School bullying

Alana James
PhD Researcher (Goldsmiths, University of London, NSPCC)

February 2010

Summary

Bullying is a pervasive type of aggression, which often occurs in schools. As with other types of aggression, the harm that is inflicted – whether physical, emotional or both – is intentional. However, bullying has defining features which set it apart from other aggressive behaviours, in that it is repeated, and that the bully or bullies have greater access to power than their victim(s).

In this briefing, 'bullying' refers to peer-to-peer bullying within the school context. School bullying has been a topic of both public concern and academic research only since the 1970s. It is still an expanding field of study and much remains to be established in terms of the causes, the characteristics of those involved and what makes an effective anti-bullying intervention.

There is great variation in the prevalence rates reported in studies of bullying, and although factors at the individual and social levels appear to be important, it is still unclear what causes it. Nevertheless, most children will experience bullying at some point, either as bullies, victims or witnesses.

Children who bully others, children who are victimised and children who both bully and are bullied, share a number of common characteristics and all are likely to suffer negative long-term consequences. Important factors appear to be family and peer relationships.

www.nspcc.org.uk/inform

NSPCC
Cruelty to children must stop. FULL STOP.

Bullying can be seen as a group process, with the peer group playing an important role: other pupils' behaviour can reinforce, condone or help to stop bullying, and so it can be more likely in some classes or years than others. However, more research is needed to uncover the exact nature of the group processes involved in school bullying, and how they interact with individual differences.

Key Findings

- Large-scale surveys of bullying around the world report victimisation rates of between 9 and 32 per cent, and bullying rates of between 3 and 27 per cent (Stassen Berger, 2007).

- Verbal abuse is the most commonly reported type of bullying, but 'cyberbullying', which typically happens outside of school, is becoming an increasingly significant issue.

- There are different terms for bullying in different countries, and different types of behaviour involved.

- Victimisation decreases with age, although there is an initial peak during the transition from primary to secondary school.

- Boys are more likely to be involved in physical bullying, and girls in verbal and relational bullying. It is unclear whether there are any consistent age or gender trends within cyberbullying.

- Family and peer relationships have been identified as important factors for bullies as well as victims and 'bully/victims' (i.e. those who bully and are also bullied themselves). Bullying has long-term negative consequences for all three groups.

- Bullying is a group process. It normally happens in front of other children, who play important roles in incidents of bullying, so that bullying can be more likely in some classes or years than others.

- Many victims of bullying do not report it to a teacher, but in the experience of those who do, some may help while others make no difference or even make the bullying worse. Teachers report intervening in most incidents of bullying, but pupils do not perceive this to be the case.

- Schools in England, Wales and Northern Ireland are required by law to have an anti-bullying policy, though the content varies from school to school. In Scotland schools are strongly recommended to have a policy. A range of anti-bullying interventions are used across the UK nations.

www.nspcc.org.uk/inform

NSPCC
Cruelty to children must stop. **FULL STOP.**

Background

Dan Olweus' Swedish study of 'mobbning', *Aggression in the schools: Bullies and whipping boys* (1978), was the first notable bullying study. Since its publication a research tradition has emerged in many other countries, including the United Kingdom, Norway, the United States, Canada, Australia, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands and Japan. Other early studies attracted a lot of media attention due to the levels of bullying reported, as well as high-profile suicide cases linked to bullying in several countries. Bullying remains a topic often in the news, which highlights the ongoing public concern and continual need for anti-bullying work in schools.

This research briefing summarises what is currently known about school bullying, based on a review of the available literature. It covers large-scale surveys of bullying as well as smaller studies, which used a variety of methodologies. It also mentions the types of anti-bullying interventions currently used, but an evaluation of their effectiveness was beyond the scope of this briefing.

What is bullying?

Essential components of bullying behaviour

The studies examined for this briefing used different definitions of bullying, but overall the literature suggests five essential components. The following components are shared with general aggressive behaviour:

- **Intention to harm**: bullying is deliberate, with the intention to cause harm. For example, friends teasing each other in a good-natured way is not bullying, but a person teasing another to upset them is bullying.
- **Harmful outcome**: one or more persons are hurt physically or emotionally.
- **Direct or indirect acts:** bullying can involve direct aggression, such as hitting someone, as well as indirect acts, such as spreading rumours.

4

However, bullying also has characteristics that set it apart from other aggressive behaviours:

- **Repetition**: bullying involves repeated acts of aggression: an isolated aggressive act, like a fight, is not bullying.
- **Unequal Power**: bullying involves the abuse of power by one or several persons who are (perceived as) more powerful, often due to their age, physical strength, or psychological resilience.

Types of bullying

Bullying can involve many different types of behaviour. Physical, or 'direct' bullying hurts an individual in a tangible way, but 'indirect' actions such as stealing or damaging their belongings can hurt them emotionally. This also applies to verbal bullying, which involves name-calling or being otherwise insulted or humiliated. Relational or social bullying refers to behaviours that disrupt the victims' relationships with their peers (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995), such as social exclusion or spreading gossip. Bullying can be motivated by race, religion, culture, gender or sexuality. Sexual bullying may involve sexual acts or demands.

Cyberbullying, a relatively more recent phenomenon that has attracted increasing attention in the last decade, involves using electronic means such as the internet, email and mobile phones. It is particularly vicious, as nasty messages or images can be spread quickly and seen by many. Research evidence suggests that it tends to happen outside of school (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2004; Dehue, Bolman and Vollink, 2008; Smith et al, 2008a).

Bullying in different countries

Pupils in different countries have different perceptions of what counts as bullying (Smith et al, 2002). Even within countries, there are often multiple terms to describe the behaviour: in England, bullying is also described as 'teasing', 'harassment' and 'victimisation'.

In western countries, bullying broadly involves older pupils victimising younger children, largely by physical and verbal means (Smith, 2004). In contrast, *wang-ta* in Korea and *ijime* in Japan involve social exclusion by large groups such as the victim's entire class, or year (Morita et al, 1999; Kanetsuna and Smith, 2002; Koo et al, 2008).

Teachers' and pupils' definitions of bullying

Teachers are less likely than pupils to recognise verbal aggression, indirect physical aggression and social exclusion as bullying (Boulton, 1997; Craig and Pepler, 1997; Craig et al, 2000; Menesini et al, 2002).

Primary school children tend to include a greater range of behaviours, such as one-off acts of aggression, but pupils' definitions of bullying become narrower with age (Smith and Levan, 1995; Swain, 1998; Smith et al, 2002; Menesini et al, 2002; Naylor et al, 2006).

How common is bullying in schools?

Overall it seems that bullying can be expected to occur in any school. Its prevalence in many countries suggests that most children will experience school bullying at some stage, be it as bullies, victims or as witnesses.

There is a lot of variation in the reported rates, however, which is partly due to the different methodologies used to survey bullying. The most common method is self-reporting: asking pupils in questionnaires or interviews about their bullying experiences. Other ways include asking teachers or pupils to nominate which children are victims or bullies; observing children; and recording bullying incidents. Different methods produce different bullying estimates: peer and teacher nominations tend not to correspond well with self-report information (Österman et al, 1994; Salmivalli et al, 1996) and observations produce higher rates than surveys (Pepler et al, 2004).

Large-scale surveys in individual countries have reported victimisation rates of 9 to 32 per cent, and bullying rates of 3 to 27 per cent (Stassen Berger, 2007). In the World Health Organisation's *Health Behavior in School-Aged Children* 2001/02, a survey of 35 countries, the average incidence rates of victims and bullies were both 11 per cent (Craig and Harel, 2004, cited by Salmivalli, 2009).

How common are the different types of bullying?

Research shows that verbal abuse is the most common form of bullying, followed by relational and physical forms (Baldry and Farrington, 1999; Tapper and Boulton, 2005; Stassen Berger, 2007). Sexual bullying and dating aggression have similar levels to general bullying (Pepler et al, 2006). Levels of cyberbullying are more difficult to gauge: each time a malicious image or message is viewed could count as a separate incident. Overall, levels of cyberbullying appear to be increasing (e.g. DCSF, 2009).

Age and gender differences in bullying

Overall, bullying decreases with age, although there is an initial increase when pupils transition from primary to secondary school (Olweus, 1993; Smith et al, 1999; Pellegrini and Long, 2002; Salmivalli, 2002; Griffin and Gross, 2004; Pepler et al, 2006). As children grow older they develop better social skills, which seem to protect them against bullying (Smith et al, 1999) - there are also fewer pupils who might bully them, as bullies are typically older pupils (Smith, et al, 1999; Carney and Merrell, 2001; Griffin and Gross, 2004).

Early research suggests that boys are more likely to be involved in bullying, but later studies, which include indirect forms of bullying, show less of a gender difference (Craig, 1998; Stassen Berger, 2007). Girls are more involved in verbal and relational bullying, and boys in physical (Reid et al, 2004; Stassen Berger, 2007). As yet it is unclear whether there are consistent age or gender trends in cyberbullying.

There are no defined 'types' of bullies or victims, but various studies have identified some shared individual characteristics. Studies such as Ball et al (2008) have also looked at the role played by genes, but more work is needed in this area.

Defining characteristics of bullies

Bullies are generally more aggressive than other pupils (Carney and Merrell, 2001; Smith, 2004; Schafer et al, 2005). Some have poor social skills, leading to difficulties in managing positive relationships, but others have advanced social competence, which enables them to manipulate others (Sutton et al, 1999; Vaillancourt et al, 2003). It is unclear whether bullies have low self-esteem (Olweus, 1999; O'Moore, 2000; Smith, 2004), but they may well be more likely to come from families with low parental monitoring and involvement, as well as inconsistent and harsh discipline (Carney and Merrell, 2001; Pepler et al, 2008).

At primary school children tend to reject the bullies rather than the victims, but this reverses at secondary school where bullies may be popular (Pellegrini, 1998; Schafer et al, 2005). Bullies associate with peers who bully and are susceptible to peer pressure (Pepler et al, 2008).

Outcomes associated with bullying behaviour include loneliness, poor academic achievement, poor social adjustment and greater risk of drug and alcohol use, and of being convicted of crime (Olweus, 1997; Roberts, 2000; Nansel et al, 2001). Research also suggests a link with later violence in adulthood; some bullies behave aggressively towards partners, use harsh physical discipline with their own children, and their children are more likely to become bullies themselves (Roberts, 2000; Carney and Merrell, 2001; Smokowski and Kopasz, 2005).

Defining characteristics of victims

The majority of victims can be described as passive. Risk factors that have been identified for victimisation include peer-rejection, finding social situations difficult, and experiencing loneliness (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995; Nansel et al, 2001; Schafer et al, 2005; Scheithauer et al, 2006). Victims may understandably have poor self-esteem, and a greater tendency towards depression and anxiety (Craig, 1998; Hawker and Boulton, 2000; Carney and Merrell, 2001).

Research suggests some victims may be more likely to have overprotective families (Smith, 2004) and to have experienced bullying from siblings (Duncan, 1999; Wolke and Samara, 2004). Children with disabilities are also at increased risk of victimisation (Nabuzoka, 2000; Knox and Conti-Ramsden, 2003; Mishna, 2003).

Friendships act as a protective factor: having a number of meaningful friendships reduces the risk of victimisation (Hodges et al, 1999; Schwartz et al, 2000; Goldbaum et al, 2003). Other protective factors include high social competence, low aggression and low anxiety (Goldbaum et al, 2003).

The impact of bullying in childhood can be long term. Some adult victims of childhood bullying report experiencing depression, poor self-esteem and interpersonal difficulties in adulthood (Hugh-Jones and Smith, 1999; Klomek et al, 2007). They may also be more prone to suicidal thoughts, attempt suicide (Klomek et al, 2007; Kim et al, 2009), or carry out acts of retribution (Carney and Merrell, 2001).

Characteristics of bully/victims

A small proportion of bullies can be described as 'bully/victims'. These 'provocative bullies' are young people who bully others and are also bullied themselves. The proportion of this

type tends to be higher in primary than in secondary schools (Roland and Idsoe, 2001; Schafer et al, 2005).

Bully/victims are more likely to have poor social skills and act in ways that go against the norms of their peer group, such as behaving aggressively or interrupting other children (Greene, 2000; Griffin and Gross, 2004). They may have low self-esteem, social maladjustment, attention difficulties and poor problem-solving abilities (Mynard and Joseph, 1997; Carney and Merrell, 2001; Andreou, 2001). There is evidence that bully/victims come from families where parenting is inconsistent, sometimes abusive, and low in warmth (Bowers et al, 1994; Schwartz et al, 2000).

These children are less likely to have social support than 'passive' victims of bullying, and therefore may also be at greater risk of more severe psychological problems resulting from it (Griffin and Gross, 2004; Smith, 2004).

Participant roles in school bullying

School bullying normally occurs in the presence of the peer group and is a social process (Cowie and Sharp, 1994; Craig and Pepler, 1995; Salmivalli et al, 1996; Pepler et al, 1998; Salmivalli et al, 1999; Menesini et al, 2000). Children's responses to bullying, and their perceptions of themselves and of their own safety, are influenced by others (Salmivalli et al, 1998; Gini et al, 2008). The social context of individual classes or year groups can also influence the likelihood of bullying (Sharp, 1996; Kärnä et al, in press). However, more research is needed into the nature of the group process involved (Salmivalli, 2009).

The 'participant role approach' (Salmivalli, 1999) suggests that children are not just bullies and/or victims in bullying: they may act as assistants of the bully - doing things that help, such as acting as a lookout - or as reinforcers, encouraging the bullying. On the other hand, they may be defenders, who try to stop it, or outsiders/bystanders, who neither encourage nor intervene (Salmivalli et al, 1996).

Many anti-bullying interventions aim to change the behaviour of bystanders, encouraging them to defend the victim. Encouragingly, the majority of children express anti-bullying or pro-victim attitudes regardless of their actual behaviour when bullying occurs (Menesini et al, 1997; Boulton et al, 1999).

Reporting of bullying

Up to around 50 per cent of victims report the bullying to their school (Whitney and Smith, 1993; Craig et al, 2000; Fekkes et al, 2005). However, as with other forms of abuse, there are a number who do not. This may be due to fear, lack of confidence, feeling that they are to blame, or worry that telling an adult will make the bullying worse (Smith and Sharp, 1994; Rigby, 1997; Rigby and Bagshaw, 2003). The proportion of victims who report it is lower for boys and for older pupils (Smith and Shu, 2000).

While teachers report that they intervene in most bullying incidents, pupils perceive that they do so much less (Pepler et al, 1994; Olweus, 1984), and that they do not care about bullying (Rigby and Bagshaw, 2003). When teachers intervene they may help, make no difference or indeed make the bullying worse (Smith and Shu, 2000; Kochenderfer-Ladd and Skinner, 2002; Rigby and Bagshaw, 2003; Fekkes et al, 2005). Hence, when bullying is reported there is no guarantee it will stop. Maybe because of this, pupils often find that telling peers about bullying is preferable to telling adults (Smith and Shu, 2000).

School Bullying Policies and Anti-bullying Interventions

Schools in England, Wales and Northern Ireland are legally required to have an anti-bullying policy, and schools in Scotland are strongly recommended to have one. There are also many anti-bullying resources for schools in the UK, for example the Safe to Learn initiative (DCSF, 2008).

Guidance for schools in England states that the policy must provide a definition of bullying, procedures to follow and sanctions. However, there is wide variation in what is included in each school's policy (Smith et al, 2008b).

A wide range of anti-bullying interventions are used in schools, including circle time, drama or role play, group work, peer support and education, restorative justice and support group methods. Peer support initiatives, where some pupils are trained to offer support to others, are particularly popular in the UK, with an estimated 62 per cent of all schools using this method (Houlston et al, 2009). The Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme has had particular success in Norway, originally reducing bullying by 50 per cent (Olweus, 1993). However, overall anti-bullying interventions have been less effective: a review of whole-school interventions found that bullying was reduced on average by 23 per cent, and victimisation by 17 to 20 per cent (Farrington and Ttofi, 2009).

Conclusion

School bullying is pervasive and most children will probably experience it at some stage, either as a witness, a victim, or by being a bully themselves. Large-scale surveys show that it happens across the world, though it can involve different behaviours and have different meanings in different countries. Telling someone usually helps, but this does depend upon how well it is acted upon by the school.

Factors at both the individual and social level appear to be important causes of bullying. Family and peer relationships have been identified as important for children who bully, are victimised and are bully/victims. All three groups share some individual characteristics.

Bullying is a group process involving the whole peer group, and can be more likely to occur in some classes or years than others. However, more research is needed to uncover the exact nature of the group processes involved, and how they interact with individual differences.

Practice points

- Not all bullying is visible, so there may be more bullying in a school than teachers realise.

- Bullying peaks during the transition to secondary school, which means that anti-bullying work is particularly needed with pupils in Year 7, and that pupils in this school year may need more support from staff, parent/guardians and friends.

- Interventions by teachers usually help, but can also make the bullying worse: it is important that interventions are handled sensitively and that staff do follow-up work with victims to ensure that the bullying has stopped. Young people and parents or guardians can ask the school to keep acting, until the bullying stops.

- Young people can also act to stop bullying, by defending the victims when bullying happens, alerting members of staff, or joining a peer support scheme.

- Both victims and bullies may need long-term support from their school and parents and guardians, as they could experience serious negative effects from being involved in bullying.

- Parents, guardians and young people have the right to see a school's anti-bullying policy, and to make sure that it is implemented when bullying happens.

Policy recommendations

- Training should be made available to teachers and other school staff in how to recognise bullying, and how to intervene effectively.

- It is very positive that most schools in the UK have an anti-bullying policy, but work is needed to ensure consistency and comprehensiveness, so that all young people are

13

www.nspcc.org.uk/inform

NSPCC
Cruelty to children must stop. FULL STOP.

afforded the same protection from bullying. It is recommended that having an anti-bullying policy is made compulsory in Scotland.

- There are many different types of anti-bullying interventions, with varying reported success. Schools need access to clear information on interventions, so that they can make informed decisions about which approaches may work in their school. Further research is needed into the effectiveness of different interventions.

References

Andreou, E. (2001) Bully/victim problems and their association with coping behaviour in conflictual peer interactions among school-age children. *Educational Psychology*, 21:59-66.

Baldry, A. C. and Farrington, D. P. (1999) Types of bullying among Italian school children. *Journal of Adolescence*, 22:423-426.

Ball, H. A., Arseneault, L., Taylor, A., Maughan, B., Caspi, A., and Moffitt, T. E. (2008) Genetic and environmental influences on victims, bullies and bully-victims in childhood. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 49:104-112.

Boulton, M. J. (1997) Teachers' views on bullying: definitions, attitudes and ability to cope. *British Journal of Educational Psychology,* 67:223-233.

Boulton, M. J., Bucci, E. and Hawker, D. D. (1999) Swedish and English secondary school pupils' attitudes toward, and conceptions of, bullying: Concurrent links with bully/victim involvement. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 40:277-284.

Bowers, L., Smith, P. K., and Binney, V. (1994) Perceived family relationships of bullies, victims and bully/victims in middle childhood. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 11:215-232.

Carney, A. G. and Merrell, K. W. (2001) Perspectives on understanding and preventing an international problem. *School Psychology International*, 22:364-82.

Cowie, H. and Sharp, S. (1994) Empowering pupils to take positive actions against bullying. In P. K. Smith and S. Sharp (Eds.), *School bullying: Insights and perspectives.* (pp 108-131). London, UK: Routledge.

Craig, W. and Pepler, D. (1995) Peer processes in bullying and victimization: an observational study. *Exceptionality Education Canada*, 5:81–95.

Craig, W. M. and Pepler, D.J. (1997) Observations of bullying and victimization in the school yard. *Canadian Journal of School Psychology,* 13:41-59.

Craig, W. M. (1998) The relationship among bullying, victimization, depression, anxiety and aggression in elementary school children. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 24:123-130.

Craig, W. M., Henderson, K., and Murphy, J. G. (2000) Prospective teachers' attitudes towards bullying and victimisation. *School Psychology International*, 21:5-21.

Craig, W. and Harel, Y. (2004) Bullying, physical fighting, and victimization. In C. Currie et al. (Eds.), *Young People's Health in Context: international report from the HBSC 2001/02 survey.* WHO Policy Series: Health policy for children and adolescents Issue 4, WHO Regional Office for Europe, Copenhagen.

Crick, N.R. and Grotpeter, J. K. (1995) Relational aggression, gender, and social-psychological adjustment. *Child Development*, 66:710-722.

NSPCC
Cruelty to children must stop. FULL STOP.

Dehue, E., Bolman, C. and Vollink, T. (2008) Cyberbullying: Youngsters' experiences and parental perception. *CyberPsychology and Behavior*, 11:217-223.

Department for Children, Schools and Families (2008) Safe to Learn: Embedding antibullying work in schools. London: HMSO.

Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009) The characteristics of bullying victims in schools. DCSF-RBX-09-14.

Duncan, R. D. (1999) Peer and sibling aggression: an investigation of intra- and extra-familial bullying. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 14:871-886.

Farrington, D. P. and Ttofi, M. M. (2009) Effectiveness of programs to reduce school bullying. *Systematic Review for: The Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice Group*.

Fekkes, M., Pijpers, F. I. M. and Verloove-Vanhorick, S. P. (2005). Bullying: Who does what, when and where? Involvement of children, teachers and parents in bullying behavior. *Health Education Research: Theory and Practice*, 20: 81-91.

Gini, G., Pozzoli, T., Borghi, F. and Franzoni, L. (2008). The role of bystanders in students' perceptions of bullying and sense of safety. *Journal of School Psychology*, 46: 617-638.

Goldbaum, S., Craig, W. M., Pepler, D. and Connolly, J. (2003) Developmental trajectories of victimization: identifying risk and protective factors. *Journal of Applied School Psychology*, 19: 139-156.

Greene, M. B. (2000) Bullying and harassment in schools. In R. S. Moser, and C. E. Franz (Eds), *Shocking violence: youth perpetrators and victims – a multidisciplinary perspective*. (pp 72-101). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Griffin, R. S. and Gross, A. M. (2004) Childhood bullying: current empirical findings and future directions for research. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 9:379-400.

Hawker, D. S. J. and Boulton, M. J. (2000) Twenty years research on peer victimization and psychosocial maladjustment: a meta-analytic review of cross-sectional studies. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 41:441-455.

Hodges, E. V. E., Boivin, M., Vitaro, F. and Bukowski, W. M. (1999) The power of friendship: protection against an escalating cycle of peer victimisation. *Developmental Psychology*, 35: 94-101.

Houlston, C., Smith, P. K. and Jessel, J. (2009) Investigating the extent and use of peer support initiatives in English schools. *Educational Psychology*, 29:325-344.

Hugh-Jones, S. and Smith, P. K. (1999) Self-reports of short- and long-term effects of bullying on children who stammer. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 69:141-158.

Kanetsuna, T. and Smith, P. K. (2002) Pupil insights into bullying, and coping with bullying: A bi-national study in Japan and England. *Journal of School Violence*, 1:5–29.

16

www.nspcc.org.uk/inform

NSPCC

Cruelty to children must stop. FULL STOP.

Kärnä, A., Voeten, M., Poskiparta, E. and Salmivalli, C. (in press) Vulnerable children in different classrooms: classroom-level factors moderate the effect of individual risk on victimization. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*.

Kim, Y. S., Leventhal, B. L., Koh, Y-J., and Boyce, W. T. (2009). Bullying increased suicide risk: prospective study of Korean adolescents. *Archives of Suicide Research*, 13:15-30.

Klomek, A. B., Marrocco, F., Kleinman, M., Schonfeld, I. S. and Gould, M. S. (2007) Bullying, depression, and suicidality in adolescents. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 46:40-49.

Knox, E. and Conti-Ramsden, G. (2003) Bullying risks of 11-year-old children with specific language impairment (SLI): does school placement matter? *International Journal of Language and Communication Disorders*, 38:1-12.

Kochenderfer-Ladd, B. and Skinner, K. (2002) Children's coping strategies: moderators of the effects of peer victimization? *Developmental Psychology*, 38:267-278.

Koo, H., Kwak, K. and Smith, P. K. (2008) Victimization in Korean schools: the nature, incidence, and distinctive features of Korean bullying or *Wang-Ta. Journal of School Violence*, 7 (4):119-139.

Menesini, E., Eslea, M., Smith, P. K., Genta, M. L., Gianetti, E., Fonzi, A., et al. (1997) A cross-national comparison of children's attitudes towards bully/victim problems in school. *Aggressive Behavior*, 23:1-13.

Menesini E., Melan E. and Pignatti B. (2000) Interactional styles of bullies and victims observed in a competitive and cooperative setting. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 3: 261-281.

Menesini, E., Fonzi, A. and Smith, P. K. (2002) Attribution of meanings to terms related to bullying: A comparison between teacher's and pupil's perspectives in Italy. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 17:393-406.

Mishna, F. (2003) Learning disabilities and bullying: double jeopardy. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 36 (4):336-347.

Morita, Y., Soeda, H., Soeda, K. and Taki, M. (1999) Japan. In P. K. Smith, Y. Morita, J. Junger-Tas, D. Olweus, R. Catalano, and P. Slee (Eds) *The nature of school bullying: A cross-national perspective* (pp 309-323). London and New York: Routledge.

Mynard, H. and Joseph, S. (1997) Bully victim problems and their association with Eysenck's personality dimensions in 8 to 13 year olds. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 67:51-54.

Nabuzoka, D. (2000) *Children with learning difficulties: social understanding and adjustment*. Blackwell, BPS Books.

Nansel, T. J., Overpect, M., Pilla, R. S., Ruan, W. J., Simons-Morton, B. and Scheidt, P. (2001) Bullying behaviors among U.S. youth: prevalence and association with psychosocial adjustment. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 285:2992-3100.

Naylor, P., Cowie, H., Cossin, F., Bettencourt, R., and Lemme, F. (2006) Teachers' and pupils' definitions of bullying. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 76:553-576.

Olweus, D. (1978) *Aggression in the schools: Bullies and whipping boys*. Washington, DC: Hemisphere.

Olweus, D. (1984) Aggressors and their victims: bullying at school. In N. Frude and H. Gault (Eds.), *Disruptive Behaviours in schools* (pp 57-76). New York: Wiley.

Olweus, D. (1993) *Bullying at school: What we know and what we can do*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Olweus, D. (1997) Bully/victim problems in school: facts and intervention. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 12:495-510.

Olweus, D. (1999) Sweden. In Smith, P. K., Morita, Y., Junger-Tas, J., Olweus, D., Catalano, R. and Slee, P. (Eds) *The nature of school bullying: A cross-national perspective* (pp 7-27). London and New York: Routledge.

O'Moore, M. (2000) Critical issues for teacher training to counter bullying and victimization in schools. *Aggressive Behavior*, 26:99-111.

Österman, K., Bjorkqvist, K., Lagerspetz, K. M., Kaukiainen, A., Heusmann, R. L. and Fraczek, A. (1994) Peer and self estimated aggression in 8-year-old children from five ethnic groups. *Aggressive Behavior*, 20:411-428.

Pellegrini, A. D. (1998) Bullies and victims in school: a review and call for research. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 19:165-176.

Pellegrini, A. D. and Long, J. D. (2002) A longitudinal study of bullying, dominance and victimization during the transition from primary school through secondary school. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 20:259-280.

Pepler, D. J., Craig, W. M., Ziegler, S. and Charach, A. (1994) An evaluation of an anti-bullying intervention in Toronto schools. *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health*, 13: 95-110.

Pepler, D.J., Craig, W.M. and Roberts, W.L. (1998) Playground observations of aggressive and nonaggressive children. *Merrill Palmer Quarterly*, 44:55–76.

Pepler, D., Craig, W., Yuile, A. and Connolly, J. (2004) Girls who bully: A developmental and relational perspective. In M. Putallaz, and K. L. Bierman (Eds) *Aggression, Antisocial Behavior, and Violence Among Girls: A Developmental Perspective* (pp 90–109). New York: Guildford.

Pepler, D. J., Craig, W. M., Connolly, J. A., Yuile, A., McMaster, L. and Jiang, D. (2006) A developmental perspective on bullying. *Aggressive Behavior*, 32:376-384.

18

Pepler, D., Jiang, D., Craig, W. and Connolly, J. (2008) Developmental trajectories of bullying and associated factors. *Child Development*, 79:325-338.

Reid, P., Monsen, J. and Rivers, I. (2004) Psychology's contribution to understanding and managing bullying within schools. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 20:241-258.

Rigby, K. (1997) What children tell us about bullying in schools. *Children Australia*, 22:18-28.

Rigby, K. and Bagshaw, D. (2003) Prospects of adolescent students collaborating with teachers in addressing issues of bullying and conflict in schools. *Educational Psychology*, 23: 535-546.

Roberts, W. B. (2000) The bully as victim. *Professional School Counseling*, 4:148-156.

Roland, E. and Idsoe, T. (2001) Aggression and bullying. *Aggressive Behavior*, 27:446-462.

Salmivalli, C., Lagerspetz, K., Bjorkqvist, K., Osterman, K., and Kaukiainen, A. (1996) Bullying as a group process: participant roles and their relations to social status within the group. *Aggressive Behavior*, 22:1-15.

Salmivalli, C., Lappalainen, M., and Lagerspetz, K. M. J. (1998) Stability and change of behavior in connection with bullying at school: a two year follow up. *Aggressive Behavior*, 24: 205-218.

Salmivalli, C. (1999) Participant role approach to school bullying: implications for interventions. *Journal of Adolescence*, 22:453-459.

Salmivalli, C., Kaukiainen, A. and Lagerspetz, K. M. J. (1999) Self-evaluated self-esteem, peer evaluated self-esteem, and defensive egotism and predictors of adolescents' participation in bullying situations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25:1268-1278.

Salmivalli, C. (2002) Is there an age decline in victimization by peers at school? *Educational Research*, 44:269-278.

Salmivalli, C. (2009) Bullying and the peer group: a review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, doi: 10.1016/j.avb.2009.08.007

Schafer, M., Korn, S., Brodbeck, F. C., Wolke, D. and Schulz, H. (2005) Bullying roles in changing contexts: The stability of victim and bully roles from primary to secondary school. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 29:323-335.

Scheithauer, H., Hayer, T., Petermann, F. and Jugert, G. (2006) Physical, verbal and relational forms of bullying among german students: age trends, gender differences, and correlates. *Aggressive Behavior*, 32:261-275.

Schwartz, D., Dodge, K. A., Pettit, G. S. and Bates, J. E. (2000) Friendship as a moderating factor in the pathway between early harsh home environment and later victimisation in the peer group. *Developmental Psychology*, 36:646-662.

Sharp, S. (1996) The role of peers in tackling bullying in schools. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 11:17-22.

Smith, P. K. and Sharp, S. (1994) The problem of school bullying. In P.K.Smith and S.Sharp (Eds) *School bullying: Insights and perspectives* (p 1-19). London, UK: Routledge.

Smith, P. K. and Levan, S. (1995) Perceptions and experiences of bullying in younger pupils. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 65:489-500.

Smith, P. K., Madsen, K. C. and Moody, J. C. (1999) What causes the age decline in reports of being bullied at school? Towards a developmental analysis of risks of being bullied. *Educational Research*, 41:267-285.

Smith, P. K. and Shu, S. (2000) What good schools can do about bullying: findings from a survey in English schools after a decade of research and action. *Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research*, 7:193-212.

Smith, P., Cowie, H., Olafsson, R. and Liefooghe, A. (2002) Definitions of bullying: a comparison of terms used, and age and gender differences, in a fourteen-country international comparison, *Child Development*, 73:1119-1133.

Smith, P. K. (2004) Bullying: recent developments. *Child and Adolescent Mental Health*, 9(3) September: 98-103

Smith, P. K., Mahdavi, J., Carvalho, M., Fisher, S., Russell, S. and Tippett, N. (2008a) Cyberbullying: Its nature and impact in secondary school pupils. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 49:376-385.

Smith, P. K., Smith, C., Osborn, R. and Samara, M. (2008b) A content analysis of school anti-bullying policies: Progress and limitations. *Educational Psychology Practice*, 24:1-12.

Smokowski, P. R. and Kopasz, K. H. (2005) Bullying in school: an overview of types, effects, family characteristics, and intervention strategies. *Children and Schools*, 27:101-110.

Stassen Berger, K. (2007) Update on bullying at school: science forgotten? *Developmental Review*, 27:90-126.

Sutton, J., Smith, P. K. and Swettenham, J. (1999) Social cognition and bullying: social inadequacy or skilled manipulation? *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 17:435-450.

Swain, J. (1998) What does bullying really mean? *Educational Research*, 40:358 – 364.

Tapper, K. and Boulton, M. J. (2005) Victim and peer group responses to different forms of aggression among primary school children. *Aggressive Behavior*, 31:238-253.

Vaillancourt, T., Hymel, S. and McDougall, P. (2003) Bullying is power: Implications for school-based intervention strategies. *Journal of Applied School Psychology*, 19:157-176.

Whitney, I. and Smith, P. K. (1993) A survey of the nature and extent of bullying in junior, middle and secondary schools. *Educational Research*, 32:3-25.

Wolke, D. and Samara, M. (2004) Bullied by siblings: association with peer victimization and behaviour problems in Israeli lower secondary school children. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45:1015-1029.

Ybarra, M. L. and Mitchell, K. J. (2004) Online aggressor/targets, aggressors, and targets: a comparison of associated youth characteristics. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45:1308-1316.