BULLYING: AN OVERVIEW AND EXPLORATION OF STUDENT AND PARENT ATTITUDES AND THE PERCEIVED EFFECTIVENESS OF THE KIA KAHA PROGRAMME

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Masters of Arts

in

Psychology

at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

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2002

ABSTRACT

This study provides an overview of student and parent attitudes towards bullying, and explores the perceived effectiveness of the Kia Kaha programme, 2000. It includes both qualitative and quantitative data derived from questionnaires developed from the broad objectives of the programme. The sample was taken from three schools in the Greater Wellington area. One hundred and twenty student participants and their parents were tested prior to, and following, the implementation of the school- based programme. The study provides some insight into the feelings of students who have experienced bullying both from the victim and bystander's perspective. Telling, and the safety issues implicated in telling, still present as the major obstacle in the management of bullying behaviour. Parent participants offer valuable feedback regarding their perceptions of the programme's effectiveness. Parental involvement in prevention programmes represents a previously untapped resource with the potential to enhance a whole-school anti-bullying process. Parents indicated an enthusiasm and willingness to become involved if given the opportunity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to sincerely thank my supervisor Cheryl Woolley for her exemplary patience and support. I respect her wisdom both as a professional and a woman and I thank her for the opportunity she has given me to learn. I also express sincere thanks to Ross Flett for his advice and support regarding the SPSS/PC software and statistical component of this study. I wish to acknowledge the organisation and hard work done by Anne, Melanie and Robyn in the psychology office in handling the incoming questionnaires and the various other helpful tasks you performed, thankyou. Your consistently happy dispositions are surely not part of your job description!

I thank all students and parents who gave so willingly through participating in this study. Also to the teachers and principals who cooperated with the study and facilitated the questionnaire process. Thank you also to the police education officers, especially Rob Barton, who was particularly helpful in introducing the schools to the idea of the study.

I wish to acknowledge the endless support, patience and encouragement that my wonderful extended family has given me over the past two years. Thank you Marise, Jill and Mum and Dad for being so generous with your time and patience. However, in particular I wish to thank John, Sarah and Matthew for their love, encouragement and patience without which none of this would be worthwhile.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Bullying in schools has become a controversial and serious issue in recent times, both in New Zealand and overseas - in fact, it is endemic in our schools. "The predominance of dangerous bullying and the fact that we tolerate it is nothing less than a national disgrace" (Pollack, 2000). The incidence of bullying is unacceptable if our communities maintain that a child has a fundamental right to an education unimpeded by threats and the resultant erosion of one's self-esteem. A child has a right to learn in a safe and supportive environment and both schools and parents have an obligation to work in a collaborative sense to ensure this happens. Olweus (1999) contests that it is the fundamental democratic right for a child to feel safe in school and to be spared the oppression and repeated intentional humiliation implied in bullying.

Although research in the area extends back approximately thirty years and much of it has offered pragmatic ideas for preventative and restorative programmes to address the issues of bullying, there has not been a significant decrease in reported bullying. As has been evident in a plethora of media articles in recent times, many of our schools are not managing to provide a safe learning environment for students. Even though several initiatives have been developed to address this increasingly complex problem.

Rarely a week passes wherein a leading newspaper in this country is not investigating bullying in New Zealand. A recent television story on " Holmes" reported on a severe bullying problem on Stewart Island. The child who was being victimized at school suffered racial abuse and was called a "Nazi" due to his German parentage. The boy was being home-schooled as he feared for his safety if he returned to school. It is alleged that this problem has continued for three years and the child's parents have sought help at every level, finally from the Minister of Education, who, like others, took no action. Similarly, an incident at a Hawkes Bay High School recently saw a group of boys sexually violate one of their peers in a severe and premeditated incident. It is alleged that the group of bullies had been involved in previous bullying incidents at the school and that teachers were aware of these and took no action.

Varnham (1999) suggests that by not maintaining a safe environment for children, schools, under current New Zealand law may be made liable for negligence. Action to this effect has been successfully taken against schools in England. Societal pressures have seen many issues "acted out" in the school context. Aggression in many forms is played out in the school playground or classroom and therefore becomes an issue that must be addressed by the school.

In the United Kingdom (U.K.) all schools, from September 1999, were legally required to have an anti-bullying policy in place. A large volume of research has been conducted in this area and the issue is acknowledged as one requiring immediate attention. The bully cannot sustain power without the passive approval of bystanders, and research shows that bystanders are implicated as seriously as the bully. This expands the traditional focus from

the bully/victim dyad to include those supporting the bully. If schools are committed to adopting an effective anti-bullying policy, they must include the entire school community of staff, parents and students.

Students need to know that adults take bullying seriously and feel safe when reporting a bullying incident. They need to feel supported and confident that the issue will be dealt with effectively and respectfully when they do tell.

Researchers have explored the gender issue with regard to bullying and have elucidated a number of differences that assist in identifying both the different manners in which intimidation is used and the most effective methods in countering them. Simmons (2002) argues that our culture denies girls access to open conflict and argues that this serves to drive their aggressiveness underground into what she describes " a hidden culture of aggression". The processes available to resolve these issues of aggression effectively are complex and varied.

A whole-school policy is one in which parents, teachers and students collectively become involved in a process aimed at eliminating bullying in schools. **KIA KAHA** is an anti-bullying initiative which aims to involve the students, parents, caregivers and teachers in a programme working to "create a safe learning environment that is based on mutual respect, tolerance and a respect for diversity" (*Kia Kaha Safer Communities Together*, 2000).

Kia Kaha

"**KIA KAHA** is a series of anti-bullying programmes designed to help schools create communities where everyone feels safe, respected and valued and where bullying is not tolerated". (*Kia Kaha Safer Communities Together, 2000*). The programme was developed by the Youth Education Service of the New Zealand Police in association with Specialist Education Services (SES). The SES Eliminating Violence programme and the **KIA KAHA** programme are complementary. The Eliminating Violence programme is a systems approach intended to offer schools support when analyzing violence and bullying in the school. It is also intended to help create environments that encourage positive non-violent interactions. The strength of **KIA KAHA** is as a classroom curriculum programme available for all school levels, years 0-13.

KIA KAHA is used to affirm that all people need to stand strong against bullying. The aim of the programme is "to create an environment where all members of the school community feel safe, respected and valued and where bullying cannot flourish" (*Kia Kaha Safer Communities Together*, 2000).

The general objectives of the programme are two-fold;

1. Students, parents, caregivers and teachers will recognize that bullying and harassment are unacceptable. They will develop personal skills and supportive policies and practices to ensure it does not flourish in their school.

2. Students, parents, caregivers and teachers will work together to create a safe learning environment that is based on mutual respect, tolerance and respect for diversity (*Kia Kaha Safer Communities Together*, 2000).

The programme consists of three modules and has been developed in a sequential format. The programme developers emphasise the importance of the sequence being maintained as the learning is cumulative and serves to reinforce previous learning. It is suggested that the programme be delivered over a two year cycle to ensure all students are involved in the complete learning process.

The modules include:

1. No More Bullying

2. Knowing and Respecting Others

3. Bully Free Zones

Module One addresses the issues relating to students being able to identify bullying behaviour and describe the effects of bullying. It also enables them to develop and learn to use strategies to stop bullying, and to identify people who could assist the victim in a bullying incident.

Module Two addresses the issues of respect for self and others, stereotyping and discrimination.

Module three incorporates areas of learning by asking students to identify and critique their own behaviour, the appropriateness of their behaviour, and determine whether or not it would be appropriate to change their behaviour. These modules are closely linked to health and physical education in the New Zealand Curriculum and also to mental health issues in the curriculum. As the programme uses an integrated approach it meets

achievement objectives in many other curriculum standards. Tattum (1993) suggests that the merit of the curriculum is that it can be used as a vehicle for influencing pupils' attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviour.

The inclusion of parents in the intervention is fundamental to the success of the programme. Parents play a significant role in providing consistency in the management of bullying across both the school and home environment. If bullying is expected to decline, parents need to be involved in developing appropriate attitudes and behaviours (to reduce bullying) beyond the reach of the school (Pepler, Craig, Ziegler & Charach, 1993).

KIA KAHA, which means to "stand strong" in Maori, was developed by the New Zealand Police in 1992 and reviewed in 2000. It is a resource kit for students, teachers, parents and caregivers. Police Youth Education Officers offer the programme to schools in their area. If a school elects to establish the programme an officer provides the programme materials and if requested, will work with the teacher in delivering the programme. However, the school may choose to manage the programme without any involvement from the Police. It is the intention that the programme will be "owned" and taught by the school. **KIA KAHA** 2000 is a whole- school policy.

A whole-school anti-bullying policy is defined as one where everyone involved in the school, including staff, students and parents, is involved and committed to establishing and maintaining the principles upon which the new practices are based. If students are "acting out" inappropriately in the school environment, or not intervening appropriately when

observing these incidents, the only effective method of reaching all students is to involve the entire school community.

A whole-school policy is one where everyone in the school has been involved in identifying the reasons for change and the procedures by which it can be achieved (Sharp & Thompson, 1994). The whole- school programme aims to raise awareness within all areas of the school, thus ensuring the school ethos and culture are such that the students feel they can trust a teacher to respond appropriately in a bullying situation. It is argued that an empathic response from a teacher would assist in the student feeling safe enough to discuss a bullying incident with a teacher. Whole-school policies have been widely regarded as the most effective intervention for anti-bullying strategies as they must involve the entire school community to be able to maintain and drive the commitment to minimize bullying (Rigby, 1996: Sharp & Thompson, 1994).

An evaluation of the 1992 version of **KIA KAHA** (Sullivan, 1998) recommended that the philosophy should change to one where the victims are listened to and empathised with, rather than being given the responsibility for resolving the bullying themselves. " The No Blame Approach" was suggested as offering a possible new direction on which to build a new philosophy. The study also called for more emphasis on the whole-school approach so as to underpin the new programme. Sullivan further suggested that if schools wished to implement the programme they must do so in its entirety, not use the piecemeal approach of selecting some components of the programme.

Gillian Palmer (personal communication, October 25, 2001) indicates that the new 2000 version of **KIA KAHA** saw a change of philosophy in that the programme moved away from labelling the bully. This also meant a move away from blaming and an adoption of the general principles inherent in the "No Blame Approach" (Maines & Robinson, 1992). A significant volume of research conducted since the inception of the original 1992 version of **KIA KAHA** resulted in this fine tuning of the programme. More emphasis is now placed on the whole-school approach and working with the Eliminating Violence programme.

KIA KAHA is a preventative programme not a prescriptive one, which provides teachers and students with a specific format for use when dealing with a bullying incident. One objective is to help develop coping and problem-solving skills that can be used to either prevent, diffuse or deal with a bullying situation. The programme also aims to raise awareness of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour amongst both the students and parents. Bell (1997) found, in a study involving teachers and principals, that they viewed the **KIA KAHA** programme as successful; it heightened awareness and helped children with useful strategies for coping with bullying. Both teachers and principals also agreed that the programme helped children stand up to bullies. Teachers and other adults indicated a heightened awareness of issues surrounding bullying that was translated into increased support for the victim. The study revealed, however, that the incidence of bullying did not reduce.

The "No Blame Approach", was developed in the United Kingdom by Maines and Robinson (1992). This is a seven step programme that includes both interviews with the

victim, then with the bully (bullies) without the victim present. The aim of the meeting with the bully is to elicit empathy for the victim's position in the incident by sharing information with the bully on how the victim is feeling. There is no blame attached to any person. The meeting facilitator states that it is the responsibility of the group (of bullies) to improve the victims situation. Rigby (1996) suggests that some see this method as naive and idealistic. Others see it as appealing, as it intends to facilitate an empathic view of the victim on the part of the bullies. Rigby believes much depends on the teacher or counsellor using the method. However, it does attempt to place the responsibility for change with the bullies, in expecting their cooperation and concern for the victim.

Sullivan (2000) describes the strategy as *a feelings approach to bullying*. There is no intention to punish anyone, but rather to deal with the incident by getting the bully to empathise with the victim and solve the immediate problem. It is known that often the victims and their parents want retribution. However, punishment can often lead to resentment and disaffection on the bully's part. This does nothing to foster positive or empathic feelings toward victims (Lund, 1996).

Young (1998), found a slightly modified version of the no blame approach to be effective. Young argues that when working towards changing attitudes, small personal changes can lead to profound group changes. Young suggests that the strength of the approach is that it operates within the pupils' own social context therefore, change comes from within the group rather than being externally imposed. The facilitator allows the individuals of the group to critique their own behaviour and, while acknowledging the

power of the group, also allows the individuals to have their own voices and behave as individuals.

Another whole-school anti-bullying initiative is "The Method Of Shared Concern" (Pikas, 1989). The programme is suitable for children over 9 years of age, where it has been identified that a group (or gang) have been bullying (or mobbing) one or more other pupils. It is a programme developed on the rationale that bullying is a group process and therefore the entire group is required to be involved in the initiative to resolve a bullying incident. The method aims to raise awareness of existing group processes and in particular make the group accept responsibility by stressing that the group has the power to control an incident and to provide empathy for the victim . The teacher is the facilitator and does not assign blame or act in a punitive manner but rather attempts to reindividualise the group members in a series of interviews.

This intervention has been met with some criticism. Olweus' study (as cited in Smith, Cowie & Sharp, 1994) argues that clinical evidence shows that bullies do not show empathy for their victim's feelings. This is at variance with Pikas who claims bullies do feel guilty following a bullying incident. Olweus also contends that parents, who are not involved in this scenario, could be an important factor in reinforcing and sustaining changed attitudes and behaviours. Smith et al. (1994), however suggests that this programme can be powerful in the short term as a measure to combat bullying. As the programme follows a precise sequence it is essential that a teacher be trained before attempting to use it.

If the bullying dilemma is to be managed more effectively in terms of appropriate allocation of resources, it is first necessary to identify how students define bullying and explore the influence of gender difference. These issues will be addressed in the literature review together with the documented long-term effects of bullying if the problem is left unchecked. The powerful role that bystanders play in the systemic process is reviewed as is the issue of whether students tell anyone about being bullied. Finally, it is proposed that difference can often play a role in igniting bullying behaviour, and this is addressed in the review also.

The Present Study

The present study explores student and parent attitudes to bullying and the perceived effectiveness of the new **KIA KAHA** programme for senior primary students. The questionnaires aim to identify what constitutes bullying for both students and parents. It also aims to elicit their thoughts on behaviours concerning bullying incidents both prior to and following the implementation of the **KIA KAHA** programme in their school. As **KIA KAHA** 2000 has a strong emphasis on the whole-school approach it was considered appropriate to survey parents as well as their children. Past research has not focused on parent attitudes and it is suggested that parents can reinforce and help maintain new practices adopted in an anti-bullying programme if they are involved and informed about the aims and objectives of the programme.

Livingstone (1997), when researching drug education in New Zealand, concluded that if young people were expected to change attitudes and behaviour, then parents and other adults should also be the targets for intervention. The rationale being that parents role

model to their children what acceptable behavior and attitudes are through their own attitudes and behaviours. The study argued that school based educational programmes are unlikely to achieve the desired outcomes without the close involvement and endorsement of parents.

History

Olweus, a Scandinavian, is probably acknowledged as the founding father of large scale significant research into school bullying. His research awakened the world to the magnitude of the silent and subversive practice that, until then, had been largely ignored. In his English version of *Aggression in the schools: Bullies and whipping boys*, Olweus (1978), used self-report questionnaires to assess bullying as well as exploring its basic nature. As a result of Olweus' early research in 1983, the Norwegian government initiated a nationwide campaign against school bullying. In 1987 a conference was organized in Norway hosting 13 European countries. This appears to have acted as a catalyst as many countries subsequently developed their own research programmes following this collaborative insight into the issue of bullying. Prior to this, most research on bullying had emanated from Scandinavian countries. Roland and Munthe (1989) edited a book on bullying which included several European delegates contributions entitled *Bullying: An international perspective*.

In 1989 the first book on bullying, *Bullying in schools* (Tattum & Lane, 1989); was published in the U.K. The U.K. had an upsurge in attention to bullying in 1989. The Elton Report was released, which was not intended to be a document on bullying, but did note that bullying was widespread and largely ignored by teachers. The report encouraged

schools to take action to ensure the safety of their children. However, the report was also largely ignored. Besag (1989) also released a book on the topic of bullying. The Gulbenkian Foundation established an advisory working group on Bullying in Schools in 1989. This funded a small booklet entitled, *Bullying - a positive response* Tattum, D & Herbert, G. (1990). Also funded was a telephone service that fielded around two hundred calls a day from people concerned about bullying issues. The Foundation also funded the Sheffield Anti-Bullying Project, which was a large scale anti-bullying intervention modelled on the Norwegian programme. The project, involving 24 schools, was to be a significant contribution to the research on bullying.

Smith and Thompson released *Practical approaches to bullying*, which was a tool for teachers to use in a practical sense, in 1991. In 1993 Tattum and Herbert produced *Countering bullying* that was a compilation of case studies. Whitney and Smith (1993) reported on findings from intervention programmes used in the Sheffield project involving more than 6000 pupils using a modified version of the Olweus questionnaire.

In Japan several suicides caused by school bullying (1993-1995) led Morita, Soeda, Soeda and Taki (1999) to conduct research in the area. There has also been a sharing of information and joint research projects between Japanese and western researchers (Smith & Brain, 2000). Japan is the only country outside Scandinavia to have taken an interest in bullying at a national level (Besag,1989).

The Finnish researchers, Bjorkqvist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen (1992) discussed the concepts of direct and indirect aggression.Until this time indirect aggression had not been

teased out definitively as a separate construct from direct aggression. Indirect aggression has a significant role to play in the issue of gender, as it is used more frequently amongst females. As it is covert, identification is more difficult and this may have confounded some previous findings when researching the incidence of female bullying. Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, (1996) published important findings on the various participant roles involved in bullying as a group process and raised awareness of the role of the bystander.

In the United States of America, Harachi, Catalano and Hawkins (1999) suggested that although the media and literature have given bullying a lot of attention, bullying has not been a focus in educational programming nor is it evident in scientific literature. Most of the research to date has focused on direct rather than indirect bullying. There appears to be no national level intervention that specifically addresses bullying. Eron, Huesmann, Dubow, Romanoff and Yarmal (1987) conducted a longitudinal study over 22 years involving 870 8-year-olds researching the long-term consequences of bullying in the U.S.A. Crick and Dodge (1994) researched victimization and the influence of childhood social skills and sociometric status.

There has been limited research on bullying conducted within Canada (Harachi, et al. 1999). Dr. Debra J. Pepler has been a major contributor and the Toronto Board of Education requested that Pepler and colleagues conduct a study in 1991 surveying staff, students and parents from elementary schools.

In Ireland in 1993 Byrne published *Coping with Bullying in Schools*. This generated significant media and public interest. In 1993 the Department of Education issued guidelines for countering bullying behaviour in primary and post-primary schools. Since 1993 there has been intense media interest in bullying (Byrne,1999). The first national conference was also held in 1993. In 1996 an International Conference on bullying was held at Trinity College. O'Moore, another valuable contributor to the literature in this field, presented results of a nationwide survey on bullying and has established an Anti-Bullying Centre at Trinity College.

Rigby and Slee (1991) published the first Australian based research in a report on the incidence of bullying between the ages of 6 and 16. Rigby (1996) reviews his own and other research initiatives in Australia and provides pragmatic approaches to the issue in *Bullying in schools and what to do about it*.

Sullivan (2000) published a comprehensive resource *The anti-bullying handbook* that outlines problem solving initiatives including information on whole-school anti-bullying programmes. KIA KAHA is examined here in the New Zealand context.

Recent research from the Chinese University in Hong Kong suggests that Hong Kong children are bullied more than their peers in the West. Professor Wong Chack-kie, who was one of the researchers, believes this may be due to different cultural values. The researchers expressed a concern that this trend could manifest in an increase in violence in society generally (Reuters, 2002).

This review suggests that bullying in schools appears to be a widespread phenomenon that is found in a diversity of cultures. Reports of similar behaviour emanate from Scandinavian, European, North-American, Asian and Australasian sources.

Definition

Bullying is defined in many ways. That is not to say that the concept is subjective but perhaps elucidates an issue that has evolved as various researchers have investigated the various strands that comprise the multi-faceted concept of bullying. Smith and Sharp (1994) define it as " the systematic abuse of power". Roland (1989) states "bullying is longstanding violence, physical or mental, conducted by an individual or a group and directed against an individual who is not able to defend himself in the actual situation".

Olweus (1999) defines the phenomenon in a manner that most researchers would agree, as being characterised by negative actions carried out by one or more students. He outlines three criteria which are definitive; (1) aggressive behaviour or intentional harm doing (2) repeatedly and over time (3) an interpersonal relationship characterised by an imbalance of power. He adds that often this abuse of power is without provocation. Often the bullying is directed toward an individual by a group and the group will often consist of one bully and several helpers. Helpers are defined as a group of peers too weak to stand up to the bully even though they are fully aware that they are doing wrong. They seem to use the helping as a personal insurance policy afraid that they may be next on the bully's hit list.

Smith and Brain (2000) expand on the imbalance of power and suggest the victims may be unable to defend themselves for a variety of reasons. These may include physical stature, group victimization of an individual, or possibly the victim being less psychologically robust than the bully or group of bullies.

In defining bullying, care must be taken to include every facet, for without an inclusive view the magnitude of the problem will not be accurately reflected.

Bjorkqvist et al. (1992) refined the definition of bullying and categorised it as either direct or indirect aggression in the following terms;

Direct Physical Aggression: hits, kicks, trips, shoves, pushes, pulls, takes things.

Direct Verbal Aggression: yells, insults, teases, name calling, threat to hurt.

Indirect Aggression: gossips, tells bad stories, becomes friends with someone as revenge, tells another person's secrets to third party, talks behind third party's back, writes nasty notes about other person, tries to get others to dislike a person.

These definitions and categories become significant when assessing gender differences in bullying (Ahmad & Smith, 1994). Although it is implied, exclusion seems to be missing from the indirect category as is making unkind faces ("death looks") and/or gestures.

A brief summary of the defining criteria that is generally accepted will include; imbalance of power, repetitious nature of behaviour, intent to hurt either physically, verbally or indirectly. It is also possible that on occasions a bullying incident will have all of the hallmarks mentioned above, however, it may be an isolated incident but with a clear

and implied threat that the issue will not rest there. This should not mean that the incident is minimised as it may develop into a more malicious problem if left unchecked.

It is prudent to note recent incidents highlighted by the media that refer to acts of bullying. These acts meet the criteria for imbalance of power and intent to cause physical or psychological stress, but are perhaps " stand alone" incidents of bullying and do not meet the criteria of repetitiveness. One recent example involved a group of seven boys who sexually assaulted one of their peers. The dictionary definition of a bully is "a person who uses strength or power to coerce others by fear" (Sykes, 1976). Does this challenge the existing criteria where the definition must necessarily include repetition?

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Whole-School Policy

"A whole-school policy on bullying, if properly implemented, will reach all pupils in the school and most members of the school community" (Sharp & Thompson, 1994). It is argued that when a whole-school policy is compared to most individual intervention strategies it is shown that, individual intervention strategies have less impact on the number of students reached and also limited effectiveness long term. It is suggested that a reduction in bullying behaviour achieved through the whole-school intervention program can become visible within twelve months. Primary schools may see a dramatic reduction. Secondary schools may note an increase in the number of reported bullying incidents. Sharp et al. (1994) propose that improved relationships between staff, pupils and parents should also evolve from the development of whole-school policy.

The often unspoken but firmly held belief that bullying is part of the "rite of passage" for adolescents, and that learning to respond to victimisation is all part of a "normal" process at school, is not only disempowering our youth, but is also supporting the cycle of victimization that destroys daily life for many students. The acceptance of bullying, if sustained and tolerated by parents, teachers and carers serves to normalise the behaviour and ensure that it continues. It is important to look at changing the attitudes and beliefs of teachers and parents as well as students if society seriously expects bullying to be

minimised. Parents and teachers are role-models to students and their attitudes and beliefs impact on children when they are establishing their own world view. A child in a school environment cannot thwart the bully without the support of the school, the teachers and the school policy.

The Sheffield Project was undertaken in the 1990s and was developed as a whole-school policy with the involvement of teachers, pupils and parents (Whitney, Rivers, Smith & Sharp, 1994). As a result of the Sheffield Project (Smith & Sharp, 1994) it was found that wide consultation in the community appeared to correlate with the effectiveness of an intervention project in the school (Smith, 1997). Smith (1999) reported results from the Sheffield Project that showed that the schools that put more time and effort into anti-bullying measures and consulted extensively in whole-school policy development showed the most benefit in reducing bullying. The study also showed that the involvement of at least one staff member acting as a coordinator in anti-bullying interventions (well supported by senior management) was required if the action taken was to be successful.

A whole-school policy aims to raise awareness through all areas of the school and the supporting community, thus ensuring the school ethos and culture are such that the students feel supported and safe in their environment. It is hoped that students will subsequently trust those around them, particularly teachers, to respond in an appropriate manner when approached for help about a bullying problem. This is a core feature in the success of the programme. It is no coincidence that most children do not tell an adult, especially not a teacher, about a bullying incident because they do not believe it will be taken seriously.

The whole-school approach has been widely recognised as an effective method of reducing bullying in schools (Eslea & Smith, 1998; Tatum, 1993). Of the eleven school heads interviewed after being involved in the study, (following completion of the Sheffield project), ten felt that the anti-bullying work had been of some benefit. Of the pupils, 78 % said " a lot" or "a bit" had been done to reduce bullying. Only 12 % felt nothing much had been done. Sixty eight per cent of pupils indicated things had improved a lot or a little (Eslea et al.,1998). A study by Stevens, Van Oost and De Bourdeaudhuij (2000) which investigated a curriculum based anti bullying intervention for secondary school students, showed positive outcomes at post- test one. However, the effects had disappeared at post-test two. In the primary school sample, support for victims increased and there was a smaller decline in seeking teachers' help.

Moore (1998) argues that young people who bully or victimize others have one thing in common. They lack empathy for the other person's plight. It is suggested that the use of social skills training and peer support groups can effectively improve the school environment and complement the anti-bullying strategy being used by raising awareness and empathy. McGrath (1998) also suggests that significant positive changes in social behaviour and peer relationships can be achieved if effective social skills intervention is used. Many argue that the most effective action is to encourage an environment of belonging, both in the school and family sense. Edwards and Mullis (2001) argue that the constant diet of violence in media, song lyrics, video games, and other areas has served to desensitize US youth and suggests that society needs to address the culture of violence that has become endemic. One can generalize these beliefs to New Zealand society, as much of

our culture is based on Americanisms. The movie and television culture in New Zealand is dominated by American producers, as is our popular music and playstation games.

Previous research by Thompson and Arora (1991) suggested that having a whole-school policy was an essential framework in which to integrate other initiatives and to be able to maintain continuity. As with other studies, it was stated that proper use of the consultation process when developing an effective policy is paramount to the success of the programme. Not surprisingly, it was found that the schools involving all staff in a meaningful process of policy development had the biggest reductions in bullying behaviour as the teachers had helped to framework the policy. (Sharp & Thompson, 1994). This again illustrates the fact that the effort to reduce bullying in schools must involve the teachers in a committed and supported process to effect any change. Committment to the intervention and to change must be supported by the staff for the process to maintain continuity and be of significant importance in the school environment. Teachers can use the classroom to promote appropriate social behaviour where the rights and values of the individual are reinforced (Cowie, 1995).

One approach has been to develop peer support systems in schools, with the intention that students will seek support from peers when harassed. Cowie (2000) says that both teachers and students are enthusiastic regarding the value of peer support. She argues that not only does it challenge bullying but it also serves to change the school ethos to that of a caring environment. However, while Smith (2000) agrees that peer support is beneficial to peer helpers and the school atmosphere in general, and that some victims report increased confidence as a result of peer support, there are inherent problems to consider. Smith

cautions that there has been some hostility shown toward peer helpers from other students. There are also issues of power sharing with staff and the question of whether schools allocate the necessary time and resources for effective implementation. Peterson and Rigby (1999) suggest that if a well organized whole-school policy is implemented and students play a key role in the programme, positive changes are possible. Their study, which was run over a 2-year period, involved secondary school students and it was found that the initiatives undertaken by the students themselves were the most popular with peers. Naylor and Cowie (1999) concluded that the use of peer support systems in secondary schools was generally effective in helping victims. It was also thought that there were benefits for the entire school resulting from their use.

Even though there is a great deal of valuable information regarding the nature and extent of bullying and bullying is being given unprecedented media coverage and attention in School Board of Trustee documents, the actual incidence does not indicate a dramatic decline. Spivak and Prothrow-Stith (2001) warn, from an American perspective, against severely punitive measures. They also caution against programmes that simply remove bullied children from view rather than introduce supporting policies that identify at risk children and include structures which support them. Many programmes, when implemented in schools are supported by the majority of teachers at the time of implementation. However, it must be remembered, that these teachers are products of the school systems in which bullying not only thrived but went unchecked until recently. In order to effect any real change in a school culture the attitudes and belief systems of the teachers and principals must also be explored.

Many teachers believe bullying is a rite of " passage". Arora and Thompson (1987) found that teachers and students in a British secondary school felt bullying was accepted as an infrequent but "natural" part of school life which should not be a great cause for concern and which one can do very little about. It was an integral component of the social order of the school. Rigby (1996) highlights the danger of teachers using sarcasm and ridicule in a classroom as it role models bullying behaviour and legitimises the action of bullying. Although this practice may not be widespread, it again indicates the importance of a healthy school ethos that does not tolerate bullying. This includes zero tolerance to put-downs and derogatory words (Wessler, 2000).

Haines (2002) reported that Dr. Anna Piekarska, who is currently researching "teacher abusive behaviour", says that abusive behaviour by teachers in schools is a problem. In an anecdotal study of adults under 30 years old, she found that 46% reported experiencing abusive behaviour at the hands of teachers. Although there could be issues involving a different generation of teachers, 40% of participants were under the age of 20. There could also be issues relating to memory recall not being accurate. However, Dr. Piekarska argues that this is enough to indicate serious issues underlying the school environment that can lead to high levels of stress in schools and has seen them culminate in recent playground massacres overseas.

McGrath (1998) argues that although a school-based intervention is more cost-effective, acceptability by teachers is an important consideration when assessing commitment to implementing the intervention effectively. It is at this fundamental level that educators, with the support of parents, must start to rebuild basic respect for difference,

tolerance and empathy. The use of corporal punishment has been outlawed in this country. However, some teachers may make effective and destructive use of the power imbalance between teacher and student that can be seen to encourage and support aggression and victimisation by students (Pellegrini, Bartini & Brooks, 1999).

A whole-school policy involving all members of the school community allows the students to trust "that adults will follow through and protect interveners when bullying occurs" (O'Connell, Pepler & Craig, 1999).

Parents' involvement in the whole-school approach is fundamental. Roland (1993) devised a "system approach" that attempts to identify and manage various behavioural problems, one of which is bullying. The teachers are encouraged to work closely with parents to establish relationships, in the hope that future encounters will benefit from an established communication system. Besag (1989) argues that as education is one of few compulsory activities that adults impose on children, parents and teachers should ensure, as those most directly responsible, that the children's environment at school is safe.

Batsche and Knoff (1994) argue that the existence of bullying in a school indicates that both prosocial behaviour and respect for others is lacking. They further argue that schools must acknowledge that bullying is pervasive and that it contributes to the academic decline and lack of social development in students. They call for schools to implement a comprehensive intervention plan which is supported by all staff, if there is to be a significant change in the school environment.

Smith and Shu (2000) also support research that indicates that anti-bullying programmes in schools can have some positive effect. They further suggest that teachers require guidance in dealing with all facets of the bullying process. It is suggested that this could be done as part of the initial teacher training so that teachers feel they are adequately equipped to cope with bullying incidents. O'Moore (2000) argues that it is imperative that teachers be able to identify and understand bullying. She says that the research indicates that teachers tend to underestimate the problem, and that an extensive knowledge of the ill effects of bullying is necessary to dispel any myths teachers may believe about it. Further, she argues that teachers must have formal training on a national scale, both at pre and in-service levels. Teachers must also, as a matter of policy, contact parents as soon as a childs' behaviour is cause for concern. To leave it, may well exacerbate the problem.

Limper (2000) says that bullying is now on the social agenda in the Netherlands and parents have become more assertively involved in resolving the issue. There has been a heightened awareness amongst parents and pupils and a comprehensive whole-school policy has been established. Parent organizations have become actively involved and the communities are working together to address the issues in a considered manner. O'Moore and Hillary (1989) argue that it is unacceptable for schools to place all the blame on a student's homelife when they become involved in bullying or victimization at school. Evidence shows that a positive school ethos contributes in a significant manner to the good behaviour of pupils. However, one must also acknowledge that the home environment will influence a student's attitude and belief system. This again demonstrates the importance of involving parents in the school culture and encouraging a sharing of information and power in an effort to break down barriers and align home and school objectives.

There is a volume of research suggesting that a whole-school anti-bullying policy can be effective in reducing bullying. However, as Olweus (1997) suggests these programmes should be organized on a national scale, so that every school community participates and benefits from the intervention. Peer support systems have also been shown to be effective in school environments. There appears to be some merit in whole-school anti-bullying policies being co-ordinated with peer support systems to add another dimension to the empathic environment in which bullying will no longer be able to thrive. The commitment to change and the involvement of all facets of the school community are the keys to long-term continuity and effectiveness.

Telling

Atwool (2000) argues that when a child is experiencing trauma "paying attention to the child's voice" is the most appropriate way to attend to an individual. Frequently she says, this does not occur. Children are primarily dependent on significant adults to validate the fact that they have experienced a trauma. This process is significant when encouraging students to trust and tell adults about a bullying incident.

Much of the research shows that students are often unwilling to tell adults, particularly teachers, about a bullying incident. (Whitney & Smith, 1993; O'Moore , Kirkham & Smith, 1997). The reasons underlying this are varied. Fear is one of the main issues preventing either students or parents from telling anyone about bullying. For students, this could include fear of retaliation or peer judgement. Also anxiety relating to the potential embarrassment of telling a teacher and then to risk having the teacher dismiss the incident

as insignificant. For parents, fear of teachers negatively judging their children or themselves, or making their children's lives more difficult if they report bullying to teachers, are powerful deterrents to telling. This trend has serious implications, as it is indicative of the fact that many students are living each day at school fearing for their safety.

Varnham (1999) says that schools need transparent and accessible policies in place. However, of paramount importance is that teachers listen to students. Many students fear retaliation and the intimidation that pervades bullying (Farrington, 1993). Smith and Sharp (1994) express concern regarding the finding from self-report anonymous questionnaires that about 50 % of all pupils who admit to having been bullied, say that they have told no-one. They suggest that they are either frightened to tell or that they blame themselves for the victimisation and lack the confidence to report it.

Mellor (2001) also suggests that many children do not tell because they fear what the bully will do if they tell, or because they have had past experience of telling an adult who may have given bad advice or who was simply not interested. At a time in their life when peer relations are of paramount importance, many students fear looking "uncool" if they cannot manage their own situation and tend to accept the fact that bullying is a part of life one cannot change. There is a sense of hopelessness that no-one can change the outcome and, in fact, they believe that telling could exacerbate the situation if it were handled inappropriately (Smith & Shu, 2000).

Rigby and Slee (1999) found that only one in three students told a teacher about bullying. O'Moore et al. (1997) found, in an Irish study, that 65% of primary school students and 84 % of post primary students had not told teachers about bullying. More children had told someone at home that they were bullied. However, 46 % of primary school pupils and 66 % of post primary pupils had told no one at home. Eslea and Smith (1998) investigated the impact of the anti bullying initiatives from the Sheffield project in primary schools, one year after the project had been completed. The study involved four schools consisting of 657 children and results showed that no school had experienced an increase in the number of victims telling staff about bullying and there were no significant differences between boys and girls.

Boulton (1997) believes that teachers play a significant role in the prevention and management of bullying. The study showed that while teachers generally expressed negative attitudes towards bullying and bullies and were generally sympathetic towards victims, sympathy diminished with length of service. The teachers surveyed were not confident in their ability to deal with a bullying situation effectively and 87% wanted more training. However, results from other studies show that the response of school personnel to bullying is sadly disappointing (Batsche & Knoff (1994). Studies show that more than 60% of victims report that school personnel responded poorly (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Hoover, Oliver & Hazler, 1992). The revelation that 25% of teachers feel it is sometimes helpful to ignore bullying helps to elucidate the reasons behind many victims feeling unsupported and the fact that they are unlikely to tell anyone. O'Moore and Hillery (1989) found that the teachers' estimates of bullying behaviour vastly underestimated the incidence of bullying in their schools, identifying only 24% of the total number of bullies.

The study suggests there are many reasons that may explain why teachers are profoundly unaware that bullying occurs, though they do caution that many teachers are unsympathetic to pupils "telling tales".

Nairn and Smith (2002), in a study involving 821 secondary students and 439 staff, found that 56% of students agreed that teachers were ready to help if they were told about bullying. This compared to 92% of staff who said they were willing to help if told about a bullying incident. In a large study of secondary school students (n = 1190) it was found that only 21% of students who had been bullied, had told a teacher. Of that 21%, 40% said that teachers never do anything, 36% said sometimes they did something and 24% said when they told a teacher they often or always responded. The study found no significant difference between the numbers of girls and boys who told a teacher. However, girls were significantly more likely than boys to tell someone at home (Adair, Dixon, Moore & Sutherland, 2000).

Teachers may elect not to acknowledge an incident if it is verbal or indirect bullying as they view these behaviours as less serious than physical bullying (Stephenson & Smith, 1988). Boulton (1997) found, that significantly fewer teachers viewed exclusion (indirect bullying) as bullying than they did verbal threats. However, as Ross (1996) argues, children's appraisals must be accepted at face value, the importance of which cannot be overemphasized. Ross says that "others'" opinion of teasing is unimportant, as their judgements bear no relation to how the victim feels. Many students look to teachers to provide a safe and stable learning environment in which they can develop, and this fact is often overlooked (Besag, 1989). If the students do not feel safe in their environment and

believe that the teacher will not empathise with their plight and have an effective and confidential method for resolution of the issue, it is unlikely that the student will confide in the teacher. Adair et al. (2000) found that although 81% of those involved in a study had observed bullying, only 21% had reported it to an adult.

Smith and Shu (2000) argue that schools must address the "culture of silence" that surrounds bullying. This silence assists the bully and allows the bullying to continue undetected. In their study of 2308 pupils aged 10-14 years, 30% of victims had not reported being bullied to anyone. Older students were less likely to tell anyone when compared to younger students. Students were more likely to tell family or friends and boys were found to be less likely to tell someone than were girls. The students who did tell usually found that it was helpful. Teachers and family were reported to be the most effective in helping. Smith and Shu argue that this illustrates how powerful the teacher's role can be in dealing with bullying. It is emphasized that the teacher's involvement must be sincere, as a percentage of victims reported that their situation was made worse after a teacher intervened, as compared to family or peers intervening. The British Department for Education (DFE) funded an anti bullying project during 1991-1993, results of which showed that from the seven secondary schools involved in the project there was a significant increase in the number of victims who had told a teacher (mean 32%; maximum 79%) and in the number of bullies who reported that someone had talked to them about it (mean 38 %; maximum 99%).

Rivers and Smith (1994) found a significant difference when boys and girls were reporting either direct or indirect bullying. It was shown that both boys and girls were more

likely to tell an adult about direct bullying than they were about indirect bullying. The students clearly identify indirect bullying as a concept in the questionnaires, but appear to feel unsure about how the account of what happened will be interpreted by an adult. The students may believe that adults are likely to accuse them of "tell tales" because there is no physical evidence to support the claim. In the U.K. (Whitney & Smith, 1993) in a comprehensive study that involved over 6000 students who had completed a self-report anonymous questionnaire, found that only half of the bullied pupils had told a teacher about a bullying incident. In secondary schools that fell to one third. In this study only half of the students felt that teachers intervene sometimes or more often. The researchers noted the importance of the school climate in dealing with these issues.

Cowie (2000) found that twice as many males as females aged 11-14 years had told no one that they had been bullied. The expectation that a student will perhaps intervene in a bullying situation involving a peer was also found to be questionable. Fried and Fried (1996) suggested a variety of creative ways in which teachers can be proactive, responsive and reactive when dealing with bullying. They created an anachronym to encompass the initiatives developed to ensure that students are more resilient to victimisation. The main focus included the enrichment of self-esteem and social skills, conflict resolution, respect for difference, anger management and assertiveness training, problem- solving skills, empathy and sexual awareness training.

Simmons (2002) argues that teachers offer one of the best hopes for changing the "hidden culture of girls' aggression". She says that a teacher can create a zero tolerance to girls' aggression and indicate to girls that indirect aggression and manipulation are

inappropriate ways to express negative feelings. However, she acknowledges that teachers can also be placed in unenviable situations by the many demands they face, as indirect aggression is not easily detectable and teachers are often limited by resource constraints.

Parents often also suffer an internal conflict when deciding whether or not they should tell the school about their child's bullying situation. Simmons (2002) notes that parents attempt to minimize their demands on teachers when dealing with their childrens' bullying. In her qualitative study she recounts the feelings of parents and their attitudes regarding schools and the reporting of bullying. Parents describe being concerned that a teacher will take things out on their children if they tell, or classify the parent as hysterical or indulgent. It is recognized that teachers can wield an enormous amount of power over a child at school. Simmons says that school officials are likely to either minimize the problem or blame the victim. She also raises the issue of shame as another reason why parents are reluctant to tell. Parents do not want to draw attention to themselves for fear of being judged negatively by their peers. They feel that the fact that their child is being bullied may reflect on their parenting ability, or that they will damage the image they have of being the perfect family. Simmons conveys one of the largest fears preventing parents from addressing their child's bullying, as fearing another parent's anger when s/he is approached regarding their child's bullying behaviour. Many parents tell stories of their child's experience as a victim and subsequently being sent for psychological counselling, when in reality the bully required help. Simmons says that, as a result, many parents choose to remain silent. She adds that "the role of parents is often reduced to bitter epilogues of disasters: parents who did too little, too late, or who did nothing at all".

Peterson and Rigby (1999) argue that many students feel that bullying cannot be solved and believe that teachers are part of that problem. Their intervention is often viewed with suspicion. The call is for transparency. This can only be facilitated by the existence of a safe telling environment. There is a strong message that a bullying incident should be reported, however, that is only likely if the telling environment is perceived to be safe, both from a student and a parent perspective. It is the responsibility of the teachers and schools to ensure that this happens. " The success of telling teachers depends on the school context"(Smith & Shu, 2000).

Sexual harassment often goes unreported by girls for a variety of complex reasons. Herbert (1989) says fear of retribution is a factor, as is guilt that they may have been attacked when they were in a situation they were forbidden to be in and therefore blame themselves. They may fear their parents reaction or fear they will not be believed by adults as they cannot prove the incident occurred. Minimising the incident and shame are also factors preventing a girl telling anyone. Herbert suggests this silence serves to ensure the harassment continues.

Bystanders

Recent years have seen research into bullying change from a tight dyadic focus of bully/victim to include the various other roles operating in what is now acknowledged as a group process involving many participant roles. This group has the power to challenge the systemic nature of bullying if its members perceive the school environment to be supportive when reporting such incidents. Bullying is a group process (Olweus, 2001;

Salmivalli et al. 1996; Sutton and Smith, 1999) based on a complex web of social constructs which need to be to identified and untangled.

Many peers are reluctant to either intervene when witnessing a bullying incident or to inform an adult (Olweus, 1993; Whitney & Smith, 1993). Most children do not like bullying but seem to tolerate it (O'Connell, et al., 1999; Thompson & Smith, 1991), or appear neutral (Salmivalli, 2001). However Whitney et al. (1993) reports that 80% of students do not like bullying. Perhaps students on the periphery of the bullying situation do not intervene as they experience a learned helplessness (Seligman, 1990), where they believe effecting any change is hopeless.

Alternatively, Hazler (1996) suggests that bystanders fail to intervene for one of three reasons: (1) they do not know what to do; (2) they are fearful of becoming the bully's next target, or (3) they may do the wrong thing and make matters worse. Sadly, for some, or all, of these reasons, bullying is sustained at unacceptable levels in our schools. Stevens, et al., (2000) suggest that, as a result of their study, primary school children would feel happier involving an adult, rather than becoming personally involved when witnessing peer harassment. It was further suggested that those who run the intervention programmes may be idealistic in thinking that they can effect a change in bullying behaviour at this age. This finding highlights the importance of genuine teacher support as students both as victims and onlookers are unlikely to be proactive at the scene and will require the support of teachers in dealing with an incident.

O'Connell, et al. (1999) found that peers were present in 85% of bullying incidents in the playground and classroom. The study showed that, on average, peers spent 54% of their time passively watching bullying (which is believed to reinforce bullying). It is suggested that the bully interprets this passivity to be positive as their bullying attracts an attentive audience who comprise a silent majority. This is consistent with the findings of Smith and Shu (2000) who reported that about 50% of bystanders tried not to become involved. The study showed that most bystanders were neutral rather than helpful, and that non-involvement increased with age. Further, it showed that bullies have a direct influence on peers; 21% of their peers time was spent actively joining with the bullies to abuse the victim and 25% intervening on behalf of the victims.

O'Connell et al. (1999) believes that the playground is a fertile environment for the modelling of a bully's behaviour, as the bully is aware that teachers and peers seldom intervene. S/he feels powerful and many of the peers share in that power by helping the bully. The study reiterates the importance of including the entire peer group in any anti-bullying intervention. Older boys were shown to have spent significantly more time joining in with a bully.

It has been suggested that the victim of bullying is devalued by his/her peers and made to feel personally responsible for the situation (Schuster, 1999). The peer group develops an unfavourable social perception of the victim, perhaps in an effort to justify their exploitation of the victim. Schuster says that this becomes a downward spiral as the derogation of the victim continues, as it serves to further encourage the bullying of the victim and reinforce the process. Smith and Shu (2000) found that bullies used a

self-justifying response to rationalize their actions. Hodges and Perry (1999) found evidence of this also and reported that bullies are likely to devalue the person they are bullying either because s/he does not retaliate, lacks friends or is simply rejected by the peer group. There are perhaps two social psychology constructs at work here. The first is the "bystander effect" which occurs in a group of people placed in an ambiguous situation. The members of the group are able to diffuse responsibility as each of them looks to the others to take action, resulting in no action being taken. The second is "Groupthink "where the cohesion of the individuals in the group precludes anyone from dissenting. The power of the "we" feeling in the group means that anyone who doubts the decision of the group suppresses it to remain part of the "in " group (Weiten ,1992).

The critical factor involved in changing the bystanders' level of involvement is the raising of the awareness of peers not directly involved in the incident. Cowie and Sharp, (1996) found that sound peer support systems that encourage a pro-social response from bystanders are a critical factor in dealing proactively with bullying. Adair et al. (2000) found that although 81% of students indicated that they had seen someone of their own age being bullied, 35% ignored the incident, 7% watched and 9% told a teacher. This compared to 32% who stood up for the victim and 13% who got help. Rigby, (2000) says it is more likely that a student will seek help from another student when in some serious difficulty and this further reinforces the potential value of developing well organised peer support systems in schools.

Salmivalli et al. (1996) looked at bullying as a group process and investigated the various participant roles within the structure. The study involved 573 Finnish students aged

12-13 years old. It is suggested, as peers are the moderators of behaviour in a school class, that the power of the peer group can be used to challenge bullying. The researchers maintain that aside from the victims and bullies, there are other students who witness bullying episodes. It is contended that their responses to these situations have significant effects on the outcome of the bullying episode. Some students act as the bully's assistants, and some are reinforcers as they provide the bully with positive feedback. The students labelled as outsiders keep completely away and ignore the incident. However, these students are the silent approvers of bullying. The defenders are anti-bullying and are pro active by either trying to stop the bullying or comforting the victim. The study showed that there were significant gender differences in these roles. Boys were more often in the role of bully, assistant or reinforcer, and girls more frequently in the role of defender or outsider. The study concluded that most students act in ways that actually encourage and maintain bullying.

Salmivalli et al. (1998) studied 189 14 to 15 year olds. They were a subsample of the 573 pupils involved in the Salmivalli et al. (1996) study. It was found that boys were more likely to assist or reinforce bullying, whereas almost no girls were. Also, five times as many girls were prepared to act as defenders of the victim compared to boys. The gender differences in participant roles found in the earlier study were evident in this study also. The researchers caution that the results could have been different had indirect bullying (more typical of girls) been addressed more specifically. There were items on the Participant Role Questionnaire that could not be easily applied to incidents involving indirect bullying.

The attitudes of the individual are not always reflected in his/her behaviour. There may be group norms and the expectation of conformity that leads to pressure to behave in inappropriate ways (Salmivalli, 1999). A study by Naylor and Cowie (1999) concurs with this. They argued that boys do care. However, in the turmoil of early adolescence many choose not to exhibit the caring attitude for fear that it may damage others' perception of their masculinity. The study showed that younger adolescent boys were reluctant to become involved in peer support groups in mixed sex schools. They argued that this reluctance to become involved may also stem from perceptions of the social manifestations of feminity and masculinity as exemplified in the inherent expectations of parents, teachers and media. Smith and Sharp (1994) argue that bullies often exhibit a need to appear tough in an effort to avoid being bullied themselves and found that bullies also show little empathy for the victim. It is of concern that the choice of nonintervention means that many young people become desensitized to others' suffering (Safran & Safran, 1985).

However, the research data show that the majority of students have negative or neutral attitudes towards bullying (Boulton and Underwood, 1992; Menesini, et al., 1997; Whitney and Smith ,1993). Menesini et al. found, in their large-scale survey of 8 to 16 year olds which involved students from Italy and England, that most students were opposed to bullying and supportive of victims. Girls were usually more upset about bullying than were boys.

In a study of group victimization, Salmivalli (1999) argues that the victim has a social role in the group. In the study involving 196 adolescents aged between 13 and 15 years, attitudes and participant roles were studied simultaneously and it was shown that most

students' attitudes were anti-bullying. However, despite the students' anti-bullying attitudes, when participant roles were analysed it was shown that students' easily become involved in encouraging bullying in their class. Although a student may empathise with a victim, other factors that are more powerful may prevent him/her from acting on that feeling. Subjective norms (what the person thinks the significant others think they should do) account significantly for dissent from original intention and consequently impact on behaviour (Salmivalli, 2001). O'Connell et al. (1999) says that, as 83% of children in their Canadian surveys reported that bullying made them feel either "a bit" or "quite" unpleasant, intervention strategies which involve peers should encourage children to address this discomfort. Once their level of awareness as to the negative aspects of bullying has been raised, peers may display less passivity when witnessing bullying and may actively oppose bullying.

Groups of all kinds share certain characteristics. They contain roles that assign certain responsibilities to some members and have norms about appropriate group behaviour. Groups have a communication structure that conveys who talks to whom and a power structure which determines who holds the power (Forsyth, cited in Weiten, 1992). When a group forms it takes on a life of its own with its own unique characteristics (Weiten, 1992). If this is extrapolated to the group of school bullies then one can imagine how implicitly the group members and even the peers on the periphery of the group are aware of the various roles each individual plays. In a particular situation an individual may behave quite differently in the group context compared to his/her behaviour when acting alone (Weiten, 1992). The group response to victimization can be a significant inhibitor of aggression (Olweus, 1993).

Assessment of bullying in the school situation appears to indicate that the group holds the catalyst for change. Most students behave in ways that either encourage or maintain bullying rather than diminish it. The peer group creates pressures to conform to certain behaviours that are often non aligned with the attitude of the individual. Once a person is identified in a role it may be difficult to extricate her/himself from it .The group may punish behaviours that are contrary to the group norms and the individual may see her/himself as incapable of any other behaviour (Salmivalli, 1999). Salmivalli (2001) also suggests, in assessing the participant role approach, that most students have some involvement in bullying and that these roles are supported by the group. The roles can only change if the group allows it. The study showed that students were reluctant to defend a victim even though they empathized with her/his situation.

Bukowski and Sippola (2001) also argue that victimization is a process by which groups attempt to achieve cohesion, homogeneity and a manageable level of change and evolution. They argue that groups victimize people who inhibit these aspects of group functioning by forcing the person out of the group and keeping her/him away. Conversely, the people who promote these aspects of group functioning are rewarded with power and privilege. Salmivalli (2001) suggests that a prevention and intervention programme that works with the entire group should be used for optimum effectiveness. The goal of the programme would be to raise levels of awareness and to enable one to reflect on ones own behaviour, also to rehearse the defender role using a role-play.

Hamed Nastoh committed suicide in Vancouver, 2000. He was 14 years old. He left a note detailing the endless harassment he had suffered at school. One student commented

that they knew he was being bullied but felt powerless to stop it (CBC News). If peer support systems are well resourced and have a place in the school structure, change can be brought about by challenging group attitudes towards bullying and also by offering support to the student being victimized. Salmivalli (2001) believes that as long as the social environment is left unchanged it is unlikely an individual in a group will change roles. This ensures the stability of the role. Therefore, changing the environment around the bully so that there no longer exists a support structure for the bully, will allow both the bully's supporters and the bullies an opportunity to change roles to more adaptive ones. The peer group that looks on without either intervening or seeking a teacher's assistance appears to hold the key to breaking the cycle of unchecked harassment.

Sutton and Smith (1999) further researched the participant role approach. They concluded, in line with Salmivalli et al. (1996), that as most students are involved in the bullying process, the focus must shift from the narrow confines of the bully/victim dyad to exploring the interactions and functions of the entire peer group. It is suggested that the defenders have a valuable role to play in extending the anti-bullying approach to proactively challenging the behaviours of the reinforcers and the assistants. While idealistically this sounds most desirable, the assistants and reinforcers are likely to be involved at this level as they fear being the bully's next targets. Certainly, the outsiders are likely to remain elusive, as non-involvement may be seen as the insurance policy to being left alone. If these robust characters, described as defenders, were to assume the role of school police for their peer group it should be only after rigorous training and with a great deal of support from the teachers.

Boulton (1994) believes it is a priority to attempt to change the attitudes of the students who witness bullying. Similarly, Herbert (1989) alludes to the power of the peer group as being the most important factor in combating bullying. When students do not tolerate bullying, either by way of their own intervention or by telling an adult, the rates of victimisation decline. Positive group response to victimisation does seem to be a significant inhibitor of aggression (Olweus, 1993).

The challenge in schools is to empower the majority who dislike bullying to move from being passive bystanders to taking some positive action against the bullying (Smith, 1997). It has been found that assertiveness training is helpful for victims (Sharp & Cowie, 1994). However, research shows that the vast majority of students do not take action against bullying in schools. Assertiveness training would thus be useful not only for victims but for everyone, including victims, onlookers and helpers. Smith (1997) indicates that attitudes are important when looking at the bystanders of a bullying incident. It has been found that pro victim attitudes are higher in younger children but then decrease up to 15 years of age (Menesini et al. 1997). If the intervention policies are implemented at primary school age when pro victim attitudes are at their highest then, with the endorsement of the school staff, there is perhaps a greater chance of ensuring the longevity of positive attitudes towards victims. Bystanders are an untapped resource who, if supported by consistent policy, could be the force directing change and challenging the process and maintenance of bullying with increased awareness, support, and victim empathy.

Gender Differences

Bullying is a facet of aggression and traditionally research has reported males as consistently more likely to be physically aggressive than females. However, while this may have been accurate, much of the valuable earlier research into bullying reported the incidence of direct physical and verbal bullying, whereas indirect bullying, more often perpetrated by girls, went undetected. Recent research has highlighted the various methods of covert bullying often employed by girls. This is valuable when identifying the resources required for anti-bullying intervention strategies. It was contested in earlier research, that girls' involvement in bullying was significantly less than their male counterparts (Olweus, 1999). Roland (1989) says that findings from an interview study of 300 pupils 10 to 12 years old indicated that girls are involved as much as boys are in bullying, both as victims and as bullies. The methods they use may vary but the same devastating results are evident. A study involving 138 students aged 11-14 years in Rome found that over 50 % of all students had bullied others over a period of three months, and nearly 50 % had been bullied (Baldry & Farrington, 1999). Whitney and Smith (1993) found, in a large study, that there was no significant difference in the frequency with which boys and girls reported being bullied.

However, Sharp and Cowie (1994) reported that both peers and teachers identify boys more than girls as being victims of bullying. This was illustrated in the Sheffield Project, where teachers nominated many more boys than girls for inclusion in assertiveness groups. Sharp and Cowie (1994) suggest that this could indicate the nature of indirect bullying, which is more prevalent in girls and also less visible. Eslea et al. (1998) reported that a clear sex difference was found in their follow-up study of the progress of the Sheffield

Project. The number of boys being bullied decreased considerably in three of the four schools being studied. However, the reverse had occurred for girls, where three of the four schools had experienced an increase in the number of girls being bullied.

Research shows that girls utilise indirect aggression more often than do boys (Ahmad & Smith 1994; Lagerspetz & Bjorkqvist, 1994). Olweus' study as cited in Ahmad & Smith, 1994, and also Roland (1989) found that boys were more physically aggressive and were more violent and destructive than girls. It was also found that girls used covert measures to bully, usually in the form of gossip and exclusion. Simmons (2002) chronicles the covert nature of indirect bullying with a chilling reality " …beneath the chorus of voices, one girl glares at another, then smiles silently at her friend. The next day a ringleader passes around a secret petition asking girls to outline the reasons they hate the targeted girl. The day after that, the outcast sits silently next to the boys in class, head lowered, shoulder's slumped forward. The damage is neat and quiet, the perpetrator and victim invisible". Simmons argues that society chooses to see girls' aggression as "rites of passage" rather than the aggression it actually is. Smith and Thompson (1991) suggest that research into the sex differences in bullying is valuable for raising the awareness in students in an effort to reduce bullying and improve the quality of life at school.

Bjorkqvist et al. (1992) clarified the definition of bullying that elucidated the differences between direct physical aggression, direct verbal aggression and indirect aggression. Their study measured all three types of aggression using peer nomination involving 8 to15 year olds. Direct physical aggression was more evident in boys, indirect aggression was more evident amongst girls, and there was little difference between the

sexes in direct verbal bullying. As the children got older there was a move away from direct physical aggression. It was found that girls are more likely to use indirect forms of aggression or relational aggression (Crick & Gropeter, 1995) with the intent of causing psychological distress. Conversely, boys are more likely to use direct aggression to cause physical harm than are girls. However, as indirect aggression is a more subtle form of aggression, it is often overlooked and translated to imply that girls are less involved in bullying than are boys (Owens, 1996). Eron et al. (1987) found that boy bullies were three or four times more likely to use physical assault than were girl bullies. Bjorkqvist et al. (1992) suggest that the use of indirect aggression is dependent on both well developed social networks and maturity, and that these factors serve to facilitate its effectiveness. The study found that indirect aggression appeared in girls' behaviour at 8 years of age but was not fully developed as an effective weapon until girls were 11 years old.

Consistent with Bjorkvist et al. (1992), a study that looked at the relationship between social intelligence, empathy and aggression found that indirect aggression was correlated positively and significantly with social intelligence, in every age group studied (10-14 year olds). However verbal and physical forms of aggression had almost zero correlation to social intelligence (Kaukiainen et al., 1999). Sutton, Smith and Swettenham (1999) concur with this view and suggest that the traditional stereotype of an "oafish" bully lacking in social skills may not always be correct. Rather, the bully may be an expert in the manipulation of social situations and use subtle and indirect methods. The researchers suggest this has significant implications for intervention strategies. It was again confirmed that boys used more direct physical aggression than did girls and that both boys and girls used direct verbal aggression similarly, and its use increased with age. Results showed boys

at 15 years used profanity and verbal abuse more than did girls. It is suggested that because girls have smaller networks it is easier for them to manipulate by indirect methods as their groups are more controllable. Girls socialize in smaller, more intimate groups and have tighter bonds between friends. This alignment often leads to more conflict than is found in boys' relationships.

Boys' relationships are less confining and they tend to be members of larger groups (Owens, 1996). Rivers and Smith (1994) found that the results of their large-scale study involving both primary and secondary students concurred with the findings of Bjorkqvist et al. (1992). Although the methodology varied, in that this study used self-report questionnaires compared to the Bjorkqvist et al. (1992) study which used peer nomination, it was found that gender differences involving verbal bullying were very small. Boys reported more physical bullying and girls reported more indirect bullying. As with Bjorkqvist et al. (1992) the study found the largest decrease in the number of direct bullying incidents at secondary school level. However, there was also a significant decrease in the number of indirect aggressive incidents.

Research by Crick and Grotpeter (1995) suggests that girls use relational aggression (indirect aggression) which involves damaging and manipulating peer relationships, as it serves to damage the social goals which are usually more important to girls than to boys. Generally, however, the study found there was virtually no gender difference for frequency of being bullied. Boys did seem to be more likely to bully others. The study also concluded that direct verbal bullying was the most common form of bullying for both sexes. When the students reached secondary school, girls' levels of direct physical bullying decreased

markedly. However, the rate of indirect bullying had increased. Simmons (2002) argues that " the intimacy of girlfriends is a central component of relational aggression between girls". She cautions that the warning signs for relationship violence bear a powerful resemblance to bullying (relational aggression) between best friends and suggests that perhaps the experts who work in the area of relationship violence have more to offer girls in these situations than the anti-bullying strategies currently being used in schools. Wiseman (2002) found, when interviewing girls, that they identified these parallels themselves, " If a girl's stuck in a degrading clique, it's the same as when she's later in a bad relationship. She doesn't expect to be treated any better". These words were spoken by a fifteen-year-old girl and exemplify what Simmons refers to when comparing student peer relationships to future adult relationships. If the bullying behaviour goes unnoticed the implicit message has negative long-term consequences for girls in future abusive relationships.

Simmons suggests that the current anti-bullying strategies in schools are inappropriate as they assume that the bully and victim are not friends. However, as we know, girls indirect bullying is usually dependent on an existing friendship. Owens, Shute, and Slee (2000) found that girls use a diverse range of indirect aggression to hurt their peers and a variety of verbal put-downs such as "dyke", "slut" , "tart", "fat" . Exclusionary behaviour was another category of behaviour used by girls that was found to have devastating effects in some cases. The results of this study concurred with other findings that the nature of girls' closer and significant peer relationships mean indirect aggression is a weapon of first choice with teenage girls. Teachers at one school reported that some girls had felt so desolate that they had considered suicide. Crick (1995) found that girls were more likely to

feel emotionally distressed by indirect aggression than boys. Sullivan (2000) suggests that indirect bullying is as harmful to girls as physical bullying is to boys and the time has come to focus more attention on ways to deal with it.

Social dynamics indeed play a powerful role in the girls' world, as the need to be accepted by the group, "the right group" drives the group to behave in often cruel and vindictive ways. Besag (1989) argues that girls have a need for affiliation and a feeling of belonging that is often gained by sharing confidences and gossip. It is argued that small groups and the girls' need for belonging and intimacy in relationships increases the opportunity for indirect aggression as a significant form of hurt (Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist & Peltonen , 1988). Boys, however, are seeking power and dominance. Physical bullying is still common in boys at secondary school level (Ahmad & Smith, 1994). It seems evident that before indirect bullying was defined to include the feminised version of bullying, for example, behaviours like covert exclusion and gossiping, the rate of bullying amongst females was probably under reported. However, female frequency of bullying still does not equal male frequency (Ahmad& Smith, 1994). Oliver, Hoover and Hazler (1994) found that although both boys and girls tended to agree that bullies enjoyed a higher social status than victims, significantly more females agreed with this statement. The study also found that the majority believed that victims brought bullying on themselves.

Gilbert (1994) suggests that male physical aggression is primarily linked to either gaining the admiration of others or attempting to intimidate others. Often the two are fused in one act. He argues that these issues demonstrate that males are lacking in empathy and affiliation as opposed to having an excess of anger and aggression. Gilbert postulates that

our societal context impacts strongly on the constructs we have around masculinity and, in fact, fosters and encourages a particular view of masculinity. Capitalism is founded on competitiveness and individualistic attitudes. These are often closely associated with ruthlessness that, in turn, serves to devalue the more feminine traits of empathy and compassion.

Simmons (2002) argues that the flip- side of this is that our culture stereotypes assertive professional women as "cold, frigid bitches" who will fail in their personal lives. Simmons adds that this message is interpreted by girls to mean, that if girls or women are assertive, they will jeopardize their relationships that will preclude them from becoming the nurturers society expects them to be. The hierarchical and male-dominated structures evident in society encompass the values that are antithetical to female sexuality in particular, and women in general. These positions illustrate that society has strait-jacketed boys and girls into these roles. Paradoxically, schools then lecture boys and girls participating in anti-bullying programmes on the perils inherent in stereotyping. Gilbert also argues that most of the major religions assist in this paradigm of male dominance and that this also condones and legitimises the traditional beliefs of male dominance whether it is translated into inter-male conflict or violence toward women. It seems salient to acknowledge that societal constructs are in fact supporting and reinforcing the notion that males are expected to be dominant.

Aggression is something that men and women talk about quite differently. Men associate aggression with power and control and view it with positive emotions, whereas women view it negatively and associate it with a lack of self-control (Campbell & Muncer,

1987). Munthe (1989) when referring to the Janus project (1986) found that boys reported bullying others more than girls did. However, Munthe questions whether this is an accurate assumption. It could be that boys do bully more than girls or it may be that bullying "fits" better and is more acceptable in a boy's world. Boys' bullying is usually physical and direct, so is visible and is more likely to be dealt with. Therefore, boys are perhaps more aware of what they are doing.

Simmons (2002) argues that boys' popularity is largely determined by their willingness to play rough. They gain peer respect through athletic prowess, resisting authority, acting tough, and through being troublesome, dominating, cool and confident. She argues that girls' are expected to develop into caregivers, a role that is at variance with aggression. The analysis of these theories suggests there will be little change in our school environment if the home environments continue to role-model male domination. This further adds to the importance of involving parents in the school if a solution to bullying is to be effective.

Salmivalli, et al., (1996) suggest that one reason why boys may be seen more often in the role of bully, assistant or reinforcer is that aggression in boys is largely idealised and expected, whereas socially for girls, the opposite is true. This perhaps, is interpreted by boys to mean they must act in an aggressive manner as that is what their peers and teachers expect. Otherwise they may be labelled as sissies or be seen to be weak. This study of 573 pre-adolescents showed that girls are outsiders (do not react to the bullying, are unaware of bullying incident) in bullying situations more than boys. Whereas 40.2% of girls were outsiders, only 7.3% of boys were and 30.1% of girls were defenders compared to 4.5% of boys. Moreover, 12.2% of boys and 1.4% of girls were assistants, 37.3% of boys and 1.7%

of girls were reinforcers. For victims, frequency was about the same, 11.8% of boys and 11.5% of girls.

Salmivalli (2001) reports that in Finnish samples findings consistently show that boys are more likely to take on the role of assistant and reinforcer than are girls.

Girls are more likely to act as defenders of the victim than boys. Salmivalli, Lappalainen and Lagerspetz (1998) found that in a 2 year study designed to measure the stability and change in participant roles in bullying behaviour, girls were over represented among defenders and outsiders. The roles of bully, assistant and reinforcer were very stable amongst boys. The participant roles remained fairly stable. It was found, particularly with girls, that their current peers were a more powerful predictor of their adolescent behaviour than behaviour they exhibited two years prior.

Amongst boys, peer behaviour was a significant predictor of their behaviour in eighth grade. Weaver (2001) in her interviews with teenage boys, discovered a high level of inconsistency with boys' attitudes to bullying. The boys appeared to be torn as they vacillated between presenting the macho male image or the more vulnerable aspect of their personality when reflecting on an incident they had either been involved in or had witnessed. When the boys were asked "what makes you afraid" bullying and lack of safety on the streets were recurring themes (Weaver, 2001). Tapper and Boulton (2000) consider that the traditional roles males have in industry, the military and business have led to the instrumental representation of aggression being viewed as an acceptable and positive method of wielding power over others.

After evaluating the results of a large-scale study in South Australia involving primary and secondary students in which Rigby and Slee (1994) had asked students "how bullying others made them feel", 23% of secondary school boys said "It gets you admired by others at school" ; 36% said "It prevents you from being bullied", and 47% said that it made them feel they were better than the victim. The results showed numbers were significantly less for girls (Rigby,1996). Rigby (1998) found that girls responded to bullying with sadness whereas boys responded with anger. However, Ahmad and Smith (1994) found that girls believe that bullies have a higher status than their victims. Rigby cautions that these figures suggest that many students see positive qualities in bullies and bullying.

Gilbert (1994) has argued that "a sense of not belonging is as damaging as powerlessness and that much of what we do, feel and think is related to our experience of ourselves as being part of, or becoming an in-group member and avoidance of being an outsider". Hawker and Boulton (2001) suggest that it is logical that humans are seriously threatened by exclusion from groups. They further suggest that relational aggression inherently attacks a victim's sense of belonging, and that harassment is more about denying a victim a sense of belonging than it is about rendering them powerless. However, the teachers in the study did comment that they were unclear as to how much one can intervene in "natural human behaviour".

Girls and teachers were pessimistic about the success of current or future interventions when addressing indirect aggression. However, cognizant of the group nature of indirect aggression, peer mediation was suggested as a worthwhile process when attempting to

address the problem (Owens et al., 2000). The other protective factor in addressing these issues was to provide interesting activities for the girls in their free time, thereby allowing less time for gossip. (Owens et al., 2000; Owens, Slee & Shute, 2001). The students themselves were critical of existing policy efforts to intervene and suggested that one possible intervention could be to use the close, cohesive relationships to organise peers in resolving these conflicts. Owens, et al. (2001) argue that the social skills girls develop in these intimate groups may well be the factor that would promote the success of the No-Blame approach. Their qualitative study of 54, 15 year old girls showed that their desire to have close relationships and be part of the in-group actually predisposes them to indirect harassment. Popularity is so desirable that a girl will endure perpetual harassment. Although girls in the study were sceptical as to the usefulness of interventions by teachers or counsellors, Owens et al. (2001) suggest this should not deter intervention. Although the No-Blame approach is teacher led, they argue that exploring alternative interventions such as the No-Blame approach and using the peer group processes already existing could, in fact, promote success and be more beneficial.

In a study involving 1,835 pupils aged 11 to 14 years old that investigated the effectiveness of peer support systems in dealing with school bullying, Cowie (2000) found that the existence of a peer support system was beneficial to the school in general. Boys in mixed-sex schools were less likely to participate in the support systems. Cowie suggests that as boys are less likely to be targets of indirect aggression, they may be less likely to use peer support. The study suggests that many boys do not choose to use their caring abilities unless they are certain that in doing so they will not undermine their perception of what it is to be masculine. Greater involvement of male teachers in peer support systems

may also facilitate increased use of the system by boys. "Peer support systems help to create a socio emotional climate of care" (Naylor & Cowie, 1999).

Salmivalli et al. (1998) suggests that bullying may hold a different meaning for boys and girls. Girls' involvement in bullying indicates that it is situational and dependent on the demands and pressures of the social context or the social relationships at the time. In a girl's world one may assume the role of a bully in a given situation and then assume another role in a different context. Salmivalli (2001) argues, that inherent in the female social role is the expectation that girls should be prosocial, helping and supportive. This may help to elucidate the finding that girls were more likely to change from bully to defender of the victim during the two-year study, whereas no boy changed to defender after the two-year period. Girls do not appear to retain the stability of defined roles that boys do. Boys, however, do exhibit stability in the bully role and it is suggested that power, dominance and showing off could be key determinants for boys' propensity to bully. In a boys world the traits linking to aggressive and dominant behaviour are reinforced in the world of their peers.

Muuss (1988) discusses Erikson's theory of identity development; the " Identity versus Identity Confusion" stage in adolescence which is characterized by adolescents frantically searching for identity as individuals. Muuss says that the importance of the peer group in a search for identity cannot be overemphasized. Identity is usually conceived and reinforced by interaction with significant others. The adolescent's peers fit this role. The process of conforming to the expectations of others is a gradual elimination process in an effort to establish which role fits best with the adolescent.

Olweus (1999), in his nationwide survey in Norway, found that a "considerably larger percentage of boys than girls had participated in bullying and that in secondary and junior high school more than four times as many boys as girls reported bullying others". Although physical bullying was more common among boys, the most common form of bullying was nonphysical harassment amongst both boys and girls. Sharp and Cowie (1994) raise concerns over the number of teacher and peer nominations for significantly more boys than girls who, they believe, have been victims of bullying. However, there must be caution used in the identification processes that schools employ. Care needs to be taken to include indirect harassment. Sharp and Smith (1994) say that girls tend to bully in groups using indirect harassment that is difficult for teachers to detect. The boys, however, are more likely to show proclivity towards overt physical measures.

As Hinde (1996) suggests, to understand the processes and coping strategies better, the social and cultural context in which the boys and girls have developed their models of interpersonal relationships needs to be assessed. Interventionists need to be aware of the social nuances that predicate the biases evident in the research on gender and make use of research gathered to tailor policies which best suit the population being targeted.

Differences

Respect for difference and diversity in the community is essential if there is to be a harmonious and progressive society. It is often the acknowledgement of difference that triggers issues in our schools resulting in bullying, when in fact it should be a celebration of

diversity. This exemplifies a society that often struggles with intolerance and ignorance (Gillborn, 1993).

Difference can be interpreted in many ways. The high incidence of bullying is perhaps more indicative of widespread societal problems, such as racial bias, rather than innate cruel psychopathology. This raises issues about students' attitudes and belief systems and the overt and covert ideology that may support the practice (Oliver, et al., 1994). Moran, Smith, Thompson and Whitney (1993) found that children of Asian origin were more likely to suffer racist name-calling than were their white peers of the same age and gender, although they may not necessarily be subjected to other forms of bullying.

Robinson (1998) argues that recent findings have indicated that own-group bias for black children in the USA and for Maori children in New Zealand is more prominent now than in studies conducted prior to 1970. It is suggested that an increase in racial consciousness could account for this. However, Robinson questions the validity of these recent findings and adds that many samples of black children in the USA still show no bias in their preferences for unknown peers and that data involving New Zealand are inconclusive.

Adair et al., (2000) found that in New Zealand European students were more likely than Maori or Pacific Island students to report that they had been bullied. Further, Maori were more likely than any other ethnic group to report that they had bullied others. Asians were less likely than other groups to report that they had bullied and students from the Pacific Islands were more likely to report being victims of bullying.

In a large study of secondary school students, Siann, Callaghan, Glissov, Lockhart and Rawson (1994) found, contrary to their expectation, that ethnic minority pupils did not report higher levels of bullying than did their majority peers. The study asked pupils if they believed ethnic minority pupils are bullied more than were their majority peers. In all schools surveyed, the ethnic minority pupils were far more likely to endorse this belief than were their majority peers.

Gillborn (1993) suggests any effort to address issues of racism in schools must be seen in a wider social context. A coherent whole-school policy that specifically defines racial harassment in the school context and involves all staff in the development of policy will be more likely to lead to effective change. Using this model, the staff is expected to adhere to the policy and take appropriate action if they witness an incident involving racial harassment and bullying, just as students are expected to. Gillborn argues that schools are certainly not powerless, and any effective change must involve a coherent whole-school policy that is supported by teachers, students, parents and the wider community.

In a study conducted by the Chinese University of Hong Kong and social services agency, Heep Hong Society, involving 174 primary school children, researchers concluded that children in Hong Kong are bullied more than their peers in the West. Professor Wong Chack-kie suggests that this may be due to Chinese cultural values as Chinese people place more importance on performance and tend to judge people's value by performance... not their intrinsic value. It raised a concern that the trend could reflect growing violence in society in general (Reuters, 2002).

Pupils with special needs or a disability are at significantly greater risk of being victimised (Whitney, Smith & Thompson, 1994). Richardson and Green (1971) found that disability has a greater influence than ethnicity on children's peer preferences. Often children with special needs enjoy less protection socially than their peers, from friends in an integrated environment. Dawkins (1996) suggests that some children with behavioural problems can "act out" aggressively and then become targets for bullies.

Duncan (1999) found that girls often suffer other girls making overt reference to their sexual character or appearance. Hyman (1997) says sexual harassment in schools is widespread and cites a study conducted by the American Association of University Women that revealed that two-thirds of all students between grade 8 and grade 11 had experienced unwelcome sexual behaviour in school. Wiseman (2002) argues homophobia creates an unsafe atmosphere in our community, as girls will attempt to prove their heterosexuality in " dangerous, unhealthy ways". Homophobia can be used as a weapon against a girl or boy to intimidate or isolate, consequently, the boy or girl then feels pressured to prove his/her heterosexuality. Wiseman notes that a girl displaying sexually promiscuous behaviour is more likely to be accepted if she is popular. However, if she is seen to have low social status, she is likely to gain a reputation as a slut, even though her behaviour is the same as the popular girl.

Rivers (1995) found that 80% of students in secondary school settings who were gay or lesbian had been teased about their sexual preference. Over 50% of them had been physically assaulted or ridiculed by other pupils or teachers. In New Zealand, Nairn and

Smith (2002) found, in a study involving secondary school students and staff, that very few of them believe that lesbian /gay / bisexual students are safe in our schools. The data collected in qualitative research revealed that these students are often subjected to "subtle and extreme forms of intimidatory behaviour".

Oliver et al. (1994) were surprised at the number of students who openly remarked that it was acceptable to tease or ridicule someone if s/he did not conform to peer group norms. The " norms" may vary according to the group and may extend to include race, size, intelligence, appearance, disability, gender and so on.

Bully OnLine (May 2001) says the reasons usually cited for them being picked on vary and include being fat, thin, tall, short, having a certain hair or skin colour, being quiet, wearing glasses, having a different culture or wearing different clothes, and many others including being unwilling to use strength to defend oneself. If schools and society in general are sincerely committed to change, in terms of adopting a zero tolerance to bullying then there must be more respect for diversity, more tolerance of individuality and increased empathy for the feelings of others.

Long-term Effects of Bullying

Bullying is a serious problem in schools, not just for the victims but also for the bullies, bystanders and helpers. The implications for all people involved in the bullying scenario are potentially serious, as outlined in the following review (refer also to appendix J). The emotional cost to individuals and families and the resultant resource and economic cost to schools and society is still largely unrecognized. However, as Rigby (1996) explains, the

processes of change need to be carefully considered as many people still believe that bullying "toughens people up, builds character and prepares them for the real world". Rigby says that a significant number of teachers hold these views. The processes inherent in bullying mean that most people involved in it, either directly or indirectly, are under a degree of perceived pressure to either support the bully overtly, or observe and say nothing. In the U.K. alone, only one-third of school children report bullying (Pearce & Thompson, 1998).

The long-term effects of bullying are well documented and in extreme cases, fatal. Eron et al. (1987) found in their 22- year longitudinal study in the USA, that young bullies had a one in four chance of having a criminal record by age 30 compared to a one in twenty chance for the nonbullies. The study followed 870 children with a modal age of eight years. A sub-sample of highly aggressive students was identified using peer nominationAt 30 years of age, of the 409 studied, most had children who were bullies, abused their wives and children and had more convictions for violent crimes, more alcoholism, more antisocial personality disorders and used more mental health services than the nonbullies.

Boys who bully have a significant tendency to become delinquents and it predisposes them to criminality (Farrington, 1991; 1992; Lane, 1989; Rigby and Cox, 1996). Tremblay (1991) argues that conduct-disordered boys attract a lot of research time. However, conduct-disordered girls also need to be studied. He suggests that because girls are less disruptive and less intense they remain largely undetected. Tremblay argues that these girls are more likely to become young mothers of a new generation of disruptive conduct-disordered boys.

Olweus (1989) found in follow up studies in Norway that former bullies were four times more likely than non-bullies to be involved in serious recidivist criminality. Olweus describes bullying as "a component of a more generally anti-social and rule breaking behaviour pattern". Aggressive behaviour is learned, perhaps from parents who abuse their children and effectively role model the fact that aggression and violence are acceptable and effective processes used to dominate others and get what you want (Tattum, 1993). Espelage, Bosworth and Simon (2000) found a correlation between family environment factors and bullying. The study was conducted in a large middle-school involving 6th, 7th and 8th graders and found families using physical discipline to be significantly associated with bullying behaviour. Bullying was much less likely to appear in students who spent time with adults who managed conflict with non violent strategies. The study concluded that adults may play a substantial role in the development of bullying and therefore parents should be included in interventions wherever possible.

Kitchin (2002), reported on an incident in which a student was sexually violated by his peers. It is suggested that there were incidents that preceded this where teachers at the school had failed to take any action. The boys who were convicted were, in fact, many of the school's leaders and enjoyed much support from the teachers, despite the fact that claims have been made in a letter to the Minister of Education that some teachers had actually observed bullying and had chosen to ignore it. Farrington (1993) found, that there were significant links between generations with fathers who were bullies at school being more likely than others to have sons who were bullies at school. There was also a strong tendency for fathers who had been school bullies and were later violent criminals, to have

children who were bullies. The study further showed that bullying at primary school age, and particularly at 14 years was a significant predictor of bullying at 18 years and 32 years.

It has been widely recognised that victims of bullying are characterised by low or loss of self-esteem, depression, anxiety, isolation and loneliness (Boulton & Smith, 1994; Craig, 1998; Neary & Joseph, 1994; Olweus, 1993; O'Moore, 1995; Rigby, 1996; Slee & Rigby, 1993; Smith & Sharp, 1994). The victims of bullying often take the feelings of low self-esteem and loneliness into adulthood where they may manifest as depression. O'Moore and Kirkham (2001) report a strong relationship between between self-esteem and bullying. In a nationwide study which involved 8,249 Irish students it was found that both primary and post-primary age students who were involved in bullying, either as bullies, victims, or both, had significantly lower self-esteem than children who had neither been bullied nor had bullied. Further, the study found that the more frequently the child was bullied or had bullied others, the lower their global self-esteem. The researchers concluded that both parents and teachers need to be committed to preventing and reducing feelings of poor self-worth amongst children and adolescents.

Both victims and bullies are more likely than others to experience depression (Slee & Rigby 1993). In a study that reviewed 22 cross-sectional studies exploring the relationship between peer harassment and measures of depression, anxiety, loneliness and self-esteem the largest effect size was found across the studies for depression (Hawker & Boulton, 2001). There are several cases of prolonged victimisation that have ended in suicide (Morita, Soeda, Soeda & Taki, 1998; O'Moore, 2000). Children who are chronically harassed are more likely to contemplate suicide and also to report physical and mental

health problems (Rigby, 2001; Schuster, 2001). Varnham (1999) says that tragedies such as the suicide of Matt Ruddenklau after prolonged bullying at two public secondary schools should sound alarm bells for schools. She says parents are within their rights under the human rights legislation and common law to sue schools if the environment is unsafe. The current law in New Zealand may see a school being held negligent if that school does not take the necessary steps to eliminate anti social behavior and ensure the safety of its students. Varnham argues that schools should ensure that they have created a bully-free zone and be obligated to act as soon as they are aware of bullying.

Owens, Slee and Shute (2001) report that several teachers in their study suggested that being a victim of indirect aggression could lead to suicidal behaviour. A large study of Finnish adolescents aged between 14 and 16 years concluded that both adolescents who were bullied and those who were bullies were at increased risk of depression and suicide. Again this highlights the need to look at both the victim's and the bully's health (Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Marttunen, Rimpela& Rantanen, 1999). Similarly, Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Rantanen and Rimpela (2000) found that bullying should be seen as an indicator of risk for a variety of mental disorders in adolescence. This was significant for bully-victims, bullies and victims. A study of Australian students also showed that bully-victims were at greater risk of psychological and psychosomatic symptoms (Forero, McLellan, Rissel & Bauman, 1999). Rigby (2000) found, in a study involving 845 adolescents, that if a student was frequently bullied by other students and s/he had little or no social support, s/he had an increased risk of mental illness. As the existence of social support was found to play a considerable role in improving mental well-being, there is a rationale for promoting and encouraging a more significant role for peer support groups.

Rigby (1998) suggests that the stress caused by peer victimisation is damaging to the immune systems of the children who are victimised, leaving them susceptible to infection and illness. While acknowledging that the health of school children can be seriously compromised by peer victimization, data also elucidates the finding that those victims lacking social support are at an increased risk of mental illness (Rigby, 2000). Williams, Chambers, Logan and Robinson (1996) found a strong correlation between common health symptoms and being bullied. It was suggested to health professionals attending primary school children's needs, that bullying should be considered a possible contributing factor as it was argued that an increase in victimization resulted in an increase in common health symptoms.

It seems logical that a child who is in a constant or even erratic state of anxiety, in the school environment in which s/he is expected to learn, is likely to have lower levels of concentration and impeded academic progress (Rigby, 1996; Sharp, 1995; Smith and Sharp, 1994). Sharp and Thompson (1992), in a study which involved 723 secondary school pupils, investigated how students' responded to and coped with bullying behaviour. Of the sample, 40% had been bullied that academic year and results showed that 20% of pupils would play truant to avoid bullying, 29% had difficulty concentrating on school work, 22% felt physically ill after they were bullied and 20% suffered disruptive sleep as a result of bullying. The child is unlikely to learn effectively whilst suffering low self-esteem. These factors are shown to negatively affect the child's school grades (Hazler, Hoover & Oliver, 1992) and subsequently reinforce the self-perception of the child that s/he is worthless.

The victims of bullies commonly use avoidance and withdrawal behaviour in an attempt to cope with a fearful situation (O'Moore & Hillery, 1989; Reid, 1988; Smith & Sharp, 1994). Poor academic performance and the carrying of weapons at school for self-defence or retaliation, are also responses to an intimidating school environment (Batsche & Knoff, 1994). The media has reported many cases of weapon use in the USA in the past two years, where victims of bullying have been pushed past breaking point. Many episodes of school shootings are the results of bullying and revenge. A study by Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton and Scheidt (2001) showed that close to 30 % of 6th to 10th graders had been involved in bullying as a bully, a victim or both. The study also found a strong correlation between these children and poor psychosocial functioning. In addition bully-victims had a greater range of social and emotional symptoms. The study concluded that the prevalence of bullying amongst American youth was substantial. On considering the behavioural and emotional difficulties associated with bullying, together with the long-term negative outcomes, researchers suggest that bullying merits serious attention.

Absenteeism is an avoidance behaviour often used if the bullying is serious. This may require a certain degree of deception and may result in a student moving away from not only a school but an entire area (Rigby, 1996). This can be disruptive and have a serious impact on the student's academic attainment.

Boulton and Hawker (in press), were disturbed by the number of both teachers, and students who did not regard teasing as bullying and embarked on a study that would evaluate adults' memories of the hurtful effects of school teasing. The results collected thus

far indicate that 67% of these adults had been teased at school. Of these, 58% indicated feeling depressed as children because they were teased and 11% currently felt depressed when they thought about being teased at school. It is evident that some children become so incensed by malicious teasing that they retaliate with aggression and the result is an escalation of violence (Boulton, 1993c).

Bullying is a phenomenon that pervades society in every sphere of our lives. However, it is often covert and therefore difficult to identify and isolate. If we extrapolate the school situation to society in general, we are, by turning a blind eye to bullying in any form nurturing it and its perpetrators. We are sending a clear message that this is an acceptable way in which to handle certain situations. The cost to our society in terms of mental and physical health, for both child and adult stages is immense. Similarly, the abuse cycle involving future partners, children, and peers in the workplace comes at a cost to society, not only to health services but also to industry and general social well-being.

Dr Peter Graham, Head of the UK's Health and Safety Health Directorate, believes that bullying is the main, but least recognized, cause of stress. In 1998 in the UK it was estimated that the annual cost to industry and taxpayers of stress and stress-related illness was 12 billion pounds (Bully Online May, 2001). Varnham (1999) says that sexual bullying of young women reinforces the stereotypes of male dominance in society and relationships. School girls take these beliefs with them into society on leaving the school environment. The links between bullying, adult criminality and the rate of recidivism should be of great public concern. These are problems that have been generated at school, but, if left unchecked, have a profound affect on interpersonal relationships in greater

society. They are often being reinforced in schools by way of ignoring them, or failing to firmly deal with them using well planned intervention.

One fact is clear, bullying is a problem of huge proportions affecting the physical and mental health of the bully, victim and bystanders. Bullying can have significant and long-term negative effects on both the health and behaviour of students in general. To achieve a reduction in the incidence of bullying would be a highly effective public health measure for the 21st century (Pearce & Thompson, 1998).

"These children cannot be hidden and will not go away, but will as adults, reap with destruction what we sow now with neglect" (Lane, 1989).

From the review of the literature the following aims have emerged and will be addressed in the present study.

AIMS OF THE STUDY

Aims of this study included;

1. To explore the assertion that students were less likely to report bullying to a teacher than to others.
2. To investigate gender difference in bystander behaviour in response to a bullying incident. It was expected that girls would be less likely to ignore a bullying incident.
3. To explore student attitudes to difference. It was expected that students generally would be more likely to discriminate against a peer who was identified as "different".

4. It was expected that girls would be more likely to define bullying as indirect or verbal aggression (non-physical) and boys more likely to define bullying in terms of direct aggression (physical) or verbal.

5. To compare the incidence of student self-reports of being bullied to parental knowledge of their child being bullied. It was expected that parents would be unaware of a significant volume of bullying incidents at school involving their child.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Participants

Student participants numbered 122 at pre-test and 120 at post-test from a possible population of 275 (44%). The students were aged between ten and twelve years. Parents were also invited to participate and 86 responded. Of the student sample 50% of respondents were female and 50% were male.

Participants were from three co-educational primary / intermediate schools in the Greater Wellington area. One school had a decile ranking of ten and another school of nine, both indicating a low level of state funding and suggesting a higher socio-economic status (SES). The third school had a decile ranking of seven which indicates a slightly higher level of funding and is suggestive of upper mid-range SES. The ethnic origins of the participants were as follows; 69% European, 13% identified as "other", 8% European / Maori, 5% Pacific Islander, 3% Asian and 2% Maori.

The three schools were selected and invited to participate in this study (refer appendix A), and had also consented to participate in the Kia Kaha programme. Once written consent was received from the schools (refer appendix B), the process of involving parents and students began. It was hoped that a greater number of schools would be involved, however, very few schools were running the Kia Kaha programme at the time of data collection. Parents were approached through participating schools by informing them of the study

(refer appendix C) and seeking informed consent, both for their own and their child's participation in the study (refer to appendices D). Once parental consent was gained consent for the children's participation was gained (refer appendix E).

Measures

Student Questionnaire

The questionnaire is an anonymous self-report instrument consisting of a 21 item pre-test which was administered prior to the Kia Kaha programme being introduced to the school. This was then followed by a post-test of the same 21 items as well as a further 3 items which questioned perceived effectiveness following its completion (refer appendices F and G). The questionnaire included standard demographic items and other questions that were derived from the objectives of the modules inherent in the Kia Kaha programme. The questionnaire was designed to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. The use of qualitative data was intended to add depth and understanding to students' reasoning which may underly their decision-making process. Qualitative research enables an insight into "lived experience" (Van Manen , 1990). The qualitative data was collected using open-ended questions while the quantitative data was collected using forced choice and multi-choice questions. The questionnaire is similar to other questionnaires used in past evaluations of the original Kia Kaha programme. The questionnaire was designed using terminology and vocabulary relevant to children with an average reading age of ten years. A small pilot was conducted on a group of six ten year olds to test for suitability and face validity of the questionnaires. There is no reliability or validity data relating to this questionnaire or the measures available due to the fact the questionnaire has not been

trialed in a large group prior to this application. The questionnaire does however, appear to have face validity as it follows closely the objectives of the Kia Kaha programme.

Parent Questionnaire

The questionnaire is an anonymous self-report instrument consisting of a 16-item pre-test questionnaire. The same questionnaire with an additional 6 items was used for the post-test (refer appendices H & I). The questionnaire was designed to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data was collected by using open-ended questions. This data was used to identify any change in attitude or behaviour in parents. The quantitative data was collected using forced choice or multi-choice questions. These questions were developed by identifying the programme objectives, and questioned the parents on those objective outcomes. No reliability or validity data relating to the questionnaire is available. The questionnaire does however appear to possess face validity, as it closely follows the objectives of the Kia Kaha programme.

Design

The design was a one group pre-test, post-test or pre-experimental design that was mixed with a phenomenological design for collection of the qualitative data. The data collected was both qualitative and quantitative. The quantitative data was collected to explore a possible change in attitude or behaviour. The qualitative data was intended to be complimentary to the quantitative data, exposing different facets and overlapping themes that emerged from the data and giving participants the opportunity to clarify and expand on the reasons for their answers. The use of a mixed method adds scope and breadth to the study (Creswell, 1994).

It was not intended that the qualitative data comprise such a large component of the study results. However, the depth and richness depicted in the themes inherent in the parents' and children's responses demanded that the text be accorded the respect and acknowledgement it deserved.

Procedure

The names of the three schools participating in the Kia Kaha programme over the data collection period were obtained from the Wellington Police Education Officers. Each school principal was posted a letter introducing the research and seeking their permission to proceed with research in their respective schools (refer Appendix A). It was left to the principal's discretion as to whether each Board of Trustees was to be approached regarding the study. Once permission from the school was received the information sheets and consent forms for parent and child were taken to the school and sent home with each child (refer Appendices C, D & E). Consent forms were returned to the school in envelopes provided and then collected in a box by each school on the researcher's behalf. After one week, reminder notices were sent home to parents encouraging them to return the consent forms. After a period of two weeks and before the Kia Kaha programme was introduced to the school the consent forms that had been returned to the schools, were matched with coded questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered in rooms containing only the students completing the questionnaires. The researcher was present during the administration of the child questionnaire to explain the importance of maintaining silence and to encourage honesty when completing the questionnaires. Students were asked to sit separately to prevent any talking or conferring when completing the questionnaire. In one of the three schools the students were sitting or kneeling on the floor that was conducive

neither to silence or privacy. There was no time limit imposed. However, most students had completed the questionnaire within thirty minutes. The students were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. A definition of bullying was not given to students as the study aimed to explore bullying within the context of the students own belief systems and were therefore asked to define bullying for themselves. The researcher was available to answer any questions regarding the questionnaire during completion. After completion of the questionnaires they were collected by the researcher and each child was handed a parent questionnaire to take home for completion and return.

Each child received a questionnaire with a number that also appeared on the parent questionnaire. The questionnaires were given numbers that differentiated the three schools to enable the researcher to provide feedback information to each school once research was completed. The child's questionnaire was labelled "student questionnaire" and each number was prefaced with a "C" (for child) and followed with an allocated number, for example "C1" .The parent questionnaires were labelled "parent questionnaire" and each number was prefaced with an "A" (for adult) and followed by the corresponding number matching it to their child's questionnaire, for example, "A1". The post-test was identified by a "2" following the letter allocated to the school. A master list was supplied by each teacher and was used to issue each child and parent with a code number. The purpose of the master list was to ensure each consent form was linked with a person on the master list and to ensure the same person received the corresponding post-test (to the pre-test). Each parent questionnaire was sent home with a pre-paid self -addressed envelope addressed to the researcher via Massey University. After a period of two weeks a reminder notice was sent to the parents encouraging them to return the completed questionnaires. This procedure was

followed for both pre and post-test. A letter introducing the post-test was attached to the parent questionnaire in an attempt to avoid ambiguity where parents may not have recognised the post-test as being any different to the initial pre-test and therefore may have inadvertently discarded it.

Confidentiality was maintained as the master lists were held at participating schools and the researcher collected the completed student questionnaires. The researcher was the only person to access the completed questionnaires and at completion of research they will be destroyed. Following the administration of the pre-test questionnaires for both child and adult, students participated in the Kia Kaha programme. The programme was administered either by a police youth education officer and teacher who complimented each other's instruction, or in one case, the programme was administered by teachers only as the police officer was unavailable. The programme was completed over a period of about eight weeks. The post-test was administered to the children within two weeks of completing the Kia Kaha programme and adult questionnaires were sent home with the children as for the pre-test and posted directly back to the researcher in postage paid envelopes.

Ethical Considerations

The research project was screened and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. No ethical dilemmas were anticipated or encountered. The informed consent of all participants was obtained. Participants were able to contact the researchers via a Massey University phone line if they had any concerns or questions (refer Appendices A and C). The researcher was present at administration of the children's questionnaire to ensure the students understood their role and to answer any questions that were raised.

All participants were apprised of their rights to withdraw from the study at any point, and also of their right not to answer any question that they did not wish to answer. The issue of confidentiality as already outlined in the procedure was considered from every perceived position. All the consent forms were returned in sealed envelopes to the school and opened by the researcher. Once the questionnaires were coded to the class lists, the lists were held at the school. The completed questionnaires were collected by the researcher and taken from the school by the researcher. They were stored in a secure place where access was limited to the researcher. The identity of the schools has not been disclosed to further ensure confidentiality.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The statistical package SPSS for Windows was used to analyse the quantitative data in this study. Qualitative data will be reported, together with descriptive statistics. Following the reporting of statistics and data the aims of the study will be addressed. Pearson's correlation was used to analyse the quantitative data. Data has not been presented in chronological order; rather, it was felt that the thematic links between questions meant clustering data would allow the reader to explore each theme in context. In many cases no statistical data has been reported due to lack of significant findings.

Although students were asked to respond by ticking one choice in the multi-choice questions, a number of respondents ticked several choices. Unless otherwise stated, qualitative data has been derived from the pre-test sample as post-test data explanations failed to reveal any variation from pre-test.

Telling

Who Tells Whom?

Table 1 presents data obtained from question three of students pre and post-test questionnaires (see appendices F & G). The data is expressed as the percentage of respondents who had told someone when he or she was bullied. A 2x2 chi-square analysis of pre-test data revealed that this was a non-significant difference, χ^2 (1, $\underline{N}$ = 100) = 5.35, $\underline{p}$ = ns. Although most victims had told someone about being bullied (pre-test 67%) a

sizeable minority had told no-one (33%). Post-test responses from boys indicate a slight decrease in the number of boys telling someone if they had been bullied (pre-test 62%, post-test 59%). Conversely, a slight increase is noted at post-test for girls telling someone if they had been bullied (pre-test 72%, post-test 75%).

Table 1: Percentage of students who told someone when they had been bullied.

Gender	Pre-test		Post-test	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Boys	62	49	59	47
Girls	72	51	75	50

Table 2 presents data obtained from the second part of question three asking students to disclose whom they told following a bullying incident. Possible responses were teacher, friend, parent, or other adult. Both boys and girls were more likely to tell a parent than anyone else. At pre-test 25% of boys told a parent compared to 18% of girls, at post-test the percentage increased slightly for girls (23%) and decreased slightly for boys (21%). Boys were more likely to tell a teacher (10%) at pre-test than girls (7%); at post-test the percentage telling teachers increased for boys to (17%) and remained the same for girls.

Several respondents indicated they had told more than one person. At pre-test 13% of boys had told a parent and a teacher, similar to girls (12%). At post-test this decreased to

8% for boys and 11% for girls. At post-test fewer boys told parents but more boys told a teacher. More girls than boys had confided in a friend at both pre and post-test. The number of students who told no-one remained stable between pre and post-test.

Table 2: Percentages of students disclosing whom they had told following a bullying incident.

Identity	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Boys (N=38)	Girls (N=43)	Boys (N=37)	Girls (N=45)
Teacher	10	7	17	7
Friend	7	13	9	12
Parent	25	18	21	23
Other Adult	-	-	-	3
Teacher/Parent	13	12	8	11
Other combinations	10	22	9	19
No one	35	28	36	25

"Why didn't you tell anyone?" – Boys

Question three asks, "If you answered 'No' (you didn't tell anyone about being bullied) why didn't you tell?" Several themes emerged from the boys' responses. The first theme is indicative of boys minimising either the severity or impact of the bullying incident.

The themes included:

> "It wasn't big bullying – unnecessary to tell"
>
> "It wasn't serious"
>
> "Because it wasn't bad – I didn't care"
>
> "It wasn't that bad – I was bullied for being short – I walked away"
>
> "Bullying wasn't harsh enough"
>
> "It was only verbal, happens all the time"

A second theme to emerge indicated fear. Students feared if they told anyone the bullying would either continue or perhaps result in an escalation and worsening of the situation.

> "I didn't tell because I thought the person would find out and keep on bullying me"
>
> "They would just do it again"
>
> "Because I might have got hurt even more"
>
> "Because if I tell he will beat me up"

The third theme concerned fear of being judged negatively by peers.

> "They might think I am a baby"
>
> "Because I am not a wussie"

There also emerged a belief that telling a teacher was likely to be ineffective in stopping the bullying.

"teacher does nothing anyway"

The final theme to emerge appeared to indicate an inability to identify specifically why they did not tell.

"No-one was around"

"I don't know"

"How did it feel not telling anyone?" – Boys

The final part of question three asked respondents to express how it felt for them, not telling anyone. The majority of boys expressed fear, sadness and a feeling of unease about not telling.

"Not good but someone else saw the person bully me and they told"

"Scared"

"I felt stink not telling"

"I tried to forget it"

A minority minimised the experience.

"Not too bad"

Compared to self-report data from the boys who told, these boys suggest an "aloneness", having not shared the experience with anyone. Feelings of being unsupported, fearful and unhappy emerged. However, the majority of boys reflect either a fear of retribution or a tendency to minimise the bullying experience. Perhaps because they believe, as boys, they should be able to cope with the situation themselves. The responses suggest boys would like to have shared the experience, but felt they were unable to.

"Why didn't you tell anyone?" – Girls

Responses from girls followed similar themes to those of boys. The first theme to emerge minimised the bullying incident.

> "It wasn't a big deal – I didn't mind"
>
> "It didn't matter"

A second theme similar to those emerging from the boys' data was fear of being hurt more.

> "I was scared to tell"
>
> "I thought he would find out and bully me more"

Similar to the theme of peer judgement for the boys, girls also indicated a fear of judgement by others, although girls appeared more concerned with the possibility of social embarrassment as opposed to boys who appeared to be concerned with "looking weak".

"I didn't want a fuss, what would the teacher do?"

"I thought it would be embarrassing to tell"

"I didn't tell because I didn't want news to spread"

A final theme emerged which may reflect hopelessness or confusion.

"I don't know why I didn't tell"

A theme which was similar to boys who could not identify a reason for not telling.

A blend of two responses both fearing retaliation and fear of being judged negatively was also expressed.

"Because the person would pick on you even more and hate you".

A comparison of the boys' and girls' data shows a minority of girls minimised the bullying compared to a majority of the boys. The reason cited by the majority of girls as a deterrent to telling was fear, either fear of retaliation or negative judgement from peers or teachers. This was also a powerful deterrent for boys but was less frequently indicated than for girls.

"How did it feel not telling anyone?" – Girls

Girls indicated feelings of isolation and sadness. The sense of isolation indicates a lack of support and desolation.

"Like I was holding something in, I wanted to move schools or something"

"I felt alone and sad"

The following respondent reflects a sense of regret for not taking action at the time.

"Pretty silly as it would probably have stopped him doing it"

The girls' data suggests, as for the boys, that not telling was not a satisfactory decision. Choosing not to tell left them feeling unhappy and internalising their grief. The girls felt unsupported, alone, sad and regretful and reflect a belief that telling was not an option, not that they did not want to tell.

"Yes, it did help to tell" – Boys

Question three pre and post-test asks, "Did you tell anyone?" If the response was 'Yes' they were asked, "Did it help to tell someone?" and then asked to explain why it helped.

"Yes, sort of, my mum told me how to ignore it"

"Yes, they told him off"

"Yes, because he stopped after I told"

"Yes, my mum had a talk to him"

"It cheered me up, they were supportive"

"Yes, my mum sorted it out"

The theme emerging here centres around support. "Mum" is a significant other for several of the boys as she not only offered psychological support, "Mum" was an interventionist in "sorting it out", "talking to him" and advising on how to ignore the bullying. "Mum" was a powerful advocate for the victim. The overarching theme suggests that, once the issue of bullying was shared with someone who was genuinely supportive, the boys no longer felt alone and the support helped them to cope with the bullying. Not only did the boys feel supported, they also indicate that the support led to some effective action which left them feeling happier.

"No, it didn't help to tell" – Boys

Three main themes emerged. The first theme centred around the boys' belief that nothing was achieved when they did tell.

"No, because they wouldn't do anything"

"No, they didn't do anything"

"They didn't help"

This suggests a feeling of hopelessness, as when the boys did tell, no one supported them and nothing was done to resolve the situation. The second theme indicates a belief that the teacher did not care.

"No, the teacher didn't care"

This again reflects the student's feeling a lack of support and empathy for their situation.

The third theme to emerge indicated that from the victim's perspective, the bully was not dealt with in an appropriate manner. The victim appeared to want retributive justice and as the bully was only "talked to", there was a feeling the incident had been minimised in some manner. This appears to have left the victim feeling justice was not done.

"No, because they only talked to the person. I would rather have the person caned and punished, it did nothing".

"Yes, it did help to tell" – Girls

The first theme emerging from the girls' data suggested that the support given when the girls told, was significant in helping them deal with the incident, as well as providing them with a degree of comfort.

"Yes, you feel better if you tell a teacher"

"My friends and I were scared and the teacher comforted us"

"It helped me feel better"

"Yes, it made me feel better telling, helped my confidence"

"Yes, you don't have to keep it inside, you feel better"

A second theme to emerge indicated that when the victim had told someone they felt both supported and also experienced a change in the bully's behaviour resulting in cessation of bullying and allowing the victim to feel safer.

"The person who bullied is dealt with and it stops"

"Yes, because when the bully was told off, they didn't do it again"

"Yes, it made me feel safer"

"Yes, because they didn't do it again"

The final theme to emerge involved the victim being able to rationalise the incident. This had helped the victims to understand that retribution or revenge was both unnecessary and inappropriate.

"Yes, helped me understand not to take revenge and do it back"

"Yes, because otherwise I would take it out on someone else"

These responses suggest support and understanding are very significant factors for students when dealing with a bullying incident.

"No, it didn't help to tell" – Girls

Girls who indicated "No, it didn't help to tell" felt the issue remained unresolved after they had told and suggested telling was ineffective as nothing changed. The responses again indicate a feeling of hopelessness.

"No, the problem didn't go away"

"No, nothing was done"

One of the girls indicated no, it didn't help, but indicated that her mother was trying to change the situation.

"No, but my mum is trying to help"

The suggestion is that the victim, although not confident that telling solved the issue, had the support of her mother and the fact that "mum is trying to help", suggests that the girl felt "heard" and supported. This reflects an element of hope indicating that the issue is not a closed and hopeless situation.

Further responses again suggest victims felt neglected and unsupported by those to whom the incident was reported.

"The teacher forgot and nothing was done to the person"

"The teacher and mum were busy and didn't listen"

"Did it help to tell someone?" Yes & No – Girls

This response suggests an attempt was made to resolve the bullying which was however, ineffectual.

"Sort of, it didn't stop"

The second response suggests the teacher would be ineffective in resolving the bullying and the victim did not want to risk social embarrassment.

"I didn't want a fuss, what would the teacher do?"

A further response indicates an attempt to resolve the bullying was ineffective, but then minimises the effect.

" Not really, I wasn't seriously hurt"

These students again indicate a sense of hopelessness that suggests to live with the bullying and not tell creates a sense of hopelessness. However, the majority of both girls and boys did believe it had helped their situation when they had told someone. Support, understanding and empathy were significant factors that helped both boys and girls to cope with bullying. They drew inner strength knowing that someone was a sincere advocate for them and was attempting to resolve the bullying.

Would You Tell a Teacher?

Question eleven of the pre and post-tests asks, "If you were being bullied or you knew someone who was – would you tell a teacher?" As indicated in Table 3 girls were more likely to tell a teacher than boys were. A 2x2 chi-square analysis of pre-test data revealed that this was a non-significant difference, $\chi^2 (1, \underline{N} = 100) = 6.02$, $\underline{p} < 0.014$. There was no notable difference within either gender between pre and post-test. This finding is at

variance with data shown in Table 2 which shows 7% of girls who had actually been bullied told a teacher compared to 82% at pre-test responding to this hypothetical question. Similarly, Table 2 shows that 10% of boys actually told a teacher and 62% reported here that they would tell a teacher. Students appear to understand that it is appropriate to tell a teacher and they have previously indicated that they want to tell a teacher however, when the students' are faced with telling they fear it will leave them vulnerable in some way.

Table 3: Percentage responses of students indicating that they would report bullying to a teacher if they were being bullied or knew someone who was.

Gender	(n)	Pre-test	(n)	Post-test
Boys	59	62	58	55
Girls	60	82	61	77

"Why wouldn't you report bullying to a teacher?"- Boys

Similar themes emerged here to responses for question three asking, "Why wouldn't you tell?" The first theme suggests that the fear of being judged as weak is a powerful deterrent to telling a teacher and a large number of boys responded as follows:

"Because you look like a loser"

"Embarrassed, people will think I'm a baby"

"I would be too afraid or embarrassed"

"It would be embarrassing"

In some cases, responses indicate not only the fear of being judged negatively, but also a fear of retribution.

"Because I don't want the bully to bash me up or for people to think I'm a loser or goody good".

For the majority of boys it was fear of retribution which emerged the strongest factor keeping them silent. They felt if they told a teacher the teacher could not ensure their safety.

"Because if I did (tell a teacher) they might bully me"
"If I told, the bully might find out and bully me more"

Some responses indicated the importance of maintaining anonymity.

"Because the bully would know and hurt me more"
"A box where you can tell without anyone knowing"

The theme of hopelessness and a lack of caring on the part of teachers emerged in a number of responses.

"Because they don't care or do anything"

"I've tried before, they don't care, better to put up with it"

"Sort it out myself, teachers never do anything, people get more embarrassed when a teacher knows"

These responses reflect a belief that teachers do not care if they are told. Students feel they have to "put up with it" and they again reflect a hopelessness that reflects past experience when they have told and teachers didn't care, or attempt to stop the bullying.

Some students try to convince themselves that they should be able to manage the situation themselves.

"Because you're old enough to sort it out for yourself"

A strong feeling was also expressed that peer support would make telling a teacher more likely.

"If someone came with you and told the teacher"

The data indicates boys in many cases feel the environment at school is not safe enough for them to tell a teacher. They fear the negative judgement of peers, or retribution, or that the teacher will not take the complaint seriously and deal with it in an appropriate manner which would ensure their safety.

Why wouldn't you report bullying to a teacher? – Girls

The majority of girls indicated they found teachers to be either unwilling to help, unwilling to listen or lacking in understanding of how the situation was for the student.

"Because teachers don't help"

"Teachers don't understand"

"I'd tell my mother because teachers don't understand"

"They probably wouldn't listen, just keep on eating their lunch"

Again, as for boys safety was an issue for girls, they were not willing to tell a teacher if that risked the bully finding out, as they feared retribution from the bully.

"Because if the bully found out they would bully me more"

"Because the person might bully me – if I told someone else"

Some girls doubted the bully would be dealt with appropriately by the teacher, which again led to a fear of retribution from the bully and the risk of social embarrassment when suggesting they may be labelled a tell-tale.

"They wouldn't tell the bully off"

"If the teacher does nothing to the bully you end up copping it because the bully is angry at you for telling. Then you'll be a tell-tale"

A minority of girls had a "conditional" attitude toward telling a teacher, an attitude that was determined by them either being friends with the victim or by the severity of the bullying.

"Depends if they were close to me"

"If it was serious bullying"

It is interesting to note that no boy or girl indicated they wouldn't tell because they didn't care, although a minority was dependent on an existing friendship. Generally, girls felt the situation was hopeless as teachers didn't care or take appropriate effective action when they were told. This led to the girls feeling unsafe about telling a teacher for fear of retribution by the bully.

Boys indicated that fear of retribution from the bully was the strongest deterrent to telling a teacher. Also strongly influencing boys was the fear that they would be labelled and it would be socially embarrassing. The girls indicate a "hopelessness" – perhaps suggestive of some internal conflict, as they want to tell and help but feel that it will be ineffective. Although safety was an important issue for girls, for boys it was the main issue – fearing retribution.

"What would make it easier for you to tell a teacher?" – Boys

Themes underlying boys' responses reflect the themes present when they explained why they wouldn't tell a teacher.

The first theme to emerge was one of needing support, where boys indicated the teachers' lack of empathy for their position.

"Knowing they care"

"They don't listen"

"If they cared"

"... for the teachers to at least act (students' emphasis) as if they cared"

The need for anonymity is again evident and appears to be linked to a need for the boy's safety.

"A box where you can tell without anyone knowing"

"If they didn't tell the bully who told on them"

"For it to be anonymous"

"...if you could talk to them alone"

A number of responses suggest the boys feel unsafe in the school environment.

"If there were more teachers around"

"If they came and helped stop the fight (teachers)"

The following respondent wants the teacher to intervene but is fearful the intervention will be embarrassing and put him at further risk.

"If the teacher tried to stop it but not by telling the whole school this kid is being bullied"

Social support or peer support is indicated by this respondent as being a factor which would help to make telling a teacher easier.

"If someone came with you and told the teacher"

The main themes integral to boys being more likely to tell a teacher were support, empathy and anonymity. The same themes have emerged from several questions exploring what would make telling easier. The need for safety is a prime concern which is consistently evident throughout many of the responses.

"What would make it easier to tell a teacher?" – Girls

Social support and empathy were the two main themes to emerge for girls, as they were for boys. Girls' responses indicated that having social or peer support would make it easier to tell.

"If your friends came with you"

Responses again indicate that anonymity is very important.

"If a friend came with you and you had no one else in the room except the three of us"

Having peer support and knowing that the teacher would actually do something about the bullying rather than minimise it would help.

"If a friend came with you and the teacher actually did something instead of saying ignore them; it's hard to ignore"

This last response indicates that having the support of a friend when going to tell a teacher is important but it is also important that the teacher is actually seen to take some action as a result of the meeting. This reflects themes similar to those expressed earlier by girls with respect to question three where both girls and boys explained it had not helped to tell someone because they did nothing about the bullying.

A number of responses indicate girls would find it easier to tell if they believed the teacher cared and showed some respect for the student's situation.

"If the teacher was understanding and just didn't dismiss it"

"They don't listen"

"The teacher not butting in"

The following response indicates a feeling the teacher may be trying to shift or abdicate responsibility for helping to resolve the situation. This student may also have felt a little unsafe in this situation.

"If the teacher listened instead of saying, ask the teacher on duty or, it's none of my business or, you should have asked the duty teacher at the time"

Once more anonymity re-emerged as a significant factor, which would make the telling easier. These responses almost mirror the boys' responses in restating that anonymity is of significant importance to girls and boys if they are to consider telling a teacher.

"If the teacher kept it quiet so the bully wouldn't know you told"
"If the teacher didn't tell the bully who told them"

The final response suggests a mistrust of the teacher's actions, which again links to the issue of safety.

"If you knew what they would do when they know"

For boys, the two most significant factors influencing whether they would tell or not were if the teacher cared and listened and if the telling could be anonymous. For a minority peer support would help. Girls' data also indicated the most significant factors influencing telling a teacher was if the teacher cared and listened. Peer support was also an important factor for girls, anonymity was less important.

What do you think the teachers think about bullying?
Question ten of the student pre and post-test asks "What do you think the teachers think about bullying?"

Table 4 reveals data which shows most boys (70%) and girls (71%) at pre-test believed teachers do not like bullying. At post-test fewer boys (58%) and girls (60%) indicated this. This may indicate that following programme discussions students became more aware of how teachers had treated their peers when they had been victims of bullying. More boys and girls responded that teachers don't notice it is happening at post-test compared to pre-test. These results could indicate an increased awareness as to the experiences and beliefs of other students following discussions in the programme.

At post-test more girls indicated "other" (25%) than they did at pre-test (16%). Similarly, more boys selected "other" at post-test (12%) compared to pre-test (10%). Interestingly, both boys and girls indicated "they don't care" more at post-test than at pre-test.

The majority of boys and girls indicated that they felt teachers did not take the bullying seriously and gave the students the impression that they didn't care enough to become involved and attempt to help resolve the problem.

Table 4: The percentage responses of students' opinions on what they believe teachers think about bullying.

Item	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Boys n=50	Girls n=51	Boys n=50	Girls n=51
They don't like it	70	71	58	60
They don't care	4	2	10	10
They don't notice it's happening	18	16	28	22
Other	10	16	12	25

Explanations of "other" once more revolved around the theme of not caring or intervening.

"Maybe they just don't care"

"When you tell them they just say fix it yourself"

"If the teacher doesn't like the victim they don't care"

"They don't like it but don't do much to stop it"

Girls' responses were similar to that of boys indicating the teachers don't take any action.

"They don't do anything about it"

"Teachers often ignore it"

"Sometimes you tell a teacher but they can't be bothered – no point in telling them"

"They know it's happening, say they are going to stop it, never do. Just tell us to sort it out ourselves"

Both boys and girls again express a "hopelessness" and indicate teachers are not seen as safe, reliable or caring people in the school environment. These students do not see teachers as a viable resource for help when trying to deal with bullying.

A number of boys and girls felt teachers often do not notice bullying. Girls' comments include:

"Half the time they don't notice"

"Teachers don't see everything, e-mails, phone calls outside school"

Boys' comments were very similar.

"They don't notice until you tell them"

"A lot goes unnoticed"

Interestingly these comments suggest that to notice the bullying is the teacher's responsibility rather than the students' responsibility to 'tell'. However, the reasons students do not tell appear to reflect a common belief amongst both boys and girls that teachers lack empathy and they do not listen. When teachers do intervene they are either

ineffective or cannot ensure the students are safe from the bully's retribution, consequently many students attempt to manage the situation themselves.

Summary

The first aim of the study was to determine whether students were less likely to report bullying to a teacher than to another person. Data from this study shows students were less likely to report bullying to a teacher than to others. The most likely person to be told was a parent. The main reason boys would not tell a teacher was fear of retribution from the bully. Also fear of being judged as weak by their peers. Boys did not feel safe telling teachers' as they did not feel they could ensure their safety. Many boys did not feel teachers took the situation seriously or felt that they lacked empathy when dealing with the situation.

The majority of girls reported that they would not tell a teacher because teachers did not care when they told them. Girls expressed a hopelessness which suggested that they wanted to tell but felt it would be ineffective if they did. Both boys and girls said telling a teacher would be easier if teachers cared and listened. Peer support and anonymity were also factors that would encourage students to tell. The results were consistent with the expected aim of this study that students were less likely to tell a teacher than any other person if they were bullied.

The Role of Bystanders

Table 5 represents data from students who responded to question four "If you saw someone bully someone else, would you ..."

Of the respondents, 30% of boys said they would ignore a bullying incident compared to 7% of girls at pre-test. A 2x2 chi-square analysis of pre-test data revealed that this was a significant difference, χ^2 (2, $\underline{N}$ = 101) = 12.7, $\rho < 0.002$. It is noted with some interest that percentages of both boys and girls indicating that they would "ignore it" increased at post-test. The increase was minimal for boys, increasing by only 1% to 31%. However, for girls the post-test indicated an increase of 6% to 13%. 33% of boys at pre-test indicated that they would tell an adult if they saw a bullying incident, this increased to 47% at post-test. This compares to 43% of girls at pre-test increasing to 56% at post-test. Equal percentages of boys and girls (3%) said they would "join in" at pre-test and that decreased to zero at post-test for both boys and girls. More girls indicated they would do "something else" at pre-test (57%) than boys (33%), these figures decreased minimally for girls at post-test (56%), boys indicated a larger decrease to (22%).

Table 5: Percentage responses of students reacting to the witnessing of a bullying incident.

Response	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Boys (n=60)	Girls (n=60)	Boys (n=58)	Girls (n=61)
Ignore it	30	7	31	13
Join in	3	3	-	-
Tell adult	33	43	47	56
Something else	33	57	22	56

There was a decrease in the numbers of boys and girls selecting "something else" at post-test. However, this was more evident for boys. The students' explanation as to what alternative action they would take will now be outlined. Of the boys who explained what alternative action they would take, 32% indicated they would "attempt to break it up". However, none of the girls' sample indicated this as an option. 41% of boys indicated they would "tell the bully to stop" compared to 40% of girls. The girls were much more likely to "stick up for the victim" (40%) compared to boys (9%).

Comments from the boys included:

"If it's someone I hate I'd ignore it, otherwise I'd help"

"If I knew them I would tell the bully to go away, if I didn't I would ignore it"

"If it was my friend I'd help, if not, I'd get help"

These responses suggest their moral reasoning is conditional; if they didn't like the person or the person wasn't a friend, they would not bother helping the victim, even though they acknowledge that help is required. However the rationale could well be closely linked with their personal safety. They are not prepared to compromise their safety for someone they do not know. The following comment illustrates a concern regarding personal safety.

"It could be none of your business and you could get hurt"

The girls who responded to this question indicate their moral reasoning is also dependent and conditional on friendship or familiarity. There is also an inference in the first response that the student is fearful of becoming involved.

"Walk away and try to forget about it, maybe comfort the person afterwards, depends who they are"

"If it's someone who bullies me I might join in; if it was my best friend I'd tell someone; if it was someone I didn't know I'd ignore it"

"If it was a friend beating someone up I would step in"

"If I know the person I'll help. If not, ignore it"

As with the boys' responses, the final comment again relates to self-preservation.

"If the bully was smaller I might step in. If the bully was bigger – no, they might bully me"

The data shows while the majority of boys indicate they "would tell the bully to stop" and a large number of boys would "attempt to break it up", a minority of boys would "stick up for the victim". However, the girls' data shows the majority of them would "stick up for the victim" and a large number of girls would tell the bully to stop. None of the girls indicated that they would attempt to break up the bullying. Both boys and girls indicated that their moral reasoning was conditional on knowing or liking the victim when they were faced with the choice of helping the victim or not. Both boys and girls indicated that they

would ignore the incident if they did not know the person. However, as discussed previously this may be related to the students' personal safety.

Summary

The second aim of the study explored the likelihood of a bystander intervening in response to witnessing a bullying incident or alternatively ignoring the incident. The data shows that boys were significantly more likely to ignore a bullying incident than girls. This was consistent with the expected aim of the study. At post-test more boys and girls indicated that they would tell an adult if they saw someone being bullied. Lack of safety appears to be the central issue preventing bystanders from telling. Many indicated that they would not put themselves at risk to tell on a bully as they appeared to lack confidence in the school environment being able to provide them with a safe environment once they had told.

What do you think of the victims?

Table 6 reflects in percentage terms, students' attitudes towards people who are bullied. Question thirteen both pre and post-test asks the students "What do you think of people that are bullied?" The responses show that at pre-test 7% of boys felt 'victims usually deserve it' compared to 5% of girls. Boys indicated (37%) "They don't deserve it" compared to 58% of girls at pre-test. That figure increased at post-test to 50% of boys and a slight decrease to 57% of girls. More boys than girls indicated that "they are different", at pre-test 13% of boys compared to 10% of girls indicated this. At post-test, boys' responses indicated an increase to 17%. However, girls' responses increased to 18%. Similarly, more boys (35%) than girls (25%) indicated at pre-test "they don't stick up for themselves". Again, at post-test boys' responses indicated an increase to 43% and girls to

31%. For both boys (13%) and girls (22%), responses indicating "other" at pre-test decreased at post-test.

Table 6: Student attitudes (in percentage terms) towards people that are bullied.

Response	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Boys (n=60)	Girls (n=60)	Boys (n=58)	Girls (n=61)
They usually deserve it	7	5	5	3
They are different	13	10	17	18
They don't stick up for themselves	35	25	43	31
They don't deserve it	37	58	50	57
Other	13	22	9	20

"What do you think of people that are bullied?"

Students responding "other" to Question thirteen were asked to explain. Boy's responses follow.

"I don't know, sometimes bullying is for a reason, sometimes not"

"Sometimes they might deserve it; sometimes not"

These responses appear to indicate boys believe bullying is acceptable in some cases.

The girls reasoning is based more on victim empathy. Responses from the girls include.

"They don't stick up for themselves, but they still don't deserve it"

"I feel sorry for them"

"They are usually smaller and can't stick up for themselves"

Responses from girls indicate a level of empathy for the victim, almost acknowledging

a helplessness in the victim. However, one respondent indicates that bullying could be

justified if the bullying involves retribution for a previous incident.

"They don't deserve it unless they are mean to the other person first.

Differences

Tolerance of Peers who are seen as different

One of the Kia Kaha themes focuses on respecting difference and questions fourteen to

eighteen aimed to identify any change evident after completion of the programme. Students

were asked to respond to questions about students who are different from them, asking

could someone be your friend if they were: small or big for their class; had a disability;

were a different race or colour; or were smarter than you. If any students had responded

"No" they could not be my friend for any of these reasons, they were asked to explain why.

As indicated in Table 7, students did indicate by their response that they respected

difference. Question fourteen asks "Do you think that people who are different have the

same sort of feelings as you do?" Table 7 reveals the percentages of students who report that difference would not affect a potential friendship. Most boys and girls indicated that people who are different do have the same sort of feelings as themselves.

Table 7: Percentage of students who report that difference would not affect a potential friendship.

Response	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Boys (n=60)	Girls (n=60)	Boys (n=58)	Girls (n=61)
Same feelings	73	83	85	93
Small / big	100	97	98	100
Disability	97	95	98	97
Race / colour	100	95	97	100
Smarter	100	95	98	100

Girls were more likely than boys to believe that people who were different have the same feelings as they did.

There were no notable differences on the items for small/big, disability, race/colour and smarter, either between gender or across time. Both boys and girls indicated that difference would not prevent a potential relationship.

Summary

The third aim of the study attempted to explore student attitudes to "difference" acknowledged in their peers. It was expected that difference would negatively affect a potential relationship. However, the data indicates an overwhelming positive response indicating that students would not allow difference to negatively affect a potential peer relationship. Many studies have shown difference to be a factor that can be a precursor to discrimination and bullying.

It is suggested social desirability could have been a factor evident in these results. Student responses may have been "ideal" as opposed to honest. The results of this study were therefore not consistent with the expected aim in this instance.

Gender Differences in Bullying

What is Bullying?

Question one of pre and post-test asks the students an open-ended question "Write down what you think bullying is". The data which follows is derived from the pre-test only as student responses at post-test did not vary from these. Table 8 shows that girls are more likely to define bullying in a verbal or indirect context (54%) than boys (30%).

The words used by the students to describe indirect bullying included; being mean – gang up; degrading; acknowledging difference; teasing; name calling; exclusion; pick on. Boys defined bullying as physical/verbal (their words) (70%) more than girls (46%). The

words used by students to describe bullying in a physical context were hit; punch; kick; physical/verbal. Physical/verbal was used together (as written) by both genders without any elaboration of explanation. Although physical/verbal is defined less by girls it still comprised a substantial percentage when they were defining bullying. More boys described physical bullying (e.g. hit, punch, kick) than did girls.

Table 8:   Percentage of boys and girls defining bullying in a direct or indirect context.

Definition	Pre-test	
	Boys (n= 61)	Girls (n= 61)
Direct Physical/Verbal	68	46
Direct Physical	2	-
Direct Verbal:		
Being mean/gangup	30	30
Degrading	-	3
Acknowledging Difference	-	2
Teasing	-	6
Name calling	-	6
Indirect Aggression:		
Exclusion	-	5
Pick on	-	2

Have you ever been bullied?

Table 9 presents data obtained from question two of the student pre and post-test which asked "Have you ever been bullied?" This was a forced choice question giving the option of a yes or no response. Almost identical numbers of boys (82%) and girls (85%) responded "Yes" to this question at pre-test. Table 9 also presents data obtained from question six that asks the students "Have you ever bullied anyone?" The response options were yes or no. 48% of boys responded "Yes" they had bullied someone compared to 42% of girls. At post-test both boys and girls reported an increase in incidence when asked "Have you ever bullied anyone?" A chi squared Pearson analysis of pre-test data revealed χ^2 (1, $\underline{N}$ = 118) = .972, ϱ < 0.001, which was non-significant. Post-test results showed data for both genders responding to "Have you ever been bullied?" remained the same. However, responses to whether you have ever bullied anyone rose from 48% to 60% for boys and 42% to 61% for girls perhaps indicating an increased awareness on the part of students following discussion in the programme of the many subtleties involved in bullying.

Table 9:   Percentages of students reporting that they have been bullied or that they have bullied others.

Item	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Boys (n=60)	Girls (n=58)	Boys (n=60)	Girls (n=61)
Have you ever been bullied?	82	85	81	82
Have you ever bullied anyone?	48	42	60	61

"How did you feel when you bullied the other person?" – Boys

Question seven asks "How did it feel when you bullied the other person?" Of the boys who answered the majority indicated;

"It felt good at first but not good later; I knew it was wrong".

A large group of boys said they felt guilty later when they realised how it had affected the other person.

"It felt bad, it wasn't nice, hard to stop because you were always on top – you have to get back at them, no one does anything about it"

"Bad, because I felt guilty and guilty isn't a good feeling"

"Good, because they had been doing it for two years and the adults did nothing"

"Good because they were always excluding me"

"It felt good, but then you realise how the other person feels; you feel guilty"

Most boys said they bullied others because they had been bullied first. However, although they bullied, many did not feel satisfied as a result. To the contrary, they felt "guilty" or "bad". An internal conflict is evident in some responses. They bullied the other person because "no-one does anything about it" or "because they were excluding me". So the students have decided to take the matter in hand themselves as they feel they are left with no option. However, subsequent to the bullying many felt guilty.

The majority of girls also indicated that the bullying felt good because they had been bullied first, but later they felt guilty, a similar theme to boys;

"good because they had been mean to me for ages but I felt guilty later".

A minority indicated they felt powerful and good. Again, similar to boys, internal conflict was evident, as retribution left them feeling unhappy.

"Hollow inside but happy to get back at them; sad that I had sunk that low"

The following quote indicates that bullying was a weapon of last resort. The suggestion is that they felt retribution was the only alternative as no-one had stopped the bullying.

"I bullied them because they bullied me for a long time"

This response is veiled in guilt because the person looked upset. However, simultaneously "good" because the student disliked the other person.

"Bad, because they looked upset; good because I didn't like them"

The majority of boys and girls bullied because someone had bullied them first. For many, retribution felt good initially. However, later they felt guilty for their action. No boys and a minority of girls bullied and then felt good about it later. Students appeared to bully because no-one else took action to stop them being bullied. The students felt there was no alternative and this appeared to create a degree of internal conflict wanting retribution from the bully, however also aware that bullying was inappropriate. There was also evidence of an awareness of how the victim felt when they had been bullied.

Summary

The fourth aim of the study investigated the assertion that girls would be more likely to define bullying in terms of verbal or indirect aggression (non-physical) than boys, who it was thought would be more likely to define in terms of direct physical or verbal aggression. However, it was believed that self-reported involvement in bullying either as a victim or a bully would be similar for each gender.

Data shows that more girls' did define bullying in terms of verbal or non-physical behaviour than boys did. Boys were, as proposed, more likely to define bullying in terms of physical /verbal bullying. (Refer Appendix K). Results also indicate that the incidence of bullying for boys and girls was almost identical. The results are therefore consistent with the expected aim of the study.

Why do bullies hurt other people?

Question twelve both pre and post-test asks, "Why do you think bullies hurt other people?"

Data in Table 10 shows there was little change from pre to post-test in either gender. The majority of both boys and girls indicated bullies hurt others because "they want to look good", numbers decreased slightly at post-test. Fewer boys and girls indicated at post-test that they thought bullies hurt other people because "they are mean" although this was not a significant difference. It may be indicative that students having had their awareness increased following the programme, were less inclined to judge the bully as "mean" and perhaps were more aware of the possible underlying causes of bullying behaviour. Similarly, fewer boys indicated at post-test that a bully may "think it is funny" or that "they want to look good", compared to pre-test responses. However, more boys indicated "other" at post-test (40%) compared to pre-test (25%). Although the explanations of "other" did not vary between pre and post-test, the numbers responding increased substantially. Similarly, more girls indicated "other" at post-test (52%) compared to 37% at pre-test. The number of

girls responding "they think it is funny" or "they want to look good" increased slightly at post-test, compared to boys data showing a slight decrease.

Table 10: Percentages of students indicating why they think bullies hurt other people.

Response	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Boys (n=60)	Girls (n=60)	Boys (n=60)	Girls (n=60)
They are mean	10	15	7	10
They think it is funny	15	13	12	15
They want to look good	60	57	52	59
Other	25	37	40	52

"Why do bullies hurt other people?" – Boys

Of the boys who responded "Other" to question twelve, the majority of them indicated bullies hurt other people because they have a problematic home life.

"Something bad happened in their personal life, like their parents divorced and they take it out on other people"

"They may be bullied or hit at home so they think it is OK to do it at school"

"It's their parents' fault"

"Because other people like parents hurt them and they want to hurt someone else to make them feel good"

Some respondents suggested bullies are unhappy and they make themselves feel better by hurting others.

"So they get rid of their own bad feelings"

"They are depressed and want others to feel their pain"

"They've probably been bullied themselves"

Responses also rationalised bullying as a power issue.

"They want to look powerful, superior and in control"

The underlying theme for boys' responses indicated that they feel bullies hurt others because they are experiencing hurt themselves, resulting from some trauma elsewhere in their lives.

Of the girls who responded to the same question, explanations were similar to boys. The majority believed bullies bully others because of an unhappy home environment or that they are bullied at home.

"They get really angry at home and take their anger out at school"

"Maybe treated like that at home"

"They have been bullied themselves or something at home isn't going well"

A large group of girls believed bullies bully others because they have been bullied themselves.

"They may have been abused or bullied"

"Someone has hurt them and they want to hurt someone else"

For girls, many believed the issue of power was the reason for bullying.

"They like feeling powerful"

"They love to be in control"

A significant group of girls felt bullies bully because they themselves feel bad for some reason. Themes around this are reflected by the following illustrative quote:

"They hurt on the inside and take it out on someone else"

A minority of girls believed the bullies bully because they are jealous of other people.

"They do it because they are jealous"

A minority indicated bullies;

"Have got problems"

A number of girls indicated the bullies hurt others because they want to look good in front of their friends and ensure they look powerful enough not to get bullied themselves.

"Want to look good and not get bullied"

The recurrent theme for girls as for the boys is that bullies hurt others because they are acting out trauma or hurt which is occurring somewhere else in their lives. The majority indicated that they felt the home environment is the main catalyst for bullying behaviour. Interestingly, responses from boys and girls did not change from pre to post-test. The programme did not appear to have an effect on their beliefs in regard to this question.

When you bullied the other person, how do you think they felt?

Table 11 presents data obtained from question eight of the pre and post-test which asks "How do you think it made the other person feel?" (when you bullied them). 44% of girls at post-test indicated it would make the person being bullied "sad" compared to 28% at pre-test. There was virtually no change in the boys' attitudes. At pre-test 12% of girls indicated the person who was bullied would be "angry" at post-test that increased to 21%. Again, there was no change in boys' responses. Students indicating that the victim would have felt embarrassed increased for boys from 7% at pre-test to 12% at post-test. The girls' responses to this indicated a large increase in numbers at post-test to 18% from 7% at pre-test. Responses for "they didn't care" did not change over time for boys and increased minimally at post-test for girls (7%) from 5% at pre-test. Of the respondents who selected

"Other"; 5% of boys at pre-test increased to 10% at post-test and 7% of girls selected

"Other" at pre-test increasing to 18% at post-test. However, none of the respondents chose

to explain what "Other" meant.

Table 11: Percentage responses of student opinion on how the victim may have felt when they were bullied.

Response	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Boys (n=60)	Girls (n=60)	Boys (n=58)	Girls (n=61)
Sad	27	28	28	44
Angry	17	12	17	21
Embarrassed	7	7	12	18
They didn't care	5	5	5	7
Other	5	7	10	18

What do you think of bullies?

Question five of the pre and post-test asked respondents "What do you think of

bullies?" Although the majority of respondents indicated in response to question twelve,

that bullies hurt other people to look cool, at pre-test only 3% of boys and 2% of girls

indicated "they are cool". At post-test boys' responses were unchanged. However, girls'

responses increased to 5%. As data in Table 12 shows, the majority (55%) of boys and

55% of girls at pre-test indicated they felt "bullies are mean". These responses were

virtually unchanged at post-test increasing slightly. Responses to "they are just ordinary people" indicated slightly more boys, 20% at pre-test agreed with this statement compared to 17% of girls. At post-test, boys' responses were relatively unchanged. However, girls' responses indicated a decrease to 13%. A large percentage of boys (28%) at pre-test selected "other" and that was virtually unchanged at post-test (29%). Considerably more girls responded "other" at pre-test (43%) and this increased slightly at post-test (49%).

Table 12: Percentages of students indicating what they think of bullies.

| | Pre-test | | Post-test | |
Response	Boys (n=60)	Girls (n=60)	Boys (n=58)	Girls (n=61)
They are cool	3	2	3	5
They are mean	55	55	57	56
They are just ordinary people	20	17	19	13
Other	28	43	29	49

"What do you think of bullies?" - *Boys*

Question five of the pre and post-tests asked respondents to explain "other". Many of the themes evident in these responses reflect what has been said in earlier data. The majority of boys indicated;

"They are bullied at home" or that

"They lash out on others because something happened to them"

Several boys indicated the bullies were seeking attention and several suggested they were,

"Losers with nothing better to do"

One respondent indicated:

"They are just different"

The data again suggests the majority of boys believe the bullies have been bullied somewhere else in their lives and bully others as a result.

What do you think of bullies?   - Girls

Responses from the girls were similar to the boys. The majority indicated the bullies were people who were bullied at home or somewhere else and are trying to make themselves feel better by bullying others.

"They have problems at home or school and are trying to impress"

"They're being bullied themselves, try to make themselves feel better"

Several girls described bullies as "losers" or "attention seekers".

A minority indicated that they were scared that people wouldn't think they were cool or popular and so bully people to appear in control. The girls' data is almost identical to boys. The majority of both boys and girls describe bullies as people who are bullied elsewhere in their lives and try to elevate their status or offload bad feelings by bullying others. Girls, like boys, also describe them as losers and attention seekers. No boys described the bullies as:

"Scared of not being cool or popular" as several girls did.

The girls' responses again reflecting the importance of social acceptance as part of a group which features more largely in the consciousness of girls than boys.

Kia Kaha

Question twenty- two of the post-test asks "Do you think the Kia Kaha programme has changed your ideas about people and bullying?" As data in Table 13 shows, slightly more girls (67%) than boys (57%) indicated that it had changed their ideas. Question twenty-three asks, "Do you think Kia Kaha has reduced the bullying in your school?" As shown in Table 13, 54% of boys indicated they felt bullying had been reduced, slightly fewer (51%) of girls indicated this. Data obtained from question twenty-four of the post-test asks "Do you think Kia Kaha has helped people with ideas on what to do about bullying?" Table 13 reflects 83% of boys and 92% of girls agreed that the programme had helped with ideas on dealing with bullying.

Table 13: Percentages of students who believed the Kia Kaha (KK) programme was effective in either changing ideas about bullying, reducing bullying in schools or helping with coping strategies.

Item	Boys (n=50)	Girls (n=55)
Has the KK programme changed your ideas about people and bullying?	57	67
Do you think KK has reduced the bullying in your school?	54	51
Do you think KK has helped people with ideas on what to do about bullying?	83	92

Has Kia Kaha changed your ideas? Boys – Yes

The data from the boys' sample demonstrates themes similar to the girls, that is understanding the effects of bullying on the victim, raising awareness of the various forms of bullying, understanding the bully and respecting difference in people. The boys also indicate a change in attitude and/or behaviour that was not evident in the girls' responses.

Themes indicating an increased understanding regarding the feelings of the victim are expressed in many of the responses.

"I realised how easily people get hurt and that you can hurt unintentionally"

"Because I thought a lot about what it can do to other people"

"I won't bully as much because I know how it feels"

"I thought about how I felt when I was bullied"

These responses were very similar to the girls' responses and demonstrate increased awareness in understanding the victim's feelings and similar to girls there is also a suggestion that the programme increased awareness regarding what constitutes bullying and the need to be respectful of the feelings of others.

Increased awareness regarding the various forms of bullying were evident in the boys' responses.

"I never knew there was more than one different way of bullying"

"Lots, what bullying is, how and why it happens and more"

"Learnt more about what bullying is and how to deal with it"

The following respondent appeared to be reflecting on the processes and outcomes involved in bullying.

"Made me think more about bullying"

The programme had also raised the issue of stereotyping and the students' identification of the unfairness inherent in it. Interestingly, boys used the word "stereotype" where girls discussed "difference" when commenting on the same theme.

"Because you can't stereotype someone without knowing them"

"Stereotyping people is not always correct"

"Not to bully because it isn't fair, everyone has the same feelings even if they are different from you"

As with the girls' responses, many boys indicated an increased empathy with the bully and suggested a bully could be a bully without realising it.

"I learnt how the bully feels"

"Sometimes the bully doesn't do it on purpose"

"I understand bullies more – I know anyone could be a bully"

"I thought before the bully was just mean"

A large proportion of the boys indicated that the programme had been effective in encouraging them to be pro-active and change behavioural reactions to bullying. The following responses illustrate how boys' change of attitude would encourage them to try to stop bullying happening if they witnessed it.

"Help people not to bully others and people won't get hurt"

"Makes me think if a person is being bullied – how I can help"

"To make me try to stop bullying happening"

In contrast, there were no girls who indicated that the programme would affect their behaviour and cause them to proactively intervene to stop bullying happening if they were bystanders.

Many boys indicated the programme had assisted in changing their behaviour which resulted in them bullying less.

"Helped not to bully someone"

"Because we are usually not seen bullying any more"

"Not to hurt people any more"

"By making me stop bullying and helping me be nice"

"Not to bully and if you see it, tell someone, preferably an adult"

Boys indicated that the programme had been effective in changing their behaviour regarding bullying. There were no responses from girls that indicated a proposed change in proactive behaviour towards bullying.

"Has Kia Kaha changed your ideas?" – Boys- No

The students who answered "No" were asked to indicate why that might have been.

The boys' responses show a majority felt;

"They had the information already";

This indicating that the information had been presented to them previously in a Kia Kaha programme or a similar programme.

A number of boys responded,

"Because bullies will always be the same, nothing will change"

The responses indicate a hopelessness regarding bullying, the boys don't believe the situation is salvageable.

A minority of boys said,

"Nobody takes it seriously", or

"Didn't know"

A significant number of boys indicated that for them change is unlikely as they either were already aware of the information before the programme was presented or because they believe the problem to be insurmountable and the programme had not changed their view.

Has Kia Kaha changed your ideas?" Girls – Yes

Of the sample of girls who indicated the Kia Kaha programme had changed their ideas about people and bullying, there were four main areas the girls highlighted as areas in which the programme had been most effective. The responses indicate the programme has raised awareness about stereotyping and having respect for difference.

"You shouldn't bully someone because they're different"

"You shouldn't judge them by what they look like"

"That I shouldn't bully because everyone is different in their own way"

"It made me see all people are the same"

Responses indicate the programme had helped elucidate the effects bullying has on the victim and had increased the degree of victim empathy by raising awareness about other people's feelings. Themes included:

"It made me realise victims are just like me"

"Now I know how people feel"

"I know now how being bullied feels"

"Because we've learnt what it's like to be a victim"

"It made me think harder about how people feel and why bullies hurt them"

A large number of girls explained the programme had helped them to understand the bully and the reasons that may precipitate bullying.

"Now I know bullies at home often become bullies at school"

"Made me understand the bully a bit better"

"I still feel the same – just learnt more about why they do it"

"I used to think bullies were just mean people with no feelings for others"

"The bully isn't always bad – they need help"

"I thought bullies knew they were bullies, they don't always"

Many of these responses indicate a level of empathy for the bully and an increased awareness underlying the reasons for bullying. Girls suggested the programme also increased awareness as to what actually constitutes bullying;

"thought bullies knew they were bullies, they don't always".

A large number of respondents indicated the Kia Kaha programme had made them more aware of the various forms of bullying and the processes underlying the bully. The responses also indicate an increase in awareness involving their own behaviour and how it may be perceived by others.

"I understand the different ways of bullying, why they do it and how to deal with it"

"Bullying is bad but I realised even I can bully without realising it"

"I didn't really know what different types of bullying there was"

"Before I didn't know much about bullying"

"You are most conscious of what you're saying and how it could insult someone"

The girls' responses indicate the Kia Kaha programme was effective in helping them to better understand the effects of bullying on the victim. Also to understand what motivates the bully, to raise awareness regarding the various forms in which bullying may appear, to acknowledge and respect difference in other people and to increase victim empathy.

Has Kia Kaha changed your ideas? - Girls No

Similarly, the girls' data indicated similar themes. The majority of girls said:

"They knew it all before"

This response reflects the boys' data and indicates they found the programme to be repeating what they already knew. Again, the girls reflected the same theme as boys when a significant number said:

"The Kia Kaha programme will not stop the bullying"

Is the classroom a safe place?

Question twenty, pre and post-test asks "Do you think your classroom is a safe place where everyone is treated fairly?" Table 14 reveals data which shows the majority of boys (72%) at pre-test and girls (74%) at pre-test believe the classroom is a safe place.

Similarly, the majority of boys (80%) at pre-test and slightly more girls (88%) at pre-test believe the school attempts to ensure bullying doesn't happen.

Table 14: Percentages of students who indicated that their classroom was a safe place and also felt that their school attempts to prevent bullying.

	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
Item	n=51	n=50	n=55	n=50
Classroom safe?	72	74	67	66
School tries to ensure bullying doesn't happen?	80	88	78	82

The majority of boys and girls indicated that they felt their classroom was a safe place and that everyone was treated fairly. Slightly fewer boys and girls indicated this at post-test. Similarly, the majority of boys and girls reported that their school attempted to prevent bullying and again, slightly fewer boys and girls reported this at post-test. This may be due to classroom discussions on bullying which resulted in an increased awareness of the subtleties of bullying and the perceived lack of safety in their environment as a result of victims sharing their experiences in classroom discussions that showed teachers to be less empathic and helpful than previously believed.

Parent Evaluation

Each student participating in the study was given a questionnaire for their parent to complete. There were 122 student participants in the pre-test. It was hoped that one parent of each student would agree to participate. However at pre-test, parents numbered 74 and at post-test, attrition meant that number decreased to 55. Although 55 parents returned a post-test many of the participants only partially completed the questionnaire and indicated that their answer was the same as the pre-test questionnaire. As for student questionnaires, parents were asked to "tick one" choice on multi-choice questions and a number of parents ticked more than one option.

Parents Definition of Bullying

Question one of the pre and post-test asked parents to explain what bullying is. Several themes emerged, the main theme being similar to that expressed by students. The majority of parents (70%) described bullying as physical/verbal but elaborated on this. These descriptions although preceded with physical/verbal usually extended the explanation to include non-physical behaviours. As data shows in Table 15 there is a wider range of descriptors used by parents due to advanced language skills and comprehension.compared to that of students.

Table 15: Percentage of parents defining bullying in a direct or indirect context.

Definition	Pre-test
Physical/Verbal and: put downs-manipulation	70
exerts power	
intimidation	
teasing	
standover tactics	
picked on	
abuse of race or handicap (their words)	
lack awareness/respect for others	
threats	
bribery	
pushing/shoving	
property damage	
name-calling	
racist remarks	
] exclusion	
Indirect] emotional	
] spreading rumours	
Intimidation	18
Abuse of power	8
Physical (only)	4

As the table indicates, indirect bullying is only cited in a few cases – most of the definitions refer to direct physical or direct verbal bullying which is very similar to the findings in the students' data.

Of the parents, 18% explained bullying as intimidation, 8% as abuse of power and 4% described bullying as physical only.

Table 16 presents data obtained from question two of the parent pre and post test. Parents were asked if they believed bullying to be a problem in their child's school. The pre-test data revealed a minority (21%) of parents believed bullying to be a problem in their child's school. This was virtually unchanged (24%) at post-test.

Table 16 also presents data obtained from question four in the parent questionnaire. The question asks if the family discusses respect for difference in others. Pre-test responses revealed 64% of parents discussed respect for others in a family context. This decreased to 48% at post-test. This decrease at post-test may be indicative of an initial overly positive response at pre-test. Social desirability may have been a confounding factor with parents believing the family did discuss the need to respect difference in others. This response may have been moderated following the programme and subsequent discussion at home with their child. There may have been a realisation that the family did not discuss this issue to the level that they had previously thought.

Table 16: Percentages of parents who believe bullying is a problem in their child's school and percentages of parents who said they discuss respect for difference their family context.

Item	Pre-test (n=50)	Post-test (n=55)
Is bullying a problem in your child's school?	21	24
Does your family talk about respect for others?	64	48

Question eleven of the pre and post-test asks "Have you ever been told your child is a bully?" Data presented in Table 17 indicates 12% of parents had been told their child was a bully at pre-test and this reduced to 9% at post-test. Question twelve asks, "If you answered 'yes', how did you feel about that?"

Responses to question twelve at pre and post-test reveal the majority of parents had felt embarrassed when told their child was a bully. At pre-test, 43%responded "other" compared to 20% at post-test. However, no parent elaborated and explained the meaning of "other". No parent indicated "it didn't worry you" pre or post-test. At pre-test 29% indicated they were angry and at post-test that decreased to 20%. 29% of parents indicated "they couldn't believe it" at pre-test. However, no-one indicated this at post-test.

Table 17: Percentages of parents who were told that their child had bullied someone and also how parents felt when they were told. Also percentages of parents who believe the Kia Kaha (KK) programme is necessary.

Item	Pre-test (n=66)	Post-test (n=55)
Have you ever been told your child is a bully?	12	9
How did you feel about that?		
Embarrassed	50	80
Didn't worry you	-	-
Angry	29	20
Couldn't believe it	29	-
Other 43	20	
Do you feel KK is necessary?	97	98

Question thirteen of both pre and post-test asked, "If you think back to that time – can you remember and explain why you had that reaction?" The only response to this question indicated that parents were disappointed as they felt they had discussed the issue of bullying with their child and did not expect it would become an issue involving their child.

"Disappointed because we had talked many times about the right to be who you are, everyone is different and you need to respect that"

Question fourteen of both pre and post-test asked parents if they felt the Kia Kaha programme was necessary. As indicated in Table 17 an overwhelming majority (97%) at pre-test and 98% at post-test responded "yes" the programme was necessary.

Question fifteen of the parent pre and post-test asks, "What do you think your child may learn from it?"

The majority of parents responded that the programme would clarify the nature of bullying for their children and help them to develop coping strategies.

> "What bullying is, how to recognise bullying behaviour in himself or others"
>
> "Help to develop better ways to deal with bullying"
>
> "Being able to recognise bullying around them even if they aren't the target, they need strategies to cope with it"
>
> "To learn coping strategies so she can help others and know what to do herself"
>
> "What bullying is, most appropriate way to deal with it and long term consequences for victims"
>
> "To know there is help around"

A number of parents hoped that the programme would reinforce their family values and engender a respect for others.

> "Respect for others, others have rights to be different, to express opinions"
>
> "A greater tolerance of people's differences"

"Reinforce the things he has been taught at home and at school"

Parents expressed a hope that the programme would also involve teachers so students felt they had a genuine interest in resolving bullying issues.

"Teachers need to be involved, in my experience children are taught to tell an adult but are punished when they do so"

"Having teachers and school visitors talk about these issues gives them credibility, they are usually listened to better than parents"

Parents believed the programme would increase awareness surrounding appropriate or inappropriate behaviour.

"Clarify everyone's understanding of what is acceptable/unacceptable behaviour"

"It creates an awareness of the problem and the issues that cause it"

"That bullying is unacceptable in society generally"

"A greater awareness of how their behaviour impacts on others, to understand teasing and put-downs are just as cruel as physical bullying"

A response which acknowledges the role bystanders play.

"Becoming aware as a passive bystander – you are part of the bullying"

For the majority of parents increasing awareness and developing coping strategies were the most salient messages the programme was expected to deliver. Parents hoped the programme would reinforce their existing family values, these included respecting difference in others. They also expressed a need to have teachers involved in the programme to establish credibility with students. It was thought that students would translate teacher involvement into believing teachers genuinely supported the philosophy of the programme and this would demonstrate their commitment in helping to extinguish bullying.

Question sixteen asks, "Do you think bullying is unacceptable behaviour?" No parent suggested bullying could be acceptable or appropriate behaviour. The majority of parents indicated that it was of paramount importance that a child feel safe and be able to attend school without the threat of bullying from another child.

> "A child has a right to feel safe at school. Kia Kaha helps children and teachers
> to identify the need for help and how to get it"
> "A child has a right to go to school without restrictions. Bullying has an impact
> for a long time"
> "Because every child has a right to feel happy and secure it makes learning
> difficult and school life miserable"
> "Every child has the right to feel safe, secure and happy at school. Children
> need to know they can tell and get support"

A large number of parents expressed the need to address bullying because of the significant effect on student self esteem and potential long-term consequences.

"It can do a lot of damage to self esteem, learning can be affected. Schools often shrug it off as minor, any bullying should be treated as serious"

"Can lose self esteem, become withdrawn, bully others because they have been bullied, become anorexic"

"Children who feel undervalued and unsupported often attempt suicide"

"Destroys the dignity of a person, destroys self esteem, it is immature and unhelpful, disrespectful. Long term consequences for victim"

"Destroys a child's self esteem and self confidence in adolescence, a time when they are trying to cope with pressures of adolescence"

A large number of parents suggested that there needs to be more respect for diversity.

"Everyone is entitled to be themselves, children need to accept difference"

"It (bullying) assumes some people have no rights, bigger, smarter doesn't put you above others"

"Often bullying is about being different, children need space for themselves to be different"

"No-one has the right to establish superiority over another person, needs to be more tolerance of difference"

Parents' responses indicated that they feel bullying is unacceptable because it undermines the right of every child to attend school and learn in a safe environment. Parents suggested bullying had many negative long-term consequences which resulted in erosion of a child's self esteem and self-confidence and, if left unchecked, could result in suicide. Parents recognised a need for greater respect of diversity in others, which they identified as being a significant factor in bullying.

Table 18 presents data obtained from question five of the parent pre and post-test which asks "has your child ever been bullied?" Also presented in Table 18 are responses from question two of the student pre and post-test, which asks students, "have you ever been bullied?"

Table 18: Percentages of students who responded they had been bullied and also the percentages of parents who indicated that their child had been bullied.

Item	Pre-test	Post-test
Student - Have you ever been bullied?	80 (n=101)	81 (n=105)
Parent - Has your child ever been bullied?	31 (n=67)	28 (n=54)

The data indicates a large disparity in the number of students who indicated that they had been bullied (80% at pre-test) compared to only 31% of parents who were aware that their child had been bullied. A 2x2 chi-squared analysis of pre-test data shows

$\chi^2 (1, \underline{N} = 67) = 1.02, \underline{p} < .310$, which is significant. The data suggests just less than 50% of the students who were bullied had told their parents. At the post-test evaluation, the disparity was slightly larger, even fewer parents were aware that their child had been bullied.

Summary

The fifth aim of the study was intended to explore and compare the self-reported incidence of students being bullied compared to parental knowledge of the students being bullied. The data showed that just less than 50% of students who had been bullied had told their parents. This correlates with data collected in earlier questions where 67% of students indicated they had told someone about being bullied and the majority of them had told a parent. It does however indicate that a substantial percentage of students who are bullied do not tell their parents and therefore many students remain unsupported as parents are unaware that their child has a problem. These results are therefore consistent with the expected aim of this study.

Table 19 presents data obtained from question six of the parent pre and post-test. Parents were asked, if their child had been bullied – did they approach the school? At pre-test 23% of parents responded "yes" they had approached the school. Table 19 also presents data obtained from question eight asking "Was the school helpful?" At pre-test 17% responded "yes" the school was helpful.

Table 19: Percentage responses of parents who had approached the school if their child had been bullied, also the responses from parents who said the school was helpful when approached.

Item	Pre-test (n=30)	Post-test (n=32)
Did you approach the school when your child was bullied?	23	18
Was the school helpful?	17	10

There was a slight decrease in the number of parents who said they had approached the school at post-test (18%) compared to (23%) at pre-test.

There was a marked decrease in the percentage of parents who reported that the school was helpful at post-test, (10%) compared to (17%) at pre-test.

Question nine of the pre and post-test asked parents "What was the most helpful thing the school did? Parents indicated the proactive and supportive attitude exhibited by the school was most helpful to their child in dealing with the situation. The child felt they had been listened to and that the issue was taken seriously and dealt with effectively.

"Both the class teacher, syndicate leader and principal became involved. For my son the best thing was that the principal talked with him and saw him on a regular basis, it made him feel that someone really believed it had happened to him".

"They spoke to the bully and monitored him in the playground. They spoke to the three parents whose children had been bullied by this child".

"Listened to my daughter and showed her respect and understanding. Listened and respected me as a parent. The principal handled it in a very appropriate way".

The parents indicated that the school helped by listening to and respecting the feelings of the victim and the parents. Communication between the teachers, principal, victim and parents was open and effective and the victim felt supported.

Question ten of the parent pre and post-test asked "Was there anything else the school could have done which would have been more helpful?" The main theme to emerge from the data was that the parents did not feel they had been listened to or "taken seriously".

"More acceptance by staff that bullying is not normal childhood behaviour".

"Taken us seriously and not belittled our complaint".

"Pay attention".

"Teacher blamed my son for the bullying when he was the victim".

One comment revealed the opinion that staff were modelling inappropriate behaviour when dealing with the issue.

> "Teachers should have modelled appropriate behaviour. The headmaster tended to use bullying language to reprimand the children".

Several parents indicated the school lacked the appropriate policies to deal with the issues at the time.

> "More class work on tolerance of different types of people – ethnic backgrounds".
> "At the time there were no bullying policies or guidelines in place but there are now and these have been very effective in reducing incidents".
> "More supervision of playground, more organised games at lunchtime".

Some felt the principal's request for the parent to name the bullies was inappropriate.

> "The principal asked me to name the bullies. That would have made her situation worse and not stopped other children".

Parents were not confident that the school could ensure the child's safety if the parent told the principal who the bullies were. The majority of parents indicated that school staff should have listened and taken the issue of bullying more seriously. Parents felt

unsupported. Several felt schools lacked the appropriate guidelines and policies for dealing with bullying. The issue of safety was raised where a parent felt insecure about giving the names of the bullies to the school for fear of retribution to their child. The manner in which the bullying was dealt with was also raised as being inappropriate in one case and in fact was seen as role-modeling the behavior the principal was charged with extinguishing.

Table 20 presents data obtained from question seven of the pre and post-test. The question asks parents, if they did not approach the school, why not? The data obtained at pre-test does not vary at post-test.

Table 20: Percentage responses of parents indicating why they did not approach the school when their child was bullied.

Item	Pre-test (n=9)	Post-test (n=10)
It would go away	2	2
Wasn't a big issue	3	3
Embarrassing	-	-
That's life	-	-
Other	7	4

The sample indicated the majority of parents who did not approach the school did not want to make a fuss or thought the bullying would go away, so minimised the incident. Although 77% of parents at pre-test did not approach the school only 12% indicated why

they did not. Pre-test responses indicated 7% responded "other" and this decreased to 4% at post-test.

Several themes emerged from parents' responses. Themes were not dissimilar to student themes for not telling, fear of worsening the situation at school extended to the parents in this example.

"I asked my child, he said it would just make the situation worse by telling so he just coped with it by himself"

The majority of parents appeared to minimise the bullying, particularly if it involved verbal bullying.

"The bullying was only verbal and my daughter was not very concerned about it"

"Not major enough to worry about, child was not upset by it"

A number of parents took a proactive attitude and explained that they preferred to equip their children with the coping strategies to deal with bullying themselves. The inference was that parents felt with their support and help with coping strategies, their children should be able to cope with the situation themselves.

"Unfortunately, bullying is part of the adult world too, so I think a child has to be helped to cope with bullying. As a parent I would rather do this myself"

"It was name-calling. We talked the situation through and gave our child strategies for coping"

The following response both minimises the bullying experience as "only verbal" but also indicates the parents felt they could manage the situation more effectively themselves.

"The bullying was only verbal. It reflected elements of racism. As parents we felt our child's response to the bullying should and could be managed by us"

Some parents acknowledged that on reflection they may have been able to support their child more than they had.

"The important issue of being bullied got lost in the urgent things that happened after school and it didn't get dealt with"
"My son has ADHD and I am aware of his impulse actions, but it doesn't mean it was right"

Although the majority of respondents minimised their child's bullying experience many of them supported their child by helping them to develop coping strategies in an effort to deal with the situation. Parents' responses reflect a feeling that suggests bullying is a natural part of life. Parents are supportive and willing to offer coping strategies to help their children through a difficult situation but life is expected to go on.

Table 21 presents data obtained from question seventeen of the parent post-test which asked "Do you feel the Kia Kaha programme has changed your child's and/or your family's ideas about bullying?" Of the respondents, 13% indicated that it had changed their ideas regarding bullying. Table 21 also presents data from question nineteen of the post-test which asked "Did your child discuss the programme at home?" As indicated, only 26% of children discussed the programme at home.

Table 21: Percentage responses of parents indicating that Kia Kaha had changed their or their child's ideas about bullying. Also responses indicating whether their child discussed the Kia Kaha programme at home.

Item	Yes (n=50)
Did the Kia Kaha programme change ideas about bullying?	13
Did your child discuss the programme at home?	26

Parents were then asked to explain how Kia Kaha had changed their ideas. The data showed that parents felt the programme reinforced many of the existing family views and cultures already inherent in these families.

"We have talked already as a family about respecting people's differences – that they have the same rights etc".

"Our family already has clear views on respect for other people".

"We have as a family always held these ideas. Bullying is a huge problem and is unacceptable".

"We have a very strong culture of standing up for the disempowered. We have a child who is IHC".

Several parents reported the programme had facilitated more family discussion about bullying and this was reflected as a positive outcome.

"We talked about it a lot more".

"It creates an awareness of the problems and issues that cause it and it helps to discuss that as a family".

We talked about it a lot more as a family".

Parents indicated that for their child the Kia Kaha programme had helped to elucidate what bullying was, in a broader context.

"My son has a better understanding of bullying from all perspectives".

"It has helped to clarify what bullying is for our son".

"She learnt that bullying does not solve the situation and if the role was reversed would be on the receiving end".

Parents' responses indicated that the Kia Kaha programme had been positive in reinforcing the values that many of the families already held. They valued the opportunity

to discuss the issues related to bullying that had been initiated by the school programme. It had also assisted in clarifying the multi-factorial contributors to what constitutes bullying behaviour and the potential consequences to all involved.

Question twenty of the parent post-test asks "What ideas did your child bring home from the programme?"

Several respondents indicated that their children had learned new strategies for coping with bullying either as a victim or a bystander.

"How to stop bullying – stand for justice"

"How to protect herself in public places"

"More aware of issues, what to do if they were bullied, who to approach"

"What bullying was. What to do"

"Yes, good to reinforce positive behavior ... and give kids alternatives, a way out of a problem"

What to say and do about bullying"

Several respondents indicated that their child had talked about telling someone about bullying.

"Avoid bullies, tell someone, try and talk to bullies, walk away"

"Different kinds of bullying – who to go to for help"

Parents indicated some of the children had talked at home about the importance of having respect for others and tolerating difference in others.

> "We discussed being different but the same – tolerating difference and what they could do to stop becoming victims"
> We talked a lot about people learning respect"

One comment indicated their child had talked about standing strong.

> "That he should stand up for himself".

There was scepticism about the effectiveness of one strategy offered to students.

> "Discussed strategies, didn't think solution for what you do if harassed at the shops on the way home were realistic".

Although only 26% of parents indicated that their child had discussed the programme at home, those discussions revealed that students had absorbed and repeated to their parents many of the issues discussed in the classroom activities which demonstrates the significance of the material offered to the students.

The majority of parents indicated that their child had talked with them about the new coping strategies that had been discussed in the programme. However, one response suggested that they found one of the suggested strategies, regarding coping with

threatening behaviour on returning home from school, to be unrealistic. The issue of the importance of telling someone about the bullying had also been discussed at home. A number of parents indicated that their children had talked to them about the importance of respecting difference in others. One respondent indicated that their child had discussed the need to stand up for himself, as a result of the programme.

Question eighteen of the parent post-test asked, "What could be improved with Kia Kaha?" The majority of parents indicated that they had not been involved in the programme as much as they would have liked. Many parents believed their involvement in the programme could have enhanced the effects of the programme for their child.

> "We've had very little family input to the programme. This could have added support to our child in the programme".
>
> "I didn't hear anything about it".
>
> "There should be more parental involvement".
>
> "Needs to be more communication with parents – we don't know what it's about".
>
> "Parents should get more information so we can support the child and know we are all on the same wavelength".
>
> "Parents should receive some information themselves about what is covered, rather than just rely on the child".

A minority of respondents indicated teachers needed to be more involved in the programme.

"Teachers need to be more involved for children to believe something can be done".

"Teachers use bully tactics at times to gain compliance – perhaps a run through with them would be helpful".

One response indicated an ongoing programme could be effective in maintaining continuity.

"This should be in school for one week every term".

There was a minority of less positive comments.

"The programme lacked freshness and didn't provide an extension of previous learning:

"There is too much emphasis on the victim having to stand up for themselves and not enough done about the bully".

The majority of parents indicated that they had not felt as involved in the programme as they would have liked or that they should have been. There was a feeling reflected that they could have added value to the programme had they been given the opportunity to become more involved. A number of parents indicated teachers should also have been more involved in the programme. It was suggested that their involvement would add credibility to the assertion that it is safe and effective to tell teachers about bullying. It was

suggested that if teachers were seen to be more involved in the programme students would accept and believe that they supported the programme objectives which would result in students telling more often.

Question twenty one of the parent post-test asked "Do you think the Kia Kaha programme has been a good idea in your school?" 99% respondents indicated "Yes". The majority of responses indicated that talking through the issues and providing coping mechanisms for the students would raise awareness and assist children in believing there are alternatives for them when faced with bullying.

"Yes, it gets teachers and parents to think about the behaviour – helps children to develop skills to cope".

"Yes, anything that addresses this issue and helps children with coping skills is good".

"Yes, it provides positive coping skills – tackles it in a very open way rather than hiding it which makes it impossible to deal with".

"Yes, awareness and talking about it will empower some people".

A number of parents while acknowledging the importance of the programme in school suggested the programme be extended to be compulsory for all children in all classes.

"Yes, but it needs to be compulsory"

"Yes, but it should be done in all classes"

"Every child should do it for best results"

There is a call for transparency in dealing with bullying. Parents are very supportive of the programme being implemented in school and believe the opportunity for children to discuss and develop coping skills to deal with bullying behaviour is very important for their wellbeing. Parents strongly believe that the Kia Kaha programme was a good idea in their school as it raised awareness of several issues. Many of them suggested the programme should be compulsory and be implemented in all classes of the school to achieve maximum effectiveness. There was acknowledgement of the whole school approach involving parents, teachers and students as being an important factor to success.

Question twenty-two of the parent post-test asked parents if there were any other comments they would like to make. All comments were positive and supported the continued use of the programme in school as a valuable resource for children.

"Programme should be more often and compulsory".

"It should be part of life skills training for young adults – may prevent bullying going on to more serious conflict".

"Discussing different issues and helping kids to express themselves is always a good idea".

"When a programme like Kia Kaha exists in a school it is difficult for a culture of bullying to continue".

"I think Kia Kaha is an awesome programme – a school wide programme is definitely the way to go".

These parents were very supportive of the programme and believe the programme is offering a preventative resource, one which encourages discussion, transparency and support if implemented in a wide ranging and continuous mode in the school environment.

Many parents welcomed the opportunity to discuss the issue of bullying, which they view as a persistent silent undercurrent in the schools.

"Thank you for the opportunity to speak out about bullying – I strongly oppose it".

Several parents said:

"Thanks for the opportunity to discuss it"

"Thanks for bringing the subject to discussion"

"Needed more parent involvement"

"Glad that some action is being taken on the matter"

"This is not the first time we've done it – good to repeat it and good that it's age appropriate"

Parents valued the opportunity to discuss the issue of bullying with their children and to comment on it in the survey. In general, parents were very enthusiastic and supportive of the programme and would like to see its continued and extended use.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will examine the results and look at the implications of the current study's findings in relation to the Kia Kaha Programme. The limitations of the present study will also be examined with suggestions made for future research.

Summary of Quantitative and Qualitative Results

Telling

The results indicate that most victims had told someone about being bullied (67%) and that girls (72%) were more likely to tell than boys (62%), results similar to those found by Smith & Shu (2000). These results differ from other studies that have found most students are unwilling to tell about a bullying incident (Olweus, 1993; Whitney & Smith, 1993). However, both of the aforementioned studies were conducted nearly a decade ago and due to increased education and knowledge, it is suggested that this has resulted in an increase in the number of students telling. The difference between the numbers of boys telling as opposed to girls was not as marked as were results of a study by Cowie (2000), that revealed twice as many males as females aged between 11-14 years had told no-one about their being bullied. Consistent with the expected aims of the present study and also with other studies (Smith & Sharp, 1994; Whitney & Smith, 1993) both boys and girls were more likely to tell a parent (21%) than a teacher (8%) if they had been bullied. However at post-test, while there was no increase in numbers of girls stating that they had told a

teacher, almost twice as many boys said that they had. This may indicate evidence of increased awareness amongst boys as a result of programme discussion relating to the importance of telling a teacher.

Boys had a tendency to minimise a bullying incident. They appeared to have adopted the belief that they should be able to deal with bullying themselves. This may be linked to the societal expectations placed on boys (Simmons, 2002), where boys feel their masculinity may be in question if they are seen to be affected by bullying incidents. Indeed studies have shown that many students and teachers accept bullying as normative (Arora & Thompson, 1987). What we do not know, however, is if this relationship is causal. Is the fact that many teachers view bullying as normal subsequently encouraging students to feel that they also must adopt this attitude, or is it general societal values colluding in the school environment?

Besag (1989) suggests that with adolescence comes an increased sense of independence and therefore students may feel they should be able to cope with their problems without parental involvement. Furthermore, at this developmental stage many adolescents are loosening links with their parents, which therefore increases the importance of students needing to feel they can trust and tell a teacher. While some girls minimised the bullying experience, most were more likely to cite fear of being judged by peers or teachers as the main reason not to tell. Girls appeared to be concerned with the risk of general social embarrassment whereas boys appeared to fear looking weak.

Fear of being judged negatively by peers was also a concern for boys and may suggest a further link to the construct of their masculinity. Fear of retribution from the bully was an important factor in boys not telling. This suggests that boys do not feel that the school environment would offer them sufficient safety if they were to tell. In some cases they felt that telling could actually exacerbate the problem, similar to findings in Smith and Shu (2000). Boys also expressed a lack of faith by believing that teachers would not act on information if they did tell. A feeling of hopelessness was evident with boys talking about teachers "doing nothing anyway". This is similar to findings in other studies (Whitney & Smith, 1993; Smith & Shu, 2000; Peterson & Rigby, 1999). In Peterson and Rigby (1999) findings revealed that students believed bullying could not be controlled and that teachers were part of the problem. Students viewed teachers' intervention with suspicion. In the present study when boys were asked how it felt to not tell anyone, fear, sadness and unease were the feelings most often expressed. They also felt unsupported and alone if they had not told anyone. Similar feelings were expressed by girls in the same situation.

Of the students who did tell someone about being bullied, both boys and girls indicated that they felt supported and happier once they had told someone. As for boys, observing that some action had taken place and seeing a subsequent change in the bully's behaviour had helped to make them feel safer. Smith and Shu (2000) found that usually students who did tell found it helpful. However, in the present study, of the students who had told someone many of them did not find telling satisfactory. For both boys and girls the main concern was that when they did tell, nothing was done about it. There was a sense of hopelessness, indicating that no one cared about his or her situation enough to act, or that there was no positive change once they had told. Certainly, support and understanding were

the two factors referred to most as being helpful in the process of coping with bullying. When lacking however, the students were left feeling unsafe, unhappy and alone.

Girls said that they were more likely to tell a teacher "if" they had been bullied or "if" they had observed bullying, than boys were. These results differ from previous data that showed when girls "were" bullied, fewer of them (when compared to boys) actually told someone. Interestingly, fewer boys and girls said that they would tell a teacher at post-test. One possible explanation for this could be that, after discussing the bullying issues throughout the programme, students became cynical about the effectiveness of telling a teacher. Having heard the outcome of experiences when others had told a teacher, they perhaps found that the teacher's involvement had been ineffective. Maybe students had decided that telling was unlikely to change anything and was therefore pointless. When boys were asked why they would not report bullying to a teacher most indicated fear of retribution as the strongest reason. As mentioned previously, themes of negative peer judgement and hopelessness were also reasons why boys would not tell. The hopelessness was centred around the feeling that if they did tell, nothing would be done anyway. Many spoke from personal experience and cited previous occasions where nothing had been done. There was a firm belief that it was up to the boys to deal with it themselves.

In sum, boys indicated that they did not feel that the school environment ensured it was safe enough to tell. For girls, the main deterrent to them telling was a lack of commitment from teachers, as the girls felt teachers were non-responsive. Subsequently girls, as well as boys, felt unsafe about telling a teacher. Girls felt that teachers neither listened to nor understood their situation and believed that the chances of changing the situation were

negligible. These results are similar to those found by Boulton & and Underwood (1992) and Hoover et al. (1992) in which 60% of victims said school personnel respond poorly.

The main factors implicated in boys being more likely to tell teachers were; firstly, to know that the teacher will empathise with their position, and secondly, that they are assured anonymity when they tell to ensure their safety. There were clear indications that the school environment is deemed unsafe, either through lack of available staff or lack of attention from the staff available. Peer support was also indicated as a factor that would encourage boys to tell a teacher. Girls, as for boys, indicated that believing a teacher was empathic was a significant factor in encouraging them to tell. Peer support was also an important factor for girls telling teachers. This finding is supported in other studies (Cowie, 2000; Rigby, 2000). While anonymity was a factor for girls it had less relevance than empathy and peer support.

Studies show that students are less likely to report indirect bullying, as the nature of it is more subjective than physical bullying, which is overt and easily identifiable (Rivers & Smith, 1994). As girls are more likely to be involved in indirect bullying when compared to boys, this may explain why no change was seen in the number of girls telling. Similarly, Boulton (1997) found significantly fewer teachers believed exclusion was bullying (as opposed to physical), and suggested that opinions such as these may explain why fewer students report indirect bullying. The present study findings reveal that 91% of students did not tell a teacher at pre-test. This is similar to other findings (O'Moore et al.1997) where 84% of post-primary students had not told a teacher, and a study by Rigby and Slee (1999) that found 70% of students had not told a teacher. Results from the present study show

virtually no change in the total number of students who told anyone at post-test compared to pre-test. This is similar to the findings of a study by Eslea and Smith (1998), which found that one year following the Sheffield Project, there was no increase in the number of students who had told staff about bullying.

Both boys and girls reiterate the same themes throughout the various streams of questioning, which are that they see the merit in telling and want to tell. However, they do not trust that if they do, they will be safe from retribution and / or that anything will change to improve the situation.

Student Views of Teacher Attitudes to Bullying

Students were asked what they thought teachers thought about bullying. Most boys and girls (70%) believed teachers did not like bullying. However, at post-test fewer boys and girls (59%) indicated that they believed this. Also evident at post-test was a large increase in the number of boys and girls who felt teachers didn't care, 10% of boys and 10% of girls compared to 4% and 2% respectively at pre-test. Again, in reference to data cited earlier, it is suggested that after discussion throughout the programme, students' increased awareness as to how others had experienced the handling of a bullying incident meant that they had less faith in a teacher supporting them if approached. This may have extended to students believing that teachers did not hold views that were anti-bullying.

At post-test more boys and girls indicated that, "teachers don't notice it is happening" which may also indicate an increased awareness among students' as a result of the programme discussion. Students may have become more aware that teachers do not notice

a significant amount of the bullying and therefore are reliant on students telling them. Is it that teachers do not notice bullying, or do teachers choose to ignore it? Studies show, as does the present study, that verbal and indirect bullying comprises a large component of bullying behaviour and that teachers may elect not to acknowledge this behaviour as they do not see it as being as serious as physical bullying (Stephenson & Smith, 1988). O'Moore (2000) argues that teachers underestimate the problem and need to be formally trained. Similarly, Smith and Shu (2000) suggest that teachers require guidance in dealing with bullying issues.

In summary, students generally did not see teachers as supportive and often found the situation hopeless as there was no action taken when bullying was reported. The students interpretation of the teachers inaction is that teachers do not take bullying seriously or care enough about the situation to help resolve hurtful bullying issues. These results are consistent with other studies cited in the literature. For example, Nairn et al. (2000) found that, in a study involving secondary school students, only 56% of students believed that teachers were ready to help if students told them about bullying. There appears to be a general malaise amongst students who are not telling teachers. Students have indicated that they need the support of teachers and that this helps immeasurably in attempting to deal with bullying incidents. However, there is a deep-seated belief that teachers often do not help or even want to help a student overcome a bullying issue.

Boulton (1997) found that 81% of teachers wanted more training in dealing with bullying. If teachers were trained and skilled in ways to manage bullying issues they may feel more confident in becoming involved. As Smith and Shu (2000) found, students not

only lacked faith in believing bullying could be stopped, but also said that even if teachers became involved it could well result in an escalation of the situation if it was mismanaged. Sadly, these results show that an alarming number of students tell no one when they are bullied (34%). Furthermore, they show that even when students do tell a teacher, it is often met with inaction, a minimising of the incident, or worse, an escalation of the bullying if mismanaged. Adair et al. (2000) found that teachers often did little to help a situation involving bullying once a student had told them. O' Moore and Hillery (1991) also found that teachers were often unaware of bullying and did not like to hear "tales". The concern is that students are not choosing to remain silent because they want to, they are not telling because either the school is not seen as an environment which can reliably ensure their safety, or because they believe that telling is simply ineffective. When they do tell most students report that it helps them to cope and consequently they do not they feel alone, sad, and unsupported.

Bystander Behaviour

Bystander behaviour showed that boys (30%) were much more likely to ignore a bullying incident than girls (7%) were. This was consistent with the expectations of the study and is also reflected in other studies (Adair et al.,2000; Smith and Shu, 2000). It is of some concern that ignoring an incident increased at post-test for girls (to 13%). However, despite this, more boys still said they would ignore an incident. Both boys and girls said that they would ignore an incident if they did not know the person. At post-test more boys and girls said they would tell an adult if they witnessed someone being bullied. However, fewer boys and girls said they would tell a teacher at post-test. It is possible following the programme discussion and subsequent increased awareness that students felt encouraged to

tell and acknowledged the value in telling an adult, however, this did not extend to telling

teachers. A large proportion of boys said they would intervene and attempt to break the

bullying up, whereas no girls said this. As boys are known to engage in more overt and

physical bullying behaviour it is logical that this reaction would involve more boys than

girls. However, girls were much more likely than boys to defend the victim, which is

similar to findings in other studies (Salmivalli et al., 1996; Salmivalli et al., 1998; Smith &

Shu, 2000) and also consistent with the aims of this study. Similar numbers of boys and

girls reported that they would verbally tell the bully to stop. However, this would be

described as defender behaviour and studies show, including the present one, that in reality

boys are less likely to become involved as defenders.

Attitudes to Victims

When students were asked about their attitudes to victims many more girls (58%) than

boys (37%) felt that victims did not deserve to be bullied. This remained virtually

unchanged for girls at post-test. However, there was an increase in the number of boys who

reported that victims did not deserve to be bullied at post-test compared to pre-test. A study

by Naylor & Cowie (1999) concluded that boys do care but often are more concerned about

the possible damage to their masculine image if they are seen to care. Also, at post-test,

more boys and girls felt that the victims did not defend themselves. At post-test there was

also an increased incidence both for boys and girls, of believing the victim was different in

some way. The programme appears to have raised consciousness in the students generally

and increased victim empathy in boys. Interestingly, only a small minority of students

believed that victims deserved to be bullied and that fell slightly at post-test for both

genders. Girls generally indicated a higher level of victim empathy. This result was similar to that of Smith and Shu (2000).

Both boys and girls responded similarly when asked if someone could be their friend if they were different. The responses were overwhelmingly positive and indicated that race, colour, disability, size or intelligence would not be barriers to a potential friendship. These results were not consistent with the expectations of the aims of the study. Many studies show, however, that these factors are often implicated as precursors to bullying (Oliver et al. 1994; Moran et al.1993; Whitney et al., 1994). The results of questions asked in this study which related to difference may indicate that elements of social desirability were evident in student responses, as they do not appear to reflect attitudes which have been evident in other studies. Most students felt that people who are different had similar feelings to themselves. However, more girls than boys believed this.

Gender Differences

Students were asked to define bullying in their own words. This was done with the intention that responses would reflect what students actually believed bullying to be, in an effort to assess their awareness of the diverse range of bullying techniques. More girls (54%) than boys (30%) defined bullying in terms of verbal bullying and more boys (70%) than girls (46%) defined bullying in terms of physical bullying. This result was anticipated and consistent with the aims of the study. This is also consistent with findings from Roland (1989) that found boys are more likely to use physical bullying. No boys defined bullying as indirect. However, as expected, some girls did (7%). These results confirm findings of other studies that have found girls utilise indirect bullying more than boys do (Ahmad &

Smith, 1994; Lagerspetz et al.,1994). However, while Bjorkqvist et al.,(1992) found little difference between gender use of verbal bullying, the present study found more girls than boys defined bullying as verbal.

The number of responses from boys (82%) and girls (85%) were almost identical when asked if they had been bullied. These findings concur with other studies that have shown similar results (Whitney & Smith, 1993). Responses were also very similar for boys (48%) and girls (42%) when asked if they had bullied someone else. Again, these results are comparable to other studies (Roland, 1989) which concluded that boys and girls are involved in parallel proportions as both victims and bullies. However, these results vary from those found by Olweus (1999) in which girls were found to be less involved in bullying (as victims or bullies) than boys.

In the present study slightly more boys than girls indicated that they had bullied others. This concurs with Olweus' finding. At post-test more boys and girls indicated that they had bullied someone else. However, the increase was larger for girls. It is unlikely that the programme helped escalate bullying, but rather it is thought that the programme helped increase the level of awareness in students who subsequently identified their previous behaviour as bullying. However, at post-test, there was a slight decrease in the numbers of both genders reporting that they had been bullied, a 1% decrease for boys and a 3% decrease for girls.

Bullying: The Underlying Reasons and After Effects

Students reported feeling guilty in most cases after they had bullied someone. This finding concurs with Pikas (1989) who also found that bullies do feel guilty after they have bullied someone. Students disclosed that usually they bullied someone else because they had been bullied first and also because no one had taken any action to stop the bullying they had received in the past, leaving them to deal with the incident themselves. This pattern emerged for both boys and girls. Salmivalli et al.,(1996) found similar patterns in that boys were torn between overtly presenting a macho image and then subsequently exposing a sensitivity when reflecting on the incident in which they had bullied someone. Most had experienced a positive feeling initially which related to retribution. However that was followed with guilt.

The majority of students (59%) indicated that bullies bully because they want to impress other people and are making an effort to look cool. This concurs with Gilbert (1994) who suggests that male aggression is linked with gaining admiration or an intention to intimidate. Few students felt that bullies were inherently mean and that decreased further at post-test. It is suggested that following the programme discussion on motives for bullying, students became more aware of the underlying issues which may be the precursors to bullying and subsequently rationalised that students bully because they are experiencing some trauma themselves. A large proportion of boys and girls suggested that bullies bully other people because they have a problematic home life. It was further suggested that bullies are bullied somewhere else in their lives and subsequently bully others as a result. One quote from a female student said " They hurt on the inside and take it out on someone else".

Victim Impact and Victim Empathy

The largest number of students (27%) indicated that victims were most likely to feel sad after they had been bullied. At pre-test there was virtually no difference between boys and girls. However, at post-test this figure increased substantially for girls, from 28% to 44%. Conversely, there was no change for boys. Post-test findings for girls are similar to another study that found girls were more likely to react with sadness (Owens et al, 2000). This study reported that teachers identified some girls as so desolate that they had considered suicide. Rigby (1998) also found that girls were more likely to respond with sadness and boys with anger. However, data also shows that girls indicated a greater increase in the number who reported that the victim would feel angry and embarrassed at post-test than boys did. Again, the result is most likely attributable to the programme increasing student awareness as to how the victim feels.

Many studies indicate that girls are likely to show higher victim empathy than boys (Salmivalli et al., 1998). Although a minority of students identified bullies as having "mean" personality traits as the reason that they bullied others, the majority of students (55%) indicated that " bullies are mean", (by nature of what they do to the victim) when asked what they thought of bullies. This did not alter at post-test. Responses for boys and girls were similar. Slightly more girls than boys said bullies were cool at post-test. However, these numbers were very small. Other studies have also shown that girls more than boys believe bullies have a higher status than victims (Oliver et al.,1994; Ahmad & Smith, 1994).

Again both boys and girls felt bullies were people who had been previously bullied somewhere else in their lives and that they attempted to deal with their hurt or anger by bullying others. Some girls described bullies as being scared that they would not be cool or popular and believed that bullying elevated their status. Interestingly, no boys indicated this. The girls' comments reiterate findings from previous research which has found that being accepted as part of the "in group" and remaining in it is of paramount importance to girls - more so than boys (Owens et al., 2001).

Boys and girls responded similarly when asked how they thought the "helpers" felt when involved in bullying. Overwhelmingly, students indicated that helpers (assistants or reinforcers) would feel good/big/powerful in that role. Slightly fewer girls indicated this than boys at pre-test. However, post-test responses were identical. Fear was the catalyst most cited as the motivator pressuring peers to help the bully, both by boys and girls. The fear was centred on concern for the students own safety. It was thought that if the helper did not assist they might be the bully's next target. The helper appears to feel that by helping the bully they ensure their own safety and that the assisting acts as a protective factor. Rigby and Slee (1999) found with secondary school students that boys believed bullying gets you admired, prevents you from being bullied yourself and makes you feel better than the victim. Numbers for girls were a lot less.

Kia Kaha

It is evident that more girls than boys found the Kia Kaha programme effective in changing their ideas. When explaining why they did not find the programme to be effective, both boys and girls' responses showed that there was either a feeling of

hopelessness expressed, believing that bullying could not be extinguished, or an expression of complacency where they felt they had "heard it all before". It is not known how many students had been exposed to the Kia Kaha programme material prior to this study or which other programmes they may have been involved in that may have contributed to this feeling. However, for some students, responses reflect a lack of freshness in either the material or in the process used to disseminate material, and subsequently the programme message was not as cogent as it hoped to be.

As already discussed girls showed an increase in victim empathy and an increased awareness of the issues that may act as precursors to bullying behaviour. There was also a clear indication that girls had increased their awareness regarding the various processes that constitute bullying. Respect for difference was also acknowledged as an area in which girls had increased their awareness. The boys' responses were similar to the girls' in that they demonstrated an increased awareness of the nature of bullying, what factors may predetermine bullying and, as for girls, an acknowledgement that difference and stereotyping is inherently unfair. However, one area in which boys differed from girls was that boys indicated they would be proactive in trying to stop bullying if they were bystanders. There were no girls who indicated this. Some boys also revealed that the programme had actually increased their awareness and had resulted in them bullying less.

Although more girls than boys indicated that the programme had been effective in changing ideas, more boys than girls reported that they had changed their behaviour with regard to bullying. The majority of girls and boys (73%) indicated that they felt their classroom was a safe place where everyone was treated fairly. The majority of boys (80%)

and slightly more girls (88%) believed that their school attempted to prevent bullying. It is noted with interest that post-test data for both girls and boys for each of these statements showed a decrease in the number of students believing both that the classroom was a safe place and that the school tried to prevent bullying. The post-test results may reflect the result of classroom discussion on bullying which increased student awareness as to how the school had managed incidents of bullying in the past. The methods used may not have been as effective or sincere as students may have initially expected, resulting in an adjustment in attitude at post-test.

In summary, Kia Kaha was shown to be effective in increasing student awareness on many levels. It heightened victim empathy and respect for the feelings of others. It was also effective in clarifying appropriate and inappropriate behaviour and assisted by providing students with coping mechanisms for use with bullying ,which were consistent with the intended objectives of the programme. The revised programme yielded similar results to those found in a study by Bell (1997) that found both principals and teachers felt that Kia Kaha had increased awareness and helped with coping strategies. However, the programme did not appear to have achieved a reduction in bullying, a result which was mirrored in this study.

Parent Attitudes and Knowledge

Parents defined bullying in very similar terms and proportions to students. The descriptors used were, as expected, more extensive than students and they described indirect bullying more extensively than students did. However, general awareness of the nature of bullying was fairly similar to that of students. Less than a quarter of parents

(21%) felt that bullying was a problem in their child's school. When this is compared to the volume of students who indicated that they had been bullied there is a vast disparity. Parents initially felt very confident that they had discussed issues relating to respect for others within the family context (64%). However, at post-test those numbers decreased to less than half of parents (48%). It is proposed that initially parents were overconfident that they had discussed these issues with their children. Social desirability may also have been a factor in their responses. Following the programme and subsequent discussions with their children, they may have decided that the actual level of discussion was less than they had first thought. Only a minority of parents had been told that their child was a bully (12%). This reduced slightly at post-test. Most parents were embarrassed and disappointed when told that their child was a bully as they felt they had discussed the inappropriateness of bullying with their child.

Parents were overwhelmingly supportive of the Kia Kaha programme and hoped that as a result their children would develop better coping strategies in order to deal with bullying. There was also an expectation that the programme would reinforce existing family values that included greater respect and tolerance for others. Parent's expected that the programme would increase student awareness regarding appropriate and inappropriate behaviour and increase victim empathy. Teachers were challenged to become more involved in the programme with the hope that students would identify their involvement as genuine support for the principles inherent in the programme and therefore be more likely to report a bullying incident. Parents were extremely concerned that a child should have a right to attend school without the fear and threat of bullying in this environment. Many parents were also concerned with the possible long-term consequences if bullying was left

unchecked. They were also concerned about the potential damage to their children's self-esteem. Respect for diversity was again identified as a significant trigger in bullying and many parents felt that this would improve with an increased awareness for the feelings of others.

Parents were asked if their child had ever been bullied in order to compare data with the students' self-report data. As expected, and consistent with the aims of the study there was a large disparity, indicating that around half of the students who had been bullied had not told their parents. This is also consistent with other findings (Smith and Sharp, 1994). It appears that it is not only students who choose not to "tell". Most parents who responded (23%) did not contact the school when their child had been bullied. Most parents minimised the bullying, as they did not want to make a fuss or thought that the bullying would go away. Interestingly many parents did not tell for the same reasons that their children did not. Fear of worsening the situation was a concern for parents. Many parents chose to assist their children in developing coping strategies in order for the child to deal with the given situation themselves. There was also a feeling expressed that children needed to "toughen up" suggesting that the world is a challenging place where bullying is rampant in many other areas of life.

Of the few parents who did contact the school even fewer (17%) indicated that the school was helpful when they did approach them. Both of these figures decreased at post-test. Again this could be indicative of a different parent answering the question or the disparity may arise from a more considered and evaluative analysis of the process when viewing it in retrospect. However, it was expected that either parent would be left with a

similar impression of the schools helpfulness. Of the parents who indicated the school was helpful in dealing with a bullying issue, the most helpful input the school had offered appeared to be open communication and respect - for the child involved (victim), and also the parents. The converse applied for parents who felt the school could have been more helpful. These parents felt that they had not been heard and did not feel that their problems had been taken seriously. Parents indicated that the issues were dealt with in an inappropriate manner by staff and that some schools lacked adequate policy to deal with the situation in a safe manner.

Parents Views of Kia Kaha

A minority of parents indicated that the Kia Kaha programme had changed their family ideas towards bullying. Parents reacted positively to the fact that bullying issues became a component of family discussion. They valued the opportunity to be able to discuss issues, many of which were seen to be inherent family values being reinforced in school. Furthermore, parents believed that the programme had helped their children to clarify what actually constitutes bullying. Of the parents responding, 25% revealed that their child had discussed the programme at home. The students had discussed new coping strategies that they had learned regarding the bullying process, the importance of respect for others, and the value of telling someone about bullying. There was one response in which a student had talked about the need "to stand up for himself". It appears to have been an isolated comment. However it is noteworthy, as the programme has been previously questioned for putting too much emphasis on victim responsibility (Sullivan, 1998). If the child could stand up for himself, presumably he would not be a victim.

It does appear that many of the main strand concepts in the programme were absorbed and taken home by a substantial proportion of the students. However, there was also a question raised regarding the appropriateness of a coping strategy suggested for use if students were threatened while returning home from school. Again this was an isolated comment. It is of some concern that the parents' main criticism of the programme was their perceived lack of involvement. There was a general feeling of disappointment expressed regarding the frustration of not being as involved as they either wanted to be or felt they should be. They clearly felt that they could add value to the effectiveness of the programme and said that they would have been most willing had they been given the opportunity. This concurs with Olweus (1989) who argued that parents should be involved in anti-bullying programmes as their commitment was important for reinforcing and sustaining the expected change in student attitude and behaviour. Similarly, Pepler et al., (1993) argue that parents play a significant role in providing consistency in the management of bullying. Some parents suggested more teacher involvement would be desirable and felt that students would interpret this as a genuine commitment to the philosophy of the programme and therefore increase the likelihood of students telling, believing the classroom to be a safer environment.

Parents enthusiastically responded that the Kia Kaha programme had been a valuable component of school life. Of the parents, 99% indicated the programme had been valuable in raising awareness and empowering their children to better cope with bullying when faced with it. Many parents suggested that the programme should be made compulsory so as to be a totally inclusive philosophy involving every student at every school level. Kia Kaha does aim to reach every student in the revolving programme whole-school approach.

However, it is not compulsory in schools at the present time. Interestingly, parents identified the whole-school approach as being the pivotal factor necessary for success of the programme. Generally parents want issues to be transparent and to be discussed openly in a safe environment, one that is based on listening and empathy not imperilled by judgement and dismissiveness.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited by a number of factors including the design, environment, and a lack of knowledge of previous exposure, questionnaire design, and inconsistent police involvement. These limitations will now be discussed in detail.

Design

The design was a one group pre-test, post-test (or pre-experimental design). This design is associated with uncontrolled confounds and is subsequently quite different to true experimental design, which is the ultimate in scientific research. With pre-experimental design the research does not have a control group to compare with the experimental group. Threats to validity limiting the one group pre-test, post-test design include maturation, history and testing effects. An experimental design was not possible as a control group was not available. Although the choice of design was less than ideal it is suggested that pre-experimental designs can indicate evidence of possible relationships between variables. These can be indicative of areas requiring further research in the future. Test fatigue may have explained repetitious answers given by some students, or the comments from some parents "same as before". The results of this study suggest that the programme did not lead to significant positive changes in the behaviour and/or attitudes of students. However, due

to the study design there can be no absolute statement made regarding the effectiveness of the Kia Kaha programme. An attempt was made to strengthen the quality of information obtained in the study by incorporating qualitative data collection into the design in order to provide additional insights into what was happening for participants. This provided additional valuable information both from students and their parents.

Environment

Although the researcher requested that separate rooms with desks be allocated for the students completing the questionnaires, this was not possible in all schools. Consequently, the test-taking environment in some cases was less than ideal. In one school the students were kneeling or crouching on the floor and silence and privacy were compromised. In another school students were tightly bunched around desks and again silence and privacy were compromised.

Previous Exposure

There was no question in the present study asking if students had previously participated in an anti-bullying programme. Several schools have taken the initiative and introduced their own anti-bullying programmes such as contracting students to anti-harassment policy and zero tolerance for bullying. Furthermore, there are other Police initiatives such as the Eliminating Violence programme that also address bullying issues. Some students in the present study may have previously attended a school that had introduced them to concepts presented in the Kia Kaha programme. It would be useful to explore the extent of the students' existing knowledge preceding the Kia Kaha programme.

This may indicate variations in attitudes and behaviours that are unrelated to the Kia Kaha programme.

Questionnaire Design

Although there were no difficulties expressed with use of the questionnaire it became apparent there were issues that made some questions ambiguous. Question twenty of the student questionnaire asked a double- barrelled question, "Do you think your classroom is a safe place where everyone is treated fairly? It would have been more beneficial to ask this as two questions. Likewise question twenty-two of the student post-test asks if the Kia Kaha programme changed ideas about people and bullying. In retrospect this question should have been asked as two questions. Question sixteen of the parent pre-test asks if bullying is unacceptable behaviour. This inadvertently suggests that bullying is unacceptable, placing a value on the behaviour and perhaps inviting an element of social desirability that may confound the response.

Police Involvement

It is suggested that police officers be involved in delivery of all programmes as this would ensure consistency. The officers are specifically trained and have a depth of knowledge that is unlikely to be replicated by teachers who lack the specific training and background philosophy of the programme.

Possible Implications For Kia Kaha

Although the Kia Kaha programme is defined and promoted as a whole-school policy the results of the present study indicate that the programme fell short of that ideal. The

study has shown the programme to be effective in increasing the awareness of students. However, there did not appear to be a reduction in bullying behaviour. A volume of overseas research indicates the positive value of involving parents in the bid to change and sustain children's attitudes. This would surely represent a significant factor when attempting to eliminate bullying from schools. Indeed parents are a core component of the whole-school anti-bullying approach. As will have been previously noted many parents in this study felt under-utilised, frustrated and excluded. Schools may also need to acknowledge that while many parents offer a wide range of skills that could see them in a change agent role, many parents need to be empowered to assume that role.

The challenge for the programme developers and for schools is to perhaps explore the most effective and inclusionary method in which to involve the valuable and untapped resource that parents offer. Most certainly parents must also make themselves visible when schools call for involvement in such programmes. The power of a collaborative relationship between school personnel and parents involved in developing policy and guidelines would establish both a commonality of objectives and a complimentary relationship between school and parent.

The Kia Kaha programme has been well received in schools both by students and parents. As previously mentioned the programme was successful in increasing the awareness of students. However, to achieve a change in attitude and behaviour long-term, it is suggested that the inclusion of parents in the programme would perhaps reflect an increase in effectiveness and also be more consistent with the whole-school policy.

Recommendations for Future Research

Evaluations of the Kia Kaha programme have historically analysed the short -term effects of the programme. While this study showed that the programme increased student awareness, it did not appear to be instrumental in reducing bullying in a pragmatic sense. A longitudinal study using measures of established reliability and validity following a group of year one students through to year thirteen needs to be conducted. However, the control group may be difficult to establish as many students are increasingly exposed to a wide range of programmes that address issues of violence. Although the Police Youth Education Officers are available to work with the schools if requested, it is suggested, that to attain consistency of programme delivery, the police officers need to be involved in the delivery of every programme to maintain the consistency sought through specialised programme training and development.

Bullying is recognised as a potent precursor to an extensive range of long-term consequences, both for the bully and the victim. The effects of low self-esteem, truancy and depression which can lead to suicide or homicide, ill-health and the significant increase in the likelihood of criminality (Boulton and Smith, 1994; Reid,1988; Slee and Rigby,1993b; Rigby,1998; Eron et al.1987) are powerful reminders which demonstrate that society can no longer refuse to acknowledge the mulifactorial cost bullying has on our students. It is further suggested that it would be a sagacious choice for an anti-bullying programme to become a compulsory component of every school health curriculum. The immense cost to society long-term must surely be comparable to the long-term cost of no sex education, which has been accorded compulsory status in schools.

One of the most enduring messages to emerge from this study was the feeling that teachers do not accord the victim the empathy and support that they seek and need. Teachers have indicated in other studies that they feel ill equipped to deal with many of the bullying incidents. It seems logical that skills training in methods dealing with bullying be a compulsory part of a teacher's training. At the present time this is not the case. Teachers, parents and students would feel safer if teachers were equipped professionally with the appropriate skills.

It is also strongly recommended that parents be encouraged to become more involved with the school community. It is clear that parents are a willing and enthusiastic resource that is lacking recognition. Parents could be most valuable in assisting in the establishment of objectives and subsequently be resourced to support those objectives in the home. Although Kia Kaha is identified as a whole-school approach that objective did not materialise in this study. There needs to be much more emphasis placed on involving parents in the programme. This will also help to establish better communication between teaching staff and parents which will diffuse barriers preventing parents approaching the school if they have any concerns regarding their child's involvement in bullying.

CONCLUSION

Bullying is a societal problem, one which is being acted out in our schools, and therefore the schools must accept responsibility for the safety of their students. A whole-school anti-bullying policy calls for teachers, students and parents to work collaboratively toward common goals. If schools and the proponents of their policies do not involve

parents in policy development and the maintenance of it, they cannot define their policy as a whole-school approach. Schools and teachers should be heartened by the generosity of support offered by parents and the sincere enthusiasm shadowing the initiative to address bullying issues and therefore ensure that schools become safer learning environments.

Parents are offering schools their support by reinforcing what they consider are significant values, values which they attempt to engender in their homes and are most keen to see reinforced in the school environment. There is an opportunity for school and community to create a fusion of resources, values and commitment, in order to ensure that students begin to experience the benefit of this alignment by being enveloped in an environment that ensures their safety. Students have shown that they are not comfortable when exposed to bullying either as a victim or a bystander.

The Kia Kaha programme has been shown to increase awareness amongst students and is an important foundation step for them in opposing bullying and becoming more proactive if they witness bullying. However the programme does not appear to have had an impact on the actual reduction of bullying behaviour and perhaps needs to explore other areas to add impact to the message. The school system must now provide a safe vehicle for open communication and support to enable this awareness to become an active protective factor before the situation escalates. Students can be encouraged to take more self-responsibility for inappropriate behaviour, however, they will not take action if they feel personally vulnerable and unsafe.

Both students and parents have been shown to be reluctant to tell school staff about bullying and until this issue is addressed there can be no movement forward in the attempt

to attain zero tolerance to bullying. Transparency facilitated by two-way communication should result in fewer bullying incidents. Teachers must be seen by both students and parents to be genuinely committed to addressing all bullying issues. Teachers need to use empathic listening skills and be aware of the wider circle of social dynamics that contribute to bullying. Of paramount importance is the need for teachers to acknowledge that these situations must be taken seriously. This means addressing every student complaint regardless of how minor it may appear to be. As we have seen, when adults minimise bullying it only ensures students will see no value in reporting bullying in the future. "The success of telling teachers depends on the school context" (Smith & Shu, 2000).

Teachers have indicated in other studies that they are often under-resourced and lack the skills needed to deal effectively with these issues. It seems timely and logical that these skills become a compulsory component of a teacher's training. It is interesting to note that the Ministry promotes the physical well-being of a child with compulsory blocks of time set aside for sport, and rightly so. However, is the physical and mental well-being of a student not affected by bullying? We have seen the devastating effect bullying can have on the people involved. These include both physical and mental health effects which often remain with the victim for a lifetime, or in the extreme cases act as precursors to suicide. Examples of this are seen in studies by (Williams et al.,1996; Rigby,1998; Owens et al. 2001). The serious increased likelihood of criminality among bullies, depression and lowered self-esteem are issues that change the course of life for many students. Examples of some studies which have found this are (Eron et al.1987; Olweus, 1989; Smith and Sharp, 1994). If teachers were taught the necessary skills while in training and it was compulsory that every school in the country implement an anti-bullying policy, we would

no doubt see a dramatic fall, not only in school bullying, but perhaps also in the generalised community violence perpetrated by adolescents.

If parents were encouraged to become more involved with the school community the reciprocal support network and recognition of commonly held values would create a tighter community which values respect for others. Now that it is recognised that bullying is a group process, we must as a society recognise that it is also a societal process, and unless communities become more actively involved we are unlikely to see a change in the incidence of bullying.

Parents, as their child's first advocate must accept responsibility. If a parent becomes aware of inappropriate behaviour at school and is reluctant to contact the school, their child will learn that no significant person in their life hears them or cares enough to take action and support them. Bullying is not exclusively a school problem, and as a society we must take collective responsibility and confront the problem in every situation. The problem is not unsolvable however, the time has come to take action. Parents have voiced their support in this survey and they present as an untapped resource willing to share responsibility and become involved in an effort to reduce the incidence of bullying in schools.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A –

LETTER OF INVITE TO BOARD OF TRUSTEES AND PRINCIPALS

AN EVALUATION OF THE KIA KAHA 2000 (NEW ZEALAND POLICE YOUTH EDUCATION SERVICE) PROGRAMME DESIGNED TO ASSIST STUDENTS, PARENTS, CAREGIVERS & TEACHERS MINIMISE BULLYING BEHAVIOUR

Dear Board of Trustees / Principal

I am writing to you concerning an evaluative study on the revised anti-bullying programme, Kia Kaha. This is part of a post-graduate student project which will be carried out by myself for completion of a Master of Arts in Psychology. I have been in consultation with the Police Youth Education Officers regarding this study and it was suggested that your school may be interested in presenting the Kia Kaha 2000 programme to your students. This study will be completed under the supervision of Cheryl Woolley, a Senior Child and Family Psychologist at Massey University, School of Psychology.

We are interested to find out the views of parents, caregivers and children and to evaluate the possible changes in attitude at completion of the programme. If you are willing for your school to be involved, I would be grateful for your cooperation in the following ways:-

(i)   to sign and return the consent form indicating the teachers in your school will be willing to assist with the study;

(ii)   to ask the teachers to pass on the information sheets to parents detailing aspects of the study;

(iii) to ask the teachers to pass on the consent forms to parents for both themselves and their children to sign and return to your school in a sealed envelope provided;

(iv)   to hold those envelopes in a safe place for me to collect;

(v)   to administer the questionnaire to the children who return signed consent. This would need to be in a room separate from other children not involved in the study.

If you have any queries whatsoever, please contact me by phoning Massey University Psychology Office 06 350 5799 and leave a message. My supervisor, Cheryl Woolley is available on 06 350 2076. If you are willing to be involved in the study, could you please complete the consent form and return it to the Massey University Psychology Office in the envelope provided.

Thank you for your time.

Yours faithfully

Susan Lockwood (Researcher)

APPENDIX B –

BOARD OF TRUSTEE CONSENT

Massey University

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Psychology
Private Bag 11 222,
Palmerston North,
New Zealand
Telephone: 64 6 356 9099
Facsimile: 64 6 350 5673

AN EVALUATION OF THE KIA KAHA 2000 (NEW ZEALAND POLICE YOUTH EDUCATION SERVICE) PROGRAMME DESIGNED TO ASSIST STUDENTS, PARENTS, CAREGIVERS & TEACHERS MINIMISE BULLYING BEHAVIOUR

BOARD OF TRUSTEES / PRINCIPAL'S CONSENT FORM

I have read the information provided and have had the opportunity to discuss details of the study with Susan Lockwood. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand I can ask further questions at any time.

I understand that our school can withdraw from the study at any time.

I agree that our school be involved in the study and am happy to cooperate with Susan Lockwood as outlined in the letter provided.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX C –

INFORMATION FOR PARENTS AND CHILDREN

AN EVALUATION OF THE KIA KAHA 2000 (NEW ZEALAND POLICE YOUTH EDUCATION SERVICE) PROGRAMME DESIGNED TO ASSIST STUDENTS, PARENTS, CAREGIVERS & TEACHERS MINIMISE BULLYING BEHAVIOUR

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS and CHILDREN

My name is Susan Lockwood and I am completing a Master of Arts in Psychology at Massey University. My supervisor is Cheryl Woolley who is a Senior Child and Family Psychologist at Massey University School of Psychology.

The Youth Education Service which is a division of the Police Commissioner's Office is ready to launch a new Kia Kaha anti-bullying resource kit for schools in the year 2000. This is a different programme to the original one developed in 1992. This study is designed to evaluate the effectiveness of the new programme. We are interested in both parent and child responses to some questions - in questionnaire form.

The children will be given a brief explanation of the study and if they are willing and have your consent may take part. It is explained in a letter to your child that s/he may refuse to answer any question and can withdraw from the study at any time.

No names will be used on any of the materials and all materials will be destroyed when the study is complete. This is to ensure anonymity and confidentiality to you and your child. It is likely that some participants will identify with an ethnic group that is not New Zealand European. Results will be analysed to consider ethnic differences.

If you are happy for your child and yourself to be involved in the study, please sign the attached consent form for both yourself and your child and return it to school in the sealed envelope provided by the end of the week.

Please feel free to contact me at the Massey University Psychology Office phone 06 350 5799 and leave a message. If phoning after hours you may leave a message on the answer phone by dialling Massey University ext 7098. Cheryl Woolley may be contacted on phone 06 350 2076.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Susan Lockwood (Researcher)

APPENDIX D –

PARENT CONSENT

Massey University

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Psychology
Private Bag 11 222,
Palmerston North,
New Zealand
Telephone: 64 6 356 9099
Facsimile: 64 6 350 5673

AN EVALUATION OF THE KIA KAHA 2000 (NEW ZEALAND POLICE YOUTH EDUCATION SERVICE) PROGRAMME DESIGNED TO ASSIST STUDENTS, PARENTS, CAREGIVERS & TEACHERS MINIMISE BULLYING BEHAVIOUR

CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS

I have read the information sheet for this study and have had the opportunity to discuss details of the study with Susan Lockwood and with my child. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that the procedure has been approved by the Human Ethics Committee of Massey University. I also understand that either myself or my child are free to withdraw from the study at any time.

Please circle one:

I agree / do not agree to participate in the study.

I agree / do not agree to my child _____ (child's name) participating in the questionnaire.

I would / would not like to receive a summary of the findings from the study when it is completed.

Signed: _____   Signed: _____

Name: _____   Name: _____

Date: _____

It would be helpful if you could fill in the following sections for additional statistical analysis.

Please state which ethnic group you identify with: _____

Please state your occupation: _____

APPENDIX E –

CHILD CONSENT

AN EVALUATION OF THE KIA KAHA 2000 (NEW ZEALAND POLICE YOUTH EDUCATION SERVICE) PROGRAMME DESIGNED TO ASSIST STUDENTS, PARENTS, CAREGIVERS & TEACHERS MINIMISE BULLYING BEHAVIOUR

CONSENT FORM FOR CHILDREN

I have had the study explained to me and I have been given the chance to ask questions about it.

I know that I don't have to answer a question if I don't want to and that if I don't want to take part in the study any more, I don't have to.

I am happy to take part in the study.

Signature of Child: _____

Date: _____

Signature of Parent: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX F –

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

We want to find out about bullying at school. <u>ALL</u> of your answers are confidential. <u>DON'T</u> put your name on the form. Either circle or tick, or write an answer to each question.

Please tick one

Are you a   ☐ Boy   ☐ Girl

Which ethnic group do you belong to? Please tick one

☐ European   ☐ Maori   ☐ Asian   ☐ European/Maori   ☐ Pacific Islander   ☐ Other

How old are you?   _____

1. Write down what you think bullying is.

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

Please circle one

2. Have you ever been bullied?   Yes   No

3. Did you tell anyone?   Yes   No

If you answered Yes, who did you tell?

a) Teacher   b) Friend   c) Parent   d) Other Adult

Did it help you to tell someone? Explain why.

    _____

If you answered No, why didn't you tell?

    _____

    _____

How did you feel not telling anyone?

    _____

4. If you saw someone bully someone else, would you: (tick one)

    (a) ignore it (it's none of your business)   ☐

    (b) join in or laugh (you don't want to be next)   ☐

    (c) tell an adult   ☐

    (d) something else (can you please explain below)   ☐

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

5. What do you think of bullies? (tick one)

    a)   they are cool   ☐

    (b) they are mean   ☐

    (c) they are just ordinary people   ☐

    (d) other (please explain below)   ☐

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

6. Have you ever bullied anyone?   Please circle one

                                        Yes   No

    If your answer was Yes:

7. How did it feel when you bullied the other person?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

8. How do you think it made the other person feel?

                                                    Please tick one

    a) sad   ☐

    b) angry   ☐

    c) embarrassed   ☐

    d) they didn't care   ☐

    e) other (please explain below)   ☐

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

9. How do you think the people that help the bully feel when the bullying is happening?

                                                    Please tick one

    a) good - big and powerful   ☐

    b) angry with the bully   ☐

    c) angry with the person being bullied   ☐

    d) embarrassed   ☐

    e) other (please explain below)   ☐

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

10. What do you think the teachers think about bullying?

(Tick one)

    a)   they don't like bullying   ☐

    b)   they don't care   ☐

    c)   they don't notice it's happening   ☐

    d)   other (please explain below)   ☐

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. If you were being bullied or you knew someone who was - would you tell a teacher?

Please circle one

Yes   No

If you answered No - why not? Please explain.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What would make it easier for you to tell the teacher?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

12. Why do you think bullies hurt other people?   Tick one

    a)   they are just mean people   ☐

    b)   they think it is funny   ☐

    c)   they want to look good in front of their friends   ☐

    d)   other (please explain below)   ☐

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. What do you think of people that are bullied?   Tick one

    a)   they usually deserve it   ☐

    b)   they are different   ☐

    c)   they don't stick up for themselves   ☐

    d)   they don't deserve it   ☐

    e)   other (please explain below)   ☐

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. Do you think that people who are different have the same sort of feelings as you do?

        Circle One

    Yes   No

15. Could someone be your friend if they were very small or very big for their class?

        Circle One

    Yes   No

16. Could someone be your friend if they had a disability and couldn't join in at sport?

        Circle One

    Yes   No

17.   Could someone be your friend if they were a different race or colour from you?

Circle One

Yes   No

18.   Could someone be your friend if they were smarter than you?

Circle One

Yes   No

19.   If you have answered No to any of these last questions - Numbers 15-19 - can you please explain why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

20.   Do you think your classroom is a safe place where everyone is treated fairly?

Circle One

Yes   No

21.   Do you think your school tries hard to make sure bullying doesn't happen?

Circle One

Yes   No

Thank you for your help ... ☺

APPENDIX G –

POST QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

Additional Questions for Student Questionnaire

22. Do you think the Kia Kaha programme has changed your ideas about people and bullying?

> Circle One

Yes   No

If you answered Yes - how has it changed your ideas?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If you answered No - why do you think that is?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

23. Do you think Kia Kaha has reduced the bullying in your school?

> Circle One

Yes   No

24. Do you think the Kia Kaha programme has helped people with ideas on what to do about bullying?

> Circle One

Yes   No

Thank you for your help ... ☺

APPENDIX H –

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is about bullying and the Kia Kaha programme. All the answers are confidential - please <u>do not</u> write your name on this questionnaire.

How old is your child ?

Are they a   Boy ☐   Girl ☐

1.   Can you please explain what you think bullying is?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2.   Do you believe it is a problem in your child's school?   Circle One

                                                                                     Yes   No

3.   Do you believe bullying is blown out of proportion and is just normal kids' stuff for them to sort out?   Circle One

                                                                                     Yes   No

4.   Does your family talk about every person's need and right to be respected regardless of their differences?   Yes / No

5.   Has your child ever been bullied?   Yes / No
      If you answered No - please go to Question No. 11.

6.   Did you approach the school?   Yes / No

7.   If No - why not?   Tick One

     a)   thought it would go away   ☐

     b)   it wasn't a big issue - didn't want to fuss   ☐

     c)   you were embarrassed   ☐

     d)   this is life - my child has to learn to cope   ☐

     e)   other (please explain below)   ☐

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

8.   If Yes - was the school helpful?   Yes / No

9.   What was the most helpful thing the school did? Please explain.

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

10. Was there anything else the school could have done which would have been helpful?

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

11. Have you ever been told your child is a bully?   Yes / No

12. If Yes - how did you feel about that?   Tick One
    a)   embarrassed   ☐
    b)   it didn't worry you - that's life   ☐
    c)   angry with your child   ☐
    d)   couldn't believe it   ☐
    e)   other (please explain below)   ☐

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

13. If you think back to that time - can you remember and explain why you had that
    reaction?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

14. Do you feel the Kia Kaha programme is necessary?   Yes / No

15. What do you think your child may learn from it?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

16. Do you think bullying is unacceptable behaviour?   Yes / No

Please explain: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX I –

POST QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

Additional Questions for the Parent Questionnaire

17. Do you feel the Kia Kaha programme has changed your child's and/or your family's ideas about bullying?

    Circle One

    Yes   No

    Please explain: _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

18. What could be improved with Kia Kaha?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

19. Did your child discuss the programme at home?   Yes / No

20. What ideas from the programme did your child bring home?

    Please explain: _____
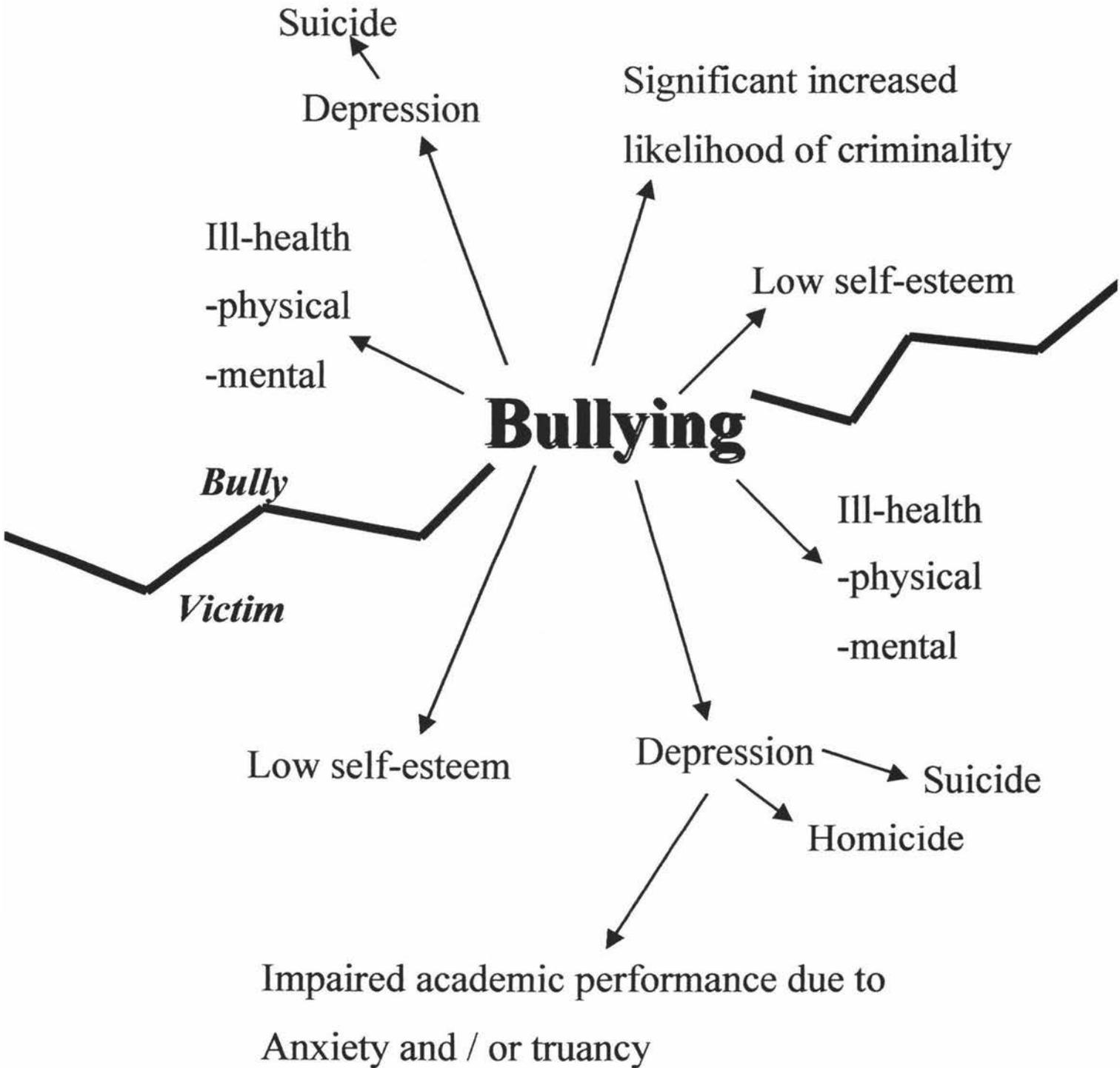
    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

21. Do you think the Kia Kaha programme has been a good idea in your school?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

22. Are there any other comments you would like to make?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your cooperation

APPENDIX J –

LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF BULLYING

Long – Term Consequences

Suicide

Depression

Significant increased

likelihood of criminality

Ill-health

-physical

Low self-esteem

-mental

Bullying

Bully

Ill-health

-physical

Victim

-mental

Low self-esteem

Depression → Suicide

Homicide

Impaired academic performance due to

Anxiety and / or truancy

APPENDIX K –

BAR GRAPH OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT BULLYING

Percentage of boys and girls defining

bullying as direct or indirect