misconduct, rules violation and the possession of illegal items.⁴¹ A system of rewards and privileges is believed to encourage positive behaviour modification among young people. Nonetheless, practices of this system are somewhat violating young people's rights, such as the use of solitary confinement, corporal punishment, reduction in diet, stress positions, and restriction of family visits (UNICEF, 2013). Such practices are contrary to the Convention Right for Children (CRC) and international standards and may negatively affect young people's behaviour in the institution.

⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the Board of Visitors is responsible for either approving or disapproving children's discharge.

⁴¹ The illegal items includes sharp objects i.e. needle, pen and knife, which can be used as a weapon to harm others or for tattooing; some beauty products i.e. deodorant, where the shape of the bottle can be used for sexual purposes; any type of drugs; and any type of tobacco. It should be noted that all these items are banned in all juvenile institutions. Nonetheless, some items such as pens and beauty products are not banned completely. These items are still allowed in some institutions, but, under strict supervision and control.

2.4.2 Young people in institutions: Malaysian context

The question of how far the institution is effective in its aim to rehabilitate young people is an important issue to discuss. Removing young people from their community and confining them in institutions has proven to be less effective in rehabilitating young people compared to diversion programs (Wahab, Samuri, Kusrin & Rahim, 2014; Rahim, Zainudin & Roslan, 2013; Mustaffa, 2016). Criminologists have long-focused on the extent to which institutionalization and the institution experience exert a negative effect on young people behaviours and subsequent behaviour upon release. In Malaysia, many of the institutionalized young people suffer from depression and maladaptive aggressive behaviour resulted from their institutional experiences (SUHAKAM, 2009; Mariamdarani & Ishak, 2012). It has been reported that violence and aggression in institutions are problems in Malaysia, with 60 per cent of young people in an institution identified as highly aggressive and physical aggression was reported as most prevalent (Hassan & Ahmad, 2015). Similarly, one study reported that young people showed serious symptoms of rule-breaking and aggressive behaviours during confinement (see Badayai, Khairudin, Ismail & Sulaiman, 2016). Indeed, such behaviours are found to significantly affect the risk of repeat offending among young people placed in institutions (Hassan & Ahmad, 2015). Worst case scenarios are where aggressive behaviours may lead to death. It has been reported that there were 1,535 deaths within 5 years (from 2003-2008) in prisons, rehabilitation centres and detention centres in Malaysia (see in SUHAKAM, 2009).

There are at least two circumstances which influence young people's behaviour in such institutions. The first influence is the criminal propensity of young people which brings them to the institution. Criminal propensity is presumed by most to be manifest in the criminal history of young people, but the important conceptual point is that it is a characteristic of the individual young people (see Camp & Gaes, 2005). It has been argued that the institution congregates groups of adolescent with criminal propensity which reinforces misconduct behaviours during confinement

(UNICEF, 2013). The second influence upon young people's behaviour is the institutional environment. This suggests that the role played by an institutional environment, which is largely governed by a hierarchical structure and neo-paternalistic culture (Crewe, 2009), appears to be particularly crucial in exacerbating an existing propensity for aggressive and bullying behaviours. In the institution, young people are subjected to specific rules and regulations, under the Approved School Regulation 1981, and discipline is maintained by a system of reward and punishment. They are observed by the staff, and their behaviour or performance is always recorded. These forces entail varying levels of intrinsic pain and deprivations that might influence young people's behaviour in the institution (Sykes, 1958; Sparks, Bottoms & Hay, 1996). Indeed, young people are more likely to suffer from depression due to the deprivations and pressures of institutional life and this engenders aggressive behaviour among institutionalized young people in Malaysia (Hassan & Ahmad, 2015).

Overall, the occurrence of aggressive and bullying behaviour among young people placed in institutions is very much a product of the interaction between the institutional environment and the young people themselves (Ireland, 2005). This phenomenon, nonetheless, is less documented in the context of Malaysian institutions (Hassan & Ahmad, 2015; UNICEF, 2013; SUHAKAM, 2009). The lack of research in the Malaysian context makes this an under-studied and almost invisible phenomenon which therefore goes all too often unaddressed. Therefore, studying the realities of bullying and victimisation and its relation to the institutional environment and young people's characteristics is necessary in order to increase protection and security systems in juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia.

2.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter provides an introduction to the juvenile justice system in the Malaysian context. In Malaysia, the involvement of children and young people in delinquency and crime is a serious concern. Related to the inability to deal with stressful life

events, children and young people are more likely to commit theft-related activities and drug offences compared to other crimes. In response to these problems, the Government through the Department of Welfare and Prison is responsible for helping children and young people abstain from committing further crime. These children and young people are placed in juvenile justice institutions for the purpose of rehabilitation. By doing this, also, the Government seeks to protect public safety. Nonetheless, children and young people's interests and rights are legislatively protected under the Child Act 2001. This Act state that children and young offenders should be treated differently from an adult from the time they are arrested, detained, tried and sentenced. In sentencing young people, the custodial sentence is currently favoured, and it is believed to effectively promote the wellbeing of children and young people. In the institution, children are provided with basic needs and appropriate rehabilitative treatments but they are also highly exposed to assorted pains that can lead to maladaptive aggression or bullying behaviour. For these reasons, therefore, studying the institutional environment and its relation to aggressive and bullying behaviour in the Malaysian juvenile justice institutions is desperately needed. It is also crucial to look into young people's personal characteristics or experiences in explaining bullying behaviour in the institution. To establish a theoretical framework for this topic area, appropriate theories and some empirical findings related to bullying and victimisation in secure settings are discussed in the following chapter.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 comprises a review of the literature which provides an insight into the contextual factors associated with the phenomena of bullying and victimisation in secure settings. The chapter begins with a discussion of bullying, as defined within the context of the study. It proceeds by considering alternate theories on bullying in secure settings, including a comprehensive model of prison bullying, theories of sanction effects, strain theories, deprivation and importation models. Each of these theories will be considered in detail, with discussion of those empirical studies which inform the particular theory, followed by a critical analysis. The chapter continues by considering the various contextual factors related to bullying and victimisation, as currently understood within the fields of criminology and social science. This empirical review focusses on those critical discussions of institutional bullying which make a significant contribution to current understanding, and which point the way to future research. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the significant gaps evident in past studies, explaining the relevant substantive findings, and considering the theoretical and methodological contributions relevant to the research topic.

3.2 Bullying in the context of study

Bullying is a complex behaviour that is difficult to define. As discussed in the introduction, the standard definition of bullying involves a physical, verbal, or psychological attack that is intended to cause harm and fear. Implicit in this definition is an imbalance of perceived power between perpetrators and victims.⁴² In secure settings, an incident can be viewed as bullying if the victim believes they

⁴² Perceived power refers to thinking and feeling about being a more powerful person than others. Factors that contribute to such experiences of power are related to seniority of time-served in institution, gang affiliation and physical appearance. In the prison, bullies were more likely to be involved in gang-related activity and to have spent a longer total time in the prison system, and these factors afforded greater access to power and resources (see Wood, Moir & James, 2009).

have been aggressed towards, including single incidences of aggression (Ireland, 2002a; Ireland, 2005). An incident must involve at least a bully and a victim; nonetheless, an imbalance of power between the bully and the victim is not necessarily involved (Ireland, 2002a; Ireland, 2005). Bullies and victims have unique sets of underlying characteristics that affect their social adjustment and behaviour. Bullies who exhibit a high tendency of bullying others but lower tendency of being victimized could be considered as 'pure bullies' (Ireland, 2007). Victims are individuals who are bullied and they are recognized as 'pure' victims if they present high tendency of being bullied but lower tendency of bullying others (Ireland, 2005). Some individuals present high tendency of both bullying others and being victimized, and they are identified as bully-victims (Ireland, 2005). Whether bullies, victims or bully-victims, they reported different type of bullying and victimisation in secure settings.

The types of bullying and victimisation reported by prisoners include direct or indirect forms (Ireland, 2005). Direct bullying refers to overt aggressive actions that are easily identified as aggression by those either observing or hearing the behaviour. This includes physical and verbal attacks, sexual assaults, psychological abuse, and theft-related aggression (Ireland, 2002a; Ireland, 2005). Indirect bullying is a covert delinquent behaviour, employed as a means to harm others (Ireland, 2002a; Ireland, 2005) through, for example exclusionary, defamatory and divisive behaviours such as gossiping, ostracising and spreading rumours. They represent behaviours where the aggressive intent is unclear (Ireland, 2005). In secure settings, both direct and indirect forms of bullying are prevalent, and impact negatively on the victim (Ireland, 2005). This highlights the importance of taking both forms into account in defining and interpreting bullying in secure settings.

Interpretations of what constitutes bullying can be subjective (Connell & Farrington, 1996), as the exact definition of bullying depends on the social and cultural context (Monks et al., 2009). In the context of secure settings, a definition of bullying that is

'school-based' may not be sufficient. Ireland (2002a) has built upon earlier research to present a comprehensive definition of bullying in secure settings. Within secure settings, bullying has been recognised as a reliable subsection of aggression. However, using a moral judgement approach, Hartup & DeWit (1974, in Tremblay, 2000) observed that the aggressive behaviour need not always be intended to be harmful to another person. Aggressive behaviour may be used as a powerful tool which serves survival and protection.⁴³ As such, this 'non-instrumental' definition should be considered as developmentally significant (Tremblay, 2000). However, a large number of subsequent studies have tended to reinforce the recognition that aggressive behaviour often occurs within the context of anti-social behaviour.

In secure settings, a definition of bullying should not be restricted to the concept of aggressive behaviour; a concept should be broadened to contemplate misconduct behaviour, peer abuse and violence. There is actually some overlap with misconduct, in which bullying actions involve rule infractions, especially physical assault and theft-related aggression. Also, there is general overlap with abuse and violence, which is unwanted physical, verbal or indirect conduct that has the purpose or effect of violating a person's dignity or creating an offensive or degrading environment for them (see Edgar et al., 2003). For many decades, criminologists have explained bullying in secure settings in reference to misconduct (for example, Siegel & Welsh, 2011; Regoli, Hewitt & Delisi, 2014). In fact, a number of empirical studies have attempted to utilize the concepts of peer abuse and violence to explain the phenomena of bullying in secure settings (for example, Barter, 1997; Barter et al., 2004; Gibbs & Sinclair, 2000; Sekol & Farrington, 2010; Sekol et al., 2016). It can be argued that misconduct and peer violence in and of themselves should not be defined as instances of bullying, unless the act involves a

⁴³ In this context, aggressive behaviour has been viewed as an activity that is socially desirable. For example, when someone is being physically attacked, he/she might act in aggressive ways so as to protect him/her self. On the other hand, a footballer or tennis player may perform aggressively when they are in the game. These incidents have been seen as a natural action as well as desired behaviour. In addition, these incidents do not involve any intention to harm others.

victim and occurs in a particular social setting (e.g. family, school, workplace, prison, and residential care) in which the group of individuals have had regular contact for some period of time. In secure settings, in particular, bullying may serve an adaptive function (Ireland, 2005) where incidences of misconduct or aggression are to some extent perceived as 'normal' by prisoners as well as by some institutional officers and staff. It may seem illegitimate or maladaptive to some observers but is mutual, enjoyable, and friendly (Berger, 2010) and identified as a 'non-problem' behaviour for some people (Ireland, 2005; Yoneyama & Naito, 2003). The assumptions about bullying make it hard to delimit and identify. To understand the phenomenon of bullying in secure settings, therefore, concepts of misconduct, peer abuse and violence were taken into consideration.

3.3 Theoretical explanations of bullying behaviour

The complex task of understanding bullying behaviour demands more than one theoretical lens. In this study, a number of theories have arisen which attempt to explain the bullying phenomenon in secure settings. These theories attempt to interpret causal assumptions, factors and propositions of behavioural phenomena on both the micro and macro level. The theories selected are assessed according to their general empirical and logical adequacy in relation to bullying and victimisation in secure settings. Although there is no singular or specific theory which explains bullying behaviour, the explanations of 'delinquency' theories can be utilized to understand bullying in secure settings. Just as criminological researchers might learn from findings on bullying, bullying researchers would gain much by taking account of research on self-reported delinquency (Farrington, 1993). In attempting to comprehend the complex situation of bullying on both the micro and macro levels, four theoretical perspectives will be discussed in this section: a comprehensive model of prison bullying, theories of sanction effects, strain theories, and deprivation and importation models. Not only are these theories able to offer explanations for the meaning, nature and challenges associated with institutional bullying, compared to other theories, these theories have often been

utilized to explain aggressive behaviour, misconduct and peer violence in the secure settings.⁴⁴

3.3.1 A comprehensive model of prison bullying

Recently, a comprehensive model of prison bullying has been developed. On the basis of previous research on bullying in prisons (for example, Ireland, 2002b; Turner & Ireland, 2012), Ireland (2012) proposed the Multi Factor Model of Bullying in Secure Settings (MMBSS)⁴⁵ to describe the key interaction between a specific nature of the prison environment and individual characteristics of prisoners. The model argues that bullying in prisons is driven by the prison environment through two main pathways. The first pathway is 'desentization pathway'. This pathway assumes that the prison environment where bullying occurs so frequently that it is normalized and where the perceived threat of bullying is high contributes to desentization to bullying. Such desentization may promote beliefs and attitudes which are likely to encourage bullying. Also, such desentization may encourage bullying through emotions such as fear, anger and hostility. Eventually, bullying activities are likely to reinforced by the social environment that is accepting bullying. The second pathway is about the interaction between prison environment and individual characteristics. This suggests that prison environment which reinforces individual characteristics prone to bullying. Institutional environment thought to promote aggression include both social and physical element, including limits placed on material goods, lack of stimulation, social density, legitimate authoritarian hierarchical structure, reliance upon rules and an importance placed

⁴⁴ For example, defiance theory has been used to explain bullying phenomenon (e.g Ttofi & Farrington, 2008); general strain theory, deprivation and importation models have frequently been used to explain prison misconduct and offending behaviour (e.g. Blevins, Listwan, Cullen, & Jonson, 2010; Walter & Crawford, 2013; Morris & Piquero, 2013).

⁴⁵ MMBSS is a subsequent model to replace the Interactional Model of Prison Bullying (IMP). IMP failed to explicitly outline elements such as beliefs, attitudes, attributions or fear in detail. Therefore, MMBSS was developed to address these limitations.

upon dominance and status. Individual characteristics are viewed in terms of descriptive characteristics, skill level and intrinsic characteristics.

MMBSS has been empirically examined (for example, Turner & Ireland, 2010; Ireland & Ward, 2014; Ireland et al., 2016; Sekol, 2016). All these studies demonstrated that certain elements of physical and social environments are important for understanding bullying in secure settings. In particular, Sekol (2016) examined the relationship between self-reported bullying and victimisation and environment conditions of residential care, including staff-offender relationships, treatments, cleanliness of the facility and food quality. Sekol (2016) found that the part of MMBSS was important in explaining bullying in care. Ireland et al. (2016) also supported the part of MMBSS by demonstrating that certain elements of physical and social secure environments are important for understanding bullying in secure settings. From these studies, MMBSS is thought to provide a good foundation to explore bullying occurring in secure settings. Nonetheless, MMBSS is insufficient alone to account for the choice to bully (Turner, 2015). As Turner (2015) argues that MMBSS perhaps represents a blending of different theories including theories related to sanction effects, deprivation and importation models

3.3.2 Theories of sanction effects

Explanations for bullying in secure settings or other forms of institutional misconduct can be explained by theories related to sanction effects. In particular, theories of sanction effects claim that bullying behaviour among young people are responses to the formal threat of punishment attached to the legal proscription of certain behaviours (see Sherman, 1993). Deterrence and labelling are two sanctioning theories which make opposing predictions regarding the effect of formal sanctions and misconduct. Rooted in the rational choice view of human behaviour, deterrence theory offers a straightforward solution to misconduct based around the argument that increasing the severity of sanctions may curb misconduct activities. According to Beccaria ([1764] 1986, in Piquero, Paternoster, Pogarsky &

Loughran, 2011), humans are rational choice actors who weigh the costs and benefits when deciding to engage in behaviours or acts that are classed as misconduct. It is assumed that this choice can be made less attractive by implementing policies and imposing punishments that heighten the cost, or consequences, of illegal conduct (see Nagin, 1998). Imprisonment is, arguably, the most severe sanction and has two basic functions: to incapacitate individuals from committing other misdeeds and to deter potential individuals from misconduct (Becker, 1968). The more punitive and certain a sanction is, it is assumed, will make the misconduct activities less attractive, and thus help individuals change their misbehaviour, if only to avoid the consequences of it. That said, for some, a lengthy period in an institution might effect a change (for example, Helland & Tabarrok, 2007; Drago, Galbiati & Vertova, 2009). However, existing theories of deterrence are incomplete and flawed. The deterrence effect can also be reversed, with harsher punishment having a negative effect, as reported elsewhere (for example, Kuziemko, 2007; Chen & Shapiro, 2007). Indeed, theories exist that challenge the core ideas of deterrence theory. Becker's (1963) labelling theory asserts that the threat of a sanction plays a key role in the process of building a stable pattern of misconduct behaviours. In addition, Sherman's (1993) defiance theory asserts that the threat of a sanction increases violent behaviour by engendering a defiant reaction to the sanction imposed. Therefore, such theories predict that, rather than deterring misbehaviour, individuals' reaction to sanctions might have a significant effect on misconduct behaviour in secure settings.

Labelling theory

Labelling perspectives have been very influential.⁴⁶ As the historical foundations of labelling theory are diverse, it is a relatively unintegrated perspective. Nonetheless,

⁴⁶ The books by Becker (1963) and Lemert (1967) were very important and influential. It emerged as a popular perspective in the late 60s and became the dominant criminological paradigm in the early 70s. It was originally presented as a 'perspective' rather than a 'scientific theory' with falsifiable empirical hypotheses (Farrington & Murray, 2014).

the key to understanding the origins of the labelling approach is that aggression and violent behaviour is shaped or influenced by the reaction of a social audience (for example, Kitsuse, 1962; Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1967). According to Swigert and Farrel (1978), the stigmatizing and segregating effects of social audiences can have a significant impact on the self-evaluation of those labelled 'bad' – impacts which may lead to subsequent misbehaviour. Matsueda (1992) claimed that informal group appraisal (e.g. that of a parent or close friend), may play a crucial role in the self-evaluation and behavioural adjustment of labelled individuals. Specifically, classical labelling theorists have claimed that formal societal reaction may have a significant role in the development of violent behaviour (Becker 1963; Lemert, 1967).

A number of current studies have supported the link between formal sanctions (particularly arrest by the police) and subsequent misbehaviour (for example, Chiricos, Barrick & Bales & Bontrager, 2007; McAra & McVie, 2009; Mingus & Burchfield, 2012; Morris & Piquero, 2013; Liberman, Kirk & Kim, 2014). To be specific, the more individuals penetrate the formal sanctioning system, the less likely they are to desist from violent behaviour (McAra & McVie, 2007). Labelling theorists believe that the formal sanction, or reaction of social control agents, results in a criminogenic effect. The criminogenic effect involves the development of 'bad' or negative self-conceptions, social rejection, and further involvement in the delinquent group. Early theorists conflated self-conception with self-confidence (for example, Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972; Gibbs, 1974; Kaplan, 1975; Rosenberg, 1979). Nonetheless, the idea of self-conception is grounded in the theory of symbolic interactionism; that is, the individual's self-image can change as a person internalises the attitude of the generalized 'other' (Mead, 1934). In other words, the self is a result of the social process whereby individuals learn to see their selves as

others see them. As Cooley ([1902] 1983)⁴⁷ argued, it is 'in imagination we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends, and so on, and are variously affected by it' (p. 184). Nonetheless, individuals can construct themselves by manipulating the definition of the interactional context and managing information strategically (see Goffman, 1961). The ability to reflect upon and react to these expectations, either to defy them or to accept them, is always affected by the structural contexts (Cooley, [1902] 1983).⁴⁸ Matsueda (1992) placed self-conception in the context of reflected appraisals on self-appraisals. Matsueda claimed that misconduct is substantially affected by one's appraisals of self from the standpoint of others. That is, they are consecutively, and partially, shaped by an individual's stable self-image concerning misconduct. Prior misconduct behaviour, and experience of confinement, may be attributed to a reflected negative appraisal of the self. Levy (2000) found that institutionalised individuals display an increased negative self-image compared to that of non-institutionalized individuals. Moreover, Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) suggested that processing young people through the secure setting produces a perpetual negative effect on their self-evaluation. Thomas & Bishop (1984) also identified a moderate association between institutional sanctioning and changes in negative self-concept.

Institutional sanctioning may also lead to social exclusion and social withdrawal from conventional opportunities. Sampson & Laub (1993, 1997) have claimed that formal adjudication prevents some young people from taking advantage of conventional opportunities for success. A number of studies have found that young people arrested by the police often exhibited low educational attainment, and later unemployment (for example, Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Lopes et al., 2012; Wiley,

⁴⁷ An idea of this sort might be called the reflected or 'looking glass self' (Cooley, [1902]1983). Cooley argued that a self-idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgement of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification.

⁴⁸ Cooley [1902]1983) further explained that the object of self-feeling is affected by the general course of history, by the particular development of nations, classes, and professions, and other conditions of this sort.

Slocum & Esbensen, 2013). On the other hand, Link et al., (1989) argue that incarcerated young people often internalize commonly held beliefs about the ways in which people devalue and react negatively to them. This stereotypical effect results in shame, low self-worth, and feelings of fear and mistrust among other members of the community (Kaplan & Johnson, 1991; Zhang, 2003). Therefore, it leads young people to distance themselves from conventional peers and avoid situations that may invoke stigma. The consequences may contribute to the strengthening of ties between such individuals and delinquent peers, and involvement in misconduct over successive periods (Bernburg, Krohn & Rivera, 2006).

The idea of a criminogenic process, as postulated by labelling theorists, provides a general explanation of subsequent misconduct, namely that bullying behaviour may be affected by an individual's self-appraisals, as reflected from the standpoint of institutional staff, family members or peers. It is reliable enough to explain bullying behaviour in secure settings. Self-conceptions may be significantly altered over a six-month period of incarceration (Hannum, Borgen & Anderson, 1978). Therefore, the outcomes proposed by labelling theory might begin during a short carceral term. In addition, during a carceral term, young people are tied to delinquent peers and cut-off from conventional society, and these situations conceivably strengthen young people's negative self-concept. Thus, a self-fulfilling prophecy is established through the process of bullying behaviour. However, these affects appear to be a matter of speculation due to the absence of any real empirical evidence underpinning labelling theory. Therefore, this theory remains simplistic and invites refutation. Gove (1975) has claimed that societal reaction is not a prime cause of subsequent misconduct behaviour. According to him, social conditions are instrumental in producing problems of adjustment, and in causing subsequent misconduct (Kaplan & Johnson, 1991; Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989). Labelling theory, however, ignores the role of social conditions and power relations in explaining subsequent behaviour. During incarceration, some young people

continue to misbehave, some might decide to resist and behave differently, and others might cease engaging in aggressive acts after a period of persistent aggression. These variations are indeed affected by social conditions. According to labelling theory however, a person is almost condemned to persist in these behaviours irrespective of their social conditions. Moreover, labelling theory also fails to explain why people offend in the first place. There is a possibility that aggressive or bullying behaviour is established for the first time during incarceration, due to the circumstances within the secure setting which may permit or encourage exploitative relationships (Shield & Simourd, 1991). For these reasons, therefore, labelling theory fails to explain complex patterns of bullying behaviour in secure settings.

Defiance theory

As with the labelling theorists that preceded him, Sherman (1993) recognised the potential criminogenic effects of stigmatizing sanctions on subsequent misconduct. He attempted to explain the effects of varied sanctions on behaviour. Sherman (1993) developed defiance theory by looking into the differential effects of sanctions and by incorporating concepts related to stigmatisation (Braithwaite, 1989), perceptions of fairness (Tyler, 1990), and emotional response (Scheff & Retzinger, 1991). Defiance theory aims to explain how punishment increases misconduct behaviour because of a defiant reaction to the sanction imposed. Defiance is defined as 'the net increase in the prevalence, incidence, or seriousness of misconduct as a result of a proud and shameless reaction to the administration of a formal sanction' (Sherman, 1993; p. 459). For Sherman, defiance is likely to occur when the sanction is perceived as unfair, the individual is poorly bonded to the community or agent (i.e. institutional system), the sanction is viewed by the individual as stigmatizing, and the individual refuses to acknowledge or resists the shame of punishment. In contrast, sanctions can be expected to produce deterrence when the sanctioned individual is well bonded, views the sanction as legitimate, and accepts the shame of the punishment (Bouffard & Sherman, 2014).

These sanctioning effects, nonetheless, are influenced by individual differences, differences across social settings and across specific levels of analysis (Sherman, 1993).⁴⁹

The perception of fairness or legitimacy is one of the key themes in understanding the diversity of defiance effects.⁵⁰ Legitimacy is a feeling of obligation to obey the law and to defer to the decisions made by legal authorities (Beetham, 1997). Legitimate authority is conferred by the consent of those individuals who are subjected to the power it implies. Legitimacy in this context includes both personal and institutional legitimacy, which can be somewhat related to each other. Tyler (2006) argues that personal legitimacy is an outcome of personal experience; it resides in the competency, honesty and trustworthiness of legal authorities; meanwhile, institutional legitimacy is where the role of legal authorities entitles them to make decisions which ought to be deferred to, complied with and obeyed (p. 1). Individuals may consent or even commit to comply, where levels of trust and confidence exist in both systems of authority and those that operate them. This decision, however, is not purely self-interested or instrumental but has a normative base,⁵¹ which is strongly linked to perceptions of legitimacy (Crawford & Hucklesby, 2013). It should be noted that the coercive powers of criminal justice officials are themselves limited. Therefore, as Weber (1978) discussed, legitimacy ultimately derives from one's intrinsic motivation which guides one's behaviour. According to a normative perspective, the use of fair procedures facilitates the development of a perception that authorities are both legitimate and moral. Once the perception of

⁴⁹ Differences in sanctioning effects may be related to individual differences such as personality type, employment, age and offence type; different social settings such as juvenile court processing, police arrest, domestic arrests and capital punishment; and different levels of analysis that can be related to effects of criminal sanctions on different measured (see Sherman, 1993).

⁵⁰ Two conditions to a sanction which are perceived as unfair are: the sanctioning agent behaves with disrespect towards the offenders and the sanction is experienced as subjectively unjust (e.g. arbitrary, discriminatory, excessive and underserved).

⁵¹ This is supported that individuals are moral agent who are active decision makers; there are not self-interested (see Beetham 1997).

legal authorities as legitimate has been shaped, compliance with the law is enhanced; thus, the rate of subsequent delinquency, or non-conformity/non-compliance, is significantly lower (Paternoster, Brame, Bachman & Sherman, 1997). Legitimacy encourages compliance with the law because of people willingness to cooperate. Tyler & Fagan (2008), for example, identify two models of cooperation with law enforcement agencies: instrumental (people are motivated by self-interest) and legitimacy (people's belief in institutional legitimacy influences their cooperation). The former model, that of self-interest, is based on the assumption that people's actions are primarily governed by a belief that offending behaviour will result in sanctions or that law-abiding behaviour will result in incentives. The latter model, that of legitimacy, is based on the assumption that people are intrinsically and socially motivated to cooperate, irrespective of sanctions or incentives. Piquero & Bouffard (2003) discovered that police confrontations and physical actions that are interpreted as unfair and stigmatizing, are more likely to produce defiant reactions, such as refusing to cooperate. In this regard, incidents such as cursing at the police officer or being physically aggressive towards the police officer are more likely to occur. Nonetheless, positive experiences (of outcomes as well as procedures) are more likely to *bolster* a belief in the legitimacy of authority and in subsequent compliance with it (Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Ugwu-dike, 2010). Filteau (2012) however found that most individuals expressed negative dispositions (e.g. lack of trust, frustration and anger) towards unfair legal authorities, and these dispositions lead to unwillingness to cooperate and increased risk of future offending. Interestingly, an individual with strong social bonds is less likely to react defiantly to a punishment perceived as unfair. That is due to the strength of the social bond that - in some instances - makes an individual more susceptible to the shame and stigma of sanctions, and in other instances serves to control anger. As Hirschi (1969) claimed, strong social bonds inhibit individuals from violating social norms. Otherwise, poorly-bonded individuals are more likely to deny the stigmatising effect of shame and respond with rage (Sherman, 1993). They also have less to lose from the imposition of a sanction. As Ttofi & Farrington (2008)

discovered, poorly bonded young people are more likely to engage in aggressive and bullying behaviour, and punishments are more likely to be perceived by them as unjust.

A number of empirical studies suggest that there is evidence to accept the basic tenets of defiance theory. Other studies support the notion of defiance theory (for example, Piquero, Gomez-Smith & Langton, 2004; Freeman, Liopsis & David, 2006). The early studies comprise an important first step toward a more comprehensive evaluation of defiance theory (see Paternoster et al., 1997; Paternoster & Piquero, 1995). Until recently, only a few studies sought to test the theory in a more complete fashion (see Bouffard & Piquero, 2010; Ttofi & Farrington, 2008). Indeed, theories of compliance, as outlined above, (i.e. Tyler & Fagan 2008) indirectly confirm the basic tenets of defiance theory in explaining law breaking. The majority of extant research, however, draws on the impact of setting and life-course, in order to reveal their impact on the individuals' orientation towards misconduct behaviour. Sherman (1993) asserted that defiance has different effects in different social settings as well as on different kinds of individuals. Yet, this theory does not clearly account for differences in sanctioning effects across all social settings, for example, the prison or other secure settings. Further study is required which focuses on the role of institutional sanctions, particularly the role of institutional social bonds in shaping subsequent misconduct. Therefore, this theory fails to consider sanctioning effects in conjunction with institutional-based criteria when explaining subsequent misconduct.

3.3.3 Strain theories

Strain theories all trace their origin to Merton's theoretical framework. The central idea of strain theory, in the context of this study, is that frustration is a significant factor in bullying or other misconduct causation. The classical strain perspective predicted that the larger the gap between aspiration and expectations, the stronger the sense of frustration or strain (see Merton, 1938; see also Cohen, 1955). For

Merton (1938), the socialized image of these expectations appeared in the form of material wealth. Merton also adopted Durkheim's structural theoretical framework, in order to explain class differences in misconduct behaviour. He argued that the inability to achieve monetary success creates much frustration and, therefore, individuals might attempt to achieve their monetary goals through illegitimate channels.⁵² However, a series of scientific studies failed to provide support for this assertion (for example, Burton, Cullen, Evans & Dunaway, 1994; Agnew, 1992). Following Merton, Cohen (1955) claimed that strain does not lead directly to misconduct; it leads to the formation of the delinquent group which thereafter predicated the direct onset of misconduct behaviour. This group formation emerges through a process of adaptation by young people to what they perceived as blocked access to middle-class status (see Cohen, 1955; for example Vowell & May, 2000). However, Cohen's assertion has been sidelined due to controversy surrounding contradictory findings resulting from different empirical measurements of strain (for example, Bernard, 1987; Messner, 1988; Burton et al., 1994).

General strain theory

The influence of structural strain theories waned when Agnew (1992) proposed a more comprehensive theoretical specification, which itself inspired hundreds of research reports (for example, Blevins et al., 2010; Hay & Meldrum, 2010; Lin, Cochran & Mieczkowski, 2011). The general strain theory focused specifically on negative experiences, including negative relations with others that exert a negative effect on one's behaviour. These strains (or stressors) could be caused due to the failure to achieve a particular goal, presentation of noxious stimulus (for example, criminal victimisation) or the removal of positive stimulus in one's life (for example, the death of a parent or friend). Agnew claimed that strains might result from the inability to use legal means to escape from these three types of painful situations,

⁵² Merton (1938) argued that poor people suffer much frustration. Therefore, one of the easiest ways to cope with this frustration is through illegitimate channels (e.g. theft, drug sales, and prostitution).

which can be found in all social classes - and at all points of the socio-economic spectrum - in routine daily life (see Agnew, 1992, 2006, 2014).

The experience of institutionalisation creates a stressful or strain-inducing situation for most individuals. As Colvin (2007) observes, the volatile and coercive nature of relationships in secure settings may produce a scenario whereby individuals experience frustration or anger from an inability to achieve their goals. Similarly, a number of studies found that exposure to hostile relationships, and the experience of victimisation, are associated with depression or anger, and consequently increase the subsequent level of aggression and violent behaviour (for example, Ackerman & Sacks, 2012; McGrath, Marcum & Copes, 2012; Listwan et al., 2013). In addition, Blevins et al. (2010) have identified various 'penal strains', including the loss of autonomy, privacy, material goods, services, and overcrowded conditions, all of which are likely to influence individual's emotions and may lead to misconduct during incarceration. Nonetheless, the likelihood of misconduct or the commission of other aggressive activities is contingent on the individual's ability to cope with anger (Agnew, 1992, 2009).⁵³ General strain theory argues that individuals use aggression as a coping mechanism, or as a problem-solving activity, in response to their anger or frustration. It is when strained individuals cannot properly cope with the situation that they engage in misconduct activities; in this vein, it is possible to associate bullying as an outcome of strain. However, there is evidence to suggest that the magnitude of the effect varies in accordance with micro-level characteristics (for example, Morris et al., 2012; Sharp, Peck & Hartsfield, 2012). These micro-level effects may influence how individuals adapt to institutional strains.

⁵³ Individual's coping is influenced by a range of factors, including social support, self-control, or association with delinquent peers (Agnew, 2009)

There is now a vast amount of empirical literature devoted to the examination of various aspects of general strain theory. For the most part, studies have found a correlation between the sources of strain, feelings of anger or other negative emotion, and their contribution to higher rates of misconduct behaviour. Most studies employ an objective measure of strain, focusing on those events and conditions assumed to be disliked by most people (Froggio & Agnew, 2007). However, this approach might have underestimated the impact of many alternative strains on delinquency. Froggio & Agnew (2007) suggest that many people do not evaluate the objective strains they experience in a negative manner and that subjective strains are more strongly associated with misconduct than are objective strains. In the context of secure settings, strains may be subjective in nature, with subjective strains having a greater effect on institutional misconduct. Subjective strains refer to events and conditions disliked by the people experiencing them (Agnew, 2006). Individuals may, for example, adopt differing perspectives when arriving at a subjective evaluation of a given objective institutional strain. In so doing, it is important for this research to measure individuals' perceptions and feelings of frustration, rather than simply measuring the occurrence of a certain event.

3.3.4 Classical concepts: deprivation and importation

Strain theorists argue that coercive relationships will tend to condition the impact of strain on bullying or other misconduct behaviour in secure settings. Even non-coercive relationships may also cause an increase in the level of misbehaviour. Sutherland, in his 'differential association theory', asserted that aggression or violent behaviour is the result of processes of socialization by which individuals learn through social interactions with delinquent peers. It is assumed that the association with delinquent peers may lead to exposure to favourable outlooks on the aggression and violent behaviour (Sutherland & Cressey, 1966). Similar to Sutherland's viewpoint, Clemmer (1940) described a complex of forces resulting from social interactions in the penal system which may breed antisocial behaviour

and deepen individuals' identification with aggression goals. He introduced the concept of 'prisonization', which describes an individual's integration into the general culture of the penitentiary. This includes a personal-social response to the universal features of imprisonment, and acceptance of an 'inmate code'. The inmate code is seen as having developed in fundamental opposition to the administrative code of conduct. Wheeler (1961) has suggested that the adoption of the inmate code represents the internalisation of a system of group norms that are directly related to the mitigation of the pains of imprisonment. The pains of incarceration are defined by society, and appear in the form of deprivation and frustrating situations within the maximum security penitentiary, which are experienced as threats to the individual's personality (Sykes, 1958; Crewe, 2009).

Deprivation and importation model

Systematic explanations of the 'pains' of incarceration are most closely associated with the work of Sykes (1958), in his deprivation model. The central idea of this model, in the context of this study, is that bullying results from the pain of institutional experiences. For Sykes, the most significant pains are associated with deprivations such as the loss of physical liberty and the withdrawal of freedom, including the withholding of goods and services, the lack of heterosexual relationships, and the isolation from free community.⁵⁴ These painful conditions generate enormous pressures which cannot be contained, and thus can increase the likelihood of misconduct behaviours.

For Goffman (1961), the totalistic features of the institution are symbolized by the barrier to social interaction with the outside world, and the characteristics of

⁵⁴ In 1954, Sykes systematically examined the society of captives from the viewpoint of the adult male prisoner in New Jersey Maximum Security Prison. Although, each prisoner carries a different background into the institution and brings their own interpretation of life within the prison, prisoners are agreed that life in the maximum security prison is frustrating in the extreme. In fact, the loss of liberty was found as a more immediate deprivation of all painful conditions imposed (see more in Sykes, 1958).

authoritarian systems.⁵⁵ In part, secure settings effectively create persistent tensions amongst offenders, as they cannot easily escape from the pressures of judgmental officials and from the enveloping tissue of constraint. Therefore, it appears that these restrictions help to maintain antagonistic stereotypes, which conceivably lead to violent misconduct, in order that the offender may adapt to institutional life (Sykes, 1958; Innes, 1997). Deprivation measures are typically associated with the type of institution, security level, freedom, length of confinement, and the amount of outside contact (Edgar & O'Donnel, 1998; Lahm, 2009). Indeed, this model assumes that strain conditions within the institutional environment manifest as violent responses from inmates in their effort to adapt to institutional life. However, some argue that violence is more of an expression of antisocial behaviour on the part of offenders, rather than a result of the oppressive and painful criminogenic, environmental features of the institution (Irwin & Cressey, 1962; Delisi et al., 2010). In the general discussion of institutions, structural-functioning theorists acknowledge that inmates bring or import a culture into the institution (Goffman, 1961), and each offender takes away from the institution his own interpretation of life within institution (Sykes, 1958). Similarly, Irwin and Cressey (1962) argue that values acquired by the offender on the outside influence inmate misconduct of various kinds within secure settings.⁵⁶ In particular, these models focus more on pre-institution risk factors, which are believed to be related to institutional bullying or other misconduct. This model rests on the assumption

⁵⁵ In 1961, Goffman established the concept of the total institution. The central features of total institutions can be described as a breakdown of the kinds of barriers ordinarily separating three spheres: (1) all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority; (2) each phase of the member's daily activities are tightly scheduled, with an activities leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole circle of activities being imposed from above through a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials, and; (3) the contents of the various enforced activities are brought together as parts of a single over-all rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims and the institution (p. 314).

⁵⁶ For Irwin & Cressey (1962), the category of residents is characterized into three different orientations: (1) thief subculture; (3) convict subculture; (2) legitimate subculture. Thief subculture is brought inside confinement facilities when offenders are sentenced to prison. The convict subculture already exists within prisons and prisoners navigate these deviant subcultures while serving time. Meanwhile, the legitimate subculture is a culture that rejects both thief and convict subculture.

that variables - such as age, gender, gang membership, minority status, substance abuse history, and aggression history - are associated with bullying and aggressive behaviours (for example, Byrne & Hummer, 2007; Kuanliang, Sorensen & Cunningham, 2008; Delisi et al., 2010). Indeed, penologists emphasize a specific developmental sequence (i.e. Crewe, 2009). That is, an individual is conditioned by life experiences to assume a given role and self-conception, and the acting out of that role sets the pattern for prison adaptation.

Researchers have continued to test both deprivation and importation models since the 1970s and, for the most part, researchers have settled on an integrated approach emphasizing that institutional misconduct results from both variables. Early studies reveal that deprivation variables, such as length of stay and security, appear to be more important than pre-institution characteristics (for example, Akers, Hayner & Gruninger, 1974; Thomas, 1977). In contrast, a number of studies found that the importation model – centred around factors such as age, gender, prior drug use and prior confinement - appear to be more effective in predicting prisoners' behaviour patterns (for example, Cao, Zhao, & van Dine, 1997; Jiang & Fisher-Giorlando, 2002). Nevertheless, some studies lend support to the assertion that the combined theoretical models appear to adequately explain prisoners' behaviour in response to confinement (for example, Gover, Mackenzie & Armstrong, 2000; Tasca, Griffin & Rodriguez, 2010; Tewksbury, Connor, & Denney, 2014). For the most part, much of the literature is premised on the assertion that institutional conditions drive prisoner behaviour, without concerning itself with the question of which prisoners were likely to respond.⁵⁷ Although this structural interpretation has value, it cannot explain variations in factors related to institutional misconduct. In fact, most studies reported that only a few variables were found to correlate with subsequent misconduct. On the other hand, studies

⁵⁷ This approach, called structural interpretation, refers to specific factors to explain certain behavioural phenomenon.

tend to compare both deprivation and importation models in explaining prisoners' aggressive behaviour. Instead of setting aside the details of the debate between these two theories, the examination of the link between importation and deprivation variables is most fruitful in providing insights into institutional aggression and bullying behaviour (Hochstetler & Delisi, 2005). Turning to the importation model, the variables should not be restricted to static characteristics (for example, age, gender, prior confinement, abuse history); it should be broadened to include dynamic characteristics (for example, coping mechanisms, self-control or personality). These dynamic characteristics can be considered as second level variables of the importation model. As Beech & Ward (2004) argue, static characteristics are predictively significant in respect of dynamic risk factors. In particular, dynamic characteristics have different effects on different individuals. Besides, deprivation variables are expected to affect other dynamic risk factors, which may in turn shape bullying or aggressive behaviour. As with theories of sanction effects, dynamic risk factors may include elements of self-conception and stigmatization in explaining the onset of bullying. Therefore, further research should establish the causal connections between deprivation and both static as well as dynamic importation variables in order to provide a comprehensive explanation of aggressive and bullying behaviour in secure settings.

3.4 Empirical explanations of bullying behaviour

Theories related to sanction effects have underscored the potential relevance of personal internal conditions for predicting one's behaviour. Importation theory has drawn attention to individual personal characteristics and experiences prior to institutionalisation that may be linked to bullying and aggressive behaviours. In contrast, deprivation theory highlights the importance of the environmental conditions of secure settings for predicting bullying. Combining importation and deprivation ideas, the Multi Factor Model of Bullying in Secure Settings (MMBSS) have highlighted the key interaction between the prison environment and individual characteristics of prisoners in explaining bullying in secure settings. Meanwhile,

strain theories have highlighted the possible impact of strains in shaping young people's behaviour. Guided by the theories discussed, this section reviews and synthesizes existing empirical research in relation to bullying in secure settings.⁵⁸ The primary aim is to explore causal factors that appear to play a crucial role in shaping young people's bullying behaviour during confinement. Two groups of factors seem to influence young people behaviour in the secure setting: the differences in personal characteristics and experiences, and the institutional environment. These two major factors interact in a complex manner, affecting each other and in turn influencing young peoples' behaviour. In so doing, the discussion is divided into two sections including individual differences and environmental deprivation, and the interaction between these factors is discussed later in this chapter.

3.4.1 Individual differences

'Individual differences' is a general term to refer to the study of all the various ways in which individuals can differ from each other relatively permanently (Kirby & Radford, 1976). Psychologists have considered individual differences in a systematic way that focuses on personality and psychopathology (for example, Allport, 1961; Eysenck, 1970). Sociologists make sense of individual differences in reference to the dynamic interaction between the system or socialization experiences that contribute to individual inequality (for example, Durkheim, [1893] 1997; Rousseau [1754] 1965 in Marsh & Keating, 2006). Variations in human cognition, emotions, and behaviours are affected by individual differences related to these three perspectives. In other words, people with different biological, psychological and sociological characteristics may think and act differently from one another. These circumstances propose that young peoples' behaviour is shaped by personal characteristics they import into the secure setting. Either to conform or to rebel,

⁵⁸ Using a convergent search strategy, more or less 67 peer-reviewed studies retrieved from a number of databases met the inclusion criteria (see Appendix 4).

young people are affected by their personal factors. In relation to this, most researchers who have examined these personal factors have focused on such aspects as age, gender, ethnic, education, marriage status, membership, mental health problems, prior record of offending and incarceration, type of offence, drug use, and sentence length (see Steiner, Butler, & Ellison, 2014, for a useful review). These factors may be grouped into three elements that will be discussed in the following sections: demographic characteristics, personal experiences and psychological factors.

Demographic characteristics

Demographics have variously been associated with differences in children and young people's behaviour. Bullying and aggressive behaviour in the institution is found to be influenced by a range of personal demographic factors, including age, sex, ethnicity, education, and marital status. Of all these factors, the ones that seem to play the most significant role are age and sex. Age constitutes one of the most robust correlates of institutional bullying in both youth and adult facilities. The bulk of research has consistently demonstrated that young people are more likely than adults to engage in various types of misconduct, violent and bullying behaviour (for example, Haufle & Wolter, 2015; Valentine, Mears & Bales, 2015; Steiner et al., 2014; Rocheleau, 2013; Graham-Kevan, 2011; Trulson, Caudill, Belshaw & Delisi, 2011; Delisi et al., 2010; Blackburn & Trulson, 2010; Wolff, Shi & Siegel, 2009). In youth facilities, extant research has revealed that individuals may begin violent behaviour at an earlier age. Younger young people are more likely to engage in direct violence, disorderly behaviours and other infractions. Nonetheless, they will experience rapid changes during adolescence and young adulthood (Scott & Steinberg, 2008). A one-year increase in age is associated with an expected 11% decrease in the annual rate of violent disciplinary reports (Rocheleau, 2013). Similarly, in adult facilities, younger prisoners are more likely to commit violent behaviours as compared to older prisoners. It has been reported that individuals

between the ages of 36 and 40 and older than 40 are less likely to engage in aggressive behaviour (Steiner et al., 2014).

They are numerous possible reasons for age differences in aggression or bullying behaviour. Delisi et al. (2010) support the notion that younger prisoners are more problematic than older prisoners in secure settings. As compared with older ones, younger prisoners are thought to be less aware of the consequence of their actions. Aging has been proposed to bring with it cautiousness, or loss of nerve, resulting in increased reticence to act aggressively (see Ellis, 1984). Enhanced maturity makes older prisoners less apt to consider violence an acceptable method of interacting with others. Valentine et al. (2015) also agreed that psychosocial immaturity plays a prominent role in institutional adjustment. The younger prisoners are likely to be ill equipped to negotiate institutional life. It appears that they engage in violence and violate institutional rules either as a consequence of strain or to establish their status within the institution hierarchy. Another view is related to strength and vulnerability. In the context of adult facilities, Wolff et al. (2009) reasoned that younger prisoners, compared to their older counterparts, are physically strong. In this respect, younger ones will exploit their relative strength advantage over older ones (see Ireland, 2005). Moreover, these dynamics may be related to prisoners' adoption of and adaptation to an institutional subculture. Haufle & Wolter (2014) argued that this may be essential for the younger ones to quickly learn to adjust to the subculture and, therefore, to adopt such subcultural strategies. Scott & Steinerg (2008) further explained that younger young people are less developmentally prepared to adjust to the deprivations of institutional life. As such, they are more likely to react to the institutional environment in hostile or ambivalent ways. For these reason, younger ones are more likely to engage in bullying than older ones. The effect of age on bullying behaviour is one of the most consistent and strongest determinants of bullying and aggressive behaviours found in the literature. Despite the consistency of this finding in the extant literature, the effect of age on the

expected rate of bullying behaviour is generally small and limited to only adult facilities.

Apart from age, there has been considerable debate over the influence of sex on bullying and aggressive behaviour. Sex is a static variable constituting people as two significantly different biological categories, men and women. Cultural beliefs and social relational contexts play significant roles in the gender system,⁵⁹ and these define the distinguishing characteristics of men and women (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). The cross-national evidence confirms that aggression and various forms of aggression are especially prevalent in male institutions (see Ricciardelli & Spencer, 2014). Men in secure settings can assert their masculinities through aggression or bullying behaviours, for example, in response to strain, which relates especially to deprivation. Virtually every aspect of the institutional experience threatens individuals' masculinity by stripping away their gender beliefs and identities that might include self-sufficiency, autonomy, heterosexual relations and fatherhood (Cesaroni & Alvi, 2010; Ugelvik, 2014). Bullying behaviours, therefore, have an expressive purpose too in establishing and reinforcing masculine identity. Scholars have found that women are less likely to commit disciplinary infractions in secure settings, and they are less aggressive than men (for example, Davidson, Sorensen, & Reidy, 2015; Celinska & Sung, 2014; Reidy, Sorensen, & Cunningham, 2012; Sorensen & Davis, 2011). Numbers of women throughout the criminal justice system have risen drastically, primarily because of the war on drugs and tougher laws (Javdani, Sadeh & Verona, 2011, see Penal Reform International, 2008). Women in secure settings tend to do their time by prioritizing their needs for relationships, comfort, and control (Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2003). Nonetheless, the inability to obtain these needs can greatly affect women's misconduct behaviour

⁵⁹ Gender (role) differences include cultural beliefs, patterns of behaviour and organizational practices at the interactional level, and selves and identities at the individual level (see Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). These contexts play a role in all systems of difference and inequality, including race and class, but there are reasons for suspecting that they may be distinctively important in the gender system.

while in secure settings. They were more likely to engage in minor and non-violent misconduct behaviours (Wright, van Voorhis, Salisbury & Bauman, 2012). Nonetheless, scholars have argued that women can be very aggressive and tend to commit serious violent misconduct during confinement (for example Lahm, 2015, 2016; Stickle, Marini & Thomas, 2012; Stockdale, Tackett & Coyne, 2013; Bates, Archer & Graham-Kevan, 2016). Bates et al. (2016) argued that there were some similarities in the risk factors associated with violence and aggression for men and women. Similar to men, women showed multiple indications of severity of disruptive behaviour and emotionality, indexed by higher rates of negative affect, anxiety and distress (Stickle et al., 2012). They displayed significantly higher rates of violent and aggressive behaviour and mostly verbal form (Stockdale et al., 2013). Overall, studies about sex and aggressive or bullying behaviours have produced mixed findings. Some scholars believed that sex differences mask background characteristics, which are more likely to affect bullying behaviour in the secure setting. Women and men react differently to institutional life either because of personality and life experiences imported from their community, a difference in their collective response to the experience of incarceration, situational factors, or some combination thereof. Therefore, studies about sex and bullying have produced mixed findings.

Scholars have argued that factors such as age, ethnicity, education, marital status, criminal history, length of sentence, offense type, substance abuse, and participation in institutional programming were significantly associated with misconduct among women and men (for example, Wooldredge & Steiner, 2016; Davidson et al., 2016; Celinska & Sung, 2014; Steiner & Wooldredge, 2013; McKeown, 2010; Lahm, 2009). These differences reflect variations in the backgrounds of women and men that could shape how these two populations perceive, experience, and behave in secure settings. Wooldredge & Steiner (2016) conclude that background characteristics are more essential factors for influencing assaults on both women and men. They found that family status and visitation were

statistically significant and stronger effects of misconduct for female prisoners compared to male prisoners. Meanwhile, offense type was significantly associated with misconduct risk for male prisoners compared to female, which the risk was significantly higher among prisoners incarcerated for sex crimes. Celinska & Sung (2014) also find evidence that background factors were more likely to influence misconduct behaviour among incarcerated offenders. They found that younger, single, Black offenders, who were physically abused in the past, who had a substance abuse or dependence problem, who were serving a lengthier prison sentence, and who were convicted of a violent offense were more likely to violate prison rules. Nonetheless, women depended heavily on a much smaller number of correlates, whereas the same behaviours among men appeared to have been caused by these factors. Among women, Davidson et al. (2016) supported that mental health symptoms may be more pronounced in this population. That is reflecting depression, anxiety, and even psychosis, as a response to life trauma, child and adult abuse, and disturbed relationships. For these reasons, some women's failure to follow rules tended to involve interpersonal conflicts and assaultive behaviour. Similar to this, McKeown (2010), in his review, stressed that women's entry into the secure setting differs from that of men's where factors including mental health problems appear particularly characteristic of women's pathways into aggressive and bullying behaviour. Stickle et al. (2012) further explained that greater emotional distress seems particularly important in light of women's higher rates of aggressive responses to those provocations. These differences, perhaps, contribute to different patterns of aggression between genders. Nonetheless, there are far more similarities than differences in the predictors of misconduct among men versus women (see Steiner and Wooldredge, 2013). For this reason, it remains unclear whether the factors that influence bullying or aggressive behaviours among women are different from those of men.

Personal experiences

Determinants of institutional bullying can be explained by a range of personal

experiences related to social and behavioural history. Some personal experiences prior to incarceration are associated with misconduct in the institution. Factors such as misconduct history, substance use and incarceration history are found to increase expected rates of misconduct in secure settings (for example, Cunningham, Sorensen, Vigen & Woods, 2011; Sorensen & Cunningham, 2010; Trulson et al., 2010; Kiriarkidis, 2009; Lahm, 2009; Steiner & Wooldredge, 2013). Trulson et al. (2010) asserted that misconduct history variables appeared to offer the greatest insight into the rate of both minor and major misconduct in an overall fashion among young people in secure settings. Offenders with sexual offenses and serious person/property offenses are more likely to engage in problematic behaviour during confinement. Sexual offenders, in particular, are perceived as the least likely to change, and thus remain high risk over time (see Sorensen & Davis, 2011; Hanson, Harris, Helmus & Thornton, 2014). In fact, they have a high tendency to commit other serious and violent misconducts in the future, rather than sexual offences (Lussier & Davies, 2011; Lussier, van den Berg, Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2012). Compared with others, therefore, sexual offenders are likely to be reported for violent misconduct in the institution. Nonetheless, there is also evidence to suggest that sex offenders are more compliant and cooperative than many in the prisoner population (see Steiner et al., 2014). In fact, Ricciardelli and Spencer (2014) argued that sex offenders are the most vulnerable population in prison. They revealed that sex offenders are at high risk of physical and psychological victimisation either by other offenders, officers or staff members in higher security prisons.⁶⁰ To cope, they use more passive avoidance techniques than others (Reid & Listwan, 2015). To conclude, studies about sex offender and violent misconducts appeared to produce mixed findings. These mixed results would seem to be that there is little reason to consider dynamic factors related to sexual offending when considering the likelihood of any of the forms of violent misconduct in secure settings. It can be

⁶⁰ These direct and intentional actions, perhaps, reveal that these people (especially the staff members) want to see a sex offender punished for their offences.

argued that factors such as thought psychopathology and the lack of treatment motivation are significantly associated with sex offender status. Thus, it would be premature to presume that sex offenders were more or less violent than other offenders.

Apart from this, Cunningham et al. (2011) found that offenders arrested for other serious and violent offences such as homicide were positively correlated with potentially violent disciplinary infractions. One assumption is that these offenders are violent in nature, thus somewhat more impulsive than others during confinement. By comparing those convicted of murder/homicide and other offenders, nonetheless, Sorensen & Cunningham (2010) somewhat reject this assumption. They found that acts of prison misconduct are more common among other offenders than those convicted of murder. Those convicted of various degrees of homicide⁶¹ were not overly involved, significantly less in some cases, in violent or assaultive rule infractions. Meanwhile, offenders incarcerated for property, public order and drug crimes were significantly more likely to be involved in acts of violence. In relation to drug crime, some scholars suggest that experience of drug use prior to incarceration is a great predictor of prison bullying (for example, Klatt, Hagl, Bergmann & Baier, 2016; Chen, Lai & Lin, 2013; Rowell et al., 2012; Young, Wells & Gudjonsson, 2011; Sorensen & Cunningham, 2010). Drug-using offenders are more likely to engage in illicit drug use in the institution, and this dependency increased the risk of offences, property and other offending behaviours. Interestingly, drug use during imprisonment was found to be a particularly strong predictor of both physical and sexual perpetrations (Klatt et al., 2016). However, these predictors are somewhat affected by other factors such as history of imprisonment.

⁶¹ Homicide in the context of this study is being classified by lesser homicide, murder, and capital murder.

Having a history of incarceration was found to be positively and significantly related to bullying and misconduct in secure settings (for example, Reid & Listwan, 2015; Drury & Delisi, 2010; Kiriarkidis, 2009). Building upon institutional bullying studies, Kiriakidis (2009) concluded that perpetrators or bullies status are associated with the number of times having been sentenced to custody. The exposure to custody increased the capability to survive, and thus led to the likelihood to bullying behaviour. Meanwhile, individuals who were newer to the institution lacked the same survival skills, and used more passive avoidance techniques⁶² than others (Reid & Listwan 2015). Individual involvement in institutional misconduct can be further explained in the context of their adjustment during prior incarceration. Those who have a prior record of institutional misconduct are more likely to become involve in misconduct. This has been supported by Drury & Delisi (2010) who found that those who have prior adjustment violations maintained a strong positive effect in predicting subsequent institutional misconduct. Conversely, others found no relationship between these specific variables (for example, Lahm, 2016; Marcum, Hilinski-Rosick, & Freiburger, 2014). These mixed findings of the relationship between prior incarceration and prison misbehaviour is probably best understood through the role of coping mechanisms among prisoners. Rocheleau (2013) found that prisoners who had previously been incarcerated had an annual rate of violent disciplinary reports that was seven times greater than those who had not been previously incarcerated; nonetheless, these associations may be mediated by coping mechanisms (see Adams, 1992). Coping mechanisms are shaped by custody level variables, and this can change for prisoners as they serve their sentence.

Time served, gang affiliation and lack of support are the strongest custody level determinants related to bullying and aggressive behaviour in secure settings. In

⁶² Passive precautions coping strategies include a range of behaviours focused primarily on active removal of the individual from the larger social network of the prison or correctional institution (see Reid & Listwan, 2015).

relation to time served, scholars agree that the longer individuals are institutionalised, the more likely they are to engage in misconduct (for example, Damboeanu & Nieuwbeerta, 2016; Reid & Listwan, 2015; Kiriarkidis, 2009). Kiriarkidis (2009) argued that those who spent longer periods of time in institutions were more integrated into the institutional subculture, and thus were more likely to use aggressive precaution⁶³ in relationships. Sentences were longer, and this increased frustration and manifested in poor relationships with staff, thus prisoners may be more likely to integrate into the institutional subculture. Indeed, harsh and unsupportive staff might provoke stress and anger in individuals, who in turn act defiantly (Colvin, 2007). Apart from this, it can be assumed that those who affiliated with gang membership are more likely to become involved in institutional misconducts.⁶⁴ Aggression and other disruptive behaviours were reported more frequently by gang members than non-gang members (for example, Ireland & Power, 2013; Worrall & Morris, 2012; Egan & Beadman, 2011; Varano, Huebner & Bynum, 2011). Individuals see potential functions of gang membership in secure settings (Griffin, 2007; Worrall & Morris, 2012; Wood, Alleyne, Mozova & James, 2014). The need for support, protection and social status are some key aspects that boost propensity for gang membership. Nonetheless, a close relationship with peers of compatible disposition provides a social group that positively reinforces behaviour.⁶⁵ Indeed, integration with antisocial peers positively reinforces antisocial behaviour. Ireland & Power (2013) observe that prisoner involvement in perpetration of bullying can occur as part of an expectation of gang membership. This expectation was seen as an effort to build respect in secure settings (Varano et al., 2011). In addition, violence and threats of violence from a minority group

⁶³ The climate of violence existing in institution may be affecting inmate behaviour and aggressive precautions were increased due to fear of any form of threat victimisation (see McCorkle, 1992).

⁶⁴ Gang membership is often informed by beliefs that gangs are supportive, well-ordered and protective, and comprised of friends. It can comprise loose collectives of prisoners who find mutual support in prison based on neighbourhood territorial identification (see Phillips, 2012).

⁶⁵ This process involves social learning. Egan & Beadman (2011) discussed that differential association for antisocial peers is a significantly stronger predictor for misconduct than differential reinforcement or modelling.

remain central to continued perpetration among inmates who are embedded within the dominant group (Worrall & Morris, 2012). Nonetheless, by associating with non-delinquent peers, offenders are able to avoid negative influence.

Support is one of the strongest determinants related to positive behavioural adjustment in the institution. Positive social ties either with people inside or outside the institution leads to perceived social support, and this is associated with less institutional misconduct (for example, Hochstetler, Delisi & Pratt, 2010; Cochran, 2012; Rocheleau, 2013). Visitation helps individuals maintain social ties during confinement, which, in turn, can improve inmate behaviour. Hochstetler et al. (2010) discussed that regular visitation (especially from family members) enables inmates to remain more optimistic about their prospects for a successful transition back into society upon release. This suggests that visitation can contribute to positive future expectations, thus positively affecting one's behaviour. Some individuals could vent about their problems, rely on family members to help calm them down, or cheer them up when they were down (Rocheleau, 2013). Yet, it might also reduce the frustration that can lead to violence. In contrast, not being visited might increase frustration, depression and aggression. It bears emphasizing that visitation may be an adverse experience that potentially increases the likelihood of misconduct. Those who were being visited but then no longer receive visits may experience frustration and exhibit aggression (Bales & Mears, 2008).

Psychological factors

Many individuals who enter the criminal justice system have a higher prevalence of psychological problems related to mental illness. It has been widely reported that inmates have elevated rates of mental disorders compared with the general population, including psychosis, schizophrenia, manic episodes and depression (Fazel & Seewald, 2012). Many are from disadvantaged backgrounds and/or have histories characterised by traumatic life events. They are more likely to report greater experiences of stressful life events during their life span, such as family-

related stressors and a history of living in a violent neighbourhood (Maschi, Viola & Morgen, 2013; Gunter et al., 2012). In particular, women reported higher exposure to caregiver violence, witnessing violence, and intimate partner violence (DeHart et al., 2014). Meanwhile, young inmates tended to report a higher prevalence of childhood adverse experience, including physical and emotional abuse, physical neglect and household violence (Fox et al., 2015; Kolla et al., 2013). These experiences, associated with mental health illnesses, thus increased their risk of misbehaviour and incarceration. Indeed, incarceration can result in exposure to further traumatic experiences that lead to enduring mental disorders.

Mental illness is recognized as one of the major risk factors for poor behavioural adjustment in secure settings. Some individuals suffer from mental health illnesses, which are either imported or experienced prior to or develop during incarceration. Scholars agree that individuals with mental health illnesses can be prone to aggressive behaviour during confinement (for example, Schneider et al., 2011; Houser, Belenko & Brennen, 2012; Felson, Silver & Remster, 2012; Walter & Crawford, 2013; Houser & Welsh, 2014; Houser & Belenko, 2015). Research denotes that mentally ill offenders and non-mentally ill offenders display comparable levels of criminal thinking (Morgan et al., 2010; Schneider et al., 2011). In prison, mentally disordered offenders scored higher than non-mentally disordered offenders on measures of criminal thinking and criminal attitudes (Morgan, et al., 2010). Criminal thinking has the capacity to initiate aggressive, delinquent and criminal behaviour (Walters, 2003). Offenders with higher levels of criminal thinking are more prone to engage in violence (Wiklund et al., 2014). Wiklund et al., (2014) identified that such thinking and attitudes are found to be related to pro-bullying attitudes among incarcerated juvenile offenders. Apart from this, mentally ill young people are more likely to develop symptoms of paranoia. Paranoia involves intense anxious or fearful feelings and thoughts often related to persecution, threat, or conspiracy, and it has been found as the strongest predictor of violent offenses (Felson et al., 2012). In the prison, young people often think of being threatened or attacked, whether they are

or not, and they are more likely to engage in aggressive behaviours by way of defense (Felson et al., 2012; Wiklund et al., 2014).

Some studies suggest that mental illness per se provides an incomplete picture of violent behaviour. Walters and Crawford (2013) found that mental illness only predicts violence and aggression in individuals with a history of violent convictions. It is not surprising that past violent convictions are predictive of future maladjustment. Some studies have also identified the importance of past experiences in explaining violent behaviour among people with mental illnesses. Link, Cullen, Agnew and Link (2016) argue that stressful life events contributed to violent behaviours among people with mental illness. Others found that experiences of substance use and drug offending was seen as push factors for mentally ill offenders to display aggressive behaviour (Houser et al., 2012; DeHart et al., 2014). In this regard, mental illness should not be seen as being the primary cause of violence (for example, Bonta, Blais & Wilson, 2014; Peterson et al., 2014). This highlights that the relation between mental health problems and aggressive behaviour is still not clear.

Instead of demonstrating hostility and aggressive behaviours, some individuals deal with painful feelings by harming themselves or attempting suicide as a 'coping strategy'. Self-harm and suicide attempts are very common in people with mental disorders (Hawton, Saunders, Topiwala & Haw, 2013; Klonsky, May & Glenn, 2013). In fact, of those who die from suicide, more than 90 percent have a diagnosable mental disorder such as anxiety and depressive symptoms (Hawton et al., 2013). In prison worldwide, suicide rates in prisoners have been found to be substantially higher than the general population (Fazel, Grann, Kling & Hawton, 2011; Fazel & Seewald, 2012).⁶⁶ Their suicidal ideation grew stronger as depressive symptoms

⁶⁶ Fazel et al. (2011) have reported a study of 861 prison suicides in 12 countries between 2003-2007.

increased (Smith, Selwyn, Wolford-Clevenger & Mandracchia, 2014; Gunter et al., 2011). A history of suicide attempts is positively related to an increase in depressive symptoms and the risk of suicidal ideation (Gunter et al., 2011; Beghi, Rosenbaum, Cerri & Cornaggia, 2013). Nonetheless, the majority of people who experience a mental disorder do not self-harm or commit suicide. Studies suggest that mental disorder alone is not associated with self-harm and suicide attempts (Smith et al., 2014). The capability for suicide requires fearlessness of death and physical pain tolerance (Smith & Cukrowicz, 2010). Rather, persons with high levels of depressive symptoms may be more prone to expressing negative affect and mood disturbance through anger and aggressive behaviour (Smith et al., 2014). Findings highlight that individuals differ dramatically in their response to or coping strategies for managing depression. Some describe depression as feeling agitated and reckless, and manifest such feelings by exhibiting hostility, anger, or aggression; some who feel deep despair and hopelessness are much more likely to self harm or/and attempt suicide (Smith et al., 2014). With strong social support and intensive treatment, nonetheless, the majority of individuals cope with depression in more positive ways (Gunter et. al., 2011).

Individuals with mental health issues should receive intensive treatment and supervision in secure settings. Generally, however, individuals with mental illness have very little access to proper treatment, and some have never been offered appropriate treatment (Hoge, 2007; Williams et al., 2010). The consequences of reduced treatment exposure, along with segregation, may cause severe emotional problems and serve to further exacerbate negative behaviour (Houser et al., 2012; Houser & Belenko, 2015). To respond to the needs of such individuals, Houser and Welsh (2014) discuss the importance of integrated treatment⁶⁷ in order to reduce rule-violating behaviours in the institution. However, many barriers exist in

⁶⁷ Houser and Welsh (2014) explain integrated treatment as a treatment that employs cross trained and certified professionals familiar with dual disorders treating each individual disorder as primary within the same treatment setting.

correctional settings, including inadequate training of institutional officers in identification and management of the mentally disordered, poorly trained mental health professionals, and the punitive approaches (i.e. the use of segregation) practiced by institutions to manage disruptive behaviour (Hoge, 2007). These problems are not likely to be solved and therefore fail to reduce violent behaviours among young people in institutions.

To conclude, it would seem that mental health problems increase the risk to bullying others in secure settings. Nonetheless, the mental illness per se may not be seen as major cause to bullying behaviour. The stressful life events during incarceration and poor coping skills may be seen as push factors for mentally ill offenders to engage in bullying behaviour. Also, It can be argued that different studies used different measurements in measuring mental health problems and therefore, produced different results. Also, different size sample used affected research findings. Therefore, studies about mental problems and aggressive behaviour have produced mixed findings.

3.4.2 Environmental deprivation

Social scientists have long discovered the potential relevance of environmental conditions for shaping behaviour. One's behaviour is shaped through the processes as basic as intellectual growth (for example, assimilation, accommodation, and equilibration) that are inextricably linked to interactions between an individual and the environment (Piaget, 1954). Perceived environment is a central feature to understanding the effects of the environment. Bronfenbrenner (1979) strongly emphasized the role of perceptions by asserting that the environment as it is perceived rather than as it may exist in objective reality. The meanings people give to the environment is varied. 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences' (Thomas & Thomas, 1928, p. 572). In this regard, individuals may change their behaviour as a consequence of environmental demands and their perceptions based on experiences in particular settings.

Penologists have long recognized the potential of the institutional environment to influence prisoner behaviour. Simply put, the institutional environment includes regimes⁶⁸ and social cultures. To be more specific, it comprises of architecture and living arrangements (Adams, 1992), social organization (Clemmer, 1940; Sykes & Messinger, 1960), administration and staff members (Jacobs, 1977; Adams, 1992; Kruttschnitt, Gartner & Miller, 2000), inmate culture (Sykes & Messinger, 1960, Goffman, 1961, Camp & Gaes, 2005), and program activities (Moos, 1975; Sparks et al., 1996; Camp & Gaes, 2005). Some include the element of power, discipline and control to understand institutional environments (Thomas & Petersen, 1977; Liebling, 2004; Crewe, 2009). How individuals perceive these aspects of the institutional environment could affect their behaviour during incarceration. The environment could be perceived to be moderate, certain, severe or swift, and these different perceptions may engender different behaviours from different people in the same environment (see Crewe, 2009). Theoretically, where individuals perceive a good atmosphere in correctional facilities, a low rate of violence and victimisation in facilities might be expected. Research into this relationship is uncovered by scholars, and it is discussed in detail in the following sections. The discussion is divided into two major areas that comprise some crucial aspects of secure settings: geographical aspects and staff culture.

Geographical aspects

Relationships between the geography of the institution and individuals are crucial to life in institutions, and affect individuals' wellbeing. Reflecting upon the literature, institutional geography was coined to describe institutional architecture,

⁶⁸ The idea of prison regime comes from the idea of Sparks et al. (1996) that intended to capture the formal elements of prison environment. Regime includes a wide range of factors from the types of inmate programs offered to policies for staff-inmate interactions. In particular, as explained by Camp & Gaes (2005), prison regimes include security measures to control inmates, prison programs, the sophistication of prison management, characteristics of staff members, and prison conditions (crowding, presence or lack of good medical care, quality of food).

space or layout and institution population or inmate size.⁶⁹ Although the effect of these geographical aspects remains an under-researched area, several scholars have called for research into the links between these aspects and aggressive behaviours. Turning to institutional architecture, scholars have identified a link between the design of an institution and its social climate (for example, Beijersbergen, Dirkzwager, van der Laan & Nieuwbeerta, 2016; Morris & Worrall, 2014; Moran, 2013; Morin, 2013; Wener, 2012). There is no typical design for an institution. Nonetheless, the majority display exterior architectural features that render them instantly recognizable as places of detention and punishment. High walls, barbed wire, guard towers and cellblocks are common physical features of secure settings or correctional facilities. Focusing exclusively on two different architectural design types,⁷⁰ Morris and Worrall (2014) suggest that prisoners housed in campus-style units may be more inclined to commit non-violent misconduct such as property and security-related violations. This finding suggests that open space facilities do not just decrease privacy, but also increase access to other prisoners that allow for infractions to occur compared to more restrictive facilities. Although high security prisons have prisoners with far higher propensity to engage in aggression, they have what might be described as the highest quality environment i.e. more staff, more control and less clutter (Bierie, 2011).

In contrast, some scholars have argued that aggression is more likely to occur in a higher security facility. Prisoners housed in higher security prisons are assumed to

⁶⁹ From the literature related to the prison environment and its relation to inmate misconduct, there are three themes emerging in the context of prison geography. Therefore, the discussion of prison geography will be based on these three particular areas. These themes align with the concept of 'carceral geograh', which may be broadly conceived of as the nature of carceral spaces; geographies of internal and external social and spatial relations (see Moran, 2015).

⁷⁰ Morris & Worrall (2014) explored the association between two prison styles and inmate misconduct, focusing on campus and telephone pole style prisons (for further information see Johnston, 2000). The telephone pole style is characterized by several rows of parallel multistory buildings, or pavilions, connected by one or two main corridors. Meanwhile, the campus style is characterized by freestanding buildings surrounded by a large open space, often in the shape of a rectangle.

have a higher propensity to engage in aggression during incarceration⁷¹ (Bierie, 2011). The more their movement is restricted the more they perceive deprivation and the more they become violent. Influenced by the concept of the Panopticon,⁷² higher security prison designs have included elements of surveillance and strict inmate isolation. Extreme isolation seems to be growing in many facilities, designed for the purpose of increased security and the restricted movement of prisoners outside the corridors. Prison systems sometimes house prisoners in long-term isolation for what seem to be punitive, and not only protective and managerial, purposes (Shalev, 2009). By keeping prisoners away from most or all contact with other prisoners, it stimulates sensory deprivation and a restricted environment that leads to negative psychological reactions (Wener, 2012). Depression, despair, anxiety, rage, claustrophobia, and hallucinations are some reactions that inmates have experienced as a consequence of prolonged isolation (Morin, 2013). Morin (2013) further suggests that isolating two prisoners in one cell or double-cell prisoners in tiny spaces can exacerbate risk of violence. Housing two individuals per cell and leaving them locked in with nothing to do can breed interpersonal conflict. In addition, prisoners housed in prisons with more double cells were less likely to build positive relationships with staff and officers (Beijersbergen et al., 2016), which seemed to be linked to growing levels of prisoner violence.

The justice systems may have felt that the rapid increase in institutional populations required more aggressive approaches to managing prisoners. Officers at more crowded prisons are most stressed and fearful of prisoners (Martin, Lichtenstein, Jenkot & Forde, 2012; Maculan, Ronco & Vianello, 2013). For this reason, they tend to use coercive methods by leaving prisoners locked in cells or dorms for longer.

⁷¹ Generally, prisoners housed in the maximum security facilities were convicted of serious offences. Some of them were considered as chronic prisoners who are responsible for a disproportionate amount of serious crime (see Loeber & Farrington, 2012)

⁷² Panopticon is a type of institutional building designed by Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century. It is also called the inspection house. The concept of the design is to allow all inmates of an institution to be observed by a single watchman.

Prisoners in fact may have become more aggressive and difficult to manage (Morin, 2013). The increase in populations is a factor in prisoner violence or misconduct (see Franklin, Franklin & Pratt, 2006). Presumably an elevated population is associated with poor institutional conditions lead to violence and misconduct behaviour (for example, Kuo, Cuvelier & Huang, 2014; Rocheleau, 2013). In particular, institutional overcrowding is believed to have an impact on the conditions of confinement, institutional safety, staff-prisoner relationships, and prisoners' access to meaningful programming (for example, Martin et al., 2012; Goncalves, Goncalves, Martins & Dirkzwager, 2014; Mears, 2013; Kuo et al., 2014; Griffin & Hepburn, 2013). Bierie (2011) asserts that overcrowding allows misconduct to flourish by increasing the level of noise, dilapidation and the absence of privacy. These conditions cause enormous stress and tension for inmates. Similarly, Morris and Worrall (2014) argue that violence increases as perceived or felt privacy decreases. Prisoners are forced to live in crowded conditions and when their spaces are violated, they tend to become frustrated and more aggressive (Martin et al., 2012; Morris & Worrall, 2014). Also, as discussed before, increased access to other prisoners due to the absence of privacy increases opportunities for the occurrence of certain types of misconduct.

Apart from this, aggressive or bullying behaviour has been linked to prisoners' inaccessibility to appropriate treatment programs in the institution. Programs and jobs for prisoners may be a valuable tool to enable adjustment to the institution and have potential to create safer institutional environments for institutional communities (Wulf-Ludden, 2013; Wooldredge & Steiner, 2015; Goncalves et al., 2014). However, investment in programs and jobs may be ineffective in reducing aggression levels in institutions where there are higher populations, as proportionately fewer prisoners will have access to these services. In addition, some institutions invest less in programs for inmates due to excessive workloads. Officers and staff in crowded facilities face not just threats to their own safety but heavy burdens in relation to their work. A combination of understaffing and extreme

crowding has played a role in the amount of stress, staff turnover, and health risks (Martin et al., 2012). For this reason, staff are less likely to implement programmes for prisoners (Kuo et al., 2014; Goncalves et al., 2014). Also, the lack of trained and skilled staff results in the absence of the implementation of meaningful programmes i.e. anger management programs, group counselling and cognitive-behavioural therapy.

Overall, in relation to geographical aspects of secure settings, findings suggest at least four circumstances in explaining bullying and misconduct behaviour, including the lack of privacy, the loss of freedom, overcrowded conditions and inaccessibility to programs. It can be argued that these circumstances are related to individuals' experience of authority and resources in secure settings. Misuse of authority by officers or staff members diminishes prisoners' feelings of privacy and freedom. Meanwhile, inaccessibility to proper treatment and care that goes along with overcrowded conditions in secure settings violates prisoners' rights to resources. Overcrowding may also assault the privacy and freedom of an individual prisoner. In overcrowded conditions officers and staff members tend to use coercive methods by leaving prisoners locked in cells or dorms for longer. Such misuse of authority may cause tension for individuals and thus contribute to individual's perception of injustice treatment. In such conditions, individuals tend to become frustrated and more aggressive in secure settings.

Staff culture

The illegitimate expectations engenders distance between staff and prisoners and encourages negative interactions between them. Increasing social and cultural distance⁷³ between staff and prisoners diminishes the level of trust, which seems to be linked to growing levels of fear and violence (Liebling & Arnold, 2012). From

⁷³ For example, social and cultural distance may cause experience of inconsistency in the rules, misinterpreted staff attitudes, and lack of information sharing.

these findings, it can be argued that trouble in institutions is not merely caused by geographical aspects, but it is also affected by staff culture and staff-prisoner interactions, or lack thereof. Scholars have argued that the physical state of secure settings influences the way staff and prisoners interact, which in turn affects prisoners' behaviour (for example, Beijersbergen et al., 2016; Liebling & Arnold, 2012; Hancock & Jewkes, 2011; Tait, 2011; Sekol, 2013; Sekol, 2016; Ireland et al., 2016).

Institutional staff cultures vary considerably, and these variations have significant consequences for the quality of life of prisoners. These cultures should be understood in relation to the re/constitution of staff power (Crewe, 2009). The sphere of power may involve coercive or authoritarian (hard power), and it may also operate more lightly⁷⁴ (Crewe, 2011). Presumably 'soft power' encourages closer relationships between prisoners and staff, and the good relationships available to make prisoners comply (Crewe, 2011; Drake, 2008). Nonetheless, greater use of coercive controls in states with more punitive orientation does not promote lower levels of either assaults or nonviolent offenses (for example, Liebling & Arnold, 2012; Rocheleau, 2013; Sekol, 2013; Day, Brauer & Butler, 2014; Pinchover & Attar-Schwartz, 2014; Wooldredge & Steiner, 2015; Damboeanu & Nieuwbeerta, 2016; Klatt et al., 2016). Where organizational culture is hierarchical, authoritarian and disciplinarian in nature, negative staff-prisoner relationships can result. Sekol (2013) explained the nature of poor relationships with staff. As described by young people, staff often ignored problems amongst young people, and they were generally burned out and use violence as a means of punishing and controlling young people (Sekol, 2013). As a consequence, young people did not have much respect for staff and often perceived their authority as lacking

⁷⁴ As opposed to coercion or 'hard power', some staff members tend to deal with prisoners through a more diplomatic ways or 'soft power'. As Crewe (2011, p.456) discussed, 'soft power' allows prisoners to make decisions about their lives at the same time as training them to exercise this autonomy in particular ways and rewarding them for doing so.

legitimacy. When individuals prisoners do not perceive the authority being exercised as legitimate, they are unlikely to follow the rules that stem from that authority (Meade & Steiner, 2013), as previously discussed. In addition, in these cultures, individuals were more likely to feel insecure (Rocheleau, 2013). Feelings of insecurity, fear or reduction in attributions of legitimacy often underpin bullying behaviours (Allison & Ireland, 2010; Klatt et al., 2016).

The role of officers and staff members in contributing to bullying in secure settings has also been examined. Studies reveal that the increased risk of prison bullying can be understood in relation to officers' and staffs' attitudes which are supportive of bullying (Ireland et al., 2016; Sekol, 2013, 2016). Ireland et al. (2016) argued that the attitude of admiring bullies and negatively appraising victims increases the occurrence of bullying in prison settings. Officers and staff members believed that bullying is a normal aspect of individual interactions in the institution. Bullying is tolerated in the institution and staff members often ignored to help victims of bullying. Similarly, Sekol (2013) found that staff often ignored problems amongst residents and staff sometimes used violence amongst residents as a means of punishing and controlling residents they dislike or are unsure about how to handle. For this reason, bullying was highly prevalent in secure settings. Findings from these studies highlight the importance of developing a healthy prison social environment by promoting positive staff cultures, improving staff-prisoner relationships and enhancing staff attitudes towards controlling bullying. Scholars have argued that variations in staff cultures are affected by organizations that control their day-to-day work routines and the difficulties in conforming to organizational rules leads to negative work culture (Farmer, 1977; Crewe, 2009; Liebling, 2011a). Staff that feel least positive about their own working lives were more negative in their views of prisoners (Crewe, Liebling & Hulley, 2011). In effect, they were less likely to deliver meaningful support and services to prisoners. The less supportive staff are, the greater the adjustment difficulties among the prisoner population (Pinchover & Attar-Schwartz, 2014). Therefore, it is crucial to provide staff with support,

education and training to increase staff efficiency at residential care (Kendrick, 2011). Supportive staff may contribute to positive perceptions of the institutional environment and the promise of a better quality of life (Day et al., 2014; Kuo et al., 2014). However, what appears to be a somewhat positive staff ethos might lead to some negative prisoner outcomes and vice versa. Favourable attitudes towards prisoners by showing excessive trust and avoiding using authority might, for example, lead to some negative prisoner outcomes (Crewe, et. al., 2011). In contrast, strict institutional administration systems may be expected to cause a decline in misconduct due to a pervasive deterrent message (Bierie, 2011).

Overall, the role of staff in inducing bullying was the most important factor contributing to bullying behaviour in secure settings. It would seem that the occurrence of bullying could be understood in relation to the negative staff-offender interactions and the favourable attitudes towards bullying amongst staff members. In these circumstances, officers' and staff may misuse their powers and authority by mistreating offenders and refusing treatment for victims of bullying. Also, the favourable attitudes towards bullying behaviour may put offenders at risk for being bullied anytime and anywhere in secure settings. This supports the notion that staff culture may be important in explaining bullying in secure settings.

3.5 Chapter conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to develop an understanding of the causal factors of bullying in secure settings through a review of the theoretical perspectives and empirical studies in this area. The discussion of theories and empirical studies was widened into the scope of aggressive behaviour, violent, misconduct, delinquency, rule violations and disciplinary infractions in secure settings. Indeed, all these reflect bullying behaviours within secure settings. In summary, the theoretical perspectives lead to divergent predictions with regard to the role of personal characteristics, and the institutional environment in deflecting bullying behaviour. This is aligned with the Multi Factor Model of Bullying in Secure Settings (MMBSS) proposed by Ireland

(2012) that describes the key interaction between the environment and individual characteristics in explaining bullying in secure settings. Labelling and defiance theories emphasize the role of internal dispositions in relation to institutional bullying. These theories propose that deterrence variables may inhibit aggressive behaviour through the twin effects of self-conception and stigmatization. On the other hand, strain and deprivation theories foreground the function of environmental-level factors in relation to bullying behaviour. Further, importation theory takes accounts of micro-level factors in attempting to explain institutional offending. Of all these theoretical perspectives, deprivation and importation theories have tended to dominate the institutional bullying literature. Nonetheless, general strain theory appears to be one of the strongest models of bullying behaviour, as it offers a theoretical framework for coherently integrating the deprivation and importation models of misconduct and violence in secure settings.

Related to the theories discussed, the discussion of empirical studies was divided into two major themes: individual differences and environmental deprivation. In each theme, there are factors identified that relate to bullying behaviours that were derived from empirical studies. There are at least six individual variables that have been found to be significantly influence bullying behaviour i.e age, prior incarceration, time-served, gang affiliation, anti-social support and mental illness. More specifically, those who are younger, serving longer in secure settings, associate with anti-social peers, experience a lack of support, and have experience of mental health problems are more likely to commit misconduct. Nonetheless, studies on bullying related to gender and type of offences were more likely to produce unclear results. Meanwhile, there are at least three major institutional factors related to institutional bullying. Institutional designs that restrict individuals' movement, overcrowded conditions and the 'hard power' staff culture (Crewe, 2009) are conditions that increase the likelihood of bullying behaviour. From the empirical evidence, it can be argued that some factors are inter-related. For example, those who used drugs before incarceration are more likely to experience

mental health problems, and this increases the likelihood of bullying others (see Houser et al., 2012; DeHart et al., 2013). In certain conditions, personal factors might reflect factors that are related to the institutional environment. Simply put, individuals with different personal characteristics may perceive, experiences and respond to the institutional environment differently. For example, prisoners who have spent a longer time in the institution and who have less support are more likely to perceive prison conditions as severe, and for this reason they have a higher tendency to engage in misconduct (see Kiriakidis, 2009). These findings provide support for each of the theories of prisoner behaviour reviewed here (importation and deprivation model, and strain theories).

From the discussion of theoretical and empirical evidence, it can be hypothesized that personal characteristics and institutional environments may/can predict the onset of bullying behaviour. However, these discussions also suggest that, alone, the theoretical perspectives and empirical evidence offer an inadequate explanation of bullying in secure settings. Studies into institutional bullying tend to adopt a quantitative research design. The effectiveness of quantitative approaches in measuring behaviour and establishing cause and effect in highly controlled circumstances encourages researchers to conduct quantitative studies (see Farrington, 2001; Sapsford, 2007). However, quantitative results provide no information on contextual factors to help interpret the results or to explain variations in relationship between variables. A more in-depth explanation of bullying in secure settings through the use of qualitative approaches is needed. From the review, only a few studies included qualitative methods (for example, Liebling & Arnold 2012; Crewe et al., 2011). These studies provided a deep and rich understanding about the institutional environment; nonetheless, institutional bullying was not an initial focus. Using focus groups, Sekol (2013) produced a qualitative explanation of the contextual factors that contribute to peer violence in residential care. Data gained through focus group interviews may be limited to general experiences, and this might not reveal more sensitive issues and personal

experiences. In fact, focus groups are relatively unnatural social settings and are largely limited to verbal behaviours and self-reported data (Morgan, 1997). As compared with quantitative results, however, it is clear that studies based on qualitative methods produce deep explanations of the phenomenon of bullying in secure settings. Nonetheless, this might result in a principally subjective form of data gained since qualitative research is based on the subjective experiences of, often a smaller, population and the interpretations of the researcher (Spain, 2005). In addition, qualitative research rarely allows for generalization. This study thus combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Due to the complexity and diversity of empirical findings reviewed here, all personal and institutional environment factors derived from previous empirical studies will be investigated in this study. It is hoped thus that this will improve the quality of literature reviews and theories related to bullying in secure settings. Also, this study will take into account the under-researched personal factors i.e. ethnic group, prior drug use, punishment inside the institution and the experience of self-harm. Meanwhile, the scope of institutional environment factors is widened into 21 dimensions, which is believed to capture the complete picture of institutional environment. From the review, it can be argued that studies were more likely to focus on the on a limited number of variables associated with the institutional environment. Even the most comprehensive studies of bullying in secure settings still produced limited aspects of prison environment (see Allison & Ireland, 2010; Sekol, 2013). By combining a wide range of both personal and institutional factors, this study may lead to a more comprehensive and well-supported theory of bullying in secure settings. Moreover, most studies on bullying or misconduct in secure settings are more likely to focus on male adult facilities. Only a minority studies have focused on young facilities (for example, Sekol, 2013; Bender et al., 2010; Haufle & Wolter, 2015). To fill this gap, this study focuses on explaining the phenomenon of bullying behaviour in juvenile justice institutions. Informed by this chapter, the conceptual framework which provides the rationale for predictions

about the relationships among variables of this research study, is explained in the next chapter.

4 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCHING BULLYING AND VICTIMISATION IN SECURE SETTINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conceptual framework for the study. The conceptual framework is a key part of the research design. It includes the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs this research (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Robson, 2011). This chapter begins by presenting the ideas and beliefs that the researcher holds about bullying and victimisation in secure settings through a concept map. The concept map is typically derived from three theoretical perspectives as explained in the previous chapter: theories of sanction effects, strain theories, and models of deprivation and importation. The map was developed by considering the extensive empirical literature on the factors influencing bullying, peer violence and aggressive behaviour in secure settings. Furthermore, this chapter provides a detailed definition of variables, and information about the scope of the variables measured is also discussed. The chapter concludes by discussing how the conceptual framework matches the research questions, and how this shapes the methodological choices.

4.2 The concept map for bullying in secure settings

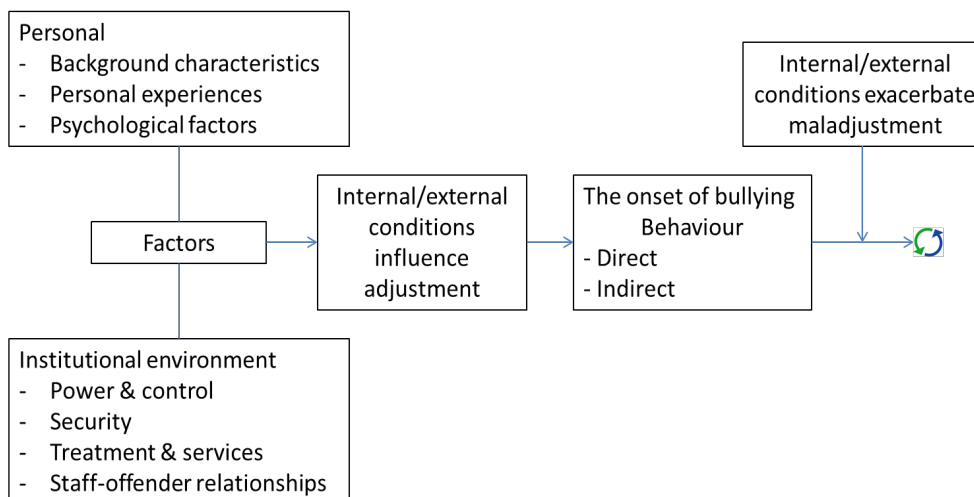


Figure 1 Factors affecting bullying behaviour in secure settings

Figure 1 visualizes the theoretical context for the undertaken research. It depicts the key concepts and the relationships among these concepts by combining or linking propositions from four theories which are the MMBSS, sanction effects, strain, and importation and deprivation models into a single, unified and consistent set of propositions. Theoretical discussions advanced previously suggest that no theory alone can adequately explain bullying behaviour in secure settings. Therefore, it is important to incorporate tenets from different theoretical perspectives into an integrated explanation of institutional bullying. The theoretical perspectives lead to divergent predictions with regard to the role of personal characteristics and the institutional environment in influencing bullying behaviour. This can be integrated with the Multi Factor Model of Bullying in Secure Settings (MMBSS). In relation to the MMBSS, importation theory takes accounts of micro-level or personal factors in attempting to explain bullying in secure settings (see Goffman, 1961). Meanwhile, the deprivation model foregrounds the function of environmental-level factors in relation to bullying behaviour (see Sykes, 1958), and this is consistent with the MMBSS that acknowledges aspects of both social and physical environments in explaining bullying in secure settings. By this, the framework proposed advances the MMBSS by emphasizing on a wider range of criminological theories and perspectives. In particular, the framework includes elements of security, treatment and services that are missed in the MMBSS.

Through the extensive review of empirical studies (see Chapter 3), personal factors can be explained in three forms including background characteristics, personal experiences and psychological factors. Institutional environments are complex and generally characterized by interrelated contextual properties or conditions (Crewe, 2009; Liebling, 2004). In the context of this study, key conditions that characterize institutional environments are physical structures and staff cultures. It should be noted that these two factors play a big role in influencing and shaping other institutional conditions that can be explained in reference to four key areas: power and control; treatment and services; security; and staff-young people relations (see

Liebing, 2004). Indeed, all these forms are expected to influence emergent bullying behaviour.

Both personal and environmental factors are independently related to the onset of bullying behaviour. Bullying behaviour is an outcome variable that consists of two major forms: direct and indirect bullying. Both direct and indirect bullying can be influenced by personal characteristics and environmental conditions. Nonetheless, these relationships are somehow altered or mediated by other conditions. Individuals with similar specific characteristics and perceptions that are linked to the increased risk of bullying behaviour, however, reported lower involvement in bullying behaviour. Crewe (2009) argued that individuals are not a homogeneous entity. They have different ways of handling the pressures of imprisonment or managing the tensions they encounter (Crewe, 2009; Goffman, 1961). Therefore, exposure to stressors and strains may result in different adjustment patterns. Some theories suggest the role of internal dispositions in explaining adjustment patterns. General strain theory proposed the role of self-coping as a moderating element in shaping individual's adjustment (see Agnew, 1992, 2006, 2014). Meanwhile, labelling and defiance theories emphasize the effects of self-conception and stigmatization in shaping the behaviour of individuals in secure settings (see Becker, 1963; see also Sherman, 1993). As shown in the Figure 1, the direct relationship between factors and the onset of bullying is mediated by internal conditions related to self-coping, self-conception and stigmatization. It is assumed that individuals with lower self-coping, negative self-conception or increased perceptions of stigma are more prone to anger or frustration, and are therefore more likely to engage in aggressive and bullying behaviour. In contrast, individuals with more positive internal states are generally able to effectively deal with frustration.

Additionally, some of these theories also propose that internal and external factors play an important role in mediating the relationship between personal as well as institutional environment factors and bullying behaviour. Both labelling and

defiance theories assert the role of social support in affecting young people's behaviour adjustment. Labelling theory argues that the experience of social exclusion and social withdrawal from conventional opportunities increases risk of bullying behaviour (Matsueda, 1992). Similarly, defiance theory suggests that poorly bonded individuals are more likely to engage in aggressive and bullying behaviour (Sherman, 1993). Indeed, the experience of social rejection and loose, impaired or broken social bonds contribute to poor social support as a consequence of individuals' involvement in bullying behaviour (Sampson & Laub, 1993, 1997). With positive social support, in contrast, individuals are less likely to be involved in bullying others. Nonetheless, the risk of bullying may be increased by association with delinquent peers as argued by some labelling theorists as well as differential association and subcultural theorists. Both internal and external conditions can help to explain bullying behaviour. Similarly, the MMBSS also attends to the importance of especially internal conditions as mediating factors in the choice to bully others in secure settings. Among individuals who engage in bullying, some persist in bullying and some eventually desist (see Agnew, 1992). These differences are indeed affected by certain internal and external conditions. Indeed, mediating conditions become important elements to consider in any understanding of the decision to bully others (see Ireland, 2012; see also Turner, 2015).

4.3 Operationalization of variables

The concept map informs the identification of variables or constructs of the phenomenon of bullying in secure settings specifically, for the purposes of measurement, and provides a series of sequenced and logical propositions of such phenomenon. Indeed, this map guided and grounded the research process. This section discusses, in more detail, the key concepts or variables related to bullying in secure settings as presented in the concept map. It specifically defines each variable in the context of this study. This chapter further provides the operational definition of each variable.

4.3.1 Bullying behaviour

Bullying behaviour is an outcome variable, which is likely to be influenced by the presence of independent variables. As discussed in the Chapter 3, bullying can be related to the definition of aggressive behaviour and peer violence in the context of secure settings. It involves the intent to harm others by using force, threat, or coercion to abuse, intimidate, or aggressively dominate others. Direct forms of bullying represent overt aggression in which the bully interacts directly with the victim. It comprises five different types including physical, theft-related, psychological, verbal and sexual (Ireland, 2005). Indirect bullying, to some extent, would not be considered as an aggressive act. It represents subtle forms of aggression where the bully does not interact directly with the victim i.e. gossiping, spreading rumours, and ostracising individuals (Ireland, 2005), and sometimes, with this form, the identity of the bully may be unknown to or hidden from the victim. Similarly, victimisation experiences mirror these forms. The concept of bullying behaviour can be operationalized by measuring how frequently the subject is involved in aggressive behaviour. The nature of aggressive behaviour can be directly measured. Since such behaviours are often hidden, direct observation is not effective in the context of this study (see Holmes, 2013), self-report measures seem appropriate in measuring this phenomenon. That is to enable young people to identify which behaviours or incidents had occurred to them in the previous month or which behaviours they had engaged in. In order to identify the different groups involved in bullying i.e. bullies, victims, bully-victims, non-involved and individuals with casual involvement, both self-report bullying and self-report victimisation are needed.

4.3.2 Personal factors

As discussed previously, both personal characteristics and experiences shape young peoples' behavioural adjustment. Personal characteristics are used to collect and evaluate data on people in a given population. Comprising both well-researched and under-researched factors, this study includes 15 personal factors, comprising

background characteristics, personal experiences and psychological factors. All these factors are independent variables (or manipulated variables) that are hypothesized to influence bullying behaviours in secure settings.

Background characteristics

Background characteristics include three factors; 'age', 'sex' and 'ethnicity'. 'Age' refers to the number of years one has accrued whilst alive but it can also indicate specific periods of human development such as child, teenager, adolescent, adult or older adult. This study specifically involves only young people who are placed in juvenile justice institutions which is determined in reference to the legislative framework. The age of young people is calibrated between the age of criminal responsibility and the statutory age limit. Although the upper age of responsibility in most countries is 10 and the age limit is 18 (Siegel & Welsh, 2011; Arthur, 2012), these differ from one country to another. Since this study is based in Malaysia, the Malaysian Child Act 2001 and the Malaysian Prison Act 1995 were used to define young people. Considering these acts, the age of the population under study ranges from 12 to 21 years old. Clearly, age is a continuous variable, and the easiest way to observe the age is by using a discrete count. To establish analysable results, nonetheless, the age is manipulated into categories. In this study, 'age' is grouped into three categories; 12-15 years, 16-18 years, and 19-21 years. These groups are divided based on the educational stages of the Malaysian educational system, in which individuals aged 12-15 are referred to lower secondary school, 16-18 year olds are referred to higher secondary school, and those aged 19 and above are classed as school-leavers.

In this study, 'gender' is simply defined as the biological difference of sex, between male and female. The state of being a man or a woman is further associated with the state of being masculine or feminine, which is gendered and which refers to social and cultural differences rather than simply biological differences. Work on masculinities has tended to concentrate on the localized production of men's

meaning and experiences; meanwhile work on feminities has concentrated more on women's meaning and experiences (Mac an Ghail & Haywood, 2006). Hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) is defined in reference to particular attributes, behaviours and roles. It includes traits such as being tough, not crying, standing up for oneself, fearlessness and so on (Stanko, 1994). Also, aggression is socially attributed to men or masculinity (Toomey, 2001). Femininity is a set of attributes, behaviours and roles typically associated with girls and women. Associated traits include gentleness, modesty, sacrifice, empathy and sensitivity (Newton & Stewart, 2013). Concerning the differences between men and women, in this study 'gender' is treated as a dichotomy.

'Ethnicity' is a concept that refers to social differences associated with, yet distinct from, race. Either ethnicity or race, both bring a unique set of experiences and worldview that would have an impact on the way the individual thinks and behaves. Ethnicity concerns group identification. An ethnic group is a human population whose members identify with each other, and who are typically united by common cultural, behavioural, linguistic or religious practice (Rosa, 2010). Race, nonetheless, commonly relates to the biological realm (Santos, Palomares, Normando & Quintao, 2010). Malaysia is a multi-ethnic country consisting of three major ethnic groups: Malays, Chinese and Indians. The Malays comprise Malaysia's largest ethnic group, at more than 50 per cent of the population, followed by Chinese (25%) and Indians (10%).⁷⁵ Malaysia's population also comprises numerous indigenous people, ethnic minorities and immigrants. Each ethnic group generally has a strong cultural identity that can be distinguished from one another. In this study, 'ethnicity' was measured and divided into four groups: Malay, Chinese, Indian and other. The 'other' group refers to individuals who do not belong to the three major ethnic groups. They might be indigenous people, ethnic minorities or immigrants.

⁷⁵ Data are obtained from http://www.malaysia-trulyasia.com/tourism/the_people.htm

Personal experiences

Personal factors also include personal experiences. In this study, there are eight factors considered to significantly affect bullying behaviour: 'the length of the sentence', 'the time spent in the institution', 'the experience of imprisonment', 'type of offence', 'frequency of visitation', 'contact with family members', 'the experience of penalties inside the institution', and 'gang affiliation'. 'The length of the sentence' refers to the length of time someone who has been convicted of a criminal offence will spend in custody or in an institution. In Malaysia, guided by the Child Act 2001, the Court for Children has power to impose either an immediate or a suspended custody sentence. In deciding the length of the sentence, the Court takes into account a number of factors: the type of offence and how serious it is, the timing of any plea of guilty, and the defendant's character and antecedent, including his/her criminal record. Under the Child Act 2001, the minimum length of sentence for young people is 12 months and the maximum length of sentence is 36 months. Nonetheless, some young people will be released on license at a specific point. In more serious cases, such as manslaughter and sexual offences, the Court may impose an extended sentence in institution. In this study, 'the length of the sentence' was treated as an independent variable which is divided into five categories: 1 year: 2 years: 3 years and more; and remanded. It is necessary to have a specific category of 'remand', because these individuals have not been convicted, and obviously they have no information about the length of any sentence they might serve.

The variable 'time spent in the institution' is related to how long young people have spent in the current institution and thus the length of time they have been away from their family and wider society. In this study, all children and young people in the institution, including remanded individuals, were given equal opportunity to participate. In so doing, there is no minimum and maximum sentence length imposed in the selection of participants. Therefore, the time spent in the institution can conceivably be between one day and more than 3 years. Based on a monthly unit

of time, the 'time spent in the institution' variable is divided into five categories; less than a month, 1-6 months, 7-12 months, 13-24 months, and more than 25 months.

'Imprisonment experience' refers to experience of imprisonment prior to the current sentence. Similar to the variable of 'time spent in the institution', this variable aims to measure young people's exposure to the institution and institutional life more broadly by distinguishing between individuals who have a history of past imprisonment and those for whom the current sentence is their first experience of imprisonment. Young people with past experience of imprisonment include those who have been re-arrested and re-convicted and sentenced to a further term of imprisonment. It also includes those who have been transferred from a different institution to the current institution. Young people may be transferred for a number of reasons, including security and medical problems. Although some of those transferred were sentenced for the first time, transferred young people are not considered as 'first-time' since they have been exposed to another institution before the current one. They are, therefore, considered as having experience of past imprisonment. Remanded individuals who have a history of incarceration are also considered as having past imprisonment experience. 'First time exposure to an institution' refers, then, to those who are convicted and incarcerated for the first time and in the current institution, including remanded young people. Remanded young people who have no prior experience of incarceration are also classified as 'first-time exposure to the institution'. 'First-time' young people may also include individuals who have previously offended but who have never been arrested and convicted before.

Young people in the institution are convicted of a wide range of offences. In Malaysia, criminal offences include violent crimes; drug-related crimes; property crimes; and status offences (UNICEF, 2013; Mallow, 2015). Violent crime is related to an act with the intention of causing (or threatening) physical harm or death to

the victim. It includes homicide, murder, rape, and harassment as well as crimes where a weapon is used. Drug-related offences include possessing, manufacturing, distributing or trafficking. Meanwhile, property crime is a category of crime that includes burglary, theft, vehicle theft, arson and shoplifting. Unlike these offences, status offenses are offenses that would not be considered criminal if the youth had reached the age of majority. Status offences refer to the penalisation of children and young people engaged in behaviour such as vagrancy, truancy, running away, and repeatedly being disobedient to parents. In Malaysia, 'beyond parental control' is regularly used to respond to children committing such status offences (UNICEF, 2013). Overall, these four offence types cover a wide range of misdemeanours with varying degrees of seriousness. Nonetheless, some of young people were also convicted of multiple offences. In this study, therefore, 'type of offences' was measured in five different categories: violent crimes; drug-related crimes; property crimes; status offences; and multi-offences.

'Visitation' and 'contact' are variables intended to measure contact with the community outwith the institution. It should be noted that young people in the institution are allowed to maintain contact with family members and friends outside through visitation. They are also allowed to stay in touch with family and friends by telephone calls or letter. Nonetheless, these privileges are restricted in as much as institutions have different rules as to when and how often someone can visit, and how often someone can make or receive calls. In this study, information about 'visitation' and 'contact' were used to measure young people's social support by measuring how frequently they receive visits and how much contact is maintained through telephone calls and letters with family members and friends, in particular. Young people with frequent visits and regular contact are expected to have higher social ties and support, and vice versa (Maruna & Toch, 2005; Cochran, 2012). Visitation offers young people face-to-face interaction and physical contact that may help to preserve or restore social relationships (Cochran, 2012; Dixey & Woodall, 2012). Telephone calls and letter writing do not offer face-to-face

interaction yet it may also help to preserve social ties and enable people to maintain connections with members of their family and community. For these reasons, information about young people's visitation and contact may be used to reflect levels of social support. Based on monthly basis, 'visitation' variable was measured in five different categories: never, once, twice, three times and more than three times. Meanwhile, 'contact' variable was measured dichotomously.

The 'experience of punishment inside the institution' variable is related to one's experience of penalties or disciplinary sanctions inside the institution. Disciplinary sanctions are often considered as the primary mechanism for keeping peace or maintaining security and protection in an institutional environment (Flanagan, 1980). While in an institution, young people are subject to rules set by institutional officials. If a young people commits an infraction and is found guilty of the infraction, penalties can be issued. Young people are given notice of the charges against them, the particular rules they are charged with violating, and the penalties for such infractions. They can be kept in their cell for up to a month, forced to undertake physical exercise, or be transferred to another institution. The institution can also remove certain privileges, such as denying visitation or access to television. In contrast, offenders who follow the rules can earn privileges. In this study, information about experiences of disciplinary sanctions is treated dichotomously. Some additional information about frequency and the forms of punishment were elicited.

The 'gang membership' variable is related to young people's affiliation with a group of young people that are considered as a gang in the institution. By measuring this, the study aims to uncover the acquisition of status and power related to gang membership by distinguishing between gang-affiliated young people and non-affiliated young people. Gangs have been defined as cohesive groups of three or more individuals (Wood & Adler, 2001; Wood, 2006), usually, with a leader (Huff, 1996). They define themselves as members of it and when its existence is

recognised by at least one other (Brown, 2000). Gang members often continue to feel bound to their gangs (Pyrooz, Fox & Decker, 2010; Wood, 2006) and are thought to provide members with elements such as protection, support and loyalty (Wood, 2014). Also, it should not be defined by their involvement in delinquent activity (see Wood & Alleyne, 2010). Given this, in this study, gang membership was observed by letting young people identify three elements: their engagement with a group of individuals and its frequency of contact; their sense of protection; and their thought about other's perception towards them as a group. These elements were also used to discuss young people's involvement in gang membership in the Prisoner Gang Activity Questionnaire (see Wood et al., 2009). Young people who responded 'yes' to all these elements were considered as in gang and vice versa.

Psychological factors

Psychological factors include factors related to mental health. To explore this, this study measures young people's experiences prior to incarceration related to substance use and smoking, self-harm and admission to psychiatric hospital. Substance use and smoking factors are related to young people's experiences of taking any kind of substances and smoking persistently prior to incarceration as indicative of the presence or risk of either abuse or dependence (Chandler, Fletcher & Volkow, 2009; Mumola & Karberg, 2006). By including these factors, therefore, this study aims to observe how substance use affects the independent variable of bullying behaviour. Substances include any forms of drugs such as cocaine and crack cocaine, ketamine, ecstasy, amphetamine and methamphetamine. Some of the drugs are classified as hard narcotics, like heroin. Substances also include alcohol. Smoking can be considered as a form of recreational drug use. Tobacco smoking is the most popular form, being used by more than one billion people globally.⁷⁶ Cannabis and opium are less common drugs for smoking. Use of drugs, alcohol and smoking may or may not persist. Indeed, persistent consumption of these

⁷⁶ This information was obtained from <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs339/en/>

substances may lead to chronic addiction and serious health problems (Chandler et al., 2009; Mumola & Karberg, 2006). In this study, those who had experience of using any of these substances consistently (daily or weekly intake) were considered as having experience of substance use, and vice versa.

Another psychological factor measured by the study is self-harm. Self harm or deliberate self-harm is defined as the intentional injuring of one's own body without apparent suicidal intent (Pattison & Kahan, 1983; Klonsky, Oltmanns & Turkheimer, 2003). There are many different ways people can intentionally harm themselves, such as cutting or burning skin, punching or hitting themselves, poisoning themselves with tablets or toxic chemicals, and deliberately starving themselves. Individuals who engage in harming themselves are often reported as having personality disorders, paranoia, anxiety and generalised mistrust (Pattison & Kahan, 1983; Klonsky et al., 2003). In this study, young people who engaged in this behaviour before or during incarceration are considered as having experience of self-harm.

Additionally, young people's experiences of seeking psychiatric help can also be a useful indicator of their mental health. This variable includes experiences of getting formal psychiatric or mental health treatment or being admitted to psychiatric hospital. Individuals seek psychiatric help for many reasons including but not exclusively panic disorders, major depression, substance use disorder, suicidal behaviours, eating disorders and feelings of sadness, hopelessness, or anxiousness (Collins & Culbertson, 2003). To address these, psychiatrists use a variety of treatments including psychotherapy, medications, psychosocial interventions and other treatments (such as electroconvulsive therapy or ECT), depending on the needs of each patient (Collins, Holman, Freeman & Patel, 2006). In this study, young people who had experiences receiving any of these treatments or other treatments related to psychiatry are considered as having experience of mental health problems.

4.3.3 Institutional environmental factors

The framework within this study consists of a set of beliefs informed by the growing recognition of the role of institutional environments in influencing bullying behaviour. The concept of the 'institutional environment' is complex and multidimensional (Logan, 1993). As discussed in the Chapter 3, the institutional environment includes at least geographical or physical aspects and staff cultures. The physical aspects of the institutional environment and staff cultures are represented by four dimensions including 'power and control'; 'treatment and services'; 'security'; and 'staff-offender relationships'. These four dimensions have parallels with Liebling's five dimensions. Liebling (2004), in her study of values, quality and prison life, proposed five major dimensions of institutional environment including: 'harmony'; 'professionalism'; 'security'; 'conditions and 'family contact'; and 'wellbeing and development'. Given this, the explanation of institutional environment in this study is designed around these five dimensions.⁷⁷ All these dimensions are independent variables (or manipulated variables) that are hypothesized to influence the dependent variable, 'bullying behaviour'. In this study, therefore, the attempt to conceptualise and measure the institutional environment resonates with Liebling's concept of prison life.

Power and control

The 'power and control' variable is strongly related to aspects of authority. Authority often appears in the same context as the power concept (Poggi, 2006). It serves to create and maintain total (or almost total) social control (Sykes, 1958). Nonetheless, it does not need to be exercised in order to exist. Secure settings are central sites for the exercise of disciplinary power (Rhodes, 2001), in which power is centralized in the hands of the officers and delegated to staff members to exercise

⁷⁷ In this regard, the harmony dimension may be used to reflect staff-offenders relationships; the professionalism dimension may be used to reflect power and control factors; the security dimension may be used to reflect security factors; and the wellbeing and development as well as condition and family contact dimensions may be used to reflect treatment and services.

upon inmates. Officers or staff may have power in an institution through their ability to control inmates. They generally control young people through the accomplishment of order, achieved through multiple means, for example, the daily application of institutional rules, punishment or sanctions and procedures. Institutions historically have operationalised the pursuit of order in a coercive fashion (Stojkovic, 1986). The consistent use of coercion may generate minimal levels of perceived or attributed legitimacy under certain conditions (see Spark & Bottom, 1995; see also Carrabine, 2005). To understand 'power and control', this study focused on issues related to officer and staff competence in the use of authority and their role in exerting control over young people, and decision making by those in authority towards young people. All these issues can be explained by the 'professionalism' dimension proposed by Liebling (2004) with regard to the significance of authority as perceived and experienced by prisoners (Liebling, Hulley & Crewe, 2012). It consists of four indicators that can be used to reflect power and control in the institution: 'staff professionalism'; 'bureaucratic legitimacy'; 'fairness'; and 'organisation and consistency'. These indicators are believed to address the concept of 'power and control' in relation to this study.

Treatment and services

The 'treatment and service' variable relates to an environment that can help young people to address their offending behaviour and progress. In the institution, treatment and service are for the purpose of rehabilitation. Rehabilitation is one of the most important purposes of incarceration, deeply rooted in the idea that young people can be returned to the community as law abiding citizens (Phelps, 2011). In Malaysia, too, the objective when imposing an order on incarcerating young people should not be punitive. It aims primarily at helping young people to correct their behaviour and to become a productive and law-abiding member of society (UNICEF, 2013). To achieve this, institutions are responsible for providing appropriate treatments and services for young people. Therefore, young people are entitled to basic needs and adequate facilities for their own wellbeing in the institutions. They

are also entitled to access to treatments, programmes and activities that relate to behavioural and cognitive improvement. Young people have a right to maintain family relationships through visitation while incarcerated. All these aspects are believed to help in young people's rehabilitation (see Andrews & Bonta, 2010; see also Harding, 2014). To measure the 'treatment and services', therefore, it is necessary to understand the level and sources of institutional support for rehabilitation. Liebling (2004) has proposed two dimensions related to all the variable of 'treatment and services'. They are 'wellbeing and development' dimensions, and 'conditions and family contact' dimensions. The 'wellbeing and development' dimensions consist of four indicators that reflect 'treatment and services'; 'personal development', 'personal autonomy', 'well-being and feelings of distress'. The 'conditions and family contact' indicator can also be used with regard to 'treatment and services'. That is, it is related to the living conditions in an institution and opportunities to maintain family relationships. Indeed, all these indicators are useful to reflect young people's perceptions of their treatment and access to services in the context of this study.

Security

The 'security' variable is related to those aspects of an institution's environment concerned with the state of being free from or protected from danger and threat and which includes the role of staff in monitoring, regulating and enforcing the rules to facilitate a positive institutional environment (Sykes, 1958; Liebling, 2011b). A lack of supervision and control in institutions can lead to perceived insecurity among prisoners (Bottoms, 1999). In this study, the security variable is primarily used to reflect matters of 'supervision' and 'protection from threat and danger'. 'Threat and danger' may include the pressure of trade, allegiances, drugs and victimisation (Liebling, 2004). To understand the 'security' variable, therefore, the level of exposure to these dangers and threats is also considered in this study. Obviously, these aspects of security also relate to the security dimensions advanced by Liebling (2004). 'Security' has four dimensions that can be used to reflect those

aspects of security in the institution: 'staff supervision and control', 'feeling of security and protection', 'pressure in trade and allegiances', and 'drugs and exploitation'. Indeed, these four dimensions reflect the concept of 'security' in this study.

Staff-offender relationships

The 'staff-offender relationships' variable is related to the interpersonal and relational aspects of the institutional experience. In particular, this variable pertains to interactions between staff and young people as well as attitudes and supports towards young people by staff. Staff-offender relationships lie at the heart of the institutional system. Relationships characterized by trust, respect and fairness can help to maintain institutional stability by lessening the oppressive atmosphere (Crewe, Liebling & Hulley, 2015). Indeed, these characteristics are shaped by positive staff cultures. In contrast, a negative and disrespectful staff culture can lead to staff-offender relationships characterized by fear and loathing (Sim, 2007). Staff cultures are shaped by and shape environmental aspects of the organisation. Scholars agreed that staff are overcontrolled by bureaucratic imperatives and the cynicism among staff is a result of the difficulties of conforming to bureaucratic rules in day-to-day work and the impossibility of implementing managerial goals (Farmer, 1977; Crewe, 2009; Liebling, 2011a). Given this, it influences overall interactions between staff and young people, the use of authority by staff, treatment by staff, and notions of care. To understand 'staff-offender relationships', therefore, it is crucial to take all these environmental aspects into consideration. 'Staff-offender relationships' can be strongly related to the 'harmony' dimension proposed by Liebling (2004). This group of dimensions represent seven indicators that can be used to reflect staff-offender relationships in the institution: 'perceived treatment on entry'; 'respect'; 'supportive interactions'; 'value and humanity'; 'decency'; 'care and support'; and 'help and assistance'. All these indicators are able to reflect the concept of 'staff-offender relationships' in the context of this study.

4.3.4 Internal and external conditions

Bullying behaviour is a dependent variable that is hypothesised to be influenced by personal and environmental factors. Nonetheless, it is assumed that the relationships between these factors and bullying behaviours are influenced by third variables.⁷⁸ These variables are also expected to influence the continuation of bullying behaviours in the institution. Research suggests that individual offenders vary in the extent to which they respond to strain (Goffman, 1961; Agnew, 1992; Crewe, 2009). Some strained individuals turn to delinquency and some do not. Indeed, among those who do some eventually desist. These differences can be related to their choice of, or approach to, adaptation (Agnew, 1992). Cornish and Clarke (1986, p. 2) noted that involvement in misconduct behaviour refers to the process through which individuals initially choose to become involved in particular forms of crime, to continue and to desist. In other words, the individual is a choice maker (Hirschi, 1986); he or she makes conscious decisions to commit misconduct affected by perceptions of the availability or desirability of opportunities for committing delinquent acts which are outweighed by the prospects of being caught and punished for, in this case, bullying behaviour (Nagin & Poternoster, 1993; Simpson, Piquero, & Paternoster, 2002). Nonetheless, individuals' choice of adaptation(s) is constrained by a variety of internal and external conditions (Agnew, 1992). Conditions the actor takes into account in making choices are traditionally thought to be influenced by psychological and sociological circumstances, such as friendships and family supports (Cornish & Clarke, 2008). The pursuit of self-interests such as money, status, sex and excitement can also influence bullying

⁷⁸ Thirds variables can be related to internal and external conditions of one self. Internal conditions are related to psychological factors, that is, they refer to thought, feelings and other cognitive characteristics that affect behaviour and functions of one's mind. Based on theoretical discussions, internal conditions relate to self-coping, self-conception and stigmatization. Meanwhile, external conditions are related to circumstances or situations related to social aspects surrounding the individual. To be specific, it is related to the role of social interactions in influencing one's decisions and relations in their daily life. These variables may act either as suppressors, confounders, covariates, mediators, and moderators (MacKinnon, Krull & Lockwood, 2000).

decisions (Cornish & Clarke, 1987). These conditions can influence how people think and later affect their decisions and relations in their daily life.

It can be argued that the relationship between the different factors discussed and bullying behaviour and the continuation of bullying behaviour are influenced by one's decision that is itself affected by third variables i.e. internal and external conditions. Nonetheless, identifying a third variable is not an easy task (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2013). Third variables may be identified by understanding the role of decision making in bullying behaviour. However, it is difficult to transfer these matters into measurable variables. Rather, it is preferable to develop an understanding of these processes from the perspective of the subjects of the study (see Stryker, 1977). The role of decision-making may be best explored by learning from the stories of institutional communities. In particular, understanding decisions underpinning bullying may be best explored from the stories of young people who have had higher levels of involvement in bullying behaviours or bullies. It is also important to learn from the perspective of other subjects with different experiences i.e. victimized young people and staff members. Overall, the dynamics of decision making is useful to reflect third variables.

4.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter presented the research framework for researching institutional bullying and victimisation. By utilizing four theoretical perspectives and empirical review, this framework identifies important key concepts related to this study and depicts the relationships among these concepts. From this framework, it can be hypothesized that the prevalence of bullying and victimisation can be explained by factors related to personal characteristics including 'age', 'sex', 'ethnicity', 'length of the sentence', 'time spent in the institution', 'experience of imprisonment', 'type of offence', 'visitation', 'contact', 'experience of punishment inside the institution', 'gang membership', 'experience of substance use', 'experience of smoking', 'experience of self-harm' and 'admission to psychiatric hospital'. Also, factors

related to institutional environment i.e. 'power and control', 'treatment and services', 'security' and 'staff-offender relationships' can explain the prevalence of bullying and victimisation in the institution. All these personal and environmental factors are conceptualized and operationalized, and indeed these variables are measured empirically and quantitatively. As a dependent variable, likewise, bullying behaviours are measured quantitatively. The framework also considered the role of internal and external conditions as third variables in explaining the relationships between factors and bullying behaviours as well as the continuation of bullying behaviour. These conditions are conceptualized and they are best informed qualitatively.

To understand the phenomenon of bullying, clearly, this study attempts to understand all concepts included in this study by utilizing both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Concerning these two distinct approaches, therefore, this study, is informed by the philosophical position called critical realism discussed in the next chapter. Indeed, this philosophical position is used to specify methodological approaches in response to the research questions:

1. What is the extent of bullying behaviour and victimisation occurring among young people in juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia?
2. Do personal characteristics and institutional environments influence bullying behaviour among young people in juvenile justice institutions?
3. What can we learn from the perspective of young people and staff members about bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions?

5 RESEARCH METHOD

5.1 Introduction

The main methodological aim is to set out the underlying principles and rationale for researching the phenomenon of bullying and victimisation in secure settings. In particular, this chapter explains the approach taken and methods that were selected in order to answer the research questions. The chapter begins with a discussion of the research paradigm and the general perspective of the methodological approach in research based on secure settings. It proceeds to explain both quantitative and qualitative research designs used in this study, the sampling strategies and the measurement tools. Included in these discussions are changes that had to be made in carrying out the research and critical reflection on this. In order to describe the variety of research activities undertaken during this study, the data collection procedures are discussed alongside the ethical issues. An overview of techniques for data analysis is also presented in this chapter. Finally, the chapter concludes by elucidating the rationale for the methods used and their limitations.

5.2 Critical realism as the theoretical foundation of mixed-method research

To gain a better understanding of why and how I chose the methodological approach, an initial discussion considers the paradigm within which this study might be located. Paradigms are a central concept in social science research methodology. Guba and Lincoln (1994) defined the paradigm as a basic set of beliefs that are based on epistemological and ontological positions.⁷⁹ An interrelationship exists between these positions (Crotty, 1998) and, therefore, guides the way the

⁷⁹ Epistemology provides a philosophical background for deciding what kinds of knowledge are legitimate and adequate that includes two philosophical assumptions: positivism or post-positivism and interpretivism; meanwhile, ontology provides a philosophical background of the nature of existence positions: objectivism and constructionism (see Bryman, 2016).

researcher undertakes the research (Guba, 1990). Post-positivism⁸⁰ and interpretivism are two predominant epistemological paradigms in social research. Being objective is essential for post-positivists. They advocate that knowledge is developed based on careful observation and measurement of the objective reality that exists in the world. In contrast, interpretivism requires social scientists to construct meanings of social action as they engage with the world they are interpreting. In response to the research questions, in this study, I attempted to produce a more 'comprehensive' positioning of research findings by using both quantitative and qualitative approaches. In this regard, neither post-positivism nor interpretivism explains this position. Such an approach is more closely aligned with critical realistic approaches, which have recently been advocated as having potential to bridge the polarised positions of quantitative and qualitative approaches (see for example, Downward & Mearman, 2007; Denzin, 2010; Modell, 2009).

Critical realism is often seen as a middle way between empiricism and positivism on the one hand and interpretivism on the other and it maintains a strong emphasis on ontology (Zachariadis, Scott & Barrett, 2010). Sharing features with positivism, realism provides an account of the nature of scientific practice, in which social science can apply the same kinds approach to data collection. It rests on the assumption that there is an external reality to which scientists direct their attention. Empirical realism argues that objects (or events) have no structure or powers and they can be easily observed without any hidden characteristics (see Bhaskar, 2008). In other words, some scientists argue that complete decription of objects can be

⁸⁰ Post-positivism emerged as an alternative to positivism (or orthodox positivism). It represents the thinking after positivism, challenging the traditional notion of scientific inquiry (Phillips & Burbules, 2000). Positivists advocate the application of the method of the natural sciences to the study of social world, which science had to discover through empirical inquiry. However, this assumption has been strongly challenged by social scientists. It should be noted that it is a mistake to treat positivism, in the social science, as synonymous with science and the scientific. Therefore, since the early 60s, positivist paradigms were no longer holding up. Even the scientist has moved on in its thinking into an era of post-positivism.

obtained through direct observation (Santos, 1992). Unlike empirical realists, critical realists recognize that observable objects (the real) are causally generated from the complex interactions of mechanisms (the actual) and, indeed, direct observation alone does not give a complete description for the 'real' (see Sayer, 2000; see also, Collier 1994). The 'real' and the 'actual' as part of the critical realist ontology presuppose that not all the structures of the things that we experience may be in fact observable. Sayer (2000) argues that objects have the capacity to behave in particular ways and are susceptible to certain kinds of change due to structures and power (p. 11). In the case of the social world, the fundamental constituents of social powers are the constrained and emergent actions of persons who act within the context of a given set of institutions and structures. For example, secure settings have certain 'real' properties independent of individual actors (for example, young people culture, staff norms and institutional system and regulations) with the causal power to regularly generate diverse events (for example, adjustment patterns and young people's behaviour). However, how various actors conceive of and act on such conditioning influences follows less deterministic patterns as a result of the complex interplay between causal powers. To explain this causal mechanism, as aligned with post-positivism, theory is the primary medium through which researchers make sense of it (see Bhaskar, 1978, 1989). In this study, I utilised three theoretical concepts to explore the causal mechanisms at the outset and this is explained through the conceptual framework that has been discussed in the previous chapter. Assertions about two or more causal mechanisms or hypotheses were deduced from this framework. I then established an operational definition of variables and, therefore adopted numeric measures that make up the hypotheses. As a result, a quantitative approach was constructed. Miles and Huberman (1994) assert that the careful measurement, generalisable samples and statistical tools of quantitative studies are precious assets used to provide not only description of the population (descriptive statistics), but to makes inferences and predictions about population based on a sample of data taken (inferential statistics). Included in the inferential statistic is hypothesis testing. Note, however, that hypothesis testing in

quantitative research is never absolute, and it has minimal value in explaining the causal relationship in social research.

Empiricists argue that causation is the observation of a constant conjunction of an (observable) event (see Hume, 1967). This suggests that the transcendental realist model of science is applicable to explain causal mechanisms in the human worlds (Bhaskar, 1975). Durkheim (1982) saw this flaw, and argued that human worlds consisting of social facts, customs, belief systems, and social institutions should be considered as things or objects. As objects, therefore, consistent regularities that are only likely to arise under special circumstances in a 'closed system'⁸¹ can be applied to study humans and their social interactions. Nonetheless, these methods leave anything that remains unobservable like deeper structures and unexamined mechanisms. Interpretivists argue that human beings are conscious actors and they cannot be completely governed by external forces nor measured by chosen variables in the same way as the natural world. It requires social scientists to grasp the subjective meaning of social action in order to arrive at causal explanations (Weber, 1947, in Bryman, 2012). Using this 'open systems' approach, different outcomes can be produced for the same causal powers; however, these are far too complex (Zachariadis et al., 2010). Similar to interpretivism, critical realism recognises the need for an interpretive understanding of social action. Taking this interpretive stance can mean that the researcher goes beyond explanation, that is, from a position outside the particular social context being studied (Bryman, 2012). Indeed, this stance offers an 'open systems' condition which depends less on rules; it involves intense contact within a real-life setting so as to gain a holistic picture of the issue under study (see Miles & Huberman, 1994). To arrive at an understanding of the bullying and victimisation phenomenon in secure settings, this study

⁸¹ In the context of social science, 'closed systems' are considered as quantitative approaches. Quantitative approaches in social sciences advocate the same principles, procedures, and ethos of the natural science.

supplemented quantitative survey with qualitative in-depth interviewing approaches.

Some mixed-methods researchers hold onto a position of pragmatism (for example, Brewer & Hunter, 1989; Miller, 2006; Creswell & Clark, 2007; Feilzer, 2010). Pragmatism insists on treating research as a human experience that is based on the beliefs and actions of actual researchers, and not the 'paradigm argument'. As Morgan (2014) argues, the paradigm argument that posits quantitative and qualitative methods as opposed to each other does not fit within the context of mixed method study. The construction of these methods as opposites impedes critical thinking about developing and using ways of knowing capable of respecting the autonomy and subjectivity of the researched, at the same time as minimising bias, in creating an appropriate knowledge of phenomenon under study (Oakley, 1998; p. 724). The focus in mixed method research is on practical, procedural issues about how to combine the strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods rather than philosophical claims (Morgan, 2007). Indeed, this fits comfortably within pragmatism. As with pragmatism, researchers are free to choose the methods, techniques and procedures of research to undertake the problems. Nonetheless, the epistemological status of pragmatist thought is too vague to provide more ground rules to assess the validity of mixed-methods research (see Maxcy, 2003). Critical realism provides more clearly articulated ontological and epistemological premises than are found in many pragmatist approaches to mixed-methods research (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003; Zachariadis et al., 2010). It thus opens up the possibility of mobilising a wide range of theories and methods in producing valid knowledge claims. To arrive at both explanation and understanding, I took on the challenge of combining quantitative and qualitative approaches to investigate the complex phenomenon of bullying and victimisation in secure settings. The aim is not only to inform and supplement each data set (see Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), but also to advance findings and confirm hypothetical positions (see Howe, 1988). Gorski (2013) argued that a good causal explanation

depends less on the rules of logic than on our knowledge of structure. The discussion that follows will further elaborate and describe in detail how the paradigm and each methodological approach are implemented in this study.

5.3 Mixed methods in studies of secure settings

Proponents of mixed-methods research strive for an integration of quantitative and qualitative research strategies. The mixed-methods label in social sciences emerged in the spirit of triangulation⁸² (Campbell & Fiske, 1975; Campbell & Stanley, 1963). Triangulation implies a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches in the same study (Creswell & Clark, 2007). In recent years, the concept of mixed-methods research has been defined in a number of ways with different levels of specificity⁸³ and, indeed, different terms are used for this approach. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007) offer a broad definition of mixed-methods research; that is, mixed-methods research relies on quantitative (closed) and qualitative (open-ended) approaches, considering multiple viewpoints, data collection, analysis and inference techniques. In other words, it combines both quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate phenomena within a single project (Bryman, 2012). It should include at least one quantitative method and one qualitative method (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989). Generally, a mixed method research design is chosen because of its advantages in minimizing the limitations of each approach. Quantitative research can lead to new and unexpected social patterns, but it produces a limited amount of explanatory data. Qualitative research has significant strengths in producing rich and holistic data, where quantitative research is weak. As a result, numerous scholars throughout the social sciences have advocated a mixed-methods approach and argued its advantages (for example, Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

⁸² The idea of triangulation is closely attributed to the pioneering work of Donald Campbell. He described 'the isolation of quantitative and qualitative methods as an unhealthy division of labour' (1984, p. 13).

⁸³ There are 19 definitions of 'mixed-method' discovered from 31 leading mixed methods research methodologists (see Johnson et al., 2007).

Some criminal justice and criminology researchers have used mixed-methods designs in attempts to understand the complex phenomena of secure settings (for example, Toch, 1977; Akers, Hayner & Gruninger, 1977; O'Donnell & Edgar, 1998; Ross, Liebling & Tait, 2011; Liebling & Arnold, 2012). Note, however, that this approach remains under-appreciated and under-utilised in contemporary criminological research. Studying crime and justice phenomena has generally involved choosing one approach or the other. Over the last 40 years, the quantitative approach has established clear dominance within criminology's methodological infrastructure, thus establishing qualitative research as a minority approach in the field (Tewksbury, Dabney & Copes, 2010). In fact, survey research dominates the field of criminology and criminal justice (Kleck, Tark & Bellows, 2006). Some have argued that quantitative methods offer the most plausible means of constructing and evaluating theories and, therefore, make the most significant contributions to the field of criminal justice and criminology (for example, DiCristina, 1997; Worrall, 2000). Additionally, some agree that statistical techniques can eliminate any confounding influences and better assess cause-and-effect relationships among variables (for example, Sayer, 1992; Maruna, 2010). In this regard, most of the current studies which have emphasised the cause of a behavioural outcome in secure settings have gravitated towards quantitative techniques (for example, Griffin & Hepburn, 2006; Lahm, 2008; Allison & Ireland, 2010; Ireland & Power, 2013; Worrall & Morris, 2012; Steiner & Wooldredge, 2013; Wiklund et al., 2014). As a result, qualitative approaches remain secondary in terms of perceived significance. However, qualitative research has left its mark through observation or ethnographic studies as well as case studies (for example, Liebling, 2004; Maruna, Wilson & Curran, 2006; Crewe, 2009; Crewe et al., 2011).

In this study, I advance an analysis of bullying and victimisation in secure settings by utilising a mixed-methods design. A mixed-methods design may produce different data sources that lead to heterogeneous results and, therefore, contribute to elevating the validity of the research. On this basis, if what the researcher has seen

through the survey is confirmed by what young people tell the researcher in self-completion questionnaires, and this in turn can be verified by what is gleaned from interviews, then the researcher can have considerable confidence in the validity of the findings (see King, 2000). By embracing a mixed-methods framework, I attempted to utilise a sequential mixed-methods design to address the following research questions:

1. What is the extent of bullying behaviour and victimisation occurring among young people in juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia?
2. Do personal characteristics/experiences and institutional environments influence bullying behaviour among young people in juvenile justice institutions?
3. What can we learn from the perspective of young people and staff members about bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions?

5.4 Explanatory sequential mix-methods design

Conveying the nature of the research questions, therefore, provides direction and focus to the respective components of the quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis that occur in sequence. Researchers can use three basic mixed-methods designs in mixed-methods research. The sequential explanatory design is highly popular among mixed-methods researchers (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann & Hanson, 2003). Explanatory sequential designs occur when the analysis of one type of data provides a basis for the collection of another type of data (Creswell, 2015). The purpose of this design is to give priority to the quantitative data collection and analysis in the study (Ivankova, Creswell & Stick, 2006). The intent is to have qualitative data provide more depth and more insight into quantitative results (Creswell, 2015). Unlike convergent designs, sequential designs are easy to achieve because one database builds on the other and the data collection can be spaced out over time. In other words, the data collection proceeds in two distinctive but interactive phases in a single study. In this study, the initial phase involved the collection and analysis of quantitative data through a survey.

The subsequent phase is more tightly focused, involving further collection and analysis of data with a number of individuals who participated in the initial survey. The key idea of this subsequent phase is to build directly on the quantitative survey results. That is, the quantitative results are used to plan the qualitative follow-up in terms of the issues for further discussion (e.g. significant result-relating variables), research sites and participants. Note, however, that the aim is not just to illustrate the findings from the survey and plan for the second phase of the study, but rather to clarify, elaborate upon and enhance the findings. To be clear, the next section provides an explanation of both the quantitative survey and the qualitative in-depth interview and explains how these methods are used.

5.4.1 Quantitative phase: cross-sectional survey and questionnaires

In the first phase of the study, I focused on addressing the research questions that are best answered using a quantitative research method. This involves estimates for the phenomenon under study and explains the relationships between variables using empirical observations and measures. Using quantitative approaches, first, this study seeks to investigate the extent of bullying behaviour and victimisation in eight Malaysian juvenile justice institutions. This involved estimates for the volume of direct and indirect forms of bullying and victimisation, including six different forms of bullying and victimisation i.e. physical, verbal, psychological, sex-related, theft-related and indirect. Secondly, this study investigates 15 personal characteristics/experiences and 21 institutional environment dimensions, and their influence on bullying behaviour. To answer these questions, it involved descriptive and correlative explanations. Indeed, they are best explained through a survey design. Surveys involve the collection and quantification of data;⁸⁴ that is, they involve systematic observation or systematic interviewing to describe a natural population (DeVaus, 2002; Sapsford, 2007). This permits the collection and analysis

⁸⁴ Unlike census which generally implies an enumeration of the entire population, surveys typically examine a sample from population.

of data at either one point in time (cross-sectional surveys) or over time (longitudinal surveys). Scholars have argued that the survey has the ability to make numerical descriptive assertions about a population (Hirschi, 1986; Fowler, Jr., 1993) as well as to make explanatory assertions about relationships between variables (Blaikie, 2003; Bryman, 2016). Also, the procedures used in conducting a survey have a major effect on the likelihood that the resulting data will describe accurately what they are intended to describe (Fowler, Jr., 1993). To address the questions, in this study, I conducted a cross-sectional survey and self-completion questionnaires were selected as the data collection method.

The self-completion questionnaire is the most common method of collecting survey data. It consists of a list of questions or statements, each with a set of possible answers (Bryman, 2016). Respondents answer questions by completing the questionnaire themselves. Scholars have argued that self-completion and self-report questionnaires provide a more accurate picture of the true number of offences committed and that this method may be superior to the official records in measuring misconduct behaviour⁸⁵ (Farrington, 1973; Blackmore, 1974; Farrington, 2001). As compared to the personal interview and observation, the self-report questionnaire works better when a question carries the possibility of bias⁸⁶ (Sudman & Bradburn, 1982) or encompasses sensitive issues (Tourangeau & Smith, 1996). In a self-report questionnaire, participants avoid any potentially embarrassing social interactions that might manifest during an interview (Krumpal, 2013), and thus they are more likely to produce an unbiased response. Observational methods may also produce bias when important factors are not

⁸⁵ It is argued that official records have shortcomings. Hirschi (1986) argue that, frequent offenders may tend to underreport their delinquency behaviour because the individual acts are so commonplace that they are not salient in the offenders' memories.

⁸⁶ In this context, bias can be related to socially desirable responding; that is the tendency for participants to present a favourable image of themselves. Also, this bias is most likely to occur in responses to socially sensitive questions.

recorded due, for example, to the Hawthorne effect⁸⁷ or the loss of objectivity.⁸⁸ Such circumstances can yield incorrect conclusions (Rosenbaum, 1991). These errors are reduced by using self-report questionnaires. Self-report may produce biased reports; nonetheless, carefully designed question formats and wording can substantially improve response accuracy (van de Mortel, 2008). Apart from this, the self-report questionnaire is useful to identify predictors of behaviour as well as to distinguish between various groups of offenders or levels of offending behaviour (Sapsford, 2007; Thornberry & Krohn, 2000). At the same time, the self-report questionnaire is appropriate in establishing cause-and-effect relationships in understanding behaviours. It draws inferences about causation and patterns of influence from systematic co-variation in the resulting data (Marsh, 1982; Sapsford, 2007). Thus, a number of current studies have used self-report questionnaires to examine the relationship between social properties and bullying behaviour in secure settings (Allison & Ireland, 2010; Archer & Southall, 2009; Arsenaault, Bowes & Shakoor, 2009; Ireland et al., 2016). In this study, a set questionnaire was used, consisting of two self-report instruments i.e. Direct & Indirect Prisoner Checklist - Scaled Version (DIPC-SCALED_r) and Measuring Quality of Life in the Prison (MQPL), and participants' personal information. Using these questionnaires, the information collected from young people contributed to answering the research questions. Aiming for generalization, in this cross-sectional survey, I employed a random sampling technique. Indeed, this technique is an effective way to obtain figures from samples which will be representative of populations and to identify differences or relationships between groups (see Sapsford, 2007).

⁸⁷ This is related to participants' awareness of being observed. When participants know they are being watched they may act differently.

⁸⁸ This is related to participant observation; when the researcher becomes too involved they may lose objectivity and become biased.

5.4.2 Qualitative phase: in-depth interviewing

In the qualitative phase, I sought to maximise the interpretation of data by exploring the initial outcomes from the survey in greater depth. The goal is not just to answer the research questions, but also to provide stronger inferences. Liebling (2014) argued that quantitative surveys are both time-bound and restrictive, forcing participants into fixed choice categories that leave no room for elaboration. Although quantitative approaches provide statistical estimates of the strength of associations between specified variables, they do not by themselves demonstrate causality (Jupp, 1989). Employing a qualitative approach frees a researcher from a single method approach, thus increasing the ability to accurately answer a wider range of research questions. In this subsequent phase, I sought to address research objectives that are open-ended, evolving and non-directional. In relation to the survey study, firstly, this phase aimed to provide in-depth exploration of the extent of bullying and victimisation in secure settings, emphasizing the dynamic experiences of young people involved in bullying and victimisation. Included in this exploration were the reactions of and the role played by institutional staff in responding to and addressing bullying and victimisation in secure settings. Secondly, this phase sought to explore why certain personal and environmental factors tested in the survey significantly predicted bullying behaviour. This enabled the researcher to explore in greater depth the processes by which the relationship occurs. Indeed, these objectives involved an extended discussion of the quantitative findings about the extent of bullying and victimisation in the institution. The aim was to produce a fuller understanding of the complexity of this phenomenon. As Erzberger and Kelle (2003) argue, the varying perspectives opened up by different methods may supplement each other so as to produce a fuller picture of the empirical domain under study. Adopting a qualitative method strategy, I collected data using the in-depth interview technique to accomplish these objectives.

Interviewing is one of the most commonly recognised forms of qualitative research. Interviewing is a basic mode of inquiry that is based in conversation (Kvale, 1996),

with an emphasis on researchers asking questions and listening and respondents answering (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). At the root of interviewing is an interest in understanding individuals' stories of their lived experiences (Seidman, 2006). Unlike the observation technique, the interviewing technique allows the researcher to work with participants directly. That is, it allows researchers to enter into individuals' perspective and gather their stories. If given a chance to tell their stories, individuals can reveal many insights, including those things that cannot be observe (Heron, 1981; Patton, 2002). For a number of reasons, criminological studies involve interviewing. That is, they involve interviewing persons who are incarcerated and work in secure settings. One clear reason for interviewing people in secure settings is to allow them to give voice to their own interpretations and thoughts on any aspect of the complex problem of behaviour and lived experiences. In particular, interviewing young people about their incarceration experience may reflect and reveal something of the complexities of life in the institution. Their voices might be effectively harnessed to break the relative silence surrounding life in prison (Liebling, 2004; Bosworth et al., 2005; Schlosser, 2008). In relation to this, a number of studies have discovered that the interview approach can be used successfully to understand prisoners' perspectives (for example, Crewe, 2009; Douglas, Plugge & Fitzpatrick, 2009) as well as staff perspectives (for example, Liebling, Price & Shefer, 2010; Bond & Gammel, 2014) and the perspective of institutional society holistically (for example, Liebling, Price & Elliot, 1999). Also, scholars have found that the interview provides useful information concerning the nature of behaviour among young people in secure settings (for example, Connell & Farrington, 1996; Sekol, 2013). This is due to the rich descriptions and detailed explanations of the nature of phenomena that is at least unavailable to in the quantitative approach (Connell & Farrington, 1996).

In this qualitative phase, I was concerned to generate detailed information about participants' thoughts and behaviours by exploring what was in and on their mind. Also, I attempted to articulate the multiple perspectives on, in this context, the

bullying phenomenon in secure settings. In-depth interviewing offers significant advantages for these purposes. At the heart of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience (Seidman, 2006). Conducted with real-life members, in-depth interviews can produce deep understanding and allows the researcher to articulate the multiple views of the phenomenon under study (Johnson, 2001). To achieve this, a series of open-ended questions were developed based on the survey findings and guided by Patton's (2002) recommendations. Questions related to behaviour, opinions, feelings, knowledge, sensory data and demographics. All questions were structured to be simple and understandable. Using words that make sense to participants increases clarity and in turn improves the quality of data generated by the interview (Patton, 2002). Focusing on priorities for inquiry, questions were ordered in sequence (Patton, 2002).

To obtain a rounded perspective, the in-depth interview was conducted not only with young people, but also with institutional staff members. In the context of studies in secure settings, the success of any research conducted within the secure setting depends very basically upon the mutual cooperation of the researcher and each of the correctional personnel, from commissioner to guard, with whom the researcher is working (Newman, 1958). Therefore, both young people and staff members can be significant guides to, or even sources of, valuable data. Reflecting on the experience of both prisoners and staff destabilises the primacy usually given to the aims and objectives of the researcher and establishes instead a deeper appreciation of the myriad ways that participants help structure qualitative findings (Bosworth et al., 2005). To improve the quality of data obtained during interview, in addition, I considered further strategies for sourcing participants. The aim was to select key informants or individuals who can generate relevant information or knowledge in relation to the research objectives. As Patton (2002) argued, 'the quality of the information obtained during interview is largely dependent on the

interviewer' (p. 341). Therefore, it is absolutely essential to plan the selection of informants for this study.

5.5 Research participants

This section discusses how the research participants and study sample were selected for this study. As this study combines quantitative and qualitative research methods, I applied a different sampling strategy and sampling size for the different methods. The difference in sampling strategies between quantitative surveys and qualitative in-depth interviews is due to the different goals of each approach. Choosing a study sample is an important step in any research project since it is rarely practical and efficient to study a whole population. In a quantitative research context, the population can be defined as the entire set of individuals to which findings of the study are to be extrapolated (Gray, 2014; Bryman, 2016). Meanwhile, in the context of qualitative study, a population is every possible person who could be interviewed for the study (David & Sutton, 2004). The individual members of the population whose characteristics are to be measured or interviewed are called elementary units (Levy & Lemeshow, 1999). The primary aim of this study was to investigate the bullying and victimisation phenomenon in Malaysian juvenile justice institutions. The population in both studies consisted of children and young people ages 12 to 21 years who are placed in a juvenile institution. Since 2008, more than 3,000 children and young people have been incarcerated in juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia (Department of Prison Malaysia, 2010). Note, however, that it is often impracticable to obtain information concerning every member of the population. Under these circumstances, it seems natural to choose a sample of individuals and to draw conclusions concerning the whole population from a study of the sample (Conway, 1967). Therefore, sampling methods were applied to obtain elementary units from the population. Virtually all research involves investigating some aspect of a population by measuring a sample. A sample is a subset of the population (Bailey, 2008). In quantitative studies, the sample should be representative of the population from which it is drawn. One key

to choosing an adequate sample is the sample size (Lenth, 2001). While quantitative studies strive for a large, representative sample, qualitative studies often involve a smaller sample. In fact, it is not necessary for qualitative sampling to be representative. To obtain a satisfactory sample size, it is important to employ an appropriate sampling method that uses an unbiased and robust frame.

5.5.1 Participants for the survey study

The aim of all quantitative sampling approaches is to draw a representative sample from the population, so that the results of studying the sample can be generalised to the whole population. To achieve this, probability sampling techniques were used. These techniques provide non-zero and equal chances for all young people to be selected. It ensures a high degree of representativeness since, by using this procedure, each element in the population has a known and equal probability of selection (Lohr, 2010). Thus, it is highly likely to lead to unbiased estimates of the population as compared with nonprobability sampling techniques (Levy & Lemeshow, 1999; Blaikie, 2010), which may lead to non-representative results regarding young people as a whole.

Sample size

The elementary unit for this study was young people in Malaysian juvenile justice institutions. As discussed earlier, sample size is a pivotal issue in statistical studies. Some scholars have argued that larger samples more accurately represent the characteristics of the populations from which they are derived (Marcoulides, 1993). Thus, the use of larger samples decreases estimation sampling error and narrows the sampling distribution, thereby increasing the power of the results (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996; van Voorhis & Morgan, 2007). Using Cochran's (1977) formula, Bartlett, Kotrlik and Higgins (2001) estimated a sample size between 83 and 570 for a population size between 2,000 and 4,000. According to Krejcie and Morgan (1970), approximately 340 participants are required for a survey sample to be considered representative of the views of a population of 3,000. For Tabachnick and Fidell

(1996), 300 cases is a good general rule of thumb for statistical analysis. Additionally, studies on secure settings have used a sample size of 200 to 300 to measure prisoners' behaviour (for example, Hochstetler & Delisi, 2005; Ireland & Qualter, 2008; Lynam, Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2008). Consistent with these estimate sample sizes, I decided to sample 300 participants for my survey study. During the fieldwork, data from 294 participants were obtained; nonetheless, due to the incomplete self-reports, only 289 participants involved in the analysis and presented in the findings.

Eligibility criteria

Before describing the sampling strategy, it is important to formulate the inclusion and exclusion criteria for participation in a study.⁸⁹ In this respect, however, care must be taken so as not to overly restrict participants in the study, which could raise serious scientific and ethical issues (Loue, 2000). The Malaysian Child Act 2001 defines a young offender as a person who is between 12 to 18 years old. Meanwhile, the Malaysian Prison Act 1995 defines a young prisoner as a person who is below 21 years of age, whether convicted or not, under confinement in a secure setting and in relation to a convicted prisoner, includes a prisoner released on parole (Interpretation, 2:1). Guided by this act, this study included male and female young people between the ages of 12 and 21 years old that were placed in secure settings in Malaysia. This means that young people were included if they were placed in any kind of institutions established under the Child Act 2001, including prisons, approved schools or probation hostels, and their ability to leave the institution is restricted. They may be convicted young people or untried young

⁸⁹ In formulating inclusion and exclusion criteria – who should be permitted to participate and who should not participate - I considered first the scientific goals of the study. Defining the inclusion and exclusion criteria is important so as to increase the likelihood of producing reproducible results, minimizes the likelihood of harm to the subjects, guards against exploitation of vulnerable people and maintains the research ethics. By setting up the baseline set of standard, it helps me to select the most suitable participants and eliminate candidates whose safety and ethical protection cannot be assured.

people who are detained pending judicial action (for example, arraignment or trial). An exclusion criterion in this survey study was young people with severe physical and mental health conditions, including serious injuries and serious psychiatric problems. The rationale for excluding these groups is to ensure that the study presents no more than minimal risk and no more than inconvenience to the participants. Obviously, young people with serious physical injuries have no ability to participate in the survey, and therefore they were excluded in this study. Young people with minor physical injuries, however, were still eligible to participate in this study. Young people with severe mental health were also excluded in this study. The literature on exclusion criteria indicates that a large proportion of individuals with psychiatric problems are excluded from research, and the exclusion aims to protect participant safety and ensure internal validity of the study (see Moberg & Humphreys, 2016). Evidence shows that many common types of studies pose risk when conducted with this population (see Yanos, Stanley & Greene, 2009). In this case, it was necessary to identify these groups by consulting with appropriate experts, including penology experts, medical practitioners and other professionals available in the institution before making decisions regarding the sampling frame. Also, young people on parole were excluded in this study because they are unreachable. The exclusion of all these groups was confirmed after consulting experts in the field as well as institutional personnel during the pilot study.⁹⁰

Two-stage sampling

In conducting sample surveys, it is often not feasible to sample the elementary units directly. This is because lists of elementary units from which the sample can be taken are not readily available (Levy & Lemeshow, 1999). In this study, I took a

⁹⁰ There is no information available about these groups of young people. However, the exclusion of these groups was confirmed after consulting institutional personnel during the pilot study. In the institution, offenders are subjected to the authority of administration. To protect and control young people, the administration, even not fully, has the right to comment on the exclusion of young people. However, in this study, the decision to include and exclude participants was not influenced by the administration authority.

sample of young people within selected juvenile institutions rather than selecting from all juvenile justice institutions. Thus, I drew the sample in two stages: a first stage of sampling in which institutions were randomly selected and a second stage of sampling in which the elementary units were sampled within each institution. To accomplish this, a list or sampling frame should be available from which the sample can be selected in both stages. Therefore, a different sampling frame and sampling technique was used at each stage of the sampling. The sampling frame for the first stage was the list of juvenile institutions included in this study. Included in this frame were 11 approved schools and 11 probation hostels under the authority of the Welfare Department). In this case, I took a simple random sample of a number of institutions. To cover a number of participants, I considered random samples of eight institutions. In this study, therefore, eight institutions were involved.

The sampling frame for the second stage was the list of young people within each institution. Note, however, that the listing units of young people available for sampling were not the same for each institution. In this situation, I took a random sample, approximately 30% (between 20 to 60 participants) of all admission records, for the purposes of estimating the total number of young people in each institution. To obtain the required sample, a repeated systematic sampling technique was applied. This technique is a modified approach to systematic sampling that allows the researcher to take a sample in every 'nth' from a listing unit in each institution by considering variances in the estimates. The 'nth' was determined by using a specific formula ($nth = \frac{\text{number of required sample size}}{\text{total number of listing units}}$) (see Levy & Lemeshow, 1999). This produces estimates of variances for totals, means and proportions that are unbiased regardless of the kind of ordering or periodicity in the frame from which samples are drawn (Levy & Lemeshow, 1999). Additionally, this technique does not require knowledge of the total number of sampling units in the population, and so the sampling can be performed at the same time that the sampling frame is being compiled. As a result, in this survey study, data from 294 participants were obtained from eight selected

juvenile institution. Nonetheless, data from five participants were incomplete and excluded in the analysis. Thus, only 289 participants were included in the analysis.

5.5.2 Participants for in-depth interviews

The purposeful selection of participants represents a key decision point in qualitative study (Creswell, 1998). In qualitative studies, researchers typically focus in depth on relatively small samples, even single cases (Patton, 2002). The sample is generally selected purposefully, in which researchers rely on their own judgment when choosing members of population to participate in the study (McCracken, 1988; Patton, 2002). In this study, I focused on intentionally selecting participants that will provide the most information for the phenomenon bullying and victimisation in secure settings. Purposive sampling can be very useful for this purpose. This sampling strategy involves selecting participants based on a specific purpose rather than randomly (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Scholars have argued that purposive sampling leads to greater depth of information from a smaller number of carefully selected cases (for example, Creswell, 1998; Kuzel, 1999; Patton, 2002; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). In this qualitative study, therefore, I employed a purposive sampling technique to maximise the depth and richness of the data.

Sample size

An appropriate sample size for a qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research questions. As Sandelowski (1995, p. 179) stated, 'a common misconception about sampling in qualitative research is that numbers are unimportant in ensuring the adequacy of a sampling strategy'. Methodologists have suggested guidelines for selecting samples in qualitative studies. In general, sample size in qualitative research should be small and it may simply include single case (Baxter & Jack, 2008). An extremely large number of articles, book chapters and books recommend guidance and suggest anywhere from 5 to 50 participants as adequate (Dworkin, 2012). Bertaux (1981) argued that 15 is the smallest acceptable sample size in qualitative research. Meanwhile, Creswell's (1998) ranges were a

little different. He recommended between 5 and 25 interviews for a phenomenological study. Warren (2002) recommended that the minimum number of participants needed for an interview-based qualitative study is between 20 and 30. Reflecting the suggested guidelines for selecting a sample, 16 to 30 of the young people who participated in the survey study in the initial phase were sampled to participate in the in-depth interview. As a result, in this study, 24 young people were interviewed from two selected juvenile institutions. Also, the data were further enriched by carrying out interviews with institution staff. Therefore, eight institutional staff were selected to participate in the interview study.

Typical and maximum-variation purposive sampling techniques

Similar to the survey study, the sampling plan for in-depth interviews involved two stages. It began with selecting the settings or institutions, which was followed by selecting the participants (both young people and institutional personnel). The options for case selection in mixed-methods sequential explanatory design often includes exploring a few typical cases or following up with outlier or extreme cases (Morse, 1991; Caracelli & Green, 1993; Creswell, 2005; Ivankona et al., 2006). Using the logic of typical sampling, therefore, I selected two juvenile institutions as study cases. To involve both male and female young people, in particular, I selected one male institution and one female institution. Typical case sampling is used in selecting institutions that can provide 'a normal distribution of characteristics from which to identify 'average-like' cases' (Patton, 2002, p. 236). To identify typical cases, I used information obtained from the survey data. I explored the distribution of data of bullying and victimisation among samples by using Predictive Analytics SoftWare (PASW, formerly known as SPSS). To do so, first, data was separated into each institution involved. Using the plot analysis, a histogram of the distribution of the data of young people involved in bullying for each institution was produced. Then, each histogram was compared to a normal probability curve (a bell-curve). When a histogram's shape approximates a bell-curve it suggests that the data may have come from a normal population. Institutions that indicated the most normally

distributed histogram were selected as cases for the qualitative study.⁹¹ In other words, institutions that reported the most equal distribution of young people with higher involvement in bullying and lower involvement were selected. One male institution and one female institution were selected. These typical institutions provided not only rich-informant cases but also average cases. This helped me to capture and describe bullying phenomenon across a great deal of variation (see Patton, 2002), in particular, across groups involved in bullying.

After selecting the institutions, participants from the two institutions were selected. Concerning young people, four groups had been identified from the survey study; pure bullies, pure victims, bully-victims and casual-involvement. To gain the perspective from different groups, young people from all these groups were involved in the qualitative interviews. Therefore, two to three participants from each group were selected by using maximal variation sampling strategy. This strategy allows for eliciting multiple perspectives based on experience (see Creswell, 2005). The goal was to adequately capture and describe the heterogeneous experience of bullying and victimisation. To achieve this, I created a matrix in which each young person in the sample was as different as possible from others using personal characteristics such as 'time spent in the institution', 'experience of punishment inside the institution', 'involvement in gang membership', and 'experience of self-harm'. Seidman (2006) suggested that maximum variation sampling provides the most effective basic strategy for selecting participants for interview studies. The purpose here is to ensure that the conclusions adequately represent the entire range of variation, rather than only the typical members or a subset of this range (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Similar to young people, staff were also sampled through maximum variation purposive sampling to participate in the in-depth interview. Studies on prison staff have found

⁹¹ Two institutions were selected, comprising one male institution and one female institution. To select male institution, sample distributions were compared only among male institutions. Likewise, this was done to select female institution.

that significant patterns emerge from samples with significant variation (i.e. Kenning et al., 2010). Also, Patton (2002) argued that when selecting a small sample of great diversity, the data collection will yield high-quality findings which are useful for documenting uniqueness. Nonetheless, planning this requires considerable knowledge. Since the staff members were not involved in the initial survey study, I developed relevant knowledge so as to generate a sampling frame for further selection. To achieve this, I consulted with members of the institution administration to generate information about the staff. This enabled me to selecting informants, who were more likely to provide meaningful information in relation to the research questions. To maximize the variation, I created a matrix in which each person in the sample was as different as possible from others using personal backgrounds such as 'age', 'gender', 'time in service' and 'role within the institution'.

5.6 Measurements

This section introduces the instruments used in this research. As mentioned earlier, two instruments were used: Direct and Indirect Prison Behaviour Checklist Revised Version (DIPC-SCALED_r, ©Ireland, 2007), and Measuring the Quality of Prisoner Life (MQPL, Liebling, 2004). DIPC-SCALED_r and MQPL are established self-administered questionnaires that are available in English versions. Since this study was conducted with a Malaysian population, all instruments were translated into the Malaysian language by using a back-translation process with bilingual expert panels. Also, to confirm the reliability and validity of these instruments, a pilot study was conducted; the results are presented in this section. In addition to these two questionnaires described below, the participants were asked for their personal information, including 'age', 'ethnic', 'current sentence length', 'current offense', 'total length of time spent in secure settings' and so on (see Appendix 1, Part 1).

5.6.1 Bullying and Victimization

The amount of bullying experienced is measured in a variety of ways. As mentioned earlier, studies on bullying are significantly influenced by school-based research; therefore, many of the measures on bullying have been adopted on school-based criteria. One predominant measure of bullying is the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire. This questionnaire has a clear spatial reference, asking about various aspects of bullying/victim problems in the school setting. In fact, it has strong reliability, with Cronbach's alpha of .88 (Solberg & Olweus, 2003). Similar to this, a number of bullying scales, including the Illinois Bully Scale (Espelage & Holt, 2001), the Adolescent Peer Relation Instrument (Parada, 2000) and the Modified Peer Nomination Inventory (Perry, Kusel & Perry, 1988), have also shown high consistency in measuring bullying and victimisation. However, these school-based self-report questionnaires might not be appropriate for investigating bullying among youth in a forensic setting. In 1996, Connell and Farrington developed an interview-based questionnaire to investigate bullying and victimisation among incarcerated young offenders. This questionnaire was developed as an alternative to school-based bullying measures, which provided unclear results on institutional bullying. Interestingly, the survey was constructed for use in a structured interview. Based on the preliminary results of two pilot studies, this questionnaire can be used effectively to measure bullying and victimisation in a penal context (Connell & Farrington, 1996, 1997). Nonetheless, this tool provides unclear results with respect to its validity due to its limited application in further research. Moreover, the use of 'bullying' in this questionnaire provides only a vague definition of bullying in the context of this study. As Beck and Smith (1995, in Ireland, 2002c) suggested, the behavioural measures that avoid the term bullying have produced much higher victim and bully estimates than other methods.

Some studies have used aggression-related self-reports to measure prisoner assaults in secure settings (for example, Archer, Ireland & Power, 2007; Lahm, 2008; Delisi et al., 2010). One of the most useful instruments in forensic settings is the

Buss Perry Aggression Questionnaire. This instrument was developed to measure peer nominations of the various kind of aggression (Buss & Perry, 1992). Studies have found that the total scores on the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire are correlated with the perpetration of a greater number of all types of bullying behaviours (for example, Archer & Haigh, 1997; Ireland & Archer, 2004; Palmer & Tharkordas, 2005; Diamond & Magaletta, 2006; Ireland & Culpin, 2006). Nonetheless, this scale does not account for victimisation elements. On the other hand, other studies have attempted to use the self-report measure on victimisation to investigate the nature of violence and abuse in secure settings (for example, O'Donnell & Edgar, 1998; Palmer & Farmer, 2002; Edgar et al., 2003). O'Donnell and Edgar (1998) developed a self-completion questionnaire which primarily dealt with a offender's personal experience of being victimised by others in custody. This questionnaire emerged so as to explore the pathway leading to assault, robbery, threats of violence, name-calling, cell theft and exclusion (Edgar & O'Donnell, 1998). All six discrete types of victimisation emerged to clarify the concept of bullying (Edgar et al., 2003). Nonetheless, self-reports emphasise only victimisation experiences without taking into account the bullying attitude. Although some of the instruments can be used simultaneously, they provide inconsistent results regarding the bullying phenomenon. Therefore, it was important to adopt the most reliable measure that covered a wide range of both bullying and victimisation elements.

Direct and Indirect Prisoner Behaviour Checklist – Scaled Version Revised (DIPC-SCALEDr)

One measure used extensively to study both perpetration and victimisation among a forensic population is the DIPC (© Ireland, 1998 in Ireland 2007). The DIPC is an instrument that incorporates a modified version of a behavioural checklist by Beck and Smith (1995, in Ireland, 2007) and the Indirect Victimisation Index (Ireland, 1997, in Ireland, 2007). That is, it was developed specifically to measure bullying and victimisation in the context of secure settings, without mentioning the term 'bullying'. DIPC use a 'dichotomous' response. To date, the DIPC, including DIPC-R

and DIPC-SCALED, has been used extensively in prison research (for example, Grennan & Woodhams, 2007; Archer & Southall, 2009; Holland, Ireland & Muncer, 2009; Turner & Ireland, 2010). The DIPC-R is a revised version of the DIPC primarily intended to assess the absence of a number of discrete behaviours indicative of being bullied or victimised in the forensic setting. Unlike the original DIPC, the DIPC-R (© Ireland, 2002c). includes the concept of coercive aggression as a specific subtype. In fact, it includes a wider range of behaviour than the original DIPC. At the beginning, I decided to use this revised version of DIPC to measure bullying and victimisation among young people. The pilot study was conducted on 17 young people in one Malaysian juvenile institution. However, this checklist was found to be less practical in the context of the Malaysian institution where the participants tended to answer 'yes' to all questions. As an alternative, it is necessary to identify the degree or frequency of their involvement in such behaviour. I discovered a scale version of DIPC, DIPC-SCALEDr (© Ireland, 2007). This scale measures the frequency of each activity (i.e. never, rarely, sometimes, often or always) during the previous month respectively. Unlike DIPC and DIPC-R, this scale allows the exploration of individuals' tendencies to engage in behaviour indicative of bullying and/or being bullied, as opposed to eliciting a dichotomous response (Archer & Southall, 2009).

Table 3 Reliability of DIPC-SCALEDr

Sub-scales	Reliability
Overall bullying	.97
Direct	.95
Indirect	.90
Coercive	.93
Overall victimisation	.95
Direct	.94
Indirect	.90
Coercive	.84

Source. Ireland & Ireland (2008)

I conducted another pilot study with the same 17 young people, and I

discovered that this scale version was more appropriate for this study. Therefore, the DIPC-SCALEDr version was used to measure bullying and victimisation in this study (see Appendix 2, Part 3).

The DIPC-SCALEDr is an instrument that has strong consistency in measuring bullying and victimisation with overall consistency .97 for self-report bullying and .95 (Ireland & Ireland, 2008; see Table 3). Similar to this, the pilot study also reported strong consistency with Cronbach's alpha .96 for both bullying and victimisation self-reports. DIPC-SCALEDr contains 126 items describing both direct and indirect experienced events and actions and is separated into two sections: self-report victimisation (68 items) and self-report bullying (58 items). All items are classified into six subscales⁹² that have proven to be reliable for both bullying and victimisation: physical, verbal, sexual, psychological, theft-related and indirect. Each subscale consists of between 2 and 33 items for each self-report, and each item is addressed by indicating either 'never', 'rarely', 'sometimes', 'often' or 'always'. Participants were asked to identify frequency of actions and events that have occurred in the past month. Interestingly, the DIPC-SCALEDr can be used to put participants into five categories: pure bullies, pure victims, bully-victims, non-involved and casual-involvement.

5.6.2 Institutional environment

Early attempts to measure institutional environments were intended to account for therapeutic effectiveness. The framework consisted of a set of beliefs about the potential of rehabilitative effects and the role of the social environment in changing behaviour. Moos (1975) developed the Correctional Institutions Environmental Scale (CIES) to provide a measure of the social climate of correctional psychiatric institutions. Specifically, this 90-item instrument was developed to evaluate specific

⁹² In the scale version, however, a coercive subscale was removed as it did not load highly onto either victimisation or bullying perpetration (Ireland, 2007).

treatment programmes and to link their characteristics to outcomes. Although CIES was adapted from the psychiatric environment, it was inter-related to aspects of prison life. Application of this scale has emphasised custodial environments (for example, Clarke & Martin, 1971; Sinclair, 1971; Toch, 1982). Nonetheless, this instrument lacks an adequate theoretical basis (Wright & Boudouris, 1982). Using Hans Toch's eight environmental concerns,⁹³ Wright (1985) created the Prison Environmental Inventory (PEI) to measure multidimensional aspects of prison environments. According to Wright (1985), all dimensions are significant in representing the prison environment and describing how prisoners experience incarceration. Current studies have shown that PEI reflects the basis for what the individual expects from the environment (for example, Wright, 2006; Molleman & Leeuw, 2012). However, this scale can be largely discounted when comparing the contextual properties of secure settings (Ross, Diamond, Liebling & Saylor, 2008).

Attempts have been made in several jurisdictions to initiate a prison survey by creating an aggregate measure of the prison environment. Most notably, under the Federal Bureau of Prisons in the United State, Saylor (1984) developed the Prison Social Climate Survey (PSCS) by emphasising the relationship between the subjective climate issues and the individual's level of perception. This survey scale covers subjects ranging from the adequacy of formal communication channels to the formal authority structure (Camp, Saylor & Harer, 1997) and is classified into four substantive domains: quality of life, personal well-being, staff services and programs and safety and security. While it has been used widely in United States prison facilities, it has also been used in scientific research. However, it has been employed with a staff sample rather than a prisoner sample (for example, Saylor & Wright, 1992; Camp, 1994; Camp et al., 1997; Camp, Gaes & Saylor, 2002). This is

⁹³ Toch (1977) conducted a study on prison climate by interviewing 900 prisoners. Based on his study, he identified eight central environmental concerns; privacy, safety, structure, support, emotional feedback, social stimulation, activity and freedom. PEI was created by taking into account these eight dimensions.

because PSCS is based heavily on managerial, institutional commitment and efficiency models of the prison environment. Unlike the PSCS, the Scottish Prison Service introduced a survey that provides a snapshot of prisoners' views of Scottish prisons. In 2001, the prison service developed a self-completion questionnaire specifically designed to be discussed among prisoners. It addresses a wide range of issues, including conditions, facilities, standards, relationships, the atmosphere, views on management and change (Wozniak, Dyson & Carnie, 2002). Interestingly, this questionnaire can provide a systematic means of gathering the views of young offenders (see Ash & McLellan, 2002). However, as with the PSCS, the questionnaire is heavily based on institutional properties, and it was principally concerned with the basic elements of imprisonment (Wozniak, 2002).

Measuring the Quality of Prison Life (MQPL)

Perhaps the most comprehensive and methodologically promising measure of prison climate has been introduced by Liebling (2004). In a review of the matter of measurement and evaluation of prison environments, Liebling (2004) emphasised the importance of prisoner and staff perceptions and experiences in understanding prison life. Based on a strong qualitative foundation, Liebling (2004), produced reliable measures for various dimensions of the prison climate, called Measuring the Quality of Prison Life. MQPL originally consisted of organised observations and deep conversations with both prisoners and staff in five prisons over a one-year period. It was revised and extended to stimulate and represent missing aspects of the prison experience. As a result, 147 statements were produced to represent multidimensional aspects of the prison environment. As compared with Toch's and Saylor's dimensions, the MQPL consists of 21 domains classified into five major conceptual dimensions (see Table 4). Each dimension carries reliability between .62 and .92 (Liebling et al., 2012). In fact, all the variables were both empirical and theoretical constructs. As Logan (1993, p. 39) argued, the more criteria and variables are used, the more accurately the data can reflect the total pattern of an institution's strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, the MQPL is the most

comprehensive instrument for use in measuring the institutional environment (see Appendix 2, Part 2). A pilot study was also conducted to confirm the reliability of this instrument. 17 young people in one juvenile institution participated in this pilot test. Indeed, this comprehensive instrument was found to be appropriate in measuring the institutional environment in a Malaysian context with overall reliability .84.

Table 4 MQPL dimensions and reliability

Groups	Dimensions	Reliability
Harmony	Entry to custody	.618
	Respect/courtesy	.886
	Staff-prisoner relationship	.867
	Humanity	.889
	Decency	.636
	Care for vulnerable	.803
	Help and assistance	.772
Professionalism	Staff professionalism	.885
	Bureaucratic legitimacy	.801
	Fairness	.820
	Organisation and consistency	.836
Security	Policing and security	.751
	Prisoner safety	.734
	Prisoner adaptation	.623
	Drugs and exploitation	.780
Condition and family contact	Regime decency	.705
	Family contact	.635
Wellbeing and development	Personal development	.875
	Personal autonomy	.664
	Wellbeing	.786
	Distress	.561

Source. Liebling et al. (2012)

The MQPL is a self-report questionnaire that covers complex aspects of the social, relational and moral atmosphere of a secure setting. It is composed of 147 items

classified into 21 dimensions. Each dimension has between three and nine items, and all items are scored on a 5-point Likert scale (from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'); 84 items are constructed positively and 63 items are constructed negatively. Thus, a reverse scoring technique must be applied to the negative items to provide a consistent way to read the results. The stronger the agreement, the better the perceptions of quality of life. On the other hand, some items in the MQPL were reworded to fit the young people without altering the actual meaning of the statement (e.g. the term 'prison' was changed to 'institution').

5.7 Data collection procedure and ethical considerations

This section explains how the design decisions were operationalised. The primary goal of this section is to provide information on the data collection process involved in this study. Data collection is a complicated process that needs to be tackled in a thoughtful and methodological manner (O'Leary, 2005). It is a practical activity that the researcher must complete within time, spatial and resource constraints (Matthews & Ross, 2010). The process involved four main steps. It began with obtaining ethical approval and access to the research sites. This was followed by collecting the data in two distinct phases. In the final stage, I analysed the data and research findings were reported and disseminated by sending the report to the Malaysian juvenile justice authorities as well as presenting the findings at a number of international conferences. Note, however, that ethical issues remained at the forefront of concerns about conducting research with young people in a penal institution. Therefore, these activities are discussed alongside the core ethical principles inherent in the research project.

Obtaining ethical approval

Since this research involved human beings, it was designed and conducted to meet key ethical standards and was subject to proper institutional and professional oversight in terms of ethical research governance. In the case of this research project, the responsibility for safeguarding ethical standards was assigned to

University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee (UEC). The UEC is responsible for reviewing the impact of research procedures on human participants and for applying ethical guidelines by reviewing research procedures at a preliminary stage when they are first proposed. Baxter, Thorne & Mitchell (2001) argued that there is a risk that the researcher may be tempted to consider unethical research practices to try to obtain and/or retain some of the data. Therefore, the UEC helps the researcher by raising awareness about the importance of ethics so that unethical practices are avoided from the outset. To identify potential ethical issues, I followed the Code of Practice of Human Investigations on Human Beings, which is documented by the UEC. From the code of ethics, I recognised two fundamental ethical principles involving human beings: avoid physical and psychological harm and obtain informed consent. Also, principles such as participant's anonymity, confidentiality and data protection were also discussed further below.

Establishing access to and getting written approval from research sites

Gaining access was an important ethical issue in conducting research and arises in the early stages. In the context of this study, the research site was a juvenile institution. Gaining access involved several steps. First, permission to conduct such research in Malaysia must come from the government of Malaysia through the Economic Planning Unit and must be supported by the Juvenile Justice Authorities. In this case, the Juvenile Justice Authorities are the Department of Prison and the Department of Social Welfare. This process involved submitting a proposal to the EPU that detailed the procedures in the research project. Appendix B(1) under the EPU Guidelines and Procedures says:

‘As a Malaysian national domicile overseas who intends to conduct research in Malaysia, [the] researcher needs to obtain a letter of approval/permission from the Malaysian government through the EPU.’

Thus, application to conduct the research was made, and eventually permission was granted. Thereafter, permission was obtained from both authorities to gain access

to juvenile institutions. This was accomplished by using a formal approach to achieve an agreement between the authority and the researcher on specific research procedures (see Laurila, 1997). Thus, a research proposal was provided with an additional range of criteria, including descriptions of the research procedures and the details of any ethical issues inherent in the research project. Also, other official documents were prepared such as a student status letter, a letter of support from the department and EPU's approval letter. Note, however, that the difficulties of obtaining formal access have been graphically highlighted in relation to some research in prisons (Jupp, 1989). To increase the chance of approval, therefore, I negotiated with the gatekeeper who had formal authority to control access to the site. This gatekeeper was the initial contact for the researcher and led the researcher to other informants (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Neuman, 2007). As a result, permission from the Welfare department was granted. The Welfare department agreed to participate, as they believed that:

'This research is necessary for exposing us (the authority) to the current situation in institutions throughout Malaysia (...) and we hope this study may bring some changes to juvenile institutions for the sake of our (institutions') future.'

Meanwhile, permission from the Department of Prison was not granted due to a number of reasons related to security issues. Thus, the fieldwork took place in eight juvenile institutions under the authority of Social Welfare department. As a sequential mixed-methods study, the fieldwork began with conducting a survey study in the first phase, which was followed by in-depth interviews in the second phase.

Conducting survey in eight juvenile institutions

I began to conduct the survey study in eight juvenile institutions after obtaining permission to do so from the institutions. These eight institutions were approached in different manners at particular periods of time. Therefore, the recruitment of

participants at each institution occurred successively rather than concurrently. Conducting a survey began with obtaining access and building rapport; this is followed by selecting participants and ends with debriefing participants. The success of any research conducted within secure settings depends on the mutual cooperation of the researcher and each of the correctional personnel, from commissioner to guard, with whom the researcher is working (King, 2000). Therefore, it is essential to build professional rapport with members in the field. The survey study began with selecting participants from the sampling frame. The sampling frame was a list of young people incarcerated in the institution that was obtained from the institution office. To recruit participants, I consulted the institution office through officers or staff. The purpose was to keep institutional personnel informed of the research process so as not to interrupt routines and institution activities. Also, the consultation contributed to participant and researcher security. Therefore, consulting the institution's personnel minimised any potential risk and adverse effects, especially to research participants, because officers and staff had the knowledge necessary to protect the young people in the institution. However, a problem arose when young people disclosed issues related to being abused and bullied by staff members in the interviews. As a researcher, I have ethical obligations to protect the safety and well being of the participants. Although maintaining confidentiality is a priority, issues related to cases of bullying committed by staff members warrants breaching of confidentiality. In this regard, I have a responsibility to act on the information and pass it on to a relevant authority. However, in this case, in keeping with participants' best interests, the information was not submitted to the institution. In Malaysia, young people in juvenile institutions always feel insecure about disclosing information to the administration, as they feel that it might affect their current sentence or restrict their access to opportunities that the institution made available (Hassan, 2016). They are also concerned about their tendency to be targeted and abused by staff members as a result of disclosing such information. To protect them, therefore, I did not disclose reported incidences of abuse and bullying. Nonetheless, the report

of research findings (including information relating to being abused and bullied by staff members) was sent to the Department of Social Welfare without disclosing the names of institutions or participants' identities.

Selected participants met in groups and were given an individual information sheet (see Appendix 1) and consent form (see Appendix 2, Part 4). Here, the rapport was established between potential participants and I. I then verbally explained the details in the information sheet(s) and consent form. Participation in this research was entirely voluntary so that potential for coercion of participants was avoided. The voluntary nature of the research was emphasised to participants and they were informed that they could withdraw at any time and that doing so would not disadvantage them. Therefore, all selected participants had the opportunity to decide whether or not they would participate in the research. Consenting participants were approached after I obtained the consent form. Participants were approached in small groups and asked to complete a questionnaire. I was available during the survey session to explain questions. To ensure on-going consent, participants were reminded that they could withdraw at any time during the survey session. The survey session lasted an hour. At the end of the session, I debriefed participants about the research project by emphasising the dissemination of research findings.

Informed consent is an agreement by participants stating that they are willing to take part in a study and that they know something about what the research procedure will involve (Neuman, 2007). Once participants consented to participate, I then assumed an obligation to protect the confidentiality of their answers and their identity. However, there was a limit to confidentiality in relation to potential harm to the participant or others. All participants were informed about this limit to confidentiality. If a participant disclosed serious harm or immediate danger to self and/or others, in accordance with the ethical code of practice, the survey session would be terminated and the participants informed that this information would be

reported to the relevant authority. I discussed with the participants how they could best be supported in these circumstances. Any such situations would be reported to the UEC. This was made explicit at the outset and at the start of each contact with the participants. However, such issues did not occur during the fieldwork.

As mentioned earlier, all the institutions were approached in different manners at particular periods of time. Nonetheless, all the steps discussed in the survey process as well as the ethical issues were applied to all the juvenile institutions. The survey study seemed to be bound more or less by local cultures, including institutional rules and staff cultures. I had to deal with different institutions whose staff had different demands. I adjusted to at least eight different institutional cultures. Some institutions allowed for a longer stay than others and others did not. Some allowed me to carry out each session with only a very small number of participants, as they worried about my security; others asked me to do it with a large number. In this respect, I had to rely on the staff's advice. The staff members, too, for the most part, were limited by the culture of their jobs, which were affected by organisational history, work atmosphere, and management style (see Gubrium, 1991). Overall, 294 offenders from eight institutions participated in the survey study. After completion of the survey study in the eight juvenile institutions, I analysed the survey data. Based on the survey findings, I then developed the qualitative phase.

Conducting in depth-interview in two juvenile institutions

The in-depth interview study was conducted in two juvenile institutions after completion of the survey study. These two institutions were approached separately. Similar to the survey study, the data collection process for the in-depth interview involved several steps. It began with obtaining access and building rapport and ended with debriefing. Also, the ethical issues considered in the survey study were applied in this phase. Nonetheless, a few steps were implemented in a way that differed from the survey study. To conduct in-depth interviews, I began by

contacting the institutions by phone and discussing the purposes of this subsequent phase. Note that these institutions were selected from the survey dataset.

The in-depth interview involved two types of participants: young people and institutional personnel. Young people were selected from the survey dataset; meanwhile, personnel were selected from the sampling frame developed from informal observation. I began by interviewing young people and then interviewed institutional personnel in each institution. The recruitment of young people was similar to the recruitment process in the survey study. To approach them, the researcher consulted the officers. Participants were recruited in groups and given an individual information sheet (see Appendix 1) and consent form (see Appendix 2, Part 4). Unlike the survey study, the consenting participants were approached individually for the interview session. Also, institutional personnel were approached individually. These potential participants were given the information sheet (see Appendix 1) and consent form (see Appendix 2, Part 4) without any coercion to participate. Nonetheless, there was no gatekeeper to approach them and they were recruited in person rather within a group. The interview session lasted 90 minutes or less for both groups. During the interview session, participants were asked a series of open-ended questions in relation to their experiences in the institution (see Appendix 1). The interviews were audio recorded, with participant consent. Participants were reminded that they could withdraw at any time during the interview discussion. They were also allowed to stop the interview session and continue whenever convenient to them. Similar to the survey study, I ensured that the participants did not suffer harm at any stage in the research process by following appropriate ethical principles.

Unlike the survey study, the qualitative interviews seemed to be bound more or less by participants' emotional reactions. In this study I focused on very personal matters, including the individual's self, lived experience, values and decisions. Therefore, interviews were always followed by emotional reactions. Pennebaker

and Seagal (1999) argued that when people put their emotional upheaval into words, their mental and physical health changes markedly. For the young people, in particular, the interviews meant something different than the researcher anticipated. The structure of the research interviews came close to that of a therapeutic interview. The therapeutic benefits occurred unintentionally; nonetheless, I adopted no dual-role. Sometimes, the idea of an interview appeared threatening to young people. Young people sometimes thought that the information they gave me might affect their current sentence or restrict their access to opportunities that the institution made available. The staff, in some situations, felt concerned about disclosing potentially embarrassing information in relation to their ability to run the institution. For this reason, I repeatedly reassured them of the confidentiality of the information given, and I always allowed them to take breaks or even terminate the interview if they so desired. In this study, overall, I managed to interview 16 young people and eight institutional staff.

Analysis, report and disseminating

After completion of the in-depth interviews, I analysed the data. Ethical consideration was given to the accuracy of the data and findings. In the interpretation of data, I provided an accurate account of information in accordance with the core principles of openness, transparency and accountability. I ensured that there was no suppression of data or falsifying or invention of findings. The accuracy of the qualitative findings was verified through procedures such as checking across different data sources (triangulation), reflexivity,⁹⁴ and peer debriefing⁹⁵ (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Miller, 2000). Additionally, it was also an

⁹⁴ Reflexivity is process whereby researchers report on personal beliefs, values and biases that may shape their inquiry (Cresswell & Miller, 2000). In this regard, I reflect on the experiences gained from the fieldwork that shape my interpretation. By being reflexive, I managed to understand my role as researcher, minimizing biases and prejudice, and these shaped the interpretation of the data. For further information, see my reflective article published in online access journal at <https://www.celcis.org/files/5414/6054/8505/011.2016.Vol.15.1.Hassan.Surviving.Research.pdf>

⁹⁵ This involves a process where peer reviewers challenge researchers' assumption, push the researchers to the next step methodologically and question about method and interpretations

ethical responsibility to ensure that the research findings were accessible and disseminated well. Publications and wider dissemination of the research and research findings must be carried out responsibly and with an awareness of the consequences of dissemination in the wider media. This ensures that participants' interests are recognised and addressed (Staley & Minogue, 2006). Thus, I sent the report to the authorities, suggesting practical and professional advice to address bullying behaviour in the institutions. Also, I attempted to present the research findings at scientific conferences. Note, however, that the identity of participants will remain anonymous in all reports and academic/scientific conferences. According to Section 45(2)C in the Personal Data Protection Act 2010 (Malaysia):

'Data 'processed for preparing statistics or carrying out research shall be exempted from the General Principle, Notice and Choice Principle, Disclosure Principle and Access Principle and other related provisions of this Act, provided that such personal data is not processed for any other purpose and that the resulting statistics or the results of the research are not made available in a form which identifies the data subject.'

Meanwhile, Section 15 (1) of Child Act 2011 (Malaysia) states that:

'any mass media report, investigation report and publication, shall not reveal the name, address or educational institution, or include any particulars calculated to lead to the identification of any child so concerned either as being the person against or in respect of whom action is taken or as being a witness to the action.'

(Lincoln & Guba, 1985). PhD supervisors are good peer debriefers as they are familiar with the phenomenon being explored. They provided feedback to me and we closely collaborated over time during the process of entire undertaken study. With the assistance of supervisors, indeed, I add credibility to my study.

5.8 Data analysis technique

This section explains the techniques used for both quantitative and qualitative data analysis. It illustrates how the data analysis was conducted in the context of this research and thereby addresses the current research objectives. In this study, I used an integrative data analysis strategy. The intention was to integrate both types of data at the level of analysis to provide a more powerful insight into the change process than either could have produced alone (Caracelli & Greene, 1993). In a sequential explanatory design, a researcher typically connects the two phases while selecting the cases or participants for the qualitative follow-up analysis based on the quantitative results from the first phase (Creswell et al., 2003). Another connecting point exists at the level of conclusions and interpretations when the results of different data types are compared for convergence. As required for these purposes, each data set remained analytically separate. Thus, the Predictive Analytics Software (PASW, formerly known as SPSS) was used to analyse and report the quantitative findings. Meanwhile, the NVivo software package was used to organise and analyse the qualitative findings.

5.8.1 Quantitative data

The analysis of survey data involves summarising the mass of data collected. In the survey study, data was collected on 294 participants; however, only 289 participants were included in data analysis due to the large amount of missing responses in 5 surveys. I used Predictive Analytics Software (PASW, formerly known as SPSS) to store, organize and analyze the data. In the survey study, data was obtained using a set of questionnaires and this involved numbers (closed questions) and words (open questions). All variables included in the questionnaire were coded, and this allows for more effective data entry and analysis. In the case of closed questions, all variables are coded simply involved assigning a numerical value to each response since the range of available options already known. Coding of word data involved drawing up a list of categories into which answers were allocated or coded. This also involved assigning numerical values for each category. Data was

then entered manually and each questionnaire filled by each participant was given a special ID (in number). The second stage involved a cleaning process. This process required me to look for and correct any error in the data set before carrying out any work on it.

The analysis began after the data was cleaned. Analyzing quantitative data involves statistical and mathematical methods, and the findings are presented in numerical summaries and tables. Concerning the research questions and objectives, I used four techniques of analysis to report the survey data, including univariate, bivariate, explanatory and inferential analysis. The first step involved univariate descriptive statistical analysis i.e. frequency, percentage, mean, standard deviation, maximum and minimum. All these statistical analyses were used to explain the extent of direct and indirect bullying and victimisation. Also, the proportion and composition of different groups involved in bullying (i.e. pure bullies, pure victims, bully-victims and casual-involvement) were explained using only frequency and percentage, which were also used to describe personal characteristics/experiences and the level of offenders' perceptions of the institutional environment (i.e. higher and lower). Nonetheless, mean, standard deviation, maximum and minimum statistical descriptives were also used to explain the extent of offenders' perception of the institutional environment.

The next step of analysis involved a more advanced analysis, bivariate descriptive. This aims to confirm the hypotheses by explaining to what extent the personal characteristics/experiences and institutional environment (independent variables) associated and influence bullying behaviour (dependent variable). In this analysis, I focused on explaining bullying behaviour and therefore four groups involved in bullying were categorized into two: higher (bullies) and lower (non-bullies) levels of involvement in bullying behaviour. Since the outcome variable is categorical in nature, all the continuous independent variables need to be transformed into categorical form (Blaikie, 2003). In regard to the institutional environment, I used

the level of young peoples' perception of the environment to explain the association with outcome variable; nonetheless, all 21 institutional environment dimensions were transformed into categorical form i.e. lower, medium and higher. Personal characteristics are categorical in nature, thus no action was required. To explain the association, number bivariate descriptive measures were used; including standardized contingency coefficient and cramer's v. Meanwhile, measures such as phi, somer's d and lambda were used to explain the influence. The choice of measure of association and influence depends of the level of measurement of the two variables (see Blaikie, 2003).

Personal characteristics/experiences and institutional dimensions that significantly influence bullying behaviour are called predictors. To advance these bivariate analysis findings, multivariate analysis was used. That is concentrated on explaining interrelationships between predictors (Blaikie, 2003), by using the logistic regression. In the logistic regression, different predictors did and did not predict bullying behaviour. By this, it can confirm findings about the influence of predictors on bullying behaviours. Furthermore, I considered the generalisation of the relationships discovered in the data by using inferential analysis to estimate whether the associations and influence found in a sample could be expected to exist in the population from which the sample was randomly drawn (see Blaikie, 2003). Findings from the survey study were further supplemented by qualitative data.

5.8.2 Qualitative data

The interview data was obtained after the completion of the survey study for the purpose of supplementing and confirming the survey findings. Qualitative study tends to focus on meaning, sense-making and communicative action. In this regard, qualitative methodologists provide frameworks for making qualitative data analyses more explicit (Constas, 1992), so that qualitative studies promote openness on the grounds of refutability and freedom from bias (Anfara, Brown & Mangione, 2001, p.

28). In this study, Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis (IPA) was used to analyse interview data. The aim of IPA is to focus upon people's experiences and understand particular phenomenon by reflecting both phenomenological and interpretative aspects (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). The phenomenological approach enables the exploration of young people's experiences of bullying and victimisation in its own terms. It helped me to understand how young people and staff members make sense of their world by engaging in an interpretative aspect. This was done by using the double hermeneutic approach (Smith & Osborn, 2003; Smith et al., 2009), in which I was making sense of the participant, who is making sense of particular matters.

The first step in analysing these qualitative data was to transform the audio data into a soft copy written form. In accordance with the guidelines of IPA, each interview was transcribed and each word spoken by both participants and I was recorded and transcribed. Nonetheless, the transcription did not record the length of pauses or non-verbal expressions (Smith et al., 2009). 24 participants participated in interview and thus the transcription was separated into 24 cases. Each case was read once again while listening to the original audio recording to ensure that the interview was transcribed correctly and appropriately. Considering the different issues discussed, the transcription was then clustered into each important theme across cases in a separate document; nonetheless, the transcription was still separated between each case. In this regard, there were nine important themes discussed, including bullying and victimisation experiences, and eight predictors; 'time spent in the institution', 'experience of punishment', 'gang membership', 'experience of self-harm', 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness', and 'family contact'.

The data were analysed using the procedures outlined in the IPA (Smith et al., 2009).⁹⁶ As explained previously, this method was used as it is oriented to a detailed exploration as to how participants make sense of their experiences. The analytic process began with the detailed examination of each case. Using a hard copy of the transcript, at this stage, line-by-line analysis of the transcript was conducted to examine semantic content and language use on exploratory level. To do so, each transcript was read several times while listening to the original audio recording to ensure that meaning conveyed through intonation, was not lost. Comments were noted in the left hand margin. To provide detailed explanation, the analytical process involves three discrete comments; descriptive comments, linguistic comments and conceptual comments (Smith et al, 2009). Descriptive comments focused on describing key words or phrases of what participants said in terms of their relationship to important issues. Linguistic comments focused on the way participants use language, which reflects the ways in which the content and meaning were presented. Conceptual comments focused on a more interpretative and theoretical level. Technically, all these comments were differentiated using different coloured pens. This process was time consuming; however, it produced a comprehensive set of comments on the data.

The next stage of the analytical process involved the development of emergent themes. This was done by mapping the interrelationships, connections and patterns between initial notes (Smith et al., 2009). At this stage, 'a concise and pithy statement of what important' (Smith et al., 2009, p.92) or themes were noted in the right hand margin. In each case, a number of themes emerged and themes were ordered chronologically. To organize emergent themes, the next stage involved a process that clustered themes into groups of related themes. This stage seeks to produce a structure that allowed me to point to all the most important aspects of

⁹⁶ It should be noted that 'IPA is flexible' (Smith et al., 2009, p.165). Although procedure in this analysis was different, it still operated within the principles of IPA.

participants' accounts. By observing and moving themes around, groups of related themes were produced.⁹⁷ Organizing themes is one way push the analysis to higher level (Smith et al., 2009). This process was done repeatedly in each case on each issue.

5.9 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methods used for conducting this study. Guided by critical realist metaphysical dogmas (i.e. ontology and epistemology), methods were selected to explain and understand bullying phenomenon in the juvenile institution. To answer the research questions, mixed-method approaches were conducted in sequence, beginning with a quantitative survey and followed up by qualitative interviews. Quantitative methods were used to explain the nature of bullying and victimisation in juvenile institutions as well as the influence of personal and environmental factors on bullying behaviour. In so doing, a cross-sectional survey through a set self-completion questionnaires was used to explain such questions. Included in the questionnaires are DIPC-SCALEDr, MQPL and participants' personal information. 294 male and female young offenders in eight Malaysian juvenile institutions participated in the questionnaire. To arrive at a representative sample, both the institutions and participants were selected randomly. Nonetheless, only 289 could be used for analysis. The analysis of survey data included univariate, bivariate, explanatory and inferential analysis. Qualitative in-depth interviews were carried out after the completion of the survey study. The aim was to further understand the dynamic experiences of bullying and victimisation and to explore in greater depth the influence of factors on bullying behaviour through the perspective of young people and staff members. 24 participants from two juvenile institutions (involved in the survey study) were interviewed, comprising 16 young

⁹⁷ This process was not captured the development of the identification of a superordinate theme. This is because, the qualitative study was conducted to supplement and confirm quantitative findings. Therefore, the superordinate themes were emerged from the survey study. The process of developing themes was utilized to capture the development of themes under each superordinate theme. Nonetheless, through this process, a new superordinate theme will be emerged.

people (who had participated in the survey study) and eight institutional personnel. All participants were selected using purposive sampling techniques, in particular, typical and maximum variation. Data obtained from the interviews were analysis guided by Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis (IPA). By combining both quantitative and qualitative methods, as a result, it contributed to elevating the validity of the research.

Both survey and interviews involved several steps and were tackled in a thoughtful and methodical manner. The actual fieldwork for data collection began after the permission to conduct study was approved by the juvenile justice authority, the Department of Social Welfare Malaysia. The fieldwork was conducted for five months. Since these studies involved human beings, ethical principles remained at the forefront of concerns alongside the field work. Two important principles were recognized and unbrokenly applied in order to protect especially the right of young people, including informed consent, avoiding harm and confidentiality. Nonetheless, ethical principles were also applied after the fieldwork, in particular, during the process of analysing, reporting and disseminating the findings. The findings are reported in the following chapters.

6 DATA ANALYSIS & QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter synthesizes and discusses the results in light of the first and the second research questions. In particular, this chapter reports the extent of bullying and victimisation in secure settings and the role of personal and environmental factors influencing bullying behaviour over a one month period. Data were obtained from self-report questionnaires completed by 289 young people in five male institutions and three female institutions, with a 98.6 per cent response rate. Using the Predictive Analytics Software (PASW, formerly known as SPSS), data were analysed using a number of statistical units of analysis to identify characteristics (i.e. frequency, percentage, mean and standard deviation), patterns (i.e. contingency tables and correlation) and influence (i.e. regression). This section consists of five main sub-sections. The first sub-section presents the distribution of participants according to informations such as 'age', 'sex', 'ethnicity' and other personal characteristics and experiences. The second sub-section comprises of data describing participants' self-reported experiences of or exposure to bullying and victimisation, including the descriptive statistics of different forms of bullying behaviour and victimisation experience. Also, it presents the distribution of participants in the different categories of involvement in bullying i.e. pure bully, pure victim, bully-victim and young people with casual involvement. The third sub-section discusses the association and the influence between personal characteristics and bullying behaviour. The next sub-section presents the relationship and the influence between institutional environment and bullying. Included in this discussion is young peoples' perceptions of the institutional environment and the descriptive statistic of 21 dimensions of the institutional environment which is classified into five groups i.e. 'harmony', 'professional', 'security', 'condition' and 'family contact', and 'wellbeing and development'. To confirm the findings, the next sub-section demonstrates the results of logistic regression. The chapter concludes by reflecting the findings in light of the research questions.

6.2 Information of participants involved in the survey study

This part presents the distribution of participants by 15 individual characteristics, comprising demographic information and personal experiences. These include 'age', 'sex', 'ethnicity', 'the length of sentence', 'the time spent in the institution', 'the experience of imprisonment', 'type of offence', 'the frequency of visitation', 'the received contact', 'the experience of punishment inside the institution', 'gang membership', 'the experience of drug use', 'the experience of smoking', 'the experience of self-harm' and 'admission to a psychiatric treatment'.

Table 5 Distribution of participants by age

Years old	Frequency	Percentage
12 – 15	63	21.8
16 – 18	201	69.6
≥ 19	25	8.7
Total	289	100

In the survey study, the age of participants is distributed throughout 12 to 21 years old. As shown in the Table 5, the 'age' variable is collapsed into three categories. It is clear that more than half of the participants are concentrated in the range 16 to 18 years old. In addition, the survey study included both male and female young people from five male and three female institutions. In the survey study, therefore, males account for double the female participants as shown in the Table 6.

Table 6 Distribution of participants by Sex

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	182	63.0
Female	106	36.7
Total*	288	99.7

*data of one participant is missing

Table 7 Distribution of participants by Ethnicity

Ethnic group	Frequency	Percentage
Malay	257	88.9
Chinese	9	3.1
Indian	20	6.9
Others	3	1.0
Total	289	100.0

The survey study involved young people from different ethnic groups. Table 7 demonstrates that more than 80 per cent of participants are Malay. The large percentage of Malay is due to the fact that Malay is the highest population incarcerated in the institution as compared to national population generally. This is because the Malays make up the largest ethnic group, which is more than 50 per cent of the population.⁹⁸

Table 8 Participants by the length of sentence

Length	Frequency	Percentage
Remanded	8	2.8
1 year	55	19.0
2 years	33	11.4
3 years	192	66.4
> 3	1	0.3
Total	289	100.0

Table 8 shows that most participants (66.4%) are sentenced for three years and less than 20 per cent participants are sentenced to a year. The duration of between one and three years in terms of institutional placements is in accordance with the

⁹⁸ For further information see http://www.malaysia-trulyasia.com/tourism/the_people.htm

principles of the Malaysian Child Act 2001. However, some young people may be entitled to early release. Therefore, as shown in the table, about 11 per cent of participants were sentenced to two years. In this survey, only one person reports to be sentenced for more than three years (up to seven years due to the nature of the conviction). Apart from this, young people who are remanded also participated in this survey; however they only account for a small number of participants. The reason is that this group is under high security control, which usually results in being held in jail waiting for trial following a not guilty plea.

Table 9 Participants by prior imprisonment

Imprisonment	Frequency	Percentage
First-time	254	87.9
Prior imprisonment	35	12.1
Total	289	100.0

In Table 9, out of the total number of young people involved in the survey, the majority (87.9%) have been sentenced for the first time. That means that most participants are currently serving their first institutional sentence. Based on self-report, for the first-time young people, about 40 per cent of them have committed the same offence at least more than three times prior to their first imprisonment. Of this group, three had committed offences more than 10 times prior to their first imprisonment. Meanwhile, 12 per cent participants were reported prior incarceration. From this, about 15 per cent of them were incarcerated more than five times and the majority (85%) were less than that. Also, slightly more than half of them (51.4%) were placed in the same institution that they are serving their current sentence in.

Table 10 Distribution of participants by type of offence

Offence	Frequency	Percentage
Violent crimes	24	8.3
Drug-related	53	18.3
Property crime	103	35.6
Status offences	87	30.3
Multi-offences	13	4.5
Others	7	2.4
Total*	287	99.3

*data of two participants are missing

Table 10 reports offences committed by and charged upon young people. About 35 per cent of participants have been charged with property crimes. 18 per cent of participants are charged with drug-related activities and less than 10 per cent are charged with violent crimes. Meanwhile, 30 per cent of participants are charged with offences related to status offences, including beyond control of parents (23.5%) which is the most frequently reported offence. A small number of participants are charged with multiple offences due to the fact that they committed more than one crime. The 'Others' (2.4%) type of offences included participants that have been transferred to the current institution due to repeatedly absconding from previous institutions.

Table 11 Participants by the time spent

Month(s)	Frequency	Percentage
< 1	12	4.2
1 – 6	81	28.0
7 – 12	102	35.3
13 – 24	68	23.5
> 25	26	9.0
Total	289	100.0

In Table 11, it is observable that slightly more than 30 per cent of participants have been incarcerated for more than a year. Interestingly, 26 participants have been incarcerated for more than two years. Meanwhile, most young people (67.5%) have been incarcerated for less than a year. From this, all remanded participants (2.7%) have been detained for less than six months.

Table 12 Participants by visitation received

Time(s)	Frequency	Percentage
Never	50	17.3
Once	53	18.3
Twice	76	26.3
3	55	19.0
≥ 4	54	18.7
Total	288	100.0

Apart from this, regardless of the time spent in the institution, about 17 per cent of total participants have never received visitation (see Table 12). This is due to the fact that they have family members and friends living a long distance away. Also, a few are orphans or have no immediate family, precluding visitation. In contrast, approximately 37 per cent of them received visitation almost every week in a given month. From this, about 19 per cent of all participants received visitation more than four times a month due to the family members or friends living nearby or in the same state where the institution is situated.

Table 13 Participants by contact with family

Contact	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	177	61.2
No	110	38.3
Total*	287	99.5

*data of two participants are missing

With regard to the nature of contact, as shown in the Table 13, more than half of participants were in regular contact by either telephone or letter with members of family whilst in the institution. This also included participants who never had a visit (34 per cent). Meanwhile, about 38 per cent were not in regular contact with their family.

Table 14 Participants by punishment inside institution

Punishment	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	165	57.1
No	124	42.9
Total	289	100

With regard to the experience of punishment, it is clear that slightly less than half of the participants experienced punishment or penalties inside the institutions (see Table 14). Meanwhile, slightly more than half had never been punished inside the institution during the one month period. Of those participants who had been punished, (40%) had been punished more than four times within a month and the rest were punished less than that. They reported that the reason for punishment is that they had conducted wrongful or improper behaviours in the institution. Common misconduct is breaking the institutional rules and misbehaviour (30.4%), making noise (18.4%), possession of illegal goods (16.5%) and fighting (10.8%). Also, a few of them attempted to run away from the institution (2.5%) and were rebellious towards staff (1.3%).

Table 15 Participants by Gang membership

Gang	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	91	31.5
No	198	68.5
Total	289	100.0

Table 15 shows that about 32 per cent participants mixed with the same young people most of the time and reported being members of protective groups. Nonetheless, a majority reported that they had no involvement in gang membership, or gang affiliation.

Table 16 Participants by experience of variable prior to institution

	Drug use	Smoking	Self-harm	Psychiatric
Yes	130	223	81	8
No	159	65	207	280
Total	289	288*	288*	288*

*data of one participant is missing

Table 16 demonstrates experiences of participants before coming to the institution, including 'drug use', 'smoking', 'self-harm' and 'the admission to psychiatric hospital'. At least 45 per cent of participants had used drugs prior to custody. Although less than 20 per cent are charged with drug-related activities (see Table 16), other young people with 'other' offences had also used drugs before custody. However, slightly more than half of the participants responded 'no' to drug use. Regarding the smoking variable, about 23 per cent of participants do not smoke and most participants were more likely to smoke. In particular, they had smoked tobacco regularly and most of them are daily smokers. Since smoking is legal in this country (for those who are above 18 years old) smoking habits have been established during their teenage years. With regard to self-harm, it is clear that the majority of participants have never experienced self-harm or attempted suicide. However, at least 28 per cent had experience of self-harming. In fact, three participants were still self-harming at the time of filling in the survey. The most commonly reported method was cutting or scratching the skin (71%) and the most frequently targeted body parts were arms; about 26 per cent had overdosed on chemical such as bleach and detergent; and the rest (2.6%) attempted other methods of physical harm. Apart from this, about four young people who

experienced self-harm were admitted to the psychiatric care facilities before custody and the rest (77 participants) were never admitted to any such hospital. Overall, out of the total participants, almost all (95.6%) had never been to the psychiatric care facilities or received any psychiatric treatment, and only a minority had accessed it.

6.3 The extent of bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions

This second part of the survey study aims to address the first research question. It reported the extent of bullying behaviour and victimisation in eight juvenile justice institutions during the one month period. Data were gathered using the scale version of Direct and Indirect Prisoner Checklist (DIPC-SCALED_r). This scale produced good reliabilities, as assessed by Cronbach's Alpha. Using a sample of 289, overall self-reported bullying (item = 68) produced an Alpha of .96. With regard to self-reported victimisation (item = 58) overall victim items produced an Alpha of .96. Both scales produced high alphas and these values are not uncommon with behavioural scales of this nature. Across each subscale, for both self-report, most subscales produced an Alpha of .79 to .98. However, only one subscale in the bullying self-report (i.e. psychological) produced a lower reliability with Alpha of .43. Nonetheless, overall Alpha for this scale has shown excellent internal consistency, which means the scale used is reliable enough to explain the extent of bullying and victimisation among young people in juvenile justice institutions.

6.3.1 Extent of bullying behaviour in juvenile justice institutions

This section aims to answer the first research question. It aims to demonstrate the prevalence of behaviour related to bullying in eight juvenile institutions. Overall, 95 per cent reported at least one behaviour of bullying others during the one month period. Nonetheless, 15 participants (5.2%) responded that they had never behaved in a manner of bullying behaviour towards others. In the bullying self-report, behaviours were measured using answer choices that range between 'never' and 'always'. Table 17 highlights the frequency of six different forms of bullying

behaviour across these answer choices. Using the average or 'Mean' score, young people were categorized in particular answers of each form of bullying.

Table 17 Percentage of bullying behaviour

	Never (%)	Rarely (%)	Sometimes (%)	Often (%)	Always (%)	Total (n)
Physical	20.4	65.7	10.4	3.1	0.3	289
Verbal	11.5	67.7	15.6	4.8	0.7	289
Sexual	65.7	16.3	-	13.5	4.5	289
Theft-related	23.2	67.5	5.9	3.1	0.3	289
Psychological	36.3	31.5	22.8	7.6	1.7	289
Indirect	13.1	74.4	9.0	2.8	0.7	289

It can be explained that all participants experienced more than one form of bullying. For the 'Physical' form of bullying, almost 80 per cent participants (79.6%) reported physical bullying in the past month and the rest never committed such behaviour. Similar to this, almost 80 per cent participant (76.8%) reported engaging in 'Theft-related' form of bullying behaviour. Turning to 'Verbal' and 'Indirect' forms, more than 85 per cent participants involved in such forms of bullying and less than 20 per cent never reported such behaviour. Meanwhile, less than 35 per cent young people reported 'Sexual' bullying. Overall, 'Verbal' and 'Indirect' forms of bullying behaviour were more prevalent than other forms. In fact, these two forms reported a higher Mean value with .93 for 'Verbal' and .65 for 'Indirect' forms of bullying behaviour. This means that every young person committed 'Verbal' or 'Indirect' forms of bullying at least once during the period of one month.

Table 18 Bullying incidences that least occur

Item	M	SD
7 I have forced another prisoner to send out their private cash to my family (T)	.30	.87
9 I have sent a 'shit parcel' (I)	.35	.86
29 I have deliberately spat on another prisoner (P)	.32	.86
30 I have deliberately spat on another prisoner's food (P)	.24	.84

Table 19 Bullying incidences that most occur

Item	M	SD
11 I have called someone names about their offence (V)	1.03	1.12
12 I have called someone any other names (V)	1.08	1.20
18 I have hit or kicked another prisoner (P)	1.06	1.29
19 I have physically threatened a prisoner with violence (P)	1.00	1.25
21 I have intimidated someone (Psy)	1.08	1.25
41 I have picked on another prisoner with my friends (I)	.99	1.22
44 I have sexually abused/assaulted someone (S)	.71	1.18
47 I have force another prisoner to swap some of their property with me (T)	.99	1.22

Table 18 presents bullying incidences that occur the least across bullying forms in secure settings and Table 19 presents bullying incidences that more frequently. In relation to 'Verbal' bullying, young people were more likely to call someone names due to the higher mean scores for items 11 and 12. Turning to 'Psychological' bullying, it shows that young people were more likely to intimidate (Items 21) than frighten another young person (Item 46). With regard to the 'Sexual' form, sexual abuse (Item 44) was more prevalent in secure settings than sexual harassment (Item 62). In relation to the 'Physical' form, young people tended to use physical violence (i.e. kick and hit) against other young people (Item 18 and 19) Meanwhile, they were less likely to be involved in behaviour of spitting on another young

people (Item 29 and 30). For ‘Theft-related’ bullying, young people were more likely to swap goods or force people to give away goods (Item 47 and 68) and they were less likely to force other young people to give out private cash. Within ‘Indirect’ bullying, young people reported higher involvement in picking on other young people (item 41) and were less likely to send nasty things to other young people (Item 9). Overall, young people were involved in a wide range of behaviour related to bullying others.

6.3.2 Extent of victimisation in juvenile justice institutions

This section reports the prevalence of the experience of being bullied or of victimisation in eight juvenile institutions during the one month period. Almost all (98.9%) participants reported one incidence of being bullied during the one month period. Of these, about 98 per cent reported one incidence of being bullied directly, and 99 per cent reported experiencing at least one behaviour indicative of being bullied indirectly. Overall, less than one per cent responded ‘never’ to behaviour indicative of being bullied. However, the survey reported about one per cent missing data. Similar to the bullying self-report, the victimisation self-report measured behaviour using answer choices that range between ‘never’ and ‘always’.

Table 20 Percentage of victimisation

	Never (%)	Rarely (%)	Sometimes (%)	Often (%)	Always (%)	Total (n)
Physical	8.3	68.5	18.3	4.2	0.7	289
Verbal	9.0	59.2	21.5	9.0	2.1	289
Sexual	53.5	14.2	-	16.3	15.6	288*
Theft-related	5.9	78.9	12.1	3.1	-	289
Psychological	47.3	19.5	-	26.8	6.3	287*
Indirect	3.5	67.5	20.4	7.6	1.0	289

*Data of some participants are missing

Table 20 demonstrates the frequency of six different forms of victimisation across five answer choices. Using the average or 'Mean' score, participants were categorized in particular answers of each form of victimisation. It can be explained that all participants experienced more than one form of victimisation. For 'Physical' and 'Verbal' forms of victimisation, slightly more than 90 per cent participants reported being bullied physically and verbally in the past month. Similar to this, more than 90 per cent participants reported 'Indirect' and 'Theft-related' forms victimisation. Turning to the 'Psychological' form, about half of participants (53%) reported such victimisation. Meanwhile, less than half of participants (46.4%) reported being bullied sexually. Overall, 'Indirect', 'Theft', 'Physical' and 'Verbal' forms of victimisation were highly prevalent in secure settings. In fact, these forms reported higher Mean scores of between 1.09 to 1.15. This reveals that every young person experienced these forms of victimisation at least once during the one month period.

Table 21 Victimization incidences that most occur

Item	M	SD
9 I was called names about something else (V)	1.37	1.29
10 I have been gossiped about (I)	1.60	1.33
11 I have been deliberately pushed (P)	1.52	1.40
13 Someone has deliberately started a fight with me (P)	1.57	1.33
21 I had any property stolen by another prisoner (T)	1.78	1.36
34 I was deliberately frightened by another prisoner (Psy)	1.08	1.26
35 I have been sexually abused/assaulted (S)	1.16	1.52
38 I have been intimidated (Psy)	1.16	1.34
42 A prisoner verbally abused my family (V)	1.31	1.46
47 Someone has tried to turn other prisoners against me (I)	1.57	1.33
52 I have been sexually harrassed (S)	1.19	1.54
53 Another prisoner has forced me to swap some of my property with them (T)	1.19	1.33

Table 22 Victimization incidences that least occur

Item	M	SD
6 I have been sent a shit parcel from another prisoner (I)	.43	1.00
15 I have had my property deliberately damaged (P)	.16	.67
36 Someone has forced me to take drugs or tobacco (P)	.43	1.00
23 I have been forced to send out my private cash to another prisoner's family (T)	.17	.65

Table 21 presents victimisation incidences that mostly occur across bullying forms in secure settings and Table 22 presents victimisation incidences that least occur (see following page). In relation to 'Verbal' bullying, young people were more likely to be called names (Item 9); nonetheless, they were less likely to be called names in relation to race and colour (Item 7). 'Psychological' and 'Sexual' victimisation were measured with only two items or incidences. In this regard, young people reported higher involvement in all incidences for both forms. Turning to 'Psychological' bullying, young people agreed that they were more likely to be intimidated (Items 38) and frightened by bullies (Item 34). With regard to 'Sexual' forms, young people admitted that sexual abuse (Item 44) and harrasment (Item 62) were prevalent in secure settings. In relation to the 'Physical' form, young people reported that bullies tended to start a fight with them (Item 13) and physically push them (Item 11). In contrast, young people reported that they were less likely to be forced to take drugs or tobacco (Item 36). Also, they agreed that bullies were less likely to damage their property (Item 15). For 'Theft-related' bullying, young people were more likely to be forced to swap goods (Item 53) and they were less likely to be forced to give out private cash (Item 23). Within the 'Indirect' form, young people agreed that bullies tended to gossip about them (Item 10) and were less likely to commit the behaviour of sending nasty things to another young people (Item 6). Overall, young people experienced different forms of victimisation in secure settings.

6.3.3 Groups involved in bullying

DIPC-SCALED_r identified four groups involved either in bullying or victimisation or both. Using median split analysis on bullying and victimisation total score, participants were separated into two groups. The total score of behaviour related to bullying distributed between 0 and 180. In the distribution, the Median of bullying overall score is 24. This means, '24' is the mid-point of scores distribution. By using median split analysis, the sample was separated into two groups. Those scoring above the median (≥ 25) are coded as higher perpetration and those coded similar or below the median (≤ 24) are coded as lower perpetration. As a result, about 49 per cent of young people are identified as having higher levels of involvement in bullying others. Meanwhile, slightly more than half are less likely to be involved in behaviour indicative of bullying others. Apart from this, the total score of behaviour related to being bullied or victimisation distributed between 0 and 170. In the distribution, the Median of victimisation overall score is 37. This means, '37' is the mid-point of victimisation scores distribution. By using median split analysis, the sample was separated into two groups. Those scoring above the median (≥ 38) are coded as higher victimisation and those coded similar or below the median (≤ 37) are coded as lower victimisation. As a result, about 50 per cent of young people are identified with frequently being bullied during incarceration. Meanwhile, slightly less than half of participants are less frequently being bullied by other young people.

Based on the results discussed, participants are classified into four groups by using cross tabulation between the level of bullying and the level of victimisation. Participants who have been identified as exhibiting higher bullying behaviour and lower experiencing victimisation were classified as pure bullies. Meanwhile, participants who have been identified as exhibiting lower bullying behaviour and experiencing higher victimisation were classified as pure victims. On the other hand, participants who have been indicated as higher on both bullying behaviour and victimisation were coded as bully-victim. Lastly, participants reporting lower

frequency of both bullying behaviour and victimisation were classified as casual involvement.

Table 23 Distribution of participants by groups involved in bullying

Groups	Frequency	Percentage
Pure Bullies	49	17.10
Pure Victims	56	19.51
Bully-victims	87	30.31
Casual involvement	95	33.10
Total	287*	99.31

*data of two participants are missing

As shown in the Table 23, out of the total number of participants, about 17 per cent were classified as pure bullies and slightly less than 20 per cent were coded as pure victims. Interestingly, about 30 per cent of young people were coded as bully-victims. That means, this group were actively engaged in behaviour indicative of bullying others and at the same time, they were also being bullied. Those reporting low-frequency casual involvement are less than half (33.1%). Notably, no participant reported 'no' for both bullying and victimisation. However, data of two participants failed to be included in this analysis as their data reported as missing.

6.4 Personal factors and bullying behaviour

This section addresses the second research question. It explains to what extent the personal characteristics and experiences of the young people relate to bullying behaviour. The explanations are divided into two sub-sections. By using cross tabulation, the first section illustrates the distribution of young people by personal characteristics and experiences across groups involved in bullying. The aim is to elaborate which cross-tabulations have produced a significant association, and this is a necessary step towards explanatory analysis. The explanatory analysis is described in the second sub-section. This sub-section aims to establish the causal

factors by explaining which characteristics or experiences have an influence on bullying behaviour.

6.4.1 Cross-tabulation between personal characteristics and groups involve in bullying

In order to establish a pattern or relationship, data were analysed using association analysis, that is, cross-tabulation. Cross-tabulation was used to explain the association of personal characteristics with four groups involved in bullying. Measures of association (i.e. Standardized Contingency Coefficient (C), Cramer's V, and Phi) were used to produce a rough idea of the strength of association. The strength of association ranges between 0 and 1, in which a value of zero indicates little or no association, while 1 indicates a perfect association. Association between characteristics and groups are best presented with the use of a contingency table. Tables are made up of the four groups involved in bullying (columns) and a set of the characteristics categories (rows) that produce cells at the intersection of each one. Using percentages, each cell contains the distribution of the sample in each category (nt) by the group involved in bullying. Meanwhile, the Total represents the distribution of the overall sample in the study (N = 289) by groups involved in bullying. If there is disparity between the percentages across category (across row), this means that there is an association between a particular characteristic and groups involved in bullying. In order to help recognise the disparity in all subsequent tables, cells in which there is overrepresentation are shown in bold. Out of 15, there are only 11 characteristics that were produced a significant association with the groups involved in bullying. Meanwhile, 'age', 'type of offences', 'prior imprisonment' and 'the experience of being admitted to the psychiatric hospital' showed no pattern of significant association.

Table 24 Sex across groups involved in bullying

Sex	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Male	14.3	34.1	29.1	22.5	182
Female	24.5	25.5	38.7	11.3	106
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

As shown in the Table 24, the association between the 'sex' and groups is slightly moderate ($\Phi = .204$). This means that there is moderate disparity between male and female in regards to bullying behaviour. Females are overrepresented and males underrepresented among participants indicated as 'bully' and 'casual involvement'. As compared to females, males are more likely to be victims due to the overrepresented cells in both 'bully-victim' and 'victim' groups. Therefore, these differences have contributed to the significant association between 'sex' and groups.

Table 25 Ethnicity across groups involved in bullying

Ethnic	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Malay	19.1	28.4	35.8	16.7	257
Chinese	22.2	44.4	-	33.3	9
Indian	5.0	60.0	10.0	25.0	20
Others	-	33.3	-	66.7	3
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

Similar patterns can be found with 'ethnic', where the strength of association is slightly moderate ($C = .270$). It can be concluded that Malays are overrepresented within 'bully' and 'casual involvement' groups; meanwhile, other ethnicities are more likely to be bullied and at the same time bully others. Nonetheless, those of Chinese origin are also overrepresented among participants who are identified as 'bully'.

Table 26 Length of sentence across groups involved in bullying

Length	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Remanded	12.5	12.5	50.0	25.0	8
1 year	10.9	29.1	25.5	34.5	55
2 years	15.2	39.4	24.2	21.2	33
3 years	20.8	30.7	35.4	13.0	192
> 3 years	-	100.0	-	-	1
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

Table 26 shows the distribution of participants by the 'length of sentence' across groups involved in bullying. The association between the 'length of sentence' and groups involved in bullying is slightly moderate (Cramer's $V = .145$) and significant ($p < .05$). It is clear that the cells in which there is an overrepresentation are distributed across the table, and shows a slightly moderate pattern. Those who are sentenced for more than two years are overrepresented among participants indicated as bullies. Nonetheless, these young people are also overrepresented in the 'casual involvement' and 'victim' groups. Meanwhile, young people who are sentenced for less than a year are overrepresented among participants indicated as non-bullies. Although some of them were involved in bullying others, they are not overrepresented in the bullies groups.

Table 27 Time spent in the institution across groups involved in bullying

Month(s)	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
< 1	8.3	16.7	50.0	25.0	12
1 – 6	7.4	28.4	38.3	25.9	80
7 – 12	16.7	32.4	31.4	19.6	102
13 – 24	26.5	30.9	33.8	8.8	68
> 24	38.5	42.3	7.7	11.5	26
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

As shown in the Table 27, the association between the ‘time spent in the institution’ and groups is significantly moderate (Cramer’s $V=.188$). With regard to bullying behaviour, this means that there is a moderate disparity between longer serving sentence young people and ‘newcomers’ or short serving sentence young people. Young people who have been incarcerated for more than a year are more likely to bully others (either bully or bully-victim). In fact, these categories are overrepresented among participants indicated as bully. Nonetheless, those who are incarcerated for more than a year but less than two years are also overrepresented in ‘casual involvement’ groups. Meanwhile, young people who have been incarcerated less than a year are less likely to be involved in bullying. Young people in these categories are overrepresented among young people indicated with casual involvement and as victim. Nonetheless, those who are incarcerated between 7 to 12 months are also overrepresented in the ‘bully-victim’ group.

Table 28 Visitation across groups involved in bullying

Frequency	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Never	12.0	38.0	36.0	14.0	50
Once	28.3	26.4	30.2	15.1	53
Twice	26.3	28.9	34.2	10.5	76
3	9.1	45.5	21.8	23.6	55
≥ 4	11.1	16.7	40.7	31.5	54
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

The association of 'visitation' and the groups as shown in the Table 28 is significantly moderate (Cramer's $V=0.334$). Across the 'bully' group, young people who get less than two visitations are overrepresented compared to others. Nonetheless, young people who never receive visitation are overrepresented with 'bully-victim' and 'casual-involvement' groups. Meanwhile, young people who receive visitation more than three times are overrepresented in non-bullies groups. Although they tend not to be involved in bullying (i.e. casual involvement), they are more likely to be victims. Nonetheless, some of them tend to become bully-victims due to the highest percentage (45.5%) in the 3 times visitation category across groups.

Table 29 Contact with family or friends across groups involved in bullying

Contact	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Yes	17.5	25.4	36.7	20.3	177
No	19.1	40.9	25.5	14.5	110
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

Table 29 demonstrates that there is a slightly moderate association between 'contact' and groups ($\phi = 0.179$). Young people who had contact with either family

or friends are more likely to be indicated as non-bullies. In fact, they are overrepresented among participants indicated as non-bullies. In contrast, those who never receive contact are more likely to bully others. Nonetheless, some of them also bully others due to the highest percentage (40.9%) reported in the ‘bully-victim’ group.

Table 30 Experience of punishment in institution across groups involved in bullying

Punishment	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Yes	24.2	31.5	26.7	17.6	165
No	9.7	30.6	40.3	19.4	124
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

As shown in the Table 30, there is a slightly moderate association between groups and the experience of being punished during confinement ($\phi=.208$). Young people who experienced punishment or penalties inside the institution are more likely to be classified in bullies groups. In particular, they are overrepresented among participants indicated as ‘bully’ and ‘bully-victim’. In contrast, those who never experience punishment are less likely to bully others.

Table 31 Gang membership across groups involved in bullying

Gang	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Yes	24.2	41.8	25.3	8.8	91
No	15.2	26.3	35.9	22.7	198
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

Turning to the ‘gang membership’ variable, there is also slightly moderate association with groups involved in bullying (Cramer’s $V = .235$). Table 31 shows that young people who admitted involvement in gang membership are overrepresented among participants indicated as bullies. In contrast, young people

who are more likely to disassociate with the 'gang membership' are overrepresented among participants indicated as non-bullies.

Table 32 Drug use before institution across groups involved in bullying

Drug	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Yes	24.6	31.5	31.5	12.3	130
No	12.6	30.8	33.3	23.3	159
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

The association between 'drug use' and groups is slightly moderate ($\phi = .191$). Table 32 shows that young people who used drugs before coming to the institution are overrepresented among participants indicated as bully and bully-victim. In fact, young people who never use drugs are overrepresented among participants indicated as non-bullies.

Table 33 Smoking before institution across groups involved in bullying

Smoking	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Yes	20.6	32.7	27.8	18.8	223
No	9.2	26.2	47.7	16.9	65
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

A similar pattern can be found with the 'smoking' variable (see Table 33), where the strength of association is slightly moderate ($\phi = .192$). Young people who smoked tobacco or cigarettes before coming to the institution are overrepresented among participants indicated as bully and bully-victim. Although smokers are also overrepresented among 'victim' group, many non-smokers tend not to be involved in bullying.

Table 34 Self-harm across groups involved in bullying

Self-harm	Percentage (%)				Total (nt)
	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	
Yes	17.3	17.3	33.3	32.1	81
No	18.4	36.7	31.9	13.0	207
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

The association between 'self-harm' and groups is slightly strong ($\phi=.254$). As shown in the Table 34, young people who have never experienced self-harm are overrepresented among participants indicated as bully and bully-victim. Meanwhile, young people who experience self-harm are less likely to be involved in bullying. In fact, they are overrepresented in the casual involvement and victims groups.

6.4.2 The influence of significant personal factors on bullying behaviour

The measures of association that are discussed in the previous sub-section are referred to as symmetrical, which means that the association or relationship can be examined from the point of view of either the characteristics and experiences or groups. No assumptions are made about whether one variable has an influence on the other. Therefore, this sub-section concentrates on explaining the influence of characteristics and experiences on bullying behaviour. The analysis undertaken was based on the characteristics or experiences that have produced a significant association with groups. As explained previously, there are only 11 characteristics and experiences that were expected to produce a significant association with the groups involved in bullying. Using asymmetrical measures (i.e. Somer's d and λ), this part of the chapter focuses on explaining the influence of the 11 characteristics and experiences on bullying behaviour. By this, it has been argued that characteristics and experiences are predictor variables and groups are outcome variables. This is based on the common assumption that attitudes influence behaviour. For the purpose of this analysis, bullying behaviour was measured with a dichotomous variable (i.e. young people with higher bullying behaviour or bullies

and young people with lower bullying behaviour or non-bullies). The aim is to clearly predict the occurrence of bullying behaviour.

Table 35 Influence of personal factors on bullying behaviour

Characteristics	<i>d</i>	SE	p
Time spent in the institution	.193	.042	<.01
Visitation	-.087	.041	<.05
Contact	-.171	.060	<.01
The experience of punishment	.154	.059	<.01
Gang membership	.245	.061	<.01
Drug use	.128	.059	<.05
Smoking	.180	.068	<.01
Self-harm	-.205	.063	<.01

Table 35 shows personal characteristics and experiences that are expected to influence bullying behaviour. Out of 11, only eight characteristics and experiences significantly predicted bullying behaviour. With the exception of 'visitation', the influences of predictors on bullying are slightly moderate. The 'gang membership' factor shows the highest influence among other predictors with Somer's $d = .245$. This indicates that there is a corresponding increase of 24.5 per cent in bullying behaviour to those affiliated with gang in the institution. Turning to 'self-harm', this predictor reported influence of Somer's $d = -.205$. The value indicates that there is a corresponding decrease of 20.5 per cent in bullying behaviour for young people who experienced self-harm. 'Time spent in the institution' reported significant influence on bullying behaviour with Somer's $d = .193$ and highly significant ($p < .01$). The value indicates that there is a corresponding increase of 19.3 per cent in bullying behaviour by increasing amount of time spent in the institution. The situation for 'visitation' is different. Although it reported a weak association, it shows a significant negative influence on bullying behaviour (Somer's $d = -.087$). This indicates that for every frequency of increased visitation, there is a

corresponding decrease of 8.7 per cent in bullying behaviour. Similarly, there is also a negative influence on bullying behaviour for 'contact' and 'self-harm' predictors. For contact, the degree of influence is Somer's $d = -.171$ and highly significant ($p < .01$). This value indicates that the tendency to bully others by 17.1 per cent is due to never having contact. With regard to 'punishment', there is significant influence on bullying with Somer's $d = .154$. It explains that there is a corresponding increase of 15.4 per cent in bullying for those who experienced punishment inside the institution. Turning to the 'experience of drug use', there is also significant influence on bullying with Somer's $d = .128$. It reveals that young people who used drugs before incarceration are predicting increase of 12.8 per cent in bullying behaviour. Similar to this, 'smoking' reported influence of Somer's $d = .180$. This means that there is predicted increase of 18 per cent in bullying behaviour for young people who are smokers.

6.5 Institutional environment and bullying behaviour

Similar to the previous section, this section addresses the second research question. It aims to explain how the institutional environment relates to bullying behaviour. Perception of institutional environments was measured using the Measuring the Quality of Prison Life (MQPL). In the MQPL, perceptions were measured using answer five choices that range between 'strongly disagree' and 'strongly agree'. This scale produced good reliabilities, as assessed by Cronbach's Alpha. Using a sample of 289, overall self-report (item = 127) produced an Alpha of .84. To conclude, this scale has shown excellent internal consistency, which means the scale used is reliable enough to explain the attitude on institutional environment. The total scores of attitude towards the institutional environment are distributed between 127 and 640. By using split analysis, participants were separated into three categories. Those scoring 296 and below are coded as having a 'negative' perception of the institutional environment, those scoring between 297 and 423 are coded as having 'moderate' perception of institutional environment and those scoring 424 and above are coded as having 'positive' perception of institutional

environment. Table 36 shows the distribution of participants according these three categories.

Table 36 Perceptions of institutional environment

Perception	Frequency	Percentage
Negative	4	1.4
Moderate	237	82.0
Positive	48	16.6
Total	289	100.0

Overall, it can be explained that majority of young people tended to have moderate perceptions towards the institutional environment. Less than 20 per cent of participants reported positive perceptions of institutional environment and only minority reported negative perceptions. Table 37 illustrates 21 institutional environment dimensions measured in the survey study. All these dimensions are classified into five groups i.e. 'harmony', 'professional', 'security', 'condition and family contact', and 'wellbeing and development'. Overall, young people are more positive with the 'harmony' dimensions of the institution.

Table 37 Descriptive statistics of 21 institutional environment dimensions

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
<u>Harmony (H)</u>				
Entry to custody	2.60	3.40	3.04	.23
Respect/courtesy	1.25	4.63	3.05	.53
Staff-inmate relationship	1.00	4.71	3.21	.75
Humanity	1.00	4.50	3.18	.69
Decency	1.20	4.20	2.85	.49
Care for the vulnerable	1.00	5.00	3.30	.80
Help and assistance	1.33	5.00	3.43	.65
<u>Professional (P)</u>				
Staff professionalism	1.33	4.78	3.27	.72
Bureaucratic legitimacy	1.14	5.00	2.77	.76
Fairness	1.00	4.67	2.99	.66
Organisation and consistency	1.17	4.67	2.99	.58
<u>Security (S)</u>				
Policing and security	1.22	4.33	2.82	.49
Safety	1.00	5.00	2.85	.54
Adaptation	1.00	5.00	2.76	.77
Drug & exploitation	1.00	4.60	2.90	.67
<u>Condition and family contact (C)</u>				
Conditions	1.00	4.50	2.76	.75
Family contact	1.33	5.00	3.16	.99
<u>Wellbeing and Development (W)</u>				
Personal development	1.00	5.00	3.55	.87
Personal autonomy	1.00	4.75	3.04	.72
Wellbeing	1.00	5.00	2.56	.82
Distress	1.00	5.00	2.98	.69

^a Total of actual score of all 21 dimensions ($n = 289$)

This analysis revealed that this dimension scored the highest mean (3.15) across the five classificatory groups, following by ‘wellbeing and development’ (3.03), ‘professional’ (3.00), and ‘condition and family contact’ (2.96). Meanwhile, the ‘security’ dimensions reported the lowest mean with the score of 2.83. Across whole dimensions, young people were more positive towards ‘personal development’, ‘care for vulnerable’ and ‘help and assistance’ than other dimensions. This means that young people agreed that institutions provide good care and support positive behavioural change. Also, young people were more positive about ‘staff professionalism’. For them, staff members were competent in maintaining professional relationships with them. In regard to other dimensions, young people were less likely to show positive perceptions towards them.

6.5.1 Cross-tabulation between perception of environment and groups involve in bullying

As explained previously, cross-tabulation was used to explain the association of perception of institutional environment with four groups involved in bullying. As with this, Cramer’s V was used to produce a rough idea of the strength of association. Result shows that the association between the institutional environment and bullying behaviour is moderate with Cramer’s V = -.226 and highly significant (p <.01). It reveals that there is moderate disparity between young people who have ‘positive’, ‘moderate’ and ‘negative’ perceptions towards the institutional environment upon bullying behaviour.

Table 38 Perception of institutional environment with groups involve in bullying

Perception	Bully	Bully-Victim	Casual	Victim	Total
Positive	4.2	22.9	54.2	18.8	48
Moderate	20.7	32.1	28.7	18.6	237
Negative	25.0	75.0	-	-	4
Total	18.0	31.1	32.5	18.3	289

Table 38 elaborates the distribution of participants by the 'level' of perception of institutional environment across groups involved in bullying. As shown in the table, young people with 'positive' perceptions are overrepresented among participants indicated as non-bullies. Meanwhile, young people with 'negative' perceptions are overrepresented among young people indicated as 'bully' and 'bully-victim'. Young people with 'moderate' perceptions are overrepresented among bullies. Nonetheless, some young people with 'moderate' perceptions are also overrepresented among participants indicated as victims. In the explanatory analysis, 'institutional environment' is expected to exert a significant influence on bullying behaviour. It has been found that the influence of perceptions towards the institutional environment on bullying behaviour is moderate (Somers's $d = -.280$) and highly significant ($p < .01$). The value indicates that for young people who reported negative perceptions towards the institutional environment, there is a corresponding increase of 28.0 per cent in bullying behaviour.

6.5.1 The influence of environmental factors on bullying behaviour

Previous discussions have confirmed that the perception towards the institutional environment is expected to influence bullying behaviour. To go beyond describing the institutional environment, this section further explains *which* institutional dimensions contribute to significant influences on bullying behaviour. It focuses on explaining the influence of the 21 institutional environment dimensions on bullying behaviour. To do so, all dimensions (predictors) were recorded into ordinal-level categories (i.e. positive, moderate and negative) and associated with dichotomous outcome (i.e. young people with higher bullying behaviour or bullies and young people with lower/no bullying behaviour or non-bullies).

Table 39 Influence of institutional dimensions on bullying behaviour

Characteristics	<i>d</i>	SE	p
Respect/courtesy	-.280	.062	<.01
Staff-inmate relationship	-.234	.066	<.01
Humanity	-.167	.061	<.05
Bureaucratic legitimacy	-.177	.056	<.05
Fairness	-.359	.054	<.01
Safety	-.135	.056	<.05
Family contact	-.230	.055	<.01
Personal autonomy	-.244	.062	<.01
Wellbeing	-.150	.055	<.05

Out of 21 dimensions, only nine dimensions significantly influence bullying behaviour as shown in the Table 39. At a glance, it is clear that the variables are associated negatively. This means that a higher attitude towards a certain institutional dimension is associated with a lower attitude towards bullying behaviour, and vice versa. 'Fairness' emerges as the highest influence in comparison to other dimensions, and it shows a moderate influence on bullying (Somers's $d = -.359$). This value indicates that there is a corresponding increase of 35.9 per cent for young people who reported negative perception on fairness. In other words, the perception of the unfairness of the legality of punishment and procedure (procedural injustice) in the institution contributes to bullying behaviours. Inversely, young people with positive perception on fairness were less likely to bully others.

Apart from fairness, all other dimensions show a slightly moderate influence on bullying behaviour, that is, between Somers's $d = -.135$ and $-.280$. 'Safety' shows the lowest value with Somers's $D = -.135$. It reveals that the influence of young people involved in bullying is only 13.5 due to the negative perception of respect or courteousness by staff. 'Humanity' and 'wellbeing' also show lower influence with Somers's D less than .20. Therefore, it explains that the influences of 'humanity and

wellbeing' on bullying behaviour are less than 20 per cent. Nonetheless, it supports that young people's feelings of being treated inhumanely and feelings of pain in the institution were more likely to encourage them to get involved in bullying behaviour. In contrast, they were less likely to bully others if they have a positive perception towards 'humanity' and 'wellbeing' dimensions. Similarly, the 'bureaucratic legitimacy' dimension also shows influence of less than 20 per cent (Somer's $d = -.177$). It explains that young people with negative perception towards the transparency and responsiveness of institutional systems have a predicted increase of 17.7 per cent in bullying behaviour. With regard to other dimensions, there is more than 20 per cent influence on bullying behaviour. Respect shows coefficient of Somer's $d = -.280$. This value indicates that the increase of bullying behaviour by 28 per cent is due to the negative perception towards the 'respect' dimension. Furthermore, it reveals that those young people who feel less respectful and that those staff who are less courteous tend to be involved in bullying behaviour. Turning to the 'Staff-inmate relationship', this dimension has been found to influence about 23 per cent of bullying behaviour (Somer's $d = -.234$). This means that young people who received less support for their behaviours from staff are more likely to bully others. The 'family contact' also shows about 23 per cent influence on bullying behaviour (Somer's $d = -.230$). By this, it reveals that young people who have less opportunity to maintain contact with their family were more likely to conduct behaviour of bullying others. Meanwhile, they are less likely to bully others when they are able to maintain meaningful contact with family members. With regard to 'personal autonomy', there is a significant influence on bullying behaviour with Somer's $d = -.244$. This means that the increase of bullying behaviour by 24.4 per cent is due to negative perception towards 'Personal autonomy' dimension. In other words, young people who felt less control over themselves were more likely to conduct bullying behaviour.

6.6 Logistic regression

Direct logistic regression is performed to assess the impact of a number of predictors on the likelihood that young people would report that they had been involved in bullying others. Logistic regression allows a more sophisticated exploration of the interrelationship among a set of significant variables that have been explained in the previous parts (i.e. eight personal factors and nine institutional dimensions) in the one model. It has been used to make much more powerful and accurate predictions about bullying behaviour. This makes it ideal for the investigation of more complex real-life data. Although some of the predictors showed a significant influence with bullying behaviour in the cross tabulation in the logistic regression, after controlling association between predictors, some were no longer significant predictors.

Table 40 Logistic regression predicting likelihood of reporting bullying behaviour

	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	p	Odds Ratio	95% C.I. for Odds ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Time spent	1.16	.34	11.60	1	.01	3.20	1.64	6.26
Punishment	.70	.32	4.71	1	.03	2.00	1.07	3.75
Gang members	.97	.37	6.85	1	.01	2.62	1.27	5.40
Self-harm	-1.26	.37	11.68	1	.01	.28	.14	.58
Respect	-.11	.05	3.93	1	.04	.90	.81	1.00
Bureaucratic	-.12	.04	8.30	1	.01	.89	.82	1.00
Fairness	-.12	.06	4.20	1	.04	.89	.80	1.00
Family	-.16	.06	6.57	1	.01	.86	.76	1.00
Constant	6.47	1.68	14.79	1	.00	647.91	-	-

The full model containing all predictors was statistically significant, $X^2(17, N = 284) = 119.47, p < .01$, indicating that the model was able to distinguish between young people who reported higher involvement and lower involvement in bullying

behaviour. The model as a whole explained between 34.3 per cent (Cox & Snell R Square) and 45.8 per cent (Nagelkerke R square) of the variance in bullying status, and correctly classified 76.4 per cent of cases. As shown in the Table 40, only eight predictors (four personal factors and four institutional dimensions) made a unique statistically significant contribution to the model. The strongest predictor of reporting a bullying behaviour is 'time spent in the institution', recording an odds ratio of 3.20. This indicated that participants who have spent a longer period of time in the institution were over three times more likely to report behaviour indicative of bullying others than those incarcerated for less time. 'Self-harm' reported the lowest odds ratio of .30. This value indicated participants who experienced self-harm are .30 times less likely to report behaviour of bullying others. 'Gang membership' or affiliation recorded 2.62 odds ratio. This indicated that young people who affiliated with gang members are almost three times more likely to bully others. With regard to 'punishment', this predictor reported an odds ratio of 2.0. This means that young people who experienced punishment during incarceration are two times more likely to report behaviour indicative of bullying others than those who never experienced punishment. Apart from this, all institutional dimensions reported an odds ratio slightly less than 1.0. This indicated that participants who have positive perception towards 'respect', 'bureaucracy legitimacy', 'fairness' and 'family contact' dimensions are one times less likely to bully others than those who reported negative perception towards these dimensions.

6.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter discusses the results of the survey study. 95 per cent of young people reported at least one behaviour of bullying others in the past month. Meanwhile, almost all (98.9%) reported at least one behaviour indicative of being bullied. In this respect, young people reported more on verbal forms of both bullying behaviour and victimisation. Out of the total number of participants (n=289), about 17 per cent were classified as pure bully, 20 per cent classified as pure victim, and 30 per

cent classified as bully-victim. Meanwhile, 33 per cent were classified with casual-involvement. There is no person classified as non-involved.

This chapter also discussed the influence of personal characteristics on bullying behaviour and institutional environment on bullying behaviour. Out of 15, there are only eight personal characteristics which indicate a significant influence on bullying behaviour; 'time spent in the institution', 'the frequency of visitation', 'the received contact', 'the experience of punishment inside the institution', 'gang membership', 'the experience of drug use', 'the experience of smoking', and 'the experience of self-harm'. It reveals that young people who are serving a longer sentence, who lack of visitation, and who never get contact tend to report a higher behaviour indicative of bullying others. Also, young people who have experienced punishment inside the institution, who are involved in gang membership, and who used drugs and smoked before their incarceration are more likely to bully others. Meanwhile, those who experienced self-harm prior to incarceration tend to report behaviour indicative of being bullied. Turning to the institutional environment, this has a significant influence of bullying behaviour. Nonetheless, out of 21, there are only nine institutional dimensions indicating significant influences on bullying behaviour; 'respect', 'staff-inmate relationship', 'humanity', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness', 'safety', 'family contact', 'personal autonomy', and 'wellbeing'. It explains that the likelihood of bullying others is associated with the negative perception towards, or more negative perceptions of, all these dimensions. Meanwhile, young people with positive, or more positive, perceptions towards the institutional environment tend not to get involved in bullying behaviour. To be more sophisticated, significant predictors are tested further in the logistic regression. The results show that eight predictors reported significant influence on bullying behaviour in this model. It reveals that out of 17 predictors (combining both personal characteristics and institutional dimensions), eight predictors are reported to contribute more in explaining bullying behaviour: 'time spent in the institution',

'experience of punishment inside the institution', 'gang membership', 'experience of self-harm', 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness', and 'family contact'.

To put the phenomenon into a more comprehensive explanation, survey findings are supplemented with qualitative data. Therefore, the next chapter involves an extended and nuanced discussion about the extent of bullying and victimisation in the institution. It discusses the dynamic experiences of young people and staff members in secure settings. Furthermore, the next chapter involved an extended discussion about the processes through which the relationship or influence occurs. Therefore, the results of logistic regression are explained further in the next chapter. It discusses how eight predictors affect young people's behavioural adjustment. In this respect, it emphasizes how certain predictors influence the way young people evaluate their options, and make decisions to get involved in behaviour of bullying others.

7 DATA ANALYSIS & QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the third research question. It seeks to understand the phenomena of bullying and victimisation in secure settings from the perspective of young people and institutional staff. It elaborates on the survey findings by interpreting and discussing the qualitative data generated by 24 interviews in two Malaysian juvenile justice institutions, comprising 16 young people and eight institutional staff. This chapter begins by presenting the personal information of all participants involved in interviews. Then, the chapter discusses interview findings. Interview data were analysed using the Interpretative Phenomenological Analytic method (IPA; Smith et al., 2009). Using the procedure outlined by Smith et al. (2009), as explained previously, the process of data analysis involved descriptive comments, linguistic comments and conceptual comments. Also, the process involved the generation of emergent themes and the organisation of themes into clusters. In this chapter, findings are discussed in two different sections corresponding to the survey findings. The first section further elaborates the extent of bullying and victimisation by exploring the nature and function of bullying through dynamic experiences of young people and staff members in secure settings. It primarily explains four themes that emerged from the analysis, including 'protecting from threatening events', 'exerting control over others', 'access to goods' and 'building alliance'. The second section involves the discussion of eight predictors and their contribution in shaping young people's choices and decisions to engage in bullying behaviour: 'time-spent in the institution', 'the experience of punishment inside the institution', 'gang membership', 'the experience of self-harm', 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness' and 'family'. The chapter concludes by summarizing overall interview findings and reflecting on the implications of the findings with regard to the research questions.

7.2 Personal information of interview participants

As explained previously, interviews involved 24 participants from two institutions, comprising 16 young people and eight institutional staff members. Referring to young people (see Table 41), there were eight females (obtained from a female institution) and eight males (obtained from a male institution) aged between 15 and 18 involved in interviews. All young people were classified into four different groups, including four pure bullies, five pure victims, four bully-victims and three young people with casual involvement. Nonetheless, pure bullies and bully-victims are considered as bullies, meanwhile, victims and young people with casual involvement are considered as non-bullies. Their convictions ranged from theft-related offences to attempted murder, and some of them were convicted of multiple offences. For most young people, the current sentence was the first they were incarcerated; only three of them reported prior incarceration. Information about family circumstances was also presented. Most young people perceived that they had experience of family dysfunction. Only four of them perceived their family members as supportive, of which three were non-bullies and one was a bully.

Apart from this, all pure bullies reported being placed in current institutions for almost three years and they were nearing release. They also considered themselves as longer-serving sentence offenders. Bully-victims can be considered as 'intermediate' offenders; most of them had been placed in the current institution for more than a year. Similarly, some victims and young people with casual involvement were also considered as intermediate offenders. Nonetheless, some of them reported being placed less than a year and they considered themselves as newcomers. Additionally, either bullies or non-bullies, were asked about their experience of 'punishment', 'gang membership' and 'visitation' in current institutions and their experience of 'self-harm' either before or during incarceration. In relation to their overall perception of the institutional environment,

Table 41 Personal informations of 16 young people

Age	Group	Offence	Prior incar.	Family condition	Time - spent	Punishment	Gang	Self-harm	Visit	Perceived environment
16	Pure bully	Stole more than 20 motorcycles	2 years	Large and poor family	Almost 3 years	Yes	Yes	No	Never	Negative
18	Pure bully	Convicted of drug use (Cocaine)	No	Loss father at the age of 6	Almost 3 years	Yes	Yes	No	3 times	Negative
18	Pure bully	Ran away from home and drug use (Amphetamine & ecstasy)	No	Strict parents	Almost 3 years	Yes	Yes	No	Never	Negative
17	Pure bully	Anti-social and drug use (Amphetamine)	No	Divorced parent	Almost 3 years	Yes	Yes	Yes	Never	Negative
15	Bully victim	Anti-social and drug use (Ecstasy)	A year	N/A	2 years	No	No	Yes	Yes	Negative
16	Bully victim	Attempted murder and drug use (multi)	Twice	Mom died of AIDS and father in prison	A year	Yes	No	No	Never	Negative
15	Bully victim	Stole 3 motorcycles	No	Supportive family	8 months	Yes	Yes	No	Always	Negative
16	Bully victim	Vehicle theft	No	Poor family with 5 siblings	Almost 2 years	No	No	No	Yes	Positive
15	Victim	Beyond control – run away home	No	Supportive family	18 months	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Positive
16	Victim	Physical assault	No	Living in children home	Almost 2 years	No	No	Yes	Never	Negative
16	Victim	Burglary	No	Abandoned kid	6 months	Yes	No	No	Never	Positive
18	Victim	Drug use (methamphetamine)	No	Supportive family	18 months	Yes	No	No	Always	Positive
15	Victim	Beyond control	No	Divorced parents	8 months	Yes	No	No	Never	Negative
16	Casual	Beyond control – baby dumping	No	Supportive family	12 months	No	No	No	Yes	Positive
15	Casual	Burglary	No	Poor family and father died	6 months	No	Yes	No	Yes	Positive
17	Casual	Beyond control – parent requested for institutionalized	No	Broken relationship with parents	A year	No	No	No	Yes	Positive

nine young people reported negative perceptions and the rest reported positive views of the institutional environment. Among bullies, only one young person expressed a positive perception towards the institution. Among non-bullies, two young people perceived the institutional environment as negative.

Table 42 Information of institutional personnel

Name	Sex	Age	Education level	Position	Time-serving in the current institution
Abie	Male	47	Higher school	Guard	12 years
Wala	Male	29	Diploma	Social worker	5 years
Sami	Male	36	Diploma (currently furthering bachelor degree)	Social worker	12 years
Zack	Male	32	Degree	Psychologist	3 years
Wani	Female	28	Degree	Social worker	7 years
Rosa	Female	32	Diploma	Administration	3 years
Zana	Female	32	Degree	Teacher	10 years
Popi	Female	46	Higher school	Guard	5 years

Interviews also involved institutional staff members. Table 42 presents some demographic information of the staff members interviewed. Four male staff members (obtained from a male institution) and four female staff members (obtained from a female institution) aged between 28 and 47 were interviewed in this study. Two staff members completed higher school; three are diploma holders and three more are degree holders. Their position in the current institution is, or can be, related to their educational levels. Participants included two institutional guards, three social workers, a psychologist, a teacher and an administrator. They had been working in the current institution between 3 years and 12 years. Overall, they were diverse in background information.

7.3 The nature and function of bullying in juvenile justice institutions

Bullying and victimisation appears to be a prominent feature of young people in secure settings in Malaysia. In the survey study, 95 per cent of young people reported at least one behaviour indicative of bullying others and almost all (98.9%) of them reported at least one experience of being bullied. As reported in the survey study, young people showed higher levels of involvement in verbal and indirect forms of bullying perpetration than physical, sexual, theft-related and indirect forms. This is supported by the victimisation self-report findings, where young people reported higher levels of experience of verbal and indirect than other forms of victimisation. Regardless of the forms of bullying, young people in secure settings hold specific beliefs about the use of aggression. Obviously, young people who reported higher levels of involvement in bullying behaviour hold more positive beliefs about the use of aggression in secure settings as compared to non-bullies. For young people, bullying seems to serve at least four functions, including 'protecting from threatening events', 'exerting control over others', 'access to goods' and 'building alliances'. These functions were believed to make their life more secure and enduring in secure settings.

'Protecting from threatening events'

Young people who engaged in higher level of bullying behaviour, including pure bullies and bully-victims, reported bullying is a form of rightful retaliation: that is, it protects their sense of self-integrity⁹⁹ in response to threats. In certain circumstances, young people seemed to be driven by their natural defensiveness to initiate protective adaptations when an actual, or impending, threat is perceived (see Gilbert et al., 1998). For the most part, 'threat'¹⁰⁰ is understood as occurring when an experience is perceived as degrading or in other words disrespectful. Like

⁹⁹ Self-integrity or personal integrity, in this context, accord with the importance of responding to threats for maintaining masculine identity and status (see Archer, Holloway & McLoughlin, 1995).

¹⁰⁰ Threat is understood as occurring when an experience is perceived as inconsistent with self-images of adequacy and integrity (see Steele, 1988).

Bima (19, male, pure-bully) describes, 'they just start the war with me if they report about my wrongdoing to the staff or if they are being cocky in here.' Huma (15, female, bully-victim) added, 'when I talk nicely to them and they respond rudely, this is so annoying. They just create trouble.' Yogi (16, male, bully-victim) further explained, 'don't touch my friends. If they touch them, I will find them.' Concerned with a loss of self-respect, some pure-bullies and bully-victims reported such experiences as humiliating and threatening. To confront these feelings, they generally attempted to display their superiority. This would suggest that participants would express, at least to the extent that it became clear to others, that the disrespect had caused offence. Some pure-bullies and bully-victims seemed to feel motivated to diminish the threat by engaging in actions that make others appear comparatively inferior. Thus, pure-bullies and bully-victims may try to feel better about themselves by putting down other people (see Fein & Spencer, 1997). Gina, for example, criticizes others and put others down just to feel worthy and to get rid of inferiority feelings:

Honestly, I'm afraid of these kids but when someone starts to fight with me, I've got to fight back. I don't want to be a puppet. (...) One more thing, I will go mad if someone reports on me or whatever I'm doing to the staff. I will find them no matter what. I will ask her, until she admits it. I'm not stupid. I slapped her face. I tapped on her head (Gina, 18, female, pure-bully).

Imagining oneself as a 'puppet' is a reference to feelings of being weak and useless; as if under the control of another. These feelings appeared to contribute to feelings of insecurity. Some pure-bullies and bully-victims seemed to be driven by a sense of insecurity due to their dominant position, privileged position or status. They reported that they easily felt threatened by others especially provocative young people. Provocative young people were those who tended to provoke the attacks of others. Instead of being passive, some victimized young people appeared to be

motivated to 'fight back' in response to bullying (see Nesse, 1999). Some victims and mostly bully-victims seemed to be alternately labelled provocative victims (see Olweus, 1978). Some bully-victims reported that 'provocative' actions might keep the bullying from occurring again:

I always respect these kids. But, if they don't respect me, how can I respect them? These kids feel they're powerful. They want me to be under their feet. Do whatever they ask. (...) There was one time that I refused to do what they asked. I just walked away. They were really annoyed with me by that time. They told me I'm rude. The day after, they came over me. They slapped me many times. But, I fought back. Then, all his gang beat me. Since then, they marked me as trouble maker (Alan, 16, male, pure-victim).

I know I'm new here. But, I have been arrested many times. I have faced worse than this place. These kids are actually cowards. They pretend to be gangsters, but they are cowards. (...) Even the old or new kids, they are all the same. Childish! They like to fight with me. I told them if they like to fight, let's do it one by one. Be gentle. Sometimes, they refuse to fight with me. Coward! (Tyra, 16, female, bully-victim).

All pure bullies reported that provocative victims were troublemakers, and thus, they reported that it was important to gain others' obedience and exert control by acting aggressively. To protect their sense of security, therefore, most pure bullies appeared to utilize one or more of several possible strategies to deal with potential victims. Like Gina, for some pure bullies, verbal attacks may simply put someone down by increasing his, or her, levels of fear and feelings of insecurity. Within secure settings, verbal (for example, calling someone names, verbal threats) was widely reported. One of the main reasons is that these forms of bullying can be conducted covertly, and may be difficult for staff members to discover, thus

reducing the chances of the bullies getting caught. Yogi (16, male, bully-victim) explained, 'it's simple. If you touch them, you leave proof. Just don't touch them.' Gina (18, female, pure-bully) added:

It's hard. If you touch them, these kids will see it as serious. Then, they will tell staff. Once staff gets involved, it's going to be worse!

Practicing mostly verbal forms of bullying, some pure-bullies appeared to accord themselves less responsibility for their actions and another's injury. In fact, some pure-bullies as well as bully-victims seemed to be driven by the righteousness of their actions. They tended to put themselves into the position of an avenger and the victim is transformed into a wrongdoer. By transforming the victim into a person deserving injury, most pure-bullies and bully-victims seemed to perceive their acts as part of seeking justice as well as a solution to threatening events. In this respect, some pure bullies reported to have a predilection toward violence:

I say sorry sometimes. But, I don't feel guilty. Don't give any chances to these kids. They will step on your head (Dani, 16, male, pure-bully).

There's no point in feeling pity. It's not my fault. They did wrong things. I just want to teach them lesson. They don't know how to respect people in here (Bima, 19, male, pure-bully).

By blaming others or situational circumstances, the individual bully seemed to self-exonerate his or her own harmful conduct, which appears to serve the purposes of preventing him/her from feeling guilty (see Salekin et. al., 2003; Gini 2008). Nonetheless, this ego-defensiveness can be reduced, or even eliminated through the process of self-affirmation (see Sherman & Cohen, 2006). Self-affirmation enables young people to see particular events as less threatening, which in turn allows young people to respond in a manner that counters the automatic response

tendency. Therefore, some young people reported to not engage in bullying behaviour even if they felt threatened. Some young people with casual-involvement explained:

I get used to them. If they are rude to me, I just let it be. It's just a small matter. If I fight with them, I will just make things worse. Just don't fight. I think my life is much better (Guru, 17, male, casual-involvement).

I don't fight against them (bullies). Even if it's not my mistake, I will say sorry. Maybe they don't mean to attack these kids. Maybe, they did it by mistake. (...) I'm okay. I get use to it. But, they (bullies) aren't rude all the time. Sometimes they talk nicely (Ella, 16, female, casual-involvement).

Like Ella and Guru, some young people appeared to attribute positive or at least innocuous meanings to potentially threatening events. Indeed, when a positive meaning can be construed from similar experiences, it produces significantly better psychological adjustment (see Taylor, 1983). Nonetheless, individuals appear incapable of exercising self-control effectively due the absence of self-affirmation (see Robinson, Schmeichel, & Inzlicht, 2010). In regard to threatening events, all bullies reported that they were often driven by impulsive behaviour, that is, lead them to act aggressively. Some bullies explained that they were less likely to think carefully before taking action:

I can't tolerate it when someone bothers my life. I don't like it when someone bothers what I am doing. I can't control myself. I easily get mad. Once I know who did it, I will attack her. I say nothing. Push her and pull her hair. After that, I start swearing at her and say anything I want. (...) They talk too much. They talk about people. They really pisses me off. When I talk to them, they sometimes respond rudely. I'm not

her sister! When I talk to someone and they respond in such way, I can't tolerate it. They really make me mad (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

I try to control myself in here. It's enough what have I done in Lereh (previous institution). I'm crazy. I can even fight with staff. When I get mad, I lose control. Most of the time, I fought with these kids because of Norish (her partner). They also date someone, but, I didn't bother them. Whatever they did, like kissing or whatever, I didn't give a shit at all. But, when I did it, why does everybody need to report to staff? They are just a kiss ass (Tyra, 16, female, bully-victim).

Like Suki and Tyra, some pure-bullies and bully-victims seem to find it hard to tolerate threatening experiences. They reported that it is unnecessary to evaluate such situations, thus they act and make decisions based on how they feel. In fact, some pure-bullies and bully-victims seemed to perceive benefits of their decisions and actions. Nonetheless, individuals with impulsive behaviour will always be 'at risk' in many ways. Indeed, impulsiveness has often been attributed to bullying behaviours (see Eysenck & McGurk, 1980; Piquero et al., 2005). In this regard, therefore, some young people seemed to strengthen and maintain their bullying behaviour.

Over half of staff members reported that young people always feel threatened in secure settings. In fact, they were easily threatening towards each other. To control this, staff members appeared to limit the time-contact by segregating young people into different wings, or what they called 'camps'. Abie explained:

We separate these kids into different camps. They are locked in each camp. There's a specific time to open the gates, usually, in the morning until 10pm. These kids always do things (either bullying or illicit

activities) at night. That's why we have to lock them up in their camps (Abie, 47, male, staff member).

Some staff members reported that segregation as the best alternative to protect young people from threatening events. For Zana (32, female, staff member), 'methods such as segregation and guarding the offender are easy to practice in here. We don't have much staff here.' Nonetheless, some young people explained that this strategy is ineffective in safeguarding them. Segregating young people into different dormitories or camps does not seem to stop the occurrence of bullying. As explained by Noah (18, male, pure-victim), 'they always bully me in the camp. In my camp, there are 23 offenders but most of them like to fool around. They always want to present themselves as a gangster.' Budi also reported his experience of being bullied in the camp:

It always happens in the camp. That's why I feel afraid to stay in the camp. These kids cannot see my face. Whenever they see me they will do many things to me. (...) Sometimes, they ask me to give them a massage. Sometimes, they ask me to hand fan them. I just do it. (...) the leader in my camp is useless. He is also a bully. Sometimes he is also being bullied (Budi, 15, male, pure-victim).

'Exerting control over others'

All pure-bullies and some bully-victims reported that bullying serves as a disciplinary technique. It was used instrumentally to purposely exert control over others, as to the acceptable mode of behaviour in the institution. Young people are expected to behave in accordance with the specific rules that define the proper behaviour for young people in secure settings.¹⁰¹ The rules are simple. 'Don't get cocky, do camp

¹⁰¹ The concept of this 'rules' can be related to the concept of 'inmate rules'. The inmate rules is a series of conduct norms that define the proper behaviour for inmates. In the secure setting, the

tasks, and behave', said Dani (16, male, pure-bully). Aron (15, male, bully-victim) explained further how young people have to behave, 'don't make a noise in the canteen, don't be late for roll call, and don't tell staff whatever happens inside camp'. Bima (19, male, pure-bully) added, 'when we ask them to do things, they have to. But, whenever we ask them to stop doing things, they have to stop. That's it.' Nonetheless, these 'simple' rules were scarcely adopted by some young people, especially the 'newcomer'. Most pure-bullies and bully-victims expressed their lack of surprise that newcomers or short serving sentence offenders were often targeted for being bullied. Newcomers seemed to be less likely to be integrated into a culture of young people, and according to South & Wood (2006), being a victim may be more common for inmates who show higher levels of maladjustment. Some pure-victims explained:

Some of them are okay, but some of them are out of control. Once they start bullying, they want to do it over and over again. These kids are old offenders (longer serving offenders). (...) They always make new kids (newcomers) a slave. We are new here. So, we are weak (Leah, 15, female, pure-victim).

I have to follow whatever they ask. These kids want me to respect them. For them, respect is about doing whatever they ask you to do. It's like their rules. Sometimes, they ask me to clean their clothes or bed or wash their dishes. I don't want to do it. It isn't my job. I'm not fighting against them. I just don't want to do it. (...) They also did it to others, especially new comers. If we don't want to do what they want, they will do whatever they want to us (Noah, 18, male, pure-victim).

norms are mutually exclusive, in that the inmate must either behave in accordance with inmate rules or administrative rules. The significant point is that adherence to the inmate rules or code means rejection of the administrative code of conduct (see Wellford, 1967). Nonetheless, in the context of this study, inmate rules are not necessarily contrary to the behaviour patterns expected by the administration.

The risk of being bullied seemed to increase in accordance with the non-conformist attitudes of newcomers. Newcomers, initially at least, appeared to be less likely to integrate into not only an institutional system, but also the informal social culture. In an unfamiliar and unpredictable situation, an individual might choose either to accommodate or to confront the threat of a new culture (see Garza-Guerrero, 1974). At the early stage of sentencing, it appeared that young people were more likely to defy than to conform to the social culture of young people. Some longer-serving sentence offenders admitted the challenge of conforming to the social culture at the early phase of incarceration. Dani (16, male, pure-bully) said, 'it was difficult for me for the first couple of months. I thought I could just do whatever I want. But, it seemed like everything I did was wrong.' Gina (18, female, pure-bully) added, 'it's hard to get used to them. So many rules. I can't be bothered with it. But, after a year it's fine for me.' It can be argued that the lack of exposure to the social culture is the key factor that reduced the degree of conformity. It would seem that one of the factors that increase the degree of adaptation to the social culture as well as rules is the length of sentence. It has been argued that the longer the exposure to the social rules, the greater the likelihood that it will be incorporated by a given individual into his/her manner of living, because increased time and intensity will offer more positive reinforcement (see Crewe, 2009).

All pure bullies and some bully-victims seemed to agree that conforming to the rules in secure settings is very important. In order to enforce the rules, all pure-bullies and bully-victims reported that they often use verbal and physical forms of bullying. Coercive physical violence was also used against young people to enforce compliance, but this option was exercised, for the most part, as a last resort for most bullies. However, in certain situations, most bullies reported to utilize physical attacks as their first choice. Aron explained:

New kids have to be warned. Usually, we give them an 'introduction'. It's like, beating up and punching. We just want them to feel afraid so that they know how life in here is. It's just for the first two or three days they are here. Then, they will stay happily (Aron, 15, male, bully-victim).

(...) They (bullies) will do 'lizard' (slash on the neck 10 times) or 'panadol' (elbow on the top of the head 10 times). They will, sometimes, kick us using boots. Sometimes, they beat us using a steel pipe or chair or anything hard. Seriously, these kids are mental! Staff will never know about this. These kids know how to hide these activities. Someone will stay by the gate and alert the presence of staff (Noah, 18, male, pure-victim).

In this context, for some pure-bullies and bully-victims, bullying was regarded as a warning. The intention was not necessarily to create in young people a fear of injury or harm as an end in itself, but rather to achieve and retain the bullies' self-empowerment by making others feel weak. Gina (18, female, pure-bully) said, 'they will show some respect. They will never make their own way in here. They will follow the rules.' All pure-bullies seemed to feel that some young people were disrespectful to them, and this attitude could not be tolerated:

They need to be warned, especially new kids. Make them feel a little afraid. If not, these kids will get cocky (...). These kids talk big, especially newcomers. They don't know how to respect people. We ask them to do a task, they don't do it. We talk nicely, they respond rudely. They don't know how to respect us. We respect them, they must respect us. But, they don't. So, they get what they deserve (Bima, 19, male, pure-bully).

They are show-offs. They don't know how to respect people. All these kids want to be a gangster in here. They talk proudly. Talk to me like I

am a little sister. So stupid! They aren't good at all. They are all cowards. If they don't know how to respect me, they deserve to be treated like that (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

Perceptions of 'disrespect' seemed to be very challenging for some young people. In this context, respect seemed to be equated with performed deference and disrespect referred by most bullies in terms of one's experience of being treated in impolite ways by other young people or in a way that is not in one's favour. This seemed to result in emotional insecurity and feelings of disempowerment, both of which might be sustained for long periods of time. Therefore, 'respect' appeared to become one of the important rules in secure settings. Apart from this, some pure-bullies and bully-victims reported to develop and maintain bullying behaviours for the purpose of teaching self-reliance. They reported that some young people as hesitant and irresponsible. As Aron explained:

They are slow (slow in talking and action), especially new kids. They are lazy bums. We need to teach them. After some time, they will not drag their feet anymore (become active). We did this (bullying) for the sake of them. It's like a lesson. But, the lesson is quite painful. No pain, no gain (Aron, 15, male, bully-victim).

Some pure-bullies and bully-victims reported that they perceived hesitant young people as lazy, and more likely to avoid work, or activities that involve a particular effort. Dealing with these young people seemed to be infuriating to the bullies' sense of group responsibility and cohesion: the explanation they provided is that when the lazy ones avoided their responsibilities, others were forced to bear the burden. Gina (18, female, pure-bully) said, 'my job is my job. Their job is theirs. I will never do their jobs. But, if we didn't do it, like cleaning the camp, staff will punish us. No matter what, they have to do it. I will

force them to do it.' All bullies reported that they usually refused to take the blame for what was another young person's responsibility. Therefore, some young people reported that they use coercive power to enforce compliance. Such measures ranged from subtle psychological pressure to physical violence. Yogi described: They don't listen. They didn't do any work in the camp. Lazy! I need to remind them many times. Then they will do it. That's why I always insult them. But, they are still being cocky. One thing I don't like is that they like to report to staff. That's why sometimes I don't insult them. But, whenever I get mad, I can't stand it anymore. I try to seek their faults. For example, if they are lazy or they didn't do any work, then I give them what they are supposed to get. If they want to report to staff, I am not afraid. If staff questions me, I've a reason why. Then, staff will punish them as well (Yogi, 16, male, bully-victim).

Similarly, some staff members reported that bullying behaviour was related to an increase in young people's responsibilities. Abie explained:

Bullying is sometimes related to camp cleanliness. When one person doesn't do it, the other feels angry. That's why they sometimes fight in the camp. That's not bullying. That's the way they teach others to be independent. When they were outside, their mothers clean everything, but in here, they have to do everything by themselves (Abie, 47, male, staff member).

To some degree, and as the above quote implies, some staff members appeared to cede authority to longer-serving offenders, in order that the latter might manage other offenders.

'These leaders were chosen based on their personality and self-discipline. We chose those who are more goal-oriented and join more activities. We

chose those who commit to all activities in this institution' (Wala, 29, male, staff member).

Sami (36, male, staff member) further said, 'it's not like giving them power. But, it's more like appointing them as leader to take and deliver the order.' However, 'they always abuse the power' said Abie (47, male, staff member). Some staff members reported that the imposition of leader among longer-serving offenders may help them to control the occurrence of bullying in secure settings. They reported that these young people show leadership qualities and are able to organize and delegate tasks, as well as discipline other young people. Also, these young people can be exemplary young people who are good role models and assist in keeping order in secure settings. Nonetheless, some victims as well as bully-victims reported that the imposition of a leader is less likely to stop the occurrence of bullying:

There are prefects (leaders) here. But, they are not like one. When there's fighting in the camp, they will do nothing. They are also afraid of these kids (bullies) (Aron, 15, male, bully-victim).

Leaders, sometimes, they will make a fake report to the staff. They will say bad things about us such as that we are lazy or rude. They just want to put the blame on us after they beat us. Then, staff believe it and put us in the lock up (Noah, 18, male, pure-victim).

As the quotes above imply, within institutions, some leaders appeared to over use, if not abuse, their power to exert control over other young people and were actively involved in bullying others. Some leaders reported that they became allies to a bully and eventually built up bullying behaviour. Others reported that they were sometimes controlled by bullies and submitted to bullies' demand. For these reasons, therefore, young people reported that the imposition of leader was not effective to reduce the occurrence of bullying.

'Access to goods'

Some pure-bullies and bully-victims reported that bullying behaviour functions to fulfil needs and desires related to the acquisition or retention of material goods. In the institution, access to material goods is very limited. Driven by a lack of self-control or impulsivity, some bullies reported that they became involved in theft in order to avoid scarcity of goods. Self-control, in this context, related strongly to risk-taking behaviours and short-sighted decisions (see Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Some young people reported that there was no other way for them to meet their needs. In these desperate circumstances, to solve their problems, some of them reported that they dare to take the risk of doing anything, and with little or no consideration of the consequences. Attributed to these conditions, therefore, some young people reported that they stole from others; others reported that they simply felt entitled to get what they wanted without payment. Generally, the stolen objects have a value and, often, were needed for personal use. Some pure-bullies explained:

I take (things) whenever I want. I don't take it if I don't want it. I'm not like them. Whenever they want to use, they use it. But, whenever they don't want to use it, they keep it in the locker for ages. Such a stupid idea. Since they don't use it, it's better give it to me. That's why I take it (Dani, 16, male, pure-bully).

We always swap items in here. I ask to swap an item when I really need it. But, sometimes I really need the stuff, but they don't want to give it. Then, I will steal it. I will break into their locker (...) these kids don't know how to share in here. For example, toothpaste or anything. They keep lot of stuff in their locker. They are not going to use it all. I think it is okay to take it. It isn't my fault (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

For the purpose of survival, all pure-bullies and some bully-victims seemed to assert their moral right to take someone else's property. The concept of 'sharing' in the institution, and the justification that 'I steal from the rich' seemed to serve to intensify the theft-related behaviour by neutralizing the feelings of guilt. This, it may be claimed, is not really stealing; rather, it is a form of rightful retaliation (see Sykes & Matza, 1957). Being a victim of bullying, as reported by some bullies and bully-victims, may be more common for young people who are 'rich' or who possess an abundance of goods. It would seem that bullies or thieves are interested in goods, after all, not the owner (who is the victim). The targeted goods reported by all bullies varied from the trivial, for example, biscuits or shampoo, to valuable possessions such as radios or money. Food, toiletries and tobacco appeared to be desirable objects in their own right or used as currency to purchase something else. It can be argued that an abundance of possessions increases a person's target attractiveness (see Gould, 1969). Dani (16, male, pure-bully) said, 'if we steal some, they have still got more.' Suki further said:

They lose nothing if we steal it. If they report their loss to staff, I'm pretty sure that staff will take no action. It's because, they have got a lot of stuff (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

In this respect, even some staff seemed to recognise and understand this rationale for theft in secure settings. Rosa explained:

When we do inspections, we find the lockers full of shampoo and soaps which their family brought for them. I know, it's their right and we have no right to seize them. These kids usually will use the stuff that we provide. They will never use the stuff that their family bring (or send) to them (into the institution). That sometimes gets the other kids jealous (Rosa, 32, female, staff member).

Usually an attempt to steal appeared to be built up over several days. Young people being victimized seemed to be fully aware that the thief intended to take something from them, as the following quotes reveal. In this regard, most victims reported that they knew the identity of the thief. Some pure-victims explained:

Whenever I got a 'hometown visit', I brought a lot of stuff like food and toiletries from home for myself in the school. They knew it. When I'm back, these kids are nice to me. I know they want something from me. They force me to give them food. I want to keep something for myself for later but, they just want it and finish it. It's hard for me to give it to them. I don't simply give it to them. If I don't give them, they started threatening me. Sometimes, they just knock me out. (...) I know they plan to steal from me. They work in a group. At night, they steal it. They steal lot of things. Almost everything. They broke into my locker (Leah, 15, female, pure-victim).

I keep my stuff in the locker. But, my locker was always broken into. They stole my stuff. I keep all stuff that my parents brought for me during visitation in my locker. These kids are always asking for things when they know you got a visitation. That's why whenever they asked, just give it. If not, they will break your locker and take everything. Usually, they did this on Saturday. Sometimes on Sunday because there was less staff around. They plan it earlier. I know they are gonna steal from me (Noah, 18, male, pure-victim).

Although the perpetrator was identifiable, all pure-victims appeared to determine not to get the stolen stuff back. In secure settings, it seemed to be that the perpetrator would threaten victims with violence that would cause physical injury to the victim. In fear of the consequences they will risk (i.e. fear getting hurt), most victims passively accept a thief's provocations. Some pure-victims explained:

I don't want any trouble. I just give them whatever they want. They know that I'm easily giving stuff to them. That's why they always ask for stuff from me. Last time, I gave my blanket to someone. He told me that he would give it back. But, it didn't happen. I've no blanket at night. It is so cold (Noah, 18, male, pure-victim).

I don't want to get in a fight. I don't want trouble. If they want anything, I just give it. But, once I give, they will keep asking me. They don't ask others. If they see me reading a book, they want my book. If they see me writing my diary, they want my diary (Yuna, 16, female, pure-victim).

Some pure bullies and bully-victims reported that dealing with victims who submitted to their demands may help them to attain the high reward by minimizing the risk of being caught. Although the perpetrators were more interested in the goods, it seemed to be that the owner's characteristics were likely to have greater influence on whether or not someone will try to steal it. In order to act without fear of the consequences, the perpetrator was less likely to steal goods from young people who will take no action or who 'willingly give'. Also, the perpetrators tend to steal from those who would be likely to report their loss to staff. For some reason, however, some young people reported to engage in theft even when this required more effort and higher risk. In this regard, the value of the item may strongly encourage some young people to engage in theft-related activities. For example, in institutions, tobacco appeared to be a precious contraband and the limited availability of tobacco encouraged some young people to force or harm others. Aron explained:

We can't smoke in here. But, these kids smuggle tobacco from outside. They sell it on to us. Those who have money can buy it. I have no money. These kids are stingy. They don't know how to share. If you ask

nicely, they will never give it to you. What else I can do? Steal it! (...) Life in here is so painful. When I can smoke, I feel a little bit okay. Sometimes, I force someone to give me tobacco. If they don't want to give it to me, I will just grab it. Sometimes, I have threatened them. Sometimes, I punch their faces. I also ask someone who got a hometown visit to bring in the money. I do whatever I can to live (survive) (Aron, 15, male, bully-victim).

In these circumstances, some pure-bullies as well as bully-victims tended to use force upon another person. Nonetheless, many bullies reported that they would rather steal from than force or threaten someone to relinquish something. Dani (16, male, pure-bully) explained, 'I tried many times, but never got it. They will never give it. Its just foods, like biscuit or chocolate. Stingy! I got fed up. At night, I steal it.' Similar to Dani, Yogi (16, male, bully-victim) described, 'I sometimes asked things from them. But, most of the time I just steal it. I am just wasting my time asking them because it's hard to get it.' Thus, since young people, as the above quotes reveal, found that they could satisfy their needs through theft, they viewed behaviours based around 'forcing or threatening someone for property' as both superfluous and pointless.

Additionally, some pure-bullies and bully-victims reported that some young people merely create opportunities for theft. This would seem that theft is not only related to feelings of scarcity, but opportunistically, to the supply of steal-able property. Still, while theft requires opportunity, not every opportunity is followed by theft. In this regard, stealing seemed to be mainly a solitary pursuit, usually occurring without assistance from, or collaboration with, others, and was generally opportunistic. Some bully-victims explained:

In here, never leave your stuff on its own. If you leave it anywhere and I see it, I will definitely take it. It is better I take it, rather than other kids

take it. I've done it many times. I know it's wrong. Sometimes I feel awful about it. Just not enough to stop (Huma, 15, female, bully-victim).

Sometimes, they forget to lock the locker. It's a good chance for me. When nobody's around, I will try to look at whatever they got inside. These kids keep a lot of things. Whatever I like, I will take. Mostly, I take food. Nobody will know. They can't blame me. They've got no proof. Next time don't leave it unlocked (Yogi, 16, male, bully-victim).

Young people with impulse control problems seemed to be more prone to manifesting this behaviour. Some young people thus developed, and maintained, theft-related bullying. Still, some non-bullies reported- driven by fear and guilt - to not engage in theft-related behaviour. Noah (18, male, pure-victim) said, 'when I see someone smoke, I feel like I really want it. But, I'm not daring enough to steal from them. They are going to beat me.' In fact, some of them were simply contented: 'I feel whatever I've got in here is enough. It's much better than life - outside', said Leah (15, female, pure-victim). Unlike bullies, therefore, these young people reported to be less likely to engage in theft related bullying.

In secure settings, over half of staff members reported that the involvement of young people in theft-related bullying was due to the scarcity of material goods. There appeared to be at least three reasons that material goods, either legal or illegal, are limited in secure settings. Financial constraint seemed to be one of the major reasons material goods are limited, as Rosa explained:

We provide all the things they need. Toiletries, foods, and clothes. We just give them the minimum quantity for each. We have to control the use of these things. This is because we have to control the budget (Rosa, 32, female, staff member).

Secondly, staff reported that young people's access to material goods was limited due to the strict control of the institution's administration. This was justified by some with reference to the need to maintain young people's safety and security. Zana (32, female, staff member) explained that, 'they sometimes use some items for something that is not right. Like deodorant. It can be used for sexual activity.' Wala (29, male, staff member) further explained that, 'they will fight for food. That's why we don't allow them to bring the food that the family brought into the camp. Just finish all the food during the visit.' Thirdly, some illicit goods - such as tobacco - are banned within the institution. Although tobacco was banned, it was still used illicitly in the institution, as previously discussed. As a consequence, perhaps, it was very limited and highly sought after. To meet these needs, therefore, some young people became involved in theft-related bullying. It seemed to be that theft served as one of the primary methods of survival during incarceration.

'Building alliances'

Paradoxically, most bullies reported that persecution may actually serve as the first step towards friendship or alliance. This suggests that their familiarity with certain forms of aggression and intimidation may be related to their peer-affiliation and thus processes of socialisation. At the same time, it is important for bullies to achieve, and maintain, leadership within select groups of peers. In an effort to establish leadership (or dominance) in their new peer groups, therefore, some young people may publicly display aggressive behaviour (see Pellegrini, Bartini, & Brooks, 1999). Some pure-bullies explained:

In here, there is turn (schedule) to wash clothes. If they (newcomers) want to use my place for laundry, they have to wash my clothes as well. Or if they want to be my friend, they have to do it. For me, it isn't bullying. But, they see that as bullying (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

It's normal. I feel nothing by asking them to do things for me. It's just for fun. Sometimes, before I go to bed, I ask them to massage my leg. Sometimes I ask them to take my pillow, prepare my bed, my blanket or anything. Usually I ask the new kids. Plus, in my camp there are lot of new kids. If they want to be my friend, they have to do it. Show some kindness to me. Help me then (Gina, 18, female, pure-bully).

In forming alliances, physical force (i.e coercing others to do things) seemed to be used frequently by some pure-bullies as well as bully-victims, and this appeared to be used instrumentally, in the service of establishing alliances. It would seem that, most bullies perceived they have right to demand obedience and physical forces are legitimate actions to gain obedience. Most bullies considered that obedience equates to conformity, which is behaviour intended to match their lifestyle. Therefore, it would seem that obedient young people were liked or appreciated by bullies and, therefore, likely to be chosen as allies. Allies seemed to have a huge impact on the survival of young people. Having allies relieves stress, provides comfort and joy, prevents loneliness and isolation, and even strengthens one's status. As Suki and Guru (below) pointed out, allies, or what young people called 'friendships', nonetheless, were not necessarily highly trusting and loyal. In secure settings, either bullies or non-bullies, most young people seemed to be driven by feelings of distrust within offender communities:

If I want to discuss my problems, I have to be aware. I do not simply tell people around, even my best friends. If they are kind to me, they will also backstab me. That's usual. If you tell them about someone, they are going to tell about you to others (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

I've been friendly with all the kids. I was just nice to them. Never close. I am just close with a few friends. But, if I have got problems I will never

tell them. I don't know. I just don't really trust them (Guru, 17, female, casual involvement).

Since close or genuine friendships appeared to be rare, most young people reported that they tended to limit their involvement with other young people in secure settings. They picked their friends carefully. Many pure-bullies and bully-victims reported that they sought out allies in order to facilitate their interests, young people who were willing to share the risks inherent in sub-rosa activities, and in this regard they served a more instrumental purpose. It seems that most young people kept emotional relationships at a distance, and had no associates for whom they would put themselves at risk. Driven by these motivations, most bullies reported that they to associated with young people who shared similar behavioural styles and attitudes.¹⁰² In the institution, however, it might be hard to find friends with similar characteristics, because of each young people's distinctive differences. Bima explained:

In here, you need friends to live. With friends, I don't feel boring. Even, they sometimes piss me off. Because, they have their own 'head' (character/way). But, whenever I do 'things', like smoking or smuggle tobacco, I always ask them to join me. They always do whatever I ask them. They always listen to me. (...) I don't think they are afraid of me. Maybe, they just respect me because I know more than them. If not, they will not be friends with me (Bima, 19, male, pure-bully).

In the context of the secure setting, it seemed that aggressive young people do not always affiliate reciprocally with other aggressive young people. It appeared the

¹⁰² Hartup (1996) explained the concept of 'homophily' whereby youngsters with similar behavioural styles and attitudes tended to affiliate with each other. In the other words, bullies may tend to associate with one another because they share a propensity towards aggression as well as positive attitudes toward bullying.

case that young people with similar characteristics might yet have different aims. Also, this might be related to the possible loss of leadership status. Bima (19, male, pure-bully) said, 'it's hard being a friend to these kinds of kids. They might see me as a weak one. They will force me to do things. I need to listen to them then. No way.' Dani further explained:

Some kids I will never tolerate. When I said something to them (giving advice) they responded in a harsh way. Sometimes, they respond in a rude way. When I ask them to do things, they refuse to do it. Such useless (kids)! I will never ever be nice to them again. They can't be a friend. These kids are just my enemies (Dani, 16, male, pure-bully).

Most pure-bullies and bully-victims reported that young people who were highly emotional, and 'hot-tempered', who displayed hostility in social interactions, were less likely to be chosen as allies. For bullies, it is important not to feel threatened by friends and allies.¹⁰³ They reported that friends should be cooperative, as opposed to competitive, or combative, with each other. Therefore, it is not necessary for their friends to be aggressive or to develop aggressive behaviour. Nonetheless, it seemed hard to deny that this form of social organising, involving an in-group and out-group - of friends and allies, competitors and victims - may motivate young people to use aggressive behaviour in order to consolidate and maintain peer-group status (see Charlesworth, 1996).

Unlike bullies, all non-bullies reported to be less likely to endorse the use of aggression to get friends. Ella (16, female, casual involvement) said, 'I just have one close friend in here. It's enough for me. How could I force somebody to like me? I need no more friends.' Some non bullies reported that the primary function of their

¹⁰³ In this context, the feelings of threatened can be explained in the context of their status as leaders.

institutional friendships was neither emotional support nor physical protection. Its main purpose was to provide risk-free social company and to affirm pro-social self-perceptions. In other words, their priority was everyday interaction with people with whom they could 'talk and laugh.' They suggested that having friends is less important, this being a result of the complexities of maintaining friendships in the institution. In fact, these young people identified no practical purpose in friendship. In contrast, some pure-bullies and bully-victims identified that friendship plays some important instrumental roles, at least for their survival. Aware of the importance of having friends (and choosing the right friends) some young people seemed to develop and maintain bullying behaviour. They used both direct, and indirect, forms of bullying and considered both to be important in their group affiliation.

Most staff members reported that some bullies become friends, or at least become friendly acquaintances, with those they victimized. It is because, when bullies ask for a favor (or force) and victims agree to do (or be forced), this opens up a door for further communication between them. Eventually, they would have opportunities to 'break the ice' and find something in common. Staff members explained:

They (bullies) bully these newcomers. They ask them to do this and that. Suddenly, after a month, they become friends. It always happens. (...) maybe because these kids (victims) always do whatever bullies ask. Bullies must be happy to be treated like that (Sami, 36, male, staff member).

Kids here they don't hate each other. They attack each other but they can be friends afterward. Maybe, bullying is one of traditions (lifestyles) in this school. The rule is newcomers have to be bullied first. They have to do whatever they have been asked. (...) They (victims) want to be

friends with the bullies. Because, they want protection (Abie, 47, male, staff member).

Over half staff of members interviewed reported that many young people in secure settings, either bullies or victims, may not express absolute hatred. In other words, they can still have maturity, boundaries and even carry out respect in the presence of dislike. For this reason, they can fall into each others social circle without realizing it. In fact, some young people seemed to perceive the experiences of being bullied (i.e. physically forced or forcing doing things) as an opportunity to establish an alliance with bullies. Some victims as well as bully-victims reported that they would purposely try to get in the bully in-group to seek protection and avoid becoming a victim. Aron (15, male, bully-victim) said, 'I don't care whether they (bullies) treat me well or not. What I know, they will help (protect) me.' Budi (15, male, pure-victim) further explained: 'all these kids feel proud being friends with them (bullies). For sure they feel safe with them.' Indeed, having friendships with bullies protects young people from being bullied (Bollmer, Milich, Harris & Maras, 2005).

7.4 Eight factors influencing bullying decisions

As explained previously, the prevalence of bullying and victimisation in secure settings can be understood through the nature and function of bullying. Nonetheless, it can be also understood by understanding factors affecting the onset of bullying behaviour or the decision to bully others. Bullying decisions should not be understood merely as a conflictual dyadic relationship between a bully and his or her victim but may be better understood when other variables present in the immediate social context are considered. From the survey results, eight factors have been found to be significantly related in explaining bullying behaviours, including 'time spent in the institution', 'experience of punishment inside institution', 'gang membership', 'experience of self-harm', 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy',

'fairness' and 'family contact'. This section provides an analytical description of these factors, exploring how these factors influence one's decision to bully others.

Time spent in the institution

Differences in institutional experiences and different patterns of adaptation have emerged when examining young people who have spent different amounts of time in secure settings. 'Time spent' was measured in terms of the number of months served of the current sentence. In the survey study, young people reported that they had spent less than a month for the minimum amounts and up to 36 months for maximum amount. As explained previously, the time spent is related to the sentence length, for which one-year is the minimum amount of sentencing and three years is the maximum. It was found that the longer the period served, the increased likelihood of the young people reporting bullying behaviour. It is axiomatic that young people are 'at risk' of disciplinary for a longer period. The nature of this relationship can be explained through young people's sense of power. The bullying decision making, in other words, appeared to be driven by a sense of, or the pursuit of, control over other young people by virtue of being longer-serving sentence offenders. These senses may be emergent from, at least, their social position, gang affiliation, and familiarity with institutional cultures¹⁰⁴ that are obtained throughout their experience of their sentence. The more exposure to the institution, the greater the probability that individual offenders associate with these forms (see Flanagan, 1980). Some pure-bullies explained:

New kids are immature. They come here at the age of 13, 14. Older kids (longer serving sentence offenders) are quite mature. (...) some new kids are afraid but some are not. Some of them are so disrespectful. They

¹⁰⁴ In particular, the familiarity of institutional cultures includes the familiarity with institutional policies and practice, rules, punishment system, inmates' culture, staff-inmate relationship, available opportunities and so on. Also, it includes the understanding of the pain of imprisonment, and its psychological and emotional consequences.

don't know how life in here is. They don't know what older offenders can do to them. We've been here longer than them (Gina, 18, female, pure-bully).

I don't know. Sometimes I feel like I hate new kids. I am okay with older kids, but, not with the new batch. I never feel satisfied with them. These kids don't know how to respect us. (...) they think they better than us. But, they are nobody. Cocky! (Dani, 16, male, pure-bully).

It can be argued that longer-serving sentence offenders, in some ways, demand respect and obedience, especially from newcomers. Nonetheless, some newcomers tended to defy them. Yuna (16, female, pure-victim) said, 'I don't always follow what they ask.' Budi (15, male, pure-victim) also said, 'sometimes we feel tired being stupid (passive). Sometimes I fight back.' Under such circumstances, some victims who are also newcomers were less likely to submit to bullies' demands. Offering undesirable responses, in effect, increased the risk of being bullied. Indeed, most of bullies' decisions to act aggressively towards others were in response to people expressing attitudes that defied them and their orders. By blaming newcomers for not embracing or conforming or performing in accordance with their standard, most bullies seemed to justify the righteousness of their aggressive actions.

In relation to 'time spent', secondly, the decision to bully others inclined due to circumstances that increased bullies' sense of power. Unlike longer serving sentence offenders, newcomers seemed to have no social status. Status is a valuable commodity in a secure setting, and without it, young people are unable to have access to resources and to secure protection (see Ireland, 2002a). Some pure-victims explained that:

They always make new kids a slave. We are new here. So, we are weak.

They bully us in the shower room. When I take shower, sometimes, they ask me to stop taking shower. They ask me to wash their clothes. (...) Sometimes, they lie about me. They told a lie about me to their friends. Then, they beat me (Leah, 15, female, pure-victim).

I don't feel happy to be here. I'm afraid of older offenders. I'm afraid in case they attack me. But, I know I can't avoid it. I am always targeted. I know they are strong. (...) These kids are nice to their friends. They are also nice to their batch. They are batch 2012. Like me and my friends, we are new batch. We came here in 2014. That's why we have to respect them. Whatever they do to us, we just follow it. If not... (Budi, 15, male, pure-victim).

It would seem that young people without status were seen as weak and easily exploited. For this reason, short serving sentence offenders appeared to be often targeted. Some staff members' responses implied that the decision to bully can be understood as a conflictual dyadic relationship between longer serving offenders and shorter serving offenders. Staff members perceived this conflict as a normal part of the social culture of offenders. Sami, for example, said:

It happens anywhere in any institution. If you go anywhere, even Henry Gurney, it also happens. It happens in school. It happens in boarding schools. Normally, these older offenders will look after new kids. They want to be respected. Sometimes, new kids are disrespectful and lazy (Sami, 36, male, staff member).

Some staff members reported that such conflict was hard to control. As such, some staff members seemed to feel that young people need to adjust themselves to this culture. For example, Abie explained that:

Conflict between new kids and old kids is down to influence. Older offenders have their power and influence. They have their own back up. So, newcomers have to adjust themselves to the institutional culture. That means, once you come here, you have to be bullied first. It's just like offender culture. As a newcomer, he has to do this and that. I'm sure that these older offenders were also bullied before. So, bullying between these groups is like a tradition passed down from the last generation to the current generation. So, we can't escape this (Abie, 35, male, staff member).

Most staff seemed to believe that they made efforts to address the conflictual dyadic relationships between these two groups. Nonetheless, they felt that they have little control over such a problem. Some staff members suggested that the involvement of young people in aggressive behaviour was driven mostly by their desire to gain power. In contrast, they suggested that those who do not seek power were less likely to engage in bullying others. Considering themselves as longer serving sentence offenders, Guru and Ella were less likely to seek power and become involved in bullying behaviour. Guru (17, male, casual-involvement) was driven by early release, and thus decided not to become involved in any trouble. He said, 'I am about to be released. I don't want to bully people. I don't want staff to keep me in here any longer. I don't want it.' Unlike Guru, Ella (16, female, casual-involvement) said, 'I don't care whatever they do. I do not care for power. We are all the same in here. All these kids eat the same rice. So, we are no different.' Ignoring the need for social power and influence, Ella decided not to become involved in bullying others.

Punishment inside the institution

Different patterns of adaptation have emerged when examining the experience of being punished in secure settings. While in the institution, young people are subject to the rules set by institutional officials. If young people commit an infraction, they

get a hearing before the warden or some lower-ranking officials. If the committee finds the young people guilty of the infraction, penalties can be issued. Some examples of punishment include: physical exercises, cleaning activities; locking up; transferring to another camp; deducting the point/merit; and restricting opportunities or privileges (i.e. hometown visit, town visit). Experience of punishment inside the institution was measured in the survey terms of either 'yes' or 'no'. In the survey study, almost half of the young people surveyed reported they had been punished inside secure settings and the rest had never been punished over the period of one month. Of those young people who had been punished, almost half of them had been punished more than four times within a month. In this regard, young people who experienced punishment during incarceration are two times more likely to report behaviour of bullying others than those who never experienced punishment. It can be suggested that the onset of bullying behaviour is, in part, an outcome of an young people' experience of punishment and those who are less likely experience punishment do not display such behaviour.

The nature of the influence of punishment can be explained in relation to one's attitude becoming accustomed to punishment or penalties practiced by staff members in the secure settings. That reduced the perceived severity of penalties, contributed to fearlessness and reduced the deterrent effects. Therefore, these perceptions facilitated, or at least did nothing to diminish bullying behaviour. Yet, the threat of sanctions play a role in inhibiting more serious and more frequently occurring misconduct behaviours (see Paternoster, 1987).¹⁰⁵

Young people with a perception of a lower risk of punishment reported to be more likely to commit behaviour indicative of bullying others. It been assumed that

¹⁰⁵ It might be argued that the perceived certainty of punishment is related inversely to various forms of misconduct, including bullying. Chambliss (1967), nonetheless, suggested that fear of sanction threats may be more effective for instrumental offenses. As an instrumental offense, it might be expected that perceived threats of punishment inhibited bullying behaviour, and vice versa.

perceptions of risk are, at least to some degree, based on their own experiences with bullying and punishment. The more exposure to punishment, the more they seem to get used to it. Thus, there is reduced risk perception.¹⁰⁶ For example, Suki (17, female, pure-bully) said, 'I've been locked up many times, up to two months. It was a little bit boring inside. But sometimes, it is fun because I don't need to do any work.' Bima (19, male, pure-bully) also explained, 'I am not afraid of all these penalties. For me, it is normal. At first I was afraid. But, I no longer care about it. If they (staff) punish me, I just do it.' Subsequent to perceived lower risk and the familiarity of punishment, individuals seem to make a rational decision, within the confines of his estimates of rewards and sanctions, about the projected act (see Grasmick & Bryjak, 1980). Perceiving that his/her action may benefit his/her self-interests or needs, some young people amplified their bullying of others. Some pure-bullies explained:

I don't really like to bully others. I do it with reason. I told you. I know it is harsh sometimes. But, I don't know. For me, being punished is normal. But, it is a pain sometimes, especially, when staff make you do physical activities. It is tiring. Anyway, it still doesn't work. These kids will still do bad things (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

I feel afraid if staff withdraw my opportunity to have a town visit. Sometimes the penalties can be quite a pain but, I just can't escape from it. Sometimes, I just don't care about being punished. Even though I know this, I still can't stop bothering others. It is fucking boring in here. One more thing, these kids are trouble. I can't control myself. (...) I don't want to be a puppet in here. I need to be myself. I can't pretend to be

¹⁰⁶ Revisiting the earlier Bayesian framework, if a punishment is less severe and celeritous than anticipated, punishment should decrease each of risk perceptions. If a punishment experience exceeds the individual's expectations in this regard, severity and celerity perceptions should increase (see, Pogarsky, & Piquero, 2003).

nice all the time. Plus, I can't be nice living with these kids (Dani, 16, male, pure-bully).

It is clear that some young people treated bullying behaviours as a rational decision. However, like Dani, many pure-bullies and bully-victims suggested that their actions were driven by a lack of impulse control. Young people with an impulse control disorder can hardly resist the urge to engage in aggressive activities. They have an inability to stop initiated actions, intolerance to delay, reward sensitivity, and lack of consideration of further consequences of actions (Gullo & Dawe, 2008; De Wit, 2009). Young people exhibiting a lack of impulse control may or may not plan the acts, but the acts generally fulfill their immediate, conscious wishes. It can be argued that there is a link between perception of a lower risk of punishment and lack of impulse control with an increase in likelihood for bullying. In other words, the likelihood or otherwise of punishment can provoke future bullying to the extent that where young people perceive a lower risk of punishment. Nonetheless, young people with high self-control seemed to be less likely to engage in bullying or misconduct behaviours even if the perceived lower risk of punishment took place.

Apart from this, the influence of punishment on bullying behaviour may be explained in response to a label or identification of one as 'a bad one'. It can be argued that individuals' exposure to punitive responses do produce, or at least contribute to, a negative self-image. Young people may view themselves, in other words, as a troublemaker. In fact, some institutions punished young people by placing them into a camp specifically for young people labelled as a troublesome, forcing them to wear a different colour of shirt so as to identify them as troublemakers. Bima (19, male, pure-bully) said, 'I was wearing the orange shirt once. It was for 3 months. I caused some trouble. I can't remember what. Whenever staff saw me, they called me 'bad boy'. Go and die!' Aron (15, male, bully-victim) added, 'I'm now staying in the 'trouble' camp. Living with all the troublesome kids. Staff always have their eyes on us. Whatever we do, wherever we

go. How can I change myself if they put me with these kids?' These punitive responses appeared to contribute to labelling effects by lowering their self-concepts and reducing respect, towards staff particularly. Additionally, this negative reaction seemed to weaken social relationships between young people and staff, and increased associations with delinquent peers. Some pure-bullies explained:

Sometimes, whatever happens in the camp, they will chase me first. If I did it, it's fine. If not, I just wanna shoot them in their head. Better I do it. I would feel better at least. They make us hate them more. Those kids who are pretending to be kind to the staff are also annoying. That's why I can't get along with these people (Bima, 19, male, pure-bully).

I don't feel anything if they punish me. Because, I just don't know. My friends and I, we are always being punished. It's just like, we do it together and we are punished together. So, we aren't really afraid. But, I can say we are anti-staff. We don't like them, but, when they are around we pretend we respect them. Behind their backs, we do whatever they don't like, but, we don't let them know. We do many things like bully others, stealing, smoking. Many things (Dani, 16, male, pure-bully).

It can be argued that punishment inside the institution was accompanied often by verbal assaults. This would seem to increase the risk of damage to the individual's self-confidence, if not self-image/identity, compared to punishment administered in the context of a supportive relationship. If punishment is administered along with reasoned explanations, the correlation between punishment and an individual's delinquency may be reduced (see Straus, 1991). Some non-bullies perceived the righteousness or legitimacy of punishment. Guru (17, male, casual involvement) said, 'staff do not always punish us. They punish these kids because these kids misbehave. If they behave well, they will not be punished. Sometimes, staff are too tough on us but, we have no choice.' Suri (15, female, casual involvement) further

explained, 'I don't really get along with staff. They just like to punish and then cut our point (merit). But, sometimes these kids do evil. Bully others. Stealing stuff. That's why staff punish them. I was punished many times because I did wrong things. It's okay. It was my mistake.' These young people, therefore, were less likely to be affected by punishment imposed.

Affiliation with gang membership

Bullying behaviour may also be explained in terms of young people's involvement in gang membership in the current institution. In the survey study, gang membership was dichotomously measured by recognizing whether young people were mixing with the same members most of the time and being recognized as a group by others, or not. The results indicated that being in a gang and having friends¹⁰⁷ have been shown to significantly influence an individual's own aggressive behaviour. When compared to non-gang members, gang members were more likely to be involved in bullying, regardless of the forms of bullying. Increased bullying may in fact be due to these associations with aggressive peers, rather than gang membership per se. In contrast, as explained by non-bullies, the lessened likelihood of associations with aggressive young people inhibited bullying behaviour. Guru (male, 17, casual-involvement) said, 'I've only got a few friends in here but, they are all 'straight'. Whatever people ask us to do, we do. My friends don't do bad things inside here, we just smoke.' Noah (18, male, pure-victim) further said, 'my friends are staying in the same camp with me. They just listen to other kids. I just follow them. I do so, because they do so.' It can be argued that such behaviour effects involved a social learning process, rather than simply rational choice.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ In the context of having friend, it could be explained by either delinquent friends or less delinquent friends. Both circumstances contribute to the sense of power and security, and thus increased the likelihood to bullying others.

¹⁰⁸ The primary learning mechanism in social behaviour is instrumental in which behaviour is shaped by the stimuli which follow, or are consequences of the behaviour (see Bandura, 1978; Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, & Radosevich, 1979).

It would seem that aggressive behaviour was acquired both through direct conditioning and through imitation or modelling of friends' behaviour. An individual seems to learn through interaction with significant friends in the institution evaluative definitions (norms, attitudes, orientations) of the behaviour as being good or bad. By being in a gang, some participants defined the aggressive behaviour as good, and this reinforced the decision to engage in bullying. Some pure-bullies explained:

I have just a few friends in here. We do everything together. Eat, sleep, go to class. We also do bad things together. We are always being punished together. It's so funny sometimes. But, if we wanna do things we plan before. If I don't want to do it, sometimes these kids make me do it. They even show me how to do it. Like, self-tattooing or breaking into lockers. As long as I do it with them, I feel okay. Sometimes, it's so boring here. I can't stay quiet all the time (Gina, 18, female, pure-bully).

I was too relaxed when I first came here. I don't bother people. But, when I got friends I became a little bit naughty. These kids are a little naughty. Not little, but really naughty. At first, I didn't understand them. After some time, I got along with them. (...) They asked me to do this and to do that. I just followed. Sometimes, I do things without them. ... I now know lot of things in here because of them. In the end, now, I don't feel afraid pf anybody. If someone asks me to fight, I can just go and fight (Bima, 19, male, pure-bully).

It can be suggested that the principles of behaviour effects come from interaction with or the influence of those groups, which provide individuals' sources of reinforcement and exposes them to behavioural models and normative definitions. Nonetheless, these are consistent with their age and stage of development as well as the environment in which they are situated. Although most members in the gang

chose to engage in bullying, some of them were more likely to disengage in bullying. In this respect, some young people seemed to enjoy the protection it afforded rather than seeking power and status by bullying others. Some non-bullies explained:

I sometimes join the gang. Because the one who takes care of me, he's in the gang. But, I never join them to bully others. They asked me to do it (bullying activities) sometimes, but, I don't want. I'm new here. I don't want.(...) These kids (in gang) are nice to me. I feel safe. No one bothers me so far (Guru, male, 17, casual-involvement).

When first I came here, the leaders looked after me. I was in a gang. They forced me to be with them but, I liked it. They backed me up. Automatically, I got respect. I got everything that other offender is less likely to get, like, tobacco. (...) I never bullied anyone before (when he was in gang). I was just close to the leaders. I never touched anybody (Budi, 15, male, pure-victim).

Many young people agreed that gangs not only offer physical safety and protection, but also provide members with a sense of worth, status, support and loyalty. Like Guru and Budi, many young people embraced such positive elements. With those positive elements, this would suggest that gang membership might help young people develop a more positive self-concept (Alleyne & Wood, 2012). In this regard, both bullies or victims explained:

I need friends. Everybody needs friends because, it is boring inside here. I've a few members (in my gang). They are all the same and like me. Crazy. That makes me happy sometimes but, the good thing is I feel safe. We take care of each other. That's why these kids never bother us. They are not that brave (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

As I told you, they are strong because they are in gang. If I've a gang, no one will bully me even if I'm not that strong. At least, someone will back me up. But, I see the good things in them. These kids are united. Like 'African unite' (laughs). They have strong relationships. If one of their friends is being attacked, they will find the person who did it (Budi, 15, male, pure-victim).

In secure settings, young people appeared to join gangs because it was a crucial part of survival. Some young people perceived that gangs in and of themselves are not the problem. Being part of a gang in secure settings seemed to be about belonging to a group and gaining protection, rather than fighting other gangs. Nonetheless, some young people felt pressure to conform to group norms. Bullying is central to gang norms (see Decker & Van Winkle, 1996; White & Mason, 2012). Dani (male, 16, bully) said, 'when I'm alone. I do nothing. When with my friends (gangs), we plan many things. Bully other kids. Stealing. It's like normal (habit).' To comply with group norms, therefore, some young people experience greater pressure to become involved in bullying. Staff members argued that the involvement of young people in bullying behaviour was due to the pursuit of gang members' approval. Zack explained:

Those kids feel 'great' (powerful) because they are in gangs. Most bullies have their own gangs. That's why they have a gut to bully others. (...) Anybody in any gangs has to act like other members. They do things together. (...) At first, maybe he does not like to do it (bullying others). Eventually, they will enjoy doing it (Zack, 32, male, staff members).

Most staff members reported that they experienced gang or peer pressure to be a strong force, especially when it relates to bullying. Also, it includes normative influence. These processes make violence a routine part of gang life. Although gangs do not always revert to violence, staff members agreed that young people in gangs

were likely to report bullying others.

The experience of self-harm

Deliberate self-harm among young people includes cutting or scratching their own skin, overdosing on chemicals such as bleach and detergent, swallowing pills, and any other methods of physical harm.¹⁰⁹ In this study, as explained previously, the self-harm variable was used to reflect one's conditions of mental health. Individuals who had engaged in this behaviour before or during incarceration are considered as having mental health problems (for example, Patel, Flisher, Hetrick & McGorry, 2007; Fotiadou et al., 2006; Cheng, 1995). In the survey study, young people who reported higher levels of involvement in bullying behaviour were less likely to deliberately self-harm than young people who reported lower levels of involvement. This is unlikely to suggest that young people who have stable mental health conditions were more likely to engage in bullying behaviour. Bullies, like most young people, reported that they were often suffer from anxiety and depression before they entered the institution. They continued to suffer from depression even in secure settings. For them, life in the institution was depressing. Dani (16, male, bully) expressed, 'I don't want to stay here any longer. Not even a second.' Bima (19, male, bully) added, '(...) we do nothing. Stay in our camp, see the same people around, and wait for the gate to be opened. (...) Every day, repeat, the same thing. Seriously, I am fed up!' Gina (18, female, bully) further added, 'sometimes I feel bored (in the institution). I feel stress doing the same thing back there.' Nonetheless, bullies tended to demonstrate hot tempers, hyperactivity, and aggressive patterns to divert their mind from being depressed rather than harming themselves. Such emotional dysregulation and aggressive response styles seemed to be important mechanisms in a developmental chain whereby children and young

¹⁰⁹ Deliberate self-harm is defined as the intentional injuring of one's own body without apparent suicidal intent (see Klonsky, et al., 2003; Hawton, et al., 2003).

people learn to bully their peers (see Barker et al., 2008). Some pure-bullies and bully-victims shared their experiences:

If I get bored, I need to do something different. Then, I broke the rules. At least, I felt a little pain. (...) sometimes I bully these kids. Sometimes I just created trouble with them. It's just a small matter. If I beat them, I'm not going to beat until they bleed or die. I'm not that crazy (...) I was always locked in the cell (punished). If I discharge this month, I will be locked up again next month. (...) I was always doing things and been caught by staff. I kept sharp objects, did piercing, cut my hair, tattooed, and had lesbian relationships (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

No one likes to stay here. Look at them (offenders). I don't think they will change. Whatever we did in here was just drama. We attended courses, but, never understood. I think I cannot change myself. I'm just being who I am. (...) If I bully these kids, I meant no harm to them. Sometimes, we just want some fun. But, some kids (bullies) did it (bullying activities) badly. But, not me (Aron, 15, male, bully-victim).

Overall, bullies appeared to engage in aggressive responses as a mechanism to divert their anxiety and depression. Either before or during incarceration, therefore, they decided not to engage in self-harming. In relation to this, some pure-bullies also shared their experiences of bullying activities prior to incarceration. Suki (17, female, pure-bully) said, 'I was like this (she was reflecting herself at the institution) before coming here. It is my nature to 'play games' (bully) with people. It's nothing. It's just nothing. I find it fun.' Gina (18, female, pure-bully) also said, 'when I was in secondary school, I bullied many students. What I did in the school is the same as what I did here.'

Additionally, some victims reported a history of self-harm. Trends in deliberate self-harm seemed to have implications for increasing the risk of being bullied. This relationship can be explained in the context of how the characteristics of self-harmers¹¹⁰ increase the risk of being bullied. Self-harm seemed to be used to relieve tension or to communicate stress, and, in the most extreme cases, may represent acts of suicidal intent. As a self-harmer, Yuna said:

I don't know why I did it. I just felt stressed. Too stressed with my life. I did it more than once, a few times. Sometimes I swallowed pills, sometimes I scratched myself. (...) I told you I was bullied in RKK (children's home). My parents even abandoned me. My life is so stressful (Yuna, 16, female, pure-victim).

Self-harm, in some ways, seemed to be affected by one's exposure to being abused or victimized. Being victimized indirectly increased the risk of self-harm via depression¹¹¹ (see Lereya et al., 2013). Failure to cope in satisfactory ways reinforced a cycle of poor coping, decreased self-confidence, and increased the probability of further victimisation (see Smith, Shu & Madsen, 2001). For this reason, self-harmers had an increased likelihood of being bullied.

In extreme cases, some self-harmers continued deliberate self-harm during incarceration.¹¹² Loss of self-confidence, as well as higher levels of psychological distress and external pressures such as loss of social contact and relationship

¹¹⁰ The term 'self-harmer' has been used to refer to a non-clinical population (see in Klonsky et al., 2003).

¹¹¹ In contrast, non-self harmers were less likely to report symptoms of anxiety and depression (see Klonsky et al., 2003). In this regard, self-harmers had more symptoms of these personality disorders than non-self harmers, and their performance across measures suggested that anxiety plays a prominent role in their psychopathology.

¹¹² During interviewing, two of participants revealed their experiences of harming themselves by drinking bleach and scratching their hand(s). Neither of them wished to discuss their experiences of and rationales for this in-depth.

difficulties, appeared to be important in explaining self-harming in the institution. It can be argued that self-harmers have poor coping abilities (see Liebling & Krarup, 1993; Liebling, 2007). Similarly, they tended to act passively in the institution and such responses often result from a lack of self-confidence. Some staff members suggested that this group of young people are more at risk of being victimized in secure settings:

In here, there are two reasons that we need to understand about the victim. Is it because they are always being bullied or they purposely ask to be bullied. Those who ask to be bullied, maybe it's because they are too slow (passive) in here. Usually, bullies can't deal with these kids. (...) These kids had 'mental' problems before they came here. When they are here, they get more stressed. They are 'cold' (passive) all the time. So, these kinds of kids are always targeted (by bullies) (Sami, 36, male, staff member).

Some staff members suggested that young people who act submissively and anxiously were more likely to be bullied than young people who do not have those tendencies. This perception, to some point, was driven by an institutional culture that sees bullying as a norm. Almost half of staff members perceived bullying as normative behaviour and believed that bullying served as one of the primary methods of young people's survival. They accepted the rationale underpinning bullies' actions, and therefore tended to blame the victims of bullying. In fact, these staff members sometimes ignored reports about victimisation made by young people. For them, some young people have a reason to make fake reports. Popi (46, female, staff member) said, 'they sometimes just want to fool other kids. They are jealous'. Wala (29, male, staff member) added, 'when they don't satisfy with someone, they will make up the story. They do a fake report so that this kid (who they are not satisfied with) gets punished by staff'. For these reasons, the tendency

to view victims as responsible for bullying acts perpetrated against them was common among staff members.

Most victims reported that they suffered from depression or other psychological disturbance even before the bullying begins. In contrast, bullies were more likely to report higher levels of self-confidence. As suggested by some staff members, the physical attractiveness, popularity, dominant status and feelings of superiority appeared to be important in depicting high self-confidence. Abie said:

A bully is usually more active than others. I can't deny they look healthier and stronger than others. They have their own influence. They have got their own friends. Simply said, they are just like a leader in here (Abie, 35, male, staff member).

Bullies tended to have higher self-confidence (Olweus, 1993; Rigby & Slee, 1992, Pearce & Thompson, 1998). Nonetheless, they are very 'shame-prone'. Bullies, either pure-bullies or bully-victims, easily felt shame regarding certain things about themselves that they believe do not match up with what they think is 'good enough'. In secure settings, bullies were concerned about their status, appearance, performance and friendships, and when those things do not live up to their standard, bullies easily feel ashamed. For some young people, it would seem that the feeling shame or possessing a negative self-image should still be quite distressing. It produced feelings of inferiority, of weakness, and of helplessness (see Maslow, 1970). To cope with such feelings, young people tended to act aggressively towards others. By doing this, bullies seemed to give away such feelings to others.

Respect

Different patterns of adaptation have emerged when examining one's perceptions of the institutional environment. In particular, young people adapted differently in accordance with their own perception of the extent to which they felt or

experienced respect in the institution. The experience of respect was related to one's perception as to how staff members acted, showing respect and courteousness towards them. In the survey study, young people who perceived themselves to be less respected by staff reported that they were more likely to commit bullying behaviour as compared with young people who perceived themselves to be more respected. Some pure bullies as well as bully-victims reported that being less respected was related to feelings of humiliation and embarrassment.¹¹³ Dani (16, male, pure-bully) said, 'If they (staff) don't like us it's okay. At least respect us. Don't treat us like stupid people. Sometimes, they humiliate us in front of everyone.' Huma (15, female, bully-victim) further explained, 'some staff show respect. But most of them just treat us like 'shit'. They treat us as if we are nobody. Sometimes, they pinch their nose when passing by us. Are we so dirty? It's so shaming.' These humiliating events directly devalued an individual. Some pure-bullies and bully-victims described being respected as being treated nicely by staff members. If a member of staff talked to them nicely, listened to them, addressed them politely and confronted them about their behaviour quietly, young people reported that they were more likely to feel respected. Perceived support was also influenced by the way some young people perceived respect. Nonetheless, over half of staff members seemed to have an unclear view of how young people wanted to be treated. Popi and Wala clarified:

These kids are immature. They want us to pamper them all the time. They can't be warned. They can't be scolded. (...) I will punish them if they engage in misconduct. If they dislike me, it's up to them. I don't care. I just do my job (Popi, 46, female, staff member).

If they have done something wrong, I will warn them. But, the way I warn is pretty serious. Maybe, they think I hate them. But, I do not. I just

¹¹³ Humiliation is thought of as injury to self-respect (see Statman, 2000)

do what I am supposed to do. These kids can't be warned at all. When we warn them or punish them, they will hate us. They will say that we didn't respect them. We do it just for the sake of them (Wala, 29, male, staff member).

Like Wala and Popi, some staff perceived that young people were less likely to feel respected due to the rules practiced in the institutions. For this reason, some staff members seemed to be less sure about how to interact with young people. Over half of staff members identified that they used discretion in making decisions about young people. Nonetheless, there was a limit that they cannot cross or they will diminish their credibility and make them an easy mark for manipulation.

Some young people reported that they felt humiliated or devalued by staff actions. Perceived devaluation is linked strongly to risk for depressive episodes (Aslund, Nilsson, Starrin & Sjoberg, 2007; Aslund, Leppert, Starrin & Nilsson, 2009). As explained before, some young people tended to express their depression and anger through outward aggression and violence. To cope with feelings of depression, however, some young people appeared less likely to perform maladjusted behaviour i.e. aggression or self-harm. Some non-bullies also shared feelings of being treated without respect by staff in the institution. Nonetheless, they were the least prone to hostility of any group. For them, such responses are worth nothing:

Staff always make us feel stressed. They treat us differently. They screw with us. They called us 'stupid', 'animal' and many other things. Sometimes I feel afraid of making mistakes. If they punish me, I don't mind. But, I just don't like it when they humiliate us. But, I just don't want to think about it. It's not important. It's nothing to lose. I just keep myself from making any mistakes (Leah, 15, female, pure-victim).

Sometimes staff don't respect us. They always make us feel down. Maybe we are not gonna be a better person but don't humiliate us. Some kids fight with staff because they can't be patient with the way staff treat them. But, I never feel bad. Because, I don't really care about them. I don't like staff, but, I just fine with them. If possible, I will try my best not to do any fault (Guru, 17, male, casual-involvement).

It can be suggested that some young people tended to have positive adjustment due to the absence of insecure feelings. Unlike bullies, most non-bullies seemed to care less about being respected, and therefore they were less likely to feel threatened either by staff members or other young people. Some pure-bullies as well as bully-victims seemed to concern about being respected by others. They perceived themselves as showing respect toward others and always expected to get respect in return. Dani (16, male, pure-bully) said, 'You have to give respect to get it.' Huma (15, female, bully-victim) also said, 'we always show respect to staff. So, they have to respect us as well.' Getting respected, in this context, can be understood in relation to the preservation of one's self esteem. As explained previously, bullies typically have good self-confidence or positive feelings of self-worth. In nature, individuals with high self-confidence are highly motivated to protect and enhance their positive feelings of self-worth even if it means being self-serving, self-destructive, or antagonistic toward others (Kernis, 2005). It would seem that the failure to obtain respect from others interrupted their sense of worth or values. When these are threatened, individuals with high self-confidence can take excessive risks by overestimating their competence, resulting in aggressive and bullying responses (Jarman & O'halloran, 2001). Such responses, in most cases, were diverted elsewhere by young people, onto others (see Jarman & O'halloran, 2001). Some pure-bullies explained:

Staff treat us with no respect, although not all. Some of them are really nice. But, many of them are really rude. We are not children anymore.

We are big enough. (...)They like to screw with us. They like to humiliate us. That's why whatever happens to me, I don't tell staff. They don't really care about us. How are we gonna change? They make us more evil. That's why we do whatever we want. They (staff) don't care (Bima, 19, male, pure-bully).

It's okay living here. But, it depends on staff. Some are amusing. Some are not. (...) Some staff like to help us. They are not really harsh to us. They even talk nicely. They give us food sometimes. But, some staff like to punish us.... They even talk rudely. (...) Sometimes they just want to make us angry. I get mad sometimes, but, there's nothing I can do. They are staff. That's why when I feel really bad, I keep myself to myself because, when I feel annoyed with other, I easily get mad. It seems like I wanna screw with everybody (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

Additionally, experiences of disrespect may be explained in terms of 'modelling disrespect'. It seems that children and young people who are treated with disrespect have no model for respectful behaviour. All pure-bullies reported that their direct experiences of being disrespected by staff members guided their future actions towards others. Gina (18, female, pure-bully) said, 'if they (staff) don't respect me, how can I respect them?' Dani (16, male, pure-bully) said, 'there's no point in me respecting them if they (staff) don't respect me. Suki (17, female, pure-bully) further said; 'Staff don't show an example to us. They are so disrespectful. How can we respect others?' Therefore, some young people showed little consideration, kindness, and appreciation towards others. Driven by anger and frustration, in fact, some young people tended to express rudeness. The presence of rudeness erodes professional communication and collaboration, and thus creates an unhealthy or even hostile institutional environment. For some young people, it seems that rudeness was learned, tolerated, and reinforced in both the institutional culture and the societal culture, where a certain degree of rudeness is considered a

normal style of interaction, particularly given the increasing opportunity for aggressive crudity. Some pure-bullies and bully-victims explained:

Staff say we are hypocrites. But, they are also hypocrites. For example, when the warden comes down, all the staff behave well. They pretend to be nice to us. When the warden is not around, sometimes, staff ask some kids to give them a massage. They just sit in the chair and shake their legs. They make some offenders slaves. They ask those who are close to them. (...) Staffs always ask us to behave in here. But, they don't even show a good attitude towards us. Before they teach us, they have to look at their self. They are even worse than us. If we are rude, it is because they teach us to be rude (Suki, 17, female, bully).

How can we change if they keep screwing with us? It just makes me wanna do (bad things) more. They are so stupid. They hate us. They work here because they are desperate. They don't really wanna help us. Sometimes, staff gossip about offenders about information that's supposed to be secret and, they sometimes tell other offenders. They open our record file and tell othesr. We don't like it. Sometimes I was thinking, 'If they can do so, why can't we? (Tyra, 16, female, bully-victim).

It can be argued that experiences of disrespect became a source of motivation for acts of resistance. Some staff members reported that young people were less respectful and polite towards others. To gain self-respect as well as to train young people to respect others, staff members seemed to fall into the trap of being either too permissive, if not collusive, or too harsh, if not bullying. Wanie said:

That's why in the institution we have to play multiple characters. Sometimes we need to be like the kids. Sometimes we need to be

straight. But, we can't be too straight. These kids will feel stressed. They feel disrespected then (Wanie, 28, female, staff member).

Some staff members suggested that the best way to treat young people is by being strict. This method was perceived to be effective for not only building self-discipline but also preventing future behavioural problems in young people. Abie (35, male, staff member) said, 'these kids always think wrongly of whatever we do for them. For them, we are so disrespectful if we scold them. This is not harsh. If they do make a mistake, we have to punish them. We can't be nice all the time.' Unlike Abie, some staff members were more likely to treat young people without harshness. Sami explained:

We have to teach them to respect us not through fear. This is wrong. The best way to teach respect is to show respect. But, some staff show less respect to these kids. That's why they don't listen. They have become more violent. Harshness and punishment just make them hate us. We have to be friendly with them. *In Syaa Allah* (by God's will), they will respect us (Sami, 36, male, staff member).

Reflected in the way they treated young people, some staff members suggested that they were responsible for shaping young people's behaviour in the institution. The experiences of disrespect increased the pain of living in the institution, thus increasing the likelihood of misbehaviour amongst young people.

Bureaucratic legitimacy

My survey revealed that bureaucratic legitimacy, or lack thereof, significantly influenced bullying behaviour amongst young people. Bureaucratic legitimacy is related to the staff-young people relationship, primarily reflected in the clarity of decisions made about young people, manifest in the use of authority by officers and staff members. In the survey study, young people who attributed less legitimacy to

the bureaucratic system were more likely to commit bullying behaviour compared to young people who were more satisfied. For these young people, power operated in secure settings was inconsistent and unpredictable. Some pure-bullies as well as bully-victims complained about their confusion towards decisions made by the system:

It's so boring in here. Sport activities make us feel better. But, sometimes staffs don't allow us to play. Sometimes, they allow us to play. I don't know why. They are mental (Gina, 18, female, pure-bully).

They said that all of us in here will get early release. After one year we can get released. But now, I've been here for more than that. They told me it was because my parents didn't visit. Come on! If they don't want to visit for 10 years, do I need to be here for 10 years? I don't understand (Bima, 19, male, pure-bully).

We are supposed to get skills (vocational trainings) in here. For 2 weeks I didn't go to class because, it has been cancelled so many times. We are supposed to be doing it every day, at least every week. I don't know. They (staff) told us it's because there's no equipment (Yogi, 16, male, bully-victim).

Some young people felt that dealing with these inconsistent bureaucratic procedures was fraught with difficulties. Some young people were very critical of the daily operations of institutions. The difficulties of daily operations led to an unwillingness to comply with criminal justice authority, including policing, judicial systems, and corrections (see Tyler, 2006). Most pure-bullies and bully-victims reported that they were treated improperly in institutions and therefore they were less likely to accept institutional systems as legitimate. It has been argued that individuals who perceive the institutional regime to be legitimate believe that 'the institution should have rules and these rules should be followed' (Jackson et al.,

2010, p.4). Nonetheless, low perceptions of institutional legitimacy led some young people to disobey the rules and increased their engagement in misconduct activities. Some pure-bullies and bully-victims explained:

I think living outside is better than here but, at least in here I get into the baking class although not always. It depends on staff. If they want to do the class, they do it. If there's no class, we do nothing in here. Sometime I feel like I am living in a cage. There's no point to being in here but, there's nothing I can do. Just get on with it. That's why sometimes we do something bad. At least we have a bit of fun (Suki, 17, female, bully).

Sometimes I feel tired being in here. I feel tired because I'm bored. It's not fancy at all being here. I like sport but, it depends on staff's mood. Sometimes, staff won't allow us to play sport. (...) There's TV, but, we are no longer allowed to watch. We are fucking bored in here. When we feel bored, we start bothering others. That's why sometimes we ask someone to fight. Sometimes we asked these kids to form a line and we bully them. We do whatever we want (Dani, 16, male, bully).

Staffs never treat us like humans. If we want something, they (staff) rarely provide it. I know that we are bad people, but, don't treat us like this. (...) Seriously, I don't understand the rules in here. They even make rules for small things. For example, they don't allow us to go to our room/camp during the day. We have to stay in the prayer hall all day. Can you imagine that? (Tyra, 16, female, bully-victim).

Some young people suggested that their engagement in bullying or other misconducts could be related to feelings of restriction and of being treated inhumanely. These threats increased frustration and led to aggressive behaviour.

Nonetheless, if they noticed how power operated in secure settings, some young people were less likely to feel restricted, because they felt more aware of what was going on around them. They were mentally and physically prepared, and therefore, they were less likely to act aggressively in the institution. In secure settings, officers hold large amounts of discretionary power, particularly through their role in determining privilege levels and in their everyday use of authority (see Crewe, 2009). They also contribute to the reports that feed into day-to-day decisions about young people.¹¹⁴ The nature of power precedes the use of order.¹¹⁵ It comprises aspects of treatment and regulation that are accomplished directly through staff–young people relationships and indirectly through the policies that staff members support or put into effect. Zack said:

Whatever we do in here is just for the sake of these kids. The rules provided in here are for their benefit. It is to help them. It is also for their safety. The rules cover everything in this school. It involves the time to go to sleep, time to eat, time for class, discipline, misbehaviour, early release, outing and many more. We ensure that these kids follow the rules. Whether they like it or not, they usually follow but, they don't understand (Zack, 32, male, staff member).

Unlike bullies, non-bullies appeared to perceive staff as more approachable and less authoritarian than bullies did. In this regard, they tended to establish a good relationship with staff members, and this reduced their own sense of frustration. Noah (18, male, pure-victim) said, 'staff treat me well. We are okay. I can rely on them. Whenever I need help, they help me'. Guru (17, male, casual-involvement)

¹¹⁴ Officers and staff have the power to make decisions for and about young offenders from early release to visitation to hometown visits, outings and many more. Usually, the decision is based not only on offender's performance in the institution, but on the use of discretionary power.

¹¹⁵ Order in the institution involves three main classical approaches: the normative; the coercive, and the instrumental, operate as reasons for social or legal compliance (see Bottoms, 2002). Regardless of the approaches deployed, young offenders often perceived that order as threatening their way of life in the institution.

further explained, 'staff are okay with me. Whatever they ask me to do, I do it. They are never harsh to me. It's easy. Just don't make any mistakes. They will be nice to you.' In this respect, they perceived that establishing a good relationship with an officer can make a significant difference in terms of gaining minor favours, enhancing one's privilege level and obtaining positive reports (see Crewe, 2009). Nonetheless, their relationships and interactions were genuine rather than instrumental and manipulative. Therefore, some young people reported that they were discouraged from acting aggressively.

Fairness

Within secure settings, perceptions of legitimacy can be related to perceptions of fairness (Tyler, 2003, 2006). Indeed, both play an important role in shaping young people behaviour in the institution. Legitimacy means, broadly, the fairness of authority (see Liebling, 2004). The legitimate exercise of authority depends on young people's experience of the fairness of their treatment, which includes procedures and punishment, but also the manner of their treatment (Tyler, 2006). It has been argued that only legitimate social arrangements generate normative commitments towards compliance (see Sparks, 1996). In contrast, as explained previously, the presence of a lower degree of legitimacy can give rise to disobedience. Some staff members seemed to perceive their own practice as legitimate. Some staff members said:

The disciplinary system is equal to everybody. Those who do something wrong, we will punish. But, it's just a light punishment. But, we do not always punish them. Usually, we warn them first (Sami, 36, male, staff member).

In here, we treat all these kids fairly. They are all the same to us. We distribute items (i.e. toiletries, opportunities) fairly. Each young people gets the same amount (Wanie, 28, female, staff member).

Like Sami and Wanie, some staff members seemed to believe in the fairness of the procedures justice imposed in institutions. Nonetheless, some staff members talked about the unfair application of authority. Abie (35, male, staff member) said, 'sometimes when we cannot find who is at fault, we punish all of them. These kids will never tell us and that's why we punish all of them. Sometimes, those who don't do anything wrong feel this is unfair.' Zack (32, male, staff member) added, 'we assigned 'prefects' (leaders) based on their ability. Simply said, they are more disciplined than others. But, some young people feel it is unfair because they weren't selected.' Similarly, some young people agreed that they were treated unfairly in the institutions. Young people who reported higher levels of involvement in bullying others tended to perceive institutional punishments and procedures as unfair, and vice versa. Similar to bureaucratic or institutional legitimacy, attributions of procedural legitimacy were related to young people's awareness of the use of authority and order by staff members in the institution. Different forms of order may be perceived as more or less fair.¹¹⁶ The consequences of disobedience may be related to the young people's perception of the potential for the use of coercion. Some pure-bullies and bully-victims explained:

I tell you what, sometimes I feel happy to be here because I meet people who have same 'head' (personality) as me. But, I just can't stand the punishment. Now, there are lot of newcomers. They are immature. They don't know life in here. They always make a noise. Staff are always annoyed with the noise. Then, they will punish us all. It's just a small thing, but, they punish us like we did something really wrong. One did it, all of us get punished. This is unfair. Rather than stay quiet, it's better for me to do it. At least, I feel satisfied (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

¹¹⁶ As explained previously, order in the institution involved the normative; the coercive, and the instrumental (see Bottoms, 2002).

It's a pain being punished. Last time, I was caught smoking tobacco. They (staff) forced me to drink 'tobacco water'. I got a stomach pain and fever as well but they did nothing for me. All the staff are all the same. All of them are acting. They are nice in front of visitors... they are nice in front of you (me) because you're a visitor but back there, they force us to do knuckle push-ups under the hot sun. We get burned sometimes. If someone runs away, they will punish us all the worst even though it's not us that an away. I still remember when I lost my 'songkok'.¹¹⁷ On that day, I ate just steamed rice without side dishes. Can you see that? They are so mean (Aron, 15, male, bully-victim).

Critics of the institution have tended to argue that power within the institution is inherently non-legitimate. It can be argued that increasing levels of perceived illegitimacy result primarily from the use of unfair, harsh or unduly excessive punishment¹¹⁸ and the lack of exercise of discretion or too much of it, which can negatively affect staff-young people relationships. Many young people described unfair punishment and procedures as a form of abuse and disrespect. For young people with a high sense of superiority, the experience of abuse and disrespect in secure settings was perceived as a superiority threat. This threat, as explained previously, interrupted one's sense of worth or values. In order to enhance their self-worth, therefore, some young people were motivated to act aggressively in secure settings.

In contrast, some young people tended not to act aggressively even though they perceived institutional punishments and procedures as unfair. In this regard, they were less likely to perceive unfair punishments as a form of abuse. This was driven,

¹¹⁷ The 'songkok' is like a cap that someone use for pray. Usually, in Malaysian culture, men use songkok for praying. Nonetheless, it is not compulsory. Some male institutions provide songkok for young people and required them to wear it while praying in the mosque.

¹¹⁸ For example, harsh punishment can be explained as punishments which are not commensurate with infractions.

as explained by some non-bullies, by more positive staff-young people relationships. Alan (16, male, victim) said, 'sometimes staff are unfair. They like to take back our benefits (e.g. hometown visit, outing) for no reason. Maybe because these kids always make trouble. But, I have got no problem with them (staff). They are okay with me. We can be friends'. Suri further explained:

Staff can be very unfair sometimes. It depends on their mood. If they are okay today, they will more be tolerant. If someone does something wrong, they just give a warning (for example) but when they are not okay, they will do whatever they want (...) So far, I get on well with staff. They respect me because I never make trouble. It's easy anyway. They will be nice with you if you're nice to them (Suri, 15, female, casual-involvement).

These young people reported that staff members struggled to treat young people fairly in the institutions. Their work problems and personal commitments were sometimes involved in making decisions. Therefore, some staff members appeared to reacting an unfair manner. Nonetheless, over half of non-bullies suggested that staff members were tolerated most of the time and reported that actions taken by staff members were fair enough even if not right. Guru gives an example:

When one person did mistake, they (staff) punish us all. Of course this is not right. Because, we didn't do it. But, they (staff) didn't know who did it. These kids will never tell them who did it. So, staff punish us all. It's easy and fair (Guru, 17, male, casual-involvement).

Like Guru, some young people reported to be less likely to perceive such unfair treatment as a form of abuse and disrespect. For this reason, they were less likely to feel frustrated and tended to disengage from aggressive behaviour.

Family contact

Family plays an important role in shaping the behaviour of young people in secure settings. The survey study revealed that young people who received less opportunity to maintain contact with their family were more likely to conduct behaviour indicative of bullying others. Meanwhile, they were less likely to bully others when they were able to maintain meaningful contact with family members. It can be argued that young people who managed to maintain family relationships received enough social support and this reduced tension in the institution. Some non-bullies explained:

I feel so blessed when my family visit me here. I even visited them at my hometown last year. I'm so happy. My mom and dad always remind me to behave in here. I don't want create any trouble here. All I want is early release. I can't wait to see them (family) (Noah, 18, male, victim).

'I never tell my family if anything happens to me inside here. I know I will be here just for a while. I stay patient because I think about my mom. She always cries when she visits me. When they visit me, sometimes, I feel like I want them to just stay in here (Guru, 17, male, casual-involvement).

Social support could be considered an important psychological and social variable that contributes towards adjustment in and to the institution and the amelioration of distress. It might be considered as a 'coping mechanism' (see Biggam & Power, 1997) in an individual young person's attempts to manage a stressful situation. Some staff members suggested that positive family relationships provided the impetus to change behaviour. Abie explained:

Based on my experience, 70 per cent of these kids will change and 30 per cent are hard to change. It depends on their family. If the family are

concerned about their children needs in the institution, maybe, when these kids are released they will think about their parents. But, those who have no family or family who never visit, maybe, they will repeat the same bad behaviour when they are released. (...) I can see the difference between these kids. If one whole family visits them in here and brings food for them, of course, they feel happy. Because they feel that their parents remember them, they think about them. For these kids, sometimes, parents visit 3 to 4 times a weak (Abie, 35, male, staff member).

In contrast, subsequent loss of contact with family members increased the risk of psychological disturbance in response to exposure to stress. Driven by emotion-focused coping, some young people with a lack of supportive relationships tended to generate negative affective responses in order to manage stressful situations. For many aggressive individuals,¹¹⁹ the absence of social support increased the potential to handle stressful events in aggressive ways. In other words, aggression may be heightened in circumstances where venting intense negative emotions becomes the focus. Some pure-bullies and bully-victims explained:

They (family) never come. I call them, they don't answer. I send a letter, they don't reply. I feel like I am so stupid. They don't love me anymore. I didn't get a hometown visit, because I never get contact with my family. So stupid! If they don't want to come next year, I wanna run away from this place. I can't stand it anymore. Staff and these kids make me more stressed (Bima, 19, male, pure-bully).

¹¹⁹ Aggressive individuals usually have difficulty in generating or using effective solutions for addressing stressful events even when attempting to do so (see Scarpa & Haden, 2006).

I told you that my family have got problems. That's why my mom never comes here. I got a chance to visit my hometown but I refused. I don't want to see them. I'm sure they don't want to see me. (...) I don't know what I have to do when I get release. If I stay with my mom, I'm afraid I will be like before. They don't support me to change. I will never change I guess. It's so hard. That's why in here I'm being what I want. I bully others. I do bad things. I do anything I want (Suki, 17, female, pure-bully).

I don't feel enough (content) here. It's stressful. I have no family. Thanks to God, Norish (her partner) is here. I just rely on her. My dad is in prison now. He can't visit me in here. I don't care about it. I've never had a visit since I first came to the institution, but, sometimes policemen come and visit me. They wanna monitor me. They ask me about my life in here. The police are like my family now (Huma, 15, female, bully-victim).

To some degree, perceived lack of family support may precipitate depression. This is associated with increased feelings of loneliness, which can engender the development of feelings of hopelessness. Therefore, some pure-bullies as well as bully-victims predicted negative outcomes as a result of their incarceration. In other words, they perceived their behaviour was unlikely to change following their release. As Suki (17, female, pure-bully) said before, 'I will never change I guess. It's so hard'. Aron (15, male, bully-victim) also said, 'I think I cannot change myself. I'm just being who I am. (...) If you (I, the researcher) come again in two years times, maybe, I will be rearrested'. Some young people seemed to rely on social support to take them through difficult periods during their sentence. Nonetheless, the perceived positive support in the institution, especially from friends, seemed to decrease feelings of loneliness and hopelessness. Leah (15, female, pure-victim) explained, 'I always wait for my family to come. But, if I have problems, sometimes I

tell staff. But, most of the time I tell my friends. They are just like my family'. Alan (16, male, pure-victim) added, 'I can't stand living in here. My dad never comes. But, I need to be strong. Safi (an offender who was also his close friend) helps me a lot. We are just like family.' For these young people, having genuine friendships helped them in 'doing time' or adjusting themselves to institutional life. This increased perceptions of support even if some young people experienced a lack of support from family or community outside the institution. As Biggam & Power (1997) argued, the support young people received inside the institution either from fellow young people or institutional staff helped them think beyond the institution and to what they might do or become beyond release. Therefore, some young people were less likely to engage in aggressive or bullying behaviour.

7.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has answered the third research question by discussing the dynamic experiences of young people and staff members in secure settings. The extent of bullying and victimisation in secure settings was explored further by discussing the nature and function of bullying or the use of aggression. In interviews, most pure bullies and bully-victims seemed to hold specific beliefs about the use of aggression. These young people reported benefits from being aggressive and considered bullying as the purpose for 'protecting from threatening events', 'exerting control over others', 'access to goods' and 'building alliances'. For these reasons, it would seem that bullying was seen as normative behaviour by especially pure-bullies and bully-victims in juvenile justice institutions. A small number of staff members, too, perceived bullying as normative behaviour and believed that bullying served as one of the primary methods of young people's survival during incarceration. For their survival, pure-bullies and bully-victims tended to use different forms of bullying for different purposes.

This chapter has also explored circumstances that influence young people's choices and decisions to bullying others relating to eight predictors; 'time spent in the

institution', 'experience of punishment inside the institution', 'gang membership', 'experience of self-harm', 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness', and 'family contact'. In relation to 'time-spent in the institution', the decision to bully others increased due to the longer time spent in secure settings. Driven by a sense of, or the pursuit of, control over others, longer serving sentence offenders were more likely to use aggression, towards especially newcomers. Also, bullying was prevalent among young people who experienced punishments or penalties inside secure settings. In relation to this, bullying behaviour was amplified due to the decreased perception of the severity and likelihood of penalties. Apart from this, young people who affiliated with gang members were more likely to engage in bullying others as compared to non-gang young people. It can be argued that peer pressure was a strong force for some young people in gangs to engage in bullying. The decision to bully others can be also explained in relation to high self-confidence. In this regard, a bully's aggressive behaviour has more to do with the emotion of shame that threatened their self-confidence. Attributions of 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy' and 'fairness' were related to treatment received from staff members in the institution. Perceived disrespect, unclear institutional authority and unfair treatment increased frustration. Indeed, these contributed to feelings of worthlessness. To protect and enhance their self-worth, some young people tended to act aggressively towards others. Family factors were discussed in relation to support received from family members by young people. It would seem that the lack of perceived support, increased loneliness and hopelessness, led to behavioural maladjustment. Nonetheless, support received in the institution, especially by fellow young people, decreased the frustration of loneliness and hopelessness. As a consequence, some young people tended to exhibit positive behavioural adjustment.

To conclude, qualitative findings managed to evaluate and interpret the quantitative findings. In the interviews, young people rationalized their behaviour of bullying others in relation to four reasons. Also, the influence of personal and

environmental factors on bullying behaviour was confirmed in the interviews. In the interviews, overall, pure-bullies and bully-victims described the strong desire to protect and enhance one's sense of power and self-worth underpins illegitimate coping such as bullying others. Also, the perceived benefits of bullying increased the likelihood of bullying others among pure-bullies and bully-victims. These findings are discussed further in the next chapter. By integrating findings from the survey study, findings from the qualitative study were critically discussed in light of theoretical and empirical discussions.

8 DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

This study investigated the extent of bullying and victimisation in Malaysian juvenile justice institutions under the jurisdiction of the Department of Social Welfare. It explores how personal characteristics as well as institutional environments influence bullying behaviour. To understand this phenomenon a survey study and interviews were conducted. The previous two chapters have discussed the results from the survey study and interviews. The survey study presented results related to the extent of bullying and victimisation in the juvenile institutions and the influence of personal characteristics and institutional environments on bullying behaviour. The interviews further explored the survey findings to reveal how young people maintain bullying and victimisation in the institution and how personal and environmental factors influenced young people's decision to bully others. By integrating the findings from both the survey and interviews, this chapter aims to critically discuss these findings in light of existing theories and other existing knowledge on bullying in secure settings. This chapter is divided into two sections addressing the research questions. It begins by discussing findings related to the extent of bullying and victimisation in the institution. It then discusses findings related to the various factors that influence bullying behaviour and how personal factors and institutional environment influence bullying decisions.

8.2 The extent of bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions

In the survey study, young people reported a high level involvement in bullying and victimisation. 95 per cent of young people reported at least one behaviour indicative of bullying others over a one month period, and almost all young people (98.9%) reported at least one behaviour indicative of being bullied. In this regard, 17 per cent were classified as pure-bullies, 20 per cent were pure-victims, 30 per cent were bully-victims and the rest (33%) were involved casually in both bullying and victimisation. None of the young people reported disengagement from bullying and victimisation. These findings support that bullying and victimisation are

enduring and perennial problems in secure settings (for example, Ireland et al., 2016; Haufle & Wolter, 2015; Klatt et al., 2016).

The extent of bullying and victimisation, as revealed in qualitative interviews, can be understood in relation to young people's perception of bullying behaviour. Some young people seemed to maintain at least minimal commitments to the bullying norm in the secure setting. Commitments to bullying are maintained when pure-bullies and bully-victims hold more positive beliefs about the use of aggression. To survive in the institution, some young people were interested in achieving two important things: power and resources. Power, in this context, means experiencing respect from other young people. Respect served to generate kudos among young people and it involves not being treated with contempt, being influential and being listened to. 'Being respected' affords self-protection and recognition (Darwall, 1977) and these can help to ameliorate feeling of insecurity and frustration in the secure setting (Crewe, 2009). Some young people seemed to gain respect by generating fear in others. For them, young people who are feared are more respected (see Sykes, 1958; Irwin, 2005). To be feared, and thus respected, some young people bullied others. Pure-bullies and bully-victims agreed that verbal forms of bullying are the most effective and efficient methods of acquiring and retaining power. This form of bullying and victimisation was reported as the most prevalent behaviour as compared to others in the survey study. Verbal bullying consists of attacks that might appear as relatively 'mild' (Rivers & Smith, 1994), that is, easy to explain or construe as 'only joking' (Terasahjo & Salmivalli, 2003). Nonetheless, this form of bullying may cause fear to the victim (Salmivalli, 2010) that helps pure bullies and bully-victims to maintain control over victims.

Additionally, some young people were also interested in achieving resources in the secure settings. Resources here mean material goods.¹²⁰ Like power, material goods are important for young people's survival. However, goods available to young people are likely to be limited in the institution and thus desirable (Ireland, 2005; Allison & Ireland, 2010). To get what they want, some young people engaged, in particular, in theft-related bullying. As Feld (1981) argued, the greater the material deprivation the greater the reward for exploitation through bullying.

In the institution, bullying was actually perceived as a prime means through which to achieve access to not only resources but also power (Edgar et al., 2003; Wood et al., 2014). Pure bullies as well as bully-victims, nonetheless, tended to justify their acts of bullying for the purpose of self-protection, discipline building, building alliances and access to goods. Using such excuses, or neutralisations, bullying behaviours were seen as – at least – acceptable (if not 'right') by the young people who engaged in bullying but not by the legal system or non-bullying young people. Sykes & Matza (1957) argued that some young people use excuses and justifications to rationalize deviant behaviour and make deviant behaviour possible under circumstances of desperation. This enables the persistence of such behaviours by freeing young people from the moral force of the law and the guilt of participation in misconduct (Sykes & Matza, 1957). These circumstances, in particular, relieve pure-bullies as well as bully-victims of the responsibility of their actions by claiming bullying actions are accidental or due to forces beyond their control, for example, some bullies engaged in theft-related bullying for the purpose of meeting needs.¹²¹ Scholars argue that the denial of responsibility is the key technique that validates one's acts of deviance, or at least makes them more palatable to live with (Sykes & Matza, 1957; Bandura, 1990; Cohen, 2001). Indeed, the validation of action is most

¹²⁰ Material goods include basic goods i.e. canteen, toiletries, clothing as well as contrabands i.e. tobacco, knives or any other objects that are not allowed in the institution.

¹²¹ In this regard, bully offenders see themselves as victims of circumstance or as products of their environment (see discussion about the decision to bullying other later in this chapter).

likely to be associated with persistent bullying or other misconduct behaviour in secure settings (Hirschi, 1969; see Maruna & Copes, 2005).

The extent of bullying and victimisation, as revealed in qualitative interviews, can also be understood in relation to the nature or characteristics of victims. Historically, the victim's role in crime was considered primarily legal, rather than an etiological matter (see Schafer, 1968). That is, much more attention was given to the victim's rights and obligations as a victim than to any role he/she might have played in causing the crime to occur in the first place. For pure-bullies and some staff members, some young people are often subject to victimisation due to the nature of their circumstances (see Cohen & Felson, 1979; Kennedy & Forde, 1990; Bernstein & Watson, 1997). In this study, young people identified circumstances that increased their tendency of being targeted including: being new to the institution, possessing an abundance of goods and being seen as provocative. Pure-bullies perceived that they might easily achieve personal interests (i.e. power and resources) by targeting newcomers. These young people are the most vulnerable to victimisation because they have no power or social influence in the institution (Crewe, 2009; Bartollas, Miller & Dinitz, 1976; Allison & Ireland, 2010). In fact, they were more prone to respond to provocation with fear, avoidance responses and displaced physical aggression (Archer et al., 2007). Indeed, young people who are less likely to report victimisation may be more attractive targets (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990; Wooldredge, 1998). Given this, pure-bullies and bully-victims were more likely to target these young people because the perceived costs of their actions and the risk of getting caught were decreased (see Cohen & Felson, 1979). In the institution, pure-bullies and bully-victims were fully aware of the risks and consequences of getting caught or punished because this might affect the status of their current sentence. To avoid getting caught, pure-bullies and bully-victims tended to commit 'hard-to-discover' acts of bullying such as verbal and indirect forms of bullying. Nonetheless, some young people also reported the incidence of other forms of bullying behaviour. Concerning theft related bullying, the risk of

being targeted increased due to the amount of goods in one's possession. Some young people had in their possession an abundance of goods as well as high value goods, and this consequently increased the attractiveness and chances of such items being stolen. The ease of access and egress, as much as the value of the property, incentivise perpetrators to commit theft in such particular places (Maguire 1982; Wooldredge, 1998). The attractiveness may be reduced if potential victims control the amount and value of goods in their possession. Younger young people who are prone to displays of anger or deregulated emotion were often targeted for maltreatment by the bullies. These 'provocative' young people are perceived by some to present threats to the power or superiority of other young people (Hubbard & Coie, 1994). Belief in the self's superiority, means some young people are prone to encountering such threats and hence to causing violence. Indeed, violence appears to be most commonly a result of threatened egotism (i.e. favorable self-appraisals; Baumeister, Smart & Boden, 1996). In this study, some pure-bullies and bully-victims reported to diminish the threats by engaging in aggressive actions. To sum up, certain routines or characteristics may increase vulnerability to victimisation for some young people. The presence of young people with such routines (either having one or more than one characteristic) in the institution can lead to increases in, or at the least the maintenance of, bullying.

8.2.1 The normalization of bullying

The extent of bullying and victimisation in juvenile institutions can be understood in relation to the normalization of bullying. In a secure setting, 'the world of the delinquent is the world of the law-abiding turned upside down and its norms constitute a countervailing force directed against the conforming social order' (Sykes & Matza, 1957, p. 664). In this study, bullying seemed to be accepted by most young people and some staff members as to make young people's life more secure and endurable in institutions. Although bullying seemed to be perceived as harmful, most bullies accept the function of bullying as a viable solution to the poor living conditions in the institution. Therefore, most bullies seemed to agree that

bullying is part of institutional life i.e. that it is viewed as cultural norm rather than sub-cultural phenomenon. Bullying reflects habits acquired by young people as members of an institutional society (see Unnever & Cornell, 2003; Allison & Ireland, 2010), through which these members perceive bullying behaviour as normative. Although some young people imported bullying or aggressive traits into the institution, most bullies seemed to agree that their involvement in bullying were more likely to be shaped by the culture within the institution. Thus, some young people alter their behaviour, values and aims within the institution (see Swartz, 1997; Hebdige, 1995) to conform to this normality which is widely understood as a process of adaptation. As a culture, the ideas of continuity, creation, accumulation and transmission are key.

The normalization of bullying can be related, first, to the desensitization effects (see Ireland, 2012). In this study, most of young people reported involvement in bullying either as bullies, victims or bully-victims. It is reported that every young person committed or experienced 'Verbal' or 'Indirect' forms of bullying at least once during the period of one month. It is seemed that an institutional environment where bullying occurs so frequently that it is normalized, and where the perceived threat of aggression is high, contributes towards a desensitization to bullying. Such an effect then exaggerates some young people's stable dynamic individual characteristics, promoting beliefs and attitudes which are likely to encourage aggression (Sekol, 2016). To support this, Ireland (2012) in her comprehensive model of prison bullying, Multifactoral Model of Bullying in Secure Settings (MMBSS), argued that bullying is likely to be reinforced by the social environment that is encouraging of bullying or aggression. This is called a 'desensitization pathway'. In the context of this study, desensitization to bullying is a reduction in emotion-related physiological reactivity to actual bullying (see also Carnagey, Anderson & Bushman, 2007). When aggression or bullying stimuli are repeatedly presented in a positive emotional context (for example, rewards for bullying actions, excitement in gang-membership), distressing reactions are reduced. Once

desensitization has occurred, desensitized young people might be less likely to notice aggressive events, perceive fewer or less severe injuries, and have less negative attitudes towards bullying. For these reasons, any occurring bullying is likely to be accepted by especially pure-bullies and bully-victims.

Secondly, the normalization of bullying in the institution can be related to the adaptive nature of bullying. Bullying is adaptive toward problems faced in the environment that influence individuals to simply behave in a way that, as some young people perceived, would improve their living conditions (see Volk, Camilleri, Dane & Marini, 2012). As perceived by bullies, there are four functions of bullying directly related to their survival and success in the institution: self-protection, exerting control, access to goods and building alliances. These outcomes could be the result of bullying itself. In other words, the potential adaptive function of bullying at the individual level is increasing opportunities for these four purposes. Therefore, bullying is not homogenous and different forms of bullying are likely to arise in response to different selection purposes or pressures. Also, bullying done by pure-bullies may differ in important ways from bullying done by bully-victims. Bullying done by bully-victims has more of a reactive function and may be the product of dysregulation and therefore may be less objectively adaptive than the bullying performed by pure-bullies (Volk et al., 2012). Indeed, the adaptiveness of bullying normalized bullying behaviour in the institution. Overall, the extent of bullying and victimisation in secure settings can be understood in relation to the normalization of bullying.

Some staff members, too, perceived bullying among young people as normal in institutions. In this study, some staff members perceived that one of the essential aspects of institutional bullying is that it is transmitted from generation to generation, meaning the form of traditional behaviour which has been developed by incarcerated persons is successively learned by each generation. Interactional norms between young people are passed down and imbued with symbolic meaning,

or special significance; bullying, in this sense, represents the transmission of cultural, interpersonal norms. Yet the reality about the attitude of staff members towards bullying can be understood in relation to the collusion amongst staff members around the use of aggression in the institution. In this study, some staff members reported the difficulties in controlling young people in the institutions, and thus some staff members seemed to cede authority to longer-serving offenders, in order that the latter might manage other offenders. This seemed to allow particular young people to act aggressively towards others at anytime and anywhere in the institution and justifying their aggressive actions as morally corrects – to manage other offenders. In fact, as reported by young people, some staff members used physical coercion or verbal humiliation as formal disciplinary procedures or as a mechanism of social control in institutions. The use of unofficial coercion was common and seemed to scare and intimidate young people. Nonetheless, staff members seemed to rationalize such coercions as an everyday operating procedure and legitimize its use. This culture actually ‘tuned up’ bullying culture among young people in the institution. In this regard, some staff members seemed to accept aggressive culture and even collude with some young people to induce aggression. Indeed, staff cultures have significant consequences for the quality of life of young people (see Liebling, 2007). In the secure setting, therefore, bullying has been such a perennial problem, and both young people and staff members play a role in the extent of such problems. Indeed, they are part of the same system, and each group relies on the other to continue the occurrence of bullying and victimisation (Edgar, 2005).

8.3 The decision to engage in bullying behaviour

Participation in bullying was influenced by personal and environmental factors. Survey findings confirm this hypothesis. It has been found that eight predictors including personal and institutional environment factors significantly influenced bullying behaviour. Findings suggest that the decision to bully others was influenced by certain personal and environmental conditions, and these determined

differential responses towards incarceration. Scholars argued that the behaviour of individual young people is shaped both by characteristics that young people carry into the sentence and the institutional environment (Goodstein, MacKenzie & Shotland, 1984; Wright, 1991; Crewe, 2009; Sekol, 2013). Imprisonment presents young people with specific kinds of experiences and it entails conditions or events that potentially lead to psychological distress. This is supported by many early studies, claiming that incarcerated prisoners suffer from the pains of imprisonment (Clemmer 1940; Goffman 1961; Sykes 1958; Thomas, 1977). The distress caused by the pains of imprisonment is often addressed and resolved through attitudes, cultures, networks and ideologies (see Crewe, 2009). In the secure setting, as explained by pure-bullies and bully-victims, bullying was seen as one effective way to address the problems of psychological distress. Nonetheless, not all young people engage in such behaviour. Indeed, people vary remarkably in their responses even to the same problem (Goffman, 1961; Wright, 1991).

Out of 15 personal factors investigated, only nine significantly predict bullying behaviour. In this study, nonetheless, logistic regression confirmed that only four personal characteristics influence bullying decisions: 'time-spent in the institution', 'the experience of punishment inside the institution', 'gang membership' and 'the experience of self-harm'. With the exception of 'the experience of self-harm', young people who had spent longer in the institution, who experienced punishment during incarceration, or who affiliated with gang membership were two to three times more likely to engage in bullying behaviour. Meanwhile, young people who experienced self-harm were less likely to engage in bullying behaviour. In fact, those who never harm themselves tended to bully others, nonetheless, with a very small tendency. Survey findings suggest that young people's dynamic characteristics (i.e. personal experiences) appeared to be more effective in predicting bullying behaviour than static characteristics (i.e. demographic). As compared to static characteristics, scholars agree that dynamic characteristics that individuals experience during confinement appear to be more important in determining young

people adjustment (see Crewe, 2009; Sekol, 2013). In this study, bullying behaviour was reported to be strongly associated with dynamic personal factors such as 'time spent in the institution', 'punishment inside the institution', 'affiliation with gang members' and 'the experience of self harm'. Indeed, this finding confirms previous work on institutional bullying. Interestingly, it advances finding of institutional bullying by asserting that young people with self-harming experiences were more likely to being bullied. In relation to bullying behaviour, it can be argued that personal experiences involve learning that can directly change one's thoughts and behaviour. As Akers and Jensen (2006) argued, the likelihood of engaging in aggressive behaviour is the result of direct and indirect social interaction and behavioural learning.

This study found that the longer the period served, the increased likelihood of young people reporting bullying behaviour. Current studies support this finding, claiming that longer-serving sentenced offenders are more likely to engage in bullying or other misconducts (for example, Damboeanu & Nieuwbeerta, 2016; Reid & Listwan, 2015; Kiriarkidis, 2009). The decision to bully others, as revealed in qualitative interviews, was increased due to the sense of power or control over other young people, that is, shaped by social status, gang affiliation and familiarity with institutional cultures. Power, as explained previously, meant being respected. In relation to 'time-spent in the institution', closely linked to issues of power within the institutional system, is the process of prisonization. Clemmer (1940) refers to prisonization as the adoption of the folkways, mores, customs and general culture of the inmate subculture (p. 270). As compared to short-term sentenced young people, longer serving sentenced young people were more prisonized. Prisonized young people were more likely to value social status and be integrated into the inmate social system i.e. gang (South & Wood, 2006). Young people who conform to these measures seek to acquire appraisal, respect or power (see Sykes, 1958; Crewe, 2009). Nonetheless, some young people often feel threats to their power and autonomy. Some young people compensated for deficits in power and

autonomy through interpersonal exploitation such as bullying. For them, bullying is one way in which they can acquire power among peers (Ireland, 2000; South & Wood, 2006). For this reason, bullying was more prevalent amongst longer serving sentence young people or those who are prisonized. Indeed, pure-bullies and bully-victims were more prisonized than victims (Ireland, 2000; South & Wood, 2006).

Apart from this, young people who experienced punishment, penalties or disciplinary practices inside the institution were two times more likely to report behaviour indicative of bullying others than those who never experienced punishment. Scholars agree that aggressive behaviour might be an outcome of severe punishment or coercive experiences (Day et al., 2015; Colvin, 2007; Hochstetler et al., 2010; Jiang & Winfree, 2006; Listwan et al., 2013). Staff' use of punishments, such as loss of privileges or solitary confinement, as a reactive consequence of rule infractions appeared to predict poor adjustment. In interviews, young people explained that the experience of being punished in the institution contributed to fearlessness of threats of sanction. For them, the more exposure to punishment, the more they got used to it, diminished any deterrent effect. Deterrence or fear of punishment takes place when more punitive approaches are practiced (Chen & Shapiro, 2007; Crank & Brezina, 2013). With this effect, it is assumed to change one's behaviour and curb delinquent activities (See Becker, 1968; see Nagin, 1998). However, some young people come to view punishment as less threatening and less severe than other possible sanctions. These young people were more likely to embrace deviant cultures or bullying norms during confinement. As scholars argue the deterrent effect can be reversed, with punishment increasing delinquent activities (for example, Kuziemko, 2007; Chen & Shapiro, 2007; Crank & Brezina, 2013).

The contribution to bullying decisions was also explained in terms of young people's involvement in or affiliation with gang membership. Gang membership presents continual threats to institutional safety, yet an estimate of the number of gang

members in the institution remains elusive. As argued by many scholars, affiliation with gang members is a strong determinant of deviant behaviour in the institution (for example, Toch, 1975; Drury & Delisi, 2011; Ireland & Power, 2013; Worrall & Morris, 2012; Egan & Beadman, 2011). Increased bullying, as perceived by some young people in interviews, was in fact due to association with delinquent peers and which implies a social learning process through direct conditioning and through imitation of friends' behaviour. In this regard, bullying is not primarily a consequence of attitudes acquired from peers. As Warr and Stafford (1990) argued, such behaviour more likely stems from other social learning mechanisms, such as imitation or vicarious reinforcement, or from group pressures to conform. In particular, when deviant behaviour is learned, attitudes favorable to the violation of law are acquired. Indeed, favorable attitudes toward bullying are a necessary, although not sole, condition for bullying behaviour. Sutherland (1947) in his theory of differential association holds that delinquency is a consequence of attitudes favorable to the violation of the law, attitudes that are acquired through intimate social interaction with peers. This pro-bullying attitude motivated bullying behaviour. Criminologists largely agree that misconduct behaviour is dependent on both motivation and opportunity (for example, Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Cohen & Felson, 1979). Apart from this, as perceived by young people, the likelihood of engaging in bullying others in relation to gang membership was increased due to the sense of power this engendered. Those who have maintained longer relationships within a gang were more likely to occupy leadership positions and as a result, give orders to others to commit offenses (Drury & Delisi, 2011). Indeed, this increased one's sense of power. As explained before, powerful young people are susceptible or sensitive to feelings of threat to their power and autonomy. Interpersonal exploitation such as bullying seemed to be used as a mechanism to compensate for deficits in power and autonomy. This is supported by studies claiming that gang members rely on violence to gain power and respect as well as use violence to deal with conflict (for example, Griffin & Hepburn, 2006; Tasca et al., 2010).

This study found that young people who never engaged in self-harm were more likely to engage in bullying than self-harmers. This argument seems to contrast with findings from previous studies (for example, Schneider et al., 2011; Houser et al., 2012; Walters & Crawford, 2013), indicating that poor mental health conditions are associated with maladjustment in the institution.¹²² Some young people chose to harm themselves as a way of dealing with very difficult thoughts and feelings which resulted from stressful life events. Instead of harming themselves, others tended to demonstrate a temper and display aggressive behaviours to resolve their depression. Most pure-bullies and bully-victims agreed that they tended to resolve their depression through aggression even before coming to the institution. Therefore, they were less likely to report self-harm. As revealed in the qualitative findings, the association between bullying behaviour with self-harm can be explained with respect to one's self-confidence. The central idea of self-esteem consists of two important concepts; positive feelings towards oneself and self-confidence (Buss, 1995). Positive coping strategies for dealing with depression are associated with one's feeling of worth and confidence in one's own abilities (Salmivalli, 2010; Fanti & Henrich, 2015). In contrast, young people with lower or unstable self esteem tended to use negative coping strategies (i.e. self harm and aggression; Dumont & Provost, 1999; Trzesniewski et al., 2006). Both self-harmers and aggressive young people can be considered as vulnerable groups that have unstable self-esteem. In interviews, most self-harmers and aggressive young people reported insecure sense of self-worth. Unlike self-harmers, nonetheless, aggressive young people reported a higher level of self-confidence. High self-confidence may encourage an increased sense of 'pride, egotism, arrogance, honor, conceitedness, narcissism, and sense of superiority' (Baumeister et al., 1996, p.5). Individuals with these self-appraisals are prone to shame. Some shame-prone individuals are

¹²² As explained previously, many scholars argued that self-harm was associated with many mental-health symptoms, particularly those with depressive mood (for example, De Leo & Heller, 2004; Hawton & James, 2005; Nixon, Cloutier & Jansson, 2008).

predisposed to externalize blame, to feel anger, and to behave aggressively as defensive effort to maintain self-worth (Thomaes, Bushman, Stegge & Olthof, 2008; Stuewig et al., 2015). In relation to this, also, aggressive young people are characterized by defensive self-enhancement or 'defensive egotism'. Young people with high defensive egotism need to be constantly at the centre of attention, tend to think too highly of themselves and are unable to face criticism (Salmivalli, 1991). For these reasons, some young people seemd to act aggressively when their abilities are questioned, mocked, challenged or threatened. For some young people, possessing and validating a negative self-image could engender distress. It seemed to produce feelings of inferiority, of weakness, and of helplessness (see Maslow, 1970). To cope with such feelings, some young people tended to act aggressively. By directing blame and anger on others, young people can prevent their self-worth from further damage (Rigby & Slee, 1992; Thomaes et al., 2008). Overall, pure-bullies and bully-victims are characterized by high self-confidence and defensive egotism. For this reason, bullying behaviour can be differentiated between young people with self-harm and no self-harm.

This study also found that there were 21 institutional dimensions investigated in this study and only nine dimensions significantly predict bullying behaviour. Nonetheless, in the logistic model, there are only four dimensions i.e. 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness' and 'family contact', that significantly influence young people's decision to bully others. The results of the logistic regression indicated that young people who perceived being disrespected by staff members, who perceived institutional bureaucracy as lacking legitimacy, who perceived that they were being treated unfairly, and who were less likely to receive visitation were one time more likely to engage in bullying behaviour. Findings suggest that the environment of the institution appeared to influence young people's behaviour and motivation to act, and four environmental deprivations can be used as stronger predictors of maladjustment. As early as the 1940s, scholars argued that pains and deprivations inherent in the nature of institutional confinement might attack the

prisoner's ego and sense of self-worth, resulting in poor adjustment (see Clemmer 1940; Sykes 1958; Toch, 1977; Thomas, 1977; Goffman, 1961). To a considerable extent, personal feelings of worth depend on the social evaluation of the group with which a person is identified. 'Feelings of worthlessness tend to arise from membership in underprivileged or outcast groups' (Cartwright, 1950, p. 440). Secure settings are warehouses for outcasts (Braithwaite, 1989). Self-worth may be easily threatened. When feelings of self-worth are threatened, as explained previously, some young people tend to bully others.

In this study, young people confirmed four institutional conditions that led to feelings of worthlessness. First, feeling disrespected. This experience, as explained by young people in interview, was related to feelings of humiliation and embarrassment as a consequence of the way staff members treated them. If staff do not treat, speak or talk to young people in a respectful manner, this perception can lead young people to feel humiliated and embarrassed. Such feelings contributed to perceived devaluation that diminished feelings of one's self-worth. Disrespect entails a disregard for the individual and implies that they are not worthy of consideration (Tyler & Bladder, 2000; Miller, 2001; Butler & Maruna, 2009). The need to be respected, in a situation where young people are shown very little respect, intensifies the urge to dominate others and this leads to violent incidents. Accordingly, scholars suggest that much violence and aggression within the institution is triggered by perceived insults and disrespect (for example, Kupers, 2005; Butler, 2008; Butler & Maruna, 2009).

Secondly, the perceived illegitimacy of the bureaucratic processes of secure settings also led to feelings of worthlessness. In this regard, young people reported frustration towards inconsistent and unpredictable decisions made about them in the institution and the use of authority by officers and staff members. They also highlighted that the institution was deliberately making it difficult for them to advance. For them, such circumstances contribute to feelings of restriction and of

being treated inhumanely that diminished feelings of one's self-worth. It should be understood that secure settings impose higher levels of situational control than are usually present elsewhere (Sparks & Bottom, 1995). The task of controlling requires the use of authority and the pursuit of order. These in many ways are highly visible (Jackson et al., 2010). Tyler (1990) argues that 'the effectiveness of legal authorities ultimately depends on voluntary acceptance of their actions' (p. 24). When power is applied more fairly and thus the decision making in the secure setting is able to be navigated (Aas, 2004) then normative commitments towards compliance, conformity and cooperation are generated. By contrast are inconsistent routine and the lack of clear structure and decision making, bloated organizational dysfunction and collapse with bureaucracy (Wilson, 1989; Mieczkowski, 1991; Dilulio, 1994). In this study, the lack of clear structure and decision-making are assumed to manifest a lack of clear authority. Indeed, most young people reported that the lack of clear authority was perceived as a psychological threat. That is more likely to stimulate the denial of legitimacy and thus create resistance (see Crewe, 2009). Scholars agree that the denial of legitimacy is a key phenomenon in the analysis of social disorder generally and of violence in secure settings (for example, Sparks & Bottoms, 1995; Reisig & Mesko, 2009; Carrabine, 2005).

Crucially, research suggests that legitimacy is linked to the fairness of the procedures through which authorities exercise their authority (Tyler & Huo, 2002). This study reported the link between the fairness of procedural justice and young people's behavioural adjustment. There is ample evidence of mainly negative effects on young people's behaviour in relation to a sense of unjust treatment or procedural injustice (for example, Liebling, 2008; Reisig & Mesko, 2009; Beijersbergen et al., 2015). In particular, young people highlighted in interviews that unfair punishment or procedural injustice through the use of coercion and harsh punishment were abusive and conveyed disrespect. Indeed, this threatened their self-worth. Oppression or unjust treatment or perceptions of the mis-exercise of authority may threaten the integrity of the ego, and turn to feelings of shame, and

create a negative self-image (Allport, 1954; Sherman, 1993; Murphy & Tyler, 2008). This can give rise to the tendency to retaliate against that other person. To increase their self-worth, therefore, some young people sought to devalue others through bullying actions.

Family also plays an important role in influencing bullying. As reported in this study, young people who received less opportunity to maintain contact with their family were more likely to conduct bullying behaviour. They were less likely to receive visits, as well as being unable to maintain meaningful contact with their family and these reflected receiving less social support. Scholars agree that social support from family members is associated with at least lower levels of anti-institutional behaviour (for example, Hochstetler et al., 2010; Cochran, 2012; Rocheleau, 2013). In fact, strong family ties can foster prosocial behaviour in the institution (Wright, Cullen & Miller, 2001; Hensley, Rutland & Gray-Ray, 2000). In interviews, young people highlighted that the institutional experience is more painful because it cuts off ties to family and loved ones; the subsequent loss of contact and support from family members induced psychological distress associated with feelings of loneliness and hopelessness. Research indicates that isolation from family members and outside contacts make offenders vulnerable to loneliness and hopelessness (for example, Sykes, 1958; Brown & Day, 2008; Chen et al., 2013). This distress may then, in turn, be linked to increases in aggression, although this mechanism is not specified (Lawrence & Andrews, 2004; Lepore, Evans & Schneider, 1991). Therefore, young people who reported less support were more likely to engage in bullying behaviour. In contrast, the presence of family support might reduce young people's frustration associated with imprisonment (for example, Keaveny & Zauszniewsk, 1999; Jiang & Winfree, 2006), thus, yielding fewer rule infractions.

8.3.1 Determinism, Freewill and bullying behaviour

The findings of this study, as discussed above, has confirmed that bullying behaviour was influenced by preceding factors and thus predictable. This seems

contradictory to the concept of free will, which claims that a young person is fully responsible for their bullying decision (see in van Inwagen, 1975). Behaviourists argue that all behaviour is under stimulus control and the concept of free will disguise the real causes of human behaviour (for example, Bandura, 1961; Skinner, 1971). In the secure setting, the behaviour of the young people is always subject to some form of personal and environmental pressure. Nonetheless, behaviours of young people are varied in the extent to which they are determined. There are four different groups of young people identified in this study, including pure-bullies, pure-victims, bully-victims and young people with casual-involvement. This suggests that young people perceived and behaved differently under similar conditions. They also experienced the same behaviour differently. Some bullies committed to engage in verbal form of bullying, some committed to bullying others physically and others were more likely to commit indirect bullying. Such variations have been explored in the interviews. It was found that the behaviour of young people is contingent on their ability to cope with anger and frustration (Agnew, 1992, 2009), and bullying behaviour was related to increased frustration and a strong desire to protect their self-worth and power. This recognizes that young people do have a choice and their choices were influenced by both personal and environmental factors.

Matza (1964) argued that aggressive behaviour might sometimes be the product of free choice. This is called soft-determinism. Many crime theorists have come to embrace soft determinism by advocating for it through, for example, control theories (Hirschi, 1986; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990, 1990) and rational choice theories (Goldkamp, 1987). The core idea of soft determinism can be related to the principle of critical realism; that is the belief that behaviour (or phenomenon) have certain structures and causal powers that can cause change; nonetheless, individuals may react differently towards the same 'pressure' and have reasons for their action (Merton, 1938). Here, choices or freedom of action was involved. Choices may involve decisions to engage in specific misconducts, or more fundamental decisions like decisions to get involved in bullying, continue in bullying

and desist from bullying (see Cornish & Clarke, 1986; Clarke & Felson, 1993). In interviews, young people identified circumstances in which specific personal and environmental factors reflect their choices and decisions to engage in bullying behaviour. Either bullies or non-bullies, they are a choice maker whose general situation is such that they are likely to depreciate the costs and benefits of bullying. Unlike non-bullies, in this study, pure-bullies and bully-victims perceived the importance of protecting power and self-worth for their survival in institutions. They chose to act aggressively by believing that such actions may help them to enhance their personal goals. They also chose to maintain their bullying activities by neutralizing or rationalizing the use of aggression in the institutions. Indeed, the behaviour of young people presupposes a pattern of social relationships through which motives and rationalizations can be learned and maintained (see Hirschi, 1986; Clarke & Felson, 1993). Indeed the choice to bullying others seemed to be driven by a lack of self-control or impulsivity. As compared to non-bullies, most bullies reported that they were incapable of exercising self-control effectively and were less likely to think carefully before taking action. For instance, they became involved in theft-related bullying as they perceived that there was no other way for them to meet their needs. Without consideration of long-term consequences, some young people easily committed aggressive behaviours (see Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990).

The findings of this study support the idea that young people choose behaviour, both bullying or otherwise, based on their rational calculation. Also, impulsivity seemed to play an important role in encouraging bullying behaviour. Nonetheless, their rational calculation and impulsive response shaped by specific personal and environmental factors. Hirschi (1986) argued that the combination of theories of offenders (choice theory) and theories of offenses (for example, importation and deprivation models) turns out that we seem already to have arrived at ideal state to understand conduct disorders. It appears that the choice perspective typically pays attention to qualitative or constructive approaches in understanding bullying

phenomenon. By being a little constructive, young people were given voices and chances to describe the reasons for their actions. This provided a detail picture of bullying in secure settings that built upon why young people act in certain ways.

8.4 Institution is no longer a safe place

This study demonstrated that bullying was a significant problem within the juvenile justice institution and it has long been a feature of institutional life. In line with the Multifactoral Model of Bullying in Secure Settings (MMBSS, Ireland, 2012), this present study revealed that bullying is normalized in secure settings. Bullying appeared to be one of the many important aspects of, not just adjusting, but also functioning in the institution. While adjusting can be conceptualised as the manner in which the individual deals with stressful situations and negative emotions (Folkman, 2011), functioning is related to meeting the demands of the environment (van Ginneken, 2015). For all pure-bullies and bully-victims, it seemed that adequate functioning is to engage in bullying activities. Bullying appeared to be a means of achieving daily demands. Most pure-bullies and bully-victims reported that bullying means to achieve power and resources. By achieving these, it would seem that some young people successfully adjusted to institutional life. Unlike bullies, all victims and non-involved young people reported that adequate functioning was usually due to staying out of trouble. For these groups, causing trouble seemed to be indicative of a failure to adjust. All victims reported that one way to stay out from trouble in institutions was to submit to bullies' demands. Nonetheless, there were some victims who resorted to 'provocative' actions. Instead of responding to bullies' demands, some provocative victims or bully victims reported that aggressive actions might stop them from being bullied again. Scholars argue that bully victims seem to have the most severe and broadest range of adjustment problems (Farrington & Ttofi, 2011; Shetgiri, 2013). This group seemed to be victims who transition from victimisation to bullying behaviour over a period of one month. Indeed the way that young people adjust and function in the institution might be changed as a result of day-to-day interactions among the

members of the institutional system (Liebling, 2011b; Crewe, 2009). Therefore, sentence length is theoretically likely to affect young people's adjustment. In this study, the longer the period served, the increased likelihood of young people reporting bullying behaviour. The more young people interact with members in the institution, the more they integrated or adjusted into young people subculture (South & Wood, 2006; Ireland & Power, 2013).

This study also demonstrated that bullying is not just the product of personal experiences and institutional environments but also the product of rational choice. Though rational choice shaped and influenced by personal experiences and institutional environments. Reflecting importation model (Goffman, 1961), this study revealed that most bullies were characterized by those who served longer in the institution, experienced punishment inside the institution, affiliated with gang members and did not self-harm. This study also supported deprivation model (Sykes, 1958) by revealing that bullying was induced by negative perceptions towards institutional environments. In particular, young people who reported perceptions of being disrespected, unfairness of treatment, the problem of bureaucratic legitimacy and the problem of family support were more likely to engage in bullying behaviour. Indeed these findings are strongly supported by the general strain theory and the Multifactoral Model of Bullying in Secure Settings (MMBSS, Ireland, 2012). Meanwhile, qualitative findings revealed the role of rational choice in inducing bullying behaviour. This suggests that some young people choose what they consider the best action alternative amongst those they perceive (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Based on their moral judgement, most bullies seemed to view bullying as morally correct behaviour to protect their self-worth and power/resources. Crucially, when making moral judgement, young people will vary in their ability to exercise self-control (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Most bullies seemed to manifest low self-control because their behaviour is impulsive and involves taking risks. Young people with poor self-control are hypothesized to manifest impulsivity, a short temper and enjoy taking risks (see

Gotfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Unnever & Cornell, 2003). Also, most bullies seemed to disregard the hurt they cause their victims and are not inhibited by the potential for being punished for their actions. This suggests that some bullies seemed to have minimum understanding of the risk of their bullying behaviour. As Nagin and Paternoster (1993) have argued, on average, 'offenders are oriented to the present rather than the future and, because of that fact, future consequences have only a de minimus impact on their decision calculus' (p. 471). Unlike bullies, most non-bullies reported to have low impulsivity. Most victims and non-involved young people reported to be more aware about potential consequences of bullying actions. These young people seemed to believe that causing trouble such as bullying others might result of being punished or affect the status of their current sentence. Nonetheless, some of non-involved young people seemed to show empathy towards others by showing understanding and responding with caring to what others think and feel. Indeed studies reported that the prosocial behaviour of victim defenders was positively associated to high levels of empathy (for example, Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoe, 2007; van Noorden, Haselager, Cillessen & Bukowski, 2015).

Deterrence effects might inhibit the ability to exercise self-control. In line with theories of sanction effects (Sherman, 1993; Becker, 1963), this study demonstrated that imprisonment seemed to increase the bullying activity of those who are actively at risk of aggression. This study exposed that the strains associated with imprisonment affect bullying behaviour and this is in line with the general strain theory (Agnew, 1992). These strains include problems of respect, bureaucratic legitimacy and unfairness of treatments. Indeed all of these strains are strongly reflected the role of officers and staff members in running the institution. As the heart of institution, staff members play an important role in shaping the environment of secure settings (for example, see Liebling, 2007; see also Crewe, 2009). Therefore, this study demonstrated that staff members appeared to contribute in inducing bullying culture in the institution, at least in two

circumstances: misusing their authority and displaying favourable attitudes towards bullying. In this study, many staff members seemed to use force to protect young people from harm and they were less likely to facilitate problem solving for young people problems. In other words, they were more concerned about the use of authority than the promotion of security. It has been argued that officers who use more authority are more satisfied with their jobs (Johnson, 1996). In fact, officers or staff members who possessed a human service/rehabilitation orientation experienced significantly more work frustration than those correctional officers who possessed a human service/rehabilitation orientation (see Dowden & Tellier, 2004). In this study, staff members reported using authority to control young people and maintaining order as an important core task, yet many seemed to believe in the potential of prison treatment programs to reform and rehabilitate.

This study revealed that the problems of respect, bureaucratic legitimacy and unfairness of treatment manifest in the misuse of authority by officers and staff members. The task of imprisonment requires the use of power and authority to achieve compliance and the maintenance of order (Liebling, 2000) and this is a key problem of the prison (Liebling, 2000; Sparks et al., 1996). Hepburn (1985) argued that staff members draw several types of power or authority bases in prison, including legitimate power, respect and reward.¹²³ Many relevant issues arise in relation to the use of authority amongst staff members. Many young people reported that staff members often show disrespect by confronting young people's behavioural problems in inappropriate ways. During incarceration, some young people reported that staff members often punished them unfairly by removing privileges and increasing the use of segregation. Staff members seemed to misuse their judgement and deal with the young people in an illegitimate manner. All these

¹²³ In this context, reward power can be understood as fairness of treatment. According to Hepburn (1985), reward power is about the distribution of privileges, prized jobs, favourable reports and so on. In this study, the fairness of treatment is related to the distribution of such things as explained by Hepburn.

matters seemed to be associated with staffs' misuse of authority. Some staff members reported the use of authority as a means of control for young people to behave well in the institution. Nonetheless, ways that staff members asserted their authority appeared to become coercive. Coercive power seemed to be based on young people's perception that staff members have the power to punish them and often exert injudicious punishment. Having such perceptions, most bullies reported that they felt no sense of obligation to obey the orders and rules. Coercive power seemed to create tension or frustration that induced aggressive or bullying behaviour amongst young people in the institution (see Ireland et al., 2016; Sekol, 2013, 2016). Nonetheless, some non-bullies and bullies reported that they preferred staff to have a little coercive power, but only if they used it with good judgement. Reluctance to use coercive power appeared to be a problem in the institution. Some young people reported that insufficient coercive power might allow 'powerful' groups of young people to exert control over others. This appeared to threaten especially 'powerless' young people in the institution. Using appropriate power or underusing power may create staff-offender relationships based on trust and respect. Indeed notions of trust, respect, fairness and legitimacy enable the life of the institution to 'flow' at all (Liebling, 2000).

This study also suggests that bullying is tolerated in the institution amongst staff members. Indeed, some staff members seemed to express attitudes that were favourable towards bullying by justifying young people's bullying behaviour in the light of particular circumstances. Some staff members reported that bullying behaviours are not necessarily damaging. Bullying seemed to be viewed as a disciplinary technique. Some victims and non-involved young people reported that staff members tended to give power to 'powerful' young people (mostly bullies) to exert control over other young people. This would seem that staff members colluded with bullies to achieve compliance and maintain order in the institution. Some staff members were reported to appoint young people as a 'leader' to take control and deliver the order. Rather than achieving compliance, ceding power to

offenders may actually reinforce bullying by displaying a certain level of tolerance for it (see Crewe, 2009; see also, Crewe, 2011). Interestingly, some staff members seemed to use aggression towards young people; however they rationalised such actions as an everyday operating procedure and legitimised its use.

Although bullying in juvenile institutions is a normal phenomenon, it cannot be tolerated and viewed as a normal part of young people's social interaction. Attitudes of staff members that tend to misuse their authority and be favourable to bullying behaviour seemed to create an unhealthy institutional environment. Indeed these do not promote institutional safety overall. Safety is an important aspect of institutions, and one that has significant impact on the wellbeing of young people during incarceration. Regrettably, institutions are aimed at securing physical rather than psychological survival. It should be understood that security is not solely a matter of physical safety. It is related to one's feeling of security and this implies supportive or at least non-threatening relationships (Johnson, 1996). In this study, young people perceived specific situations in institutions as characterized by an absence of staff, which promoted their feelings of insecurity. In contrast, some young people experienced supportive and fair treatment which can mitigate the pain of imprisonment (Harvey, 2007; Liebling, 2004) and can contribute to a safe environment.

This study reveals that institutions seemed to no longer be a safe place for young people. The daily occurrence of bullying and victimisation proves to be a major determinant of inadequate protections across the Malaysian juvenile justice institutions studied. Many of these juvenile institutions have failed to protect young people and make institutions safe places. Placing young people in the correctional institution might promote positive outcomes (see Bales & Piquero, 2012). Some staff members and some young people (either bullies or non-bullies) reported the positive aspects of institutions. Although not completely rehabilitated, some young people reported that they felt that institutions had deterred them from their

criminal activities. Also, they reported that they were able to get food and clean properly by living in the institution. Although institutions were lacking resources, some young people reported that the institution helped them obtain education and vocational trainings. However, many young people as well as staff members agreed that imprisonment appeared to have more criminogenic than rehabilitative effects. Similar to this, scholars argue that correctional institutions are merely schools of crime and that young people are more criminally oriented on release than when they enter the juvenile justice system (Fletcher, 2010; Ouss, 2011). In fact, there is no doubt that violence or crime is taking place within the system (McCorkle, 1992). In this study, the high level of bullying and victimisation suggest that institutions are risky and volatile places. The finding is that bullying is now so common that it is considered a norm of the inmate world. Therefore it is clear the institutions are not meeting their goal of rehabilitating young people, by setting up young offenders to offend in institution.

8.5 Chapter conclusion

The findings of this study have supported key features of the Multifactor Model of Bullying in Secure Settings theories of sanction effects, strain theory, importation and deprivation models in explaining bullying behaviour in juvenile justice institutions. Supporting the idea of theories of sanction effects, this study has confirmed that the more young people penetrate the formal sanctioning system, the more likely they are to engage in bullying or misconduct behaviour. In relation to importation factors, young people who served longer sentences, their experience of punishment inside the institution, affiliation with gang members and no self-harm shaped young people' choices and decisions to bully others. Turning to deprivation factors, the decision to engage in bullying behaviour can be understood in relation to young people's feeling of frustration towards specific institutional environments as shown in Figure 2. Also, bullying in juvenile institutions is likely to be reinforced by the social environment that is encouraging of aggression. Positive

beliefs on the use of aggression and the vulnerabilities of potential victims are circumstances that were likely to encourage bullying.

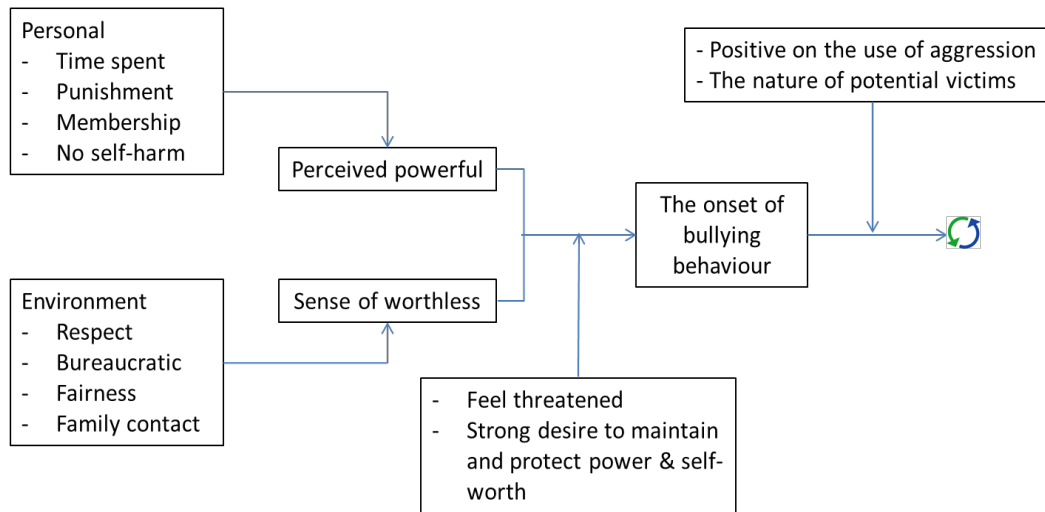


Figure 2 Bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions

Interestingly, the findings of this study are supported and advanced the Multifactorial Model of Bullying in Secure Settings (MMBSS; Ireland, 2012). In line with MMBSS, this study supported that any occurrence of bullying is likely to be reinforced by the social environment that is accepting of aggression. This is called 'desentization pathway'. To be specific, this study discovered that bullying occurs so frequently in juvenile justice institutions and is normalized by both pure-bullies and bully-victims. Some staff members also showed beliefs and attitudes which were likely to collude and accept aggression in institutions. This contributes to desentization to aggression and bullying amongst young people. In line with another crucial aspect of MMBSS, this study demonstrated that institutional environments that are characterized by the problem of bureaucratic illegitimacy, unfairness of treatment, disrespectful staff members and the problem of family support reinforced aggressive young people or bullies prone to bullying in institutions.

The findings of this study, informed by both quantitative and qualitative approaches, led to the comprehensive knowledge of bullying phenomenon in secure settings. While the quantitative approach produced results that can be predicted, the qualitative approach produced unexpected findings. Drawing findings from both approaches, the extent of bullying can be understood in relation to the normalization of bullying through processes of desensitization and adaptation. Institutional bullying can be also understood as it occurs in a specific environmental, structural, social and cultural context. Such findings have contributed to a new insight of bullying phenomenon in secure settings. To the best of my knowledge, this present study is the first to provide a more detailed description of the institutional environment and its relation to bullying amongst young people. Also, this is the first study to examine bullying and victimisation in the context of Malaysia. Although this study was conducted in only eight juvenile justice institutions, the results should be applicable to a variety of institutions. Accurately understanding the nature and dynamics of institutional bullying is critically important if strategies are to be found that prevent and reduce its incidence and prevalence.

9 CONCLUSION

This final chapter concludes the thesis by summarizing the discussions advanced in the chapters comprising this thesis. It begins by highlighting the objectives and research questions underpinning the study, the methodologies used, and findings from both survey study and interviews. Included in this discussion is how the research findings addressed the research questions. In this chapter, the limitations of the research project are also discussed. These limitations primarily cohere around methodological issues related to the sample, the accuracy of the questionnaire and the availability of relevant resources. Additionally, the chapter highlights recommendations for future research and recommendations for practitioners from all parts of the juvenile justice system.

9.1 The current study

As outlined in the first chapter, this current study aims to investigate the extent of bullying and victimisation in the secure setting and how personal characteristics and the institutional environment influence bullying behaviour among young people. In particular, the research questions were:

1. What is the extent of bullying behaviour and victimisation occurring among young people in juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia?
2. Do personal characteristics and institutional environments influence bullying behaviour among young people in juvenile justice institutions?
3. What can we learn from the perspective of young people and staff members about bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions?

The prevalence of bullying and victimisation were high in the institutions and this had a negative affect, not only on those involved but also on the performance of the secure setting and the justice system as whole. Nonetheless, research into bullying in secure settings is an under-researched area. Given this, this study on bullying and victimisation was conducted with an emphasis on young people in juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia. In Malaysia, as explained in the second

chapter, the number of children and young people in juvenile justice institutions is high. Protected by the Malaysian Child Act 2001, however, children and young people are treated differently from adults. Young people between 12 and 21 years old are sentenced to juvenile justice institutions, which are separate from adult facilities. In the institutions, young people who tend to suffer from maladaptive aggression have an increased propensity to perpetrate bullying. These circumstances are influenced by young people's personal characteristics and the pains associated with institutional environment.

The discussion of theories and empirical studies in chapter three confirmed that bullying behaviour is shaped by both personal and environmental factors. Four theories, namely, the Multifactor Model of Bullying in Secure Settings (MMBSS), theories of sanction effects, general strain theory and deprivation and importation models asserted the role of individual differences and institutional deprivations in shaping young people behaviour in secure settings. In particular, empirical evidence suggests three main personal factors and four main institutional factors to be significant in predicting bullying behaviour. Given these discussions, as explained in chapter four, the conceptual framework advanced in this study provides a more comprehensive explanation for bullying in the institution. The framework depicts the main personal and institutional environment variables, and hypothesizes their influence on bullying behaviour. Included in the personal variables are: 'background characteristics', 'personal experiences' and 'psychological factors'. Meanwhile, 'power and control', 'treatment and services', 'security', and 'staff-offender relationships' are identified as institutional variables. Guided by these, 15 personal characteristics/experiences and 21 institutional environment factors were included in the current study.

All variables involved in this study, including personal characteristics, institutional environmental dimensions, and bullying behaviour were conceptualized, and they were measured quantitatively. In so doing, this facilitated the identification and

analysis of observations about the extent of bullying and victimisation and the influence of different factors on bullying behaviour. Underpinned by a critical realist epistemology, nonetheless, these quantitative results were supplemented and explored further in interviews. Critical realism provides an account of the nature of scientific practice in researching social phenomenon. Nonetheless, it also recognizes the need for an interpretative understanding. As explained in chapter five, therefore, mixed-methods approaches were conducted to explain and understand bullying in secure settings, beginning with a quantitative survey and followed up with in-depth interviews. 289 male and female young young people from eight Malaysian juvenile institutions were included in the survey analysis. Meanwhile, qualitative analysis from interviews with 16 male and female young people and eight institutional staff members from two juvenile institutions was undertaken.

The analyses of findings in response to the first research question were discussed in chapter six. It was found that the involvement of young people in bullying and victimisation were high, with more than 95 per cent of them experiencing at least one bullying behaviour and one incident of being victimized in the past month. In this respect, young people reported participating primarily in verbal form of bullying and victimisation than other forms. From these findings, 17 per cent of them were classified as pure bullies, 20 per cent pure victims, 30 per cent bully-victims and the rest were only involved casually in either bullying or victimisation. The elevated prevalence of bullying and victimisation was explained in reference to the interview data in chapter seven. In juvenile justice institutions, bullying behaviour was identified to be elevated in relation to the nature and function of such behaviour. Young people rationalised their involvement in bullying behaviour as a mechanism for meeting their survival needs in the institution; that is, bullying was a means of self-protection, building self-discipline, access to goods, and forming useful alliances. Young people also explained that the involvement in bullying behaviour was strengthened due to the activities and behaviours of potential victims that were likely to increase their vulnerabilities to being the target of bullying. Being a

newcomer, having no friends, having a large amount of possessions and being perceived as a troublemaker increased the potential likelihood of being bullied. In this regard, the third research question was addressed.

The decision to bully others tends to be shaped by young people's personal factors and institutional environments and this was also explained in chapter six. Out of 15 personal factors, only eight factors were significantly related to bullying behaviour. Meanwhile, only nine environmental dimensions out of 21 were significantly related to bullying behaviour. To advance these findings, a logistic regression was used. As shown in the Table 43, only four personal factors i.e. 'time spent in the institution', 'experience of punishment inside the institution', 'gang membership', 'no self-harm', and four environmental factors i.e. 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness', and 'family contact' significantly predicted bullying behaviour among young people. In this regard, the second research question was answered. In fact, the third research question was also addressed by exploring how these eight predictors shaped bullying decisions. As explained in chapter seven, personal predictors contributed to a sense of power; meanwhile, environmental predictors contributed to feelings of worthlessness. A strong desire to protect and enhance a sense of power and self-worth underpin illegitimate coping strategies, which include bullying others. Indeed, bullying others can enhance sense of power and self-worth. Findings in this study were critically examined in the light of what was already known previously, and this was explained in chapter eight.

9.2 Limitations of the research

The current study has produced a comprehensive body of knowledge about bullying and victimisation in juvenile justice institutions in Malaysia by combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. The results of the quantitative survey can be generalized to a wider population as random sampling techniques were used to select institutions and participants. Involving young people and institutional staff members, meanwhile, the smaller-scale qualitative study produced rich and in-

depth understanding of this phenomenon from different perspectives. While other studies tend to focus on one particular sex, this study included both male and female young people. Nonetheless, there are at least eight key limitations identified. First, the sample of young people in the survey study does not involve young people placed in higher security institutions. In Malaysia, higher security institutions operate under the authority of the Department of Prison. This authority expressed no interest in participating in this study, as it felt that the topic proposed was too sensitive. Therefore, higher security institutions were excluded from this study and therefore data about bullying and victimisation in such institutions is therefore missing. Without this information, the study is therefore unable to make comparisons between higher, medium and lower security conditions.

Secondly, this study does not involve institutional officers (i.e institutional warden, director of juvenile institution, uniformed officers). Institutional officers have a great capacity to shape the institutional social life. They have the ability not only to make decisions and to give order to staff members, but also to form judgments about prisoners' behaviour and make decisions about them in the institution (Liebling, 2011a). Officers are highly skilled and have strong knowledge about institutional rules as well as policy relating to prisoner's right (Liebling, 2011a). For these reasons, their voices and perceptions about phenomenon of bullying in secure institutions are important. Due to the unavailability for institutional officers to participate in this study during the fieldwork, therefore, the study does not involved institutional officers.

Thirdly, this study provides little qualitative information about victimisation experiences. While this study adequately analyzed the experiences of young people engaged in bullying, it is less likely to explore victimisation as well as bully-victimisation experiences. Scholars agree the importance of exploring prison victimisation, yet it has been a particularly limited area of empirical inquiry (Steiner et al., 2017; Teasdale, Daigle, Hawk & Daquin, 2016). In the interviews, young

people from four different groups were involved in in-depth interviews, including pure-bullies, pure-victims, bully-victims and casual involvement. Nonetheless, this study was less likely to explore and analyse the story of victims and bully-victims about their experiences of being victimized. The purpose of involving them in the interviewing was mainly to support and supplement findings about bullying behaviour. Therefore, this study provided basic qualitative information about victimisation experiences. Since this study primarily focused on bullying behaviour, however, some qualitative information gathered about victimisation is more than enough to reflect such experiences in the context of this study. Also, information about victimisation experiences was at least adequately analysed and presented in the quantitative part.

Fourthly, this research produced limited information about different forms of bullying and victimisation. While the quantitative survey explained clearly the prevalence of different forms of bullying and victimisation, reasons as to why some forms were more prevalent than other were insufficiently explored qualitatively. In particular, this study produced limited in-depth information about verbal and indirect forms of bullying that were found as most prevalent in the institution. Apart from this, this study failed to describe associations between the occurrence of different forms of bullying and individual differences. It has been agreed that different forms of bullying or victimisation are often linked to individual differences (Scheithauer, Hayer, Petermann & Jugert, 2006). Nonetheless, this study neglected the importance of such mechanisms. In the context of this study, however, further information on different forms of bullying and victimisation are not necessary. Indeed, findings presented relating to this issue are more than enough to answer research questions.

Fifthly, this study does not attend to the physical aspects of the institutional environment. In relation to the environmental aspects, 21 dimensions were involved in this study. Nonetheless, there is no dimension that focusses on the

physical features of the institution. The empirical reviews discussed the importance of institutional architecture, space or layout in explaining misconduct or bullying behaviour in secure settings (for example, Beijersbergen, Dirkzwager, van der Laan & Nieuwbeerta, 2016; Morris & Worrall, 2014; Moran, 2013; Wener, 2012). Also, as one of the important physical structures, scholars have agreed, is the impact of overcrowding in explaining prisoner misconduct (Farrington & Nuttall, 1980; Levitt, 1996). The MQPL scale, on which the measurement of the institutional environment was based, omits this important variable. However, there are some dimensions included in this scale that can be relevant to reflect the physical aspects of institution such as 'professionalism' and 'wellbeing' dimensions as proposed by Liebling (2004). As discussed in the empirical review, physical aspects of institutions can affect the use of authority (for example, Bierie, 2011; Shalev, 2009) as well as programs and treatments available in the institution (for example, Wooldredge & Steiner, 2015). For instance, the overcrowding may contribute to security and control difficulties, and this requires more punitive approaches to managing young people. Also, in overcrowded institutions, young people may not get access to rehabilitation programs and the failure of rehabilitation may result in increased re-offending.

Sixth, this study did not set out to explore how the organization affects the attitudes of staff members and their behaviour in dealing with young people. Institutional staff cultures vary considerably and these variations are shaped by organizational bureaucratic imperatives (Farmer, 1977; Crewe, 2009; Liebling, 2011a). Indeed, these variations have significant consequences for the quality of life of young people (Crewe et al., 2011). This study clearly omitted organizational issues through the application of the MQPL scale, on which the measurement of the institutional environment was based, and interviews. Nonetheless, these issues were explained and explored in the perspectives of young people. Although it is crucial to explore the interaction between organization and staff cultures from the perspective of staff members, such issues are not needed for the purpose of this

study. Besides, views of young people towards organization issues were adequately explored in this study.

Furthermore, this study does not attend the interrelationship between personal characteristics and institutional environment in explaining bullying behaviour. Some studies lend support to the interactions of importation and deprivation factors in explaining prisoners' behaviour in response to confinement (for example, Gover et al., 2000; Tasca et al., 2010; Tewksbury et al., 2014). This study includes both importation and deprivation factors. Driven by the conceptual framework produced, nonetheless, personal characteristics and environmental conditions were treated independently. By not controlling either personal or environmental factors, it gives more freedom to each factor in explaining bullying behaviour. Therefore, the interrelation between both factors is not necessary in the context of this study. Nonetheless, this study can advance analysis by explaining the interrelationship between both factors.

Finally, the limitation of this study is related to the design of the questionnaire. Specifically, this relates to three aspects of its design: the inclusion of questions relating to sensitive issues; difficulties encountered in understanding certain questions; and its length, all of which may affect the accuracy of participants' answers. Taking part in research of this nature can be very sensitive, as it investigates young people' experiences of bullying others and of being bullied. Young people might feel threatened or ashamed and this might affect the answers provided. Nonetheless, participants were repeatedly reassured of the confidentiality of the information given, and were always allowed to take breaks or even terminate the survey session if they so desired. Another potential issue pertains to participants' capacity to understand questions in the questionnaire, which may require further explanation. Indeed, participants who had difficulties in reading and writing were unable to answer the questionnaire alone. In these cases, I read aloud the entire questions so as to engage participants in texts that they

might not be able to read or understand, and gave further explanations for some questions through examples. However, the questionnaire was lengthy and time-consuming, and this can also affect the accuracy of the answer. In the fieldwork, therefore, I divided the questionnaire into three parts and approached participants in a group of eight to 10 young people. This proved beneficial, however time-consuming. Therefore, there are limitations to this method and this is an important consideration for any future research.

9.3 Recommendations for future research

Beginning with the limitations discussed previously, future research on bullying and victimisation would benefit from a focus on and the involvement of young people who are placed in maximum or higher security conditions. Also, to be more effective a shorter version of the self-report questionnaire with simple and clear questions could be considered. Perhaps, suggestions can be made to improve the established questionnaires that were used in this study, in this regard, including DIPC-SCALED_r and MQPL. Additionally, in considering the impact and effects of the institutional environment on bullying and victimisation, future study should account for the physical aspects of the institutional environment. Specifically, this might include its architecture; the dorm, the facilities and any conditions related to physical aspects. As explained in the empirical discussions, these dimensions can affect young people's processes of adjustment to the institution. Therefore, suggestions can be made to include such physical dimensions in the MQPL scale. Apart from this, there are numbers of potentially useful areas for future research and these are discussed below.

This research was concerned to reveal the prevalence and dynamics of bullying behaviour rather than victimisation experiences. Future research in this area might include, primarily, a focus on victimisation experiences by exploring different forms of victimisation, including physical victimisation, sexual abuse and psychological harassment. Qualitative research is for exploring young people's experiences of

particular forms of victimisation. How it happens, how they experience it and cope with it and how the institution helps them are questions that future study might attend to. Such studies might usefully explore the relationship between victimisation and the onset of a given individual's bullying behaviour. Although this study explored such conditions through the stories of bully-victims, further exploration with only this group is necessary. Participants who were identified to be both bullies and victims are uniquely placed within this study, and their involvement in both categories is perhaps more nuanced than this research could reveal. Therefore, an exploratory study on bully-victims would enhance knowledge in this field.

From the findings of the present study, future research could focus on confirming, or otherwise, the model produced in this study. Results from the logistic regression model confirmed eight factors significantly predict bullying behaviour, including 'time spent in the institution', 'experience of punishment', 'gang membership', 'experience of self-harm', 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness', and 'family contact'. Using quantitative approaches, future studies can investigate all these factors and explain how these factors affect bullying behaviour or other institutional misconducts. In this study, some mediator or moderator factors i.e. self-confidence, coping mechanism, and frustration can be included to explain the complex phenomenon of institutional misconduct. Using qualitative approaches, meanwhile, future study can focus on exploring each predictor more critically. For example, future study can further explore how the length of time spent in the institution shapes young people behavioural adjustment, and this can be done by learning from the stories of both longer serving sentence young people and newcomers. Another potential area of interest includes a need to explore other phenomenon related to young people's behaviour and adjustment. Issues such as same sex activities, prisoner hierarchy, friendships, drug and tobacco use in the institution and inmate rules are important areas worthy of further investigation and how these conditions shape young people behavioural adjustment and social relations in the

institution. Finally, but not exhaustively, issues surrounding young people's experiences of being abused and bullied by staff members are urgently needed. These issues were raised during interview sessions and require further investigation.

Apart from this, it would be useful for future research to include an exploration or analysis of staff and organizational culture, with a particular focus on trying to detect bullying from and amongst staff. As part of environmental aspects, this study extensively explored the role of staff culture in shaping young people behaviour in the institution. Nonetheless, the study failed to explore the role of the organization in shaping staff culture or attitude. Scholars agree that staff cultures are shaped by environmental aspects of the organisation (for example, Farmer, 1977; Crewe, 2009; Liebling, 2011a), that is, influences overall interactions between staff and young people. Therefore, it is also important to further explore about staff and organizational culture in explaining bullying or misconduct behaviour among young people in secure settings. To do so, future study might explore such issues from the perspective of both staff members and institutional officers. Also, it would be of benefit to include document analysis relating to work ethics for staff members.

Also, it might be useful for future study to emphasize on how treatments received in the institution shapes young people behaviour in the institution. In particular, future study might explore further about children's right in attaining education and training in the institution and how these contribute to young people's misconduct behaviour. Studies reveal that maladjustment behaviour has been linked to prisoners' inaccessibility to appropriate treatment programs in the institution (Wulf-Ludden, 2013; Wooldredge & Steiner, 2015; Goncalves et al., 2014). Therefore, it is important for future study to focus on this topic by exploring the dynamic experiences of young people and staff members. Also, it might be useful for future study to include institutional officers or policy makers in explaining children's right and how policy affects the treatment received in the institution. Further,

researchers can also carry out a case study that includes observation and document analysis and this might help the researcher to explore this phenomenon holistically.

9.4 Recommendations for future practice

As explained at the beginning, it was hoped that an exploration the phenomenon of bullying and victimisation in institutions would generate the kinds of knowledge that may significantly contribute towards improving future practice. In particular, such knowledge can inform interventions, approaches and practices that may help in reducing the frequency and prevalence of bullying and victimisation in secure settings. This study identified, in Malaysian welfare run institutions, efforts to address bullying and victimisation concentrating principally on controlling and preventing the occurrence of bullying and victimisation. This research suggests that this phenomenon does not occur in isolation and both the cause and the required responses are multi-faceted and intertwined. As explained previously, bullying behaviour was maintained when young people rationalized such behaviours and when key conditions increase individuals' vulnerability to being bullied. To address these, therefore, educating young people could be the best solution (Rigby, 2003; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). It can be done by educating them about the nature of bullying and victimisation, its effects as well as how to handle bullying situations. Young people might be ignorant about what constitutes bullying. Education of this nature, in particular, can raise young people' awareness of the wrong of their actions and thus decrease the likelihood to engage in such misconduct (see Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Indeed, the information about bullying outcomes may reduce the neutralization or rationalization of such behaviour (see Barlow, Warkentin, Ormond & Dennis, 2013). Also, information about victimisation may increase victims' awareness of being bullied or abused as well as information on the supports available to them. Knowing this, they may be more likely to report incidence of being victimized without feeling afraid. Apart from this, the prevalence of bullying and victimisation in the institution can be related to poor safeguarding and staff cultures. Research found that staff members were less likely to trust

reports of those being victimized. They also perceived bullies' actions as rational and did not take bullying seriously. These perceptions need to be changed. Similar to young people, staff members have to be educated about bullying and victimisation and how to handle bullying incidents. Also, a policy or strategy should be put in place to help contribute to a more consistent responses institution wide. Consequently, staff members may be more likely to view bullying seriously and thus handling bullying incidents more effectively. This may increase their abilities to manage bullying and violence in secure settings and thus reduce such incidences (see Stark & Kidd, 1992).

This study also identified eight predictors that affected bullying decisions: 'time spent in the institution', 'experience of punishment', 'gang membership', 'experience of self-harm', 'respect', 'bureaucratic legitimacy', 'fairness', and 'family contact'. Bullying behaviour can be prevented by addressing these predictors. In relation to 'time-spent in the institution', research found that longer-serving sentence offenders were more likely to bully others, and newcomers were more likely to be bullied by them. Placing them into separate wings and limiting the interaction between these two groups might be helpful in reducing bullying incidents. Segregation is used for a variety of reasons, most commonly as a way to remove young people from the general institutional population who are thought to pose a risk to security or safety, and as a way to provide safety to young people believed to be at risk in the general institutional population (Shalev 2009; Browne, Agha & Austin, 2012). This may help protect vulnerable young people; nonetheless, some young people may feel restricted and it may result in adverse effects on their behaviour (Mears, 2013). Therefore, careful consideration is needed.

Secondly, this research discovered that experience of punishment or penalties in the institution affect bullying decisions. This reaction occurs both during personal experiences with legal authorities (i.e. punishment) and when young people perceive the illegitimacy of legal authorities (see Tyler, 2003). To mitigate aggressive

behaviour, therefore, harsh punishment should be avoided and greater focus needs to be placed on approaches whose goal is to connect with and activate internal values within wrongdoers with the goal of rehabilitative measures (see Tyler, 2006). Punishment such as physical exercises may be effective to establish compliance behaviours because it involves constructive rehabilitative measures. This may help young people to counter feelings of helplessness and despair, which largely account for their anti-social attitudes, and to help them adjust socially (Schmideberg, 1968). Punishment such as solitary confinement – that is the confinement of young people alone in a cell for some period of time – should be avoided as it can lead to severe psychiatric harm associated with high risk of violent hostility (see Grassian, 2006).

Thirdly, this research has argued that bullying behaviour can be amplified due to involvement in or affiliation to gangs. Gangs are the central players responsible for misconduct in secure settings (Skarbek, 2012). One priority for institutions is to reduce the likelihood that young people become affiliated with a gang in the first place by creating safe environments that thwarts recruiting. Some potential strategies might include gang-free institutions that enable an unaffiliated young person to survive institutional life without feeling the need to join a gang for protection (Winterdyk & Ruddell, 2010). Fourthly, it has been found that young people with experiences of self-harm were more likely to be bullied. Constant emotional support is needed for this group (see Klonsky et al., 2003). Staff members can help them by educating them in how to handle social situations, and this can be done either formally or informally. In addition, the qualitative data suggests that these eight predictors contributed to an increase perception of threatening and psychological disturbances that led to lower self-confidence. In this regard, bullying can be influenced by improving people's self-confidence. Relevant activities such as participation in sport, physical exercises, and vocational and educational trainings may be effective in protecting and improving self-confidence. Indeed, engagement in sport and other physical activities has consistently been found to improve self-esteem and confidence among young people (Parker, Meek & Lewis, 2014).

This research also suggests that the institutional environment influences bullying behaviour. Young people reported that their involvement in bullying behaviour was related to inhuman and degrading treatment in secure settings. What it is to feel treated inhumanely, as this study found, is related to young people's feeling of being treated without respect, unfairly and coercively by staff members. The absence of respect and fairness in secure settings damages young people's identities as human beings and results in participation in misconduct activities (Liebling, 2011b). To control young people's misconduct behaviour, therefore, the system should focus on mitigating inhumane and degrading conditions in secure settings. This can be achieved by creating more positive staff-young people relationships. Indeed, staff-prisoner relationships make an important contribution to perceptions of institution quality (Molleman & van Ginneken, 2015). Appropriate balance between formality and informality may create positive staff-offender relationship. That is involved professional, respectful treatment and the appropriate use of authority by officers (Liebling, 2011b). This can be encouraged by sending staff members on courses or training related to social work skills in helping young people. In particular, courses should focus on mitigating staffs' anti-management and anti-prisoner attitudes, and improving their use of power in secure settings (see Crewe et al., 2011). On the other hand, positive staff-young people relationships can be improved by establishing and sustaining a therapeutic culture in secure settings. This could be achieved by, at least, increasing involvement of young people in decision-making (i.e enhancing the range of young people representation in decision making and involving in family visitation; see Bennett & Shuker, 2010). Apart from this, this research also suggests that a lack of family visitation or contact led to bullying behaviours. Visitation provides, in this study, a critical avenue for young people to receive social support as they serve out their sentence. The lack of visitation may indicate that an individual lacks strong social bonds to especially family and so may be more likely to engage in bullying behaviour. One of the best ways to improve this is by encouraging family visitation and allowing telephone contact when necessary. This can be done by consulting family members of young

people who received no visits and encourage them to do visitation or make telephone contact. Nonetheless, visitation may serve as a signal for how young people may behave in secure settings. Such information would provide institutional officials with the ability to identify young people who may require further services or support and who may require more assistance in the institution (Cochran, 2012; Cochran & Mears, 2013).

This study provides knowledge about the causal factors that influence bullying behaviour. Using this knowledge, an obvious strategy is to address this problem by addressing all identified causal factors. However, there is one condition in the institution that actually plays a big role in increasing the risk of bullying and victimisation. That is, overcrowding. Studies suggest that prison size influences behaviour inside prison, and they argued that violent and disruptive behaviour were produced by overcrowding (for example, Farrington & Nuttall, 1980; Martin et al., 2012; Bierie, 2011). It may be that the overcrowding shapes the condition of causal factors and thus increases the likelihood of disruptive behaviour. Recently many countries have been condemned by the European Court of Human Rights for inhuman and degrading treatment because of the conditions of detention imposed on an institution in an overcrowded condition (Maculan et al., 2013). As explained previously, inhuman and degrading treatment leads to young people's participation in bullying. To minimize the prevalence of bullying and victimisation, therefore, it is a priority to prevent overcrowding in secure settings. This could be achieved by diverting status offenders and non-serious offenders away from the juvenile justice system, reducing the effective lengths of institutional sentences, and providing more correctional facilities. To foster these, it requires the interventions of the government, the juvenile justice system, the Court for children and those who have influence in maintaining order for children and young people.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix 1 – Participant Information Sheet (PIS)

Appendix 1.1 – Participant Information Sheet for Children & Young People

Name of department: Social Work and Social Policy

Title of the study: Bullying in secure settings

Introduction

My name is Nazirah Hassan. I am a researcher from the University of Strathclyde, UK

What is the purpose of this investigation?

I want to know about the bullying and victimisation occurs in this institution.

Do you have to take part?

Taking part in this research is completely voluntary. It is up to you whether you take part or not and you don't have to. Even if you choose to take part now, you can still change your mind later and stop participating in this study at any time. If you choose not to participate, or pull out during the discussion this will not affect your current sentence, your merit or your chance of parole.

What will you do in the project?

If you do want to take part, you will be asked to take part in either a survey which means answering a set of questions or in an interview or both. I will ask you some questions about your feelings and your experiences in this institution. There aren't any right and wrong answers. The survey should take about 45 minutes. The interview discussion should take about 60 minutes at the longest. Some of the questions will relate to your personal life and experiences in this institution. Also, I will ask you if you will agree to me audio recording what you say. This helps me to remember what you have said but nobody else will hear it except me. However, if you don't want me to record it, that's fine. You can still participate if you do not want to be recorded and I will just write down what you say.

Why have you been invited to take part?

You have been randomly selected to be invited to take part because you are currently living in this institution and I think that you can tell me about your feelings and experiences in this institution.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

It is possible that you might feel upset, discomfort, guilt or stress discussing these issues. If you feel like this during or after the discussion, I make sure you get support right away. However, the story that you tell me may be useful for you as well as this institution and may be for other people in here. I hope this will help to make this institution a better place for you. However, this cannot be guaranteed.

What happens to the information in the project?

Only the researcher will see your answers and I will tell anyone what I have heard or saw without your permission. The answers that you give will be kept safely locked away in a filing cabinet at the University. Your name will not be written on any of answer sheets. Instead, I will put a 5-digit code

on your answer sheets. This code will be used to identify some people for interview but only I will know who you are. This code will not be shared with anybody. After the interview finishes, I will destroy this code

I will not share your answers with your institution manager or staff. If you tell me that you or someone else might get hurt then I will have to share it with someone else. I will let you know if I plan to do this first though.

The study findings might appear in journals for social scientists to read. Your name will not be included anywhere.

What happens next?

When the study is finished, I will write about some of the results in a doctoral thesis (a research book) for the University. I will also write about the results in research journals, and will present the results at research meetings. Nothing that we write or talk about will have your name in it. At the end of the research, we can also send a report to the institution manager and tell what we found overall.

Who can I contact?

If you have any questions about the study, or if you experience any problems please tell your institution manager to contact me at Nazirah-binti-hassan@strath.ac.uk. We will be happy to talk to you about the study and will try to answer any questions that you might have.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP AND ATTENTION

Appendix 1.2 – Participant Information Sheet for Officers and Staff

Name of department: Social Work and Social Policy

Title of the study: Bullying in secure settings

Introduction

My name is Nazirah Hassan. I am a PhD student in the Department of Social Work and Social Policy at University of Strathclyde, Scotland.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

I want to understand how the institutional environment, and processes of adjustment affect bullying behaviours in juvenile institutions. This research is being conducted as part of a PhD at the University of Strathclyde, Scotland.

Do you have to take part?

Taking part in this research is completely voluntary. If you don't want to take part, you do not have to give a reason and no pressure will be out on you to try and change your mind. Also, you can pull out of the discussion at any time. Please note, if you choose not to participate, or pull out during the discussion this will not affect your current job and position.

What will you do in the project?

If you agree to take part, you will be asked to take part in an interview. In the interview, I will ask you some questions about your views and opinions of an experience of working in the institution. There aren't any right and wrong answers. The interview session should take about 60 minutes at the longest. I would like to audio record the interview, if you consent to this. However, if you would prefer me not to, you can still participate in the interview and I will take notes by hand if you don't want to be recorded.

Why have you been invited to take part?

You have been chosen to take part because you are currently working in a juvenile institution and I think that you have the knowledge and experience that can help me gain an understanding of how the institutional environment, and processes of adjustment affect bullying behaviour. You have been selected based on specific criteria to participate in this research, including work experience, your role in the institution and your strong knowledge base.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

It is possible that you might feel upset, discomfort, guilt or other adverse feelings discussing these issues. If you feel so during or after the discussion and need help dealing with your feelings, I will link you to someone right away. However, the information that we get from you may be useful to the institution as well as you. Although you might not benefit directly, we hope that this evaluation will help to improve the institutional practices in the future. Please note that this cannot be guaranteed.

What happens to the information in the project?

All the information you give us will be confidential and used for the purposes of this study only. The data will be collected and stored properly. Also, the data will be disposed of in a secure manner in

accordance with Section 45(2) C in the Malaysian Personal Data Protection Act 2010 and the United Kingdom Data Protection Act 1998. The information will be used in a way that will not allow you to be identified individually. Institution authorities will not be able to link any information provided by you. However, we must inform institutional management if:

1. something you have said that either your health and safety, or the health and safety others around you, is at immediate risk;
2. something you have said leads us to believe that there is a threat to security
3. you disclose details of any potential offence within this institution, which could lead to an adjudication. So, you should not mention anybody's name during this discussion.

What happens next?

Think about the information on this sheet, and ask me if you are not sure about anything. If you agree to take part, please sign the consent form. The consent form will not be used to identify you. It will be filed separately from all other information. If, after the discussion, you want any more information about the study, tell your personal officer, who will contact me.

However, if you do not want to be involved in this research, I would like to thank you for your attention.

The results of the research will be made available in reports and academic papers although neither the institution or the individuals participating in this research will be identifiable. We will give a copy of the research report including the recommendation to your institution.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP AND ATTENTION

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee. If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or further information may be sought from, please contact:

Researcher contact details:

Nazirah Hassan

School of Social Work & Social Policy,

Humanities & Social Sciences,

University of Strathclyde, Glasgow,

United Kingdom

Email: nazirah-binti-hassan@strath.ac.uk

Appendix 2 – Survey questionnaires

The survey contains four parts:

- Part 1 asks for some background information.
- Part 2 asks about your behaviour and experiences in the institution.
- Part 3 asks about your perception towards institutional environment.
- Part 4 is a consent form.

The survey takes around 30-45 minutes to fill in.

Please read each statement carefully and circle the answer that best describes how you feel. Only circle one answer for each statement and take care to answer each question. There is no time limit, but the questionnaire is quite long so please try not to spend too long thinking about each statement. Please ask if there are any statements or words that you do not understand.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Part 1: Background Information

This part asks about some of your background information and personal experience before and during incarceration period.

1. What age are you?
 12 years – 15 years
 16 years – 18 years
 19 years and more

2. What gender are you?
 Male
 Female

3. What is your ethnic group?
 Malay
 Chinese
 Indian
 Other, specify _____

4. How long is your sentence?
 Remand
 1 year
 2 years
 3 years and more

5. How long have you been in this institution?
 Less than one months
 1 – 6 months
 7 – 12 months
 12 – 24 months

6. Is this your first time in institution?
 Yes
 No
If you have been in institution before:
6a. How many times have you been in institution?
 Once before
 2 times
 3 times and more
If you have been in institution before:
6b. Have you been in this institution before?
 Yes
 No

7. What type of offense do you sentence for?
 Theft, Robbery, House breaking Shop-lifting
 Murder, Rape, Intimidation
 Drugs-related
 Multi-offences
 Beyond control/ status offences
 Others, specify _____

8. Have you received visits in this institution?

- Yes
 No

If yes:

8a. How many times in a month?

- Once only
 2 times
 3 times
 4 times & more

8b. Are you close to your home area in this prison? (e.g. if your home area is about an hour journey time or less from the institution it would be classified as close to home)

- Yes
 No

9. Are you in regular contact (either by telephone or letter with your family members whilst are you in institution?

- Yes
 No

10. Have you ever been given punishment/ penalties in this institution because of what have you done?

- Yes
 No

If yes:

10a. How many times?

10b. Why?

10c. What kind of penalty?

11. This is about gang membership.

11a. Do you mixing with the same three or more individuals most of the time

- Yes
 No

11b. Do you mixing with the same individuals and being recognize as a group by other?

- Yes
 No

11c. Do you feel protected by them?

- Yes
 No

12. Do you smoke regularly before coming to institution?

- Yes
 No

13. Do you use substances (e.g any type of drugs and alcohol) regularly before coming to institution?

- Yes
 No

14. Have you ever attempted self-harm/suicide in the past?

- Yes
 No

If yes:

14a. Why?

14b. How?

15. Have you ever receive psychiatric treatment
or stay in a psychiatry/mental hospital?

() Yes

() No

Part 2: Direct and Indirect Prisoner Checklist (DIPC-SCALEDr)

Read the following behaviours and indicate how frequently each has happened to you in the PAST MONTH using the following scale:

0 = never 1 = rarely 2 = sometimes 3 = often 4 = always

We are interested in behaviours that occur between young people (not those that occur between young people and staff). Please fill in the questionnaire with this in mind.

1. I was told I did well at something	0	1	2	3	4
2. I was shouted at by an officer	0	1	2	3	4
3. I was asked to bring drugs into the prison	0	1	2	3	4
4. I was hit or kicked by another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
5. A prisoner physically threatened me with violence	0	1	2	3	4
6. I have been sent a 'shit parcel' from another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
7. I was called names about my race or colour	0	1	2	3	4
8. I was called names about my offence or charge	0	1	2	3	4
9. I was called names about something else	0	1	2	3	4
10. I have been gossiped about	0	1	2	3	4
11. I have been deliberately pushed	0	1	2	3	4
12. I have had my property deliberately damaged	0	1	2	3	4
13. Someone has deliberately started a fight with me	0	1	2	3	4
14. I have been deliberately spat on by another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
15. I have had my food deliberately spat on by another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
16. I have stopped someone from bullying me	0	1	2	3	4
17. I have been told that I have to send another prisoner a postal order when I get out	0	1	2	3	4
18. I have been deliberately ignored	0	1	2	3	4

19. An officer talked to me about my bullying behaviour	0	1	2	3	4
20. I had some tobacco stolen	0	1	2	3	4
21. I had any property stolen by another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
22. I have been forced to ask my family or friends to send money in for another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
23. I have been forced to send out my private cash to another prisoner's family	0	1	2	3	4
24. I was offered drugs	0	1	2	3	4
25. Another prisoner has made fun of my family	0	1	2	3	4
26. Another prisoner has deliberately told me lies about a prison rule(s) to make me look stupid	0	1	2	3	4
27. I have been forced by another prisoner to lend them my phone card	0	1	2	3	4
28. I was protected by another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
29. I was forced to sing out of my window	0	1	2	3	4
30. Someone has verbally abused me during the night by shouting at me	0	1	2	3	4
31. I lost my property through being taxed	0	1	2	3	4
32. I have made new friends	0	1	2	3	4
33. I have been helped with problems by an officer	0	1	2	3	4
34. I was deliberately frightened by another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
35. I have been sexually abused/assaulted	0	1	2	3	4
36. Someone has forced me to take drugs	0	1	2	3	4
37. I have been sacked from a job or course	0	1	2	3	4
38. I have been intimidated	0	1	2	3	4
39. I have had rumours spread about me	0	1	2	3	4
40. I have been deliberately given less food at dinnertime	0	1	2	3	4
41. I have been deliberately excluded by another prisoner(s)					

from an activity	0	1	2	3	4
42. A prisoner verbally abused my family	0	1	2	3	4
43. Someone has deliberately lied about me	0	1	2	3	4
44. I have been made fun of	0	1	2	3	4
45. I have been on adjudication	0	1	2	3	4
46. I have been forced to lie for someone	0	1	2	3	4
47. Someone has tried to turn other prisoners against me	0	1	2	3	4
48. Someone has deliberately insulted me	0	1	2	3	4
49. I have had a practical joke played on me	0	1	2	3	4
50. I have had a practical joke played on me that I didn't find funny	0	1	2	3	4
51. I have been verbally threatened by a prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
52. I have been sexually harassed	0	1	2	3	4
53. Another prisoner has forced me to swap some of my property with them	0	1	2	3	4
54. I have borrowed from others and must pay them back with 'interest'	0	1	2	3	4
55. I have been forced to buy canteen for someone	0	1	2	3	4
56. I have been forced to buy other goods for another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
57. I have been forced to give my canteen to someone	0	1	2	3	4
58. I have been forced to give other goods away for free	0	1	2	3	4

Read the following behaviours and indicate how frequently you have done them in the PAST MONTH using the following scale:

0 = never 1 = rarely 2 = sometimes 3 = often 4 = always

We are interested in behaviours that occur between young people (not those that occur between young people and staff). Please fill in the questionnaire with this in mind.

1. I have been to work or education	0	1	2	3	4
2. I have attended a course	0	1	2	3	4
3. I have refused an order from a member of staff	0	1	2	3	4
4. I have taxed another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
5. I have forced someone to sing out of their window	0	1	2	3	4
6. I have forced another prisoner to ask their family or friends to send money in for me	0	1	2	3	4
7. I have forced another prisoner to send out their private cash to my family	0	1	2	3	4
8. I have deliberately damaged someone else's property	0	1	2	3	4
9. I have sent a 'shit parcel' to another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
10. I have called someone names about their colour or race	0	1	2	3	4
11. I have called someone names about their offence	0	1	2	3	4
12. I have called someone any other names	0	1	2	3	4
13. I have helped staff	0	1	2	3	4
14. I have deliberately pushed another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
15. I have forced someone to take drugs	0	1	2	3	4
16. I have forced someone to lie for me	0	1	2	3	4
17. I have verbally abused another prisoners family	0	1	2	3	4
18. I have hit or kicked another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
19. I have physically threatened another prisoner with violence	0	1	2	3	4

20. I have broken up a fight	0	1	2	3	4
21. I have intimidated someone	0	1	2	3	4
22. I have helped a new prisoner on the wing	0	1	2	3	4
23. I have bought or sold any drugs	0	1	2	3	4
24. I have smoked cannabis	0	1	2	3	4
25. I have taken any drugs other than cannabis	0	1	2	3	4
26. I have injected any drugs	0	1	2	3	4
27. I have spread rumours about someone	0	1	2	3	4
28. I have deliberately cut myself	0	1	2	3	4
29. I have deliberately spat on another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
30. I have deliberately spat on another prisoner's food	0	1	2	3	4
31. I have deliberately ignored someone	0	1	2	3	4
32. I have threatened to harm myself	0	1	2	3	4
33. I have forced another prisoner to lend me their phone card	0	1	2	3	4
34. I have cried	0	1	2	3	4
35. I have stolen another prisoner's tobacco	0	1	2	3	4
36. I have stolen any other property from another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
37. I have deliberately lied about someone	0	1	2	3	4
38. I have told another prisoner that they have to send me a postal order when they get out	0	1	2	3	4
39. I have made fun of another prisoner's family	0	1	2	3	4
40. I have deliberately told another prisoner lies about a prison rule(s) to make them look stupid	0	1	2	3	4
41. I have picked on another prisoner with my friends	0	1	2	3	4
42. I have been abusive to a member of staff	0	1	2	3	4
43. I have hit or kicked someone after they have called me names or taxed me	0	1	2	3	4

44. I have sexually abused/assaulted someone	0	1	2	3	4
45. I have tried to help someone with their problems	0	1	2	3	4
46. I have forced another prisoner to swap some of their property with me	0	1	2	3	4
47. I have tried to frighten another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
48. I have gossiped about another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
49. I have told an officer that I am being bullied	0	1	2	3	4
50. I have swung a line to another cell	0	1	2	3	4
51. I have verbally abused someone by shouting at them during the night	0	1	2	3	4
52. I have tried to get moved	0	1	2	3	4
53. I have defended myself against another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
54. I have stayed in my cell when I could be out	0	1	2	3	4
55. I have deliberately started a fight	0	1	2	3	4
56. I have verbally threatened another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
57. I have made fun of another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
58. I have encouraged others to turn against another prisoner	0	1	2	3	4
59. I have deliberately insulted someone	0	1	2	3	4
60. I have played a practical joke on someone	0	1	2	3	4
61. I played a practical joke on someone who did not find it funny	0	1	2	3	4
62. I have sexually harassed someone	0	1	2	3	4
63. I have told a prisoner that I am being bullied	0	1	2	3	4
64. I have given items to others and asked them to pay me back with 'interest'	0	1	2	3	4
65. I have forced someone to buy me canteen	0	1	2	3	4
66. I have forced another prisoner to buy me other goods	0	1	2	3	4

67. I have forced someone to give me their canteen	0	1	2	3	4
68. I have forced another prisoner to give away other goods for free	0	1	2	3	4

Part 3: Measuring Quality of Prison Life (MQPL)

This questionnaire asks about how you feel about the quality of life you experience in this institution. It is important that you only answer in relation to the institution you are in now and not any other institutions you may have been in before.

For each question below, please put a circle around the response that best describes how you feel

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neither 4 = Agree 5 = Strongly agree

1	When I first came in to this institution I felt looked after	1	2	3	4	5
2	This is a well controlled institution	1	2	3	4	5
3	I am a higher security category than I need to be	1	2	3	4	5
4	I have no difficulties with other residents in here	1	2	3	4	5
5	Relationships between staff and residents in this institution are good	1	2	3	4	5
6	I receive support from staff in this institution when I need it	1	2	3	4	5
7	Staff here treat residents fairly when applying the rules	1	2	3	4	5
8	Staff here treat residents fairly when distributing privileges	1	2	3	4	5
9	Privileges are given and taken fairly in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
10	I am being looked after with humanity in here	1	2	3	4	5
11	Staff carry out their security tasks well in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
12	There is nowhere I can go in this institution where I can get away from being observed, assessed and evaluated by staff.	1	2	3	4	5
13	Staff help residents to maintain contact with their families	1	2	3	4	5
14	I trust the Officers in this institution.	1	2	3	4	5
15	I am being helped to lead a law-abiding life on release in the community	1	2	3	4	5
16	Personally, I get on well with the Officers on my wing	1	2	3	4	5
17	The best way to get things done in this institution is to be polite and go through official channels	1	2	3	4	5
18	I have been helped significantly by a member of staff in this institution with a particular problem	1	2	3	4	5
19	Overall, I am treated fairly by staff in this institution.	1	2	3	4	5
20	I am treated as a person of value in this institution	1	2	3	4	5

21	There is quite a lot of threats/bullying in here	1	2	3	4	5
22	I feel cared about most of the time in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
23	My needs are being addressed in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
24	The rules and regulations in this institution are made clear to me	1	2	3	4	5
25	I feel I can handle my emotions in here	1	2	3	4	5
26	Most staff address and talk to me in a respectful manner	1	2	3	4	5
27	I am given adequate opportunities to keep myself clean and decent	1	2	3	4	5
28	Staff in this institution 'tell it like it is'	1	2	3	4	5
29	Decisions are made about me in this institution that I cannot understand	1	2	3	4	5
30	Some of the treatment I receive in this institution is degrading.	1	2	3	4	5
31	I feel safe from being injured, bullied or threatened by other residents in here	1	2	3	4	5
32	To progress in this institution, I have to meet impossible expectations.	1	2	3	4	5
33	In general, I think that the disciplinary system in here is unfair	1	2	3	4	5
34	Staff in this institution have enough experience and expertise to deal with the issues that matter to me	1	2	3	4	5
35	This institution provides adequate facilities for me to maintain a presentable appearance	1	2	3	4	5
36	If you do something wrong in this institution, staff only use punishments if the have tried other options first	1	2	3	4	5
37	I have thought about suicide in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
38	Staff are argumentative towards residents in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
39	The best way to do your time here is to mind your own business and have as little to do with other residents as possible	1	2	3	4	5
40	To get things done in this institution you have to ask and ask and ask.	1	2	3	4	5

41	Supervision of residents is poor in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
42	This regime encourages me to think about and plan for my release	1	2	3	4	5
43	In this institution, things only happen for you if your face fits	1	2	3	4	5
44	This institution is good at providing care for those who are at risk of suicide	1	2	3	4	5
45	Staff in this institution are reluctant to challenge residents	1	2	3	4	5
46	This institution is good at placing trust in residents	1	2	3	4	5
47	The best way to do your time in here is to stick with a few other people	1	2	3	4	5
48	Staff here treat me with kindness	1	2	3	4	5
49	I have no control over my day-to-day life in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
50	This institution is poor at giving residents reasons for decisions	1	2	3	4	5
51	I have problems sleeping at night	1	2	3	4	5
52	I feel 'stuck' in this system	1	2	3	4	5
53	Weak residents get badly exploited and victimised in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
54	Staff in this institution show concern and understanding towards me	1	2	3	4	5
55	The level of drug use in this institution is quite high	1	2	3	4	5
56	The quality of my living conditions is poor in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
57	My experience of imprisonment in this particular institution has been stressful	1	2	3	4	5
58	I have to be careful about every thing I do in this institution, or it can be used against me	1	2	3	4	5
59	On the whole I am 'doing time' rather than 'using time'	1	2	3	4	5
60	Movements around this institution (including on and off the wings) are over-controlled	1	2	3	4	5
61	Staff speak to you 'on a level' in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
62	I feel safe from being injured, bullied or threatened by staff in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
63	In this institution, I have to be wary of everyone around me	1	2	3	4	5
64	This institution is run by residents rather than staff	1	2	3	4	5
65	This institution is well organised	1	2	3	4	5
66	There is a lot of trouble between different groups of residents in here	1	2	3	4	5
67	When I first came into this institution I felt worried and confused	1	2	3	4	5

68	In my first few days in this institution staff took a personal interest in me	1	2	3	4	5
69	I feel that I am treated with respect by staff in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
70	Decisions are made about me in this institution that I cannot influence	1	2	3	4	5
71	Staff respond promptly to incidents and alarms in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
72	This institution is good at delivering personal safety	1	2	3	4	5
73	Staff in this institution often displays honesty and integrity	1	2	3	4	5
74	I am encouraged to work towards goals/targets in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
75	When I need to get something done in this institution, I can normally get it done by talking to someone face-to-face	1	2	3	4	5
76	I felt extremely alone during my first three days in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
77	You never know where you stand in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
78	Wherever I am in this institution, I still feel confined	1	2	3	4	5
79	I feel tense in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
80	I can relax and be myself around staff in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
81	This institution has too few staff	1	2	3	4	5
82	My experience in this institution is painful	1	2	3	4	5
83	This institution encourages me to respect other people	1	2	3	4	5
84	Residents spend too long locked up in their cells in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
85	This institution is good at improving the well-being of residents who have drug problems	1	2	3	4	5
86	There is a real 'pecking order' between residents in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
87	Staff in this institution turns a blind eye when residents break the rules	1	2	3	4	5
88	The regime in this institution is fair	1	2	3	4	5
89	Generally I fear for my physical safety	1	2	3	4	5
90	Certain residents run things on the wings in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
91	In this institution, I have to buy and sell things in order to get by	1	2	3	4	5
92	I am able to receive visits often enough in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
93	The length of time for each visit is long enough.	1	2	3	4	5
94	Decisions in this institution are dominated by concerns about security	1	2	3	4	5

95	In this institution, it is clear to me what I need to do in order to progress/prepare for court	1	2	3	4	5
96	The prevention of self-harm and suicide is seen as a top priority in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
97	My legal rights as a resident are respected in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
98	My time here seems like a chance to change	1	2	3	4	5
99	I am not being treated as a human being in here	1	2	3	4	5
100	This institution is poor at treating residents with respect.	1	2	3	4	5
101	I am given adequate opportunities to keep my living area clean and decent	1	2	3	4	5
102	In this institution, you have to be in a group in order to get by	1	2	3	4	5
103	I am able to maintain meaningful contact with my family whilst I am in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
104	Wing staff take an interest in helping to sort out my health care needs	1	2	3	4	5
105	When important decisions are made about me in this institution, I am treated as an individual, not a number	1	2	3	4	5
106	My time in this institution feels very much like a punishment	1	2	3	4	5
107	Drugs cause a lot of problems between residents in here	1	2	3	4	5
108	There is not enough structure in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
109	I feel I have been encouraged to address my offending behaviour whilst in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
110	The Induction process in this institution helped me to know what to expect in the daily regime and when it would happen	1	2	3	4	5
111	Residents are treated decently in the Segregation Unit/Care and Separation Unit in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
112	The regime in this institution allows opportunities for me to think for myself	1	2	3	4	5
113	Anyone in this institution on a self-harm form (ACCT) gets the care and help from staff that they need	1	2	3	4	5
114	I can relax and be myself around other residents in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
115	The regime in this institution is constructive	1	2	3	4	5
116	This institution does very little to prevent drugs being smuggled in	1	2	3	4	5
117	Bullying behaviour by residents is not tolerated in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
118	I find it hard to stay out of debt in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
119	All they care about in this institution is my 'risk factors' rather than the person I really am	1	2	3	4	5
120	Anyone with a drug problem coming to this institution gets the help they need to detoxify safely	1	2	3	4	5

121	Control and Restraint procedures are used fairly in this institution	1	2	3	4	5
122	You can keep your personality in this institution.	1	2	3	4	5
123	Victims of bullying get all the help they need to cope	1	2	3	4	5
124	Anyone who harms themselves is considered by staff to be more of an attention-seeker than someone who needs care and help	1	2	3	4	5
125	Every effort is made by this institution to help residents to stop committing offences on release from custody	1	2	3	4	5
126	This is a decent institution	1	2	3	4	5

127. Overall, on a scale of 1 to 10 (where 1 = lowest and 10 = highest), put a circle around the number you think this institution deserves in terms of the quality of life of the residents (where quality refers to your general treatment):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

a) What are the 3 most positive things for you about life in this institution?

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)

b) What are the 3 most negative things for you about life in this institution?

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)

129. Any other comments?

.....
.....
.....

Part 4: Consent Form

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
- I understand that I can withdraw my data from the study at any time.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in the project
- I consent/do not consent to being audio recorded as part of the project.

Name:	
Signature of Participant:	Date:

Thank you for taking part in the survey

- Please take a moment or two to check that you have answered all the relevant questions
- If you still agree information given to be used for the purpose of this research please sign the consent form
- Please put this questionnaire in the envelope provided.
- Please write the given ID at the back of the envelope
- Seal the envelope and hand it to the researcher

Appendix 3 – Interview schedule

Appendix 3.1 – Interview schedule for staff members

Title: Bullying in secure settings

Introduce myself and brief about this study.

Give participants information sheet and brief about the interview structure.

This interview contains two parts:

- Part 1 asks for some background information.
- Part 2 asks about your experiences dealing with young people in the institution

The interview takes around 30-60 minutes. If participant willing to participate kindly sign the consent form.

Part 1: Background Information

1. What age are you : _____ years
2. Gender : () Male () Female
3. Level of Education : _____
4. Position : _____
5. What is your main role? : _____
6. How long have you worked in this institution? : _____ months
7. How long have you been in this position : _____ months
8. To what extent does your job involve contact with young people?
() Most of the time
() Some of the time
() Very little of the time
() None of the time

Part 2: Questions

1. Can you describe what kind of treatment/practice applied in this institution?
2. Can you describe for me in as much detail as you can about the kind of institutional environment you might think be best for residents?
3. In your opinion, how do these environments affect residents' thinking, behaviour and their social life?
4. What do you think about placing young offenders in these institutions?
5. Based on your experience, what are the challenges in working with residents in this institution?

6. What do you think about bullying, misconduct or resident-on-resident assault in the institution?
7. Have any residents reported any bullying or peer violence incidents in this institution? Can you tell me how you dealt with that?
8. Can you tell me how the administration tackles bullying, misconduct or violence in this institution?
9. Can you describe for me any specific program or model that has been applied to reduce bullying or misconduct in institution?
10. In your opinion, what is the best approach to tackle bullying?
11. In your opinion, what changes should take place if this were to be the best institution in the country?

Closing

Is there anything you would like to share?

Do you have any questions or would you like to add anything else to your responses?

Thank you very much for participating in this research. Once the report has been published, I will send you a copy.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Appendix 3.2 – Interview schedule for young people

Title: Bullying in secure settings

Introduce myself and brief about this study.

Give participants information sheet and brief about the interview structure.

This interview contains three parts:

- Part 1 asks about your life experiences.
- Part 2 asks about bullying experiences (only for pure-bullies & bully-victims)
- Part 3 asks about victimisation experiences (only for bully-victims & victims)
- Part 4 asks about institutional environment.

The interview takes around 30-60 minutes. If participant willing to participate kindly sign the consent form.

Young people' experiences

1. Do you mind to share with me a little bit about your life before you come here?
Could you please tell me about your family? Could you please tell me about your relationship with your family?
2. Could you tell me the story in how you end up here?
3. How do you feel about being placing in this institution?
4. Can you describe for me how you go through your day in this institution?
5. How do you overcome the problems that you are facing in this institution?
6. What do you think about relationships amongst residents in this institution?
7. Can you describe your relationship with other residents?
8. Can you describe to me how residents behave in this institution?
9. Can you describe to me your behaviour in this institution?
10. Can you describe to me how staff reports your behaviour?
11. What do you think about bullying, misconduct or resident-on-resident assault in the institution?
12. Can you tell me about an occasion when someone acted aggressively against someone else in this institution?

Bullying experiences

13. Can you tell me about an occasion when you felt encouraged to act aggressively against someone?
14. Can you tell me about how you react and how frequently it happens in a month? Can you tell me a story about that?
15. Why many residents commit verbal bullying, for example, shouting, call

names? What about physical attacks?

16. Why do you choose to act aggressively towards some people but not others?
17. What are your feelings towards these people?
18. How do you feel about these bullying/aggressive actions?
19. How do you feel if staff/officer knows about this? If they know, how do they react?

Victimisation experiences

20. Can you tell me about an occasion when you felt uncomfortable or disturbed because of other resident? How frequently does it happen in a month? Can you tell me a story about that?
21. Can you tell me about how you react and how frequently it happens in a month? Can you tell me a story about that?
22. How did you feel after that incident?
23. How do you feel toward residents who make you felt uncomfortable or disturbed?
24. Have you ever report this incident to any staff/officer? Why? If so, how did they react?
25. Can you tell me about how you deal with these residents or others and how you prevent it happening?
26. Did you get support from staff? What kind of support do you receive from staff?
27. In your opinion, what changes should take place if this were to be best place for you?

Institutional environment and personal factors in influencing bullying behaviour

28. Could you describe any differences between new comers and long-term residents?
29. What do you think about punishments/penalties that have been carried out in this prison? What do you feel about being punished in this institution?
30. What do you think about being in gang in this institution?
31. What is your opinion about self-harm? Why people harm themselves? Why other people do not harm themselves?
32. Can you also tell me about an occasion when you felt you were respected by staff members?
33. How, if at all, do staff members provide care and assist you doing time in this institution?
34. Can you tell me about an occasion when you felt you were treated with fairness in this institution?
35. To what extent does this institution provide adequate facilities for you to maintain your living conditions?

36. Can you describe about an occasion when you felt free to do whatever you want to do in this institution? How do you feel about decision made about you in this institution?

37. Can you describe about how you maintain contact with your family in this institution? How important family visitation/contact to you?

Closing

Is there anything you would like to share?

Do you have any questions or would you like to add anything else to your responses?

Thank you very much for participating in this research.

Appendix 4 – Literature review technique

NARRATIVE BUT STRUCTURED: A LITERATURE REVIEW OF PRISON MISCONDUCT

Nazirah Hassan
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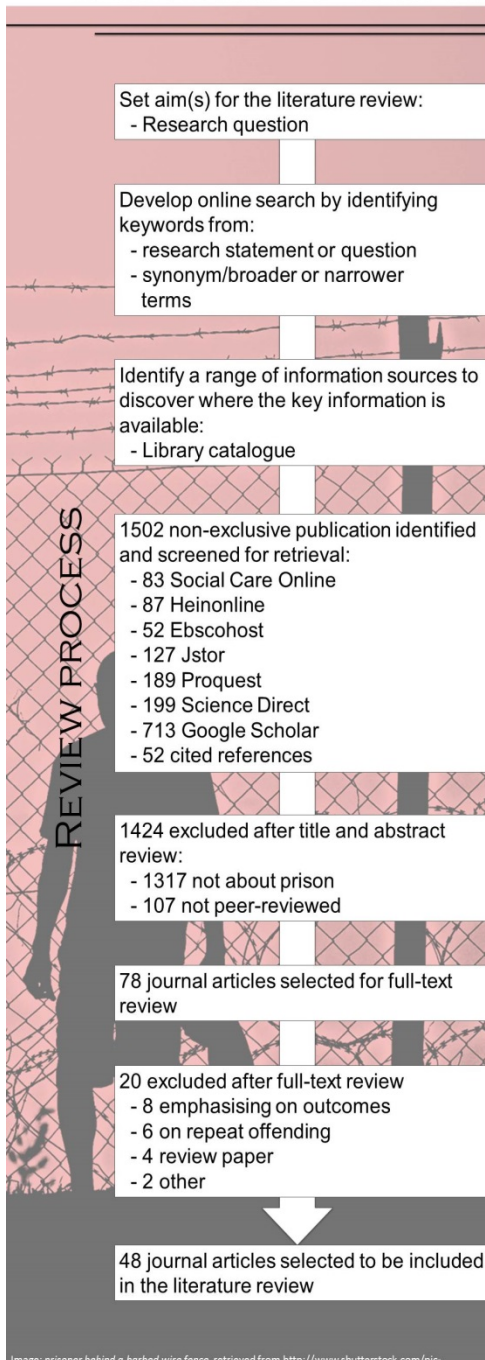
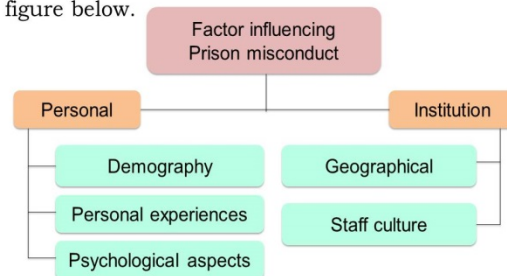


Image: prisoner behind a barbed wire fence, retrieved from <http://www.shutterstock.com/pic->

AIM To describe and discuss the process used to write a narrative review of the literature. The literature aims to identify factors that appear to play a crucial role in contributing to prison misconduct.

METHOD Researcher conducted a narrative review by employing a structured approach (1). It begins with a research question that provides the structure for the whole literature review (2). This enables the researcher to identify terms and sources for searches (3). Using a number of search terms, 1502 articles were retrieved from search databases. The searches were limited to current publication. Researcher always keeps a record of search activity. The first stage of review process, 1424 articles excluded. In the final review, 48 articles selected to be included in the literature review. Using an iterative approach, all articles selected for review were analyzed.

RESULT Based on the 48 journal articles that were reviewed, four factors were identified and grouped into two domains, as shown in the figure below.



From this review, researcher identified methods that utilized to measure prison misconduct. Also, researcher recognized gaps: factors that less studied and somewhat neglected. Thus, it guide researcher to develop focus on investigating prison misconduct

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