Understanding Bullying: From Research to Practice

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Abstract
The high proportions of Canadian students who report bullying or being bullied confirm that this represents an important social problem. This paper describes the development of a new network (PREVNet- Promoting Relationships and Eliminating Violence) to address bullying in Canada, through the Networks of Centres of Excellence-New Initiatives funding. PREVNet’s mandate is to identify university, government, and community partners, develop relationships, and create a viable and effective working network for social innovation. The PREVNet strategy is aimed at providing understanding, assessment tools, intervention and prevention strategies, and policy and advocacy about bullying problems and healthy relationships to all adults who interact with children and youth where they live, work, and play.

Bullying is a form of abuse at the hands of peers that can take different forms at different ages. Bullying is defined as repeated aggression in which there is a power differential (Juvonen & Graham, 2001; Olweus, 1991; Pepler & Craig, 2000). Two elements of bullying are key to understanding its complexity. First, bullying is a form of aggressive behaviour imposed from a position of power: Children who bully always have more power than the children they victimize. Their power can derive from a physical advantage such as size and strength, but also through a social advantage such as a dominant social role (e.g., teacher compared to a student), higher social status in a peer group (e.g., popular versus rejected student), strength in numbers (e.g., group of children bullying a solitary child), or through systemic power (e.g., racial or cultural groups, sexual minorities, economic disadvantage, disability). Power can also be acquired by knowing another’s vulnerability (e.g., obesity, learning problem, sexual orientation, family background) and using that knowledge to cause distress. The second key element is that bullying is repeated over time. With each repeated bullying incident, the power relations become consolidated: The child who is bullying increases in power and the child who is being victimized loses power. Through our research, we understand bullying as a destructive relationship problem: Children who bully are learning to use power and aggression to control and distress others; children who are victimized become increasingly powerless and unable to defend themselves from this peer abuse.

In this paper, we present some empirical principles that have guided our efforts in designing a national strategy (PREVNet-Promoting Relationships and Eliminating Violence) to address bullying in Canada, through the Networks of Centres of Excellence-New Initiatives funding. PREVNet’s mandate is to identify university, government, and community partners, develop relationships, and create a viable and effective working network for social innovation. PREVNet’s vision is to stop the use of power and aggression in bullying and to promote safe and healthy relationships for children and youth. In this paper, we discuss the strategy and its proposed impacts. At this point, PREVNet includes 36 researchers from universities across Canada, and 38 national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that work with children and youth. We contend that knowledge about bullying problems and strategies to promote healthy relationships are required in every place where Canadian children and youth live, work, and play.

Before PREVNet, the channels that researchers used for knowledge dissemination were inadequate for such a broad and deep reach. The many and diverse bullying prevention activities implemented at local, provincial, and national levels operated in isolation without an evidence-based national platform for coordination and implementation. As a national network, PREVNet is now bringing together researchers and national organizations to enhance awareness, build research capacity, assess bullying problems, and promote evidence-based programs and effective policies across...
Canada. PREVNet is mobilizing knowledge through its four strategy pillars: Education and Training, Assessment and Evaluation, Prevention and Intervention, and Policy and Advocacy. PREVNet’s mandate is to generate social-cultural change in Canada regarding power and aggression in relationships by providing NGOs and governments with the capacity to adapt and disseminate scientific knowledge and technology to build awareness, change attitudes, assess the extent of bullying and victimization problems, implement evidenced-based strategies, and develop policies that support these activities. Through these partnerships, the outcomes of improved understanding and practice will enhance social capital, promote mental and physical health, promote healthy relationships and school engagement, and prevent crime.

Bullying is a significant social problem in Canada. On the recent World Health Organization (WHO) Health Behaviours in School-aged Children (HBSC) survey, Canada ranked a dismal 26th and 27th out of 35 countries on measures of bullying and victimization, respectively (Craig & Harel, 2004). This result indicates that the prevalence of bullying in Canada is greater than in the majority of countries, as countries with a ranking in the single digits have the lowest prevalence rate of bullying and victimization. Across all categories of bullying or victimization, Canada consistently ranked at or below the middle of the international group. Our position on the international stage has slipped relative to other countries. On the 1993-1994 survey, Canada's ranking on the prevalence of bullying and victimization was relatively better than in the 2001-2002 survey (King, Wold, Tudor-Smith, & Harel, 1996); however, the prevalence of bullying and victimization among Canadian students has remained relatively stable. The drop in Canada's relative ranking, in spite of stable rates, suggests that other countries have been preventing bullying problems more effectively than Canada. Many of the countries that rank higher than Canada have had national campaigns to address bullying problems. The high proportions of Canadian students who report bullying or being bullied confirm that this represents an important social problem. Although there are many activities at local, provincial, and national levels to prevent and reduce the risks of bullying and victimization, they tend to use diverse assessments and interventions, often without any evidence of effectiveness. Indeed, some interventions actually make the problem worse, and most are not rigorously evaluated and operate in isolation due to a lack of an evidence-based national platform for coordination and implementation.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) speaks to the rights of children who are at the receiving end of bullying and harassment. Article 19 of the Convention states:

Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.

Definitions of child abuse have been limited to abuse perpetrated by an adult. There is a need to expand this definition to include the torment that some children experience at the hands of their peers (Juvonen & Graham, 2001). The negative effects of peer harassment (Juvonen & Graham, 2001) underline the importance of protecting children from “all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse” perpetrated by peers. This societal responsibility falls to parents, teachers, and other adults in positions of responsibility for children and youth.

The UNCRC also addresses the essential role of society to educate children to ensure they develop positive attitudes and behaviours and avoid using their power.
to bully or harass others. This societal function is the responsibility of all those who are in contact with children and youth. PREVNet provides an unprecedented opportunity to consolidate knowledge derived from university research to enhance the capacity of NGOs and governments to provide support for:

The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of the sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin. (United Nations, 1989)

Canadian children are not as safe from victimization, and are more likely to engage in bullying, compared to children in many other countries in the world, according to the WHO HBSC data. PREVNet is Canada’s platform for the exchange of scientific knowledge and technology for assessment and intervention to reduce bullying problems.

2. Bullying is a Relationship Problem

Bullying is a destructive relationship problem. Lessons of power and aggression learned in childhood bullying can lead to sexual harassment (McMaster, Connolly, Pepler, & Craig, 2002), dating aggression (Pepler, Craig, Blais, & Rahey, 2005), and may later extend to workplace harassment, as well as marital, child, and elder abuse. Victimized children may also carry the hurt and fear from bullying forward into adult relationships. Perhaps the highest costs arise from the destructive relationship dynamics in bullying because relationships are the foundation for healthy development and well-being throughout the lifespan. Farrington (1993) identified an intergenerational link: Parents who bullied in childhood were likely to have children who bullied their peers. Although a substantial number of children and youth are occasionally involved in bullying and victimization, our longitudinal research shows that a small group of children and youth frequently bully others or are bullied by their peers (Craig et al., unpublished manuscript; Pepler et al., 2005). These are the children who experience a wide range of problems and are in need of focused support to enable them to move on from these abusive interactions, either as the perpetrator or the victimized child (Pepler & Craig, 2000).

There are also high personal and social costs for children who are repeatedly victimized. As previously mentioned, as a result of being abused at the hands of their peers, these children experience significant mental health problems. They also become increasingly isolated within the peer group, a process that unfolds in two ways. First, children who are victimized tend to withdraw from peer interactions. They are at risk of becoming socially anxious and increasingly hesitant to engage in social activities, even refusing to attend school, in order to protect themselves from bullying (Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Rantanen, & Rimpela, 2000; Rigby, 2003). The second process arises within the peer group. Victimized children tend to have few friends. Once peers become aware that a child is being victimized, they hesitate to intervene for fear of being victimized, themselves. They distance themselves from the victimized child and may even join in the bullying to become more accepted by those in power. If children are victimized over a prolonged period of time, they lack the normative social interactions that are critical to their healthy development and emerging relationship capacity. The effects of these abusive experiences can last a lifetime and impair many social capacities essential for healthy social engagement.

Understanding bullying as a destructive relationship problem provides important direction for interventions. Bullying is a relationship problem that requires relationship solutions. Children and youth need help to understand that bullying is wrong, develop respect and empathy for others, and learn how to get along with and support others. Effective bullying prevention and intervention activities for children and youth enable them to develop the skills essential for healthy relationships. Promoting the development of healthy relationships for children and youth will, in turn, reduce the significant societal costs associated with bullying. These social costs of bullying extend beyond the individual and also impact on society as a whole. Health problems due to bullying cause increased use of the health care system; low school attainment raises educational costs, criminality associated with bullying increases costs for the police, the justice and corrections systems (Pepler, Jiang, Craig, & Connolly, in press; Rigby, 2003). These costs are preventable and avoidable by reducing and mitigating the effects of the negative use of power and aggression in children’s relationships. The patterns of using power and aggression through bullying, established in childhood, can have long-term impacts through adolescence and into adulthood. It is essential to identify children at risk for bullying and/or victimization and to provide support for their development and relationships. Canadian health promotion and prevention strategies need to address bullying problems as early as possible in all contexts where children live, work, and play.

3. Promoting Relationships and Eliminating Violence are Everybody’s Responsibility

Promoting relationships is everybody’s responsibili-
ty because bullying occurs in all contexts where individuals come together to work and play. As the primary institution and a major socialization force in children’s lives, schools play a leadership role in addressing bullying problems. In efforts to reduce bullying, however, schools need the supportive attitudes and responses of all systems in which children live: at home, in sports, in recreation centres, and in the neighbourhood. By providing consistency across systems in the messages, responses, and supports to address bullying problems, we can promote healthy relationships for all children and youth in Canada. A systemic perspective highlights the need for changes in awareness and behaviour strategies not only for those children who are directly involved, but also for their peers, their teachers, their parents, and beyond in the broader community. Since the first national efforts in Norway (Olweus, 1991, 1993, 2004), interventions for bullying problems have focused broadly on systemic change.

The systemic perspective focuses on the social dynamics surrounding bullying. Research has highlighted the central role of peers in bullying: They serve both to reinforce and perpetuate bullying problems and to defend victimized students (Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001; O’Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999). Therefore, interventions must occur within the classroom and be broad in scope to promote positive interactions and social experiences of all children. Interventions to counter the peer processes that exacerbate bullying focus on supporting positive interactions, discouraging bullying, promoting empathy for victimized children, and encouraging children to intervene in bullying. These efforts to promote positive interactions must extend to areas outside of the classroom. The systemic perspective not only highlights the need to reshape the behaviours and attitudes of peers, but also sheds light on the need for change among adults, such as teachers and parents, who are essential in supporting children involved in bullying and/or victimization.

A systemic perspective on bullying also highlights the role of all adults. Adults are responsible for creating positive environments that promote children’s capacity and competencies for healthy relationships. Adults are also responsible for minimizing contexts for negative peer interactions. By observing the interpersonal dynamics in children’s lives, adults can construct children’s social experiences in ways that protect and support their developing relationship capacity and minimize the likelihood of bullying and harassment. All adults are models for children and must lead by example and refrain from using their power aggressively.

Research clearly indicates the central role of adults in preventing and intervening in bullying. For example, principals’ commitment to allocate time and resources to bullying-related activities were associated with improvements in bullying problems (Olweus, 2004). Similarly, teachers were the key agents of change with regard to adoption and implementation of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program in school (Olweus, 2004). Teachers who participated in a bullying prevention program felt more confident about handling bullying problems, had more supportive attitudes about victims, and felt more positively about working with parents regarding bullying problems (Alsaker, 2004). Finally, talks with the parents of children who bully have been an essential element of the Norwegian programs (Olweus, 1995), as well as other interventions.

Although bullying problems occur most frequently at school, bullying is not just a school problem. Bullying can unfold in any context where children and youth come together. To enhance the potential for change, connections with the community must be established to extend awareness and understanding of bullying problems, as well as to promote consistent responses to bullying problems throughout the broader community. Community partners and resources can also be drawn in to support schools in meeting the needs of its most vulnerable students. The importance of community involvement echoes Roberts and Hinton-Nelson’s (1996) contention that model programs should include collaboration with a variety of specialized services, which reduce barriers to access for children and adolescents at risk. The potential for influence in the school-community connection is bidirectional. As recommended by Roberts and Hinton-Nelson, the community agencies that serve children and their families can offer essential support to schools in their efforts to reduce the problems of bullying and victimization. In addition, the schools that connect with the community can raise awareness and promote consistency in responses to bullying in the broader neighbourhood.

Moving Forward: Connecting Research to Practice

Over the past decade, there has been increased national and international concern for bullying and other forms of aggression and violence among youth. PREVNet was initiated in response to the pressing demand from NGOs, and provincial ministries of education for consultation in their efforts to address bullying problems. Through partnerships, PREVNet is linking researchers with NGOs and governments to disseminate understanding, assessment tools, and effective practices related to bullying to every community.
in Canada. A basic premise of PREVNet's national strategy to reduce bullying is that Canada needs a national awareness and consistent scientifically based approach. At present, there is a groundswell of Canadian activities at local, provincial, and national levels to prevent and reduce risks of bullying and victimization. These activities indicate strong commitments to address bullying; however, they often lack an empirical foundation; they tend to use diverse assessment tools; they are not rigorously evaluated, and they operate in isolation without a platform for coordination and intellectual exchange. PREVNet is a unique national strategy to address bullying as a community problem.

PREVNet involves the collaboration of two groups with research and applied expertise related to bullying: Researchers and NGOs. PREVNet's partnership model, linking researchers and NGOs, is unique in its philosophy, structure, and strategies to address bullying problems. The partnership model is more community-based and comprehensive than national bullying prevention initiatives in other countries. Our community-researcher partnership model grew out of Canadians' concerns for bullying and their commitment to address bullying problems effectively. Although there was no established Canadian mechanism for knowledge exchange between researchers focused on bullying and practitioners concerned for the well-being of children in their care, there was a growing opportunity and demand to connect and share understanding and experiences.

In developing the partnership model, we recognized that knowledge about bullying problems and healthy relationships was required in every place where Canadian children live, work, and play. We also recognized that the normal channels that researchers use for knowledge dissemination would be inadequate for such a broad and deep reach. At that time, a number of NGOs and government groups were grappling with the problems of bullying and were calling upon bullying researchers for their knowledge and advice. For example, the authors, who are the Scientific Co-Directors for PREVNet, were frequently called upon to consult to local, provincial, and national initiatives related to bullying. Their experiences in providing intermittent and disintegrated consultations to numerous NGOs provided the impetus for designing this national strategy of partnerships to address bullying problems. PREVNet provides unprecedented opportunities for the exchange of expertise between researchers and NGOs and for collaboration on translating research for education, assessment, intervention, and policy to their stakeholders and beyond.

PREVNet applies a “train the trainer” approach. The “train the trainer” approach is frequently used in adult education and corporate business practice to reduce costs and to engage multiple levels of staff in the program. The “train the trainer” model often results in increased participation, understanding and appreciation of the program components. The PREVNet partnership model provides a consistency of philosophy and method of dealing with the issues associated with bullying and victimization, across multiple services and groups that connect with children where they live, work, and play. One the PREVNet partners, the Girl Guides of Canada, is the largest organization for girls and women in Canada with 135,000 members spread over every province and connected to Girl Guides in 144 countries around the world. PREVNet’s partnership with the Canadian Association of Principals ensures that we have the potential to influence every school across the country. We recognize that the PREVNet partnership model can provide more scientifically grounded, more effective, and more pervasive supports than is possible if an organization or a school district were to hire a consultant to help develop a bullying strategy. Given that PREVNet has partnered with 38 NGOs, the potential impact and knowledge translation is significant and unique in the world. PREVNet relies on partnerships at the national level to collaboratively tailor the four-pillar framework to fit the specific requirements of the diverse group of stakeholders. Through a consultative process, the information is tailored to meet the specific needs of the NGOs and governments, which in turn disseminate the educational, assessment, intervention, and policy knowledge and technology to their diverse provincial and municipal stakeholders. The partners will be responsible for disseminating the materials within their organizations and to their stakeholders. The research network will support the implementation of the tools and technology through regular consultations. Knowledge and technology transfer and exchange for PREVNet is based upon four pillars of Education and Training, Assessment, Prevention and Intervention, and Policy and Advocacy. The four strategy pillars of PREVNet are described below.

**Education and Training Strategy Pillar**

Knowledge transfer and exchange for education and training are aimed at providing a common understanding of what bullying is and how significant its long-term impacts can be. Example issues addressed in education and training include: What is bullying? How do bullying and victimization develop? Who is at risk for being involved in bullying? What are the consequences of involvement in bullying? Who influences bullying? How do other children participate? What
are parents’ roles? What are the roles of other adults? What is the role of organizations? What is the role of communities? What works to prevent bullying? What can children involved in bullying do? How can parents help? How can peers help? How can other adults help? How can communities help?

Although there is a concern for bullying problems, the myths about bullying, such as “it’s just kids being kids,” “they’ll grow out of it,” and “it toughens kids up,” are still pervasive. Through the NGO and government partners’ dissemination channels, we will build a common scientifically based awareness, understanding, language, and approach to bullying problems. With a common understanding, those people working with children and youth will be able to provide consistent messages and responses to bullying problems. The understanding about bullying will point to the important role of adults in preventing bullying. Expectations about the positive use of power, respectful interactions, and the right to be safe and included will be understood to apply equally to all children, youth, and adults. There will be support for healthy relationships between children and between adults and children in all contexts where children live, work, and play. PREVNet provides an opportunity for coordination and collaboration in developing consistent, evidence-based educational resources. The resources developed in partnership with PREVNet will be available to other organizations, as well as to parents, teachers, and others concerned about bullying. In this way, other NGOs and governments interested in developing resources will be able to benefit from the collective work and will be able to tailor their own resources at a fraction of the cost of developing unique resources.

Assessment Pillar

Assessment technology transfer will be aimed at providing a formalized and standardized web-based method of assessing the prevalence and nature of bullying problems in different settings. PREVNet assessment tools have a dual function. First, they will provide an initial understanding of the problems of bullying within an organizational context. Secondly, the assessment tools measure how effectively these problems are being addressed within an organization. An assessment can determine: How often bullying happens? Who is involved? What they are doing? When bullying occurs? Where bullying occurs? How do other children participate? How do children handle bullying problems? How do other children handle bullying problems? How do adults handle bullying problems? How does an organization handle bullying? Are interventions effectively addressing these indices of bullying problems?

We anticipate that many advances will arise from the new capacity for NGOs and governments to readily assess the prevalence of bullying and victimization problems within their jurisdictions. Without a connection to university researchers, most NGO and government programs lack the capacity to determine the extent of bullying problems among their children and youth. The web-based assessment tools, designed to be easily administered, will provide rapid data analysis and report generation, with suggestions, based on the analysis, for intervention strategies to meet the needs of each participating group. We expect that the opportunity to assess the problems and the supportive suggestions on the report will encourage many organizations to take advantage of these tools. With a broad-based and ongoing process of data collection on bullying problems in Canada, there will be a new capacity to examine the problems of bullying and victimization. We will be able to make comparisons in similar contexts (e.g., Girl Guide troops) across many regions (e.g., provinces and territories). We will be able to make comparisons across different contexts (e.g., elementary, junior high, and high schools) within or across many regions. Within a given region, if there are adequate data, we will be able to compare across contexts (e.g., school, community centre) within a given region (e.g., municipality). With the opportunity to collate data from many different respondents (e.g., parents, teachers, children), from children of different ages, and from different contexts (e.g., school, sports team), we anticipate that we will be able to identify the organizational characteristics and systems that keep children safe. The database will help to identify contexts and regions where children are vulnerable to bullying problems. With these data, the allocation of resources can be rationalized and mobilized to ensure the safety and healthy relationships of all children and youth. Canada’s bullying database will be the most standardized, comprehensive, and largest in the world. The assessment tool will provide the capacity to organizations that is currently missing, to evaluate the efficacy of their bullying prevention and relationship promotion activities.

Prevention and Intervention Pillar

The technology transfer for intervention is aimed at helping Canadians develop scientifically validated and effective strategies to intervene and reduce bullying problems. It focuses on strategies that are appropriate for addressing bullying problems as they change with age. The strategies are designed for those who work with children, adults, peers, schools, and communities. The intervention technology transfer materials will be designed to address: selecting an
intervention program, developing and implementing an intervention program, evaluating, and maintaining the intervention, together with guidelines and training for specific intervention strategies.

PREVNet partnerships will facilitate dissemination of evidence-based best practices efficiently and extensively throughout Canada. With effective interventions consistently applied across a broad array of contexts, we expect a significant reduction in bullying and victimization and the promotion of healthy relationships for children and youth. With the capacity to assess bullying problems through PREVNet’s standardized assessment tools, NGOs and governments will have the capacity to evaluate the effectiveness of their bullying interventions within a particular context or across many levels of their organizational systems. There will be a new collaborative and coordinated capacity for large-scale evaluations of current and emerging best practice interventions to address bullying in Canada and internationally. The data on program effectiveness collected through the web-based assessment tool of PREVNet will guide new collaborative efforts to implement evidence-based programs by NGOs and governments. With the dissemination of assessment and intervention tools, PREVNet will have the capacity to develop the most comprehensive bullying program evaluation database in the world.

Policy and Advocacy Strategy Pillar

The aim of knowledge transfer for policy and advocacy is to specifically define bullying and establish steps that will be taken when bullying occurs. Bullying problems require a systemic response that includes the individual perpetrating the aggression and the victimized youth, as well as peers, adults, and the community. This scientific knowledge transfer will focus on the content of the policy. Critical content includes: clear definition of bullying; stated contextual parameters of the policy; clear statement of concern and commitment to resolve problems of bullying; clear procedures and processes to resolve concerns of bullying; specified support for the children who have been victimized; and specified formative consequences and support for the children who have been perpetrating the bullying.

The Policy Pillar will provide guidelines for advocacy and policies within the partner organizations and within broader government departments. By working with numerous NGOs, as well as collaborating with the National Children’s Alliance (NCA), with 64 organizations under its umbrella, we will be able to access a wide array of partnership channels to disseminate knowledge and technology to diverse communities. The impact of these activities will be evident in new policies to address bullying developed within partner NGOs and governments. There will also be tools for NGOs to review and evaluate the effectiveness of the bullying prevention policies. With consistent policies to address bullying problems in many aspects of children’s lives, we expect slow and steady social-cultural change supported by shifts in structural and day-to-day interactions with and among Canadian children and youth. By working together with the extensive partnerships developed within PREVNet, there will be a united Canadian voice to advocate for policies and programs to ensure safety and promote healthy relationships for all Canadian children and youth.

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Résumé

La grande proportion d’étudiants canadiens qui rapportent être témoins d’actes d’intimidation ou d’agression ou qui rapportent être victimes de ces actes confirment que ce type d’actes représente un problème social important. Dans cet article nous décrivons un nouveau réseau (PREVNet- Promoting Relationships and Eliminating Violence) financé par les nouvelles initiatives des Réseaux des Centres d’Excellence. Le mandat de PREVNet est d’identifier des partenaires au sein du milieu universitaire, du gouvernement et des communautés, de développer des relations entre ces partenaires et de créer un réseau opérationnel efficace pour les changements sociaux. Le but de PREVNet est d’opérer un changement socioculturel au Canada à partir de notre compréhension scientifique actuelle de l’impact négatif de l’utilisation de la force et de l’agression dans nos relations, de fournir des outils pour l’évaluation des actes d’intimidation, de faire la promotion de stratégies visant la prévention et l’intervention, et de proposer des politiques visant l’élimination des problèmes d’intimidation et le développement de relations saines auprès des adultes qui interagissent avec des enfants et de jeunes canadiens que ce soit à la maison, au travail ou dans les milieux de jeux.

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