LITERATURE REVIEW

Peer Relations: Interventions to prevent and reduce bullying behaviour in Childhood and Adolescence

Leoni Boyle, Laura Taylor, Wanying Zhou, Annette Riziki, and Jan-Emmanuel De Neve

April 2025

cite this document
Boyle, L., Taylor, L., Zhou, W., Riziki, A., & De Neve, J-E. (2025). *Peer Relations: Interventions to prevent and reduce bullying behaviour: Literature Review.* International Baccalaureate Organization.

Peer Relations: Interventions to prevent and reduce bullying behaviour in Childhood and Adolescence

Leoni Boyle, Laura Taylor, Wanying Zhou,
Annette Riziki, and Jan-Emmanuel De Neve

Wellbeing Research Centre, University of Oxford

in association with

The International Baccalaureate Organization

With special thanks to Dr. Magdalena Balica, Dr. Jennifer Merriman, Dr. Jose Marquez, and the Wellbeing Research Centre team at the University of Oxford.

Executive Summary

The breakdown of peer relations, particularly bullying behaviours, is recognised within the child and adolescent scientific literature as being a threat to student wellbeing, with both immediate, as well as long term, effects. When focusing on bullying as one key barrier to positive peer relations, research surrounding the topic shows that the act of bullying is a complex phenomenon; bullying involves not only various different individuals in differing roles (bullies, victims, bully-victims, and bystanders), but also variations in the content and context in which the bullying is perpetrated (physical, verbal, relational, and cyberbullying).

Schools are in a position whereby they can not only monitor bullying, but actively prevent it. Additionally, they can provide support for those affected by bullying. Many of the bullying interventions within the literature have been found to successfully reduce bullying perpetration, and mitigate negative consequences of bullying, including wellbeing effects and wellbeing-related outcomes such as anxiety and depression. By intervening, schools can improve vital peer relations and social support that are essential to student wellbeing, and consequently, reduce the likelihood of future acts of bullying.

Bullying interventions can vary in content, duration, and implementation methods, though many of the successful interventions include a multi-layered approach involving different stakeholders within the school community, addressing the school climate as a whole, educating students on bullying and how to identify perpetration, as well as the provision of adequate support to deal with incidents and aid those involved.

It is important for schools to ensure that the content of the interventions and the methods through which the intervention is delivered are appropriate to the unique context of the school and students, as well as being engaging for the students, which will allow for greater engagement with the interventions.

Introduction

The IB and the Wellbeing Research Centre at the University of Oxford have worked together on a series of reports focused on wellbeing in schools. Two foundational reports, 'Wellbeing in Education in Childhood and Adolescence' and 'Wellbeing for Schoolteachers', have been published and give detailed information about the IB's approach to wellbeing. We suggest that readers first explore these foundational reports to gain a detailed understanding of wellbeing in schools before reading this series of brief reports on the drivers of wellbeing.

For this report, it is important to highlight what we mean by wellbeing. In our published reports (exploring the wellbeing of young people and schoolteachers), we focus on subjective wellbeing, which refers to the individual's perception of their own wellbeing. In schools, wellbeing is often used as a catch-all term for anything that sits outside academic attainment. This makes it difficult for schools to measure and implement changes, because the parameters are so broad and intangible. Wellbeing science is an established area of academic research, and we employ insights from the empirical science of wellbeing to inform these reports.

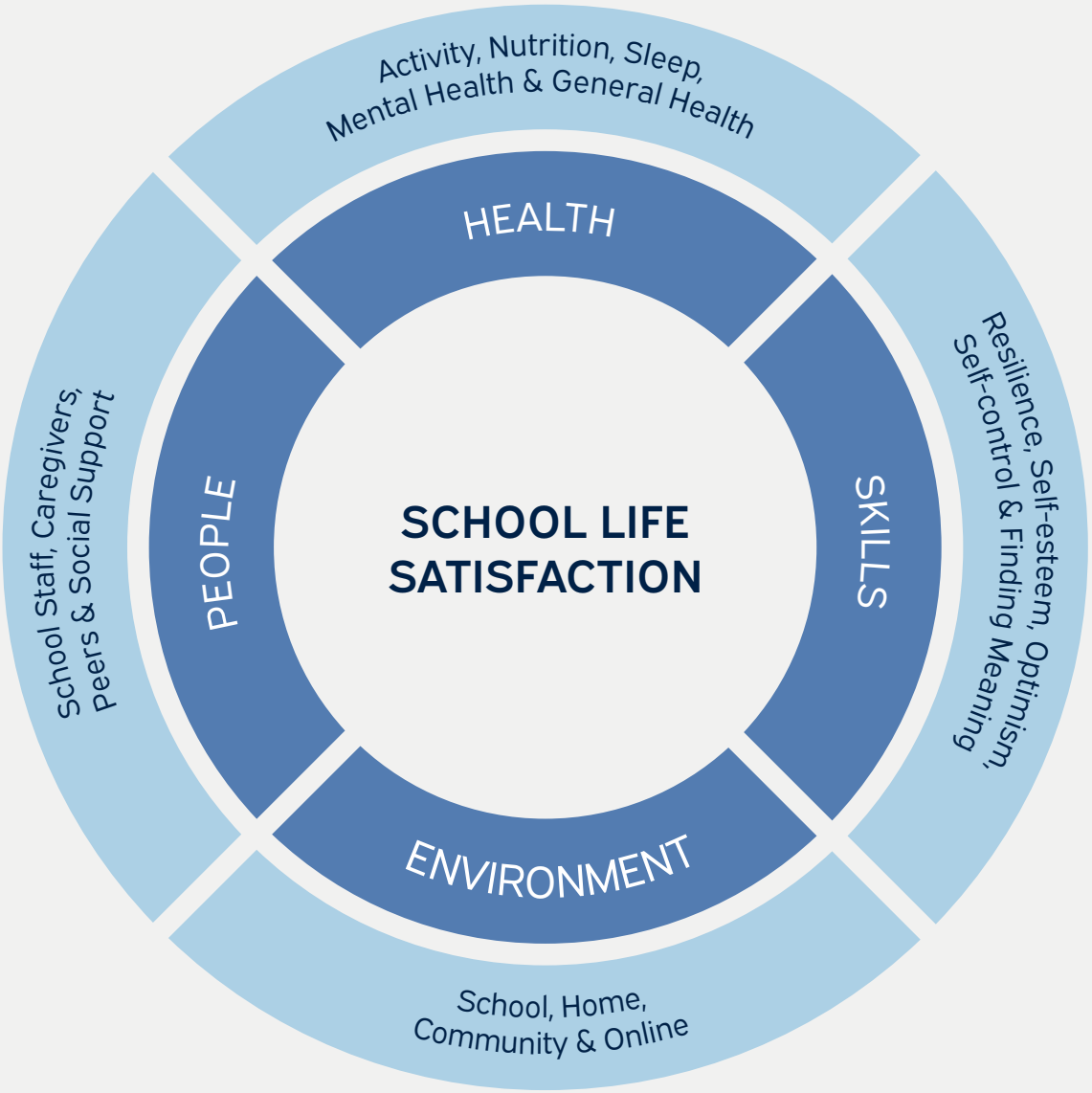
In school settings, wellbeing is often misunderstood as simply the opposite of mental ill health or happiness. However, in the 'Wellbeing in Education in Childhood and Adolescence' report, we clarify the differences between these concepts and how schools can use these definitions to decide which aspects of wellbeing to measure and impact. The definitions we recommend in the report remove the drivers of wellbeing (like resilience, mental health, family, peers, teachers, etc.) from the definition and focus on the three key areas of subjective wellbeing: life satisfaction; affect; and eudaimonia.

FIGURE 1: COMPONENTS OF WELLBEING

LIFE SATISFACTION	This element captures people's satisfaction with their lives, their perception, and experience.
AFFECT	The feelings, emotions, and states of a person at a particular timepoint, including both positive affect (e.g., joy, happiness, pride) and negative affect (e.g., sadness, depression, anxiety).
EUDAIMONIA	Whether people feel their life is worthwhile or has purpose and meaning (this can include autonomy, capabilities, competencies, and other areas of psychological functioning).

The core outcome of the wellbeing framework for young people for this project is satisfaction with school life. We focus on the life satisfaction area of subjective wellbeing as the key outcome for the frameworks for practical reasons, but we also emphasise the importance of affect and eudaimonia. These outcomes were selected as they represent the areas that schools can most influence. The framework is presented in Figure 2. The framework has the key performance indicator (KPI) or outcome variable in the middle, and all the drivers that research evidence has suggested influence pupil wellbeing around the outside. It is important to note that this framework only focuses on the evidence for wellbeing and, as such, there may be other research that schools may wish to consider, beyond the scope of these reports, which focus on other positive outcomes for young people.

FIGURE 2: THE SCHOOL LIFE SATISFACTION FRAMEWORK



Each driver has varying degrees of influence on the wellbeing of individuals depending on factors such as the age of the individual and their environment. For example, we know that peers are very important to the wellbeing of adolescents, but to a lesser extent for younger children. This framework gives ultimate flexibility and can be adapted over time to incorporate new insights.

In the 'Wellbeing in Education in Childhood and Adolescence' report we give examples of definitions that schools can use. For young people, we suggest that a school-specific definition, including all three areas, is most appropriate:

> *"This school promotes the wellbeing of all pupils. We define wellbeing as our pupils being satisfied with their school lives, having positive experiences at, and feelings about, school, and believing that what they do at school gives them some purpose and meaning."*
>
> [Edited extract from the 'Wellbeing in Schools in Childhood and Adolescence' Report; Taylor et al., 2022]

Purpose and Scope of the Focused Report

This series of intervention reports is intended to give the IB and schools a more nuanced understanding of the drivers of wellbeing for young people. Each report contains scientific research, interventions, measurement, and discussion around a specific driver of wellbeing. Each of the topics within these reports has differing levels of scientific evidence, and one of the main aims of these reports is to summarise what we know now about a topic and what further work needs to be done. Ultimately, we aim for these reports to become part of a digital, evidence-based repository which schools can use to measure, monitor, and support, the wellbeing of young people.

The Importance of Wellbeing Interventions for Children

An in-depth discussion of this topic can be found in the report 'Wellbeing in Education in Childhood and Adolescence'. The report discusses three important reasons why schools should seek to improve the wellbeing of their pupils: firstly, childhood and adolescence are important periods in their own right, and every young person has the right to have a positive experience in this critical formative period; secondly, higher wellbeing in childhood and adolescence is associated with other benefits for young people, such as higher attainment, better mental health, and positive pro-social behaviour. Finally, it is important to maximise wellbeing in childhood and adolescence because of the long-lasting impact this has on their future, including their adult levels of wellbeing and job prospects.

The report emphasises that there is value in using school time, money, and resources to improve pupil wellbeing. These improvements will likely not only have immediate benefits for students but will have a driving effect on other positive outcomes (individually, socially, and academically) and have a positive impact on the future lives of young people as they mature into adulthood. Importantly, there is seemingly no trade-off between wellbeing and academic performance. Put simply; happier children make better learners. Schools can feel confident to use time and resources to improve pupil wellbeing in the knowledge that it will likely also lead to improvements in their core business of academic attainment.

Bullying Research

Bullying Definition

Within the field of education and child development, bullying in school has occupied a large corner of research and interest for the last fifty years (Moore et al., 2017; Olweus, 1972; Olweus, 1994). Normal negative interactions are sporadic and situational, but bullying is not a solitary phenomenon, instead involving at least two individuals in the act (Salmivalli et al., 1996). It is defined as the repeated and intentional infliction of harm whereby there is an imbalance of power within a relationship (Olweus, 1972; Olweus, 2013), and the literature acknowledges three essential characteristics of bullying: the intent (goal-direction), harm, and power imbalance (Menesini & Salmivalli, 2017; Volk et al., 2014). Terms such as 'peer aggression', 'relational aggression' or 'victimisation' are also often used in relation to the bullying literature (Ferguson et al., 2016; Hunter et al., 2004). Within the act of bullying, the victim's power is reduced, and the bullying perpetrator's power is strengthened (Menesini & Salmivalli, 2017). Bullying is a form of violence which, unfortunately, many children and adolescents experience during childhood (Biswas et al., 2020; Menesini & Salmivalli, 2017).

Though it is important to recognise how bullying is defined within the literature, it is also important to consider how adolescents themselves conceptualise wellbeing. Evidence has found that adolescents tend to understand bullying as a 'mean' act, and as one in which people's feelings are affected (Byrne et al., 2016). Another interesting finding is that when young people are asked about their conceptualisation of bullying, they often emphasise the importance of the self-interpretation of bullying, with the understanding that an experience can be understood as bullying if the student interprets it as such (Hellström et al., 2015). This is important for schools to consider, as it shows how important a student's experience and opinion is – teachers might not always be in a position to understand the extent to which bullying is occurring. In addition, young people identify a power-imbalance and an act of dominance as central to bullying (Menin et al., 2021). Understanding how students themselves conceptualise bullying is vital for schools to decide how to prevent, support, and intervene.

Another important perspective for schools to consider when understanding bullying is that of teachers, as teachers are often the individuals who intervene and support the students involved, though this theme is not as widely explored in the literature as bullying from the perspective of children and young people. Evidence has found that teachers can differ to students in their interpretation of bullying, and they are often guided by their external position to the act of bullying, and thus more likely to recognise overt bullying and perhaps overlook relational bullying (Holt & Keyes, 2004). Whether teachers label a behaviour as bullying influences the response they make and how they proceed in dealing with the situation at hand (Eriksen, 2018). Understanding how teachers perceive bullying allows schools to draw on the potential role of school policies regarding the disciplinary climate and school intolerance to bullying.

Types of Bullying

Though bullying is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon, the literature often categorises bullying into four broad types: physical, verbal, relational, and cyber (Shetgiri, 2013; Wang et al., 2009). It is however important to acknowledge that these can, and often do, co-occur and are not mutually exclusive. That being said, the literature has identified each of these types of bullying as having the following characteristics listed below (Fu et al., 2016; Limber & Wang, 2014; Scheithauer et al., 2006; Shetgiri, 2013; Walrave & Heirman, 2011; Wang et al., 2009).

Physical	· Direct form of bullying · Examples including, but not limited to: hitting, injury from weapon, hair pulling · More likely to occur in younger age groups than in adolescence · More prevalent in boys
Verbal	· Direct form of bullying · Examples including, but not limited to: name calling, spreading rumours, teasing, threatening · More prevalent in boys
Relational	· Indirect form of bullying · Examples including, but not limited to: social exclusion, manipulation of social relationships, gossiping · More prevalent in girls
Cyberbullying	· Occurs through the medium of technology/ the internet · Examples including, but not limited to: defamatory content, exploitative content · Can contain 'traditional' characteristics of bullying, but is expressed through digital means · Victimisation more prevalent in girls, whilst perpetration more prevalent in boys

Individuals Involved in Bullying

As outlined previously, bullying is not a solitary phenomenon, thereby involving different individuals. Within the phenomenon, many roles can be played (Salmivalli et al., 1996), though the three most common identifiable roles are that of the bully, the victim, and the bully-victim (who bullies others and are also themself bullied by others) (Armitage, 2021; Gini & Pozzoli, 2009). Students in any of these three roles are more likely to feel alienated in school (Gini & Pozzoli, 2009; Meland et al., 2010). In a systematic review, Nocentini et al. (2019) found that victims and bullies both share predictive factors, including parenting habits, domestic violence, and exposure to abuse/neglect. Risk factors of bullying refer to characteristics associated with each bullying role. These can be understood as predictive factors of bullying involvement. In latter sections of the report, outcomes of bullying will be explored, which highlights the consequential effects of bullying. It is interesting to note that some of these factors can influence a positive feedback loop, whereby students who have low self-esteem might be at higher risk of being a victim of bullying, and that an outcome of victimisation is further damage to their self-esteem, which then might exacerbate their identification as a potential target for bullying.

The literature has identified the following as risk factors related to each role directly involved in bullying (Kennedy, 2021; Kljakovic & Hunt, 2016; Shetgiri, 2013; Silva et al., 2020; Stein et al., 2006):

Bully	· Male · Younger students · Mental health issues and behavioural issues · Family conflict/ hostile home environment · Negative parent-child relationship · Substance abuse
Victim	· Internalising behaviour difficulty · Low social skills · Low self-esteem/self-perception · Use of downers/tranquilisers · Insecure maternal attachment
Bully-Victim	· Emotional and psychological dysregulation · Low self-esteem · Low academic performance · Negative attitudes towards/ disconnected from school · Peer rejection · Low problem-solving skills

It is important to understand that different risk factors can interact or impact individuals in different ways, and that there is no uniform set of risk factors for any given role in bullying. Schools should use these identified risk factors as potential indicators for policy support and should not view these factors in isolation as determining factors.

Bystanders

Beyond these three roles exists another important role in bullying behaviour, that of the bystander. This role is understood as a person who is indirectly involved with the bullying phenomenon (Salmivalli, 2014). Within schools, the role of bystanders is a vital one, as oftentimes there is one or more bystanders present during the act of bullying, with estimates of 85% of bullying incidences including bystanders (Padgett & Notar, 2013). Bystanders are crucial players within the group phenomenon of bullying and play a role in potentially reinforcing or condemning the behaviours witnessed (Salmivalli et al., 1996; Salmivalli, 2014). It should be stressed that bystanders are not passive viewers of bullying, they are also central in the co-creation of the bullying phenomenon (Salmivalli et al., 2014).

Bystanders can be divided into four types (Salmivalli et al., 1996; Song & Oh, 2018): outsiders (the majority of bystanders fit into this category), defenders (the next most common category, whereby active action is taken to help, such as intervening, reporting the bullying, and/ or comforting the victim), reinforcers (few individuals identify as a reinforcer, where they encourage the bullying perpetration by inciting the perpetrator(s) e.g., laughing or shouting), and assistants (the least common category, where the bystander supports in actively perpetrating bullying behaviours). The decision-making process for bystanders deciding how to act is complex and nuanced. For example, some bystanders might recognise their social positioning and evaluate that they do not have control of the bullying situation thus do not intervene (Song & Oh, 2018).

Interventions directly targeting bystanders and encouraging pro-social decision making by bystanders are explored in the 'Interventions' section of this report. A promising study by Sainio et al. (2011) found that 72.3% of victims had at least one defender, and having a defender is associated with lower anxiety and depression, and higher self-esteem and social status in the victim. Understanding the potential protective role of a defender for bullying victims underscores the importance of promoting defender behaviours and pro-social actions.

Current State of Bullying Globally

Prevalence

Global estimates find that approximately a third (32%) of students report having experienced bullying at

least once in the last month, and approximately 7.3% of students report being a victim of bullying for at least 6 days in the last month (UNESCO, 2019). Within prevalence rates of bullying, a study of 40 countries found that 8% of students report traditional bullying (verbal/physical/relational), 2.3% report cyberbullying, and 1.7% report experiencing both traditional and cyberbullying (Biswas et al., 2022). These recorded rates show considerable variability across studies, with a meta-analysis indicating that victimisation rates found in studies can range considerably, with cyber victimisation rates ranging from 2.2% to 56.2% for example (Modecki et al., 2014). Moreover, the literature also indicates that there is a moderate positive correlation (r = .47) between cyberbullying and traditional bullying perpetration (Modecki et al., 2014), which speaks to how important it is to address both traditional and cyberbullying.

It is vital that we recognise that bullying prevalence has considerable variation across regions and nations (Man et al., 2022). In a study of 65 different countries, Man et al. (2022) found that African and the Eastern Mediterranean regions had the highest bullying prevalence rates (47.36% and 41.53% respectively), with Samoa and Vanuatu having the highest national bullying prevalence rates (72.4% and 65.92% respectively). Biswas et al. (2020) also found that the highest prevalence rates of bullying were observed in Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean region (43.5% and 45.1% respectively), and the lowest rates in Europe (8.4%). International differences in bullying prevalence and the different experiences and perceptions of those involved can be influenced by a multitude of factors, including, but not limited to: differences in socio-cultural values, linguistic properties, national policies, peer support/friendship norms, and parenting support norms (Biswas et al., 2020; Smith et al., 2016). It is also important to note there are variations in how bullying is measured, understood, and defined across different studies and cultural contexts can also make it difficult to make comparisons between prevalence rates (Cook et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2016; Vivolo-Kantor et al., 2014), which may hold the potential to affect the reported results. However, the demonstrated prevalence of bullying underscores the need for attention to the issue.

Demographic Differences

This section aims to provide a brief outline of various factors that can contribute to different rates of bullying prevalence. Schools should consider the following four factors in relation to their own unique ecosystems, although this report acknowledges that the relevance of each factor may vary between schools.

Age

The literature on age and bullying finds that there are some observable age differences. For example, the literature tends to find a general decline in bullying by the end of secondary school/high school (Álvarez-García et al., 2015; Cosma et al., 2024; Hymel & Swearer, 2015; Sumter et al., 2012), often with a peak in bullying at age 14 (Álvarez-García et al., 2015; Sumter et al., 2012). As explored above, age also influences the type of bullying which occurs, with physical bullying being more likely to occur in younger students, and verbal and relational bullying and cyberbullying being more likely to occur in older students (Fu et al., 2016; Sumter et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2009).

Gender

In general, the literature finds there to be gender differences in bullying, with boys being more likely to be involved in bullying than girls (Cosma et al., 2024). Gender differences do vary, however, dependent on the type of bullying, with boys being more likely to engage in physical bullying and girls in relational bullying (Álvarez-García et al., 2015; Silva et al., 2013). In instances of cyberbullying, evidence suggests that boys are more likely to be perpetrators whilst girls are more likely to be victims (Walrave & Heirman, 2011). Gender differences might also vary with age, further emphasising the interactive nature of different factors (Cosma et al., 2024).

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

In a meta-analysis of the literature exploring the link between SES and bullying, Tippette and Wolke (2014) found there to be a complicated relationship between SES and bullying roles, and stressed that SES alone is in fact a weak predictor of bullying behaviours. They found that children from low SES backgrounds have a slightly increased risk of being a victim or bully-victim, though again it is stressed that these are weakly related (Tippette & Wolke, 2014). A study also found that aggression-related mindsets accounts for much of the relationship between SES and bullying (Dietrich & Zimmermann, 2019). It is also interesting to note that across 33 countries, evidence was found in 6 countries for the association between bullying and life satisfaction to be stronger in low SES populations, suggesting that in some contexts SES can be a moderating factor in the relationship between bullying and wellbeing (Marquez, 2021).

Ethnicity

Evidence finds that children who identify as belonging to a minority ethnic group/race or as an immigrant (including having refugee status) are at a greater risk of being victims to bullying, particularly racist bullying (Sapouna et al., 2023). Wider school and community contextual factors, such as a climate of discrimination and judgement, can foster environments which allow for racial bullying perpetration to proceed with limited repercussions (Sapouna et al., 2023; Xu et al., 2020). The intersectionality of ethnicity and other factors such as gender, sexuality, and SES (Park et al., 2022) should be investigated further, particularly in relation

to bullying (Galán et al., 2021; Garnett et al., 2014).When attempting to address bullying, schools should consider the complex interplay among various demographic factors to better understand the dynamics of bullying within their unique settings.

Bullying and Wellbeing

There is an extensive body of literature exploring the impact of bullying on the individuals involved, predominantly on victims of bullying. Experiencing bullying has been shown to reduce wellbeing (Thomas et al., 2016), as well as have negative influences on wellbeing-related outcomes and behaviours (Moore et al., 2017). In a comparative study across 33 countries, Marquez and Main (2020) found that bullying was a significant predictor of student life satisfaction in 32 countries, whereby South Korea was the only nation which did not have a statistically significant effect size. This section will outline different short-term and long-term effects of bullying which have been observed within the literature. Through recognising the differences in long-term and short-term effects of bullying, schools are then able to better allocate supports and services to students.

Short-term Effects of Bullying

Bullying has been found to have short-term effects on young people, with a global study finding that across 65 countries, bullying tends to have a negative effect on mental health (Man et al., 2022). Psychosomatic problems are also linked to bullying, including: dizziness, stomach ache, backache, headache, sleeping difficulties, and feeling tired in the morning (Due et al., 2005; Moore et al., 2017). In addition, bullying also has short-term effects on the emotional domains of young people, and is associated with feeling low, helpless, nervous, lonely, left out, and having an irritable and bad temper (Due et al., 2005). Evidence presented by Yu and Zhao (2021) also finds that bullying has significant impacts on academic outcomes (science, reading, and mathematic performance), as well as classroom experience (loneliness, classmate peer relations, and school belonging).

Long-term Effects of Bullying

Longitudinal studies provide empirical evidence for the long-term effects of bullying. In a study spanning 50 years, Takizawa et al. (2014) found that even when controlling for risk factors (such as childhood IQ, parental involvement, internalising and externalising problems), those who were bullied in childhood (7-11 years old) were more likely to have worse mental health outcomes than their non-bullied peers in young adulthood (23 years old) and later adulthood (45 and 50 years old). When controlling for many confounding childhood variables, Takizawa et al. (2014) also found that at age 50, adults who were bullied during childhood reported significantly lower wellbeing, were significantly less likely to live with a partner, and had less social support when ill. These results emphasise the significance that childhood bullying can have on life outcomes. Though it is a longitudinal study, it should be noted that this study was conducted in a British context, and tracks one cohort of individuals, thus the results might not be generalisable to all other contexts. Research exploring the long-term effects of bullying has identified the influence of childhood bullying on adult outcomes of bullies (B), victims (V), and bully-victims (BV) (Wolke & Lereya, 2015). In an America-based cohort study conducted by Wolke et al. (2013), many negative health and risky lifestyle adult outcomes were found in relation to different roles in bullying, even when controlling for childhood psychiatric disorders and family hardship.

B, V, and BV: All three groups were found to be significantly associated with non-substance psychiatric disorder, smoking regularly, being in poverty, being dismissed from a job, quitting multiple jobs, and issues making friends, compared to their non-bullying related peers.

B and V: Bullies and bully-victims were found to be significantly more associated with having an official felony charge, breaking in, no college diploma, and failing to meet financial obligations, in comparison to their non-bullying related peers.

V and BV: Victims and bully-victims were found to be significantly associated with having a poor relationship with parents rather than their non-bullying related peers.

B: Only bullies were found to be significantly associated with being frequently drunk, marijuana use, illicit drug use, hooking up with a stranger, and having violent relationships more than their non-bullying related peers.

V: Only victims were found to be significantly associated with having poor financial management compared to their non-bullying related peers.

BV: Bully-victims were found to be significantly associated with serious illness, poor health, illness contagion, slow illness recovery, not having a high school diploma, and not having a best friend, in comparison to their non-bullying related peers.

The short and long-term effects of bullying prove the potential power the phenomenon has on shaping the experiences of young people during childhood and adolescence and into adulthood, ranging from psychological to material impacts (e.g., financial). Such evidence highlights the need to intervene at an early age so that potential negative impacts of bullying, on both the individual and society, can be reduced.

Resilience and Bullying

Much of the literature exploring the impacts of bullying in childhood has found resilience to be a protective factor,

across different cultural contexts (Lin et al., 2022; Moore & Woodcock, 2017; Sapouna & Wolke, 2013; Shemesh & Heiman, 2021). Resilience is often defined as the ability to successfully adapt in adverse contexts whereby there is a threat to development (Southwick et al., 2014). The factorial model of resilience outlines three underlying constructs to resilience: mastery (perceived control and enjoyment of relationships), relatedness (skill and ability to function as a social being), and emotional reactivity (threshold for adverse events; Moore & Woodcock, 2017). High levels of resilience can protect against adverse outcomes such as depression and anxiety for those involved in bullying (Lin et al., 2022; Moore & Woodcock, 2017). In addition, studies have found that those with low resilience are more likely to have experienced bullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2017; Moore & Woodcock, 2017). The literature thus explains why anti-bully interventions frequently contain building resilience elements in their designs, to both mitigate against the negative effects of bullying, as well as protect against becoming a victim and/or perpetrator of bullying.

Influences on Bullying Behaviours

The role of schools and educators in addressing bullying can be understood through Hong and Espelage's (2012) different spheres of influence. Spheres of influence can be used to understand different groups of influential factors on bullying behaviour, including microsystem, macrosystem, and exosystem. The microsystem concerns factors in the immediate environment surrounding the child, namely the school, home, and peers. These influences will be explored in greater depth in the next sections as schools have greater control over the microsystem than either the macro- or exo-system. Systemic influences on bullying occur within the macrosystem, which outlines the cultural norms and framework within which a school and its community sit. Cultures which foster attitudes of social and political prejudice, power, and aggression set up a broader cultural framework whereby bullying behaviours are cultivated (Hong & Espelage, 2012). Within the next sphere of influence is the exosystem, where Hong and Espelage (2012) outline neighbourhood characteristics and media violence exposure as influential on bullying behaviours. In this section, school influences, and family and friend influences are outlined, as these are the areas in which the school can play an active role.

School Influences

Much of the literature outlines how school-level factors influence peer relations, particularly surrounding bullying. The school climate can both directly and indirectly influence bullying-related behaviours (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). Both school environment and level of school connectedness can influence peer relations and social support, and thereby bullying, with discipline and adult supervision of students, as well as feelings of school connectedness, being associated with bullying and bullying risk factors, such as isolation and disruptive behaviour (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Ma, 2002).

It is important to emphasise that teacher attitudes towards bullying interact with the systemic and school-level influences on bullying. Teachers interact with students, supervise students, and can provide pastoral care for students; thus, it is no surprise that teacher attitudes towards bullying can protect or encourage bullying within their classrooms (Veenstra et al., 2014). Protective factors of bullying relating to teacher attitudes can include: the promotion of respect within the classroom, pro-social behaviours within the classroom, teacher attention towards and identification of bullying, as well as action once bullying has been identified (Espelage & Swearer, 2003).

Family and Friend Influences

There are family-level influences on bullying, with experiences of family adversity being associated with involvement in bullying as a bully, victim, or a bully-victim, in addition to the risk factors explored in previous sections (Fraga et al., 2022). Family adversity examples include: experiencing household violence, witnessing inter-parent violence, and substance abuse within the household (Fraga et al., 2022; Hong & Espelage, 2012). Familial level influences are not always risk factors, and can also be protective factors against bullying. For example, parental communication with and support of the child, family cohesion, and parental warmth can act as protective factors for the negative consequences of bullying (Nocentini et al., 2019). Also, within the family dynamic exists the potential for adverse sibling interactions, and evidence finds that involvement in sibling physical and verbal victimisation can predict school victimisation (Sabah et al. 2022).

As with the other influences on bullying, peer relationships and peer group dynamics can be either risk or protective factors against bullying (Hong & Espelage, 2012). As outlined in the 'Individuals involved in bullying' section of this report, bullying is a group phenomenon, and both peer relationships and peer group dynamics are influenced by, and further influence, the perceived social power of the different individuals involved. Having friend support can protect victims from the negative consequences of bullying or prevent bullying occurring in the first place through defending their friend (Eijigu & Teketel, 2021; Hong & Espelage, 2012; Kendrick et al., 2012).

Interventions

Following the exploration of the different roles, influences, and contexts involved in bullying, this knowledge has been used to inform protective and preventative interventions. The goal of anti-bullying interventions is to ultimately reduce the negative experiences resulting from, and instances of, bullying, allowing for greater student wellbeing. As explored in the previous section, the global pressure to tackle the issue of bullying and protect children and adolescents can be addressed through schools. The report has highlighted the need for school stakeholders to be aware of the influences on bullying and their role in these influences to then address bullying behaviour within the school. In this section, different types of bullying interventions will be explored, followed by a summary table of interventions with a strong empirical basis and a focus on school settings.

When exploring the bullying intervention literature, schools should be aware that bullying prevention programs often have mixed results, with a systematic review conducted by Evans et al. (2014) finding that only 50% of studies had a significant effect on bullying perpetration, and 67% had significant effects on bullying victimisation. Each school is a unique ecosystem and school stakeholders are thus encouraged to consider their own contexts and population when evaluating different bullying interventions.

Types of Interventions

Interventions can differ in their target populations, as well as their design and content. Intervention target population can vary between universal interventions and targeted interventions, as well as a combination of both. Bullying interventions can also be broadly assigned into categories based on their design and content (Chen et al., 2023; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007): whole-school approaches (WSA), and curriculum and social skills training, and digital approaches.

Universal and Targeted Interventions

Across wellbeing interventions in childhood and adolescence research, interventions can be understood as being a universal intervention, or a targeted one (though some intervention designs may contain elements of both; for further details see Taylor et al., 2022). Generally speaking, universal approaches are interventions which are delivered to the whole target population (such as all members of a year group, or all students in the school), whereas targeted approaches are interventions which are delivered to 'at risk' populations. Within the field of bullying, universal interventions are bullying interventions which are delivered to students regardless of their risk of being bullied (Mackenzie & Williams, 2018; Nickerson, 2019). In contrast, targeted bullying interventions are interventions designed to be delivered to students who are already involved and/or at risk of being involved in bullying and victimisation.

Whole School Approach

Within bullying interventions, a WSA is one which takes on many different components in a holistic manner (Kärnä et al., 2011; Menesini & Salmivalli, 2017; Olweus et al., 2019). This can include the participation of different stakeholders (e.g., students, teachers, staff), structural changes (e.g., school policies, rules, and disciplinary guidance), and programmes (e.g., lectures, workshops, take-home resources). The literature pertaining to WSAs in relation to wellbeing is explored in greater detail in the 'Whole School Approach to Wellbeing in Childhood and Adolescence' report (Zhou et al., 2024). In short, it is a holistic approach to interventions whereby different aspects of the school as a community and an institution are considered. A WSA focus on involving the entire school ecosystem in a bullying intervention, rather than the population in which the intervention is delivered to. As such, a WSA can include both universal interventions (non-discriminatory target population) and targeted interventions (interventions provided to an at-risk population for bullying).

Curriculum and Social Skills Training

Bullying interventions can also be delivered as a curriculum or skill training program, whereby students are taught and guided in gaining a better understanding of bullying and their roles within it, and how to proactively react to this understanding. Methods of delivery often include class discussions, role play, lectures, reading materials, and video content (Committee for Children, 2008; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Interventions with social skills training components are those which explicitly seek to support student skill and emotional regulation development. This could be interpreted as the development of pro-sociality, such as through the encouragement of students to be pro-active bystanders and intervene when witnessing bullying or through targeting agency (Andreou et al., 2007; Committee for Children, 2005; Da Silva et al., 2016; Itzkovich et al., 2021; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007).

Digital Interventions

Digital elements have been implemented as a delivery method through which bullying intervention can be provided, such as online platforms with resources (Arango et al., 2024; Chen et al., 2023; Salmivalli et al., 2011). The implementation of wellbeing interventions through a digital medium is explored in greater depth in 'Wellbeing in a digital world: online facilitated interventions to support wellbeing in childhood and adolescence' report (Zhou et al., 2024), which schools are encouraged to read.

Table of Interventions and Measurements

A synthesis of the extensive bullying intervention literature is outlined in Table 1. The interventions presented were those that were frequently referenced within the literature, were of high academic rigour, and were delivered across a variety of school contexts, with the aim to present schools with a non-exhaustive list of interventions to generate discussion amongst school stakeholders. Useful systematic and meta-analytical reviews for schools to explore in greater depth were conducted by Ttofi and Farrington (2011), and Gaffney et al. (2019). The interventions presented in Table 1 represent universal interventions, whereby the intervention is delivered across populations. When delivering bullying interventions, schools should be conscious of the 'Healthy Context Paradox', where those still being bullied might experience exacerbated negative effects of bullying as general levels of bullying within their school contexts have decreased (Salmivalli, 2023). As such, schools might consider using targeted bullying interventions alongside universal interventions in specific cases.

It should also be noted that most bullying interventions specifically target bullying behaviours, and as such, outcome measurements tend to be bullying related as opposed to explicitly wellbeing related. Not only is there a wealth of evidence linking bullying with negative wellbeing outcomes (see above 'Bullying and wellbeing' section), but this relationship also makes logical sense, and schools might instinctively want to reduce bullying in order to better support student wellbeing. Though many studies do not explicitly measure wellbeing outcomes, in the context of this report, the reduction of bullying behaviours can be interpreted as a potential indicator for improved wellbeing related outcomes.

Named and validated measurements often cited in the studies in Table 1 are reported in Table 2, though many other measures and questions have been and could be used. Many of these measures have not been validated across different linguistic contexts. For further insights into measurement tools pertaining to bullying and bystander experiences, please explore the Compendium of Assessment Tools (Hamburger et al., 2011) and Xie et al. (2023). Again, it is stressed that schools should reflect critically on the appropriateness of the intervention and the implementation of the intervention within their school's own unique context. School stakeholders should consider student and staff voice activities as a foundational piece of understanding perspectives on bullying behaviour within their unique school ecosystem (Taylor et al., 2022).

TABLE 1: EVALUATED BULLYING/PEER RELATIONSHIP INTERVENTIONS

Intervention	Content	Age/Setting	Evidence Level	Results
Second Step Committee for Children (2008) Espelage et al. (2013)	Teachers delivered lessons (either 50 minutes long, or 2 x 35 minutes long) following a 3-hour training session. Grade 6: 5 x empathy and communication, 4 x substance abuse prevention, 3 x emotion regulation, 2 x bullying, and 2 x problem solving Grade 7: 4 x empathy and communication, 3 x substance abuse prevention, 2 x emotion regulation, 2 x bullying, and 2 x problem solving	36 middle schools (aged 11-13 years) *n*= 3,616 USA	Longitudinal nested-cohort	In comparison to the control group, adjusted to account for other predictor variables, the intervention group found significant reductions in physical aggression. However, there was no significant intervention effect found for peer victimisation, bullying perpetration, sexual violence perpetration or victimisation and homophobic perpetration or victimisation.
KiVa Kärnä et al. (2011)	The KiVa programs differ depending on developmental level of students (Grades 1-3; 4-6; 7-9). Teachers conduct 20 hours of lessons with students (to raise awareness of bullying, to increase empathy, and to promote support strategies). The intervention also included an online game which encourages the students' antibullying knowledge. Teachers also handle incidents of bullying differently (teachers working in teams, working with the individuals and groups involved). Teachers are provided with support (face-to-face training, teacher networks, and visibility props to help increase visibility of supervision during break times).	Finland 78 schools (Grades 4-6; aged 10-12 years) *n*= 8,237	RCT	The intervention had significant effects at Wave 2 on: defending victims more, more antibullying attitudes, greater empathy to victims. The intervention at Wave 3 was found to reduce: victimisation, bullying reinforcement; higher defending self-efficacy, higher wellbeing, and bullying.
Kärnä et al. (2013)		74 schools (Grades 1-3; aged 7-9 years) *n*= 6,927 73 schools (Grades 7-9; aged 13-15 years) *n*= 16,503		KiVa has intervention effects 9 months after intervention. For Grades 1-3, the intervention has positive influences on self-report bullying, and victimisation. For Grades 7-9, there were significant intervention effects on: victimisation, bullying, assisting, reinforcing, and defending.

Olweus Bully Prevention Program (OBPP) Olweus (1994) Olweus et al. (2019)	The OBPP contains interventions at the school-level, the classroom-level, community-level, and individual-level. The intervention asks schools to refine their policies and systems which deal with bullying. Teachers work with their classes to improve understanding of bullying and to build student pro-sociality. The messages behind OBPP are also encouraged to extend beyond the school, through collaboration with community figures or institutions. Individual-level elements include increased supervision and support for bullying incidents.	95 schools (Grades 3-11; aged 8-17 years) *n*= 29,814	Quasi-experimental extended age-cohort design	The intervention was found to significantly reduce the following forms of bullying: verbal, physical, indirect, sexual, and weaker effect on electronic/ cyberbullying.
Viennese Social Competence Program (ViSC) Strohmeier et al. (2011) Gradinger et al. (2016)	ViSC is a multi-level intervention, which targets school-level, class-level, as well as individual-level elements across one year. At the school level, teachers receive training and resources to educate them on bullying as a phenomenon and guide them with how to prevent bullying. At the class-level, teachers conduct a class project across 14 hours of lessons to help develop pro-sociality and empathy in students. The individual-level targets teachers and their ability to support the victims and prevent bullying through working with different key stakeholders (i.e. bullies, bully-victims, parents).	26 secondary schools (Grades 5-7; average age 11.7 years) *n*= 2,042 Austria	RCT	The intervention was found to reduce cyberbullying, and in comparison to the control group, had a preventative effect on cybervictimisation. In a 6-month follow-up, and when controlling for covariates, the study concluded the intervention to have sustainable effects on cyberbullying and cybervictimisation in comparison to the control group.

Steps to Respect (STR) Committee for Children (2005) Brown et al. (2011)	The intervention consists of 11 x 1-hour lessons, which are partially scripted to allow teachers to moderate class activities and discussion on socio-emotional skill development. The program also involves staff training on anti-bullying practices.	33 elementary schools (Grades 3-5; aged 7-11 years) *n*= 2,940 USA	School RCT	The intervention was found to lead to significant impacts on the following outcomes: school antibullying policies, student bullying, student climate, staff climate, school bullying-related problems, social competency, physical bullying, teacher bullying prevention, student bullying intervention, teacher bullying intervention, bystander behaviour, and student climate.
Friendly Schools Cross et al. (2018)	Multi-level intervention with whole school, student, parent elements, and a focus on implementation for teachers. At Grade 8, 6 hours of student intervention is recommended. At Grade 9, 3.5 hours of student intervention is recommended. Parents and students are provided with resources (newsletters/booklets).	21 secondary schools (Grade 8; average age 13 years) *n*= 3,462 Australia	Cluster RCT	The intervention has been found to have significant effects on the following outcomes: school safety perception, bullying perpetration, loneliness, victimisation, anxiety, depression, and stress. However, none of these improvements were sustained in the following year.
Creating a Peaceful School Learning Environment (CAPSLE) Fonagy et al. (2009)	CAPSLE has four elements: 1. Positive school climate program 2. Classroom management plan (discipline) 3. 12 sessions of physical education training (self-defence, relaxation etc.) 4. Peer mentorship and adult mentorship program	9 schools (Grades 3-5) *n*= 1,345 USA	Cluster-level RCT	CAPSLE showed significant improvements in children's experiences of aggression and victimization compared to no intervention. In the third year, CAPSLE demonstrated better outcomes in peer-reported aggression and victimization compared to no intervention.

LINKlusive Arango et al. (2024)	LINKlusive is an online intervention, targeted at different stakeholders. Four sessions are for families, six sessions for teachers, 10 teacher-delivered sessions for students. The sessions are designed to educate the different stakeholders on bullying, as well as support in how to deal with bullying.	20 schools (aged 8-18 years) *n*= 6,403 Spain	Cluster-level RCT	LINKlusive positively impacted peer-reported bullying victimization in primary schools. The effects were comparable and non-significant among students with special educational needs. Additionally, the intervention effectively improved mental health in students who experienced peer-reported victimization at the baseline.
Zippy's Friends Holen et al. (2012)	The intervention consists of 24 45-minute teacher-led sessions, as well as three day-long counselling for the teachers. Over the course of the intervention, six different modules are covered: feelings, communication, friendship, conflict, change and loss, and moving forward.	35 primary schools (Grade 2; aged 7-8 years) *n*= 1,483 Norway	RCT	Both children and parents in the Zippy's Friends group reported improvements in several coping strategies compared to controls. However, neither teachers nor parents observed any improvement in mental health outcomes immediately after completing the program. In this study, teachers noted a significant reduction in the overall symptom load affecting children and their environments in the intervention group.
NoTrap! Palladino et al. (2012) Palladino et al. (2016)	The program has a four-month duration, with the following resources: manuals for teachers and peer educators, website and Facebook page for students, peer educators, and the wider community. The intervention is peer educator run (self-selected students) who are trained to deliver two workshops to their class. The first workshop explores emotions involved in bullying, and the second workshop explores coping strategies as a victim or bystander.	15 high schools (Grade 9) *n*= 1,083 (Trial 1 = 622, Trial 2 = 461) Italy	Quasi-experimental	The NoTrap! intervention involvement can significantly decrease victimisation, bullying, cybervictimisation and cyberbullying. Intervention effects were still found at a 6-month follow up.

Green Dot Coker et al. (2011) Coker et al. (2017)	The Green Dot intervention is a bystander intervention first designed to reduce sexual violence and aggression in college students but has been adapted into high school environments. The intervention involves a whole school presentation, training of student leaders (five-hour bystander training), and educator training (four-day course). It is a four-year program.	26 high schools *n*= 89,707 USA	Cluster RCT	The intervention was found to significantly reduce sexual violence perpetration and victimisation rates (including stalking, sexual harassment, psychological and physical violence). In Year 3 of the intervention, the intervention group was found to significantly reduce school absenteeism and the need to seek help for experienced violence.
Zero Program Against Bullying Roland et al. (2010)	The Zero intervention involves weekly teacher-led discussions following the Zero programme (lasting 15 minutes each), with the aim to increase empathy and social cohesion. Teachers on duty during break/lunch are made more visible to students and are supported in having a procedure in place for how to deal with bullying when it is reported.	146 primary schools (Grades 2-7; aged 7-12 years) *n*= 20,430 Norway	Evaluation study (pre-test, post-test)	The Zero intervention resulted in a significant reduction in the percentage of reported victims. There were no significant differences in overall prevalence in reported victimization between the Zero group, and the School Environment Study group.

TABLE 2: MEASUREMENTS USED IN BULLY/PEER RELATION STUDIES INTERVENTIONS

Measurement	Content	Age/Setting	Language	Reliability	Availability
Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire – Revised (OBVQ-R) Olweus (1996)	Self-report of 42-items, including: demographic questions, global questions (children identify as bullies or victims), questions pertaining to nine different types of bullying and different contexts, then about teacher and parent attitudes. The items are rated on a five-point Likert scale indicating frequency.	Grades 3-12; aged 8-18 years	English French Spanish	Cronbach Alpha values ranging from *0.87 - 0.88*	Copyrighted
Participant Role Questionnaire Salmivalli et al. (1996)	Participants are asked to rate each of their class peers on six different factors relating to the role of: bully, victim, follower/assistant, reinforcer, defender, and outsider.	Grades 4-11; aged 9-17 years	English	Cronbach Alpha values ranging from *0.88 - 0.95*	Copyrighted
University of Illinois Bully Scale / Victim Scale/ Fighting Scale Espelage and Holt (2001)	Self-report of 18-items, including statements pertaining to bullying, victimisation, and fighting. The items are rate on a five-point Likert scale indicating frequency.	Aged 8-18 years	English	Cronbach Alpha values ranging from *0.83 - 0.88*	Copyrighted
10-item Homophobic Content Agent Target Scale Poteat and Espelage (2005)	Self-report of 10-items, the first five as the agent scale, and the latter five as the target scale. The items are rated on a five-point Likert scale indicating frequency.	Aged 10-18 years	English	Cronbach Alpha values ranging from *0.77 - 0.85*	Copyrighted

Pro-Victim Scale Rigby and Slee (1993) Rigby (1997)	Self-report of 10 items, outlining different statement related to victimisation. Participants are asked to indicate 'agree', 'unsure', or 'disagree' with the statements.	Aged 8-18 years	English	Cronbach Alpha value of *0.84*	Unclear
Peer Nomination Instrument Crick and Grotpeter (1995)	Students are asked to nominate up to three peers that they identify as fitting the different descriptions in the scales. Five items consist of overt aggression descriptions, five items consist of relational aggression descriptions, and four on prosocial behaviour. Aggression scores are tallied for each nominated student.	Grades 3-6; aged 8-11 years	English	Cronbach Alpha values ranging from *0.83 - 0.94*	Unclear
Peer Relations Assessment Questionnaire - Students Rigby and Slee (1998)	Self-report of 20 items, including four questions pertaining to bullying, four questions pertaining to victimisation, and 12 on pro-sociality. The items are rated on a four-point Likert scale.	Junior and senior students	English	Cronbach Alpha values ranging from *0.71 - 0.86*	Copyrighted
KidCOPE Questionnaire Spirito et al. (1988)	Self-report 10 items, including Likert scale questions pertaining to frequency and efficacy of different statements relating to coping strategies.	Younger children (aged 7-12 years) and older children (aged 13-18 years)	English Spanish	Cronbach Alpha values ranging from *0.41 - 0.83*	Unrestricted access

Florence Cyberbullying/ Cybervictimization Scales Palladino et al. (2016)	Self-report of 28-items, 14 relating to cyberbullying and 14 relating to cybervictimisation. The items are rate on a five-point Likert scale indicating frequency.	Aged 13-20 years	English	Cronbach Alpha values ranging from *0.63 - 0.85*	Unclear

Note: Recommendation to be to refer to the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire – Revised (OBVQ-R; Olweus, 1996) measurement, as the most widely used touchpoint measure in the field of bullying.

Implementation Strategies

In systematic reviews of bullying interventions, the literature finds mixed results pertaining to the efficacy of the interventions in reducing bullying and improving wellbeing, with considerable variation across contexts (Evans et al., 2014; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). However, school based anti-bullying programs are generally considered as effective (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011). Interventions are diverse in nature, and there are many different implementation techniques which are incorporated within anti-bullying programmes (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011). Research has highlighted the importance of having clear intervention objectives for different target populations (Stevens et al., 2001), as well as having national policy to support these interventions (Sadjadi et al., 2022). The primary recommendation that schools should take from this report is to consider the appropriateness of the intervention for their specific context.

In a meta-analysis exploring which components make for an effective bullying intervention, Gaffney et al. (2021) identified the following as having significant intervention effects:

1. Whole School Approach
2. Anti-bullying policies
3. Working with victims
4. Classroom rules and management
5. Curriculum materials
6. Information for parents
7. Informal peer involvement
8. Mental health support

Many of these components can be reflected in the interventions outlined in Table 1. Here we will enquire further into components which were often reflected in Table 1.

The whole school approach has been considered across many of the interventions in Table 1 such as KiVa and OBPP, whereby interventions which involve the whole school ecosystem. A recurring characteristic within many of the interventions highlighted in the report is the provision of staff training, addressing teachers in the school system (e.g., in Zippy's Friends, ViSC, LINKlusive, Friendly Schools, Steps to Respect, OBPP, KiVa, and Second Step). The broader field of intervention research recognises the need for appropriate training for intervention implementors to support the efficacy of an intervention (Durlak & DuPre, 2008). In addition to training support for staff, it is important that staff training for health-related interventions is accessible in terms of its scheduling, delivery methods, training content, affordability, resource availability, relevance, and the appropriateness of training content (Sadjadi et al., 2022).

Many of the interventions outlined in Table 1 contain a technological element to the intervention (e.g., OBPP, KiVa, LINKlusive), which can represent curriculum materials. There have been recent advancements in the use of technology in bullying interventions, though there is still scope for greater technological assistance within the interventions (Nocentini et al., 2015). In the systematic review of technology-assisted bullying interventions conducted by Nocentini et al. (2015), technology is often used through different mediums, including but not limited to serious games (e.g. games used for educational purposes), virtual reality programmes, and online activities. Digital implementation strategies can be personalised to each student's experience, allow for learning within a safe and anonymous space, be an attractive resource to students, and be used to bolster in-person interventions (Chen et al., 2023; Nocentini et al., 2015).

Restorative approaches within anti-bullying programmes focus on building communities of care, whereby all those involved within bullying are supported, and perpetrators are held accountable for their actions but are also recipients of support (Morrison, 2002). A core element of restorative practice is holistic in nature, and actively incorporates those directly involved in the bullying, the wider group of students or classroom, school staff, as well as families (Acosta et al., 2019). It is necessary for schools to consider bullying beyond the school confines, and to involve the families of students (Silva et al., 2017; Stevens et al., 2001). Such approaches might reflect many of the components outlined above, such as WSA, anti-bullying policies, working with victims, and information for parents.. Further research is needed, however, in order to better understand the effects of each of these inter-community interactions (Acosta et al., 2019), though there is evidence which finds restorative whole school approaches to significantly reduce bullying as well as increase both empathy and self-esteem (Wong et al., 2011).

The field of bullying literature has identified that teachers can be detached from the acts of bullying between students (Eriksen, 2018; Khanolainen et al., 2021), suggesting that student voices should be incorporated in the development of bullying interventions, as they are the individuals who experience bullying. As such, Gaffney et al. (2021) found that interventions which incorporated peer interactions in contexts where they would naturally occur significantly reduce both bullying victimisation and perpetration (informal peer involvement component). Working with students to help them counsel and support one another can encourage active listening and communication between the students (Lee et al., 2015). The NoTrap! Program is an intervention in which students are involved in the intervention, with specific peer led workshops. In addition, NoTrap! is an example of

an intervention which was first developed by researchers and subsequently students then adapted and shaped it; this student involvement in the intervention allows for students to feel respected and having responsibility over the initiative helps motivate students to be involved in the intervention (Palladino et al., 2016).

Further Considerations and Suggestions

Though much of the literature surrounding bullying finds that interventions are effective in reducing bullying itself, as well as related outcomes, there are limitations to the extent to which these findings can be applicable across contexts. For example, evidence has found that within bullying intervention literature, there is considerable variety in effect size and a limited number of interventions were found to have a negative effect (Gaffney et al., 2021; Merrell et al., 2008). Despite the extensive size of the corpus of bullying literature, there are many methodological limitations in the field that restrict how much of this literature can be generalised to various settings (Evans et al., 2014).

In addition, cultural differences are of considerable importance when investigating bullying interventions and understanding appropriateness across different school contexts. Reviews of the field have frequently stated how the existing corpus of the literature contains elements of cultural specificity, and that caution should be placed when making cross-cultural assumptions (Evans et al., 2014; Gaffney et al., 2019). One such critique highlights that the majority of bullying intervention empirical evidence comes from high-income countries, with very limited data from schools in low- and middle-income countries (Doty et al., 2022; Sivaraman et al., 2019). To illustrate cultural differences in bullying intervention research, Gaffney et al. (2019) found that, while school-based interventions are generally effective in reducing school-bullying perpetration and victimisation, the level of intervention effectiveness differs across countries. The variation in intervention effectiveness across different countries highlights the critical importance of schools carefully evaluating and adapting bullying intervention strategies from literature to align with their unique cultural contexts and societal factors. This is further stressed by Gaffney et al. (2019) who emphasise the need to implement interventions that acknowledge cultural differences in bullying behaviour. They highlight this through the case of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP), which was first implemented in Norway and received more positive results there than when it was implemented in the United States.

Furthermore, the prevalence of cyberbullying has emerged as a significant concern in recent years (Zhu et al., 2021). With the frequent use of digital technologies and social media platforms among youths, bullying behaviour has extended beyond the physical boundaries of schools and into the virtual realm. The anonymity and reach of the internet can amplify the negative impacts of cyberbullying, making it a challenging issue to address. As such, schools must adapt their bullying intervention strategies to consider not only traditional forms of bullying but also cyberbullying. This may involve educating students, teachers, and parents about the risks and consequences of cyberbullying, implementing monitoring and reporting mechanisms for online behaviour, and encouraging responsible use of technology (Gradinger et al., 2016; Olweus et al., 2019). Additionally, school and parental collaboration with technology companies, law enforcement agencies, and online safety organisations can also aid in developing comprehensive approaches to address cyberbullying effectively.

The report thus far has focused on bullying in and amongst students, but it is vital that we highlight that teachers can also be victims of bullying, both from students and other staff members (Riley et al., 2011; Steffgen & Ewen, 2007). This is a crucial aspect that cannot be overlooked. For more information on the importance of staff wellbeing we encourage school stakeholders to read our Wellbeing for Schoolteachers report (Taylor et al., 2024). Understanding that teachers and school staff are also at risk of being a bullying victim, and/or perpetrator, further emphasises the importance of considering holistic, whole school approaches to bullying intervention implementation. By acknowledging the diverse range of bullying scenarios, including the potential for teachers and staff to be targeted, schools can develop a more comprehensive understanding of the challenges they face. This awareness can inform the development of tailored, inclusive strategies to effectively address bullying. A holistic approach should encompass preventive measures, intervention protocols, and support systems that cater to the needs of all stakeholders within the educational community, regardless of their roles or positions.

Summary

It is clear from the literature that positive peer relations and social support are vital to wellbeing throughout the life course. Bullying can have pervasive and long-lasting impacts for young people, even into adulthood. Such impacts include child and adult wellbeing, as well as wellbeing-related outcomes such as anxiety, mental health issues, and lifestyle behaviours such as substance use and abuse. Schools are a critical point to address and intervene, for the sake of not only their school community and for wider society.

Schools can explore the body of literature for best practices and intervention characteristics to improve peer relations by reducing bullying and mitigating against its negative outcomes, whilst also considering the relevance of these intervention elements to their own unique school context and with their unique and diverse population. It is important for schools to work with and support all those involved within the group phenomenon of bullying (i.e., bullies, victims, bully-victims, and bystanders), as well as those who are indirectly involved, such as teachers, parents, and school staff. Schools should pay particular attention to interventions which consider different aspects of school life and take a multi-component approach.

Bullying is a complex phenomenon, and is evolving in our ever-changing society, particularly in relation to our world and lives becoming increasingly digitalised. There is considerable, global anxiety surrounding the rise of digital technologies and their consequences on cyberbullying, and how evasive such a form of bullying can be. As such, the field of bullying research and bullying intervention evidence might change in future years as the field develops in parallel to wider society. This report emphasises the need for schools to consider bullying interventions within the context of the needs of their own specific communities and address the most pressing issues of relevance to said communities. Implementing these interventions during childhood and adolescence allows for the potential to mitigate the negative impacts of bullying, thereby not only aiding in improving individual student wellbeing, but also leading to positive societal impacts by diminishing the need for societal support toward those whose lives were negatively impacted by the effects of childhood bullying.

References

For a full list of references used in this report and access to additional supplementary materials, visit wellbeing.hmc.ox.ac.uk/schools.

Acosta, J., Chinman, M., Ebener, P., Malone, P.S., Phillips, A., & Wilks, A. (2019). Evaluation of a whole-school change intervention: Findings from a two-year cluster-randomized trial of the restorative practices intervention. *Journal of Youth Adolescence, 48*, 876–890 . https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-019-01013-2

Álvarez-García, D., García, T., & Núñez, J. C. (2015). Predictors of school bullying perpetration in adolescence: A systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 23*, 126–136. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2015.05.007

Andreou, E., Didaskalou, E., & Vlachou, A. (2007). Evaluating the Effectiveness of a Curriculum-based Anti-bullying Intervention Program in Greek Primary Schools. *Educational Psychology, 27*(5), 693–711. https://doi.org/10.1080/01443410601159993

Arango, C., Martín-Babarro, J., Abregú-Crespo, R., Huete-Diego, M. Á., Alvariño-Piqueras, M., Serrano-Marugán, I., & Díaz-Caneja, C. M. (2024). A web-enabled, school-based intervention for bullying prevention (LINKlusive): a cluster randomised trial. *EClinicalMedicine, 68*, 102427. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eclinm.2024.102427

Armitage, R. (2021). Bullying in children: Impact on child health. *BMJ Paediatrics Open, 5*(1), e000939. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjpo-2020-000939

Banyard, V.L., Plante, E.G., Moynihan, V.L. (2005). Rape prevention through bystander education: Bringing a broader community perspective to sexual violence prevention. U.S. Department of Justice. https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/208701.pdf

Biswas, T., Scott, J. G., Munir, K., Thomas, H. J., Huda, M. M., Hasan, Md. M., David De Vries, T., Baxter, J., & Mamun, A. A. (2020). Global variation in the prevalence of bullying victimisation amongst adolescents: Role of peer and parental supports. *EClinicalMedicine, 20*, 100276. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eclinm.2020.100276

Biswas, T., Thomas, H. J., Scott, J. G., Munir, K., Baxter, J., Huda, M. M., Renzaho, A. M. N., Cross, D., Ahmed, H. U., Mahumud, R. A., & Mamun, A. A. (2022). Variation in the prevalence of different forms of bullying victimisation among adolescents and their associations with family, peer and school connectedness: a population-based study in 40 lower and middle income to high-income countries (LMIC-HICs). *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma, 15*(4), 1029–1039. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40653-022-00451-8

Brown, E. C., Low, S., Smith, B. H., & Haggerty, K. P. (2011). Outcomes from a school-randomized controlled trial of steps to respect: A bullying prevention program. *School Psychology Review, 40*(3), 423–443. https://doi.org/10.1080/02796015.2011.12087707

Byrne, H., Dooley, B., Fitzgerald, A., & Dolphin, L. (2016). Adolescents' definitions of bullying: The contribution of age, gender, and experience of bullying. *European Journal of Psychology of Education, 31*(3), 403–418. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10212-015-0271-8

Cassidy, J., & Asher, S. R. (1992). Loneliness and peer relations in young children. *Child Development, 63*(2), 350–365. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131484

Chen, Q., Chan, K. L., Guo, S., Chen, M., Lo, C. K., & Ip, P. (2023). Effectiveness of digital health interventions in reducing bullying and cyberbullying: A meta-analysis. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 24*(3), 1986–2002. https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380221082090

Coker, A. L., Bush, H. M., Cook-Craig, P. G., DeGue, S. A., Clear, E. R., Brancato, C. J., Fisher, B. S., & Recktenwald, E. A. (2017). RCT testing bystander effectiveness to reduce violence. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 52*(5), 566–578. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2017.01.020

Coker, A. L., Cook-Craig, P. G., Williams, C. M., Fisher, B. S., Clear, E. R., Garcia, L. S., & Hegge, L. M. (2011). Evaluation of green dot: An active bystander intervention to reduce sexual violence on college campuses. *Violence Against Women, 17*(6), 777–796. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801211410264

Committee for Children. (2005). Steps to respect: A bullying prevention program. https://www.cfchildren.org/wp-content/uploads/resources/previous-programs/steps-to-respect/STR_ROR.pdf

Committee for Children. (2008). Second step: Student success through prevention program.

Cook, C. R., Williams, K. R., Guerra, N. G., & Kim, T. E. (2009). Variability in the prevalence of bullying and victimization: A cross-national and methodological analysis. In *Handbook of Bullying in Schools* (pp. 347-358). Routledge.

Cosma, A., Molcho, M., & Pickett, W. (2024). *A focus on adolescent peer violence and bullying in Europe, central Asia and Canada. Health Behaviour in School-aged Children international report from the 2021/2022 survey*. World Health Organization

Crick, N. R., & Grotpeter, J. K. (1995). *Peer Nomination Instrument* [Database record]. APA PsycTests. https://doi.org/10.1037/t05247-000

Cross, D., Shaw, T., Epstein, M., Pearce, N., Barnes, A., Burns, S., Waters, S., Lester, L., & Runions, K. (2018). Impact of the *Friendly Schools* whole-school intervention on transition to secondary school and adolescent bullying behaviour. *European Journal of Education, 53*(4), 495–513. https://doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12307

Da Silva, J., De Oliveira, W., Braga, I., Farias, M., Da Silva Lizzi, E., Gonçalves, M., Pereira, B., & Silva, M. (2016). The Effects of a Skill-Based Intervention for Victims of Bullying in Brazil. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 13*(11), 1042. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph13111042

Demaray, M. K., Summers, K. H., Jenkins, L. N., & Becker, L. D. (2016). Bullying Participant Behaviors Questionnaire (BPBQ): Establishing a Reliable and Valid Measure. *Journal of School Violence, 15*(2), 158–188. https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2014.964801

Dietrich, L., & Zimmermann, D. (2019). How aggression-related mindsets explain SES-differences in bullying behavior. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties, 24*(2), 181–195. https://doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2019.1591032

Doty, J. L., Girón, K., Mehari, K. R., Sharma, D., Smith, S. J., Su, Y.-W., Ma, X., Rijo, D., & Rousso, B. (2022). The dosage, context, and modality of interventions to prevent cyberbullying perpetration and victimization: A systematic review. *Prevention Science, 23*(4), 523–537. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-021-01314-8

Due, P., Holstein, B. E., Lynch, J., Diderichsen, F., Gabhain, S. N., Scheidt, P., & Currie, C. (2005). Bullying and symptoms among school-aged children: International comparative cross sectional study in 28 countries. *European Journal of Public Health, 15*(2), 128–132. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/cki105

Durlak, J. A., & DuPre, E. P. (2008). Implementation matters: A review of research on the influence of implementation on program outcomes and the factors affecting implementation. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 41*(3–4), 327–350. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-008-9165-0

Eijigu, T.D., Teketel, S.Z. Bullying in schools: prevalence, bystanders' reaction and associations with sex and relationships. *BMC Psychol* 9, 183 (2021). https://doi.org/10.1186/s40359-021-00685-5

Eriksen, I. M. (2018). The power of the word: Students' and school staff's use of the established bullying definition. *Educational Research, 60*(2), 157–170. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131881.2018.1454263

Espelage, D. L., & Holt, M. K. (2001). Bullying and victimization during early adolescence: Peer influences and psychosocial correlates. *Journal of Emotional Abuse, 2*, 123-142.

Espelage, D. L., Low, S., Polanin, J. R., & Brown, E. C. (2013). The impact of a middle school program to reduce aggression, victimization, and sexual violence. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 53*(2), 180–186. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2013.02.021

Espelage, D. L., & Swearer, S. M. (2003). Research on school bullying and victimization: What have we learned and where do we go from here? *School Psychology Review, 32*(3), 365–383.

Evans, C. B. R., Fraser, M. W., & Cotter, K. L. (2014). The effectiveness of school-based bullying prevention programs: A systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 19*(5), 532–544. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2014.07.004

Ferguson, S., Zimmer-Gembeck, M. J., & Duffy, A. L. (2016). A longitudinal study of relational aggression and victimisation in early adolescence: Gender differences in the moderating effects of social status. *Journal of Relationships Research*, 7, e8. https://doi.org/10.1017/jrr.2016.9

Fonagy, P., Twemlow, S. W., Vernberg, E. M., Nelson, J. M., Dill, E. J., Little, T. D., & Sargent, J. A. (2009). A cluster randomized controlled trial of child-focused psychiatric consultation and a school systems-focused intervention to reduce aggression. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 50*(5), 607–616. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2008.02025.x

Fraga, S., Soares, S., Peres, F. S., & Barros, H. (2022). Household dysfunction is associated with bullying behavior in 10-year-old children: Do socioeconomic circumstances matter?. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 37*(15-16), NP13877–NP13901. https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605211006352

Fu, Q., Land, K. C., & Lamb, V. L. (2016). Violent physical bullying victimization at school: Has there been a recent increase in exposure or intensity? An age-period-cohort analysis in the United States, 1991 to 2012. *Child Indicators Research, 9*(2), 485–513. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-015-9317-3

Gaffney, H., Ttofi, M. M., & Farrington, D. P. (2019). Evaluating the effectiveness of school-bullying prevention programs: An updated meta-analytical review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 45*, 111–133. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.07.001

Gaffney, H., Farrington, D.P. & Ttofi, M.M. (2019). Examining the effectiveness of school-bullying intervention programs globally: A meta-analysis. *International Journal of Bullying Prevention, 1*, 14–31. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42380-019-0007-4

Gaffney, H., Ttofi, M. M., & Farrington, D. P. (2021). What works in anti-bullying programs? Analysis of effective intervention components. *Journal of School Psychology, 85*, 37–56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2020.12.002

Galán, C. A., Stokes, L. R., Szoko, N., Abebe, K. Z., & Culyba, A. J. (2021). Exploration of Experiences and Perpetration of Identity-Based Bullying Among Adolescents by Race/Ethnicity and Other Marginalized Identities. *JAMA Network Open, 4*(7), e2116364. https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2021.16364

Garnett, B. R., Masyn, K. E., Austin, S. B., Miller, M., Williams, D. R., & Viswanath, K. (2014). The Intersectionality of Discrimination Attributes and Bullying Among Youth: An Applied Latent Class Analysis. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 43*(8), 1225–1239. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-013-0073-8

Gini, G., & Pozzoli, T. (2009). Association Between Bullying and Psychosomatic Problems: A Meta-analysis. *Pediatrics, 123*(3), 1059–1065. https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2008-1215

Gradinger, P., Yanagida, T., Strohmeier, D., & Spiel, C. (2016). Effectiveness and sustainability of the ViSC Social Competence Program to prevent cyberbullying and cyber-victimization: Class and individual level moderators. *Aggressive Behavior, 42*(2), 181–193. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21631

Hamburger, M.E., Basile, K.C., Vivolo, A.M. (2011) Measuring Bullying Victimization, Perpetration, and Bystander Experiences: A Compendium of Assessment Tools. Atlanta, GA: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2011. https://www.cdc.gov/youth-violence/communication-resources/BullyCompendium-a.pdf

Hellström, L., Persson, L. & Hagquist, C. Understanding and defining bullying – adolescents' own views. *Arch Public Health 73*, 4 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1186/2049-3258-73-4

Hinduja, S., & Patchin, J. W. (2017). Cultivating youth resilience to prevent bullying and cyberbullying victimization. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 73*, 51–62. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.09.010

Holen, S., Waaktaar, T., Lervåg, A., & Ystgaard, M. (2012). The effectiveness of a universal school-based programme on coping and mental health: A randomised, controlled study of Zippy's Friends. *Educational Psychology, 32*(5), 657–677. https://doi.org/10.1080/01443410.2012.686152

Holt, M. K., & Keyes, M. A. (2004). Teachers' attitudes toward bullying. In D. L. Espelage & S. M. Swearer (Eds.), *Bullying in American schools: A social-ecological perspective on prevention and intervention* (pp. 121–139). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Hong, J. S., & Espelage, D. L. (2012). A review of research on bullying and peer victimization in school: An ecological system analysis. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 17*(4), 311–322. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2012.03.003

Hunter, S. C., Boyle, J. M. E. & Warden, D. (2004). Help seeking amongst child and adolescent victims of peer-aggression and bullying: The influence of school-stage, gender, victimisation, appraisal, and emotion. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 74*(3), 375-390.

Hymel, S., & Swearer, S. M. (2015). Four decades of research on school bullying: An introduction. *American Psychologist*, 70(4), 293–299. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038928

Itzkovich, Y., Barhon, E., & Lev-Wiesel, R. (2021). Health and risk behaviors of bystanders: An integrative theoretical model of bystanders' reactions to mistreatment. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 18*(11), 5552. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18115552

Kärnä, A., Voeten, M., Little, T. D., Poskiparta, E., Kaljonen, A., & Salmivalli, C. (2011). A large-scale evaluation of the KiVa Antibullying Program: Grades 4–6. *Child Development, 82*(1), 311–330. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01557.x

Kärnä, A., Voeten, M., Little, T. D., Alanen, E., Poskiparta, E., & Salmivalli, C. (2013). Effectiveness of the KiVa Antibullying Program: Grades 1–3 and 7–9. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 105*(2), 535–551. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030417

Kendrick, K., Jutengren, G., & Stattin, H. (2012). The protective role of supportive friends against bullying perpetration and victimization. *Journal of Adolescence, 35*(4), 1069–1080. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2012.02.014

Kennedy, R. S. (2021). Bully-victims: An analysis of subtypes and risk characteristics. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 36*(11–12), 5401–5421. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517741213

Khanolainen, D., Semenova, E., & Magnuson, P. (2021). 'Teachers see nothing': Exploring students' and teachers' perspectives on school bullying with a new arts-based methodology. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 29*(3), 469–491. https://doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2020.1751249

Kljakovic, M., & Hunt, C. (2016). A meta-analysis of predictors of bullying and victimisation in adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence, 49*(1), 134–145. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2016.03.002

Lee, S., Kim, C.-J., & Kim, D. H. (2015). A meta-analysis of the effect of school-based anti-bullying programs. *Journal of Child Health Care, 19*(2), 136–153. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367493513503581

Limber, S.,& Wang, W. (2014). Bullying. In A.C. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of quality of life and well-being research* (pp. 461-466). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5_241

Lin, L. Y., Chien, Y. N., Chen, Y. H., Wu, C. Y., & Chiou, H. Y. (2022). Bullying experiences, depression, and the moderating role of resilience among adolescents. *Frontiers In Public Health, 10*, 872100. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2022.872100

Ma, X. (2002). Bullying in middle school: Individual and school characteristics of victims and offenders. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 13*(1), 63–89. https://doi.org/10.1076/sesi.13.1.63.3438

Mackenzie, K., & Williams, C. (2018). Universal, school-based interventions to promote mental and emotional well-being: What is being done in the UK and does it work? A systematic review. *BMJ Open, 8*(9), e022560. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2018-022560

Man, X., Liu, J., & Xue, Z. (2022). Effects of bullying forms on adolescent mental health and protective factors: A global cross-regional research based on 65 countries. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 19*(4), 2374. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19042374

Marquez, J. (2021). Does school impact adolescents' life satisfaction differently for students of different socio-economic status? A comparative study in 33 countries. *Education Inquiry, 13*(4), 412–427. https://doi.org/10.1080/20004508.2021.1930345

Marquez, J., & Main, G. (2021). Can Schools and Education Policy Make Children Happier? A Comparative Study in 33 Countries. *Child Indicators Research, 14*(1), 283–339. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-020-09758-0

Meland, E., Rydning, J. H., Lobben, S., Breidablik, H.-J., & Ekeland, T.-J. (2010). Emotional, self-conceptual, and relational characteristics of bullies and the bullied. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health, 38*(4), 359–367. https://doi.org/10.1177/1403494810364563

Menesini, E., & Salmivalli, C. (2017). Bullying in schools: The state of knowledge and effective interventions. *Psychology, Health & Medicine, 22*(sup1), 240–253. https://doi.org/10.1080/13548506.2017.1279740

Menin, D., Guarini, A., Mameli, C., Skrzypiec, G., & Brighi, A. (2021). Was that (cyber)bullying? Investigating the operational definitions of bullying and cyberbullying from adolescents' perspective. *International Journal of Clinical and Health Psychology, 21*(2), 100221. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijchp.2021.100221

Merrell, K. W., Gueldner, B. A., Ross, S. W., & Isava, D. M. (2008). How effective are school bullying intervention programs? A meta-analysis of intervention research. *School Psychology Quarterly, 23*(1), 26–42. https://doi.org/10.1037/1045-3830.23.1.26

Modecki, K. L., Minchin, J., Harbaugh, A. G., Guerra, N. G., & Runions, K. C. (2014). Bullying prevalence across contexts: A meta-analysis measuring cyber and traditional bullying. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 55*(5), 602–611. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2014.06.007

Moore, S. E., Norman, R. E., Suetani, S., Thomas, H. J., Sly, P. D., & Scott, J. G. (2017). Consequences of bullying victimization in childhood and adolescence: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *World Journal of Psychiatry, 7*(1), 60. https://doi.org/10.5498/wjp.v7.i1.60

Moore, B., & Woodcock, S. (2017). Resilience to bullying: Towards an alternative to the anti-bullying approach. *Educational Psychology in Practice, 33*(1), 65–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/02667363.2016.1233488

Morrison, B. (2002). *Bullying and victimisation in schools: A restorative justice approach.* Australian Institute of Criminology.

Nickerson, A.B. Preventing and Intervening with Bullying in Schools: A Framework for Evidence-Based Practice. *School Mental Health* 11, 15–28 (2019). https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-017-9221-8

Nocentini, A., Fiorentini, G., Di Paola, L., & Menesini, E. (2019). Parents, family characteristics and bullying behavior: A systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 45*, 41–50. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.07.010

Nocentini, A., Zambuto, V., & Menesini, E. (2015). Anti-bullying programs and Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs): A systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 23*, 52–60. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2015.05.012

Olweus, D. (1996). The Revised Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire. Research Center for Health Promotion (HEMIL Center), Bergen: University of Bergen.

Olweus, D. (1972, January). Personality and aggression. In *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation. Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (Vol. 20, pp. 261-321).

Olweus, D. (1994). Bullying at School. In L. R. Huesmann (Ed.), *Aggressive Behavior* (pp. 97–130). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4757-9116-7_5

Olweus, D. (2013). School Bullying: Development and Some Important Challenges. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 9*(1), 751–780. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-050212-185516

Olweus, D., Limber, S. P., & Breivik, K. (2019). Addressing specific forms of bullying: A large-scale evaluation of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program. *International Journal of Bullying Prevention, 1*(1), 70–84. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42380-019-00009-7

Padgett, S., & Notar, C. E. (2013). Bystanders are the key to stopping bullying. *Universal Journal of Educational Research, 1*(2), 33–41. https://doi.org/10.13189/ujer.2013.010201

Palladino B. E. (2013). Evidence-based intervention against bullying and cyberbullying: Measurement of the constructs, evaluation of efficacy and mediation processes. [Doctoral dissertation]. https://hdl.handle.net/2158/856713

Palladino, B. E., Nocentini, A., & Menesini, E. (2012). Online and offline peer led models against bullying and cyberbullying. *Psicothema, 24*(4), 634–639.

Palladino, B. E., Nocentini, A., & Menesini, E. (2016). Evidence-based intervention against bullying and cyberbullying: Evaluation of the NoTrap! program in two independent trials. *Aggressive Behavior, 42*(2), 194–206. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21636

Park, I. Y., Speer, R., Whitfield, D. L., Kattari, L., Walls, E. N., & Christensen, C. (2022). Predictors of bullying, depression, and suicide attempts among youth: The intersection of race/ethnicity by gender identity. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 139, 106536. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2022.106536

Poteat, V. P., & Espelage, D. L. (2005). Exploring the Relation Between Bullying and Homophobic Verbal Content: The Homophobic Content Agent Target (HCAT) Scale. *Violence and Victims, 20*(5), 513–528. https://doi.org/10.1891/vivi.2005.20.5.513

Pöyhönen, V., Juvonen, J., & Salmivalli, C. (2010). What Does It Take to Stand Up for the Victim of Bullying?: The Interplay Between Personal and Social Factors. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly 56*(2), 143-163. https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/mpq.0.0046.

Rigby, K. (1997) Attitudes and beliefs about bullying among Australian school children. *Irish Journal of Psychology*, 18, 2, 202 - 220.

Rigby, K., & Johnson, B. (2006). Expressed Readiness of Australian Schoolchildren to Act as Bystanders in Support of Children who are Being Bullied. *Educational Psychology, 26*(3), 425–440. https://doi.org/10.1080/01443410500342047

Rigby, K. and Slee, P.T. (1993) Dimensions of interpersonal relating among Australian school children and their implications for psychological wellbeing. *Journal of Social Psychology, 133*(1), 33-42

Rigby, K., & Slee, P. T. (1993). *Peer Relations Questionnaire (PRQ)* [Database record]. APA PsycTests. https://doi.org/10.1037/t14963-000

Riley, D., Duncan, D. J., & Edwards, J. (2011). Staff bullying in Australian schools. *Journal of Educational Administration, 49*(1), 7–30. https://doi.org/10.1108/09578231111102036

Roland, E., Bru, E., Midthassel, U. V., & Vaaland, G. S. (2010). The Zero programme against bullying: Effects of the programme in the context of the Norwegian manifesto against bullying. *Social Psychology of Education, 13*(1), 41–55. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-009-9096-0

Sabah, A., Aljaberi, M. A., Lin, C. Y., & Chen, H. P. (2022). The associations between sibling victimization, sibling bullying, parental acceptance-rejection, and school bullying. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 19*(23), 16346. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph192316346

Sadjadi, M., Blanchard, L., Brülle, R., & Bonell, C. (2022). Barriers and facilitators to the implementation of Health-Promoting School programmes targeting bullying and violence: A systematic review. *Health Education Research, 36*(5), 581–599. https://doi.org/10.1093/her/cyab029

Sainio, M., Veenstra, R., Huitsing, G., & Salmivalli, C. (2011). Victims and their defenders: A dyadic approach. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 35*(2), 144–151. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025410378068

Salmivalli, C. (2014). Participant roles in bullying: How can peer bystanders be utilized in interventions? *Theory Into Practice, 53*(4), 286–292. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2014.947222

Salmivalli, C. (2023). Focus on targeted interventions addressing bullying: what explains their success or failure? *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 20*(6), 1082–1098. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405629.2022.2156857

Salmivalli, C., Kärnä, A., & Poskiparta, E. (2011). Counteracting bullying in Finland: The KiVa program and its effects on different forms of being bullied. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 35*(5), 405–411. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025411407457

Salmivalli, C., Kaukiainen, A., & Voeten, M. (2005). Anti-bullying intervention: Implementation and outcome. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 75*(3), 465–487. https://doi.org/10.1348/000709905X26011

Salmivalli, C., Lagerspetz, K., Björkqvist, K., Österman, K., & Kaukiainen, A. (1996). Bullying as a group process: Participant roles and their relations to social status within the group. *Aggressive Behavior, 22*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1098-2337(1996)22:1<1::AID-AB1>3.0.CO;2-T

Sapouna, M., de Amicis, L. & Vezzali, L. (2023). Bullying victimization due to racial, ethnic, citizenship and/or religious status: A systematic review. *Adolescent Reseach Review, 8*, 261–296. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-022-00197-2

Sapouna, M., & Wolke, D. (2013). Resilience to bullying victimization: The role of individual, family and peer characteristics. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 37*(11), 997–1006. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.05.009

Scheithauer, H., Hayer, T., Petermann, F., & Jugert, G. (2006). Physical, verbal, and relational forms of bullying among German students: Age trends, gender differences, and correlates. *Aggressive Behavior, 32*(3), 261–275. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.20128

Shemesh, D. O., & Heiman, T. (2021). Resilience and self-concept as mediating factors in the relationship between bullying victimization and sense of well-being among adolescents. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth, 26*(1), 158–171. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2021.1899946

Shetgiri R. (2013). Bullying and victimization among children. *Advances in Pediatrics, 60*(1), 33–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yapd.2013.04.004

Silva, G. R. R. E., Lima, M. L. C. D., Acioli, R. M. L., & Barreira, A. K. (2020). Prevalence and factors associated with bullying: Differences between the roles of bullies and victims of bullying. *Jornal de Pediatria, 96*(6), 693–701. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jped.2019.09.005

Silva, M. A., Pereira, B., Mendonça, D., Nunes, B., & de Oliveira, W. A. (2013). The involvement of girls and boys with bullying: an analysis of gender differences. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 10*(12), 6820–6831. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph10126820

Sivaraman, B., Nye, E., & Bowes, L. (2019). School-based anti-bullying interventions for adolescents in low- and middle-income countries: A systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 45*, 154–162. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.07.007

Smith, P. K., Kwak, K., & Toda, Y. (Eds.). (2016). *School bullying in different cultures: Eastern and Western perspectives* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139410878

Song, J., & Oh, I. (2018). Factors influencing bystanders' behavioral reactions in cyberbullying situations. *Computers in Human Behavior, 78*, 273–282. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.10.008

Southwick, S. M., Bonanno, G. A., Masten, A. S., Panter-Brick, C., & Yehuda, R. (2014). Resilience definitions, theory, and challenges: interdisciplinary perspectives. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology, 5*, 10.3402/ejpt.v5.25338. https://doi.org/10.3402/ejpt.v5.25338

Spirito, A., Stark, L. J., & Williams, C. (1988). Development of a brief coping checklist for use with pediatric populations. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology, 13*(4), 555–574.

Strohmeier, D., Hoffmann, C., Schiller, E. M., Stefanek, E., & Spiel, C. (2012). ViSC social competence program. *New Directions for Youth Development, 2012*(133), 71-84.

Steffgen, G., & Ewen, N. (2007). Teachers as victims of school violence–the influence of strain and school culture. *International Journal on Violence and Schools, 3*(1), 81-93.

Stein, J. A., Dukes, R. L., & Warren, J. I. (2006). Adolescent male bullies, victims, and bully-victims: A comparison of psychosocial and behavioral characteristics. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology, 32*(3), 273–282. https://doi.org/10.1093/jpepsy/jsl023

Stevens, V., De Bourdeaudhuij, I., & Van Oost, P. (2001). Anti-bullying interventions at school: Aspects of programme adaptation and critical issues for further programme development. *Health Promotion International, 16*(2), 155–167. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/16.2.155

Sumter, S. R., Baumgartner, S. E., Valkenburg, P. M., & Peter, J. (2012). Developmental trajectories of peer victimization: Off-line and online experiences during adolescence. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 50*(6), 607–613. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2011.10.251

Takizawa, R., Maughan, B., & Arseneault, L. (2014). Adult health outcomes of childhood bullying victimization: evidence from a five-decade longitudinal British birth cohort. *The American Journal of Psychiatry, 171*(7), 777–784. https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.2014.13101401

Taylor, L. J., De Neve, J-E., DeBorst, L., & Khanna, D. (2022). *Wellbeing in Education in Childhood and Adolescence (Report No. 1)*. International Baccalaureate Organisation.

Taylor, L., Zhou, W., Boyle, L., Funk, S., & De Neve, J-E. (2024). *Wellbeing for Schoolteachers (Report No. 2)*. International Baccalaureate Organization.

Thomas, H. J., Chan, G. C., Scott, J. G., Connor, J. P., Kelly, A. B., & Williams, J. (2016). Association of different forms of bullying victimisation with adolescents' psychological distress and reduced emotional wellbeing. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 50*(4), 371-379.

Tippett, N., & Wolke, D. (2014). Socioeconomic status and bullying: A meta-analysis. *American Journal of Public Health, 104*(6), e48–e59. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2014.301960

Ttofi, M. M., & Farrington, D. P. (2011). Effectiveness of school-based programs to reduce bullying: A systematic and meta-analytic review. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 7*(1), 27–56. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-010-9109-1

UNESCO, I. (2019). Behind the numbers: Ending school violence and bullying. *UNESCO Digital Library*.

Veenstra, R., Lindenberg, S., Huitsing, G., Sainio, M., & Salmivalli, C. (2014). The role of teachers in bullying: The relation between antibullying attitudes, efficacy, and efforts to reduce bullying. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 106*(4), 1135–1143. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036110

Vivolo-Kantor, A. M., Martell, B. N., Holland, K. M., & Westby, R. (2014). A systematic review and content analysis of bullying and cyber-bullying measurement strategies. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 19*(4), 423–434. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2014.06.008

Volk, A. A., Dane, A. V., & Marini, Z. A. (2014). What is bullying? A theoretical redefinition. *Developmental Review, 34*(4), 327–343. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2014.09.001

Vreeman, R. C., & Carroll, A. E. (2007). A systematic review of school-based interventions to prevent bullying. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine, 161*(1), 78. https://doi.org/10.1001/archpedi.161.1.78

Walrave, M., & Heirman, W. (2011). Cyberbullying: Predicting victimisation and perpetration: Cyberbullying. *Children & Society, 25*(1), 59–72. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00260.x

Wang, J., Iannotti, R. J., & Nansel, T. R. (2009). School bullying among adolescents in the United States: Physical, verbal, relational, and cyber. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 45*(4), 368–375. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2009.03.021

Wolke, D., Copeland, W. E., Angold, A., & Costello, E. J. (2013). Impact of bullying in childhood on adult health, wealth, crime, and social outcomes. *Psychological Science, 24*(10), 1958–1970. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797613481608

Wolke, D., & Lereya, S. T. (2015). Long-term effects of bullying. *Archives of Disease in Childhood, 100*(9), 879–885. https://doi.org/10.1136/archdischild-2014-306667

Wong, D. S. W., Cheng, C. H. K., Ngan, R. M. H., & Ma, S. K. (2011). Program effectiveness of a restorative whole-school approach for tackling school bullying in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 55*(6), 846–862. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X10374638

Xie, Z., Man, W., Liu, C., & Fu, X. (2023). A PRISMA-Based Systematic Review of Measurements for School Bullying. *Adolescent Research Review, 8*(2), 219–259. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-022-00194-5

Xu, M., Macrynikola, N., Waseem, M., & Miranda, R. (2020). Racial and ethnic differences in bullying: Review and implications for intervention. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 50*, 101340. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2019.101340

Yu, S., & Zhao, X. (2021). The negative impact of bullying victimization on academic literacy and social integration: Evidence from 51 countries in PISA. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open, 4*(1), 100151. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2021.100151

Zhou, W., Taylor, L., Boyle, L., Funk, S., DeBorst, L., & De Neve, J-E. (2024). *Whole School Approach to Wellbeing in Childhood and Adolescence: Literature Review*. International Baccalaureate Organization.

Zhou, W., Taylor, L., Boyle, L., DeBorst, L., & De Neve, J-E. (2025). *Wellbeing in a Digital World: online facilitated interventions to support wellbeing in Childhood and Adolescence: Literature Review*. International Baccalaureate Organization.

Zhu, C., Huang, S., Evans, R., & Zhang, W. (2021). Cyberbullying among adolescents and children: A comprehensive review of the global situation, risk factors, and preventive measures. *Frontiers in Public Health, 9*, 634909. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2021.634909