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Bully/Victim Problems in Elementary Schools

and Students' Beliefs About Aggression

by

Karen Marie Bentley

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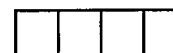
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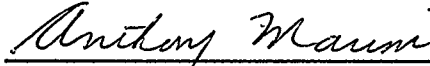Psychométrie 0632

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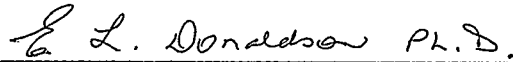THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

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degree of Master of Science.

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Supervisor, Dr. A.K.F. Li, Department of
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ABSTRACT

A total of 379 grades 4 to 6 students of the Calgary
Board of Education were surveyed about bullying in schools.
Results of the Bully Inventory (Olweus, 1989) indicated that
21.3% were bullied and 11.6% bullied others "sometimes" or
more often at school during the Fall term, 1993. Victims
tended to be the youngest students of the sample, both boys
and girls, and were at risk for being bullied by both age-
mates and older students. Verbal abuse was the most common
form of bullying, and there was no significant association
between gender and either direct or indirect forms of
bullying. The playground was the most commonly cited
location where bullying occurred. Bullies tended to be in
the older grades and were mainly boys. Also, results of the
Beliefs Measure (Slaby, 1993) revealed that bullies were
more likely than victims and other students to endorse
certain aggression-supporting beliefs. Implications of the
present findings for anti-bullying programs were discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Childhood bullying behaviour represents an age-old phenomenon in schools, and is often considered to be a normal part of growing up. Because of this popular perception, schoolyard bullying is often ignored, or even tolerated, by other school members, and hence this form of peer abuse continues. However, it is increasingly being recognized that bullying is an enduring and underrated problem in today's schools (Greenbaum, Turner, & Stephens, 1989). In fact, it has only been within the last 20 years that the subject of bully/victim problems among school children has received serious research attention, and thus we are only beginning to understand the ill-effects of this childhood phenomenon. Before the purpose of the present study on childhood bullying is outlined, a discussion of the definitional issues will be presented.

Definitions

In general, childhood bullying behaviour may be viewed as a form or subtype of aggression (Dodge & Coie, 1987; Johnstone, Munn, & Edwards, 1992). Similarly, in the literature on violence in schools, bullying is often listed as a particular kind of violence to which children may be exposed (Christie & Toomey, 1990). More specifically, a comprehensive definition of bullying behaviour has been

provided by Dan Olweus (1987; 1991) based on his extensive research conducted in Sweden and Norway. This definition is frequently adopted by researchers who study bully/victim problems (e.g., Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). "A person is being bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly over time to negative actions on the part of one or more persons" (Olweus, 1991, p. 413). The inclusion of "repeatedly over time" excludes incidences of random attacks against different students. Negative actions include direct physical (e.g., kicking, slapping, hitting), or verbal, psychological (e.g., teasing, name-calling, telling nasty rumors) attacks on the victim. Negative actions may also include indirect forms such as social exclusion or ostracism. These descriptions are often the operational definitions of bullying employed in research investigations. Furthermore, the intent of the abuse is to inflict injury or discomfort to the victim (Olweus, 1991).

In addition, bullying does not include persons of equal physical or psychological strength who are fighting. Bullying implies "a certain imbalance in the strength relations (an asymmetric power relationship)" (Olweus, 1991, p. 413). Hence, bullying behavior may concern an abuse of power (Stephenson & Smith, 1989), and the bullied child may have a difficult time defending him or herself. Implicit in the descriptions of bullying behaviour, a bully is defined as the child who delivers such abuse, while the victim is

the recipient of the bully's persistent aggression.

In sum, most definitions of bullying agree that the following factors are implicit in such behaviour: it constitutes a repeated action that occurs over a prolonged period of time, there is an imbalance of power as the bully is perceived to be stronger than the victim, and its verbal, psychological and/or physical negative actions are unprovoked (Besag, 1989; Smith, 1991). According to Tattum (1989), bullying is a complex problem that includes many elements that need to be considered. For purposes of the present study, the term "victimization" refers to the process of a child being bullied by one or more peers; and the term "bully" is defined as the provider of bullying behaviour (Olweus, 1991).

Purpose of the Present Study

Many studies determining the prevalence, nature and other aspects of bullying in elementary school have been conducted in Norway and Sweden (Olweus, 1978; 1987; 1991); England (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Lowenstein, 1978a; 1978b; Whitney & Smith, 1993); Ireland (O'Moore & Hillery, 1989); Australia (Rigby & Slee, 1991), and the United States (Denham & Keese, 1977; Hoover, Oliver & Hazler, 1992). Canadian data are sparse, and are limited to recent surveys of elementary students conducted in Toronto (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991), and Kingston (Wilson, 1992a); and

one of senior high students in Calgary (Duffee, 1993). No systematic study of the prevalence of bully/victim problems has previously been conducted with Calgary elementary school children. Recent Calgary press reports have voiced the growing concern amongst parents, school personnel, and students of the problems of violence and bullying in schools (Lamb, 1993a; 1993b). Thus, the primary aim of the present study was to document the prevalence, main trends (e.g., age and gender differences), and other aspects (e.g., where it occurs, to whom victims tell) of the problem in Calgary elementary schools in order to provide empirical rather than sensational information, to gain an understanding of the problem, and to compare the prevalence of the problem in Calgary to other national and international estimates.

In addition, the literature on bullying suggests that children's involvement in this problem, either as bullies or victims of bullying, is quite stable over time (Olweus, 1977; Perry, Kusel, & Perry, 1988; Stephenson & Smith, 1989), and may lead to continuing social problems in later years (Gilmartin, 1987; Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz, & Walder, 1984; Olweus, 1987; 1993a). Thus it is important to understand why certain children become bullies, and others victims of such maltreatment. Researchers have focused on many factors to help explain the development and existence of bully/victim problems, including individual characteristics, family factors, and school variables

(Bjorkqvist, Ekman & Lagerspetz, 1982; Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Craig & Pepler, 1992; Olweus, 1978; 1984; Stephenson & Smith, 1989).

Regarding individual factors, it has recently been theorized that children's habitual patterns of thought (e.g., cognitive content/beliefs) mediate their social experiences and behaviour outcomes (Bandura, 1986; Slaby, 1991). Slaby's (1991) model proposed that certain social experiences can lead to the child at risk for involvement in aggression (as a bully or victim), especially if the child harbors certain beliefs that support aggression (e.g., aggression is legitimate, the victim deserves it). Thus, the second aim of the present study was to measure and compare beliefs supporting aggression amongst bullies, victims of bullying, and students not identified as either bullies or victims. It may be that the differential endorsement of such beliefs contributes to involvement in this form of aggression, and such findings may help to inform current intervention efforts that aim to alleviate and/or prevent children's involvement in bullying episodes.

Thus the following review will consist of an examination of the extant literature regarding the prevalence, general trends, and other aspects of schoolyard bullying. It will include mainly those studies that have focused on elementary school samples, as the present study of Calgary school children will be comprised of students in

grades 4-6. The review will also examine school, family and individual factors in bully/victim problems.

Prevalence of Bullying

<u>Scandinavian countries</u>. Perhaps the most extensive work on bully/victim problems among school children has been conducted by the distinguished researcher, Dan Olweus. Olweus began studying this problem in the early 1970's, in Sweden, at which time he was particularly interested in bullies and their "whipping boys" (Olweus, 1978; 1984). Approximately 1,000 boys, aged 12-16 years, participated in his early studies which consisted mainly of four grade 6 samples and one grade 8 sample. Using teacher nominations, which had been validated with other teacher nominations and independent peer ratings, Olweus estimated the prevalence of boys involved in bully/whipping boy problems to be 5-10%. He reported that his figures corroborated well with other early Scandinavian publications in which varying definitions and different methodologies were used.

More recently, in 1983, at the request of the Norwegian Ministry of Education to launch a nationwide campaign against bullying, Olweus (1987; 1991) initiated large scale studies of the problem in Norway and Sweden. The impetus for his research and the nationwide campaign, was the suicides during one week of three boys, aged 10-14 years, most likely due to severe bullying by peers. Olweus's

research in the mid-1980's, reviewed in Olweus (1987; 1991), consisted of the following studies: a nationwide study in Norway of 715 schools and approximately 140,000 students in grades 2-9; an intensive study in Bergen, Norway of 2,500 grades 4-7 students from 42 schools, 300-400 teachers and principals and roughly 1,000 parents; and approximately 17,000 grades 3-9 students in three Swedish communities. To measure the extent and other aspects of bully-victim problems, Olweus developed an anonymous self-report Bully Inventory for children. For the Bergen study, teachers identified bullies and victims in their classes, and because their results corroborated with the students' self-reports, he concluded that the children's self-reports alone were valid.

To calculate the percentage of students considered to be bullying or bullied by others, the child must have responded to two key inventory items that it happened "now and then" or more frequently ("about once a week" to "several times a week"). When more serious rates of bullying and being bullied are considered, only the percentages from the latter two options are reported. Based on Olweus's combined results for the Sweden and Norway studies of over 150,000 children, he found that 15%, or one out of seven children were involved in bully/victim problems "now and then" or more frequently as bullies or victims (Olweus, 1991). About 9% were victims, and 7% bullied

others "now and then" or more frequently. More
specifically, results from his nationwide study suggested
that an average of 11.6% of primary students (grades 2-6)
reported being bullied "now and then" or more often, while
approximately 3% reported being severely bullied ("once a
week" or more often) (Olweus, 1991). For the prevalence of
bullying others, an average of 7.4% of primary students
reported this "now and then" or more often, while less than
2% reported severe bullying of others. Because Olweus's
inventory only refers to part of the Fall term, the figures
may actually underestimate the percentage of children
involved in bullying for an entire school year. It may be
concluded from the Scandinavian results that the problem of
bullying affects the lives of many school children, and it
is a problem that has gained considerable attention in terms
of system-wide intervention efforts.

England and Ireland. In the first English study on the
prevalence and nature of bullying, Lowenstein (1978a)
identified bullies from 15 schools including infant, junior
and secondary schools, for a total of 5,774 students. When
teachers were asked to identify bullies, whose nominations
had to be supported by at least two or more children and the
victim and/or the victim's parents, 2% of 1,951 students
aged 7-11 years were identified as bullies. Newson and
Newson (1984) from their longitudinal study on child-rearing

in England found 26% of 700 interviewed mothers, of 11-year-old children, reported that their children were being bullied at school. These earlier studies, although employing different methodologies, also suggested a considerable number of English children involved in bully/victim problems at school.

In more recent English studies, Stephenson and Smith (1989) developed an inventory for teachers to fill out on the extent and nature of bullying in their 10-to 11-year-old students. Forty-nine teachers at 26 schools in Northeast England filled out the questionnaires for a total of 1,078 students. An average of 23% of students were reported to be involved either as bullies or victims, with 7% identified as severe victims and 10% as severe bullies. Using a slightly modified version of Olweus's questionnaire, Boulton and Underwood (1992) sampled 296 children from three Yorkshire schools in order to measure the extent and other aspects of bully/victim problems in two age groups: 8-9, and 11-to 12-year-olds. Overall, an average of 21% reported being bullied "sometimes" or more frequently, while 6% reported being bullied seriously (once or several times a week). As for the prevalence of bullying others, an average of 17% reported they did this "sometimes" or more often, whereas 4% admitted to serious bullying. In a very recent publication by Whitney and Smith (1993), they reported the results of the largest sample to date in the United Kingdom.

During November of 1990 and March of 1991, a modified version of Olweus's questionnaire was administered to a total of 6,758 students in 24 middle and secondary schools in Sheffield. Specific to the middle school students (n= 2,623) aged 7-12 years, an average of 27% reported being bullied "sometimes" or more often, while 10% reported being severely bullied (once or several times a week). The rates for bullying others "sometimes" or more often was reported by an average of 12% of students, and severe bullying of others was reported by 4% of students. These current English figures appear to be fairly consistent across studies, and they seem to be consistently higher than the Scandinavian results.

In Dublin, O'Moore and Hillery (1989) also gave a modified version of Olweus's inventory to 783 students, aged 7-13 years, from four schools. In reporting the rates for occasional bullying, however, the authors combined the responses of "once or twice" and "sometimes" to yield quite a high estimate (54.9%) of students being bullied and 43.3% bullying others. This makes it difficult to compare to other studies, although the figures for severe bullying were based on the usual cutoff at "once a week" or more often. These results suggested that 8% of students were seriously victimized, and 2.5% severely bullied others. It would appear that the rates for bullying others and being bullied among children aged 7-12 years, are generally higher in

England and Ireland than in the Scandinavian countries. It has been suggested that this discrepancy may reflect methodological differences, differences in sample sizes or the students surveyed, wider societal attitudes toward violence and/or cultural differences (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; O'Moore, 1990; Smith, 1991).

Australia. A recent study in Adelaide was conducted with 685 school children between the ages of 6 and 16 years, from three primary and one high school (Rigby & Slee, 1991). Using peer ratings, self-reports and teacher questionnaires, these authors estimated that the prevalence of children being bullied by peers was at least 8% and as high as 17%. Although different methodology was employed, and the figures also included high school students' responses, these results seem to fall between the Scandinavian and English estimates for victims of bullying.

U.S.A. It is clear that the North American research on the prevalence of bully/victim problems among school children seriously lags behind that of the European initiatives. Particularly in the United States, the extent of the problem is unclear (Hoover et al., 1992). Olweus (1987) hypothesized that the problem is most likely big enough in the U.S. to merit considerable attention, and applying his percentages he estimated that approximately 2.7

million victims and 2.1 million bullies may exist among American school children.

A few small scale studies have been done on the victims of aggression in schools, and although the term "bullying" was not specifically used, the types of physical and verbal aggression to which the victims were frequently exposed, constituted bullying behaviour (Denham & Keese, 1977; Perry et al., 1988). Using a sociometric measure devised specifically for their study, Denham and Keese (1977) studied the extent of victimization among 412 children in grades 5-6 at one Californian school. Altogether 16.5% of students were identified as victims of aggression by their same-sex peers. Similarly, Perry et al. (1988) used a modified version of the Peer Nomination Inventory with a sample of 165 children in grades 3-6 at a Florida school. Ten percent of the students were found to be extreme victims of aggression. In a more recent, retrospective study, Hoover et al. (1992) assessed the extent of bullying in 207 students, aged 12-16 years, from three Mid-Western states. Their results indicated that overall 76.8% of students admitted to being bullied at least once during their school years. In comparison to the international figures, one may conclude from their study that the problem of bullying is 3-4 times as common in the U.S. However, given the much larger time reference from which students considered personal victimization, this figure may be unduely inflated

and should be interpreted with caution.

Canada. The data on the prevalence of bully/victim
problems among Canadian school children appear to be even
more sparse. At the request of the Toronto Board of
Education, Ziegler and Rosenstein-Manner (1991) collected
data on the extent and other aspects of bullying in a random
sample of elementary schools. Using a modified version of
Olweus's inventory, they surveyed 211 students in grades 4,
5, 6 and 8, from 17 schools. An astonishing 20% of students
reported being bullied and 15% reported bullying others "now
and then" or more frequently during the current school term.
The figures for serious bullying (weekly or more often)
yielded 8% for being bullied and 2% for bullying others. It
would appear that the Toronto findings are similar to the
English and almost twice that of Norway's, as an estimated
one in three as opposed to one in seven children, were found
to be involved in bully/victim problems (Ziegler &
Rosenstein-Manner, 1991).

In a recent Master's thesis on peer harassment, Wilson
(1992a) studied the prevalence of bullying and other forms
of abuse (e.g., sexual harassment) among 137 grade 6, 7 and
8 students from one Kingston, Ontario school, using a
modified version of Olweus's questionnaire. Ten percent of
students reported being bullied once or twice a month, while
4% reported being bullied weekly or more often. These

figures are slightly lower than those of the Toronto survey
which may be due to the fact that Wilson only studied one
school. A recent survey on the health status of 7,633
Canadian youth, found that 82% of 11-year-old males and 77%
of females had been "picked on" at least once (King & Coles,
1992). Also, 76% of the 11-year-old males and 70% of
females reported that they have "picked on" someone at least
once. It was unclear from the study, however, what time
period the children were to refer to in responding to these
questions. Thus, the high figures could be the result of
children answering whether they have ever been picked on, or
picked on others. The results of these Canadian studies
that the author is currently aware of, suggest that bullying
may be a significant problem among elementary school
children.

More recently, Duffee (1993) conducted a study with 707
students in grades 10 to 12, to determine the levels and
types of violence, and the predictors of that violence in
four Calgary high schools. Although the types of violence
Duffee studied included theft, robbery, and assault, his
category of abuse was most similar to the concept of
bullying in the present study. He found that 42.4% of
students suffered abuse at least once in the 8-month
reference period of the study. Given the dearth of Canadian
research addressing bully/victim problems, it would appear
necessary to collect empirical data in other cities to

further add to our understanding of the prevalence and other aspects of the problem in Canadian schools.

Taken together, the results from Canada and all of the other countries reviewed suggest that bully/victim problems among elementary school children exist at distressingly high rates. There would appear to be large-scale suffering, stress and humiliation being experienced by young students. In order to gain a greater understanding of the problem and thus possible ways to eradicate it, it is important to consider other aspects of the bullying phenomenon, to be discussed below.

Main Trends in Being Bullied

Several trends are apparent in the bully/victim literature on elementary school children. In regard to age differences, it is generally found that as children increase in age (i.e., from 8-12 years old), the percentage of students reporting being bullied by others decreases (O'Moore & Hillery, 1989; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Relatively speaking, younger children seem to be most at risk, perhaps because they are viewed as weaker than older children (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Olweus, 1991). Two studies have found no significant age differences in the patterns of victimization (Craig & Pepler, 1992; Perry et al., 1988). This may in part reflect methodological differences (observational; peer nominations,

respectively, versus self-report), or the fact that a smaller number of schools were studied (two schools and one school respectively).

In regard to gender differences in victimization rates, it is generally the case that both boys and girls are victimized roughly to the same extent, with boys' figures slightly higher than girls', but the difference is generally not significant (Denham & Keese, 1977; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). In two studies, however, boys reported (Rigby & Slee, 1991) or were reported by teachers (Stephenson & Smith, 1989) to be victimized significantly more than girls. These anomolies may be due to sample differences or to methodological differences (i.e., teacher versus self-report).

With respect to the nature of peer abuse, the form of abuse that victims seem to be the most frequently exposed to is verbal (e.g., teasing, name-calling, threats, intimidation) rather than physical (e.g., hitting, kicking, pushing) abuse (Hazler, Hoover & Oliver, 1992; Perry et al., 1988; Rigby & Slee, 1991). Others have found students to report that bullying constituted roughly equivalent amounts of verbal and physical abuse (O'Moore & Hillery, 1989; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Although children may be predominantly bullied by physical, verbal and/or psychological means, it is generally reported in the bullying literature that boys are more likely to be the

recipients of physical aggression, whereas girls are more likely to be exposed to verbal abuse and social exclusion (Perry et al., 1988; Rigby & Slee, 1991; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). However, both genders may suffer exclusion at roughly equivalent rates (Olweus, 1991). Furthermore, gender differences in the form of abuse appear to hold for both the receipt and delivery of bullying behaviours (Roland, 1989; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). Thus, Roland (1989) hypothesized that boys may bully for personal power and dominance, whereas girls may bully to reassure their affiliation to the "in group" by excluding the victim. It may also be the case that girls are less involved, or admit to being less involved, in physical bullying because it conflicts with traditional "feminine" stereotypes (Askew, 1989).

Victims are typically bullied by students in the same class or grade as the victim (Boulton & Underwood, 1992, Craig & Pepler, 1993; Whitney & Smith, 1993). However, younger students are also at risk for being bullied by older pupils (Olweus, 1987; 1991; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Also, boys are more likely to be bullied by boys, and girls to be bullied by both girls and boys (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Wilson, 1992a).

In summary, the extant literature generally suggests that rates of victimization decrease as elementary school students increase in age/grade; that both boys and girls are

victimized to roughly the same extent although boys tend to suffer from more physical aggression delivered mainly by boys, and girls from verbal abuse and social exclusion at the hands of girls and boys. Finally, younger elementary students seem to be most at risk from abuse by age-mates and older pupils, whereas older students are threatened mainly by same-age peers. Similar results in regards to victimization are expected in the present study.

Main Trends in Bullying Others

In regard to age differences, the bullying literature suggests that between ages 7-12 years, there is little difference in the percentages of children who report bullying others (Olweus, 1987; 1991; O'Moore & Hillery, 1989; Whitney & Smith, 1993). One exception, however, was the Toronto survey which did find an age difference in bullying behaviour (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). No 9-year-olds and few 10-year-olds identified themselves as bullies, whereas the highest percentage of self-identified bullies were 11-12 years old. This finding may be specific to the sample studied which was considerably smaller than those in the studies cited above. Given that the present study will comprise 8-to 12-year-old children, it will be interesting to determine whether the older students are similarly more likely than the younger students to report bullying others.

It is also the case that most studies report a gender difference in the percentage of students involved in bullying others, with boys involved significantly more than girls (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Lowenstein, 1978a; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). As Munthe (1989) explained, it may be that girls actually do bully less than boys, or that girls report bullying less than boys. She suggested that this may be due to sex-role differences in that it may be more acceptable for boys to admit to bullying than girls. However, in an observational study of 164 Toronto children, aged 6-12 years, involved in bully/victim behaviour on the school grounds, Craig & Pepler (1993) found no difference in the rate of bullying/hour by boys and girls, and there were more girls represented in their bully category. The different finding may be due to different methodology, and some have argued that observation is a more desirable but often less feasible method of data collection than self-report (Smith, 1991).

Taken together the literature generally suggests that across middle to late elementary school, there is little difference in the percentages of students reporting to bully others. Thus, bullies are not just the oldest members of the school. Furthermore, it appears that generally boys report, or are reported, to engage in significantly more bullying behaviour than girls. Similar results in regards to bullying others are expected in the present study. ..

Other Aspects of Bullying and Victimization

Other aspects of bully/victim problems studied have included determining where it occurs, victims' perceptions of adult intervention, whom victims tell, and peers' attitudes and responses toward bullying. These aspects, which are important for determining a greater understanding and possible ways of tackling the problem, will also be measured in the present study via children's self-reports.

Where bullying occurs. When students are queried about where they typically are bullied, the playground is most frequently reported (Olweus, 1991; Stephenson & Smith, 1989; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). This is generally followed by locations such as hallways, classrooms or other places in the school such as washrooms (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991; Whitney & Smith, 1993). What these results suggest is that bullying most frequently occurs where children are less closely supervised (see discussion on school factors). It is also the case that some children who tend to be bullied or bully others in school, may also be bullied or bully others to and from school (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Olweus, 1991). Hence, victimized students may suffer from abuse by bullies across many situations, both in and outside school.

Victims' perceptions of adult intervention. Perhaps
one of the most disturbing aspects of bully/victim problems
among school children is the victim's perception of adult
interventions, and the numbers of children who actually talk
to teachers and parents about their being bullied. When
asked how often teachers try to stop bullying, estimates
have varied from approximately 34% (Boulton & Underwood,
1992; Hoover et al., 1992) to 39% (Ziegler & Rosenstein-
Manner, 1991) of victims reporting that teachers or school
staff "almost always" intervene. This leaves a considerable
number of students who do not feel that teachers adequately
respond to bullying problems. Olweus (1987) reported 40% of
primary grade victims and 70% of bullies reported teachers
"barely ever" do anything to stop it, and Hazler et al.
(1992) found 66.4% of students sampled felt school personnel
responded poorly to the problem. Similarly, in their
observation of 404 bullying episodes, Craig and Pepler
(1992) found that teachers intervened in only 3% of the
episodes. This suggests that adults, at least on the school
playground, rarely intervene, and that overall many victims
of bullying perceive that they are not being supported.

Moreover, the recent Toronto survey investigated
childrens' ideas on what should be done about school
bullying problems, and students felt that they should be
looking primarily to adults for help (e.g., telling
teachers, parents), rather than to peers or dealing with

bullying themselves (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991).
Many students felt that foremost, teachers could help by
talking to the students involved, which was followed by
breaking up fights, and punishing the bully. Students also
suggested that parents could help by talking to their child
about the problem, and talking to the teacher or principal.
Grades 4-6 students specifically, felt that teachers should
be more active in stopping it on the playground, and that
parents should be contacted. Similar findings were
presented by Stephenson and Smith (1989), who found that
students felt the victim or someone else should tell a
teacher about the bullying, that the teacher should punish
the bully, and that there should be more supervision by
teachers. Clearly, students want the support of their
teachers.

Whom victims tell. Children's general perceptions that
teachers infrequently respond to the problem is also
reflected in the fact that only slightly more than 50%
reported to teachers that they were being victimized
(Stephenson & Smith, 1989; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner,
1991; Wilson, 1992a). Similarly, parents may generally be
unaware of the problem (Olweus, 1987; 1991) as less than
one-third of students who were bullied told someone at home
(Stephenson & Smith, 1989; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner,
1991). Others, however, have found that bullied children

were more likely to tell someone at home, or adult relatives, than their teachers (Whitney & Smith, 1993; Wilson, 1992a). Of those children who do report that they tell someone about their victimization, it would be important to follow-up with questions concerning whether or not such reporting benefitted the victim (Wilson, 1992a). The present study will attempt to address this question, and a relationship between whether students tell a teacher or parent about their victimization and whether or not it helped them, is expected. Also, how others have helped stop the bullying, according to the victims themselves, has typically not been queried. Such information may prove invaluable in helping educators and parents determine what current strategies are or are not successful in alleviating victim suffering. Thus, the present study will also attempt to address this important issue.

Regardless of whom victims of bullying may tell about their experiences, the fact remains that a large majority do not tell. Smith (1991) speculated that reasons for this may include teachers' unsympathetic attitudes, fear of embarassment of having to tell parents, or victims may blame themselves for the abuse. In interviews with victimized students, reasons included: a lack of confidentiality by adults; fear that the adult would take action without the victim's consent, thus contributing to further humiliation and embarassment; fear that if the bully is apprehended the

victim will be seen as a "tell-tale" which may lead to further attacks; and fear of losing friendships with non-victimized students (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Wilson, 1992a). It would appear that students have very valid reasons for not wanting to divulge their experiences of being bullied, and any efforts to support the victim must respect and work around these concerns. Hence, the present study will attempt to address these concerns by examining victims' reasons for remaining silent.

Peers' attitudes and reactions toward bullying. Responses to questionnaire items have also provided a general indication of peers' reactions and feelings toward bullying. For example, when asked what they personally do when a child is being bullied at school, approximately half of all students report that they try to help in some way (Boulton & Underwood, 1992). However, other students' responses suggest a passive stance as roughly half also report that they do not but should try to help, or that it is none of their business (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). It is also interesting that students' responses are generally mixed when it comes to whether they could or could not involve themselves in the bullying of a child whom they did not like (Whitney & Smith, 1993; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Taken together, these results suggest that many students do not, or feel that they can not give their

assistance to a child being bullied, and the ambivalence surrounding the issue of their own capability of bullying others is equally disturbing. In their observational study, Craig and Pepler (1993) found that peers were involved either as collaborators or observers in an alarming 89% of bullying episodes. Moreover, regarding their feelings toward bullies, it would appear that children's responses are generally split among admitting that they can understand why bullies do it, it is difficult to understand, or that the bullies' actions upset them (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). The present study will also examine children's actions and attitudes toward bullying via their responses to the questionnaire on bullying. All of the above aspects reviewed are important to measure in any initial investigation of childhood bullying because it can help to determine ways in which to tackle or prevent the problem (e.g., increasing supervision where it commonly occurs, continuing to use approaches that <u>victims</u> feel have helped, engaging the support of peers).

In addition to determining the prevalence, general trends, and various other aspects of bully/victim problems among school children, researchers have also strived to determine <u>why</u> some children become bullies, and others victims of bullying. There are many factors involved in this complex problem, and perhaps it can be best understood from an ecological perspective, similar to that proposed in

research on violence in schools (Harootunian, 1986). Thus the potential causal factors, to be reviewed below, will chiefly include individual, family, and school factors as these are commonly addressed in the literature, and they are the main variables targeted in efforts at the intervention and prevention of bullying in schools (Lane, 1989a; Olweus, 1991).

The search for reasons why children become involved in bully/victim problems is very important for several reasons. First of all, children's involvement in bully/victim problems at school has been found to remain quite <u>stable</u> over time, and stability estimates have been reported for three months, up to three years (Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Craig & Pepler, 1993; Olweus, 1977; Perry et al., 1988; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). Thus, Olweus (1977) concluded that the bully's aggressive behaviour remains quite stable over time, and victims appear to undergo a prolonged period of suffering and humiliation, at least while they are in school (Olweus, 1993a). Furthermore, the stability of bullying others concurs with studies on the long-term stability, up to 22 years, of aggressive behaviour in general (Huesmann et al., 1984; Olweus, 1978). Also, longitudinal studies have shown that children who bully or act aggressively have a greater likelihood than non-aggressive children to be involved in criminal activities and abusive behaviour as adults

(Huesmann et al., 1984; Lane 1989b; Olweus, 1979). Victims, in contrast, may continue to suffer low self-esteem, feelings of fear, lack of trust, and depression as adults (Gilmartin, 1987; Johnstone et al., 1992; Olweus, 1993a; Perry et al., 1988).

School Factors Contributing to Bullying

It has been suggested that intra-school and inter-school variations in the extent of bully/victim problems can not be explained by individual child and family factors alone (Lane, 1989a; Smith, 1991). Particular school factors are also important in the level of bullying and its continuation in any given school.

In regard to school and class sizes, research from Scandinavian countries (Olweus, 1987), Ireland (O'Moore & Hillery, 1989), England (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Whitney & Smith, 1993), and Australia (Rigby & Slee, 1991) has generally found no relation between the frequency of bullying behaviour and classroom or school size. This is the case even though a wide variation in class and school sizes have been sampled; therefore, it would seem that bully/victim problems may exist in any size of class or school.

School location has also been investigated, and in particular, whether schools located in more deprived areas have a greater extent of bully/victim problems. Stephenson

and Smith (1989) found bully/victim problems to be more common in socially deprived areas, while Whitney and Smith (1993) reported social disadvantage to be a small but significant predictor of school variance in bullying. These English results contrast to those reported by Olweus (1991), who found no difference in the frequency of bully/victim problems in urban versus rural schools from his studies in Sweden and Norway. The difference in results may reflect the fact that England is more heterogeneous, has more socioeconomic inequalities, and has a larger percentage of ethnic minorities than Scandinavia (Whitney & Smith, 1993). The Toronto survey of 14 schools similarly investigated the variable of inner-city schools (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Approximately 18% of students sampled were from inner-city schools (disadvantaged areas of low income). The authors found slightly more bullying, but no difference in the percentage of children who reported being frequently victimized, in inner-city schools than in other schools. Hence, the socioeconomic status of the school may have an influence on the extent of bullying problems in a school, but other school factors may be more relevant.

Studies have found great differences in the extent of bully/victim problems among schools (Olweus, 1987; Stephenson & Smith, 1989; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Olweus (1987) postulated that such variation may be due to school factors that try to control or alleviate

bullying such as the attitudes and behaviours of the school staff, parents and students. For example, Olweus found in his earlier studies that the level of bullying in a school was negatively related to recess supervision, and Whitney and Smith (1993) reported more bullying behaviour to occur in schools where pupils reported being alone at recess. This suggests that the adequacy of supervision by adults could influence the extent of bully/victim problems in a school. Similarly, it has been suggested that features like an anti-bullying school policy, whether the school feels like a safe place to its members, whether bully/victim problems are addressed in the curriculum, and whether efficient home-school communication exists, are all important factors in the school's own role in promoting or reducing bullying problems (Lane 1989a; Smith, 1991; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). Moreover, values in the school also reflect dominant societal values, and if the society encourages and reinforces stereotyped male attributes of power and dominance, and violent attitudes in general, this may lead to bullying as an acceptable form of behaviour (Askew, 1989; O'Moore, 1990). Therefore, not only the school climate may influence the extent of bully/victim problems, but wider cultural values and attitudes may also contribute an important influence.

Family Factors Contributing to Bullying

The early family environment is another important
consideration when trying to understand why some children
grow up to bully others, while other children are placed at
risk for victimization. In order to examine this issue
Olweus (1980), on the basis of previous research and
theoretical considerations, developed a model of four
variables deemed important in the development of an
aggressive behaviour pattern. He conducted extensive
interviews with the parents of grade 6 and grade 9 boys from
Stockholm, to obtain information on the boys' living
conditions, temperamental characteristics, and parental
disciplinary practices during childhood. Olweus found that
28-43% of the variance in the boys' aggression score
(measured by peer ratings on three aggression dimensions -
starts fights, verbal protests, teases) could be accounted
for by the following variables: mother's negativism ·
(indifference and lack of responsivity) during her son's
early years; boy's temperament (active and "hot-headed");
mother's permissiveness for aggressive behaviour (failure to
set limits); and parents' use of power-assertive
disciplinary techniques. Olweus concluded that such a
developmental history may explain the child's low
frustration tolerance and strong aggressive tendencies,
including the tendency to bully others.

Similar findings have been reported by other

researchers who have studied the families of bullies, and who have similarly found that bullies are more likely than victims or controls to have fewer positive family interactions, parents with marital problems, and parents who are overly permissive and authoritarian (Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Berts & King, 1982; Lowenstein, 1978a; Schwartz, 1993). Bowers, Smith and Binney (1992) found that 8-to 11-year-old bullies (identified by peer nominations) perceived their families to be more disengaged than victims, bully/victims, and comparison students. These studies have also found the early experiences of bullies to include exposure to violence and aggressive role models in the home. The foregoing results substantiate those of others who have studied the family environments of conduct disordered (e.g., Patterson, DeBaryshe & Ramsey, 1989) and highly aggressive children (e.g., Huesmann et al., 1984). Taken together, these results support a social learning theory of aggression in that aggression is a learned response that may be acquired by children who are exposed to and reinforced by aggressive role models in the home (Bandura, 1973; 1986). It would also appear that a combination of the child's inborn difficult temperament, lack of attachment security, and adverse parental practices all contribute to the child's development and learning of aggressive behaviour (Chazan, 1989; Perry, Perry, & Boldizar, 1990), including the development of beliefs supporting the use of aggression.

Less is known, however, about the family environment of the victims of bullying. Along with bullies, Stephenson and Smith (1989) found three times as many victims, over control subjects, to be experiencing some kind of family problem at home. However, others have found victims to report having a strong and close relationship with their families (Lagerspetz et al., 1982), and according to teachers' descriptions, victims were found to be more overprotected by their mothers and dependent on their families in comparison to their peers (Olweus, 1978; 1984). Recently, Olweus (1993a) conducted a path analysis on his earlier data gathered from grades 6 and 9 victims and their parents (see Olweus, 1980), in order to identify what developmental variables determined systematic victimization in schools. He found that maternal overprotectiveness (infantilizing and highly controlling behaviour), weak temperament (quiet, calm), father's negativism (critical, distant), and poor identification with the father explained 20% of the variance in victimization (measured by peer ratings). This led Olweus to the conclusion that other variables probably play an important role in the causal sequence of victimization by peers. In addition, Bowers and colleagues (1992) found the group of victims in their study to perceive their families as more enmeshed than the group of bullies, bully/victims, and control students. With regard to socioeconomic background, Olweus (1978; 1984) found no status differences

between parents of bullies, victims, and well-adjusted boys. Therefore, the phenomenon of childhood bullying appears to exist in all kinds of families.

Individual Characteristics of Bullies and Victims

In addition to the general categories of "bully" and "victim" that students may be classified, it should be noted that some researchers have identified subtypes. For example, from the general category of "bully", a small proportion of children have also been identified as "bully/victims" (Olweus, 1987; Stephenson & Smith, 1989), and "anxious bullies" (Stephenson & Smith, 1989). Within the "victim" category, children are predominantly classified as "passive" (Olweus, 1987; Stephenson & Smith, 1989) or "low aggressive" (Perry et al., 1988) victims, although a minority of victims have been identified as "provocative" (Olweus, 1978; Stephenson & Smith, 1989), or "high aggressive victims" (Perry, et al., 1988), as well as "false victims" (Besag, 1989). However, because the general categories of "bully" and "victim" represent the most predominant classifications, only the individual characteristics of these major groups of children will be reviewed.

Physical appearance. A commonly held view for the occurrence of continual harassment of a child by a bully(s)

is that the victimized child must be physically deviant (Olweus, 1991). Based on his earlier research with young adolescent boys, Olweus (1978; 1984) found no support for this contention. When teachers were asked to rate bullies and whipping boys on 14 external characteristics with respect to looks, clothing, and language, for example, there were no differences between the groups. Other studies using teacher ratings, however, have found victims to be more obese or thin, to be less attractive, to have more physical handicaps, and to appear different in dress and speech from the rest of their peers (Lagerspetz et al., 1982; Lowenstein, 1978b; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). The most consistent finding, however, reports bullies to be physically stronger than victims and control groups, and victims to be weaker than their peers (Lagerspetz et al., 1982; Lowenstein, 1978b; Olweus, 1978; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). Olweus (1993a) found that when he included the concurrent variable of physical weakness to his causal model (described above), it was found to increase the variance accounted for in victimization from 20% to 40%. Thus, he concluded that physical weakness as a lone factor has a great impact in terms of predicting victimization by peers. The observation of physical differences (i.e., victims weaker, smaller than bullies) is concordant with students' responses given for the reasons for their being bullied (Boulton & Underwood, 1992). Thus, it would seem that a

experience of isolation and rejection is a devastating
consequence for many students who are bullied, and may in
turn lead to further victimization.

Less is known about the school achievement of children
who are bullied or who bully others. Victimized students
have been found to be of average intellectual ability, but
lower than their more well-adjusted peers (Olweus, 1978;
1984). Perry and colleagues (1988) found no relationship
between intelligence and victimization for girls, whereas it
was negatively related for boys. Regarding their subjective
experience, victims often <u>feel</u> unintelligent (Bjorkqvist et
al., 1982). Similarly, bullies have been noted to be of
average or slightly below average in their intellectual
ability (Olweus, 1978; 1984). Olweus suggested, on the
basis of several lines of evidence (e.g., liking for school,
teachers; aggression not solely directed toward good
students), that the bully's behaviour can not be due to the
consequence of being exposed to aversive conditions in
school. Thus, factors other than school achievement must
contribute to bully/victim problems in a school.

<u>Psychological and behavioural characteristics</u>. It is a
popular belief that bullies behave the way they do because
they are lacking in self-esteem, and thus compensate for
their own inadequacies by victimizing more vulnerable
students (Hazler et al., 1992). In general, however, it has

been found that bullies are no more insecure or unhappy than average peers (Olweus, 1978). Olweus found bullies to harbor average levels of self-esteem, to be confident, and to evaluate their self and situation more positively than victims. Rigby and Slee (1993) similarly found that bullies (identified by self-report), unlike victims, did not have low self-esteem. Teachers have also described bullies as having a strong need to dominate (Olweus, 1978). This is supported by bullies' high ideals for dominant behaviour (Bjorkqvist et al., 1982), and by their reasons given for bullying others (Boulton & Underwood, 1992). In general, bullies behave verbally and physically aggressive toward peers, siblings, teachers, and parents, thus demonstrating consistency across settings (Craig & Pepler, 1992; Olweus, 1978; 1984). Similarly, bullies are viewed to exhibit little empathy for their victims, as few report feeling unhappy or bad for the victim (Bouton & Underwood, 1992). A study by Perry, Williard, and Perry (1990), found high aggressive children in grades 4-7 to report being less distressed than low aggressive children about causing suffering in the victim when aggressing toward him or her. Perhaps Olweus (1991, p. 425), in summing up his research, described bullies most succinctly by concluding that they are characterized by "an aggressive personality pattern with physical strength" (at least for boys).

In contrast to bullies, victims in general are more

anxious, insecure, nervous, and are lower in self-esteem in comparison to their peers (Olweus, 1978; 1984; Rigby & Slee, 1993; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). Teacher and peer ratings have also shown that victims typically do not behave aggressively, and are more conforming, submissive, and less assertive than their peers (Lowenstein, 1978b; Olweus, 1978; 1984). Similarly, Denham and Keese (1977) found victims to be no more likely than non-victims to become angry when pushed, to start fights, or to tease others. Olweus (1991) reported that victims may react to bullying attacks by crying or withdrawing. In addition to their general submissive stance, victims tend to feel inferior in many areas of life (Bjorkqvist et al., 1982), and to feel like a failure (Olweus, 1978; 1984). Boulton and Underwood (1992) found victims to report feeling better about themselves prior to being bullied. In fact, some victims have expressed fear in coming to school because of bullying (Stephenson & Smith, 1989), and bullying has been cited as a major reason given by some students for their initial and continuation of persistent school absenteeism (Reid, 1983). Thus, bullying may serve as a source of great anxiety for some children. Again Olweus (1991, p. 423) summed up his research by concluding that victims are characterized by "an anxious personality pattern combined with physical weakness" (at least for boys).

Given the foregoing characteristics of both bullies and

victims, the next questions focus on how these children come to form abusive relationships with each other, and whether the victim's general characteristics precede or follow the onset of bullying. Olweus (1984) theorized that the victim's characteristics were most likely present from an early age, which in turn contributed to later peer rejection, low self-esteem and anxiousness. Mothers of the whipping boys in his initial studies reported that their sons were cautious and sensitive early on. Thus, their characteristics, which signal to others that they are anxious, insecure and will not retaliate if attacked, may have contributed to their being viewed as appropriate targets of bullying (Olweus, 1987; 1991). Floyd (1985) argued that victims are not selected arbitrarily by bullies. Victims are perceived as potential targets because of their vulnerabilities, which may serve as a provocative stimulus in the bully's response system. Hence, it would appear that the victim's characteristics may serve as both a cause and a consequence of their victimization.

In a provocative observational study, Schwartz, Dodge, and Coie (1993), studied the social behaviour of victims in order to try and account for the emergence and continuation of chronic peer victimization. Thirty play groups, each containing six unacquainted African-American, 6- to 8-year-old boys met on five consecutive days. After detailed coding of videotapes, it was found that the boys who came to

be chronically victimized by peers showed significantly
lower rates of persuasion attempts, social conversation
initiatives, and higher rates of submissions to peers'
persuasion attempts, aggressive overtures and rough-and-
tumble play. Most importantly, it was found that this
pervasive, non-assertive behaviour pattern appeared to have
preceded the development of chronic victimization. In the
initial two sessions, victims showed this social behaviour
pattern. Marked individual differences in victimization,
however, did not develop until the final three sessions.
Thus, the authors concluded that their initial submissive
behaviour may have identified victims as potential targets
of peers' aggressive actions, and once targeted, they
rewarded their bullies with submission. This important,
first observational study of bully-victim dyadic
interactions suggests that the victim's social behaviour may
initiate peer abuse and consequently lead to further low
self-esteem, anxiety, social rejection, and attack by peers.

Social-cognitive characteristics. Another area of
investigation into the reasons why certain children behave
aggressively and bully others, and why other children may
become repeated targets of aggression, focuses on children's
cognitions. Drawing largely upon social learning theory and
social cognitive theory, Ron Slaby (1991) has recently
proposed a social-cognitive model in explaining children's

involvement in aggression. In his developmental model, Slaby proposed that cognitive processes (social problem-solving skills), content (beliefs supporting violent or non-violent behaviour), and style (impulsive or reflective tendencies) act as cognitive mediators between one's social experiences and behaviour outcomes. Certain social experiences (e.g., experiencing violence as a victim, aggressor or bystander; viewing media violence) can lead to the individual at risk for becoming involved with violence (e.g., violent behaviour by aggressors; violence supporting behaviour by victims, bystanders), especially if he or she harbors certain distorted or deficient patterns of thought. Slaby suggested that school children, nominated by their peers as victims or aggressors, share a number of patterns of thought that put them at risk for involvement in aggressive situations. He further theorized that such cognitive patterns appear to be learned early on in childhood as a result of socialization influences (e.g., family, peers) interacting with the child's temperamental characteristics. These, in turn, are influenced by the child's developing cognitive resources which become increasingly individualized, habitual in nature, and quite resistant to change (Slaby, 1991; Slaby & Roedell, 1982). These cognitive factors may serve as stable and organizing factors underlying involvement in aggression as a victim or aggressor/bully.

Regarding specifically the cognitive content (beliefs) factor, Bandura (1986) has recently emphasized the motivational and self-regulatory functions of an individual's generalized beliefs in mediating social behaviour (e.g., aggression). Thus, researchers have studied the influence of certain response-outcome expectancies that are believed to play a role in maintaining aggressive behaviour in children (Bandura, 1973). For example, peer-nominated, high-aggressive children and adolescents have been found to be more likely than their low aggressive peers to hold beliefs supporting the use of aggression. For children in grades 4-7 this has included the beliefs that aggression would produce a tangible reward, victim suffering, that it would reduce future aversive treatment by others, and that the victim would not retaliate (Perry, Perry, & Rasmussen, 1986; Perry, Williard, & Perry, 1990). Slaby and Guerra (1988) similarly found high aggressive high school students and young offenders to believe that aggression is legitimate, that it helps to avoid a negative image, and that it increases self-esteem. Furthermore, other studies on bullies and victims specifically, have found bullies to have a positive attitude toward aggression and violent means (Lagerspetz et al., 1982; Olweus, 1978; 1984), and to believe that the victim deserves the treatment (Bjorkqvist et al., 1982). In contrast, victims have been found to harbor a negative

attitude toward aggression (Olweus, 1978; 1984; Lagerspetz et al., 1982), and some researchers have suggested that victims may come to believe that they deserve to be bullied (Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Johnstone et al., 1992; Roland, 1989).

With regard to gender differences, females have been found to expect more disapproval from self and peers for behaving aggressively than males (Perry et al., 1986), and to believe that victims deserve aggression (Slaby & Guerra, 1988), more than males. Males, in contrast, have been found to be more likely than females to agree that aggression increases self-esteem (Slaby & Guerra, 1988). Taken together, it would appear that aggression-supporting beliefs, may mediate an individual's use of aggression in provocative situations.

The foregoing studies have focused primarily on assessing high aggressive individuals' beliefs about aggression and comparing them to low aggressive individuals. Therefore, one limitation of past research on the development of aggression has been the almost exclusive focus on the aggressor. According to Slaby's (1991) social-cognitive theory, though, it may be that victims similarly harbor aggression-supporting beliefs that put them at risk for involvement in bullying episodes. Thus, it is clear that more research is needed to assess the patterns of thought of victims as well as bullies.

The Present Study

In summary, the primary purpose of the present study was to document the prevalence, general trends, and other aspects of bully/victim problems among a sample of Calgary school children in grades 4-6. This investigation will be an important first step in providing information about whether bully/victim problems exist among Calgary students and to what extent. It will allow for meaningful comparisons with other Canadian (e.g., Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991), and international data (e.g., Olweus, 1987; 1991; Whitney & Smith, 1993). The survey will also lead to a greater understanding of the problem, and in terms of adult intervention, it will elucidate what strategies children themselves report have been helpful in reducing or eliminating their victimization by bullies.

The second major purpose of the present study was to investigate children's beliefs in order to determine whether victims and bullies endorse certain aggression-supporting beliefs to a greater extent than non-involved peers, which may contribute to their involvement in bullying episodes. Studying such patterns of thought may not only provide support for Slaby's (1991) social-cognitive model of aggression, it may also extend his theory to a younger age group (grades 4-6), and thus provide support for the continuity of his developmental model. Such findings may also support recommendations for the modification of

aggression supporting beliefs in bullying intervention programs. Thus, on the basis of the research reviewed, the following research questions were investigated in the present study:

Research Questions

1. Are there gender differences in the prevalence of students who report bullying others and being bullied "sometimes or more frequently", and severely ("once a week" or more often)?

2. Are there gender differences in the form of bullying?

3. Are there grade differences in the prevalence of students who report bulling others and being bullied "sometimes or more frequently", and severely ("once a week" or more often)?

4. Does telling a teacher about being bullied help a student?

5. Does telling someone at home about being bullied help a student?

6. Are there group status (bullies, victims, neither) differences in the extent that children endorse certain aggression-supporting beliefs?

7. Are there gender differences in the extent that children endorse certain aggression-supporting beliefs?

CHAPTER TWO

METHOD

<u>Subjects</u>

A total of 379 students in grades 4-6, 206 girls and 173 boys, from four elementary schools of the Calgary Board of Education, participated in the present study. The students' ages ranged from 8 to 12 years, with a mean of 10 years. No information on socio-economic status nor ethnicity was collected, as the University ethics committee felt that such information would compromise student anonymity. To ensure a representative sample of grades 4 to 6 students attending the Public school system in Calgary, one school was randomly sampled from each of the four quadrants of the city: northwest, northeast, southwest, and southeast.

With the assistance of an administrator at the Calgary Board of Education, one elementary school from each quadrant was randomly selected via computer. Atypical elementary schools were excluded from the sampling frame (e.g., schools for severely learning disabled or behaviour disordered children). In addition, two alternative elementary schools from each quadrant were randomly selected in the event that the first or second school declined. From the first four schools sampled, only one school declined to participate. For that quadrant, the second school was contacted and it agreed to participate. Once the four schools had agreed to

participate, parental consent was sought for all grades 4 to 6 students. Of a possible sample of 521 students, 394 received parental consent to participate, thus the overall response rate was 76%.

Response rates varied within each participating school, and ranged from 53% to 82%. Within the group of students who did not participate, 26 students did not receive parental consent, 101 did not return forms, and 15 students did receive parental consent but were absent on the day of data collection. All grades and genders were represented fairly evenly amongst the categories of non-participating students. The only exception was within the group who did not return forms. More students in grade 6 than in grades 4 or 5, especially boys, did not return consent forms to school. The final sample size consisted of 379 students. The total number of students in grades 4, 5, and 6 is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Sample Description

	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4	Total
Students					
Grade 4	45	25	9	54	133
Grade 5	41	33	18	54	146
Grade 6	27	19	6	48	100
Student Total	113	77	33	156	379

The size of each school that participated in the present study ranged from a total of 190 students (School 3) to 443 students (School 4), from Early Childhood Services (ECS) to grade 6. At the time of the study, bullying was not perceived to be a real problem according to the school principals at Schools 1 and 3. The principal at School 4 felt bullying was a little problem in his school, while the principal at School 2 felt bullying to be somewhat of a problem in his school. Additionally, all four schools espoused general school behaviour conduct rules, responsibilities, and consequences for aggressive behaviour. This information was taught to all students, enforced by the majority of the schools' personnel, and communicated to

parents in some schools. Schools 1, 2, and 4 were also addressing conflict resolution and anger management concepts to groups of students during Health Class. Furthermore, School 1 had set up a Peer Support Group for students in grades 5 and 6, which has been in operation for 3 years.

Students in grades 4-6 were chosen for the present study for a number of reasons. Foremost, no prior study on the prevalence and other aspects of bully/victim problems, within this age group, has been conducted in Calgary. Also, the percentage of students who report being bullied has been found to be higher for this age group than for high school students (Olweus, 1987; Whitney, Nabuzoka, & Smith, 1992). Similarly, students have reported feeling most at risk for being bullied during ages 10-14 years (Hoover et al., 1992). Furthermore, by 8-9 years of age, individual differences in aggressive behaviour (Eron, Huesmann, Dubow, Romanoff, & Warnick-Yarmel, 1987; Olweus, 1978), or in a propensity to be victimized by aggressive peers (Perry et al., 1988), tends to stabilize. Thus, reliable estimates of students involved in bullying others or being bullied may be obtained during this developmental period. This age group (8-12 years) also seemed appropriate in terms of ability to understand and apply the concept of bullying and thus able to understand the related questionnaires (Roland, 1989; Zielger & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991).

<u>Measures</u>

<u>Bully Inventory</u>. For the present study, a modified
version of Olweus's (1989) Bully Inventory was used to
measure bully/victim problems in school (see Appendix A).
The research, junior version of Olweus's Bully Inventory
consisted of 40 questions in multiple choice format (Olweus,
1989). This version was modified by Peter Smith and his
colleagues at the University of Sheffield for surveying
bully/victim problems in the United Kingdom, and consisted
of 28 questions (Ahmad, Whitney & Smith, 1991). This
questionnaire which is filled out anonymously by students
was slightly modified for purposes of the present study.
For example, two of the original questions that asked
students to estimate how many kids in their class were
either victims of bullying or bullies, were deleted. A few
questions (open-ended) were added that queried whether or
not, and how, telling teachers and/or someone at home about
being bullied helped children. Finally, one multiple choice
question asking about children's perception of the exent of
bullying in their school, was also added. This modified
version of the inventory consisted of 27 questions. Other
changes in language thought to be more relevant to Canadian
children included: changing "break time" to "recess";
"young person" to "kid"; "corridors" to "hallways"; and
"year" to "grade".

In addition to the added questions, the inventory

covered a range of different aspects of bullying such as how often children have been bullied or bullied others at school this term (since September), the form of bullying experienced, where children are bullied, who children are bullied by, how often teachers and other children try to put a stop to it, whether adults have talked to the bully about their behaviour, children's attitudes and reactions toward bullying, and whether the school has tried to stop bullying. Thus, detailed information about the prevalence and other aspects of bullying was obtained, which provided a good understanding of the problem amongst elementary school children.

The anonymous Bully Inventory was selected for determining the prevalence of bullying (and other aspects) in the present study for two main reasons. One, in a study of 983 middle and secondary school children, Ahmad and Smith (1990) compared 2 class-based questionnaires: 1) Arora and Thompson's (1987) "Life in Schools" booklet, which required children to put their names on the form, and measures the level of bullying for only 1 week; 2) Olweus's (1989) anonymous Bully questionnaire; along with teacher and peer nominations of bullies and victims, and interview responses. The class-based questionnaires were given one week later with 93 children during confidential interviews, and their responses in the two settings were compared. For the anonymous questionnaire given to middle school students, the

authors reported a 93% agreement for being bullied, and 93% for bullying others. Moreover, they found that for children admitting to being bullied in the anonymous questionnaire, 85% also admitted it in the interview; however, only 50% of bullies admitted to bullying in the interview. Also, when children were requested to put their names on the "Life in Schools" booklet, a significant percentage refrained from admitting to being bullied/bullying others in the interview. Thus, the anonymous questionnaire seemed to be best for examining the prevalence of bully/victim problems, although the authors reported that interviews may provide useful qualitative information. Ahmad and Smith (1990) found peer nominations to show better agreement with the anonymous questionnaire, than teacher nominations; however, determining the overall level of bully/victim problems in a school via peer nominations would be very time consuming. The authors also reported that although observational measures would be the most valid procedure, they are also the most difficult to employ.

The Bully Inventory was also selected for use in the present investigation because it has been used in a number of studies (e.g., Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991), and thus direct comparisons of the present Calgary findings may be conducted with international and national research. As O'Moore (1988) stressed, in order to compare results from

different studies, it is important that similar methodology and terminology be used. Also, it was considered important to obtain children's perceptions about bully/victim problems rather than adults (e.g., teachers), who typically underreport the problem (Besag, 1989; Rigby & Slee, 1991; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991).

Beliefs Measure. The Beliefs Measure developed by Slaby (1993) was adapted for use in the present study to assess children's level of endorsement of certain beliefs (see Appendix A). Slaby's Beliefs Measure consisted of a list of 24 statements depicting beliefs supporting aggression. It was a modified version of an 18-item beliefs measure originally developed for use with adolescents to specifically assess the beliefs of aggressors (Guerra & Slaby, 1990; Slaby & Guerra, 1988). Test-retest (10 weeks) reliability of the original measure was a respectable .86 (Kendall's tau). The internal consistency of items within each of five belief categories were moderate (alpha coefficients ranged from .53 to .68). This measure was recently modified for use with younger children in Slaby's (1991) research on violence prevention in middle schools, and the set of beliefs measured was expanded to include those likely to be held by victims and bystanders.

Children are presented with statements depicting beliefs concerning the use of aggression. Children respond

to each item by indicating the extent to which they agree or disagree with each statement, represented by a 4-point Likert-type scale from (1) "Don't agree at all" to (4) "Completely agree". Five of the items are reverse scored from (1) "Completely agree" to (4) "Don't agree at all", as these items reflect non-support for aggression rather than aggression-supporting statements. The 24 statements comprised eight social beliefs supporting aggression and included: (a) **Aggression is a legitimate response from an aggressor's perspective** (3 items, e.g., "It's okay for you to fight other kids"); (b) **Aggression is a legitimate response from a victim's perspective** (3 items, e.g., "If other kids pick on you, you probably asked for it"); (c) **Aggression is legitimate from a bystander's perspective** (3 items, e.g., "When two kids are fighting each other, it's alright for you to stand there and watch"); (d) **Aggression increases self-esteem** (3 items, e.g., "It makes you feel big and tough to be a bully"); (e) **Aggression increases social approval** (3 items, e.g., "You get respect when you boss other kids around"); (f) **Aggression works** (3 items, e.g., "You get what you want from kids if you're a bully); (g) **Aggression and victimization are the only alternatives** (3 items, e.g., "There are only two kinds of kids - the kids who fight and the kids who get beaten up"); and (h) **Aggression is other people's business** (3 items, e.g., "It doesn't involve you when one kid is picking on

another"). This questionnaire was modified for the present study by omitting six items comprising beliefs (c) and (h). The latter belief was omitted because similar information was obtained from the Bully Inventory, and the former because bystanders were not a focus of the present study. The omission of these two scales was also done to keep students' time involved in the study to a minimum. No psychometric data on the Beliefs Measure (Slaby, 1993) were as yet available. Thus, one purpose of the present study is to explore the psychometric properties (validity and reliability) of this new scale.

Informal interview with school principals. At a point either before or after the questionnaires were group administered to students, school principals were briefly interviewed about their schools for descriptive data purposes. Information was gathered about the size of the school (i.e., the total number of students), and each class surveyed in the school; the principal's perception of a problem with bullying in his or her school; the existence of any pertinent class or school policies (e.g., anti-bullying, anti-violence); and the existence of any class or school programs aimed at reducing violence, conflict or bullying behaviour within the school (see Appendix B).

<u>Procedure</u>

In mid-September, each school principal was contacted by telephone, the purpose of the study was briefly explained, and an appointment was scheduled with the principal to further discuss the study and the nature of the teachers' and students' involvement. Meetings with the grades 4-6 teachers of each school were held in mid-October for the purposes of explaining the study, reviewing teacher instructions for administering the questionnaires to their classes, choosing a date and time for data collection that would be convenient for all grades 4-6 classes, and handing out parental consent forms to be given to students. The data were collected from all four schools during the first week of November.

Nine weeks into the 1993/94 school year, participating students each completed a Bully Inventory (Olweus, 1989; modified by P.K. Smith, 1991), and Beliefs Measure (Slaby, 1993). The questionnaires were administered by teachers to classes of students. Similar to the administration procedure for the Bully Inventory outlined by Ahmad and colleagues (1991), standard administration instructions were provided for all teachers and included having students sit separately, briefly explaining the purpose of the study to students, and emphasizing the <u>anonymous</u> nature of the questionnaires (see Appendix C). Teachers then read out the instructions for the Bully Inventory, followed by the

definition of bullying. This definition was based on that used by Dan Olweus in Norway, slightly modified by P.K. Smith and colleagues in England:

> "We say a kid is being bullied, or picked on, when another kid, or group of kids, say nasty and unpleasant things to him or her. It is also bullying when a kid is hit, kicked, threatened, locked inside a room, sent nasty notes, when no one ever talks to them and things like that. These things can happen frequently and it is hard for the kid to defend himself or herself. It is also bullying when a kid is teased repeatedly in a nasty way.
>
> But it is not bullying when two kids of about the same strength have the odd fight or quarrel."

P.K. Smith and colleagues (Ahmad et al., 1991) included "sent nasty notes" and "when no one ever talks to them" as other examples of bullying because they found these to be more frequent among girls than boys.

Teachers then read aloud, in order, each question and its response options to their classes. Brief pauses were given between each question to allow students to mark their answer, and any student difficulties were addressed. Teachers read through the questionnaires with students to help control for individual differences in reading ability and speed. Teachers were also asked to make note of any problems that arose during the administration procedure, and of any students who still appeared to be particularly frustrated in completing the forms.

The Beliefs Measure was similarly administered orally to students by teachers, following completion of the Bully

Inventory. The questionnaires took approximately one hour
to administer in groups. The completed questionnaires were
collected by teachers, placed in an envelope marked with the
teacher's name and class grade, and sealed. This systematic
administration procedure ensured results that could be
compared across classes and schools.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

Results of the present study will first focus on the extent of bully/victim problems amongst the school children surveyed. This will be followed by a detailed examination of various aspects of bully/victim problems including grade and gender differences, form of bullying, location, who bullies, whom students tell about being bullied and how they are helped or not helped by teachers and someone at home, and children's reactions and attitudes toward bullying in general and in their schools. Finally, results with regard to students' beliefs about aggression will be presented.

Bully/Victim Problems

Data collected from the Bully Inventory (Olweus, 1989; modified by P.K. Smith, 1991) were primarily analysed using the SPSS frequencies program to provide a wide range of descriptive information about bully/victim problems in the sample surveyed. The frequency analysis provides actual counts and percentages of the descriptive information. Pearson chi-square analyses and tests of binomial proportionality were also employed.

Extent of bully/victim problems. Results for the present sample of 379 Calgary elementary students indicate that 21.3% (81 children) reported that they had been victims

of bullying at school "sometimes" or more often (once or
several times a week) between September and November, 1993
(see Table 2).

Table 2

Percentages of Students Who Have Been Bullied at School, by
Gender and by Grade

	Never	Once or twice	Sometimes	Once a week	Several times a week
Gender					
Girls (n=206)	60.2	19.9	11.2	0.5	8.3
Boys (n=173)	46.2	30.6	13.3	1.1	8.7
Grade					
Grade 4 (n=133)	44.4	24.8	17.3	1.5	12.0
Grade 5 (n=146)	56.8	24.7	11.6	-	6.8
Grade 6 (n=100)	62.0	25.0	6.0	1.0	6.0
Entire sample (n=379)	53.8	24.8	12.1	0.8	8.4

As Table 2 shows, 53.8% (204 students) felt that they had
not been bullied at all, while 24.8% (94 students) indicated

that it had only happened "once or twice". Regarding more serious levels of bullying among the grades 4 to 6 students, 9.2% (35 children) perceived themselves to be victims of severe bullying ("once a week" or more). Also, it may be observed from Table 2 that slightly more boys (23.1%) than girls (20%) reported that they had been bullied "sometimes" or more often at school this term. Furthermore, a greater percentage of grade 4 (30.8%) students than grades 5 (18.4%) and 6 (13.0%) students felt that they had been bullied with some regularity ("sometimes" or more often) at school.

With regard to students who bully others, 11.6% (44 children) identified themselves as bullying other students at school "sometimes" or more often (see Table 3). As Table 3 indicates, 68.3% (259 students) reported that they had not bullied fellow students at all, while 20% (76 children) admitted to bullying others "once or twice". Regarding more serious levels of bullying, 5.2% (20 children) reported that they bullied others "once a week" or more often. As shown in Table 3, a much greater percentage of boys (20.2%) than girls (4.4%) reported bullying others "sometimes" or more often at school this term. Also, the percentages of children who identified themselves as bullies gradually increased across the grades from 9.8% (grade 4) to 11.6% (grade 5) to 14% (grade 6).

Table 3

Percentages of Students Who Have Bullied Others at School, by Gender and by Grade

	Never	Once or twice	Sometimes	Once a week	Several times a week
Gender					
Girls (n=206)	75.7	19.9	2.4	1.5	0.5
Boys (n=173)	59.5	20.2	11.0	4.0	5.2
Grade					
Grade 4 (n=133)	78.9	11.3	6.8	1.5	1.5
Grade 5 (n=146)	63.7	24.7	6.8	2.7	2.1
Grade 6 (n=100)	61.0	25.0	5.0	4.0	5.0
Entire sample (n=379)	68.3	20.0	6.4	2.6	2.6

The foregoing results suggest that the levels of bully/victim problems amongst the sample of elementary school children surveyed might be cause for concern. Also, there is the possibility that the numbers of children involved in bully/victim problems cited above may in fact be an underestimate. Two questions in the survey asked

students how often they had been bullied or bullied others in the previous five school days. Responses to these questions revealed that 33% of students (126 children) reported that they had been bullied "once" or more often, while 19% of students (70 children) indicated that they had bullied others "once" or more often, in the previous five days at school. It may be that higher estimates (than the "serious" estimates reported above) were obtained for these two questions because children may have found them to be less intrusive or threatening than the more direct questions which identified them as either victims or bullies at school for the whole term (September to November).

On the basis of the foregoing prevalence rates of bully/victim problems, and for purposes of group comparisons in some of the remaining findings and analyses to be reported, the students were classified as either victims, bullies, or "neither" victims nor bullies. The criteria used were based on the work of Olweus (1991), and is consistent with that of others (e.g., Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Whitney & Smith, 1993). To be classified as a victim, the student responded on the Bully Inventory that he or she had been bullied at school "sometimes" or more often ("once a week" or more). To be classified as a bully, the student must have responded that he or she had bullied others at school "sometimes" or more often ("once a week" or more). There were nine children (2.3%) in the entire sample who

identified themselves as both being bullied and bullying others "sometimes" or more often. They were not left as a separate subgroup of bully/victims as had been done in previous research (Bowers et al., 1992; Olweus, 1991; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). It was felt that they comprised too small of a subgroup, thus these children were placed into the victim or bully subgroups depending on what they perceived themselves to be more of. For example, a child who responded that he or she was bullied "sometimes", but bullied others "once a week", was classified as a school bully. This procedure resulted in five bully/victims (3 girls, 2 boys) being classified as victims, and four bully/victims (1 girl, 3 boys) being classified as bullies. Altogether, 77 students were classified as victims and 39 as bullies.

Students classified as "neither" victims nor bullies were those students who responded that they had not been bullied/bullied others, or that they had been bullied/bullied others "once or twice". However, the latter groups ("once or twice") were of interest for certain inventory items dealing specifically with victimization or bullying questions, such as the forms of bullying experienced. Thus, where their data is reported (for purposes of comparisons with actual victims and bullies), they are referred to as "other students" (i.e., been bullied/bullied others "once or twice").

The proportions of students classified as victims and bullies were not found to be higher in any of the four schools. There was no significant relationship between school (1 to 4) and group status (victims, bullies), X^2(3, $\underline{N}$=116) = 1.84, $\underline{p}$=.61. No school appeared to be overrepresented in the total number of victims (n=77) and bullies (n=39) identified for the entire sample (n=379). This might be because this is an elementary-age sample, and because bullying is a milder form of aggression.

Bully/victim problems in different grades. In order to determine whether there were grade (4, 5, and 6) differences in the number of students classified as victims and bullies, a chi-square was calculated. A significant relationship was found between the variables group status (victims, bullies) and grade (4, 5, and 6), X^2(2, $\underline{N}$=116) = 9.19, $\underline{p}$<.01. Table 4 shows that a greater number of students in grade 4 (n=40) than grades 5 (n=25) or 6 (n=12) were identified as victims, i.e. being bullied "sometimes" or more often. Thus the numbers of victimized children steadily declined, for both genders, from the younger to older grades. Table 4 also shows that a greater number of students in grade 5 (n=15) and 6 (n=14) than grade 4 (n=10) were identified as bullies, i.e. bullying others "sometimes" or more often. This may be more the result of the pattern of boys' responses, as Table 4 shows that the number of boy bullies increased from grades

4 to 6.

Table 4

Number of Victims and Bullies, by Grade and Gender

	Grade 4		Grade 5		Grade 6		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Group							
Victim	18	22	11	14	8	4	77
Bully	8	2	13	2	12	2	39

For girls, on the other hand, the number of girl bullies was low and consistent across the grades. These results indicate that a higher proportion of victims are found in the lower grades while a greater proportion of bullies are found in the higher grades.

The pattern of grade differences for serious bullying was the same as the above results for bullying "sometimes" or more often. Of the 35 students who reported that they were bullied at school "once a week" or more, 18 children were in grade 4, while 10 and 7 children were in grades 5 and 6 respectively. Similarly, of the 19 students who reported that they bullied others "once a week" or more, 9 children were in grade 6, 7 were in grade 5, and 3 were in

grade 4. For these more serious rates of bullying group status (victims, bullies) and grade (4, 5, and 6) were also found to be significantly associated, X^2(2, $\underline{N}$=54) = 7.40, $\underline{p}$<.05. Thus, of those children involved in bully/victim problems at school, rates of serious victimization were experienced by more grade 4 than grades 5 or 6 students, while severe bullying of others was committed by more grade 6 than grades 4 or 5 students.

Bully/victim problems among boys and girls. In order to examine whether there were gender differences in the overall number of students classified as victims and bullies, a chi-square was calculated. A significant relationship was found between group status (victims, bullies) and gender, X^2(1, $\underline{N}$=116) = 14.46, $\underline{p}$<.0001. It may be observed from Table 5 that a much greater number of boys (n=33) than girls (n=6) identified themselves as bullies.

Table 5

Number of Victims and Bullies, by Gender

	Boys	Girls	Total
Victim	37	40	77
Bully	33	6	39

Numbers of male (n=37) and female (n=40) victims were fairly similar. These results suggest that although there are similar numbers of boy and girl victims, far more boys than girls actually bullied others with some regularity ("sometimes" or more often) at school.

Similarly, for more serious bullying 17 boys and 18 girls were bullied "once a week" or more, while many more boys (n=16) than girls (n=3) bullied others "once a week" or more at school. A significant relationship was found between group status (victims, bullies) and gender, $X^2(1, \underline{N}=54) = 6.58$, $\underline{p}<.01$ for more serious rates of bullying. Thus, of those children involved in bully/victim problems at school, serious rates of victimization were experienced by similar numbers of boys and girls, while serious rates of bullying others were committed mainly by boys.

Type of bullying. The students also responded to a question that asked how they were bullied at school this term (September to November, 1993). In order to more fully explore how elementary students were being bullied, those who were bullied only "once or twice" were also included for this analysis although they do not meet the formal criteria for victim status (being bullied "sometimes" or more often). As previously defined, "other students" refers to those students who responded that they had been bullied only "once

or twice" at school this term. As can be seen from Table 6, the most common form of bullying reported by all students was being called nasty names.

Table 6

Percentages for Types of Bullying, for Victims and "Other Students"

	Victims (n=74)* (been bullied "sometimes" or more often)	"Other Students"(n=104)* (been bullied "once or twice")
Type of Bullying		
Called nasty names	66.2**	57.7
Physically hurt	45.9	34.6
Rumors spread about me	43.2	26.0
Threatened	41.9	22.1
No one would talk to me	21.6	12.5
Called names about color or race	16.2	14.4
Belongings taken	20.3	8.7
Other	5.4	2.0

* The "n's" vary depending on the number of students who responded to this specific item.
** Columns do not add up to 100% because students could check more than one category.

This was followed by being physically hurt, and having
rumors spread about oneself. For the category "other", four
victims reported having work wrecked, being made to cry,
teased about clothing, and ignored by friend only at Gym
time. Being forced to hand over money, and having a "kick
me" sign placed on the back of clothing, was reported by two
"other students".

The forms of bullying reported in Table 6 were combined
into three categories of direct bullying: verbal (called
names, rumors, threatened), physical, and other (belongings
taken, other), in order to examine gender differences in the
form of victimization experienced by all students (victims
and "other students"). The form of direct bullying was not
significantly associated with gender, X^2(2, N=253) = 4.71,
p>.05. From Table 7 it may be observed that approximately
as many boys (84.9%) as girls (90.6%) were bullied by verbal
means, more boys (47.3%) than girls (30.6%) were physically
hurt, and more girls (18.8%) than boys (11.8%) received
other types of direct bullying.

Table 7

Percentages for Types of Bullying, for Boys and Girls

	Boys (n=93)	Girls (n=85)
Direct Bullying		
Verbal	84.9*	90.6
Physical	47.3	30.6
Other	11.8	18.8

* Columns do not add up to 100% because students could select more than one category.

Indirect bullying was also investigated in the present study by examining all students' responses to two items comprising social exclusion. One item was taken from Table 6, "no one would talk to me", and a second questionnaire item determined how many students were "sometimes" or more often alone at recess because other children did not want to spend time with them. As with direct bullying, the results of a chi-square test showed that gender was not significantly associated with the form of social exclusion, X^2 (1, N=130) = 0.015, p>.05 (see Table 8). Thus, of those students who responded that they had been indirectly bullied on the above two items, there was no difference in the percentage of girls and boys who suffered social exclusion.

Table 8

Percentages of Boys and Girls Who Experienced Social

Exclusion

	Boys (n=48)	Girls (n=61)
Social Exclusion		
Alone at recess "sometimes" or more often	91.7	93.4
No one would talk to me	27.1	26.2

* Columns do not add up to 100% because students could select more than one category.

Another questionnaire item which examined the feeling of isolation that may be experienced by bullied students, asked how many good friends students had in their class. Of the group of victims (n=77), 21% reported that they had none or one good friend, whereas only 7% of all other students in the sample (n=302) reported that they had no good friends or only one. Similarly, 57% of victims while only 19% of all other students in the sample felt alone at recess sometimes or more often because others did not want to spend it with them. These results suggest that many victims of bullying felt quite alone in their school environment.

Where bullying occurs. The playground was the most commonly cited location where students (both victims and "other students") were bullied (see Table 9).

Table 9

Where Bullying Occurs, Percentages for Bullied Students

Location	Bullied Students (n=179)
Playground	74.3*
Classroom	38.0
Other	26.3
Gym	9.4
Field	7.2
Bathrooms	2.2
Cloakroom	2.2
Bus	1.1
Music room	0.5
Library	0.5
Bike racks	0.5
Not legible	0.5
Left blank	1.6
Hallways	16.8

* Columns do not add up to 100% because students could select more than one category.

This would suggest that more supervision and management on the playground is needed. Interestingly, the classroom was cited as the second most frequent location to be bullied at school. This suggests that teachers may be unaware of bullying incidents, or of what constitutes bullying behaviour. The category "other" was the third most common location reported. Table 9 details the breakdown of responses listed under "other". It would appear that the gym and school field were the most common other school locations for students to be bullied.

In response to the item asking students how often they had been bullied going to and from school, 76.8% of all students (n=379) replied that this had not happened to them, 11.1% responded that it had happened "once or twice", while 12.1% indicated that it had happened "sometimes" or more often. More specifically, 35% of victims (n=77) while only 6% of all other students in the sample (n=302) indicated that they had been bullied going to and from school, "sometimes" or more often. Thus, bullying was also a problem for some students, especially victims, as they made their way to and from school.

Who bullies. Table 10 shows the percentages by whom victims and "other students" were bullied by at school. It may be observed from Table 10 that the majority of male victims and male "other students" were bullied by one or

several boys. Few boys reported being bullied by both boys and girls. The majority of females, both victims and "other students", were bullied by both boys and girls. These results concur with the earlier finding that more boys than girls identified themselves as bullies. In other words, boys are seldom bullied by girls.

Table 10

Percentages of Who Bullies, by Gender

	Victims (n=74)* (been bullied "sometimes or more often)		"Other Students"(n=106)* (been bullied "once or twice")	
	Boys (n=34)	Girls (n=40)	Boys (n=59)	Girls (n=47)
Bullied by				
One boy	38.2	20.0	66.1	25.5
Several boys	41.2	15.0	23.7	8.5
One girl	5.9	15.0	-	23.4
Several girls	-	-	-	10.6
Both boys and girls	14.7	50.0	10.2	31.9

* The "n's" vary depending on the number of students who responded to this specific item.

The students were also asked to identify in which class is the youth or youths who bully them. It may be seen from Table 11, that most of the younger students (grade 4 victims and "other students") were bullied by peers in their own class, and/or by someone in one or more grades above.

Table 11

Percentages of Who Bullies, by Grade

	Victims (n=74)* (been bullied "sometimes or more often)			"Other Students" (n=99)* (been bullied "once or twice")		
	Gr. 4 (n=38)	Gr. 5 (n=24)	Gr. 6 (n=12)	Gr. 4 (n=35)	Gr. 5 (n=38)	Gr. 6 (n=26)
My class	63.1**	66.7	75.0	42.9	52.6	53.8
Different class, same grade	34.2	50.0	66.7	14.3	39.5	38.5
One or more grades above	52.6	41.7	8.3	54.3	36.8	11.5
One or more grades below	8.0	12.5	16.7	2.9	2.6	15.4

* The "n's" vary depending on the number of students who responded to this specific item.
** Columns add up to more than 100% because students could select more than one category.

In contrast, grade 5 and 6 students were typically bullied by age-mates (someone in own class or same grade but different class), although considerable percentages of grade 5 students (victims and "other students") also reported being bullied by older students. Thus, it would appear that the youngest students in the sample were most at risk for being bullied not only by age-mates but by older students as well. Also, the bully is seldom from a lower grade. However, it must be recognized that the lower percentages for "one or more grades above" for grade 6 may be a function of its being the highest grade in the school.

Furthermore, all students were queried about whether they had been bullied by anyone else in or outside of school. A total of 119 students (31.4% of the sample) responded affirmatively. Space was provided for the children to write in more detail about their experiences, and only 34 students provided written responses (see Table 12). It may be observed from Table 12 that when all students were asked to identify anyone else who may have bullied them inside or outside of school, the most frequent persons identified were older children (teens) and brothers.

Table 12

Number of Persons Having Been Bullied by Anyone Else Inside
or Outside of School

	Bullied Students (n=34)
Bullied by	
Older kids (teens)	13
Brother	10
Sister	4
People on patrols	2
Neighbourhood boys	1
Friend's mother	1
Father	1
Parents	1
Someone at home	1

Students' perceptions of adult and peer interventions.

Results from Table 13 indicate how often teachers try
and stop it when a child is being bullied at school,
according to the students surveyed. It may be observed from
Table 13 that the majority of victims (35.1%) reported that
teachers "almost never" intervened, while only 11.7% of all
other students in the sample felt this way. This would
suggest that more victims than students in general, were
pessimistic about teachers helping bullied students.

Table 13

Percentages for Student Perceptions of Teacher

Intervention in Bullying

	Victims (n=77)	All other students* (n=302)
do not know	16.9	32.7
almost never	35.1	11.7
sometimes	22.1	31.7
almost always	26.0	31.7

* This refers to the entire sample with the victims excluded

When asked how often other students try and stop it when a child is being bullied at school, the majority of victims (40.3%) and all other students in the sample (32.5%) reported that peers "almost never" intervened (see Table 14). Interestingly, the percentages for "almost always" were quite a bit lower for intervention by peers than intervention by teachers (compare with Table 13). Only 11.7% of victims and 9.6% of all other students felt that other children "almost always" intervened, whereas 26.0% of victims and 31.7% of all other students reported that teachers "almost always" intervened and helped a child being bullied. Taken together, it would appear that peers need to become more actively involved, beyond being mere bystanders, and help stop the bullying of fellow peers when it occurs.

Table 14

Percentages for Student Perceptions of Peer Intervention
in Bullying

	Victims (n=77)	All other students (n=302)
do not know	15.6	27.2
almost never	40.3	32.5
sometimes	32.5	30.8
almost always	11.7	9.6

Whom children tell about their victimization. All
students who reported that they had been bullied at school
during the period surveyed were asked whether they had told
any of their teachers and/or someone at home about being
bullied. Results for these items are reported in Table 15.
Percentages are reported for victims (bullied "sometimes" or
more often), "other students" (bullied "once or twice"), and
bullies (who had been bullied "once or twice"), who
responded to these questions. It was of interest to include
those bullies who had also been bullied themselves
occasionally, as a separate group, to investigate any trends
in the different groups of students. Table 15 shows that
more victims than "other students" and bullies told teachers
about being bullied. Also, a greater percentage of all

students told someone at home than teachers, that they had been bullied at school.

Table 15

Percentages of Students Who Told Teachers and Someone at Home About Being Bullied

| | Told teachers | | | Told someone at home | |
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Victims (n=71)*	54.9	45.1	Victims (n=72)*	66.7	33.3
"Other students" (n=83)*	43.4	56.6	"Other students" (n=84)*	71.4	28.6
Bullies (n=14)*	21.4	78.6	Bullies (n=15)*	60.0	40.0

* The "n's" vary depending on the number of students who responded to this specific item.

This suggests that students may have felt more comfortable telling someone at home than teachers about their experiences. Also, it would appear that the majority of victims told teachers and someone at home about being bullied whereas the majority of "other students" and bullies told someone at home. This suggests that victims attempted to obtain help from more sources than the less bullied

students. Finally, Table 15 shows that high percentages of students did <u>not</u> tell either teachers or someone at home about being bullied.

<u>Perceptions of effectiveness</u>. Those students who reported that they had told a teacher about being bullied were further asked to indicate whether or not telling a teacher did anything to help stop the bullying at school. Results of students' responses, by group status category, are presented in Table 16. Sixty-eight percent of all bullied students felt that telling a teacher <u>did</u> help their situation, whereas 32% reported that telling teachers did not help them. A test of binomial proportionality indicated that this difference was significant, z = 3.41, p<.001. Overall, a higher proportion of children felt that when they told a teacher about being bullied, the teacher helped them. It can be seen from Table 16 that more "other students" and bullies than victims, felt that teachers helped them. Even though the majority of victims who told teachers reported that telling a teacher helped them, a greater percentage of victims, in comparison to the less bullied students, felt that they were not helped by teachers.

Table 16

Percentages for Bullied Students' Perceptions of the

Effectiveness of Teacher Intervention

	It did help	It did not help
Victims (n=39) (been bullied "sometimes or more often)	59.0	41.0
"Other Students" (n=36) (been bullied "once or twice")	77.8	22.2
Bullies (n=3) (been bullied "once or twice")	66.7	33.3
Total Bullied (n=78)	68.0	32.0

Furthermore, the 53 students in total who responded that telling a teacher helped to stop the bullying at school, were asked to briefly explain what the teacher did to help them. As reported in Table 17, the most common ways in which teachers helped bullied students were that the teacher told the bully(s) to leave the student alone, the teacher talked to the bully(s) in private about it, and the teacher punished the bully(s). Similarly, the 25 students in total who felt that telling a teacher did not help them, were also asked to explain why they felt it did not help. As may be observed in Table 18 the most common responses included that the teacher did not do anything, and the bully still picked on the student when the teacher was not around.

Table 17

Number of Bullied Students' Responses as to How Teachers

Helped Stop the Bullying at School

What teacher did to help:	Victims (n=23)	"Other Students" (n=28)	Bullies (n=2)
Told bully(s) to leave me alone; stop it	8	6	-
Talked to bully(s) about it, alone	2	8	-
Punished bully(s) in some way (e.g., sent to office; gave detention)	6	4	-
Talked to us about it; helped solve the problem	3	3	1
Talked to me, alone	-	2	-
Watched to try and catch bully(s) bothering me	-	2	-
Moved bully to hall	1		1
Told me to tell bully to stop it	1	-	-
Phoned parents of bully	1	-	-
Let me stay afterschool	-	1	-
Keeps bully afterschool so I can get home	1	-	-
Warned bully she would call home	-	1	-
Teacher held bully back so I could run away	-	1	-

Table 18

Number of Bullied Students' Responses as to Why Teachers
Did Not Help Stop the Bullying at School

	Victims (n=16)	"Other Students" (n=8)	Bullies (n=1)
Why teachers ineffective:			
Did not do anything; did not listen or care	7	-	-
Person still bullied me when teacher not around	5	1	-
Bully did not listen to teacher	-	3	-
Teacher did not know who bully was	1	-	-
Bully kept in for recess but he just does it again	-	-	-
Said they needed proof	1	-	-
Told me to ignore them	-	1	-
Teacher got angry	-	-	1
Told me to tell outside supervisor	-	1	-
Bully lied and I got in trouble	-	1	-
Because I didn't need help	1	-	-
I don't know	1	-	-

Analyses of students' perceptions of effectivess were also conducted for the reporting of bullying to someone at home. The data, by group status category, are presented in Table 19.

Table 19

Percentages for Bullied Students' Perceptions of the Effectiveness of Intervention by Someone at Home

	It did help	It did not help
Victims (n=48) (been bullied "sometimes" or more often)	62.5	37.5
"Other Students" (n=59) (been bullied "once or twice")	54.2	45.8
Bullies (n=9) (been bullied "once or twice")	55.6	44.4
Total bullied (n=116)	58.0	42.0

Of the 116 students who reported that they had told someone at home (typically parents) about being bullied at school, 58% believed that it helped to stop the bullying, while 42%

felt that it did not help. Compared to telling teachers, fewer children felt that telling someone at home helped to stop the bullying at school. A test of binomial proportionality, comparing the percentage of students who felt that telling someone at home helped and those who felt that it did not help, was not significant, z = 1.75. Thus, when children told someone at home about being bullied at school, there was no substantial difference between whether they believed it helped them or not. It may be observed from Table 19 that for the students who were bullied with less regularity ("other students" and bullies), the percentages of those who reported that telling someone at home did help were only slightly greater than those who felt it did not help. However, for victims, a much greater percentage reported that telling someone at home about being bullied did help, than those who felt that it did not help (62.5% vs. 37.5%).

Also, the responses of the 67 students in total who explained what someone at home did to help stop the bullying at school are reported in Table 20. It would appear that the most common ways in which someone at home helped were that parent(s) contacted the principal or teacher, and parent(s) advised bullied student to stay away from or ignore bully(s). Similarly, the responses of the 49 students in total who explained why telling someone at home did not help stop the bullying at school are reported in Table 21. Table 21 shows that the most common reasons why telling parent(s) did not help the bullied student included that the parent(s) did not do anything, and the parent(s) did not contact the principal or teacher.

Table 20

Number of Bullied Students' Responses as to How Someone at
Home Helped Stop the Bullying at School

	Victims (n=30.)	"Other Students" (n=32)	Bullies (n=5.)
What parents did to help:			
Contacted the principal or teacher	10	7	3
Said to stay away from bully(s); ignore them	5	10	-
Talked to bully(s) parents	3	5	-
Talked to bully(s)	3	2	2
Talked with me about it; made me feel better	2	4	-
Told principal and they encouraged me to stand up to bully	1	-	-
Said to stand still when bully chasing me	-	1	-
It just helped	1	-	-
Said to be strong and face it	-	1	-
Didn't do anything because it wasn't important	-	1	-
Watched us walk to and from school	1	-	-
Told me to beat bully up	1	-	-
Told me to report bully	1	-	-
I don't know; not legible	2	1	-

Table 21

Number of Bullied Students' Responses as to Why Someone at
Home Did Not Help Stop the Bullying at School

	Victims (n=18)	"Other Students" (n=27)	Bullies (n=4)
Why parents ineffective:			
Did not do anything	5	8	1
Did not contact principal or teacher	3	2	1
Told me to ignore it	3	2	-
Did not talk to bully nor bully's parents	2	2	-
It just didn't help	2	2	-
Told me to tell bully(s) to stop	-	2	-
Parent got angry	-	-	1
Told me to fight my own battles	-	-	1
They made a big deal about it	1	-	-
Contacted school and principal only talked to bully, didn't help	1	1	-
Teacher already told them to stop	-	2	-
I don't care	-	1	-
Bully left the school	-	1	-
I don't know; not legible	1	4	-

Students who did not tell about being bullied. The 90
children in total who experienced bullying at school but did
not reveal this to teachers (Table 15) were asked to briefly
explain why they decided not to tell any of their teachers.
The most common reasons included that the teachers will not
do anything about it, the bullying does not matter, and the
bully will retaliate. Similarly, the 54 students in total
who did not tell someone at home, were asked to explain why
they decided not to tell. The most common responses
reported were that it was none of their business, and the
bullying does not matter. The wealth of information
revealed in the students' responses is presented in Tables
22 and 23, respectively.

Table 22

Number of Bullied Students' Responses as to Why They

Did Not Tell Teachers About Being Bullied

	Victims (n=32)	"Other students" (n=47)	Bullies (n=11)
Why teachers not told:			
They won't do anything about it; don't listen	6	7	5
Bully would retaliate; it would make it worse	7	7	-
It doesn't matter; it's not important	3	11	-
None of their business; can handle it myself	3	8	1
Don't want to get bully in trouble	1	1	1
Wanted bully(s) to be my friend(s)	1	2	-
Can handle it with my parents	2	-	1
The bullying stopped soon	1	2	-
Bully wouldn't listen to teacher; wouldn't work	2	1	-
I am too shy	1	1	-
Teacher would get angry	1	-	-
I just didn't tell	1	-	-
Because it happened on the way home	1	-	-

Table 22, cont.

	Victims	"Other students"	Bullies
Why teachers not told:			
Because if I do something then bully will tell teacher	-	1	-
I don't like to tattle	-	-	1
Because I'm used to it	-	1	-
Bully left the school	-	1	-
It wasn't kids from my school and principal said it was a police matter	-	1	-
I don't know	2	2	1
Missing data	-	1	1

Table 23

Number of Bullied Students' Responses as to Why They Did Not

Tell Someone at Home About Being Bullied

	Victims (n=24)	"Other students" (n=24)	Bullies (n=6)
Why parent(s) not told:			
None of their business; can solve own problems	3	4	1
It doesn't matter; it's not that bad	4	4	-
Don't want to tell them	2	3	1
Won't do anything	2	2	1
Problem already solved at school	1	2	-
Will talk to bully(s) and bully(s) will bug me more	1	1	-
Scared to tell them	1	1	-
Siblings would make fun of me	1	1	-
I would get in trouble	1	1	-
Don't want parents to worry	1	1	-
Will tell bully's parents	1	-	-
Will take it way too far	1	-	-
Too busy to help me	-	-	1
Have not thought about it	1	-	-
They always say its my fault	1	-	-

Table 23, cont.

	Victims	"Other students"	Bullies
Why parent(s) not told:			
They would say "why didn't you tell us sooner?"	1	-	-
Will think I'm a loser	-	1	-
Would contact school	1	-	-
It's hard to talk to my parents	-	1	-
Will tell me to tell teacher	-	-	1
Because I wouldn't be able to hang around bullies	-	-	1
I don't know; not legible	1	1	-
Missing data	-	1	-

About bullying other students. The Bully Inventory also surveyed students about whether or not teachers and/or parents had talked to them about their bullying other students at school this term. Table 24 shows the results for both bullies (bullied others "sometimes" or more often) and "other students" (bullied others only "once or twice"), who responded to this item.

Table 24

Percentages of Bullying Students Who Were Spoken to by Teachers and Someone at Home

	Bullies (n=36) (bullied others "sometimes or more often)	"Other Students" (n=83) (bullied others "once or twice")
Teachers		
No	69.4	60.2
Yes	30.6	39.8
Someone at home		
No	69.4	71.1
Yes	30.6	28.9

It would appear that the majority of both bullies and "other students" were not spoken to about their bullying, by either

teachers or someone at home. In addition, it was found that 51.3% of bullies (n=39) also bullied other children to and from school "sometimes" or more often. The figure for all other students in the present sample (n=302) admitting to bullying other children to and from school at this rate, was only 2.3%. Thus, a considerable number of bullies also preyed on their victims as they made their way to and from school.

Children's reactions and attitudes toward bullying.

Students were also asked what they usually did when they saw another child of their age being bullied at school, could they join in bullying a child whom they did not like, and what they thought of other children who bully others. Results for these questions, by group status (victims, bullies, "neither" victims nor bullies), are reported in Table 25. In terms of students' reactions toward seeing another child being bullied, it can be seen from Table 25 that more bullies than victims and "neither" students reported doing nothing to help because it is none of their business. Bullies also did not think they should at least try and help in comparison to victims and "neither" students. Interestingly, more victims than bullies and "neither" students reported that they tried to help.

Table 25

Student Reactions and Attitudes Toward Bullying

(Percentages)

	Victims (n=77)	Bullies (n=39)	"Neither" victims nor bullies* (n=263)
·What do you do?:			
Nothing, it's none of my business	6.5	38.5	21.4
I think I should try and help	31.2	12.8	30.9
I try to help	62.3	48.7	47.7
Could you join in bullying?:			
Yes	20.8	69.2	14.4
No	68.8	12.8	68.4
Don't know	10.4	17.9	17.1
What do you think of bullies?:			
I can understand why they do it	23.4	28.2	20.6
Hard to understand why they do it	20.8	12.8	27.1
Upsets me a lot	40.3	10.3	28.6
Don't know	15.6	48.7	23.7

* Recall that this category includes students not considered to be involved in bully/victim problems "sometimes" or more often.

With regard to whether or not students could join in bullying a peer whom they did not like, it was not surprising that many more bullies than victims and "neither" students reported that they could join in bullying another child. Finally, Table 25 shows that all three groups were fairly equivalent in the percentages of students who reported that they could understand why bullies did it. Fewer bullies than victims and "neither" students found it hard to understand, and similarly fewer bullies found that it upset them a lot. Interestingly, a greater percentage of bullies than victims and "neither" students reported that they did not know what they thought of others who bully. This may suggest that the majority of bullies had not thought a great deal about their aggressive actions, and its effects on others.

Is bullying a problem in their school? The final set of questions in the Bully Inventory explored the extent to which children perceived bullying to be a problem in their schools, whether their schools had done much to stop bullying over the last year, and if they thought that bullying had got better or worse in their schools over the last year. It may be observed from Table 26, that across all four schools, the majority of the students (40.9%) reported that bullying was only a little problem in their schools.

Table 26

Percentages of All Students, by School, According to Their

Perceptions of a Bullying Problem in School

	School 1 (n=113)	School 2 (n=77)	School 3 (n=33)	School 4 (n=156)	Overall (n=379)
Bullying a problem in school?:					
No	9.7	11.7	12.1	5.8	8.7
Little	48.7	33.8	48.5	37.2	40.9
Somewhat	22.1	23.4	24.2	31.4	26.4
Very big	19.5	31.2	15.2	24.4	23.5
School done much to stop bullying?:					
A lot	46.9	48.1	39.4	42.3	44.6
A bit	21.2	16.9	27.3	30.8	24.8
Do not know	13.3	19.5	15.2	9.0	12.9
Not much	13.3	9.1	3.0	14.1	11.9
Nothing	5.3	6.5	15.2	3.8	5.8
Has bullying got better or worse?:					
A lot better	12.4	9.1	30.3	18.6	15.8
A bit better	46.0	40.3	30.3	34.0	38.5
No change	24.8	23.4	33.3	22.4	24.3
A bit worse	8.0	11.7	--	12.8	10.0
A lot worse	8.8	14.3	6.1	10.9	10.6

This was fairly congruent with the respective school
principals' perceptions. The principal at School 1 felt
that bullying was not a real problem, and the principals at

Schools 3 and 4 reported that bullying was only a little problem. Interestingly, at School 2, similar percentages of students felt that bullying was a little problem, and that bullying was a very big problem. Their school principal also felt that bullying was somewhat of a problem. Nevertheless, while 40.9% of students regarded bullying as a little problem, there were 23.5% (about 1 in 4 students) who perceived bullying to be a very big problem. This is cause for concern indeed. Finally, the majority of the students across all four schools reported that their schools had done a lot to stop bullying (44.6%), and that over the last year, bullying had got a bit better (38.5%), which is encouraging.

It is perhaps more meaningful to compare how the students' perceptions differed depending on whether they identified themselves as victims, bullies or "neither" victims nor bullies. It may be observed from Table 27 that the majority of victims (35.1%) and bullies (43.6%) reported bullying to be a very big problem in their schools, while the majority of students who were "neither" victims nor bullies (45.6%) felt that it was only a little problem. When asked whether their school had done much to stop bullying over the last year, the majority of students in all groups reported that their school had done a lot. Thus, students generally seemed to have a positive perception about their school's efforts in tackling bullying. Lastly, the majority of victims (33.8%) and "neither" students

.(42.2%), felt that the problem of bullying had improved, or got "a bit better", in their schools over the last year.

Table 27

Percentages of Students, by Group Status, According to
Their Perceptions of a Bullying Problem in School

	Victims (n=77)	Bullies (n=39)	"Neither" victims nor bullies (n=263)
Bullying a problem in school?:			
No	9.1	5.1	9.1
Little	31.2	28.2	45.6
Somewhat	24.7	20.5	27.8
Very big	35.1	43.6	17.1
School done much to stop bullying?:			
A lot	42.9	38.5	46.0
A bit	26.0	17.9	25.5
Do not know	6.5	12.8	14.8
Not much	16.9	12.8	10.3
Nothing	7.8	17.9	3.4
Has bullying got better or worse?:			
A lot better	11.7	17.9	16.7
A bit better	33.8	23.1	42.2
No change	23.4	12.8	26.2
A bit worse	11.7	10.3	9.5
A lot worse	19.5	35.9	4.2

The majority of bullies (35.9%), however, reported that bullying had got a lot worse in their schools. Overall, more bullies than victims and "neither" students reported that bullying was a very big problem, the school had done nothing to stop it, and bullying had got a lot worse over the last year at school. Thus, bullies in particular appeared to hold more negative perceptions about the problem of bullying in school.

Students' Beliefs About Aggression

Data collected from the Beliefs Measure (Slaby, 1993) were analysed using the SPSS factor analysis, reliability, and MANOVA programs. The factor analysis was conducted as an exploratory analysis of the newly developed Beliefs Measure by Slaby. Results of the factor analysis were used to construct belief subscales in order to examine group status and gender differences across the subscales.

Principal components extraction with varimax rotation was performed on 17 items of the Beliefs Measure for all subjects with complete data (n=369). One item ("It's not OK for other kids to make fun of you") was deleted from the analysis because the negative phrasing seemed to be problematic for students. Some teachers (particularly of the grade 4 students) mentioned that their students

encountered difficulty in understanding how to answer the question. Similarly, it was observed during data entry that many students were inconsistent in responding to this item in comparison to the rest of their answers.

Five factors were extracted, and orthogonal rotation was retained because of conceptual simplicity and ease of description. Table 28 shows the item loadings of the rotated factor matrix, communalities (h^2), Eigenvalues, and percentages of variance. The five factor solution accounted for 61.1% of the variance attributable to each factor. The belief subscales were constructed on the basis of the item loadings, and on theoretical grounds that would increase interpretability of the subscales. Variable ALB1 had close to identical loadings on two factors, and thus it was retained on the factor (Factor 4) that best described its conceptualization. The five subscales represented the following beliefs: 1) Positive outcome expectancies for bullying (four items on Factor 1); 2) Aggression is inappropriate (four items on Factor 2); 3) Aggression and victimization may be the only alternatives (three items on Factor 3); 4) Aggression is a legitimate response from an aggressor's perspective (five items on Factor 4); 5) Aggression is a legitimate response from a victim's perspective (one item on Factor 5). See the Beliefs Measure in Appendix A for the full questionnaire items which are represented, for ease of administration, alphanumerically in

Table 28.

Table 28

Factor Loadings for Each Belief Subscale

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	h^2
AW1	.81	.06	-.06	-.06	-.05	.67
SA2	.70	.25	.24	.18	-.06	.64
SE3	.68	.10	.25	.11	.16	.57
AW3	.63	.26	.21	.27	.05	.59
SE2	.22	.59	.03	.31	-.16	.52
OA2	.03	.76	.26	-.04	-.06	.64
AW2	.21	.71	-.06	-.11	.22	.61
ALB3	.12	.71	.07	.23	.01	.58
OA1	.11	.08	.70	.12	-.05	.53
SA3	.21	-.23	.56	-.04	.44	.61
OA3	.10	.18	.66	.15	.11	.51
SA1	.23	.26	.43	.46	-.09	.54
ALV2	-.04	-.00	.02	.81	.28	.73
SE1	.42	.20	.43	.50	-.00	.65
ALB2	.38	.11	.32	.52	-.01	.53
ALB1	.28	.49	.34	.46	-.09	.65
ALV3	-.00	.09	.05	.17	.87	.80

Eigenvalues: 5.44 1.69 1.32 1.02 0.90

% variance: 32.0 10.0 7.8 6.0 5.3

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = .88366

Bartlett Test of Sphericity: 1884.6399, Significance = .0001

A Cronbach's reliability analysis was computed on the 17-item Beliefs Measure. The internal consistency of the measure was .84, thus indicating a highly reliable instrument. Alpha coefficients, measuring the internal consistency of the subscale items, were computed for belief subscales 1 to 4 and were calculated to be .75, .71, .52, and .78, respectively. The fifth subscale comprised of only one item.

A 2-way (Gender X Group Status) MANOVA with the five belief subscales serving as dependent measures was conducted. The results indicated OMNIBUS differences on the main effect for group status (victims, bullies, "neither"), Wilks Lambda = .82; $F(10, 718) = 7.66$, $p<.001$, and for gender, Wilks Lambda = .96; $F(5, 359) = 2.72$, $p<.05$. However, there was no group status by gender interaction, Wilks Lambda = .98; $F(10, 718) = 0.64$, $p=.78$. For a fine-grain analysis, one-way ANOVA's were used to evaluate differences in the five dependent measures for group status differences. Significant differences between groups appeared for the first four of the five beliefs: 1) Positive outcome expectancies for bullying, $F(2, 363) = 22.47$, $p<.0001$; 2) Aggression is inappropriate, $F(2, 363) = 11.82$, $p<.0001$; 3) Aggression and victimization may be the only alternatives, $F(2, 363) = 11.65$, $p<.0001$; 4) Aggression is a legitimate response from an aggressor's perspective, $F(2, 363) = 24.93$, $p<.0001$; 5) Aggression is a legitimate

response from a victim's perspective, $F(2, 363) = 1.49$, $p=.227$. Significant differences between boys and girls appeared only for the belief subscale 3, Aggression and victimization may be the only alternatives, $F(1, 363) = 4.70$, $p<.05$. Boys ($M=6.94$, $SD=2.61$) as a group scored higher on this belief than girls ($M=5.66$, $SD=2.55$) (see Table 29).

Table 29

Means and (Standard Deviations) for Belief Subscales, by Gender

	Boys	Girls
Belief Subscales		
1	6.06 (2.98)	5.58 (2.22)
2	8.52 (3.58)	7.17 (2.90)
3*	6.94 (2.61)	5.66 (2.55)
4	9.04 (3.86)	7.26 (2.55)
5	1.73 (1.01)	1.59 (0.85)

* $p < .05$
Note: Subscales:
1. Positive outcome expectancies for bullying
2. Aggression is inappropriate
3. Aggression and victimization may be the only alternatives
4. Aggression is a legitimate response from an aggressor's perspective
5. Aggression is a legitimate response from a victim's perspective

To determine where the three groups of students (victims, bullies, "neither") differed on the above beliefs, Tukey HSD procedure was used. From Table 30 it may be observed that significant differences on belief subscales 1 to 4 were noted between the three groups.

Table 30

Means and (Standard Deviations) for Belief Subscales, by Group Status

	Bullies	Victims	"Neither"
Belief Subscales			
1*	8.59 (4.06)	5.81 (2.52)	5.38 (2.04)
2*	10.97 (3.76)	7.12 (3.16)	7.51 (2.99)
3*	8.59 (2.29)	6.44 (2.67)	5.84 (2.28)
4*	12.62 (4.42)	7.36 (2.68)	7.59 (2.76)
5	2.05 (1.15)	1.16 (0.91)	1.63 (0.88)

* $p < .05$; Bullies > Victims = Neither
Note: Subscales:
1. Positive outcome expectancies for bullying
2. Aggression is inappropriate
3. Aggression and victimization may be the only alternatives
4. Aggression is a legitimate response from an aggressor's perspective
5. Aggression is a legitimate response from a victim's perspective

Thus, for all four beliefs, bullies endorsed them to a significantly greater extent than victims or "neither" students. There were no group differences for the fifth belief (Aggression is a legitimate response from a victim's perspective). For all items in belief subscales 1, 3, and 4, and item/scale 5, the wording and scoring of the items was such that a higher score indicated greater agreement with that belief. For all items in belief subscale 2, the wording of the items were scored inversely so that a higher score indicated that the student <u>did not</u> endorse that belief. Thus, as shown in Table 30, bullies were significantly more likely than victims or "neither" students to <u>not</u> endorse the belief that aggression is <u>in</u>appropriate. In other words, bullies were more likely to endorse the belief that aggression is appropriate.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the extent, nature, and other aspects of bully/victim problems among upper elementary students in Calgary. Given the recent surge of interest and attention toward the problems of bullying and violence in today's schools, it seemed appropriate to conduct a survey of the problem amongst Calgary school children, and to compare the results with other cities and countries. A secondary purpose of the study was to examine aggression-supporting beliefs amongst groups of self-identified victims, bullies, and students not identified as either victims or bullies. The discussion will first focus on the results pertaining to bully/victim problems, followed by a discussion of students' beliefs about aggression.

Extent of Bully/Victim Problems

In the present sample of school children, 21.3% felt that they had been bullied "sometimes" or more often, while 9.2% reported being bullied "once a week" or more often at school this term (September to December, 1993). Thus, approximately one in five children were victims of bullying at school. These estimates may be considered high when compared with other national and international estimates. The present results are similar to those from the Toronto

study which found 20% of children to be bullied "now and then" or more frequently, and 8% to be victims of serious bullying (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). The Calgary findings are higher than those reported from Norway where 11.6% of primary children were bullied "now and then" or more frequently, while 3.0% were victims of severe bullying (Olweus, 1991), but are lower than the most recent English findings of 27.0% and 10.0%, respectively (Whitney & Smith, 1993).

The foregoing estimates were based upon children's self-report data. However, some researchers have found that when teachers and parents are surveyed, they typically underestimate the amount of bullying that children experience at school (Rigby & Slee, 1991; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Other researchers, though, have reported teacher nominations to concur with students' self-report data (Olweus, 1991). More recently, the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) Task Force Report (1994) concluded from informal discussions with teachers and parents, that according to most teachers, violence in schools has been increasing in numbers and severity over the past few years. This observation is consistent with the fairly high prevalence rates of bully/victim problems in Canadian elementary schools.

The present findings for bullying others are equally disturbing. It was found in the present sample of students

that 11.6% reported bullying others "sometimes" or more frequently, which is slightly lower than Toronto's findings of 15% (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Results for serious bullying in the present study indicated that 5.2% of students bullied others "once a week" or more, which is higher than the Toronto figure of 2%. Thus, approximately one in nine children in the Calgary sample bullied others at school on a regular basis. As with the figures for being bullied, the present findings for bullying others are higher than the Norwegian results of approximately 7.4% for "now and then" or more often and 2% for severe bullying (Olweus, 1991), however, they are approximately the same as the English figures of 12% and 4%, respectively (Whitney & Smith, 1993).

Taken together it can be concluded from the present findings among Calgary school children that a problem with bullying in schools exists, at least amongst students in grades 4 to 6. It would appear that one in three children from this representative sample of students, were involved in bully/victim problems at school. These figures may actually represent an underestimate, given that more students replied affirmatively to the less intrusive questions about whether they had bullied others/been bullied in the last five days at school. Similarly, as Olweus (1991) pointed out, because the Bully Inventory (Olweus, 1989) only refers to the initial two months of the Fall

school term, it does not include children who may become involved in such problems at another time of the year. Also, because the Inventory is a self-report measure, and the topic is one of a sensitive nature, some children may have felt threatened in answering the items as a victim, or bully, even though the questionnaire was anonymous. Finally, of the participating schools which were randomly drawn from four different parts of the city, bully/victim problems were not found to be more frequent at any one of the school locations. This suggests that preventive efforts should be addressed throughout the city, at least at the elementary school level.

Students' perceptions of bullying problems in school.

Students' perceptions about the problem of bullying in their own schools was also examined in the present study. For the entire sample taken together, it appears that bullying in each school was only perceived to be a little problem, although considerable numbers of students also felt it to be a very big problem. Also, differences in opinion manifest when a closer examination of the results for each group status (victims, bullies, "neither") is undertaken. It was found that more of the children who were directly involved in bully/victim problems reported that bullying was a very big problem in their schools. Because bullies and victims are, by definition, involved in regular bullying

situations at school, it makes sense thay they would perceive it as a big problem. Even though these perceptions may not reflect reality according to the majority of students, it is still important to consider and to take seriously the perceptions of the minority directly involved in the problem. For these students, bullying may be a big part of their experiences at school, and schools need to address the issue in order to help both victims and bullies, and to prevent future problems from erupting.

Additionally, the majority of all students (the entire sample and each group status) felt that their schools had done a lot or a bit to stop bullying, rather than either not much or nothing. This coincides with the information obtained from the school principals, in that with the exception of School 3, all schools were taking positive steps by actively addressing conflict resolution and anger management in their classes. Peer support groups were even established in one school, for the grades 5 and 6 students. However, despite the schools' active involvement in trying to reduce conflict and aggressive student interactions, high prevalence rates of bully/victim problems were obtained, as already mentioned.

Results for the present sample also revealed that more students felt that the bullying situation in their schools had improved over the last year. An examination of these results for each group status, however, revealed that a

greater proportion of bullies than victims and students not identified as either bullies or victims, reported that bullying had got a lot worse. More bullies than victims and "neither" students also reported that the school had done nothing or not much to stop bullying. These negative attitudes on the part of bullies may reflect negative attitudes and tendencies in general, which happened to have been reflected in these questions. On the whole, it may be said that student perception of the problem depends on whether they have been directly involved in bullying situations (as a victim or bully) themselves.

Victims

This section will discuss the trends and specific aspects of student victimization by bullies at school.

Grade differences. The present survey found that for both boys and girls who were regularly ("sometimes" or more often) and seriously ("once a week" or more) bullied at school, more victims were identified in grade 4 than in grades 5 and 6. Also, the younger students reported being bullied by age-mates and older students, whereas the oldest students (grade 6) of the sample were most commonly bullied by age-mates. This is consistent with other research that has generally found the youngest students of the sample to report being the more frequent targets of bullying (Olweus,

1991; O'Moore & Hillery, 1989; Whitney & Smith, 1993;
Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Thus, age is clearly an
important demographic variable in studies on bullying.
Furthermore, not only were the younger students more at risk
for being bullied, they were also targeted by a greater
proportion of the school population than the older students.
These results suggest that concerted efforts for the
prevention of victimization, although important for all
students, may need to be particularly stressed for the
protection of the younger students of the school.

Gender differences. In the present study, similar
numbers of girls and boys reported being victims of
bullying. This is consistent with past findings on gender
differences (Whitney & Smith, 1993; Ziegler & Rosenstein-
Manner, 1991). However, it contrasts with teachers'
perceptions that more boys are victimized than girls
(Stephenson & Smith, 1989), suggesting that students' and
teachers' perceptions might differ. Furthermore, the
present study found that boys tended to be bullied by one or
several boys, and girls tended to be bullied by both boys
and girls. This is also consistent with previous research
with regard to whom students are bullied by (Boulton &
Underwood, 1992; Wilson, 1992a). Taken together, the
foregoing results suggest that if schools want to determine
who is at risk for being bullied, both boys and girls in

younger grades should be targeted for protection and
support.

Information about the type of abuse victims of bullying
are subjected to, and where it most frequently occurs, are
also important for determining what actions and places may
need to be targeted in bullying intervention or prevention
programs. The present study found that for both victims of
bullying and "other students" who had been bullied only
"once or twice", the most common form of bullying was being
called nasty names, followed by being physically hurt (e.g.,
hit, kicked). This concurs with past research that has also
found verbal abuse to predominate over physical abuse
(Hazler et al., 1992; Perry et al., 1988). When teachers
have been queried, however, they typically report physical
aggression to be a larger component of bullying than
students do (BCTF Task Force Report, 1994; Ziegler &
Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). The present study also examined
gender differences in the form of direct bullying (verbal,
physical, other - e.g., belongings taken), that students
were exposed to. Interestingly, the type of direct bullying
was not significantly related to gender. Roughly the same
proportions of boys and girls were being verbally and
physically picked on, although the proportion of boys
exposed to physical abuse was higher than the proportion of
girls. These results concur with Boulton & Underwood's
(1992) findings of no significant gender differences in

physical and verbal abuse. However, they are contrary to other studies that found girls more likely than boys to be the recipients of verbal abuse (Perry et al., 1988; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991).

Past research has also generally found more girls than boys to suffer social exclusion (Rigby & Slee, 1991; Whitney & Smith, 1993). The present study, however, found that roughly equivalent percentages of boys and girls suffered from this form of _indirect_ bullying. This agrees with Olweus's (1991) previous findings as well. Thus, the present findings for both the direct and indirect forms of bullying suggest that stereotypes of boys suffering mainly physical abuse, and girls verbal abuse or social exclusion can not be supported. Both genders were susceptible to receiving all forms of bullying to similar extents. Therefore, all of these types of behaviours would need to be defined and addressed in a school's efforts to tackle bullying.

Location. In terms of where students were most frequently bullied, the playground was cited as number one, followed by the classroom, and then a variety of other school locations (e.g., gym, field). This agrees with previous research with school children (Olweus, 1991; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). However, teachers in Ziegler and Rosenstein-Manner's Toronto study were more

likely than the students to believe that bullying occurred in washrooms. The fact that the playground and such locations as the gym and school field were popular places for bullying to occur suggests that bullying was frequently occurring in those areas of the school that may be less supervised than other areas. The adequacy of supervision has been found to be a prominent factor in terms of the extent of bully/victim problems in a school (Olweus, 1991; Whitney & Smith, 1993), and is often included as a core component to be addressed in anti-bullying campaigns (Olweus, 1993b; Whitney et al., 1992). The fact that classrooms were cited as the second most frequent location of bullying is distressing, and suggests that teachers may need to either become more aware of different forms of bullying, or to more seriously address the forms observed (e.g., name-calling, exclusion).

Other victim characteristics. Many victims of bullying in the present study, in contrast to all other students, were found to feel quite alone at school. Many felt that they had no or only one good friend in class, and over half reported being alone at recess sometimes or more often because others did not want to spend it with them. As other studies have also shown, victims may feel that they have no close friends, and are often lonely at school (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). The

present findings support the notion that victims of bullying may experience grave feelings of isolation and rejection at school. This suggests the need to deal with issues of friendship and feelings of loneliness at school when anti-bullying programs are considered.

With regard to attitude toward bullying, more victims than bullies thought that they should try and help or that they actually did try and help another child being bullied. Also, more victims than bullies and "neither" students were upset by the actions of bullies, which is well taken since victims were the students presumably the most affected by bullies.

Bullies

This section will discuss information obtained in the present study about the students who bully others. With regard to attitude toward bullying, a much greater percentage of bullies than victims and "neither" students, reported that they could join in bullying another student. These results suggest that bullies regarded bullying others as more acceptable, and not surprisingly, were resistant toward helping others being bullied. Also, the majority of bullies reported that they did not know what they thought of others who bully nor were they upset about it. This suggests that perhaps bullies need to be made more aware of how their actions affect and hurt others, and to learn to

empathize with their victims. In fact, empathy training for bullies has also been suggested by several authors as one important strategy for dealing with bully/victim problems in school (Besag, 1989; Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Pepler, Craig, Ziegler, & Charach, 1993).

Grade and gender differences. Consistent with previous findings on age differences, more bullies were found in grades 5 and 6 than in grade 4. This result concurs with the Toronto survey (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991) which found the greatest percentage of self-identified bullies to be the 11- to 12-year-old children. However, other studies have reported that between 7 to 12 years of age, there is little difference in the percentages of children who report bullying others (Olweus, 1991; Whitney & Smith, 1993). When the pattern for boys and girls was examined separately, though, more information was obtained. The present study found that for boys, the numbers of self-identified bullies increased from grades 4 to 6, whereas the numbers of self-identified girl bullies remained fairly low and constant across the grades. Furthermore, considerably more boys than girls identified themselves as bullying others "sometimes" or more often. It may be, though, that boys were more willing to admit to bullying, as this type of behaviour may be considered to be more consistent with masculine values and roles, and thus viewed as more acceptable for boys to

engage in. Observational studies may be more sensitive at detecting whether a true gender difference in bullying behaviour exists, as the results of one such study found no differences in the rate of bullying/hour by both boys and girls (Craig & Pepler, 1993). More research is needed to determine whether gender differences in bullying behaviour actually exist, or whether such findings tend to be an artifact of the methodology employed.

Who talks to bullies about their behaviour?

Another distressing finding was that the majority of students who bullied others either occasionally ("once or twice"), or regularly ("sometimes" or more often), were not spoken to about their behaviour by either teachers or parents. This has also been the case reported in other studies (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Olweus, 1991). These results suggest that adults may be quite unaware of the bullying behaviour of children, or choose to talk little about it with them. Olweus (1993b) has found, though, that serious talks with bullies, by both teachers and parents, was a core component of his successful anti-bullying campaign in Norway. Thus, it would seem necessary for adults to communicate clear expectations about the unacceptability of bullying and the consequences for such behaviour to bullies.

<u>Reporting to Teachers and/or Parents</u>

One of the major purposes of the present study was to determine, according to children who have been bullied at school, what intervention strategies their teachers and/or parents used that either helped or did not help stop the bullying at school. Past research has typically addressed whether victims have told teachers or parents about their victimization. However, it was intended in the present study to extend this inquiry by having children first answer whether reporting benefited them, and secondly, to explain what teachers and/or parents did that helped them. It was felt that such information obtained from actual victims of bullying would be very useful for informing adults about what actions they take that are either helpful or not helpful, according to the students themselves. This information may also be useful to help improve current school-based attempts at reducing bullying and aggression-related incidents in school.

First of all, it should be mentioned that when students were asked how often teachers and peers intervened in bullying episodes, the majority of victims reported that teachers "almost never" intervened. The low proportion of victims who believed teachers "almost always" intervened is consistent with past research (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Hoover et al., 1992; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). This suggests that victims may be quite pessimistic about

the help they receive from teachers. It may only be through the active recruitment of teachers to intervene on a more consistent basis that victims may come to believe that others do support them. The discrepancy in perceptions between students and teachers in terms of how often teachers intervene was evident in one study that found approximately 75% of teachers reported they usually intervened, while only 25% of students felt the same way (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Similarly, the majority of victims and all other children in the present study, reported that peers "almost never" intervened in bullying situations. This would further emphasize the need to reduce the passive acceptance of bullying by students in general, and to increase social pressure against bullying behaviour by having the majority of all students become motivated to disapprove of bullies and to support victims. This component is also stressed by many authors in discussing bullying interventions because such social pressure sends a clear, strong message to bullies that bullying is not tolerated nor accepted by their peers. This may come about by establishing and implementing school-wide, anti-bullying policies that define what constitutes bullying, and what to do when either witnessing or experiencing it (Hoover et al., 1992; Johnstone et al, 1992; Lane, 1989a; Olweus, 1991; Stephenson & Smith, 1989).

The present study examined whom children tell about

their victimization according to their group status, in order to examine differences amongst victims, bullies who had been bullied themselves "once or twice", and "other students" who had been bullied "once or twice". Again, this finding extends beyond previous research which tended to only focus on the responses of actual victims of bullying (e.g., Stephenson & Smith, 1989; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). It was found in the present sample that for all categories of bullied students, more children told someone at home about being bullied than teachers. A few previous studies similarly found that victims were more likely to tell someone at home than their teachers (King & Coles, 1992; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Wilson, 1992a). Also, the high percentages of students who reported to parents suggests that parents were quite aware of the problem. On the other hand, when compared with bullies and "other students", victims were more likely to tell teachers about being bullied. This suggests that victims try to obtain help from both parents and teachers in their plight to stop being bullied at school. It is interesting that bullies, who themselves had occasionally been bullied, were much more likely to tell someone at home than teachers that they had been bullied at school. Perhaps these students' reputations as bullies at school prevented them from believing that teachers would be sympathetic to their complaint.

Furthermore, the present study went beyond previous

studies by determining whether or not telling a teacher or someone at home benefited the bullied child. It was found that although children were more likely to tell someone at home than teachers about being bullied, significantly more students felt that telling teachers helped them than not, whereas this was not the case for telling someone at home. There was no significant difference between the number of students who told someone at home in terms of whether it helped them or not, although the percentage was slightly higher for it helping. These findings make sense given that teachers are presumably more directly and immediately involved in the situation than parents would be. Therefore, because it was the case that bullied students in general, felt that telling teachers was more likely to result in helping than not, as part of an intervention strategy educators should be encouraging bullied children to tell their teachers. The next step would be to ensure that teachers are supportive, and respond consistently to bullying situations reported.

A closer examination of group status differences revealed that fewer victims than the less bullied students ("other students" and bullies), felt that telling teachers helped them. On the one hand, this result makes sense given that the nature of their "victim" status which implies that these students were regularly bullied, and thus were not effectively helped. On the other hand, it points to the

need for adults at school to be doing more to help victims of bullying. In contrast, more victims than the less bullied students ("other students" and bullies) felt that telling someone at home about being bullied helped them. Thus, the majority of victims in the present study reported that beneficial action was taken when they told their parents. This may have been because the more serious nature of their children's problems concerned parents enough that they actively sought help for their children.

Overall, though, it may be concluded that for all students who were subjected to bullying at school, either "once or twice", or more regularly, the majority of bullied children, whether they told teachers or someone at home, felt that telling had helped their situation. Thus, bullied children seemed to find that getting adults involved was an effective strategy for improving their situation at school. This result agrees with Ziegler and Rosenstein-Manner's (1991) findings that when they asked students in general about what should be done to solve school bullying problems, students felt that they should be looking primarily to adults for help (e.g., telling teachers, parents). Also Stephenson and Smith (1989) found that the students in their study believed that victims or someone else should tell a teacher about the bullying. The present study substantiated these previous results and suggest that teachers have a very important role in the intervention and prevention of

bullying in school.

Teacher strategies. In terms of what teacher strategies were found to benefit bullied children, according to the children themselves, the most common included: the teacher told the bully to stop it/leave the victim alone; the teacher specifically talked to the bully(s) (more "other students" than victims found this effective); the teacher punished the bully somehow, for example, giving a detention, sending bully to office; the teacher talked to all children involved in the problem to help settle it. These responses accounted for 77% of the responses given by students, and Table 17 may be consulted to peruse the more idiosyncratic responses given.

In comparison to what bullied students found were effective teacher strategies, reasons why other bullied students felt that teachers did not help them included: the teacher did not do anything/did not listen (only victims reported this); the bully kept bothering victim when the teacher was not around (mainly victims reported this); the bully did not listen to the teacher (only "other students" reported this). These responses accounted for 64% of the responses given, and Table 18 may be consulted to view the less common reasons given by students. Taken together, this information clearly suggests that bullied students found direct teacher intervention to be the most helpful in

combatting bullying problems. These results also concur with Ziegler and Rosenstein-Manner's (1991) findings that when they asked students in general, students felt that teachers should talk to the students involved, break up fights, punish the bully, and be more active in stopping it on the playground.

Parent strategies. In terms of what parent strategies bullied students found helpful, the most common included: parent(s) contacted the school principal and/or teacher; parent(s) advised student to stay away from/ignore bully (more "other students" than victims found this effective); parent(s) talked to bully's parents; parent(s) talked to bully only; parent(s) talked to their child about the problem. These responses accounted for 83.5% of the responses given by students, and Table 20 may be consulted to review the more idiosyncratic responses given. The ineffective parent strategies reported by other bullied students included, most commonly: parent(s) did not do anything about it; parent(s) did not contact school principal and/or teacher; parent told student to ignore it/stay away from bully; parent(s) did not talk to bully's parents and/or bully. These responses accounted for 59% of the student responses given, and Table 21 may be further consulted to review the less common answers provided. Taken together, these responses suggest that bullied students were

most often helped by parents when parents contacted the school. Although it could not be determined from their responses what exactly the school did to help, it nevertheless seemed to prove effective when administration was part of the solution. Also, it is interesting that many bullied students found that their parent's advice of ignoring the bully helped them, while a few reported that this strategy was ineffective. Therefore, this strategy may work for some bullied students but not for others, and the only distinguishing factor seemed to be that more of the "other students" found this effective. Thus, being bullied "once or twice" at school may warrant simply ignoring the bully, while this strategy would seem to be ineffective for victims, as they are regularly bullied at school.

The students in Ziegler and Rosenstein-Manner's (1991) study most commonly advised that bullied children's parents should talk to them about the problem, or talk to the teacher and/or principal. It is clear from the present study that parents contacting the school was the most effective strategy reported by bullied students, while parents simply talking to their child about the problem was much less commonly cited as effective in stopping the bullying at school.

Not reporting to teachers and/or parents. Finally, the data with regard to the students who did not tell teachers

and/or parents about being bullied at school, revealed that for the group of victims, more children decided to tell teachers and/or parents than to <u>not</u> tell teachers and/or parents. However, for the groups of students only bullied "once or twice" (bullies and "other students"), the majority decided <u>not</u> to tell their teachers, and favoured telling their parent(s). Thus, it would appear that group status determined whether children told teachers and/or parents about being bullied. Victims, because of the greater extent to which they are bullied, tried to obtain help from both the school and the home. Less bullied students, in contrast, would rather tell someone at home than teachers. Perhaps this is because only having suffered bullying "once or twice", it was not viewed as a big deal, and they preferred to get sympathy from their parent(s) over the incident. However, the case remains that disturbingly high numbers of bullied students decided <u>not</u> to tell their teachers and/or someone at home about their problem.

Upon examining the reasons why bullied students <u>did not</u> tell their teachers about their experiences, the most common were: teachers will not do anything about it; bully would retaliate/things would get worse; it did not matter/it was not that important (more "other students" than victims reported this); none of their business/could solve own problems (more "other students" than victims reported this). These responses accounted for 64% of the responses given,

and the less common responses may be examined in Table 22.. It is clear from these results that bullied children as young as grade 4 were quite pessimistic about the support that may be available for them at school. A lot of these students were also afraid that the problem would get worse by telling teachers. Furthermore, the most common reasons why bullied students did not tell parents, included: none of their business/could solve own problems; it did not matter/it was not that important; did not want to tell them. These reasons accounted for only 41% of the responses given by students, and many of the idiosyncratic reasons may be reviewed in Table 23. Perhaps what is most distressing about this set of data, is the numbers of children who reported that they did not tell others because it did not matter, or it was not that important. This suggests that young children may have been becoming immune to the forms of abuse they were subjected to at school. Duffee (1993) also found that only a minority of grades 10 to 12 students (11.4%) reported their abuse to someone, most typically the assistant principal. The most common reason why high school students did not report was that they thought it was not important.

In conclusion, there are many implications from the present findings for the intervention and/or prevention of bully/victim problems in schools. First of all, it would appear that active involvement by teachers was what bullied

children wanted, and reported would be quite effective in stopping bullying. This involves talking to bullies, administering consequences to bullies, talks with both victims and bullies to help find a resolution, and increasing supervision. Also, bullied students found it effective when their parent(s) contacted the school, and when parents had talks with the bully and/or the bully's parents. All of this implies that open communication and cooperation between parents and the schools is needed.

The above strategies are similar to a large component of the anti-bullying campaign developed by Dan Olweus and implemented in all Norwegian comprehensive schools in 1983 (Olweus, 1987; 1991). The major goals of his program were to increase awareness and knowledge about bully/victim problems; to actively involve parents and teachers in a collaborative effort; to develop school and class rules against bullying behaviour, along with appropriate consequences for rule violators. Thus, specific measures were implemented at the school, class, and individual levels. In a 2-year follow-up evaluation of the campaign, of 2,500 students in 42 primary and junior high schools in Bergen, Norway, Olweus found a 50% reduction in the levels ("now and then" or more often) of bully/victim problems. The incidence of bullying problems tended to reduce the most in those schools which gave the problem a high profile.

Olweus (1993b) has since stressed that the core

components of his effective program are: increased awareness and active involvement on the part of adults (e.g., school conference day); adequate supervision during recess and lunch; class rules and meetings (e.g., discuss definition of bullying, define rules and sanctions); and talks with involved students and parents. Many of these sentiments were echoed in the responses of the students in the present study. Thus the foregoing strategies may be effective ways that elementary schools could begin to tackle bully/victim problems in their schools, or to prevent such problems from erupting.

Furthermore, the frequent responses by bullied students who did not tell teachers and/or parents which included that others would not do anything about the abuse, or that the bully would retaliate/things would get worse, stresses the need to restore faith in these young students that reporting is worthwhile. As Duffee (1993) argued, though, faith can only be fostered if, for example, school policies require incidents to be reported, all incidents are acted upon, consequences are applied consistently, and victims are supported. The present author would further add that the earlier such programs and policies are implemented and enforced in a child's school career, the better the chance he or she will have at obtaining an education in a safe and secure learning environment.

Students' Beliefs About Aggression

Another purpose of the present study was to determine whether there were group differences among victims, bullies, and students not identified as either victims or bullies, in terms of their beliefs about aggression. On the basis of Slaby's (1991) "habits of thought", cognitive developmental model, it was expected that those who are regularly involved in bully/victim problems may endorse certain aggression-supporting beliefs that perpetuate their involvement in bullying episodes.

Slaby's (1993) Beliefs Measure that was employed in the present study was intended to tap the following beliefs: aggression is a legitimate response from a victim's perspective; aggression is a legitimate response from an aggressor's perspective; aggression increases self-esteem; aggression increases social approval; aggression works; and aggression and victimization are the only alternatives. However, no psychometric information on Slaby's measure is currently available. Thus, validity and reliability data were collected in the present study.

Results of the factor analysis of Slaby's measure revealed the existence of five subscales that reflected different beliefs about aggression. Although the items which constituted the present subscales represented a different arrangement than that suggested by Slaby's measure, some of his subscale labels still applied. The

overarching belief that each subscale purported to measure was identified on the basis of the commonality of the items comprising each subscale. Thus, the five beliefs included: aggression and victimization may be the only alternatives (e.g., "There are only two kinds of kids - the kids who fight and the kids who get beaten up"); aggression is a legitimate response from an aggressor's perspective (e.g., "It's OK for you to fight other kids"); aggression is a legitimate response from a victim's perspective (e.g., "If kids pick on you, you probably asked for it"); positive outcome expectancies for bullying (e.g., "You get what you want from other kids if you're a bully"); and aggression is inappropriate (e.g., "You don't get what you want from other kids by fighting with them"). Alpha coefficients calculated for the entire scale and the subscales were quite high, and thus revealed an internally consistent measure.

The first three beliefs labels above were maintained from Slaby's measure. The fourth belief relates to the outcome expectancy literature which has shown high aggressive children to be more likely than low aggressive children to expect certain positive outcomes for behaving aggressively toward peers (e.g., tangible rewards, self-esteem) (Perry et al., 1986; Perry, Williard, & Perry, 1990; Slaby & Guerra, 1988). The fifth belief (aggression is inappropriate), rather than encompassing aggression-supporting items, is comprised of those items which

reflected the disapproval of aggression.

Group status differences in beliefs. The comparison of group status differences on the five beliefs revealed that bullies were significantly more likely than victims or students not identified as either victims or bullies ("neither"), to believe that bullying results in positive outcomes, aggression and victimization may be the only alternatives, and that aggression is a legitimate response from an aggressor's perspective. Similarly, bullies were significantly more likely than victims and "neither" students to not believe that aggression is inappropriate, that is, they tended to believe that aggression is appropriate. These results agree with past studies that have found high aggressive children and adolescents to have a positive attitude toward aggression (Lagerspetz et al., 1982; Olweus, 1974; 1984; Slaby & Guerra, 1988). Finally, boys were significantly more likely than girls to endorse the belief that aggression and victimization may be the only alternatives.

The present study found that victims as a group did not endorse the aggression-supporting beliefs to the same extent as bullies. This would suggest that even though victims are involved in bullying situations with some regularity at school, this experience has not led them to endorse certain aggression-supporting beliefs. The present data also show

that victims, like all of the other children in the sample (bullies and "neither" students), did not believe that they deserved to be bullied (i.e., no group differences for the belief that aggression is a legitimate response from a victim's perspective). Thus, the speculations by other authors that victims may come to believe that they deserve to be bullied (Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Johnstone et al., 1992; Roland, 1989), was not supported by the present data.

The results for the group of bullies in the present study, however, supported Slaby's (1991) social-cognitive model of aggression, which hypothesizes that bullies' aggression-supporting beliefs may contribute to their involvement in bullying others. Similarly, because these results were obtained for a younger sample of children (grades 4 to 6), support for the continuity of his developmental model, at least for bullies, was provided. It is disturbing to think that aggressive children as young as 8 to 12 years of age, have such positive attitudes about behaving aggressively, and exhibit such categorical thinking (e.g., aggression and victimization are the only alternatives).

The implications of the foregoing results for anti-bullying projects are clear. Changing bullies' beliefs about the benefits of behaving aggressively should be a major focus. As some authors have described, this may include actions taken at the school, class, and individual

levels (Besag, 1989; Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Elliott, 1991; Foster & Thompson, 1991; Smith & Thompson, 1991; Wilson, 1992b). For example, school-wide anti-bullying policies, constructed by school staff, students, and parents, demonstrate to all that bullying will not be tolerated. Also, class discussions help to foster social pressure against bullying, as bullies may come to see that the majority of peers do not condone bullying. Beliefs supporting aggression may also be modified by employing more direct individual approaches, such as standard attitude change techniques, that require students to develop and present arguments refuting their beliefs (Guerra & Slaby, 1990). Guerra and Slaby (1990) found that adolescent offenders' beliefs supporting aggression and problem behaviours significantly reduced over control subjects, after they had participated in a 12 session cognitive mediation program. Thus, there are many ways in which schools may change the attitudes about aggression that many bullies may hold, as part of an overall program to tackle and/or prevent bully/victim problems in schools.

Summary and Implications for Intervention/Prevention

In summary, the results of the present study would suggest that bully/victim problems among upper elementary students in Calgary are quite prevalent. One in three children appear to be involved in bully/victim problems at

school with some regularity ("sometimes" or more often). It was found that 21.3% of students reported being bullied at this rate, while 9.2% were bullied "once a week" or more. Similarly, 11.6% of students reported bullying others "sometimes" or more often, while 5.2% admitted bullying others "once a week" or more. The victims of bullying tended to be the youngest children in the sample, both boys and girls, and were at risk for being bullied by both age-mates and older students. The bullies, on the other hand, tended to be the older students in the sample and mainly boys. Boys were found to be at risk for being bullied mainly by boys, while girls were most commonly bullied by both boys and girls. The most common forms of bullying cited by students were being called nasty names, and being physically hurt (e.g., shoved, kicked). Both boys and girls suffered direct (e.g., physical, verbal) and indirect (e.g., social exclusion) forms of bullying to roughly the same extent. Bullied students reported that the playground was the most common place to be bullied, followed by the classroom and other locations such as the Gym and school field. Victims more than bullies felt that they would help another child being bullied, and that they were likely to be upset about bullying. On the other hand, bullies tended to regard bullying as more acceptable and tended not to know what they thought of others who bully. These results can reasonably be generalized to regular grades 4 to 6 students

in urban centers.

The foregoing results of the nature and other aspects of bullying may be helpful for informing anti-bullying programs. For example, it would appear that the youngest students, at least in the grades 4 to 6 population, are in need of the greatest protection and support. Also, older students, in addition to all school students, may particularly benefit from the administration of appropriate sanctions for bullying, and from training in empathy skills and conflict resolution techniques to more appropriately meet their needs. In addition, it would appear that more supervision on the playground and increased awareness by teachers of bullying in the classroom, may help to prevent bullying episodes. Furthermore, because the majority of students felt that peers "almost never" intervened in bullying suggests that all students need to be encouraged to actively disapprove of bullying and to support victims. This may come about through students' involvement in the development of school and classroom anti-bullying policies, class discussions about bullying, and programs such as peer mediation and peer support.

The present study also examined not only whether students told teachers and someone at home about being bullied at school, but also whether reporting helped them or not, how it helped, and if it did not help, why not? It was found that the majority of bullied students told their

teachers and someone at home (typically parents) about being bullied. Also, significantly more bullied students than not found that telling teachers helped stop the bullying, while there was no difference in the number of students who reported that telling parents helped, versus those that claimed it did not help. The results of the qualitative information provided by students regarding why reporting helped or did not help stop the bullying, clearly suggested that children were looking primarily to adults for help. The most beneficial strategies seemed to include the involvement of the school administration (principals and teachers), parents (of both victims and bullies), and the children themselves. This supports the view that open communication and collaboration between the school and home may be one of the necessary components of a school's successful attempts at tackling bully/victim problems. However, high numbers of bullied students in the present sample chose not to tell anyone, especially teachers. Thus, students need to see that school anti-bullying policies developed are consistently acted upon by all school personnel and students, that consequences are consistently applied, and that victims are supported.

Finally, the present study found that bullies endorsed certain aggression-supporting beliefs to a greater extent than either victims or students identified as neither victims nor bullies. For example, bullies believed that

bullying results in positive outcomes, that aggression and victimization may be the only alternatives, that aggression is a legitimate response from an aggressor's perspective, and that aggression is appropriate. Such beliefs may perpetuate the child's involvement in bullying situations. This suggests that a focus on changing aggressive students' beliefs (e.g., via class discussions), may also be a necessary component in a school's efforts at tackling bully/victim problems amongst its students. In all, concerted efforts at changing the school climate with the collaboration of administrators, teachers, parents and students, along with changing students' beliefs about aggression, are important components to be addressed in anti-bullying programs. As a follow-up to this study, all participating schools will receive individual school reports on bullying. The aim of this dissemination is to increase awareness and inform their continuing efforts in addressing bullying in their schools.

Limitations and Implications for Future Research

One limitation of the present study was the use of self-report questionnaires with such a young sample of school children (ages 8-12 years). Self-report data generally is vulnerable to perceptual problems and inconsistencies in reporting. Also, given that the children in the present study were only to report on their

experiences in school over the past two months (September to November, 1993), it could not be determined whether children consistently used this reference period or not. Another limitation of the present study was the issue of parental consent. Because parental consent was needed for the students' participation, it could not be determined whether the students who participated in the study were any different from those who did not receive parental consent. It may have been that the parents who knew that their children were involved in bully/victim problems at school, did not want their children to participate. Lastly, the results can not generalize to students in lower grades, as a separate study focusing on younger elementary school children would be needed to detail bully/victim problems amongst this population.

Finally, more research is needed to study the effectiveness of anti-bullying intervention projects. Only limited research has been conducted internationally (e.g., Olweus, 1987; Sharp & Smith, 1991; Slaby, 1991; Whitney et al., 1992), and nationally (e.g., Pepler et al., 1993). Although many components of intervention programs have been previously identified and supported by the results of the present study (e.g., school policies, open communication between school and home, class rules and sanctions, class discussions, talks with the involved students and their parents), it is necessary to follow up with evaluative

research in order to support or enhance existing programs.

Further study of what differentiates (e.g.,
cognitively) victims from bullies and other students is also
needed. Perhaps a study of victims' self-efficacy beliefs
(Bandura, 1977; 1986) would be more pertinent for examining
patterns of thought that may place victims at risk for
involvement in bullying episodes. That is, it may be that
victims do not feel that they are capable of dealing with
bullying situations, whether they have the skills or not,
and that this lack of self-efficacy may put them at risk for
continued victimization.

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APPENDIX A

Grade _____   Date _____

   Age _____

You will find questions in this booklet about your life in
school. There are several answers next to each question.
Each answer has a letter in front of it. You answer by
putting a circle around <u>one</u> of the answers.

1) Are you a girl or a boy?   A girl
                                      B boy

If you are a girl, put a circle around A. If you are a boy,
put a circle around B.

Now, let's take another question.

---

2) How do you like recess?   A dislike very much
                                    B dislike a bit
                                    C neither like nor dislike
                                    D like a bit
                                    E like very much

Put a circle around the letter that describes how you feel
about recess. If you like recess very much, put a circle
around the letter in front of "like very much", that is, the
letter E. If you dislike recess very much, put a circle
around the letter in front of "dislike very much", that is,
the letter A, and so on.

Don't put your name on this booklet. NO ONE WILL KNOW HOW
YOU HAVE ANSWERED THESE QUESTIONS. But it is important that
you answer carefully and how you really feel. Sometimes it
is hard to decide what to answer. Then just answer how you
think it is. If you have questions, raise your hand.

Most of the questions are about **your life in school during
this term (since the summer holidays)**. So when you answer,
you should think of how it has been during the last 2 or 3
months and not only how it is just now.

Copyright: Dan Olweus, 1989 (modified by P.K. Smith, 1991)

ABOUT FRIENDS

3) How many good friends do you have in your class?

A none
B I have one good friend
C I have 2 or 3 good friends
D I have many good friends

---

4) How often does it happen that other kids don't want to spend recess with you and you end up being alone?

A it hasn't happened this term
B it has happened once or twice
C sometimes
D about once a week
E several times a week

ABOUT BEING BULLIED

Here are some questions about bullying. We say a kid is being bullied, or picked on, when another kid, or group of kids, say nasty and unpleasant things to him or her. It is also bullying when a kid is hit, kicked, threatened, locked inside a room, sent nasty notes, when no one ever talks to them and things like that. These things can happen frequently and it is hard for the kid being bullied to defend himself or herself. It is also bullying when a kid is teased repeatedly in a nasty way.

But it is **not** bullying when two kids of about the same strength have the odd fight or quarrel.

---

5) How often have you been bullied at school this term?

A I haven't been bullied at school this term
B it has only happened once or twice
C sometimes
D about once a week
E several times a week

FOR THESE QUESTIONS YOU CAN CIRCLE **MORE THAN ONE LETTER** IF THESE THINGS HAPPENED TO YOU

6) In **what way** have you been bullied at school this term?

A I haven't been bullied at school this term
B I was called nasty names about my colour or race
C I was called nasty names in other ways
D I was physically hurt e.g. hit and kicked
E I was threatened
F no one would talk to me
G I had rumours spread about me
H I had my belongings taken away from me
J I was bullied in another way, please write below

_____

_____

7) **Where** did you get bullied this term?

A I haven't been bullied at school this term
B in the hallways
C in the playground
D in the classroom
E somewhere else in the school, please write below

_____

_____

8) In **which class** is the kid or kids who bully you?

A I haven't been bullied at school this term
B in my class
C in a different class but same grade
D one or more grades above
E one or more grades below

NOW GO BACK TO CHOOSING JUST **ONE** LETTER

9) Have you been bullied by one, or several kids?

A I haven't been bullied at school this term
B mainly by one boy
C by several boys
D mainly by one girl
E by several girls
F by both boys and girls

---

10) About how many times have you been bullied <u>in the last 5 days at school?</u> (Don't include the weekend).

A no time
B once
C twice
D 3 or 4 times
E 5 or more times

---

11) How often do teachers try to put a stop to it when a kid is being bullied at school?

A I don't know
B almost never
C sometimes
D almost always

---

12) How often do other kids try to put a stop to it when someone is being bullied at school?

A I don't know
B almost never
C sometimes
D almost always

---

13) What do you usually do when you see a kid of your age being bullied at school?

A nothing, it's none of my business
B nothing, but I think I should try and help
C I try to help him or her in some way

---

14) Have you told any of your teachers that you have been bullied at school this term?

    A I haven't been bullied at school this term.

       In the space below, please tell me about your favourite sport and why it's your favourite?

_____

_____

_____

    B No, I haven't told them.

       Why did you decide not to tell any of your teachers?

_____

_____

_____

    C Yes, I have told them.

       Did telling a teacher do anything to help stop the bullying at school? Please circle **one** answer below.

       1. No, it **did not** help. Now tell me **why** you think it did not help?

_____

_____

_____

       2. Yes, it **did** help. **What** did the teacher do to help?

_____

_____

_____

15) Have you told anyone at home that you have been bullied at school this term?

    A I haven't been bullied at school this term.

       In the space below, please tell me about your favourite games you play with your friends.

_____

_____

_____

    B No, I haven't told them.

       Why did you decide not to tell anyone at home?

_____

_____

_____

    C Yes, I have told them.

       Did telling someone at home do anything to help stop the bullying at school? Please circle **one** answer below.

       1. No, it **did not** help. Now tell me **why** you think it did not help.

_____

_____

_____

       2. Yes, it **did** help. **What** did they do to help?

_____

_____

_____

16) How often have you been bullied <u>going to and from school</u> this term?

    A I haven't been bullied going to and from school this term
    B it has only happened once or twice
    C sometimes
    D about once a week
    E several times a week

---

17) All the questions so far have been about being bullied by other kids at school. Have you been bullied by <u>anyone else</u> at school <u>or</u> outside of school this term?

    A yes
    B no

Please tell me about this if you want to.

_____

_____

<u>ABOUT BULLYING OTHER KIDS</u>

18) How often have you taken part in bullying other kids at school this term?

    A I haven't bullied other kids at school this term
    B it has only happened once or twice
    C sometimes
    D about once a week
    E several times a week

---

19) About how many times have you taken part in bullying other kids <u>in the last 5 days at school</u>? (Don't include the weekend).

    A no time
    B once
    C twice
    D 3 or 4 times
    E 5 or more times

---

20) Have any of your teachers talked with you about your bullying other kids at school this term?

A I haven't bullied other kids at school this term
B no, they haven't talked with me about it
C yes, they have talked with me about it

---

21) Has anyone at home talked with you about your bullying other kids at school this term?

A I haven't bullied other kids at school this term
B no, they haven't talked with me about it
C yes, they have talked with me about it

---

22) Now think about <u>this term again</u> - How often have you taken part in <u>bullying other kids on their way to and from school?</u>

A I haven't bullied other kids on their way to and from school
B it has only happened once or twice
C sometimes
D about once a week
E several times a week

---

23) Do you think you could join in bullying a kid whom you don't like?

A yes
B yes, maybe
C I don't know
D no, I don't think so
E no
F definitely no

---

24) What do you think of
   other kids who bully
   others?

   A   I can understand why
       they're doing it
   B   I don't know
   C   it's hard to understand
       why they're doing it
   D   it upsets me a lot that
       they're doing it

Finally, please try and think back over the last year or so,
at school.

25) Do you think your school
   has a problem with
   bullying?

   A   no problem at all
   B   a little problem
   C   somewhat of a problem
   D   a very big problem

---

26) Do you think your school
   has done much to try and
   stop bullying, over the
   last year or so?

   A   yes, a lot
   B   yes, a bit
   C   don't know
   D   no, not much
   E   no, nothing at all

---

27) Do you think that bullying
   in your school has
   generally got better or
   worse over the last year
   or so?

   A   a lot better
   B   a bit better
   C   no change
   D   a bit worse
   E   a lot worse

BELIEFS

Directions: Please check the response that best describes how much you agree with each statement.

1. It's okay for you to fight other kids. (ALB1)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
___	___	___	___

2. It's not okay for other kids to make fun of you. (ALV1)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
___	___	___	___

3. It's important to show other kids that you are ready to fight anyone who picks on you. (SA1)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
___	___	___	___

4. There are only two kinds of kids - the kids who fight and the kids who get beaten up. (OA1)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
___	___	___	___

5. Sometimes you deserve to get pushed around by other kids. (ALV2)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

6. You feel like a champion when you fight some other kid. (SE1)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

7. You get what you want from kids if you're a bully. (AW1)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

8. You get respect when you boss other kids around. (SA2)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

9. Sometimes you just need to yell and say mean things to other kids. (ALB2)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

10. When you yell and say mean things to other kids, it makes you feel bad about yourself. (SE2)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

11. There are always other ways to solve an argument with some other kid besides hitting or getting hit. (OA2)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

12. You don't get what you want from other kids by fighting with them. (AW2)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

13. It makes you feel big and tough to be a bully. (SE3)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

14. It's never okay to be a bully. (ALB3)

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

15. You can make other kids do what you want by yelling at them. **(AW3)**

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

16. If you refuse to fight, other kids will think you're a loser. **(SA3)**

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

17. Sometimes you have only two choices - get punched or punch the other kid first. **(OA3)**

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

18. If other kids pick on you, you probably asked for it. **(ALV3)**

Don't agree at all	Agree a little	Agree a lot	Completely agree
_____	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX B

<u>INTERVIEW WITH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL</u>

Principal: _____

School: _____

Date: _____

1) Size of the school; Total number of students

2) Size of each class surveyed

<u>Teacher</u>   <u>Class</u>   <u>Number of</u>
                                                    <u>Students</u>

3) Is bullying perceived to be a problem in your school?

4) Does the school have any established policies promoting
   anti-violence, anti-conflict, or anti-bullying behaviour
   as a school code of conduct? How is it advocated and by
   whom?

5) Do any of the following, with the specific aim of
   reducing conflict, violence and/or bullying, exist in the
   school: curriculum activities (e.g., class discussions)
   for all students; special school programs for all
   students (e.g., peer counselors); special programs/groups
   for particular groups of children (e.g., aggressive,
   withdrawn children)?

APPENDIX C

TEACHER INSTRUCTIONS

BEFORE ADMINISTERING THE FORMS

1. Please introduce the study to the students by telling them that today is the day that they are filling out some questionnaires for a study at the University of Calgary.

   Remind them that a few weeks ago, they all took parental consent forms home to see whether their parents would allow them to participate in the study.

   Explain that some of them did not bring back a parental consent form, so those students will have to take their appropriate materials and go to **ROOM** _____ , until the study is over. Someone will come and get them at that time.

2. Please call out the names of all students who did not receive parental consent to participate. They are the students who are highlighted on the assigned class list you received. Please then dismiss them.

3. Please then take attendance of the remaining students on the list and place an **"Abs"** beside those who are absent.

4. Get the students to sit separately.

5. Explain to the students that you will be administering 3 questionnaires to them out loud, while they mark their answers on their own forms. Also, let them know that it will take approximately one hour.

6. Please hand out one package of forms to every student at this point. Do not let them begin on their own. Remind them that the whole class will be completing the questionnaires at the same time.

ADMINISTERING THE FORMS

7. Please pay special attention to the **Teacher Notes (*TN*)** where they appear throughout your copy of the questionnaires.

   During the administration procedure, please make sure that the students are paying attention, and that they are all working on the same page and question numbers at the same time. Also, please make sure that they respond to each question to prevent any questions from being left out.

8. In the space provided below, please make note of any problems that arise during the procedure. Also make note of any students who seem to be particularly frustrated, or are having considerable difficulty completing the forms.

   NOTES:

9. Please begin on <u>Page 1</u>, reading the directions and the 2 practice questions verbatim.

AFTER ADMINISTERING THE FORMS

10. At the completion of the administration procedure,
    BEFORE the forms are collected, please give those
    students you made note of in **STEP 9** the choice to
    complete the forms in **ROOM** _____ with extra help from
    myself (Karen).

11. Collect the student forms and place them in the envelope
    provided, along with your copy of the teacher
    instructions and questionnaires.

12. Please thank the students for participating in the
    study, and **most importantly**, let them know that if any
    of them wish to discuss their experiences further, to
    please see the school counselor, and/or other
    appropriate persons who will be willing to talk to them.

13. Ask for a student volunteer to deliver the envelope to
    the **main office**, and to get the non-participating
    students to return back to class.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND

INVOLVEMENT IN THIS STUDY!!