Blueprints for Violence Prevention

BULLYING PREVENTION PROGRAM

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The demand for effective violence and crime prevention programs has never been greater. As our communities struggle to deal with the violence epidemic of the 1990s in which we have seen the juvenile homicide rate double and arrests for serious violent crimes increase 50 percent between 1984 and 1994,¹ the search for some effective ways to prevent this carnage and self-destructiveness has become a top national priority. To date, most of the resources committed to the prevention and control of youth violence, at both the national and local levels, has been invested in untested programs based on questionable assumptions and delivered with little consistency or quality control. Further, the vast majority of these programs are not being evaluated. This means we will never know which (if any) of them have had some significant deterrent effect; we will learn nothing from our investment in these programs to improve our understanding of the causes of violence or to guide our future efforts to deter violence; and there will be no real accountability for the expenditures of scarce community resources. Worse yet, some of the most popular programs have actually been demonstrated in careful scientific studies to be ineffective, and yet we continue to invest huge sums of money in them for largely political reasons.

What accounts for this limited investment in the evaluation of our prevention programs? First, there is little political or even program support for evaluation. Federal and state violence prevention initiatives rarely allocate additional evaluation dollars for the programs they fund. Given that the investment in such programs is relatively low, it is argued that every dollar available should go to the delivery of program services, i.e., to helping youth avoid involvement in violent or criminal behavior. Further, the cost of conducting a careful outcome evaluation is prohibitive for most individual programs, exceeding their entire annual budget in many cases. Finally, many program developers believe they know intuitively that their programs work, and thus they do not think a rigorous evaluation is required to demonstrate this.

Unfortunately, this view and policy is very shortsighted. When rigorous evaluations have been conducted, they often reveal that such programs are ineffective and can even make matters worse.² Indeed, many programs fail to even address the underlying causes of violence, involve simplistic “silver bullet” assumptions (e.g., I once had a counselor tell me there wasn’t a single delinquent youth he couldn’t “turn around” with an hour of individual counseling), and allocate investments of time and resources that are far too small to counter the years of exposure to negative influences of the family, neighborhood, peer group, and the media. Violent behavior is a complex behavior pattern which involves both individual dispositions and social contexts in which violence is normative and rewarded. Most violence prevention programs focus only on the individual dispositions and fail to address the reinforcements for violence in the social contexts where youth live, with the result that positive changes in the individual’s behavior achieved in the treatment setting are quickly lost when the youth returns home to his or her family, neighborhood, and old friends.

Progress in our ability to effectively prevent and control violence requires evaluation. A responsible accounting to the taxpayers, private foundations, or businesses funding these programs requires that we justify these expenditures with tangible results. No respectable business or corporation would invest millions of dollars in an enterprise without checking to see if it is profitable. No reputable
physician would subject a patient to a medical treatment for which there was no evidence of its effectiveness (i.e., no clinical trials to establish its potential positive and negative effects). Our failure to provide this type of evidence has seriously undermined the public confidence in crime prevention efforts generally, and is at least partly responsible for the current public support for building more prisons and incapacitating youth—the public knows they are receiving some protection for this expenditure, even if it is temporary.

The prospects for effective prevention programs and a national prevention initiative have improved greatly during the past decade. We now have a substantial body of research on the causes and correlates of crime and violence. There is general consensus within the research community about the specific individual dispositions, contextual (family, school, neighborhood, and peer group) conditions, and interaction dynamics which lead into and out of involvement in violent behavior. These characteristics, which have been linked to the onset, continuity, and termination of violence, are commonly referred to as “risk” and “protective” factors for violence. Risk factors are those personal attributes and contextual conditions which increase the likelihood of violence. Protective factors are those which reduce the likelihood of violence, either directly or by virtue of buffering the individual from the negative effects of risk factors. Programs which can alter these conditions, reducing or eliminating risk factors and facilitating protective factors, offer the most promise as violence prevention programs.

While our evaluation of these programs is still quite limited, we have succeeded in demonstrating that some of these programs are effective in deterring crime and violence. This breakthrough in prevention programming has yet to be reflected in national or state funding decisions, and is admittedly but a beginning point for developing the comprehensive set of prevention programs necessary for developing a national prevention initiative. But we are no longer in the position of having to say that “nothing works.”

Ten proven programs are described in this series of Blueprints for Violence Prevention. These Blueprints (which will be described later in this Editor’s Introduction) are designed to be practical documents which will allow interested persons, agencies, and communities to make an informed judgment about a proven program’s appropriateness for their local situation, needs, and available resources. If adopted and implemented well, a community can be reasonably assured that these programs will reduce the risks of violence and crime for their children.

Background

The violence epidemic of the 1990s produced a dramatic shift in the public’s perception of the seriousness of violence. In 1982, only three percent of adults identified crime and violence as the most important problem facing this country; by August of 1994, more than half thought crime and violence was the nation’s most important problem. Throughout the 90s violence has been indicated as a more serious problem than the high cost of living, unemployment, poverty and homelessness, and health care. Again, in 1994, violence (together with a lack of discipline) was identified as the “biggest problem” facing the nation’s public schools. Among America’s high school seniors, violence is the problem these young people worry about most frequently—more than drug abuse, economic problems, poverty, race relations, or nuclear war.

The critical question is, “How will we as a society deal with this violence problem?” Government policies at all levels reflect a punitive, legalistic approach, an approach which does have broad
public support. At both the national and state levels, there have been four major policy and program initiatives introduced as violence prevention or control strategies in the 1990s: (1) the use of judicial waivers, transferring violent juvenile offenders as young as age ten into the adult justice system for trial, sentencing, and adult prison terms; (2) legislating new gun control policies (e.g., the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, 1993); (3) the creation of "boot camps" or shock incarceration programs for young offenders, in order to instill discipline and respect for authority; and (4) community policing initiatives to create police-community partnerships aimed at more efficient community problem solving in dealing with crime, violence, and drug abuse.

Two of these initiatives are purely reactive: they involve ways of responding to violent acts after they occur; two are more preventive in nature, attempting to prevent the initial occurrence of violent behavior. The primary justification for judicial waivers and boot camps is a "just desserts" philosophy, wherein youthful offenders need to be punished more severely for serious violent offenses. But there is no research evidence to suggest either strategy has any increased deterrent effect over processing these juveniles in the juvenile justice system or in traditional correctional settings. In fact, although the evidence is limited, it suggests the use of waivers and adult prisons results in longer processing time and longer pretrial detention, racial bias in the decision about which youth to transfer into the adult system, a lower probability of treatment or remediation while in custody, and an increased risk of repeated offending when released. The research evidence on the effectiveness of community policing and gun control legislation is very limited and inconclusive. We have yet to determine if these strategies are effective in preventing violent behavior.

There are some genuine prevention efforts sponsored by federal and state governments, by private foundations, and by private businesses. At the federal level, the major initiative involves the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act (1994). This act provided $630 million in federal grants during 1995 to the states to implement violence (and drug) prevention programs in and around schools. State Departments of Education and local school districts are currently developing guidelines and searching for violence prevention programs demonstrated to be effective. But there is no readily available compendium of effective programs described in sufficient detail to allow for an informed judgment about their relevance and cost for a specific local application. Under pressure to do something, schools have implemented whatever programs were readily available. As a result, most of the violence prevention programs currently being employed in the schools, e.g., conflict resolution, peer mediation, individual counseling, metal detectors, and locker searches and sweeps have either not been evaluated or the evaluations have failed to establish any significant, sustained deterrent effects.

Nationally, we are investing far more resources in building and maintaining prisons than in primary prevention programs. We have put more emphasis on reacting to violent offenders after the fact and investing in prisons to remove these young people from our communities, than on preventing our children from becoming violent offenders in the first place and retaining them in our communities as responsible, productive citizens. Of course, if we have no effective prevention strategies or programs, there is no choice.

This is the central issue facing the nation in 1998: Can we prevent the onset of serious violent behavior? If we cannot, then we have no choice but to build, fill, and maintain more prisons. Yet if we know how to prevent the onset of violence, can we mount an efficient and effective prevention
initiative? There is, in fact, considerable public support for violence prevention programming for our children and adolescents. How can we develop, promote, and sustain a violence prevention initiative in this country?

**Violence Prevention Programs—What Works?**

Fortunately, we are past the “nothing has been demonstrated to work” era of program evaluation. During the past five years more than a dozen scholarly reviews of delinquency, drug, and violence prevention programs have been published, all of which claim to identify programs that have been successful in deterring crime and violence.

However, a careful review of these reports suggests some caution and a danger of overstating this claim. First, very few of these recommended programs involve reductions in violent behavior as the outcome criteria. For the most part, reductions in delinquent behavior or drug use in general or arrests/revocations for any offense have been used as the outcome criteria. This is probably not a serious threat to the claim that we have identified effective violence prevention programs, as research has established that delinquent acts, violence, and substance use are interrelated, and involvement in any one is associated with involvement in the others. Further, they have a common set of causes, and serious forms of violence typically occur later in the developmental progression, suggesting that a program that is effective in reducing earlier forms of delinquency or drug use should be effective in deterring serious violent offending. Still, some caution is required, given that very few studies have actually demonstrated a deterrent or marginal deterrent effect for serious violent behavior.

Second, the methodological standards vary greatly across these reviews. A few actually score each program evaluation reviewed on its methodological rigor, but for most the standards are variable and seldom made explicit. If the judgment on effectiveness were restricted to individual program evaluations employing true experimental designs and demonstrating statistically significant deterrent (or marginal deterrent) effects, the number of recommended programs would be cut by two-thirds or more. An experimental (or good quasi-experimental) design and statistically significant results should be minimum criteria for recommending program effectiveness. Further, very few of the programs recommended have been replicated at multiple sites or demonstrated that their deterrent effect has been sustained for some period of time after leaving the program, two additional criteria that are important. In a word, the standard for the claims of program effectiveness in these reviews is very low. Building a national violence prevention initiative on this collective set of recommended programs would be risky.

**Blueprints for Violence Prevention**

In 1996, the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado at Boulder, working with William Woodward, Director of the Colorado Division of Criminal Justice (CDCJ), who played the primary role in securing funding from the Colorado Division of Criminal Justice, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency, initiated a project to identify ten violence prevention programs that met a very high scientific standard of program effectiveness—programs that could provide an initial nucleus for a national violence prevention initiative. Our objective was to identify truly outstanding programs, and to describe these interventions in a series of “Blueprints.” Each Blueprint describes the
theoretical rationale for the intervention, the core components of the program as implemented, the evaluation designs and findings, and the practical experiences the program staff encountered while implementing the program at multiple sites. The Blueprints are designed to be very practical descriptions of effective programs which allow states, communities, and individual agencies to: (1) determine the appropriateness of each intervention for their state, community, or agency; (2) provide a realistic cost estimate for each intervention; (3) provide an assessment of the organizational capacity required to ensure its successful start-up and operation over time; and (4) give some indication of the potential barriers and obstacles that might be encountered when attempting to implement each type of intervention. In 1997, additional funding was obtained from the Division of Criminal Justice, allowing for the development of the ten Blueprint programs.

Blueprint Program Selection Criteria

In consultation with a distinguished Advisory Board,\textsuperscript{14} we established the following set of evaluation standards for the selection of Blueprint programs: (1) an experimental design, (2) evidence of a statistically significant deterrent (or marginal deterrent) effect, (3) replication at multiple sites with demonstrated effects, and (4) evidence that the deterrent effect was sustained for at least one year post-treatment. This set of selection criteria establishes a very high standard, one that proved difficult to meet. But it reflects the level of confidence necessary if we are going to recommend that communities replicate these programs with reasonable assurances that they will prevent violence. Given the high standards set for program selection, the burden for communities mounting an expensive outcome evaluation to demonstrate their effectiveness is removed; this claim can be made as long as the program is implemented well. Documenting that a program is implemented well is relatively inexpensive, but critical to the claim that a program is effective.

Each of the four evaluation standards is described in more detail as follows:

1. Strong Research Design

Experimental designs with random assignment provide the greatest level of confidence in evaluation findings, and this is the type of design required to fully meet this Blueprint standard. Two other design elements are also considered essential for the judgment that the evaluation employed a strong research design: low rates of participant attrition and adequate measurement. Attrition may be indicative of problems in program implementation; it can compromise the integrity of the randomization process and the claim of experimental-control group equivalence. Measurement issues include the reliability and validity of study measures, including the outcome measure, and the quality, consistency, and timing of their administration to program participants.

2. Evidence of Significant Deterrence Effects

This is an obvious minimal criterion for claiming program effectiveness. As noted, relatively few programs have demonstrated effectiveness in reducing the onset, prevalence, or individual offending rates of violent behavior. We have accepted evidence of deterrent effects for delinquency (including childhood aggression and conduct disorder), drug use, and/or violence as evidence of program effectiveness. We also accepted program evaluations using arrests as the outcome measure. Evidence for a deterrent effect on violent behavior is certainly preferable, and programs demonstrating this effect were given preference in selection, all other criteria being equal.
Both primary and secondary prevention effects, i.e., reductions in the onset of violence, delinquency, or drug use compared to control groups and pre-post reductions in these offending rates, could meet this criterion. Demonstrated changes in the targeted risk and protective factors, in the absence of any evidence of changes in delinquency, drug use, or violence, was not considered adequate to meet this criterion.

3. Multiple Site Replication

Replication is an important element in establishing program effectiveness. It establishes the robustness of the program and its prevention effects; its exportability to new sites. This criterion is particularly relevant for selecting Blueprint programs for a national prevention initiative where it is no longer possible for a single program designer to maintain personal control over the implementation of his or her program. Adequate procedures for monitoring the quality of implementation must be in place, and this can be established only through actual experience with replications.

4. Sustained Effects

Many programs have demonstrated initial success in deterring delinquency, drug use, and violence during the course of treatment or over the period during which the intervention was being delivered and reinforcements controlled. This selection criterion requires that these short-term effects be sustained beyond treatment or participation in the designed intervention. For example, if a preschool program designed to offset the negative effects of poverty on school performance (which in turn effects school bonding, present and future opportunities, and later peer group choice/selection, which in turn predicts delinquency) demonstrates its effectiveness when children start school, but these effects are quickly lost during the first two to three years of school, there is little reason to expect this program will prevent the onset of violence during the junior or senior high school years when the risk of onset is at its peak. Unfortunately, there is clear evidence that the deterrent effects of most prevention programs deteriorate quickly once youth leave the program and return to their original neighborhoods, families, and peer groups or gangs.

Other Criteria

In the selection of model programs, we considered several additional factors. We looked for evidence that change in the targeted risk or protective factor(s) mediated the change in violent behavior. This evidence clearly strengthens the claim that participation in the program was responsible for the change in violent behavior, and it contributes to our theoretical understanding of the causal processes involved. We were surprised to discover that many programs reporting significant deterrent effects (main effects) had not collected the necessary data to do this analysis or, if they had the necessary data, had not reported on this analysis.

We also looked for cost data for each program as this is a critical element in any decision to replicate one of these Blueprint programs, and we wanted to include this information in each Blueprint. Evaluation reports, particularly those found in the professional journals, rarely report program costs. Even when asked to provide this information, many programs are unable (or unwilling) to provide the data. In many cases program costs are difficult to separate from research and evaluation costs. Further, when these data are available, they typically involve conditions or circumstances unique to a particular site and are difficult to generalize. There are no standardized cost criteria, and it is very
difficult to compare costs across programs. It is even more difficult to obtain reliable cost-benefit estimates. A few programs did report both program costs and cost-benefit estimates. There have been two recent cost-benefit studies involving Blueprint programs which suggest that these programs are cost-effective, but this information is simply not available for most programs.15

Finally, we considered each program’s willingness to work with the Center in developing a Blueprint for national dissemination and the program’s organizational capacity to provide technical assistance and monitoring of program implementation on the scale that would be required if the program was selected as a Blueprint program and became part of a national violence prevention initiative:

Programs must be willing to work with the Center in the development of the Blueprint. This involves a rigorous review of program evaluations with questions about details not covered in the available publications; the preparation of a draft Blueprint document following a standardized outline; attending a conference with program staff, staff from replication sites, and Center staff to review the draft document; and making revisions to the document as requested by Center staff. Each Blueprint is further reviewed at a second conference in which potential users—community development groups, prevention program staffs, agency heads, legislators, and private foundations—“field test” the document. They read each Blueprint document carefully and report on any difficulties in understanding what the program requires, and on what additional information they would like to have if they were making a decision to replicate the program. Based on this second conference, final revisions are made to the Blueprint document and it is sent back to the Program designer for final approval.

In addition, the Center will be offering technical assistance to sites interested in replicating a Blueprint program and will be monitoring the quality of program implementation at these sites (see the “Technical Assistance and Monitoring of Blueprint Replications” section below). This requires that each selected program work with the Center in screening potential replication sites, certifying persons qualified to deliver technical assistance for their program, delivering high quality technical assistance, and cooperating with the Center’s monitoring and evaluation of the technical assistance delivered and the quality of implementation achieved at each replication site. Some programs are already organized and equipped to do this, with formal written guidelines for implementation, training manuals, instruments for monitoring implementation quality, and a staff trained to provide technical assistance; others have few or none of these resources or capabilities. Participation in the Blueprint project clearly involves a substantial demand on the programs. All ten programs selected have agreed to participate as a Blueprint program.

Blueprint Programs: An Overview

We began our search for Blueprint programs by examining the set of programs recommended in scholarly reviews. We have since expanded our search to a much broader set of programs and continue to look for programs that meet the selection standards set forth previously. To date, we have reviewed more than 450 delinquency, drug, and violence prevention programs. As noted, ten programs have been selected thus far, based upon a review and recommendation of the Advisory Board. These programs are identified in Table A.

The standard we have set for program selection is very high. Not all of the ten programs selected meet all of the four individual standards, but as a group they come the closest to meeting these standards that we could find. As indicated in Table A, with one exception they have all demonstrated
### Table A. Blueprint Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROJECT</th>
<th>TARGET POPULATION</th>
<th>EVID. OF EFFECT*</th>
<th>MULTI-SITE</th>
<th>COST/BENEFIT</th>
<th>SUSTAINED EFFECT</th>
<th>GENERALIZABLE</th>
<th>TYPE OF PROGRAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nurse Home Visitation (Dr. David Olds)</td>
<td>Pregnant women at risk of preterm delivery and low birthweight</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>through age 15</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Prenatal and postpartum nurse home visitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullying Prevention Program (Dr. Dan Olweus)</td>
<td>Primary and secondary school children (universal intervention)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 years post-treatment</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>School-based program to reduce victim/bully problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies</td>
<td>Primary school children (universal intervention)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 years post-treatment</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>School-based program to promote emotional competence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. M. Greenberg and Dr. C. Kusche</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Big Brothers Big Sisters of America</td>
<td>Youth 6 to 18 years of age from single-parent homes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Mentoring program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ms. Dagmar McGill)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantum Opportunities (Mr. Ben Lattimore)</td>
<td>At-risk, disadvantaged, high school youth</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>through age 20</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Educational incentives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multisystemic Therapy (Dr. Scott Henggeler)</td>
<td>Serious, violent, or substance abusing juvenile offenders and their families</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>4 years post-treatment</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Family ecological systems approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functional Family Therapy (Dr. Jim Alexander)</td>
<td>Youth at risk for institutionalization</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>30 months posttreatment</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Behavioral systems family therapy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwestern Prevention Project (Dr. Mary Ann Pentz)</td>
<td>Middle/junior school (6th/7th grade)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Through high school</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Drug use prevention (social resistance skills); with parent, media, and community components</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Skills Training (Dr. Gilbert Botvin)</td>
<td>Middle/junior school (6th/7th grade)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Through high school</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Drug use prevention (social skills and general life skills training)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care</td>
<td>Serious and chronic delinquents</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1 year post-treatment</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Foster care with treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dr. Paricia Chamberlain)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* "X" indicates the program met this criterion satisfactorily.
significant deterrent effects with experimental designs using random assignment to experimental and control groups (the Bullying Prevention Program involved a quasi-experimental design). All involve multiple sites and thus have information on replications and implementation quality, but not all replication sites have been evaluated as independent sites (e.g., the Big Brothers Big Sisters mentoring program was implemented at eight sites, but the evaluation was a single evaluation involving all eight sites in a single aggregated analysis). Again, with one exception (Big Brothers Big Sisters), all the selected programs have demonstrated sustained effects for at least one year post-treatment.

**Technical Assistance and Monitoring of Blueprint Replications**

The Blueprint project includes plans for a technical assistance and monitoring component to assist interested communities, agencies, and organizations in their efforts to implement one or more of the Blueprint programs. **Communities should not attempt to replicate a Blueprint program without technical assistance from the program designers.** If funded, technical assistance for replication and program monitoring will be available through the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at a very modest cost. Technical assistance can also be obtained directly from the Blueprint programs with costs for consulting fees, travel, and manuals negotiated directly with each program.

There are three common problems encountered by communities when attempting to develop and implement violence prevention interventions. First, there is a need to identify the specific risk and protective factors to be addressed by the intervention and the most appropriate points of intervention to address these conditions. In some instances, communities have already completed a risk assessment and know their communities' major risk factors and in which context to best initiate an intervention. In other cases this has not been done and the community may require some assistance in completing this task. We anticipate working with communities and agencies to help them evaluate their needs and resources in order to select an appropriate Blueprint program to implement. This may involve some initial on-site work assisting the community in completing some type of risk assessment as a preparatory step to selecting a specific Blueprint program for implementation.

Second, assuming the community has identified the risk and protective factors they want to address, a critical problem is identifying prevention interventions which are appropriate to address these risk factors and making an informed decision about which one(s) to implement. Communities often become lost in the maze of programs claiming they are effective in changing identified risk factors and deterring violence. More often, they are faced with particular interest groups pushing their own programs or an individual on their advisory board recommending a pet project, with no factual information or evidence available to provide some rational comparison of available options. Communities often need assistance in making an informed selection of programs to implement.

Third, there are increasingly strong pressures from funders, whether the U.S. Congress, state legislatures, federal or state agencies, or private foundations and businesses, for accountability. The current trend is toward requiring all programs to be monitored and evaluated. This places a tremendous burden on most programs which do not have the financial resources or expertise to conduct a meaningful evaluation. A rigorous outcome evaluation typically would cost more than the annual operating budget of most prevention programs; the cumulative evaluations of our Blueprint programs, for example, average more than a million dollars each. The selection of a Blueprint program eliminates the need for an outcome evaluation, at least for an initial four or five years. Because
these programs have already been rigorously evaluated, the critical issue for a Blueprint program is the quality of the implementation; if the program is implemented well, we can assume it is effective. To ensure a quality implementation, technical assistance and monitoring of the implementation (a process evaluation) are essential.

**Limitations**

Blueprint programs are presented as complete programs as it is the program that has been evaluated and demonstrated to work. Ideally, we would like to be able to present specific intervention components, e.g., academic tutoring, mentoring of at-risk youth, conflict resolution training, work experience, parent effectiveness training, etc., as proven intervention strategies based upon evaluations of many different programs using these components. We do not yet have the research evidence to support a claim that specific components are effective for specific populations under some specific set of conditions. Most of the Blueprint programs (and prevention programs generally) involve multiple components, and their evaluations do not establish the independent effects of each separate component, but only the combination of components as a single “package.” It is the “package” which has been demonstrated to work for specific populations under given conditions. The claim that one is using an intervention that has been demonstrated to work applies only if the entire Blueprint program, as designed, implemented, and evaluated, is being replicated; this claim is not warranted if only some specific subcomponent is being implemented or if a similar intervention strategy is being used, but with different staff training, or different populations of at-risk youth, or some different combination of components. It is for this reason that we recommend that communities desiring to replicate one of the Blueprint programs contact this program or the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence for technical assistance.

Our knowledge about these programs and the specific conditions under which they are effective will certainly change over time. Already there are extensions and modifications to these programs which are being implemented and carefully evaluated. Over the next three to five years it may be necessary to revise our Blueprint of a selected program. Those modifications currently underway typically involve new at-risk populations, changes in the delivery systems, changes in staff selection criteria and training, and in the quantity or intensity of the intervention delivered. Many of these changes are designed to reduce costs and increase the inclusiveness and generality of the program. It is possible that additional evaluations may undermine the claim that a particular Blueprint program is effective, however it is far more likely they will improve our understanding of the range of conditions and circumstances under which these programs are effective. In any event, we will continue to monitor the evaluations of these programs and make necessary revisions to their Blueprints. Most of these evaluations are funded at the federal level and they will provide ongoing evidence of the effectiveness of Blueprint programs, supporting (or not) the continued use of these programs without the need for local outcome evaluations.

The cost-benefit data presented in the Blueprints are those estimated by the respective programs. We have not undertaken an independent validation of these estimates and are not certifying their accuracy. Because they involve different comparison groups, different cost assumptions, and considerable local variation in costs for specific services, it is difficult to compare this aspect of one Blueprint program with another. Potential users should evaluate these claims carefully. We believe these cost-benefit estimates are useful, but they are not the most important consideration in selecting a violence prevention program or intervention.
It is important to note that the size of the deterrent effects of these Blueprint programs is modest. There are no “silver bullets,” no programs that prevent the onset of violence for all youth participating in the intervention. Good prevention programs reduce the rates of violence by 30-40 percent. We have included a section in each Blueprint presenting the evaluation results so that potential users can have some idea of how strong the program effect is likely to be and can prepare their communities for a realistic set of expectations. It is important that we not oversell violence prevention programs; it is also the case that programs with a 30 percent reduction in violence can have a fairly dramatic effect if sustained over a long period of time.

Finally, we are not recommending that communities invest all of their available resources in Blueprint programs. We need to develop and evaluate new programs to expand our knowledge of what works and to build an extensive repertoire of programs that work if we are ever to mount a comprehensive prevention initiative in this country. At the same time, given the costs of evaluating programs, it makes sense for communities to build their portfolio of programs around interventions that have been demonstrated to work, and to limit their investment in new programs to those they can evaluate carefully. Our Blueprint series is designed to help communities adopt this strategy.

**Summary**

As we approach the 21st Century, the nation is at a critical crossroad: Will we continue to react to youth violence after the fact, becoming increasingly punitive and locking more and more of our children in adult prisons? Or will we bring a more healthy balance to our justice system by designing and implementing an effective violence prevention initiative as a part of our overall approach to the violence problem? We do have a choice.

To mount an effective national violence prevention initiative in this country, we need to find and/or create effective violence prevention programs and implement them with integrity so that significant reductions in violent offending can be realized. We have identified a core set of programs that meet very high scientific standards for being effective prevention programs. These programs could constitute a core set of programs in a national violence prevention initiative. What remains is to ensure that communities know about these programs and, should they desire to replicate them, have assistance in implementing them as designed. That is our objective in presenting this series of *Blueprints for Violence Prevention*. They constitute a complete package of both programs and technical assistance made available to states, communities, schools, and local agencies attempting to address the problems of violence, crime, and substance abuse in their communities.

**Delbert S. Elliot**

*Series Editor*
ENDNOTES

1. Cook and Laub, 1997; Fox, 1996; and Snyder and Sickmund, 1995 for an analysis of trends in juvenile arrests for violent crimes.


3. The technical definition of a protective factor is an attribute or condition that buffers one from the expected effect of one or more risk factors, but many use the term more generally to refer to anything that reduces the likelihood of violence, whether that effect is direct or indirect.


5. Johnston et al., 1996.


7. Gottfredson, 1997; Lipsey, 1992; Sherman et al., 1997; Tolan and Guerra, 1994; and Webster, 1993.


10. Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks, 1975; Martinson, 1974; Sechrest et al., 1979; and Wright and Dixon, 1977.


14. Advisory Board members included: Denise Gottfredson, University of Maryland; Mark Lipsey, Vanderbilt University; Hope Hill, Howard University; Peter Greenwood, the Rand Corporation; and Patrick Tolan, University of Illinois.


16. The Center has submitted a proposal to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention that would provide technical assistance and evaluation of program implementation for 50 replications of Blueprint programs.
17. At some point it will be necessary to reassess each Blueprint program to ensure that it continues to demonstrate deterrent effects and to test its generalizability to other populations and community conditions. In many cases, this will be done at the national level with federal support for large scale evaluations. For example, the U.S. Department of Labor and the Ford Foundation are currently funding seven Quantum Opportunity Programs with outcome evaluations; and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is funding several Big Brothers Big Sisters Programs with evaluations. Local agencies replicating these Blueprint programs may never have to conduct rigorous outcome evaluations, but some continuing outcome evaluations at some level (national or local) is essential.

18. See Lipsey, 1992, 1997, for a review of issues and problems in estimating effect sizes and the range of effect sizes observed for delinquency prevention programs.
MODEL PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

Prenatal and Infancy Home Visitation by Nurses

Nurse home visitation is a program that sends nurses to the homes of pregnant women who are predisposed to infant health and developmental problems (i.e., at risk of preterm delivery and low-birth weight children). The goal of the program is to improve parent and child outcomes. Home visiting promotes the physical, cognitive, and social-emotional development of the children, and provides general support as well as instructive parenting skills to the parents. Treatment begins during pregnancy, with an average of eight visits for about 1 hour and 15 minutes, and continues to 24 months postpartum with visits diminishing in frequency to approximately every six weeks. Screenings and transportation to local clinics and offices are also offered as a part of treatment. Nurse home visiting has had some positive outcomes on obstetrical health, psychosocial functioning, and other health-related behaviors (especially reductions in smoking). Child abuse and neglect was lower and the developmental quotients of children at 12 and 24 months were higher in the treatment group than in the control group for poor, unmarried teens. Follow-up at 15-years postpartum showed significant enduring effects on child abuse and neglect, completed family size, welfare dependence, behavior problems due to substance abuse, and criminal behavior on the part of low income, unmarried mothers. Positive program effects through the child’s second birthday have been replicated in a major urban area.

Bullying Prevention Program

The anti-bullying program has as its major goal the reduction of victim/bully problems among primary and secondary school children. It aims to increase awareness of the problem and knowledge about it, to achieve active involvement on the part of teachers and parents, to develop clear rules against bullying behavior, and to provide support and protection for the victims of bullying. Intervention occurs at the school level, class level, and individual level. In Bergen, Norway, the frequency of bully/victim problems decreased by 50 percent or more in the two years following the campaign. These results applied to both boys and girls and to students across all grades studied. In addition, school climate improved, and antisocial behavior in general such as theft, vandalism, and truancy showed a drop during these years.

Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies

Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS) is a school-based intervention designed to promote emotional competence, including the expression, understanding, and regulation of emotions. The PATHS program is a universal intervention, implemented by teachers (after a three-day training workshop) with entire classrooms of children from kindergarten through fifth grades. The curriculum includes a feelings unit (with a self-control and initial problem-solving skills program within that unit) and an interpersonal cognitive problem solving unit. The generalization of those learned skills to children’s everyday lives is a component of each major unit. An additional unit on self-control and readiness is provided for special needs classrooms. Studies have compared classrooms receiving the intervention to matched controls using populations of normally-adjusted students, behaviorally at-risk students, and deaf students. Program effects included teacher-, child sociometric-, and child self-report ratings of behavior change on such constructs as hyperactivity, peer aggression, and conduct problems.
Big Brothers Big Sisters of America

Big Brothers Big Sisters of America (BBBSA) is the oldest and best known mentoring program in the United States. Local programs are autonomously funded affiliates of BBBSA, with the national office in Philadelphia. The more than 500 affiliates maintain over 100,000 one-to-one relationships between a volunteer adult and a youth. Matches are carefully made using established procedures and criteria. The program serves children 6 to 18 years of age, with the largest portion being those 10 to 14 years of age. A significant number of the children are from disadvantaged single-parent households. A mentor meets with his/her youth partner at least three times a month for three to five hours. The visits encourage the development of a caring relationship between the matched pair. An 18 month study of eight BBBS affiliates found that the youth in the mentoring program, compared to a control group who were on a waiting list for a match, were less likely to start using drugs and alcohol, less likely to hit someone, had improved school attendance, attitudes and performance, and had improved peer and family relationships.

Quantum Opportunities

The Quantum Opportunities Program (QOP) provides education, development, and service activities, coupled with a sustained relationship with a peer group and a caring adult, over the four years of high school for small groups of disadvantaged teens. The goal of the program is to help high risk youth from poor families and neighborhoods to graduate from high school and attend college. The program includes (1) 250 hours per year of self-paced and competency-based basic skills, taught outside of regular school hours; (2) 250 hours per year of development opportunities, including cultural enrichment and personal development; and (3) 250 hours per year of service opportunities to their communities to help develop the requisite work skills. Financial incentives are offered to increase participation, completion, and long range planning. Results from the pilot test of this program indicated that QOP participants, compared to the control group, were less likely to be arrested during the juvenile years, were more likely to have graduated from high school, to be enrolled in higher education or training, planning to complete four years of college, and less likely to become a teen parent.

Multisystemic Therapy

Multisystemic Therapy (MST) views individuals as being nested within a complex of interconnected systems that encompass individual, family, and extrafamilial (peer, school, neighborhood) factors. Behavior problems can be maintained by problematic transactions within or between any one or a combination of these systems. MST targets the specific factors in each youth’s and family’s ecology (family, peer, school, neighborhood, support network) that are contributing to antisocial behavior. MST interventions are pragmatic, goal oriented, and emphasize the development of family strengths. The overriding purpose of MST is to help parents to deal effectively with their youth’s behavior problems, including disengagement from deviant peers and poor school performance. To accomplish the goal of family empowerment, MST also addresses identified barriers to effective parenting (e.g., parental drug abuse, parental mental health problems) and helps family members to build an indigenous social support network (e.g., with friends, extended family, neighborhoods, church members). To increase family collaboration and treatment generalization, MST is typically provided in the home, school, and other community locations by master’s level counselors with low caseloads and 24 hours/day, seven days/week availability. The average duration of treatment is
about four months, which includes approximately 50 hours of face-to-face therapist-family contact. MST has been demonstrated as an effective treatment for decreasing the antisocial behavior of violent and chronic juvenile offenders at a cost savings—that is, reducing long-term rates of rearrest and out-of-home placement. Moreover, families receiving MST have shown extensive improvements in family functioning.

**Functional Family Therapy**

Functional Family Therapy (FFT) is a short term, easily trainable, well documented program which has been applied successfully to a wide range of problem youth and their families in various contexts (e.g., rural, urban, multicultural, international) and treatment systems (e.g., clinics, home-based programs, juvenile courts, independent providers, federally funded clinical trials). Success has been demonstrated and replicated for over 25 years with a wide range of interventionists, including paraprofessionals and trainees representing the various professional degrees (e.g., B.S.W., M.S.W., Ph.D., M.D., R.N., M.F.T.). The program involves specific phases and techniques designed to engage and motivate youth and families, and especially deal with the intense negative affect (hopelessness, anger) that prevents change. Additional phases and techniques then change youth and family communication, interaction, and problem solving, then help families better deal with and utilize outside system resources. Controlled comparison studies with follow-up periods of one, three, and even five years have demonstrated significant and long-term reductions in youth re-offending and sibling entry into high-risk behaviors. Comparative cost figures demonstrate very large reductions in daily program costs compared to other treatment programs.

**Midwestern Prevention Project**

The Midwestern Prevention Project is a comprehensive population-based drug abuse (cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana) prevention program that has operated in two major Midwestern SMSAs, Kansas City and Indianapolis, where it has been known locally as Project STAR (Students Taught Awareness and Resistance) and I-STAR, respectively. The goal of the program is to decrease the rates of onset and prevalence of drug use in young adolescents (ages 10-15), and to decrease drug use among parents and other residents of the two communities. The program consists of five intervention strategies designed to combat the community influences on drug use: mass media, school, parent, community organization, and health policy change. The components focus on promoting drug use resistance and counteraction skills by adolescents (direct skills training), prevention practices and support of adolescent prevention practices by parents and other adults (indirect skills training), and dissemination and support of non-drug use social norms and expectations in the community (environmental support). This program has been effective at reducing alcohol, cigarette, and marijuana use among young adolescents, with some effects maintained up to age 23.

**Life Skills Training**

Life Skills Training is a drug use primary prevention program (cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana), which provides general life skills training and social resistance skills training to junior high/middle (6th or 7th grade) school students. The curriculum includes 15 sessions taught in school by regular classroom teachers with booster sessions provided in year two (10 class sessions) and year three (five class sessions). The three basic components of the program include: (1) Personal Self-Management Skills (e.g., decision-making and problem-solving, self-control skills for coping with anxi-
Bullying Prevention Program

ety, and self-improvement skills); (2) Social Skills (e.g. communication and general social skills); and (3) Drug-Related Information and Skills designed to impact on knowledge and attitudes concerning drug use, normative expectations, and skills for resisting drug use influences from the media and peers. Life Skills Training has been effective at reducing alcohol, cigarette, and marijuana use among young adolescents. The effects for tobacco and heavy alcohol use have been sustained through the end of high school.

Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care

Social learning-based Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care (MTFC) is a cost effective alternative to residential treatment for adolescents who have problems with chronic delinquency and anti-social behavior. Community families are recruited, trained, and closely supervised to provide MTFC placements, treatment, and supervision to participating adolescents. MTFC parent training emphasizes behavior management methods to provide youth with a structured and therapeutic living environment. After completing a preservice training, MTFC parents attend a weekly group meeting run by a program case manager where ongoing supervision is provided. Supervision and support is also given to MTFC parents during daily telephone calls to check on youths’ progress. Family therapy is provided for the youths’ biological (or adoptive) families. The parents are taught to use the structured system that is being used in the MTFC home. The effectiveness of the MTFC model has been evaluated, and MTFC youth had significantly fewer arrests during a 12-month follow-up than a control group of youth who participated in residential group care programs. The MTFC model has also been shown to be effective for children and adolescents leaving state mental hospital settings.
BULLYING PREVENTION PROGRAM

Program Overview

The Bullying Prevention Program is a multilevel, multicomponent program designed to reduce and prevent schools’ bully/victim problems. School staff are largely responsible for introducing and implementing the program, and their efforts are directed towards improving peer relations and making the school a safe and pleasant place to be. The Bullying Prevention Program attempts to restructure the existing school environment to reduce opportunities and rewards for bullying behavior.

Program Targets:

Program targets are students in elementary, middle, and junior high schools. All students participate in most aspects of the program, while those students identified as bullies or victims of bullying receive additional individual interventions.

Program Content:

Core components of the program are implemented at the school, the classroom, and the individual levels:

School-level components include an anonymous student questionnaire assessing the nature and prevalence of bullying at each school, a school conference day for discussing bullying problems and planning the implementation of the program, the formation of a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee to coordinate all aspects of a school’s program, and the development of a coordinated system of supervising students during break periods.

Classroom-level components include establishing and enforcing classroom rules against bullying and holding regular classroom meetings with students to increase knowledge and empathy and to encourage prosocial norms and behavior. Meetings with parents to foster more active involvement on their part are considered highly desirable components both at the classroom and school levels.

Individual-level components include interventions with children identified as bullies and victims, and discussions with the parents of involved students.

Evidence of Effectiveness:

The Bullying Prevention Program has been shown to result in:

- substantial reductions, by 50 percent or more, in the frequency with which students report being bullied and bullying others; roughly similar results have been obtained with peer and teacher ratings of bully/victim problems;
- significant reductions in students’ reports of general antisocial behavior such as vandalism, fighting, theft, and truancy; and
- significant improvements in the “social climate” of the class, as reflected in students’ reports of improved order and discipline, more positive social relationships, and a more positive attitude toward schoolwork and school.

Costs:

In addition to costs associated with compensating an on-site coordinator for the project, the costs (which will vary with the size of the site) for program expenses consist of approximately $200 per school to purchase the questionnaire and computer program to assess bullying at the school, plus approximately $65 per teacher to cover costs of classroom materials.
CHAPTER ONE
Executive Summary
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

An Historical Thumbnail Sketch

Bullying among school children is no doubt a very old phenomenon. The fact that some children are frequently and systematically harassed and attacked by other children has been described in literary works, and many adults have personal experiences of it from their own school days. Though many are acquainted with the “bully/victim problem,” it was not until fairly recently—in the early 1970s—that efforts were made to systematically study it. For a number of years, these attempts were largely confined to Scandinavia. More recently, however, bullying among school children has received considerable public and research attention in countries such as England, Scotland, Ireland, Japan, Germany, Australia, Canada, and the United States.

A strong societal interest in bully/victim problems began in Sweden in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the issue quickly spread to the other Scandinavian countries. In Norway, for example, bully/victim problems received attention from the mass media and was of great concern to teachers and parents for a number of years. At first, the school authorities did not officially address the phenomenon, but 15 years ago, a marked change took place. In late 1982, a newspaper reported that three 10-14 year old boys from the northern part of Norway had committed suicide, in all probability as a consequence of severe bullying by peers. This event generated considerable uneasiness in the mass media and general public, and eventually it triggered a chain of reactions which ultimately resulted in a nationwide campaign against bully/victim problems in Norwegian primary and junior high schools, launched by the Ministry of Education in the fall of 1983.

The Bullying Prevention Program described in this Blueprint was developed, refined, and systematically evaluated in an intervention project involving 2,500 children in 42 schools from the city of Bergen, Norway, during the two-year period from 1983 through 1985 (Olweus, 1991; 1993a; 1994). There have been several recent replications of the program, both within Norway and in several other countries, including the United States. Whitney and colleagues (Whitney, Rivers, Smith, & Sharp, 1994) implemented and evaluated the effectiveness of the program in 16 primary and 7 secondary schools in Sheffield, England. Hanewinkel and Knaack (1997) tested the Bullying Prevention Program among approximately 6,400 3rd-9th graders in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. The first systematic evaluation of the program within the United States was conducted by Melton and colleagues (Melton et al., 1998) and involved 6,388 elementary and middle school children from non-metropolitan communities in South Carolina. Most recently, a new large-scale intervention project involving 3,200 students in 30 schools was initiated in Bergen, Norway. Although all of the replications were true to the goals and approach of the original Norwegian model, several projects (most notably the Sheffield and South Carolina initiatives) made several additions and modifications to the model in order to meet the perceived needs of the particular populations. These replication projects are described in detail in Chapter 4.

What is Bullying?

Bullying or victimization can be generally defined in the following way: A student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students. Such negative actions include intentionally inflicting, or attempting to
Bullying Prevention Program

inflict, injury or discomfort upon another. These behaviors can be carried out physically (e.g., hitting, kicking, pushing, choking), verbally (e.g., by calling names, threatening, taunting, malicious teasing, spreading nasty rumors), or in other ways, such as making faces or obscene gestures, or intentional exclusion from a group. The latter (usually more subtle) forms are usually termed “indirect bullying,” whereas “direct bullying” comprises behaviors that represent relatively open (usually verbal or physical) attack on the victim.

In order to be considered bullying, there should also be an imbalance in power or strength (an asymmetric power relationship). In other words, students who are exposed to the negative actions generally have difficulty in defending themselves and are somewhat helpless against the student or students who harass. It is not considered bullying when two students of approximately the same physical or psychological power are in conflict, nor is friendly or playful teasing considered bullying. However, repeated degrading and malicious teasing which is continued despite clear signs of distress and opposition on the part of the target does qualify as bullying.

In the context of school bullying, the victim is usually a single student, who is generally harassed by a group of two or three students, often with a “negative leader.” A considerable proportion of the victims, 20-40 percent, report, however, that they are mainly bullied by a single student.

Bullying is thus characterized by the following three criteria: (a) it is aggressive behavior or intentional “harmdoing;” (b) it is carried out repeatedly and over time; and (c) it occurs within an interpersonal relationship characterized by an imbalance of power. One might add that bullying behavior often occurs without apparent provocation. These characteristics clearly suggest that bullying can be considered a form of abuse: peer abuse. What sets it apart from other forms of abuse such as child or domestic abuse is the context in which it occurs and the relationship of the interacting parties.

The following newspaper clippings illustrate two forms of bullying:

For two years, Johnny, a quiet 13 year-old, was a human plaything for some of his classmates. The teenagers badgered Johnny for money, forced him to swallow weeds and drink milk mixed with detergent, beat him up in the rest room, tied a string around his neck, and led him around as a “pet.” When Johnny’s torturers were asked about the bullying, they said they pursued their victim because “it was fun.”

Having a child who is bullied means seeing your child become an outcast, frozen out and completely isolated. But most of what you read is about bullies and victims who are boys. Bullying is to be found amongst girls, but it is not so obvious from the outside. It is not usually a matter of damaged
clothes or damaged arms and legs. Bullying amongst girls bypasses physical pain and goes right into the soul. Bullying amongst girls is less concrete or visible.

How can I as a mother accuse the girls bullying my 14-year-old daughter for having stopped phoning, for not saying hello, for speaking badly of her behind her back, for changing places in the classroom, for always commenting on and making fun of what she says, etc. Nothing they do (or don’t do) is against the rules.

As a mother, I have a great sense of grief and helplessness in the face of what my daughter has to go through. In desperation I have tried to talk to the mothers of two of my daughter’s previous friends. It wasn’t particularly helpful; some parents just can’t accept that their children are criticized by outsiders. They defend their children at any cost, no matter how ridiculous this may be.

I wouldn’t wish the grief and helplessness I feel on any parents, but I wish you and your children could actually feel just for a short time what my daughter and our family have had to live with for the last six months or so. Then perhaps you would understand.

—Despairing mother

Prevalence of Bullying

According to more than 150,000 Norwegian and Swedish students who completed the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire, 15 percent (1 out of 7) of the students in Norwegian or Swedish elementary and lower secondary/junior high schools (grades 1-9, roughly corresponding to ages 7-16) are involved in bully/victim problems. Approximately 9 percent are victims and 7 percent bullied other students (see Figures 1 and 2). A relatively small percentage of the students are both victim and bully (1.5 percent of the total student population, or 17 percent of the victims). Five percent of the students are involved in more frequent bullying problems (as bullies or victims or bully/victim), occurring once a week or more frequently. As the prevalence questions in the Questionnaire typically refer to a limited time period of three to five months, there is little doubt that the figures presented actually underestimate the number of students involved in such problems during a whole year.

These figures emphasize that bullying is a considerable problem in Norwegian and Swedish schools, affecting a very large number of students. Moreover, data collected in many other countries (primarily collected with the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire), including the United States, clearly indicate that these problems are not limited to Scandinavia. In fact, the prevalence rates in these countries are as high, if not higher, than those reported in Scandinavia.

For example, in a recent large-scale study (Melton et al., 1998) of more than 6,000 middle school students from grades 4 through 6 in rural South Carolina, 23 percent reported that they had been bullied by other students “several times” or more frequently during the past three months. Approximately 20 percent reported that they had bullied other students with the same frequency (see Figures 3 and 4).
Figure 1
Percentage of Norwegian and Swedish Students Bullying Others

Figure 2
Percentage of Norwegian and Swedish Students Being Bullied
Figure 3
Percentage of South Carolina Students Bullying Others
Several times or more during the past 3 months

Figure 4
Percentage of South Carolina Students Being Bullied
Several times or more during the past 3 months
It should be emphasized, however, that comparisons of prevalence figures from different countries must be made with considerable caution. In spite of the fact that the Questionnaire gives a fairly detailed definition of bullying (written in simple language), it is likely that prevalence rates will be affected by the students’ familiarity with the concept of bullying, the degree of public attention to the phenomenon and similar factors. At the same time, it should be underscored that the general pattern of findings and interrelationships, such as gender and age trends, has been found to be fairly similar across countries and cultures, suggesting that the existence of a phenomenon has some relatively universal characteristics.

In terms of gender differences, boys are much more likely to bully others than are girls, and a relatively large percentage of girls report that they are bullied mainly by boys. Also, a slightly higher percentage of boys report being victims of bullying. Although direct bullying is a greater problem among boys, bullying also occurs among girls. Girls are less apt to use physical means of bullying; instead, they use more subtle and indirect ways of harassment such as slandering, spreading rumors, intentionally excluding others from the group, and manipulating friendship relations (e.g., depriving a girl of her “best friend”). In addition, these forms of bullying may be more difficult for adults to detect.

Age trends in bullying also exist. Generally, younger and weaker students are more often exposed to bullying. Although most incidents occur among students in the same grade, a good deal of bullying is also carried out by older students towards younger ones. (More details about bullying in different grades and among boys and girls are given in, Olweus, 1993a; Melton, et al, 1998).

Most bullying occurs on the playground or in the classroom (in Norway, 65 percent and 38 percent, respectively; in the U.S., 26 percent and 29 percent, respectively), but these behaviors also occur in hallways/corridors, the gymnasium, the locker room, and the bathroom. Although a substantial portion of students are bullied on their way to and from the school, this percentage is usually considerably lower than the percentage being bullied at school.

Why Focus on Bully/Victim Problems?

There are several key reasons for examining and attempting to counteract bully/victim problems in school relating to:

- the short-term effects on the victims
- the long-term effects on the victims
- the long-term effects on the bullies, if the bullying behavior goes unchecked
- school social climate

Each of these points is elaborated below.

*Short-term Effects on Victims.* In addition to being painful and humiliating, bullying experiences make victims unhappy, distressed, and confused. These students tend to lose self-esteem and become anxious and insecure. Moreover, victims may suffer physical injury, their concentration and learning may be affected, and they may refuse to go to school. They may tend to feel stupid, ashamed and unattractive, and gradually begin to view themselves as failures. Many of the victims develop psychosomatic symptoms such as headaches and stomach pains. In some cases, the victims’ devaluation of themselves becomes so overwhelming that they see suicide as the only possible solution.
Long-term Effects on Victims. Persistent bullying during the school years may also have long-term negative effects on the victims many years beyond school (Olweus, 1993b). As young adults (age 23), former victims (who were bullied primarily in grades six through nine) tended to be more depressed and had poorer self-esteem than their nonvictimized peers. The pattern of results suggested that earlier, persistent bullying can leave many scars. Thus, it is obviously crucial to stop bullying in school in order to reduce and prevent its negative, short and long-term consequences.

Long-term Effects on Bullies. Bullying is not just isolated behavior on the part of its perpetrators; instead, it is part of a more generally antisocial and rule-breaking (conduct-disordered) behavior pattern. As our research has shown, students (particularly boys) who bully others are especially likely to engage in other antisocial/delinquent behaviors such as vandalism, shoplifting, truancy and frequent drug use. We have also found that this antisocial behavior pattern often continues into young adulthood. Approximately 60 percent of boys who were characterized as bullies in grades 6-9 (on the basis of both teacher nominations and peer ratings) had been convicted of at least one officially registered crime by the age of 24, compared to 23 percent of boys who were not characterized as bullies. Even more dramatic, as many as 35-40 percent of the former bullies had three or more convictions by this age, while this was true of only 10 percent of the control boys (those who were neither bullies nor victims in grades 6-9). Thus, as young adults, the former school bullies had a fourfold increase in the level of relatively serious, recidivist criminality as documented in official crime records (Olweus, 1993a). With regard to (potential) bullies, then, it is important to try to stop their development along an antisocial pathway and to redirect it in a more prosocial direction.

School Social Climate. In addition, there is a connection between the level of bully/victim problems in a classroom or school and aspects of the social climate of the unit concerned. In classrooms or schools with high levels of bullying problems, students tend to feel less safe and are less satisfied with school life. This implies that, for many students, and particularly for the victims, the classroom is no longer a place of concentrated work and learning.

A classroom or school climate characterized by bully/victim problems may have other negative effects. It is natural to assume that most students in a classroom or a school are affected by a bully/victim problem in some way. For example, if a “neutral” student observes bullying behavior going unchecked, possibly with open or tacit support from other students or even the teacher, this will teach him or her to regard bullying behavior as acceptable. Over time, such episodes can result in harsher, less empathetic social climates which foster new bullying episodes and other problems. Conversely, classrooms or schools with a friendly and positive social climate are likely to elicit and encourage different, more appropriate reaction patterns in their students. Accordingly, when countering bullying, it is important to involve the students surrounding the bully/ies and the victim and affect their views regarding bullying behavior. The various roles and related attitudes that other students in the class or school may adopt regarding bully/victim problems are portrayed in the “bullying circle,” shown in Figure 5.
Bullying Prevention Program

Figure 5
The Bullying Circle: Students' Modes of Reaction/Roles in an Acute Bullying Situation

- **A** The bully/bullies
  - Start the bullying and take an active part
- **B** Follower/henchmen
  - Take an active part but do not start the bullying
- **C** Supporter/passive bully/bullies
  - Support the bullying but do not take an active part
- **D** Passive supporter/possible bully
  - Like the bullying but do not display open support
- **E** Disengaged onlooker
  - Watch what happens
  - Is none of my business
  - Don't take a stand
- **F** Possible defender
  - Dislike the bullying and think they ought to help (but don't do it)
- **G** Defender of the victim
  - Dislike the bullying and help or try to help the one who is exposed, the victim
Theoretical Rationale/Conceptual Framework

Common Myths About Bullying

In the public debate, several hypotheses about the causes of bully/victim problems have been advanced. Even though these have failed to receive support in controlled, empirical research, they are still quite popular, and it is important to briefly discuss and dispel some of these myths.

One assumption is that bully/victim problems are, in part, a consequence of large classes and/or schools: the larger the class or the school, the higher the level of bully/victim problems. Closer analysis of this hypothesis, using the Norwegian survey data from more than 700 schools and several thousand classes (with great variations in size) reveals that the size of the class or the school is of negligible importance for the relative frequency or level of bully/victim problems (Olweus, 1993a). Moreover, a large-scale Irish study has found an inverse relationship: the larger the class or the school, the lower the level of bully/victim problems (e.g., O’Moore, Kirkhan, & Smith, 1997).

Second, it has been commonly maintained that bullying is a result of competition and striving for grades in school. More specifically, it has been argued that the aggressive behavior of the bullies toward their environment can be explained as a reaction to failures and frustrations in school. This hypothesis has also failed to receive support from detailed analyses of longitudinal data. Though there was an association (of moderate magnitude) between aggressive behavior and (poor) grades, no evidence suggests that aggressive behavior is a consequence of poor grades and failure in school (Olweus, 1983).

Third, a widely held view, especially among students, is that external deviations cause victimizations. It is argued that students who are fat, red-haired, wear glasses, speak with an unusual dialect, or have a different ethnic background, for example, are particularly likely to become victims of bullying. This hypothesis received no support in empirical analyses in several European studies (e.g., Junger, 1990; Olweus, 1978), and suggests that external deviations play a much smaller role in the origin of bully/victim problems than generally assumed. The relationship between ethnic background and victimization has not been closely examined in the United States, however. Given the greater ethnic heterogeneity of the U.S., it is possible that ethnic background may be related to victimization.

It may be added that in the case of Scandinavian students, being a bully or a victim is unrelated to the socioeconomic conditions of the student’s family such as parental education or income. Accordingly, the common belief that bullying behavior is more prevalent in lower social classes can be considered a myth as regards Scandinavia. However, this hypothesis has not yet been well investigated in large-scale North-American studies. Given the greater socioeconomic heterogeneity of the U.S., it is possible that there may be such a link, although it is likely to be weak.

Causes of Bullying

All of these assumptions or hypotheses have failed to receive support from empirical data. As a result, one must look for other factors to determine the (partial) origins of these problems. In this context, it is important to realize that the search for causes must be conducted at different levels of analyses, including the individual, the classroom, and school levels. The research evidence collected to date clearly suggests that personality characteristics and typical reaction patterns, in com-
Bullying Prevention Program

bination with physical strength or weakness in the case of boys, are quite important for the development of these problems in individual students (making them more likely to become victims or bullies). At the same time, environmental factors such as the teachers' attitudes, routines, and behaviors play a major role in determining the extent to which the problems will manifest themselves in a larger unit such as the classroom or the school. In addition, environmental-organizational factors such as the way in which break periods are arranged, may be of some importance.

Basic Principles

Given the considerable stability of aggressive behavior over time and the generally low or modest success in reducing such behavior with a number of individual-oriented approaches, an important premise of the Bullying Prevention Program is that bullying behavior can be checked and redirected into a more prosocial direction through a systematic restructuring of the social environment. Among other outcomes, this restructuring is expected to result in fewer opportunities for bullying behavior and fewer or smaller rewards (e.g., in the form of prestige or peer support) for displaying such behavior. More specifically, the program aims to effect systematic changes of the “opportunity” and “reward structures” for bullying and similar behavior in the school and other relevant contexts. In addition, positive, friendly, and prosocial behaviors are encouraged and rewarded.

Generally, the Bullying Prevention Program is built around a limited set of key principles and findings derived chiefly from research on the development and modification of problem behaviors, particularly aggressive behavior. More specifically, the program strives to develop a school (and ideally, a home) environment:

- characterized by warmth, positive interest, and involvement by adults;
- firm limits to unacceptable behavior;
- where non-hostile, nonphysical negative consequences are consistently applied in cases of violations of rules and other unacceptable behaviors; and,
- where adults act as authorities and positive role models.

The first three principles represent the antithesis of child-rearing dimensions that research has linked to the development of aggressive reaction patterns: negativism on the part of the primary caretaker, general permissiveness, lack of clear limits, and use of power-assertive methods such as spanking and violent verbal outbursts. The fourth principle encourages adults to emulate an authoritative (not authoritarian) adult-child interaction model in which they take responsibility for the students’ total situation, including both academic learning and social relationships in school.

A basic premise of the Bullying Prevention Program is that most efforts to create a better school environment must be initiated and driven by the adults at school. However, a number of the program measures (below) include the students in these efforts. Moreover, the students’ role in changing the normative context of the school will gradually increase in importance as the program evolves.
Brief Description of Intervention

General Prerequisites: Awareness and Involvement

Adult behavior is crucial to the success of the Bullying Prevention Program, and in order to achieve the program’s goals the following two conditions must be met. First, the adults at school and, to some degree, at home must become aware of the extent of bully/victim problems in their own school. Secondly, the adults must engage themselves, with some degree of seriousness, in changing the situation. Without adults’ acknowledgment of schools’ existing bully/victim problems and a clear commitment by a majority of the school staff to participate actively in the anti-bullying efforts, the program is likely to have limited success. Administration of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire is usually an effective way to achieve awareness and involvement. In general, staff members will be more inclined to initiate countermeasures if they realize the number of students in their own school who are directly involved in bully/victim problems and learn how these problems affect students.

Interventions at the School, Class, and Individual Levels

The principles described above have been translated into a number of specific measures, or interventions, that are used at the school, class, and individual levels, and taking action at all of these levels is vital to counteract bully/victim situations. In this way, students will be exposed to consistent messages, from different persons/sources and in different contexts, regarding the school’s views of and attitudes toward bullying. All of the components are very important; however, the focus has been to highlight adult involvement because adults are the key implementors of the program. The basic message of the program is successfully demonstrated through all the components: Bullying is not accepted in our class/school, and we will see to it that it comes to an end.

Table 1 presents an overview of the components that are considered, on the basis of both statistical analyses and our experience with the program, to be particularly important in any implementation of the Bullying Prevention program.
Table 1. Overview of Bullying Prevention Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ + core component</th>
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<tr>
<td>+ highly desirable component</td>
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</table>

**General Prerequisites**

+ + Awareness and involvement on the part of adults

**Measures at the School Level**

+ + Questionnaire survey
+ + School conference day
+ + Effective supervision during recess and lunch time
+ + Formation of coordinating group
+ Meetings among staff and parents

**Measures at the Class Level**

+ + Class rules against bullying
+ + Regular class meetings with students
+ Meetings with parents of a class

**Measures at the Individual Level**

+ + Serious talks with bullies and victims
+ + Serious talks with parents of involved students
+ Teacher and parent use of imagination

*School Level.* Core interventions at the school level include administration of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire to assess the nature and prevalence of bullying at each school, a school conference day/meeting, formation of a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, and the development of a coordinated system to supervise students during break periods. The school conference day provides an opportunity for program consultants and school personnel to review results of the survey, discuss elements of the Bullying Prevention Program, and make specific plans for implementing the program during the upcoming school year. Ongoing coordination of the school’s efforts will be guided by a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, which may include a school administrator, a teacher representative from each grade, a guidance counselor and/or a school-based mental health professional.
health professional, and parent and student representatives. The final core component, increasing teacher supervision of students in locations where bullying occurs most frequently at school, can be implemented after the Questionnaire has identified particular “hot spots” within a school, which commonly include the playground, classroom, and lunchroom.

**Classroom Level.** Core program interventions at the classroom level include establishing and enforcing specific rules against bullying, as well as holding regular classroom meetings with students to discuss various aspects of bullying and related antisocial behaviors and adherence to agreed upon classroom rules. Classroom meetings also are used to engage students in a variety of activities (e.g., role playing, writing, and small-group discussions) through which they gain a better appreciation of the harm caused by bullying and learn strategies to combat it. Meetings with parents to foster their active involvement are considered highly desirable components both at the classroom and the school levels.

**Individual Level.** Additional core components of the program involve interventions with individual bullies (or small groups of bullies), victims, and their parents to both ensure that bullying behaviors cease and that victims receive necessary support to avoid future bullying.

In order to foster the implementation and execution, the program emphasizes using the existing social environment: teachers and other school personnel, students, and parents. Thus, non-mental health professionals play a major role in the desired restructuring of the social environment. However, experts such as school mental health professionals, guidance counselors, and social workers also serve important functions as planners and coordinators, in counseling and consulting with the school, and in possibly handling more serious cases.

**Evidence of Program Effectiveness**

The Bullying Prevention Program has been implemented in a variety of cultures (e.g, Bergen, Norway; the southeastern United States; Sheffield, England; and the state of Schleswig-Holstein, Germany) and school contexts (elementary, middle, and junior high schools). The first and most comprehensive evaluation was conducted with 2,500 students from elementary and junior high schools in Bergen, Norway, between 1983 and 1985. Results from this quasi-experimental study revealed substantial reductions (typically by 50 percent or more) in the frequency with which students reported being bullied and bullying others. Roughly similar results were obtained using peer and teacher ratings of levels of bully/victim problems. Furthermore, there were substantial reductions in students’ reports of participation in general antisocial behaviors such as vandalism, fighting, theft, and truancy. Improvements were also observed in the social climate of classrooms. Students reported better order and discipline at school, more positive social relationships, and more positive attitudes toward schoolwork and school. The effects of the program appeared to be cumulative: for some of the outcome variables studied, the program effects were more marked after 20 months than after 8 months of intervention. Finally, a “dosage-response” relationship was documented: those classrooms that had implemented certain essential components of the intervention program (including establishment of classroom rules against bullying and use of regular classroom meetings) showed larger reductions in bully/victim problems than those classrooms that implemented fewer components.

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The Bullying Prevention Program has revealed reductions in bullying behavior of typically 50 percent or more.
Evaluations of programs in the United States, England, Germany, and a subsequent study in Bergen, Norway, have produced somewhat more modest but still quite positive findings. For example, the U.S. study of middle school students revealed significant decreases in students' self-reports of bullying in the intervention schools compared to control schools. Moreover, the program appeared to slow the natural rate of increase in students' engagement in several other antisocial behaviors.
CHAPTER TWO
Program As Designed And Implemented
PROGRAM AS DESIGNED AND IMPLEMENTED

Goals and Measurable Objectives

The Bullying Prevention Program is a multilevel, multicomponent program designed to reduce and prevent bully/victim problems. The main arena of the program is the school, and the school staff are primarily responsible for introducing and implementing the program. However, involving students and parents as much as possible in certain program components is also very important. The main goals of the program are:

- to reduce, if not eliminate, existing bully/victim problems among elementary, middle, and junior high school children in and outside of the school setting;
- to prevent the development of new bully/victim problems; and
- to achieve better peer relations at school and create conditions that allow in particular, victims and bullies to get along and function better in and outside of the school setting.

The goals specified above may be summarized in one general statement: the school should be a safe and positive learning environment.

It should be emphasized that children’s targeted problem behaviors include “direct bullying,” that is relatively open (usually verbal or physical) attacks on the victim, and “indirect bullying,” which includes more subtle forms of bullying such as intentional exclusion from a group, slandering, spreading rumors, and the like. Indirect forms of bullying may be more difficult for adults to discover, but the Bully/Victim Questionnaire also is designed to help identify these types of behaviors (below).

Realization of the third goal will help victims feel more secure at school, more self-confident, and more liked and accepted by at least one or a few students. For bullies, it implies fewer aggressive reactions towards the environment and asserting themselves in more socially acceptable ways. In essence, bullies’ negative and hostile reactions are mitigated, while their positive behaviors are strengthened.

Although the third goal is focused primarily on improving victims’ and bullies’ situations, if achieved, it will also enhance the classroom and social climate. In addition, the learning environment for all students can be improved. Reducing bullying problems in school should also decrease levels of other antisocial behaviors, such as vandalism, truancy, and shoplifting, as research has documented a connection between bullying and problem behaviors in general.

The Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire may be used to evaluate the extent to which some of the goals of the program have been achieved. This requires that the Questionnaire be administered prior to the intervention efforts, and at least once at a later point in time (the second administration of the Questionnaire should be conducted at the same time of the year, one or two years after the first assessment).

Targeted Risk Factors and Population

Targeted Risk Factors

A large body of research supports the conclusion that antisocial behavior in children and youth is the result of a dynamic interaction between the individual and his or her social ecology—the family, peers, school, and community. Similarly, research that has focused specifically on bully/victim prob-
Bullying Prevention Program

problems indicates that there are individual, familial, peer, and school factors that place a youth at risk for engaging in bullying behavior or being bullied. Several of these factors are listed in Table 2.

Some of these risk factors, such as children’s personality characteristics (e.g., impulsiveness or low frustration tolerance) or positive attitudes towards violence, are more proximally related to being at risk for bully/victim problems, while others, such as parenting patterns, are more indirectly (distally) related.

The risk factors listed for “being bullied by peers” apply in particular to the most frequent category of victims, designated the passive or submissive victim. There is also another, much less prevalent category of victims (representing about 15-25 percent of the victims), referred to as provocative victims, who have somewhat different characteristics. Although these children are likely to display characteristics of the passive or submissive victims, they are also often hot-tempered, hyperactive, restless, generally offensive, and tension-creating. When these children are victimized, many students, if not the whole class, may be involved in the harassment. There is less research-based information available on this category of victims, but Bullying at School: What We Know and What We Can Do (Olweus, 1993a) provides more detailed information to help teachers and parents judge whether or not a child is likely to be involved in a bully/victim problem.

Table 2. Risk Factors for Bullying Peers and Being Bullied by Peers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bullying Peers</th>
<th>Being Bullied by Peers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>• impulsive, hot-headed, dominant personality lacking empathy</td>
<td>• cautious, sensitive, insecure personality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• difficulty conforming to rules and low frustration tolerance</td>
<td>• difficulty asserting themselves among peers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• positive attitudes toward violence</td>
<td>• physical weakness (boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• physical strength (boys)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• gradually decreasing interest in school (achievement)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>• lack of parental warmth and involvement</td>
<td>• over-protection by parents (possibly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• overly-permissive parenting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• harsh discipline/physical punishment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• lack of parental supervision</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer</td>
<td>• friends/peers with positive attitudes toward violence</td>
<td>• lack of close friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• exposure to models of bullying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>• lack of supervision during breaks</td>
<td>• presence of aggressive students in the same or slightly higher grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• indifferent or accepting teacher attitudes toward bullying</td>
<td>• lack of supervision during breaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• indifferent or accepting student attitudes toward bullying</td>
<td>• indifferent or accepting teacher attitudes toward bullying</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Targeted Population

The goals of the Bullying Prevention Program are to reduce existing bully/victim problems and to prevent new problems from developing. Accordingly, the program has both primary prevention (targeted to all students in the school) and secondary prevention (targeted to students at risk or identified as bullies or victims) components.

Many of the interventions used in the Bullying Prevention Program are directed at the total population of students in a school or particular classroom, not only at targeted, deviant or at-risk children. As a result, this universal orientation largely avoids problems of selecting students to participate in the program, as well as the possible stigmatization such involvement might cause. The program is designed not only to reduce and prevent undesirable behaviors and attitudes, but also to improve social relationships and enhance prosocial behavior. These characteristics of the Bullying Prevention Program are usually viewed as attractive by most school staff (and most parents). They are also likely to make schools more willing to “take ownership of the problems” and to recognize that it is primarily their responsibility to do something about them.

At the same time, it is obvious that certain youths (in particular, potential bullies) are more likely than others to become involved in bully/victim problems, and the program helps identify these children and develop individual interventions for them. In this way, the program is both individual- and environment- or systems-oriented by restructuring the social environment.

Research has documented that bully/victim problems are common among boys and girls in elementary, middle school, and junior high school grades. Bullying problems exist in cities and rural communities alike, as well as in diverse cultures and socioeconomic groups. The Bullying Prevention Program was originally designed for use with students in grades 1-9 in Bergen, Norway, the second largest city in the country, which has approximately 200,000 residents. Participants in the first evaluation of the program were in grades 4-7 (the equivalent of grades 5 through 8 in the U.S.), and approximately 3 percent had a non-white ethnic background.

Subsequently, the Bullying Prevention Program has been used in primary and lower secondary schools in a number of different countries, including Sweden, Finland, England, Germany, Holland, Canada, and the United States (although not all implementations of the program have been systematically evaluated in research). In those sites where the Bullying Prevention Program has been systematically evaluated, the targeted populations have included:

1. Students in 4th-6th grades (at the start of the project) who resided in rural and non-metropolitan communities in the southeastern United States. The ethnicity of the school districts were predominantly African American, and high percentages of students qualified for free or reduced lunches (a common measure of poverty).

2. Students from primary and secondary schools in Sheffield, England, a city of approximately 500,000 residents in central England. Participants were predominantly white, although several schools had approximately 40 percent non-white student bodies (primarily of Indian-Pakistani background).

3. Students from grades 3 - 9 in the state of Schleswig-Holstein in western Germany.
In sum, the Bullying Prevention program has been implemented in a variety of cultures as well as in metropolitan communities, smaller cities, and rural environments that serve children from a variety of ethnic groups and socioeconomic backgrounds.

If implemented properly, the Bullying Prevention Program will likely be effective with other populations, as well. Because the program addresses a problem that seems to be ubiquitous, because its goal is to make the school "a safer and nicer place," and because the orientation of the program is universal—aimed at the total population of students in a school or particular classroom—the program appears to be applicable to a wide variety of settings.

**Program As Designed**

**Core Program Elements**

**General Prerequisites: Awareness and Involvement**

As noted above, two general conditions are crucial in realizing the goals of the Bullying Prevention Program: (1) that the adults at school and, to some degree, at home become aware of the extent of bully/victim problems in their own school; and (2) that the adults engage themselves, with some degree of seriousness, in changing the situation.

Administration of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire is a simple and usually effective way of achieving awareness and active involvement on the part of adults. Through the survey, much relevant information will be made available and provides a good basis for systematic intervention efforts. Most teachers and principals will feel strongly inclined to initiate countermeasures when they learn about the number of students in their own school who are involved in bully/victim problems and how they are affected by them.

Emphasizing the necessity of adult participation in combating bullying is not meant to deny that student participation is also crucial. However, bully/victim problems may be both complex and difficult to remedy, and accordingly, they require adult participation, leadership, and guidance. To leave it to students to handle bullying problems alone, for example, through peer mediation or conflict resolution techniques, is definitely not advisable. Such an approach may, in fact, represent a disclaimer of adult responsibility and may give school staff the (falsely) reassuring feeling that the problem is being taken care of. It may be added that there is (at least to date) very little research evidence to suggest that peer mediation or conflict resolution programs have the intended effects.

Even worse, such programs may actually lead to undesirable results. Portraying bully/victim problems as conflicts, for example, is inappropriate, in that a conflict usually implies roughly equal "negotiation power" of the parties, that both are partly right and partly wrong, that both must adjust their positions, that a mediator should be impartial and not take sides with any of the parties, and so on. In actuality, bullying represents an abuse and violation of another person's rights, not a conflict. If mediation were to be used to solve a bully/victim problem, victims may be further humiliated and victimized. In addition, it may trivialize and distort how students, teachers, and parents perceive the problem (conflicts are ubiquitous and part of every day life). Thus, it is critical to avoid using strategies to try to solve bully/victim problems that are at odds with the general philosophy and principles underlying the program.
These arguments emphasize the fact that knowledge of appropriate countermeasures, (i.e., enhanced teacher and, to some extent, parent competence) is of major importance in obtaining good intervention results, as is adult awareness and involvement. These points are further underscored by the fact that there are a number of incorrect hypotheses (myths) regarding the causes and solutions to bully/victim problems.

As shown in the overview of the Bullying Prevention Program (Table 1), the component measures to combat bullying are implemented at the school, the classroom, and the individual levels. A brief presentation of the various program components utilized at each level is presented below.

School Level

**Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee.** An important step in preparing implementation of the Bullying Prevention Program is the formation of a small group or committee—a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee—which will coordinate all aspects of the school’s violence prevention efforts, including the Bullying Prevention Program. The committee must examine all elements of the school’s violence prevention efforts to ensure that they are not at variance with the general philosophy and the underlying principles of the Bullying Prevention Program. Moreover, it must monitor all violence prevention initiatives to ensure that they are being carried out in a manner which complements the activities of the Bullying Prevention Program.

Under most circumstances, members of the coordinating committee should include a school administrator (principal or assistant principal), a teacher representative from each grade, a guidance counselor, a school-based mental health professional/school psychologist, and parent and student representatives. If non-teaching staff are involved in supervising students during break periods, a representative of this group should also be included on the committee. Furthermore, one of the committee members should be appointed to serve as an on-site coordinator and liaison with the program consultant(s).

Establishing a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee will result in more effective implementation of the program, as well as provide continuity and persistence in the anti-bullying efforts. Also, strong support for the program by the principal (and other persons in important decision-making positions) will considerably increase the chances of success.

**Anonymous Questionnaire Survey.** A simple and usually effective way of increasing awareness and active involvement on the part of adults at school is to conduct an anonymous student survey, using the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire (revised version, Olweus, 1996). The Questionnaire is relatively short and can usually be administered in 25-45 minutes, depending on the age of the students. Optimally, it should be administered in late April or May, prior to the launching of the Bullying Prevention Program the following fall. This timing is ideal in that it allows children to reflect on bullying that may have occurred during the last several months (i.e., since winter break), and it permits enough time for school personnel to obtain summary results from the questionnaire prior to launching the program.
After presenting a simple definition of bullying, the Questionnaire asks a number of questions about various aspects of bullying. When the students’ responses have been processed, a great deal of information will be available including:

- number and percentage of students who report being bullied, and the frequency of the occurrences;
- number and percentage of students who report bullying other students, and the frequency of the occurrences;
- forms of bullying that occur;
- locations in which bullying occurs;
- some characteristics of the perpetrators, including their gender, grade, and number (i.e., whether they act alone or in groups);
- frequency with which teachers and parents have been made aware of the bullying;
- frequency with which teachers, peers, and parents have tried to stop the bullying.

It is important to summarize the information obtained in a clear and meaningful way and to communicate the findings to the school. Processing the Questionnaire information can be done simply through manual or machine tallying of the responses, but this approach may be both time consuming and frustrating. Therefore, a computer program has been developed compatible with a Windows95 or Windows98 PC to aid in the process. For each school, it produces a profile of key results, divided according to sex and grade level. It is expected that this data program will be commercially available in the latter half of 1999.

**School Conference Day.** When the responses to the Questionnaire have been processed, the findings should be presented at a half-day to day-long school conference on the Bullying Prevention Program. It is advantageous to convene the conference day in August or September, at the beginning of the fall semester. Participants should include the principal, assistant principal(s), the on-site coordinator, members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, and all other school personnel (including non-teaching staff). In addition, it is recommended that parent and student representatives also participate in the conference day.

The school conference day training should be led by a project consultant, with assistance from the on-site coordinator and members of the school’s Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee. The on-site coordinator and members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee will have acquired a more extensive knowledge of the program and its effects by reading *Bullying at School* and *How to Deal with Bullying at School: A Teacher’s Handbook* and by participating in a special one- to two-day training seminar led by program consultants prior to the school conference day.

In addition to raising awareness and creating involvement, an important objective of the school conference day is to create a long-term plan for the school’s implementation and realization of the Bullying Prevention Program. To make this plan concrete and detailed, planners should allow plenty of time for discussion.

It may also be beneficial to show the video, *Bullying* (South Carolina Educational Television, 1996), which is patterned after the original Norwegian video (1983) during the school conference (see section below on “Resources Necessary”). The video not only provides information regarding various forms of bullying among middle school children, but also elicits emotional, “gut feeling” reactions from the audience.
Small-group discussions of the scenarios from the video can also be helpful. Important questions to discuss may include: Could this happen at our school? If so, how should we increase the chances of discovering and solving a problem of this kind? What can we do to prevent the development and occurrence of such problems? The group discussions should be followed by a more general discussion in a plenary setting. The Teacher's Guide accompanying the Bullying video provides other practical suggestions about using the video for various purposes, including at inservice trainings.

Some schools may wish to arrange a shorter school-wide meeting rather than a whole-day conference. This may be acceptable, provided that it is not too short (no less than half a day) and that it still allows informal discussions and the development of an overall action-plan for the school. If the shorter initial meeting is adopted, it is important to also have follow up meetings with teachers for more in-depth discussions of the problem and the program.

In sum, the overall aims of the school conference are to provide knowledge and raise awareness about bully/victim problems (especially at one's own school), and to generate enthusiasm, collective commitment, and responsibility for the program.

**Improving Supervision and Outdoor Environment.** Our research has shown that most bullying occurs at school, rather than to and from school. More specifically, data from a number of studies (particularly from Europe) have indicated that the playground is the location where most students are bullied. In addition, we have found that there is less bullying at schools that have a relatively high “teacher/adult density” during breaks and lunch time. A considerable proportion of teachers, in particular from the junior high school level, also admit that the current system of supervision used in their schools is less than adequate.

Given these findings it is very important to have a sufficient number of adults (teachers or other adult lunch time or recess supervisors) monitoring and supervising students during breaks, and perhaps especially the lunch break when students are often left without any adult supervision. Schools must create a well-coordinated and effective plan for recess and lunch time supervision, which should include a system for exchange of information about bullying episodes and similar events occurring during break periods. For example, common logbooks can be used to note relevant episodes. If non-teaching staff are responsible for all or part of the supervision, their activities and observations should be well coordinated with that of teachers.

The mere presence of teachers and other adults during break periods is not enough. They must also be prepared to intervene quickly and decidedly in bullying situations, as well as situations where there is only a suspicion that bullying is taking place. To help teachers and other staff develop a better understanding of when it is appropriate to intervene, the Teacher's Handbook differentiates between characteristics of bullying and those of “rough-and-tumble play.” The Handbook also specifies various ways in which adults can react if they observe bullying or other undesirable behavior during the break periods.

Determined and consistent intervention by adults makes clear the attitude: *We don't accept bullying in our school*, and sends strong signals to both bullies and other students who might become involved in such activities. In addition, adult intervention helps protect victims.
As previously reported, a good deal of bullying is carried out by older students toward younger ones. Special arrangements in regard to time and space may help to prevent this dynamic. For example, younger and older students could have separate recess times or could be assigned different areas of the school playground.

Because bullying tends to occur more frequently in certain parts of the school, it is vital to target these areas. For example, restrooms are a risk area which should be given extra attention. The Questionnaire can provide important information about other possible “hot spots.”

An additional way to counteract bullying is to keep students from becoming bored during their break periods. This is because some youth use bullying as a means of making school life more exciting. Thus, school staff should make a detailed evaluation of the physical characteristics of the playground, as well as examine whether the break period routines keep various (sex, age, etc.) groups of students interested. In addition, providing a well equipped and attractive outdoor environment will further encourage students to engage in positive, rather than bullying activities.

**Meetings with Parents.** Close cooperation between school and home is clearly important if bully/victim problems are to be efficiently counteracted. Such cooperation can be fostered through meetings in which some or all parents at the school, are invited to participate or by holding meetings for all parents of children in a particular grade. Individual discussions and informal telephone contacts between teachers and parents are other possibilities. A Parent Information Pamphlet about bullying and the Bullying Prevention Program could also be mailed to parents to make them aware of school efforts to end bullying (an example of such a pamphlet is shown in Appendix B). It may also be appropriate for students to participate in some of these contacts between school and home, for example, the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee includes both parent and student representatives.

When conducting meetings with parents, the on-site coordinator or members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee should present at least the main findings from the Bully/Victim Questionnaire survey. In addition, one or more members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee should give an overview of the Bullying Prevention Program and results from earlier evaluations. The participants in the meeting should then be invited to discuss the school’s plan of action, as well as how parents can support the program, both in school and at home. Depending on the time available, parts or all of the video *Bullying* may be shown; if there is not enough time, the video may also be shown at subsequent classroom or grade level meetings with parents. Minutes of the meeting and information about the school’s plan of action should be mailed to all parents after the meeting.

Smaller, more personal meetings such as those conducted at the classroom or grade level can also allow parents the opportunity to discuss their particular children’s situations (see below). Parents are likely to feel more at ease and express themselves more freely in these less formal meetings.

**Classroom Level**

**Classroom Rules Against Bullying.** An important aid in counteracting bully/victim problems and creating a better social climate in the classroom is for teachers and students to agree on a few simple rules about bullying. Although there may already exist some general school rules or behavioral guidelines, it is of great importance to create a set of both direct and indirect rules, aimed specifically at bullying.
It is also very important to get the students involved in the discussions about classroom rules. In doing so, they are likely to experience greater personal responsibility for conforming to the rules, as well as holding others responsible to them. Classroom meetings (below) are a good forum for such discussions. Rules that are agreed upon by the class should be firmly and clearly stated and could be posted on the bulletin board or in another visible place.

The suggested set of rules presented below does not encompass all possibilities, but these have been found particularly useful. It is helpful for teachers to think about these rules and possible alternatives to them before they begin discussions with the class. Preparatory discussions may also be held at a staff meeting or with members of the Bullying Prevention Committee.

The following three rules are considered especially vital in preventing bully/victim problems:

1. We will not bully other students.
2. We will try to help students who are bullied.
3. We will make it a point to include ALL students who are easily left out.

These three rules target both direct (relatively open attacks on the victim) and indirect bullying (i.e., intentional exclusion from the peer group, talking behind others' backs, and spreading of malicious rumors).

Although it is often recommended that rules of conduct are given in a positive rather than a negative form—that is, with an emphasis on what can or should be done rather than on what should not be done—this is not always a feasible or desirable method of combating bullying (i.e., rule 1). Positive formulations regarding, for example, friendly and considerate behavior have too indirect a relationship with bullying behavior to achieve results. Instead one must clearly communicate that bullying is not acceptable behavior, and this is best done through the "negatively formulated" ground rule 1. However, the other two suggested rules do utilize positive formulations.

These three rules (or slight modifications of them) have typically been used in the Bullying Prevention Program. In light of the survey finding that many bullied children do not tell any adults, either at school or at home, about their situation, it may be appropriate to add a fourth rule (although it overlaps to some extent with rule 2):

4. When we know somebody is being bullied, we will tell a teacher and an adult at home.
   (It is important to emphasize that this rule applies also to victims of bullying.)

The kinds of behavior to which these rules refer must be made quite clear to the students. An effective way of doing so is to involve the students in classroom meetings (see below), which may use scenes from the video, literary descriptions, written essays or everyday experiences or observations of the students to discuss and define bullying behavior. Role playing is also an engaging and effective method for communicating many of the feelings and mechanisms involved in bully/victim problems. Through role playing, it is possible to explore and illustrate what more neutral students (and adults) can do to stop ongoing bullying and to counteract tendencies towards social exclusion. The Teacher Handbook gives practical examples of using role playing in anti-bullying work and the "Bullying Circle" (discussed earlier and shown in Figure 3) concept can also be used in these exercises and discussions.
By establishing and discussing the rules and their application to bully/victim problems, new classroom and school norms may gradually emerge, which will make it easier to put concrete bullying incidents into proper context. Detailed explanation of the rules may be especially important for the aggressive bullies, whom research has shown may not always be fully aware of the damage and suffering their behavior actually inflicts.

Discussions about the classroom rules, will also help the teacher modify the common notion among students that telling a teacher or a parent that they themselves or a fellow student are being bullied, is “tattling.” The message to convey should be that telling an adult is not tattling, and that students are showing compassion by taking the side of the weaker party in an unbalanced power relationship.

Generally, introduction of classroom rules and regular classroom meetings help to establish mechanisms or “structures” that can contribute to the prevention of bully/victim and similar problems. With these measures, all of the students in the classroom, rather than individual bullies or victims, constitute the target group. Moreover, by emphasizing the general aspects of bully/victim problems, bullying tendencies can be discovered and checked before they become systematic behaviors. These classroom measures also may be of great help in handling and solving specific bullying problems with identified victims and bullies. Measures at different levels of intervention are thus likely to support and mutually strengthen one another.

Positive and Negative Consequences. Establishing classroom rules against bullying also necessitates creating positive or negative consequences for following or violating rules. Much research has been conducted to examine how such consequences influence both individual and small group (i.e., the classroom unit) behavior. A general conclusion is that the best results are obtained through a combination of generous verbal praise or other reinforcements for positive activities and consistent negative consequences for aggressive, rule-breaking behavior. If a negative consequence is used, it is particularly important that the adult conveys what the desired alternative behavior is. Thus, if the student emulates these more positive behaviors, he or she is rewarded for doing so.

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It is also important for teachers to establish a positive, friendly, and trusting relationship with the class and its individual students. This is an essential general prerequisite to all “change activity,” and particularly for aggressive, acting-out students who often have had many negative experiences with adults. Teachers also should be aware of their own behaviors relating to the class and its students. In many ways and for many students, the teacher serves as a “model” whom they respect and try to emulate. Likewise, the students will not be loyal to the teacher or the classroom rules against bullying if the teacher is sarcastic, unfair, or abusive when interacting with individuals.

Only a few aspects of teachers’ behaviors are touched upon below, but Bullying at School and, in particular, the Teacher’s Handbook provide more discussion of this important topic.

Verbal praise and friendly attention from the teachers are important “social reinforcers,” and they can, if used systematically and appropriately, exert considerable positive influence on student behavior. Generous praise, both for students’ school work and their behavior towards others, can have favorable effects on the classroom climate. It is also easier for a student to accept criticism of undesirable behavior and to attempt to change it if he or she feels appreciated and relatively well liked. This may be especially true for students who bully others. It is easily overlooked or forgotten that students who are aggressive and difficult to deal with often do much that deserves praise.
The teacher can reward individual students, a group of students, or the entire class for positive, rule-following behavior such as:

- intervening when one or more students try to bully another;
- speaking out against malicious verbal harassment in class or during breaks;
- calling the teacher’s attention to an acute bullying situation;
- telling the teacher or a parent that the student himself or herself or another student is being bullied;
- initiating or participating in activities that involve all students without excluding anyone;
- taking initiative to include isolated students in common activities; and
- showing helpful and friendly behavior in general.

In addition, aggressive students and students who are easily influenced by others, in particular, should be praised for not reacting aggressively under conditions which normally provoke them, and for not participating in an acute bullying episode. However, in order to make aggressive students change their behaviors, it is usually not enough for the teacher (or other adults) to be benevolently understanding and dispensing of reinforcements. Both research and experience show that one must also apply some form of negative consequence for undesirable behavior.

Classroom discussions of rules against bullying can be used to determine which negative consequences may be appropriate for breaking a rule. It is essential for the teacher to involve students in these efforts so that they will view these negative consequences as more acceptable and fair. In addition, including students makes potential bullies aware that many of their peers actually hold negative attitudes to bullying behavior. Thus, students with such inclinations may feel considerable group pressure to comply with rules. The class discussions may also provide some support to students with a heightened probability of being victimized. Finally, they can contribute to an increased common understanding among the students that bullying behavior is not acceptable and will likely result in some negative consequence.

While preparing to discuss negative sanctions of students, the teacher may wish to consider the following:

- The negative consequence should cause some discomfort without being perceived as hostile, malicious, or unfair.
- The teacher should use negative consequences that are easy to administer.
- The choice of a negative consequence must to some extent be adapted to the age, sex, and personality of the student; what constitutes a disagreeable experience for one student might not be unpleasant for another.
- The teacher should search for appropriate “natural” consequences to the rule-violating behavior (e.g., a bullying student could pay for destroyed clothes with his or her own pocket-money).
- As much as possible, a distinction should be made between the person and the behavior; the negative consequence (for example, the verbal reprimand) should be directed against the unacceptable behavior, not the person. In addition, the teacher should clearly state in words what behavior he or she is reacting to.
- Extra assignments such as homework should not be used as a negative consequence.
Examples of possible negative consequences can be found in Bullying at School and in the Teacher’s Handbook.

Many characteristics of aggressive students point to the necessity of gradually teaching them to follow rules. First, such individuals are often impulsive and show little regard for others. Their family situation can be quite disorganized, so that when they break agreements and rules at home, parents seldom apply consistent negative sanctions. Growing up under such conditions and with this kind of personality, it is not surprising that aggressive students face large risks of later conflicts with the laws and rules of society. For these reasons, a consistently applied system of rules at school can be extremely helpful for aggressive students, by teaching them to respect others as well as the laws of society.

**Classroom Meetings.** Classroom meetings can provide a natural forum for teachers and students to develop and clarify rules against bullying and negative consequences for rule violations. The contents and structure of such meetings are somewhat dependent on the age and maturity of the students. However, much of the time in these meetings can be devoted to improving the social relations within the class and the school, including the interaction among students, as well as between students and adults.

To promote increased intimacy as well as eye-contact among the members of the group, the teacher and students can arrange their chairs in a circle or semicircle, with the teacher acting as the natural leader of the group. Classroom meetings should be held regularly, preferably once a week, near the end of the week (but usually not during the last hour of the week) so that the week’s events can be reviewed and discussed and possible plans be made for the following week.

It is important to allow plenty of time, particularly initially, for discussions of various aspects of bullying and related activities such as reviewing the video, Bullying, writing essays, and role playing. These exercises will keep students interested and aware of bully/victim problems, and may eventually affect changes in attitudes and behaviors. The Teacher’s Guide accompanying the video provides other specific suggestions for engaging students in classroom discussions and activities. This regular weekly review, which emphasizes whether or not the agreed-upon rules have been followed, can exert considerable group pressure on students to conform, particularly students with bullying tendencies. It is well known that social control of this kind, preferably exercised by both peers and adults, is often an effective method for influencing the behavior of aggressive, antisocial children.

Gradually, the focus of the classroom discussions can be shifted to other related topics of interest to the students. However, the issue of adherence to the agreed-upon rules against bullying and students’ satisfaction with school life must be discussed regularly. In this way, the classroom meeting can become an important instrument for the uncovering, monitoring, and regulation of the “inner life” of the class.

**Classroom-Level Meetings with Parents.** Bully/victim problems and development of a positive classroom climate are relevant topics for classroom- or grade level- meetings with parents. However, teachers should make parents aware that these discussions will be kept fairly general, with no personal identification of bullies or victims. Such a course of action will still allow thorough discussions of the particular classroom, grade-level, or school’s problems. Meetings can begin with an overview of the results from the Bully/Victim Questionnaire (for the school and the relevant grade level, but usually not for the indi-
vidual classroom in order to protect the children from being identified) and with the observations of the teacher. Another suitable starting point is showing the video Bullying.

Key questions to be discussed include the ways in which schools and parents, separately and in combination, can reduce and prevent the development of bully/victim problems. More specifically, how can the parents contribute to realizing the goals implied in the Bullying Prevention Program? And, what are the responsibilities of the school to the parents regarding these issues?

When holding both general meetings with parents and individual discussions with parents, it is important that the teacher display an attitude that encourages parents to discuss their children’s experiences at school. Even if their fears about their children being victimized or rejected are groundless, it is essential that parents feel free to discuss these worries. In the past, unfortunately, many parents whose children are actually bullied have been dismissed by the teacher when trying to find out about the child’s situation at school.

The responses from 1,000 parents in one of our studies reinforce the need for improved school/parent relations. The vast majority of parents expressed a strong desire to be informed by the school if their child was involved in bully/victim problems, even if the teacher merely suspected bullying was taking place. This finding stands in sharp contrast to the survey finding that parents of children who are bullied or who bully others know little about it. Thus, schools can help improve bully/victim problems merely by improving communication with parents. Several suggestions about how individual, or a series of, class meetings with parents can be organized and structured are given in the Teacher’s Handbook.

Individual Level

**Serious Talks With the Bully or Bullies.** If the teacher knows or strongly suspects that there is a bully/victim problem in the class, he or she should not delay in taking action. It is important to quickly initiate talks both with the possible bully or bullies, and with the possible victim.

The primary aim in dealing with bullies is simply to make them stop their behavior. In cases where two or more students participate in the bullying (the most common situation), it is advisable to talk to them separately, but in rapid succession. In this way, they will have less opportunity to discuss the matter amongst themselves and to plan a common strategy. To emphasize the seriousness of the situation, the teacher may want to have another adult—a teacher or the assistant principal, for example—present during the talks.

In addition to being fairly tough and self-confident, many bullies are adept at talking themselves out of tricky situations. Thus, teachers can expect the bullies to minimize their own contribution while exaggerating the roles played by others. The behavior of the victim will often be portrayed as aggressive, provocative, and dumb, and used as justification for the bullying they may “possibly” have participated in. To avoid being taken in by such strategies, the teacher should have collected reliable information from several sources about the bullies’ activities.

The talks with the bully/ies should include the following key elements:

- we know that you have participated in the bullying of X and this can be documented (at least to some degree);
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- a very clear and strong message: “we don’t accept bullying in our school/class and we will see to it that it comes to an end”;
- the future behavior of the bully/bullies will be closely monitored;
- (additional) negative consequences will be imposed if the bullying does not stop.

In addition, in the majority of cases, the bullies should be informed that their parents will be contacted.

After individual talks with all of the suspected bullies, it may be useful to assemble them as a group. Once again, they should be clearly informed that no further bullying will be tolerated and that sanctions will be imposed for any future misbehavior.

Having already implemented some of the measures previously discussed (e.g., classroom rules against bullying) will facilitate these meetings with bullying students. These measures constitute a background for the students’ understanding of the problems and can be used as “tools” for counteracting them. In addition to teacher observations of and individual talks with the bullies and victims, the class meeting provides an excellent means of ensuring that desired changes occur and are maintained.

Talks with the Victim. Talks with the victim, and usually with his or her parents, may serve several functions. First, they provide valuable detailed information (if not already available) about individual bullying episodes and various aspects of the bullying: How did the particular bullying episode start? What precisely happened? How did it end? Who participated and in what way? If the victim has kept a log of bullying episodes (perhaps with the assistance of parents), this information can be used to document what has occurred. These detailed reports, perhaps supplemented by observations from classmates, can also serve as important background material for future work with the problem.

A second function of talks with the victim is to provide the victim detailed information about the teacher’s plan of action: that he or she will immediately speak with the bully/ies to make clear that the bullying must stop immediately and that the matter will be closely monitored. In that context, it is extremely important to inform victims that every effort will be made to give them support and protection against further bullying. To achieve this goal, close cooperation and frequent exchange of information between the school and the student’s family are usually needed. A third function is to persuade the victimized student to immediately report any new bullying episodes or attempts to the teacher.

As a general background for these talks, it is important to remember that typical victims are anxious and insecure students who do not usually wish to be the focus of attention. They may be afraid of getting their tormentors into trouble by telling adults about their activities. Frequently, they have also been threatened with reprisals if they should tattle, and such threats undoubtedly cause many victims to decide to suffer quietly. For the same reasons, many victims plead with their parents not to contact the school. Doing what they think is best for the child, many parents comply with the child’s wishes and entreaties. Thus, it is extremely important for the victimized student to experience adults who are both willing and able to give him or her any needed help.

Involving the Parents. When the teacher has discovered that students in the class bully others or are being bullied, he or she should contact the parents concerned. Sometimes it is appropriate to arrange a meeting in which the victim, the bully/bullies, and their parents participate so that a thorough discussion of the situation and solution to the problem can be achieved. The teacher should try to
elicit some degree of cooperation from parents of the bully/ies and encourage them to exert influence over the child in an appropriate manner. Under favorable circumstances, relatively positive relationships between parents of the bully(ies) and those of the victim can develop. This may be an important step in solving the bullying problem. To minimize parents’ defensiveness about their child’s behavior and to help to increase the likelihood of their cooperation, it is important to focus upon instances in which their child has bullied other students rather than merely labeling their child as “a bully.” In this regard, it will be helpful to have obtained detailed information about specific instances of bullying.

In many cases, however, it is obvious even before a meeting takes place that there are tense and hostile relations between the families of the bullies and the victim. In such cases, it is helpful to meet with one family at a time before possibly getting them together. If the teacher believes a joint meeting will be difficult to handle, he or she might want to invite the school psychologist or a guidance counselor to attend.

**What Can the Parents of the Bully Do?** Even though it is primarily the school’s responsibility to solve bully/victim problems, parents can do a great deal to improve the situation. Moreover, many parents will be motivated to cooperate with the school when they realize that their bullying child is at increased risk of engaging in other forms of antisocial behavior, such as juvenile delinquency/criminality and alcohol abuse.

Suggestions of what the parents of a bully can do include the following:

- Make clear to their child that they take the bullying seriously, and that they will not tolerate any such behavior in the future. If both the school and the parents give consistently negative reactions to the child’s bullying, the chances that the child will change his or her behavior are considerably increased. The issue should be followed up for some time through questioning the child and intermittently contacting the school.

- Develop a simple system of family rules. Frequent praise and reinforcement for rule-following behavior and consistent use of non-hostile, negative consequences for violations of the rules should be utilized.

- Spend more time with the child and better monitor the child’s activities. Find out who the child’s friends are, where they spend their leisure time, and what activities the children usually engage in. Is the child in “bad company”?

- Build on the child’s talents or resources and help him or her develop less aggressive and more appropriate reaction patterns.

**What Can the Parents of the Victim Do?** The most important means of improving the situation of bullied students is to make the bullying stop. As mentioned, the main responsibility for achieving this goal lies with the school, but it is important that the parents of the victim collaborate with the school in realizing the agreed-upon plan for solving the problem. A successful conclusion will make life much easier and enjoyable for these students and will foster the child’s development.
Parents of a victimized child are encouraged to try some or all of the following strategies:

- Systematically search for talents or positive attributes that can be developed; doing so may help the child better assert himself or herself in the peer group at school.
- Stimulate the child to meet new peers. A new environment can provide a "new chance" for the victimized student as he or she will not be subjected to the fixed negative conceptions of his or her "value" that other classmates have.
- Encourage the child to make contact with calm and friendly student(s) in the class (or in some other class). Such action may require some assistance on the part of the parents, or perhaps a school mental health professional, in developing the child's skills at initiating contact and maintaining a friendship relationship. It may also require much support and encouragement, because the child, due to earlier failures, will tend to give up in the face of even slight adversities.
- Motivate the victimized child to participate in physical training or sports, even if there is only a hint of interest in such activities. This is particularly important if the victim is a boy. Such physical exercise can result in better physical coordination and less body anxiety, which, in turn, is likely to increase self-confidence and improve peer relationships.

The above suggestions are applicable to both passive/submissive and provocative victims. For the latter, however, the victim's own behavior is likely to contribute to the bullying. In such cases, an important task for the parents (and the teachers) is to carefully but firmly help the child find reaction patterns that will irritate people in his or her environment to a lesser degree. In addition, the provocative victims should try to improve their social skills and acquire a better understanding of the informal social rules of the peer group.

The provocative victims, however, often have a quick temper and, like the bullies, may have problems submitting to a set of rules. Accordingly, it may also be appropriate to use some of the measures discussed for changing the behavior of a bully. If there are components of hyperactivity in the provocative victim, additional help from a child psychologist or psychiatrist with special expertise in this area may be necessary.

*Teacher and Parent Use of Imagination.* Both teachers and parents can use their knowledge of the child to help a bullied or bullying student find new and more appropriate reaction patterns. The general directions in which such efforts should be directed have been indicated in the last two sections.

**Adaptive Features**

The "core" program components listed in Table 1 are considered, on the basis of statistical analyses and our experience with the program, to be particularly important for obtaining good results. They should be included in any implementation of the Bullying Prevention Program. The "highly desirable" components are slightly less important, but their inclusion can nonetheless greatly increase the chances of success. Accordingly, these components should be included in most implementations of the program, and especially when emphasis is placed on the prevention of future bullying problems.

*Bullying at School* describes additional program components such as contact telephone, cooperative learning, and parent circles. Although not core components, these additional things can be easily combined with the key program components and would enhance the likelihood of success.
Future statistical analyses and practical experiences with the program in different contexts may result in additions or modifications of the core components. For example, a recent (Olweus, 1999, below) partial replication project in Bergen, explored a new model for the transmission of knowledge about the Bullying Prevention program and its implementation. In 14 elementary and junior high schools, teacher discussion groups (each group typically consisting of 6 to 12 teachers) convened regularly for one and a half hour sessions every second or third week, and were led by a program consultant and (in a secondary role) a school mental health professional (usually a school psychologist). For the first 6-7 sessions, the basic elements of the program were presented by the program consultant and were thoroughly discussed by the group members. The model entails continuing these meetings in the next academic year, focusing particularly on any implementation problems which may arise.

These teacher discussion groups are fairly similar to the “teacher groups for the development of the social milieu of the school” discussed under “Measures at the school level” in Bullying at School (pp. 77-79). However, until now, such groups have not been included as part of a systematic empirical project. Detailed evaluation of this organizational model (as used so far) by the participating teachers and the group leaders has clearly indicated that these groups can be an efficient device for increasing teachers’ knowledge about the various intervention components and their general competence and confidence in delivering the program. Ideally, the teacher discussion groups should help secure greater fidelity of program implementation. Since there is a close link between intervention results and implementation fidelity (adherence to the program protocol), it is natural to regard establishment of such groups as a “core component” of the program. In new applications, there is no requirement that there should be two group leaders, and the leadership role of the program consultant can be taken over by a trained school mental health professional and/or member of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee.

Planning and Implementation

Needs Assessment

A large body of research has shown that bully/victim problems are quite prevalent in most Western countries, including the United States. Although the level of problems may vary considerably among schools, and even within the same community, there do not appear to be any schools that are “bully proof.” Anytime students are together, especially when they cannot choose the members of the group, and when no adult is present (or an adult with indifferent or accepting attitudes to bullying is present), they may exhibit tendencies towards bullying. Among school staff, there is often a good deal of disagreement about the level and seriousness of the problems characterizing their own school.

To obtain more solid and reliable information as a basis for decision-making and possible action, it is useful to conduct an anonymous student survey with the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire. As described earlier, the survey provides important information regarding various aspects of bully/victim problems in the individual school. Such knowledge will serve as a good starting point for discussions about the problem and will typically create involvement and willingness on the part of many adults to take action. The survey information can also be used to plan possible interventions.

In order to be better informed of changes in the level of bully/victim problems at a certain grade level, school, or classroom, a much shorter (anonymous) questionnaire can be administered once or
Bullying Prevention Program

twice per semester. This mini-questionnaire, which preferably should be administered on a Friday afternoon, contains questions about the frequency of various forms of bullying that the student has been exposed to in the past week. The students' responses can be easily processed through manual tallying (or some other simple device), and these data will help shape teachers' continued anti-bullying work with students: To avoid embarrassment or other unwanted effects, it is important to use discretion in using the information so that the responses of individual students are not disclosed.

Active involvement on the part of adults at school is considered an important prerequisite to successful intervention results. As a result, the Bullying Prevention Program should be used primarily in schools where such involvement is already present or has been generated from the student survey. Although schools have a basic responsibility for providing a safe environment for their students, a realistic premise is that not all school staff are equally motivated to work with bully/victim and related problems. However, since teachers are instrumental in implementing the Bullying Prevention program, it is essential that a substantial portion of the teaching staff are enthusiastic about and committed to the program. As previously stated, principal support for the program is also an important prerequisite.

Unless the principal and a substantial portion of the staff feel some degree of involvement and commitment to the program, relatively little change is likely to occur for the school as a whole, even if the program is "formally implemented." Since a major goal of the program is to restructure the social environment of the school, half-hearted initiatives should be avoided, both for the school's sake and to avoid discrediting the program with a lack of noticeable results. In summary, before attempting to implement the Bullying Prevention Program, the school should make sure that both the principal and staff are reasonably highly motivated and committed.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that several schools, which implemented the program in the face of staff hesitation or indifference have noted that this indifference has been transformed gradually into enthusiasm and strong support. In a similar vein, it is clear that individual teachers who are highly motivated can successfully utilize parts of the Bullying Prevention Program in their own classrooms, even if there is relatively little support from the principal and/or most colleagues; however, in such situations the effects that can be achieved at the school level will obviously be much more limited.

Sequence of Intervention Activities

Important elements of the initial phase of the program include:

- establishing a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee and selecting an on-site coordinator (who also should be a member of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee);
- conducting an anonymous student survey with the Bully/Victim Questionnaire;
- holding a one-day training with members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee to discuss the nature and prevalence of bullying, the elements of the bullying program, and initial steps to be undertaken such as organizing teacher discussion groups and planning a (relatively) fixed schedule of meetings;
- arranging a one-half to one day training with all teachers and other staff at a school (including members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee). During the
school training day, results of the Bully/Victim survey will be presented, and elements of the Bullying Prevention Program and the overall plan for its implementation at the school will be discussed in detail with staff.

An optimal timeline for these initial activities is provided in Table 3. It should be noted that this timeline assumes that the program will be launched at the beginning of the fall semester. Less optimally, the program could be launched just after winter break, with the questionnaire administered the previous November, and trainings held just after winter break.

Table 3. Optimal Timeline for Initial Intervention Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Dates</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>Select members for the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>Select an on-site coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April/May</td>
<td>Administer the Bully/Victim Questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August/September (prior to the start of school, if possible)</td>
<td>Hold a one- to two-day training with members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee and other core school personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August/September</td>
<td>School conference day—training with all school staff (one-half day to one full day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning of the Fall semester, following the school conference day</td>
<td>Launch other elements of the school-wide project (e.g., establish class rules against bullying, begin classroom meetings, increase supervision, initiate individual interventions with students, initiate teacher discussion groups)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Introduction of the additional intervention activities (e.g., showing the video, discussing the nature of bullying and its behaviors, classroom activities such as classroom rules and classroom meetings, interventions with individual students, review and coordination of the supervisory system, and parent meetings) will follow a natural progression. It is important that strategies such as classroom meetings are introduced as early as possible to help structure the classroom activities for the rest of the school year. Similarly, scheduling teacher discussion groups should be done early (preferably before start of the school year), given the difficulty in making changes once a weekly schedule has been fixed.

**Resources Necessary**

The following is a list of mandatory and optional resources important for program implementation. See Appendix C for information on ordering the materials described below.

**Mandatory Program Materials.**

- *Bullying at School: What we Know and What We Can Do* (Olweus, 1993a). This book gives an overview of the research-based knowledge about bully/victim problems, describes the key elements of the Bullying Prevention Program, and provides practical advice to school personnel and parents on implementing the program.
How to Deal with Bullying at School. A Teacher’s Handbook (Olweus, forthcoming). This teacher handbook focuses on the key elements of the intervention program and their implementation. It provides more detailed, practical information and advice than Bullying at School.

The Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire (Olweus, 1996). There are two versions of this Questionnaire, one designed for younger students (typically in grades 2/3 through 5) and another version for older students (grades 6 through 10 and higher). The two versions contain basically the same questions, but in the Junior version, much of the text is located in a Teacher/Administrator form, as reading all questions and instructions aloud will facilitate responding for the younger students. The Questionnaire can be administered by a teacher, and is anonymous. Depending on the age of the students, it will take between 25 and 45 minutes to complete.

A computer (PC) program (to be used with Windows 95 or Windows 98) for evaluating results from the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire. The program produces a profile of key results for each individual school.

Bullying (South Carolina Educational Television, 1996). This 11-minute video presents four vignettes of middle school children involved in typical bullying situations and is appropriate for older elementary and middle school children. The accompanying teacher guide provides suggestions for classroom discussion, role playing, and other classroom activities pertaining to the video.

An informational pamphlet for parents. This brief pamphlet provides basic information to parents regarding the nature and prevalence of bullying, warning signs of bullying/victimization, an introduction to and overview of the Bullying Prevention Program, and school contact names and numbers (see Appendix B).

Optional Program Materials

Supplemental lesson plans for the Bullying Prevention Program. This booklet contains suggestions for seven additional lesson plans, appropriate for older elementary school students and middle school students. Lessons focus on involving students in planning school-wide anti-bullying efforts and helping children to develop appropriate strategies of response if they are victims of or witnesses to bullying.

Staffing and Program Oversight

The planning and coordination of the Bullying Prevention Program efforts will be carried out by each school’s Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee and, in most cases, an on-site program coordinator, who also is a member of the Coordinating Committee. As discussed previously, the role of the committee is to plan and coordinate all aspects of the school’s violence prevention efforts, including the components of the Bullying Prevention Program. Specifically, committee members are responsible for ensuring that:

- the school implement all program interventions in a thorough and timely manner;
- school staff, students, and parents are familiar with and actively engaged in activities surrounding the Bullying Prevention Program; and
- all violence prevention efforts at the school are consistent with the principles of the Bullying Prevention Program.
In addition, the committee is responsible for obtaining input and feedback about the program from other staff members, parents, and students.

It is recommended that the committee meet at least once per month, although more frequent meetings likely will be necessary at the beginning of the program. In addition, as will be discussed below, committee members are required to participate in an initial intensive training about the Bullying Prevention Program. All sites are encouraged to compensate members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committees and leaders of discussion groups either monetarily or in other ways for their efforts.

Given the demands of coordinating a comprehensive violence prevention program, sites with three or more schools should employ at least a part-time on-site program coordinator. It is strongly recommended that sites with fewer than three schools also designate a half-time on-site coordinator, who is compensated for his or her work. The role of the program coordinator is to:

- coordinate the administration of the Bully/Victim Questionnaire;
- collate results of Bully/Victim Questionnaire (with assistance of consultants and the software provided);
- order/maintain a library of necessary and optional program materials;
- schedule and participate in regular meetings of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee and keep minutes for each meeting;
- schedule and assist with planning of the staff trainings;
- assist teachers with in-class meetings, as appropriate;
- possibly serve as a group leader for teacher discussion groups; and
- with other members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, plan and oversee all project interventions.

In sites that do not employ a program coordinator, these duties must be assumed by members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee.

Training of Staff

All members of the Coordinating Committee and the coordinator should receive an initial one- or two-day training. The training will prepare members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee to lead teacher discussion groups at their own schools.

The natural and logical program providers are the regular classroom teachers. It is necessary that they are well informed of the program, its components, and its implementation in classrooms and break periods. It is important that non-teaching staff such as cafeteria workers, bus drivers and lunchtime/break time supervisors also become well informed of and integrated in the school’s efforts to deal with bully/victim problems. Both teachers and non-teaching staff will participate in a one-half to one-day in-service meeting to acquire deeper understanding of the program. This training is led by Program consultants and members of the school’s Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee. Yearly booster training sessions will also be conducted for all members of the school staff.

The establishment of one or more teacher discussion groups at each school is an important means of enhancing teacher competence and maintaining high motivation. The groups, typically consisting of 6 to 12 teachers, should be based on some natural groupings within the school, such as grade level
teams. They should meet regularly for 1.5 hours on a fixed day and time, for example every other week (resulting in 12-16 meetings during a school year; after the first year, the density of the meetings can probably be reduced by 50 percent). Such groups should be used to review and discuss the core elements of the program on the basis of information in the book, *Bullying at School* and the *Teacher Handbook*, share experiences in implementing the program, and coordinate activities. (Even better, some of the group meetings could be held on one or more planning days in advance of the school term, so that teachers can initiate intervention activities early in the term).

The core persons at the school (e.g., members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, teacher representatives from each grade level, school-based mental health professional, and/or the on-site coordinator), who have acquired extra knowledge through the training, could serve as group leaders. If there are several such groups at a school, there should be a few larger meetings where the individual groups could exchange information and coordinate their efforts. Furthermore, it would be useful for the leaders of the groups to regularly meet with the on-site coordinator and/or the mental health professional to discuss possible problems of implementation and coordination.

Although they are not staff members, parents can also play an important role in counteracting bully/victim problems. Parent meetings (e.g., PTA meetings) can be used to increase parents’ knowledge of bullying and encourage parents to influence their children’s prosocial behavior. Schools can also foster parent involvement by creating volunteer study groups within PTA associations (parent circles) for parents who want to learn more about bully/victim problems.

**Commitment of Staff Time**

Although the time that school personnel commit to the Bullying Prevention Program will likely vary from school to school, the following may serve as general guides.

**All Staff**

All school staff (teaching and non-teaching staff) are expected to participate in a one-half to one-day training (school conference day) about the Bullying Prevention Program, read *Bullying At School: What We Know and What We Can Do*, and participate in other aspects of the Bullying Prevention Program (e.g., assisting with increased supervision of students on the playground, participation in parent meetings about the program) as determined by school administrators.

**Teaching Staff**

In addition to participating in the above activities, teaching staff are expected to read and thoroughly familiarize themselves with the *Teacher Handbook* and *Bullying at School*. They also must commit the time necessary to prepare for and hold brief (i.e., 20- to 40-minute) classroom meetings each week with students and participate in 12-16 90-minute teacher discussion groups during the first year of the project. The time needed to prepare for classroom meetings likely will diminish after the first several months of the school year, as teachers become more familiar with the program content and comfortable with the format of classroom meetings.
Members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee

In addition to committing time to the activities described above, members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee will participate in a one- to two-day training session with program consultants prior to the start of the project and meet approximately once per month (for 1-2 hours) with the on-site coordinator to ensure the coordination of the school’s violence prevention efforts.

Leaders of Teacher Discussion Groups

As noted above, several core staff members (e.g., members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, teacher representatives from each grade level, school-based mental health professionals, and the on-site coordinator) could be selected to serve as leaders of the teacher discussion groups. These individuals will gain additional knowledge about the program by participating in a one- to two-day training session with program consultants prior to the start of the project. In addition, they will need to commit the time necessary to prepare to lead 12-16 meetings with their colleagues throughout the school year.

On-site Coordinator

As noted above, depending upon the size of the site that is implementing the Bullying Prevention Program, it is recommended that a half-time or full-time on-site coordinator be appointed to coordinate all aspects of the school’s Bullying Prevention Program.

Monitoring Implementation and Treatment Integrity

The quality of program implementation is strongly related to program success. Teachers and schools that have implemented more of the core components of the program have clearly achieved better results. Monitoring treatment implementation is therefore crucial to the success of the Bullying Prevention Program.

Slightly different forms and checklists have been used in different projects to monitor implementation. A recommended checklist for teachers is currently being developed. The teacher checklist should be used once each term. In addition to providing a measure of what has been done, the checklist will encourage teachers to introduce essential program components relatively quickly. Generally, teachers should try to introduce most of these components at least three to four months after the start of the program. Questions relating to use of the program as perceived by the students may also be included in the Bully/Victim Questionnaire (e.g., in follow up surveys).
EVALUATION

The first evaluation of the Bullying Prevention Program was conducted between 1983 and 1985 with schools in Bergen, Norway. Results from this study will be discussed below and are summarized in Table 3. In addition to this initial large-scale study, several investigators have evaluated the effectiveness of program replications in southeastern United States; Sheffield, England; Schleswig-Holstein, Germany; and in a new project in Bergen, Norway. Results from these program replications are discussed in some detail in Chapter Four and are summarized in Table 3.

Participants

Participants included 2,500 boys and girls from 42 elementary and junior high schools in Bergen, Norway. On the first measurement occasion, in May 1983, these students were enrolled in 112 classes in grades 4 through 7 (the equivalent of grades 5 through 8 in the U.S.). Although the target population comprised schools only in the town community of Bergen (the second largest town community in Norway, with 200,000 inhabitants), there are empirical grounds for assuming that the level of bully/victim problems in Bergen are roughly representative of other town communities in Norway (the total population of Norway comprises 4.3 million inhabitants). Only a small proportion of the sample, less than 3 percent, had a non-white ethnic background.

Design

As noted previously, the Bullying Prevention Program was developed and implemented in connection with a national campaign to reduce bullying in schools in Norway. Since the campaign was nation-wide, it was not possible to use an experimental design with random allocation of schools (or classes) to treatment conditions. Thus, a quasi-experimental design (usually called an age-cohort or selection-cohort design) was chosen, in which four adjacent cohorts of students were followed over two and a half years, and between 500 and 700 students formed each cohort. Students were tested in May, 1983 (Time 1), approximately four months prior to the implementation of the Bullying Prevention Program. Follow-up tests were given in May, 1984 (Time 2) and May, 1985 (Time 3), after students had experienced 8 months and 20 months of the program.

To evaluate possible effects of the intervention program while taking developmental (age-related) changes in bully/victim problems into account, age/grade-equivalent groups of students were compared (for example, the results for the grade 4 students at Time 2, when they had been exposed to the program for 8 months, were compared with the results for the grade-5 students at Time 1). Possible differences in such comparisons can be taken as an indication of the effects of the program, provided that alternative explanations (such as effects of under-reporting, of repeated measurements, "history" effects, and general time trends) can be ruled out. Comparisons of data collected at Time 1 and Time 3 permit an assessment of the persistence or possible decline or enhancement of the effects over a longer time-span. Generally, this age-cohort design with adjacent cohorts is fairly strong as several of the cohorts serve both as intervention and control/base line groups (in different comparisons).

Measures

In order to evaluate the program's effects, several measures were used at all three time points, including: (a) an extended version of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire, including questions regarding the frequency with which students had been bullied and bullied other students during the
Bullying Prevention Program

semester (the five month period from Christmas vacation up to time of testing), students’ attitudes towards bullying, and teacher responses to bullying incidents; (b) the Bully/Victim Questionnaire also contained two questions which, in classroom-aggregated form, could be used as peer rating variables about the level of bully/victim problems in the classroom; (c) a 23-item self-report questionnaire about students’ participation in various antisocial behaviors (both at school and outside of school; see Olweus, 1989); (d) a four-dimensional measure of classroom climate; and (e) teacher ratings of the level of bully/victim problems in the class. The Bully/Victim Questionnaire provided students with a detailed but easily understood definition of bullying so as to avoid idiosyncratic interpretations of the concept. Moreover, both the Bully/Victim Questionnaire and the questionnaire on antisocial behavior provided a clear time frame for students (e.g., “How often have you been bullied since Christmas?”).

Findings

The main findings of the analyses are summarized as follows:

- There were substantial reductions—by 50 percent or more in most comparisons—in the students’ reports of bullying and victimization. Generally, reductions of this magnitude were observed for both boys and girls and for students across all grades surveyed.
- For some of the variables studied, the effects of the program were stronger after 20 months than 8 months.
- There was a marked reduction in general antisocial behavior such as vandalism, fighting, theft, alcohol use, and truancy.
- Significant improvements were observed with respect to the “social climate” of the classroom, as reflected in students’ reports of improved order and discipline, more positive social relationships, and a more positive attitude toward schoolwork and school. At the same time, there was an increase in student satisfaction with school life.
- The program not only reduced the prevalence of existing victimization problems, but also the number and percentage of new victims of bullying. The program had thus both primary and secondary prevention effects.
- Largely parallel results were obtained regarding the level of bully/victim problems using the two peer rating variables and teacher ratings at the classroom level; however, the teacher data produced somewhat weaker effects.

In the majority of comparisons for which reductions were reported, the differences between baseline/control and intervention groups were statistically significant or highly significant. Detailed analyses of the data and the possibility of alternative interpretations of the findings led to the following conclusions: it is very difficult to explain the results obtained as a consequence of (a) under-reporting by the students; (b) repeated measurement; and (c) concomitant changes in other factors, including general time trends.

In addition, a clear dosage-response relationship has been established in empirical analyses at the classroom level (the natural unit of analysis in this case). The classes that showed the largest reductions in bully/victim problems had implemented essential components of the intervention program (including establishment of class rules against bullying and use of regular class meetings) to a greater
extent than other classes. This finding provides corroborating evidence that the changes observed were due to the intervention program.

In summary, it was concluded that the reported changes in bully/victim problems and related behavior patterns were primarily a consequence of the intervention program, and not of some other "irrelevant" factor. The importance of the results is accentuated by the fact that there has occurred a highly disturbing increase in the prevalence of violence and other antisocial behavior in most industrialized societies in the last decades. In the Scandinavian countries, for instance, various forms of registered criminality have typically increased by 300-600 percent since the 1950's or 1960's. Similar changes have occurred in most Western industrialized societies.

Approaches with similar components have demonstrated similar outcomes. These studies in the Southeastern United States; Sheffield, England; Schleswig-Holstein, Germany; and Bergen, Norway (new project) will be discussed in Chapter 4 (Program Replication).
## Table 3. Evaluation Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Design</th>
<th>Length of Follow-up</th>
<th>Major Findings</th>
<th>Citation(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bergen, Norway</td>
<td>• 2,500 boys and girls • grades 4-7 (equiv. of grades 5-8 in the U.S. and present-day Norway; modal ages 11-14 years) at pretest</td>
<td>Quasi-experimental (age-cohorts design with adjacent cohorts; age-equivalent cohorts compared)</td>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>- reduction in self-reported bullying&lt;br&gt;- reduction in self-reported victimization&lt;br&gt;- reduction in peer and teacher ratings of bullying and victimization&lt;br&gt;- reduction in self-reported antisocial behavior&lt;br&gt;- increase in student satisfaction with school</td>
<td>Olweus, 1991, Olweus, 1993a, Olweus, 1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>• 6,388 boys and girls • 4th-6th graders (modal ages 10-12 years) at pretest</td>
<td>Experimental (nonrandom assignment of matched pairs of school districts; 11 intervention schools and 28 control schools during first project year)</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>- relative reduction in self-reported bullying for students in intervention (Group A) schools&lt;br&gt;- relative reductions in self-reported delinquency, vandalism, school misbehavior, and punishment for school-related misbehavior for Group A schools</td>
<td>Melton et al., 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheffield, England</td>
<td>• 6,468 boys and girls • modal ages 8-16 years at pretest • 16 primary and 7 secondary schools</td>
<td>Quasi-experimental (age-cohorts design with adjacent cohorts; schools with age-equivalent subject groups compared)</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>- reduction in self-reported victimization among students in primary schools&lt;br&gt;- decrease in self-reported bullying among students in primary and secondary schools&lt;br&gt;- increase in frequency with which students told teachers about having been bullied&lt;br&gt;- increases in frequency with which bullies reported that teachers had talked with them about their behavior&lt;br&gt;- increases in frequency with which students reported spending break time alone</td>
<td>Whitney et al., 1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schleswig-Holstein, Germany</td>
<td>• approximately 6,400 boys and girls • 3rd-9th grade (modal ages 8-16 years) at pretest • 37 schools</td>
<td>Quasi-experimental (age-cohorts design with adjacent cohorts; schools with age-equivalent subject groups compared)</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>- decreases in the frequency with which students reported being bullied&lt;br&gt;- decreases in the frequency with which students reported bullying peers</td>
<td>Hanewinkel &amp; Knaack, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergen, Norway</td>
<td>• 3,200 boys and girls • grades 5, 6, 7, 9 (modal ages 11-13 years, 15 years) • 30 schools</td>
<td>Quasi-experimental (age-cohorts design: age-equivalent groups compared) Experimental (nonrandom assignment of schools; 14 intervention schools and 16 comparison schools)</td>
<td>5-6 months</td>
<td>- reduction in self-reported bullying in intervention schools&lt;br&gt;- reduction in self-reported victimization in intervention schools&lt;br&gt;- increase in self-reported bullying in comparison schools&lt;br&gt;- no change in self-reported victimization in comparison schools</td>
<td>Olweus, 1999</td>
</tr>
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PROGRAM REPLICATION

Overview

The Bullying Prevention Program has been replicated by several different investigators using diverse populations. The following includes summaries of known replications of the program with school children in three different populations across the globe: (1) students from nonmetropolitan communities in the Southeastern United States, (2) students from Sheffield, England; (3) students from Schleswig-Holstein, Germany; and (4) students from Bergen, Norway (new project).

Program Replication in the Southeastern United States

The Institute for Families in Society at the University of South Carolina was awarded funding for three years by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to implement and evaluate the Bullying Prevention Program in schools in nonmetropolitan communities in South Carolina (Melton et al., 1998).

Target Population

Participants were approximately 6,388 students who were in grades four through six at the start of the project (in March, 1995). The students, who were followed over a period of two years, attended 39 schools in six school districts in nonmetropolitan counties in South Carolina. The percentage of students qualifying for free or reduced lunches (a frequently-used measure of poverty) was high, ranging from 47 percent to 91 percent. Ethnicity of the school districts was predominantly African American (46 percent to 95 percent), with white students representing 4 percent to 53 percent of the districts’ student populations.

Program Description

The goals and general approach of the South Carolina program were quite similar to the Norwegian model. It included implementing core interventions at the school, class, and individual levels. However, in order to meet the perceived needs of this American, nonmetropolitan, middle school population, certain additions and modifications were made to the original Norwegian model, including:

- School-wide events to launch the program, including school assemblies and student-produced news programs (on closed-circuit television) about the program.
- Development of school-wide (as opposed to classroom) rules against bullying.
- A number of schools involved school-based mental health professionals to assist with the implementation of the school-wide program and the development of individual interventions with bullies and victims.
- Ongoing (i.e., weekly or bi-weekly) consultation between project staff and school programs. After providing intensive consultation during the first two months of the project (i.e., holding introductory meetings with school administrators, assisting with initial staff inservices, and facilitating early meetings with members of coordinating committees), consultants typically spent several hours per week at each school throughout the remainder of the school year (meeting with teachers, school-based mental health professionals, and administrators; and assisting with the development of community activities).

Adaptions of several materials used in the Norwegian program (e.g., an American adaptation of Olweus' video on "Bullying," informational pamphlets for parents, etc.).

The development of additional materials for teachers and other school staff to provide ideas for classroom activities (e.g., teacher guide books and reference materials on bullying) and disseminating creative school-wide activities across sites (e.g., a newsletter for teachers).

The involvement of community members in anti-bullying efforts. These interventions varied from community to community but typically included efforts to: (a) inform a wide range of residents in the local community of the program (e.g., convening meetings with leaders of the community to discuss the school's program and problems associated with bullying, encouraging local media coverage of the school's efforts, engaging students in efforts to discuss their school's program with informal leaders of the community and so on); (b) engage community members in the school's anti-bullying activities (e.g., soliciting material assistance from local businesses to support aspects of the program, and involving community members in school district-wide "Bully-Free Day" events); and (c) engage community members, students, and school personnel in anti-bullying efforts within the community (e.g., introducing core program elements into summer church school classes).

Summary of Supportive Materials

Project staff provided each participating school with various materials in addition to the core materials included in the original Bullying Prevention Program (the book, Bullying At School: What We Know and What We Can Do and the English version of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire). The surveys also included a number of questions regarding antisocial behaviors such as shoplifting, vandalism, school misbehavior, and substance abuse. The questions on antisocial behavior are derived from the Bergen Questionnaire on Antisocial Behavior (Olweus, 1989). Additional supportive materials, most of which were developed by project staff, are listed below:

- An educational videotape entitled, Bullying (South Carolina Educational Television, 1996), and the accompanying Teacher's Guide.
- Two supplementary teacher's guides which provide suggestions for numerous classroom and community-based activities to engage children in efforts to reduce bullying and related antisocial behaviors.
- A Resource Guide of books, videos, and other resources on bullying, which included an annotated bibliography of several hundred resources.
- One-page pamphlets which described the bullying program, problems associated with bullying, and warning signs of bullying behavior. Pamphlets, were personalized by each participating school (or school district) and distributed to all parents and members of the community.
- Program newsletters (Bully-Free Times), which featured creative program activities in participating schools and communities and described upcoming project activities. Newsletters were distributed to all teachers and other school staff each semester.
Program Outcomes

The evaluation involved surveying the subjects at three times, March of 1995, 1996, and 1997. The school districts were organized into three matched pairs based on their geographic location and the demographic characteristics of the students. In each pair, the schools in one district were selected to receive the intervention (Group A), while the schools in the other district served as a comparison group for the first year of the project (Group B). Thus, schools were not randomly assigned to groups. There were 11 Group A (intervention) schools and 28 control schools during the first year. During the second year, 7 Group B schools began the program, while the 11 Group A schools continued with the intervention.

Since analyses involving only the first two time points provide a clear-cut intervention (Group A) vs. control (Group B) comparison, reports of the results will be limited to this time period. (Continued analyses of the data are being conducted to examine students’ self-reports at 19 months, although findings from these analyses will be less interpretable than those from 7 months due to the design of the study.) In this context, it should be noted that it was not feasible to secure the identity of the individual students in conducting the three questionnaire surveys. This lack of individual student identification prevents adjusting the outcome results statistically for individual pretest values, which reduces power in detecting significant differences. The number of students responding to the questionnaires on the second occasion were 6,263.

Prevalence of Bullying. Findings from the baseline survey of fourth through sixth graders revealed that one in five children admitted bullying schoolmates at least several times during the previous two months, and nearly 10 percent of all children reported that they had engaged in frequent bullying of their peers (at least once per week). Moreover, one in four children reported being victimized at least several times during this period and 9 percent reported being frequent victims of bullying (at least once per week). Consistent with the findings of others, boys were significantly more likely than girls to report bullying their peers, and were twice as likely as girls to engage in physical means of bullying others. Girls were somewhat more likely than boys to be victims of bullying, although the difference between groups was small. Sixth graders were significantly more likely than fourth or fifth graders to admit that they had bullied other students, while fourth graders were more likely than older students to report that they had been bullied. Despite the high prevalence of bullying among school children in this sample, substantial percentages of students who had been victimized by their peers admitted that they had not reported incidents to school personnel or their parents. Boys and older children were particularly reluctant to discuss their victimization with school personnel or their parents. Self-reported bullying (both of peers and teachers) was highly positively correlated with self-reported antisocial behaviors, including misbehavior at school, delinquent behaviors, and group delinquency, as well as receiving sanctions for misbehavior at school.

Results. Results from the evaluation study suggested that the first year of the bullying program affected students’ involvement in bullying and antisocial behavior. After having experienced seven months of the program, students in Group A schools reported a decrease in the frequency with which they bullied other children (by approximately 25 percent), while students in control schools reported a corresponding increase. As expected, there was an increase over time in the frequency of self-reported antisocial behavior among control (Group B) students, while for the intervention (Group A) students, there was either no increase or a slower rate of increase with regard to general delinquency (total scale), vandalism, school misbehavior, and punishment for school-related misbehav-
ior. Thus, the program appeared to slow the natural rate of increase in students’ engagement in antisocial behavior. All of the reported differences were statistically significant ($p < .01$ or .001). However, no significant program effects were observed for students’ reports of being bullied or on some of the subscales of antisocial behavior.

**Program Replication in Sheffield, England**

**Target Population**

The target population included 2,212 students in 16 primary schools and 4,256 students in 7 secondary schools (modal ages 8-16 years) in Sheffield, England (Whitney, Rivers, Smith, & Sharp, 1994). In addition, the project comprised one primary and three secondary comparison, or control schools. According to the authors, these schools did not serve well as controls for various reasons and are omitted from consideration in the present context. Some of the Sheffield schools had as much as 40 percent non-white students (most of them of Indian-Pakistani background), but the average across schools was 12-13 percent.

**Program Description**

The Sheffield project was directly modeled after the Bergen project, with the same overall structure and with interventions at the school, classroom, and individual levels. In addition, it used basically the same quasi-experimental design with a comparison of age-equivalent groups at different time points (in this case, a comparison of the same schools with students from the same grades in 1990 and 1992). In this project, particular emphasis was placed on establishing a written “whole-school policy” on bullying behavior at each participating school (Smith & Sharp, 1994) which “establishes a set of agreed aims which provide pupils, staff and parents with a sense of direction and an understanding of the commitment of the school to do something about bullying behavior” (Sharp & Thompson, 1994, p. 23). To implement the policy, the school also needed to define procedures and systems for preventing and responding to bullying. Typically, successful efforts to do so involved four stages: (a) the identification of the need for a whole-school policy (established through awareness-raising and provision of information about bully/victim problems), (b) policy development (achieved through extensive consultation with teachers, administrators, families, and students), (c) policy implementation (which required special training of staff, communication among participants, and ongoing monitoring), and (d) evaluation of the approach (achieved by repeated surveys and other methods of review).

The schools in the Sheffield project also utilized optional interventions, many of which (but not all) were the same or similar to measures used in the Bullying Prevention Program. These optional interventions included the following:

- Curriculum-based strategies, included a video to stimulate class discussion; training for teachers on using drama and literature as classroom teaching techniques to reduce bullying; and training for teachers to develop “quality circles” in which students met regularly to identify common problems, evolve solutions, and present solutions to a teacher or administrator.
- Interventions in bullying situations (identified bully/victim problems). Examples of strategies included assertiveness training for victims of bullying, peer counseling mechanisms, and training for teachers regarding intervention with bullies.
Interventions on the playground, including training of lunchtime/playground supervisors and improving the physical playground environment.

Program Outcomes

An evaluation of this comprehensive anti-bullying approach revealed significant decreases in bully/victim problems after two years and positive changes in students’ attitudes (Whitney et al., 1994). Specifically, project schools exhibited a significant increase in the percentage of students who had not been bullied and a significant decrease in the frequency with which students were bullied. The latter decrease was more marked in the 16 primary schools (with an average reduction of about 15 percent; a maximum reduction of 54 percent) than in the secondary schools (averaging 7 percent, maximum 23 percent). Some additional analyses, based on interim playtime monitoring, suggested that the true reductions in frequency of being bullied were actually larger, amounting to approximately 20 or 30 percent. Both primary and secondary schools showed decreases in the frequency with which students reported bullying others (with average reductions of approximately 12 percent, maximum 64 percent). Project schools also showed a significant increase in students’ reporting that they would not join in bullying others, a result that was larger for secondary schools. There were no significant changes in students’ perceptions of teachers intervening in bullying situations. However, project schools showed significant increases in the frequency with which students told someone (particularly a teacher) about being bullied and in the frequency with which students reported that teachers had talked with them about bullying others. A dosage-response relationship was also found, implying that schools that had been more involved and more active in implementing the interventions observed the greatest changes in reported behaviors.

In sum, the interventions appeared more effective in reducing bully/victim problems in primary schools than in secondary schools, although there was substantial variation among schools. The effects observed in the Sheffield project were generally somewhat weaker than in the Bergen study, and fewer behavioral aspects were included in the evaluation.

Program Replication in the State of Schleswig-Holstein, Germany

In 1993, the Ministry of Education and Research in the State of Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, invited schools in the state to participate in a large-scale project involving the implementation of the Bullying Prevention Program (Hanewinkel & Knaack, 1997).

Target Population

There were 37 schools that participated in two surveys with a German version of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire, toward the end of 1994 and the end of 1996. However, several were senior high schools, which are not targeted by the program and, accordingly, the present evaluation is limited to students in primary and lower secondary grades (from grades 3 through 9, corresponding to modal ages of 8-16 years). There were a total of 28 schools and 6,400 students in these grades participating on both survey occasions (partly the same, and partly different students on the two measuring occasions).
Bullying Prevention Program

Program Description

The program (recommended for use in the participating schools) was closely based upon the original Norwegian model (as described in the German version of Bullying At School (Gewalt in der Schule, 1994). The degree and timing of implementation of the various components were to some extent monitored through questionnaire surveys with the teachers and the school management. From these surveys, it is obvious that there was considerable variation among schools in the fidelity and extent of implementation. Roughly the same quasi-experimental design was used as in the original Bergen study involving comparisons of age/grade-equivalent groups of students.

Program Outcomes

The evaluation data showed a clear and statistically significant decrease across grades in the frequency with which students reported being bullied. The average reduction was from 18.2 percent (those reporting being bullied “now and then” or more frequently) at the first measurement to 15.3 percent at follow-up two years later. This reduction of approximately 16 percent (of 18.2 percent) was about the same magnitude as in the Sheffield project described above. In addition, the researchers observed a statistically significant, though somewhat smaller, decrease in self-reports of bullying peers. Like the researchers in the Sheffield project, the authors of the German report argue that the “true effects” are larger than those registered due to “sensitization” effects and a heightened tendency to identify and report victimization among students who have been exposed to it. The researchers as well as the majority of the participating schools, had mostly positive reactions to the program. The authors strongly recommend continued work with the Bullying Prevention Program in Germany, in particular in schools in which staff and management are motivated and committed to work seriously with the program. (The account of this project is relatively short due to the fact that the only report available on it to date is in German.)

Program Replication in the New Bergen Project Against Bullying

A new large-scale intervention project (“The New Bergen Project against Bullying”), comprising 3,200 students from selected grades in 30 schools, was recently initiated in Bergen, Norway (Olweus, 1999). The students taking part in the project were surveyed with the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire (and other self-report instruments) in May/June of 1997, and one year later, in May/June of 1998 (partly the same, partly different students). At the later time point, slightly fewer than half of the schools had participated in the intervention part of the project for 5-6 months. The remaining schools served as comparison sites.

Analyses of the data are currently underway. Although only preliminary results are presented below, trends and conclusions from these analyses appear very clear-cut and are not likely to change substantially after more extensive analyses.

Target Population and Design

As mentioned above, students from grades 5, 6, 7, and 9 (corresponding to modal ages 11-13 years and 15 years) in 30 schools in Bergen were surveyed with several self-report instruments including the Bully/Victim Questionnaire in late spring of 1997. After the baseline assessment, the schools were invited to participate in the intervention part of the project, to be implemented in the period from late fall of 1997, to the end of the spring term (June 1998). The result was an almost equal split
of the schools, with 14 interventions schools (1 primary schools with students from grades 5-7 and three junior high schools with grade 9 students) and 16 comparison schools (11 primary schools with students from grades 5-7 and five junior high schools with grade 9 students). In this context, it is worth emphasizing that we find it most appropriate to use the designation ‘comparison schools’ rather than the more common term ‘control schools’, because a good deal of anti-bullying work was conducted also in these schools in the relevant period, but with countermeasures and approaches of the schools’ own design and preference.

About half of the students belonged to the intervention schools and half to the comparison schools, and there were roughly equal numbers of boys and girls in each group. As with the original intervention study (above), the level of bully/victim problems in the present Bergen sample is likely to be roughly representative of other town communities in Norway. Moreover, this sample had a very small proportion of students with a non-white ethnic background. As evident from the above description of the selection procedure, the schools were not randomly allocated to groups. However, comparisons of baseline levels of bully/victim problems revealed no marked differences between intervention and comparison schools. In addition, possible initial (non-significant) differences were controlled for in the statistical analyses.

In evaluating the effects of the intervention program, two basic strategies were used. One was to compare the levels of bully/victim problems in the intervention schools for different groups of (age-equivalent) students in the same grade at the two time points, in the spring of 1997 and 1998, respectively. This (cross-sectional, age-cohort) strategy is the same as that used in the original intervention project. This kind of analysis was also applied to the comparison schools to permit a comparison of the developments in the two groups of schools. A second strategy was to compare the (longitudinal) development over time in students from the intervention and comparison schools, respectively, only using subjects who had participated on both measurement occasions. In these analyses, it was natural to use difference scores (or possibly, covariance-adjusted scores) for each student, thereby controlling for the relevant baseline values on the variable of interest. Here, the main focus will be on the results from the first set of analyses, but generally, the outcomes from the longitudinal analyses were in good agreement with the findings from the age-cohort analyses.

Program Description

The approach used in the 14 intervention schools consisted of the core components of the Bullying Prevention Program, as described in this Blueprint. This approach included a meeting in the latter part of the fall with all of the personnel (in some cases, only the teaching staff) and parent representatives at each school. At this meeting, a program consultant presented detailed information with percentages and simple graphs of the results from the baseline assessment (with regard to bully/victim problems) for the school concerned. The results with associated graphs had already been sent out to the school and parent representatives for their information in advance of the meeting.

In addition, a new component or organizational feature was added to the core program to secure greater fidelity of program implementation. At each intervention school, teacher discussion groups were established and convened regularly for one and a half hour sessions to discuss the basic components of the program and both positive and negative experiences in implementing the various measures in their own classrooms and schools. These meetings were led by a specially trained program consultant and, in a secondary role, a school mental health professional (usually a school psychologist). The book Bullying at
Bullying Prevention Program

School and the Teacher's Handbook served as a basis for the discussions in these groups. Although the original goal of the project was to arrange 10-12 meetings at each school before the new survey in May/June 1998, this proved unfeasible due to the heavy obligations of many of the teachers associated with the introduction of a new, extensive school reform in Norway. Accordingly, at most of the schools only 6-7 teacher discussion meetings were held during the spring of 1998.

Program Outcomes

Generally, the results for the intervention schools were quite positive, with reductions in the two key dimensions (being bullied, and bullying other students) by 20-35 percent. By and large, effects of this magnitude were obtained for both boys and girls and for both students in the primary grades and in grade 9. For the comparison schools, there was no or little average change in "being bullied," and actually an increase in "bullying other students" by 35 percent or more in grades 5-7. However, for the grade 9 students in the comparison schools there were also substantial reductions in the two key dimensions (similar to, or somewhat less than in the intervention schools), for unknown reasons. As mentioned, the results from the longitudinal analyses were in essential agreement with the findings from the cross-sectional analyses using age-equivalent groups.

The results reported were by and large somewhat weaker than those obtained in the original evaluation study in Bergen from the 1980's (above). This may not be surprising, considering the fact that the program had been in place for only 5-6 months when the second assessment took place. In addition, it is natural to regard the results obtained as lower-bound estimates of possible program effects, because the number of meetings in the teacher discussion groups were clearly fewer than both the project leadership and (many of) the schools would have liked them to be.

Our general experience with these discussion groups, however, was that they serve several very useful functions in the transmission of professional program knowledge to those who are the natural providers and implementors of the program, the adults at school (primarily the teachers). These functions include: (a) to provide more detailed information about the intervention program and its components; (b) to stimulate (more rapid) implementation of the various program components; (c) to stimulate cooperation and coordination of program activities (development of a "whole-school policy"); (d) to discuss and learn from the group participants' positive and negative experiences; and, (e) maintain motivation and involvement among the participants. On the basis of these experiences, we recommend establishment of teacher discussion groups in future implementations of the program.

Issues Related to the Transferability of the Program to Other Settings and/or Populations

Transferability to Other Populations

The Bullying Prevention Program has been implemented in several Western cultures (Canada, England, Finland, Germany, Holland, Norway, and the United States) and school settings (elementary, middle, and junior high schools). Although the only systematic evaluation of the program within the United States has involved schools in non-urban communities, experiences of researchers within the United States and those of researchers in urban and non-urban centers in other countries suggest that the intervention measures of the Bullying Prevention Program are appropriate for use in urban, suburban, and rural settings alike.
Implementation Challenges

Researchers and school personnel involved in the implementation of the Bullying Prevention Program in various settings have identified certain challenges, several of which are common to other comprehensive school-based prevention programs. These challenges and suggested solutions will be briefly discussed below.

School Structures. A school’s structure may significantly affect the ease with which the program is implemented. Specifically, the task of implementing the Bullying Prevention Program may be somewhat more challenging in middle or junior high schools than within elementary schools. In most middle schools and junior high schools, students change classes throughout the day. As a result, teachers are not able to provide as close supervision of students’ behavior as they would in an environment in which students remained in the same classroom for the majority of the day (which is the case with students in Norwegian schools up to and including grade 7 and in most elementary schools in the United States). Moreover, this may cause adults to feel less responsible for the students’ social relationships, and teachers may be less inclined to intervene when they suspect troubled relations between students. In addition, because most middle schools follow very busy, fairly rigid weekly schedules, it may be more difficult for staff to include important classroom interventions (e.g., holding classroom meetings) on a regular basis.

Effective implementation of certain program components (such as classroom meetings or individual interventions) in middle or junior high schools will usually require somewhat more rigorous and persistent efforts on the part of individual teachers. In addition, staff in these schools must develop effective systems of communicating with each other about students’ behavior (e.g., through grade-level or team-level teacher meetings). In many cases, it may be an effective strategy to divide students into groups and assign primary responsibility for monitoring and taking care of the social relationships in each group to particular teachers (for example, members of the grade-level teams serving the different groups). In this way, the social and emotional situation of every student (and of the group as a whole) will receive some attention from a designated teacher, and the passivity often deriving from a diffusion of adult responsibility will be counteracted.

Demands on Staff Time and Energy. Unlike the adoption of purely curricular or other narrow approaches to violence prevention, implementing a comprehensive school approach such as the Bullying Prevention Program requires that teachers and other staff expend time and energy to learn, implement, and sustain a variety of interventions that are designed to target students at multiple levels. Given the numerous demands upon school personnel, it is not surprising that comprehensive violence prevention programs are often more demanding than smaller scale programs to launch and sustain.

At the same time, it must be realized that there are no short-cuts to remedying the targeted problems. Much of the success of the program can be directly attributed to its multilevel, multicomponent character and its systematic, long-term perspective. And teachers will experience additional rewards from a fully implemented program as classroom climates improve and everyday classroom management problems decrease, as occurred in the Bergen project.

Although a variety of factors likely contribute to the success and sustainability of the Bullying Prevention Program, the active involvement and sustained support of the principal, members of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, on-site program coordinator, and other key adminis-
Bullying Prevention Program

Administrators and teachers is critical. As noted above, without ongoing commitment from administrators and a substantial proportion of teachers, the program is likely to have limited effects, at least for the school as a whole.

Lack of Training. Although some initial training is provided to teachers and other staff (in the form of a school conference day), most teachers will require additional, ongoing training to feel comfortable in conducting classroom meetings, intervening with individual students, and involving parents in the anti-bullying work. Moreover, many schools experience significant staff turnover, and new teachers will need special training to effectively participate in the school’s violence prevention efforts. As consultants to the Sheffield project noted, “lack of training tends to act as a brake on the willingness of staff to undertake any new procedures in school, by reducing their confidence that they can perform effectively (Sharp & Thompson, 1994, p. 80). Establishing teacher discussion groups under the leadership of more experienced leaders is an effective way to provide ongoing training to teachers and help sustain their motivation to actively participate in program.

Involvement of Parents, Students, and Non-teaching Staff. Some schools may be reluctant to involve parents, students, or non-teaching staff in the implementation of the Bullying Prevention Program. Although teachers and school administrators are critical to the program, active involvement of parents, students, and non-teaching staff (e.g., mental health professionals, bus drivers, custodians) are also important to the success of the program. Efforts should be made to involve non-teaching staff as much as possible in ongoing training. Moreover, non-teaching staff should be invited to actively participate in local planning of the program (e.g., through a representative on the school’s Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee). In order to involve parents in the program, special school-wide, grade-level (and perhaps classroom-level) meetings should be scheduled and regular feedback provided regarding the progress of the program. In addition, inclusion of parent and student representatives on the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee is highly desirable.
APPENDIX A

References by Document Section

Full citations are located at the end of the document.

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Reducing bullying and other violent behavior among school children

The ___________________________ School District is working with ___________________________ to implement the Bullying Prevention Program to address bullying and other violent behavior among schoolchildren in grades _____________.

What is bullying?

Bullying is when one child or a group of children repeatedly hurt another child through words or actions. Bullying may involve physical aggression such as fighting, shoving, kicking; verbal aggression such as name calling; or more subtle acts such as socially isolating a child.

Why focus on bullying?

All of us are concerned about levels of violence by young people in our communities and in our schools. Studies have shown that 60% of children who are identified as bullies in middle school go on to have arrest records. We need to address the behavior problems of these children at an early age, before it becomes even more serious. In addition, children who are the victims of bullies may have problems with depression, poor school attendance, and low self-esteem. It is important to help create a school environment where ALL children feel safe and can learn to the best of their abilities.

What does this program involve?

This violence prevention program involves the total effort of all school staff (including teachers, principals, guidance counselors, cafeteria workers, custodians, bus drivers, etc.), as well as students, parents, and other members of the community to reduce bullying and other forms of violence.

The school’s efforts will include:

- identifying bullies and victims of bullying in order to address their individual problems and needs establishing school-wide rules and applying consistent sanctions against bullying
- holding regular classroom meetings to discuss problems of bullying and violence with children increasing supervision of children at school
- rewarding children for good social behaviors
- holding school-wide assemblies on violence
- making use of videos, books, and other resources on bullying

Many other creative efforts will be initiated by the teachers and staff at your school!

Will this program help?

Studies have shown that this program can be very effective in reducing bullying and related antisocial behavior of schoolchildren. In places where this program has been used, bullying has been reduced by 25% to 50%. Fighting, vandalism, drinking and other antisocial behaviors also decreased,
and children and school personnel involved in the program reported that they felt more positive about school.

**How can parents get involved?**

1. Through PTA meetings, other school events, and mailings we hope to inform you about this program and the many problems associated with bullying.

2. We will discuss with you ways of identifying whether your children may be involved as bullies or as victims of bullying, and we will suggest strategies and resources for you.

3. We will encourage you to become involved in a variety of creative projects developed by your school to raise awareness of the problems of violence and of efforts to reduce bullying at school and in the community.

**Warning signs of being bullied:**

- comes home from school with torn or dirty clothing, damaged books
- has cuts, bruises, scratches
- has few, if any, friends to play with
- seems afraid to go to school, complains of headaches, stomach pains
- doesn't sleep well, has bad dreams
- loses interest in school work
- seems sad, depressed or moody
- is anxious, has poor self-esteem
- is quiet, sensitive, passive

If your child shows several of these warning signs, it's possible he or she is being bullied by other children. You may want to talk with your child to find out what is troubling him or her and schedule a conference to discuss your concerns with school staff.

**Warning signs of bullying others:**

- teases, threatens, kicks other children
- is hot-tempered, impulsive, has a hard time following rules
- is aggressive toward adults
- is tough, shows no sympathy toward children who are bullied
- has been involved in other antisocial activities such as vandalism or stealing

If your child shows several of these warning signs, it's possible that he or she is bullying one or more children. You may want to spend some extra time talking with your child about his or her behavior and schedule a conference to talk about these issues with school staff.

**For more information**

To learn more about this project, please contact
APPENDIX C

Program Resources


• *How to Deal with Bullying at School: A Teacher Handbook* by Dan Olweus (forthcoming). The handbook will be available from Professor Dan Olweus at the University of Bergen in Bergen, Norway (fax number: 011-47-55-58-84-22) at cost of approximately $30. One handbook should be purchased for each staff member.

• The Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire and a computer program (to be used with Windows 95 or Windows 98) for evaluating the Questionnaire results. Available from Professor Dan Olweus at the University of Bergen in Bergen, Norway (fax number: 011-47-55-58-84-22) at cost of approximately $200 per school.

• Supplemental lesson plans for the Bullying Prevention program (targeted at middle school children). Currently may be obtained at a cost of $5 by contacting Dr. Susan Limber, Institute for Families in Society, University of South Carolina, Carolina Plaza, Columbia, SC 29208; phone: 803-777-1529; fax: 803-777-1120.
REFERENCES


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