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Bullying in Washington Schools: Update 2008

By: *SESRC – Puget Sound Division*
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Bullying in Washington Schools: Update 2008

By: Kyra Kester
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September 1, 2008

In 2002 the Washington State Legislature declared bullying unacceptable in Washington schools. It required districts to adopt policies against bullying, and specifically named groups of students who are most frequently targeted for harassment. Bullying is characterized by an imbalance of power between one or more students and the victim(s), by the intent to harm, and by repetition.

FINDINGS

FINDING 1: Bullying is destructive. It can be overt or it can be subtle and swift, but it has long-term consequences for the victim – and for the bully and bystanders.

FINDING 2: Bullying interferes with learning. School environments infected by bullying fail to support the learning and development of all students.

FINDING 3: Bullying is complex. Students bully for more than one reason, and therefore no single solution exists for all kinds of bullying. Districts must understand the kind of bullying that occurs in their schools and create appropriate countermeasures.

FINDING 4: Bullying particularly affects our youngest students. It has particular significance in the years during which students define their individual identities and in periods of social stress, such as the transitions from elementary to middle school and from middle school to high school.

FINDING 5: Districts appear to have responded to their statutory requirement to have anti-bullying policies.

- They do not appear to be addressing bullying uniformly.
- Students and parents continue to seek assistance against bullying.

FINDING 6: Bullying has not declined significantly in Washington public schools since 2002, based on statewide data. Slight changes have occurred in which kind of bullying is most common among grades, but the overall rates are stubbornly similar across years.

FINDING 7: Bullying varies as students' age. We need more definition of the specific reasons students' bully each other than can be determined from current survey data.

- The Healthy Youth Survey, which provides our most reliable picture of bullying in Washington schools, is designed for statewide statistical sampling. It cannot provide parents and communities an assessment of bullying in every local district.
- More investigation is needed on the basis of bullying. The “other “ category requires clarification.

FINDING 8: Although a variety of partners attempt to address bullying in Washington, their informal network does not adequately address the state's need.

- No state agency is funded consistently to assist districts, students and parents to address bullying nor are schools provided state funds specifically for anti-bullying activities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The first set of required measures are the responsibility of schools and their local communities. Schools need an organized effort to combat bullying, with well-defined, widely understood actions. Mere policy, and particularly policy that is not well known by building staff and students, does not diminish bullying.

For Schools:

1. Building leadership is essential:

Schools need strong central infrastructure to implement effective anti-bullying programs. Coordinated efforts between principals and staff provide the best infrastructure for implementation.

2. Different ages and distinct kinds of bullying may require varying strategies.
3. Anti-bullying strategy should be an essential part of school improvement planning and involve all staff.

The entire school must make a commitment to being bully free, understanding its connection to learning. All staff should be involved in the analysis of current conditions and in planning the anti-bullying strategy. Staff should be trained and supported. Specific roles for the comprehensive guidance program and the school psychologist should be included. The initiative must have clearly identified outcomes that are regularly measured and assessed.

4. Involve Students

Students bully; students are bullied. Students are the best source of information about who bullies, where it happens, and how. The action of students' peers can make a difference. Integrate anti-bullying policy and initiatives into programs of study.

5. Involve Parents and the Community

Improving communication with parents about bullying can procure their assistance with individual cases, and more broadly it can help address potential differences between home and community culture and the desired school environment. Emphasizing that bullying is an education issue, and providing parents with tools and skills to address bullying at home, can further the effort to provide students with new skills and expectations.

For the State:

The Washington Legislature has stated its intent to have bully-free schools. The lack of significant change in students' reports of bullying over the six years since that statement indicates that more is required. While schools can and should address the conditions that foster bullying locally, state leadership and funding are also required. Research demonstrates the critical importance of leadership to establish not only policy, but clear procedures to eliminate bullying. Currently Washington lacks definition of recommended effective procedures and practices that work best for Washington's students, schools and communities, particularly as they could contribute to the state's education goals.

1. Require effective leadership on anti-bullying practice from the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.
 - The mission of the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) includes assisting districts with program development, particularly in regard to programs that should exist in every school. It is not cost effective, nor does it result in consistent efforts, for each district to investigate or experiment with educational programs individually.
 - Combating bullying should not be a new, add-on assignment. Rather, it should be integrated into the school improvement work already underway in Washington schools. OSPI should provide better and more frequent assistance on how school environment and student learning relate and are mutually improved. The reduction of bullying and enhancement of the learning environment are critical elements in student success.
 - The OSPI is not currently funded to provide anti-bullying support. Three activities are needed:
 - (a) Working with the districts, and educational stakeholders, OSPI should determine the preferred means of combining anti-bullying practices with school improvement;
 - (b) The school safety center needs to provide more direction on best practices for inclusion in school safety plans;
 - (c) Currently many districts engage in a wide range of programs, but there is no central measurement of the success of their activities. The state's school data system must reflect the need for more and more consistent data about bullying in Washington schools.

2. Fund schools to implement anti-bullying efforts.

No funds dedicated to anti-bullying have been provided since the initial allocation in 2002 (\$500,000 provided for professional development.)

- Schools need funding for the time to identify and prepare local procedures and programs appropriate to their district and school. They need resources and material to use with students, in the classroom and in individual assistance. They need consistent availability of up-to-date professional development that is consistently available, particularly as the research on bullying continues to emerge.
- Districts particularly need information about matching the appropriate response to the type of bullying that occurs in each school, to the age of children with whom they work, and for the most vulnerable students in their midst. And most schools likely need additional funding to ensure the availability of delivery or referral for more intensive psychological services, when needed.

3. Encourage the crucial partnership of the Health Youth Survey, but expand upon the state's data about bullying.

- The Healthy Youth Survey (HYS), which this report analyzed, is the only reliable, statewide source of information about bullying in our schools. The collaborative partnership of HYS deserves credit for its dedication to the issue and assured financial resources to continue its work.
- The HYS relies upon confidential reporting by students, which is a useful source of information, but it should not be the only source of information. All local schools – and their parents and communities – deserve accurate, timely information about bullying in their schools and communities. This requires that the data collected from schools include information about bullying incident reports and resolutions.
- For that data to be meaningful to state evaluation and analysis it must also be based upon common definitions, reporting practices, and disciplinary procedures that can be compared across regions.
- Working with the districts, OSPI should develop common definitions and data reporting practices and systematically collect bullying-related incident data.

4. Continue evaluating the result of bullying practices employed by Washington schools to determine the most effective strategies for the variety of bullying behaviors.

- The lack of reliable incident data for all schools currently hinders analysis of bullying in Washington schools. Establishing consistent definitions and practices will allow measurement of the relationship between local practice and changes in school incident rates. That data can then be used to evaluate the effectiveness of anti-bullying strategies for Washington schools.
- Building on this study, OSPI and the districts should create a diagnostic tool to help districts evaluate their current level of anti-bullying activity. Effective procedures and surveys should be identified for schools to use in assessing the broad prevalence and patterns of bullying. OSPI should also work with the districts to identify the most effective anti-bullying practices. Once reliable data is available and effective practices

have been identified, schools employing the full array of recommended practices could be compared against districts with less robust implementation to measure the relative effectiveness of each measure against the types of bullying present in the individual districts.

5. Encourage inclusion of anti-bullying strategies as part of educator education.

Anti-bullying programs contain information about classroom management, student behavior, and adult-student relationships that logically belong in all educator training programs. Pre-certification training is more inclusive and more cost effective than providing professional development school by school. A partnership between K-12 schools and schools of education to address anti-bullying strategies would be an efficient and effective way to grow better school environments.

6. Revisit the language of the current statute to ensure it encompasses the state's full intent.

Washington's current anti-bullying statute is recognized as one of the best in the nation. Still, information about the continuing effects of bullying continues to mount. Legislation has just been proposed in New York to require the training of teachers to recognize and respond to bullying and require schools to keep track of bullying cases, including incidents in which students are harassed for their sexual orientation. Other states have included language specifically requiring that victims of bullying be assessed or referred for counseling – a requirement that would likely require more funding to support in Washington. Legislators may wish to consider updating their statute to ensure it expresses the full commitment of the state to better meet the needs of all its students.

7. Consider a statewide initiative against bullying and promoting tolerance as a core Washington value.

- Raise awareness of the significance and consequence of bullying.
- Correct the misconceptions and false stereotypes of bullying.
- Assert the importance of a tolerant, safe environment for learning.

SECTION ONE: ABOUT BULLYING

WHAT IS BULLYING?

In effect, bullying occurs whenever an individual or group intentionally intimidates, frightens, torments or harms another person who cannot or does not know how to stop the assault. Most often, bullying is a frequently repeated behavior and constancy of bullying greatly adds to its harmful effect. The difference in perceived power between the bully and victim is central to its definition.^{1 2}

Much of what constitutes bullying is obvious:

- Striking, pushing and punching that hurts others physically
- Intimidating someone physically and emotionally
- Teasing someone in a malicious way
- Urging others to group action – “ganging up” on someone

Other examples of bullying may be less visible but equally hurtful:

- Spreading rumors and lies
- Excluding people from a group
- Sending hurtful text, email or instant messages
- Posting distorted pictures or messages in blogs or on websites
- Using another person’s name to spread rumors and lies

Too often, those who witness bullying do not understand its seriousness. They do not distinguish playful teasing from intimidation and threat. They may not sense the level of fear some words and actions convey to the person being bullied.

And, compounding the problem, many adults underestimate the harm bullying does. Sometimes they only ignore bullying, but too often they aid and abet the bully by criticizing the victim.

This is not conflict between two equals. Anti-bullying advocates frequently criticize the effort to use conflict resolution tactics with bullies and their victims. They contend that conflict resolution presumes some validity and some error on the part of both parties, which a negotiated settlement will resolve. They argue that this does not accurately depict the relationship of bully and victim.

¹ When bullying targets specific racial or ethnic groups, equity protections can be violated. This report does not investigate the responsibilities of schools to meet the laws that protect students from legal harassment and discrimination. Severe bullying of students with disabilities, for example, may be “disability harassment,” which is illegal under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. This report focuses on those acts determined to be outside the scope of other legal protections.

² Studies of bullying coalesce around these key elements of intent to harm or frighten, repetition, and the perceived imbalance of power between bully and victim. See Gwen Glew, Fred Rivara, and Chris Feudtner, “Bullying: Children Hurting Children”, *Pediatric Review*, 21 (2000), 183-190; Peter K Smith et al., editors, *The Nature of School Bullying: A Cross-National Perspective*. New York: Routledge Falmer, 1999, particularly articles by Dan Olewus, 7–48.

DOES IT REALLY MATTER?

Many adults believe that bullying is just a fact of life, a part of the rites of passage of adolescence, a transitory thing. While that belief may arise from how common bullying is, it inaccurately presumes that bullying is therefore harmless. Studies of bullying clearly demonstrate the significance of bullying for both the bully and the victim. It results in measurable physical and mental effects. Bullying victims report more sleep disturbances, headaches, stomachaches, and sadness than other children.³ They avoid school, with all the disruptive educational consequences that causes. And they report being lonely and having more difficulty making friends than students who were not bullied.⁴

Further, researchers have demonstrated long-term consequences associated with both bullying and being bullied. An influential 1993 study indicated that children who are bullied frequently suffer from depression and low self-esteem as adults. Bullies also experience problems, possibly because they fail to learn normal social boundaries. Bullies are at higher risk for vandalism, shoplifting, fighting, substance abuse or school dropout. The same study found that sixty percent of males who were bullies in grades six through nine were convicted of at least one crime as adults, compared with twenty-three percent of males who did not bully. Further, forty percent of the former school bullies had three or more convictions by age 24, compared with ten percent of their non-bullying peers.⁵

Bullying occurs in both sexes, although girls and boys tend to bully differently. Girls do not commonly bully as physically as males do, instead they are commonly associated with a form of bullying called *social aggression*, which involves the negative use of social networks, such as by controlling friendships and social status. Girls tend to value relationships and the opinions of others so highly that they are vulnerable to real or threatened loss of connections. Their self-esteem may be more externally determined. As the American Psychological Association notes in “A New Look at Adolescent Girls: Strengths and Stresses”:

Early adolescence appears to be especially stressful on adolescent girls' friendships and peer relations, signified by a sharp increase in indirect relational aggression. More typical of girls and more distressful to girls than to boys, relational aggression . . . appears to emerge as girls' attempt to negotiate current power relations and affirm or resist conventional constructions of femininity. More research is needed to understand the nature and quality of this negotiation and the role popularity and attractiveness play in the development and configuration of adolescent girls' peer groupings.⁶

³ Katrina Williams, et al., “Association Of Common Health Symptoms With Bullying In Primary School Children.” *British Medical Journal*, 1996; 313:17-19. Ken Rigby, “Peer Victimization at School and the Health of Secondary School Students,” *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 69, pt. 1 (1999), 95-104.

⁴ Tanja R. Nansel et al., “Bullying Behaviors Among Youth,” *Journal of American Medical Association* 285, no. 16 (April 25, 2001): 2094-2100.

⁵ Tonja R. Nansel et al., “Relationships Between Bullying And Violence Among U.S. Youth,” *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, 157(2003): 348.; Andre Sourander et al., “Childhood Bullies and Victims and Their Risk of Criminality in Late Adolescence: The Finnish From a Boy to a Man Study,” *Archives of Adolescent and Pediatric Medicine* v.161 no.6 (2007):546-542; Dan Olweus, *What We Know About Bullying and What We Can Do*, Cambridge MA: Blackwell 1993.

⁶ American Psychological Association, “A New Look at Adolescent Girls: Strengths and Stresses.” Accessed online at <http://www.apa.org/pi/cyf/adolesgirls.html#gse>

As always in bullying, the intent is to cause harm to the victim. Rejecting someone socially or excluding them from a group, using negative facial and body expressions, and spreading rumors and gossip are all examples of this behavior.⁷ (And since this bullying happens in groups, it is not always simple to determine who is the initiator of the bullying.)⁸ As a result, fear of isolation and solitude can be severely destructive and devastating to girls.⁸

Social aggression has been linked to negative outcomes that last into adulthood, including outcomes often not seen from other forms of bullying. Victims of social aggression suffer more from *social anxiety disorder* and score higher on social anxiety measures than the general public or victims of physical or verbal aggression.⁹ The effects endure through adulthood, leading to withdrawal from school, work and peers, thereby causing distress in other aspects of sufferers' lives. And social anxiety disorder is also linked with depression and suicide. Further, children see social aggression to be just as destructive as the physical and verbal aggression.¹⁰

There appear to be economic consequences to bullying, as well. A recent study demonstrated the adverse affect of bullying on students' educational achievement, both in school and after, and on their lifelong wage earning.¹¹

ISSUES

Potential for Violence

For many adults, the crucial consequence of bullying in school lies in potential school violence. This link was well documented in *the Safe School Initiative*, produced jointly by the U.S. Secret Service and the U.S. Department of Education in 1999. After examining 37 school shootings and attacks over two decades and interviewing ten school shooters in depth, the report reached ten findings, including the observation that most of the shooters had felt tormented, bullied, and persecuted by others in their schools. In several cases, the abuse had been long-standing, tolerated openly at the school. More than half declared "revenge" as their chief motivating

⁷ Marion K. Underwood and Duane Buhrmester, "Friendship Features and Social Exclusion: An Observational Study Examining Gender and Social Context", *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* v. 53, no. 3 (July 2007): 412-438.

⁸ Rachel Simmons, *The Hidden Culture of Aggression Among Girls*, New York: Harcourt, 2002.

⁹ Annette M. La Greca and Nadja Lopez, "Social anxiety among adolescents: Linkages with peer relations and friendships," *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology* v. 26, no. 9 (1998): 83-94.

¹⁰ Randi McCabe et al., "A Preliminary Examination of the Relationship between Anxiety Disorders in Adults and Self-Reported History of Teasing or Bullying Experiences," *Cognitive Behavior Therapy*, v. 32 (2003): 187-193. Todd B. Kashdan and James D. Herbert, "Social Anxiety Disorder In Childhood And Adolescence: Current Status And Future Directions.," *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review* v. 4, (2001): 37-61. Nikki Crick et al., "Gender Differences In Children's Normative Beliefs About Aggression: How Do I Hurt Thee? Let Me Count The Ways." *Child Development*, v. 67 (1996): 1003-1014. Rachel Simmons, *Odd Girl Out: The Hidden Culture of Aggression in Girls*. NY: Harcourt Inc., 2002.

¹¹ Sarah Brown and Karl Taylor, "Bullying, Education and Earnings: Evidence from the National Child Development Study," *Economics of Education Review*, 27, no. 4 (August 2008): 387 – 401.

factor. The report stated explicitly, “The prevalence of bullying found in this and other recent studies should strongly support ongoing efforts to reduce bullying in American schools.”¹² The aggressive and violent tendencies of bullies have been documented around the world. Research coordinated by the World Health Organization in thirty countries included a survey of 15,686 students at public and private high schools. Among 786 6th to 10th grade boys who reported they had bullied others at least once a week at school, 43 percent had carried a weapon to school and 39 percent reported being involved in frequent fighting.¹³

Students’ reactions to bullying are created by complex social and psychological factors. As a result, there is no proven method for predicting when victims of bullying will respond with violence. Research conducted over the last two decades has been more successful at identifying the personal characteristics and environmental conditions that can work to protect students from engaging in violent and dangerous behavior. Although children with multiple risk factors are substantially more likely to participate in risky, dangerous or violent behavior, some children who fit these criteria will not do so. In short, school-based victimization fits into a larger puzzle of personal and environmental circumstances of which bullying is only one piece. It is a piece, however, over which schools and communities can exercise more control than they may over other factors.

Bullying and Suicide

Research demonstrates that students who are bullied often report being lonely and depressed, and demonstrate diminished self-esteem. Research does not yet demonstrate a causal relationship between suicide and bullying, but there is considerable evidence of psychological impacts of bullying that would have a potential “tipping point” effect on vulnerable youth. At the extreme end, a study by the *National Institute of Child Health and Human Development* (NICHD) demonstrated that more than half of the students who engaged in violent revenge attacks at school had a history of feeling extremely depressed or desperate and that nearly 75 percent of them made suicidal threats or gestures or actually attempted suicide before they attacked the school. An association between being bullied and the desire or attempt to commit suicide has been documented in individual cases, although it is also true that other bullied students neither commit suicide nor engage in violent activities. The decision to commit or attempt suicide often involves a number of contributing factors. Isolating any particular factor--such as being bullied--as the primary cause can prove impossible scientifically except when the student provides it (through a note or interview).

Still, the evidence demonstrates both that a consequence of being constantly humiliated and harassed is weakened mental health and that some children may be driven to end this victimization in extreme ways though others prove more resilient.¹⁴ In a recent study examining the self-reports of 2,342 students, an association was demonstrated between specific types of bullying and depression, suicidal thoughts and attempts. Students reporting the most frequent

¹²Bryan Vossekuil et al., *Final Report and Findings of the Safe School Initiative: Implications for the Prevention of School Attacks in the United States* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Safe and Drug Free Schools Program, and U.S. Secret Service, National Threat Assessment Center, May 2002), 25, 39.

¹³Nansel et al., “Relationships,” *op cit*.

¹⁴Finessa Ferrell-Smith, “Tackling the Schoolyard Bully: Combining Policy Making with Prevention,” National Conference of State Legislatures 2008 ncls.org/programs/cyf/schoolyard.htm, accessed April 2008.

bullying reported the highest rates of attempted suicide, although even infrequent bullying correlated highly, especially for girls. The more kinds of harassment and bullying that occurred, the higher the correlation. The authors stressed that the results indicate the importance of screening bullying victims for depression.¹⁵

Bullying and Learning

There is little evidence of a direct effect of bullying on the victim's intellectual ability to reason and learn. A widely accepted correlation between being harassed and struggling academically is based largely on student reports of school avoidance, which correlate with lower grades than peers. The studies on which these beliefs are based, however, do not appear to consider other factors in students' lives that are also known to correlate with poor academic performance. Thus it is not clear that being a victim (or a bully) *causes* lower grades nor that low grades *cause* a bully. Research has more strongly shown that children who are repeatedly bullied fear going to school, avoid or even refuse to do so, and are less able to concentrate while in school. Certainly the emotional turmoil caused by bullying does not contribute to a positive learning environment. The "common sense" connection between bullying and the learning environment has spurred many states to action, not just to keep students physically safe in school, but to eliminate another reason why many students may fail.

As to the self-reported connections, the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN) surveys students biennially to measure the climate in the nation's schools toward sexual identity and expression. More than 1700 students from all fifty states and Washington, D.C. [aged 13 – 20] participated in their most recent survey in 2005. More than a quarter of those students (28.9%) reported they had skipped a day of school in the past month because of feeling unsafe, and an equal number had skipped a class at least once in the past month for the same reason. GLSEN reported that the more severe the harassment, particularly if it included physical bullying, the more effect on the student's performance. Those students reporting the most severe experiences averaged a half a grade point lower than their peers (an average GPA of 2.6 versus 3.1).¹⁶ It is not clear whether the bullying impeded learning or whether absence itself affected the students' grades, perhaps from missed assignments or a graded attendance requirement.

CHARACTERISTICS

Who Bullies?

Bullying is a global issue. Research demonstrates that the percentage of youth involved in bullying varies widely among nations, but the characteristics of those involved are consistent.¹⁷

¹⁵ Anat Brunstein Klomek et al., "Peer Victimization, Depression and Suicidality in Adolescents," *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior* v. 38, no. 2 (April 2008): 166-180.

¹⁶ Survey of 1732 students conducted by community-based organizations and on-line in 2005. Joseph G. Kosciw and Elizabeth Diaz, *2005 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation's Schools*, Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (2006) available at www.glsen.org, accessed April 2008.

¹⁷ Tonja R. Nansel et al. "Cross National Consistency in the Relationship between Bullying and Social Adjustment," *Archives of Pediatric Adolescent Medicine* vol.158, no., 8 (August 2004): 730-736. Pernille Due et

Research shows bullies are usually aggressive children who view violence as an acceptable way to interact with other children. Some bullies think other children will harm them, so they fight to defend themselves or to show they are strong. Many bullies are impulsive and lack social control.

Bullies often copy the behavior they see or experience at home. Some bullies are disciplined physically or physically abused by their parents or other adults; some have parents who are bullies. Possibly because they don't know what to do, parents and other adults may ignore the behavior of bullies. Since they aren't disciplined, bullies learn it is appropriate to act aggressively towards others.

Schools may support bullying behavior without realizing it. Teachers and administrators may recognize and reward only certain groups of students. Athletes or scholars, who gain status by behaving competitively and aggressively, may get special attention. These schools may lack an atmosphere of inclusion and cooperation. Other schools, stressed with demands, may inadvertently create a "squeaky wheel" culture, in which only students with negative behaviors receive adult attention.¹⁸

Bullies are usually peers of their victims. Perhaps this is because students tend to be highly segregated with their peers grade by grade, but generally bullies and victims are in frequent contact and known to each other. Although we cannot say definitively what causes a bully or a victim, we can represent the common characteristics of each.

Although most popular representations of bullies characterize them as suffering from low self-esteem, not every bully looks or acts like the stereotypical bully and not all bullying has the same cause.¹⁹ Researchers at UCLA found that bullies are "often popular and viewed by classmates as the 'coolest' in their classes; they don't show signs of depression or social anxiety, and do not suffer from low self-esteem."²⁰ In fact, some students are bullies because they gain in social standing by imitating the behavior of group leaders who are bullies.

The UCLA study of 12,000 sixth-grade students from eight urban public schools of predominately low socio-economic status in the Los Angeles area found victims reported the highest level of distress and were regarded as least likeable and popular, whereas bullies did not manifest any psychological adjustment difficulties and were considered most popular by both their peers and their teachers.

al., "Bullying And Symptoms Among School-Aged Children: International Comparative Cross Sectional Study In 28 Countries," *The European Journal of Public Health* v. 15, no.2 (March 2008): 128-132.

¹⁸ Dorothy Espelage and Susan Swearer, editors, *Bullying in Schools: A Social-Ecological Perspective*. (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004).

¹⁹ For evidence that not all bullies suffer from low self-esteem see Jaana Juvonen and Sandra Graham, "Research Based Interventions on Bullying," Cheryl Sanders and Gary Phye, editors, *Bullying: Implications for the Classroom*, Elsevier Academic Press: 2004, 233. Also see Nansel et al., "Bullying Behaviors", op cit.

²⁰ Jaana Juvonen, Sandra Graham and Mark A. Schuster, "Bullying Among Adolescents: The Strong, The Weak and the Troubled," *Pediatrics*, vol. 112, no. 6 (December 2003): 1231-1237.

The Bully-Victim

The categories of bully and victim are not singular. The bully-victim who exhibits both behaviors is a consistent feature of bullying studies. These students may bully other students and in turn be bullied themselves. They are often the youth who display the most difficult characteristics, with the highest number of school, conduct and peer relationship problems.²¹

These children may be bullied in one environment, and subsequently bully others somewhere else. They may even become locked in relationships in which they are sometimes the bully and sometimes the victim with the same individuals. According to Dorothy Espelage, “By asking students if they had engaged in certain behaviors over the past month without telling them those behaviors were defined as bullying, we found that . . . adolescents don't neatly fall into categories of either bullies or non-bullies.” Rather, students reported a continuum of behaviors that blurred exclusive categorization as bully or victim. Other researchers also found similar results from a study of 89 middle school students (11-14 year olds) in three mid-sized Midwestern towns. In the study, students defined bullying behavior and their personal experiences of bullying and victimization. The students consistently described bullying as a wide range of behaviors (from verbal teasing to physical aggression). Furthermore, the students who reported bullying others also reported being victimized themselves.²²

Bully-victims displayed adjustment difficulties; they were most rejected by their peers and rated by their teachers as most disruptive. Compared to youth who were not involved in bullying, bullies, victims, and bully-victims were all less engaged in school and received lower grades in academic subjects.²³

Nor does every act of bullying arise from a disturbed character. Some bullying results from situational frustration, stress or anger and while it does cause distress to the victim, it may not represent a relationship that will remain imbalanced. These impulsive bullies may most easily learn new behaviors or be dissuaded from bullying.

[Several studies, in fact, demonstrate the effectiveness of programs that educate students about bullying. Activities to define and observe bullying; reflect upon its effects; role play as bully, victim and observer; and engage in anti-bullying program design effectively reduced some kinds of bullying, particularly verbal, in schools where the chief bullying issue was between girls.²⁴ These strategies will be discussed further in Section Five.]

²¹ Juvonen, Graham, Schuster, “Bullying Among,” op. cit.

²² Espelage quoted in “Bullying not Limited to Unpopular Loners,” news release of the American Psychological Association, accessed <http://www.apa.org/releases/bullying.html>; Christine Asidao, Shontelle Vion, and Dorothy Espelage, “Interviews with Middle-School Students: Bullying, Victimization and Contextual Factors,” *Journal of Early Adolescence* (August 2000).

²³ Sandra Graham and Jaana Juvonen, “Ethnicity, Peer Harassment, and Adjustment in Middle School: An Exploratory Study,” *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, v. 22, mo. 2(2002): 173-199. This Rand-funded study relied upon students and educators to identify students they considered bullies, victims and bully-victims, comparing the self-reports of those students to those of students not associated with bullying.

²⁴ J. Dan Drosopoulos, A. Zachariah Heald, and M. John McCue, “Minimizing Bullying Behavior of Middle School Students through Behavior Intervention and Instruction,” Master’s Thesis field report, St. Xavier University, Chicago, May 2008, accessed July 2008 at www.eric.ed.gov/ERICDocs/data/ericdocs2sql/content_storage_01/0000019b/80/3d/53/c2.pdf

In fact, when asked why they bully, many children reply that they are only engaging in the behavior they observe in others (including adults); that this is the behavior required to be popular; or that they bully to keep from being victims themselves. One study demonstrated that students who bully gained stature in a middle school's social hierarchy.²⁵ Some report that they bully because it makes them feel they are better than the victim.

The most problematic bullies, however, exhibit a lack of empathy, low concern about consequences, and a need to gain from someone else's loss. These are most often "serial" bullies who will bully repeatedly – the same victim or many. Many admire violence and are physically aggressive. These bullies fit the stereotype, with a strong need to dominate, a low tolerance for frustration, and little compassion for their victims. Their bullying behavior often coincides with tendencies to fight, drink, and smoke more than their peers.²⁶

Some serial bullies are adept at appearing to be the innocent target of an overwrought, self-created victim. These bullies may appear charming to investigators, yet the victim(s) remain terrified of them. They have been aptly described as "bullying down, charming up" because of their ability to convince adults that they could not be capable of what the victim claims. Psychologists describe them variously as passive-aggressive, sociopathic and as having personality disorders. The salient characteristic seems to be their inability to identify with the victim's pain and distress and their commitment to repeated acts of bullying. This complexity underscores the need for professional development to familiarize educators with the variety of acts that constitute bullying and to provide them with tools and tactics for combating bullying in all its forms.²⁷

What Does Bullying Usually Look Like?

Many adults believe bullying is chiefly physical, whether from an overt act (hitting, kicking, etc.) or from physical intimidation. But students more commonly report that they have been bullied verbally or socially. Verbal bullying involves name-calling and spreading rumors. Social bullying includes being isolated and shunned. These non-physical assaults can be even more devastating, perhaps because they are harder for students to defend against and certainly because they may be harder for adults to see – and thus to intervene in assistance of the victim.

²⁵ Interesting research on social hierarchy and social dominance theory attempts to explain the existence of bullying worldwide, with similar patterns of aggression and victims' characteristics, as an innate effort to establish hierarchy and social stability. Patricia Hawley et al., *Aggression and Adaptation: The Bright Side to Bad Behavior*, Routledge 2007.

²⁶ Nansel et al., "Bullying Behaviors," op. cit.

²⁷ The largest amount of information about serial bullies considers adult bullies, particularly in the workplace. For more information about serial bullies and the serious psychopathology ascribed to them, see: Robert D. Hare and Craig S. Neumann, "Psychopathy as a Clinical and Empirical Construct," *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology* v. 4(April 2008): 217-246.

BULLYING CAN TAKE MANY FORMS

Physical:	hitting, shoving, stealing or damaging property
Verbal:	name calling, mocking, making hurtful comments (sexist, racist or derogatory comments about appearance or sexual orientation)
Social:	excluding others from a group or spreading gossip or rumors about them
Electronic:	“cyberbullying – spreading threats, rumors and hurtful comments by e-mail, cellphone or text messaging

Who is Bullied?

A 2001 study indicated that almost 30% of American youth are likely involved in bullying as victim, bully or both. Of students surveyed in California in grades 6 – 10, 13% reported bullying others, 11% were victims, and 6% said they were both bully and victim.²⁸ National studies have shown that 15-25% of American school children report they are bullied at least “sometimes.” And 15-20% admit that they bully others.²⁹

When surveyed students were asked why they were bullied, they most commonly responded: not being in the right social set, how they acted, what they said, who their friends were, religion, size, academic or social shortcomings.³⁰

As commonly believed, boys are more likely to bully, but incidents involving girls as bullies are increasing.³¹ Girls report being bullied by both boys and girls, while most boys are bullied by other boys. Boys are reportedly more likely to engage in physical acts of bullying and girls by exclusionary actions and verbal assaults.³²

Importantly, bullies and bullying occur across a broad spectrum of incidents. Some bullies demonstrate the symptoms of psychopathology that requires professional treatment while other incidents may result from uninformed use of bigoted language. The appropriate response will obviously vary with the type of incident, but there are victims in each case.

Victims of bullying generally tend to be apprehensive, insecure and guarded; have low self-esteem; and rarely defend themselves when attacked. They exhibit few social skills and are often

²⁸ Nansel et al., 2001, op. cit.

²⁹ Gary Melton et al., *Violence Among Rural Youth*, Final Report to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1998; Nansel 2001, op cit.

³⁰ Richard J. Hazler, John H. Hoover and Ronald Oliver, “What Kids Say About Bullying,” *The Executive Educator*, November 20-22, 1992.

³¹ Kathy Christie, “Chasing the Bullies Away,” *Phi Delta Kappan* v. 86, n. 10: 725-26.

³² Dan Olewus, “Bullying at School: What We Know and What We Can Do.” Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1993, 19.

socially isolated. Observers have reported that these victims were attacked because they “didn’t fit in.”³³ And the effects of bullying appear to linger. Researchers found higher levels of depression and poorer self-esteem among former victims of bullying than among their peers.³⁴

The Role of Gender and Sexual Identity

The Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network’s (GLSEN) 2005 survey of students identifying themselves as gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender illustrates the school experience for such student. They reported that:

- Derogatory language was common:
 - 75.4% had heard derogatory sexual terms frequently in their schools;
 - 89.2% had heard the term “gay” used as a synonym for worthless or stupid; and
 - 18.6% reported hearing homophobic remarks from their teachers or other school staff and only 16.5% reported that adults who were present when inappropriate comments were made actually intervened.
 - 64.1% had been verbally harassed at some time in the past school year.
- Physical assaults also occurred because of gender and sexual orientation:
 - 37.8% had been physically harassed because of their sexual orientation and 26.1% because of their gender expression.
 - Actual physical assault was less common, but 17.6% reported being assaulted because of their sexual orientation and 11.8% for their gender expression.
- The common use of derogatory language and possibility of assault combined to make students feel unsafe.
 - 74.2% felt unsafe in school because of personal characteristics, such as their sexual orientation, gender or religion;
 - 64.3% reported feeling unsafe at school because of their sexual orientation specifically, and 40.7% felt unsafe because of how they expressed their gender.
- Cyberbullying also occurs: more than a third (41.2%) of students also reported some instance in the past year of receiving threatening or harassing e-mails or text messages from other students.
- Schools that create supportive and inclusive environments improve student attachment to school.

Students in supportive schools are less likely to have skipped one or more classes (5% v. 16%) or one or more whole days of schools (4% v. 10%)³⁵

³³ See discussion in Olewus op. cit., as well as John H. Hoover, John H. Ronald Oliver, and Richard J Hazler. “Bullying: Perceptions of Adolescent Victims in the Midwestern USA,” in *School Psychology International*, v.13 (1992): 5 – 16.

³⁴ Ken Rigby, “Health Consequences of Bullying and Its Prevention in Schools,” in Jaana Juvonen and Sandra Graham, editors, *Peer Harassment in School: The Plight of the Vulnerable and Victimized*. NY: Guilford Press, 2001.

Similarly, in a 2002 study of Seattle area youth, students who said they had been harassed or attacked at school reported higher rates of attempted suicide in the previous year.

- 13.4% who had been harassed because of gender;
- 12.4% who had been harassed because of their race;
- 23.2% who had been harassed because someone perceived them to be gay or lesbian.
- Students who had been bullied because of their gender were more than twice as likely as their peers to have attempted suicide within the preceding year (13.4% versus 5.2%).
- Almost a quarter of students who have been harassed or attacked at school because someone perceived them to be gay or lesbian report having attempted suicide³⁶.

The actual implementation of practices to address and redress bullying is important. In GLSEN's 2005 student survey, a majority of the students (68.3%) reported that their school had a policy for reporting incidents of harassment and assault, but less than a quarter of the respondents (22.2%) attended a school with a policy that specifically mentioned sexual orientation, and only a tenth (10%) were at a school with a policy that mentioned gender identity/expression.

Where schools enforced their anti-harassment policies, students reported hearing fewer derogatory remarks and lower rates of verbal harassment. They reported more intervention by adults, and were more likely to report harassment and bullying to adults. Further, while 90% of the students reported knowing at least one staff member in their school who was supportive, a higher percentage of supportive adults correlated to less fear, missing fewer days of school, and a higher incidence of planning to attend college.

The self-reports of Washington students (further discussion below) and students recently surveyed in Oregon similarly demonstrate the frequency of gender and sexuality-based harassment. In Washington, girls begin to report a dramatic increase of gender-based bullying in high school. Both male and female Oregon students who identified themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual or unsure reported being harassed and attempting suicide dramatically more often than their peers.³⁷

³⁵ *Op cit.* While these are self reports, GLSEN notes that the numbers are corroborated by general student surveys in which 62.5% of students reported that other students were called names or harassed at their school on the basis of their actual or perceived sexual orientation, which was quite similar to the 64.1% of LGBT students surveyed in the 2005 NSCS who reported experiencing such harassment. Harris Interactive. *Hostile Hallways: Bullying, Teasing, and Sexual Harassment in School*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, 2001.

³⁶ <http://www.metrokc.gov/health/datawatch/bullying.pdf>

³⁷ 2007 Oregon Healthy Teen Survey www.dhs.state.or.us/dhs/ph/chs/youthsurvey/ohtdata.shtml#2007

Disability

The amount of research on the relationship between bullying and students with disabilities remains limited, although the studies produce evidence that special needs students are at increased risk of being targeted, and that they are more susceptible to the negative effects of bullying. Students with learning disabilities, emotional disorders, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, or physical disabilities often demonstrate a lack of social awareness that may make them more vulnerable to victimization.³⁸ Additionally, research has shown that students with special needs are more susceptible to bullying and are more likely to be rejected socially.

As noted above, special options exist for students whose education is affected by bullying. A formal complaint process that begins with written notice to the child's school can be carried to the Office of Civil Rights. These processes

are long, laborious and filled with narrowing criteria, but they are available, and schools should be well aware of their responsibilities under the Individual with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, Title II, and under the provisions of a Free Appropriate Public Education (FAPE).

Disability harassment is the form of bullying and teasing specifically based on or because of a disability. This treatment creates a hostile environment by denying access to, participation in, or receipt of benefits, services, or opportunities at school (PSEA Interactive, 2003; U.S. Department of Education, 2000).

Race

Attempts to investigate the demographic aspect of bullying are relatively recent. One national study surveyed 11,033 teens in grades 6 through 10 regarding gender, affluence, peer relationships and family relationships. Black youth reported themselves as victims significantly less often than white and Hispanic students, and black youth also showed less correlation between lack of bullying and school satisfaction. Less bullying did correlate with satisfaction with school and school performance for white and Hispanic students. Overall, better parental communication, less social isolation, and more classmate relationships associated with less bullying across all racial and ethnic groups.³⁹

³⁸ A review of the available evidence was completed by Faye Mishna, "Learning Disabilities and Bullying: Double Jeopardy," *Journal of Learning Disabilities* v. 36, no. 4 (July-August 2003): 336-47. Studies that indicate an increased risk for being victimized: Dabie Nabuzoka and Peter K. Smith, "Sociometric Status and Social Behavior of Children with and without Learning Disabilities," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* v. 34, no. 9 (November 1993): 1435-1448. Carol Yude, Robert Goodman and Helen McConachie, "Peer Problems of Children with Hemiplegia in Mainstream Schools," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* v. 39 (1998), vulnerability: James D. Unnever and Dewey G. Cornell, "Bully, Self-Control, and ADHD," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* v. 18, no. 2 (2003): 129-147; social rejection: Margaret Martlew and Jean Hodson, "Children with mild learning difficulties in an integrated and in a special school: Comparisons of behaviour, teasing and teachers' attitudes", *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 61 (1991): 355-372.

³⁹ Aubrey L. Spriggs et al., "Adolescent Bullying Involvement and Perceived Family, Peer and School Relations: Commonalities and Differences Across Race/Ethnicity," *Journal of Adolescent Health* v. 41, no. 3 (July 12, 2007): 283-293.

Another study of bullying and victimization was conducted in three high schools and five middle schools (including 6th grade) in a large urban district in Texas. The students were predominantly Black and Hispanic and the student population largely poor, as measured by the high rate of qualification for federally provided free and reduced price lunches. Among these youth, the researchers found:

- A general increase in bullying as students transitioned into the ninth grade;
- Teasing, name-calling and upsetting others for the fun of it were the most common types of bullying;
- Black students had a higher prevalence of being picked on, being made fun of, and being called names, and more than twice the prevalence of getting hit or pushed compared to Hispanic students;
- Black students were consistently more likely than Hispanic students to be affected by bullying: classified as a bully, victim, or bully-victim. In addition, the majority of the specific types of bullying and victimization were also more frequent among Black students than Hispanic students.⁴⁰

Rural Youth

Researchers are also considering the impact of bullying on rural youth. Although many adults may think of bullying as an urban problem, most often occurring in large schools with gangs, the isolation of rural youth can leave them particularly vulnerable to bullying. A study of students in rural western Canada demonstrated that, as elsewhere, students were targeted because of personal appearance, such as being overweight or not having acceptable clothing. Bullies talked freely about the status they gained from their actions. Students reported that they were unlikely to seek professional help, but that something should be done about bullying.⁴¹ In fact, the impression that large schools or classes are more conducive to bullying appears inaccurate. No correlation has been established between class or school size and bullying. In fact, there is some evidence that bullying may be less prevalent in larger schools where potential victims have increased opportunities for finding supportive friends.⁴²

How Often Does Bullying Happen?

Although research about bullying began earlier, interest grew dramatically with the report that the student shooters in Columbine, Colorado, ascribed their actions to having been bullied. In 1999, states began to enact laws against bullying, even though their definitions of the term and the actions to address it have varied. Most look at the same sources to guide them, however. Some are studies based on work in individual districts or even schools, not always a sufficient basis for broad policy decisions. Studies at the state and even national level often drew contradictory conclusions about why students bullied and how much effect there was on victims.

⁴⁰Melissa F. Peskin, Susan R. Tortolero, and Christine M. Markham, "Bullying and victimization among Black and Hispanic adolescents, *Adolescence* (Fall 2006),

⁴¹J C Kulig, B L Hall, R G Kalischuk, "Bullying Perspectives among Rural Youth," *Rural Remote Health* vol. 8, no. 2 (April-June 2008): 923.

⁴²Dan Olweus, "Bullying at School: Tackling the Problem," *OECD Observer* no. 255(March 2001) accessed online at <http://www.oecdobserver.org/news/fullstory.php/aid/434>

In 1998, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) conducted a survey of 15,686 students in grades six through 10. They found that 30 percent of the sample had been involved in bullying behavior, either as victim or bully. And in 2002, the Families and Work Institute surveyed a nationally representative sample of students in grades five through twelve and found that 32 percent had been bullied at some time in the last month, 12 percent had been bullied five times or more in that month, 23 percent admitted that they had bullied someone at least once in the past month and 6 percent reported that they bullied or been bullied five times or more.⁴³

Here's what the students reported to NICHD:

Table 1. NICHD Most Frequent Types of Bullying Behavior Encountered in 1998

Type of Behavior	Males	Females
Belittled about religion or race	8.8%	7.2%
Belittled about looks or speech	19.8%	20.5%
Hit, slapped or pushed	17.8%	11.1%
Subjects of rumors	16.7%	17.3%
Subjects of sexual comments or gestures	17.5%	20.5%

Nationally, and repeatedly, 15-25% of students report having been bullied at some time during a school term and 15-20% admit to bullying. These numbers, commonly cited in bullying reports, may be a significant undercount, however. Newer research methods greatly increase the incident reports. Earlier studies asked students to report how many times they had experienced bullying within a specific time period – in the last month or year. Yet when surveyed frequently (4-5 times in a two-week period) and asked about incidents that occurred on the same day as the survey, 50% reported being harassed or witnessing bullying each day.⁴⁴

Adults also often believe that bullying happens more often off campus, particularly as students walk and ride to school. While bullying does occur on the school bus, as an example, students more often report it as an incident at the school. Research finds bullying most likely to occur where there is too little adult supervision: during class changes or recess. It also occurs where adults appear to accept bullying behavior and where rules against bullying are inconsistently applied.⁴⁵

⁴³NICHD op cit. The Families and Work Institute report is Ellen Galinsky and Kimberlee Salmond, "Youth and Violence: Students Speak Out For a More Civil Society," *Families and Work Institute* (2002) 10.

⁴⁴ Adrienne Nishina and Jaana Juvonen, "Sticks and Stones May Break My Bones, But Names Will Make Me Feel Sick: The Psychosocial, Somatic and Scholastic Consequences of Peer Harassment," *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, v. 34, no.1(2003): 37- 48.

⁴⁵Dan Olewus et al., *Blueprints for Violence Prevention, Book Nine: Bullying Prevention Program*. Boulder, CO: Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 1999. Information about bullying locations: Susan M. Swearer

Cyberbullying: How It's Special and How It's Not

Bullying that occurs using the internet, interactive and digital technologies or cellular phones is called “cyberbullying.” Only two of the types of cyberbullies have something in common with the traditional schoolyard bully. Experts who understand schoolyard bullying often misunderstand cyberbullying, thinking it is just another method of bullying. But the motives and the nature of cybercommunications, as well as the demographic and profile of a cyberbully differ from their offline counterpart.⁴⁶ Overall, it still involves an intentional act by one child/teen or group of children/teens against another.

The involvement of adults changes the act from bullying to stalking or harassment or predation, depending upon the adult’s actions. Occasionally cyberbullying initiated by a child or teen may attract adults who see the posts. Clearly the complications can become confusing and dangerous, but the initiation and conduct child-to-child is essential for the designation as bullying.

Another complication to cyberbullying is the speed of interplay between bully and victim. Sometimes their roles change, even multiple times. The potential for violence and tragedy are well reported and the compounding effect of a victim’s sense of isolation must be considered. Also like other bullying, cyberbullying is a repeated activity, although even a single occurrence that is sufficiently serious (death threats and threats of physical harm) can have devastating consequences. While the event may not be repeated, the cybermessage can circulate repeatedly and – to the child – seemingly inescapably. These may meet the criteria of misdemeanor cyber harassment or juvenile delinquency. Most commonly, cyberbullying is pursued as a contractual violation with the service provider. In extreme cases, stealing other students’ passwords or hacking their accounts can result in charges under identity-theft statutes, which have serious state and federal consequences.

Schools face legal difficulty interceding in incidents that take place off campus or outside school hours. Schools can initiate effective efforts to work with parents and other students to stop and correct cyberbullying, using many of the same tactics employed against more traditional bullying. See Section Four for further discussion.

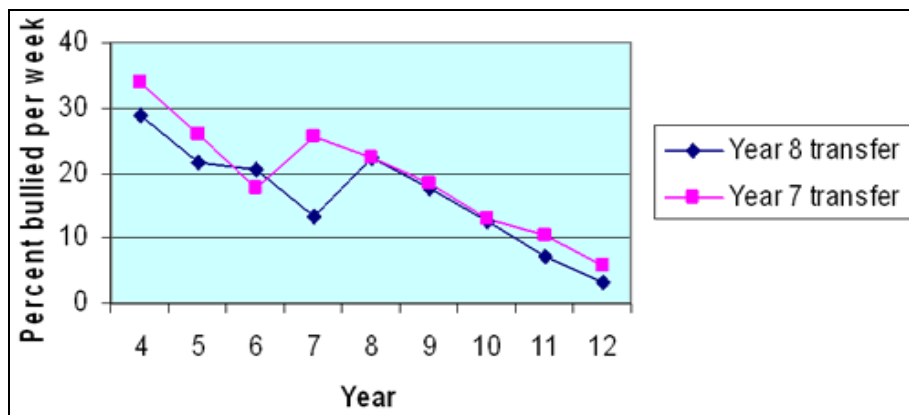
and Paulette Tam Cary, “Perceptions and Attitudes Toward Bullying in Middle School Youth: A Developmental Examination Across the Bullying-Victim Continuum,” in Maurice Elias and Joseph E. Zins, editors, *Bullying, Peer Harassment, and Victimization in the Schools* (Haworth 2004), 63-79; Amanda Cook and Charisse Nixon, “Where Do Students See Relational and Physical Agression Occur?” *The Ophelia Project* www.opheliaproject.org; Jody Isernhagen and Sandra Harris, “A Comparison of Bullying in Four Rural Middle and High Schools,” *The Rural Educator* (Spring 2004).

⁴⁶ <http://www.stopcyberbullying.org/educators/index.html>

The Young are Bullied Most

It is widely recognized that reported bullying declines with age. It commonly rises again when children move from primary to secondary school, as results from Australia clearly show. In states of Australia where the transfer to secondary school is made in Year 7, the rise in bullying occurs a year earlier than it does in states where the transfer is made in Year 8 (illustration below from the Australian report).⁴⁷

Figure 1: Increase in Bullying at Points of Transition to Secondary School



Similar results were found in U.S. studies of middle school transition. In a longitudinal study of bullying, victimization and peer affiliation, researchers found that bullying increased with the initial transition from fifth to sixth grade and then declined. Bullying was also used as a strategy to establish dominance in new peer groups as the students entered a new and bigger school. "Once the dominance is established and their place with their new friends is secure," said the researchers, "the aggression subsides. But some students bully throughout their school years, never feeling secure in their peer alliances."⁴⁸

Adult Awareness

How aware of bullying are adults? Often the answer is, "not very." In one study, 70% of teachers believed they intervened "almost always" in bullying situations, but only 25% of students agreed with their assessment.⁴⁹ Researchers who conducted on-site observations in Canada observed that adults intervened in only 14% of classroom bullying events and 4% of those that occurred on the playground. They concluded that educators did not intervene more because many of the incidents were verbal, quick, and/or happened when educators were not present or attentive.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ken Rigby, *Bullying In Schools and What To Do About It*, <http://www.education.unisa.edu.au/bullying>

⁴⁸ Maria Bartini and Anthony D. Pellegrini, quoted in "Bullying Is Not Limited To Unpopular Loners, Say Researchers; Many Children Bully Each Other Especially In Middle School," American Psychological Association www.apa.org/releases/bully.htm, accessed June 2008.

⁴⁹ Alice Charach, Pepler, Debra., & Ziegler, Susanne. (1995). Bullying at school - a Canadian perspective: A survey of problems and suggestions for intervention. *Education Canada*, 35, 1, 12-18. EJ 502 058.

⁵⁰ Wendy Craig and Debra Pepler, "Making a Difference in Bullying," La March Research Programme Reports #60, Ontario: La Marsh Centre, <http://melissainstitute.org/documents/MakingADifference.pdf>

More recently, a district-wide survey of over 15,000 students and 1500 staff in 75 elementary, 20 middle and 14 high schools demonstrated how consistently adults underestimated the problem of bullying. The study revealed the gap regarding the frequency of bullying, the places bullying most commonly occurred, the forms bullying took, and how severe the problem was. It illustrated common attitudes toward bullying and specifically attitudes of those who witnessed bullying. Not surprisingly, middle school students and staff tended to report the greatest exposure to and concern about bullying. Importantly, staff with greater effectiveness in handling bullying situations were more likely to intervene and less likely to make the bullying situation worse. Staff members' own experiences with bullying were predictive of their attitudes toward bullying and perceived efficacy for handling a bullying situation. Clearly there are implications for prevention and intervention by school staff.⁵¹

And their action is critical. On its website, the National Center on Secondary Education and Transition (NCSET) cites Larry Brendtro's 2001 assertion that "the quality of youth peer cultures is largely determined by adults," suggesting that the responsibility for curbing negative youth culture falls at least in part on adults."⁵² Further, a survey conducted for the Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services found:

- An "omnipresent fear of physical violence and name-calling" among students age 9-13.
- A prevailing view among students that schools "don't get it" when it comes to verbal and emotional bullying, instead simply focusing on physical bullying.
- A belief among students that it is not worth the effort to tell an adult about bullying because bullies are rarely punished severely enough to deter them from future bullying.
- Students described "unsympathetic and apathetic teachers and principals" who are "difficult to motivate to take action" and "weak and ineffective penalties and punishments for bullies that allows bullying to flourish"⁵³

In a 2002 survey of rural and suburban adolescents' opinions of their schools' attitudes about bullying, nearly one quarter of students reported that they did not believe that their teachers or administrators were interested in reducing bullying -- and the rest of the students indicated that they did not know.⁵⁴ And 80 percent of students in a study of Midwestern middle schoolers thought that school staff did not know when bullying had occurred.⁵⁵

⁵¹Catherine Bradshaw, Anne Sawyer, Lindsey Brennan, "Bullying and Peer Victimization at School: Perceptual Differences between Students and School Staff," *School Psychology Review*, v36 n3 p361-382.

⁵²NCSET.org/papers/issue/NCSETIssueBrief_2.3/pdf

⁵³Widmeyer Communications for the Health, Resources and Services Administration of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, National Bullying Prevention Campaign Formative Research Report (2003).

⁵⁴ Kaiser Family Foundation and Children Now. *Talking with Kids About Tough Issues: A National Survey of Parents and Kids, Summary of Findings*. Available on-line: www.childrennow.org/nickelodeon/summary.pdf.

⁵⁵ Sweraer and Cary, op cit.

Adult -- And School -- Responsibility

Why does adult awareness matter? Lack of response by adults may be interpreted by youth as accepting the bullying or it may give or reinforce the message that they don't want to know. In either case, victims may feel left on their own to endure the bullying and an environment tolerant of bullying may flourish. Every student who witnesses bullying is affected. Students may sympathize with or defend victims initially, but if responsible adults fail to speak and act, those students will eventually view bullying as acceptable. Thus ignoring -- or failing to understand -- bullying behavior will result in a social climate that promotes bullying, fighting, truancy, and other social and learning problems in all students.

Schools may also be legally vulnerable if they inadequately protect students from bullies. Parents have sued schools for their failures to address bullying, according to attorney Mary Jo McGrath, writing in the April, 2003, edition of *School Administrator* reported that schools have three duties:

- The duty to remedy by adopting policies and procedures that clearly spell out that bullying will not be tolerated and the consequences of such acts.
- The duty to monitor and correct inappropriate behavior. An environment must also be provided where students feel safe and free from retaliation.
- The duty to investigate each complaint in a prompt and thorough manner.

Role of Peers

Adults are never everywhere, however, and bullies will take advantage of any opportunity to harass their victims. Thus peer attitudes are crucial to the tolerance or rejection of bullying. Since bullies may perceive an increase in their social standing as the reward for bullying, the action of peers toward bullies matters. Craig and Peplar found that eleven percent of children reported regularly attempting to intervene in bullying and that 80 – 90 percent found bullying unpleasant to observe. They also found that peers were present during 85% of the bullying incidents they observed. They warned, however, that when peers intervened improperly, they could aggravate the situation and exacerbate the victim's distress.

Peers can be drawn into the bullying because they are excited by the aggression, which Craig and Peplar described as the "theater of bullying." Even without engaging themselves, peers' deference to the bully or silence toward the victim can reinforce the bully's effects. Further, aligning with the bully may increase the peers' tendency toward violence and aggression if unbalanced by concern for the victim and knowledge of what behaviors are actually correct.⁵⁶

Given the acknowledged importance of adults and peers, then, strategies to quell bullying cannot rely alone upon stopping the bully or empowering the victim, as important as both those actions are. Section Five presents the most compelling work against bullying and considers options for Washington.

⁵⁶ Craig and Peplar, *Making a Difference*, 9. Also see Australian study by Julie Lodge and Erika Frydenberg, "The Role of Peer Bystanders in School Bullying: Positive Steps Toward Promoting Peaceful Schools," *Theory into Practice* v. 44, no. 4 (August 2005): 329 – 336.

FINDINGS

FINDING 1: Bullying is destructive. It is characterized by an imbalance of power between one or more students and the victim(s); by an intent to harm; and by repetition. It can be overt or it can be subtle and swift, but it has long-term consequences for the victim – and for the bully and bystanders.

FINDING 2: Bullying interferes with learning. School environments infected by bullying fail to support the learning and development of all students.

FINDING 3: Bullying is complex. Students bully for more than one reason, which means that no single solution exists for all kinds of bullying. Districts must understand the kind of bullying that occurs in their schools and create appropriate countermeasures.

FINDING 4: Bullying particularly affects our youngest students. It has particular significance in the years during which students define their individual identities and in periods of social stress, such as the transitions from elementary to middle school and from middle school to high school.

SECTION TWO: CURRENT STATE POLICY

BACKGROUND

In 2002 the Washington State Legislature enacted the “Anti-Harassment, Intimidation, and Bullying [**HIB**] Act of 2002”, commonly called *The Anti-Bullying Act*, which took effect August 1, 2003. This legislation had been preceded in 2001 by efforts to help parents protect children harassed by other children and by an investment of \$500,000 for anti-bullying and anti-harassment training at the district level. The 2002 bill made Washington a leader in state-level policy against bullying at a time when only eleven other states adopted similar protections.

By 2008, thirty-six states have anti-bullying laws, although Washington’s law continues to be acknowledged for its quality.⁵⁷ (Organizations such as Bullypolice.org and GLSEN set standards for and make ratings that can be viewed on their websites.) As two developmental psychologists observed, examining state-level bullying policy is a significant view into how schools, teachers, and society as a whole view bullying: “state laws have been the primary legislative vehicle for announcing new initiatives designed to reduce bullying behavior”.⁵⁸

THE LEGISLATION

The bill required the state’s publicly funded school districts to enact policies to prevent harassment, intimidation and bullying. The bill defined those as: “any intentional written, verbal or physical act, including, but not limited to one shown to be motivated either by any characteristic in RCW 9A.36.080(3) or other distinguishing characteristics, when (that) act:

- (a) physically harms a student or damages the student’s property; or
- (b) has the effect of substantially interfering with a student’s education; or
- (c) is so severe, persistent, or pervasive that it creates an intimidating or threatening educational environment, or
- (d) has the effect of substantially disrupting the orderly operation of the school.”

RCW 9A.36.080(3), the state’s malicious harassment statute referred to in the bill, lists eight characteristics as common motivators of bias-based acts: “***race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, and mental or physical disability.***” Thus the bill is interpreted as requiring districts to tell students clearly that they may not harass one another on these eight or any other bases.

The Anti-Bullying Act also obligates districts to share their policies with students, parents, employees, and volunteers. This presages current best practices that will be discussed further in Section Five.

⁵⁷ Currently only ten states, including Washington, have laws that protect students in categories that include sexual orientation. Only seven, *not* including Washington, also protect “gender expression.” The term generally represents

⁵⁸ Susan P. Limber and Mark A. Small, “State Laws and Policies to Address Bullying in Schools,” *School Psychology Review*, v. 32 (2003), 446.

THE IMMEDIATE RESPONSE

According to *The Bullying Report*, published by the Washington PTA and Safe Schools Coalition in December 2003, most Washington school districts responded quickly to the law. Seventy-five percent of the districts responded to the study's survey, answering questions and supplying examples of their policy and procedures.⁵⁹

The majority of the responding districts clearly took bullying seriously, enacting new policies and procedures and launching staff development efforts. Most actively involved students, parents, employees and other community representatives in their work. They prohibited all eight categories identified in the bill (race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, and mental or physical disability.) They utilized the model policy and procedures provided by the Washington State School Directors Association and the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. Many went further, providing anonymous reporting options for students or committing to quick responses to complaints. The survey sponsors found the responses "encouraging."

SUBSEQUENT EVIDENCE: MEETING THE LEGAL REQUIREMENT

OSPI is committed to insuring schools meet their legal requirements and apparently they do. Washington districts must provide assurance that they have policies in place to address bullying to qualify for federal funds for Safe and Drug-Free Schools. [Currently only ten Washington districts (3%) choose to transfer their SDFS monies to other federal accounts.] Additionally, OSPI routinely monitors all Washington school districts for compliance with state and federal requirements. Through a process of consolidated program review, teams of OSPI staff assess school records and make site visits to one quarter of all districts each year. In 2006-2007, only four districts were found out of compliance for HIB policy (5% of those reviewed/1.4% of all districts) and all have since made the necessary corrections.

It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that effectively **Washington's school districts have responded to the legal requirement to have policies regarding bullying.** *It is important, of course, that OSPI continue to make districts aware of this requirement and monitor their compliance.*

SUBSEQUENT EVIDENCE: NOT MEETING THE INTENT

Despite the widespread adoption of anti-bullying policies, however, bullying has not declined. The following section examines evidence of bullying among students since 2002. The results demonstrate that not enough has yet been done to address bullying in Washington schools.

With the assistance of staff of the Association of Washington School Principals, WSU-SESRC staff interviewed school principals and staff around the state. While most districts appear to be making some efforts to combat bullying, the methods employed vary widely. One district, for example, combines their anti-bullying efforts with a well-staffed, well-organized campaign for equality and tolerance. District staff are dedicated to regular school visits, professional development, and posted displays addressing appropriate behavior. Importantly, they address

⁵⁹ Among the 25% of districts who did not respond to the survey, most were rural and small. Twenty-four were K-8 districts and forty were combined-grade schools (K-12 or 6/7-12 combined.)

staff interactions as well as student. In contrast, another high school's principal reported that their anti-bullying efforts relied on the contracted security staff to handle complaints. He believed students understood the school policy because it was in their student handbooks. On inspection, however, it was not.

(No systematic survey of Washington schools was conducted for this study. Informal interviews demonstrated that attitudes and practice vary so widely that any survey is certain to identify a broad array of programs and procedures that taken altogether do not amount to a statewide initiative. If the state establishes a standard for either recommended procedures or desired outcomes, then school surveys could prove a valuable means of determining the degree to which schools have implemented more concrete measures.)

Further evidence that not all schools are fully complying with the intent of the law comes from the state's Office of the Education Ombudsman, which is discussed further in Section Four. An interview with the Ombudsman revealed that bullying concerns are among the two most common causes of complaint about Washington's schools. (The other is special education.) The Ombudsman's office works to resolve conflict between schools and parents, chiefly by providing training in conflict resolution. They believe that schools need more understanding of the value of better relationships with parents, and the broader community, and more skill at sustaining those relationships. This parallels key recommendations from those who promote anti-bullying strategies, discussed further below.⁶⁰

ESTABLISHING MORE EXPLICIT EXPECTATIONS

Although Washington was among the first states to require its public schools to enact anti-bullying policies and procedures, the model policy created by OSPI and WASA is only recommended to the schools. Since it appears that districts have generally complied with the statute, but without a decline in the incidence of bullying (see following discussion), more explicit expectations appear necessary.

Bullying can be reduced by implementing a set of procedures that has been agreed upon by a variety of local stakeholders for both preventing and responding to bullying behavior. In order to be effective, however, these regulations must be implemented thoroughly and consistently, and vigorously sustained throughout the school community, with staff, parents, and students actively engaged in the process.⁶¹

Further expectations of schools, of course, must be based on evidence of most effective practice, which will be discussed further in Section Five. Higher expectations for schools must always be balanced with state support and assistance, as well.

⁶⁰ Interview with Adie Simmons, Director, Office of Education Ombudsman, July 21, 2008.

⁶¹ David Thompson, Tiny Arora, and Sandy Sharp. *Bullying: Effective Strategies for Long-Term Implementation*. London: Routledge Falmer, 2002.

FINDINGS

FINDING 5: Districts appear to have responded to their statutory requirement to have anti-bullying policies.

- They do not appear to be addressing bullying uniformly.
- Students and parents continue to seek assistance against bullying.

SECTION THREE: NO IMPROVEMENT IN THE SAFETY AND CIVILITY OF SCHOOLS' CLIMATE AND ENVIRONMENT

To determine whether the requirement to have policy and procedures about bullying had the desired effect of decreasing bullying activity, SESRC analyzed evidence provided by students completing the state's **Healthy Youth Survey (HYS)** in 2002, 2004 and 2006. The survey is a collaborative effort of the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI), the Department of Health (DOH), the Department of Social and Health Service's Division of Alcohol and Substance Abuse (DSHS), Community Trade and Economic Development (CTED), the Family Policy Council (FPC) and the Washington State Liquor Control Board (WSLCB). In each survey, students in grades 6, 8, 10 and 12 answered questions about safety and violence, physical activity and diet, alcohol, tobacco and other drug use, and related risk and protective factors.

All Washington schools serving grades 6, 8, 10 and 12 are invited to participate in the survey. Schools register and designate a survey coordinator, who is trained in the survey's administration. Coordinators instruct the teachers in their schools, who administer the survey in a single class on a single day. The coordinators also receive information to provide parents and students prior to the survey. Parents may refuse their child's participation and students may also choose not to participate. Students participate voluntarily and anonymously.

To conduct the 2006 survey, DOH selected three random samples of schools with grades 6, 8, 10, and 12. An estimated 78 percent of the grade 6 students, 70 percent of the grade 8 students, 63 percent of the grade 10 students, and 51 percent of the Grade 12 students in the sample schools took part in the survey (estimates based on 2006–2007 enrollment data from the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction). A total of 203 schools and 32,531 students contributed data to the statewide sample.⁶²

SESRC ANALYSIS

SESRC staff analyzed the state and county-level data specifically regarding reports of bullying. The survey investigates many behaviors of students related to their health and well being, some of which national researchers have also shown as correlated to bullying: increases in alcohol and drug use, for example. For this study, we focused on bullying and harassment to investigate the self-reports of students on this subject. Analyses follow that compare rates from 2002, 2004 and 2006 surveys. First, to illustrate what the survey represents, here are more detailed characteristics of the survey and students from the 2006 survey.

⁶² In addition, 165,781 students in 904 schools participated in the survey as non-sampled schools. These schools received reports of their own results, but those results are not included in this statewide report because the schools were not part of the representative statewide sample. Further detail about the conduct of the survey can be found at https://fortress.wa.gov/doh/hys/Documents/HYS2006_AnalyticReport.pdf

Healthy Youth Survey 2006: Background

Overall Participation

According to OSPI, there were 319,666 students enrolled in the four surveyed grades (6, 8, 10 and 12) in 2006. There were 49,959 students enrolled in those four grades in the schools selected for survey and surveys were administered to 34,021 students.⁶³ 32,531 surveys were deemed “valid” for an overall participation rate of 65%. The participation rate varied widely by grade, with the younger students completing surveys at 78% (6th grade) and 70% (8th grade) and the older students declining to 63% (10th grade) and 51% (12th grade.)

The survey is administered in three forms. Forms A and B, administered to 8th, 10th, and 12th graders, contain a “core” set of common items plus items unique to each grade. Form C, for 6th graders, has some of the items from A and B plus some items unique to it. Additionally, schools have discretion over some items, which appear as group on a final page that can be removed by the district. In 2006, 58% of the students submitted surveys that included the optional questions.

The Bullying Questions

In the survey, students were asked to report how many times they had been bullied. “Bullying” was described as:

A student is being bullied when another student, or group of students, say or do nasty or unpleasant things to him or her. It is also bullying when a student is teased repeatedly in a way he or she doesn’t like. It is NOT bullying when two students of about the same strength argue or fight.

2006 Student Participants

Although the sample appears to differ from the characteristics of the general student population, the differences may not be significant for considering the reliability of the HYS. The survey asks students to identify their ethnicity. When compared to the overall ethnicity of their peers as reported to OSPI, there are variations. Some difference may be caused by how schools or OSPI choose among multiple entries. (For example, if a student indicates two ethnicities rather than choosing the “multiple” category, registrars or data staff may choose between the two choices arbitrarily.) When asked personally to respond, the surveyed students chose multiple entries and the “multiple” category frequently enough to cause statistical differences between the representation of the sample and the official characterization of the class by OSPI.

Still, the difference is greatest among 6th graders, which may mean that younger students are less clear about the question or that they become accustomed to giving a single response with more experience answering the question. Below is a graphic illustration of the difference between the state’s representation of the ethnicity of 6th graders and the HYS sample’s self-report of ethnicity.

⁶³ Student participation would be affected by attendance on the day the survey was administered. Students can be enrolled in school without being present on the school campus, such as students participating in Running Start, work-based learning, and other student options. Absences due to illness further decrease the survey population.

While OSPI reports 68.2% of 6th graders in 2006 were white/Caucasian, only 39.2% of the sampled students choose that designation.

Figure 2

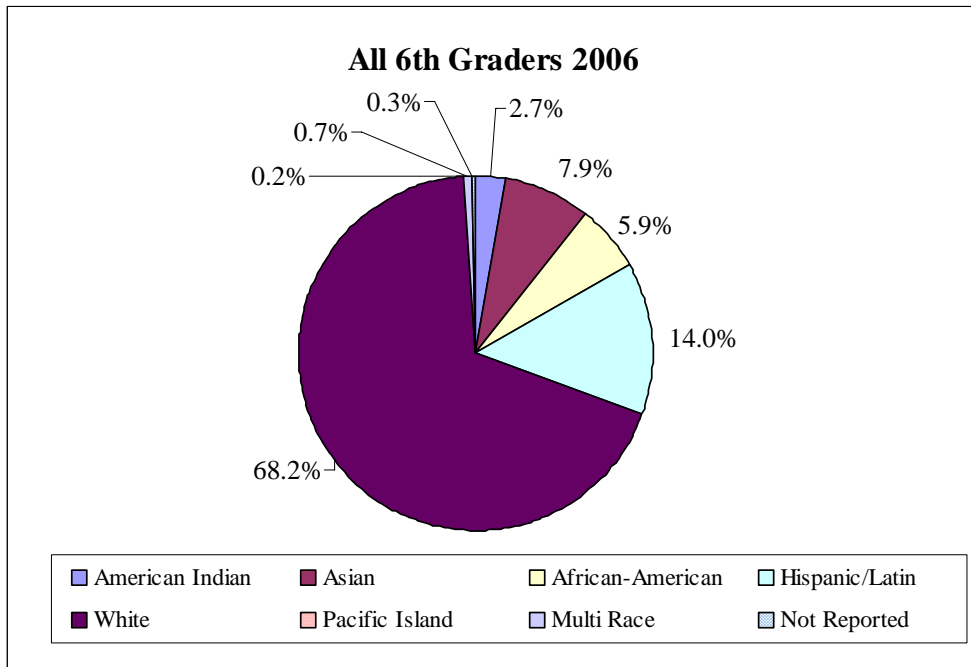
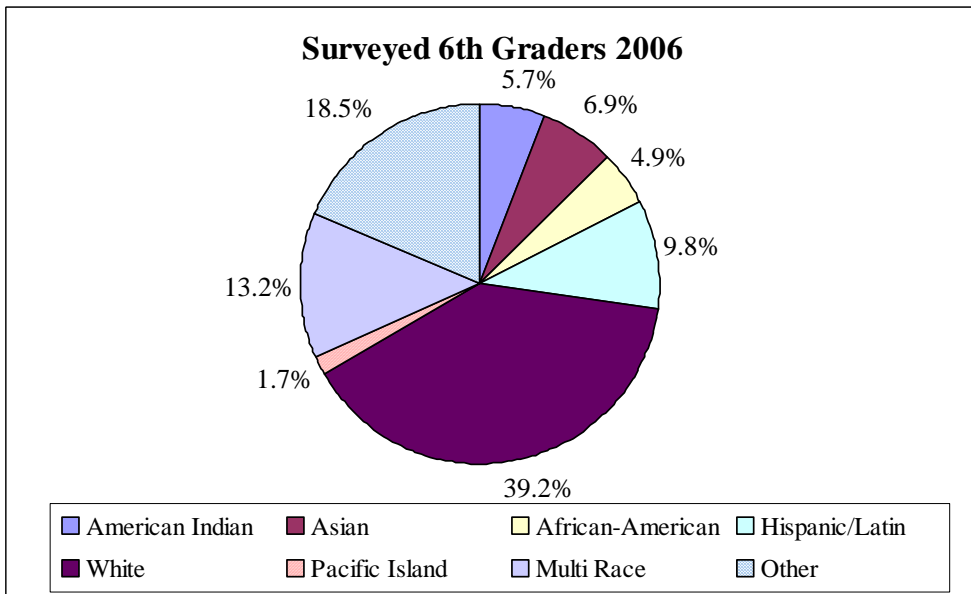


Figure 3



By 12th grade, however, the variations have reduced significantly, as seen in figures 4 and 5. The most significant remaining differences are were:

- According to OSPI, 74.7% of 12th graders are “white/Caucasian; 65.7% of the sampled 12th graders choose that designation [difference: 9%]
- 4.3% of the sampled 12th graders selected “Other”, a category that does not exist in the OSPI data [difference: 4.3%]
- According to OSPI, 2.5% of students are multi-racial; 4.7% of the sampled 12th graders selected that designation [difference 2.2%]
- According to OSPI, 0.2% of students are Pacific Islanders; 2.1% of the sampled 12th graders chose that classification [difference 1.9%]

Figure 4

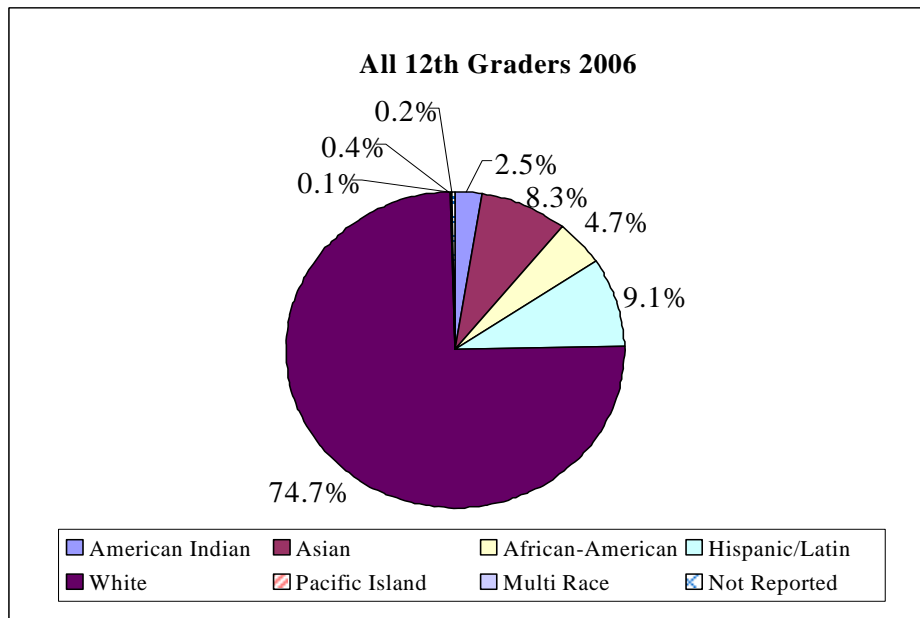
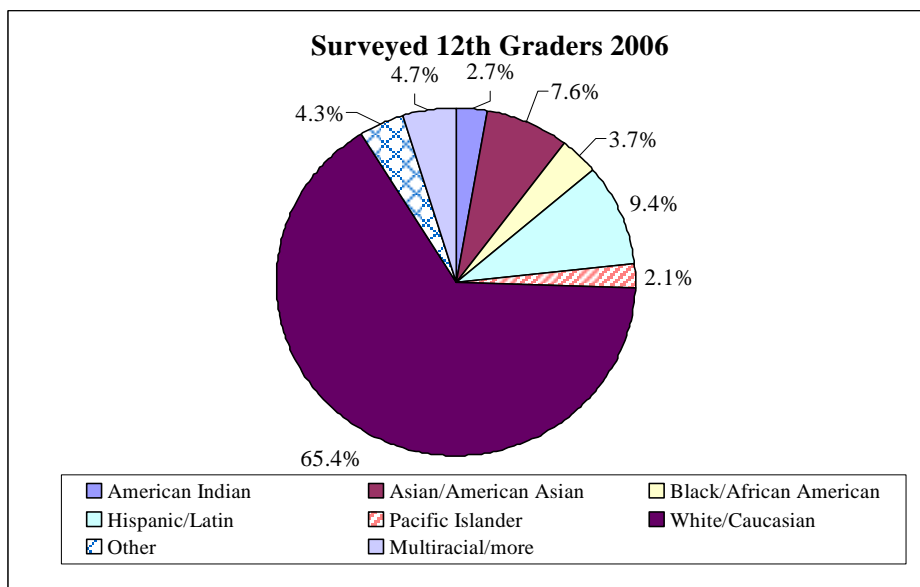


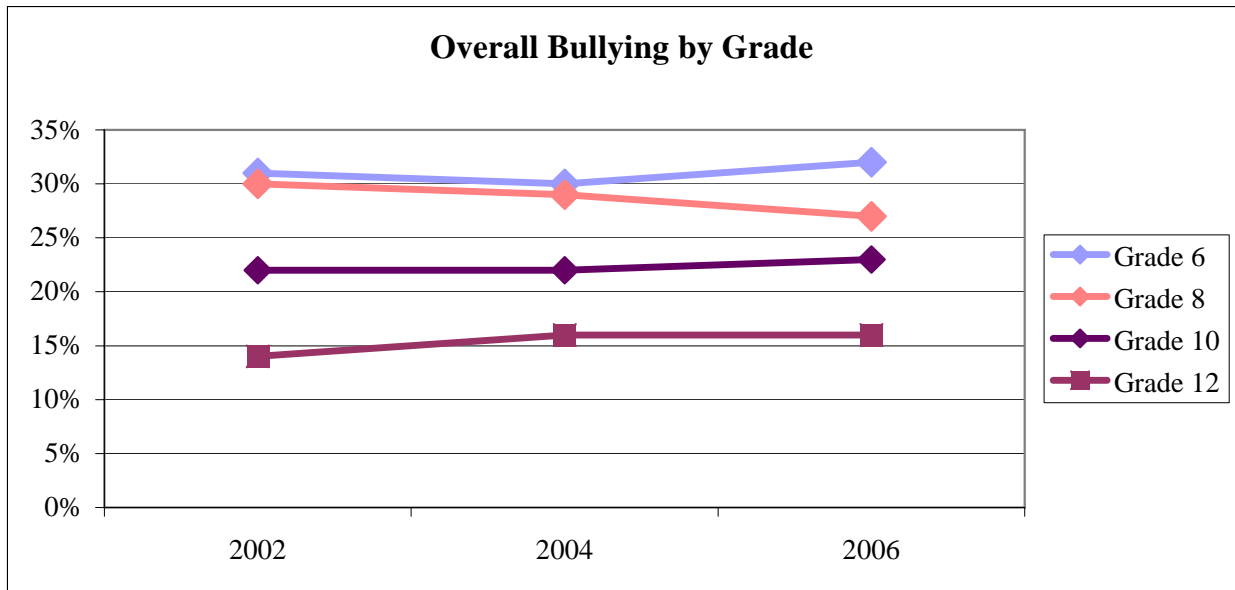
Figure 5



Bullying All Grades 2002 – 2006

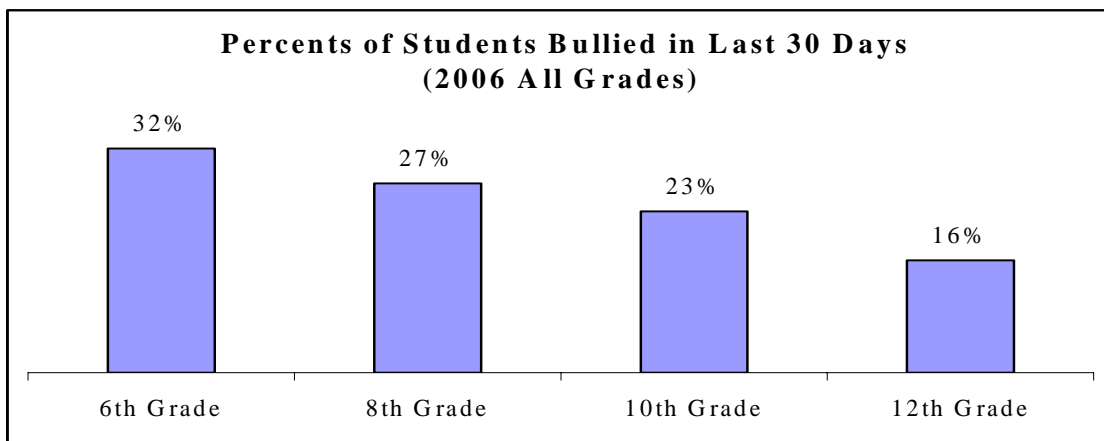
To see whether bullying had declined since 2002, we compared the bullying reported in the HYS for 2002, 2004 and 2006 (figure 6.) Washington students reported bullying most commonly in lower grades, just as their peers have around the world. There were only slight changes in the rates. With an error rate in these percentages of +/- 2%, the only grade to show an appreciable change is the 8th grade, for which bullying reports declined from 30% in 2002 to 27% in 2006. In the same period, slight increases occurred in 6th, 10th and 12th grade reports (although all within the margin of error.) Thus, in effect, **the bullying rates in Washington have not improved since the legislation of 2002.**

Figure 6



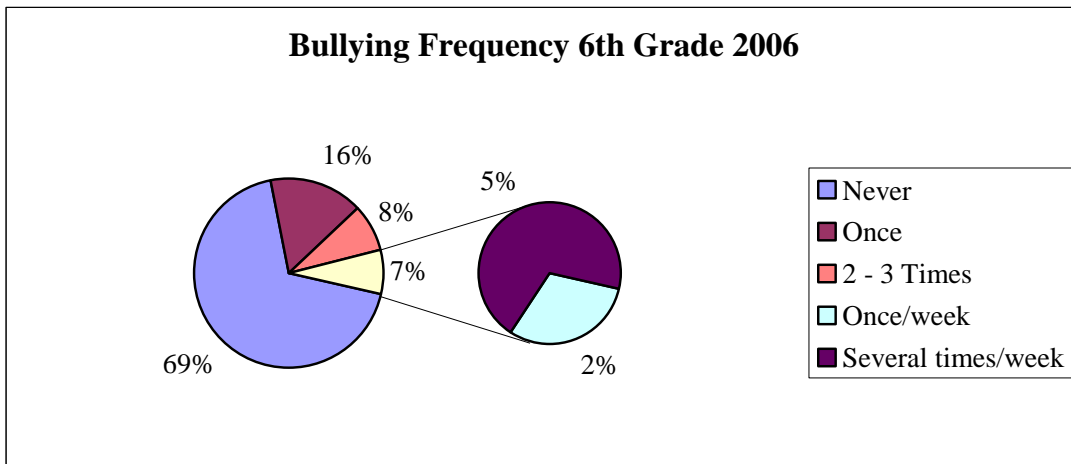
Comparing those rates in a single survey (2006) illustrates the pattern by age even more clearly, as figure 7 shows.

Figure 7



This graph highlights the 7% of 6th graders who reported being bullied in the last week in 2006.

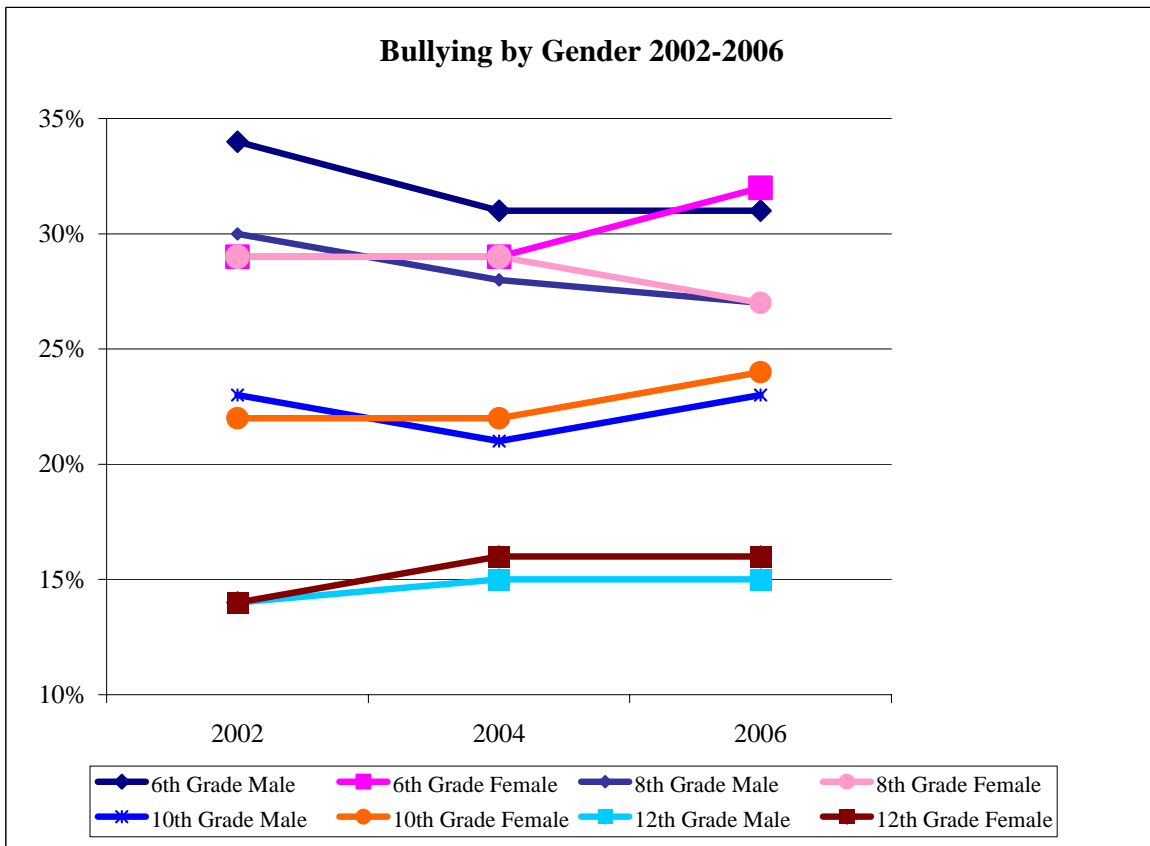
Figure 8



Gender

In addition to differences as students mature, the frequency of bullying is different among males and females, as illustrated in figure 9.

Figure 9



Notice that:

- In 2002, 6th grade boys were more often the recipients of bullying than girls were in 2002 (boys: 34%, girls: 29%). By 2006, these rates had converged – with boys’ bullying rates declining and girls’ increasing – so that there was little difference between boys and girls (boys: 31%, girls 32%, with an error margin of +/-2%).
- In the 8th, 10th, and 12th grades, there were only slight differences in the bullying rates by gender, generally only 1 percentage point.
- In 2002 10th grades girls’ rates were slightly behind boys and 12th grade boys’ and girls’ rates were the same, but both girls’ rates have since risen.

Each figure below regroups the data used in figure 9, first to compare just the experiences of females (figure 10), and then males (figure 11).

Figure 10

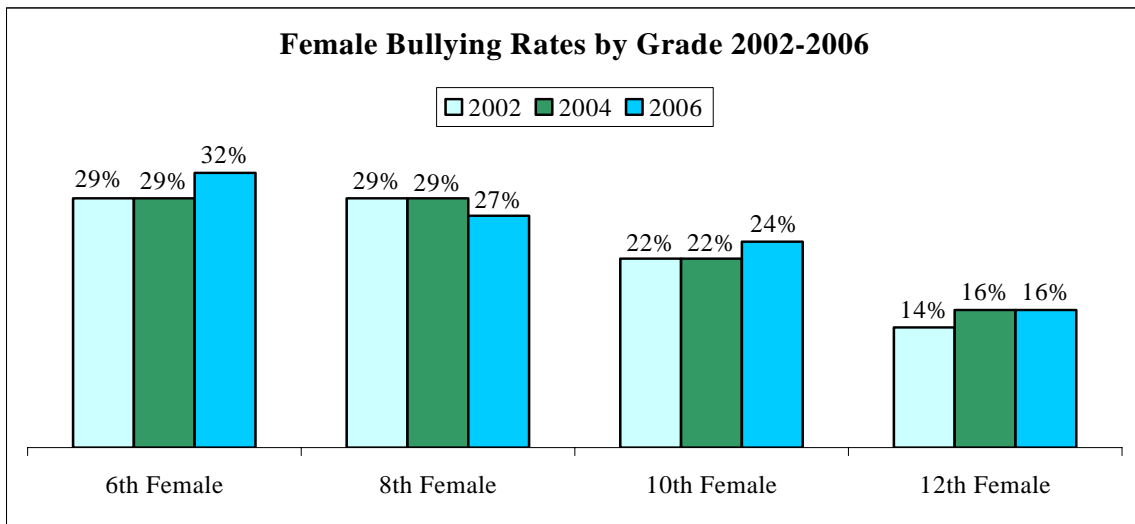
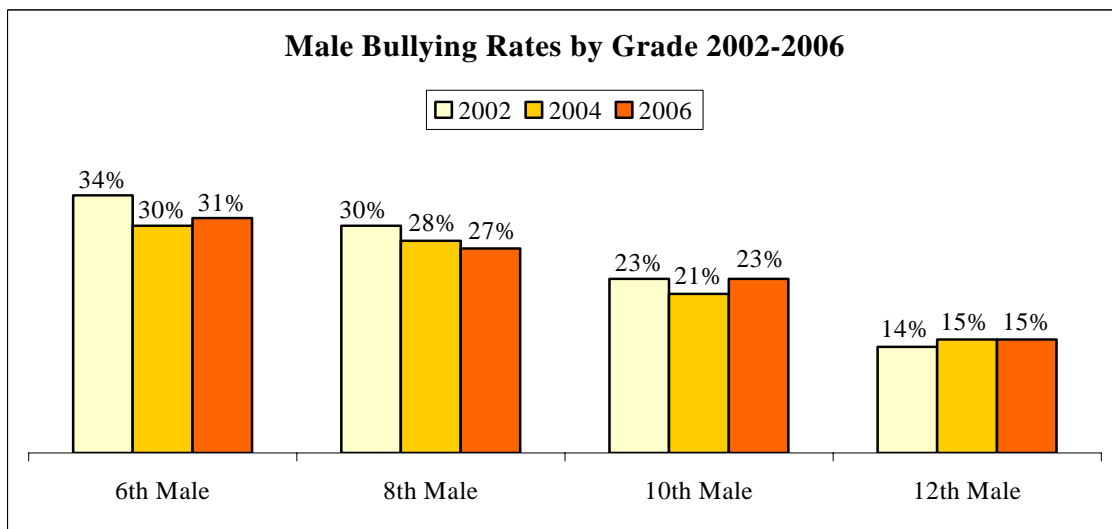


Figure 11



Differences by Basis for the Bullying

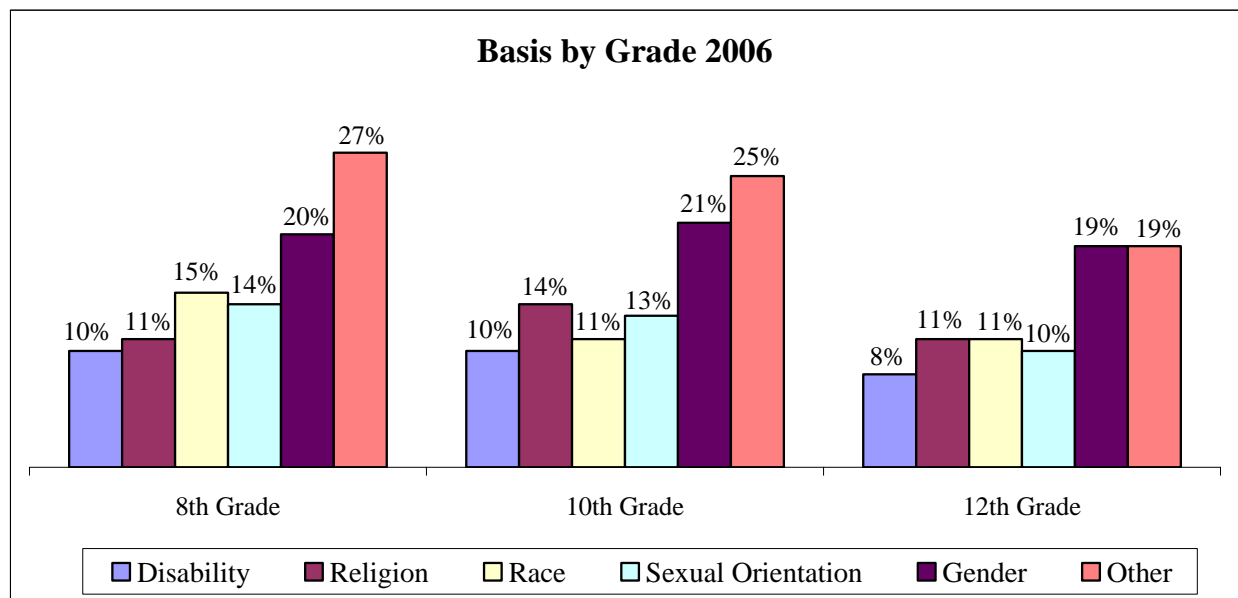
The HYS asks 8th, 10th and 12th grade students to identify why they were bullied. Figure 12 below illustrates the reported cause of the bullying for the most recent survey (2006) and demonstrates that those reasons change at the different grade levels.

Specifically, the survey asks:

- *In the past 30 days, how often were you bullied, harassed, or intimidated at school or on your way to or from school*
- *Because of your race, ethnicity, or national origin or what someone thought it was?*
- *Because of your religion or what someone thought it was?*
- *Because someone thought you were gay, lesbian, or bisexual (whether you are or are not)?*
- *Because of your gender (being male or female)? This includes sexual jokes, gestures, or comments that make you feel uncomfortable*
- *Because you have a health problem or physical or mental disability, or someone thought you did?*
- *Because of any other reason?*

Gender and “other” are reported substantially more often than other causes of bullying. In fact, “other” is selected so frequently that it deserves further investigation to determine all the causes of bullying that students perceive.

Figure 12

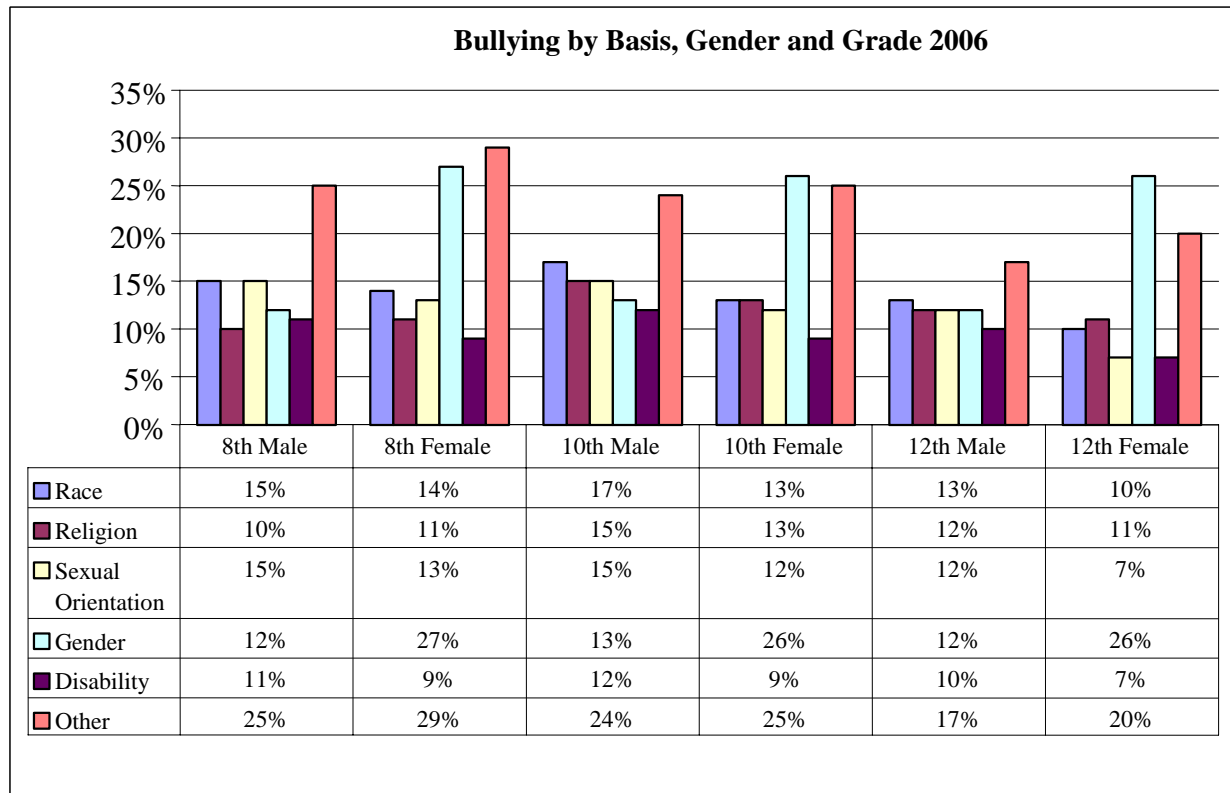


The chart above illustrates surges in race-based bullying in the 8th grade, and in religion-based bullying in the 10th grade. Across these three grades, bullying overall, and bullying focused on sexual orientation in particular, are most frequent in 8th grade and appear to decline as students mature.

By Basis, Gender and Grade

Differentiating male and female bullying further – by grade and by basis – the chart below (figure 13) illustrates the striking prevalence of gender-based and “other” bullying among females. Males also report “other” most often.

Figure 13



The next charts give a closer view of bullying by basis in each grade: 8th grade in figure 14; 10th grade in figure 15 and 12th grade figure 16.

Figure 14

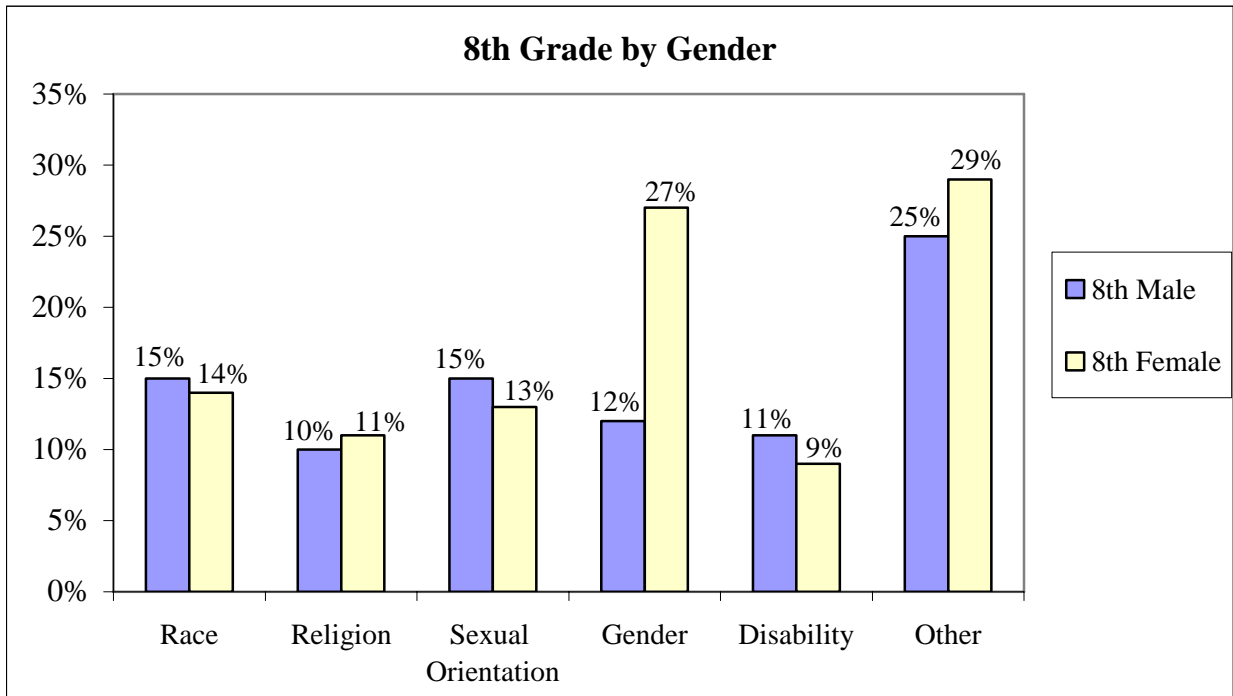


Figure 15

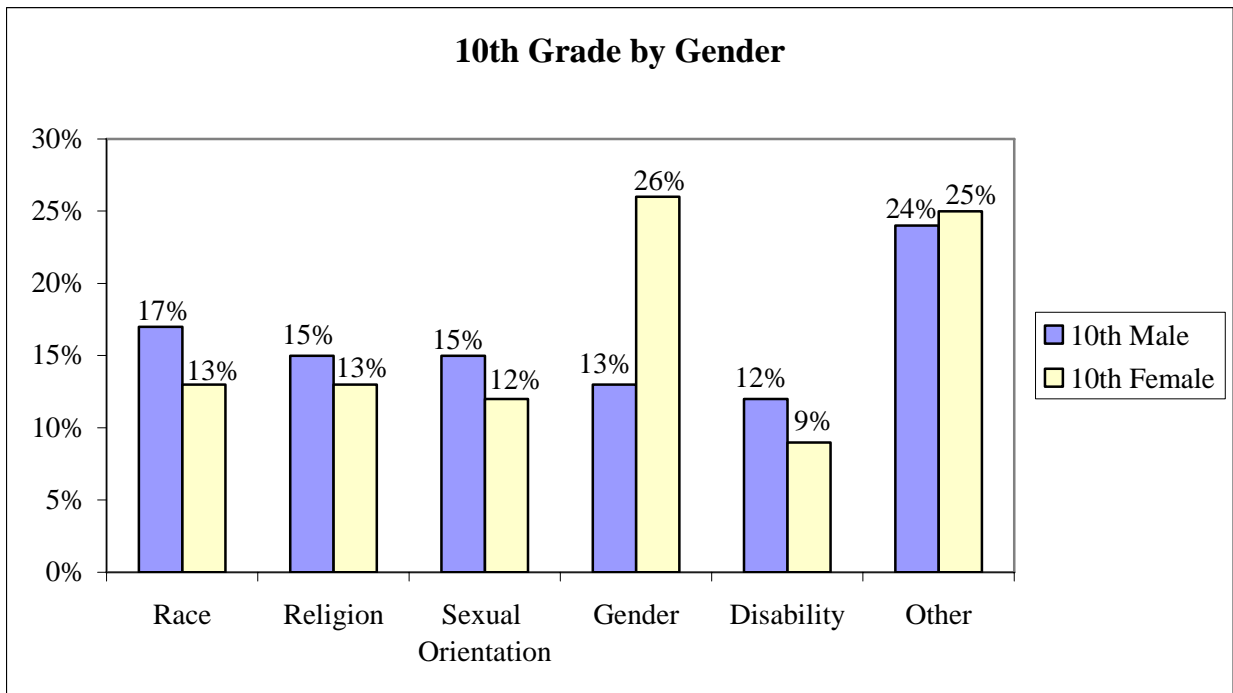
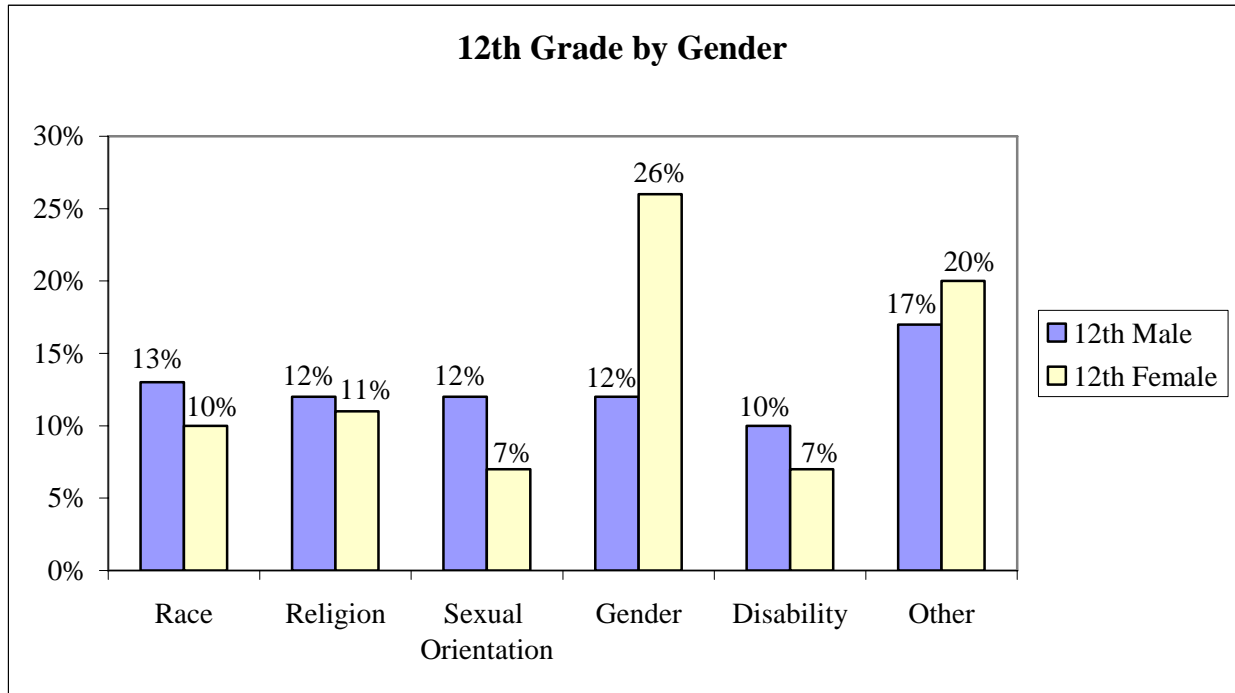


Figure 16



- Not surprisingly, perhaps, girls report harassment based on gender twice as often as boys.
- Most other sources of harassment were more reported at higher rates by boys, when compared to girls, except “Other” which may include harassment based on appearance.

In figures 14 – 16 above, it is evident how significant gender-based bullying is for female students and how critical it is to understand the “other” category more completely. The literature – reinforced by discussion with Washington school administrators – indicates that “Other” likely includes harassment over appearance, including weight and clothing, and other issues potentially related to students’ economic status (possession of technology, clothing brands, and so forth.) Further understanding of this category seems imperative.

REPORTS OF BULLYING BY REGION

For this study, we also examined the HYS reports regionally, by Educational Service District (ESD). Differences appeared, but they were not significant *among* the regions. That is, while each region has variations, no area has significantly more of one kind of bullying than another. Illustrations of the bullying rates by ESD are provided in Appendix A.

FINDINGS

FINDING 6: Bullying has not declined significantly in Washington public schools since 2002, based on statewide data. Slight changes have occurred in which kind of bullying is most common among grades, but the overall rates are stubbornly similar across years.

FINDING 7: Bullying varies as students' age. We need more definition of the specific reasons students' bully each other than can be determined from current student data.

- The Healthy Youth Survey is designed for statewide statistical sampling. It cannot provide parents and communities an assessment of bullying in every local district.
- More definition is needed for the basis of bullying. The “other “ category requires clarification.

SECTION FOUR: OTHER EFFORTS

STATE-LEVEL

In addition to the cooperation of state agencies and partners on the Healthy Youth Survey, other efforts should be noted. Among these are the multiple opportunities parents and students have to report problems outside the school building and school district. Students' and families' distrust of their schools would result logically from schools' failure to express sufficient support for the victim or intolerance of the bully. It may also be that the heightened sensitivity of bullied students prevents their trust in policies and programs schools consider effective. And some efforts may work sometimes and yet not in every case. As demonstrated, bullying is an insidious, multi-faceted problem, difficult to eradicate by policy alone. Thus, the existence of highly visible avenues for additional assistance strengthens the state's effort against bullying. Among them are: the Center for Improvement in Student Learning, the Office of the Education Ombudsman, as well as ombudsmen for Special Education and for Children and Family Services. Less visible to the public, although important to them, are the ways in which the state's department of education can lead and support schools in their efforts against bullying. Below are descriptions of the various pieces of these autonomous efforts.

Education Ombudsman

The Washington state legislature created the nation's first state-level ombudsman for elementary and secondary education in 2006. The Office of the Education Ombudsman (OEO) is an agency within the Office of the Governor, independent from the public education system. They report receiving complaints about student bullying very quickly upon opening their doors and find it has become one of the two biggest issues they face. Although they are still analyzing the data for their second annual report (anticipated in late fall 2008), an interview with their director provided insight to their view of the issue.

OEO notes that both parents and educators contact them. The agency serves as an intermediary between parents and their schools, providing training for both in communication and conflict resolution. They find parents frequently frustrated, both with the schools' specific failure to resolve individual issues and their more general failure to include parents in their work. Effectively, OEO describes communication as the biggest gap in the state's education system.

Regarding bullying specifically, they have found that whether or not schools have policy and procedures – on this and other issues -- they are not communicating them to parents and the broader community. OEO reports that many administrators do not well understand their responsibilities under the Anti-Bullying Act. They seem not be clear on their district policy and realize that complying with a policy alone does not have the desired effect of reducing bullying.

Further, the OEO believes administrators are limited by how little the state law asks them to do since they normally err on the side of caution rather than exceeding their assigned responsibilities. It appears to them that small districts particularly lack understanding of the law and its intent. Staff may report that there is no policy, which at a minimum indicates lack of awareness.

Thus, the OEO firmly believes that the state should go beyond requiring that a policy exist to a stronger statement about what schools should do. Because policy recommendations are an assignment of the OEO, they will be making recommendations regarding revision to current law to include mandating a clear set of procedures and communication with parents about them. OEO is collecting data about complaints, but that data was not available for inspection for this report. They do maintain confidentiality on reports and take a case management approach to resolving the issues that are raised.

Finally, OEO noted the frequency with which parents seek assistance on cyberbullying. They want schools' help on the issue, believing that schools should teach children how to be safe and what not to do using the new technology or, if not, then they should be more actively teaching parents what to do to guide and supervise their children. Here again OEO finds high demand for more communication from schools and more help learning how to partner effectively with their schools.

Other Ombudsmen

Additionally, Washington has ombudsmen for children and family services and special education. The former is focused on the services of the Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS) and reports no recorded contact about bullying. In a short interview, the director indicated that any such complaints would be referred to the Education Ombudsman. The ombudsman for special education is part of the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, and focused specifically on complaints of violation of the legal rights of students receiving special education services. Two complaints in the last five years have included accusations of bullying, but both complaints were found to be without merit. (One case had other findings, one did not.) That ombudsman indicated that reports of bullying that do not meet the legal threshold for formal action by her office are referred to OSPI's School Safety Center.

The **Center for the Improvement of Student Learning** (SICL) was originally created to disseminate information about education improvement. Currently it is tasked with family and community outreach and promoting the research-based best practices that create successful learning environments for all students. They are particularly focused on the students of underserved communities. CISL staff report that enquiries about bullying are referred to the most appropriate source of assistance, usually one of the education ombudsmen or OSPI's Safety Center (see below)

School Safety Center

OSPI's School Safety Center supports districts' responsibility to keep students safe and healthy in school. The Center provides guidance and resources, including technical assistance, regarding a host of threats, including natural disasters, epidemics, school violence, and even general building safety. They help schools understand the laws and regulations affecting them and provide model policy and professional development on student discipline, truancy, bullying and harassment. Washington schools are required to have a safety plan, which includes incident responses for both natural and human-caused disasters. Washington principals must be certified in the Incident Command System of the Federal Emergency Management Administration.

Amid all the concern about natural disasters, epidemic exposure and the possibility of outside threats are included requirements for plans about student violence. School safety plans must address how they are prepared to prevent, control, respond and recover from student violence, suicide, theft, gang activity and bullying. To help the districts, OSPI has guidance on safety planning and offers staff assistance.

To the extent possible, School Safety Center staff provides technical assistance to schools about bullying, but there are no state funds dedicated to that activity nor to the provision of professional development about bullying. The Safety Center is currently engaged in strategic planning and intends to include bullying prevention and intervention as a component its performance goals and objectives.

A School Improvement Issue

Further, OSPI's leadership of school improvement includes attention to school climate and the learning environment. The rubric of best practices, drawn from the nine characteristics of high performing schools, includes creating a safe and supportive learning environment. When students, parents and administrators are surveyed regarding their schools, they are asked explicitly if the school "is orderly and supports learning." Students are also asked if they feel safe in the school, whether they feel the rules about behavior apply equally to all students, whether discipline is handled fairly and quickly, and whether they consider most students to be respectful. These are enquiries into the symptoms of an environment that might foster or tolerate bullying, but they do not address bullying directly.

PARTNER AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Other state agencies partner to address bullying as one of several mutual interests.

Healthy Youth Survey Partners

The partners of the Healthy Youth Survey, as described above, meet regularly to support the survey and its research.

Washington State Human Rights Commission

Although not a sponsor of the HYS, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) also provides services and information of use to students and parents as part of its effort "to eliminate and prevent discrimination through the fair application of the law, the efficient use of resources, and the establishment of partnerships with the community." The HRC and OSPI have issued joint statements on equity in education since 1966, with the most recent major HRC policy update occurring in 1993. Because not all districts connect their equity and anti-bullying policies and strategies, more information regarding the intersection of human rights and bullying would help schools struggling with multiple initiatives and objectives.

Safe Schools Coalition

As a result of the global reach of the internet, the Safe Schools Coalition, headquartered in Washington State, is now an international provider of resources for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender youth, parents/guardians, and educators. It links families and schools to supporting organizations, provides materials for school and classroom, conducts and disseminates research on harassment and violence in schools, and otherwise serves as a resource center on these issues. Coalition trainers provide professional development globally, as well as conducting sexual diversity and bias-based harassment workshops for parents and students. Additionally, the Coalition convenes Seattle/King County representatives, lobbyists, educators and students in statewide activities against harassment and violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity/expression. In Washington State, the Coalition offers intervention services (information, advocacy and referral) for students, educators and families who are experiencing anti-GLBT harassment or violence at school. It is member supported.

FINDINGS

FINDING 8: Although a variety of partners attempt to address bullying in Washington, their informal network does not adequately address the state's need.

- The Healthy Youth Survey, which provides our most reliable picture of bullying in Washington schools, is based upon statistical sampling. It cannot provide parents and communities an assessment of bullying in every local district.
- No state agency is funded consistently to assist districts, students and parents to address bullying nor are schools provided state funds specifically for anti-bullying activities.

SECTION FIVE: WHAT TO DO ABOUT BULLYING

OVERVIEW

Bullying hurts everyone involved. How schools and communities act to prevent and stop bullying are indicators of how well they understand the problems that face their youth.

It matters that we act. Children who are bullied are often told to “solve the problems themselves”, but bullying is a repetitive act. When it keeps occurring over time, it becomes increasingly difficult for victimized children to stop the torment. Their lack of power is elemental to the bullying. Canadian researchers asked 1852 Canadian children [aged four to nineteen] how they responded to bullying and about the effectiveness of various ways to meet their bullying problems. Few students reported that they were motivated to act against bullies by public education campaigns or information about bullying. Instead they said they were motivated to do something to stop bullying by their own need to exert control and be assertive, and by their emotional reactions to bullying. A significant group of youth responded that they did nothing to stop bullying. Finally, the longer the bullying had been ongoing, the less effective students perceived their own strategies. The results highlighted the importance of adults supporting students. Similarly, it is important to provide children and youth with strategies that are effective, as they are most likely to implement strategies that are only going to increase the victimization over time.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, while considerable research has been done in the last three decades about the causes and consequences of bullying, less research has been done about the efficacy of programs designed to address bullying. Some work exists, although the results are mixed.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program

The most well known anti-bullying program is the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (BPP), based on research into behavior modification techniques for aggressive or violent children. Psychologist Dan Olweus developed the program in response to the 1982 suicide of three young Norwegian boys, apparently as the result of severe bullying. The suicides shocked that country, which launched a national campaign against bullying in response. The campaign included a systematic school-based bullying intervention program. When tested with more than 2500 students in Bergen, Norway, the program had reduced bullying incidents by more than fifty percent. Schools in England, Germany, and the United States adopted the program, all of which reported positive results. In the U.S., the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence recognizes it as one of the “Blueprints for Violence Prevention.” The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services calls it an “exemplary program.”

⁶⁴ Wendy Craig, Debra Peplar, Julie Blais, “Responding to Bullying: What Works?” *School Psychology International*, v. 28, no. 4 (2007):465-477.

The intent of the Olweus BPP is to change the social norms that tolerate and, thereby, passively support bullying. The program restructures the learning environment so that overt supportive adult involvement, positive adult role models, firm limits, and consistent non-physical sanctions for bullying behavior are the norms. It requires more student monitoring and positive incentives, as well as consistent sanctions. The model is flexible, so that it can be adapted to different school and community cultures.

Schools utilizing the model are advised to take sufficient time in planning to build school-wide support for its implementation, recognizing that full implementation and fidelity to the model are crucial to its effectiveness.

The BPP is a whole-school approach to preventing bullying. It utilizes activities at three levels:

- At the school level: student surveys, increased student monitoring, involvement of parents
- At the classroom level: a curriculum teaching tolerance as well as communication, anger management and conflict resolution skills; immediate consequences for aggressive behavior and rewards for inclusive behavior; classroom discussion of incidents when they occur
- At the individual level: serious personal discussion with bully and victim, and their families, and focused assistance to develop alternative behaviors by both.

Olweus also recommends that for a bullying intervention program to be successful, schools must do the following:

- Acknowledge unequivocally that the primary responsibility for stopping bullying lies with educators rather than with parents or students.
- Project a clear, unambiguous stand against bullying.
- Include both systems-oriented and individual-oriented components.
- Set long-term and short-term goals.
- Target the entire school population, not just a few problem students.
- Make the program a permanent component of the school environment, not a temporary remedial program.
- Implement strategies that have a positive effect on students and on the school climate that go beyond the problem of bullying.

These sweeping goals can be challenging for schools to implement fully, perhaps particularly in some societies more than others. The program was developed in Norway, which has a strong social ethic of mutual support. That is reflected as a core value in Olweus' program, but may not be effected easily in cultures that value strength and independence.⁶⁵ Proponents of other programs place less emphasis on the school environment and culture and more on curriculum-

⁶⁵ Marjorie MacDonald and L. W. Green, L., "Reconciling Concept and Context: The Dilemma of Implementation in School-based Health Promotion," *Health Education Behavior*, 28(2001:), 749-768.

based skills training, preferring to focus on better student socialization and communication skills instruction. One competitor particularly criticizes BPP for its emphasis on bullies, considering that focus a negative approach and preferring what he describes as a more positive emphasis on developing resistance skill development among vulnerable children. (Descriptions of other programs appear below.)

Olweus Program Evaluations

The initial implementation of the Olweus program reduced reports of bullying by 50% in Bergen, Norway. Strong results have been recorded in some other sites, including in the U.S., although more recent studies have found considerably less effect.⁶⁶ Effectiveness of BPP may depend strongly on the fidelity of implementation. Lack of resources in some schools, less building leadership, making modifications to the recommended curriculum or stronger cultural supports for bullying in some communities may each have played a role. The program may also prove more challenging to implement in schools with frequent staff and student turnover, which can cause weaker infrastructure development and make demonstrating change among students more difficult because it requires identifying each student's individual exposure to the program.

Other Evaluated Models

In addition to the Olweus program, three other programs have been implemented widely and received particular notice by education and juvenile justice authorities. Most are focused less directly on bullying than Olweus, address whole school environment less stringently, and are more focused on building individual student skills, including reduction of aggression, and on improving school-parent communication when problems arise.

Linking the Interests of Families and Teachers (LIFT) is a 10-week anti-aggression intervention that has demonstrated success. It targets elementary youth and is less focused directly on bullying. The program utilizes a classroom-based social skills program, a playground behavioral program, and regular communication between teachers and parents. Although LIFT has not been tested as extensively as Olweus' program, it has demonstrated long-term results. Evaluation focused on first and fifth grades. In schools that implemented the program, aggressive playground behavior was reported a third less than at the schools that did not receive the intervention. Additionally, fifth graders who did not receive the program were 59 percent more

⁶⁶ Early evaluations of the BPP in Bergen, Norway, showed reductions in student reported bullying up to 50 percent (Olweus, 1997). Later evaluation studies showed reductions of only 21-38 percent (Olweus, 2003). Two evaluations reporting positive effects in the U.S. are: S. P. Limber, "Implementation of the Olweus Bully Prevention Program: Lessons Learned from the Field," in D. Espalag and S. Swearer, editors, *Bullying in American Schools: A Social and Ecological Perspective on Prevention* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004.) and Sally Black, "An Evaluation of the Olweus Bully Prevention Program: How the Program Can Work for Inner City Schools," *Proceedings of the 2007 National Conference on Safe Schools*, available on line <http://gwired.gwu.edu/hamfish/merlin-cgi/p/downloadFile/d/19136/n/off/other/1/name/005pdf/> It should be noted that Black stipulated the importance of implementation fidelity for positive effects. In contrast, a study of 10 public middle schools, 7 with the program and 3 as controls, found no overall change in student reports of physical or relational bullying. When analyzed by student race, a decline in physical (37%) and relational (28%) bullying was observable among white students, but none among other races or when compared by gender or grade. There were some changes in student attitudes: observations of students attempting to intervene rose and 6th grade students felt more desire to help victims after the program. Nerissa Bauer, Paula Lozano, Frederick Rivara, "The Effect of the Olweus Bully Prevention Program in Public Middle Schools," *Journal of Adolescent Health* v. 40, no. 3 (March 2007): 266-274.

likely to report drinking alcohol and were twice as likely to have been arrested during middle school as those who participated in the LIFT.

The Incredible Years also focuses more broadly on reducing children’s aggression and behavior problems, as well as increasing social competence at home and at school. It also targets young children [ages two through eight] and unlike Olweus, targets specific children who demonstrated high levels of aggressive behavior. Critically, it includes parent training, as well as teacher training and social skills training for the child. The program has been selected by the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention as an exemplary program and as a model program by the Center for Study and Prevention of Violence. The program was also selected as a model program by the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP). Three independent evaluations found high effectiveness. The American Psychological Division 12 Task force has recommended the program as a well-established treatment for children with conduct problems. One study found that the program has been able to stop the cycle of aggression for approximately two-thirds of targeted families receiving help (Bullying Prevention is Crime Prevention, 2003).⁶⁷

Victim-proofing Your School, was created by a critic of the Olweus method. Israel Kalman criticizes anti-bullying efforts that require incident investigations by adults, which he maintains robs them of time to teach. Instead, this program emphasizes teaching students – particularly elementary students – skills required to promote being “buddies.” Kalman consistently describes the Olweus method as “promoting a victim mentality”, “punishing bullies” in a manner that worsens their behavior, and even of violating students’ freedom of speech. The program (then called “Bully Proofing Your School”) was recently evaluated by the Institute for Behavioral Science at the University of Colorado, Boulder. They concluded that the program appears promising for elementary schools, but results at the middle school level were labeled “inconclusive” because no effect was observed. Schools appeared to struggle with implementation, and the evaluators noted that the program was not well implemented in any of the middle or most of the elementary schools.⁶⁸

Other Philosophies

The No-Blame Approach

Kalman’s “victim proofing” approach derives from preceding efforts to advance a “no blame” approach to reducing bullying. These advocates generally oppose the negative associations of both the *bully* and *victim* labels. Like Olweus, they believe the common school infrastructure can be conducive to bullying. Sports and other competitions that students “win” by domination and strength impart social rules not easily set aside in the classroom and schoolyard. Rather than seeking to eliminate that behavior, the “no blame” advocates focus on building empathy and compassion for potential victims.

⁶⁷ Other programs developed specifically to combat bullying, but that have not been as widely evaluated as the three previously mentioned, are Steps to Respect, Bully Busters®, Expect Respect, the No Bullying Program, Aggression Replacement Training (ART), and Don’t Laugh at Me (DLAM).

⁶⁸ Scott Menard et al., “Evaluation of Bully-Proofing Your School: Final Report,” unpublished report funded by Department of Justice, submitted January 2008. Accessed online 31 July 2008 at <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/221078.pdf>

To combat the social gain that bullies normally accrue and to reduce the desire to gain status in that way, the “no blame” approach emphasizes the development of social values: empathy, compassion, consideration. They maintain that peers with those values can enhance the empathic responses of other members of their groups, in turn changing the behavior of the group leader. The “No Blame” approach is described in a seven-step process involving: (1) interviewing the victim about his or her feelings; (2) convening a meeting with the people who were involved, including bystanders and others who supported the bullying; (3) explaining the problem to the group, focusing on the victim's feelings and not allocating blame; (4) sharing responsibility through the teacher's statement that she/he knows that the group is responsible and can take action; (5) asking the group for suggestions to help the victim feel better; (6) giving responsibility for solving the problem to the group; and (7) meeting with the group again, including the victim, to monitor bullying and keep the students involved.⁶⁹ Although the principle developers of the “no blame” approach reported successful intervention, subsequent analysis demonstrated that—as with other models—the success of the program depends directly on the quality of the professional development and its implementation by teachers. While the program purports to be easier to implement than the more involved Olweus model, neither approach is free of implementation fidelity issues.⁷⁰

Shared Concern Method

Similar to the “no blame” advocates, practitioners of the “shared concern model” advocate a focus on the personal dynamics of bully-victim relationships. Recent updates to the original work by Anatol Pikas reflect sophisticated analysis of both single bully and group bully actions and describe important steps to be taken to account for group dynamics in responding to bullying through counseling.⁷¹

Taken together, these approaches place more emphasis on improving all students understanding of the impact of bullying on its victims, which is not antithetical to Olweus’ method, but differs in emphasis. The Olweus program appears stricter on establishing a “no tolerance” environment that its critics interpret as overly negative toward the bully. In their criticisms of each other, they somewhat oversimplify the other’s message and methods, when they are not actually incompatible. Overall the weight of the evidence seems to favor the Olweus approach if implemented as designed, which would not create a blaming but rather a strict no tolerance culture.

What complicates this debate is the continuum of bullies and bullying. Some children exhibit such severe aggressive tendencies that they need strict responses to insure the safety of all students and the civility of the school culture. More commonly, however, bullying involves behaviors that can be addressed without intense psychological treatment. The range of actors and actions emphasizes the need to understand fully the kind of bullying that occurs in a school,

⁶⁹ Paper presented at Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (September 8, 1994) available through Education Resources Information Center, ED 414028

⁷⁰ Lorraine Demko, “Bully at School: The No Blame Approach,” *Health Education*, v. 96, no. 1(1996):26-30;

⁷¹ Anatol Pikas, “New Developments of the Shared Concern Method,” *School Psychology International* v. 23, no. 3 (August 2002): 307-326.

to monitor for changes as students move through each grade, and as both students and educators leave and join the programs to address the bullying appropriately.⁷²

What The Research Says: Summary Analyses

In the last two decades research on bullying and its prevention have proliferated to the point that several efforts have been made to summarize the research.

Two efforts at summary analysis are noteworthy. The most recent compared programs by the chief strategy they employed to combat bullying: either delivering a content-based curriculum or a creating a whole-school implementation. The former focused largely on imparting skills to students, the latter on engaging the faculty, students (and often wider community) in an anti-bullying initiative. The study concluded that only four of ten of the curriculum-based programs demonstrated any decrease in bullying, and that three of those four made no progress with some student groups. In contrast, seven of ten whole-school programs decreased bullying, but were least effective with younger students. A program focusing on mentors demonstrated decreased bullying among mentored children and a program with increased social workers found a decrease in a range of negative behaviors, including bullying, truancy, theft and drug use. The researchers concluded that an amalgam of approaches worked most effectively to reduce bullying.⁷³

In the second overview of the research, Australian Ken Rigby noted that most of the programs he investigated contained strongly similar elements, including the following strategies:

- Educate school staff about bullying. Provide information about the effect of bullying and survey the staff and students to determine the kinds of bullying they observe and how prevalent they believe it to be. Discuss the importance of the similarities and differences in those results.
- Involve the entire community, particularly parents and caregivers.
- Help students develop the social skills that are defenses against bullying. For younger children this includes developing empathy, controlling anger, and learning how to be assertive without being aggressive; for older students, the skills are mediation and conflict management.
- Increase monitoring so that staff see and intervene when bullying happens.
- Encourage students to seek help.
- Use a consistent procedure for dealing with bullying.

⁷² This kind of statement illustrates the emphatic pronouncement that causes dissension, since equally passionate proponents of social skills training, armed with their own evidence, would counter the point: "Research has clearly shown that those who bully do not respond to social skill work. What schools need is a research-based, educational model to deal with bully/victim violence in the school, to help schools become violence-free, and thus to create for our children" a great childhood without violence!" James Bitney and Beverly Title. *No Bullying Program Directors' Manual: Preventing Bullying at School*, (Hazeldon 2001), p.5.

⁷³ Rachel C. Vreeman, Aaron E. Carroll, "A Systematic Review of School-Based Interventions to Prevent Bullying", *Archives of Pediatric Adolescent Medicine* 161 (2007): 78-88.

Rigby found, however, that while the programs were generally consistent about how to prevent bullying, they differed in their instructions about how to deal with a bully. One group emphasized creating rules about how students were to act toward each other with clear sanctions for those who broke the rules. These sanctions included loss of privileges, detentions, and suspensions, depending upon the severity of the offense. (Olweus 1991) Other programs recommended problem-solving approaches, even mediation between the bully and victim, emphasizing a “no blame” approach (Maines and Robinson 1992, Pikas 2002)

To date, however, while the programs consistently produce some change in the incidence of bullying, no single program has demonstrated strong effect and high reliability. Occasionally, a program like Olweus’ BPP has demonstrated remarkable effectiveness in some places, but is not consistently strong when replicated elsewhere. The well-known Olweus program was introduced in the United States on the strength of its performance in Norway. But, as previously noted, its application in South Carolina (and in Belgium and Germany) proved less effective than hoped. The problem-solving approach similarly demonstrated some success in Europe (Great Britain, Spain, Finland). (See Smith, Pepler, Rigby, 2004, for details) Infrequently programs have achieved greater than 50% reduction in bullying, but the average reduction was around 15%, a fairly small accomplishment for the work involved.

Although there also does not appear to be sufficient systematic evaluation of the particular practices within each program to determine which elements correlate with the highest success, some reports argue for strongest success when:

- Younger, primary grade students are targeted, particularly with skills that strengthen their resistance and reduce their vulnerability to bullying, and
- When the efforts are focused on building a bully-free environment, as when members of the entire school community accept responsibility for carrying out the program – and do so.

In effect, programs are most thoroughly implemented and therefore most effective when educators care about the problem of bullying and are meaningfully involved in the development of the anti-bullying initiative. The school survey (describe further) and discussion of the effects of bullying create and reinforce commitment. Active teacher involvement in the behavioral standards to be expected (by educators and students) and in the process and content of anti-bully skill development help create and reinforce commitment, as well. Building leaders who ensure that procedures are applied consistently and that the commitment is regularly reinforced are also essential.

In the end, however, much more academic research verifies the existence of bullying, effects on victims and bullies, conditions under which bullying occurs, and the characteristics of students and school that correlate most strongly with bullying. Far fewer studies evaluate anti-bullying programs, which appear mostly to be promoted on anecdotal evidence or on “research” that lacks statistical controls (comparison groups). Further, few of the programs have been evaluated by third-party researchers.

Beyond School: Promising Whole-Community Practices

In addition to the programs developed specifically for schools that are described above, several communities have engaged against bullying in a more ambitious and thorough way. They seek to create a community against bullying around their school, an approach generally referred to, logically, as a “whole community” approach. Its advocates believe that the only effective way of eliminating bullying is for the whole community (students, teachers, administrators, parents and the wider community) to confront the issue and work together in a concerted way to establish a safe emotional and physical environment. It presumes zero tolerance for bullying and proposes to teach all youth new behaviors, reinforced everywhere, to eliminate both the bully and the victim. Two examples are described below, one from New Zealand and one from London.

The key elements of the whole-community approach are:

- a shared understanding of bullying as a problem;
- a shared understanding of the different forms of bullying;
- a shared resolve to eliminate bullying;
- identification of bullying problems in the school and community;
- the development of a whole school anti-bullying policy;
- the creation of a "telling" environment and the use of a range of interventions to address incidents when they happen;
- recognition by teachers of their role in creating an anti-bullying ethos, including their own interactions with students, staff, parents and caregivers and community;
- a classroom anti-bullying curriculum program;
- the creation of classrooms that are safe and supportive;
- obtaining back-up specialist help and training as necessary;
- all community members examine their own behavior, including teachers, other staff and parents.

Kia Kaha

The whole community approach is advocated in New Zealand, where it focuses on preschool, elementary, middle and high school implementation. Young children are taught skills and habits that reinforce valuing all people, accepting differences, validating emotional reactions, and encouraging mutual concern for all members of the community. Parents and other community members are encouraged to participate in the “lessons” in the early years. As students mature, the messages change to fit their maturity and experiences and to reflect the educational environment. By high school, the work is integrated with health education.

The distinction of this approach is the emphasis on community. Advocates maintain that: “The whole school community must confront the issue and work together in a concerted way to

establish a safe emotional and physical environment. A curriculum intervention alone will not bring about change.”⁷⁴

Beat Bullying

The United Kingdom’s **Beatbullying** initiative began in 1999 to help students lead an anti-bullying campaign in their local schools and communities. It reports engaging 1.5 million young people to help others who are bullied, change the behavior of bullies and prevent bullying in their schools. Beatbullying (BB) staff bring youth together for engaging workshops centered on using the arts, sports and faith-based activities to develop anti-bullying messages. “Our staff work with a lot of committed, but vulnerable and marginalised young people and, together, the model is delivered out to the schools and communities in which we work and they live. We share with them, they share with others. There may be lots of [different ways](#) in which we do this, but the consistent result is the same: bullying decreases up to 80%, confidence increases immeasurably and the reporting of bullying increases by 60%.”⁷⁵

During the ten-month program, BB mentors are recruited to complete training in conflict resolution, anger management, how to listen to their peers, how to mediate and how to mentor other young people. Mentors can continue to become BB Ambassadors, who promote the program in the media and become staff to the project. Some participate further as work experience students and there is a BB apprenticeship available, as well.

Beatbullying also forms youth councils in each participating school and borough, and organizes interborough exchanges. This model of spreading a wide, inclusive net among youth and then creating laddered involvement as they mature in schools is called “cascading” by BB. They report considerable success with the model. (Their emphasis on data and measurement is highly visible as is their commitment to continuous program adaptation in response to the data.)

BB also supports targeted support and interest groups, including CyberMentors, an online bullying prevention program; BBSports, a team sport mentoring model; BBInterfaith, which addresses bigotry, sectarianism and intolerance; Streetwise, a sexual bullying mentoring model; BBSEN a mentoring model for youth with learning disabilities; and BBTunes which uses music as its theme.

In addition to youth, the program works with the adults and organizations in high contact with youth to create a common partnership on the issue. These include community groups, local businesses, libraries, health and service providers. Training is available and has been provided for nurses, bus drivers, health care, transportation and food workers. Toolkits are available. And the participating organizations are used to display the student-created anti-bullying messages.

As a partnership between Beatbullying and the City of London, Bully Watch London has no less an ambition than making all of London part of the anti-bullying initiative, with a very visible

⁷⁴ From *Kia Kaha*, Police Youth Education Services Resource Kit, an initiative of the New Zealand Police, see <http://www.police.govt.nz/service/yes/nobully/index.html>

⁷⁵ <http://www.beatbullying.org/docs/resources/statistics.html>

public campaign encouraging civic responsibility with the message: "Bully Watch London. If you spot it, you can stop it."

Bully Watch London has:

- Placed 1400 public information posters at public transportation sites (buses, bus stops, London Underground stations and trains);
- Placed 40,000 posters at cinemas, video libraries, take-away food centers, convenience stores, and a variety of other businesses;
- Delivered 250,000 information packets, including information on reporting bullying, to all London schools and thousands of youth organizations, law enforcement and community service agents, health centers and local businesses;
- Provided online access for youth and adults to provide easy access to facts about bullying, and help recognizing it, and to make reporting simple and safe;
- Provide local organizations with workshops and seminars to infuse anti-bullying with a sense of civic action and communal responsibility.
- It's own website: <http://www.bullywatchlondon.org/>

While Beatbullying is the equivalent of a registered non-profit, with strong fundraising activities, it works in concert with communications and business partners to respond specifically to the needs and interests of specific regions. It serves as the convening partner and basic underwriter of the local partnerships.

In both these cases, the community goal is to banish bullying from every environment children enter. They are ambitious, energetic efforts worth noting.

Conclusions from the Research:

While the research on the effectiveness of program is inconclusive, the psychological research about the causes and effects of bullying has been utilized by most of the program designers. Thus while it is difficult to point to a specific anti-bullying program that is most effective, it is possible to describe the common features of the strongest programs. They illustrate common anti-bullying strategies that can be employed with reasonable assurance that they will contradict bullying.

Essentially, three conditions must be created.

The first is **trust between adult and child**. In school, educators must make it safe for students to report bullying. Failing to protect the anonymity of a student who reports bullying is guaranteed to destroy that trust. Bullying will not be reported and bullies will continue unabated.

The second is that **adults must recognize bullying**. As discussed in Section One, adults overrate their sensitivity to bullying or their perception of its existence. Since the significant features of bullying are the intent to harm and the unequal power of the bully and victim, school staff should recognize how fluid the role of bully and victim can be.

The third factor is a rigorous enforcement of **broadly understood and uniformly applied set of procedures toward the bully and the victim**. This includes school policy and procedures, but as importantly, it includes a standard of behavior by adults and students who refuse to tolerate bullying. Enlisting all staff and students against bullying reduces the rewards many bullies believe accrue from bullying, and strengthens the defenses of victims.

RECOMMENDATIONS

What can we conclude from the research on the causes and effects of bullying, the differing program philosophies and approaches? Several key elements stand out as essential to all advocates' anti-bullying strategies.

The first set of required actions are the responsibility of schools and their local communities. Schools need an organized effort to combat bullying, with well-defined, widely understood procedures. Mere policy, and particularly policy that is not well known by building staff and students, does not diminish bullying.

The following actions are recommended from the research.

For Schools:

1. Building Leadership Is Essential:

Schools need strong central infrastructure to implement effective anti-bullying programs. Coordinated efforts between principals and staff provide the best infrastructure for implementation.⁷⁶

- Raise awareness of the significance and consequences of bullying
- Assert visibly and consistently that bullying is unacceptable
- Create a general culture of consideration and respect for others
- Establish clear, uniform procedures for any reported incidents
- Assure all staff are well aware of the procedures

2. Different Ages and Different Kinds of Bullying May Require Different Strategies

- Pre-school and elementary interventions appear effective in reducing aggression in children, particularly when teamed with parent training.
- Middle schools need particular attention.

⁷⁶ S Black op cit. In 2007, the National Association of School Principals testified in support of mandating bullying assessment as part of schools' safety needs assessments. They agreed that schools districts should establish bullying prevention programs and provide annual communications to parents describing their procedures for addressing bullying and bullying-related complaints. They also noted the critical need for funding to accomplish those goals (see below.)

- The transition to middle school marks a notable spike in bullying incidents whenever it occurs. A survey of middle schoolers demonstrated their preference for seven specific tactics, which they deemed sometimes or almost always helpful. These included teachers exercising effective classroom management, thereby deterring bullying; teachers providing direct assistance to students, both of which indicate the preference for proactive tactics. Students tended not to prefer strategies that involved non-teaching staff.⁷⁷
- Provide social support opportunities for youth frequently targeted by bullies:
- GLSEN advocates formation and support of clubs for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and questioning youth. Based on student survey, they believe the presence of these clubs has a positive relationship to student experiences. Students in schools with a GSA were less likely to feel unsafe, less likely to miss school, and more likely to feel that they belonged at their school than students in schools with no such clubs.
- Students report positive response to an inclusive curriculum that represents the history and experiences of all kinds of people. The vast majority of students surveyed by GLSEN reported NOT having such a curriculum (81.7%). Still, the majority of those who reported that their school used an inclusive curriculum considered the representations of sexual orientation and expression well handled. Students exposed to positive representations were much less likely than their peers to miss school because of feeling unsafe. They also demonstrated a greater sense of school belonging.

⁷⁷ Laura M. Crothers, Jered B. Kolbert and William F. Barker, “Middle School Students’ Preferences for Anti-Bullying Interventions,” *School Psychology International*, 27, 4 (October 1, 2006): 475 - 487. Further, A researcher particularly experienced with middle schools advised: “Developmental psychologists know that sixth- to eighth-grade students are emotionally better off – and therefore better able to learn – in stable situations, without multiple transitions and constant changes. Not only is the transition from elementary school to middle school dramatic, but everyday experiences are alienating in most middle schools, where students face as many as 100 different classmates and six teachers daily as they move from one period to the next. Teachers work with 120 students a day, and parents barely get to know the parade of teachers grade by grade. This is true even in middle schools with 400 students, when teachers teach one subject for one grade level.

All of this means that a simple and cost-effective way to improve middle school is to keep the same teacher for each subject across more than one year – one teacher for sixth-, seventh- *and* eighth-grade English, for example. Most teachers are qualified to teach more than one grade in their subject, and research shows that when middle school students have the same teachers for multiple years, students have more positive attitudes toward school, their attendance and achievement improve and disciplinary problems decrease. Teachers like it better too, possibly because they aren’t wasting time each year starting over with a new set of students.

A more fundamental structural change that would promote stable relationships and continuity is to eliminate separate middle schools. Research demonstrates that sixth- to eighth-grade students feel safer in K-8 schools compared with separate middle schools. Moreover, students who change schools between fifth grade and sixth grade incur greater achievement losses in middle school and when they transition to high school. Jaana Juvonen, “Middle School: Smart Not Small,” Opinion, UCLA LATimes 8/21/2008

3. Involve All School Staff

Engaging students means engaging the whole school – not just bullies and victims, and not just certificated staff. All staff need training. All staff need clear procedures for responding to incidents. And all staff need support when they engage students on the issue.

Determine the current conditions

- Engage the school and community in a discussion of the effects of bullying.
- Survey the school about what kind of bullying occurs, how often and where.
- Create a commitment to being bully free.

Staff must be integrally involved in developing anti-bullying procedures. A consistent way of dealing with complaints without the necessity of making the vulnerable target confront the bullies must be agreed upon. Staff must have an opportunity to discuss their own concerns and previous difficult experiences.

Provide training and support for all staff

- It is essential to the operation of an effective anti-bullying policy that *all* staff receive adequate training to enable them to apply the policy consistently and responsibly.
- Training should launch the initiative and be followed up with refresher training at regular intervals. (To take account of on-going cycles of evaluation and review).
- Full training on the use of the procedures must be a key feature in the induction of new members of the school community.

Utilize specialized staff knowledge and skills:

- Integrate the school and district counseling program with the anti-bullying planning and implementation.
 - School counselors recognize the need for all students to attend safe, supportive schools. Violence-prevention programs teach students communication, problem-solving and conflict-resolution skills that help them achieve their goals and establish successful relationships. Professional school counselors can collaboratively deliver violence-prevention programs that encourage student growth and achievement.⁷⁸
- Utilize the school psychologist: School psychologists are trained to assess the environment of the schools with which they work and evaluate how those factors affect students. According to the National Association of School Psychologists' *Blueprint for Training and Practice* one of the functional competencies of the school psychologist is the ability to identify bullying behaviors, help modify the ecology of the schools to reduce or eliminate victimization, and truly enhance educational and social experiences for all youth.

⁷⁸ See the statement of the American School Counselors Association position statement on safe schools at: <http://www.schoolcounselor.org/content.asp?contentid=216>

- Monitor and evaluate the anti-bullying procedures on a regular basis

4. Involve Students

Students bully; students are bullied. Students are the best source of information about who bullies, where it happens, and how. A student survey is an essential first step for schools' planning an anti-bullying campaign, but it should not be the last time students are consulted. Effective school-based bullying prevention values and utilizes the opinions of students and empowers them as part of the anti-bullying initiative. "Legislation alone will not stop every bully from physically or verbally tormenting a peer," according to a 2001 report by the Washington State Attorney General's Task Force, which originally recommended legislation to address bullying in Washington schools. "The most successful programs are those that involve the students themselves and where students take initiative and responsibility for reducing incidents of bullying Passing legislation is a powerful way to direct schools to tackle the problem of (harassment and bullying) seriously, but schools must follow through to curb harassment," the report cautioned.⁷⁹

The action of students' peers can make a difference. According to Canadian researchers, when a peer intervened, bullying stopped within ten seconds in 57 percent of the events.⁸⁰ Peer intervention can be critical, although it requires careful training and can be the hardest goal to reach.⁸¹ Anti-bullying planners should investigate the range of peer support options that are available, and train suitable pupils accordingly.

But NOTE: peer intervention can be the hardest change to obtain or retain, even though critical to efforts to change a school's environment and culture. Research demonstrates the tendency to backslide eventually in favor of new initiatives with the resulting effect -- well noted by students and teachers -- of resurgent bullying.⁸²

Identify and publicize resources and channels of help for pupils who are being bullied, or are bullies themselves, and also for concerned friends and family members.

Provide supervision in areas where bullying is identified as occurring.

Integrate anti-bullying policy and initiatives into programs of study.

All students newly attending the school should be made fully aware of the anti-bullying policy and procedures in place.

⁷⁹ Washington Attorney General's Task Force report to the Washington State Legislature, January 15, 2001.

⁸⁰ Hawkins, Pepler, and Craig 2001 quoted in Peter K Smith, Debra Pepler and Ken Rigby, *Bullying in Schools: How Successful Can Interventions Be?*, Cambridge University Press: 2004, 137.

⁸¹ Peter K. Smith et al., *The Nature of School Bullying: A Cross-National Perspective* (London: Routledge, 1999). On the characteristics of students who would be willing to intervene to stop bullying, see Ken Rigby and Bruce Johnson, "Expressed Readiness of Australian Schoolchildren to Act as Bystanders in Support of Children who are Being Bullied," *Educational Psychology* v. 26, no. 3 (June 2006): 425-440.

⁸² See Peter K Smith, et al., "England: The Sheffield Project," 98-123 (pg 120) in Smith and Sonia Sharp, editors, *School Bullying: Insights and Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 1994).

5. Involve Parents and the Community

Improving communication with parents about bullying can procure their assistance with individual cases, but more broadly, it can help address potential differences between home and community culture and the desired school environment. Emphasizing that bullying is an education issue, and providing parents with tools and skills to address bullying at home, can further the effort to provide students with new skills and expectations. Some evidence suggests this is particularly true when the home environment or community culture particularly tolerates, expects or even promotes violence.

- Establish communication channels that are easy to access, and allow issues to be dealt with pro-actively and tactfully.
- Make sure that parents are given clear information as to their rights and responsibilities in the anti-bullying policy.

For the State:

The Washington Legislature has stated its intent to have bully-free schools. The lack of significant change in students' reports of bullying six years after that statement indicates that more is required. While schools can and should address the conditions that foster bullying locally, state leadership and funding are also required. Research demonstrates the critical importance of leadership to establish not only policy, but clear procedures to eliminate bullying. Currently Washington lacks definition of recommended effective procedures and practices that work best for Washington's students, schools and communities, particularly as they could contribute to the state's education goals.

1. Require effective leadership on anti-bullying practice from the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The mission of the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) includes assisting districts with program development, particularly in regard to programs that should exist in every school. It is not cost effective, nor does it result in consistent efforts, for each district to investigate or experiment with educational programs individually.

Combating bullying should not be a new, add-on assignment. Rather, it should be integrated into the school improvement work already underway in Washington schools. OSPI should provide better and more frequent assistance on how school environment and student learning relate and are mutually improved. The reduction of bullying and enhancement of the learning environment are critical elements in student success.

The OSPI is not currently funded to provide anti-bullying support. Three activities are needed:

- Working with the districts, determining a preferred means of combining anti-bullying practices with school improvement;
- The school safety center needs to provide more direction on best practices as a part of a school's safety planning;

- Currently many districts engage in a wide range of programs, but there is no central measurement of the success of their activities. The state's school data system must reflect the need for more and more consistent data about bullying in Washington schools.

2. Fund schools to implement anti-bullying efforts.

While schools need more direction on how best to stop and prevent bullying, most cannot engage in new program planning or professional development without additional funding. No funds dedicated to anti-bullying have been provided since the initial allocation in 2002 (\$500,000 provided for professional development.)

Building leaders and school staff need information, guidance and technical assistance on bullying – and funded time to utilize them. The experience of the Office of the Education Ombudsman indicates how few districts understand the issue sufficiently.

Schools need funding for the time to prepare local procedures appropriate to their district and school improvement and safety plans. They need resources and materials to use with students, in the classroom and in individual assistance. They need professional development that is consistently available, particularly as the research on bullying continues to emerge.

They particularly need information about matching the appropriate response to the type of bullying that occurs in their school, to the age of children with whom they work, and for the most vulnerable students in their midst. And most likely need additional funding to ensure the availability of delivery or referral for more intensive psychological services, when needed.

3. Encourage the crucial partnership of the Health Youth Survey, but expand upon the state's data about bullying.

The Healthy Youth Survey (HYS) on which this report relied is the only reliable, statewide source of information about bullying in our schools. Without the collaborative effort of the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Department of Health, the Department of Social and Health Service's Division of Alcohol and Substance Abuse, Community Trade and Economic Development, the Family Policy Council and the Liquor Control Board our state would be blind to the very real size and scope of the problems our children face. This partnership deserves credit for its dedication to the issue and to be assured of the financial resources to continue its work.

The HYS relies upon confidential reporting by students, which is a useful source of information, but it should not be the only source of information. All local schools – and their parents and communities – deserve accurate, timely information about bullying in their schools and communities. This requires that the data collected from schools include information about bullying incident reports and resolutions.

For that data to be meaningful to state evaluation and analysis it must also be based upon common definitions, reporting practices, and disciplinary procedures that can be compared across regions.

Working with the districts, OSPI should develop common definitions and data reporting practices and systematically collect bullying-related incident data.

4. Continue evaluating the result of bullying practices employed by Washington schools to determine the most effective strategies for the variety of bullying behaviors.

The lack of reliable incident data for all schools currently hinders analysis of bullying in Washington schools. Establishing consistent definitions and practices will allow measurement of the relationship between local practice and changes in school incident rates for evaluating the effectiveness of anti-bullying strategies for Washington schools.

Building on this study, OSPI and the districts should create a diagnostic tool to help districts evaluate their current level of anti-bullying activity. OSPI should also work with the districts to identify the most effective anti-bullying practices. Once reliable data is available and effective practices have been identified, schools employing the full array of recommended practices could be compared against districts with less robust implementation to measure the relative effectiveness of each measure against the types of bullying present in the individual districts.

5. Encourage inclusion of anti-bullying strategies as part of educator education.

Anti-bullying programs contain information about classroom management, student behavior, and adult-student relationships that logically belong in all educator training programs. Pre-certification training is more inclusive and more cost effective than providing professional development school by school. A partnership between schools and schools of education to address anti-bullying strategies would be an efficient and effective way to grow better school environments.

6. Revisit the language of the current statute to ensure it encompasses the state's full intent.

Washington's current anti-bullying statute is recognized as one of the best in the nation. Still, information about the continuing effects of bullying continues to mount. Legislation has just been proposed in New York to require training teachers to recognize and respond to bullying, and require schools to keep track of bullying cases, including incidents in which students are harassed for their sexual orientation. Other states have included language specifically requiring that victims of bullying be assessed or referred for counseling – a requirement that would likely require more funding to support in Washington. Legislators may wish to consider updating their statute to ensure it expresses the full commitment of the state to better meet the needs of all its students.

7. Consider a statewide initiative against bullying and promoting tolerance as a core Washington value.

- Raise awareness of the significance and consequence of bullying.
- Correct the misconceptions and false stereotypes of bullying.
- Assert the importance of a tolerant, safe environment for learning.

APPENDIX A

RCW 28A.300.285

Harassment, intimidation, and bullying prevention policies — Model policy and training materials — Posting on web site — Advisory committee.

- (1) By August 1, 2003, each school district shall adopt or amend if necessary a policy, within the scope of its authority, that prohibits the harassment, intimidation, or bullying of any student. It is the responsibility of each school district to share this policy with parents or guardians, students, volunteers, and school employees.
- (2) "Harassment, intimidation, or bullying" means any intentional electronic, written, verbal, or physical act, including but not limited to one shown to be motivated by any characteristic in RCW [9A.36.080](#)(3), or other distinguishing characteristics, when the intentional electronic, written, verbal, or physical act:
 - (a) Physically harms a student or damages the student's property; or
 - (b) Has the effect of substantially interfering with a student's education; or
 - (c) Is so severe, persistent, or pervasive that it creates an intimidating or threatening educational environment; or
 - (d) Has the effect of substantially disrupting the orderly operation of the school.
 - (e) Nothing in this section requires the affected student to actually possess a characteristic that is a basis for the harassment, intimidation, or bullying.
- (3) The policy should be adopted or amended through a process that includes representation of parents or guardians, school employees, volunteers, students, administrators, and community representatives. It is recommended that each such policy emphasize positive character traits and values, including the importance of civil and respectful speech and conduct, and the responsibility of students to comply with the district's policy prohibiting harassment, intimidation, or bullying.
- (4) By August 1, 2002, the superintendent of public instruction, in consultation with representatives of parents, school personnel, and other interested parties, shall provide to school districts and educational service districts a model harassment, intimidation, and bullying prevention policy and training materials on the components that should be included in any district policy. Training materials shall be disseminated in a variety of ways, including workshops and other staff developmental activities, and through the office of the superintendent of public instruction's web site, with a link to the safety center web page. On the web site:

- (a) The office of the superintendent of public instruction shall post its model policy, recommended training materials, and instructional materials;
 - (b) The office of the superintendent of public instruction has the authority to update with new technologies access to this information in the safety center, to the extent resources are made available; and
 - (c) Individual school districts shall have direct access to the safety center web site to post a brief summary of their policies, programs, partnerships, vendors, and instructional and training materials, and to provide a link to the school district's web site for further information.
- (5) The Washington state school directors association, with the assistance of the office of the superintendent of public instruction, shall convene an advisory committee to develop a model policy prohibiting acts of harassment, intimidation, or bullying that are conducted via electronic means by a student while on school grounds and during the school day. The policy shall include a requirement that materials meant to educate parents and students about the seriousness of cyberbullying be disseminated to parents or made available on the school district's web site. The school directors association and the advisory committee shall develop sample materials for school districts to disseminate, which shall also include information on responsible and safe internet use as well as what options are available if a student is being bullied via electronic means, including but not limited to, reporting threats to local police and when to involve school officials, the internet service provider, or phone service provider. The school directors association shall submit the model policy and sample materials, along with a recommendation for local adoption, to the governor and the legislature and shall post the model policy and sample materials on its web site by January 1, 2008. Each school district board of directors shall establish its own policy by August 1, 2008.
- (6) As used in this section, "electronic" or "electronic means" means any communication where there is the transmission of information by wire, radio, optical cable, electromagnetic, or other similar means.

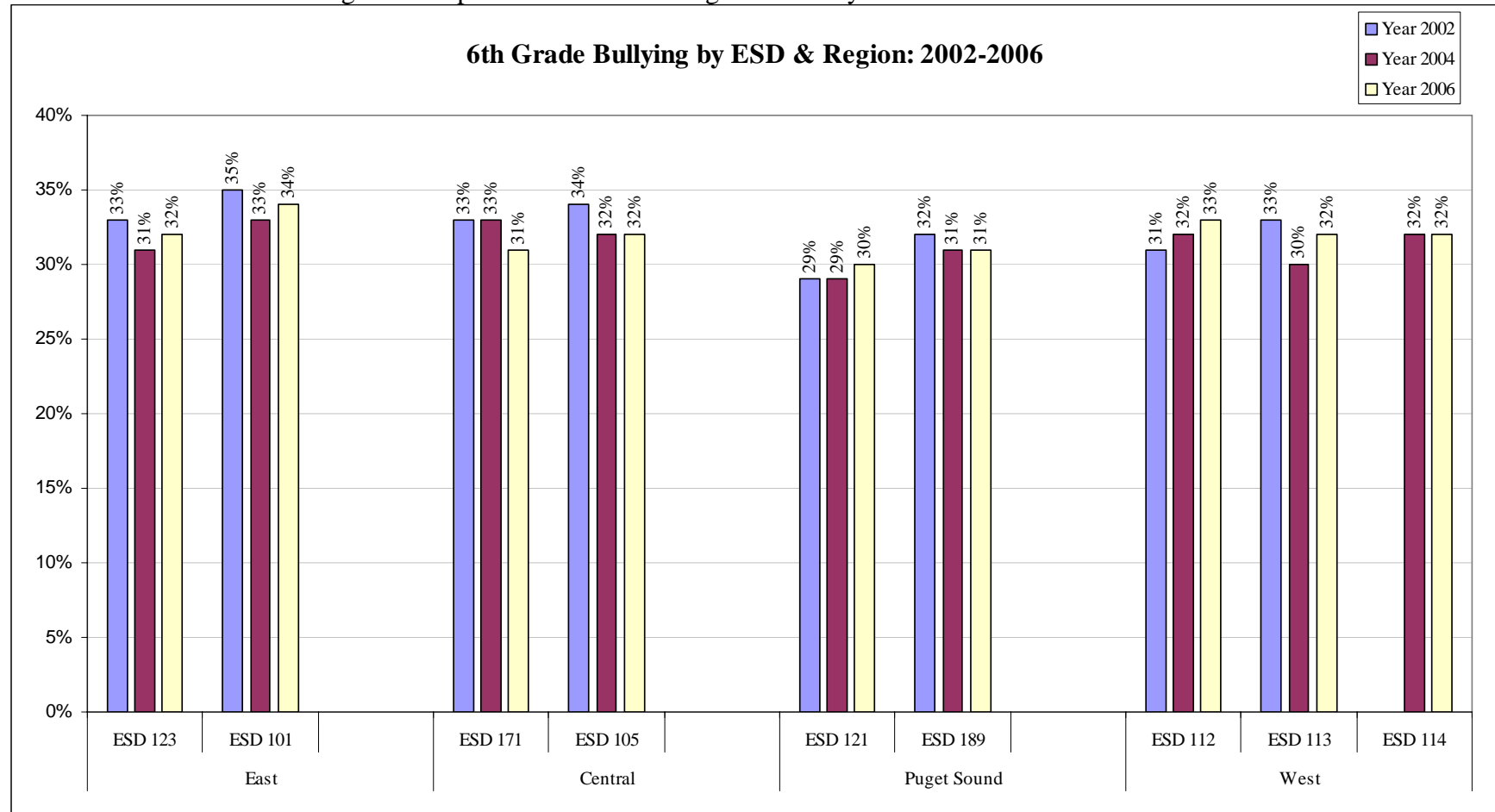
[2007 c 407 § 1; 2002 c 207 § 2.]

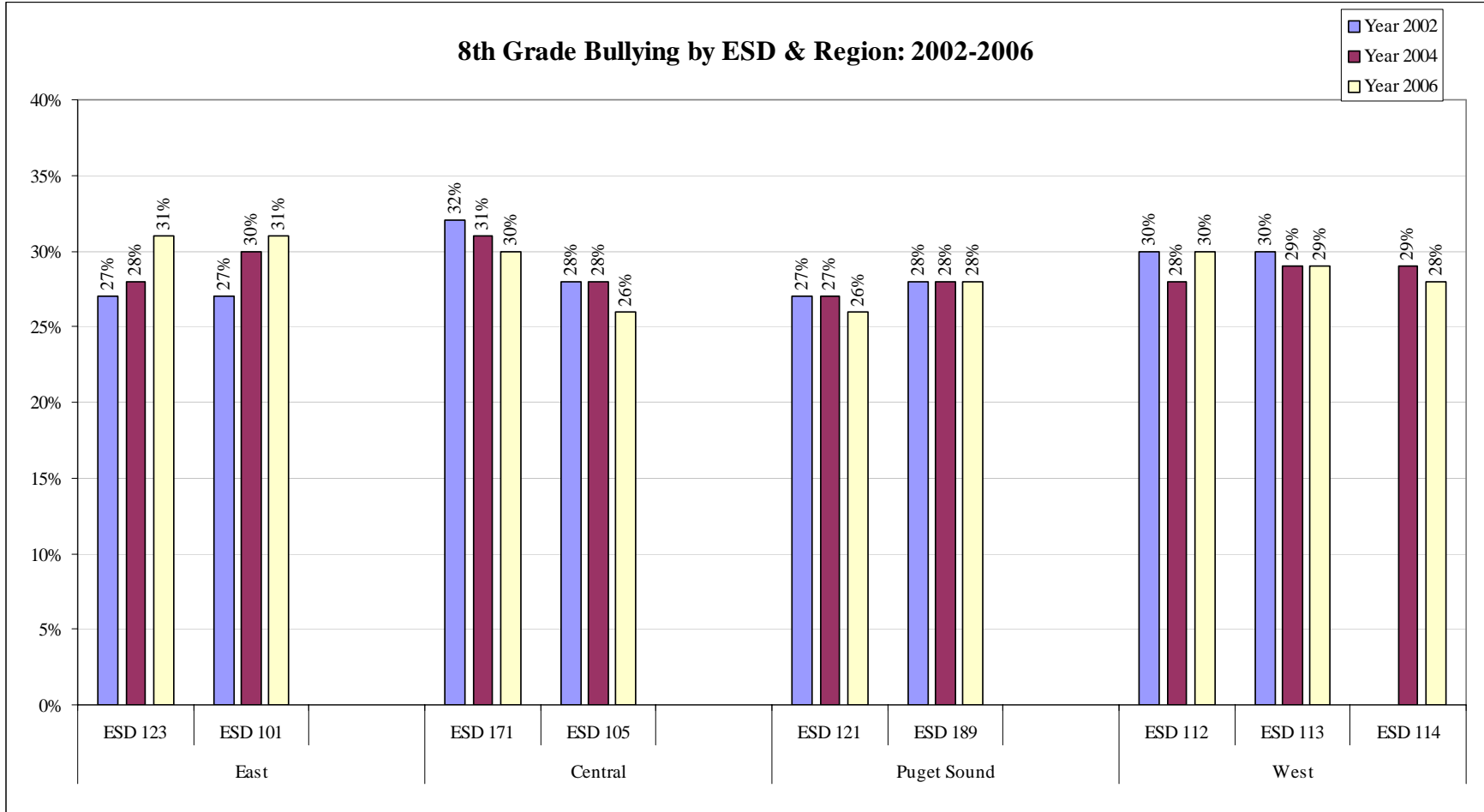
APPENDIX B

DIFFERENCES BY ESD/REGION

Bullying Rates by ESD/Region & Grade: 2002-2006

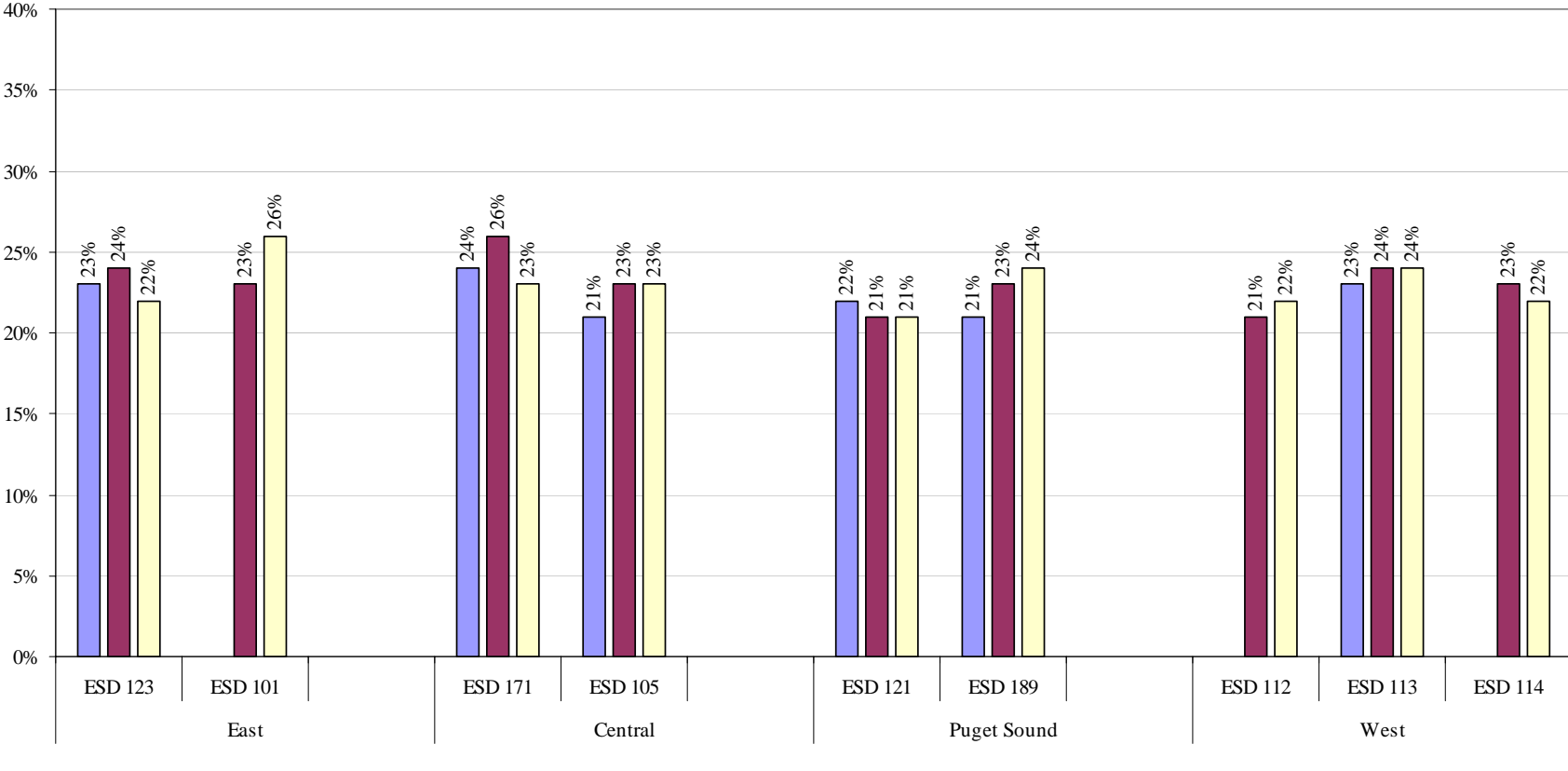
Note: Not all ESD's had enough data to produce results for all grades in all years.

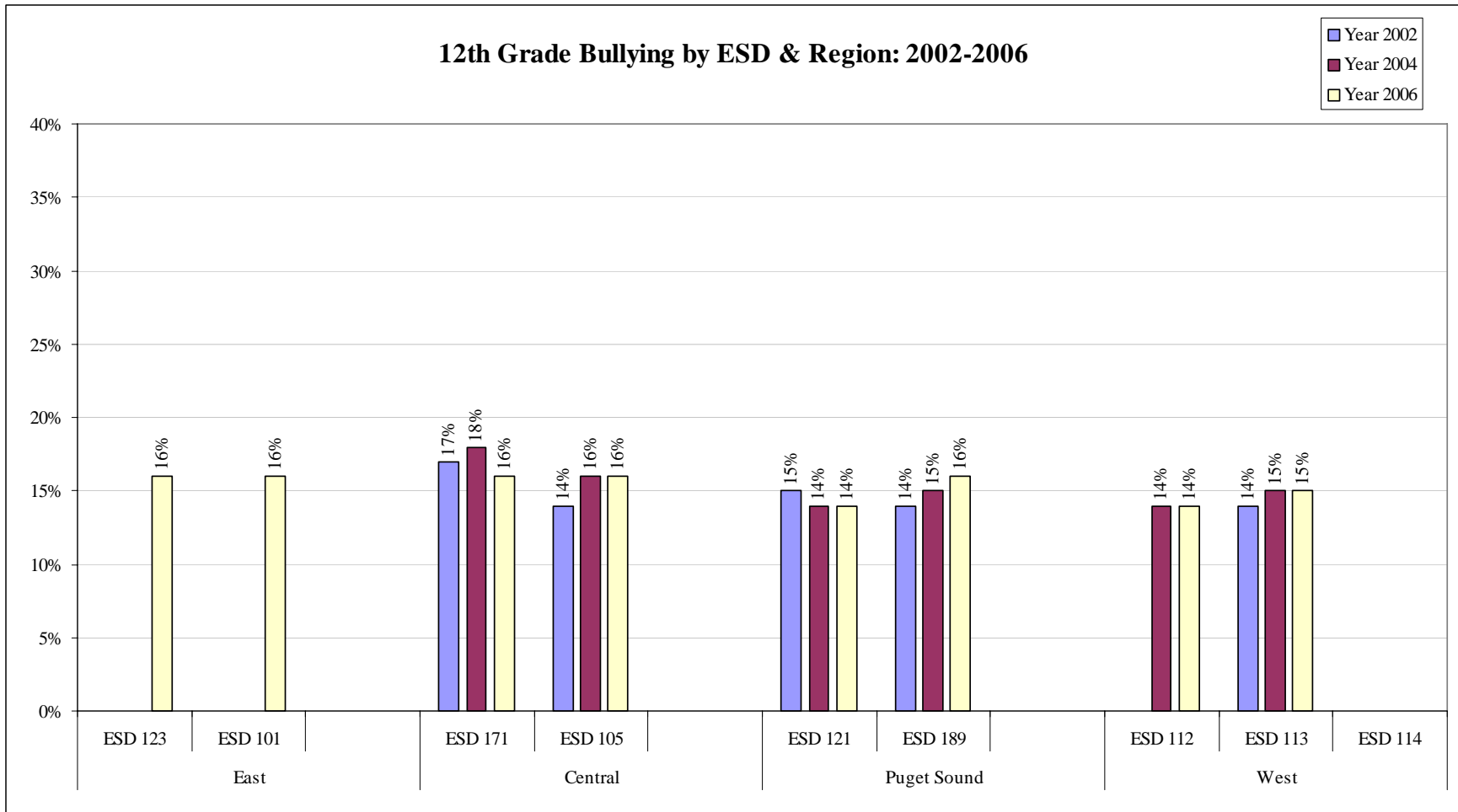




10th Grade Bullying by ESD & Region: 2002-2006

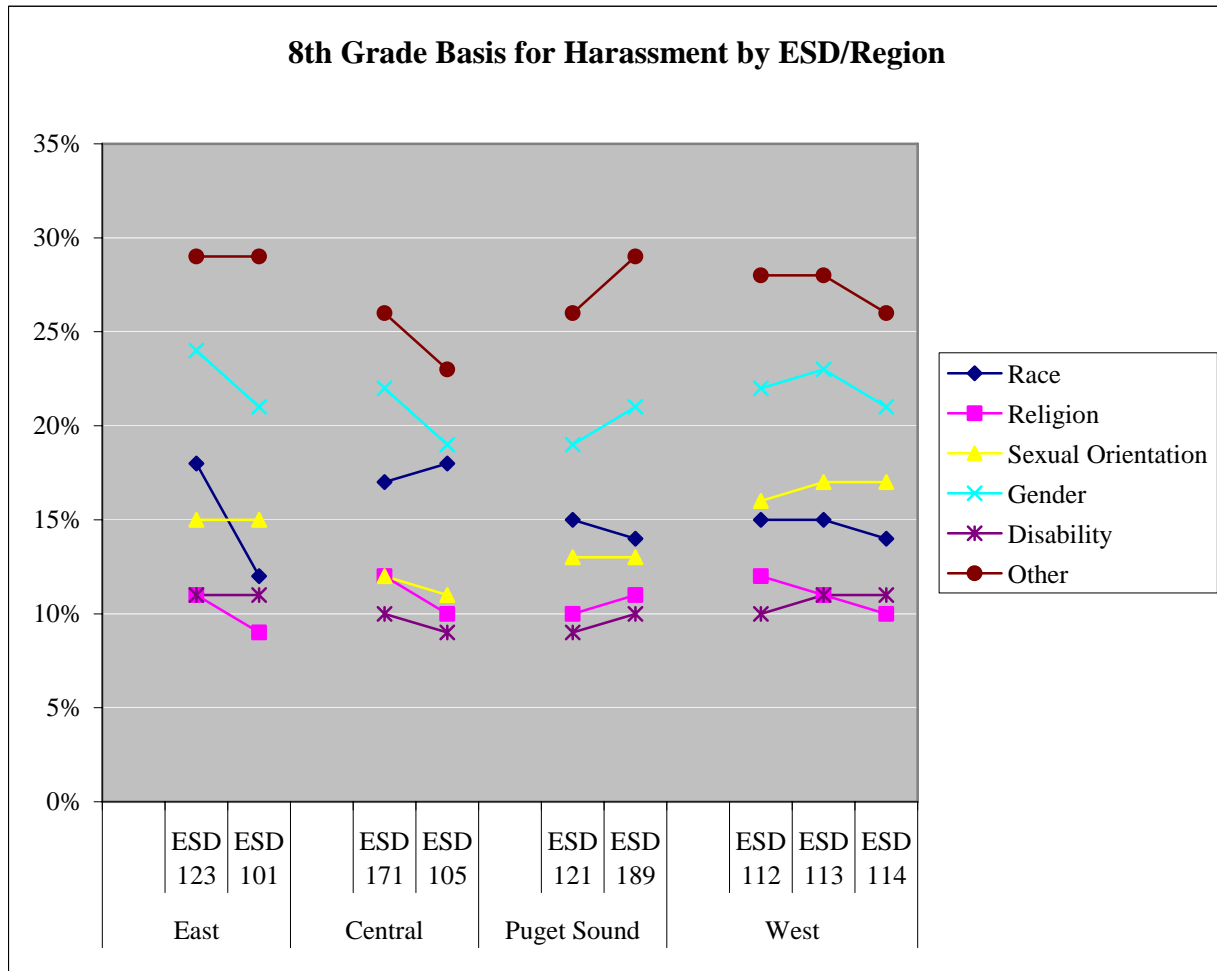
■ Year 2002
■ Year 2004
■ Year 2006





- There are no clear trends of differences in the bullying rates by region.
- When examining bullying by region, there seems to be as much variability *within* regions as there is *between* regions.

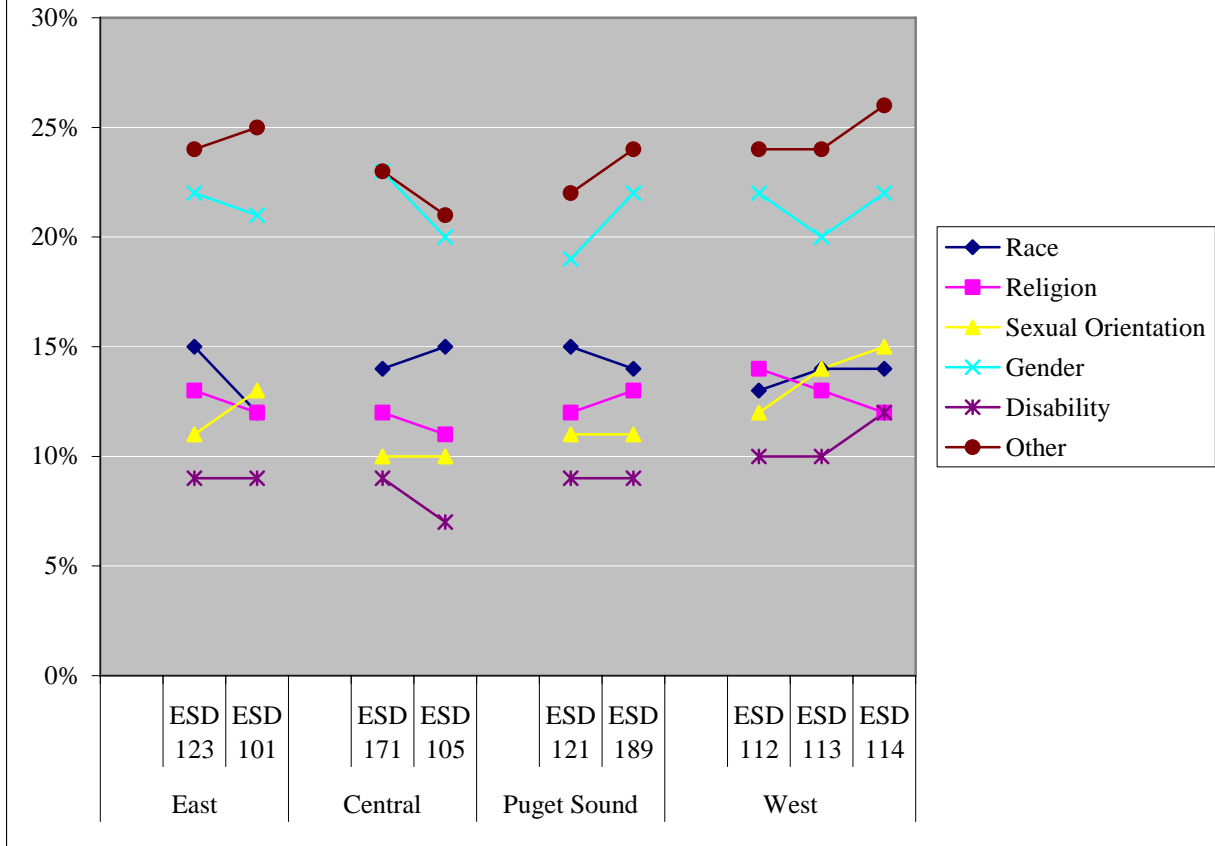
The Basis of Harassment by ESD/Region & Grade: 2006



8th Grade Basis for Harassment by ESD/Region

Region	Group	Race	Religion	Sexual Orientation	Gender	Disability	Other
East	ESD 123	18%	11%	15%	24%	11%	29%
	ESD 101	12%	9%	15%	21%	11%	29%
Central	ESD 171	17%	12%	12%	22%	10%	26%
	ESD 105	18%	10%	11%	19%	9%	23%
Puget Sound	ESD 121	15%	10%	13%	19%	9%	26%
	ESD 189	14%	11%	13%	21%	10%	29%
West	ESD 112	15%	12%	16%	22%	10%	28%
	ESD 113	15%	11%	17%	23%	11%	28%
	ESD 114	14%	10%	17%	21%	11%	26%

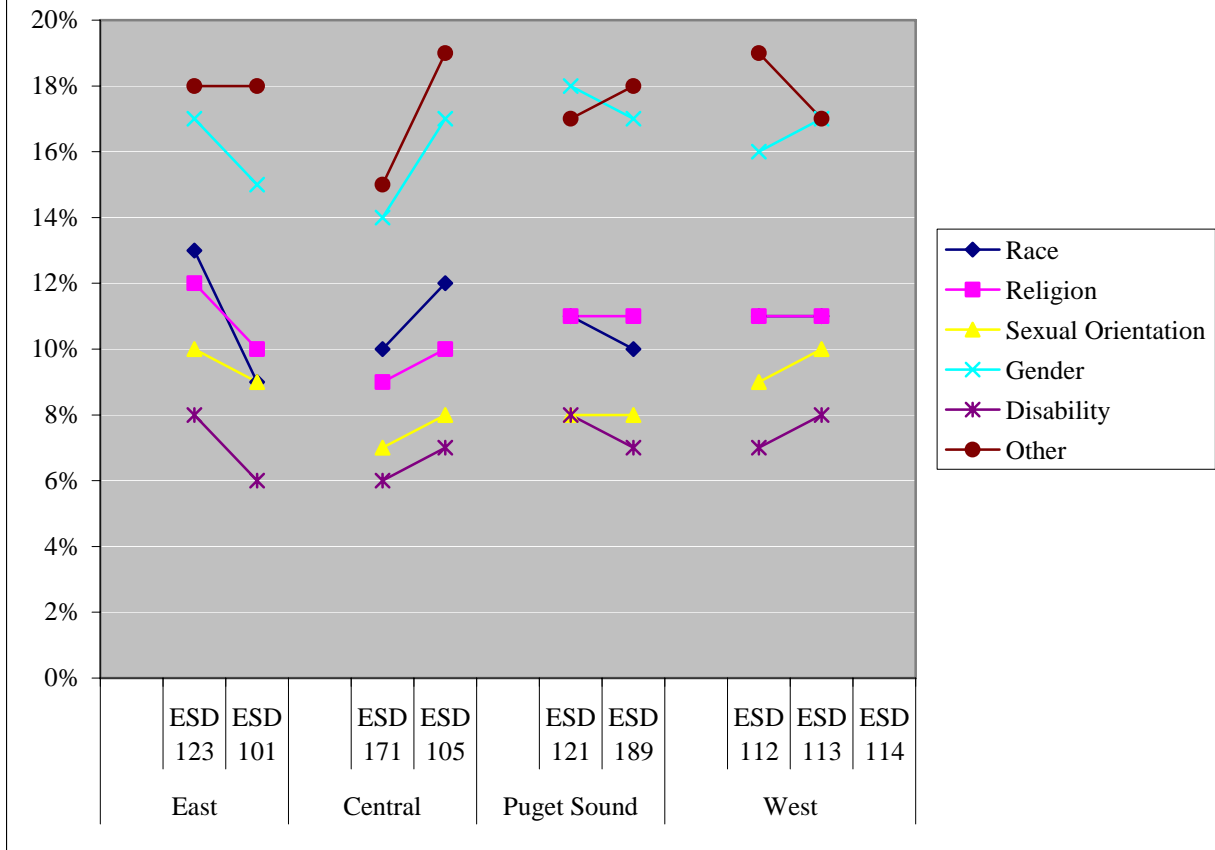
10th Grade Basis for Harassment by ESD/Region



10th Grade Basis for Harassment by ESD/Region

Region	Group	Race	Religion	Sexual Orientation	Gender	Disability	Other
East	ESD 123	15%	13%	11%	22%	9%	24%
	ESD 101	12%	12%	13%	21%	9%	25%
Central	ESD 171	14%	12%	10%	23%	9%	23%
	ESD 105	15%	11%	10%	20%	7%	21%
Puget Sound	ESD 121	15%	12%	11%	19%	9%	22%
	ESD 189	14%	13%	11%	22%	9%	24%
West	ESD 112	13%	14%	12%	22%	10%	24%
	ESD 113	14%	13%	14%	20%	10%	24%
	ESD 114	14%	12%	15%	22%	12%	26%

12th Grade Basis for Harassment by ESD/Region



12th Grade Basis for Harassment by ESD/Region

Region	Group	Race	Religion	Sexual Orientation	Gender	Disability	Other
East	ESD 123	13%	12%	10%	17%	8%	18%
	ESD 101	9%	10%	9%	15%	6%	18%
Central	ESD 171	10%	9%	7%	14%	6%	15%
	ESD 105	12%	10%	8%	17%	7%	19%
Puget Sound	ESD 121	11%	11%	8%	18%	8%	17%
	ESD 189	10%	11%	8%	17%	7%	18%
West	ESD 112	11%	11%	9%	16%	7%	19%
	ESD 113	11%	11%	10%	17%	8%	17%
	ESD 114						