Bystander behavior and bullying prevention

Christina Salmivalli
University of Turku, Finland
Bullying and aggression

- What is the difference between aggressive behavior and bullying?
Functions of aggression: reactive and proactive

- Reactive aggression
  - hot-tempered
  - response to a threat or provocation
  - feeling angry
  - dysregulated

- Proactive aggression
  - premeditated
  - unprovoked
  - strategic
  - goal-directed
  - regulated
Bullying

• A widely used definition: Systematic aggressive behavior against a person who finds it difficult to defend him/herself against the perpetrator(s)
  – Proactive aggression
  – Repeated nature of attacks and power differential are central features
Bullying

• Rather than consisting of single attacks, bullying represents a rather stable relationship further embedded in the larger peer setting.
Bullying takes numerous forms

- Most often verbal abuse, public ridicule
  - BUT many other forms as well: physical, social isolation, rumor-spreading, cyberbullying, …
Has bullying moved from schoolyard to cyberspace?
Students targeted by different forms of bullying

A child who is bullied is typically targeted in multiple ways.
Consequences of being bullied and bullying others

- Well-documented in research
- Being bullied
  - anxiety, depression, loneliness
  - risk for depression, low self-esteem & difficulty to trust other people in adulthood
- Bullying others
  - learning to use aggression as a means to get what one wants
  - risk for criminal offending in adulthood
- Both bullying and victimization, ”bully-victims”
  - a small group, but often the most maladjusted
Prevalence of bullying at school

- Universal phenomenon; at least 10-15% of children and adolescents worldwide are systematic victims of bullying by their peers at school.
- Much variation across countries, schools, classrooms…

- Bullies: often <10%
- Victims: often 10-15%
- Bully/victims: often 2-5%
Why is bullying so frequent?

- Status, power, admiration needs of those who bully
- Vulnerability of those who are targeted
- A group that fuels bullying, or allows it to happen
The role of bystanders in bullying
The role of bystanders in bullying

- Despite their anti-bullying attitudes, many students behave in ways which maintain, even fuel the bullying behavior
  - standing by, not intervening
  - reinforcing the bully
  - assisting the bully
The role of bystanders in bullying

- Participant roles (Salmivalli et al., 1996)

- 8% bully
- 12% victim
- 20% reinforcers of the bully
- 24% outsiders
- 7% assistants of the bully
- 17% defenders of the victim
The responses of peer bystanders matter

• Individual effects: short term
  – the defended victims are better adjusted than the undefended ones (Sainio, Veenstra, Huitsing, & Salmivalli, 2010)

• Individual effects: long term
  – the most negative memory related to bullying is often ”no-one cared” (Teräsahjo & Salmivalli, 2000)
Victims and their defenders: A dyadic approach

Miia Sainio,¹ René Veenstra,¹,² Gijs Huitsing,² and Christina Salmivalli¹

Abstract
This study focused on the dyadic defending relationships of victimized children in grades 3, 4, and 5 (N = 7481 children from 356 school classes, mean ages 10–12 years). Most of the victims (72.3%) had at least one defender. Being defended was positively related to victims’ adjustment and social status. Analyses on victim–defender dyads showed that they were usually same-gender relationships. Victims usually liked their defenders and perceived them as popular, although the latter effect was weaker. Also other classmates perceived defenders as popular, indicating that defenders enjoy a high status among their peers in general.

Keywords
bullying, defending, dyad, social networks, victimization
The responses of peer bystanders matter

• Individual effects: short term
  – the defended victims are better adjusted than the undefended ones (Sainio, Veenstra, Huitsing, & Salmivalli, 2010)

• Individual effects: long term
  – the most negative memory related to bullying is often "no-one cared" (Teräsahjo & Salmivalli, 2000)
The responses of peer bystanders matter

- Classroom level:
  - In classrooms where students tend to reinforce the bully, rather than support the bullied classmates
    - bullying occurs more frequently (Salmivalli, Voeten & Poskiparta, 2011)
    - vulnerable (e.g., socially anxious) children are more likely to end up as targets of bullying (Kärnä, Voeten, Poskiparta, & Salmivalli, 2010)
Bystanders Matter: Associations Between Reinforcing, Defending, and the Frequency of Bullying Behavior in Classrooms

Christina Salmivalli
*University of Turku, University of Stavanger, and Edith Cowan University*

Marinus Voeten
*Radboud University Nijmegen*

Elisa Poskiparta
*University of Turku*
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Vulnerable Children in Varying Classroom Contexts

Bystanders’ Behaviors Moderate the Effects of Risk Factors on Victimization

Antti Kärnä  University of Turku, Finland
Marinus Voeten  Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands
Elisa Poskiparta and Christina Salmivalli  University of Turku, Finland
• Whether an individual risk factor leads to being bullied depends on the classroom context
In order to reduce bullying...

- We do not necessarily need to change the victims, making them "less vulnerable".
- Influencing the behavior of bystanders can reduce the rewards gained by the bullies and consequently, their motivation to bully in the first place.

- However, *the victims* need to feel that they are heard and helped by the adults at school.
- *The bullies* need to be confronted for their unacceptable behavior.
In order to reduce bullying...

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- The bullies need to be confronted for their unacceptable behavior
An anti-bullying program should include...

- ...something for all students  
  ➔ universal actions

- ...something for bullies and victims in particular  
  ➔ indicated actions
KiVa antibullying program

http://www.kivaprogram.net/
**KiVa™ universal and indicated actions**

- **Universal**
  - Student lessons and materials involved
  - Visible vests for persons supervising recess time
  - Parent materials
  - Online antibullying games
  - Online surveys with feedback of progress

- **Indicated**
  - KiVa™ team
  - Clear guidelines for tackling bullying
The topics of Unit 1 student lessons

1. Let’s get to know each other!
2. Emotions
3. Our class – everyone is included!
4. Difference is richness
5. There is no bullying at a KiVa school
6. We will not join in on bullying
7. The bullied child needs your support
8. I will not be bullied!
9. Literature lesson
10. The KiVa contract
The topics of Unit 2 student lessons

1. Respect is for everyone
2. In a group
3. Recognize bullying
4. Hidden forms of bullying
5. Consequences of bullying
6. Group involvement in bullying
7. Confronting bullying as a group
8. What to do if I get bullied?
9. KiVa School – let’s do it together!
10. How are we doing?
Creating awareness of how the group might maintain and fuel bullying
Enhancing empathy
Providing safe strategies to support victimized peers
KiVa online games: closely connected to student lessons

**I KNOW**
- Repeating & testing of what has been learnt during the lessons

**I CAN**
- Learning to take action
- Students go around in a virtual school and come to challenging situations where they have to decide what to say and do

**I DO**
- Motivation
- Students reflect on their own behavior (e.g., how they have done with following the KiVa rules) and get feedback
Online games
Implementing the KiVa antibullying program: recognition of stable victims

Anne Haataja*, Miia Sainio, Mira Turtonen and Christina Salmivalli

Department of Psychology, University of Turku, Turku, Finland

(Received 23 February 2015; final version received 24 June 2015)

Teachers do not always recognise students who are victimised by their peers. In this study, we examined the recognition of stable victims in 76 schools beginning to implement the KiVa antibullying programme. We focused on 348 victims (9–15 years) who reported victimisation at the pretest and still at wave 2, after five months of programme implementation. Only 24% of these stable victims received the attention of school personnel during the school year. Multilevel logistic regression analyses revealed that male victims were recognised more often than female victims, but only in elementary school level. Peer reputation as a victim, as well as telling an adult about one’s plight increased the likelihood of recognition by school personnel, whereas bullying others (in addition to being victimised) decreased it. The study emphasises the importance of encouraging school personnel to put more effort in reaching the victimised students.

Keywords: antibullying programme; indicated intervention; recognition; victimization
I don't want to come to school anymore. Other kids are not playing with me anymore..
KiVa™ universal and indicated actions

- **Universal**
  - Visible vests for persons supervising recess time
  - Parent materials
  - Online antibullying games

- **Indicated**
  - Student lessons and materials involved
  - Online surveys with feedback of progress
  - KiVa™ team Clear guidelines for tackling bullying

- **Monitoring**
Parents’ involvement

Newsletter to parents (www)

Parents’ guide (www/print)

Material for back-to-school night
KiVa™ universal and indicated actions

Universal

Indicated

Monitoring

Posters; Visible vests for persons supervising recess time

Parent materials

Student lessons and materials involved

Online antibullying games

Online surveys with feedback of progress

KiVa™ team
Clear guidelines for tackling bullying
To remind about KiVa...

- Posters
- Highly visible vests for recess supervisors (in Finland, teachers)
KiVa™ universal and indicated actions

- Universal
  - Posters; Visible vests for persons supervising recess time
  - Online surveys with feedback of progress
  - Parent materials

- Student lessons and materials involved

- Indicated
  - Online antibullying games
  - KiVa™ team
    - Clear guidelines for tackling bullying

- Monitoring
Indicated actions: Tackling the cases of bullying

KiVa team
KiVa™ universal and indicated actions

- Universal
- Indicated
- Monitoring
- Student lessons and materials involved
- Parent materials
- Online antibullying games
- Online surveys with feedback of progress
- KiVa™ team Clear guidelines for tackling bullying
- Posters; Visible vests for persons supervising recess time
Monitoring tool: Annual school-based feedback
Can we influence the bystanders?

• Probably easier than changing those who bully!

• Critical individual characteristics to be targeted
  – empathy towards peers who are bullied
  – self-efficacy with respect to helping
  – positive outcome expectations re: helping

• Critical group factors to be targeted
  – group norms re: bullying
    ▪ teacher-imposed norms; peer group norms
    ▪ ”pluralistic ignorance”
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• Critical group factors to be targeted
  – group norms re: bullying
  – ”pluralistic ignorance”
How does it feel to be bullied?
Emotion cards
How does it feel to be bullied?
Emotion cards
How does it feel to be bullied?  
Scene from the online game
How does it feel to be bullied?
Fictional stories
How does it feel to be bullied?
Memories…
Can we influence the bystanders?

- Probably easier than changing those who bully!

- Critical individual characteristics to be targeted
  - empathy towards peers who are bullied
  - self-efficacy with respect to helping
  - positive outcome expectations re: helping

- Critical group factors to be targeted
  - group norms re: bullying
  - ”pluralistic ignorance”
We can do something to help! Providing safe strategies to support victimized peers

Three Card Suffle

Brainstorming…
We can do something to help! Mobilizing bystander support

• Discussions with the child who is bullied and with the bullying children (KiVa team)

• Utilizing prosocial, high-status peers (classroom teacher)
  – ”your help is needed”
  → self-efficacy, positive outcome expectations
Can we influence the bystanders?

• Probably easier than changing those who bully!

• Critical individual characteristics to be targeted
  – empathy towards peers who are bullied
  – self-efficacy with respect to helping
  – positive outcome expectations re: helping

• Critical group factors to be targeted
  – group norms re: bullying
    ▪ teacher-imposed norms; peer group norms
    ▪ ”pluralistic ignorance”
Pluralistic ignorance

- Children do not individually approve of bullying, but they infer from peers’ behavior that peers think bullying is acceptable, even fun

- Important: showing one’s antibullying attitudes in public
We do not like bullying!

What do we actually think of bullying?

How can we make that visible?
Parents’ involvement

Message to all parents: Even if your child is neither being bullied nor bullying others, he/she may be involved in other ways

Information newsletter to parents (www)
Parents’ guide (www/print)
Back-to-school night
Does KiVa work?
Changes in being bullied by different forms during one school year, RCT 2007-2008
KiVa influenced also bystander emotions, cognitions, and behaviors

- Increased **empathy** toward victimized
- Influenced children’s **antibullying attitudes, efficacy, and effort to defend the victims**
- Decreased **reinforcing and assisting the bully**
  - Kärnä et al. (2011)
Additionally KiVa…

• reduced students’ social anxiety and had a positive impact on their perceptions of peer climate  (Williford et al, 2011)

• positive effects on school liking and academic motivation  (Salmivalli, Garandeau & Veenstra, 2012)
KiVa also Influenced...

- children’s perceptions on their teachers’ attitudes and how well the teacher is able to do to reduce bullying
- teachers self-evaluated competence to tackle bullying

(Ahtola et al. 2012; Veenstra et al. 2014)
Nationwide implementation: Proportion of students who have been bullied / who are bullying others repeatedly, Finnish KiVa schools 2009-2016

Bar chart showing the proportion of students who have been bullied or who are bullying others repeatedly from 2009 to 2016. The chart compares baseline and KiVa implementation years, with a decrease in bullying rates observed over the years.
NOT feeling safe at school, %
School health promotion study

[Graph showing the percentage of boys and girls over the years 2000 to 2015, with a slight increase in both categories from 2000 to 2015.]

THL: Kouluterveyskysely
School health promotion study

![Graph showing the percentage of boys and girls over the years from 2000 to 2015. The graph indicates a slight decrease in the percentage of boys and a slight increase in the percentage of girls from 2000 to 2015.](image)
How does KiVa work? The mechanism
How does KiVa work?

- "Theory of change" behind KiVa: The program makes bullying behavior less rewarding for the perpetrators by **changing bystander responses to bullying**

- Putting the theory into test…
Are changes in bullying mediated by changes in bystander responses?

KiVa begins
• Universal actions
• Indicated actions

Bullying decreases

Opening the "black box"
KiVa: Mechanisms of change
Saarento et al., 2015

**STUDENT LEVEL**
KiVa begins
- Universal actions
- Indicated actions

**CLASSROOM LEVEL**

Bullying decreases

Bullying decreases
KiVa: Mechanisms of change
Saarento et al., 2015

• Target sample of 8248 students from 429 classrooms from 78 schools
• Final sample of 7269 students from 387 classrooms from 77 schools
  – Grade levels 4 to 6 (10-12 years of age)
• Data collected in May 2007, December 2007, May 2008
KiVa: Mechanisms of change
Saarento et al., 2015

STUDENT LEVEL
KiVa begins
• Universal actions
• Indicated actions

Antibullying attitudes increase

CLASSROOM LEVEL

Bullying decreases

Bullying decreases
KiVa: Mechanisms of change
Saarento et al., 2015

STUDENT LEVEL
KiVa begins
- Universal actions
- Indicated actions

CLASSROOM LEVEL

Perceptions of peers’ bystander behaviors change → Bullying decreases

Bullying decreases
KiVa: Mechanisms of change
Saarento et al., 2015

STUDENT LEVEL
KiVa begins
• Universal actions
• Indicated actions

CLASSROOM LEVEL

Perceptions of teacher attitudes toward bullying change

Bullying decreases
Bullying decreases
KiVa: Mechanisms of change
Saarento et al., 2015

**STUDENT LEVEL**
KiVa begins
- Universal actions
- Indicated actions

**CLASSROOM LEVEL**
Antibullying attitudes increase
Perceptions of peers’ bystander behaviors change
Perceptions of teacher attitudes toward bullying change

Bullying decreases
Bullying decreases
KiVa: Mechanisms of change
Saarento et al., 2015

STUDENT LEVEL
KiVa begins
• Universal actions
• Indicated actions

CLASSROOM LEVEL
Antibullying attitudes increase
Perceptions of peers’ bystander behaviors change
Perceptions of teacher attitudes toward bullying change

Collective perceptions of teacher attitudes toward bullying change

Bullying decreases
Bullying decreases
• Yes, changes in bullying were mediated by bystander responses
  – As a result of KiVa, children first started observing more defending and less reinforcing among their classmates, and consequently, reduced their bullying behavior
• Changes in bullying were also mediated by children’s perceptions of teacher attitudes
• The relative importance of peers vs. teachers across age groups?
Conclusions

• Peer bystanders play a significant role in bullying
• By changing bystander responses we can successfully reduce bullying behavior and increase the targeted students’ well-being