Wellbeing@School: Building a safe and caring school climate that deters bullying *Overview paper*

"Work in progress" document

(Updated March 2012)

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NEW ZEALAND COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

TE RŪNANGA O AOTEAROA MŌ TE RANGAHAU I TE MĀTAURANGA

WELLINGTON

2012

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Introduction

What is the purpose of this paper?

This paper has two main purposes. The first is to provide an overview of the literature to anchor the development of the *Wellbeing@School* website and tools in up-to-date evidence and practice. The second purpose is to act as a reference document from which content for the website can be developed.

It is not intended that the content of this paper will be presented on the *Wellbeing@School* website in its current format. It will be adapted and condensed into smaller, stand-alone sections. Overall, the intended audience for this content is school leaders. Much of the content in this paper is aimed at providing information that could support school leaders to make decisions about the processes and approaches they could use at their school. Each section includes a summary of the main points, a discussion, examples of approaches or practices, and suggestions for possible weblinks or additional readings.

What is the background to the *Wellbeing@School* website?

New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) has been contracted by the Ministry of Education to develop the *Wellbeing@School* website. This website aims to support schools to engage in a whole-school self-review process to consider how to further build a caring, safe and respectful school environment in which learning can flourish. The website, and two associated tools for schools, have a particular focus on exploring how caring and prosocial (helping) behaviours can be enhanced, and bullying behaviours diminished, in ways that build students' skills, strategies and resilience.

The development of the *Wellbeing@School* website is one component of the Ministry of Education's *Positive Behaviour for Learning: Action Plan 2010–2014* (PB4L) (Ministry of Education, 2009a). This plan was produced by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with a number of other education organisations and sector groups. The *PB4L* action plan was a response to needs suggested by student data, and sector concerns, some of which are briefly summarised below. Recently there have been a number of high-profile school bullying and violence cases reported in the New Zealand media. These cases, as well as concerns expressed about student behaviour by those in the education sector, and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) results which suggested that New Zealand students experienced high rates of bullying behaviours compared with their peers in other countries, prompted the convening of the

cross-sector Taumata Whanonga 2009: Student behaviour summit.[1] This summit involved major government agencies, education institutions and teacher unions; principals, teachers, parents and representatives from school boards of trustees; as well as early childhood services and community organisations. Following this event, a cross-sector steering group and the Ministry of Education undertook to work on action plans to assist schools to address behavioural issues. As a result, the *PB4L* action plan was developed. The plan outlines a range of programmes and resources that will be offered to schools to assist them to address behaviour problems.

The *Wellbeing@School* website and tools aim to address the specified *PB4L* action "develop bullying surveys", and the focus on developing "toolkits to assist schools in developing responses to survey data" (p. 4, Ministry of Education, 2009a).

What is the *Wellbeing@School* website?

The *Wellbeing@School* website will support school staff to engage in a self-review process that has the overall aim of further building a caring, safe and respectful school environment in which learning can flourish. Creating such an environment is a key priority for educators. This need is enshrined in policy via National Administration Guideline 5(i)[2] which states that each school board of trustees is expected to provide a safe physical and emotional environment for students. Policy documents also comment on the need to support students to develop skills and competencies for managing their social environment, future learning and life in general. The revised New Zealand curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007), which all schools were expected to implement by 2010, aims to assist young people to develop as confident, connected, actively involved lifelong learners. The curriculum states that, for students to lead full and satisfying lives, among other things, they need to be supported to build resilience and learn how to co-operate and negotiate, and develop competencies for mental wellness and safety management. Therefore it is vital that we work to equip young people with the skills they need to function in their communities, engage in caring and helpful (prosocial) interactions, as well as identify and address behaviours that are less positive influences in their social environment, such as bullying. The *Wellbeing@School* website and tools have a particular focus on exploring how caring and prosocial behaviours can be enhanced, and bullying behaviours diminished, in ways that build students' skills, strategies and resilience.

How will the website content benefit educators?

The website will support schools to engage in self-review and examine their activities and practices in a way that aligns with current research as well as the intent and vision of the revised curriculum. Schools will be able to use the website to access a range of tools, resources and

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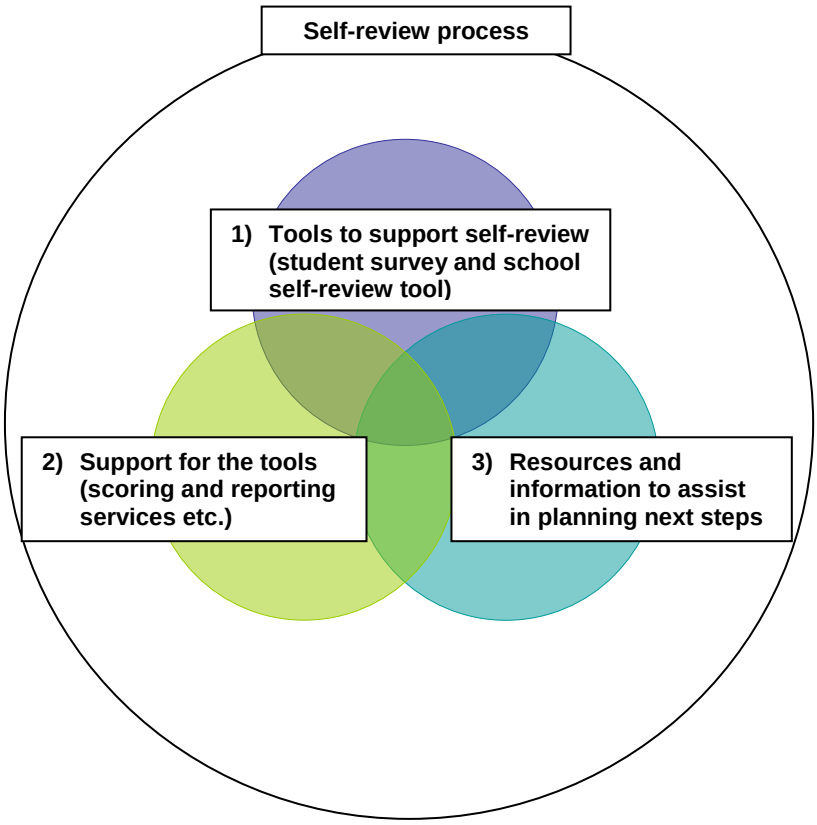
[1] http://www.youthworkers.net.nz/news/66_Behaviour%20Summit%20Outcomes.html

[2] http://www.minedu.govt.nz/NZEducation/EducationPolicies/Schools/PolicyAndStrategy/PlanningReportingRelevantLegislationNEGSAndNAGS/TheNationalAdministrationGuidelinesNAGs.aspx

services. For example, schools will be able to: access New Zealand-developed survey tools to assist in the collection of data; store data on the site; and access easy-to-read reports of this data that suggest next steps. The website will be organised so that only individual schools (and NZCER if schools require extra reporting services) will be able to see their data. Agencies such as the Ministry of Education and other key stakeholders will be able to make use of grouped data under the terms of a data protocol. These data will be presented in a way that individual schools will not be able to be identified.

The website will be professionally designed to be engaging and user-friendly and will provide educators with evidence-informed information that can support the development of school policy and practice. The key components of the website are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 **Framework for the *Wellbeing@School* self-review website**



The self-review process

The website will include a suggested step-by-step self-review process for schools. This process will involve school staff considering how different aspects of the whole school system act to create a safe school climate by promoting caring and prosocial behaviours and addressing behaviours such as bullying. The self-review process will also encourage schools to engage in a change process that enlists the support of the wider school community to plan, action and review new approaches.

The two tools

The suggested self-review process starts with a needs assessment. Two complementary tools are planned to support this needs assessment and to follow up by tracking change over time. The website will give schools access to these tools.

The first tool is *a School Self-Review Tool* for school leaders and teachers. The aim of this tool is to support schools to review the whole school system to identify areas of strength and potential next steps in regard to promoting a safe and caring climate that deters bullying. Aspects of the wider school system include school culture and values, school-wide policies and practices, what happens in classrooms and connections made with the wider community or support agencies.

The school self-review tool is based on the idea that each school is a system with many layers that can be aligned to support each other. The tool will also be designed to model the idea that the whole school community can work together to create a caring and safe climate that supports learning. The tool will also model a strengths-based approach by focusing on practices that the literature suggests are known to create a caring and safe climate in schools.

The second tool is a *Student Survey*. The survey aims to support schools to systematically collect data from students. This survey will gather data on students' views of their school climate, and their experiences of prosocial and bullying behaviours. The student survey will also explore the strategies used by students and schools to promote prosocial behaviours and address bullying behaviours. By exploring students' existing skills and strategies, the student survey will also model a strengths-based focus. It is planned that two versions of the student survey will be developed for different age groups (mid-primary, and senior primary and secondary).

Resources and information

The website will link schools with evidence-informed programmes, case studies and literature. These resources will support schools to design activities that relate to the next steps suggested by the school self-review and student survey data.

Support and services for schools

The *Wellbeing@School* website will offer support to schools. It is planned that three tiers of support could be available. Tier 1 will provide a basic range of resources and services to all schools at no cost (these include access to: the self-review process; the two tools; online data storage; basic reporting templates for the two tools; and next steps resources). Tiers 2 and 3 will offer an extra level of services (e.g., a help desk or survey marking service) and could involve some user costs.

Timeline for the *Wellbeing@School* website development

The *Wellbeing@School* project began with a literature review in late 2010, and will be completed in March 2012 when the live website will be available for all New Zealand schools. The timeline is:

- Phase 1: Literature overview *(Aug–Dec 2010)*
- Phase 2: Development of pilot tools and website *(Dec 2010–Jul 2011)*
- Phase 3: School trialling of tools and website *(Jul-Sep 2011)*
- Phase 4: Adjustment to tools and further development of website and support *(Sep–Dec 2011)*
- Phase 5: Tools and website available for school use *(Mar 2012)*.

Introduction to this overview paper

The completion of a literature overview was the first phase of the *Wellbeing@School* project. Information from this overview will be used to guide the development of the website content including the two tools. This overview focused on what is known in New Zealand and internationally about initiatives that promote a safe and caring social and emotional climate and address bullying behaviours, and the tools that are used as part of these initiatives to measure change. Two "work in progress" papers have been produced from this literature overview. This current *Overview paper* is the first in this series. A second, *Tool development paper*, has also been produced.

The main purpose of this current overview paper is to outline recent findings, views, and debates and discuss "what works" in school-based interventions and approaches that have the aims of promoting prosocial behaviours and diminishing bullying behaviours. We aim to provide an overview of recent research and evidence in a way that explores the findings through the lens of what we know about the New Zealand education sector. Therefore, this paper also has a focus on solutions that build students' skills, strategies and resilience.

This paper uses a systems thinking lens to consider explanations of student behaviour, and to think about how schools might design approaches that promote a caring and safe school climate and address behaviours such as bullying. Systems thinking is increasingly being used to address social concerns by viewing "problems" as parts of an overall system, rather than resulting from a single source or explanation. Systems thinking is based on the belief that the sum is greater than the parts. That is, a system is made up of many interacting parts or layers, therefore multiple lenses are needed to explore and understand the contribution of each part, as well as the relationships between the parts. Another key idea is that systems can learn and change, but this can be in unpredictable ways or be via multiple pathways. This has important implications for those attempting to make changes in school settings. School-based initiatives that aim to address bullying by restructuring the wider school social and physical environment were early starters in attempting to use a systemic and multifaceted approach to create change.

To link the development of the *Wellbeing@School* website to other Ministry of Education policy, this paper includes reference to four of the six themes in the *PB4L* action plan (Ministry of Education, 2009a). These are:

- Get it right for Māori.
- Use programmes that we know work across ages, needs and the sector.
- Improve teacher education and professional development.
- Develop support for programmes, including evaluation and continual improvement.

The literature and studies referred to in this overview

How did we select literature? What is the scope?

In sourcing background material for this overview paper, our main focus was on literature that summarised the state of play in regard to anti-bullying initiatives in schools. In particular, we looked for overview texts written by well-known researchers in this field and searched for international meta-analyses and syntheses that summarised outcomes from school-based interventions designed to address student bullying. To ensure this overview was up to date, we mostly included literature written from 2000 onwards. A few earlier seminal studies or papers are also included. Details about the search strategy are included in Appendix A, and a list of common terms used in this paper is contained in the glossary in Appendix B.

Recently, some key authors have suggested we need to divert the focus of research from decreasing negative outcomes (e.g., focusing on bullying) to increasing positive ones (O'Malley, Katz, Renshaw, & Furlong, 2012; Orpinas & Horne, 2006). Given this, we have also included some of the findings from meta-analyses regarding approaches such as conflict resolution and social and emotional learning (SEL) as these also show successes in reducing aggressive behaviours in schools. We have also examined some of the available models that explore the various components of school life that can be altered to support the development of a safer school climate.

It is important to note that the selection and review approaches used in meta-analyses prioritise studies that come from a scientific paradigm and use randomised or other experimental designs that often involve large sample sizes and control groups. Most of these studies have been conducted in Europe and the USA. Therefore, New Zealand studies and perspectives are not so evident in the international literature. Writing from an Australian viewpoint, Rigby (2002) raises a concern that is pertinent to New Zealand: this is the need for more research in Australian contexts given the different cultural variations in bullying and in approaches to addressing it. To add a New Zealand perspective, we have explored the findings from key New Zealand studies and included information about approaches, such as restorative justice, that are grounded in kaupapa Māori ways of working, have an emerging evidence base and are part of the *PB4L* action plan.

We excluded international studies about single programmes and overview studies that explored the broader concepts of violence as being outside the brief of this overview. We also focused on studies that examine whole-school anti-bullying approaches for all students rather than specific interventions designed for targeted groups of students who have been identified as having extra needs (such as conduct problems or attention deficit hyperactivity disorder ([ADHD]).

As we started to explore the literature, we found it to be somewhat contradictory. The various meta-analysis and synthesis authors come to different conclusions about the same studies. Therefore, there is no straightforward "evidence-based" pathway to follow. This complexity is noted by Hassall and Hanna (2007) and Rigby (2002, 2006b) who suggest that we have not yet reached a point at which we are able to produce "blueprints for success". Given the wide variation in the context of schools, both internationally and within New Zealand, maybe developing such a blueprint is an unrealistic aim.

For these reasons this overview is evidence-***informed*** rather than evidence-based. We have focused on the generic lessons we can learn from the international literature and we have considered what these lessons might mean in the light of what we know about New Zealand education and the sector's preferred ways of working, and the directions set in policy documents that shape practice in schools such as the *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007), *Ka Hikitia—Managing for Success—The Māori Education strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2009b) and the *PB4L* action plan (Ministry of Education, 2009a).

Key anti-bullying researchers and terms

Some of the most influential thinkers in the area of addressing bullying in schools are Dan Olweus from Norway, Peter Smith from the UK, Ken Rigby from Australia, and Susan Swearer, Dorothy Espelage, Shane Jimerson and Michael Furlong from the USA. All have a background in psychology and have spent considerable time researching the phenomenon of bullying behaviour, and/or designing school-based initiatives to address this behaviour as well as measurement tools that chart change over time. Dan Olweus developed the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme in Norway. This formed the basis from which many other programmes have been developed. This programme has since been replicated or adapted for use in many countries. Peter Smith was involved in the Sheffield Project in the UK that drew from Olweus's work, and Ken Rigby (Australia) and Susan Swearer and Dorothy Espelage (USA) also provide advice, support and resources for schools. Shane Jimerson and Michael Furlong are active in discussing measurement issues. As a result of their studies, these researchers are clear that schools can develop effective approaches that decrease bullying behaviours and improve the climate of schools. There are a number of other researchers who have contributed to our understanding of bullying, and ways to intervene. Key people are listed below, and others are mentioned in the text of this overview.

Key authors

- Janis Carroll-Lind (New Zealand) (Carroll-Lind, 2009, 2010)
- Ken Rigby (Australia) (Rigby, 2006, 2010a; Rigby & Thomas, 2010)
- Dan Olweus (Norway) (Olweus, 1993, 2005, 2010)
- Peter Smith (UK) (P. Smith, Pepler, & Rigby, 2004)
- Susan Swearer, Dorothy Espelage, Shane Jimerson and Michael Furlong (USA) (Jimerson & Furlong, 2006; Jimerson, Swearer, & Espelage, 2010; Swearer, Espelage, & Napolitano, 2009; Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010)

Literature with New Zealand authors

- *Responsive pedagogy* (Margrain & Macfarlane, 2011)
- *Discipline, Democracy, and Diversity* (Macfarlane, 2007)
- *Bullying in Secondary Schools: What it looks like and how to deal with it* (Sullivan, Cleary, & Sullivan, 2004)
- *Perspectives on Student Behaviours in Schools: Exploring theory and developing practice* (Wearmouth, Glynn, & Berryman, 2005)
- *School-based Violence Prevention Programmes: A literature review* (Hassall & Hanna, 2007)

What is bullying?

Key points about bullying

- Bullying refers to deliberate harmful behaviours directed towards others, which are repeated over time, and involve a power imbalance between those who are engaging in bullying and those who are being bullied. Bullying is one form of antisocial or aggressive behaviour, and is different from behaviours such as one-off acts of aggression or fighting.
- Some groups of students may be more at risk of being bullied than others, but at some point in their life all students may be vulnerable to bullying. Studies show that many New Zealand students experience bullying behaviour at some point at school.
- Both being bullied, as well as engaging in this behaviour, are linked to adverse education, social and emotional outcomes for young people.
- Bullying behaviour can differ by age and gender.
- There are four main different types of bullying (verbal, physical, social/relational/indirect and cyber).
- Bullying does not stay the same, and new forms have emerged over time (e.g., cyberbullying via texting or the Internet is now more common).
- Current views of bullying behaviours have moved beyond the idea that bullying is an interpersonal interaction. Bullying is now viewed as a systemic group process that involves those who are bullying, those who are being bullied, peers, adults, parents, school and home environments and societal influences.
- Studies show that well-implemented school activities can decrease bullying behaviours.
- Studies also show that promoting a safe school climate and a focus on social and emotional learning can decrease bullying behaviours.

How is bullying defined?

A common definition of bullying is "repeated aggressive behaviour in which there is an imbalance of power between the two parties" (p. 571, Jimerson & Huai, 2010). Although researchers define bullying differently, nearly all definitions commonly include three key similar elements. These are that bullying:

- is **deliberately harmful aggressive behaviour** (this could be physical, verbal or psychological) directed towards others (i.e., there is an **intention** to harm someone else)
- is **repeated** over an extended period of time
- involves a **power imbalance** between the people who are bullying and those who are being bullied.

The terms "bullying" or "peer victimisation" are used to refer to the act of bullying. The experience of being bullied is often called victimisation. The term "bullying" can be interpreted in various ways, and researchers caution against using this term as a catch-all to describe any form of aggression or violence. Instead, bullying behaviours are usually viewed as a subset of aggressive or violent behaviours (J. Smith, Schneider, Smith, & Ananiadou, 2004; Ttofi, Farrington, & Baldry, 2008; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). For example, bullying is different from other types of conflicts such as one-off acts of aggression (i.e., a situation is not bullying when two people of the same strength attack each other during a one-off physical fight). A situation is also not bullying if the people involved do not perceive it as harmful (e.g., good-natured teasing is not bullying). To assist New Zealand schools in clarifying these terms and developing their own definition, Janis Carroll-Lind (2010) provides a range of researcher-developed and legal definitions of bullying, violence and abuse in the publication, *Responsive Schools*.

Are there different types of bullying?

It is generally accepted that there are different types of bullying, but these are often categorised in slightly different ways. Overall, four main types of bullying are commonly identified:

- **verbal** (e.g., repeated mocking, name calling, unwanted teasing, homophobic or racist remarks)
- **physical** (e.g., repeated hitting or kicking, taking or threatening to take someone's possessions)
- **social, indirect or relational** (e.g., repeated exclusion of peers from games, spreading rumours or gossiping, withholding friendship, pulling faces)
- **cyber** (e.g., repeated threats, criticisms or unkind remarks sent electronically by text, email or posted on social networking sites).

What is the current state of play in research about bullying?

Researchers consider we now know much about the possible negative and long-term consequences of bullying, but less is known about how to translate these increased understandings into effective interventions for schools (Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Samara & Smith, 2008; Swearer, et al., 2009). There is a lot of information as well as programmes and packages available for schools, but researchers also consider there is a lot of misinformation about bullying. They suggest there is a need for educators to be aware of current views about bullying and the

interventions that are designed to address it. Swearer et al. (2009) list eight common myths about bullying, and some of the findings that debunk these myths as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 **Eight common myths about bullying***

Myth 1.	**Bullying is an isolated, individual aggressive action** (definitions of bullying emphasise that it includes the intent to harm, repetition, and an imbalance of power. Therefore it is not a single act.)
Myth 2.	**Bullying occurs between a bully and a victim** (bullying is a dynamic social interaction and many people move in and out of the role of bully, victim or bystander. Studies also show that bullying is often carried out in the presence of others and is influenced by peers, schools, families and communities.)
Myth 3.	**Bullying is a "normal" part of growing up** (although bullying can occur at any point in a lifespan it tends to peak during the middle school years for students aged 11–14. But it is not a normal or inevitable part of childhood. Some children do not experience bullying and do not bully others.)
Myth 4.	**Physical bullying is more damaging than relational or verbal bullying** (social or relational and verbal bullying can be just as harmful as physical bullying. Adults may be unaware of social or relational bullying and newer forms such as cyberbullying.)
Myth 5.	**It's impossible to stop bullying** (bullying occurs in varying degrees in most schools, but there are many schools and classrooms in which bullying is rare. It takes a co-ordinated effort to stop bullying.)
Myth 6.	**Anti-bullying policies are ineffective** (policies are important as they serve to increase awareness of social issues and lay a foundation for change.)
Myth 7.	**Bullying prevention and intervention are complicated and expensive** (stopping most bullying is about developing healthy social relationships. There are strategies for doing this that are free.)
Myth 8.	**Figuring out how to evaluate anti-bullying efforts is too complicated** (schools have access to staff who are experienced in assessing change and students can be involved in this process as part of numeracy or literacy activities.)

* (Adapted from pp.5-6, Swearer, et al., 2009) pp. 5–6

Is bullying a concern in New Zealand?

Bullying is experienced in some form by many New Zealand children. By the age of 14, over two-thirds of young people in the longitudinal Competent Learners study had reported being involved in bullying (through either experiencing bullying or engaging in bullying) (Wylie & Hipkins, 2006). A survey by Carroll-Lind, Chapman, and Raskauskas (2008) of 2077 students from 28 randomly selected New Zealand schools found that around 80 percent reported they had some experiences of bullying. There was no relationship between the reports and the decile rating of the schools. The authors concluded that bullying can happen in any school.

New Zealand data also suggest that we appear to have higher rates of bullying than other countries (Carroll-Lind, 2006). In particular, the New Zealand results in regard to the school safety items in the international TIMSS study showed a concerning pattern (Martin, Mullis, & Foy, 2008; Mullis, Martin, & Foy, 2008). The nine-year-old New Zealand students who participated in this study were asked to report if they had experienced the following behaviours in the last month:

- Something of mine was stolen
- I was hit or hurt by other student(s)
- I was made to do things I did not want to do by other students
- I was made fun of or called names
- I was left out of activities by other students.

Compared to their peers in other countries, large numbers of New Zealand students reported they had experienced three or more of these behaviours in the last month. New Zealand students' answers had not changed substantially between the 2003 and 2007 surveys. In contrast to the views of students, New Zealand mathematics and science teachers' ratings of school safety were in the middle range of countries. This difference between student and teacher views is also shown in the international literature. Many authors cited studies that show students' reports of being bullied or witnessing bullying behaviour are usually higher than teachers' or parents'. This suggests that adults may be unaware of the bullying that is occurring (Swearer, et al., 2009; Wylie & Hipkins, 2006).

The New Zealand Youth '07 Health Survey of secondary students (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2008, 2008b), provides some data from older students (Years 9–14). Overall, the findings were positive, with most students reporting feeling safe at school (84 percent). Nevertheless, in the last year, many students had experienced some form of interpersonal or cyberbullying. This included:

- Someone telling lies, spreading false rumours or trying to make others dislike them (48 percent)
- Being called hurtful names (41 percent)
- Someone making sexual jokes, comments or gestures (38 percent)
- Having things taken (37 percent)
- Someone threatening to hurt them (33 percent)
- Someone damaging or trying to damage their personal possessions (29 percent)
- Being sent nasty or threatening cell or Internet messages (19 percent)
- Being sent unwanted sexual images or messages (13 percent).

There was also a small but significant number (6 percent) who reported that they were bullied at school on a weekly basis. Data from the Youth '07 survey also showed that some schools appeared to have more bullying than others. Rates of reported weekly bullying varied widely between schools (from 0 percent to 23 percent). Both these patterns are similar to international data (Olweus, 1993, 2010).

Most New Zealand studies focus on student bullying. Ryan (2008) reports that there has been little focus in New Zealand or internationally on teacher bullying of students. One New Zealand study by Nairn and Smith (2002) found that, while almost half of both teachers and students agreed that teachers did not bully students, over one-third of teachers reported that teachers engaged in bullying behaviours.

There are also not many studies about teachers' experiences of bullying. A survey of New Zealand secondary school teachers by the Post Primary Teachers' Association (PPTA) (Benefield, 2004), showed that workplace bullying (which was mostly infrequent) was experienced by teachers from students, their peers, management and parents. Students were the most commonly cited initiators of bullying against teachers.

Are there differences in bullying behaviours between groups or over time?

Like international studies, data from New Zealand studies such as the Competent Learners @ 14 (Wylie & Hipkins, 2006) suggest that most bullying behaviour occurs at school, and specifically, in the school play ground. Bullying behaviours can also occur in other places including the home (e.g., between siblings) or in the local community. There are differences in bullying behaviours by gender. In summarising studies about gender and bullying behaviour, Rigby (2006) and Olweus (2010) conclude that the weight of evidence suggests that boys are more likely to initiate bullying, and are more likely to bully girls than vice versa. International and New Zealand studies (e.g., Wylie & Hipkins, 2006) show that boys tend to engage in more physical bullying, and girls, social or relational.

One unusual feature of bullying behaviours is that they are continually changing (Rickinson et al., 2009). For example, in the last 10 years cyberbullying has become more common. Bullying also changes in nature and intensity as students get older. In New Zealand, the Competent Learners studied showed a decrease in bullying experiences by the age of 14 (Wylie & Hipkins, 2006). The New Zealand Youth '07 Health Survey (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2008b) also showed that bullying was more commonly reported by younger secondary-age students (i.e., Years 9 and 10). Similar findings are reported in international studies, which has led researchers to conclude that bullying has a developmental trajectory (Pepler, Jiang, Craig, & Connolly, 2008).

This is one reason why a number of authors suggest that bullying interventions are best targeted at particular age groups (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Rigby, 2002; J. Smith, et al., 2004; Ttofi, et al., 2008). Middle and senior primary age seems to be the most favoured focus. J. Smith et al. (2004) suggest ages seven to 14, and Farrington and Ttofi (2009), age 11 or older. For those under seven, concern has been expressed about the possible impact of labelling children in defined roles that could be difficult to escape (P. Smith, Ananiadou, & Cowie, 2003). There are mixed views about whether children of early childhood age are aware enough of their behaviour for their actions to be described as bullying. However, internationally some interventions have been developed for kindergarten-age children. Researchers also suggest that different types of approaches are best suited to different ages; for example, traditional discipline methods seem to work better with younger children (aged up to nine) and conflict resolution approaches with older children (age 11 and over) (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009).

Given that anti-bullying interventions seem to be most effective for middle and senior primary-age students, we have focused most of our attention on programmes and activities that are aimed

at these age groups. For other age groups, in an education setting, the Incredible Years teacher programme is available. Incredible Years is part of the *PB4L* action plan and is aimed at supporting early childhood and classroom teachers of children aged from three to eight years. For older children, the PB4L action plan also includes the School-wide Positive Behaviour Support initiative, which is aimed at secondary and intermediate schools to support them to address a range of problem behaviours.

What are the impacts of bullying?

It is clear that bullying can have a detrimental impact on young people's health and wellbeing and learning. New Zealand data from the Youth 2000 and Youth '07 Health Surveys showed that students who had been frequently bullied were also more likely to avoid going to school, have significant depressive symptoms or attempt suicide (Clark et al., 2009; Fleming et al., 2007; Fortune et al., 2010). The TIMSS findings showed an association between student reports of a safe school climate and achievement in mathematics and science (Martin, et al., 2008; Mullis, et al., 2008).

Many international studies cite evidence to show that ***both*** experiencing bullying and engaging in bullying behaviours is associated with poorer long-term health and education outcomes for young people. Similar findings are evident in New Zealand studies. The New Zealand Competent Learners @ 16 study showed that some form of involvement in bullying was one of the factors associated with early school leaving (Wylie, Hipkins, & Hodgen, 2008).

Why do people engage in bullying behaviours?

There is much research about why people bully. Aligning with a systems view, Rigby (2006) suggests that, rather than there being one definitive explanation for bullying behaviours, different explanations are likely to be more meaningful in different contexts. Common explanations are briefly summarised below:

- **Bullying as a developmental process:** Rigby (2006) outlines how, according to a developmental perspective, bullying starts as young children start to assert themselves to establish their social dominance (e.g., through pushing others aside). Thus, physical bullying is more common with younger children. As they become older, verbal and relational forms of bullying become more frequent. Evidence suggests that, as children mature, they learn more socially acceptable ways of interacting. Studies of bullying tend to show that bullying peaks at age 11–14 and then diminishes (but not completely). As bullying appears to be an adaptive behaviour that is part of the developmental process, and given that many human behaviours are based on a power relationship, Ryan (2008) suggests that this raises the question of whether bullying behaviours should be seen as "normal" or "abnormal". In answer to this question, a number of researchers describe bullying as a "normal", but unacceptable, power relationship.

- **Bullying as a genetic personality trait:** Some studies relate bullying behaviour to personality traits such as low empathy or a predisposition towards aggressive behaviour. Some studies also show that children who have certain types of personality traits may be more likely to be bullied or engage in bullying. Olweus (1993) found that a small proportion of children who engaged in bullying at school went on to commit violent acts as adults. These people appeared to have a predisposition towards violence, but this also manifested differently depending on their school, family or community environment. Studies also show that many of the people who engage in bullying as children "grow out of it". Therefore writers caution about labelling a student a "bully" which implies a stable personality trait (Wearmouth, et al., 2005), when in fact for most children their engagement in bullying behaviours can either vary or diminish over time. Hymel et al. (2010) argue that while some students who bully at school are at risk of engaging in acts of criminality as adults, explanations for bullying that centre on children having developmental delays or deficits in moral reasoning do not fully explain why many children, at least occasionally, have engaged in bullying behaviours. They suggest that deficit models (e.g., that bullying is a genetic trait) may not adequately explain the origins of bullying behaviours given that evidence shows that some children who engage in these behaviours have high levels of social competence.

- **Bullying as a learned family behaviour:** Some studies show family characteristics and socialisation patterns can be associated with higher levels of bullying behaviours. For example, Espelage and Swearer (2010) note that a range of studies show that authoritarian parenting styles and other parenting behaviours have been linked with bullying (these include under- or over-involved parents, a lack of warmth, or permissive attitudes towards or exposure to violence in the home). This explanation of bullying behaviours could also be perceived as a deficit view of behaviour.

- **Bullying as a social (or sociocultural) phenomenon:** Prior to the 1980s, bullying was mostly viewed as an interpersonal interaction between a perpetrator and a victim. Since then, research has increasingly viewed bullying as a social phenomenon. Some studies consider how dominant groups might use the power they have over others (e.g., peer, gender, social class, race ethnicity or cultural groups). Rigby (2006) notes that one of the explanations for why boys bully is that this reflects the patriarchal nature of many societies. A key change in studies about bullying occurred when researchers started exploring the role of the peer group. A seminal study by Salmivalli (1999) established that bullying behaviours often have an audience and frequently occur in the presence of peers or bystanders who either directly or indirectly participate in maintaining bullying behaviours. As well as the main perpetrator of the bullying, and those who experience this behaviour, Salmivalli identified four types of bystanders:
  - **Assistants:** who join in and assist in the bullying
  - **Reinforcers:** who laugh or encourage the bullying but don't engage in the behaviours
  - **Outsiders/onlookers:** who are not "involved", but see it happen
  - **Defenders:** who try to stop the bullying and assist those who are being bullied.

Debra Pepler and Wendy Craig have also contributed to our understandings about peer behaviour. They found that when peers intervene, bullying stops faster (Hawkins, Pepler & Craig, 2001 cited in Pepler, Craig, & O'Connoll, 2010). From their studies they suggested there was potential to encourage peers to provide support to each other. They also observed that a number of children assisted by intervening in an aggressive manner and therefore suggested there is a need to train peers in constructive conflict mediation skills. In general, these studies have resulted in an increased focus on approaches that support peers to intervene (e.g., peer mediators), and encourage teachers to create prosocial norms in classrooms.

- **Bullying as a socioecological phenomenon:** Researchers are now considering how the "ecology" of the system within which bullying behaviours occur acts to shape and regulate behaviours. This perspective draws on systems thinking. Variables in the wider environment that are known to influence the cause and expression of bullying behaviours include individual, peer, family, school, community and societal factors (Espelage & Swearer, 2010; Orpinas & Horne, 2006). In essence, the socioecological perspective combines, and also builds on, all the previous perspectives and includes a wider consideration of the types of risk and protective factors that might influence bullying behaviour. For example, Olweus (1993) found that schools with similar student catchments reported quite different rates of bullying. From studies such as these, researchers have concluded that the school ethos or climate can act to either reinforce or deter bullying behaviour (Orpinas & Horne, 2006; Sullivan, 2000). Other researchers have commented on how our popular culture might impact on bullying in schools. One concern is that particular activities that are valued in a culture may in fact be modelling violence or bullying behaviours (Orpinas & Horne, 2006). In New Zealand this could be types of sports or sporting role models. Another is that the popular media (TV, music, movies, the Internet) might reinforce messages that bullying is acceptable behaviour (through reality TV programmes such as "Big Brother", "The Weakest Link", or cooking programmes during which contestants are repeatedly verbally abused by celebrity chefs. Orpinas and Horne (2006) note that the American Psychological Association has produced a position statement which states that repeated exposure to media violence increases the risk of aggression among viewers. Orpinas and Horne (2006) suggest that from TV, children tend to learn more aggressive, rather than peaceful, strategies for solving problems.

It is now generally accepted that research shows that bullying is a socioecological phenomenon, and should be thought of as a:

> … systemic group process involving bullies, victims, peers, adults, parents, school environments, and home environments. (Vreeman & Carroll, 2007, p. 86)

The socioecological approach to bullying behaviours is premised on systems thinking which is in contrast to Western scientific interventionist approaches that emphasise "remediation, deficits, and weaknesses in individuals" (p. 484, Slee, 2010). Instead, systems approaches focus on the active role of individuals (and groups) in constructing meaning. Thus systems-thinking solutions

to bullying are more likely to emphasise success, competency, individual strengths and community action.

Given the rather universal nature of bullying behaviours in schools, in this overview, we have not elected to focus further attention on the multiple reasons why people might engage in these behaviours. Instead we aim to focus on how the prevalence and impact of bullying behaviours might be lessened. In doing this we place priority on systems-thinking solutions such as a *Whole-School Approach* (this is described later in this document).

Risk and protective factors

Orpinas and Horne (2006) provide a comprehensive list of risk and protective factors that influence the expression of aggressive behaviours such as bullying. These factors include those that relate to: the individual; family and peers; school environment; and community, culture, and media. For example, at the school level, risk factors include a negative school climate that does not encourage positive relationships between students and teachers, a lack of supervision, and a punitive discipline system. School-level protective factors include: a positive climate that fosters relationships; high expectations; excellence in teaching; and opportunities for students to meaningfully participate in school activities.

Risk factors for students

Some studies have focused on trying to identify students or groups who are more likely to be at risk of being bullied. These include students who:

- are unassertive or socially withdrawn
- are not part of the majority culture of a school or society by virtue of factors such as their ethnicity, cultural or religious background or sexual orientation
- have special learning needs
- have just joined or changed schools (e.g., the first year of secondary school is commonly noted as a time during which students are more likely to experience bullying).

Researchers qualify this list by noting that the list of characteristics that might predict bullying is so wide that, at some point in their life, all children may be in at least one of these categories (R. Green, Collingwood, & Ross, 2010; Rigby, 2006). Rigby (2006) states that studies that explore bullying between members of different racial ethnic or social class groups show mixed findings that do not always suggest that members of minority groups are more likely to be bullied. Rigby therefore considers it is likely that these behaviours depend on country or school context. From these findings, researchers have suggested that much of the effort in addressing bullying is best targeted at all students (a universal approach) rather than trying to identify individuals or groups who are likely to be involved in bullying behaviours at a particular point in time (a targeted approach).

For further information on…

- gender and bullying behaviours, see (Felix & Grief Green, 2010; Olweus, 2010; Rigby, 2006)
- developmental changes in bullying behaviour: for information about addressing bullying in New Zealand secondary schools, see (Sullivan, et al., 2004); for differences between primary and secondary, see (P. Smith, 2010); for changes from junior to senior high school, see (Pepler, et al., 2008)
- New Zealand-based information about cyberbullying, see Netsafe[3] resources for teachers. These include two online DVDs for classroom discussion: "At a Distance'—standing up to cyberbullying" (NZ-developed primary-age) and "Let's Fight it Together" (UK-developed secondary-age). For USA-based material, see the Cyberbully site. This has videos that could be useful for staff or secondary-age students.[4]
- the range of risk and protective factors within the individual, family, school and community, see (Orpinas & Horne, 2006).

Is bullying getting worse?

Although it can manifest in different forms, it is clear that bullying behaviour can cross boundaries such as gender, socioeconomic status or cultural differences, and can occur in all types of schools. New Zealand and international data suggest that many young people are likely to experience bullying at some point during their time at school. Many may also take part, either directly or indirectly, in acts of bullying. Although data show that incidents of bullying decrease in the senior secondary school, it does not completely stop. Adults also engage in bullying behaviour and there is increasing awareness of bullying in the workplace and in the home.

Carroll-Lind et al. (2008) consider that it is difficult to tell whether rates of school violence or bullying are actually increasing given the different ways these two terms are used internationally. Data from the USA (Dinkes, Cataldi, & Lin-Kelly, 2007; Dinkes, Kemp, & Baum, 2009) and the UK (Samara & Smith, 2008) suggest that rates of bullying might have slightly decreased over time. Data from the New Zealand Youth 2000 and Youth '07 surveys of secondary schools support this. The Youth 2000 Health Survey figures show that 9 percent of male and 5 percent of female students reported they had been bullied frequently (at least weekly) (Fleming, et al., 2007). The corresponding figures from the *Youth '07* survey were 7 percent for males and 5 percent for females (Clark, et al., 2009). The proportion of students who reported avoiding going to school as a result of bullying decreased from 10 percent in 2000 to 4 percent in 2007 (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2008). This gives some suggestion that bullying might in fact be decreasing slightly, at least in New Zealand secondary schools.

A number of authors consider that what has in fact changed is ***how we view bullying*** (Bickmore, 2010; Hazler & Carney, 2006; Rigby, 2006; Wearmouth, et al., 2005). Rigby (2006b) suggests that increased awareness of the harm that bullying does, and the prevalence of bullying, has led to increasing concern and interest about school bullying and youth violence. Correspondingly, there has been a growth in the development of school-based initiatives to address these behaviours.

In New Zealand in the last few decades, there has been a shift in perceptions about the rights of children. We are less accepting of violence and, in particular, violence towards children. We have

[3] http://www.cyberbullying.org.nz/teachers
[4] http://cyberbullying.us

outlawed corporal punishment in schools, and are increasingly less tolerant of physical discipline being an acceptable part of parental behaviour (as showed by the repeal of Section 59 which removed the right of parents to use "reasonable force" for the purposes of "correction"). Similarly, perceptions of bullying are changing from it being viewed as an "almost inevitable" part of growing up to be increasingly unacceptable (Cleary, 2001; Swearer, et al., 2009), and there is an increasing understanding that bullying is a violation of an individual's human rights (see, for example, Human Rights Commission, 2009).

What are New Zealand schools doing to address bullying?

For a number of years, many New Zealand schools have worked to address bullying. A New Zealand Education Review Office (ERO) report, *Safe Schools: Strategies to prevent bullying* (ERO, 2007), reported that many schools have safe school policies, plans, strategies or programmes, and staff consider these to be having a positive effect. Common New Zealand initiatives and programmes that support schools to address bullying are outlined in Hassall and Hanna (2007) and Carroll-Lind (2010) and listed on TKI.[5] ERO (2007) reported that much of the evidence New Zealand schools cite around effectiveness is anecdotal or based on broader indicators of school climate. Therefore, ERO made a number of recommendations including that schools: engage in more systematic data collection through monitoring incidents of bullying or regularly surveying students and parents; update policies to include cyberbullying; and offer anti-bullying training for staff, students and parents.

More recently, the 2009 NZCER survey of secondary (Hipkins, 2010) and the 2010 survey of primary (Wylie, 2010), school principals showed that many schools offer a range of activities that are likely to address bullying behaviours and support students to develop relationship skills (see Table 2). A number of schools had strategies that are mentioned in the literature as examples of direct interventions such as peer mediators and restorative justice practices, although these were the least common out of the list provided. Many schools also made use of a range of more general strategies to promote wellbeing and social and emotional learning. Many primary principals (84 percent) also reported they collected behaviour incident data. It is important to note that these data are from questions that are not specifically focused on school strategies to address bullying. It is likely that many New Zealand schools also have other processes and practices in place.

[5] http://www.tki.org.nz/r/governance/positive_behaviours/bullying_resources_e.php

Table 2 **New Zealand principals: Reports of approaches to student wellbeing (primary)/ school climate (secondary)**

School activity	Primary (N=210) %	Secondary* (N=187) %
Strengths-based focus/celebrating successes (e.g., "caught learning" awards)	98	NA
Students' different cultural backgrounds recognised in school-wide practices	94	NA
Students promoting school values (e.g., at assemblies)	91	NA
Student involvement in environmental or gardening projects	89	NA
Student buddies/mentoring/tuakana–teina	88	95
Students developing strategies to manage their interactions with each other *(primary question)* Anti-bullying/social skills training *(secondary question)*	87	91
Targeted social skills programmes for at-risk students (e.g., conflict resolution) *(primary question)* Identification and support for at-risk Year 9 students *(secondary question)*	81	93
Health-promoting schools/Healthy Schools (or other *Whole-School Approach*)	81	73
Peer support for students with special needs	78	NA
Individual contracts with families for at-risk students	74	NA
Use of external providers/programmes to support positive behaviours (e.g., Kiwi Can, Kia Kaha)	70	NA
Student-led health and wellbeing activities (e.g., Physical Activity Leaders)	69	NA
Peer mediators/playground monitors	61	NA
Restorative justice	50	64

* NA = Not asked

Getting it right for Māori

In a New Zealand context, researchers have expressed concern that focusing on some of the individual, developmental or family origins of aggressive behaviours such as bullying can result in deficit thinking that labels children and downplays the contribution schools can play in either reinforcing or addressing these behaviours (Cavanagh, Macfarlane, Glynn, & Macfarlane, 2010, May). During a presentation at Taumata Whanonga, Macfarlane (2009) stated that Māori students are more likely to experience punitive forms of discipline in schools, given that they are disproportionally represented in stand-down and suspension statistics. In discussing alternative behaviour management approaches and ways of creating culturally safe learning environments for Māori students, Macfarlane suggests that, as well as "Clear expectations—school-wide rules, routines, physical arrangements" all young people benefit from "ecological and holistic approaches to their wellbeing … incorporating culture" (Macfarlane, 2009).

As an alternative to the punitive discipline or "punish and control" approaches that have not served Māori students well, Macfarlane offers a number of frameworks that outline different aspects of culturally responsive teaching and behaviour management practices. Macfarlane's Educultural Wheel provides a holistic model of culturally responsive teaching practice that aims to create a safe environment in which Māori students' can learn. This model was first developed in the book *Kia Hiwa Ra! Listen to Culture: Māori students' plea to educators* (Macfarlane, 2004). The Educultural Wheel is made up of five interwoven concepts that cover the basis of interactions in the classroom. These are: *Whanaungatanga* (Building relationships); *Kōtahitanga* (Ethic of bonding); *Manaakitanga* (Ethic of care); *Rangatiratanga* (Teacher effectiveness); and *Pumanawatanga* (General classroom morale, pulse, tone or climate).

In his book, *Discipline, Democracy, and Diversity*, Macfarlane outlines the Hikairo Rationale which is a "culturally responsive approach to working with students with behaviour difficulties" (p. 115, Macfarlane, 2007). The Hikairo Rationale is presented through the metaphor of Te Rākau (the tree) which symbolises strength and life. The basis or roots (Orangatanga) sustain and support a trunk and five branches. As shown in Table 3, the seven elements of Te Rākau are:

Table 3 **The Hikairo Rationale***

Huakina mai	(Opening doorways to relationships and communication)
Ihi	(Being assertive)
Kōtahitanga	(Seeking collaboration between home and school)
Awhinatia	(Helping learners by moving towards restorative practice)
I runga i te manaaki	(Caring that pervades—the trunk of Te Rākau)
Rangatiratanga	(Motivating learners)
Orangatanga	(Developing a nurturing environment—the roots of Te Rākau)

* Adapted from (Macfarlane, 2007)

Some examples of culturally responsive and democratic practices Macfarlane considers align with Māori worldviews include co-construction pedagogies that involve students and whānau (as emphasised in restorative justice hui) or students (as emphasised in initiatives such as Te Kōtahitanga (Bishop, Berryman, Powell, & Teddy, 2007)).

Macfarlane and other researchers suggest that a key alternative to "punish and control" approaches to student behaviours is a focus on developing a "culture of care" in a school. One aim of this culture is to enable student conflicts to be peacefully resolved in a way that is culturally responsive and aligns with a Māori worldview (Cavanagh, et al., 2010, May). Working in New Zealand schools as part of a participatory action research project, Cavanagh collaborated with Macfarlane and others who interpreted the findings from a Māori worldview. As a collective they concluded that:

- Effective education for culturally diverse students should be focused on building and maintaining healthy, caring, and respectful relationships.
- To succeed in teaching culturally diverse students, effective educators must avoid explaining underachievement and discipline problems in terms of perceived individual and family deficiencies.
- Effective educators hold high expectations for all students.

- Within a Culture of Care effective educators are concerned about students' holistic wellbeing as well as their learning and achievement.
- Effective educators need to respond restoratively to student wrongdoing and conflict.
- Effective educators need to regard student wrongdoing and conflict as an opportunity for building trusting and caring relationships that can repair harm and promote positive relationships.
- Effective educators must help students and teachers build their capacity to solve problems nonviolently. (p.12, Cavanagh, et al., 2010, May)

The principles of culturally responsive approaches that are discussed by Macfarlane (2004, 2007) and Cavanagh et al. (2010, May) are also enshrined in *Ka Hikitia—Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2009). This document defines a number of aspects of a Māori potential approach to education as outlined in Table 4 below.

Table 4 **Māori potential approach to education***

Less focus on…	*More focus on…*
Remedying deficit	Realising potential
Problems of dysfunction	Identifying opportunity
Government intervention	Investing in people and local solutions
Targeting deficit	Tailoring education to the learner
Māori as a minority	Indigeneity and distinctiveness
Instructing and informing	Collaborating and co-constructing

* Source: (Ministry of Education, 2009)

Ka Hikitia emphasises the importance of ako (effective and reciprocal teaching and learning)—for, and with, Māori learners:

> The concept of ako describes a teaching and learning relationship, where the educator is also learning from the student and where educators' practices are informed by the latest research and are both deliberate and reflective. Ako is grounded in the principle of reciprocity and also recognises that the learner and whānau cannot be separated. Ako incorporates two aspects:
>
> **Language, Identity and Culture count**—knowing, respecting and valuing who students are, where they come from and building on what they bring with them
>
> **Productive Partnerships**—Māori students, whānau, hapū, iwi and educators sharing knowledge and expertise with each other to produce better mutual outcomes.
>
> Culture and education are inextricably interwoven, in the education system as well as in the learning setting. (p. 20, Ministry of Education, 2009)

Ways of thinking about behaviour from a Māori worldview, and debates about assessing the effectiveness of kaupapa Māori approaches are included in "Part 4: Te ao Māori perspective on understanding conduct problems" (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2011).

In summary, those who discuss student behaviour in ways that incorporate Māori worldviews tend to favour approaches that stem from a positive youth development and strengths-based perspective (this approach is discussed later in this document). These approaches use processes such as co-construction that enable culture to count through providing a process to hear and include the input of traditionally marginalised groups.

The current systems-thinking approaches to understanding and addressing bullying behaviours appear to have a better alignment with Māori worldviews on health and wellbeing than the earlier individual and family explanations and "scientific interventionist approaches" to addressing bullying. One reason for this is that systems-thinking approaches prioritise strengths-based practices and community involvement, rather than focusing on individual deficits and remediation through rules and sanctions. In this overview paper we have attempted to align some of the directions and framing of the *Wellbeing@School* website and tools with practices that align with Māori worldviews. Some of the specific ways we have done this are through:

- avoiding deficit thinking: We have attempted not to describe children as "bullies" or "victims" to avoid assumptions that these behaviours are inherent individual characteristics rather than emerging from social and environmental dynamics (Pepler, et al., 2010). Instead we talk about bullying or bullying behaviours, and the experience of being bullied
- using a systems-thinking lens: To explore possible ways of modifying school climates and student behaviours to address bullying we have focused on *Whole-School Approaches* (which provide mechanisms for community input, local solutions and co-construction with students)
- focusing on strategies that have a basis in Māori cultural practice: Strategies such as restorative justice have strong links to Māori worldviews and ways of working. Like *Whole-School Approaches*, restorative justice processes also provide mechanisms for community input, local solutions and co-construction with students.

It is important to note that, as well as having a closer fit with Māori worldviews, youth development and co-constructed approaches to addressing student behaviour concerns also seem to sit more readily in the mainstream New Zealand context than the behaviourist perspective underpinning traditional discipline processes.

Mainstream educational institutions serve students who come from a wide range of cultural backgrounds. This includes New Zealand European, Pacific and Asian students, other migrants and refugees as well as around 80 percent of Māori students. Research suggests that quality teaching in this environment needs to include a focus on educating a diverse range of students who come from a wide range of cultural backgrounds. More information about effective teaching strategies for diverse learners can be found in *Quality Teaching for Diverse Students in Schooling: Best evidence synthesis (BES)* (Alton-Lee, 2003). For example, some of the characteristics of effective teaching for diverse students noted in this document are:

> Quality teaching is focused on student achievement (including social outcomes) and facilitates high standards of student outcomes for heterogeneous groups of students.

> Pedagogical practices enable classes and other learning groupings to work as caring, inclusive, and cohesive learning communities. (Alton-Lee, 2003, pp. vi)

New Zealand-based literature and resources for schools that include a consideration of student behaviour and school practices and pedagogies that are culturally relevant to Māori

- *Kia Hiwa Ra! Listen to Culture: Māori students' plea to educators* (Macfarlane, 2004)
- *Discipline, Democracy, and Diversity* (Macfarlane, 2007)
- *Perspectives on Student Behaviours in Schools: Exploring theory and developing practice* (Wearmouth, et al., 2005)
- *Focusing on Relationships Creates Safety in Schools* (Cavanagh, 2007)
- *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling: Best evidence synthesis* (Alton-Lee, 2003)
- "Part 4: Te ao Māori perspective on understanding conduct problems" in *Conduct problems: Effective services for 8–12 year olds (pp. 39-68, Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2011)*

Empathy and prosocial behaviour: The opposite of bullying?

O'Malley et al. (2012) and Orpinas and Horne (2006) suggest there is a need to get a better balance between focusing on decreasing negative outcomes (e.g., a focusing on bullying) and increasing positive ones. This view also underpins the Māori potential approach in *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2009b) which discusses the need for less focus on "remedying deficit" and more on "realising potential". A focus on increasing empathy and prosocial behaviour is one way of "realising potential" and focusing on students' strengths. Research shows that empathy is an important mediator of bullying behaviour. Summarising studies about empathy, Swearer et al. (2009) note that the literature has consistently found an association between aggressive behaviours and low empathy, and prosocial (helping) behaviours and high empathy. Hymel et al. (2010) view the capacity for empathy as a critical aspect of moral behaviour. They consider that Bandura's socio-cognitive theory of moral agency (Bandura, 1999, cited in Hymel, et al., 2010) provides a helpful perspective on bullying behaviours and also provides ways to address this behaviour. This theory suggests that moral reasoning is translated into actions through a number of self-regulatory processes. Over time children adopt the moral standards of the social groups to which they belong, and these guide their behaviour. The influence of these standards is dependent on whether individuals' self-regulatory processes are engaged or disengaged. Bandura suggests that there are various social and psychological processes that mediate this engagement and describes a number of ways people can "morally disengage". One is by using cognitive restructuring (e.g., one form of cognitive restructuring is *moral justification* where aggressive behaviour is portrayed as serving a worthy function, or in the case of bullying—it is perceived as "normal" behaviour). Another is *euphemistic labelling* when negative acts are described in ways that make them sound respectable (e.g., bullying is described as "harmless teasing"). A second way people can "morally disengage" is through minimising their role by handing over responsibility to someone else, and a third way is through disregarding or distorting the negative impact of behaviour.

Hymel et al. (2010) suggest this theory is important as it suggests it is possible to "turn on" moral reasoning and influence group norms. Thus one focus of anti-bullying approaches has been on

developing students' social and emotional understanding and empathy with the aim of reducing aggression and promoting prosocial behaviour. Hymel et al. note that school programmes that foster moral growth, empathy and social and emotional understanding have been around for a number of years, and some have evidence to show they have supported an increase in prosocial, and a decrease in aggressive, behaviours. Therefore, we have included a focus on ways of developing students' social and emotional skills in schools in this overview (see the sections on positive youth development approaches).

The influence of a safe and caring school climate on bullying behaviours

The relationship between school climate and bullying behaviours

Researchers are increasingly seeing bullying as a socioecological and multifaceted problem that requires a multifaceted solution. Addressing bullying behaviours is seen as one side of the coin—the other side is fostering a positive school climate as part of which caring and prosocial behaviours are promoted and students are offered opportunities to enhance their social competence (O'Malley, et al., 2012; Orpinas & Horne, 2010).

Researchers who work in the area of addressing student bullying behaviours are starting to turn their attention to the relationship between the wider ecology of a school and the level of bullying behaviours (Bosworth, Orpinas, & Horne, 2009; Espelage & Swearer, 2010; O'Malley, et al., 2012; Swearer, et al., 2009). Swearer et al. (2009) note that recent research has focused on how factors such as school policies, teacher attitudes and the general ethos of a school can be predictors of students' social and emotional development as well as academic development.

There is a growing evidence base that shows an association between positive perceptions of school climate and a range of positive teacher and student outcomes, including outcomes specifically related to school safety. For example, O'Malley et al. (2012) summarise the findings from studies which show that students who perceive their school climate to be positive are also less likely to experience bullying behaviours or engage in high-risk behaviours.

New Zealand studies that associate school climate and bullying

The New Zealand Youth '07 survey included a teacher questionnaire and related student items that explored the social climate of the secondary schools in the study (Denny, Robinson, Milfont, & Grant, 2009). The findings indicated that perceptions of school climate vary widely between different types and sizes of schools. Teachers and students from small-sized girls' schools tended to give better ratings of school climate. There were fewer differences by school decile. The researchers also found that students reported different patterns compared to staff. One example was that students from low-decile schools were more likely to feel part of (connected to) their

school, and that they were cared about, than students from high-decile schools. In contrast, staff at low-decile schools tended to have poorer perceptions of their school climate.

Denny et al. (2009) reported that, in terms of school safety, students who attended boys' schools tended to report higher rates of bullying behaviour (school rates of weekly bullying varied from 0 percent to 23 percent). Students at different types of schools also reported large variations (from 24 percent to 89 percent) in whether they considered *teachers* almost always took action to stop bullying. Students from girls' and/or high-decile schools were more likely to report this happened. There was also considerable variation in students' reports of whether they considered other *students* took action to stop bullying. Students from girls' and/or low-decile schools were the most likely to consider other students would intervene.

These data suggest there is considerable variation in the amount of bullying occurring at different types of schools in New Zealand, and that some schools are successfully building a climate that encourages both staff and students to actively address and discourage bullying behaviours.

There is also other New Zealand evidence that shows a connection between bullying behaviours and the relationship aspect of school climate (Raskauskas, 2007; Raskauskas, Gregory, Harvey, Rifshana, & Evans, 2010). In an evaluation of Kia Kaha, Raskauskas (2007) showed that students who engaged in bullying behaviours felt less connected to school than other students. Raskauskas used the following definition of connectedness to school:

> … the degree to which a student experiences a sense of caring and closeness to teachers and the overall school environment. (definition cited in Wilson, 2004)

In another New Zealand study involving primary-age students from two regions, Raskauskas et al. (2010) measured students' empathy, connection to school, reports of bullying and victimisation and perceptions of student–teacher relationships. They found that students' perceptions of positive teacher–student relationships and connection to school were associated with higher levels of prosocial behaviours. Prosocial behaviours were also positively related to empathy and negatively related to engagement in bullying behaviours. Raskauskas et al. concluded that these results support the importance of a positive classroom environment for enhancing empathy and fostering prosocial behavours in ways that reduce bullying.

Definitions and models of school climate

Although researchers such as O'Malley et al. (2012) suggest we need more focus on ways to enhance school climate, researchers also note there is no common definition of school climate (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli, & Pickeral, 2009; O'Malley, et al., 2012; Tableman, 2004). The term is often used to describe people's experiences of school life and the atmosphere or "feel" and "personality" of a school. One commonly cited definition of school climate was developed by members of the National School Climate Council (2007) in the USA (the developers of the Comprehensive School Climate Inventory). A recent update of this definition is:

> School climate refers to the quality and character of school life. School climate is based on patterns of students', parents' and school personnel's experience of school life and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, and organizational structures.
>
> A sustainable, positive school climate fosters youth development and learning necessary for a productive, contributing and satisfying life in a democratic society. This climate includes:
>
> > Norms, values and expectations that support people feeling socially, emotionally and physically safe.
> > People are engaged and respected.
> > Students, families and educators work together to develop, live and contribute to a shared school vision.
> > Educators model and nurture attitudes that emphasize the benefits and satisfaction gained from learning.
> > Each person contributes to the operations of the school and the care of the physical environment.[6]

In a New Zealand context, Cavanagh et al.'s (2010, May) concept of a "Culture of Care" as described above, has some overlap with this definition of school climate in that both consider an effective school climate to rest on a foundation of respectful relationships.

Researchers also note that because "school climate" is an umbrella term, there is no standard list of key domains to be included within this construct (Cohen, et al., 2009). There are also a number of related and overlapping constructs such as "school connectedness". Variables such as student engagement in school are often associated with constructs such as school connectedness, and they are also considered to be a dimension of school climate (Wilson, 2004).

Although the debate is ongoing, agreement is starting to develop about some of the more common domains that are part of school climate (Cohen & Greier, 2010; Tableman, 2004). Cohen and Greier (2010) identify four key components: safety; relationships (e.g., respect for diversity and school connectedness and engagement); teaching and learning; and physical environment. Tableman (2004) notes that most writers emphasise "caring" as a core element, and many also place "safety" in the forefront of their definitions.

Although there is some agreement about some of the core dimensions of school climate, there is not yet consensus as to the dimensions that are necessary to validly measure this construct or how this measurement could occur (Cohen & Greier, 2010), and some of the proposed models of school climate have not been empirically tested. Nethertheless, looking at some ways researchers have conceptualised the facets of school climate assists us to consider the school as a system with interacting parts.

Two examples of frameworks that outline the dimensions of school practice that contribute to the school climate are presented below. These two frameworks were selected as they include a

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[6] http://www.schoolclimate.org/climate/

specific focus on a "safe" school climate. They also attempt to show the different layers or dimensions that are present within the system of an individual school. The first model has been developed by the National School Climate Center (no date) in the USA to support schools to engage in a self-review "School Climate Improvement Process". The *Comprehensive School Climate Inventory* (CSCI) assesses school practice in relation to four key dimensions which include a total of 12 subcomponents. This model was empirically tested via a pilot with schools.

Table 5 **Twelve dimensions of school climate measured by the CSCI***

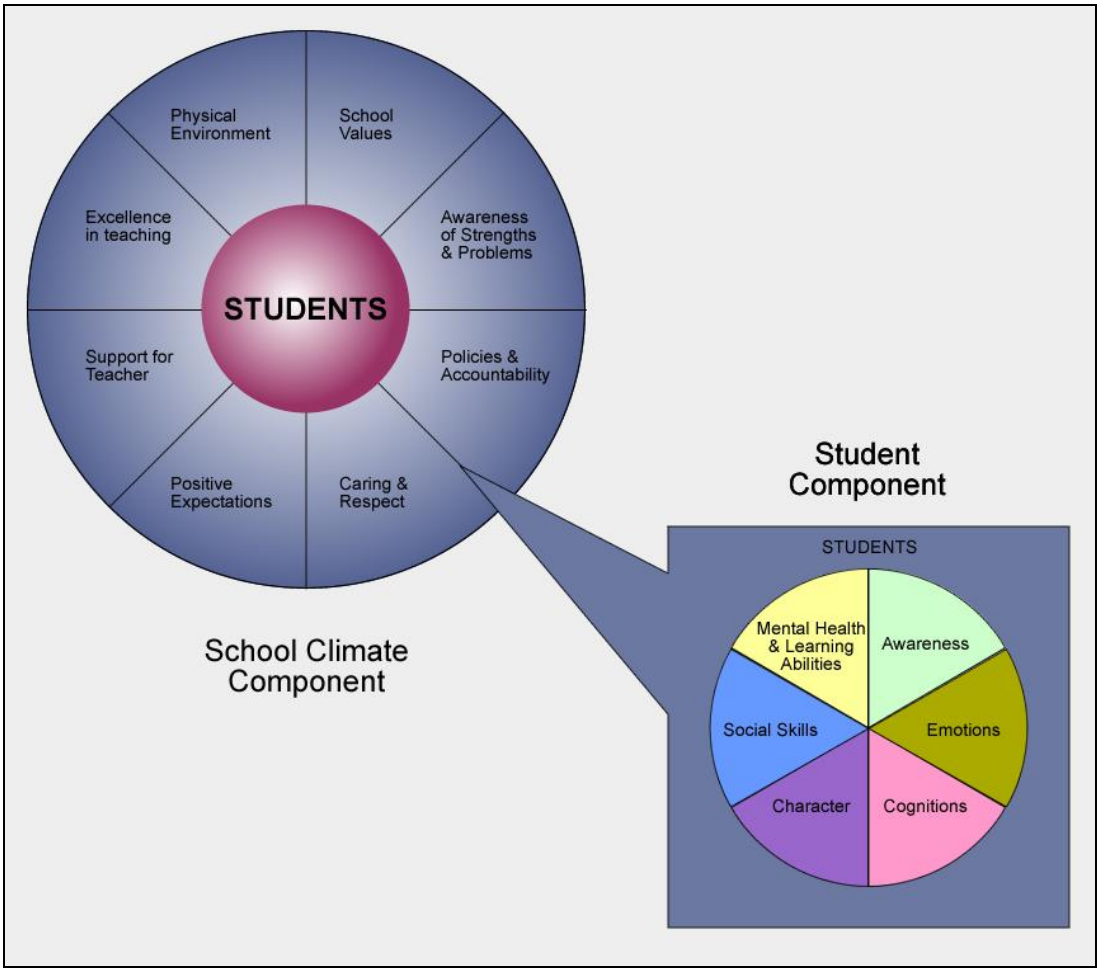
Safety	
1	**Rules and Norms:** Clearly communicated rules about physical violence; clearly communicated rules about verbal abuse, harassment, and teasing; clear and consistent enforcement and norms for adult intervention.
2	**Sense of Physical Security:** Sense that students and adults feel safe from physical harm in the school.
3	**Sense of Social-Emotional Security:** Sense that students feel safe from verbal abuse, teasing, and exclusion.
Teaching and Learning	
4	**Support for Learning:** Use of supportive teaching practices, such as: encouragement and constructive feedback; varied opportunities to demonstrate knowledge and skills; support for risk-taking and independent thinking; atmosphere conducive to dialog and questioning; academic challenge; and individual attention.
5	**Social and Civic Learning:** Support for the development of social and civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions including: effective listening, conflict resolution, self-reflection and emotional regulation, empathy, personal responsibility, and ethical decision making.
Interpersonal Relationships	
6	**Respect for Diversity:** Mutual respect for individual differences (e.g. gender, race, culture etc.) at all levels of the school—student-student; adult-student; adult-adult and overall norms for tolerance.
7	**Social Support—Adults:** Pattern of supportive and caring adult relationships for students, including high expectations for students' success, willingness to listen to students and to get to know them as individuals, and personal concern for students' problems.
8	**Social Support—Students:** Pattern of supportive peer relationships for students, including: friendships for socializing, for problems, for academic help, and for new students.
Institutional Environment	
9	**School Connectedness/Engagement:** Positive identification with the school and norms for broad participation in school life for students, staff, and families.
10	**Physical Surroundings:** Cleanliness, order, and appeal of facilities and adequate resources and materials.
11	**Leadership:** Administration that creates and communicates a clear vision, and is accessible to and supportive of school staff and staff development.
12	**Professional Relationships:** Positive attitudes and relationships among school staff that support effectively working and learning together.

*Table taken from http://www.schoolclimate.org/programs/documents/dimensions_chart_pagebars.pdf

The second model (shown in Figure 2) was developed by Orpinas and Horne (2010) from their work with schools in addressing student bullying behaviours. This model displays the various parts of a school system in a visual way and highlights eight key factors they consider critical from their work with schools in promoting a positive climate in a way that acts to reduce bullying behaviours and enhances students' social competence. The student is at the centre, and this model

also shows specific aspects of students' social and cognitive development that a school can focus on. This model has not been empirically tested.

Figure 2 **School Social Competence development model***



*Model from (p. 50, Orpinas & Horne, 2010)

Overall, literature that discusses the connection between school climate and bullying suggests that it is important to balance a focus on bullying with approaches that promote a caring and positive climate. Bosworth et al. (2009) note that a positive school climate is "like rich soil" and Cohen and Greier (2010) state that evidence suggests a "safe, caring, participatory, and responsive" school climate provides the optimal foundation for social, emotional and academic learning.

The models outlined above are helpful in encouraging us to consider how different facets of school life might act to support or hinder the creation of a school climate that promotes caring and prosocial behaviour and discourages bullying behaviour.

Using approaches that we know work

What does the literature tell us about effective ways to address bullying in schools?

Key points about effective approaches

- The *process* of implementing anti-bullying activities and ensuing community buy-in may be as important as the *content*.
- *Whole-School Approaches* (WSA) are currently the most effective way to address bullying in schools. A WSA sees a school as a system with many different parts that can be aligned. Different strategies are needed to make changes to these different parts. WSA use strengths-based, community development principles to align different aspects of the school system.
- Anti-bullying activities are best integrated within the "bigger picture" of the school and as part of a wider focus on creating a positive climate and supporting students' social and emotional learning.

Key effective processes

- Gain commitment from school leaders and all staff.
- Start with a needs assessment and awareness raising (collect baseline data).
- Involve the wider community in a partnership.
- Involve students as key stakeholders in design and activities.
- Include training for staff.
- Include a range of evidence-informed activities in the overall plan.
- Use a design and review process that is iterative rather than linear.

A summary of the findings of meta-analyses and literature syntheses

This section of this paper summarises the findings from seven international meta-analyses and literature syntheses that compared the effectiveness of school-based programmes to address bullying. We only selected overview articles that specifically explored two key outcomes: engagement in bullying and experiences of victimisation. The seven meta-analyses and syntheses we refer to are: Rigby (2002); J. Smith et al. (2004); Vreeman and Carroll (2007); Ferguson, San Miguel, Kilburn, and Sanchez (2007); Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, and Isava (2008); and Ttofi et al. (2008), and an update of this meta-analysis by Farrington and Ttofi (2009). We also found a number of meta-analyses and syntheses that explored school-based approaches to preventing aggression and violence. We excluded these as being outside the scope of this overview.

It is important to note that the "meta-analysis" approach tends to prioritise studies that come from a scientific paradigm and use randomised and other experimental designs with control groups and large sample sizes. Most of the meta-analyses we found discuss studies conducted in the USA or European countries. With their larger populations, stronger quantitative programme evaluation culture and more spread-out populations, randomised trials are more likely to be conducted in these countries. This type of study design is less appropriate for New Zealand with our small population and well-networked education sector, within which practices quickly spread. This is one reason why New Zealand studies and perspectives are not so evident in the international

literature. One exception is an evaluation of Kia Kaha by Raskauskas (2007). Kia Kaha was listed as an effective programme in the two meta-analyses conducted by Farrington and Ttofi (2009).

These international meta-analyses and reviews raise a number of questions. The findings are not clear cut, with many of the authors concluding we still have much to learn about designing and implementing effective initiatives. Rigby (2006) suggests that, when looking at the research findings about reducing bullying, educators can legitimately come to different conclusions. We found this was the case in the literature we reviewed. In some papers, an anti-bullying programme was classified as having a significant effect, whilst in others the same programme was not. Two meta-analyses, Ferguson et al. (2007) and Merrell et al. (2008), reported that, overall, anti-bullying programmes only show small or no effects on many outcomes. From this they concluded international efforts to date to address bullying have been largely ineffective. Looking more closely at their calculations, Merrell et al. created a method which calculated, then averaged, 80 effect sizes across a wide range of different outcomes (most studies reported on a variety of outcomes, two of which included self-reported rates of engaging in bullying and experiencing victimisation). But, if you look solely at the 10 studies with outcomes relating to student reports of victimisation, six showed positive effects with an average effect size of R=0.27. Thus, drawing a conclusion from all potential outcomes in a study, rather than the one or two that are closely related to bullying behaviours gives a different emphasis.

Ferguson et al. (2007) also calculated an average effect size, but they took a different approach to Merrell et al. (2008). Ferguson et al. only included randomised studies in their analysis, and also included studies that explored general aggression as well as bullying behaviours. They found a significant average overall effect of R=0.12 for anti-bullying programmes, which they did not consider to equate to a meaningful difference in a practical sense. This conclusion was reached by taking a mean of all effect sizes, which does not allow for the fact that some programmes appeared to be more successful than others.

Farrington and Ttofi (2009), the authors of a recent Campbell Collaboration meta-analysis, consider Merrell et al. (2008) and Ferguson et al. (2007) conclusions to be incorrect. Farrington and Ttofi (2009) suggest that these, and some other prior meta-analyses, have used search strategies that are too limited and/or have inclusion criteria that are not effective for isolating studies that explore outcomes directly related to bullying behaviours.

From their analysis, Farrington and Ttofi concluded that 19 of the 44 studies presented findings from programmes that were effective, and a number of others were possibly effective. They suggested that, on average, the effective programmes decreased bullying behaviours by 20–23 percent and victimisation by 17–20 percent. Farrington and Ttofi (2009) found that results varied by study design with randomised trials being the least likely design to show a positive result. Other types of experimentally controlled studies and age-cohort designs were more likely to show positive results. This has implications for meta-analyses which only include random trials, such as Ferguson et al. (2007). The authors are likely to be basing their conclusions on studies with designs that were less likely to show change.

Despite these different interpretations of study findings, most authors agree that the seminal programmes initially developed by Dan Olweus in Norway were successful in the short term (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Ferguson, et al., 2007; Merrell, et al., 2008; Rigby, 2002; Ttofi, et al., 2008; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). However, follow-up studies showed that the effects of Olweus's programme (and other successful programmes) tended to diminish over time unless schools maintained their efforts. In addition, Olweus's early successes have not been replicated elsewhere to the same extent (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Rigby, 2002; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Replications have been more successful in European countries, but not so in the USA.

One reason given for this variation in findings is that Olweus's programme may be more suited to European countries and their education system (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Rigby, 2002). Rigby (2002) suggests there is a need for more research in Australian contexts given the different cultural variations in bullying and in approaches to addressing it. This conclusion is also applicable to New Zealand. Another reason for the variation in findings is that the programme developer's level of involvement with the intervention schools may have a large impact on the success of initiatives (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). For example, Olweus was highly involved in developing and supporting his successful approach in some areas of Norway. A further reason is that many of the replications of Olweus's programme involved substantial modifications to the original design—thus it is unclear whether the programme was replicated with its original intent (J. Smith, et al., 2004). Many researchers comment on the need to implement programmes effectively as data showed that when schools implemented more components of a programme (often called a higher "dosage") the initiative was more likely to show positive effects (Rigby, 2002; Ttofi, et al., 2008; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007).

A further confounding factor in comparing programmes is that many used a *Whole-School Approach* which is made up of many different components. Only a small number of studies reported in meta-analyses attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of these different components (this is likely to be a difficult task given the whole is likely to be greater than the sum of the parts!). One meta-analysis by Farrington and Ttofi (2009) attempted to compare studies with the aim of outlining which components were correlated with successful programmes. Their findings need to be interpreted with care as their analysis method did not allow some components to be included in the analysis. Thus key components might not have been included in the analysis.

In general, in regard to anti-bullying initiatives in schools, the literature suggests there is still much to be learnt about what works best, for whom, in what situations. Overall, there seem to be two main approaches favoured by Western countries (Ferguson, et al., 2007; Rigby, 2006). One group comprises European countries and the USA. These countries favour *Whole-School Approaches* that are more traditional teacher-led and discipline-focused (with rules and consequences for those who engage in bullying behaviours) and interventions that are implemented (usually with the support of researchers) similarly across schools. These approaches draw from Olweus's work and are underpinned by behaviourist assumptions about sanctions and rewards. These traditional approaches seem to show success in the short term. Another group of countries which includes the UK, Australia and New Zealand also favours *Whole-School*

Approaches. But the initiatives developed in these countries tend to offer schools choices in the activities they select to fit within the *Whole-School Approach.* Some of the suggested components of the *Whole-School Approach* are also different. The UK, Australia and New Zealand tend to favour youth development and problem-solving processes that more actively involve students in the creation of solutions, and which can be adapted to suit the context and values of a particular school. Rigby (2006) considers that problem-solving processes appear to show more long-term success, but he also states that it is premature to offer a definitive verdict.

Rigby (2006a) notes that programmes that have quite radically different content have produced quite similar results. Given this complexity, in general, authors of overviews suggest that the processes a school uses to design approaches to address bullying, and the level of commitment, may be more important than the actual nature and content of the intervention. A statement by Rigby sums up this position:

> There is persuasive evidence that a crucial factor in determining a positive outcome in reducing bullying behaviour in a school is the commitment of the staff to implementing the program. Hence, it may be that the process by which an anti-bullying program is developed and the extent to which members of the school community become engaged in its implementation is at least as important as the content of the program. (p. 18, Rigby, 2002)

What does the literature tell us about effective principles and processes?

Rather than agreeing that particular programmes are clearly more effective than others, researchers have turned their attention to specifying some of the overall principles and processes that are common in successfully implemented programmes. These can be split into two areas as summarised below. A number of these conditions, principles and processes will be explained in more detail later in this paper.

Key conditions and principles:

- **Ensure staff commitment (and strong leadership)** (Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Plog, Epstein, Lens & Porter, 2010; Rigby, 2002; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007).
- **Use a** *Whole-School Approach* **(i.e., systems-wide)** (this includes many of the processes and activities listed below such as working collaboratively) (Hazler & Carney, 2006; Rigby, 2002; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007).
- **Align approaches to bullying with school-wide approaches to prosocial and positive behaviours.** Researchers suggest this could be achieved in a number of ways. Some suggest that a focus on school-wide promotion of prosocial and positive behaviours is included within approaches to bullying (Jimerson & Huai, 2010), others consider approaches to bullying are best located under the umbrella of school-wide approaches to developing social and emotional learning (Swearer, et al., 2010), and another group suggests that approaches to bullying can be located within an overall focus on enhancing the school climate (O'Malley, et al., 2012).

- **Include multiple components that address different layers of the school system** (given that a higher "dosage" (that is, more components) has been shown to be related to effectiveness) (Plog et al., 2010; Rigby, 2002; Ttofi et al., 2008; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007).
- **Select activities that fit the context of the school and its goals and mission** (rather than adopting activities that might not align with school practices or beliefs) (Plog, Epstein, Jens, & Porter, 2010; Rigby, 2002).
- **Include both universal (for all students) and targeted approaches** (to ensure there is a mix of prevention, intervention and crisis approaches) (Jimerson & Huai, 2010). Some authors note that preventative approaches are key (Plog, et al., 2010), others consider more attention needs to be paid to developing a consistent process for addressing specific incidents of bullying (Rigby, 2010a).
- **Select programmes that are adaptable** (Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Plog, et al., 2010). For example, Jimerson and Huai (2010) suggests programmes may need to be varied to ensure they are culturally sensitive.
- **Implement components that are evidenced-based and known to be effective** (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Plog, et al., 2010; Ttofi, et al., 2008).
- **Ensure components are developmentally appropriate** (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Plog, et al., 2010; Rigby, 2002). For example, problem-solving approaches are considered more appropriate for older primary or junior secondary students.
- **Target younger students** (activities aimed at senior primary school students have been more successful that those aimed at secondary students) (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Hazler & Carney, 2006; Rigby, 2002; Ttofi, et al., 2008).
- **Fully implement programmes** (paying attention to the "fidelity" of the activity) (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Hazler & Carney, 2006; Rigby, 2002; J. Smith, et al., 2004; Ttofi, et al., 2008).

Key processes:

- **Build awareness of bullying behaviours** (this commonly includes a needs analysis via activities such as an anonymous student survey) (Hazler & Carney, 2006; Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Plog et al., 2010; Rigby, 2002).
- **Work collaboratively** (to raise awareness and get all onboard with efforts with the school community including parents and students) (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Rigby, 2002; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007).
- **Develop a school-wide policy** (with the input of the whole school community) (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Rigby, 2002).
- **Have a continual and intensive focus** (programmes that last for at least two years or more have been shown to be more effective than short or one-off programmes) (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Plog, et al., 2010; Ttofi, et al., 2008). Some suggest a longer time frame of three to five years (Plog, et al., 2010). Farrington and Ttofi (2009) note that it could take a considerable time period to build an appropriate school ethos to tackle bullying.
- **Provide ongoing training for all staff** (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Plog, et al., 2010; Rigby, 2002).

- **Provide information or training for parents** (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Rigby, 2002).
- **Monitor change and make adjustments** (using an iterative design process) (Hazler & Carney, 2006; Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Plog, et al., 2010).

Using a *Whole-School Approach* to address bullying

Paralleling the way current theories see bullying as a systemic and socioecological phenomenon, evidence also suggests that bullying is best addressed via a systemic, whole-school, multifaceted intervention rather than an approach that is solely located within the curriculum or managed by pastoral care staff. The most well-known ecological approach for addressing health issues in a school environment is called a *Whole-School Approach*. This approach recognises the social, economic, environmental and cultural influences on health and wellbeing. Many anti-bullying initiatives, starting from Olweus's seminal programme, use a *Whole-School Approach*.

What is a *Whole-School Approach*?

Whole-School Approaches have two key parts. One is a *way of thinking* about schools, and the other is a *process for change* in school settings.

1) A way of thinking about schools

A *Whole-School Approach* views a school as a system with interconnected parts. All aspects of the social or cultural environment or climate of the school are part of this system, as is what happens in classrooms, and the physical environment in which behaviours occur. Because of this systems-view of schools, the *Whole-School Approach* is called "ecological".

One key premise underpinning a *Whole-School Approach* is that multiple strategies are needed to address the different practices that occur in different layers of the school system such as within the social, cultural, learning or physical environment. These layers can be aligned to support and strengthen each other, thus resulting in better outcomes. *Whole-School Approaches* commonly define different aspects of the school system. A common *Whole-School Approach* used internationally and in New Zealand is Health Promoting Schools. Health Promoting Schools defines three interconnected layers or aspects of a school system. An overview of the three aspects is provided below:

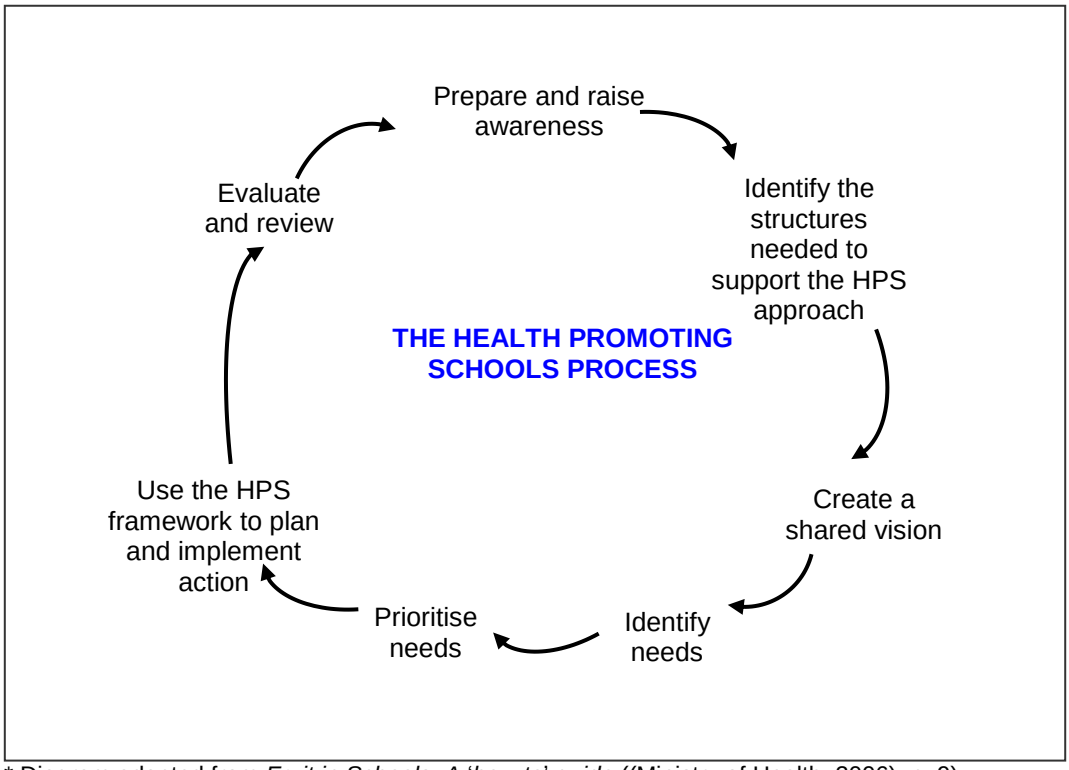
- **Ethos and environment** (e.g., how a caring and nonbullying climate can be promoted by school policies and ethos, leadership practices and teacher modelling, the physical environment and student management and support systems such as peer support).
- **Classroom practice** (e.g., how a caring and nonbullying climate can be promoted within the curriculum, and through teaching and learning, student skill development and teacher professional development).

- **Community connections** (e.g., how a caring and nonbullying climate can be promoted through connections with parents, education and health agencies and community groups).

2) A process for change

One premise of *Whole-School Approaches* is that change is more likely to occur when the whole school community (students, teachers, school leaders, parents and whānau, and people from the wider community) develop a shared vision and act in ways that are consistent with this vision. Therefore, *Whole-School Approaches* commonly provide a process for the school community to engage in self-review. This process uses strengths-based and community development principles. The first part of this process often involves awareness raising and a needs assessment. As each school community is different, each school will have different needs. How these needs are addressed will also vary between schools. Therefore, a *Whole-School Approach* is a way of working rather than a defined "programme" with set components as approaches vary depending on the unique setting of each school. Figure 3 shows the health promotion process used by Health Promoting Schools practitioners in New Zealand.

Figure 3 **The Health Promoting Schools process**



* Diagram adapted from *Fruit in Schools: A 'how to' guide* ((Ministry of Health, 2006), p. 9)

Most of the studies included in the meta-analyses we reviewed were based on *Whole-School Approaches*. Interestingly, the authors of meta-analyses, and the researchers working in the area of anti-bullying in schools, tend to talk about approaches to anti-bullying as an "intervention" that is often for a finite time period. In contrast, one of the principles underpinning *Whole-School Approaches* is a desire to engage in an ongoing systemic process to reculture the wider school environment. This is a longer-term and iterative process rather than a quick fix or "intervention".

Where do *Whole-School Approaches* come from?

Whole-School Approaches have their origin in recent changes in the health sector. Since the 1950s there has been a change in how people think about health and wellbeing and a corresponding growth in models and theoretical approaches to health education and promotion. Literature about these approaches tends to group theories into three categories that can be located on a continuum between individual and group approaches (Breinbauer & Maddaleno, 2005; Glanz, Rimer, & Lewis, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2004). Each theory has different assumptions about what it ***means to be healthy*** and the ***actions*** that are needed to support health and wellbeing. Table 6 shows the three main groups of theories and how they think about, and address, bullying behaviours.

Table 6 **Theoretical approaches to health and wellbeing**

Approach (and focus)	Underpinning assumptions	View of bullying	Approach to addressing bullying
Individual (focuses mostly on physical health)	People have full control over their behaviour and will change their behaviour when provided with information about the consequences	Bullying is an individual action	Educates "about" bullying (and health and wellbeing) by providing information about harmful effects and intervening in behaviour incidents
Interpersonal (focuses mostly on physical and social health)	Individual health behaviours are influenced by: • relationships • social interaction • social norms	Bullying is an interaction between two people that also involves bystanders	Educates "for" health and wellbeing by developing individuals' skills in addressing interactions
Group (whole-school/ systems-based) (considers the interaction between physical, social and emotional health and the environment)	Individual behaviours are influenced by the social and physical environment There are different layers of interaction within a group that require different strategies to change	Bullying is a systemic process that involves those who bully, those who are bullied, peers, teachers and the home and school environment	Develops the skills of groups through designing multifaceted approaches in ways that seek community support and address different layers within a school (e.g., student interactions, teacher modelling, school policies and practices and community interactions)

Over time, there has been a shift in emphasis away from prioritising the individual perspective, towards emphasising the group perspective. Although ecological and *Whole-School Approaches* are based on the group perspective, they can also include components that are based on individual and interpersonal approaches. Current good practice is to employ multifaceted approaches (Stewart-Brown, 2006). For example, some strategies address school-wide practices, others address teacher modelling, and others, student skill development.

Aren't we already using *Whole-School Approaches*?

The literature and New Zealand studies show there appears to be some confusion about the nature of *Whole-School Approaches.* The term "*Whole-School Approach*" has a specific meaning in a health context. As noted above, *Whole-School Approaches* are underpinned by a systems view of schools, and offer a way of thinking about the different parts of a school, planning for change and

a philosophy about change. Thus a *Whole-School Approach* is a process rather than a set "type" of intervention or programme.

Studies show that educators often consider they are using *Whole-School Approaches* (Boyd, Dingle, Campbell, King, & Corter, 2007; Mohammadi, Rowling, & Nutbeam, 2010; Wylie, 2010). One reason for this is that the term "*Whole-School Approach*" sounds similar to other terms that describe existing and common ways of working in schools. In the education sector, the term "whole-school" can sometimes be used to refer to professional development that is attended by all staff (who work together as a learning community). Many schools are involved in whole-school professional development approaches. Many schools also have initiatives or focuses that are school-wide. Again, this term is similar to "whole-school" but is not the same as the specific meaning given to the term *"Whole-School Approach"*. The authors of meta-analyses also tend to use the term "*Whole-School Approach*" differently. For example, Rigby (2010a) uses the term to talk about things that happen at a school-wide level including universal programmes that target all students. He does not see targeted interventions for particular groups of students as part of this approach. From a health perspective, a *Whole-School Approach* can include many different types of activities. Some can be school-wide, and others based in the classroom.

Another reason for this confusion is that educators often use the general, rather than specific, meaning of the term "*Whole-School Approach*". For example, all schools are "promoting health" in a number of ways, often at a school-wide level. This does not necessarily mean they are using a *Whole-School Approach* such as the Health Promoting Schools process to design and map out this work.

Whole-School Approaches in New Zealand

A number of New Zealand initiatives and programmes that aim to address the health and wellbeing of individuals, groups or the environment use *Whole-School Approaches*. Some of these initiatives can include a focus on bullying. They include Health Promoting Schools (funded by the Ministry of Health)[7] and Kia Kaha (New Zealand Police).[8] *Hei Āwhina Mātua* (Berryman & Glynn, 2001) is grounded in kaupapa Māori principles and prioritises the community development processes used in *Whole-School Approaches* such as community consultation, data gathering and planning via a series of hui. Past *Whole-School Approaches* include the Student Wellbeing: Mental health education contract (Ministry of Education)[9] and the Eliminating Violence contract (Ministry of Education: Group Special Education).[10] In New Zealand, initiatives such as Enviroschools[11] also use a *Whole-School Approach.*

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[7] http://www.healthed.govt.nz/uploads/docs/1428.pdf
[8] http://www.police.govt.nz/service/yes/nobully/kia_kaha
[9] http://www.tki.org.nz/r/governance/positive_behaviours/information/pro_development_e.php#7 and (Dickinson, Neilson, & Agee, 2004)
[10] See (Higgins, 2005)
[11] http://www.enviroschools.org.nz

Internationally, anti-bullying initiatives such as the Australian National Safe Schools Framework, the Australian Friendly Schools and Families programme, the Norwegian Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme and the English Sheffield Project all use a *Whole-School Approach*.

What is the link between *Whole-School Approaches* and the New Zealand curriculum?

The recently revised *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) is a key document for schools. Approaches to anti-bullying need to align with the curriculum and with approaches outlined in the Health and Physical Education (PE) learning area in this document.

All four of the underlying and interdependent concepts at the heart of the Health and PE learning area (hauora, attitudes and values, the socioecological perspective and health promotion) have some connection with the philosophy and processes of *Whole-School Approaches*. Both the Health and PE learning area and *Whole-School Approaches* are underpinned by a socioecological perspective on health. Both also encourage school communities and students to engage in acts of health promotion, which is defined in the curriculum as:

> … a process that helps to develop and maintain supportive physical and emotional environments and that involves students in personal and collective action. (p. 22, Ministry of Education, 2007)

The curriculum also alludes to the school-wide component and community development processes of *Whole-School Approaches* in a statement about the Health and PE learning area:

> This learning area makes a significant contribution to the well-being of students beyond the classroom, particularly when it is supported by school policies and procedures and by the actions of all people in the school community. (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 22)

New Zealand research suggests that use of *Whole-School Approaches* can assist schools to meet the intent of the revised curriculum (Boyd, 2009). In an evaluation of the Fruit in Schools initiative, Boyd found that having a shared sense of identity around the "big picture" of being a "healthy school" assisted schools to promote health and wellbeing. She also suggests that the community and student-empowerment processes that are part a *Whole-School Approach* offer substantial opportunities for schools to meet the vision of the revised curriculum by supporting students to learn about, as well as be, active citizens who are working towards making meaningful changes to their environment. Student leadership in health and wellbeing through roles such as health team leaders and peer mediators also potentially offers rich opportunities for students to demonstrate and build the key competencies noted in the curriculum, such as, *Relating to others* and *Participating and contributing*.

What is the link between *Whole-School Approaches* and Māori world views?

Given their holistic nature and focus on community development, *Whole-School Approaches* appear to be well aligned with Māori view of health and wellbeing (hauora). *Whole-School*

Approaches acknowledge the different and interrelated aspects of health and wellbeing. In New Zealand, Health Promoting Schools practitioners use Mason Durie's Whare Tapa Whā model of hauora (Ministry of Education, 1999) as a framework to consider these interconnected aspects. Te Whare Tapa Whā is a key construct that underpins Te Aho Matua (Te Runanga Nui o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa, 2008), the foundation document for kura kaupapa Māori, as well as the Health and PE learning area of *The New Zealand Curriculum*.

Whole-School Approaches also use co-construction and community consultation processes. These processes are suggested by Macfarlane (2009) as effective ways of involving Māori students and whānau to ensure that their "culture counts" and is reflected in school practices.

Debates about using *Whole-School Approaches* to address bullying

A *Whole-School Approach* is the most common design used for school anti-bullying activities. Many of the studies suggest that *Whole-School Approaches* show more successes in reducing bullying behaviours than other approaches. However, there is some debate about the evidence surrounding *Whole-School Approaches.*

Two overview studies specifically compared *Whole-School Approaches* to other forms of interventions that were designed to address student bullying behaviours. Vreeman and Carroll (2007) compared the evidence from 26 studies of different interventions. They divided the interventions into five categories: *Whole-School Approaches* (10 studies); curriculum interventions (which only included classroom activities) (10 studies); social and behavioural skills training for targeted groups of students (four studies); mentoring (one study); and social work support (one study). Vreeman and Carroll concluded that the whole-school interventions were more successful than the other two most common approaches: curriculum interventions and skills training. They suggested one reason why curriculum and social skills training approaches were not as effective as *Whole-School Approaches* is that they are based on single-level social cognitive and behaviour change approaches that fail to address "the systemic and social environment related to bullying" (p. 86, Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). They continue on to suggest that the success of *Whole-School Approaches* lends weight to socioecological explanations of bullying behaviour. Vreeman and Carroll also suggested that, although curriculum interventions are less likely to reduce bullying, they are attractive to schools as they require less commitment of resources and personnel.

J. Smith et al. (2004) express a more cautious view about the efficacy of *Whole-School Approaches*. They used effect sizes to compare the results from a number of different *Whole-School Approaches* to addressing bullying behaviours. They noted that most of the studies only showed small or negligible effect sizes. But they concluded that *Whole-School Approaches* showed more promise than other approaches:

> It is clear that the whole-school approach has led to important reductions in bullying in a number of cases. But the results are simply too inconsistent to justify the adoption of these procedures to the exclusion of others. (p. 557, J. Smith, et al., 2004)

> In conclusion only a cautious recommendation can be made that whole-school anti-bullying interventions be continued till they are evaluated further … This is not to say that any other form of intervention appears to be more effective than these. Indeed, there is no evidence that other forms of intervention are superior to the whole-school approach in dealing with bully-victim problems. (p. 558, J. Smith, et al., 2004)

Thus the weight of evidence suggests that *Whole-School Approaches* are currently the most effective school-based approach that addresses bullying behaviours.

Well-known anti-bullying *Whole-School Approaches*

The next section of this document describes three international and one New Zealand anti-bullying approaches. Each of these well-known programmes uses a *Whole-School Approach* to systematically restructure the school social environment. The Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme is the most internationally recognised effective programme (mentioned in many meta-analyses). The other two international approaches are examples from the UK and Australia. These are better aligned with the New Zealand education system and include some evidence of success. The description of each programme includes a brief summary of the processes used to manage change. To give the reader an idea of how each approach targets different layers of the school system, the subcomponents have been grouped into categories such as school-wide, classroom, individual and parent and community.

The Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme in Europe and the USA

Many of the current approaches to bullying are based on Dan Olweus's seminal work in Norway in the 1980s. In response to a number of youth suicides that were related to bullying, Olweus designed an anti-bullying approach and trialled it in a number of Norwegian schools. This approach was highly successful, and reported rates of 30–50 percent decreases in victimisation in two to 20 months following the start of the programme (Olweus, 2005). Olweus also found a marked "dosage-response" relationship in classrooms. That is, the classes in which the essential components of the programme were implemented had a greater reduction in bullying behaviours than other classes (Olweus & Limber, 2010). The essential components of the classroom approach were: classroom rules; use of role playing; and class meetings to discuss bullying and develop solutions.

Prior to Olweus's programme, a typical response to bullying behaviours was an individual approach that punished the bully and tried to address their behaviour through social and self-esteem skills sessions (this was underpinned by the belief that those who bullied had poorly developed social skills). Studies tended to find these approaches were not successful and aggressive behaviour persisted over time.

One key premise of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme is that bullying behaviour can be redirected into prosocial behaviours through a systematic restructuring of the school social

environment. Through strong adult direction and consistent practices, this restructuring gives fewer opportunities for bullying behaviour and fewer rewards for the bully (such as prestige or peer support). Instead, friendly and prosocial behaviours are actively taught, encouraged and rewarded.

Table 7 **Overview of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme (OBPP)**

Target group: Elementary (aged about six–10) and lower secondary school students (aged up to 15). OBPP includes a mix of prevention, intervention and crisis management activities. Some are for all students (i.e., are universal). Students who are identified as bullies or victims receive additional individual (targeted) interventions. The OBPP was first used in Norwegian schools in the 1980s. **Theoretical underpinnings:** Developmental approaches to aggression and social behaviours; behaviour modification; system-orientated *Whole-School Approaches*.
Replicated in Norway, Germany and with modifications for the UK Sheffield Project and for a South Carolina programme in the USA. Currently in use in USA schools.
Main aim: To restructure the school environment to reduce opportunities and rewards for bullying behaviour and increase opportunities for prosocial behaviour. The **main goals** are to: • reduce existing bully/victim problems • prevent development of new cases of bullying • improve peer relations.
The programme includes a number of components that address different levels of the school system: **Initial process** • Administration of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire to students (*needs assessment*) • A school-wide conference (an *awareness-raising* exercise during which staff review the survey findings and develop a co-ordination committee) • Formation of a Bullying Prevention Co-ordination Committee (that includes school leaders, teachers, students and parents) **School-wide components** • A school and community event that launched the new approach • Development of school-wide rules about bullying • Development of a more co-ordinated system of supervision during break periods **Teacher training components** • Provision of a teacher manual that outlines key strategies to all staff • Three to four key teachers are trained and supported by trained regional instructors who work across a number of schools • Regular staff discussion group meetings to discuss and improve school practices **Classroom components (universal approach for all students)** • Development of classroom rules against bullying and enforcement of school-wide rules in classroom • Regular classroom meetings to discuss bullying and peer relationships and uphold class rules • Student engagement in exercises such as role plays to heighten awareness of the impact of bullying and support students to develop strategies to address bullying • Parental involvement in classroom activities relating to anti-bullying **Individual components (targeted support for some students)** • Processes that ensure staff intervene in bullying incidents • Individual "serious talks" with children who bully and the use of nonpunitive discipline or sanctions • Individual meetings with children who are targets of bullying to support them to develop avoidance strategies • Development of individual intervention plans • Meetings with the parents of children involved in bullying **Community and *parent* components** • Community and parents involved in co-ordination committee • Development of partnerships with community agencies and members to support actions • Spreading anti-bullying messages and principles of best practice (e.g., through parent information sessions)

This information was summarised from (Olweus, 2005), (Olweus & Limber, 2010) and http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/blueprints/modelprograms/BPP.html

For resources relating to the OBPP, see http://www.olweus.org/public/stop-bullying-program.page

Debates about the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme

Researchers who have reviewed different approaches to anti-bullying note that the most successful interventions tend to have substantial ongoing contact between schools and the initial developers of the initiatives (who were often also collecting data to study the impact of this intervention) (Cleary, 2001; Ttofi, et al., 2008). This was the case for the initial Olweus programme. Most change happened in the first two to three years when the programme was very intensive and when researchers were supporting the schools. Since then, replications in Norway have shown more modest positive changes and, in a few cases, negative results. Replications in other countries have also mostly shown only modest positive changes (J. Smith, et al., 2004). Olweus's explanations for these differences are that the replications either did not implement the programme adequately or included substantial adaptations that may have diluted the impact (Olweus & Limber, 2010).

Looking at the many activities listed in Table 7, you can see that Olweus's programme is comprehensive and requires a substantial time commitment from staff. This programme uses a more traditional behavioural "intervention" approach to student discipline which is focused on the idea that a "bully" must be identified and disciplined (this could be seen to be "labelling" certain students as bullies). It is likely that in the busy New Zealand education sector this type of approach may not be sustainable in the longer term (just as it was not in Norway). This approach is also based on cognitive and behavioural theories that may not sit easily with the views of some New Zealand educationists. The fact that changes were not sustained over time suggests that this approach had difficulty in meeting its aim of systematically restructuring the school environment to disincentivise bullying.

The Sheffield Project in the UK

One anti-bullying approach which is perhaps better aligned with the New Zealand education sector is the Sheffield Project. This project also had substantial researcher input in the initial stages. One difference from the OBPP is that the Sheffield Project offered a "menu" approach which enabled schools to select the components of the overall programme that best fitted with their school culture. This is more similar to the way New Zealand schools operate. The data from the 24 schools in the initial Sheffield Project evaluation showed that most of the primary schools reduced bullying more than control schools. After four terms, primary schools showed a reduction in the proportion of students who reported being bullied which varied from 15–80 percent. Little difference was shown in secondary schools (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2006; P. Smith, Sharp, Eslea, & Thompson, 2004). When the researchers returned to four schools three years after the project for a follow-up, they found the boys continued to report less bullying

behaviour but girls reported levels higher than before the project. Table 8 provides an overview of the features of the Sheffield Project.

Table 8 **Overview of the Sheffield Project**

Target group: A total of 6,500 students aged eight to 16 in 23 primary and secondary schools around Sheffield in the UK over 1991–4. The Sheffield Project was designed as a universal (targeted all students) *Whole-School Approach* that involved students and the wider school community. The project included a mix of prevention, and intervention and crisis management activities. These activities were developed from Olweus's programme but also included modifications such as techniques to address racism and a focus on student empowerment and co-operative strategies. **Theoretical approach:** System-orientated *Whole-School Approach*; focus on bullying as a social phenomenon; and involvement of peers in solutions to change the social system.
Replications: This study forms the basis for current anti-bullying work in the UK.
Main aim: To restructure the school environment to reduce opportunities and rewards for bullying behaviour and increase opportunities for student empowerment.
The core part of the Sheffield Project was the development (through extensive consultation with staff, governors, students and parents) of a school-wide policy which clearly defined bullying, and which was monitored over time. The starting point was a needs assessment. Following this, schools were offered a range of different interventions they could opt into depending on their context. These components included school-wide, curriculum-based, student empowerment and targeted intervention activities. **Initial process** • Use of a survey to gather data about students' perceptions of school climate and bullying behaviours *(needs assessment)* • Development of a school-wide policy with input of all stakeholders *(awareness raising)* • Delivery of the components of the intervention supported and monitored by a research team including with the development and application of rules and sanctions **School-wide and teacher training components** • Bullying awareness and identification training for all school staff; specialist training and support for selected staff • Awareness raising through special and regular school events • Redesign of playgrounds to improve safety, in consultation with students • Adult supervision of playgrounds during breaks **Classroom curriculum-based components (universal)** • Student agreement on "charters" of safe and respectful behaviour • Use of optional curriculum activities (e.g., drama, role playing) • Use of optional specialist creative resources to prompt learning (e.g., literature, videos, theatre groups) • Choice of different methods for holding group forums for students to discuss experiences and views and develop ways to improve their environment (e.g., quality circles, discussion groups) **Student empowerment components (universal)** • Conflict resolution training for all students • Some students trained as peer counsellors who operated in teams **Student-empowerment incident intervention strategies (schools offered choice of):** • Pikas Method of Shared Concern (a counselling-based approach used by teachers to resolve conflicts that develops students' empathy) • Bully courts or school tribunals (not used by any of the study schools) **Individual components (targeted or specialised interventions)** • Individual work with children who bully • Assertiveness training for bullied students **Community and parent components** • Bringing staff and parents together in meetings to discuss bullying
Description taken from P. Smith, Sharp et al. (2004), Stevens, De Bourdeaudhuij, and Van Oost (2001) and Office of the Children's Commissioner (2006).

Debates about the Sheffield Project

The Sheffield Project forms the basis for most of the current anti-bullying work in the UK. Since the evaluation of this project there have been no large-scale studies of anti-bullying interventions in the UK (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2006).

Cleary (2001) suggests that a key aspect of the Sheffield Project which differentiated it from Olweus's approach was a focus on avoiding "quick-fix" solutions to bullying (e.g., as often provided by adult intervention). Instead, students were supported to develop skills in working together in nonconfrontational ways to address problems. In contrast, Olweus's more adult-led approach recommended that those who bullied were confronted by an adult, who told them their behaviour was wrong and then decided on a form of discipline.

Ttofi et al. (2008) note that the researchers who evaluated the Sheffield Project did not provide guidelines about which or how many of the different components needed to be implemented in order for the approach to be successful. The researchers did, however, find that the schools that were the most successful had implemented the programme more thoroughly. These schools had used more components, and had higher levels of staff buy-in and involvement (P. Smith, S. Sharp, et al., 2004).

From these findings, the Office of the Children's Commissioner (2006) surmised that the Sheffield Project demonstrated that the depth of a school's commitment was more important in determining its level of success than the particular selection of interventions that were adopted. Thus one key impact of the Olweus and Sheffield programmes is that they showed it is possible ***for schools to address student bullying*** through ongoing effort.

The National Safe Schools Framework in Australia

A less "interventionist" approach is evident in Australia. In 2003, an Australian Ministerial Council, which consisted of federal, state and territory Ministers, developed the National Safe Schools Framework (Student Learning and Support Services Taskforce of the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training, & Youth Affairs, 2003a, 2003b). The aim of the framework was to provide an agreed national approach to assist schools to address bullying and other anti-social behaviours. This framework was developed from "good practice" in Australian schools at the time. A basic premise of the framework was that "students have a fundamental right to learn in a safe, supportive environment and be treated with respect" (p. 24, Dixon, 2008).

The framework was expected to be implemented in all government and non-government schools by the start of 2006, and then reported on. Schools were offered flexibility in how they addressed the components of the framework and were encouraged to develop multiple strategies and customise these to meet the needs of their school community. For example, to support them to meet the requirements of the framework, schools could use the Australian-developed *Whole-School Approach: Friendly Schools and Families*[12] A recent three-year evaluation of Friendly

[12] http://www.friendlyschools.com.au/

Schools and Families reported that the schools that used this programme showed larger decreases in student self-reports of being bullied and observing bullying than comparison schools (Cross, Monks, et al., 2011).

Over 2004–5, the Federal Government provided a $4.5 million package of initiatives to assist with the implementation of the framework. This included funding for the "Bullying No Way!"[13] website; teacher professional learning and development; support resources; and a Best Practice Grants Programme to highlight innovative approaches in schools. The grants programme provided support to 171 schools to develop and maintain safe school environments. The schools in this grants programme were required to report outcome data in a "descriptive" form.

McGrath (no date) summarised the school reports to provide an overall evaluation of the grants programme. She noted that schools used a range of approaches to collect data which included student and parent surveys about bullying (before and after the school focus started) and statistical data (e.g., behaviour incident, detention, suspension and absenteeism data).

From the various sources of data reported, McGrath noted that at least half of all the schools stated they had achieved many or all of their goals. Many reported that detentions and suspensions had decreased, and enrolments increased. Most also reported that they had developed a more supportive school culture. Issues included sustainability, staff commitment, slower time frames for change and induction for new students and staff.

Although the framework is being implemented in these selected schools, a study by Cross et al. (2011) of 106 representative schools across Australia suggests that implementation has been patchy across a wider range of schools. Given this, Cross et al. also noted that a comparison of 2007 student data to the results from a 1999 student survey (conducted prior to the release of the framework) suggests that bullying had decreased since the introduction of the framework. The authors concluded that the framework requires further support to ensure it is thoroughly implemented including training for teachers to address bullying.

Table 9 provides an overview of the features of the National Safe Schools Framework.

[13] http://www.bullyingnoway.com.au/

Table 9 **Overview of the National Safe Schools Framework**

Target group: The National Safe Schools Framework is a *Whole-School Approach* that targets all students in Australian primary and secondary schools.

Theoretical approach: System-orientated *Whole-School Approach* with a focus on bullying as a social phenomenon and involving students and the wider community in changing the social system of a school.

Replications: None.

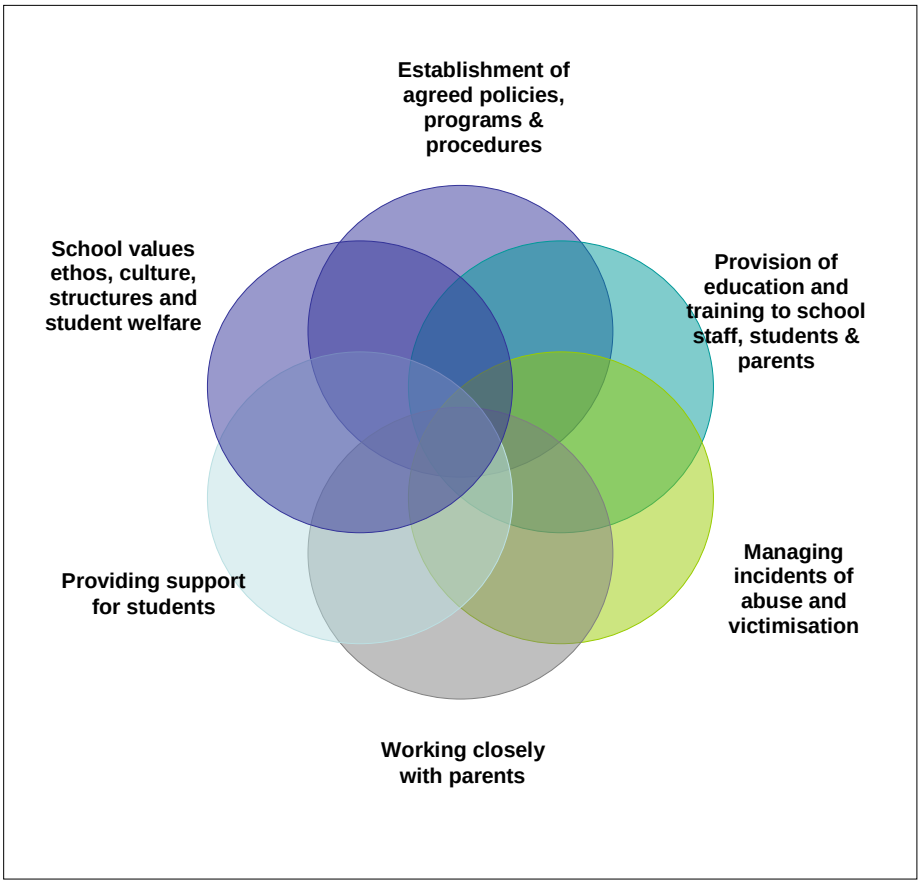
Main aim: To assist all school communities in building safe and supportive schools in which:

- *Whole-School Approaches* are encouraged and promoted (including the involvement of parents)
- bullying, harassment, and violence are minimised
- students receive support on issues related to child abuse and neglect

The Framework is underpinned by a set of guiding principles. These focus on:

- Diversity
- Planning and leadership
- Defining the roles and responsibilities of the whole school community
- Pre-service training and professional development
- Prevention and intervention, including working with students through the formal curriculum
- Taking action in relation to abuse and neglect
- Monitoring and evaluation

The framework provides suggestions for schools about how to effectively provide a safe and supportive learning environment. Schools have flexibility about how they address the framework components and are encouraged to develop multiple strategies and customised these to meet the needs of their school community. The Framework has 6 overlapping key components that were developed from current good practice in Australia in addressing bullying:



Schools are provided with support and resources to engage in the following activities:

Initial process

- The development of a written policy
- The use of *Whole-School Approaches* (including the involvement of: parents through workshops; school boards; and associations representing parents, carers and community members)

School-wide and teacher training components

- Professional development and training for school staff (e.g., methods of countering bullying and harassment, child protection legislation and procedures (including mandatory reporting) and identifying and understanding child abuse, including understanding the needs of victims)
- Police checks on school personnel

Classroom curriculum-based components (universal)

- The inclusion of child protection education in the school curriculum, as well as content that explores discriminatory behaviours through an understanding of social factors such as gender, race, sexuality, disability and religion
- Resources for teachers about helping students to recognise/report abuse and build protective behaviours, resilience and optimism

Student-empowerment components (universal)

- Empowering students by involving them in the decision-making and resolution processes (e.g., training in peer mediation (such as restorative justice processes) or adoption of "buddy" systems)

Individual components (targeted or specialised interventions)

- Specialist support, including for teachers who encounter or report abuse and who work with students who are persistently aggressive, such as behaviour teachers and consultants, anti-harassment officers, school counsellors, psychological consultants and school-based police constables

Description summarised from Student Learning and Support Services Taskforce of the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training, & Youth (2003a, 2003b) and (Dixon, 2008).

Debates about the National Safe Schools Framework

Rigby (2005) considers the National Safe Schools Framework provides a helpful steer for schools in regard to policy development and risk management but is "very general" in its advice. The framework also models good practice by acknowledging there is no single way forward. However, Rigby also notes that the framework appears to prioritise "consequences" or sanctions for behaviour and does not make evidence-based recommendations about alternative problem-solving methods for working with students to address bullying incidents. Others, such as Dawning (2004), have expressed concerns about the framework. Dawning argues that the framework is based on a "surveillance model" of student management that does not demonstrate an understanding of the concept of school community or the importance of highly engaging pedagogy and curriculum that supports students to explore the relationships between power, violence and gender, and all forms of difference.

New Zealand anti-bullying *Whole-School Approaches*

One *Whole-School Approach* that has been developed in New Zealand to address bullying is Kia Kaha (meaning to "stand tall"). Kia Kaha was developed in 1992 by the education team of the New Zealand Police to support schools to address bullying behaviours. Kia Kaha is used by many New Zealand schools. A recent evaluation compared student and teacher experiences in schools that were using Kia Kaha to those in a comparison group (Raskauskas, 2007). Students in Kia Kaha schools reported fewer experiences of being bullied and that they engaged in less bullying. Students at Kia Kaha schools also reported their school climate was more supportive than comparison students. Earlier evaluations, however, reported less positive findings, and as a

response, over time, Kia Kaha has been adapted. Table 10 provides an overview of the current features of Kia Kaha.

Table 10 **Overview of Kia Kaha**

Target group: Years 1–13 students in New Zealand primary and secondary schools. **Theoretical underpinnings:** Developmental and life skills approach addressing aggression and developing prosocial behaviours; system-orientated *Whole-School Approaches* combined with classroom curriculum resources that are aimed at skill building.
Not replicated in other countries.
Main aim: To restructure the school environment to create a safe learning environment through the promotion of mutual respect and tolerance. The **general objectives** of Kia Kaha are that: • students, parents, caregivers and teachers recognise that bullying and harassment are unacceptable and will take steps to see that it does not occur in their school • students, parents, caregivers and teachers will work together to create a safe learning environment, based on mutual respect, tolerance and a respect for diversity.
Kia Kaha is jointly delivered by teachers and Police Education Officers (PEO). Different resources are provided for different year levels of schooling. The programme includes a suggested process and a number of components that address different levels of the school system: **Suggested processes** • Initial meeting between PEOs, the school principal and board of trustees representatives • Data gathering and administration of surveys (three are provided: student, teacher and parent) (*needs assessment*) • Staff awareness-raising training • A whole staff meeting (a further *awareness-raising* exercise during which staff review data and survey findings and vote on whether or not to take part in Kia Kaha) • Formation of a Kia Kaha Committee • A community meeting (*awareness raising*) • Development of a whole-school anti-bullying policy • Development of school-wide plan for activities • Development of curriculum plans for use of Kia Kaha curriculum resources • Evaluation of approaches **School-wide components: Schools are provided with resources which:** • suggest school-wide activities such as topics for a series of assemblies that include student input • suggest peer support strategies such as Cool Schools • encourage schools to develop a "telling" culture in which bullying is reported to staff through an anonymous bullying box • offer information about a range of problem-solving intervention strategies including the support group/no blame approach and undercover teams • make suggestions about including role models (parents and well-known community members) who can talk about their experiences of bullying • offer information about how to analyse the school environment to identify "hot spots" **Classroom components (universal curriculum approach for all students)** • Teachers are provided with a resource kit that includes age-appropriate lessons plans and materials such as DVDs and resource sheets. Years 0–3 resources support teachers to "Building a safe, happy classroom". Years 4–6 enlist student and parent support to build the school as a "Bully-free zone". Years 7–8 explore how to develop "Safer communities together" and Years 9–13 focus on building skills so that "Our place" can be bully-free. **Individual components (targeted support for some students)** • Suggestions about agencies that provide extra support for serious incidents. **Community and parent connections** • As well as holding community meetings, schools are provided with curriculum resources that enlist parental input, and resources with suggested newsletter content for parents.
This information was summarised from http://www.police.govt.nz/service/yes/nobully/kia_kaha and (New Zealand Police, 2008).

As well as Raskauskas' (2007) evaluation of Kia Kaha, theses by Cleary (2001) and Sullivan (2005) offer two case studies of New Zealand schools that used Kia Kaha as a starting point to further develop anti-bullying approaches. Cleary (2001) reported that Kia Kaha was a vital first step that assisted in raising awareness and defining bullying behaviours. Students reported developing a wider set of skills to address bullying behaviours, and a decrease in these behaviours was reported anecdotally by staff. As the school further refined its *Whole-School Approach* it also developed specific approaches to addressing bullying behaviours, including the No Blame method (described later). Cleary (2001) notes that there was evidence that the school's overall approach was creating a more positive ethos and reducing bullying. However, he also found that at least one class evaded the wider school ethos and developed a bullying culture.

Sullivan (2005) describes the approach taken by another school that used Kia Kaha in combination with other approaches staff considered compatible. These included: The Yellow Ribbon Programme (a community support programme that encourages students to report bullying); a junior peer support programme and He Ara Tika, a Māori peer mentoring programme; and a seven-step discipline process. Like Cleary, Sullivan considered Kia Kaha to be a useful starting point that enabled the school to adapt approaches to suit its needs. He also observed that two stances were evident at the school: a more traditional discipline management approach, and the pastoral care approach of the guidance team that favoured a no blame philosophy. Although these two stances could be in conflict, they also complemented each other in that they were used to deal with different levels of incidents.

One critique of Kia Kaha is provided by Theilade (2009). She comments that Kia Kaha stems from a crime prevention view that assumes that deviant behaviour starts at an early age and should be addressed to prevent longer term antisocial behaviour (and therefore draws more on individual deficit explanations of bullying behaviours). Theilade considers this results in Kia Kaha prioritising adult intervention rather than strengths-based and student-led approaches.

Another New Zealand-developed *Whole-School Approach* which has been used to address bullying was the Eliminating Violence contract that was run by facilitators from Group Special Education. Eliminating Violence drew on ideas from the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme, in that it aimed to promote a prosocial culture and support school communities to manage anger and eliminate violence through examining and changing their practices, values, structures, and systems (Higgins, 2005). There is some evidence that this approach was effective (Higgins, 2005; Moore, Adair, Kruiswijk, & Lysaght, 1997). Moore et al. (1997) conducted an evaluation of Eliminating Violence in three schools. They concluded that, at all three schools, the programme was "associated with a reduction in both the level and severity of violence" and lower "tolerance to violent behavour" (p. 2, Moore, et al., 1997). Findings relating to bullying behaviours varied between schools but, overall, students reported fewer experiences of being bullied and an increase in prosocial behaviours, and researchers and teachers observed fewer serious incidents of bullying behaviour. Similarly, findings are reported in a more recent case study by Higgins (2005), who describes how one school successfully changed its culture through engaging in an action research project as part of the Eliminating Violence contract.

Key features of a *Whole-School Approach* process

The next section of this paper outlines some of the principles and processes that anti-bullying *Whole-School Approaches* tend to have in common.

Effective change processes:

- consider the big picture of the school
- use a self-review process and consider the process of change
- involve all stakeholders in the process of change
- start with awareness raising and data gathering
- include the development of a plan of action and use data to monitor change
- include a continual improvement process.

Consider the bigger picture

Swearer et al. (2010) consider that anti-bullying interventions are most successful when they are located within an overall framework for students' social and emotional development. Similarly, other authors suggest that an intervention will be much more successful if it is integrated into schools' "bigger pictures" (Rickinson, et al., 2009). Some suggest that it is important that anti-bullying activities fit the context of the school and its goals and mission. This contrasts with the adoption of activities that might not align with school practices or beliefs (Plog, et al., 2010; Rigby, 2002). Others suggest approaches to bullying can be part of a wider focus on enhancing the school climate.

The key message here is that approaches to anti-bullying are best grounded within a wider framework. One New Zealand example is the Healthy Schools approach taken by a number of schools in the Fruit in Schools initiative (Boyd, 2009). These schools had an overall focus on being healthy which encompassed physical as well as social and emotional health and wellbeing. Each school planned its own approach to different areas of health and wellbeing, to ensure that these interacted with and supported each other.

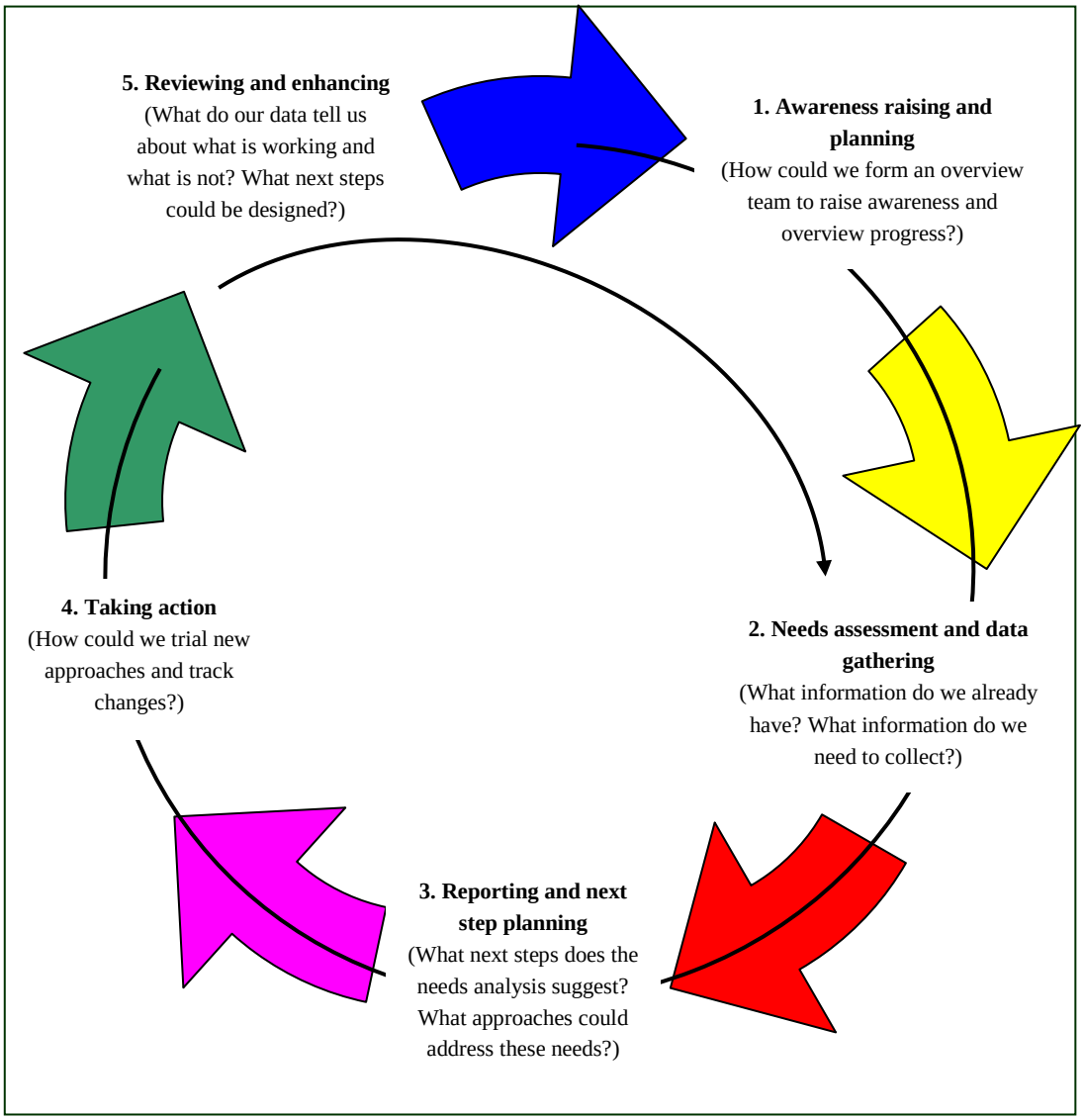
Using a self-review process

Rigby (2002) considers that evidence suggests that a crucial factor in reducing bullying is the commitment of staff to implementing activities. He suggests that the ***process*** which is used to develop an anti-bullying initiative may be just as important as the content, and that it is vital that members of the school community are engaged in the implementation. Most anti-bullying

interventions suggest a process to engage students, staff and the wider community in change and self-review.

This process commonly starts with awareness raising, a needs assessment, the formation of a team that plans and progresses activities which are designed, monitored and improved using an iterative process. Figure 4 provides an example of what this could look like. The process outlined in this diagram is similar to the health promotion processes advocated in resources designed to support the New Zealand Health and PE learning area and to the process suggested by Health Promoting Schools (see Figure 3). This process is underpinned by a focus on data as well as a community development model that prioritises community consultation and involvement, and the use of community knowledge and data to design initiatives that work best for each school setting (rather than the adoption of generic programmes).

Figure 4 **An example of a school self-review process**



Leadership and raising awareness

One of the first steps in a health promotion and self-review process is to raise awareness of concerns or issues. A team of people can be formed to develop a plan to do this. One common form of awareness raising is a community event such as an assembly in which a focus on anti-bullying is announced. Another is a staff training session. Given the key role of school leaders it is important that they support this focus. Information about effective leadership processes can be found in *School Leadership and Student Outcomes: Identifying what works and why. Best evidence synthesis (BES)* (Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2009).

Needs assessment and data gathering

A needs assessment, which involves the collecting of data from key stakeholders, is a common starting point for three of the four anti-bullying initiatives described in this paper, and for many of the other programmes included in meta-analyses. Student, staff and parent surveys are often used for this purpose. Many programmes use Olweus's surveys or have developed their own.

The results of surveys and consultation are commonly shared with all members of the wider school community. The sharing and discussion of this sort of data is an important component of awareness raising which can act as a catalyst for further action. It is common for the student data to be different from teacher perceptions (i.e., students often report more bullying than staff are aware of), therefore processes need to be in place to support staff to understand and accept this.

Forming a team and getting all stakeholders on board

Once school data are shared, volunteers can be asked to support the team who will take responsibility for keeping the review cycle moving. This team commonly includes representatives such as school leaders, teachers, students, parents and whānau and health professionals. One common focus for this team is developing school policies in a way that involves consultation with the whole school community. Another is monitoring activities and reporting back to stakeholders. The use of a team of people fulfils a number of purposes. One is to ensure that all key stakeholders are involved in the process. This can support sustainability through embedding practice (Brooking, 2008), and can be important if staff members leave. The use of a team approach also develops a wider sense of ownership over proposed changes. This team can also make links to organisations or groups, such as Health Promoting Schools, which could provide more hands-on support with the self-review process.

Involving students as key stakeholders

Over time, recognition has grown that when peers intervene, bullying stops faster. Accordingly the anti-bullying literature now places more emphasis on student involvement in the development and actioning of solutions. Current research on health promotion and the Health and PE learning area in the New Zealand curriculum is increasingly placing emphasis on creating a better balance between students "learning about" health whilst they also "learn for" their health through

"learning by doing" health promotion activities that improve their social and physical environment. Actively engaging students in the design and review of initiatives is one way to do this (the evidence base for the different ways this can be achieved is summarised later in this document).

Planning and taking action

Once a team is formed, the next step in this process is usually to develop an action plan which contains detailed actions for the next year. The data from the needs-assessment process can be used to suggest areas of focus and likely activities. It is important that schools select activities that fit with the wider school focus and culture of the school. Some suggestions are outlined later in this document.

Taking action using an iterative design process

The New Zealand Curriculum states that "curriculum design and review is a continuous, cyclic process" (p. 37, Ministry of Education, 2007). Similarly, researchers note that anti-bullying activities are best developed through a continual process of monitoring and making adjustments (Hazler & Carney, 2006; Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Plog, et al., 2010). Many researchers also suggest that activities need to be implemented thoroughly or with "fidelity" (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Hazler & Carney, 2006; Rigby, 2002; J. Smith, et al., 2004; Ttofi, et al., 2008). These statements are in some ways contradictory, as the act of making adjustments challenges the idea of implementing a standard programme in the way it was intended. Some of the *Whole-School Approaches* to anti-bullying address this by offering schools choices of different sorts of activities that can be selected depending on their fit with the school culture and ethos.

To ensure that decisions about making adjustments are informed by evidence, the needs-assessment data that were used for awareness raising can also form a baseline so that change can be charted. This can support schools to ascertain the effectiveness of their approaches. These data can also feed into a continual improvement process as refinements are made to school activities. Other forms of stakeholder feedback can also be collected.

Selecting evidence-informed components to suit a specific school

Now that a typical *Whole-School Approach* process has been outlined, we turn our attention to the range of possible components that could be incorporated within this approach.

As well as providing a suggested process for change, another characteristic of *Whole-School Approaches* is that they encourage educators to develop a plan that contains appropriate components to address different facets of school practice and different student needs. Studies of programmes with multiple components tend to show a "dose-response" relationship (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). That is, schools that effectively implement more components of a programme are likely to have more positive results. This relationship was shown for Olweus's programme and in the Sheffield Project. One reason for this is that the more components that are included in a school's approach to anti-bullying, the more likely it will be that school practices at different levels will be reinforcing similar messages.

There is a wide range of approaches and programmes designed to address bullying in schools (Anti-Bullying Alliance Research Group, 2008; 2010; Rigby, 2010a; Swearer, et al., 2009; Ttofi, et al., 2008). But most "programmes" are in fact are a combination of a number of components. Writing from an Australian perspective, Rigby (2002) notes that current research does not necessarily give educators a clear steer about which components to choose. This is further complicated by the fact that some appear to be developed from contradicting positions. Thus, Rigby suggests that educators and the school community need to select components that fit the best with their needs and existing school practices and beliefs.

In the next two sections of this paper, to assist the selection process, some of the common components of *Whole-School Approaches* are outlined below and their evidence base is also discussed. Components that occur at different school levels are considered. School-wide approaches such as teacher learning and working with parents and whānau are outlined. Following this we look at approaches that target students and the classroom.

Effective school-wide components of a *Whole-School Approach*

- Include a range of evidence-informed activities in the overall plan to address different aspects of the school system (e.g., school-wide, teaching and learning, connections with the community).
- Use policy development as a tool.
- Consider how the social and physical environment could impact on bullying behaviours.
- Provide teacher education.
- Involve parents and whānau.
- Ensure activities are fully implemented.

Helpful books for schools include:

- *Discipline, Democracy, and Diversity* (Macfarlane, 2007)
- *How Schools Counter Bullying: Policies and procedures in selected Australian schools (Rev. ed.)* (Rigby & Thomas, 2010)
- *Bullying Solutions: Evidence-based approaches to bullying in Australian schools* (McGrath & Noble, 2006)
- *Bullying Prevention and Intervention: Realistic strategies for schools* (Swearer et al., 2009)
- *Tackling Bullying in Schools: A mapping of approaches* (Anti-Bullying Alliance Research Group, 2008)
- *Handbook of Bullying in Schools: An international perspective* (Edited by Jimerson, Swearer et al., 2010)

In planning a *Whole-School Approach*, it is important that all aspects of the school system are reviewed and considered. The *Wellbeing@School School Self-review Tool* will be designed to indicate which aspects of school practice are likely to already support schools to create a caring social and emotional climate that deters bullying and which might need further development. Thus this information can be used to develop an action plan.

School-wide components of a *Whole-School Approach*

One focus of a *Whole-School Approach* is on aligning the sorts of activities that happen at a school-wide level (i.e., outside the classroom) to ensure that these support, and are consistent with, the desired aims of the school's anti-bullying approach. Some common school-wide components of *Whole-School Approaches* are described below.

School-wide policy development

One of the main starting points for most anti-bullying initiatives is the development of a school-wide policy about bullying behaviours. There are a number of reasons why school-wide policy development is deemed so important. One is that it is a starting point for awareness raising which encourages the whole school community to develop an awareness of bullying behaviours, and shared language to talk about these behaviours. Another is that the community consultation process used to develop the policy acts to create a shared sense of ownership through engaging all school stakeholders in considering issues and developing solutions.

As noted earlier, the ERO report, *Safe Schools: Strategies to prevent bullying* (ERO, 2007), found that many New Zealand schools already have safe school policies and plans. Given the need suggested in this overview paper to locate anti-bullying initiatives within a wider frame, one suggestion is that this policy development could sit alongside approaches to developing or revising school-wide values, which is one activity schools are likely to have undertaken as they implemented the revised curriculum. During these discussions, the school community could explore different values and their associated behaviours and outline the sorts of behaviours the school is encouraging as well as discouraging.

Some common activities relating to policy development are outlined in the section below that discusses traditional approaches to discipline.

Redesigning the social and physical environment at break times

A number of *Whole-School Approaches* encourage schools to analyse students' experiences at school to identify "hot spots" or "hot times" where bullying behaviours are more likely to occur (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Changes are then made to the social or physical environment to reduce opportunities to engage in these behaviours.

The Kia Kaha resources provide tools to assist schools to do an audit of the physical environment. One common school-wide approach is making changes to the school playground or classrooms. For example, if school audits find that a particular part of the school grounds or corridors are the places were more bullying behaviours occur, changes can be made to these areas. This could include locating an adventure playground in a "hot spot", or putting windows for light and visibility in a dark corridor.

Studies show that most bullying behaviour occurs in the school grounds during break times. Therefore most school-wide approaches include components specifically designed to address this. Olweus suggested it was important to keep students busy at break times—thus changing the social environment. A youth empowerment solution (described below) would be to train peer monitors and other student leaders who run games and activities to ensure students are engaged in activities that support health and wellbeing (e.g., New Zealand approaches that could be used include initiatives such as Jump Jam and SPARC Physical Activity leaders). Thus this approach also supports school to progress goals relating to another health area—physical activity. Another approach used in New Zealand schools is to run clubs at break times.

A more behaviour-focused or traditional approach would be to revise the playground monitoring policy to ensure any identified "hot spots" are well monitored by adults. One meta-analysis by Farrington and Ttofi (2009), explored the different components of effective approaches to bullying. They noted that increased playground supervision was one of the elements most strongly linked to effectiveness.

Teacher education components of a *Whole-School Approach*

Rigby (2002) notes that different theoretical approaches to anti-bullying show similar results, thus he suggests that the commitment of staff to implementing initiatives may be as important as the content. One way of ensuring staff commitment is through providing adequate opportunities for professional development and learning. This is recognised as a key part of most anti-bullying *Whole-School Approaches* (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Plog, et al., 2010; Rigby, 2002).

A staff professional development and awareness-raising session is usually one of the first activities when school leaders decide to increase their focus on anti-bullying initiatives. A number of studies show that teachers may be more focused on physical bullying behaviours as these are easier to "see" than social or indirect bullying behaviours. Thus staff sessions aim to address this and other common misconceptions.

Researchers who write about approaches that are designed to problem solve around incidents of bullying (such as conflict resolution and restorative justice processes) note that these require teachers to rethink their views on discipline and develop specific types of facilitation skills. For example, in a New Zealand evaluation of a restorative justice approach, Hui Whakatika (one translation of which is "meeting together to put an issue right"), Adair and Dixon (2000) found that, after professional development sessions, school staff retained mixed understandings about the principles of restorative justice. Adair and Dixon concluded that these conferences held promise, but schools needed more support and professional development for teachers to fully implement the processes. Similar suggestions are made internationally. In Canada, Bickmore (2010) found that policy documents often suggested that the use of conflict resolution techniques was an expectation for schools, but not enough attention was paid to related professional development for teachers. Such findings point to the importance of adequate and ongoing professional learning relating to the particular approach a school might choose to adopt.

Teachers and school leaders are important in modelling a safe social and emotional climate. Although researchers are starting to see bullying behaviours as a socioecological phenomenon, much of the research on bullying and solutions tends to focus on addressing incidents between students without considering if, and how, the wider school or community culture might have supported these behaviours. As noted earlier, there has been little focus in New Zealand or internationally on bullying initiated by teachers. Most international programmes and studies are remarkably silent about the role that school leaders and teachers might have in reinforcing or condoning bullying behaviours or in engaging in this dynamic themselves with students, even though studies have shown that student reports of bullying are associated with more aggressive or competitive school climates, and a perception that teachers do not model prosocial behaviours.

A number of past health and wellbeing professional development contracts in New Zealand looked at student behaviour in the wider context of school-wide and teacher practice. Two examples were the Eliminating Violence and Student Wellbeing Mental Health Education contracts. An evaluation of the teacher professional development aspect of the Mental Health Education contract showed that one effective feature of this professional development was the strengths-based approaches to challenging teacher beliefs about behaviour (Brooking, 2008). This professional development also incorporated practices that are noted as effective in the *Teacher Professional Learning and Development: Best evidence synthesis (BES)* (Timperley, Wilson, Barrar, & Fung, 2007). These include the development of teacher learning communities, a focus on modelling of new approaches and the provision of opportunities for teacher co-construction of approaches. Many of these practices are now becoming commonplace in New Zealand professional learning contracts.

Another approach that considers the role of the school and wider community in contributing to bullying behaviours is a restorative justice community hui (outlined below). These hui seek to involve all stakeholders in exploring the multiple reasons for problem behaviours (including those that relate to school practice) and in developing solutions (Wearmouth, et al., 2005).

Working with parents and whānau as part of a *Whole-School Approach*

The international literature suggests that the involvement of parents in anti-bullying activities is key (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Jimerson & Huai, 2010; Rigby, 2002). The expectation that parents will be involved is also a core part of *Whole-School Approaches.* As noted earlier, these *Whole-School Approaches* tend to use community development processes that involve the wider community in developing solutions.

All of the main *Whole-School Approaches* summarised in this paper involved parents in the process of change. Farrington and Ttofi's (2009) meta-analysis compared studies with the aim of outlining which components of anti-bullying initiatives were correlated with successful outcomes. Although these findings need to be interpreted with care, parent training, information and meetings were some of the common components of successful programmes.

In general, the types of activities parents can be involved in span:

- receiving information (e.g., via school events, newsletters and parent information evenings)
- visioning and planning (e.g., through involvement in school planning teams)
- educating and training (for parents or for students)
- monitoring and evaluating
- disciplining or problem solving.

In terms of international approaches, most programmes invite parents to awareness-raising sessions at school when a focus on anti-bullying is announced and when school data from student and staff surveys are presented. They also suggest that parent representatives are included on the teams that develop school policies about bullying behaviours, and design and monitor school approaches. Most programmes also suggest that parental perspectives are sought through surveys and consultation processes. Some approaches, such as Olweus's programme, involve parents in the classroom programme. Most involved parents in addressing more serious incidents of bullying behaviour. For example, Restorative Family Conferences can involve parents and whānau in developing solutions to concerns such as bullying incidents.

A number of programmes also provided parent information and training in relation to specific techniques so that home and school practices are better aligned. Some also suggested regular newsletter content for parents.

The New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) also sets up an expectation that schools will work in partnership with the parent and whānau community. The curriculum notes

that schools need to design a curriculum that addresses student and community needs, interests, and circumstances. In regard to the Health and PE learning area (which is the learning area with the most connection to anti-bullying approaches) the curriculum notes that:

> … it expected that schools will consult with their communities when developing health and sexuality education programmes. (p. 22, Ministry of Education, 2007)

The curriculum also suggests that school practices have the potential to enhance students' wellbeing beyond the classroom, particularly when these practices are supported by those in the wider school community. Thus *The New Zealand Curriculum* sees parents and whānau as stakeholders who can act to support and enhance health-related practices at school.

Further information about the influence of community and family and ways to build effective home–school partnerships can be found in *The Complexity of Community and Family Influences on Children's Achievement in New Zealand: Best evidence synthesis (BES)* (Biddulph, Biddulph, & Biddulph, 2003).

Components of *Whole-School Approaches* aimed at students

The next section of this paper overviews the main components of *Whole-School Approaches* that are specifically aimed at students, either for intervention activities or for preventative approaches that are at a school-wide level or embedded in teaching and learning programmes.

Effective components *of Whole-School Approaches* that are aimed at students

- Include a range of evidenced-informed interventions in the overall plan to address different aspects of schooling
- Include a mix of approaches that are universal (for all students) and targeted (for some students)
- Include a mix of approaches that are aimed at both intervention and prevention
- Empower students to be problem solvers and develop social and emotional competence and skills
- Include approaches that address different levels of bullying incidents (from those that are relatively minor to those that are more serious)
- Include approaches that are developmentally appropriate and target younger students
- Are fully implemented

Helpful books for schools include:

- *Discipline, Democracy, and Diversity* (Macfarlane, 2007)
- *Bullying Interventions in Schools: Six basic approaches* (Rigby, 2010a)
- *Bullying Solutions: Evidence-based approaches to bullying in Australian schools* (McGrath & Noble, 2006)
- *Bullying Prevention and Intervention: Realistic strategies for schools* (Swearer et al., 2009).

Universal versus targeted approaches

Whole-School Approaches have different components that target different aspects of the school system. They can also include a range of different ways of working with students. Approaches to working directly with students to address bullying can also be grouped depending on whether they are mostly ***targeted*** (interventions for specific students such as those who are at risk of repeated engaging in bullying or being bullied) or ***universal*** (for all students in a year level or school). They can also be categorised as ***reactive*** (an intervention or response to a specific incidence) or ***proactive*** and ***preventative*** (i.e., they focus on awareness raising and knowledge and skill building for the future).

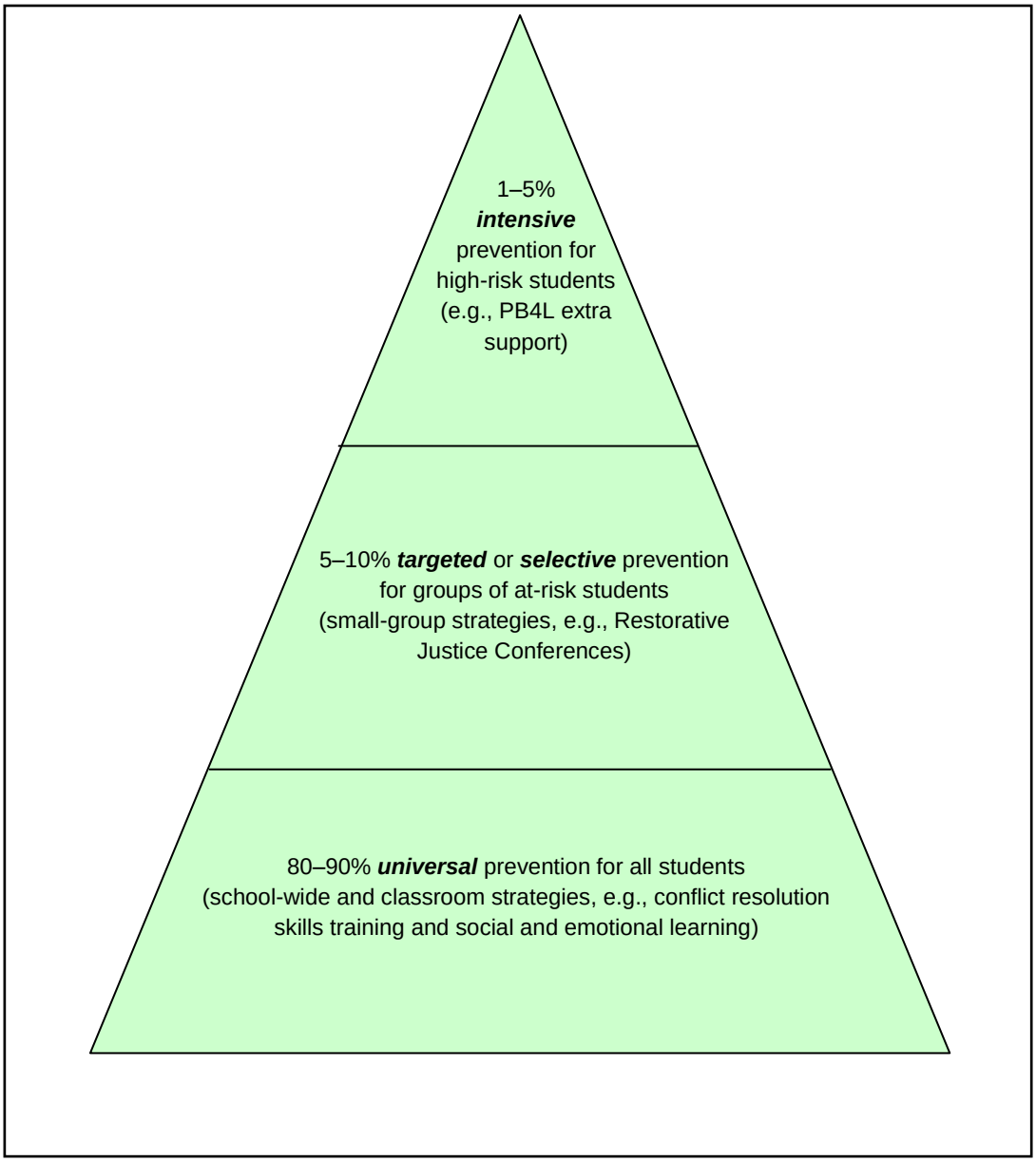
There is some debate in the general literature about which are the most effective—universal or targeted programmes. Those who explore effective ways of managing student behaviour (such as Chafouleas, Riley-Tillman, and Sugai (2007)—the developers of the School-based Behavioural Assessment approach which underpins the New Zealand PB4L School-wide Positive Behaviour Support programme), and those who advocate for social and emotional learning (such as the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) (2008)]) both place the

most emphasis on universal prevention. On the other hand, Rigby (2010a) argues that more attention needs to be paid to group "intervention" rather than "universal" strategies that address specific incidents of bullying. In reality, most key programmes contain both universal and targeted elements as well as reactive and preventative approaches (e.g., the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme and the Sheffield Project both contained a mix of elements).

Those who explore effective ways of managing student behaviour (Chafouleas, et al., 2007) and those who advocate for social and emotional learning as a way of addressing problem behaviours (CASEL, 2008; Merrell & Gueldner, 2010) all offer the intervention triangle as a means for making decisions about what emphasis could be placed on different types of activities.

Schools that are part of the PB4L School-wide Positive Behaviour Support programme are encouraged to plan using the intervention triangle. The triangle is based on a public health approach to prevention. It offers three tiers of intervention which includes individual as well as group activities. One principle underpinning the triangle is that not all effort should be directed at individuals as this ignores the group context of behaviours. This is particularly important in the context of bullying behaviours given the group context in which these often occur, the key role of bystanders and studies that show how the wider school climate can influence behaviours. In the triangle, most effort is placed at the group and universal level. Figure 5 below presents an intervention triangle that has been adapted to have a specific focus on addressing bullying behaviours.

Figure 5 **The intervention triangle**



*This diagram is adapted from (p.7, CASEL, 2008) and (p.4, Chafouleas, et al., 2007).

Intensive approaches for students who need more support

Rigby (2010a) states it is important to consider that most bullying incidences are relatively mild, with extreme cases being less common. Therefore, more attention has been placed in this overview paper on outlining some of the common targeted and universal approaches to addressing bullying in schools, rather than intensive approaches for individuals identified as having a range of conduct problems or needing extra support. This is also the main focus in the anti-bullying literature, with much of it exploring the effectiveness of targeted or universal approaches for groups or all students rather than intensive approaches.

Most anti-bullying programmes have strategies in place for providing extra support for the small number of students (1–5 percent) who frequently engage in more serious acts of bullying. This often involves working with health professionals and families. A referral process can be used for this purpose.

The *PB4L* action plan includes a number of initiatives designed for students and schools that need more support. These include specialist support that is part of a Behaviour Crisis Response Service. As part of this service, students can also be referred to a comprehensive intervention (the Severe Behaviour Service). An Intensive Wrap-Around Service is also available to support schools to address extremely challenging behaviour.[14]

The Ministry of Social Development has also produced publications that outline the programmes available for students with a range of conduct disorders. One is the *Conduct Problems: Best practice report* (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2009). Another is the soon to be published *Conduct Problems: Effective programmes for 8–12-year-olds* (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2011). As well as outlining the current programmes available, Chapter 4 offers a Māori framework for considering how the overrepresentation of Māori youth in conduct problem statistics can be related to colonisation and the adverse effects of this on identity and wellbeing. This chapter also outlines some of the existing emerging and sustained programmes that use kaupapa Māori ways of working to address this overrepresentation by developing youth, whānau and community skills. These programmes can be either school-, whānau- or community-based and are classified using a Poutama (step pattern) from less intensive (some of which could be frameworks that apply to all students) to more intensive (targeted for at- risk young people and their whānau). Some of the programmes in this summary are referred to in later sections of this overview (such as Hui Whakatika).

Beyond the skills-teaching approach outlined below, other intensive forms of support for students have not been discussed further in this document.

Skills teaching for targeted groups of students

Some approaches to bullying include the teaching of social skills for those who bully and/or those who are frequent targets. Researchers suggest that a skills-teaching approach is based on an individual deficit view of bullying. That is, such approaches assume that those who bully have a lower level of empathy, social and anger management skills than other students and need support to remedy this. The literature suggests that although some students may fit this profile, other students who engage in bullying behaviours are highly socially competent (Swearer, et al., 2009). If this is the case, providing extra training in social skills to these students may result in increasing their skills and approaches to bullying rather than decreasing this behaviour. Thus the approach that is selected needs to rest on an assessment of the individual needs of students.

[14] http://www.minedu.govt.nz/theMinistry/EducationInitiatives/PositiveBehaviourForLearning.aspx

Skills teaching for students who are identified as targets of bullying behaviour tends to involve small-group work. The aim is to develop their self-esteem, resilience and verbal skills. Rigby (2010a) notes that approaches that aim to "strengthen the victim" are controversial as they imply that it is the student's responsibility to change their behaviour and "stand up" to those who are engaging in bullying.

Intervention approaches aimed at students and classrooms

Most anti-bullying *Whole-School Approaches* include some form of intervention in regard to bullying behaviours or disciplinary and behaviour management procedures. These tend to stem from the two main perspectives noted in the literature. One is the traditional perspective that favours more adult-led discipline processes (this is more common in Europe and the USA). The other is a student empowerment and problem-solving perspective that is favoured in the UK and Australasian countries. One further research focus explores how different forms of social and emotional learning can be related to strategies for addressing bullying behaviours. All three are described below.

The traditional approach to discipline (behaviour management)

Rigby (2010a) describes a number of the main processes schools can use to address specific incidents of bullying. One is the traditional approach to student discipline and management. This approach rests on behaviourist assumptions that people will change their behaviours when offered sanctions and rewards. This approach is on the more adult-led end of the spectrum. Rigby notes that international studies show that the traditional approach tends to be the most common in schools. The traditional discipline approach tends to involve the following elements:

1. The determination of what constitutes bullying behaviour (e.g., as outlined in a school policy).
2. The establishments of rules or guidelines that enable staff to decide what actions are to be taken if rules are broken.
3. Informing *all* members of the school community of what bullying is and what is to be done about it.
4. An investigation of bullying incidents to determine the culpability of the offender. This may involve examining reports, talking to witnesses and cross-examining suspected perpetrators.
5. The application of sanctions, penalties, or punishment. These may include time-out, detention, loss of privileges, chores to be undertaken at school, and in more extreme cases, suspension or expulsion. (adapted from p. 35, Rigby, 2010a)

The traditional approach was initially developed by Olweus for use in the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme. Olweus and Limber (2010) note that their approach is based on four key assumptions. These are that the adults in a school should:

- Show warmth and positive interest and be involved in the students' lives
- Set firm limits to unacceptable behaviour
- Consistently use nonphysical, nonhostile negative consequences when rules are broken
- Function as authorities and positive role models. (p. 377, Olweus & Limber, 2010)

Thus the traditional approach has a strong focus on adult-led modelling and actions.

Policies and rules about bullying behaviours

One common strategy that comes under the umbrella of traditional discipline approaches is the formation of policies and rules about bullying behaviours. As noted above, the developers of the international anti-bullying interventions, no matter whether they prioritise a more adult-led or student empowerment perspective, all see the development of a school policy about bullying as an essential first step that is vital for awareness raising. Policy development is a part of all the *Whole-School Approaches* described above. In discussing the development of school policies within the Sheffield Project, the Office of the Children's Commissioner (2006) suggests that whole-school policy development needs:

- comprehensive consultation (with school staff, boards, parents and students)
- clear definitions of bullying (so bullying can be consistently recognised and acted on)
- clear communication (so that expectations are understood by all)
- openness and warmth (so students know their views count and will be acted on)
- regular monitoring (so that the policy's effectiveness can be ascertained).

Although some of the *Whole-School Approaches* described above prioritised a more traditional approach, they all used a collaborative process that involved the whole school community in developing school anti-bullying policies.

School-wide rules

The development of school-wide rules is another component of the traditional discipline approach to bullying. For example, as part of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme, schools were asked to adopt and reinforce four school-wide rules about bullying. These were:

> We will not bully others.
>
> We will try to help students who are bullied.
>
> We will try to include students who are left out.
>
> If we know that someone is being bullied, we will tell an adult at school and an adult at home. (p. 381, Olweus & Limber, 2010)

Again, these rules reflect the position that bullying behaviours are best addressed through adult action which is supported by developing a culture in which students are encouraged to "tell" or inform about incidents.

Discipline approaches

In general the literature talks about two types of discipline approaches. These are categorised as punitive or nonpunitive. Punitive strategies include negative sanctions and can range from time out to withdrawal of privileges to expulsion or exclusion.

Punitive and nonpunitive strategies are underpinned by different assumptions. Punitive approaches (which can also be called legalistic or moralistic) owe some of their origins to the criminal justice system. They rest on behaviourist assumptions about the use of sanctions and rewards. Nonpunitive strategies (also called problem-solving, therapeutic or restorative) stem from youth development and strengths-based approaches (these are described later).

Traditional approaches like the Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme and other European and USA *Whole-School Approaches* tend to favour punitive methods of discipline. In discussing Olweus's programme, researchers consider Olweus to be in favour of firm limits about unacceptable behaviour and "nonhostile" and "nonphysical"[15] sanctions if rules are transgressed (Rigby, 2010a). These nonhostile methods included "serious talks" between those who bully and a teacher, sending students who bully to the principal and ensuring they stay close to teachers during recess or depriving them of privileges (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). Some student-led punitive methods of discipline include Bully Courts and Bullying Tribunals. These are not used widely in schools and do not have much support in the literature (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2006).

Classroom management and rules

Traditional discipline approaches also favour the setting of clear classroom rules, and the training of teachers to recognise and address bullying incidents that occur in the classroom. Olweus's programme suggests that classroom rules about bullying should be developed in consultation with students, and regularly discussed.

In New Zealand primary schools the setting of a classroom charter or rules is a common start-of-year activity. Instead of developing separate rules for bullying behaviours, a focus on prosocial behaviours and nonaggressive behaviours could be included within these rules. This could also provide an avenue for discussion of, and awareness raising about, different forms of bullying behaviours and their impact on students.

Rewards

One aspect of Olweus's approach is that prosocial behaviours are rewarded, and rewards for bullying behaviours are decreased. One example is rewards and public recognition through approaches such as via "caught being good" awards. These rewards act to communicate and reinforce common norms. Another is a school-wide approach that focuses on values such as

[15] It is likely that Olweus first developed the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP) at a time when corporal punishment was common in schools. Olweus did not see this as an effective method of discipline.

"respect" for a period of time. These practices are common in New Zealand and internationally. Bickmore (2010) notes these approaches may well be implemented because they are easy, not because much is known about their effectiveness.

Debates about the traditional discipline approach

Although substantial work has been done on alternative approaches, the traditional approach to discipline (which owes its origins to Olweus's work) remains the most common in schools (Rigby, 2010a). Recent texts by USA authors such as Jimerson and Huai (2010) also favour this approach. Farrington and Ttofi's (2009) meta-analysis found that a number of traditionally-focused aspects of programmes were associated with a decrease in self-reports of bullying, but not necessarily victimisation. These were: improved playground supervision; punitive disciplinary methods; classroom management; classroom rules; and the development of a whole-school anti-bullying policy. The fact that traditional approaches are more favoured in European countries and the USA may be leading to a situation in which these approaches are overrepresented in meta-analyses findings. For example some of the programmes reviewed by Farrington and Ttofi used peer mediation as a strategy, but none used restorative justice approaches.

Farrington and Ttofi's meta-analysis also showed that the traditional discipline approach is more effective with younger children. They suggested one reason for this is that older children are likely to react against the more authoritarian stance of this approach.

The traditional discipline approach has a focus on student reporting to adults and adults taking action to address situations. This does not provide a solution to the findings from studies that show many bullying incidents are not reported, or that students perceive that schools are not addressing their concerns or that reporting bullying to teachers can make the bullying worse. For example, Rigby (2010b) cited a UK study in which students were asked to report what happened when they reported bullying to teachers. About half noted the bullying did not diminish and for a significant proportion the bullying got worse. He also noted that Australian studies have shown similar findings. Likewise, a New Zealand study by Nairn and Smith (2002) found that the secondary school students in their study were wary of reporting bullying to teachers as they were unsure that staff would be able to assist them.

In terms of some of the more punitive discipline methods that are advocated by proponents of the traditional approach, there is general agreement in the literature that "zero tolerance" ***attitudes*** can be valuable in establishing a caring and safe school climate, but that "punitive" or "zero tolerance" ***behaviour management approaches*** to addressing bullying behaviour such as expulsion do not appear to have a strong evidence base (Anti-Bullying Alliance Research Group, 2008; Bickmore, 2010; Noddings, 2008; Rigby, 2010a). Many researchers are concerned that, rather than being expelled, students should be kept at school and supported to improve their behaviour.

Rigby and Bauman (2010) express a concern that many interventions address all incidents of bullying behaviour as if they were equally severe. Instead, they suggest it is helpful to consider

these behaviours as lying on a continuum from mild to high severity. Severe cases tend to occur infrequently and may require a different strategy to relatively mild cases. Rigby and Bauman suggest most incidences can be addressed by nonpunitive approaches; for example, mild cases by informal teacher or peer actions, and moderate cases by a formal method such as a Restorative Justice Conference. Severe cases may need to be addressed by actions such as suspension. This approach requires schools to define what is meant by mild, moderate and severe.

The alternative to traditional discipline: Youth development approaches

Alternatives to traditional discipline are often called "nonpunitive" approaches. One key aim of nonpunitive approaches is to seek students' involvement in developing solutions to bullying behaviours (thus acknowledging that the peer group is an important mediator of bullying behaviours). Another is to increase students' engagement in prosocial behaviours and encourage social and emotional learning.

Garrard and Lipsey (2007) note that approaches that aim to resolve conflicts such as bullying through enhancing students' skills and strengths can be classified within the umbrella term of "positive youth development". Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, and Hawkins (2002) provide an overview of the origins of positive youth development approaches. These had their origins in a growing disillusionment in the 1980s with prevention models that focused on one single problem behaviour (e.g., a sole focus on bullying could be seen as an example of this) and that did not consider the wider environment within which individuals are located. In contrast, studies at the time were showing that problem behaviours were correlated with each other, and that the number of risk and protective factors to which young people were exposed strongly impact on their future outcomes. Studies also showed that many youth outcomes were affected by the same risk and protective factors. This led practitioners to call for expansion of programmes beyond a single focus and to develop "noncategorical" approaches that aimed to prevent a broad range of youth problems by decreasing risk and increasing protective factors. Given that risk and protective factors are found across a range of locations, there was also a call for programmes that crossed multiple domains (e.g., school, peer, family and community).

Although a range of programmes, and activities within programmes, could be called "positive youth development", Catalano et al. (2002) note that this approach is not well defined. To assist in building knowledge in this area they have developed an operational definition based on a literature review and a consultation process. They defined positive youth development approaches as those which aim to achieve one or more of the following 15 objectives:

- promote bonding, social, emotional, cognitive, behavioural or moral competence
- foster resilience, self-determination, spirituality, self-efficacy, clear and positive identity, belief in the future, prosocial norms
- provide opportunities for prosocial involvement or recognition for positive behaviour.

Following this, Catalano et al. conducted an analysis of 77 programmes, selecting 25 that fitted their criteria for effectiveness. They found that 19 of the 25 programmes showed positive changes in youth behaviour and 24 showed significant improvements in problem behaviours, such as aggression and conduct problems (bullying behaviours fall within the category of conduct problems; Catalano et al. did not specifically examine outcomes relating to bullying behaviours). Catalano et al. concluded that a wide range of positive youth development approaches can result in positive behaviour outcomes and the prevention of problem youth behaviours.

Some nonpunitive discipline approaches that are specifically designed to address incidents of bullying are called youth development approaches. These approaches can also be described as ***reactive*** (i.e., they are a ***reaction*** to incidents). These include the Shared Concern and Support Group (No Blame) methods, restorative justice processes and approaches to conflict resolution such as peer mediation. At the heart of youth development approaches are concepts of agency, choice and self-actualisation. These approaches also incorporate cognitive principles of development. They assume that, rather than behaviour being fixed (i.e., a child is labelled as a bully or a victim), young people can grow and learn new prosocial behaviours and strategies and be important participants in the development of solutions.

Other youth development approaches are essentially ***preventative*** and aim to enhance students' skills, strategies and emotional wellbeing. A wide range of approaches could be seen to fall within this area including: conflict resolution education; social and emotional learning; character, moral or values education; and strengths-based focuses such as education for resilience.

In this summary we have included an overview of both reactive and preventative positive youth development approaches when there is some evidence they have been linked to decreases in aggression or bullying behaviours.

Problem-solving and conflict resolution strategies

One youth development approach noted in some literature as being potentially effective in addressing bullying is problem solving or conflict resolution approaches. Garrard and Lipsey (2007) note that one long-term goal of conflict resolution approaches is to increase prosocial behaviours such as co-operation, empathy and respect for difference. Another goal is to decrease antisocial behaviours such as aggression, bullying and violence. Thus these approaches tend to be ***proactive or preventative*** in that they support students to develop social and conflict resolution skills. They can also be ***reactive*** in that they aim to support students to address particular incidents.

We have split these problem-solving approaches into two groups: teacher-led approaches such as restorative justice and student-led approaches such as peer mediators. Both involve students engaging in acts of problem solving with the aim of resolving conflicts.

Teacher-led approaches to problem solving

Common conflict resolution approaches that are teacher-led are outlined in Table 11 and discussed below. They have been split into two groups: ***reactive*** and ***preventative***.

Table 11 **Common teacher-led approaches to conflict resolution***

Name of approach (NZ programme)	Description	Target group and focus	Evidence base
Reactive or intervention approaches			
Pikas Method (of Shared Concern)[16]	The aim is to restore wellbeing of all involved in bullying incidents by changing group dynamics via a problem-solving process. This involves the group of perpetrators and bystanders. A series of individual and group meetings with perpetrators are facilitated.	Targeted reactive (mostly co-curricular) Secondary	Rigby (2006a) notes that an evaluation of a Finnish programme that used the Pikas method showed similar positive results to Olweus's seminal studies.
Support Group Method (was called "No Blame")	The aim is to increase students' empathy. A facilitator meets with the person who was bullied and also separately holds a conference with a support group of peers, perpetrators and bystanders. This group is encouraged to take responsibility for the problem and suggest solutions and actions they might take.	Targeted reactive (mostly co-curricular) Primary and secondary	In New Zealand, Cleary (2001) provides some evidence of success. This approach is suggested as a process in Kia Kaha resources, but has not been separately evaluated.
Restorative Justice processes **(NZ: Hui Whakatika and restorative conversations)**	The aim of a restorative justice process is to repair relationships in a way that "reintegrates" the perpetrators and uses community problem solving to suggest ways of repair and redress. The process ranges from informal conversations at school to formal community conferences (which include all students involved in the incident, parents and whānau, teachers and community members). Teachers and students can be trained in conferencing techniques, or conferences can be managed by trained facilitators.	Targeted reactive (can be proactive) (mostly co-curricular) Primary and secondary	Restorative Justice approaches are becoming common practice in New Zealand schools. There is a growing body of New Zealand evidence as to their effectiveness (Adair & Dixon, 2000; Buckley & Maxwell, 2007; Cavanagh, 2007). There is also some evidence as to their effectiveness in Māori contexts (Wearmouth, et al., 2005).
Proactive or preventative approaches			
Direct conflict resolution skills training	Students engage in activities that teach conflict resolution concepts and give them opportunities to practise strategies.	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary and secondary	Garrard and Lipsey's (2007) meta-analysis shows decreases in antisocial behaviours associated with skills training in conflict resolution.
Name of approach (NZ programme)	**Description**	**Target group and focus**	**Evidence base**
Embedded conflict resolution curriculum	Conflict resolution concepts are embedded within the curriculum (e.g., conflicts in literature or history are used as case studies to discuss and rehearse strategies).	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary and secondary	Garrard and Lipsey's (2007) meta-analysis shows decreases in antisocial behaviours associated with embedded conflict resolution curriculum approaches.

[16] http://www.kenrigby.net/PikasPaper.pdf

* Some information was summarised from Anti-Bullying Alliance Research Group (2008) and Rigby (2010a).

The Pikas Method of Shared Concern

The Pikas Method of Shared Concern was developed by a Swedish psychologist, Anatol Pikas as a therapeutic approach to solving bullying incidents involving adolescents (Pikas, 2002). The method has a number of stages which are managed by a teacher-facilitator. First, the facilitator obtains information about the bullying situation mostly through reports from the peer group, parents or others, rather than directly from the student experiencing the bullying. This is done to protect this child from their peers perceiving that they are "telling on" others. The students who are identified as having taken part, either actively or as bystanders, are each interviewed in turn. Each interview starts with an expression of shared concern for the person who is being bullied. If the student acknowledges some awareness of the situation they are asked what they can do to assist in making it better. The emphasis is not on apportioning blame, but rather on changing group dynamics and the situation by encouraging problem solving. The facilitator then arranges group meetings to ensure actions are followed through. They also talk separately to the student who has been bullied.

This method is viewed as more appropriate for adolescents as it draws on their skills and does not set the facilitator up as an authority figure (Pikas, 2002; Rigby, 2010a). Rigby (2006a) notes there is considerable evidence that the Pikas Method is effective for addressing many bullying situations. For example, an evaluation of a Finnish programme that used the Pikas Method showed similar positive results to Olweus's early interventions. However, this method has been critiqued for not providing a way of meeting the student who experienced the bullying early on to hear their concerns. This is not seen as practical as this student may have been the person who initially reported the behaviours. Rigby (2010a) also notes that these approaches require considerable time and effort on the part of the teacher-facilitator.

More details about the Pikas Method can be found in Pikas (2002), Rigby (2010a), Rigby and Griffiths (2011) and McGrath and Noble (2006).

The Support Group (No Blame) method

The essence of the Support Group method (which was called the "No Blame" method) is that it aims to identify and share how the students feel about being bullied, with the aim of increasing the empathy and problem-solving skills of the students engaging in the bullying behaviour. Macfarlane (2007) provides a description of a Support Group/No Blame method as used by a New Zealand teacher-facilitator who worked through a number of steps:

- **Step 1:** The teacher talks to the student who has been bullied, provides support and asks them to identify the main perpetrators, bystanders and two or three student leaders who could support them (the support group).
- **Step 2:** The student who has been bullied is asked to write a letter outlining how they feel.

- **Step 3:** A conference is called with a "support group". This does not include the student who has been bullied. At this conference students are told they are there to solve a problem—but not to discuss whose fault it was. The group is read the letter and introduced to a bullying socio-gram[17] which shows the different roles of students. Each member of the group is then asked how they might help.
- **Step 4:** Follow-up conferences are held with the support group to discuss the actions they are taking. The student who has been bullied continues to be supported by the teacher. A letter is sent home informing parents how their children are positively contributing to school through being a member of the support group.

The discussion allows each party to describe what happened and what led to the behaviour. They are then asked for solutions. A key aspect of this process is that those involved are asked what happened without judgement being made about actions being right or wrong. This is different from a Restorative Justice Conference in which there is an expectation that the perpetrator will acknowledge the harm they have caused and the community will look for solutions.

A common criticism of the Support Group/No Blame method is that it does not suggest that bullying is "wrong". Rigby (2010a) considers this critique to be misguided as those who are involved are expected to take responsibility for their actions. Macfarlane (2007) expresses a similar view. He notes that No Blame conferences convey a clear sense that bullying is not an acceptable behaviour (whilst not judging individual actions) as the facilitators are encouraged to make statements such as "We don't accept bullying here." Rigby (2010a) also notes that those who criticise this method seem to view all bullying as equally severe behaviour that should be responded to in a punitive manner. He suggests that the Support Group/No Blame method is best used for mild or moderate incidents. He also notes that the developers of the Support Group/No Blame method stated that more severe incidents need to be addressed in other ways.

In New Zealand, Support Group/No Blame approaches have been used by a number of schools. Kia Kaha provides suggestions about how to use No Blame approaches and Cleary (2001) described a New Zealand secondary school that had adopted a *Whole-School Approach* that incorporated peer support and the No Blame method. From this experience, Cleary concluded that students "have the greatest potential to block the development of a bullying culture" (p. 278), but also that teacher leadership is essential so that students can develop the skills they need.

More details about the Support Group/No Blame method can be found in Sullivan et al. (2004), Rigby (2010a), Macfarlane (2007) and McGrath and Noble (2006).

Restorative justice processes

The use of restorative justice processes in New Zealand schools stems from the successful use of family group conferences within the New Zealand youth justice system (Maxwell & Hayes, 2006;

[17] A diagram that represents the different roles students can take. This can be used to show that students have choices in how they act or react.

Maxwell, Kingi, Robertson, Morris, & Cunningham, 2004). These conferences were formally introduced in 1989. A family group conference typically involves a community co-ordinator facilitating a meeting between the offender and their family and whānau, the victim (if possible) and their support people, and a police officer. The purpose of the meeting is to ensure that the offender takes responsibility for their actions and for all group members to develop an action plan to repair the situation and support the people involved to ensure it does not reoccur.

The restorative justice processes used in family group conferences, and now in an adapted form in New Zealand schools, stem from Māori cultural practices. Māori have a long pre-European tradition of restorative hui to resolve conflicts (Macfarlane, 2007, 2009; Maxwell & Hayes, 2006; Wearmouth, McKinney, & Glynn, 2007). These hui emphasised the restoration of harmony through a consensus-reaching process involving the whole community (Macfarlane, 2009).

Macfarlane (2007, 2009) notes that traditional Māori community resolution processes can be used to examine the possible reasons for behaviours and resolve concerns and reharmonise relationships between individuals, schools and the community. Four broad principles are critical to an effective school hui or conference: consensus; examination; reconciliation; and restoration (Macfarlane, 2007). This approach contrasts to ones that apportion blame or isolate and punish the offender. Macfarlane (2007) considers conferencing is about developing "new ways of speaking" that move away from punitive or judgemental forms to those that are respectful and forward looking. Overall, Macfarlane, Glynn, Cavanagh, and Bateman (2007) suggest that the aim of restorative processes is to create a "culture of care".

Thus the underpinning philosophy of restorative processes is to view schooling in a relational context (Drewery & Winslade, 2003; Thorsborne & Vinegrad, 2004). Wrongdoing is perceived as *damage done to a relationship* which can be repaired by involving those most directly affected in problem solving. This is in contrast to the view that behaviour incidents are about rule-breaking that should be punished by sanctions (Thorsborne & Vinegrad, 2004).

As well as having their origins in Māori cultural practices, some family group conference processes also draw on Western theories of criminology. For example, the restorative approaches used in some Australasian schools are underpinned by Braithwaite's theory of reintegrative shaming (Braithwaite, 1989, cited in Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2005). In terms of school bullying, Braithwaite and Ahmed argue that stigmatising or punitive shaming (e.g., where those who bully are labelled and treated as outcasts) is likely to encourage defiant reactions. They suggest that other forms of shaming (reintegrative) have the potential to be preventative. Common components of a reintegrative process are: discussion of the circumstances of the incident and harm that has been caused; an apology from the perpetrator; some form of reparation; and the expression of forgiveness. Braithwaite developed his theories from observing the use of Australian youth justice family group conferences. These Australian conferences were an adaptation of the family hui and conferences developed in New Zealand.

The use of restorative justice approaches is growing, in New Zealand and internationally, in justice systems (Maxwell & Hayes, 2006) as well as in schools. As noted in Table 2, 50 percent of

a sample of New Zealand primary principals and 64 percent of the secondary sample in the NZCER national surveys reported that their school was using some form of restorative justice process. In New Zealand, restorative practices are one strategy being further explored as part of the *PB4L* action plan. In Australia, restorative practices are one of the suggested strategies in the National Safe Schools Framework (Student Learning and Support Services Taskforce of the Ministerial Council on Education, et al., 2003a) and one of the intervention strategies schools can use to address bullying behaviours as outlined in Rigby (2010a) and McGrath and Noble (2006).

Within the overall umbrella of restorative justice, a wide variety of restorative processes are being used in schools. These range from restorative classroom management, informal restorative talks and "mini" conferences, to restorative family conferences that are used to address more serious incidents (Buckley & Maxwell, 2007; Rigby, 2010a).

An informal restorative talk involves teachers facilitating a discussion between those engaging in bullying behaviours and those who are targeted. The discussion allows each party to describe what happened and what led to the behaviour (Rigby, 2010a). They are then asked for solutions. There is an expectation that the perpetrator will take responsibility for their actions. A school-based family conference involves those who engaged in the bullying behaviours and those who are targeted, as well as their families, school personnel and community workers. Some methods blend restorative justice with other problem-solving approaches. In a New Zealand context, Margaret Thorsborne and Associates,[18] a common provider of restorative justice training, use a Support Group/No Blame script during restorative justice conferences. Restorative processes can also be student-led. This involves students being taught restorative "scripts" or questions that they can ask as they engage in social problem solving to resolve conflict situations.

Rigby (2010a) notes that the impacts of restorative justice practices in schools have not been systematically researched. In New Zealand there is evidence from large-scale studies of conferences within the youth justice system (e.g., Maxwell, et al., 2004), but most of the evidence relating to school-based approaches is descriptive and is in the form of case studies based on the experience of a few schools or facilitators (Adair & Dixon, 2000; Buckley & Maxwell, 2007; Jenner, 2005; McMeeken, 2007; Moxon, 2003; Wearmouth, et al., 2007). One exception is the evaluation by Adair and Dixon (2000) of the 1999–2000 pilot of Hui Whakatika (a restorative family conference that rests on Māori protocols). This pilot was funded by the Ministry of Education and developed in the Waikato region by staff from Waikato University. This process "melded" youth court, hui protocol and narrative therapy counselling approaches.

This evaluation found that the Hui Whakatika process was linked to outcomes such as decreased suspensions and expulsions, enhanced perceptions of school climate, and decreases in behaviour incidents. The evaluation also found that school staff had mixed understandings about the principles of restorative justice (that is, staff saw the conferences as part of a punitive approach that developed consequences to "punish" the wrong-doer). Staff also found it hard to implement

[18] http://www.thorsborne.com.au/index.html

the full family conferences (and many schools had not been able to run the target number of conferences). The time taken was one key barrier and some schools had developed alternative processes to address this. Adair and Dixon (2000) concluded that the conferences held promise, but schools needed more support and professional development to fully implement the processes.

This pilot became part of the Ministry of Education's Suspension Reduction Initiative and a second project, which built on the pilot, was trialled in 2001–2 in Northland and Auckland (Drewery & Winslade, 2003). As a result of these experiences, the Waikato team broadened their focus to consider how they could embed restorative practices throughout the whole-school.

A recent study by Gordon (2011) of 10 schools which used a range of forms of restorative practices showed similar benefits to those reported by Adair and Dixon. Gordon also noted some schools implement restorative principles and approaches more fully than others. She suggested that schools needed to full embrace the "social justice" principles of a restorative approach for it to be truly effective. Strong leadership and effective systems for embedding this way of thinking and working within a school were also needed.

Moxon (2003) describes one secondary school's attempt to embed a multitiered restorative thinking process within school practice. This work also started as part of the Suspension Reduction Initiative. Moxon suggested that the school's approach acted to create a climate of mutual respect and support, decreasing the number of stand-downs and suspensions at the school.

There is also some New Zealand evidence that culturally-based forms of restorative justice can be effective for Māori school students (Cavanagh, et al., 2010, May; Wearmouth, et al., 2005). Wearmouth et al. (2005) give two examples of restorative justice community hui being successfully used to address concerns about student behaviour which included bullying. The hui Wearmouth et al. described were facilitated by a Māori Resource Teacher: Learning and Behaviour who was networked in the community and had a deep understanding of Māori protocol.

Wearmouth et al. consider that the use of restorative justice practices by schools is not straightforward. To hold hui, schools need to acknowledge and use the resources of families and community. They also need to understand hui protocol. Wearmouth et al. suggest that schools seek guidance from Māori colleagues and members of the community. They also comment that those involved may have different views about the causes of problem behaviours and which behaviours are important for wellbeing. For example, school processes might be part of the problem—therefore it might be more appropriate that the hui are held in the community rather than at the school.

Other New Zealand case studies of restorative processes can be found in Buckley and Maxwell (2007) and Wearmouth et al. (2005). A description of a Hui Whakatika is provided in Berryman and Bateman (2008). An example of a scripted approach to restorative conversations can be found in Matla and Jansen (2011). For an example of a student-centred process that draws on restorative justice principles, see the Collaborative Problematising and Resolution approach

developed by Keith Sullivan (2009a). More details about restorative practices can also be found in Margrain and Macfarlane (2011), Rigby (2010a), McGrath and Noble (2006) and Thorsborne and Vinegrad (2004).

Debates and challenges surrounding restorative processes

There are some debates about the different ways schools are using restorative practices. Drewery (2010) cautions against using restorative practices as a behaviour management tool rather than as a process to "manage relationships" and develop a caring culture within which mana is upheld:

> In my view, not every practice that claims the name 'restorative' is in fact worthy of it … (p. 13, Drewery, 2010)

One alternative to a "behaviour management" approach is the development of a restorative culture throughout the whole school (Blood & Thorsborne, 2005; Drewery & Winslade, 2003; Macfarlane, et al., 2007). Margaret Thorsborne and Associates have found that, to be effective, restorative processes need to be embedded within school practice rather than a focus for a small number of trained teachers. Accordingly, over time, they have shifted from supporting schools to develop restorative approaches as a reaction to behaviour incidents, to place more emphasis on a preventative approach that supports students to develop social and emotional skills and build relationships (Blood & Thorsborne, 2005). As noted above, the developers of the Hui Whakatika process have also broadened their focus to consider how to embed restorative approaches throughout school practice.

There is some controversy about the principles underpinning restorative processes, and in particular, the concept of "shame". There also appear to be some differences in the concepts underpinning Māori and Pākehā approaches to restorative justice. Māori restorative justice processes are about upholding the mana of all and restoration of harmony (Macfarlane, et al., 2007), whereas Pākehā approaches tend to emphasise the concepts of shame and remorse.

One debate is that the restorative process assumes that those engaging in bullying will want to be reintegrated back into a community or will be willing to acknowledge their culpability (Rigby, 2010a). Rigby suggests that those who bully may in fact already be a core part of a student peer group and thus do not feel the need to be "reintegrated". There is also controversy about the process of "shaming", and how this occurs so that it is reintegrative and not stigmatising.

The use of restorative processes offers schools a way of rethinking school discipline processes. This necessitates a shift in beliefs towards the prioritisation of respectful relationships and dialogue. Rigby (2010a) suggests that progress in implementing restorative practices has been hampered by those who favour traditional discipline methods—thus pointing to the need for adequate professional development for all teachers about the philosophy of restorative processes. This need was also noted by Adair and Dixon (2000).

In summary, the use of restorative justice processes in schools is an emerging practice which has yet to develop a large evidence base or a consistent underpinning philosophy. However, New

Zealand and international researchers see potential in these approaches to address bullying behaviours. Farrington and Ttofi (2009), the authors of a recent meta-analysis, suggest that future programmes to address bullying should be based on newer theories such as restorative processes.

Conflict resolution education

Three approaches discussed above (shared concerns, support group, and restorative justice) are designed as reactions to incidents. In contrast, conflict resolution education is a generic and preventative approach to developing all students' skills and strategies. Garrard and Lipsey (2007) categorise approaches to conflict resolution education into three groups: direct skills instruction; embedded curriculum; and peer mediation. Direct instruction is a skill-building approach during which students are taught about conflict resolution concepts and have opportunities to practise strategies. An embedded approach uses conflicts that are studied within the usual curriculum programme (e.g., during literature or media studies in English) to provide a starting point to discuss and rehearse strategies. The third approach is peer meditation. This is described later.

Garrard and Lipsky (2007) conducted a meta-analysis of 36 conflict resolution education (CRE) evaluations in the USA. They found that CRE was associated with statistically significant reductions in antisocial behaviours (bullying was one of the behaviours classified as antisocial but the meta-analysis did not report on different categories of behaviours). Effects were similar for the three main formats.

Positive effects were greater for students aged over nine. Garrard and Lipsey argue that this finding is consistent with developmental theories that suggest that conflict resolution strategies require higher order cognitive abilities which tend to mature with age. They note that the more modest effects observed for young students ***should not*** be interpreted as evidence that CRE approaches are not appropriate for younger age groups. Instead, they suggest that learning effective attitudes and skills at a younger age is likely to better prepare students to deal with conflicts as they get older.

Student-led approaches to problem solving

Table 12 overviews common student-led problem-solving approaches that have the overall aim of resolving conflicts.

Table 12 **Common student-led approaches to conflict resolution***

Name of approach (NZ programme)	Description	Target group and focus	Evidence base and debates
Peer mediation **(NZ: Cool Schools Peer Mediators[19])**	Peer mediation training focuses on developing students' understanding about nonacceptable behaviours and offers training in reasoning, social skills and conflict resolution, usually for a subgroup of selected students. Research suggests that careful attention needs to be paid to the selection of peer mediators to ensure that some have high status with their peer group and therefore are able to influence peer norms (Pepler, et al., 2010).	Targeted Both proactive and reactive (mostly co-curricular) Mostly senior primary and secondary	Meta-analyses of studies about peer mediation show mixed findings. These included that studies showed: • positive outcomes for the selected peer mediators and general decreases in antisocial behaviours across schools (Garrard & Lipsey, 2007) • decreases in disciplinary actions, and improved perceptions of school by students and teachers (Burrell, Zirbel, & Allen, 2003) • peer mediation can be effective in promoting prosocial behaviours and reducing bullying and disruptive behaviours but it is not always successful (Blank et al., 2008). An evaluation of Cool Schools found most respondents considered the programme met its intentions. Common areas of success included reduction of playground conflicts and incidents including bullying. Peer mediators were seen as a contributing factor to these changes (Murrow et al., 2004a).
Peer mentors & buddies (**NZ: The Peer Support Programme: Te Aka Tautoko Ākonga**[20] and tuakana–teina buddies)	Senior student leaders act as role models and are trained to support junior students to build relationships and develop skills in relating to others, or make the transition to a new school. The Peer Support Programme for secondary students includes training for student leaders to address peer bullying.	Targeted Mostly proactive (mostly co-curricular) Senior primary and secondary	A New Zealand review of the history of the Peer Support Programme includes reference to studies of schools that have successfully used a peer support approach to address bullying behaviours (Hynes, 2006).
Discussion groups[21] (such as quality circles)	The aim of discussion groups is to support students to discuss their feelings about behaviour issues and to develop solutions. The format of discussion groups can vary. Some can be teacher-facilitated. Others involve groups of students meeting in class time.	Universal proactive (mostly classroom-based) Primary and secondary	Different approaches to student discussion groups are used in a number of anti-bullying programmes such the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program. The Anti-Bullying Alliance Research Group (2008) cites some evidence for the effectiveness of discussion groups.
Other common approaches include training student bystanders to intervene to support those who are being bullied. Other more general approaches to providing peer-led student support are buddy systems and peer mentoring. We did not manage to source literature syntheses about the effectiveness of these approaches in decreasing bullying behaviours.			

Peer mediators

Peer mediator approaches grew from studies that showed that there are often bystanders involved in bullying behaviour, and from findings that showed that when peers intervened, bullying

[19] http://www.peace.net.nz/index.php?pageID=24

[20] http://www.peersupport.org.nz

[21] This quality circle approach is different from Jenny Mosley's Circle Time.

stopped faster (Pepler, et al., 2010). More recent approaches to anti-bullying tend to include some form of "work with peers" which encourages students to intervene in bullying incidents. Peer mediation is the most common form of such "work with peers".

The literature about the effectiveness of peer mediators shows mixed findings. The meta-analyses by Farrington and Ttofi (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Ttofi & Farrington, 2011; Ttofi, et al., 2008) attempted to compare studies with the aim of outlining which components of the programme were most strongly correlated with successful outcomes. The 2009 paper reported that "work with peers" (such as peer mediation, buddies and bystander intervention) was associated with ***increases*** in victimisation. However, this finding needs to be interpreted with care given the methodology used to compare components (described earlier).

Another overview study found that peer mediation could be effective in reducing bullying and disruptive behaviours, but it was not always successful (Blank, et al., 2008; Blank et al., 2010). Blank et al. (2010) could not see any pattern between the studies that reported successes and those that did not. They suggested that how the programmes were implemented was likely to make a difference. They also concluded there is evidence to suggest that peer meditation training promotes prosocial behaviours in the short term and may also be effective for improving longer term outcomes such as decreasing bullying behaviours.

In New Zealand, an evaluation of Cool Schools Peer Mediators by Murrow et al. (2004a) found that most of the schools they surveyed considered the programme met its stated intentions. These included teaching students skills and processes so that they were able to resolve conflict peacefully. Common areas of success noted by both survey and case study respondents included reduction in playground conflicts and incidents (such as bullying). A number of respondents also noted that students gained life skills or self-esteem from taking part. Multiple interviewees noted that changes could not necessarily be entirely attributed to Cool Schools, but it was felt that the programme had certainly played a part. Factors that contributed to the success of the programme included: training; whole-school involvement; commitment of school staff and students; the role of the co-ordinator; and placement of the programme in the school's behaviour management plan. The most commonly mentioned factor impeding the programme was varying levels of teacher commitment and expectation. The evaluation noted a number of issues related to monitoring, with only 5 of the 17 case study schools collecting and analysing incident report data.

In summary, the success of peer approaches appears to rest on how they are implemented and supported. Rigby (2010a) considers peer mediation can be effective in addressing particular types of bullying (when there is not a large power imbalance between perpetrators and those who are bullied) but peer mediators need to be properly trained and supported. More details about peer mentoring can be found in Sullivan et al. (2004).

Conflict resolution skills training

In a New Zealand context, the Incredible Years[22] teacher programme which is part of the PB4L action plan is available to support the teachers of younger students. Incredible Years is aimed at early childhood and primary teachers of children aged three to eight years. It focuses on: developing positive relationships; teaching social skills; anger management and problem solving in the classroom; and reducing classroom aggression and conflict.

Debates about youth development and peer approaches

There appear to be three main debates about youth development approaches. One debate is about the evidence base in relation to traditional discipline versus youth development approaches. Students have a more active role in the latter. As noted previously, researchers who have reviewed the findings from a range of studies note that both adult-led discipline-based and youth development approaches have some evidence base (Anti-Bullying Alliance Research Group, 2008; Rigby, 2002, 2006). Although the seminal programmes developed by Dan Olweus that used traditional discipline approaches were successful in the short term, positive effects tended not be maintained in the longer term. Rigby (2002) notes that one resolution of this debate is to select the approach that is most appropriate for different situations (e.g., for more severe cases, some form of sanctions may be appropriate). This is the reality for the *Whole-School Approaches* and school case studies reviewed here. Most appear to draw from both traditional and youth development approaches, although one approach might be favoured overall.

The second debate is about the theories underpinning these two approaches. Some key players disagree with the underpinning of the Support Group/No Blame method. Olweus considers this approach is not developmentally appropriate and contrary to the principles of behavioural control underpinning his methods (Anti-Bullying Alliance Research Group, 2008; Rigby, 2002). Instead, Olweus suggests that clear messages need to be sent to bullies that their behaviour is not appropriate. It is likely that different countries have cultural practices that are more aligned with traditional or youth development approaches. For example, New Zealand and Australian schools appear to favour conflict resolution processes such as restorative justice. In New Zealand, one reason is likely to be that these approaches draw from Māori cultural practice.

The third debate is about whether student-led approaches such as peer mediation, buddies, and bystander intervention are effective. There appears to be a wide range of peer approaches, and some concerns have been expressed about these. One is that bullies who are in a powerful position are more likely to be able to argue in their own favour, or that these approaches might only benefit the "good" students who tend to be the ones who are trained as mediators (Bickmore, 2010).

There are a number of compelling arguments for using youth development approaches that develop students' skills and strategies rather than relying solely on those that rest on expert intervention by teachers or other adults. One is that these approaches provide a solution to

[22] http://www.minedu.govt.nz/theMinistry/EducationInitiatives/PositiveBehaviourForLearning.aspx

research which shows that many bullying incidents are not reported to adults, or that in some cases, reporting bullying behaviours to teachers can make the bullying worse. This suggests that we need to support young people to develop the skills they need to avoid or address these situations themselves.

This focus on students' skills and strategies aligns with strengths-based approaches and current good practice in New Zealand education, which is increasingly exploring how to support students to learn the skills they need to be confident, connected, lifelong learners. This has implications for the *Wellbeing@School* website and tools. These need to promote strategies that have an evidence base and are well aligned with New Zealand policy documents such as the recently revised curriculum. Youth development approaches appear to have a better alignment with current directions in the New Zealand education system than traditional discipline approaches.

Youth development approaches: Strengthening students' social and emotional skills

Researchers are increasingly suggesting that approaches to addressing bullying behaviours, rather than being a stand-alone focus, are best located within a wider framework for developing students' social and emotional skills (Swearer, et al., 2010). Although many of the problem-solving and conflict resolution approaches outlined above also support students to learn skills, they are essentially designed as an intervention to address incidents of bullying. Other youth development approaches are proactive and preventative. These promote social and emotional learning and the development of prosocial skills. The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) is engaged in ongoing research and development about these approaches. The members of the collaborative define social and emotional learning (SEL) as:

> …the process through which children and adults acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills to:
>
> - Recognize and manage their emotions ***(self-awareness)***
> - Set and achieve positive goals ***(self-management)***
> - Demonstrate caring and concern for others ***(social awareness)***
> - Establish and maintain positive relationships ***(relationship skills)***
> - Make responsible decisions ***(responsible decision-making)***
> - Handle interpersonal situations effectively ***(relationship skills)*** (pp. 5-6, Payton et al., 2008) *(italicised text added)*

Some approaches to SEL are underpinned by the belief that the promotion of prosocial behaviours will result in a decrease in antisocial behaviours (such as bullying). Pepler et al. (2010) consider that children need to develop the social and emotional skills that enable them to avoid or address bullying behaviours:

> Children need a range of explicit educational experiences to develop the skills and attitudes required to recognize the peer dynamics in bullying and to take action to address this … (p. 474, Pepler, et al., 2010)

Pepler et al. (2010) note that evidence suggests that, to promote prosocial behaviours, children first need to be aware of their own emotions and reactions. This type of self-awareness is a foundation for understanding others' emotions and developing empathy. In turn this understanding is needed to help students to develop an awareness of how to respond to the dynamics within bullying. Building on the finding that most children find it uncomfortable to watch bullying, assisting children to talk about their feelings and recognise the feelings of others can be an initial stage of this process. Pepler et al. (2010) also consider that self-awareness is not enough—children also need to be provided with the language, social and assertiveness skills and sense of self-efficacy to intervene prosocially in bullying. They caution that these skills are not spontaneously developed, and children may need to be provided with scripts with what to say and do. Children can also be coached to intervene and thus change the power dynamics in a situation.

There is some evidence that a focus on developing students' social and emotional skills is likely to reduce bullying behaviours. Payton et al. (2008) conducted an overview of studies on SEL initiatives for CASEL. This overview is comprehensive in that the authors selected programmes that included data on six types of outcomes: students' social-emotional skills; positive social behaviours; conduct problems (such as bullying);[23] emotional distress; academic performance; and attitudes towards self, school and others. From this review, Payton et al. (2008) concluded that SEL programmes:

> improved students' social-emotional skills, attitudes about self and others, connection to school, positive social behavior, and academic performance; they also reduced students' conduct problems and emotional distress. Comparing results from these reviews to findings obtained in reviews of interventions by other research teams suggests that SEL programs are among the most successful youth-development programs offered to school-age youth. (p.4, Payton, et al., 2008)

As well as pre and post measures, a number of the studies Payton et al. reviewed included follow-up data. For some studies, positive effects held over time (but at a slightly lower level).

Other USA and UK overview studies report similar findings (J. Green, Howes, Waters, Maher, & Oberklaid, 2005; Weare & Gray, 2003; Wells, Barlow, & Stewart-Brown, 2003). Merrell and Gueldner (2010) comment that the benefits of SEL reported in these overviews tend to fall into three categories. These are improved: attitudes (e.g., a stronger sense of community at school); behaviour (e.g., more prosocial behaviour or ability to resolve conflicts, and less aggressive behaviour); and performance (e.g., higher academic achievement).

Well-known approaches to SEL are outlined in Table 13. This table also includes a summary of specific SEL skills training approaches that are commonly noted in the literature as part of *Whole-School Approaches* to addressing bullying. Further information about USA approaches to SEL

[23] In their review of studies, one of the outcomes Payton et al. (2008) looked for was evidence relating to change in reported or documented "conduct problems". Bullying was defined as one of the possible list of conduct problems. Therefore some studies may have reported on changes to bullying behaviours as an outcome, but this level of detail is not provided in Payton et al.

can be found in Merrell and Gueldner (2010). A list of some common Australian approaches to SEL can be found on the Queensland Government website[24] along with guidelines for schools about selecting programmes (Queensland Government, no date), and a review of the characteristics of a range of programmes (some of which are included in the table below).

Table 13 **Approaches to SEL**

Name (origin country)	Description	Type & target	Evidence base
SEL (curriculum development approaches)			
Promoting Alternative THinking Strategies **(PATHS)**[25] (USA)	PATHS is a curriculum programme for elementary students (approximately Years 1–6) that aims to promote social and emotional competencies.	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary	PATHS has been noted in a number of overview studies as effective in developing students' social and emotional skills in ways that reduce antisocial behaviours (Catalano, et al., 2002; Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; Wells, et al., 2003).
Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (**SEAL**)[26] (UK)	SEAL is a *Whole-School Approach* to promoting social competence in UK primary schools. SEAL includes a module called "Say no to bullying". SEAL is part of the Primary Behaviour and Attendance Pilot. There is also an equivalent approach for secondary schools.	Universal proactive (school-wide and curriculum-based) Primary and secondary	The primary version of SEAL has emerging evidence of effectiveness with 48 percent of teachers and 74 percent of nonteaching staff considering SEAL was supporting a reduction in bullying (Hallam, Rhamie, & Shaw, 2006; P. Smith, O'Donnell, Easton, & Rudd, 2007). An evaluation of the secondary version shows less promising findings. The report noted that implementation was patchy and no real (or negative) change appeared to have occurred to student outcomes. The authors suggested SEAL needs to be structured more around the SEL evidence base (Humphrey, Lendrum, & Wigelsworth, 2010).
Lions Quest:[27] Skills for Action and Skills for Growing (developed in Canada and used in NZ)	Lions Quest is a positive youth development and prevention curricula for primary students and adolescents. The aim is to promote social and emotional learning, civic values and service learning, and substance and violence prevention. Modules focus on topics such as building friendships and relationships, and strategies such as conflict resolution. Optional lessons for addressing bullying are available.	Universal proactive (curriculum-based with school-wide aspects) Mostly primary	Evaluation studies report positive impacts on students' conflict resolution skills.[28] Data relating these programmes to bullying outcomes are not available.

[24] http://education.qld.gov.au/studentservices/protection/sel/index.html#sel
[25] http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/publications/factsheets/blueprints/FS-BPM10.pdf
[26] http://nationalstrategies.standards.dcsf.gov.uk/primary/publications/banda/seal
[27] http://www.lions-quest.org
[28] http://www.lions-quest.org/evalreports.php

Kiwi Can[29] (NZ)	Kiwi Can is a NZ-developed life skills programme for Years 1–8 students that is partially funded by the Ministry of Education. Visiting educators run lessons on topics such as relationships and resilience.	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary	Survey and case study data from an evaluation of Kiwi Can found that most respondents considered the programme successful. Most commonly noted by areas of success included: student attitudes including co-operation and tolerance; and improved playground behaviour. Interviewees from all three case study schools reported decreases in incidents of fighting and bullying. Kiwi Can was seen as a contributing factor to these changes (Murrow et al., 2004b).
Life Education[30] (NZ)	Life Education is funded by a trust and provided by visiting educators. Pre-school to Year 8 students attend 1–2 sessions a year and complete classroom work based on a series of health-focused modules that provide students with knowledge, skills and strategies to manage their wellbeing.	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary	An evaluation of Life Education includes case studies which showed how Life Education can be used to support a school-wide approach to addressing bullying behaviours (Boyd, 2008).
Education for Resilience (e.g., the **Travellers**[31] programme in NZ)	Travellers is run by school facilitators (often school guidance counsellors) who work with small groups of Year 9 students identified from a screening survey. Travellers aims to promote self-worth and provides students with strategies to cope with life changes and avoid risk situations.	Targeted proactive Secondary	Evidence to directly link resilience education to bullying outcomes is not available. A recent evaluation of Travellers showed it supported young people to develop skills and competencies that assisted them to better manage their wellbeing (Robertson, Boyd, Dingle, & Taupo, 2012, in press). A universal focus on resilience can be included within a *Whole-School Approach* (e.g., the Australian Friendly Schools and Families programme aims to address bullying and also build resilience.
Roots of Empathy[32] (developed in Canada and has a NZ branch)	The aim of Roots of Empathy is to "build caring, peaceful, and civil societies through the development of empathy". The programme involves classroom visits by a baby and parent. Through guided observations of this relationship, children learn to identify and reflect on their feelings and those of others.	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary	The website summarises a number of studies which show this initiative is associated with increased prosocial, and decreased aggressive, behaviour in target schools. Outcomes relating to bullying are not mentioned. A New Zealand evaluation of Roots of Empathy, which includes decreasing bullying behaviours as a target outcome, is currently underway.
Friends for Life[33] (developed in Australia and managed by the Life Paths Trust in New Zealand)	Friends is a curriculum programme designed for classroom teachers. Friends aims to support young people to develop resilience and increase their ability to cope with anxiety, depression, stress or worry. Three programmes are offered for children aged 3–16.	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary, intermediate and secondary	The website summarises evaluation studies which report evidence of effectiveness in reducing anxiety.

[29] www.kiwican.co.nz
[30] http://www.lifeeducation.org.nz
[31] http://www.travellers.org.nz
[32] http://www.rootsofempathy.org
[33] http://www.lifepaths.org.nz

Co-curricula and school-wide approaches			
Kaupapa Māori approaches to developing 8–12-year-old students' skills and strategies	Programmes which are developed from a Māori world view and address health and wellbeing in a holistic way.	Can be universal or targeted proactive School-, whānau- or community-based	A range of kaupapa Māori approaches are described in Chapter 4 of *Conduct Problems: Effective services for 8–12-year-olds* (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2011). Debates about assessing the effectiveness of these approaches are also included.
Opportunities for active student participation and leadership	Students take on leadership roles such as buddies, school council representatives or physical activity leaders.	Universal proactive (mostly co-curricular) Primary and secondary	The impact of student leadership approaches on bullying behaviours has not been specifically examined in overview studies or meta-analyses. Bickmore (2010) notes that there is emerging evidence that student leadership approaches can be effective in reducing bullying.
Civic, peace, character, moral or values education	Civic, peace, character, moral, or values education each have a different, but complementary aim. Each approach aims to develop young people as caring and active citizens.	Universal proactive (mix school-wide & curriculum) Primary and secondary	The impact of approaches such as peace or civic education on bullying behaviours has not been specifically examined in overview studies or meta-analyses. One recent analysis found that seven common character education programmes in the USA did not impact on social or academic outcomes for students (Social and Character Development Research Consortium, 2010). For a discussion about the ethics of care and moral education, see Noddings[34] (2008). For a discussion of values and the New Zealand curriculum, see Keown, Parker, and Tiakiwai (2005).
Specific social skills learning/training strategies			
Videos and DVDs of bullying situations	The use of videos and DVDs to support students to identify bullying situations, recognise emotions and prompt discussion (commonly used in *Whole-School Approaches*).	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary and secondary	Ttofi et al. (2008) found that effective anti-bullying programmes tended to include the use of videos. In a New Zealand evaluation of Life Education (Boyd, Fisher, & Brooking, 2008), students from case study schools cited videos about "friendships/bullying" and "starting school" as a key resource they used for new ideas about prosocial strategies.
Student role-plays	A strategy that aims to offer students opportunities for skill building in relation to real-life scenarios (commonly used in *Whole-School Approaches*).	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary and secondary	Most anti-bullying interventions include reference to student role playing as an effective strategy for promoting awareness of bullying behaviours, discussion and skill building. For an example of a social action drama approach that was developed in New Zealand, see Sullivan (2009).
Co-operative learning (e.g., as emphasised in Te Kōtahitanga)	A strategy to support students to develop more effective ways of working together (used in some *Whole-School Approaches*).	Universal proactive (curriculum-based) Primary and secondary	The literature shows mixed results for co-operative learning as a sole strategy for addressing bullying (Rigby, 2002; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Researchers suggest this approach is best combined with others.

[34] http://www.infed.org/thinkers/noddings.htm

Examples of effective SEL principles and programmes

Payton et al. (2008) note that the SEL initiatives that showed positive outcomes included some key similar practices that are described by the acronym "SAFE". SAFE stands for:

- Use a ***Sequenced*** set of activities to develop SE skills in a step-by-step fashion;
- Use ***Active*** forms of learning, such as role-plays and behavioral rehearsal that provide students with opportunities to practise SE skills;
- ***F*ocus** attention on SEL, with at least eight sessions devoted to SE skill development; and
- ***E*xplicitly** target particular SE skills for development, with skills identified in lessons' learning objectives. (pp. 2-3, CASEL, 2008)

The most effective programmes wove these practices together. In a futher article, the research team discussed one of their findings which was counter to prior studies; that is, in terms of student outcomes, teacher-led and classroom-based SEL programmes outperformed multifaceted programmes (i.e., *Whole-School Approaches*) (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011). Durlak et al. suggested that one reason for this was that classroom SEL programmes were more likely than *Whole-School Approaches* to offer focused instruction using the above SAFE practices. Another reason is that *Whole-School Approaches* are less likely to be implemented effectively.

In terms of effective programmes, the **P**romoting **A**lternative **TH**inking **S**trategies (PATHS[35]) programme in the USA is one approach that is noted in literature overviews as effective in developing students' social and emotional skills in ways that reduce antisocial behaviours (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006; Wells, et al., 2003).

The equivalent UK example is the Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) initiative.[36] This initiative uses **a** *Whole-School Approach* and the SEAL resource is part of a wider strategy that aims to improve behaviour and attendance. SEAL aims to develop students' social, emotional, and behavioural skills. The primary programme includes a school audit and many resources such as curriculum materials on five theme areas such as "New beginnings", "Getting on and falling out" and "Say no to bullying". There is also an equivalent Emotional and Behavioural Skills curriculum aimed at secondary students. There is emerging data that the primary initiative has been at least partially successful in improving a range of outcomes for students (Hallam, et al., 2006; P. Smith, et al., 2007). The reviewers noted that the level of success rested on how well SEAL fitted with the ethos of a school and whether it was well implemented. The evaluation of the secondary initiative found patchy implementation and little evidence of change (Humphrey, et al., 2010).

In a New Zealand content the soon to be published *Conduct Problems: Effective programmes for 8–12-year-olds* (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2011) describes a number of programmes and approaches, some of which are school-based and are likely to offer SE learning experiences.

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[35] PATHS was evaluated by Greenberg et al. (1995, as cited in (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2006).

[36] http://nationalstrategies.standards.dcsf.gov.uk/node/87009

In particular, Chapter 4 describes school, whānau or community-based programmes that use kaupapa Māori and holistic approaches to developing young people's SE skills and competencies.

For more information about student leadership programmes in the context of New Zealand secondary schools, see Sullivan et al. (2004).

Debates about youth development approaches and social and emotional learning

There is some evidence that, if thoroughly implemented, both traditional discipline-focused approaches and positive youth development approaches can be successful in supporting schools to address bullying behaviours. In reality, although most initiatives that are designed to address bullying behaviour tend to lean towards either a traditional approach or youth development approaches, most also include elements of both approaches.

As well as different philosophical positions about the best way to address bullying, one key difference between traditional and youth development approaches is the process used to manage change. Traditional approaches are more adult-led, and youth development approaches tend to have more emphasis on working with the student, parent and whānau community to jointly develop policies and practices. *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007), Best Evidence Synthesises (Alton-Lee, 2003; Biddulph, et al., 2003) and professional development initiatives that aim to improve outcomes for Māori such as Te Kōtahitanga (Bishop, et al., 2007), all emphasise the need for co-construction processes that involve students and families. Thus youth development approaches appear to have a closer fit with policy and practice in the New Zealand education sector than traditional approaches.

There is some debate in the literature about whether interventions that focus on a single behaviour (such as on bullying) are the most effective approach (Bickmore, 2010; Catalano, et al., 2002). Bickmore (2010) considers that a focus on bullying can detract from activities which aim to develop students' ability to function as citizens and their social and emotional competence. Some of the main researchers who have previously focused on anti-bullying are increasingly turning their attention to considering how SEL can support the development of a safe school climate which discourages bullying behaviours (O'Malley, et al., 2012; Swearer, et al., 2010). Thus they are starting to move from a "single focus" reactive approach to one which is proactive and aligns more with youth development approaches.

Hoffman (2009) notes that the SEL movement in the USA has assisted in raising awareness about the need to attend to the emotional dimension of schooling and the link between achievement and a positive school climate. However, she criticises current SEL approaches for becoming overly focused on individual competencies and emotional and behavioural control (and remediation of individual deficits) rather than cultivating experiences of caring, community and belonging, or engaging with questions of cultural diversity. Bickmore (2010) makes a similar statement about Canadian approaches. She also suggests that, although forms of problem solving are basic to all learning areas, curriculum approaches are an underutilised resource in schools in terms of

developing students' ability to interact peacefully. As a solution she suggests further embedding study about diversity or equity within the curriculum.

SEL approaches commonly fall into the category of curriculum-based interventions or skills training rather than *Whole-School Approaches*. Since, overall, *Whole-School Approaches* appear to be more successful in addressing bullying behaviours than curriculum-based or skills-training approaches, this suggests that a focus on SEL is best viewed as *one component* of a *Whole-School Approach* or alternatively could be the overarching framework for the *Whole-School Approach*. Research by Payton et al. (2008) suggests that it is important that SE learning experiences are carefully structured.

In summary, exploring the potential contribution that positive youth development and SEL approaches can make to addressing concerns such as bullying is a growing area of study. Current evidence suggests these approaches are promising, and that a focus on teacher- and student-led problem-solving approaches such as peer mediation and restorative justice, and on ways of promoting social and emotional learning, is likely to strengthen a school's approaches to anti-bullying in a way that is also aligned with the intent of the revised New Zealand curriculum.

Unlike the international situation, in New Zealand, approaches to SEL are not as structured or resourced. These are often provided by external educators who visit schools. This has implications for the *Wellbeing@School* website and tools. It could be helpful to develop New Zealand-based resources that draw on the effective principles of SEL as noted by Payton et al. (2008) and Durlak et al. (2011), and which clearly align with the *key competencies.*

Planning and evaluation for continual improvement

Key points about effective planning and data gathering that supports change

- Longer term and sustained initiatives show more success, therefore it is important to plan for the longer term
- Change is not immediate. It can take one or two years to put in place changes to practices and a similar length of time for student data to show changes
- Consider the impact an "intervention effect" might have on data
- Data are best gathered from more than one source. The literature suggests there is a need to include more than teacher report or student self-report. For example, behaviour incident reporting can assist in tracking change
- A data collection process can be used for a range of purposes. These include awareness raising, as well as providing baseline data, information to design and improve school activities and monitoring and outcome data

Why collect data about bullying behaviours and school climate?

Most *Whole-School Approaches* that address bullying behaviours include some form of data collection process that provides information to show whether activities have been effective. Evaluating effectiveness is also important for schools. In the UK, the Office of the Children's Commissioner (2006) suggests that it is important that schools build in a system by which they can monitor and evaluate the impact of activities. A New Zealand ERO (2007) report about Safe Schools and strategies to prevent bullying noted that these systems are not in place in all New Zealand schools. This section of the paper provides an overview about some of the common purposes and sources of data collection.

Common purposes of data collection

Reasons why it is useful to collect data about bullying and prosocial behaviours, and school climate include:

- contributing to awareness raising about bullying behaviours and prosocial strategies and gaining the commitment of all key stakeholders
- providing baseline data for monitoring over time
- providing data for a needs analysis that suggests current strengths as well as particular groups of students or aspects of teacher or school practice to focus on
- providing suggestions for ongoing improvement of school approaches
- reviewing outcomes and progress in relation to school focuses.

Raising awareness and collecting data for a needs assessment

Data provides information for a needs assessment. An initial needs assessment that draws on student, teacher (and often parent) survey data is a feature of many of the key international approaches to anti-bullying.

The process of collecting data can act to raise awareness about bullying behaviours (and prosocial strategies if these are also a focus). For this reason it is important to involve all key stakeholders in a needs analysis process (students, parents and whānau and teachers). One key focus of the needs analysis data is to support awareness raising about students' experiences and views. As much bullying behaviour goes unreported, the results from student surveys can be surprising to a school community. Differences in perceptions between students and teachers can also be evident. Sharing and discussing these is an important component of awareness raising, and can act as a catalyst for policy development.

As well as identifying existing strengths at a school, needs analysis data can also be used to shape action plans (for example, if it is found that certain groups or classes of students are experiencing more bullying behaviours than other students, or certain places in the school grounds are "hot spots", plans can be made to collect more data about this or design activities to address this). If the needs analysis shows that students are not aware of common strategies they could use to manage their interactions with peers, or the support that is available to them, more focus could be placed on this.

Information can also be collected from the key stakeholders about their ideas for ways forward. Commonly, this information is used to develop a school anti-bullying policy or some form of guidelines about behaviour.

Collecting data to monitor, motivate and improve

A second main reason to collect data is as a means to chart change over time or to ascertain the effectiveness of initiatives. Plog et al. (2010) note that, seeing that activities are having a positive impact is a motivating factor for school staff that supports the sustainability of a programme. Ongoing evaluation also gives information that can be used to improve activities. Plog et al. suggest that it is important to collect both process data: How is the implementation process going? What could we do better?, and outcome data: What impact are activities having? The UK Office of the Children's Commissioner (2006) suggests that it is essential that monitoring and evaluation processes are developed in consultation with young people and parents, as well as staff.

Common forms of data collection

Most studies of anti-bully initiatives use a range of data sources, but tend to rely on student self-report as the main data collection method. Some researchers are calling for better data collection that moves beyond self-report (Swearer, et al., 2010). Different sources of data can be used for different purposes. Depending on the size of a school, teachers could complete surveys or group together to do an audit of school practices relating to creating a safer school climate. Depending

on the nature of the parent community and their preferred forms of consultation, a parent survey could be provided or a consultation process started. Common methods of data collection, and the range of ways in which these data might be used, are described below:

- An anonymous student survey can be used to: raise awareness about bullying behaviours and prosocial strategies; provide data for a needs analysis that might suggest particular groups of students or aspects of schooling to focus on; and provide a baseline for monitoring outcomes over time.
- An anonymous teacher survey can be used to: raise awareness about bullying behaviours and prosocial strategies; provide data for a needs analysis that indicates areas of good practice and might suggest particular aspects of teacher or school practice to focus on; and provide a baseline for monitoring outcomes over time.
- A school audit can be used to: raise awareness about *Whole-School Approaches*; provide data for a needs analysis that indicates areas of good practice and areas to be developed; and provide a baseline for monitoring outcomes over time.
- Student discussion groups can be used to: collect ideas about how to address bullying behaviours and promote prosocial strategies; and suggest enhancements to school activities.
- Teacher discussion groups and professional learning sessions can be used to: raise awareness about bullying and prosocial behaviours; review, develop and trial approaches to addressing bullying behaviours and promoting prosocial strategies; and suggest enhancements to school activities.
- A parent survey or consultation process can be used to: raise awareness about bullying and prosocial behaviours; provide data for a needs analysis that might suggest particular strengths or information or training needs of parents; collect community ideas about ways of addressing bullying behaviours and promoting prosocial behaviours; and provide a baseline for monitoring outcomes over time.
- Incident reporting and behaviour monitoring can be used to provide baseline and follow-up data that can be used to monitor change in key outcomes over time. Data from playground or school behaviour incident reports can be used to document the number of bullying incidents reported to teachers and how they were dealt with. These records can then be monitored over time. One example of this is discussed in the case study school reported on in Boyd (2008). This school used data from their playground incident report book to assess and monitor changes to student behaviour at break times as they developed a school-wide approach to addressing student bullying and racial taunting.
- Suspension, expulsion and attendance data can be used to provide baseline and follow-up data that can be used to monitor change in student outcomes over time. For example, one aim of the secondary school Restorative Thinking Process described in Moxon (2003) was to reduce the stand-down and expulsion rates of Pacific and Māori boys. Moxon tracked referral, stand-down and expulsion data for different student groups to see whether the new process was making a difference.

- Student engagement data can be used as an indicator of a positive and safe climate. For example, some studies use survey data to track changes in student perceptions of school climate or engagement in school.

One other method of data collection mentioned in the literature is staff and peer nomination of "bullies" and "victims" who are then referred for further support. This approach is viewed as problematic by some researchers as it requires students to name others and thus "label" their peers. Rigby (2002) reports that this method is more commonly used in Europe and North America but is discouraged in Australia as it is considered unfair to ask children to make judgements about their peers.

A focus on bullying, or casting the net wider?

O'Malley et al. (2012) suggest we need to divert the focus of research from decreasing negative outcomes (e.g., a focus on bullying) to increasing positive ones such as exploring effective approaches to social and emotional learning or ways of enhancing the school climate. This statement could also be seen to apply to the focus of school activities as well as data collection.

Although most anti-bullying *Whole-School Approaches* also include activities designed to develop students' skills and strategies and enhance the school climate, the traditional approach to collecting data has been to mostly focus on tracking student, teacher and parent reports of bullying behaviours using surveys. A number of international survey services provide custom-made surveys and reports for this purpose. A few other areas might also be included in these surveys (e.g., student and teacher views of school climate).

A second approach is to focus on tracking a wider range of areas. This could incorporate a focus on bullying behaviours as well as positive outcomes. A number of aspects of school life have been shown to be associated with lower incidents of bullying behaviours and therefore can act as an indicator to show that change is occurring. For example, studies show that teachers' and students' perceptions of school climate are likely to become more positive if there is a decrease in bullying behaviours. Similarly, bullying behaviours have been linked to school avoidance and higher rates of absenteeism. Therefore a decrease in student absenteeism could be one indicator of positive changes to school practices.

Data that could be collected from students include their: reports of bullying behaviours; level of support from teachers; knowledge of different types of bullying and its impact; knowledge of and engagement in prosocial strategies; attitudes to school and peer relationships; perceptions of school climate; and sense of engagement or connectedness to school.

Observational data could also be collected (e.g., student and teacher displays of prosocial as well as aggressive interactions in the playground or classroom).

A third approach is to structure data collection around specific school goals. One example of this is the reporting requirements outlined in the Australian National Safe Schools Framework. This framework requires schools to report on how they are achieving their goals but gives flexibility in how data are collected and reported. McGrath (no date) summarised the data from schools that were part of a research study to evaluate the framework. She reported that a range of methods of data collection were used by schools, including:

- student and parent surveys about bullying (before and after school activities were changed)
- statistical data (e.g., behaviour incidents, detentions, suspensions and absenteeism)
- focus group interviews with selected students, teachers and staff
- anecdotal feedback and observations from staff, students and parents
- parent feedback about anti-bullying policies, brochures and materials
- reports from anti-bullying subcommittees
- student and teacher evaluations of specific programme components.

Why is a student survey important?

As bullying behaviours often occur beyond adult oversight, student surveys have been the primary mechanism used to measure the prevalence of these behaviours (Cornell & Bandyopadhyay, 2010; Jimerson & Huai, 2010). Olweus (2010) favours student self-report as the most robust measure of bullying behaviours. He was one of the first people to develop a student self-report survey and revised versions of this survey are offered as a data service for schools in the USA. Most other surveys that explore students' experiences with bullying behaviours draw from Olweus's work.

To ensure ownership and raise awareness it can be helpful for schools to work with students and the wider community to develop their own surveys. Although important benefits stem from a community-owned survey development process and the resultant data, some researchers have expressed concern about school-developed surveys (Samara & Smith, 2008). One concern is that these surveys may not incorporate up-to-date knowledge about the different types of bullying behaviours or make reference to the full definition of bullying with its three different aspects (e.g., that bullying is repeated actions over time, an intentional behaviour and involves a power differential between students). Another concern is that school-developed surveys may not give a clear time frame for reports of bullying (e.g., student experiences in the last week or month as opposed to general responses such as "never, sometimes, a lot"). The inclusion of a time frame that is consistent over time is also considered to be important for comparative purposes (Ttofi, et al., 2008). Existing researcher-developed surveys tend to have made efforts to address these concerns. One drawback of researcher-developed surveys is that many were initially developed with the primary aim of measuring the changes that might occur as a result of large-scale interventions in schools (Cornell & Bandyopadhyay, 2010). These may not necessarily meet the data collection needs of schools. For schools wishing to develop their own surveys, examples of existing, mostly North American, surveys can be found in Hamburger, Basile, and Vivolo (2011).

In summary, student surveys are the main way data are collected about bullying behaviours in schools and it is important that these surveys are designed in a way that reflects up-to-date understandings about bullying behaviours. It is important to ensure that student surveys are not narrowly focused only on a "problem" such as bullying. Therefore in the *Wellbeing@School* tools we are including a focus on positive youth development approaches and we aim to explore students' skills and strategies and views of school climate. For example, questions will be asked about students' skills and strategies in managing their interactions with peers, the level of support they receive from teachers, and their engagement in prosocial behaviours.

Frequency of data collection and reporting

The start of a new focus (such as on anti-bullying or creating a safer school climate) is a useful point at which to collect information from all the key stakeholders about their views and experiences. Researchers suggest that student survey data are best collected once a year at the same time to provide a comparable time period (Swearer, et al., 2009). Swearer et al. suggest the best time is after peer groups have formed (in New Zealand, this would be Term 2 rather than Term 1). Other data, such as incident reports, could be collected and analysed more frequently.

Some things to consider about measuring change

Using more than one data source

Measuring change over time in school practices and student behaviours can be a challenging endeavour. Researchers suggest that more than one method of data collection is necessary to gain a picture of effectiveness (Jimerson & Huai, 2010). This, however, can create reporting difficulties, as many studies show differences between different data sources or conflicting findings (Rigby, 2002; Swearer, et al., 2010). For example, it is well documented that teachers report less bullying behaviours than students. Another possibility is that data might show that students consider their school climate to have improved but might not report changes in the level of bullying behaviours. A third possibility is that students might report fewer experiences of being bullied, but might also report they are engaging in more bullying themselves (see the intervention effects below). In situations such as this, decisions need to be made about how to interpret the data. One solution is to engage in further discussion with stakeholders about the meaning of these findings. Another is to decide which source of data has the most weight. Researchers most commonly use changes in reports of being bullied (victimisation) as the main indicator when commenting on the effectiveness of anti-bullying activities. Many also report the proportion of students who state they have bullied other students.

Planning for a long-term focus

Many researchers comment on the time it can take to make changes in schools and suggest that a continual focus is needed for at least two years or more, given that studies show that a longer term

approach is more effective than short or one-off programmes (Plog, et al., 2010; Ttofi, et al., 2008). Some suggest that at least three to five years are needed to embed change in schools (Blood & Thorsborne, 2005; Plog, et al., 2010). For example, Blood and Thorsborne (2005) suggest it takes three to five years to develop a restorative culture at a school. The need for longer time frames is also noted in the general health promotion literature. The Health Promoting Schools guidelines (IUHPE, 2008) suggest that specific actions in schools relating to health and wellbeing take approximately three to four years to implement. Longer term change requires ongoing action and support over a period of five to seven years. Thus improving the school climate so that bullying behaviours are less tolerated is not a short-term endeavour.

Considering intervention effects

One reason for having a longer term view of activities is that short-term reporting of data may give inaccurate views of the impact of activities. Ma, Stewin, and Mah (2001) note that educators often spend at least one year developing ways of working, putting in place policies or training staff and students. Ma et al. call this a "preparation period" and suggest it is likely that only modest, if any, declines in bullying behaviours might occur during this time frame. Similarly, Plog et al. (2010) note that before activities actually start, there is a "pre-implementation" time during which schools gain staff buy-in and conduct a needs assessment. This is followed by a "program selection" time during which activities are selected and planned. Given that it takes time to get activities up and running, most researchers suggest that at least two years of data collection are needed before changes become clearly evident. This time frame is supported by literature overviews which show that it takes about two years before decreases in bullying behaviours become evident (Ma, et al., 2001; Ttofi, et al., 2008).

It is also possible that schools might see an "intervention effect", that is, a focus on bullying behaviours and associated intervention and prevention activities might raise students' awareness of the phenomenon and therefore increase reporting (J. Smith, et al., 2004; Swearer, et al., 2010). In the short term, this could result in data showing that the incidence of bullying is increasing rather than decreasing. This is another reason why longer term data collection is important and why it is also important to focus on a wider range of aspects of school life beyond bullying such as perceptions of school climate or students' engagement in prosocial actions.

The authors of overviews about anti-bullying approaches note many of the well-known programmes have tended not to show gains that are sustained in the longer term. After three years or more, problem behaviours tend to resurface (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2006; Rigby, 2002). A number of reasons are given for this: one is the difficulty of sustaining a focus over a long period of time. Therefore initiatives can lose their momentum. Another is the researcher-developers who were involved with schools have often decreased their involvement with schools by this point. This can result in a decrease in funding and support. This lack of long-term change suggests that a reculturing process has not occurred. Thus combating bullying is a long-term effort that needs a continuous improvement strategy that refreshes and revises approaches over time (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2006).

Conclusions and next steps

Swearer et al.'s (2010) recent summary of the latest international research on anti-bullying interventions provides a helpful overview of the state of play. Swearer et al. comment on the complexities underlying bullying behaviours, the fact that many studies about bullying interventions show disappointing results and the challenges of measuring change. To take a step forward in addressing these challenges they suggest that interventions are selected or developed from theory-based socioecological models that draw on the emerging literature. The literature suggests that anti-bullying interventions need to: have a long-term view on change; promote prosocial behaviour; fit within the school's overall approach to social and emotional development; have multiple components that include peer, family, school and community efforts; and include documented outcome data.

It is important to note most of the literature about anti-bullying approaches is underpinned by an "interventionist" approach, the aim of which is to intervene to remedy problem student behaviour. This framing is likely to reflect the psychological training of many of the programme developers. More recent literature discusses the need for positive youth development approaches that involve students in the creation of solutions, have a more inclusive view of the processes needed to reculture school climates and a longer term view of the time frames needed to do this. These approaches also use an iterative development process that involves community input rather than an approach that favours the adoption of generic programmes.

Although there are some differences between the UK and Australasian, and USA and European, approaches to anti-bullying, most of the literature suggests that addressing bullying and creating a caring and safe school climate requires a long-term and sustained *Whole-School Approach* that involves the whole school community (students, teachers, parents and whānau and health professionals) in designing and carrying out change.

In terms of the approaches used to address specific incidents of bullying behaviour, the USA and European countries tend to favour traditional discipline approaches. In contrast, the UK and Australasian countries favour problem-solving approaches that involve students. These include peer mediation and restorative justice processes, as well as reculturing in ways that support teachers to move away from deficit views of behaviour. There is less "gold standard" evidence (such as randomised trials) to back up the approaches favoured in Australasia and the UK. There are a number of reasons for this, including the difference in research and evaluation approaches and funding between countries. Notwithstanding these cautions, there is emerging evidence that problem-solving approaches can be effective in a New Zealand context. These approaches also have a better alignment with mainstream New Zealand education and the recently revised *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007). They also show alignment with the Māori

Potential Approach to education described in *Ka Hikitia*, and Māori worldviews of student behaviour and discipline (Berryman & Bateman, 2008; Macfarlane, 2007, 2009; Macfarlane, et al., 2007; Wearmouth, et al., 2005; Wearmouth, et al., 2007).

One key point that has emerged from the literature is that commitment from all stakeholders to thoroughly implementing anti-bullying activities may be just as important as the sorts of components that are selected to fit within a *Whole-School Approach*. Other key lessons and principles that have emerged from this literature overview are the need to:

- avoid labelling students as "bullies" and "victims" and instead consider multiple explanations for bullying behaviours (that look beyond the individual and use a socioecological lens to explore the contribution of individuals, peers, teachers, families, school, community and the wider societal environment)
- use a *Whole-School Approach* to develop anti-bullying activities and create a safer and caring school climate (a *Whole-School Approach* involves all stakeholders in the change process and includes multiple activities that are designed to address different aspects of school practice)
- focus more widely on creating a caring and respectful school climate and positive outcomes (rather than having a sole focus on anti-bullying)
- focus on ways to promote social and emotional learning and develop students' competencies
- plan a change process that involves and gets commitment from the whole community
- include multiple components within the *Whole-School Approach* that align with the school vision and existing practices
- have a long-term ongoing focus and specific plans for at least three to five years
- monitor change over time and use an iterative design process that can be adapted and improved.

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Appendix A: Search strategy for literature and tools

Search strategy for the literature overview

To ground the development of the *Wellbeing@School* website and tools in existing evidence, we conducted a systematic literature search for key international and New Zealand texts, programmes and tools. NZCER has specialised information services and Psychological Test Centre staff who assisted in sourcing literature and other resources. This literature provided information that was written up in the form of two working papers.

This appendix outlines the purpose of the literature overview, and the scope of the search strategy.

Main purpose of the literature overview

The four key purposes of the literature overview were to:

1. provide an overview of what the literature tells us about good practice and effective principles and processes in school settings in regard to developing a safe school climate that reduces bullying behaviours (*Overview paper*)
2. identify methodological and design considerations and lessons learnt from existing school self-review processes, audits and teacher and student surveys relating to addressing bullying behaviours and creating a safe school climate (*Tool Development Paper*)
3. generally inform the content of the proposed *Wellbeing@School* tools by assisting the developers to clarify the domains for inclusion in the tools (*Tool Development Paper*)
4. generally inform the design and content of the *Wellbeing@School* website by assisting the developers to start to clarify possible relevant content that could be located on a website (*Overview paper; Tool Development Paper*).

Scope of the literature overview

The overview focused on three areas. The main area of focus was **bullying behaviour** in schools and the initiatives that have been designed to address this behaviour. Studies suggest that initiatives that address bullying behaviours may work differently when implemented in a new country. For example, the seminal Norwegian Olweus Bullying Prevention Programme was less successful when transposed to America.

Given the importance of context, we focused our overview of the international literature on general lessons that can be learnt from other countries. Rather than search for individual studies or programmes, we built on the substantial amount of work that has already occurred in this area by focusing on current **overviews** (that is, literature reviews, meta-analyses and syntheses) of

international studies. We also located a number of international handbooks and practitioner texts, some of which included a review of recent literature. Although we did not aim to collect information on individual programmes, given their importance in shaping current directions, we did, however, include some information about seminal anti-bullying programmes or approaches.

We supplemented this focus on bullying behaviour with an exploration of two other related areas. The first of these areas was overview studies that explored the development of a **safe school climate**. We included this area because our preliminary literature search suggested that a focus on creating a positive and safe school climate is one way of diminishing bullying behaviours. It is important to note that the term "school climate" is multifaceted and there is no one accepted definition. Neither is there consensus as to the dimensions that are essential for measuring school climate. The term "school climate" overlaps with other concepts such as "school culture", "school connectedness" and "school engagement". One dimension of "school climate" is practices that create a climate conducive to social and emotional safety and mental wellbeing. Given the potentially broad scope of a review of the school climate literature, we elected to narrow the focus to explore practices that aim to promote a safe school climate.

The second supplementary area was the promotion of **prosocial** (helping) behaviours. We included this area in the overview as our preliminary literature scoping suggested that a focus on prosocial behaviours and social and emotional learning (SEL) in schools is another avenue for diminishing bullying behaviours.

To provide a local context, the international overview was complemented by a more comprehensive **review** of New Zealand published and nonpublished (grey[37]) studies that address the three focus areas of the literature overview. As the New Zealand literature is small and was not summarised in the form of overviews, we included New Zealand literature about locally-developed evidence-based initiatives.

To assist us with the development of the two proposed *Wellbeing@School* tools, we also searched for existing psychometric and nonpsychometric staff audits/surveys and student survey tools related to our focus areas. We also looked for literature that included discussion of measurement issues in relation to these tools.

We searched for international and New Zealand literature and tools that were recently published (that is, mostly between 2000–10). For the seminal programmes or initiatives we included, we looked for those that had empirical evidence of change (this was mostly in the form of self-report data from students and school staff). For New Zealand studies, we also included studies that relied on qualitative evidence in the form of descriptive case studies.

[37] Grey literature refers to literature that has not been through an established publishing process; for example, it does not have an ISBN number or is not located in a journal. Postgraduate theses and working papers fall within the category of grey literature.

We also developed a list of key authors, from a range of mostly English-speaking countries, in the field of school-based anti-bullying initiatives. We ensured that we had up-to-date literature from each of the following authors:

- Dan Olweus (Norway)
- Peter Smith (UK)
- Susan Swearer, Dorothy Espelage, Shane Jimerson, Michael Furlong and Dewey Cornell (North America)
- Ken Rigby (Australia).

To include a New Zealand and Māori worldview on ways to address bullying behaviours in schools, we also sourced literature from a number of key New Zealand authors including:

- Angus Macfarlane
- Mere Berryman
- Janis Carroll-Lind
- Ted Glynn.

Search strategy

To ensure the literature search was systematic we used the following process. Firstly, we developed and refined a list of likely search concepts and used these to search a variety of databases. It is important to note that each database used a different subject description system, therefore we selected the search terms that were the most effective for each database. We also used an iterative search process that built on the literature as it was sourced. We searched new documents for references to additional overview studies, programmes or initiatives, or for references to other potentially useful literature sources.

Some of the main search terms we used were:

- **Search 1: Addressing bullying behaviours:** *bullying; antisocial; peer victimisation*. (The term "bullying" effectively sourced much of the literature relating to this area. We included overviews relating to behaviours such as cyberbullying, aggressiveness or harassment. Literature relating to the broader concept of school violence was excluded as being outside of the scope of the overview.)
- **Search 2: Creating a safe school climat**e: *safe school climate; safe school culture; school safety; emotional climate; educational environment*. (This search was complex to undertake as there were no generic search terms. Therefore the terms that were used varied between databases, as did search strategies. The term "school safety" located much of the literature. We did not find literature summaries or overviews in this area, therefore we included examples of individual international models. We also included a focus on Māori and Pasifika approaches through using search terms such as: *cultural context; Māori culture; cultural influences; Pasifika*.)

- **Search 3: Promoting prosocial behaviours:** *prosocial; social and emotional learning (SEL).* (Because there were few meta-analyses or literature syntheses available in this area, key international programmes and their evaluations were included in this search.)

The scope of the overall search was defined by the terms:

- **Dates:** *2000–10*.
- **School sector:** *primary/elementary education; secondary education*.
- **Overviews:** *literature reviews; state of the art reviews; meta-analysis; information analysis; best evidence synthesis; systematic review; synthesis; longitudinal; comparative analysis; cross cultural studies.*
- **For New Zealand initiatives** we also included: *program/me evaluation(s); evidence; outcome; program/me effectiveness; reports evaluative; studies; surveys; program/mes; research*.

We searched a number of educational, psychological and health databases, as outlined below:

- **For journal articles and nonpsychometric tools, the search included:** ERIC; EBSCO's Education Research Complete; Gale's Academic OneFile; Australian Education Index; British Education Index; Google Scholar; PsychFirst; PubMed; Medline; What Works Clearinghouse.
- **For books and monographs, the search included**: Te Puna NBD National Bibliographic Database; Worldcat (OCLC catalogue of books and other materials in libraries worldwide); Kinetica (Australian monographs); ETHOS—UK Theses.
- **For New Zealand literature, the search included:** NZCER Library catalogue; New Zealand Educational Theses (NZET); Te Puna NBD National Bibliographic Database; Index to New Zealand Periodicals (INNZ); KRIS (Kiwi Research Information Service); EBSCO's Australian and New Zealand Reference Centre; FindNZarticles; New Zealand Index**;** NewZtext; Te Kete Ipurangi (TKI).

Searching for New Zealand grey literature

New Zealand grey literature was sourced from some of the databases listed above. We also consulted with library staff in relevant organisations. We sourced literature from a Web search that included the use of Intute[38] and search engines such as Google and Google Scholar.

Much of the New Zealand grey literature was sourced through the database search. In addition, we conducted an online grey literature search using an iterative approach. As a starting point we used the lists of resources and programmes located on sites such as the TKI Supporting Positive Behaviours webpage,[39] and the New Zealand Police—No Bully website[40] and in two reports from the Office of the Children's Commissioner (Carroll-Lind, 2009, 2010). From these sources, a list

[38] http://www.intute.ac.uk/education
[39] http://www.tki.org.nz/r/governance/positive_behaviours/bullying_resources_e.php
[40] http://www.police.govt.nz/service/yes/nobully/help.html

of New Zealand anti-bullying programmes and initiatives was generated, which we then searched on.

We also undertook an online search using a range of terms such as those listed above. The search was limited to pages from New Zealand. This enabled a number of additional programmes and initiatives to be identified. We then looked for evidence of effectiveness of these programmes. In particular, we looked for evidence about approaches common in New Zealand including restorative justice processes and conflict resolution training such as peer mediation. We also looked for programmes developed by Māori providers and runanga. Many of these had a holistic or broad focus, and therefore were outside of the scope of the overview.

Locating existing tools

To assist us to define the domains and items we might include in the two proposed *Wellbeing@School* tools, we located existing psychometric and nonpsychometric staff surveys and audits and student survey tools.

To source current psychometric tools, we searched the NZCER Psychological Test Centre library and external databases including the Buros Institute of Mental Measurements Test Reviews and Tests in Print database. We also searched test publisher websites. These sources were used to search for:

- psychometrically validated student surveys that explored bullying behaviours
- psychometrically validated scales or surveys that explored students' prosocial behaviours
- psychometrically validated teacher or staff surveys or audits that explored bullying behaviour in schools
- psychometrically validated student or staff school climate tools (with a focus on school safety or bullying behaviours)
- validation studies or reviews of these tools.

Many of the tools used to measure bullying behaviours, or a safe school climate, did not appear in the Psychological Test Centre databases, so we supplemented our search with well-known nonpsychometric international and New Zealand tools. To source these tools, we used literature from the overview search, contacts at ACER, personal contact with tool developers, and online searches.

Appendix B: Glossary of common terms

The following table outlines some of the common terminology used in this paper.

Table 14 **Common terms**

Term	Short definition
Bullying (also called peer victimisation)	Repeated and intentional aggressive behaviour in which there is an imbalance of power between the parties involved
Bystander	Someone who observes an act of bullying but is not the main initiator of the behaviour
Conduct problems	An umbrella term used to describe a cluster of antisocial behaviours (e.g., aggressive, disruptive or delinquent acts)
Hauora	A holistic Māori concept of health and wellbeing
Health Promoting Schools (HPS)	A way of working in schools to promote health and wellbeing that uses a *Whole-School Approach*
Hui Whakatika	Hui Whakatika (translated as "meeting together to put an issue right") is a restorative justice process based on Māori protocol
Nonpunitive discipline	Approaches to behaviour management that involve student or community problem solving and restoration of relationships
Positive Behaviour for Learning (PB4L)	A Ministry of Education strategy that outlines a range of evidence-based approaches that aim to support parents and the education sector to manage challenging student behaviour
Positive youth development	Approaches that aim to strengthen young people's skills and competences (rather than remedy deficits)
Prosocial behaviours	Helping, caring and empathic behaviours such as sharing, co-operating, helping others
Punitive discipline	Approaches that emphasise sanctions and consequences (e.g., time-out, suspension) for particular behaviours that are identified as not acceptable
Restorative justice	Restorative justice processes aim to repair relationships in a way that "reintegrates". Community problem solving is used to suggest ways of repairing relationships
Social and emotional learning (SEL)	Approaches that aim to develop students' social and emotional skills (e.g., empathy and prosocial behaviours)
Sociocultural	A sociocultural perspective sees bullying behaviours in their social context (e.g., as peer-influenced behaviours, rather than individual interactions)
Socioecological	A socioecological perspective considers the range of social and environmental factors that affect health and wellbeing. Factors that are known to influence the cause and expression of bullying behaviours include those related to the individual, peers, family, school, community and society
Strengths-based perspective	A focus on identifying and drawing on young people's skills, strengths and competences, rather than weaknesses or deficits
Universal approaches	Approaches for all students, rather than a targeted group
Victimisation	The experience of being bullied (for the victim)
Whole-School Approach (WSA)	A WSA has two main aspects: a way of conceptualising schools, and a process of change. A WSA sees a school as an ecological system with many interacting parts and layers that can be aligned. A WSA commonly uses a community development process that involves all stakeholders in making changes