



Reasonable Expectations for Behaviour

The Science of Resilience

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Definition

Reasonable expectations for how one should behave is a resourced quality, that is, it is a product of an individual's environment and relations. In the case of resilience, reasonable expectations for behaviour refer to expectations that are high yet feasible given the situation. These expectations must be clearly communicated in order to be effective and produce role clarity (Bondy et al., 2007; Henderson, 2012; Lang et al., 2007; Nash et al., 2005; Schmidt et al., 2014). Expectations for behaviour come from sources of authority or importance, such as parents, teachers, mentors, friends, or superiors at work; they can also come from organizational, social, cultural, and traditional values and norms. A workplace or "organizational climate (a) is a product of member interaction, (b) represents collective perceptions of autonomy, trust, cohesiveness, support, recognition, innovation and fairness, (c) helps to interpret the situation, (d) reflect prevalent norms and (e) is a major influence upon shaping behaviour" (Moran & Volkwein (1992) cited in Bulutlar & Ünler Öz, 2009, p. 275). An organizational climate consists of the social norms that characterize and influence behaviour in the workplace, specifically what employees perceived as 'right' and 'wrong'. Social norms contain expectations for behaviour in all spheres of life. Prosocial expectations of behaviour, such as norms of fairness, are necessary for functional political institutions, market economies, and civil societies (Whitt, 2014). Within a sociocultural approach, individuals form reasonable expectations for behaviour based on culturally valued skills and characteristics, and the expectations they form for themselves and others are embedded in their cultural scene (Froiland & Davison, 2014).

Relationship to Resilience

Reasonable and high expectations for behaviour from parents and teachers can help children succeed in school, providing resilience to the pressures of school and the pressure to use or abuse substances. Clear expectations also help individuals in the workplace feel like they have more control and lessens stress from high workplace demands. Following disasters or violence, social norms that induce an expectation of prosocial behaviour help individuals and communities recover.

Academic Achievement

The relationship between parental expectations for their children's school achievement and children's school success has been widely documented (Davis-Kean, 2005; Froiland & Davison, 2014; Herrenkohl et al., 1994; Resnick et al., 1997; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010) and is one of the clearest examples of how reasonable expectations for behaviour can contribute to children's resilience. School is an important ecology of the resilience process as it acts as both a possible resilience resource for children experiencing adversity in other aspects of their life

(Henderson, 2012; Henderson & Milstein, 1996; Ungar et al., 2014) and can conversely be a source of stress and adversity children must overcome to succeed by academic measures (Bondy et al., 2007; Henderson, 2012). Henderson (2012) found strong support in the literature that one-to-one personal relationships are the most effective resilience builders in schools, and at the level of relationships, beliefs and expectations play a key role. Parents' and teachers' expectations both impact children's academic resilience.

The effect of parental expectations for academic success have been a long source of study. Herrenkohl et al. (1994) found that positive parental expectations improved children's goal-setting and determination, which positively affected their academic achievement. Resnick et al. (1997) found a positive correlation between parental expectations for their children's school achievement and children's school completion as well as lower levels of health risk behaviours. There is also a history and depth of research on the relationship between parental education levels and socioeconomic levels (SES) and children's academic achievement. Davis-Kean (2005) found that parental beliefs and expectations were a significant mediator for the relationship between parental education and child achievement. Using the 1997 Child Development Supplement of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID-CDS), Davis-Kean (2005) looked at 868 children aged 8 to 12 years old (mean age = 10.7, SD = 1.5; 435 girls, 433 boys; 49% non-Hispanic European American and 47% African American). Davis-Kean (2005) found that parental expectations for school attainment explained a large percentage of the variance and had a moderate total effect on children's achievement in math and reading. The majority of the effect was direct in the European American sample and indirect in the African American sample (Davis-Kean, 2005). Similarly, Froiland and Davison (2014) found that parental expectations for their children's long-term education attainment had a stronger effect on school outcomes than parent SES. From the National Household Education Surveys Program of 2007: Parent and Family Involvement in Education Survey (NHES PFI), Froiland and Davison (2014) used a sample of 5,828 families with children in grades 6 through 12 across the U.S. (51.8% of the children were male, 58.7% of the children were European-American, 16.2% were Black/ African American, 17.4% were Latino, 3.6% were Asian American, 3.2% Native American/ Alaskan Native, and .8% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander; mean age = 14 years and 6 months, SD = 2.07; Household incomes ranged from \$5,000 or less per year to over \$100,000, with the average in the range of \$40,000 to \$50,000. The average parent in the study attended some college or vocational/ technical school after high school: 6.8% had less than a high school diploma; 21.4% were high school graduates; 31.2% had vocational/technical training or some college; 20.4% were college graduates; 20.1% had a graduate or professional degree. Mean age of parent respondents = 44, SD = 7.75, range=18–83; 78.5% of the respondents were female). Parental expectations of academic achievement were more highly correlated with grades than any other variable, including SES, in addition, parental expectations had a positive relationship with all school outcomes: grades ($R^2 = .48$), not repeating a grade ($R^2 = .18$), and acceptable behaviour at school ($R^2 = .18$) (Froiland & Davison, 2014). Parental expectations did differ by gender such that parents had higher expectations for girls (Froiland & Davison, 2014). As well,

Asian American families had significantly higher long-term education expectations than other families; African American and Latino families did not differ significantly from European American families on expectations for their children's academic achievement (Froiland & Davison, 2014).

Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) conducted a review of the relationship between parental expectations and academic achievement and how it varies by sociocultural context. Seven of the studies they reviewed found that Asian American parents tend to hold higher expectations than parents from other racial groups, four of these studies found that the trend held even after controlling for socioeconomic status (SES); however, findings regarding the expectations of the Latino and African American parents relative to other groups were inconsistent (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). The authors suggest that parents' beliefs and values regarding intelligence and academic achievement, and thus their expectations, likely vary by sociocultural context as the literature shows cultural variation in what is thought to make up intelligence. Mexican immigrant parents more often perceive morals, social skills, and academic achievement as part of the same concept; Vietnamese and Filipino immigrant parents view motivation as an aspect of intelligence (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). Similarly, SES can influence concepts of intelligence and academic success; a Finnish study by Rätty et al. (2002) found that highly educated parents formed expectations of their 7-year-olds based on cognitive competence in literacy and other academic subjects as well as analytic problem solving skills, whereas vocationally trained parents were more likely to form expectations based on their child's creativity and social skills.

Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) explore the mechanisms by which the relationship between parental expectations and academic achievement may exist and vary by sociocultural context. Firstly, they suggest that children internalize parents' valuation of achievement, which is communicated through parents' expressed expectation of academic achievement, and results in greater motivation for school. Similarly, grounded in social cognitive theory and expectancy-value theory, Froiland and Davison (2014) suggest that positive parent expectations for school are conveyed to children, resulting in greater effort and subsequent academic achievement. However, Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) are attentive to the fact that families of different sociocultural background communicate about school differently as there is a weaker association for this pathway for racial/ ethnic minorities than for European American families. They suggest it may be harder for immigrant families, who lack knowledge of the U.S. school system, to communicate with their children about school. Secondly, Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) suggest that high parental expectations influence children's competency beliefs and results in higher academic self-efficacy. They find that this mediation relation does not hold true for Asian American students and suggest that the cultural pattern found in Asian countries to focus on remediating weaknesses rather than dwelling on accomplishments may help explain the finding. Thirdly, Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) suggest that parents with higher expectations also engage in more intensive and effective parental involvement, including achievement-related activities, such as reading, sending children to extracurricular lessons, and

monitoring academic progress. This pathway finds further support in the literature, as Froiland and Davison (2014) suggest that parents with high positive expectations contribute to their children's academic success by being involved in their children's education while they are young, and Davis-Kean (2005) suggests they also provide a more cognitively stimulating and emotionally supporting environment and adjust the home environment to meet the needs of their children as the parents received information about their children's performance in school. Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) suggest this involvement may vary by racial/ ethnic group; indeed, Davis-Kean (2005) found that the relationship between parental expectations and academic achievement was mediated in the African American sample by reading and warmth of parent-child interactions, whereas it was a mostly direct relationship in the European American sample. Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) also note that parents with low educational attainment and fewer economic resources may feel less efficacious helping their children with schoolwork and less comfortable interacting with teachers and other educational professionals; this low self-efficacy may impact their expectations for their children. As well, this risk of low self-efficacy regarding school assistance and interaction may be especially strong for immigrant parents. Supporting this idea, Froiland and Davison (2014) found that family SES was positively related to feeling welcomed at school, which correlated with school outcomes. The literature supports the finding that lower SES parents feel less welcomed at school, as well, Latino American and African American families were found to report less developed relationships with their children's schools (Froiland & Davison, 2014). The final mechanism Yamamoto and Holloway (2010) suggest is that parental expectations and involvement may encourage higher teacher expectations and commitment to that student. The literature shows that teachers tend to perceive lower SES parents as less involved which is associated with lower teacher perceptions of their children's academic skills (Yamamoto and Holloway, 2010). This relationship between parental expectations and involvement and teacher expectations may also be lower for racial/ ethnic minority parent when there is a cultural mismatch that causes teachers to de-value or misunderstand parental actions and goals (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010).

Teacher expectations are another important source of resilience for students. Henderson and Milstein (1996) developed a set of environmental protective factors that foster resilience in the school environment, which includes: "set and communicate high expectations" and "set clear, consistent boundaries." Henderson (2012) claims that one of the key components of a positive school climate that can foster resilience is "high expectations for academic achievement and appropriate behavior" and "clear rules and boundaries that are understood by all students and staff" (p. 299). Henderson (2012) claims that teachers' high expectations of students communicates a fundamental belief in the students' competence and resilience, challenges students to achieve beyond what students believe they can do, and recognizes existing strengths and competencies and mirrors these to the students. Another aspect of high expectations is not boxing students into self-defeating categories and emphasizing other types of intelligence not typically prioritized by most standardized testing

approaches; Henderson (2012) cites Gardner's eight types of intelligence as an example of the multiple ways of conceptualizing intelligence. Henderson (2012) notes that a high expectation approach must also attend to students' life experiences and cultural contexts, and that expectations should be communicated in ways that make sense and validate students' experiences and culture. The CUBE study of 108 urban schools across the U.S., including 30,000 students, found that improving elements of high expectations and boundary setting led to higher school achievement, higher morale among students and teachers, fewer student dropouts, reduced violence, better community relations, and increased institutional pride (Bryant and Kelley, 2006 cited in Henderson, 2012).

In a cross-cultural study of children in grade 4, aged 9 to 10 years old, from the U.S., the U.K., and Russia, Elliott et al. (2001) found that, on average, Russian teachers had higher expectations of student behaviour and Russian students performed better on tests of mathematical ability than students in the U.S. or the U.K.. Elliott et al. (2001) found that Western teachers had relatively positive views of their students' behaviour, which was not matched in students' perception of the classroom experience, suggesting Western teachers may have low expectations for their students' behaviour. The authors conclude that Russian teachers tend to adopt a more critical and challenging stance and subsequent higher expectations, which, despite resulting in less positive self-perceptions, does not undermine students' sense of self-esteem, self-efficacy, or work rate.

Teacher expectations, when high and positive, can bolster student resilience, however, the literature also shows that teachers can discriminate among students based on ethnicity and socioeconomic status and hold lower expectations for minority groups (Davies et al., 2006; Yamamoto and Holloway, 2010). Davies et al. (2006) conducted a study in New Zealand, measuring teachers' expectations for students' reading level at the beginning and end of the school year against students' actual progress. The sample included 21 practising primary school teachers and 540 students of New Zealand European, Asian, Pacific Island, and Maori background. Teachers' expectations were significantly lower for Maori students than for all other groups; Maori students' achievement was similar to all other groups at the start of the year, but by the end of the school year, they had made the least progress of all groups (Davies et al., 2006). Davies et al. (2006) claim that since Maori and Pacific Island children tend to come from similar economic background, their study shows that teacher expectations differed by ethnicity rather than social class. Anecdotal evidence from teachers in the study suggest that that teachers perceive Maori students as coming from families where education is not valued and parents are not encouraging of teachers' efforts, thus Davies et al. (2006) suggest that teachers' differing expectations likely result from such stereotyping. Davies et al. (2006) explore some pathways through which teachers' negative and positive expectations may influence students. The authors suggest that when teachers have high expectations of students, they are more likely to offer students challenging learning opportunities, greater independence and choice, and opportunities to work cooperatively with their peers; whereas, with students teachers have low expectations for, they are more likely to create an overly structured

environment where students are given little independence, few cognitively demanding tasks, and less opportunity to interact with their peers. Another possible pathway from teacher expectations to student achievement is that teachers' expectations are communicated to students and students come to accept and respond to these expectations. Minority students may also be aware of the stereotypes about them and become anxious about performing in line with those stereotypes, the resulting anxiety then causes a decline in performance as outlined in Steele and Aronson's (1995) stereotype threat theory (Davies et al., 2006). Any of these pathways may have occurred such that teachers' lower expectations of Maori students' reading ability affected their progress over the school year so that, even though they began at the same reading level as all other students, they made less progress than those students for whom teachers had high expectations.

Teachers' expectations based on stereotypes or the misunderstands that can occur when teachers and parents are culturally mismatched and teachers de-value parents' goals and interaction with their children's schooling (Froiland & Davison, 2014; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010) can be detrimental for children's academic resilience. Bondy et al. (2007) reviews the development and applicability of culturally responsive classroom management (CRCM) strategies for building students' resilience in the classroom specifically by having teachers attend to and respect students' cultural backgrounds. CRCM establishes the psychosocial environment necessary for children who may be facing adversity elsewhere in their life or in other aspects of school to develop the factors that enhance their resilience (Bondy et al., 2007). Brown (2004) interviewed 13 teachers from seven U.S. cities to identify key CRCM strategies used by effective teachers, which included creating structured classrooms and clearly communicating expectations. Bondy et al. (2007) identifies in CRCM's tenants Delpit's (1995) concept of an authoritative teacher who exhibits personal power, earns respect rather than demanding it, sets standards and pushes students to meet them, and believes all students can learn. A key contribution of CRCM is that the teacher is both authoritative and sensitive to the cultural norms of the students and thus holds students' attention by using the communicative style of their culture (Bondy et al., 2007).

In their study, Bondy et al. (2007) looked at the first 2 classroom hours of the first day of school and conducted follow-up interviews with three novice teachers who employed CRCM strategies. Each had fewer than 5 years teaching experience; one teacher was European American teaching third grade, one Asian American fifth grade teacher, and one African American second grade teacher. They taught at two schools in a small U.S. city where more than 90% of students received free or reduced-price lunch and more than 90% of the students are African American. Bondy et al. (2007) found that all three teachers focused on developing relationships with students and students' relationships with each other and on establishing expectations for student behaviour and success. Establishing expectations was helped by the relationships the teachers sought to create with students as they began to set expectations about students' relationship with and behaviour towards the teacher and one another. The teachers used a variety of strategies to develop and reiterate the classroom rules and

procedures. The fifth-grade teacher developed the classroom rules, described as norms for behaviour, with her students. Part of the expectations all teachers developed was an explicit communication that “I believe in you,” including messages of resilience, such as persevering in the face of challenges and bouncing back from mistakes, disappointments, or failures. All teachers also held students accountable for meeting the expectations, including calmly delivering consequences to ensure appropriate behaviour. Bondy et al. (2007) note that the teachers’ strategies were in line with strategies from the literature to scaffold children’s resilience, including Henderson and Milstein’s (1996) environmental resilience factors.

Expectations for Adolescent Substance Use

Parental expectations for their children’s behaviour go beyond academic achievement to include expectations surrounding substance use. The literature shows a strong association between parental expectation and adolescent substance use; however, parents must effectively communicate their expectations regarding the avoidance of risky behaviours as it is only when adolescents accurately perceived their parents’ expectations that they are more likely to avoid the disapproved of behaviours (Nash et al., 2005; Parsai et al., 2009). Using data from a longitudinal study of adolescent alcohol use, where 3,620 students from 11 different high schools in the Houston area completed a questionnaire every spring, beginning in their 9th grade, in 1997, and ending when they were in 12th grade, in 2001, Nash et al. (2005) looked at a subsample of 2,573 students who had reported their parents’ opinions of alcohol (equal numbers of boys and girls, 27% were non-Hispanic white, 22% African American, 40% Mexican-American, and the remaining 11% represented 13 other racial/ ethnic groups). Nash et al. (2005) found that in those students who perceived that their parents disapproved of adolescent alcohol use, a positive family environment was associated with greater self-efficacy for refusing alcohol, a greater reduction in the impact of negative peer influence, and a lower incidence of alcohol use and related problems. Students who reported strong parental disapproval for underage alcohol use also reported having more positive family environments, including measures of parental acceptance, monitoring, and communication. For students who perceived their parents as not strongly disapproving of alcohol use, stress more strongly predicted alcohol use; thus, Nash et al. (2005) concluded that parental expectations provide resilience to the effects of stress and peer pressure for alcohol use and provide self-efficacy for rejecting alcohol use. Parsai et al. (2009) looked at parental injunctive norms, that is, adolescents’ perception of how their parents would react to their drug use, in Mexican families, where traditional Mexican values and cultural norms may provide resilience to substance use but acculturation stressors may increase adolescents’ risk for substance use. Using data from the pretest surveys of a randomized trial of a drug prevention program administered to middle school students in a southwestern city in the U.S., Parsai et al. (2009) looked at the subset of the sample who self-identified as Mexican or Mexican American (n = 2,733, 90% had low SES, demonstrated by receiving either a free or reduce priced lunch; 49% boys, 51% girls, 81% of the participants were aged 12 or 13 years). Parsai et al. (2009) found that antidrug parental injunctive norms

predicted less use of all three substances, alcohol, marijuana, and cigarettes, stronger antidrug personal norms, and weaker use intentions for both genders; however, the effect on cigarette and marijuana use was stronger for boys than girls. Furthermore, Parsai et al. (2009) found that friends' perceived behavioural expectations regarding substance use also effected adolescent substance use as stronger friend injunctive norms predicted less substance use, stronger antidrug personal norms, and less intentions to use for both boys and girls; however, the effect on alcohol use and use intention was stronger for girls, whereas the effect on marijuana use was stronger for boys. Parsai et al. (2009) conclude that parental injunctive norms were the most predictive parent factor, while peer variables were more consistently related to substance use outcomes than parent variables, with the expectation of parental injunctive norms.

Workplace Expectations

Expectations for behaviour are just as important in the workplace as they are for adolescents. One of the earliest theories of workplace social norms still in use today is Victor and Cullen's (1987) "ethical climate" (Appelbaum et al., 2005; Bulutlar & Ünler Öz, 2009). An ethical climate can be defined along two dimensions: the criteria used for decision-making (egoism, benevolence, and principle), and the local of analysis or source of moral reasoning (the individual, the local/ the organization, the cosmopolitan/ external to the organization) (Appelbaum et al., 2005; Victor & Cullen, 1987). Ethical climates contain expectations of behavior and the strength of an ethical climate determines how strongly employees are attached to its norms (Appelbaum et al., 2005). Most of the ethical climates, when the expected behaviour is clear and unambiguous, are positive for the workplace, the exception is an instrumental climate, where it is expected that everyone is out for their own interest, often at the sake of others. Peterson (2002) found that organizations with strong rules climate were less vulnerable to proper deviance. While organizations with strong caring or independent climates have less production deviance. A caring climate also negatively correlated with political deviance. Bulutlar and Ünler Öz (2009) found that bullying in the workplace was positively related to an instrumental climate; but there were significant negative relationship between various dimensions of bullying and rules and law climate, caring climate, and independence climate. Furthermore, there is strong evidence in the literature for an association between ethical climate and organizational commitment (Appelbaum et al., 2005; Bulutlar & Ünler Öz, 2009; Cullen et al., 2003). Organizational commitment refers to an employee's identification with an organization and its goals and their desire to maintain their membership in the organization; it has been identified as the primary measure of mental health in the workplace. Studies find that organizational commitment is positively related to benevolent climates and negatively related to egoistic climates (Cullen et al., 2003).

In a strong ethical climate, expectations for behaviour are clear and unambiguous, which contributes to employees' mental well-being and their recovery from work-related trauma. In a meta-analysis of 33 studies comprising 19,926 participants, Schmidt et al. (2014) found that role ambiguity and role conflict had a moderate and significant relationship to

depression. Role ambiguity results from a lack of clarity or information about their position, leading employees to be uncertain of their job objectives, responsibilities, and what is expected of them. Role conflict arises when an individual is confronted with conflicting role expectations, such that the individual cannot fulfill all expected roles at the same time. Aside from high levels of psychological distress, role ambiguity and conflict has also been associated with greater work strain (Birkeland et al., 2015). In contrast, role clarity is “the degree to which individuals feel they have clear guidance about expected roles and behaviours associated with their job” (Kahn et al., 1964 cited in Lang et al., 2007, p. 117). Lang et al. (2007) found that role clarity moderated the relationship between job demands and work strain in 1,418 Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) scholarship-contracted cadets (mean age = 22.2, SD = 2.5; 75% men and 25% women; 73% Caucasian, 12% African American, 6% Hispanic, 5% Asian, 2% multiracial, and 2% belonged to other ethnic groups). Cadets that experienced high demands from their job but also perceived high role clarity reported less psychological and physical strain than cadets who perceived lower role clarity and high demands (Lang et al., 2007). The authors concluded that when individuals have clear expectations for their behaviour and job role, they can tolerate greater levels of job demands. High role clarity can be created, in part, by clear communication of expectations (Lang et al., 2007). In addition to supporting employee health in the face of regular work demands and adversity, there is evidence that role clarity can also support employees following trauma. Birkeland et al. (2015) looked at the effect of role expectations on psychological distress in a sample of civilians who were exposed to a terrorist attack targeting their workplace. Their sample included employees from 14 of the 17 Norwegian ministries who experienced the 2011 Oslo bombing attack (n = 1,970, 1133 women and 837 men). Birkeland et al. (2015) found that low levels of role conflict and high levels of role clarity, predictability, and leader support were all independently associated with lower levels of psychological distress in employees 10 months after a terror attack on their workplace. The authors suggest that “clear role expectations, predictability, and leader support at work may increase feelings of safety, provide better information about what to do, improve the possibility to make decisions within the limitations of the situation, allow planning of work tasks, and facilitate coping with the difficult circumstances, which may protect against experiences of strain” (Birkeland et al., 2015, p. 5). Although most of the literature has looked at resilience to traumatic events in occupations such as the military, police, or emergency responders, Birkeland et al. (2015) show that clear expectations lessened civilian psychological distress following a traumatic event at their workplace.

Social Expectations for Behaviour

As stated previously, expectations for behaviour operate on a broader, social level as well as within individual relationships. Social norms of behaviour can be important sources of resilience following violence, disaster, or rapid economic change (Aldrich, 2012; Kayser et al., 2008; May, 2019; Whitt, 2014). Social norms for prosocial behaviour are necessary for functioning political institutions, market economies, and civil societies (Whitt, 2014). Following

the ethnic conflict in Bosnia, Whitt (2014) found that most Bosnians continued to follow a social norm of fairness towards others, regardless of ethnicity or gender, suggesting a promising ability to rebuild and foster multiethnic cooperation even after severe ethnic violence.

Similarly, Aldrich (2012) and Kayser et al. (2008) found that cultural values and norms of collectivist cultures, including responsibility for others, seeking help and support from friends and family, and the value of hard work, supported resilience and recovery following natural disasters. Aldrich (2012) found that in multiple neighbourhoods, norms of civil participation predicted better recovery following natural disasters through greater population return and collective action to rebuild communities. Aldrich (2012) also cites the work of Emily Chamlee-Wright, who looked at the recovery process following Hurricane Katrina and found that the primarily Vietnamese and Vietnamese-American community centered around Mary Queen of Viet Nam (MQVN) church had rapidly rebuilt and demonstrated surprising resilience. Aldrich (2012) emphasizes how norms of collective responsibility and belief in the value of hard work influenced the community to start self-organizing and becoming self-sufficient before the city or local businesses had to provide assistance. Similarly, following the 2004 tsunami in Tamil Nadu, India, Kayser et al. (2008) found strong social norms of communal coping or communal interdependence; as one responder described it, the traditional culture of the country focused on the family and the community so that, following this disaster, everyone asked, “what can I do to protect or to save or to help my fellow man?” (p. 93). This strong norm of behaviour resulted in an expectation of shared resources for all members of the community, such that the local fishing community banded together and refused aid unless it was provided to all members of the community. Kayser et al. (2008) also found a norm of behaviour sanctifying open expressions of grief and loss, which helped survivors express their need for support. However, Kayser et al. (2008) also cautioned that some social norms were harmful to certain members of the population, for example, the norm of traditional family structures was emphasized following the disaster and the government instituted monetary compensation for families who had lost a spouse to the disaster and subsequently remarried. Kayser et al. (2008) found that this attempt to restructure the traditional family resulted in forcing many young women into unions they did not want and many children from the previous wife being neglected or maltreated in the transitioning families.

May (2019) looked at the adaptive response of Delcambre, a small rural town in southern coastal Louisiana, to years of natural, technological, and economic disasters and changes. One of May’s (2019) findings highlights how the “moral density from a shared sense of place provided the grounds for a common understanding of expectations and obligations” (p. 508). That is, community members had a common and strongly held sense of expectations of behaviour which supported their collective action and their ability to enforce governing bodies obligations and accountability to the community, ultimately resulting in the community’s resilience to the changing environment and economic landscape. In these various examples, following both an extreme traumatic event and long-term violence or economic and

environmental disruption, prosocial norms imposed expectations of behaviour that included responsibility for and to others in one's community which prompted resilience.

Improving

Teacher and Classroom Suggestions

Suggestions for teachers to improve high expectations and clear and consistent boundaries within the classroom (Henderson, 2012), including culturally responsive strategies (Bondy et al., 2007):

- Henderson (2012) claims that while teachers and other adults within schools often impart protective factors, for schools to become more effective at building resilience within students, all stakeholders within the school community should gain a better understanding of protective factors. This can be done by annual evaluations that assess elements of a positive school climate, including the environmental protective factors Henderson (2012) outlines, and then purposefully working to improve these areas.
- Henderson (2012) identifies behaviours of teachers that impart resilience protective factors on their students through one-to-one relationships. These teachers build competence through high expectations by:
 - Communicating a fundamental belief in students' innate competence and resilience capacities
 - Challenging students to achieve beyond what students believe they can do
 - Recognizing existing strengths and competencies and mirroring these back to students
 - Using these strengths when intervening to ameliorate challenges and problems
 - Teaching "metacognition" about how thoughts and feelings influence behaviours
 - Teaching that internalized environmental messages (thoughts) about not being good enough, smart enough, etc. can be overcome
 - Facilitating students learning other life skills such as anger management, assertiveness, communication, goal setting, and conflict resolution
- Structurally, schools can assist in the conveying of high expectations to students by:
 - Eliminating tracking, labelling, and segregating of students – James, Jurich, and Estes (2001) found that schools that do not limit opportunities for lower-achieving students are more effective at closing the achievement gap.
 - Emphasizing more than just verbal-linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligence and valuing and developing all types of intelligences. Henderson (2012) advocates for a message of "together we will find the way that we learn best," communicated through one-to-one conversations, student assessment, and teaching approaches that look for students' potential for success, such as learning that includes the arts,

- music, nature and ecological hands-on experiences, movement activities, and service learning projects.
- Henderson (2012) also advocates for teachers to attend to how children’s learning is influenced by their culture and embed students’ experiences and cultures in their education. She also suggests finding ways to validate students’ home languages when it is not the dominant language.
 - Hand-in-hand with high expectations are clear and consistent boundaries for behaviours, which can be implemented by:
 - Spending time at the beginning of the school year discussing the rules of behaviour as “agreements to live by.”
 - Older students can be engaged in brainstorming the entire list and consequences
 - Bondy et al. (2007) outlines that for culturally responsive classroom management (CRMC), teachers must:
 - Recognize their ethnocentrism and understand the broader socio-political context to understand that definitions of appropriate classroom behaviour are culturally defined
 - Develop knowledge of their students’ cultural background
 - Use culturally appropriate classroom-management strategies
 - Build caring classroom communities
 - Allow students to vent frustrations and disagree with school- or teacher-imposed constraints to build a community that works together to find a solution acceptable to all
 - Use verbal and nonverbal communication processes that are familiar to the student, typically a straight-forward style of speaking that incorporates cultural humour and culturally familiar patterns.
 - From the three teachers interviewed in their study, Bondy et al. (2007) identified several strategies that put CRMC principles into effect:
 - Establishing relationships – all three teachers shared personal details of their lives to connect with the students and encourage students to share with them
 - The teachers also encouraged the students to get to know one another, using activities such as worksheets, information scavenger hunts where students had to talk to one another to find answers, a toss activities where students announced their favourite of a category when the ball was tossed to them, singing, and drawing.
 - Through their interactions with students and activities, teachers also emphasized an expectation of mutual respect
 - Establishing expectations:
 - All teachers began establishing rules and procedures for the classroom within the first 2 hours of the first day of school, but they also noted in their interviews that they would continue going over them and that reteaching

occurs throughout the year when students slip into behaviour patterns that violate their expectations

- Teachers made the expectations explicit and concrete using clear language, modelling the desired behaviour, asking students for examples, and providing rationale for the rules and procedures. Some specific strategies they used included:
 - Providing nonexamples, e.g. what not to do, in a warm and sometimes humorous way
 - Requiring demonstrations, for example, practising lining up for lunch
 - Asking for a choral response
 - Using humour
 - Using “what ifs,” for example if someone does not want to follow the rules, to get student input and agreement
- When students did violate their expectations, they attributed inappropriate behaviour to their failure to be explicit in their expectations and reviewed the expectations with students
- The fifth-grade teacher worked with her students to create the rules of behaviour, including the positive consequences to adhering to the rules and the negative consequences for breaking them
- Communicating expectations of success rooted in the teacher’s belief in the student, strategies including reading books with messages of resilience, having posters with similar messages on the walls of the classroom, and directly communicating this belief to the students.
- An important aspect of teachers’ expectations is holding students accountable for meeting them, some ways the teachers in Bondy et al.’s (2007) study did this is by:
 - Respectfully but insistently repeating requests, sometimes using humour, repeated to the whole class or to individuals
 - Calmly delivering consequences, using proactive strategies to remind students of and reinforce appropriate behaviour, and intervening at the first sign of behaviour that did not meet their expectations and asking students to do better. A key part of this strategy was that teachers maintained a kind and caring stance, they were upbeat, calm, and direct, never sounding sarcastic, punitive, demeaning, or threatening.
- Communicating in culturally responsive ways – the student population in Bondy et al.’s (2007) study was nearly 100% African American and the teachers they interviewed shared some communication tactics:
 - Using terms of endearment and humour with genuine sincerity and affection behind them. Specifically, humour included the tone of care which helped to build bonds with students rather than making a joke at students’ expense
 - Familiar words and expressions

- Use of popular culture, specifically teachers mentioned African American musicians, actors, and television programs and movies that featured African Americans
- Call-and-response interaction pattern
- Straightforward directives, all teachers were direct and assertive in expressing their expectations

Workplace Suggestions

Suggestions for improving role clarity

- Comprehensive performance measurement systems (PMS) have been shown to improve role clarity and subsequently improved strategic business unit (SBU) managers' performance (Hall, 2008). Comprehensive performance information, as provided by PMS, helped to clarify SBU managers' role expectations and the appropriate behaviour for meeting those role expectations (Hall, 2008)
- Improving the feedback environment so that employees are more likely to see feedback, which has been shown to improve role clarity and thus job performance (Whitaker et al., 2007). An open, cooperative feedback policy on the part of the supervisor is especially beneficial for role clarity

Suggestions to improve the ethical climate (Appelbaum et al., 2005)

- The organizational culture should be based around core ethical values, and this culture should be shared and valued by all employees
- The first step is to formulate a clear philosophy or mission statement, and to have the actions of top managers reflect the ethical climate desired – expected behaviour should be modelled
- Expected behaviour should be reinforced, thus, performance measures and rewards associated should be somehow tied to ethical behaviour
- Another approach is called the subcultural approach, instead of having management create and impose a culture, effort should be made to understand the value of differences between the various subcultures present in the organization and on directing the various subcultures towards the goals of the organization.

Social Norms and Disaster Relief Suggestions

Suggestions for improving disaster relief to recognize the role of social norms (Aldrich, 2012)

- Governments should recognize the role that local-level networks and community-based organizations play in broader emergency management and disaster recovery planning. Aldrich (2012) claims that only through strong coordination with local social networks and community groups can valuable resources from the state be used most effectively and efficiently, as local residents know what project will actual be most critical in the

recovery process. Aldrich (2012) gives the example of national planners seeing a bridge or a road as critical whereas local residents understand that restarting a school or church will form a critical “anchor” for the recovery process (p. 174)

- Recovery plans should attend to the importance of social capital and social norms that value close relationships. Aldrich (2012) criticizes standard recovery plans which seek to rush survivors out of temporary emergency dwellings and long-term shelters, often separating vulnerable individuals from their friends, families, and support networks.
- Recovery plans should seek to activate and sustain local community involvement, as evidence shows that these groups can achieve measurable outcomes and help members create new identities as active agents.
- Establishing collective action groups can improve quality of life and prepare for future disaster recovery

Interventions

Positive expectations for the future as an intervention for depression – Future-directed therapy (FDT; Vilhauer et al., 2013)

Program

FDT is a full clinical intervention designed to reduce symptoms of depression and improve well-being by creating more positive expectancies about the future. It uses components of CBT but focuses on teaching people to redirect their thinking towards things that feel better and bring them closer to what they want in life. It is based on three principles:

- The desire to thrive is the primary drive of all human beings as it promotes the evolutionary process
- Thought and behaviour are limited resources humans use to promote their thriving
- Preparing for the future is essential to thriving and much of human functioning has evolved for the purpose of creating the future
 - In this therapeutic model, “thriving” is conceptualized as something subjective and relative, on the opposite end of a continuum from simply surviving, such as in Maslow’s hierarchy of needs.

It is a manualized 20-session group therapy intervention, typically administered twice a week for 10 weeks by a licensed psychologist. Participants may be assigned a chapter of the manual and occasionally homework prior to each session.

Purpose

FDT aims to develop an awareness in people about the process by which they create the future with their thoughts and actions using a model based on anticipation or expectations. This practice also teaches specific skills for goal setting, planning, problem solving, taking action, and

dealing constructively with disappointments. Vilhauer et al. (2012) examined the effectiveness of FDT on self-report measures of depression, anxiety, and quality of life, compared to a cognitive behavioural group therapy, treatment as usual (TAU).

Sample

21 patients (16 women and 5 men) with a DSM-IV diagnosis of Major Depressive Disorder (MDD) were enrolled in three groups for the FDT intervention; 5 participants discontinued treatment during the intervention (n = 16, mean age = 54.69, SD = 12.59, range = 25-73; 75% Caucasian, 19% African American, 6% Hispanic). Seventeen patients from the same clinic, with the same diagnosis of MDD who were receiving cognitive-based group therapy, or TAU (12 women and 5 men; mean age = 50.29, SD = 13.86, range = 24-79; 65% Caucasian, 35% African American). Both groups had comorbid personality disorders, anxiety disorders, and substance use disorders, and the majority were taking psychotropic medication.

Efficacy

Vilhauer et al. (2012) found that participants in the FDT group reported a significant reduction in symptoms of depression ($p = 0.001$), anxiety ($p = 0.021$), and a significant improvement in self-reported quality of life ($p = 0.035$). Participants in the TAU group also showed a reduction in depression symptoms ($p = 0.042$) but did not show significant improvements in anxiety or quality of life. This intervention helped participants create more positive expectations for their future, which led to an improvement in functioning, both reducing depressive symptoms and helping participants meet significant value goals in their lives (Vilhauer et al., 2012). The authors note that the group component of the treatment appeared to be an important contributing factor to treatment satisfaction and possibly outcome, as patients provided substantial positive reinforcement to one another.

Assessment

One way of directly measuring an individual's expectations is through an adaption of the goal attainment scale (GAS). The GAS is a method for creating personalized evaluation scales to quantify progress towards defined goals, or expectations (Krasny-Pacini et al., 2013). The methodology of GAS contains the following steps:

- Defining a goal/ expectation
- Choosing an observable behaviour that reflects the degree of goal attainment
- Defining the individual's initial level with respect to the goal
- Defining five goal attainment levels. Baseline is usually represented by “-2” and represents no change, “-1” represents progression towards the goal without goal attainment. “0” is the expected level, “+1” represents a better outcome than expected or exceeded expectations, and “+2” represents the best possible outcome that could

have been expected for this goal. However, if worsening is possible, the baseline is set to “-1” to account for this possibility, although it makes comparing scales more difficult.

- Setting a time interval for evaluation
- Calculating the overall attainment score for the all the goals/ expectations

There is a set of criteria, defined throughout the literature, for the GAS (Krasny-Pacini et al., 2013):

- Each GAS level must be described accurately enough that a person not involved in the GAS-writing process could easily classify the patient at one of the GAS levels
- Each scale must represent a single dimension of change. Often, multiple GAS are used at one time.
- The levels must be measurable and defined in terms of observable behaviours
- The scales must correspond to goals that are important to the patient
- All the levels must be realistic and attainable. In particular, the +2 level must be an unexpected or miraculous goal
- The time scale within which goals are to be attained should be defined in advance
- The interlevel differences in difficulty must all be the same, that is, it must be as difficult to go from -2 to -2 as from -1 to 0, or 0 to +1, etc. This is one of the trickier criteria to meet, and is not always possible for the difficulties to be exactly the same.

There are four different ways of expressing GAS results:

- Scoring each goal between -2 and +2, resulting in as many raw scores as there are scales and giving a direct score for each goal; this method is easily understood by the patient
- A T-score, which enables GAS scores to be normalized and then analysed with parametric statistics. Although this is the most frequently used method, it is also the most complex.
- The mean of the raw scores, which gives an overall score between -2 and +2 for the goals as a whole
- The sum of the differences between the initial level and the attained level for each of the patient’s goals

The GAS is a valid measure when it is written by a team with sufficient experience and the attainment levels have been thought through carefully (Krasny-Pacini et al., 2013). Furthermore, Krasny-Pacini et al. (2013) find that the GAS has excellent sensitivity to change. The GAS is most often used for evaluating clinical or rehabilitation interventions, and most of the literature focuses on this context; however, it is possible to adapt the GAS structure to broader contexts, such as assessing expectations. Such an approach would allow for individuals to rate whether their expectations were exceeded, met, or disappointed and can be used for self-expectations or expectations for other people.

Parental Expectations

One-item measures of parental academic expectations are most commonly used, such as:

- “How much schooling do you expect that (child) will complete?” (Davis-Kean, 2005, from the 1997 Child Development Supplement of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID-CDS))
 - Responses ranged from 11th grade or less to M.D., Law, Ph.D, or other doctoral degree
- Interviewers asked parents what level of education they expected their children to obtain (Froiland & Davison, 2014, from the National Household Education Surveys Program of 2007: Parent and Family Involvement in Education Survey (NHES PFI))
 - Responses were: 1 = less than a high school diploma, 2 = graduate from high school, 3 = attend vocational/ technical school after completing high school, 4 = complete two or more years of college, 5 = finish a college degree, 6 = complete a graduate (e.g., M.S. or PhD) or professional degree (e.g., J.D.)
 - Authors claim that a similar item showed strong stability reliability and predictive validity in a longitudinal study (Froiland et al., 2013)

Workplace expectations

The Ethical Climate Questionnaire (ECQ; Victor & Cullen, 1987; Cullen & Victor, 1993; Appendix A)

- A 26-item version was originally created by Victor and Cullen (1987) and validated in two studies (Victor & Cullen, 1987; 1988)
- A new 36-item version was created by Cullen and Victor (1993) and validated in a study of four accounting firms.
- From the three studies conducted (Cullen & Victor, 1993; Victor & Cullen, 1987; 1988), a total of 1,167 individuals were surveyed from 12 organizations. From these three studies, Cullen and Victor (1993) found a seven-factor structure:
 - Self-interest ($\alpha = .80$)
 - Company Profit and Efficiency ($\alpha = .69$)
 - Friendship/ Team Interest ($\alpha = .85$)
 - Social Responsibility ($\alpha = .85$)
 - Personal Morality ($\alpha = .77$)
 - Rules, Standard Operating Procedures ($\alpha = .76$)
 - Laws, Professional Codes ($\alpha = .76$)
- The factor structure of the original 26-item version was tested by Bulutlar and Ünler Öz (2009) in a Turkish sample. They found a new five factor structure and eliminated 2

items. A similar factor structure was also found in Elci and Alpkın's (2008) study, which also used a Turkish sample. Factors:

- Rules and law ($\alpha = .93$)
- Caring ($\alpha = .88$)
- Instrumental ($\alpha = .71$)
- Independence ($\alpha = .79$)
- Company profit ($\alpha = .64$)

Social Norms

May (2019), Aldrich (2012), and Kayser et al. (2008) used mostly qualitative methods to investigate social norms in their chosen populations. May (2019) used purposive sampling to conduct interviews, as well as conducting numerous informal interviews and conversations at important community locations for cross-comparison and verification purposes. She also participated in community events. Aldrich (2012) reviewed relevant literature, analysed public records, and reviewed the interview data from key studies. Kayser et al. (2008) conducted interviews with emergency responders and examined the literature on collectivist cultures.

Whitt (2014) used the dictator task to look at social norms of fairness in post-war Bosnia. In the dictator game, the subject decides how to allocate a sum of money between themselves and an anonymous counterpart. In Whitt's (2014) study, participants allocated 10 Bosnian Marks between two recipients and were not allowed to keep any money for themselves for a non-costly situation. The gender and ethnicity of the recipients were randomized so that the participant always decided between an in-group/out-group ethnicity or two out-group ethnicities. Participants received envelopes from anonymous counterparts from a previous experiment session to increase the reality of the experiment. Whitt (2014) also created a short survey on in-group ties, attitudes toward out-group ethnicities, and fairness beliefs.

In a report for UNICEF, Mackie et al. (2015) recommends investigating three elements when attempting to measure social norms:

- Beliefs about others – what the respondent believes is typical behaviour of others. For example, beliefs about peers' use of substances (c.f. Nash et al., 2005; Parsai et al., 2009). Essentially, this element refers to what one believes others think they should do, also called normative expectations
- Identify the reference group – social network analysis can be used to identify the reference group or identify who is most influential in the group
- Anticipated reactions of others in the reference group – although this element is included in the normative expectations construct, looking specifically at the anticipated reaction can also be useful as social norms are maintained through social approval or social disapproval. For example, in Parsai et al.'s (2009) study, they measured parental

injunctive norms, that is, adolescents' perception of how their parents would react to their substance use.

Mackie et al. (2015) suggests the Matching-Game method (Burks & Krupa, 2011; Krupka & Weber, 2008) to identify social norms about specific behaviours. Using an example from an unpublished study by Krupka et al., they explain the method as follows: the subjects read a scenario, such as, two students agreeing to meet in the library, and the first student arrives either exactly on time or 20 minutes late. Participants rate each action as "Very Socially Inappropriate, Socially Inappropriate, Socially Appropriate, or Very Socially Appropriate" (Mackie et al., 2015, p. 74). In one test, participants are told that if their rating matches that of another randomly selected participant of their same group, they will be paid extra. This is done so that the participant has incentive to report their belief about what others believe. The participant can then be asked to report their own personal rating, with no incentive. The incentive to report what others believe can be done with different levels of group membership, for example, student-student or same country-same country.

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Appendix A: The Ethical Climate Questionnaire

Victor & Cullen (1993)

Instructions:

We would like to ask you some questions about the general climate in your company (or other unit reference). Please answer the following in terms of how it really is in your company, not how you would prefer it to be. Please be as candid as possible; remember, all your responses will remain strictly anonymous.

Please indicate whether you agree with each of the following statements about your company. Please use the scale below and write the number which best represents your answer in the space next to each item.

0 = Completely false

1 = Mostly false

2 = Somewhat false

3 = Somewhat true

4 = Mostly true

5 = Completely true

Item	Theoretical dimension (Cullen & Victor, 1993)	Original factor structure (Cullen & Victor, 1993)	New factor structure and factor loading (Bulutlar & Ünler Öz, 2009)*
1. In this company, people are mostly out for themselves	EI	Self-interest	Instrumental (.917)
2. The major responsibility for people in this company is to consider efficiency first	EC	Company Profit/ Efficiency	Instrumental (.411)
3. In this company, people are expected to follow their own personal and moral beliefs	PI	Personal Morality	Independent (.699)
4. People are expected to do anything to further the company's interests	EL	Did not load on meaningful factors or did not	Profit (.690)

		contribute to reliability	
5. In this company, people look out for each other's good	BI	Self-interest	Caring (.660)
6. There is no room for one's own personal morals or ethics in this company	EI	Personal Morality	Instrumental (.620)
7. It is very important to follow strictly the company's rules and procedures here	PL	Rules, Standard Operating Procedures	Rules (.872)
8. Work is considered sub-standard only when it hurts the company's interests	EL	Did not load on meaningful factors or did not contribute to reliability	Profit (.758)
9. Each person in this company decides for himself what is right and wrong	PI	Personal Morality	Independent (.674)
10. In this company, people protect their own interest above other considerations	EI	Self-interest	Instrumental (.870)
11. The most important consideration in this company is each person's sense of right and wrong	PI	Personal Morality	Independent (.819)
12. The most important concern is the good of all the people in the company	BL	Friendship/ Team Interest	Caring (.812)
13. The first consideration is whether any decision violates any law	PC	Did not load on meaningful factors or did not contribute to reliability	Rules (.845)
14. People are expected to comply with the law and professional standards over and above other considerations	PC	Laws, Professional Codes	Rules (.813)
15. Everyone is expected to stick by company rules and procedures	PL	Rules, Standard	Rules (.877)

		Operating Procedures	
16. In this company, our major concern is always what is best for the other person	BI	Friendship/ Team Interest	Caring (.801)
17. People are concerned with the company's interests – to the exclusion of all else	EL	Did not load on meaningful factors or did not contribute to reliability	Profit (.681)
18. Successful people in this company go by the book	PL	Rules, Standard Operating Procedures	Rules (.619)
19. The most efficient way is always the right way, in this company	EC	Company Profit/ Efficiency	Eliminated because it loaded as a separate factor
20. In this company, people are expected to strictly follow legal or professional standards	PC	Laws, Professional Codes	Rules (.896)
21. Our major consideration is what is best for everyone in the company	BL	Friendship/ Team Interest	Caring (.831)
22. In this company, people are guided by their own personal ethics	PI	Personal Morality	Independent (.858)
23. Successful people in this company strictly obey the company policies	PL	Rules, Standard Operating Procedures	Rules (.580)
24. In this company, the law or ethical code of their profession is the major consideration	PC	Laws, Professional Codes	Rules (.846)
25. In this company, each person is expected, above all, to work efficiently	EC	Company Profit/ Efficiency	Rules (.528)
26. It is expected that you will always do what is right for the customer and public	BC	Social Responsibility	Eliminated because it loaded on two factored
New questions added by Cullen and Victor (1993)			

27. People in this company view team spirit as important	BL	Did not load on meaningful factors or did not contribute to reliability	
28. People in this company have a strong sense of responsibility to the outside community	BC	Social Responsibility	
29. Decisions here are primarily viewed in terms of contribution to profit	EL	Did not load on meaningful factors or did not contribute to reliability	
30. People in this company are actively concerned about the customer's, and public's, interest	BC	Social Responsibility	
31. People are very concerned about what is generally best for employees in the company	BL	Friendship/ Team Interest	
32. What is best for each individual is a primary concern in this organization	BI	Friendship/ Team Interest	
33. People in this company are very concerned about what is best for themselves	EI	Did not load on meaningful factors or did not contribute to reliability	
34. The effect of decisions on the customer and the public are a primary concern in this company	BC	Social Responsibility	
35. It is expected that each individual is cared for when making decisions here	BI	Friendship/ Team Interest	
36. Efficient solutions to problems are always sought here	EC	Company Profit/ Efficiency	

*The wording of items is slightly different in Bulutlar & Ünler Öz (2009)

Victor and Cullen's original hypothesized ethical climates:

Ethical Criteria	Locus of Analysis		
	Individual (I)	Local (L)	Cosmopolitan (C)
Egoism (E)	Self-interest (EI)	Company Profit (EL)	Efficiency (EC)
Benevolence (B)	Friendship (BI)	Team Interest (BL)	Social Responsibility (BC)
Principle (P)	Personal Morality (PI)	Rules, Standard Operating Procedures (PL)	Laws, Professional Codes (PC)



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