Teachers tend to be very practical. They typically say words to the effect that, "Bullying researchers carry out research and provide interesting information and statistics about bullying. They can tell me more precisely, perhaps, what I already know. What I *need* to know, however, is what to do in my classroom and school tomorrow to deal effectively with bullying". With this in mind, our purpose is to provide fundamental information and a new interpretation of bullying behavior, as well as practical and useful strategies and solutions.

The chaos theory of bullying

There is a mass of empirical research that gives us a picture of what bullying is, but every time someone is bullied, it is *their* story that is important, and the circumstances and context of *this particular event.*

Bullying is a fact of life. Research on bullying tends to focus on rates of bullying, identifying and predicting victims of bullying, and school types or settings where bullying is most likely to occur (Figure 1.1). Empirical evidence is essential and very useful, but isolating and identifying causes will not eliminate bullying; nor can it be used predictively. While we may be able to generalize about the rates, characteristics and causes, statistical indicators are less important than how bullying affects individuals. In New Zealand, a zealous focus on single-sex boys' boarding schools in the 1990s had the effect of making other types of schools dismissive of their need to be vigilant about bullying: when high-risk contexts appear to be identified, everyone else puts anti-bullying protection on the back burner. However, being bullied at a co-educational school is every bit as bad as being bullied at a single-sex boys' school. The message is that *all* schools should be vigilant.

Bullying is random. What we are arguing is that it can happen to anyone at any time: while there is some predictability, there is also a massive element of chaos. Most research suggests that in year 10, for example, 25 percent of the school population is going to be bullied regularly. But in any sample of students, the victims are unlikely to add up to 25 percent. In one sample, there may be none, and in another, there may be a large number. This brings us back to one of our main points: that however statistical, descriptive, or quantitative research is, it cannot address individual stories, which are the crux of the issue.

What is bullying?

Definition

Bullying is a *negative* and often *aggressive or manipulative* act or series of acts by one or more people against another person or people usually over a period

The downward spiral of bullying

The ripple effect

Chaos theory

What is not bullying?

The hidden nature of bullying

The effects of bullying

What is bullying?

What we know about bullying in secondary schools

Does bullying decrease during the secondary school years?

Bystander

The bullying triangle

Victim

Bully

How widespread is bullying?

How to tell

Can we tell where bullying will occur?

Parents

Teachers

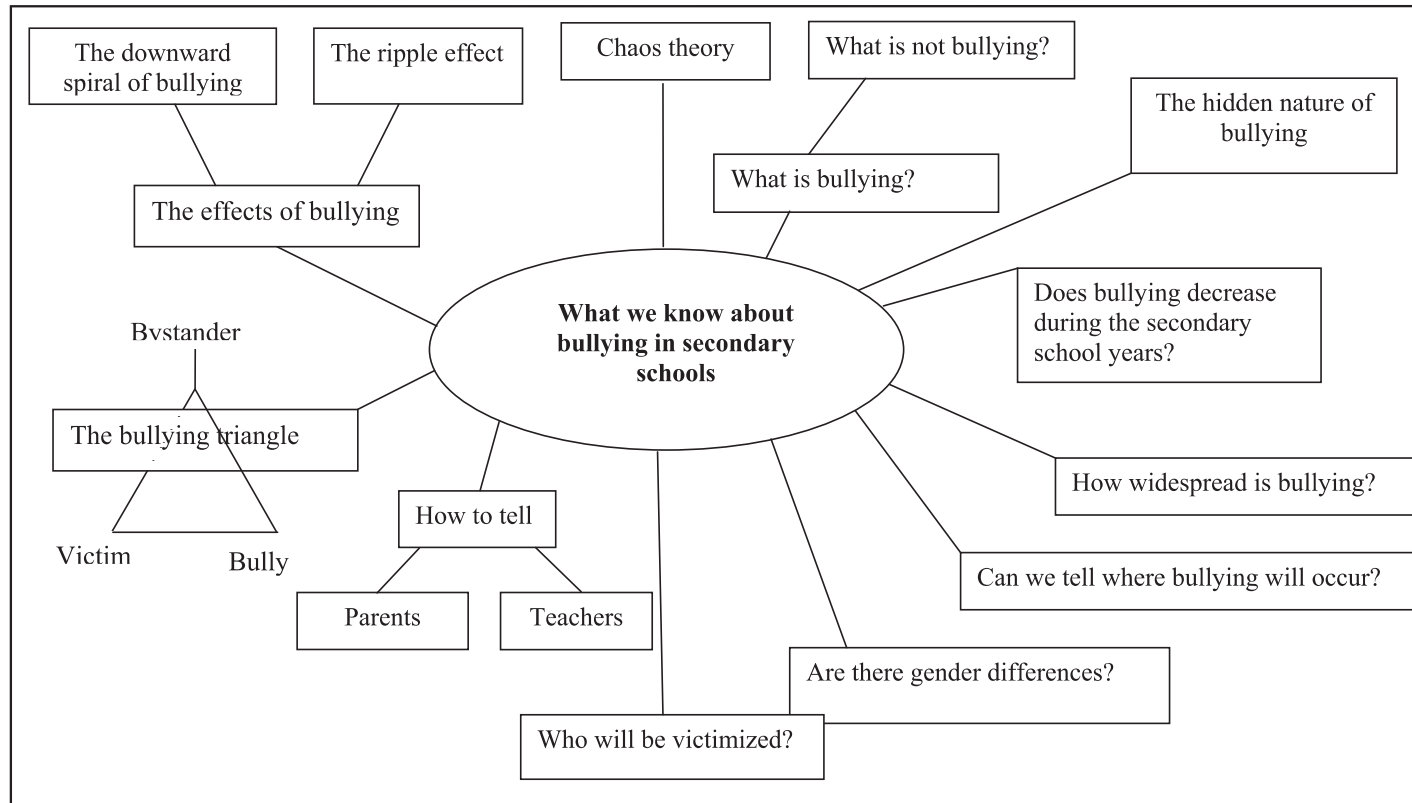Are there gender differences?

Who will be victimized?

Figure 1.1 *What we know about bullying*

of time. It is *abusive* and is based on an *imbalance of power*[1].
   Bullying contains the following elements:

1 The person doing the bullying has more power than the one being victimized.
2 Bullying is often organized, systematic and hidden.
3 Bullying is sometimes opportunistic, but once it starts is likely to continue.
4 It usually occurs over a period of time, although those who regularly bully may also carry out one-off incidents.
5 A victim of bullying can be hurt physically, emotionally, or psychologically.
6 All acts of bullying have an emotional or psychological dimension.

Forms of bullying

Bullying can be *physical* or *non-physical* and can include *damage to property*.

1 *Physical* bullying is the most obvious form of bullying and occurs when a person is physically harmed, through being *bitten*, *hit*, *kicked*, *punched*, *scratched*, *spat at*, *tripped up*, having his or her hair pulled, or any other form of physical attack.
2 *Nonphysical* bullying (sometimes referred to as social aggression) can be verbal and nonverbal.
   (a) *Verbal bullying.* This *includes abusive telephone calls, extorting money or material possessions, general intimidation or threats of violence, name-calling, racist remarks or teasing, sexually suggestive or abusive language, spiteful teasing or making cruel remarks,* and *spreading false and malicious rumours.*
   (b) *Nonverbal bullying.* Nonverbal bullying can be direct or indirect. Direct nonverbal bullying often accompanies verbal or physical bullying. Indirect bullying is manipulative and often sneaky.
      (i) *Direct nonverbal bullying.* This includes making *rude gestures* and *mean faces* and is often not regarded as bullying as it is seen as relatively harmless. In fact, it may be used to maintain control over someone, and to intimidate and remind them that they are likely to be singled out at any time.
      (ii) *Indirect nonverbal bullying.* This includes: purposely and often systematically *ignoring*, *excluding*, and *isolating*; sending (often anonymous) *poisonous notes*; and *making other students dislike someone*.
3 *Damage to property.* This can include *ripping clothes*, *damaging books*, *destroying property*, and *taking property (theft).*

Bullying can be any *one* of the above or a *combination* of them.
   Bullying is a *cowardly* act because those who do it know they will probably

get away with it, as the victimized person(s) is(are) unlikely to retaliate effectively, if at all, nor are they likely to tell anyone about it. Bullying often relies on those who are marginally involved, often referred to as bystanders, doing nothing to stop it or becoming actively involved in supporting it.

Most bullying is *indiscriminate* and is not caused by or the result of obvious differences between students: "Victims are not different—the group decides on the difference" (Robinson and Maines, 1997: 51).

Physical bullying often *causes visible hurt* in the form of cuts and bruises. *All bullying causes invisible hurt in the form of internal psychological (or emotional) damage*. When the hurt is invisible there is a sense that there is no proof that anything bad has happened.

Victims of bullying may feel *alone, angry, depressed, disempowered, hated, hurt, sad, scared, subhuman, trampled on, useless,* or *vengeful*.

At the extreme end of the spectrum of physical bullying is behavior that moves into the realm of criminality and involves the use of weapons. The *carrying and use of weapons* in schools is a growing phenomenon internationally and is a major cause of concern in American schools in particular. Killings in American high schools in the last few years have occurred across a wide age range. However, a major study of violence in American schools by Kingery, Coggeshall and Alford (1998), that was published before the Columbine and Santee shootings, suggested that the carrying and use of weapons in high schools mostly involved only grade 12 students and was often linked to students who took part in neighborhood violence.

The differences between these findings and the Columbine and Santee attacks should alert us to the fact that statistical results may bear little resemblance to what actually happens. However, research by the US Secret Service on high school shootings, while saying there is no single "typical" school shooter, did suggest that the majority of such students had previously drawn attention to themselves in some way and complained of being bullied (BBC News website, "Education," July 18, 2001 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/1445005.stm). The carrying and use of weapons can thus be a hidden part of a larger culture in which bullying may be endemic.

> While statistical results may give us indications of trends, they can never mitigate against actual bullying events, can never predict who will bully and how, and cannot determine who will be a victim and why.

What is not bullying

In the same way that it is important to be clear about what is bullying, it is also important to be clear about what is not bullying, to know where the

boundaries lie (Sullivan, 2000: 13).

Bullying is hidden, opportunist, mean-minded, and recurrent, and involves an imbalance of power. There are other types of behavior that are sometimes mistaken for bullying but which occur in the open and do not involve an imbalance of power. For example, two individuals (or groups) may get into an argument or fight (verbal or physical) as tempers flare up and things get out of hand. While such conflicts need to be dealt with in schools in a transparent and fair way, they do not constitute bullying. Rather, they are simple cases of conflict.

In some instances, however, individuals or a group set out to create a situation where it appears that those involved have equal responsibility, but this may be part of a plan to discredit a targetted person (or group). They may blame the victim for starting the fight and may even pose as victims themselves to deflect punishment and maintain their hidden status as bullies. It is important that schools are able to distinguish between conflict and bullying, and to see through the web of deceit that typically surrounds bullying.

What we know about bullying

The hidden nature of bullying

One of the major issues to come out of several major research projects (Adair et al., 2000: 211; Smith, 1999: 83, for instance) is that most victims of bullying are reluctant to tell anyone about it. Part of the bullying dynamic is the power imbalance between the bully and victim, which is a guarantee that the bullying is unlikely to be reported. Like other forms of abuse, bullying is hidden. The reasons people do not tell are very complicated:

- Victims are afraid and fear further retribution and harm.
- They think they will be singled out even more, and secretly hope that if they do not tell, the bully may like them after all.
- They do not believe teachers can or will do anything to make the bullying stop.
- They do not want to worry their parents.
- They are afraid that if their parents tell the school authorities, the bullying will get worse.
- Telling on peers is regarded as a very bad thing to do.
- They feel they are somehow to blame.

Research tends to indicate that around 30 percent of victims do not tell (for example, Rivers and Smith, 1994). Differences have been detected in who tells, who is told and what sort of bullying generally gets reported.

For example, Peterson and Rigby found that "reluctance to tell teachers is particularly marked among male adolescents, for whom 'dobbing' (an Australian term for 'telling') is seriously un-Australian'' (1999: 482). Smith and Shu (2000) suggest that students are reluctant to tell largely because adults (particularly teachers and administrators) talk about protecting those who tell, but this is actually difficult to guarantee. It is not surprising, therefore, that researchers from the University of Otago (Nairn and Smith, 2002: 18–19) reported that *teachers consistently underestimated the level of bullying that students identified as occurring.*

Adair et al. (2000) found that of the 81 percent of students in their survey who stated they had witnessed bullying, only 21 percent had reported it to an adult. Nearly half indicated they were just as likely to ignore bullying as to take action. A similar percentage did not believe it could be stopped and had no strategies for dealing with it.

The UK Department for Education and Employment anti-bullying package, *Bullying: Don't Suffer in Silence* (2000), underlines the need to bring the issue of bullying out into the open. This is part of the change that needs to occur in a safe school, so that bullying does not remain hidden and is thus divested of much of its power.

Does bullying decrease through the secondary school years?

There are certain identifiable patterns in the epidemiology of bullying in secondary schools:

1 There is a steady decrease in bullying and victimization between the ages of 12 and 18.
2 Bullying tends to be at its worst at the beginning of secondary school.
3 While bullying decreases as a whole as children get older, within this, direct physical aggression becomes less, and direct verbal and indirect other methods increase.
4 But if bullying does continue into older adolescence, it can become more severe.
5 Adolescents show less empathy towards their victims than younger children.

Research generally indicates clearly that bullying reaches a peak in early adolescence and then tails off throughout secondary school (see Kingery, Coggeshall and Alford, 1998; US Department of Justice, 1998, for instance). The steady decrease in bullying and victimization is a result of several factors. At the beginning of secondary school new arrivals are prey to older more experienced children (many of whom have previously "run the gauntlet").

New students do not know the rules in the generally much bigger and less friendly environment of the high school and, as a result, are more vulnerable. Physically they tend to be smaller than everyone else and psychologically to be less confident. The peer group at this stage is in a state of flux and bullying may become more frequent as power relationships are established. As they become older, adolescents become more resistant both to being victimized and to tolerating the bullying of others. Those who bullied them earlier may turn their attention to younger students, and as classes above them leave school the cohort of potential bullies becomes smaller.

Peterson and Rigby's Australian research found that in a school where an anti-bullying programme had been introduced, bullying was highest for boys and girls in year 9. While there was some decline in years 10 and 11, year 9 boys were particularly resistant to attempts to reduce bullying. Peterson and Rigby argue that the macho image of "toughing things out" makes it much harder for anti-bullying strategies to work:

> In a relatively extreme bullying environment, aspects of the school ethos may serve to encourage many mid-adolescent boys to engage in bullying as an admirably tough way of behaving or as a means of survival in a school jungle. Arguably, anti-bullying programmes could be seen as a direct attack upon prevailing "masculine" values of this group. This may explain why, after 2 years of exposure to anti-bullying information, reported peer victimization among Year 9 students appears to have increased together with greater reluctance to seek help from others. (1999: 491)

There are certain settings in which the normal fall-off that occurs in bullying throughout adolescence is less likely to occur. For instance, if a school champions and privileges one group above all others, it is easier for a bullying culture to take root and less likely that bullying will decline in the way that it usually does throughout adolescence.

Elite groups are sometimes given license to be abusive because of the status they bring to the school. In Mark's school, he uses the Maori concept of the warrior as protector (and the idea of *kia kaha*[2]) to teach those with power to use it for positive rather than abusive leadership purposes (see also Chapter 11).

How widespread is bullying?

Research tells us that consistently from country to country and from school to school bullying is widespread.

In a recent study of 4,236 middle school students in Maryland (Haynie et al., 2001), 30.9 percent of the students reported being victimized three or

more times over the past year. A further 7.4 percent reported having bullied others three or more times over that past year. More than half of those who reported bullying others also reported having been victims of bullying. Simanton, Burthwick and Hoover's (2000) study of bullying in small town America found that nearly one in three students experienced some degree of peer victimization and that one in five participated in bullying of peers.

In the UK, Smith and Shu (2000) carried out research targeting years 6 to 10 (10–to-14-year-olds) in 19 English schools, and found that, overall, 55.5 percent of pupils stated they had not been bullied, with 32.3 percent having been bullied once or twice, 4.3 percent two or three times a month, 3.8 percent once a week, and 4.1 percent several times a week. Sweeting and West's Scottish study (2001) found 44 percent of students reported some experience of being teased or called names and 17 percent reported having bullied. Fourteen percent said that they were teased weekly or more frequently, and 4 percent bullied others weekly or more frequently.

An Australian survey of more than 38,000 children (Peterson and Rigby, 1999) found that approximately one child in six is bullied at school at least once a week. *In a class of 30 this would mean five of the students would be victims of bullying and in a school with a population of 1,000, this would equate to 166 students.*

Adair et al. (2000) carried out a survey of 2,066 New Zealand secondary school students. When the researchers provided a list of behaviors that counted as bullying, 75 percent reported having been victims of bullying during the current year and 44 percent said that they had bullied others at some time during their schooling.

An examination of these results shows us that bullying does not conform to stereotypes. It is not restricted to poverty-stricken areas, ethnic or other minorities, dysfunctional children or gang warfare. Instead, the events touch us strongly because they show us that bullying occurs widely and indiscriminately.

Can we tell where bullying will occur?

An examination of violence-prone locations in American schools comes up with two concepts that are useful in analyzing the socially and organizationally complex secondary school context:

1 undefined public spaces (locations that are dangerous or violence prone because no one takes responsibility for monitoring and/or maintaining them); and
2 territoriality (by which crime and violence can be reduced if people are appointed to safeguard spaces so that they become owned by the school) (Astor, Meyer and Pitner, 2001).

Undefined public spaces tend to be unowned by school community members (students and staff) and are therefore more prone to violence. They include hallways, cafeterias, playgrounds, bathrooms, and routes to and from school. Although members of the school community are aware of the violence-proneness, neither students nor teachers think it their personal or professional responsibility to monitor them. A solution is that, from a territoriality perspective, students and teachers (for school spaces), and the community (for coming to and from school) should reclaim these spaces (see also Astor, Meyer and Behre, 1999).

Smith and Shu (2000) found that in British secondary schools most bullying takes place in the school yard. It occurs to a lesser extent in classrooms and corridors. But again, it needs to be stated that bullying can and does occur anywhere. The research of Adair et al. (2000: 211) indicates that bullying most often goes on very close to the teacher.

Are there gender differences in bullying?

In general, research into gender differences in bullying examines the nature of inter-gender and in-gender bullying, and the issues of whether girls and boys react differently to bullying and being bullied. Particular attention is paid to girls' involvement in manipulation and what is called social aggression.

While it has consistently been found that girls fight less than boys, an Australian study by Peterson and Rigby (1999: 483) found that although girls were involved as victims in less than half the amount of physical bullying than boys, boys were as involved as girls in the various forms of emotional/ psychological bullying:

1 being called hurtful names (boys 14.4 percent, girls 11.2 percent);
2 being unpleasantly teased (boys 14.2 percent, girls 11 percent);
3 being hit or kicked (boys 13.7 percent, girls 6.7 percent);
4 being often threatened (boys 12.9 percent, girls 5.3 percent); and
5 being often left out (boys 9.7 percent, girls 9 percent).

An American study by Galen and Underwood (1997) found girls experienced social aggression (aimed at hurting by damaging relationships) as being as hurtful as physical aggression. They point out that because victims of social aggression are not recognized as such (because the damage is internalized and not immediately visible) then victims of this type of bullying often do not receive teacher, parental, or peer support or intervention, and are by implication doubly victimized.

Owens, Slee and Shute's study (2000) also found girls were affected by both physical and indirect aggression. Those who were easy targets:

1 were new;
2 had few friends; or
3 were unassertive.

The first two characteristics mean that there is not a network or group of friends to provide support and protection, and the third means that the person in question does not have the social skills to help defuse or sidetrack initial bullying forays.

In the study by Adair et al. (2000), victims of bullying reported that boys were involved in 76 percent of incidents and girls in 45 percent. Going by these percentages, it appears that boys bully significantly more than girls. But it may be the case that the nature of much of girls' bullying is more subtle and better hidden or that the type of psychological bullying girls often take part in is not recognized as bullying. Lloyd (1994) talks of girls as "hidden bullies". She argues that while boys use physical means, girls rely on a range of psychological weapons, such as persistent teasing, isolation from the group, and spreading malicious rumours. Besag suggests that girls bully for reassurance and affiliation, "a feeling of belonging and shared intimacy expressed in exchanging confidences and gossip" (1989: 40); and she describes boys' bullying as displays of power and dominance.

Shakeshaft et al. (1995) identified three gender types particularly at risk of being bullied: girls seen by their peers as exceptionally attractive; girls regarded by their peers as unattractive; and males whose behaviour style does not fit gender-based expectations, that is, students who are or appear to be gay. It was observed in a high school in the North Island of New Zealand, for example, that every year the names of what were described as the four ugliest girls were written on a toilet door, and updated every year. In another school, the students were aware that every Tuesday night was "gay-bashing night".

How can you tell if someone is being bullied?

For parents
The teenage years are often very turbulent and adolescents can become upset for all kinds of reasons. If young people are in distress, it is sometimes hard to know whether this is "normal" or because they are having difficulty with issues such as bullying. The following are some of the symptoms that may be exhibited if they are being bullied:

1 They have physical injuries.
2 Some of their clothes are missing or ripped.
3 They steal money (to give to their tormentors or to replace what has been stolen from them).
4 Their belongings disappear.

5 They have extreme mood changes.
6 Their schoolwork declines.
7 They are reluctant to go to school.
8 They seem to have no friends.
9 They come home very early from "dates'' and meetings with friends.
10 They are evasive and noncommunicative.

For teachers

Teachers also need to be vigilant about the presence of bullying, especially as it is often hidden. The following characteristics may be indicators that bullying is occurring:

1 Members of a class titter, snigger, or nudge each other when a particular student comes in, answers a question, or draws any attention to him or herself.
2 A student appears despondent, listless, or unhappy.
3 A student is mostly alone, and/or is actively left out of activities.
4 A student is never chosen for joint activities.
5 A student who is working well and getting good grades seems to work less well and gets worse grades.
6 A student is frequently absent.

Can you tell who will be victimized?

The fact is that *anyone* can be victimized. Once a bullying culture is operating, those who are somehow different or stand out in some way are likely to be singled out, but the random and indiscriminate nature of bullying means that no one is immune. Having said that, many studies rightly address bullying that does target certain individuals, as a way of addressing questions of inequality, prejudice, and stereotyping within society.

It is significant that the young man in the story with which we opened this chapter is gay, and says that this was why he was bullied. We felt it was important to present his story without this information first of all, because the fundamental point of what he told us is that he was bullied, and that he was not supported by peers or teachers. To say that he is gay and that is why he was bullied is to find a reason within him for the fact that he was bullied, when the truth is that the reason lies outside him in the bullies and the bullying culture of which they were a part. That is one of the key themes of this book—shifting the focus from the victim to the bullying behavior

Racist bullying

Minority groups are often picked on because they look different, they have different values, and their languages, customs and food are unfamiliar. "Racist bullying is where racism and bullying meet. It is an abuse of power involving physical or psychological bullying, or both, to demean or cause harm. The most common form of racist bullying is racist name-calling, which is widely experienced by ethnic minority children" (Sullivan, 2000: 12). Racist bullying is a particular problem because of the injustices involved and the wanton cruelty of its jibes and actions.

Bullying of special needs students

These children stand out in a classroom and school as a result of physical or psychological differences (such as Aspergers, autism, blindness, or deafness). These students may not be able to defend themselves or may act in ways that make them vulnerable to the predations of an intolerant peer group. Such children are often singled out and intentionally humiliated and ridiculed (see Whitney, Smith and Thompson, 1994).

Sexual bullying

Sexual bullying can take various forms. It most commonly involves coercion and unwanted, suggestive and lewd attention paid by boys to girls; and includes obscene or suggestive demands, gestures, remarks, or teasing. Girls in early adolescence sometimes humiliate their smaller male peers through sexual bullying; and adolescent girls also denigrate particularly pretty girls whom they see as threats, or can become vicious with a girl whom they feel has "stolen" a boy from them.

Homophobic bullying

This occurs when individuals are singled out and bullied because of their actual or perceived sexual orientation (gay, lesbian, or bisexual) (see Rivers, 1995; 1996; Warwick, Aggleton and Douglas, 2001). Some students label other more vulnerable students whom they know to be heterosexual as gay so as to put their sexuality in question and to humiliate them.

Who else?

Many reasons are given for why adolescents get bullied: there is certainly no shortage of excuses for the behavior. For example, poverty (Fonzi et al., 1999), and physical unattractiveness and being overweight (Sweeting and West, 2001: 225) are cited frequently. Some researchers have found that students who do poorly academically are likely to be targetted (Berthold and Hoover, 1999). More importantly, Sharp suggests that poor academic achievement can be a result of bullying, that is, that students with impaired concentration who are anxious about their next encounter with the bullies are "unlikely to

achieve their full potential academically or socially'' (1995: 86).

Underlying all these descriptions of who gets bullied and why they are sin-gled out, there is one overriding fact, which is that ultimately anyone is a vic-tim. A study carried out in Australia found that "Children who have little or no support from others are clearly more vulnerable to attack from those who may wish to bully them'' (Peterson and Rigby, 1999: 65). The very dynamics of the bullying culture mean that anyone singled out, however momentarily, is immediately in more danger, and as their separation from the peer group continues, so does their vulnerability.

The bullying triangle: bullies, victims, and bystanders

Very often people think of bullying being a one-to-one relationship, but in fact there are three main roles: bullies, victims, and bystanders.

The bullies

How to deal with bullying is a major concern of this book, and it is helpful to have a good idea of who the bullies are and where they are coming from. But as with our approach to other issues, we feel it is important not to create hard and fast rules; instead, it is better to understand the *process of bullying*.

The most important characteristic of bullies is that they know how to use power. We would argue that people who are in leadership positions often have a similar sort of power: the central issue is how the power is used.

Taking into account the research, we would suggest that there are three types of bullies:

1 the clever bully;
2 the not-so-clever bully; and
3 the bully victim

The *clever bully* often masks his or her bullying behavior, and when teachers are told that this person is a bully, they say, "Are you sure you're not mistaken?'' Clever bullies may be popular, do well academically and socially, and have the ability to organize people around them to do their bidding. Often they are egotistical and confident. The main characteristic that makes them bullies is that they fail to put themselves in the place of those they victimize: they do not have empathy or they just do not care how the other person feels. They take a position of arrogance or ignorance. This type of person may have a lot of power with teachers as well as other students and often has much more appeal than those he or she chooses to victimize. The hardest part of dealing with clever bullies is being able to identify them.

These bullies are prime candidates to be prosocial leaders in a school (see Chapter 12, "Harnessing Student Leadership").

The *not-so-clever bully* may not be an entirely appropriate term for this sort of bully. They tend to attract others because of their antisocial and at-risk behaviour, and at the same time to intimidate and frighten their peers. Their cleverness may have been distorted by their life experiences so that they operate in socially dysfunctional ways. They might consider those who support them as friends, but while peers may feel obliged to go along with their behavior, they do not usually like them as people. Not-so-clever bullies are often mean-minded and have a negative view of the world. They are frequently failures at school and direct their anger at people they see as weak. Sometimes these bullies are cruel and possibly irretrievable, but their anger and bullying behavior is often a displacement of their own lack of self-esteem and self-confidence. Mostly they are lost souls who do not know how to feel comfortable in the world. Their experience has been of failure, rejection, and lack of ability to function well. Although their behavior is negative and hurtful, this is something they do well—they get results. The main result is that they are given a role and status in the peer group through their bullying behavior.

Unlike clever bullies who are more easily able to mature and change as they progress through the secondary school, this type of bully usually has limited resources, does not progress, loses popularity, gets left behinds, and tends to drop out.

Our argument here is that with a great deal of support, for example, through peer mentoring, leadership programmes, and anti-bullying strategies (see Part IV), the not-so-clever bullies can learn that they have leadership skills and that they can use their power in a more positive way. The truth is that often such bullies are not "not-so-clever;" it is just that they have not been supported to achieve their potential. In making this statement, we are not being woolly and unrealistic: our experience has been that, when given proper guidance, such students can become very positive forces in a school.

We would also argue (and this is based on speculation and observation rather than research) that, untended, these students often drop out and probably contribute through their absence to the reduction in bullying in the later years of secondary school. It is better to get to them earlier rather than later: they are likely to contribute to the crime statistics in the wider community if they are not "picked up" while they are at school.

The *bully victim* is a bully in some situations and a victim in others. They victimize those younger or smaller than them and they are victimized by their peers or those older than them. They are sometimes bullies at school and victims at home. The research shows that a lot of bullies fall into this category.

Bully victims are the hardest type of bully to deal with because they exhibit behavior that is aggressive and unacceptable as bullies, but they are also vulnerable and easy to undermine as victims. Because they tend to

bully mercilessly, it is often difficult to empathize with them when they themselves are bullied. Teachers and peers find it hard to treat them fairly as they see them inciting victimization on the one hand, and victimizing others on the other.

In a recent study, students identified as bullies and victims were described as "particularly high risk,'' having higher rates of problem-behavior and depressive symptoms, and lower self-control, social competence, and poorer school functioning (Haynie et al., 2001: 44). They were at greater risk of deviant peer group involvement, less able to former positive peer friendships, and had a greater chance of antisocial adult behavior.

In medicine, when a doctor is dealing with one illness, then the symptoms facilitate an accurate diagnosis. When there are two illnesses occurring at the same time, then the symptoms that present may be confusing and contradictory, and it can be difficult to see what is in fact going on. It is similarly very difficult for school staff to make correct diagnoses and to "treat'' bully victims. While it is not easy to deal with bully victims, it is important that one set of behaviors (that is, bullying) is not used to decide how another set of behaviors (that is, victimization) is treated. In the case of bully victims, both the bullying and the victimization need to be addressed and stopped.

When students have been bullied and feel angry about it, they sometimes bully others. In doing so, they feel they are reclaiming their power and gaining a sense of closure to their experience of bullying. They are not chronic bullies, but do what appears normal in this microculture. When bullying is passed on from cohort to cohort in this way, it is dysfunctional and the culture needs to be changed.

In early adolescence, teenagers are usually dependent on peer approval and acceptance to the exclusion of all else. As they progress through adolescence their sense of individuality usually strengthens. What happens to many bullies is that their social development becomes stuck at the point where they win power and prestige through bullying, and they tend not to progress toward individuation and empathy as adolescents usually do. They get left behind.

As Haynie et al. state, "In the short term, bullying might allow children to achieve their immediate goals without learning socially acceptable ways to negotiate with others, resulting in persistent maladaptive social patterns'' (2001: 31). In other words, if bullying is the primary mechanism whereby individuals maintain status and dominance, and nothing is done to change this dynamic, then a bullying culture is likely to take hold.

The victims

Anyone anywhere who shows vulnerability and does not have the support of a group can become a victim of bullying. These roles are not fixed: a confi-