How to Prevent and Tackle Bullying and School Violence

Evidence and Practices for Strategies for Inclusive and Safe Schools

NESET II

Erasmus+

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ABOUT THE NETWORK

NESET II is an advisory network of experts working on the social dimension of education and training. The European Commission's Directorate-General for Education and Culture initiated the establishment of the network as the successor to NESSE (2007-2010) and NESET (2011-2014). The Public Policy and Management Institute (PPMI) is responsible for the administration of the NESET II network.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

School bullying concerns all EU member states. It is an affront to the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination. Its effects are serious and may be long-term. It is not only a problem for education policy to address. It is also a health and welfare issue relevant to child protection.

School bullying can affect the mental and physical health as well as the academic performance of children and young people and may lead to early school leaving. In many cases, bullying leads victims to suicide or attempted suicide, anxiety, depression and self-harm. Being a perpetrator of bullying is associated with later violent behaviour and anti-social personality disorder.

The aim of this report is to inform policy-makers and practitioners at EU, national, regional and local level on the most effective strategies and practices for preventing bullying and violence in schools across the EU. It examines evidence from European and international research, reviews national practices and the work civil society organisations with regard to school bullying and violence.

> Bullying is to be understood as physical, verbal and relational behaviours, which involves one party having the intention to repeatedly hurt or harm another, within an uneven power relationship where the victim is unable to defend him/herself (Olweus, 1999).

1. PREVALENCE OF SCHOOL BULLYING

− School bullying takes many forms. These include discriminatory bullying against minority groups, homophobic bullying and bullying against students with special needs or any student who seem vulnerable for his or her peers.

− There is a clear gender difference in school bullying trends in Europe, with the rates of boys being higher than that of girls in most of the countries. Both victimisation (being a victim of school bullying) and perpetration (being a person bullying others) are more common among boys.

− The prevalence of bullying varies considerably across Europe. Lithuania, Belgium, Estonia, Austria and Latvia are some of the countries with relatively high victimisation rates between around 20% and 30%[1], compared to the lower rates of Denmark, Sweden, Czech Republic, Croatia, Italy and Spain below 10%.

− Bullying perpetrator rates increase significantly from 11 to 15 years. In most European countries the increase is relatively small but in a few countries it is more than 10 % points amongst boys (e.g., Latvia, Greece, Austria, Luxembourg).

2. THE NEED FOR COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGIES

− Bullying can be a complex problem to solve, which requires a comprehensive, multidimensional approach. The lack of a systematic approach to address school bullying is an issue of concern for many Member States, among them some with particularly high bullying rates.

− National school bullying and violence prevention strategies are lacking in many European countries.

− Homophobic bullying lacks a strategic focus in many EU Member States. According to the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights' survey, the highest levels of hostility and prejudice towards LGBTI groups recorded in the EU are in Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania. It is notable that very few of these countries address prevention of homophobic bullying in schools in a strategic manner.

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[1] Based on a national sample of the school population between ages 11 and 15.

– Similarly, the prevention of discriminatory bullying in school (against groups such as Roma, minorities, migrants, as well as against those experiencing poverty and socio-economic exclusion) needs a stronger strategic focus in many EU Member States.

– Cross-departmental policy synergies between education and health are needed for more effective preventions of school bullying.

3. SUCCESS FACTORS

– International reviews of whole school approaches to bullying prevention do not endorse one particular model but they highlight some key features of successful interventions. The most effective programme elements associated with a decrease in *bullying* others: parent training/meetings, teacher training, improved playground supervision, videos about the consequences of bullying, disciplinary methods (that are not reducible to punitive or zero tolerance approaches), cooperative group work between professionals, school assemblies, support for parents, appropriate classroom management and rules, and a whole school anti-bullying policy.

– Strong international evidence concludes that a curricular approach to social and emotional education is key for personal development to challenge a culture of violence in school. Sufficient classroom time for social and emotional education in schools across Europe is an important success factor for school bullying and violence prevention.

– Working with parents is strongly associated with both a decrease in bullying and being bullied in school. However, many approaches to parental involvement for bullying prevention are top-down, information-type approaches rather than approaches which actively involve parents.

– Discriminatory bullying requires challenge through a democratic school culture promoting the different voices of students. Young people who are part of minority or excluded groups must help design concrete curricular resources that address bullying and prejudice.

– While not necessarily the same individuals are at risk of early school leaving and bullying, possible responses show great similarities and therefore a common strategy may be useful, including common systems of supports, such as a transition focus to post-primary, multidisciplinary teams for complex needs, language support, family outreach supports and teacher professional development on issues relevant to preventing both problems.

– Family support services for early intervention are crucial for the prevention of school bullying and violence, just as they are for positive mental health. A 'one-stop shop' where multidisciplinary services across health and education are available at local level is the most effective way to engage families with a range of needs for emotional and communicative support.

– A specific community outreach strategy, which offers opportunities for intercultural contacts is an important approach for overcoming prejudice between groups. This can be facilitated by shared communal spaces, which bring different groups together, such as community lifelong learning centres, arts and sports facilities, libraries, green spaces, community afterschool centres, family resource centres, religious centres, gyms.

– Successful national approaches may include explicit focus on bullying and violence prevention in governance structures and processes, such as school self-evaluation, external inspection and whole school planning and national committees for student welfare.

RÉSUMÉ

Le harcèlement à l'école concerne tous les États membres de l'Union européenne. Il s'agit d'une atteinte aux valeurs communes de liberté, de tolérance et de non-discrimination. Ses répercussions sont graves et peuvent s'inscrire sur le long terme. Il ne s'agit pas seulement d'un problème relevant de la politique éducative. C'est également une question de santé et de protection sociale qui relève de la protection de l'enfance.

Le harcèlement à l'école peut affecter la santé mentale et physique, de même que les performances scolaires des enfants et des adolescents, et peut mener au décrochage scolaire. Dans de nombreux cas, le harcèlement conduit les victimes au suicide ou à la tentative de suicide, à l'anxiété, à la dépression et à l'automutilation. Le fait d'être auteur de harcèlement est associé à un comportement ultérieur violent et à un trouble asocial de la personnalité.

L'objectif de ce rapport est d'informer les décideurs politiques et les professionnels aux niveaux européen, national, régional et local sur les stratégies et pratiques les plus efficaces à mettre en œuvre en vue de prévenir le harcèlement et la violence à l'école dans les établissements scolaires de l'Union européenne. Il examine les données probantes issues de la recherche européenne et internationale et passe en revue les pratiques nationales et le travail des organisations issues de la société civile en matière de harcèlement et de violence à l'école.

> Le harcèlement se définit par des comportements physiques, verbaux et relationnels impliquant qu'une partie a l'intention de blesser ou de nuire à l'autre de façon répétée, au sein d'une relation de pouvoir inégale, dans laquelle la victime est dans l'incapacité de se défendre (Olweus, 1999).

1. PRÉVALENCE DU HARCÈLEMENT À L'ÉCOLE

– Le harcèlement à l'école peut prendre de nombreuses formes. Il peut s'agir de harcèlement discriminatoire visant les groupes de minorités, de harcèlement homophobe ou de harcèlement visant des élèves présentant des besoins particuliers ou pouvant sembler vulnérables aux yeux de leurs pairs.

– Il existe une différence de genre marquée dans les tendances au harcèlement à l'école en Europe, le taux de garçons étant supérieur à celui des filles dans la plupart des pays. La victimisation (le fait d'être victime de harcèlement) comme la perpétration (le fait d'être auteur de harcèlement) concernent plus généralement les garçons.

– La prévalence du harcèlement varie considérablement à travers l'Europe. La Lituanie, la Belgique, l'Estonie, l'Autriche et la Lettonie font partie des pays qui présentent des taux de victimisation relativement élevés autour de 20 % et 30 %[2], par rapport au Danemark, à la Suède, à la République tchèque, à la Croatie, à l'Italie et à l'Espagne qui présentent des taux inférieurs à 10 %.

– Le nombre d'auteurs de harcèlement augmente significativement entre 11 et 15 ans. Dans la plupart des pays européens, cette augmentation est relativement faible mais dans quelques pays elle est de plus de 10 % chez les garçons (par ex. Lettonie, Grèce, Autriche, Luxembourg).

2. NÉCESSITÉ DE METTRE EN PLACE DES STRATÉGIES GLOBALES

– Le harcèlement peut être un problème complexe à résoudre et requiert une approche globale et multidimensionnelle. Le manque d'approche systématique en matière de harcèlement à l'école est un problème qui concerne de nombreux États membres, dont certains présentent des taux de harcèlement particulièrement élevés.

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[2] Sur la base d'un échantillon national de la population scolaire âgée de 11 à 15 ans.

– Les stratégies de prévention du harcèlement et de la violence à l'école au niveau national manquent dans de nombreux pays européens.

– Le harcèlement homophobe souffre d'un manque d'orientation stratégique dans de nombreux États membres. D'après une enquête de l'Agence des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne, les niveaux d'hostilité et de préjudice les plus élevés à l'encontre des groupes LGBTI ont été enregistrés en Bulgarie, Hongrie, Italie, Lettonie, Lituanie, Pologne et Roumanie. Il est à noter que très peu de ces pays abordent la prévention du harcèlement homophobe à l'école de manière stratégique.

– De même, la prévention du harcèlement discriminatoire à l'école (contre les groupes tels que les Roms, les minorités, les migrants, ainsi que les individus souffrant de pauvreté et d'exclusion socio-économique) nécessite une orientation stratégique plus forte dans de nombreux États membres de l'UE.

– Des synergies politiques interministérielles entre éducation et santé sont nécessaires à la mise en œuvre d'une prévention du harcèlement à l'école plus efficace.

3. FACTEURS DE RÉUSSITE

– L'examen de toutes les approches internationales mises en œuvre pour la prévention du harcèlement à l'école ne valide pas un modèle en particulier, mais souligne certains éléments clés qui font le succès de ces interventions. Les éléments les plus efficaces associés à une diminution du *harcèlement* sont : la formation des parents/les réunions avec les parents, la formation des enseignants, une meilleure supervision dans les cours de récréation, la diffusion de vidéos sur les conséquences du harcèlement, les méthodes disciplinaires (qui ne peuvent être réduites à des approches punitives ou à une tolérance zéro), le travail de groupe coopératif entre professionnels, les assemblées scolaires, le soutien aux parents, la gestion et la réglementation appropriée des salles de classe et une politique globale contre le harcèlement à l'école.

– De solides éléments probants au niveau international permettent de conclure qu'une approche curriculaire de l'éducation sociale et émotionnelle constitue la clé du développement personnel et donc de la remise en question de la culture de la violence à l'école. Un temps de classe suffisant alloué à l'éducation sociale et émotionnelle dans les écoles européennes constitue un facteur de réussite important pour la prévention du harcèlement et de la violence à l'école.

– Le travail avec les parents est fortement associé à une diminution tant du fait de harceler que d'être harcelé à l'école. Toutefois, de nombreuses approches visant à l'implication des parents dans la prévention du harcèlement sont des approches du sommet vers la base, de type informatif, plutôt que des approches qui impliquent les parents de manière active.

– Le harcèlement discriminatoire nécessite d'être remis en question par le biais d'une culture démocratique de l'école qui permette aux différentes voix des élèves de se faire entendre. Les jeunes appartenant à des minorités ou à des groupes exclus doivent contribuer à la conception de ressources curriculaires concrètes qui s'attaquent au harcèlement et aux préjugés.

– Bien que ce ne soient pas nécessairement les mêmes individus qui présentent un risque de décrochage scolaire et de harcèlement à l'école, les réponses possibles montrent de grandes similarités qui laissent penser qu'une stratégie commune faisant intervenir des systèmes de soutien communs pourrait être utile. Par exemple, une transition vers l'enseignement post-primaire, des équipes multidisciplinaires pour les besoins complexes, un soutien linguistique, un soutien familial de proximité et le développement professionnel des enseignants sur les questions relatives à la prévention de ces deux problèmes.

– Les services de soutien familial qui peuvent intervenir en amont sont cruciaux dans la prévention du harcèlement et de la violence à l'école, de même que pour favoriser une bonne santé mentale. Un « guichet unique » local proposant des services multidisciplinaires couvrant à la fois santé et éducation est la façon la plus efficace d'atteindre les familles qui présentent des besoins de soutien émotionnel et communicatif.

– Une stratégie spécifique de sensibilisation communautaire offrant des opportunités de contacts interculturels constitue une approche importante pour venir à bout des préjugés entre groupes. Ceci peut être facilité par des espaces collectifs partagés permettant de rassembler différents groupes, tels que les centres communautaires d'éducation tout au long de la vie, les installations sportives et artistiques, les bibliothèques, les espaces verts, les centres périscolaires communautaires, les centres de ressources familiales, les centres religieux, les gymnases.

– Des approches nationales efficaces peuvent inclure une orientation explicite sur la prévention du harcèlement et de la violence à l'école au sein de structures et de processus de gouvernance, tels que des processus d'auto-évaluation des établissements scolaires, l'inspection externe, la planification scolaire dans son ensemble, et les comités nationaux pour l'assistance et le bien-être des élèves.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Mobbing in der Schule betrifft alle Mitgliedstaaten der EU. Es verstößt gegen unsere gemeinsamen Werte der Freiheit, Toleranz und Nichtdiskriminierung. Seine Folgen sind schwerwiegend und unter Umständen langfristig. Dies ist nicht nur ein Problem für die Bildungspolitik. Mobbing gefährdet Gesundheit und Wohl von Kindern und betrifft auch Fragen des Jugendschutzes.

Mobbing in der Schule kann die seelische und körperliche Gesundheit und die schulische Leistung von Kindern und Jugendlichen beeinträchtigt. In vielen Fällen begehen die Opfer von Mobbing Suizid oder Suizidversuche, oder sie entwickeln Angststörungen, Depressionen und selbstverletzendes Verhalten. Die Täter entwickeln später mit höherer Wahrscheinlichkeit gewaltsames Verhalten und eine asoziale Persönlichkeitsstörung.

Mit diesem Bericht sollen politische Entscheidungsträger und Fachkräfte auf europäischer, regionaler und lokaler Ebene über wirksame Strategien und Verfahren im Kampf gegen Mobbing und Gewalt an europäischen Schulen informiert werden. Der Bericht analysiert die Daten der europäischen und internationalen Forschung, nationale Ansätze und die Arbeit von Nichtregierungsorganisationen, die sich gegen Mobbing und Gewalt an Schulen engagieren.

> Als Mobbing gelten körperliche, verbale und soziale Verhaltensweisen, bei der eine Partei die andere absichtlich und wiederholt verletzt oder schädigt und bei denen ein ungleiches Machtverhältnis besteht, in dem sich das Opfer nicht verteidigen kann (Olweus, 1999).

1. HÄUFIGKEIT VON MOBBING AN SCHULEN

– Mobbing an Schulen hat viele Formen. Es gibt diskriminierendes Mobbing gegen Minderheiten, homophobes Mobbing und Mobbing von Schülern mit sonderpädagogischem Förderbedarf oder jedem anderen Schüler, der seinen Mitschülern verletzlich erscheint.

– Beim Mobbing an Europas Schulen gibt es einen deutlichen Unterschied zwischen den Geschlechtern, wobei Jungen in den meisten Ländern häufiger betroffen sind als Mädchen. Jungen werden einerseits häufiger viktimisiert (Opfer von Mobbing an Schulen) und sie sind häufiger Täter (derjenige, der andere mobbt).

– Die Häufigkeit von Mobbing schwankt stark innerhalb der EU. Litauen, Belgien, Estland, Österreich und Lettland sind beispielsweise Länder mit relativ hohen Viktimisierungsquoten von rund 20 % bis 30 %[3], im Vergleich dazu liegt der Anteil in Dänemark, Schweden, der Tschechischen Republik, Kroatien, Italien und Spanien mit unter 10 % wesentlich niedriger.

– Der Anteil der Täter nimmt zwischen 11 und 15 Jahren deutlich zu. In den meisten europäischen Ländern ist die Zunahme relativ gering, in einigen wenigen Ländern liegt sie für Jungen jedoch bei über 10 % Prozentpunkten (z. B. Lettland, Griechenland, Österreich und Luxemburg).

2. NOTWENDIGKEIT UMFASSENDER STRATEGIEN

– Mobbing ist ein komplexes Problem, das sich nur durch einen umfassenden und mehrdimensionalen Ansatz lösen lässt. Leider fehlt in vielen Mitgliedstaaten ein systematischer Ansatz im Kampf gegen Mobbing an Schulen, darunter einige Länder, in denen besonders häufig gemobbt wird.

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[3] Basierend auf landesweiten Stichproben unter Schülern zwischen 11 und 15.

– Viele europäische Länder verfügen nicht über nationale Präventionsstrategien, mit denen Mobbing und Gewalt an Schulen verhindert werden kann.

– Außerdem gibt es in vielen Mitgliedstaaten der EU keine strategische Konzentration auf homophobes Mobbing. Eine europaweite Befragung durch die Agentur der Europäischen Union für Grundrechte hat ergeben, dass LGBTI-Personen in Bulgarien, Ungarn, Lettland, Litauen, Polen und Rumänien am häufigsten Anfeindungen und Vorurteilen ausgesetzt sind. Daher ist es bemerkenswert, dass nur wenige dieser Länder eine Strategie zur Prävention von homophobem Mobbing an Schulen entwickelt haben.

– In ähnlicher Weise bildet auch die Prävention von diskriminierendem Mobbing an Schulen (gegen Roma, ethnische Minderheiten, Migranten, oder Schüler, die von Armut und sozio-ökonomischer Ausgrenzung betroffen sind) in vielen EU-Mitgliedstaaten keinen strategischen Schwerpunkt.

– Für einen wirksameren Kampf gegen Mobbing an Schulen sind fachübergreifende politische Synergien zwischen Bildungs- und Gesundheitswesen erforderlich.

3. ERFOLGSFAKTOREN

– Internationale Untersuchungen, in denen ganzheitliche Ansätze zur Prävention von Mobbing analysiert werden, empfehlen nicht ein einzelnes Modell, sie können jedoch einige der Schlüsselmerkmale erfolgreicher Maßnahmen aufzeigen. Die folgenden Programmelemente haben sich zur Reduzierung von *aktivem Mobbing* als besonders wirksam erwiesen: Aufklärung der Eltern/Elternkonferenzen, Lehrerfortbildung, bessere Pausenaufsicht, Videos über die Folgen von Mobbing, Disziplinarmaßnahmen (die sich nicht auf strafgestützte Strategien oder Null-Toleranz-Strategien reduzieren lassen), kooperative und fachübergreifende Teamarbeit, Schulversammlungen, Unterstützung von Eltern, angemessene Unterrichtsführung und -regeln und schulweite Anti-Mobbing-Richtlinien.

– Überzeugende internationale Untersuchungen zeigen, dass Lehrpläne, die soziale und emotionale Bildung berücksichtigen, eine Schlüsselrolle für die persönliche Entwicklung spielen und dazu beitragen, eine Kultur der Gewalt an Schulen zu verhindern. Ausreichend Unterrichtszeit für soziale und emotionale Bildung in allen europäischen Schulen ist ein wichtiger Erfolgsfaktor bei der Prävention von Mobbing und Gewalt an Schulen.

– Es hat sich gezeigt, dass Einbeziehung der Eltern sowohl aktives Mobbing an Schulen als auch die Gefahr, Opfer von Mobbing zu werden, senken kann. Allerdings nutzen viele Ansätze zur Prävention von Mobbing eine reine Informationsvermittlung von oben nach unten und beziehen die Eltern nicht aktiv ein.

– Diskriminierendes Mobbing muss durch eine demokratische Schulkultur verhindert werden, in der alle Schüler eine Stimme haben. Junge Menschen, die einer Minderheit oder einer ausgegrenzten Gruppe angehören, müssen die Gelegenheit erhalten, konkrete Unterrichtsinhalte zu entwickeln, die sich mit Mobbing und Vorurteilen auseinanderretzen.

– Zwar sind nicht unbedingt dieselben Personen besonders von frühzeitigem Schulabbruch und Mobbing betroffen, allerdings sind die möglichen Reaktionen sehr ähnlich. Daher ist womöglich eine einheitliche Strategie hilfreich, bei der die gleichen Hilfsangebote für beide Probleme entwickelt werden, zum Beispiel zielgerichtete Unterstützung beim Übergang zur Sekundarschule, fachübergreifende Teams für komplexe Bedürfnisse, Sprachunterricht, Familienhilfe vor Ort und Weiterbildung von Lehrern zu Themen, die für beide Probleme relevant sind.

– Angebote zur frühzeitigen Unterstützung von Familien sind entscheidend, um Mobbing und Gewalt an Schulen zu verhindern und die psychische Gesundheit zu fördern. Eine einheitliche Anlaufstelle, die auf

lokaler Ebene fachübergreifende Unterstützung im Bereich Gesundheit und Bildung anbietet, ist das beste Mittel, um Familien mit einem umfassenden Bedarf an emotionaler und kommunikativer Unterstützung zu erreichen.

– Strategien zur Einbeziehung einzelner Gemeinschaften vor Ort bieten die Chance für interkulturelle Kontakte und sind wichtige Ansätze, um Vorurteile zwischen einzelnen Gruppen abzubauen. Dazu sind Investitionen in gemeinsame kommunale Räume notwendig, in denen sich unterschiedliche Gruppen begegnen können, z. B. Zentren zum lebensbegleitenden Lernen, Kunst- und Sportanlagen, Bibliotheken, Grünflächen, kommunale Jugendzentren, Familienzentren, religiöse Zentren oder Sporthallen.

– Schließlich sind erfolgreiche nationale Programme nur dann möglich, wenn die Prävention von Mobbing und Gewalt sich in Managementstrukturen und -verfahren widerspiegelt, z. B. bei der Selbstevaluation von Schulen, externen Inspektionen, der Planung ganzheitlicher Schulstrategien und in Nationalen Ausschüssen für Schülerfürsorge.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Aim

The aim of this report is to inform policy-makers and practitioners at EU, national, regional and local level on strategies and practices for prevention of bullying and violence in schools across the EU. In doing so, it seeks to identify:

– structural and process issues of good practice for bullying and violence prevention in schools, based on research and evidence;
– features of current anti-bullying strategies in EU Member States;
– some priority issues and recommendations for Member States to consider concerning bullying and violence in schools.

A particular focus will be held throughout on bullying and violence with regard to age, ethnicity and migrants, disability, social inclusion, sexual orientations and gender.

The report examines evidence from European and international research on bullying in schools, aggression and violence, developmental psychology, and school health promotion. The report is informed also by responses on current national strategies in Europe from Members of the ET 2020 School Policy Working Group coordinated by the European Commission, Directorate-General for Education and Culture, international researchers from ENSEC (European Network for Social and Emotional Competence) and a number of NGOs across EU Member States.

It focuses on key principles from a policy and legal perspective including: The Paris Declaration on Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education (2015), the EU2020 headline target on early school-leaving, key aspects of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, EU Anti-Discrimination policies, a range of UN Conventions, including the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, and the UN right of everyone to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.

Method

This review of European and international research and policy on bullying and violence in schools seeks to extract concrete, evidence-informed, action-guiding policy proposals for European contexts regarding bullying and violence in schools. The review draws on research from a range of approaches including meta-analyses, other reviews, quantitative and qualitative research. It seeks to interpret such different kinds of research while giving due weight to findings with a particularly strong evidence base. The review also critiques this research and identifies gaps in important areas.

To address issues of strategic development in this area, Members of the European Commission's ET2020 School Policy Working Group were invited to respond to questions regarding current bullying prevention strategies in schools in their country, at national and institutional levels. This ET2020 School Policy Working Group comprises senior officials from Education Ministries in EU Member States, as well as Norway and Turkey. All members of the Working Group were invited to respond. International researchers from the ENSEC (European Network for Social and Emotional Competence) were invited to respond to similar questions. Either direct members of ENSEC or associates from all EU countries were contacted, plus Norway, Switzerland and Turkey. A number of NGOs were also contacted across all EU Member States, mainly through the Eurochild members, as well as Pan European NGOs to identify their views on this issue.

Altogether 14 responses from members of the ET2020 School Policy Working Group were received, from the following countries: Austria, Belgium (Fl), England, Finland, France, Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, Malta, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey. This material was complemented by 16 responses from ENSEC Members from the following countries: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Malta, the

Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden and Turkey. Responses from NGOs across Member States have also been received from 15 countries: Belgium (Fl), Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Scotland, Serbia, Slovenia and Sweden. A combined picture of strategic issues in this area has thus been obtained for 26 countries, including Turkey, Serbia and Norway.

Some of the questions were directly qualitative in nature to examine respondents' views on the strengths and weaknesses of current strategies in their countries. These are included across different sections of the report to illustrate key strengths and gaps in strategy and implementation. A number of the questions asked seek to go beyond traditional distinctions between qualitative and quantitative research, through a focus on existence of strategies or gaps in current strategies. This policy approach focusing on potentially verifiable, factual structural features of system strategies has been adopted in previous research interviews with senior education ministry officials (Downes, 2014); this focus on strategy is as part of a concern with identifying structural indicators for system change (Downes, 2014)[4].

Scope

The focus of this report is on bullying and violence in primary and post-primary schools. Bullying at higher education, non-formal education and the workplace are important issues, however, they lie outside the scope of this report.

This report seeks to develop integrated policy approaches informed by evidence from European and international research on bullying in schools, aggression and violence, developmental psychology, and health promoting schools. It is being sought to combine learning from these distinct, though connected domains, with key principles from a policy and legal perspective.

Much of the research literature offers a precise definition of bullying, drawing from the pioneering work of Olweus emphasising that bullying needs to be intentional, repeated and involving an imbalance of power. In doing so, a distinction is made so that bullying is not simply treated as aggression or violence. This is not to equate bullying with violence or aggression. Not all violence or aggression is bullying and not all bullying includes violence or aggression. Nevertheless, these aspects are all within the scope of this policy report.

Bullying can encompass physical aggression and relational dimensions such as verbal teasing, name calling, insults, exclusion, gestures, extortion etc. The report also focuses on discriminatory bullying (Elamé, 2013). This report does not include a particular focus on cyberbullying, the complexity of which merits a separate report.

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[4] Generally structural indicators are framed as yes/no answers (UN Rapporteur, 2005, 2006). This facilitates questioning regarding gaps in interventions and supports for school bullying and violence. The focus with structural indicators is on relatively enduring features (structures/mechanisms/guiding principles) of a system – features that are, however, potentially malleable (Downes, 2014). Informed by evidence, they can bridge the gap between research and practice (Downes, 2015a) and are easy to use for practitioners, including for municipality strategic decision-making (Downes, 2014a). Though outside a direct UN right to health framework, benefits of structural indicators include that they provide system transparency of strategy, as well as an opportunity to guide future strategy. They are action-guiding and policy and practice relevant. Significantly, structural indicators offer a way to provide an overarching national framework of issues to address while leaving flexibility for local actors, including schools regarding how to address them (Downes, 2015a); they examine *what* is to be addressed not *how* to address it. This approach to structural indicators, building from the UN framework, differs from an earlier approach of the Commission to structural indicators in its 2003 Communication that treats structural features of society as quantitative statistical indicators, comparable to what the UN framework would describe as outcome indicators. The current approach is much more resonant with the adoption of *Structural Indicators for Monitoring Education and Training Systems in Europe* in the Eurydice Background Report to the Education and Training Monitor 2015 and 2016.

Chapter 2.   Why addressing bullying and preventing violence in schools is important for the EU and its States – the policy and legal context

Bullying and violence in school is an affront to common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination. Its effects can be serious and long-term. This research takes place against the background of a number of relevant and interrelated policy and legal commitments at EU level. These include:

a) The Paris Declaration on Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education of 17 March 2015. This Declaration was made by the European Council of Ministers responsible for education and the EU Commissioner for Education, Culture, Youth and Sport. It was in direct response to 'the terrorist attacks in France and Denmark earlier this year, and recalling similar atrocities in Europe in the recent past' and gains further relevance in light of the November 2015 Paris atrocities and March 2016 Brussels atrocities.

b) The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights provides the prohibition of torture (Article 4), right to integrity of the person (Article 3), right to education (Article 14). In Article 24 (rights of the child) it provides the right of children to the protection and care of children 'as is necessary for their well-being'. The principle of the best interests of the child is set as the primary consideration in any cases and actions involving children.

c) Article 20 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights establishes equality of persons before the law, Article 23 – the equality of men and women in all areas, and Article 21 prohibits discrimination on the basis of 'sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation'. All of these provisions must be kept in mind, because the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights is a part of binding primary EU law, which always has priority. Member States must comply with it, while applying the EU law, and the Charter may also be relied on by individuals in national courts.

d) Regulation (EU) 1381/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 December 2013 establishing a Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme for the period 2014 to 2020 provides that 'particular attention should also be devoted to preventing and combating all forms of violence, hatred, segregation and stigmatisation, as well as combating bullying, harassment and intolerant treatment, for example in public administration, the police, the judiciary, at school and in the workplace'. Funds are allocated for Programme objectives, *inter alia* targeting discrimination on various protected grounds, rights of children, and violence against children (Article 4 of the Regulation and its Annex).

e) There are almost 30 different international and regional treaties addressing human rights, women's rights and the right to an education (Strauss 2013). One may find relevant provisions in these global Conventions: Articles 19, 28, and 29 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, Articles 1 and 10 of the UN Convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, Articles 16, 17 and 24 of the UN Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities, Article 1 of the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Article 4 and 5 of the UN Convention against all forms of racial discrimination, and Article 24 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as Articles 2, 10, 12 of the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights.

f) The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) prohibits torture and degrading treatment (Article 3), protects freedom of expression (Article 10) and freedom of religion (Article 9) within the certain limits

established by the ECtHR, prohibits discrimination (Article 14) and establishes the right to education (Protocol 1 Article 2). In addition, other relevant binding instruments are the 2011 Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, and the Framework convention for the Protection of National minorities (Articles 6, 12), and European Social Charter (Article 7). Various important policy documents have been adopted at the level of the Council of Europe: by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, by the Parliamentary Assembly, and by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance.

g) The UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) includes a number of articles that entrench children's right to education. The Convention requires state parties to provide children with appropriate and accessible education to the highest level (Article 28), and to ensure that school curricula promote respect for human rights of all peoples and for the child's cultural and national identity (Article 29). The overarching principle of Article 12 (1) of the CRC offers another key basis for educational development across European school systems. It declares: 'States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child'.

h) Bullying in school is an issue that directly affects mental and physical health. The right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health is given legal foundation by a range of international legal instruments, including Article 25 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 24 of the CRC and Article 12 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, as well as the right to non-discrimination as reflected in Article 5 (e) (iv) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Health (2005) states: '33. The international right to physical and mental health is subject to progressive realisation and resource constraints. This has a number of important implications. Put simply, all States are expected to be doing better in five years' time than what they are doing today (progressive realisation). And what is legally required of a developed State is of a higher standard than what is legally required of a least-developed country (resource constraints)'.

i) One of the two EU 2020 headline targets for education is to reduce early school leaving to a 10 % average across the EU. Bullying is directly recognised as affecting early school leaving in the Annex to the Council Recommendation on Early School Leaving (2011): 'At the level of the school or training institution strategies against early school leaving are embedded in an overall school development policy. They aim at creating a positive learning environment, reinforcing pedagogical quality and innovation, enhancing teaching staff competences to deal with social and cultural diversity, and developing anti-violence and anti-bullying approaches'. The EU Council Recommendation (2011) on early school leaving also acknowledges that: 'Targeted individual support…is especially important for young people in situations of serious social or emotional distress which hinders them from continuing education or training'.

j) Bullying and violence also need to be interpreted through the important policy lens of lifelong learning. The EU Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ('ET 2020') (2009 /C 119/02) state: 'In the period up to 2020, the primary goal of European cooperation should be to support the further development of education and training systems in the Member States which are aimed at ensuring:

> The personal, social and professional fulfilment of all citizens

> Sustainable economic prosperity and employability, whilst promoting democratic values, social cohesion, active citizenship, and intercultural dialogue'. This dimension offers a background framework for promoting educational systems in ways that create positive goals for learning and communication that are antithetical to bullying and violence'.

2.1.Defining Bullying

There are various definitions of school bullying, but one of the first and most commonly used and accepted definitions in Europe is that of Olweus (1994, 1999) underlining intentionality, repetition and imbalance of power. Bullying involves physical, verbal, and relational behaviours, which involves one party having the intention to repeatedly hurt or harm another within an uneven power relationship where the victim is unable to defend him/herself. In contrast to repeated, hurtful teasing, friendly and playful teasing is not considered bullying; similarly when two equally strong or powerful students argue or fight with each other (Olweus, 2010). The bully may be one individual or group (pack bullying) with the bully being part of, or belonging to a specific, usually exclusive, group. Bullying make take place face to face or online through social networking, texting, emails, chatting, blogs and other forms of virtual communication. Bullying may be either physical such as physical abuse, threats of physical harm and forced behaviours, verbal, such as name calling, teasing, verbal attacks on the student's family, culture, race or religion, and relational, such as ostracising, isolating, and ignoring behaviours. The latter two are sometimes put together as emotional, social or psychological bullying. Some authors differentiate between direct and indirect bullying, the former referring to physical and verbal bullying, while the latter relates more to relational or social bullying, such as exclusion and gossiping/rumour spreading (Grumpel, 2008; Wolke et al., 2000; Ttofi et al., 2011). Involvement in bullying also occurs along a continuum, ranging from bully, victim, bully-victim, bystander and uninvolved, with students possibly taking multiple roles (Swearer et al., 2012). Discriminatory bullying has tended to be neglected in bullying research definitions (Elamé, 2013).

There are various issues however, which need to be taken into consideration, as these are likely to influence the definition, assessment, prevalence and interventions for bullying. One of the major issues is the cultural variations in what constitutes school bullying (Arbax, 2012). Adults and children may have different conceptualisations of bullying. Children may not put the same emphasis on intentionality, repetition or power imbalance as adults, but more on the impact of the bullying behaviour on the victim, including the severity of the injury; in this respect children's definition of bullying overlaps more with aggression and violence than that of adults (Vaillancourt and Cornell, 2009).

2.2. Impact of Bullying

Bullying in its various forms has been associated with various emotional, psychological as well as academic problems in children and young people. The harmful effects are most evident in victims of bullying, but the perpetrators (i.e. those who bully others) and the perpetrators-victims, and to a lesser extent bystanders, are also liable to experience the negative impact of the bullying experience (Arbax, 2012; Arseneault et al., 2009; Ttofi et al., 2011). Victims are likely to experience low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation (Gladstone et al., 2006; Klomeck et al., 2007; Nansel et al., 2004; Radliff et al., 2015; Juvonen and Graham, 2014; Ttofi et al., 2011; Swearer et al., 2012; Biereld, 2014). Victimisation (i.e. being bullied) has also been linked to lower academic achievement and other behaviours such as disengagement, absenteeism and early school leaving (Fried and Fried, 1996; Glew et al., 2005; Nakamoto and Schwartz, 2010; Brown et al., 2011; Green et al., 2010). Victims are more likely to experience worse concentration in class (Boulton et al., 2008) and more interpersonal difficulties (Kumpulainen et al., 1998). Beran (2008) concluded that preadolescents who are bullied are at some risk for demonstrating poor achievement, although this risk increases substantially if the child also receives little support from parents and is already disengaged from school. The Longitudinal Survey of Young People in England (Green et al., 2010) age 16 young people who reported being bullied at any point between ages 14-16 are disproportionately likely to not be in education, employment or training.

A study of over 26,000 Finnish adolescents found that involvement in bullying was associated with a range of mental health problems such as anxiety, depression and psychosomatic symptoms (Kaltiala-Heino et al., 2000). Jantzer et al. (2012) studied the relationship between victimisation and mental health among 300

students (aged 10-14 years) in ten schools in southern Germany. They found that bullying victims (21 % of the sample) had significantly higher risks for developing emotional difficulties than those who were not bullied. Perpetrators are likely to exhibit other oppositional and anti-social behaviours and to leave school early (Nansel et al., 2003; Nansel et al., 2004; Sourander et al., 2011; Kokkinos and Panayiotou, 2004). The worst off group however, appears to be the bully-victims, who experience higher levels of both internalised (depression, anxiety, psychosomatic symptoms) and externalised (behaviour problems, delinquency) difficulties than either the victims or the bullying perpetrators (Nansel et al., 2004; Ivarsson et al., 2005; Kokkinos and Panayiotou, 2004; Houbre et al., 2006; Swearer et al., 2012). Bully-victims are also more likely to come from dysfunctional families or have pre-existing conduct, behaviour or emotional problems and it has been suggested that these factors, rather than bullying per se, may explain adult outcomes (Sourander, Ronning et al., 2009). Bullying perpetrators and bully/victims had the lowest connection to school and poorest relations with teachers (Raskauskas et al., 2010).

Fisher et al. (2011) reported that victimisation in the early years is three times more likely to lead to self-harm in adolescence amongst the victims when compared to non-bullied peers. They found that 50 % of twelve year-olds who harm themselves were frequently bullied, while victimised children with mental health problems were at greater risk of self-harm later on. Longitudinal studies have also shown that frequent victimisation at age 8 predicted later suicide attempts and completed suicides for both boys and girls, while frequent bullying perpetration at age 8 also predicted later suicide attempts and completed suicides for boys (Klomek et al., 2009). As Rinehart and Espelage (2015) highlight, homophobic name-calling is correlated with an increase in anxiety, depression, personal distress, suicidality, and other mental health problems (Cochran and Mays, 2000; Poteat and Espelage, 2007; Rivers 2004).

Ttofi et al. (2011) reported that the probability of depression up to 36 years later was much larger for victimised students when compared to non-bullied peers, even after controlling for other factors. In a recent large-scale study with 14 500 participants in the UK, Bowles et al. (2015) reported that peer victimisation in adolescence is a significant predictor of depression in early adulthood; about 1 in 3 cases of depression among young adults may be linked to peer victimisation in adolescence. Out of 683 people who reported they had been bullied at least once a week at the age of 13, nearly 15 % were depressed at 18 years. In a recent comparative study on the long term impact of bullying on mental health, Lereya et al. (2015) used data from two longitudinal databases, one in in the UK (4026 children) and the other in the US (1 420 children). They reported that children who were both maltreated and bullied were at increased risk for overall mental health problems, anxiety, and depression according to both cohorts, and for self-harm according to the English cohort. Children who were bullied by peers only were more likely than children who were maltreated only to have mental health problems in both cohorts, including anxiety, depression and self-harm[5].

The Finnish population based, longitudinal birth cohort study of 2551 boys from age 8 years to 16–20 years (Sourander et al., 2007) found that frequent bullies display high levels of psychiatric symptoms in childhood. Sourander et al. (2007) observed that frequent bullies with conduct and hyperactivity problems and not the bullies per se are the ones at elevated risk for later criminality. Correlational studies cannot demonstrate

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[5] In a review of the literature on peer victimisation, McDougall and Vaillancourt (2015) analysed prospective studies tracking children and adolescents into young adulthood. They use the construct of 'multifinality' in their analysis, suggesting that the impact of childhood victimisation on adulthood adjustment may follow different, multiple pathways, varying according to the systemic context of the individual. The authors suggest that while there is longitudinal evidence that victimisation in childhood and adolescence, particularly at the ages of 8 to 14, is linked to poor adjustment in academic, social, self, physical, internalising and externalising areas, there are still doubts about whether the effects of victimisation are contained within the school years or follow into adulthood. The authors reviewed 17 prospective studies and concluded that there is a direct path between childhood peer victimisation and poor long-term outcomes in adulthood. Studies which controlled for related symptoms and behaviour in childhood suggest suicide for men and women and aggression and heavy smoking for men, but in a number of cases the association between peer victimisation and adjustment in adulthood did not hold when it was controlled for earlier adjustment.

causality, only associations of varying strengths. In contrast, longitudinal studies can provide stronger inferences about causal relations, when controlling for other factors. However, though history effects are often referred to, it is noticeable that longitudinal bullying outcome studies seldom provide information or a focus on historical changes to the availability or otherwise of school and system level support services available to students who have experienced bullying and/or other trauma (e.g. Sourander et al, 2007) or when comparing groups. Availability of support services, such as emotional counselling services or their lack in schools, may be an important potential mediating variable in outcomes[6].

In their systematic review of 28 longitudinal studies, Ttofi et al. (2011b) and Farrington et al. (2012) reported that bullying perpetrators are likely to offend and to engage in violent behaviour six years later, while victims were likely to manifest symptoms of depression seven years later, in both instances even after controlling for other risk factors in childhood. Boys who are bullying perpetrators have been reported in particular to be at increased risk for later offending (Sourander et al., 2011). Ttofi et al.'s (2011) meta-analysis found that bullying perpetration was related to later offending, but the size of this effect decreased as more confounders were included in the analysis and follow-up periods increased[7].

Using a systematic review of prospective longitudinal studies which focused on internalising and externalising adjustment in the case of peer victimisation in childhood, Ttofi et al. (2014) found that a number of factors, including individual factors such as social skills and academic achievement, family factors such as stability and healthy relationships and peer social support operated as protective factors against later adulthood problems.

A US study (Cornell et al., 2013) found that one standard deviation increases in student and teacher-reported Prevalence of Teasing and Bullying were associated with 16.5 % and 10.8 % increases in early school leaving counts, respectively, holding all other variables constant. A basic conclusion from the Cornell et al. (2013) study is that the prevalence of teasing and bullying in high schools deserves serious consideration by educators in addressing the problem of early school leaving. In a sample of 276 high schools, the level of teasing and bullying reported by both 9th grade students and teachers was predictive of cumulative early school leaving counts over 4 years after the cohort reached 12th grade. This study is notable as it finds a heightened association with early school leaving not simply for those who have been bullied or are bullying perpetrators, but also how entering a climate of teasing and bullying serves as a push factor for students to leave school early.

Wolke et al. (2013) in the western North Carolina longitudinal study examined 1400 people regarding their reported experiences of bullying perpetration, victimisation, or both between the ages of 9-16. Follow up at ages 19, 21 and 24-26 indicate that those who were bullied were more likely to have a diagnosable anxiety disorder in adulthood, while both perpetrators and victims were more susceptible to depression. Perpetrators were more at risk of later anti-social personality disorder. Gender differences were observed, where both female perpetrators and victims were increasingly likely to experience adult agoraphobia, in contrast to males who were more at risk of suicide. This study controlled for pre-morbid childhood psychopathology, so it can be implied that these were consequences of the bullying experiences and not simply antecedent to them. In this study, victims and particularly bully-victims differed from children not involved in bullying by growing up more often in marginalised families and having more mental health problems in childhood.

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[6] McDougall and Vaillancourt (2015) identified various factors which mediated and moderated victimisation, acting as protective or risk factors, leading to different pathways in adulthood adjustment; these include the classroom context, the timing of victimisation, the presence or absence of support, and the role of self-evaluations. The authors conclude that at least some victimised children, especially those experiencing other mental health difficulties, are more prone to adjustment problems in adulthood. However, there are multiple pathways involved in the process, and the impact of early victimisation is greater when combined with other risks.

[7] Rodkin, Espleage and Hamish (2015) argue that the evidence for the link between bullying perpetration and long term negative outcomes, holds only for incidental models of bullying perpetration, namely that perpetration is the result of some underlying disorder, but not for causal models, suggesting that perpetration itself contributes actively to psychopathology later on in adult life.

Against the backdrop of these pervasive associations between bullying and mental health issues and early school leaving related risk factors, it is evident that bullying in schools is both an education and a health issue. It requires an integrated strategic policy response across both departments. The wide range of detrimental outcomes arising from bullying in school highlights that this is a serious issue for child and youth welfare. It is also a child protection issue (Farrelly, 2007; 8th European Forum on the Rights of the Child, 2013).

Chapter 3. Prevalence of bullying

Swearer et al. (2010) identify three major factors responsible for the problems in establishing accurate prevalence rates of school bullying. Firstly, bullying is defined differently in different instruments, while some assessments do not give a definition of bullying at all or do not differentiate bullying from other forms of aggression (Cook et al., 2010); not all definitions capture the three key constructs of the bullying definition established by Olweus (see Section 2.1). Secondly, there is a lot variability in the cut off points used to classify students into the main roles of bullying (bully, victim, bully-victim, or bystander) on the basis of frequency of behaviour; differences in cut off points may lead either to most students being involved in bullying or conversely to very few students being involved. Finally, many of the instruments used lack rigorous psychometric properties, including reliability and concurrent and construct validity. Cook et al. (2010) argue that while various researchers have attempted to address the lack of psychometric rigour in the assessment of bullying, the influence of assessment methods on the variability of bullying prevalence rates remains a contentious and unresolved issue.

Prevalence rates vary according to whether it is the students themselves, peers, teachers or parents who are reporting (Hymel and Swearer, 2015). Most of the research is based on self-report assessment, since adults are less likely to have accurate knowledge of bullying incidents. Various studies have underlined the discrepancy between self-reports and reports by peers, parents or teachers (Hymel and Swearer, 2015). These issues need to be taken into consideration in referring to prevalence rates, particularly when comparing studies.

The Health Behaviour School Checklist (HBSC). The HBSC by the World Health Organisation is a study held every four years on children's and young people's health and well-being in Europe and North America. The latest study available was published in 2012 (Currie et al., 2012) with data gathered in 2010 from 43 countries, including most EU countries. The study is based on a questionnaire completed by 10, 13 and 15-year-old students (a total of 3000 students from each respective country).

The European prevalence of reported victimisation amongst young people aged 11-15 ranges from 2 % (15 year old females in Italy) to 32 % (11 year old males in Lithuania) (see Table 1). The Baltic countries, Greenland, Austria, Belgium and Romania are some of the countries with relatively high prevalence rates compared to the low rates of Denmark and Sweden, Czech Republic and the Mediterranean countries of Italy and Spain. The overall figures for Europe are quite similar with those in northern America, with the overall prevalence rates for the USA and Canada being quite close to the mid-range figures (6 %-17 %). There is a clear gender difference in Europe, with boys reporting being more bullied than girls in most of the countries, but again prevalence rates vary considerably from one country to another, from 28 % to 4 % for boys and 23 % to 3 % respectively (gender difference usually less than 10 %). Prevalence rates also declined from 11 to 15 years, in both girls and boys in most countries and regions in Europe (from an average of 13 % of 11 year olds to an average of 9 % of 15 year olds); the difference however, is usually less than 10 % (Currie et al., 2012). The three EU countries not included in the report were Bulgaria, Cyprus and Malta; the previous report based on the 2006 data (Currie et al., 2008) shows that Bulgaria and Malta were at opposite ends, with Bulgaria significantly higher than the average and Malta significantly lower than the average. The trends for Malta are similar to the 2012 report for both gender (more boys being bullied than girls) and age; Bulgaria however shows a substantial increase of bullying of boys as they grow older.

The European prevalence of reported bullying perpetration amongst young people aged 11-15 varies considerably across countries ranging from 35 % (13 year old boys in Romania) to 1 % (11 year old girls in Denmark, England, Iceland, Wales and Sweden, and 15 year old girls in Iceland) (see Table 2). As in the case of victimisation, the Baltic countries are again at the top of the list together with Romania, Belgium (Fl), Austria, Switzerland, Greenland and Greece. Sweden, Denmark, Iceland and Norway, England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and Hungary, Czech Republic and Italy, are the countries with the lowest prevalence rates

of bullying perpetration in Europe. In contrast to victimisation, the North American prevalence rate of perpetration is below that of the European and HBSC averages. There is a clear gender difference, with the overall rate for boys being double that of girls, and the prevalence rate for boys being higher than that of girls in all the countries and regions in Europe in all ages (except for a couple of exceptions). Prevalence also increased significantly from 11 to 15 years, with the increase being evident in about half of the countries and regions; in most countries this was relatively small but in a few countries this more than 10 % amongst boys (e.g., Latvia, Greece, Austria, Luxembourg) (Currie et al., 2012). In the great majority of countries and regions there was an increase in prevalence from 11 to 13 year olds for both boys and girls.

This study shows that bullying victimisation and perpetration are prevalent behaviours among young people in Europe, but prevalence rates differ considerably across European countries, indicating the influence of sociocultural factors on the conceptualisation and tolerance of this behaviour; the report found that prevalence increased with lower family affluence in a number of countries (Currie et al., 2012). The study clearly shows that victimisation and perpetration are more common among boys than girls, a trend seen in the international research on bullying. It also indicates that there is an overall decline in victimisation in most countries over the previous years (Currie et al., 2012). This decrease however is usually less than 10 %, while prevalence remains high in some countries and regions in Europe. Furthermore, since the data was collected in 2009/2010, the study may not have adequately captured cyberbullying. The advantage of this study is that it includes practically all EU countries, using the same rigorously tested instrument with a sample of 3000 students in each country, making use of self-report. The data however, is based only on self-reports and only on one question on victimisation and another on perpetration. Moreover, it did not measure the prevalence of bully-victims.

TABLE 1. Peer Victimisation in Europe, % (i.e. those reporting being a victim of bullying)

Country	11 years		13 years		15 years		Range		Total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	Range
Austria	16	20	16	25	9	19	9-16	19-25	9-25
Belgium (Fr)	16	27	18	31	15	26	15-18	26-31	15-31
Belgium (Fl)	15	18	7	10	9	7	7-15	7-18	7-18
Croatia	7	9	8	9	4	6	4-8	6-9	4-9
Czech R	5	4	5	7	5	5	5	4-7	4-7
Denmark	7	7	7	7	4	5	4-7	5-7	4-7
England	10	12	12	9	9	7	9-12	7-12	7-12
Estonia	22	27	17	24	9	10	9-22	10-27	9-27
Finland	11	13	12	12	7	8	7-12	8-13	7-13
France	15	16	14	16	10	12	10-15	12-16	10-16
Germany	11	11	10	9	8	12	8-11	9-12	8-12
Greece	7	8	7	9	9	12	7-9	8-12	7-12
Greenland	13	25	14	13	14	16	13-14	13-25	13-25
Hungary	8	13	8	9	4	5	4-8	5-13	4-13
Iceland	8	10	5	8	4	4	4-8	4-10	4-10
Ireland	10	14	7	10	4	10	4-10	10-14	4-14
Italy	4	8	3	4	2	3	2-4	3-8	2-8
Latvia	22	24	18	20	14	17	14-22	17-24	14-24
Lithuania	27	32	26	30	17	23	17-26	23-32	17-32
Luxembourg	14	17	11	13	10	12	10-14	12-17	10-17
Netherland	9	10	7	9	3	6	3-9	6-10	3-10
Norway	11	11	7	8	6	8	6-11	8-11	6-11
Poland	10	17	8	14	5	8	5-10	8-17	5-17
Portugal	12	20	13	19	10	13	10-12	13-20	10-20
Romania	15	20	18	22	11	17	11-18	17-22	11-22

Scotland	13	10	9	11	4	8	4-13	8-10	4-13
Slovakia	9	15	8	11	7	6	7-9	6-15	6-15
Slovenia	7	7	8	11	4	6	4-8	6-11	4-11
Spain	5	8	5	9	3	6	3-5	6-9	3-9
Sweden	4	5	4	4	4	3	4	3-5	3-5
Switzerland	13	18	13	15	9	12	9-13	12-18	9-18
Wales	10	10	9	10	6	8	6-10	8-10	6-10
Source: WHO, 2010.							2-26	3-32	2-32

TABLE 2. Bullying Perpetration in Europe, % (i.e. those reporting carrying out bullying)

Country	11 years		13 years		15 years		Range		Total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	Range
Austria	7	16	13	28	13	32	7-13	16-32	7-32
Belgium (Fr)	9	19	11	24	13	22	9-13	19-24	9-24
Belgium (Fl)	5	10	6	13	9	14	5-9	10-14	5-14
Croatia	2	6	4	10	4	10	2-4	6-10	2-10
Czech R	2	2	2	6	4	5	2-4	2-6	2-6
Denmark	1	6	3	7	2	9	1-3	6-9	1-9
England	1	5	3	5	2	10	1-3	5-10	1-10
Estonia	4	21	10	25	8	19	4-10	19-25	4-25
Finland	2	7	6	11	6	12	2-6	7-12	2-12
France	7	11	11	18	11	20	7-11	11-20	7-20
Germany	4	8	9	13	9	19	4-9	8-19	4-19
Greece	4	13	9	22	13	34	4-13	13-34	4-34
Greenland	8	14	13	15	13	28	8-13	14-28	8-28
Hungary	2	7	2	9	2	8	2	7-9	2-9
Iceland	1	5	2	6	1	5	1-2	5-6	1-6
Ireland	2	5	2	5	2	8	2	5-8	2-8
Italy	2	7	3	7	3	8	2-3	7-8	2-8
Latvia	10	21	21	31	23	36	10-23	21-36	10-36
Lithuania	10	19	18	32	16	32	10-18	19-32	10-32
Luxembourg	7	11	9	18	11	27	7-11	11-27	7-27
Netherland	3	8	4	9	5	10	3-5	8-10	3-10
Norway	2	7	1	8	3	9	1-3	7-9	1-9
Poland	5	14	8	15	5	16	5-8	14-16	5-16
Portugal	4	11	8	15	6	13	4-8	11-15	4-15
Romania	17	26	26	35	19	30	17-26	26-35	17-35
Scotland	2	5	3	7	2	10	2-3	5-10	2-10
Slovakia	8	15	12	17	10	17	8-12	15-17	8-17
Slovenia	4	6	5	15	6	12	4-6	6-15	4-15
Spain	3	7	5	10	5	10	3-5	7-10	3-10
Sweden	1	2	3	4	3	7	1-3	2-7	1-7
Switzerland	6	17	10	22	11	25	6-11	17-25	6-25
Wales	1	3	2	4	1	4	1-2	3-4	1-4
Source: WHO, 2010.							1-26	2-35	1-35

Chester et al. (2015) carried out a comparative analysis of the latest three HBSC published surveys, namely 2001-2002, 2005-2006 and 2009-2010 respectively, to identify the decreasing and increasing trends in victimisation. Responses from 58 1838 young people in 33 countries, mostly European, were included in the analysis. French Belgium was also the only country with significant increases in both occasional and chronic victimisation for both genders across the three surveys. A number of countries showed an increase from

2001–2002 to 2005–2006, but then a decrease from 2005–2006 to 2009–2010, with Greece registering the most evident decrease in both occasional and chronic victimisation, with a 24.1 % decrease for occasional victimisation and 14.4 % for chronic victimisation. More worrying is the opposite trend with a significant decrease for both genders from the first to the second survey but then a significant increase from the second to the third survey; Flemish Belgium, Canada, Finland, Poland, Spain and Switzerland fall into this category. The main conclusion from this study was a decreasing trend in bullying victimisation among both genders across a third of participating countries, with few countries reporting increasing trends. There was considerable variability between countries and between genders within countries however, with bullying remaining a pertinent issue in various countries across Europe (see also Table 6, Annex 1 on changes in bullying prevalence between ages 11-15).

TABLE 2. Prevalence of School Bullying: Country Specific Concerns based on Comparative, National and Local Studies (also for School Inclusiveness)

Country	Prevalence Patterns
Austria	25 % of 13 year old boys are bullied. 32 % of 15 year old boys and 28 % of 13 year old boys bully their peers (Currie et al. 2012)
Belgium	In Belgium (Fr), 27 % of 11 year old boys, 31 % of 13 year old boys and 26 % of 15 year old boys are victims of bullying (Currie et al. 2012). 63.5% of socioeconomically disadvantaged students agree that they feel like they belong at school. This is notably almost 15 % below the OECD average (PISA 2012). A survey amongst LGBTI young people who had attended schools in the previous three years in Belgium, reported that 48 % had experienced teasing and ridicule, 39 % name calling, 36 % social isolation and 21 % intimidation (UNESCO, 2012).
Bulgaria	In a study in six Bulgarian schools with 11-13 year old students, Koralov (2007) reported that 25 % of students reported they were victimised by their peers once a week, while 10 % said that they bullied other students a few times per month.
Czech Republic	73.6 % of socioeconomically disadvantaged students agree that they feel like they belong at school. This is almost 5 % below the OECD average (PISA 2012). 80.5 % of socioeconomically disadvantaged students disagree that they feel like an outsider (or left out of things) at school. This is almost 6 % below the OECD average (PISA 2012).
Denmark	69.3% of socioeconomically disadvantaged students agree that they feel like they belong at school. This is more than 8 % below the OECD average (PISA 2012).
Estonia	27 % of 11 year olds boys, 22 % of 11 year old girls and 24 % of 13 year old boys are bullied. For boys, 21 % of 11 year olds and 25 % of 13 year olds bully their peers. (Currie et al. 2012)
Finland	Based on the 2007 report representing 82 % of all Finnish students in 8th and 9th-grade comprehensive school students and 1st and 2nd-grade upper secondary school and vocational school students, Luukonen (2010) found that 10 % of the boys and 6 % of the girls reported being victims of bullying at least once a week. Honkasalo et al. (2009) reported that racism in the form of ostracism, exclusion and discrimination was a common experience for young people with a multicultural background in Finland.
France	Only 38 % of socioeconomically disadvantaged students agree that they feel like they belong at school. This is a striking 50 % below the OECD average (PISA 2012). For males, 18 % of 13 year olds and 20 % of 15 year olds bully their peers (Currie et al. 2012). 16 % of

	males aged both 11 and 13 are victims of bullying, and 15 % of females aged 11 and 14 % aged 13 are victims of bullying (Currie et al. 2012).
Germany	Von Marées and Petermann's (2009) study on the prevalence of bullying in primary schools in Germany with 550 six to ten-year -old children attending 12 primary schools in northern Germany. Overall, 10 % of children were identified as bullies, 17 % as victims and 17 % as bully/victims. Elamé's (2013) research on discriminatory bullying found that in the German sample (not necessarily nationally representative), 52 % of immigrant and Roma students do not feel at ease with children who attend their school.
Greece	34 % of 15 year old males are bullying perpetrators (Currie et al. 2012). In a study with 3969 primary and secondary school students in Greece, Psalti (2012) reported that almost half of the participating students were involved in bullying, either as bullies, victims or bully-victims, with higher involvement in secondary schools.
Hungary	49 % of LGBTI respondents have encountered discrimination and bullying at school; over 90 % of them were targeted by fellow students (Takács et al., 2008).
Ireland	Minton's (2010) study with 2 312 primary and 3 257 post-primary students found that 35 % of primary school students and 36 % of post-primary students reported having been bullied over the last 3 months. Cosgrove et al. (2014) analysed children's and parents' reports based on a representative sample of 8568 students. Students with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities reported being bullied more frequently (47 %) than peers without such needs (36 %).
Italy	Brighi et al.'s (2013) survey involved approximately 1700 students from middle and high school (age range 14-19) in Italy and has shown that traditional forms of bullying (both direct and indirect forms) included 27 % of student as victims, 19 % as bullies and the 9 % as bully/victims. Telefono Azzurro's (2014) sample of 1500 students aged 11-19 years, reported that 34.7 % said they had witnessed bullying episodes, while 30 % of middle school students and 38 % of high school students were bullied at least sometimes.
Luxembourg	71.9 % of socioeconomically disadvantaged students agree that they feel like they belong at school. This is more than 6 % below the OECD average (PISA 2012).
Latvia	24 % of 11 year old boys and 22% of 11 year old girls are bullied. For boys, 36 % of 15 year olds and 31 % of 13 year olds engage in bullying perpetration (Currie et al. 2012)
Lithuania	For 11 year olds, 32 % of boys and 27 % of girls are victims of bullying; similarly with 13 year olds, 30 % of boys and 26 % are girls are bullied. 32 % of 13 and 15 year old boys are perpetrators of bullying (Currie et al. 2012).
Malta	Askell Williams, Cefai and Fabri (2014) study with 300 primary and secondary school students attending 7 schools in one regional college in Malta found that around one quarter to one half of students were involved in bullying in most grades, with no apparent gender differences.
Poland	73.2 % of socioeconomically disadvantaged students agree that they feel like they belong at school. This is almost 5 % below the OECD average (PISA 2012).
Portugal	20 % of 11 year old and 19 % of 13 year old boys are victims of bullying (Currie et al. 2012).
Romania	For boys, 35 % of 13 year olds, 30 % of 15 year olds and 26 % of 11 year olds bully their peers; for girls, 26 % of 13 year olds and 19 % of 15 year olds bully their peers (Currie et al. 2012).

Slovakia	15 % of 11 year old boys nationally are bullied (Currie et al. 2012). 74 % of socioeconomically disadvantaged students disagree that they feel like an outsider (or left out of things) at school. This is more than 12 % below the OECD average (PISA 2012).
Spain	Gutierrez et al. (2008) found that with a representative sample of 3000 students from 300 secondary schools in various regions of Spain, 18 % reported being the victim of one type of peer bullying while 30 % were the victims of two types of bullying.
Sweden	Bjereld et al. (2015) examined parent-reported bullying victimisation with 27.8 % of immigrants being victims in contrast to 8.6 % of native children. 74.8% of socioeconomically disadvantaged students agree that they feel like they belong at school. This is below the OECD average of 78.1 % (PISA 2012 Beckman's (2013) study with over 3800, 13-15-year-old adolescents found that students with a disability were more likely to be bully-victims.
UK	The annual bullying survey 2015 (DTF, 2015) was carried out in 73 schools and colleges across the UK with over 4800 young people aged 13-20 years. The responses of 3023 participants were analysed. The survey reported that 50 % of young people had bullied another person – 30 % on a regular basis (at least once a week); while 43 % reported peer victimisation – 44 % on a regular basis. Based on the Millennium Cohort Study and the Longitudinal Study of Young People, Chatzitheochari et al. (2014) reported that primary school students with SEND are twice as likely as other peers to experience chronic bullying.

3.1. Bullying and Children with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities

Children with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND) are particularly vulnerable to bullying and more likely to be over-represented in bullying experiences. Blake et al, (2012), making use of the Special Education Elementary Longitudinal Study and the National Longitudinal Transition Study–2 data sets in the US, found higher prevalence rates of bullying victimisation amongst students with disabilities in elementary, middle and high schools when compared to mainstream students (24.5 %, 34.1 % and 26.6 % respectively). Various reviews of the literature in the US (e.g. Rose et al., 2011; Rose et al., 2009) and the UK (McLaughlin et al., 2010) have shown that bullying victimisation and perpetration are over-represented in SEND, suggesting that children and young people with SEND are more likely to be victimised but also more likely to bully others when compared with other peers. The finding that students with SEND are also more likely to bully their peers than the average, may be explained by such factors as type of disability and class placement (McLaughlin, 2010). Students with behaviour problems, one of the categories of special educational needs/disabilities, are more likely to engage in bullying perpetration by virtue of their disability (Swearer, Wang, Maag, Siebecker, and Frerichs 2012; Rose and Espelage, 2012); on the other hand, students with social skills and communication problems such as children and young people with Asperger's Syndrome and autism, are more likely to be the victims of bullying (Rose et al., 2011).

In their review of the international literature on bullying victimisation amongst children with SEND (primarily studies from Europe – Ireland, Scandinavia, and UK – and North America) McLaughlin et al. (2010) found that children with SEND faced increased risk of victimisation in both mainstream and special settings, ranging from 80 % for children with learning disabilities, 70 % for children with autism to 40 % for children with speech and language difficulties; some studies indicated that students with mild or hidden disabilities may be even more at risk. They also found that bullying tends to be more relational than direct, such as isolation, ostracism, name-calling and social manipulation, though the latter is also present, including physical and sexual abuse. They reported that social skills and language and communication problems are the key issues that characterise most bullying with children and young people with SEND.

In a study on bullying victimisation using data from two representative longitudinal studies in England, namely the Millennium Cohort Study and the Longitudinal Study of Young People, Chatzitheochari et al. (2014) examined the probability of being bullied at ages 7 and 15 associated with SEND. They reported that primary school students with SEND are twice as likely as other peers to experience chronic bullying. At age 7, 12 % of students with special needs and 11 % of those with a statement of special needs were bullied 'all of the time' by other peers, compared to 6 % of their other peers. At age 15, students with statements of special educational needs were significantly more likely to be frequent victims of both physical and relational bullying, even after controlling for a wide range of demographic, socioeconomic and family factors. The authors concluded that students with SEND faced the double disadvantage of contextual barriers and bullying during critical periods in their development and education. Both SEND students with and without a statement of special needs were at risk of victimisation, but the latter faced a higher risk.

In a study with 141, 11-12-year-old students in Finland, Kaukiainen et al. (2012) found that learning difficulties were significantly related to bullying perpetration but not to victimisation; cluster analysis, however, revealed a group of children with learning difficulties as bully-victims. Bejerot and Mortberg (2009) interviewed 168 adult patients with either social phobia or obsessive compulsive disorder about their bullying experience in Finland. In comparison to a reference group of 551 adults, they found a significant difference in the prevalence of being bullied between OCD (50 %), social phobia patients (20 %) and the reference group (27 %). A history of being bullied was related to autistic traits among patients and they concluded that autistic traits may be a predictor of being bullied at school. In Ireland, Cosgrove et al. (2014) analysed children's and parents' reports of being bullied, based on a representative sample of 8568 students (collected in 2007–2008). They reported that students with SEND reported being bullied more frequently (47 %) than peers without such needs (36 %). Reports by parents of their child being bullied were also more frequent for the former (36 % vs 19 %). Students most at risk of bullying were those with SEBD, dyslexia and ASD (student reports) and the latter two according to parents. Bullying had more negative impact on students with SEND than those without such needs according to students' own reports. Radliff et al. (2015) observe that using self-report questionnaires for students in special education who struggle with reading may contribute to an underestimation of victimisation rates.

3.2. Racial, Discriminatory Bullying

Research on school bullying has largely neglected the issue of racism, and where it has been studied, the methods used have been unconvincing (Eslea and Mukhtar, 2010). Yet issues of racism have been gaining increasing salience in the EU in the last decades, and in particular in recent years with the upheavals in North Africa and the Middle East and the current influx of migrants crossing the Mediterranean towards Europe.

Elamé's (2013) research on discriminatory bullying involved a sample of 1352 immigrant and Roma students as part of a wider sample of 8817 students across 10 European countries (Bulgaria, Cyprus, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain). Large majorities of the immigrant and Roma students responded that they felt at ease with other children that attend their school. Such contentment was as high as 97 % of immigrant and Roma students in Romania, with 84.5 % in France, 84 % in Portugal and also Spain, 83 % in Bulgaria responding affirmatively; 'in all countries, with the exception of Germany, the affirmative answers prevail by far' (Elamé, 2013). In the German sample 52 % of immigrant and Roma students do not feel at ease with children who attend their school. However, it must be emphasised that this study was a population sample drawn from a large number of schools and was not a random sample; nor was it matched across countries, so comparability is restricted. Another difficulty for comparability is that immigrants are far from being a homogenous group, with diverse backgrounds. Also the average of taking just a sample of 1352 immigrant or Roma students across 10 countries is a relatively small one, though the wider sample is nevertheless a not insubstantial one. These caveats must also be applied to the finding of Elamé (2013) that bullying carried out by other students to immigrants or Roma were 'more common' in Cyprus (81 %), Germany (76 %) and Spain (71 %), with an overall average of 58 % for this sample across the 10 countries.

These figures, though not necessarily nationally representative, do nevertheless point to a serious issue of discriminatory bullying to be addressed at policy levels.

In a recent study with over 7000 children aged 7 to 13 in the Nordic countries, Bjereld et al. (2015) examined bullying victimisation at two different points namely 1996 and 2011, focusing on differences in prevalence between immigrants and native children in the various countries. Data was collected through a parents' report. The author reported first that while bullying in the Nordic countries decreased from 1996 to 2011 (21 % and 19.2 % respectively), bullying prevalence was significantly higher amongst immigrant children when compared to native children in Sweden, Norway and in the Nordic countries as a whole both in 1996 and in 2011, even when other factors were taken into consideration. The difference in prevalence rates varied from one country to another, the largest difference being observed in Sweden, with 27.8 % of immigrants being victims in contrast to 8.6 % of native children. The study based on parent-reported bullying, which may be less accurate than self-reporting.

In their cross-cultural analysis of racial bullying including Europe, Scherr and Larson (2010) suggest that racial bullying interacts with other variables such as the school context, and that isolating ethnicity in examining bullying prevalence may limit our understanding of what is actually happening. They give examples of how the composition of the school population and the size and differences within minority and majority groups, influence bullying behaviour; for instance whites are more likely to be bullied in schools where they are in minority, while African Americans are more likely to be bullied in schools catering for this population (Hanish and Guerra, 2000; Graham and Juvonen, 2002); majority students have been bullied about race (Lai and Tov, 2004), while ethnic bullying within the same ethnic group has also been reported (Eslea and Mukhtar, 2010). Thus, while examining racial and ethnic bullying it is very important to protect minority children from abuse and violence and their consequent negative impact (e.g. McKenney et al., 2006), a more accurate understanding of what is actually happening requires an examination of other factors involved such as the school context including the social, cultural, political, linguistic and religious contexts, more specific group membership, and estimates of bullying prevalence in general.

3.3. Homophobic, Discriminatory Bullying

Homophobic or LGBTI bullying is a serious issue of concern in many schools across the world, including Europe, even though it is one of the most unchallenged form of bullying (Walton, 2006). Rivers et al. (2007) reported that over 1.6 million US students are bullied because of either actual or perceived sexual orientation. A report by Stonewall (2015) reported that 52 000 LGBTI students in the UK, about a quarter of the estimated total, will miss school because of homophobic bullying, 70 000 will experience problems with schoolwork, while 37 000 will change their future plans because of homophobic bullying. Similar results were found in a recent nationwide survey in the USA (GLEN, 2013) with 74 % of LGBTI students being verbally harassed because of their sexual orientation and 55 % because of their gender expression; 36 % were physically harassed because of their sexual orientation and 28 % because of their gender expression; and 17 % were physically assaulted because of their sexual orientation and 11 % because of their gender expression. Even in the absence of direct homophobic bullying, students may still experience isolation, ostracisation and increased anxiety and depression, in schools where homophobic language is widely used (Swearer et al., 2008).

A report on homophobic bullying in the UK (Stonewall, 2012) based on a survey with over 1 600 LGBTI young people and their experiences at school, shows that although homophobic bullying has decreased over the years when compared to previous studies, it was still a widespread problem in British schools. 55 % of LGBTI students experienced direct bullying while more than 96 % heard homophobic language at the school, while only half reported that their schools consider homophobic bullying as wrong. 32 % of those who experienced bullying changed their future educational plans because of it, 60 % said it had a direct negative impact on their school work, while 41 % have attempted or thought about suicide or self-harmed. In the last five years

since the first study in 2007, the rate of homophobic bullying has decreased to 55 % from 65 %; twice as many LGBTI students report that their schools say homophobic bullying is wrong (50 % vs 25%), while the number of LGBTI who feel unable to speak when bullied has fallen from 58 % to 37 % since 2007.

The teacher latest survey (Stonewall, 2014) in 1 832 primary and secondary schools across Britain, reported that 86 % of secondary school teachers and 45 % of primary school teachers said that students in their schools experienced homophobic bullying; 89 % of secondary school teachers and 70 % of primary school teachers heard students using anti LGBTI language; 55 % of secondary school teachers and 42 % or primary school teachers said they do not challenge homophobic language every time they hear it; 36 % of secondary school teachers and 29 % or primary school teachers heard homophobic language from other school staff. The report concluded that since 2009, half the number of secondary school teachers said that students are often or very often the victim of homophobic bullying and fewer teachers hear anti-LGBTI language amongst students, but there was little change in the proportion of teachers who hear anti-LGBTI amongst other staff.

In the EU LGBTI online survey by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014), almost half of all 93,079 respondents (47 %) say that they felt personally discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of sexual orientation in the year preceding the survey. The report's data on discrimination in education reveals that, during their schooling before the age of 18, more than eight in 10 of all respondents in each LGBTI subgroup and every EU Member State have heard or seen negative comments or conduct because a schoolmate was perceived to be LGBTI. Two thirds (68 %) of all respondents who answered the question say these comments or conduct occurred often or always during their schooling before age 18. Another European-wide survey study was conducted in 2006 by ILGA-Europe and IGLYO (Takács, 2006) with over 750 respondents from 37 European countries, with 93 % of the questionnaires from EU Member States. Of the participants 68 % were males, 29 % females and 2 % transgender. The average age was 23.7 years, 60 % being younger than 25. A total of 53 % of LGBTI students reported having experienced bullying or violence at school, with victimisation being higher amongst males and the younger groups. The school was the area where young LGBTI people in Europe experienced the most prejudice and discrimination – 61 %, as opposed to 51 % in the family, 38 % in other communities, and 30 % in circles of friends.

3.4. Current Responses to Prevention of Bullying and Violence in Schools in EU Member States

The survey findings from this review of bullying and violence prevention strategies in schools in Europe raise a number of concerns. Firstly, a large number of EU Member States do not have any national school bullying and violence prevention strategy. Moreover, most have no integrated focus between early school leaving and bullying prevention; most have no specific focus on prevention of homophobic bullying. Generally, those countries that do have anti-bullying strategies do not have one with a strategic focus on differentiated needs, and different levels of prevention – most are confined to universal prevention approaches. A differentiated focus is needed. Moreover, discriminatory bullying lacks a strategic focus. While a systematic focus on social and emotional learning at curricular level exists across almost all EU Member States, it is unclear to what extent an explicit curricular focus on bullying and violence prevention is consistently present. Even in those Member States with a national anti-bullying strategy for schools, it is rarely clear that their approaches are directly evidence-informed or that national inspectorate systems or school self-evaluation processes embed a strong focus on bullying and violence prevention into their school review processes. While there are at least systematic procedures for students' voices to be heard in the education system across many Member States, such as through student councils, there is a need for a much stronger focus on student participation in the design of anti-bullying approaches, especially for older students.

TABLE 3. Existence of National Bullying Prevention Strategy in School in European Countries

Is there a national strategy for bullying prevention in schools in your country?	
Austria	Yes
Belgium (Fl)	No
Bulgaria	Yes
Cyprus	No
Czech Republic	Yes
England	No
Estonia	No
Finland	No official national strategy but bullying is in the National Core Curriculum and Government Programme and national rollout of KiVa programme
France	Yes (as *Harcèlement*)
Greece	Yes
Hungary	No
Ireland	Yes
Italy	Yes
Latvia	No
Lithuania	Yes
Malta	Yes
The Netherlands	No, but new laws on social safety
Norway	Yes, through national strategy of better-learning environment
Poland	Yes
Portugal	Yes, through health promoting education and violence prevention programmes
Romania	Yes (as violence)
Scotland	Yes
Serbia	No
Slovakia	No
Spain	Yes, (Master plan for co-existence and the improvement of safety at school and their environment)
Sweden	Yes, (Law stipulates that each school must have its own policy)
Turkey	Yes

Source: Combined responses from three sources: Commission ET2020 School Policy Working Group of Senior Education Officials from National Ministries/ENSEC/NGOs surveys.

TABLE 4. Existence of Integrated National Strategic Response to Bullying and Early School Leaving Prevention in European Countries

Austria	Yes
Belgium (Fl)	Yes
Bulgaria	Yes
Cyprus	No
England	No
Estonia	No, but in Lifelong Education Strategy and Estonian Government Action Programme 2015-19
Finland	No
France	No, not directly but there is a focus on school climate
Greece	No
Hungary	No
Ireland	No, not explicitly, only indirectly through aspects of School Completion Programme
Italy	No

Latvia	No
Lithuania	Somewhat in National Education Strategy 2013-22
Malta	No, not directly, although the National Strategy for Bullying is referred to in all other Education Ministry strategies
The Netherlands	No
Norway	N/A
Poland	Yes
Portugal	Somewhat indirectly
Romania	No
Scotland	No
Serbia	No
Slovakia	No
Spain	No
Sweden	No
Turkey	No

Source: Combined responses from three sources: Commission ET2020 School Policy Working Group of Senior Education Officials from National Ministries/ENSEC/NGOs surveys.

TABLE 5. Homophobic Bullying Directly Addressed in National Anti-Bullying Strategy

Austria	No
Belgium (Fl)	No, but some focus in anti-discrimination law
Bulgaria	No
Cyprus	No
Czech Republic	No
England	No, but in individual schools
Estonia	No
Finland	No
France	No, not directly but it is on the Ministerial agenda
Greece	No
Hungary	No
Ireland	Yes
Italy	No, but mentioned without specific actions
Latvia	No
Lithuania	No
Malta	Yes
The Netherlands	Yes, not in anti-bullying but is in the non-discrimination laws
Norway	No
Poland	No
Portugal	Yes, addressed in the Secure School Programme as 'Acts against sexual freedom and self-determination'
Romania	No
Scotland	No
Serbia	No
Slovakia	No
Spain	Yes
Sweden	Yes, related to discrimination laws though not anti-bullying programme
Turkey	No

Source: Combined responses from three sources: Commission ET2020 School Policy Working Group of Senior Education Officials from National Ministries/ENSEC/NGOs surveys.

Chapter 4. Health Promotion and Universal Prevention Approaches

4.1. Whole School and Curricular Approaches

A whole school approach to bullying assumes bullying is a systemic problem. It operates centrally within a social-ecological framework of treating the students, school and connections to parents as being part of an interconnected system of relations (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Espelage and Swearer, 2010). This systemic dimension interrogating school climate, institutional culture and relationships is an important broadening of perspective beyond simply treating bullying as a problem of individuals.

A major focus of international research has been on evaluating the effectiveness of various whole school approaches to bullying prevention or broader health-promoting schools' approaches targeting a number of areas, some related to bullying and violence in school. It is not the function of this report to identify one or two specific programmes as a 'one size fits all' approach for EU Member States. Instead the idea is to extract key structural and process features of successful models that can be a basis for progressive models in different European contexts. In recent years, there have been a number of international reviews of these intervention approaches to extract key dimensions of what works or has greatest effect. A pervasive feature of these whole school approaches has been its universal prevention and promotion focus on the whole school population, while examining, to some degree, distinct impacts on targeted students of higher need. Some of the debate has been about whole school approaches compared with solely curricular approaches.

An influential meta-analysis, emphasising the importance of effect sizes and specifically focusing on bullying in schools, that applied the Campbell Collaboration Systematic Review procedures (Campbell Collaboration, 2014), included a review of 44 rigorous programme evaluations and randomised clinical trials (Ttofi and Farrington, 2011). Ttofi and Farrington (2011) found that the programmes, on average, were associated with a 20 %–23 % decrease in bullying perpetration, and a 17 %–20 % decrease in victimisation (Ttofi and Farrington, 2011). This meta-analysis (Ttofi and Farrington, 2011) correlated programme strategies with the effect sizes for being bullied and bullying others and found that the most effective programme components for reducing the prevalence of being bullied were: videos, disciplinary methods, parent training/meetings and cooperative group work between professionals. The most effective programme components associated with a decrease in bullying others were: parent training/meetings, teacher training, improved playground supervision, disciplinary methods, cooperative group work between professionals, school assemblies, information for parents, classroom rules and classroom management, as well as a whole-school anti-bullying policy.

In response to criticism by Smith et al. (2012) regarding understandings of firm disciplinary methods, Ttofi and Farrington (2012) clarify that this is a wider view than simply punitive methods. Smith et al. (2012) also highlight a notable finding in the KiVa project, that 'confronting' and 'non-confronting' approaches did not differ from each other in terms of their overall effectiveness in a study involving 40 schools in each condition (Garandeau et al., 2011). However, they emphasise that the effectiveness of the two approaches was moderated by grade level and by how long the bullying had been going on. Whereas the non-confronting approach worked relatively better among younger children, the confronting approach had its advantages with adolescents. For addressing short-term bullying, the confronting approach proved slightly more effective than the non-confronting approach, whereas addressing long-term bullying was more likely to be successful with the non-confronting strategy.

Ttofi and Farrington (2011) found that programme duration and intensity for students and teachers was one of the main factors associated with a significant decrease in rates of bullying others and being bullied. Ttofi and Farrington's (2011) meta-analysis of programme components and effect sizes observed that an emphasis

on classroom management techniques to identify and respond to bullying, as well as the use of classroom rules against bullying (often developed collaboratively with students), were both associated with a reduction in bullying.

The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP) has been a pioneer of whole school approaches. Ttofi and Farrington's (2011) review observes that many of the most effective programmes were inspired by Olweus. Two studies examining the impact of the OBPP, both conducted in Norway, yielded differing results. Although Olweus (1993; 1994) reported decreases in both bullying and victimisation, Roland (1993; 2000) reported *increases* in bullying (for boys) and victimisation (for boys and girls). Of the 8 other schoolwide interventions 7 demonstrated at least some significant improvements in bullying or victimisation, although results varied across subsamples and measures. Some subsequent adaptations of the Olweus programme have reported less successful or mixed results in Germany (Hanewinkel, 2004) and Belgium (Stevens et al., 2000). The OBPP consists of Core programme measures at the school level including a questionnaire survey, a school conference day, improved supervision during break periods, class rules against bullying and regular class meetings with students, and at the individual level, serious talks with involved students and their parents. Highly desirable measures involve a coordinating group at the school level and class parent-teacher association at the class level (Olweus, 1999). The OBPP is found in thousands of U.S. school districts and supported by a number of State Departments of Education. However, the efficacy of this programme is questionable for the US context (Espelage, 2012); the OBPP is no longer on the US Substance and Mental Health Services Health Administration (SAMSHA) National Registry of Evidence-Based Programs (Espelage, 2013).

Another influential international meta-analysis points to a range of benefits from curricular approaches to social and emotional learning (SEL). SEL embraces a range of holistic approaches emphasising awareness of emotions, caring and concern for others, positive relationships, making responsible decisions, resolving conflict constructively and valuing the thoughts, feelings and voices of students (see also Weissberg et al., 2015; Brackett et al., 2015). A study of more than 213 programmes found that if a school implements a quality SEL curriculum, they can expect better student behaviour and an 11-point increase in test scores (Durlak et al., 2011). The gains that schools see in achievement come from a variety of factors — students feel safer and more connected to school and academic learning, SEL programmes build work habits in addition to social skills, and children and teachers build strong relationships. The Durlak et al. (2011) review found most success for those SEL approaches that incorporated four key combined SAFE features: sequenced step-by-step training, active forms of learning, focus sufficient time on skill development and explicit learning goals. Another key finding, echoed also by another meta-analysis by Sklad et al. (2012), was that classroom teachers and other school staff effectively conducted SEL programmes so these can be incorporated into routine educational activities and do not require outside personnel. A limitation acknowledged in Durlak et al. (2011) is that nearly one third of the studies contained no information on student ethnicity or socioeconomic status. A total of 56 % of evaluated SEL programmes were delivered to primary school students, 31 % to middle school students. A further limitation is that most of the reviewed studies took place in a US context and may not directly transfer to European contexts. Nevertheless, Sklad et al.'s (2012) meta-analysis which includes more European studies (11 out of 75 studies, i.e. 14.7 %) found no significant variation between the US studies and other parts of the world in effect size for social skills (though there was only one non-US study for anti-social behaviour).

Durlak et al. (2011) highlight SEL benefits indirectly related to bullying and school violence, for outcomes on SEL skills; attitudes, positive social behaviour, conduct problems, emotional distress and academic performance. Questions still remain about change to bullying behaviour, as distinct from attitudes; attitudes regarding bullying are easier to change than actual behaviour for bullying. The Ttofi and Farrington (2011) meta-analysis revealed that curriculum materials about bullying were not among the significant programme elements for reduction in being bullied or bullying others, although videos to raise student awareness about bullying were significantly associated with a decrease in students being bullied. This raises issues not only of

how education materials can be more engaging for students, but also the role of students in co-constructing these materials in ways relevant to their lives, experiences and youth culture.

Sklad et al.'s (2012) meta-analysis of recent, school-based, universal programmes concentrated on ones that promote development rather than prevent specific problems such as bullying. It resonates strongly with Durlak et al's. (2011) analysis. Sklad et al. (2012) found that SEL programmes showed statistically significant effects on social skills, anti-social behaviour, substance abuse, positive self-image, academic achievement and prosocial behaviour. Programs had moderate immediate effects on positive self-image, pro-social behaviour, academic achievement and anti-social behaviour, improving each by nearly one half a standard deviation.

Weare and Nind's (2011) European Union Dataprev project analysed reviews on mental health promotion and problem prevention in schools, to extract key evidence-based principles, approaches and interventions relevant to European contexts. They identified over 500 review studies, 52 of which met the inclusion criteria. The scope of this review was much wider than simply anti-bullying programmes. Weare and Nind's (2011) review of reviews generally endorses a focus on universal prevention approaches, though subject to important caveats. Universal approaches on their own were not as effective as those that added a robust targeted element. Interventions had a more dramatic effect on higher risk children. They propose a combined approach, noting that the exact balance between intervention and universal approach is 'yet to be determined' (p.64).

Langford et al.'s (2014) Cochrane Review for the WHO on health promoting school interventions, including anti-bullying, found some evidence that health promoting school interventions may reduce bullying in schools, with reductions in reports of being bullied of 17 % (6 trials, 26 256 participants). It is notable however that they found no evidence of effect for reports of bullying others. They contrast this with Farrington and Ttofi's (2009) review of 89 school-based anti-bullying interventions, including both randomised and non-randomised study designs (four of which were also included in their review). The Farrington and Ttofi (2009) review found substantial reductions in bullying others (20 % to 23 %), while reporting an overall reduction in being bullied of similar magnitude (17 % to 20 %) to Langford et al., (2014). Part of their criteria for inclusion of studies in Langford et al.'s (2014) review was that they are based on the WHO Health Promoting Schools Framework that includes a focus on a) School curriculum, b) Ethos or environment of the school or both and c) Engagement with families or communities or both. Five pillars of the Schools for Health in Europe network approach to school health promotion are: whole school approach to health, participation, school quality, evidence, schools and communities (Buijs, 2009).

BOX 1. KiVa Whole School Programme in Finland: Operating at both Universal and Indicated Prevention Levels

KiVa is a whole school programme in Finland that includes several elements that Farrington and Ttofi (2009) found associated with reductions in bullying, victimisation, or both. These include disciplinary methods, improved playground supervision, teacher training, classroom rules, whole school anti-bullying policy, school conferences, information for parents, videos, and cooperative group work. It is quite intensive and long lasting (the programme is implemented over a full school year). Notably, the KiVa programme also includes procedures for handling acute bullying cases. Thus, both universal (targeted at all students) and indicated (targeted at students involved in bullying) actions are involved in the programme. Three teachers or other personnel form a KiVa team for each school, and teams of three schools in a same geographical area form a school network in a nationwide rollout of KiVa.

KiVa has at least three features that, differentiate it from Olweus' OBPP and other anti-bullying programmes (Kärnä et al. 2011a). First, KiVa includes a range of concrete and professionally prepared materials for students, teachers, and parents. Rather than offering 'guiding principles' or 'philosophies' to school personnel, it provides them with a whole pack of activities to be carried out with students. It offers specific components. Second, KiVa harnesses the Internet and virtual learning environments. Third, KiVa goes beyond 'emphasising the role of bystanders', mentioned in the context of several intervention programmes, by providing ways to enhance empathy, self-efficacy, and efforts to support the victimised peers. After 1 year of intervention, the KiVa programme reduced victimisation and bullying, but the results for bullying were clear

and consistent only for students in Grades 5 and 6. Intervention school students were less victimised, they assisted and reinforced the bully less, and they had higher self-efficacy for defending and well-being at school. At Wave 3, there were reductions of 30 % in self-reported victimisation and 17 % in self-reported bullying, compared with control schools.

Enabling conditions for the success of KiVa's whole school approach, acknowledged by Salmivalli and Poskiparta (2012), include national government support against the backdrop of school shooting incidents in Finland widely associated with bullying problems. National government support facilitated school-level commitment and buy-in to the programme, as illustrated also by 3 members of the school staff being part of the coordinating team. Data on socioeconomic status or ethnic background of the students were not collected (Kärnä et al. 2011). A tension between top-down priorities and local-level ownership at school level may be greater in other cultural contexts. However, supportive empirical findings for KiVa have been observed in contexts of the Netherlands (Veenstra 2014) and Italy (KiVa website 2015).

Whereas Durlak et al. (2011) highlight benefits for curricular based SEL, though not directly addressing change in bullying behaviour, this need not be in diametric opposition with the conclusions of reviews that point to the stronger efficacy for bullying prevention of whole school approaches. The question is not one in a European context of alternative strategies between curricular and whole school ones. Curricular approaches to SEL are already a pervasive feature of European school contexts (OECD, 2015) (see appendix 3). In some contrast to the Durlak et al. (2011) and Sklad et al. (2012) meta-analyses, earlier reviews of school-based bullying programmes conclude that single-level programmes are unlikely to be effective due to the systemic and complex nature of bullying (Smith et al., 2004; Vreeman and Carroll, 2007). Change to bullying *behaviour* is still an issue despite the more recent meta-analyses of SEL curricular approaches.

The debate on whether a curricular or whole school approach is more important is futile, as the curricular dimension is included within a whole school systemic approach. The WHO treats both aspects as mutually embedded for a health promoting school (Buijs, 2009). Both give expression to universal prevention and health promotional levels.

BOX 2. Concern with Homophobic Curricular Material in Lithuania

A concern can also be raised regarding dimensions of curricular material in Lithuania and its potential indirect impact on bullying prevention with regard to homophobic bullying. Since 2007, the programme on preparing for a family and sexual education in Lithuania has been integrated in secondary school lessons. This programme is supplemented by guidelines which describe homosexuality as 'insufficient manhood/femininity' and relates it to sexual abuse in childhood (Ustilaitė et al., 2007). The relevant materials stress that 'insufficiencies in gender identity result in homosexual tendencies'. They relate homosexuality to AIDS and early death, and stress that it can be repaired (Sinicienė, 2012; Ustilaitė et al., 2007). A supportive and inclusive climate at school is essential for good outcomes.

Echoed subsequently regarding the importance of personal development at the Outcome of the Council Meeting 3388th Council meeting Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Brussels, 18 and 19 May 2015, The Paris Declaration (2015) agrees to strengthen actions in the field of education at national, regional and local level with a view to: '*strengthening the key contribution which education makes to personal development, social inclusion and participation, by imparting the fundamental values and principles which constitute the foundation of our societies'*. Social and emotional learning is a key aspect of personal development. Yet international research suggests that it is – by itself – not enough to change bullying behaviour. It needs to be complemented by a whole school approach and a range of other dimensions requiring further analysis. A concern may also be raised as to whether SEL is receiving sufficient priority and recognition within the EU Key Competences framework for Lifelong Learning. The EU Key Competences Framework includes social and civic competences, and cultural awareness and expression. However, SEL and its emotional awareness dimensions are not reducible to citizenship education or simply social competences or cultural expression.

BOX 3. Whole School External Evaluations of Schools as a Key Aspect of an Implementation Focus: A Bullying Prevention Focus in Ireland

According to the response of the Ministry of Education Official in Ireland: As part of whole school external evaluations of schools, the Department's Inspectorate considers arrangements in schools to provide a safe and nurturing environment. The school's anti-bullying policy and its code of behaviour are examined and a number of items on parent and pupil questionnaires used as part of whole school evaluations provide further evidence concerning the effectiveness of the school's actions to create a positive school culture and to prevent and tackle bullying. Work has also commenced on a collaborative research project in a sample of primary and post-primary schools on how schools provide for students' well-being. It looks at the actions schools take to develop a positive school culture and climate and to prevent bullying. Parent and student questionnaires issued as part of whole school evaluations, include, since January 2014, additional questions to get a clearer picture of how the school deals with bullying. If the Inspectorate encounters non-compliance with the requirement to have a policy in line with the new procedures, relevant findings are be included in published whole school evaluation inspection reports.

4.2. Parental Engagement: Universal Prevention Level

A review of research reveals strong grounds for interventions to include a parental dimension. Ttofi and Farrington's (2011) meta-analysis found that parent training was one of the programme elements significantly associated with both a decrease in bullying and being bullied. A developmental focus on aggression recognises that coercive exchanges co-occur with harsh parental discipline and conflictual family dynamics, and all are associated with later bullying (Espelage et al., 2013). While French research on school violence traces its roots to the student lycée protests of November 1990 (Debarbieux and Montoya, 1998), Montoya's (2015, personal communication) summary of more recent French research (DEPP, Evrard, 2011; Debarbieux, 2011; Debarbieux, 2012; Debarbieux, 2012a; Debarbieux and Fotinos, 2010) highlights a real tension between students and their parents, with 20 % of a student sample stating they have been insulted by their parents, though only 0.1 % of these learners have been physically hit by their parents. Bolger and Patterson (2001) observed a significant association between parental maltreatment and pupil aggression in a US sample, and an association between peer rejection and parental maltreatment. A Netherlands study of 2766 children from 32 elementary schools (Fekkes et al., 2005) found that adults often do not know that children are being bullied, though children are more likely to tell parents than teachers; when adults do intervene it is not necessarily effective. According to the children being bullied, in only about half of cases did parents (46 %) or teachers (49 %) successfully stop the bullying.

Axford, Farrington et al.'s (2015) review of parental engagement and bullying suggests that there is good reason to involve parents in school-based bullying prevention. Given the parenting risk factors for bullying perpetration and victimisation, bullying prevention programmes could also usefully offer parenting education and support. They highlight a systematic review by Lereya et al. (2013) involving 70 studies which concluded that both victims and bully/victims are more likely to be exposed to negative parenting behaviour, including abuse and neglect and maladaptive parenting. Effects were small to moderate for victims but moderate for bully/victims. Axford, Farrington et al. (2015) observe two primary means of involving parents in school-based programmes to reduce bullying: (i) providing information to parents in various formats such as newsletters or booklets, and (ii) holding parent-teacher meetings (Farrington and Ttofi, 2009). They note that both strategies provide parents with information about the school's methods for preventing and responding to bullying, and in some cases they also offer parents guidance on how to help their children deal with bullying. The question of whether the systemic scope of whole school approaches would be strengthened by adding a parental involvement dimension was directly addressed in an Australian study by Cross et al. (2012) (see Box 4).

Langley et al.'s (2010) review of health programmes, more generally, observes that parent engagement in school-based services has been a consistent challenge in the implementation of school mental health programmes and the development of strategies for engaging parents in school-based mental health services; it recognises that this may be a key element in increasing access to quality mental health services for youth in schools. In Bulgaria, Georgieva and Baltakova (2012) analyse a survey of 435 parents, 182 teachers and 251 students in 4 schools. Parents want to seek help, but are not informed about the institutions that deal with

the problem of aggressive behaviour. Georgieva and Baltakova (2012) conclude that parents need to have specific information on institutions: what institutions exist, the role and tasks of each institution – which are dealing with preventive action, as distinct from punitive, sanctioning bodies.

BOX 4. *Family Dimensions to Whole School Interventions: An Australian Example*

Cross et al.'s (2012) Australian study included whole school, classroom, family and individual targeted (both selected and indicated levels), across all grade levels from 1 (5–6-year olds) to 7 (12–13-year olds). The family-level activities worked in partnership with parents by building their awareness, attitudes and self-efficacy to role model and help their children to develop social competence and to prevent or respond to bullying. These activities also encouraged school and parent communication and parents' engagement with the school to reduce student bullying. The high-intensity intervention (whole school, capacity building support and active parent involvement) is somewhat more effective than the moderate intensity intervention which comprised whole school and capacity building support only, and substantially more effective than the low intensity intervention (the standard school programme with no capacity support). The effectiveness of the high intensity intervention was evident among both the Grade 4 cohort tracked to Grade 6, and the Grade 6 cohort followed to Grade 7.

The results of this study suggest that positive changes in 9–12-year-old students' experiences with bullying behaviour (including frequent perpetration and victimisation) can be achieved through implementation of a whole school program that includes capacity building and active parent involvement, and that whole school action to mitigate bullying needs to begin prior to Grade 6, and requires at least two years of implementation to achieve behaviour change. Cross et al. (2012) suggest more targeted parental engagement over and above that typically provided in a comprehensive whole school programme to reduce bullying. While their study focused on actively informing parents about bullying through and with their children, they acknowledge that limited training was provided for parents.

While information may be needed for parents in some contexts, there is a need for a much wider strategy for parental engagement on this issue. It is notable that a feature of many approaches to parental involvement for bullying prevention are reliant on top-down, information-based approaches rather than on ones that actively include the parents in constructing meaning and policy. Axford, Farrington et al.'s (2015, in press) review touches on this issue: 'Bullying prevention programs do appear to have a blind spot as regards parental involvement, however. Specifically, they tend not to include parenting education and support, even though negative parenting behaviour is associated with an increased risk of a child being a victim or bully/victim, and positive parenting behaviour is protective against victimisation'. The parent is largely a passive recipient consuming these approaches rather than being active agents in this process.

This reliance on an informational model for parents is also the case with the PATH SEL curricular approach trialled in some English contexts, drawing on a US model (see Humphrey et al., 2015). Similarly, the CSI approach of social skills integrated in education contexts in a number of Lisbon schools, as well as preschools (Gaspar et al., 2015), does not yet actively involve parents in, for example, the design of the programme. In contrast, nurture groups in Maltese contexts offer active co-working with parents (Cefai and Cooper, 2011).

Langford et al.'s (2014) Cochrane Review for the WHO on health promoting school interventions highlighted that 'The majority of studies only attempted to engage with families (rather than the community), most commonly by sending out newsletters to parents. Other activities included: family homework assignments, parent information evenings or training workshops, family events, or inviting parents to become members of the school health committee'. Again this emphasis is overwhelmingly one where the parent is a passive recipient of information, with the exception of the example of the invitation for them to be members of the school health committee. This information-reliant paradigm requires critique (Downes, 2014, 2015).

4.3. What is the right age for intervention? Process and Implementation Issues

A recent debate in the international research literature has focused on age and developmental issues regarding the efficacy of anti-bullying interventions. Ttofi and Farrington's (2011) influential meta-analysis of

bullying interventions explicitly designed to reduce bullying and that directly measure bullying went so far as to state: 'Programs should be targeted on children aged 11 years or older rather than on younger children' (p.46). Smith et al. (2012) directly challenge this, pointing to the particular successes in bullying reductions in Finland through the KiVa whole school programme, evaluated in all grade levels of basic education, which clearly indicate that the effects are stronger in primary (7–12-year-olds) than in secondary (13–15-year-olds) schools (Kärnä et al., 2011a, b, c). They highlight that this was found both during the randomised controlled trial and during broad rollout of the programme across Finnish schools. Moreover, Yeager et al.'s (2015) meta-analysis of antibullying programmes challenges, on methodological grounds, the 2011 Ttofi and Farrington finding with regard to the benefits of interventions for older rather than younger students. Ttofi and Farrington's (2012) response to the critique of Smith et al. (2012) draws back somewhat from their 2011 review recommendation on this issue, as they point to 'conflicting results'[8].

It is notable also that the majority of studies examined for Durlak at al.'s (2011) meta-analysis of SEL curricular approaches were from primary schools (56 %) that exhibited success across six outcomes, many of which are at least indirectly relevant to bullying. This provides strong support for SEL in primary school contexts, although recognising that they did not directly find change to bullying behaviour. The integration of a language learning, emotional literacy and behaviour focus by Aber et al. (2011) (in Section 5.1 of this report) also points to the importance of early intervention and a primary school focus for SEL. An Irish study has highlighted how preschool children as young as age 3 can gain familiarity and understanding of restorative practice principles in their everyday communications and resolutions of conflict (CDI Tallaght, 2013). Heckman's (2012) well-known international research has highlighted that interventions at a younger age maximise future impact on educational and social outcomes, more generally. Significant support for early intervention at a curricular level through SEL is also evident from the finding of Sklad et al.'s (2012) meta-analysis that programmes in primary schools had significantly larger reported effects than programmes in secondary schools on anti-social behaviour. Anti-social behaviour was defined as including aggressive behaviour, fighting in the past year, hurting someone on purpose, verbal aggression in the past month, active bullying, teachers reporting physical aggression, as well as disruptive, off-task behaviour.

The debate regarding age-related interventions may be at least somewhat reconciled through a strong focus on social and emotional education with younger children to ensure early intervention for emotional awareness, empathy and communicative skills. This does not preclude a further layer of bullying-specific whole school and curricular interventions. With older students, the question also arises as to their particular resistance to didactic style approaches that would undermine their increased sense of autonomy. Yeager et al. (2015) raise a concern about the limitations of intervention strategies for older adolescents that rely on adult authority or that imply that they lack basic social or emotional skills. Secondary school students may resist being literally 'programmed' into particular modes of behaviour and thought. A shift in conceptualisation is needed to make these students subjects of policy rather than simply objects of policy and programmes.

BOX 5. Pupil Participation in Preparation of the Curriculum and School Rules in Finland

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[8] Ttofi and Farrington (2012): 'Our meta-analysis of between-program comparisons clearly shows that effect sizes are greater for older students, but in our weighted regression analyses, the age of the students was not related to effect size independently of other features such as the intensity of the program for students. The within-program comparisons suggest that effect sizes are greater for younger students, but this is based on only 8 evaluations (compared with 44 for the between program comparisons). We can only conclude that more research is needed on the effectiveness of bullying prevention programs with students of different ages' (pp.458-459).

According to the response of the Education Ministry Official in Finland: The legislation on pupil associations and pupil welfare was amended in 2013. The work on peace in schools was encouraged and the well-being and the participation of pupils in decision-making were increased with these changes. Because the Finnish children and young people felt that their opportunities to make an impact in schools were low, it was decided, that all schools and educational institutions would have a pupil/student association, which would contribute to decisions affecting pupils/students. Each education provider should encourage the participation of all pupils/students by, among other things, organising opportunities to participate in preparing the curriculum and the school rules.

In a US context, Yeager et al. (2015, in press) question state mandates regarding anti-bullying programmes for high schools – though not for middle schools. They recognise the need for new interventions to be developed and shown to be effective for older adolescents. A notable aspect of their conclusion is that it is not sufficient to 'age up' existing materials that are tested with younger children, e.g. by switching out the examples or the graphic art used in the activities. It is important, however, to recognise that the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child may be less influential in US school and research contexts, given that it is not ratified by the US, unlike all EU countries. This would invite consultation with young people in the design of materials for anti-bullying, building on Art. 12, with increasing input from older students. Avoiding intervention for older students would be a legal abdication of responsibility. More generally, it is of concern that international research on bullying interventions noticeably tends not to locate such approaches against the backdrop of international legal standards, for example, regarding non-discrimination or the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.

Yeager et al.'s (2015) concern with the unintended harmful effects of interventions gains some support from a large-scale Greek study. Psalti's (2012) research involved a random sample of 2 026 primary school students and 1 843 secondary school students who attended randomly selected state schools from all over Greece. According to Psalti (2012), when doing anti-bullying work, there is always the risk of provoking more opposition and even more 'macho' attitudes among the students with the most pro-bullying attitudes (bullies and bully-victims). Gender and parents' country of origin had a strong effect on status types.

The Schools for Health in Europe (SHE) network, with 43 participating countries, actively supports a values-based approach building on the core values of equity, sustainability, inclusion, empowerment and action competence, and democracy in schools (Buijs, 2009). Building on SHE, Simovska (2012) concludes that this 'special issue supports the argument that the question about the outcomes of the health promoting schools cannot, and should not be limited to narrowly defined health outcomes achieved through single health promotion interventions…health promotion in schools needs to be closely linked with the core task of the school – education, and to the values inherent in education, such as democracy, inclusion, participation and influence, critical literacy and action competence in relation to health' (p.86). Simovska's concerns for SHE are relevant for bullying prevention approaches – it is not simply a single issue intervention but part of a wider strategy for democracy, inclusion and participation of students in schools. It resonates with the UN rights of the child on children's voices and right to be consulted on matters affecting their welfare.

BOX 6. National School Anti-Bullying Strategy in Malta: A Focus on Equity, Social Justice and Diversity

According to the response of the Education Ministry Official in Malta: The national anti-bullying strategy Addressing Bullying Behaviour in Schools 2014 forms part of 'Respect for All Framework', a policy frame-work meant to foster positive behaviour and healthy relationships at school. It focuses on supporting the educational achievement of all students including those coming from vulnerable groups. It highlights the conviction that 'students develop their personal and social potential and acquire the appropriate knowledge, key skills, competences and attitudes through a value-oriented formation including equity, social justice, diversity, and inclusivity'.

Day et al.'s (2015) European review for DG Justice and Consumers reveals that 'In practice, however, there is an immense variation in the quality and extent of [children's] participatory practices within educational settings'; 'In many schools across Europe, however, children's participation is focused principally on formal school structures and committees, and levels of participation in wider decisions relating to teaching and

learning, school policies (including for behaviour, bullying and exclusion) remain low across the EU'. They highlight the 'need to go beyond ad hoc project-based opportunities and develop mechanisms for sustained participation' (p.227), such as the input of youth into policy and practice design and implementation.

Weare and Nind's (2011) review of mental health promotion and problem prevention in schools found:

the use of holistic, educative and empowering theories and interactive pedagogical methods was endorsed by many of the reviews which found that behavioural and information-based approaches and didactic methodologies were not nearly as effective…European theory tends to be holistic, emphasizing not just behaviour change and knowledge acquisition, but also changes in attitudes, beliefs and values, while European health education has long pioneered active classroom methodologies, involving experiential learning, classroom interaction, games, simulations and groupwork of various kinds. (p.65)

Weare and Nind (2011) continue with a distinction that is perhaps too sharply drawn, though nevertheless highly relevant, in its contrast between two styles of approaches, 'The European and Australian style and the type of whole-school approaches it generates tend to promote 'bottom up' principles such as empowerment, autonomy, democracy and local adaptability and ownership (WHO, 1997). All the agency-led whole-school programs named above have produced a wealth of well-planned materials, guidelines and advice, but are also deliberatively non-prescriptive and principles based' (p.66). They suggest that this flexible and non-prescriptive style is echoed in wider approaches to mental health across Europe and Australia, which emphasise the need for end-user involvement and the lay voice: 'This approach contrasts with the US style of more top-down, manualised approaches, with scripts, prescriptive training and a strict requirement for programme fidelity. There are strong reasons to retain the democratic European and Australian approach for large-scale programs for mental health' (p.66) as it leads to positive climates, empowered communities for sustainable well-rooted long lasting changes.

In a US context, Nickerson et al. (2013) emphasise the need for local leadership and a common shared vision at school level, with participant involvement at each step (Nickerson et al., 2014), though Scherer and Nickerson (2010) conclude that active involvement of students in anti-bullying activities was the least frequently implemented anti-bullying component according to US National Association school psychologist respondents. The key issue for current purposes is less on contrasts between Europe and the US but rather on how to engage in this balancing process between top-down and bottom-up approaches to bullying prevention. This is less a contrast between *a priori* principles of process and empirical effectiveness in terms of outcomes, as school and student ownership of the bullying intervention process impacts directly upon effectiveness; good process principles affect sustainability and long-term change. These contrasting directions need to be reconciled rather than opposed.

BOX 7. Social and Emotional Education Curriculum Implementation: Input from Student and Teacher Stakeholders, Including Ethnically or Culturally Diverse Students

Durlak (2015) highlights issues for social and emotional education in schools that are also of direct relevance for wider bullying and violence prevention approaches: Sufficient staff training to execute a new programme correctly; just as quality implementation is the sine qua non of effective programmes, good professional development is a prerequisite for quality implementation; Soliciting input from stakeholders such as students and teachers. In order to engage ethnically or culturally diverse students it is seen as vital that their input into materials, activities and goals is included; To retain the active ingredients of a programme, while allowing for well-planned programme adaptation; Revisiting steps as some turnover of staff, including school principals must be assumed.

BOX 8. Perceived Strengths (Age-Specific Approaches) and Weaknesses (School Motivation) in Lithuania

According to the response of the Education Ministry Official in Lithuania: The strengths of the school bullying measures implemented by Lithuania is that programmes are designed for all ages, from kindergarten to upper secondary school. The proposed preventive programmes are international, they are recognised and accredited and are focused on the

school community. The weaknesses: we still do not have a high diversity of programmes offered, some schools are not motivated to implement such programmes. Sometimes we are dealing with the fact that some schools are not motivated to innovate, refusing implementation of the preventative programme on the ground that there is no problem.

Resonant with principles of active learning, stakeholder representation and student voices, there is a need for student-led initiatives at post-primary level to develop resource materials, e.g., through arts-based projects, that are culturally and personally relevant to their age cohort. The KiVa programme emphasises the need for concrete materials to be used, including videos.

A school coordinating committee can play an important role in the individual school planning and improvement processes. A school implementation committee (and quality label) and can ensure that problems regarding bullying are faced and addressed by principals (see also Fröjd et al. 2014) rather than covered over.

BOX 9. Perception of School Bullying as a Threat to School Leader's Position: A Norwegian Response

According to the response of the Education Ministry Official in Norway: The [recent] evaluation shows that being defined as a school with a high bullying rate includes a risk of weakening the school leaders` position. The school leader might be defined as not capable of leading the school and without the competence to work with bullying. In the anti-bullying work a strong leader who is able to make a change and to create solutions to the schools` challenges is important. The strategy might be seen as a threat to the leader`s position, at the same time as it is an important resource of new knowledge for local anti-bullying work.

Chapter 5. Strategic Clarity on Prevention Levels of Bullying: Selected Prevention as Moderate Risk

Many prominent international reviews (e.g. Vreeman and Carroll 2007; Durlak et al., 2011, Weare and Nind, 2011) construct the debate on prevention approaches in basically dichotomous terms regarding universal versus targeted interventions. Similarly, whole school intervention programmes such as KiVa in Finland distinguish two levels, universal and indicated (Salmivalli et al. 2011; Kärnä et al., 2011a; Kärnä et al., 2011b; Saarento et al., 2014), though Cross et al. (2012) go further than this. Moreover, even prominent critics of a therapeutic culture and an emotional well-being agenda in schools (Ecclestone and Hayes, 2009, 2009a) do not specify a more nuanced differentiation of levels than that of universal and targeted. This debate needs broadening to recognise further distinctions in prevention levels, for a three-tier model of universal, selected and indicated prevention.

FIGURE 1. Differentiated Levels of Need for Prevention
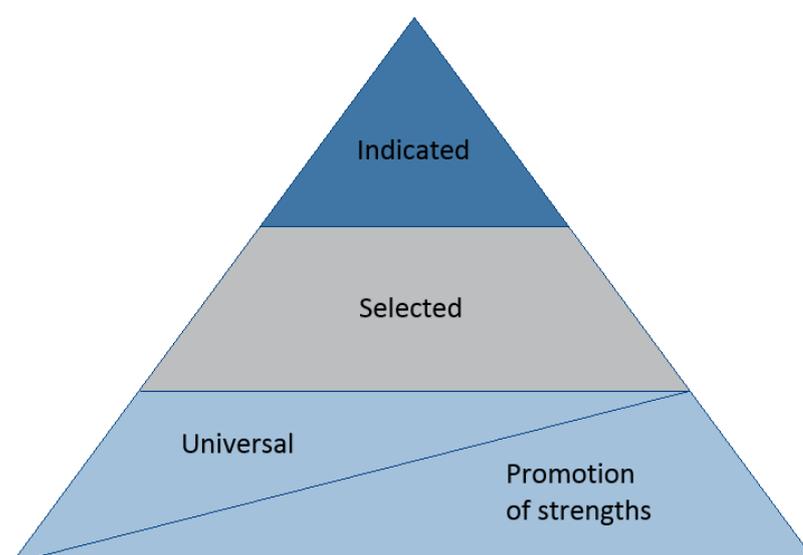
Source: Downes, 2014a, p.16.

These three levels already well-recognised in drug prevention approaches at a European level (Burkhart, 2004), as well as in parental involvement levels in education for early school leaving prevention across 10 European city municipalities (Downes, 2014a) and in some school violence approaches in the US[9]. In a 'A Call for More Effective Prevention of Violence In Response to the Shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School' a Position Statement of the Interdisciplinary Group on Preventing School and Community Violence, endorsed

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[9] For mental health services generally, Suldo et al. (2010) discuss the supports needed to provide a continuum of tiered intervention services, including prevention and universal intervention (e.g. school-wide positive behavioural supports, school climate promotion), targeted interventions for students at risk (e.g. social skills and anger management groups, classroom management strategies), and intensive individualised interventions with community support (e.g. therapy, implementation of behaviour intervention plans) in schools. A US wide three-tier model for providing a continuum of supports for positive behavioural interventions and supports (PBIS) estimates that 10-15 % of students will not respond to universal school-wide interventions, but will benefit from increased structure and contingent feedback (Reinke et al., 2009). The PBIS model across a range of over 6 000 US schools, albeit focusing on disruptive behaviour rather than bullying, estimates that 5 % of students do not respond favourably to universal or selected interventions and thereby require intensive intervention support, i.e. indicated prevention (Reinke et al., 2009). It is important to acknowledge, however, that the percentages for each target group for selective and indicated prevention to be engaged with, can be expected to differ in a major way across different countries, whether in Europe or beyond.

by 183 organisations and more than 200 prevention scholars and practitioners, stated that research-based violence prevention and related comprehensive support programmes should be offered, following a three-tier approach, operating at universal (school-wide), targeted (for students who are at risk), and intensive (for students who are at the highest levels of risk and need) levels. There is now ample recognition of these different levels, though the question arises as to the rigour of their application across different bullying research studies and interventions.

Smith et al. (2012) appeal for a more differentiated approach to bullying research, 'We think it is time for researchers to move beyond investigating whether program A works or not (i.e. main effects studies) to testing what works, for whom, and under what circumstances'. This invites a related question as to the clarity of focus of such current anti-bullying strategies on the level of prevention they are seeking to intervene with. It is notable that the Ttofi and Farrington (2011) review, while mentioning individual approaches and the need for multiprofessional working, does not make explicit this tripartite distinction in terms of prevention levels[10].

Selected prevention focuses on moderate risk. For school bullying, moderate risk can mean of being a bullying perpetrator again, a victim or a bully-victim. Moderate risk may also pertain to an individual who is currently a bullying perpetrator and is perceived as having moderate rather than extreme, entrenched resistance to changing this behaviour. While moderate risk applies to individuals, it also applies with particular relevance for selective prevention to groups.

Though it may also operate at an individual level, a selected prevention focus tends to engage with groups; it is not the individual intensive work of indicated prevention. A selected prevention approach may involve individuals or an intensive intervention, but not both, as this becomes the level of indicated prevention. For current purposes, a selected prevention approach predominantly means a group-level intervention or a focus on groups at moderate risk of being bullied or being perpetrators of bullying. The focus of selected prevention on distinct groups is somewhat neglected in international research on bullying and violence in school.

5.1. Selected Prevention Goals Met Through Universal Prevention Approaches: Curricular and Other Holistic Approaches

There are a number of promising examples of universal prevention approaches at curricular level that, nevertheless, hold a selected prevention focus targeting the needs of particular groups, such as migrants, pupils with language difficulties from lower socioeconomic groups that may be at risk of early school leaving, and targeting homophobic bullying. Many different SEL approaches are taking place across Europe; these examples are illustrative. This is not to suggest that other highly promising SEL approaches are not taking place. It is noticeable that gender-related bullying tends to be treated through universal rather than targeted approaches, via the kinds of universal programmes already discussed. However, this still leaves the question whether more targeted programmes regarding gender and bullying need to be developed for schools and countries with high levels of gender-related bullying and violence. The selected prevention goals of universal programmes may need firmer focus on gender aspects.

BOX 10. Universal Curricular Approach Including Target Population of Migrants: German *Faustlos* Violence Prevention in Primary School

> The German *Faustlos* Violence Prevention in Primary School programme (Bowi et al., 2008) adopted a universal curricular approach, while also encompassing a targeted population, namely, in schools with high populations of

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[10] The European Network Against Bullying in Learning and Leisure Environments (ENABLE), managed by European Schoolnet and co-financed by the European Commission's DG Justice, runs from October 2014 until September 2016. The project is *based on the premise that all types of bullying can be tackled similarly, through a holistic approach based on the development of social and emotional skills (SEL or SEAL) within the school environment* (Caroline Kearney, Schoolnet, 2015, personal communication). This European group thus supports a universal approach to bullying prevention.

migrant pupils. Faustlos is a violence-prevention programme for primary school and preschool children for the promotion of social and emotional competences. The curriculum focuses on the promotion of empathy, impulse control and anger management. The programme lasts three years and every year consists of several lessons on the three subjects. For example, in the first year there are seven lessons on empathy, eight lessons on impulse control and seven lessons on anger management. Before the programme starts, there is a one-day training session for the school staff. The programme was evaluated over a period of three years. The programme was carried out in 1st and 2nd grade classes (13 classes in total) in six primary schools in the middle of Germany. Altogether 308 children (aged 5 to 10 years, mean age 7.58, 47.4 % female) took part. One further primary school acted as a control group, with 67 children (5 to 10 years, mean age 7.43, 44.8 % female) taking part here. Overall, 49 % of the children came from families with migration background.

Aggressive behaviour and empathy were measured in standardised interviews. Positive but small effects were seen especially on aggressive behaviour for boys and children with high aggression scores and on promotion of empathy. However, in the control group, aggression and empathy also developed in the same directions (i.e. decrease of aggression and increase of empathy), though to a lesser extent. A second limitation is the small control group of only one school. Aggression cannot be simply equated with bullying. As the *Faustlos* programme only aims at physical bullying, it cannot be called a bullying-prevention programme as such. Nevertheless, it is notable that change occurred in aggressive behaviour and not simply regarding attitudes.

BOX 11. Universal Curricular Approach Including Target Population of Children at Risk of Trauma and Lower Language Skills: New York 4Rs – Reading, Writing, Respect, and Resolution

A notable universal prevention approach, including a curricular approach with selected prevention goals, is the New York 4Rs Program, Reading, Writing, Respect, and Resolution 2009-2011 (Aber et al., 2011). Though not focused directly on bullying, this intervention treats conflict and aggression as a problem of communication and emotional literacy. The 4Rs Programme is a universal, school-based intervention that integrates SEL into the language arts curriculum for kindergarten through Grade 5. The 4Rs uses high-quality children's literature as a springboard for helping students gain skills and understanding in several areas including handling anger, listening, cooperation, assertiveness, and negotiation. The 4Rs program has two primary components: (a) a comprehensive seven-unit, 21-lesson literacy based curriculum in conflict resolution and social-emotional learning for Kindergarten to Grade 5 and (b) intensive professional development and training in 4Rs for teachers.

The target population is universal though with a focus on children at risk of trauma, lower social competence and externalizing problems, and with lower language and literacy skills. Eighteen New York City public schools were paired according to key school-level demographic characteristics. One school from each pair was randomly assigned to receive schoolwide intervention in the 4Rs over 3 consecutive school years and the other school to a 'business as usual control' group. After 2 years of exposure to 4Rs, in addition to continued positive changes in children's self-reported hostile attributional biases and depression, positive changes were also found in children's reports of aggressive interpersonal negotiation strategies, and teacher reports of children's attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), social competence, and aggressive behaviour. The 4Rs Program has led to modest positive impacts on both classrooms and children after 1 year that appear to cascade to more impacts in other domains of children's development after 2 years.

While this combination of mental health prevention/intervention and academic concerns is a highly promising one, with relevance also for bullying prevention, it is located exclusively in a New York, US context. While it seeks breadth at a curricular level and examines systemic change processes in the schools, it is somewhat narrow, viewed through a health promoting schools lens, as it does not adopt a particular emphasis on parental or community engagement. It is arguable that a stronger methodology would compare the intervention group with a group that received some form of unrelated programme to minimise risks that the mere fact of attention on the intervention group produced a placebo effect. Given that social skills, language and communication are often key issues in the bullying that affects children with SEND, this language and emotion-focused intervention also offers some promise for this group. The integration of SEL with a literacy and language focus may also be attractive in many European countries where SEL curricular time can become squeezed by an emphasis on literacy and numeracy influenced by PISA results (see Ó Breacháin and O'Toole 2013).

Whereas these examples of school-based SEL approaches focus on younger children, for contexts of social exclusion such as migrants and with lower language and literacy skills, as well as higher risk of externalising problems, the following SEL curricular approach focuses on older students and includes homophobic bullying. According to Espelage et al. (2015a), in a US context, SEL programmes that address interpersonal conflict and teach emotion management have succeeded in reducing youth aggression among primary school youth, with few studies in middle schools, i.e. aged 12-15. Results of a two-year cluster-randomised (36 schools) clinical trial of Second Step Middle School Program on reducing aggression and victimisation found that students in intervention schools were 56 % less likely to self-report homophobic name-calling victimisation than students in control schools in one state. Teachers implemented 28 lessons (6th and 7th grade) that focused on SEL skills (e.g. empathy, problem-solving).

Espelage et al. (2014) conclude that this SEL programme holds promise as a successful one to reduce homophobic name-calling in adolescent youth. They note that the majority of these programmes are narrowly focused on bullying, whereas their SEL programme draws from the risk and protective framework literature and purposively teaches a wide range of skills to prevent conflicts, and skills to prevent escalation of conflicts (e.g. communication, problem-solving, emotion regulation). It appears to have reduced the likelihood of being a victim of homophobic name-calling, but only in Illinois schools. The lack of replication in Kansas could be due to factors that are difficult to quantify, such as the historical/political climate in the state (Espelage et al., 2014). This points to the need for addressing issues of prejudice at the macrosystemic level that may be impacting upon the school microsystem bullying context.

Espelage et al. (2015) hypothesised that direct SEL instruction in self-awareness, social awareness, self-management, problem solving, and relationship management would serve as a vehicle to reduce bullying, victimisation, and fighting over time for students with disabilities. Teachers implemented 41 lessons of a 6th to 8th grade curriculum that focused on SEL skills, including empathy, bully prevention, communication skills, and emotion regulation. All 6th grade students (N = 123) with a disability were included in these analyses, including intervention (n = 47) and control (n = 76) conditions. Results of a randomised clinical trial of Second Step: Student Success through Prevention Middle School, found significant reduction in bullying perpetration among students with disabilities over this 3-year study. However, the intervention group did not report lower levels of being bullied when compared with their peers in the control study sample. Limitations of the study include that the number of students with disabilities was relatively small and this is an exclusively US sample. Moreover, the district did not provide data indicating the extent to which the students with disabilities received the SEL curriculum in self-contained classrooms or were exposed to the curriculum with other students without disabilities. In other words, it is unclear if this is a universal or also a selected prevention approach. It is concluded that SEL offers promise in reducing bully perpetration among students with disabilities. However, victimisation appears to need a wider approach.

Despite children with SEND facing higher rates of bullying and victimisation in school than the general population, little research on bullying prevention has focused on children with SEND either in isolation or as a sub-category in broader bullying prevention initiatives (Young et al., 2011)[11]. Widely used bullying prevention programmes do not explicitly discuss modifications to address the needs of children with SEN

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[11] The Irish National Disability Authority (2014) review recommends a focus on targeted needs for children with SEND for bullying prevention, with a key role for the class teacher. They seek to promote social and emotional competences, crucial for protecting children with SEND, to build empathy and active responsibility among the peer group for the wellbeing of children with SEND. Moreover, they argue to actively involve children with SEND in school review and development processes. This report seeks to raise teachers' awareness of the bullying and victimisation of children with SEND, while also helping parents/guardians to support children with SEND to become advocates for their needs including regarding bullying prevention and intervention.

(Girard, 2012). They do not tend to adopt a selected prevention goal for children with SEN within a universal prevention intervention.

5.2. Macrosystem Issues Affecting the School Microsystem in Discriminatory Bullying

Whereas selected prevention goals have underpinned some universal prevention approaches to bullying, a more direct selected prevention focus on approaches for bullying and violence prevention in school has been given less emphasis in international research and practice. There have been several reasons for this. There is a concern not to stigmatise target groups at higher risk of victimisation and/or bullying. Empirical evidence pointing to the success of universal whole school approaches in at least some contexts (Ttofi and Farrington, 2011) may invite less of a focus on the selected prevention level. Other reasons are due to a lack of conceptual integration across disciplines in this area. It is notable that international legal obligations and principles tend to operate in parallel to much international research on bullying in school, rather than being integrated into such anti-bullying programmes and research. Discrimination is one feature of this split between disciplines, where normative and empirical approaches may differ in focus. Moreover, a psychological emphasis treats bullying as needing an individual power imbalance. Rodkin et al. (2015) refer to the difficulty of operationalising an asymmetric power relationship underpinning bullying in school. A strong focus on the relational is needed as bullying is a problem of relation. Yet, an interpersonal relational focus may neglect sociocultural factors conditioning choice and decision-making (Downes, 2012).

A psychological focus tends to examine the individual or the interpersonal, (whether the bullying perpetrator, victim, bystander or wider school or class climate of relations). There is a wider focus than this in at least some of the literature on ethnicity and prejudice that requires accommodation in a bullying prevention approach; this wider focus goes beyond the individual and interpersonal, to view people as caught in webs of discourse that condition their thoughts, feelings and behaviours. A wider set of sociocultural structural and macrosystemic forces can be difficult for a purely psychological framework to encompass.

In addition to stigmatisation and boundaries between law, psychology and structural sociological dimensions, there are further conceptual difficulties with establishing a selected prevention approach. Admission of structural macrosystemic dimensions for bullying can blur a key criterion for defining bullying, namely, power imbalance between individuals. The very definition of bullying assumes a clarity and consensus regarding a power imbalance, yet this power imbalance may depend on one's perspective and be far from self-evident at the level of bullying based on a person's belonging to a specific group as a social category.

There is a need to go further into macrosystemic levels impacting upon microsystem relationships in the school. Relationships also occur at the social identity level (Tajfel, 1978) where the individuals may be members of different social groups, such as those based on ethnicity and/or religion; these groups may have relative power differences in any given culture. Once a macrosystemic perspective is accommodated within an interpersonal relation, the question also arises as to whether a power imbalance is clearly visible, as these different ethnic/religious groups may have different understandings of the relative power relationships in a given society. In other words, Olweus' definition of power imbalance presupposes an individualistic paradigm for bullying. This individualistic assumption may not always transfer to forms of ethnic and/or religious bullying, where mutual power relations may be contested, perspective-reliant and fluctuating with the result that the perpetrator and victim may not play defined roles – the issue is as much one of cultural conflict mediated through individual pathways to aggression and bullying.

Selected prevention levels are not simply groups of individuals. They centrally involve groups with strongly defined social identity and categorisation, such as ethnic and sexual minorities. Even systemic approaches in psychology and ones that focus on social identity issues (examining the individual in relation to a group, Tajfel, 1978) can struggle to engage with the targeted group issues of selected prevention. Without needing to go into a postmodern framework that examines a background web of relations in which people's subjectivity is

held, a macrosystemic focus of Bronfenbrenner in psychology invites clear focus for distinct levels of strategic intervention for bullying prevention. Yet application in international research of Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological systems' approach to bullying in school tends to give little emphasis to macrosystemic influences on the school microsystem, such as in discriminatory bullying. Langford et al.'s (2014) Cochrane Review for the WHO on health promoting school interventions, including anti-bullying, observed that 'disappointingly few studies examined the impact of interventions by relevant equity criteria such as socioeconomic status, gender, and ethnicity'. A further concern they raised was how few studies directly addressed social, cultural or political context.

Macrosystem influences need to be considered in relation to discriminatory bullying, such as homophobic bullying and bullying of immigrants and Roma. The wider macrosystemic level in an EU context reveals the following issues of hostility and prejudice towards LGBTI groups and to groups others identify as LGBTI; this serves as a backdrop to microsystemic homophobic bullying issues in European schools. In the *EU LGBTI survey, results at a glance*, for the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, in the EU-28, in total 93 079 LGBTI persons completed the online survey. The respondents were persons who identify as LGBTI and are over 18-years-old. To the question on how widespread is offensive language against LGBTI persons in their respective Member State, on average 16 % of respondents said that it is very widespread. In Lithuania 58 % of the respondents answered 'very widespread', followed by Italy (51 %), Bulgaria (42 %), Poland (33 %), and Latvia (31 %). The least widespread numbers of offensive language were reported by LGBTI persons in Belgium, Denmark and Luxembourg (1 %). Though not confined to schools, regarding 'assaults and harassment' of LGBTI persons in their respective Member States, on average 8 % in the *EU LGBTI survey* stated that it is very widespread, with the highest numbers reported in Hungary (22 %), Bulgaria (22 %) and Romania (19 %), Lithuania (17 %), Italy (17 %), and lowest – in Finland, Denmark (2 %). A representative from the Polish Anti-Discrimination Association (ETA), Malgorzata Joncryk-Adamska states that discrimination in Polish schools based on different identity is seen as natural and therefore not taken seriously by either students or teachers (*Gazeta Wyborane*, 22 April 22 2015). This Polish newspaper *Gazeta Wyborane* article reports that a teacher's response to homophobic bullying in school was 'if you're gay, it's your fault'.

Another area of macrosystem level discrimination that risks impact at the school microsystem level regarding bullying is with regard to the Roma minorities in Europe. The Roma population constitutes the largest minority in Europe, with close to 12 million citizens (Rostas and Kostka, 2014). The illegality of educational segregation of Roma children has been demonstrated in the European Court of Human Rights by judgments in *DH and others v Czech Republic (2007*), *Sampanis v Greece (2008), Orsus v Croatia (2010), Sampani v Greece (2012)* and *Horvath and Kis v Hungary (2013)* all of which rejected ethnic segregation in mainstream schools and the placing of Roma students in special schools for children with mental disabilities (Rostas and Kostka, 2014). As Curcic et al. (2014) highlight, facing public and political opposition, the Czech Ministry of Education stopped the elaboration of the National Plan for Inclusive Education during the 2010-2012 period. The Roma minority face the most negative perceptions and stereotypes from the majority population in Spain (Curcic et al., 2014). New's (2011-12) words in a Slovakian context are relevant for a much wider context, 'official policy discourse continues in the spirit of formal…equality, whereby little has been done to address underlying negative beliefs about the Roma except to deny that they exist and to put the burden of proof back on the victim'.

Bullying and violence in schools towards Roma, migrant and LGBTI groups are, from different departure points, direct displacements of macrosystemic symbolic violence and discrimination towards these groups. Such discriminatory bullying is a structural problem of society and not simply an interpersonal problem between individuals and groups in a classroom or school.

A further aspect of concern with a selected prevention approach is a variant of the concern already raised for older students with regard to universal prevention approaches, namely, that there might be a counterproductive backlash against attempts to mould people's attitudes, without a real mutual dialogue. This is a real concern. For example, an intervention reported by Hanewinkel (2004) was conducted among

children in 4th–13th grade in Germany. It was a 'whole school' approach of 'restructuring the social environment by implementing clear rules against bullying behaviours' (Hanewinkel, 2004), as well as direct classroom instruction in which teachers gave lessons about why bullying was bad and should be stopped. These authors found that among high school students, this whole school, rule-based approach *increased* reports of bullying. It is arguable that a reason why bullying prevention strategies for older students are generally ineffective is precisely because they lack a selected prevention approach, as they are undifferentiated and not tailored to different needs and contexts; there is a rejection by many youth of a one-size-fits-all approach of universalism, combined with an objection to a top-down approach to the process of communication that is not a mutual dialogue where they are co-partners.

Another reason why there is a neglect of the selected prevention level for bullying prevention is that this discourse is more familiar to health than to education – and more significantly, health and education sectors would need to come together in a much more integrated holistic, strategic fashion to address this selected prevention level. A holistic approach recognises emotional and physical needs and not simply academic, cognitive ones. It is abundantly evident that much of current strategic policy-making in education and health contexts in Europe does not involve a cross-departmental integrated focus (see Table 9, Annex 3).

5.3. Community Outreach to Groups of Moderate Risk

A distinct feature of a selected prevention focus is that of community outreach. Individual outreach, whether for children or their families, is more aptly located at an indicated prevention, chronic need level. This community outreach aspect of bullying prevention is underdeveloped in much international research on bullying and violence prevention. The UN Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, Paul Hunt (2006) observes international good practice as 'properly trained community health workers [who]…know their communities' health priorities…Inclusive, informed and active community participation is a vital element of the right to health'. Community outreach good practice also means that 'recruitment of health workers must include outreach programs to disadvantaged individuals, communities and populations' (Hunt and Backman, 2008). Community outreach also expresses a lifelong learning lens.

Community outreach dimensions for bullying and violence prevention in schools combine an international right to health with a lifelong learning lens, both of which are quite neglected in international research on school bullying and violence. Without strong empirical studies, this area of direct selected prevention through community outreach is an emerging one from a bullying and violence prevention perspective. An interesting exploratory study in a community context involved 30 children, aged between 7 and 12 in Paris (Fonseca, 2015). The intervention took place over 7 months in 3 social centres in Paris. These socio-educational centres were also attended by a large number of children from Muslim populations. The intervention focused on corporal activities, routine, space to talk, thinking, and group work. The activities were bodily focused, meaning that movement was always a big part of the proposed games. Some relaxing activities were also included. Though not conducted with a control group, this exploratory study found gains regarding behavioural problems, emotional symptoms and pro-social behaviour, as well as psychomotor skills. Though gains on these dimensions were found, the children did not all present as aggressive or related to bullying. There were children that showed some anxiety symptoms and that were not aggressive at all. It was a community intervention in the sense that it was developed in a social centre. Neither schools nor families were engaged (Fonseca, 2015). In a Canadian context, a community outreach programme to situate social and emotional learning in diverse community contexts such as girl guides etc. has been initiated (Hughes and Rahbari, 2015), though outcomes are not yet forthcoming.

Community Outreach Initiative for Bullying Prevention: *Iorras Le Cheile*

In a small scale Irish study (Minton et al., 2013) in a rural community context, the *Iorras Le Cheile* Community Development Project developed a comprehensive strategic plan to help prevent bullying in the entire Erris community. The sample involved 95 primary school students and 207 post-primary students. As Minton et al. (2013) highlight, there was to be a genuine attempt to include the whole Erris community in all aspects of the initiative's planning and implementation, via the work of a local Steering Committee (involving members from youth and community development groups, the Police, Gaelic Athletic Association and soccer clubs, teachers and Board of Management members from local primary and post-primary schools, psychotherapists and parents) and the ongoing work of the Community Development Project. Minton et al. (2013) found that, following the implementation of the programme, there were reductions in frequencies of reports of having been involved in all categories of bully/victim problems amongst primary school students. Amongst post-primary students, there were reductions in frequencies of reports in two categories of bully/victim problems. In such a community type intervention, it is difficult to isolate a control group from an intervention group.

In the multicultural context of Antwerp municipality, Flanders, Belgium, Luc Claessens Coordinator of Safe Schools (personal communication, 2015), emphasises benefits of a cross-sectoral and multidisciplinary approach for defusing ethnic-based conflicts, including bullying: '…the fact that this does not turn into major conflicts between groups of youngsters has to do with the way schools are organised, the preventive work they do (sometimes…with city services) the work done by teachers, coaches, pupil guidance etc.; and with the rather well-organised reactive structures we work with'; there is a 'Short line to support by more specialised players, projects to coach or give youngsters a time out, a clear protocol between schools, local police and justice dept. and a crisis support for schools by the city when they are confronted with a serious accident/incident. One example: some time ago we were confronted with a class of 11-12-year-olds that swept the playground of their school clean (make a line and push all the other kids off the playground) and legitimising this by saying that they were better Muslims than all the others. One or two parents were involved supporting their actions and watching the 'reactions' of the teachers from the other side of the fence. Together with an external partner our 'school in the spotlight team' worked on the bullying aspect working around the religious angle. Together with the school team, our central helpdesk to support pupil guidance we were able to bring everything back into proportion so the school could function again'.

Research on prejudice highlights that building bridges between different ethnic or religious groups needs more than just opportunities for contact but also requires that this contact is structured around shared cooperative tasks (Amir, 1976). This insight needs development as part of a community outreach approach to bridge-building between different groups to lessen and mediate the impact of macrosystemic influences leading to conflict between groups.

It is often overlooked in bullying research that community aspects to bullying and violence may occupy much of the lived experience of some children and youth, which then spills over into school contexts (Downes, 2010). Fostering communal spaces of assumed connection for different social groups to meet and cooperate is an urban development issue, as well as a lifelong learning one. Opportunities for investment in shared communal spaces of connection include community lifelong learning centres (see Downes, 2011a), arts and sports facilities, libraries, green spaces, community afterschool centres, family resource centres, religious centres, gyms. The impact of investment in these shared spaces is somewhat difficult to measure with regard to school bullying and aggression. Nevertheless, such wider community spaces influencing attitudes and behaviour must not be ignored in a systemic strategic response – not least because youth culture is at least partly formed in these spaces and because children and young people spend a significant proportion of their time in these spaces forming their cultural habits of communication and behaviour. School-based approaches to bullying and violence prevention may lose credibility, especially as students get older, if they are not connected with students' experiences in these community spaces.

BOX 13. Health Promotion and International Right to Health: Key Principles to Inform a Selected Prevention Strategy for Bullying and Violence Prevention for Groups of Moderate Risk

Building on health promoting principles and the international right to health, a range of key underlying principles can be developed to inform a selected prevention framework and strategy for bullying and violence prevention regarding groups of moderate risk in school. These include:

- Making the target groups subjects not simply objects of policy through direct stakeholder representation and consultation in the design of interventions and supports
- Cultural competence of professionals including teachers as a dimension of the right to health
- Community outreach as a dimension of the right to health
- Building community leaders among children and youth
- A strategy to develop community based spaces of assumed connection and shared meaning for cooperative tasks between different social groups
- Involving sports and arts as indirect ways to challenge tensions between groups through shared teamwork and common frames of reference.

It would be an abdication of strategic policy-making to ignore the importance of this community level for bringing sustained and meaningful attitudinal and behavioural changes in intergroup relations. School bullying and violence may, especially at the level of selected prevention, be problems arising from wider society and this requires a societal, community and school focus.

5.4. Teacher Roles for Groups of Moderate Risk

Preference for universal approaches as non-stigmatising still need strategic clarity about the goals of these universal approaches with respect to selected populations. A firm distinction needs to be made between the means (a universal prevention approach) and goals which can require a strong focus on meeting the needs of groups at moderate risk, i.e. goals that are those of selected prevention. Such issues of universal systemic approaches, beyond curricular aspects, to meet selected prevention goals are of direct relevance for the role of the class teacher, especially regarding discriminatory bullying.

The findings of Elamé's (2013) European study regarding 'the fundamental importance' of teacher influence on discriminatory bullying is of particular interest. Those immigrant and Roma students who think the teacher exhibits similar behaviour towards 'native' and immigrant and Roma children in the class are those bullied least in the last 3 months. In contrast, 'those who declare that their teacher favours native children over immigrant/Roma students are more vulnerable to suffer some form of bullying. Specifically, less than half (48 %) of the 123 [immigrant/Roma] children [across the 10 countries] who sense bias in the teachers' attitudes towards native classmates declare to have never been subjected to violence' (Elamé, 2013). Those immigrant or Roma children who sense an imbalance in the teacher's attitudes to different ethnic groups in their class are also those who have been bullied with the highest frequency during the previous 3 months (Elamé, 2013). These findings, of imitation of teacher behaviour by students, resonate with Bandura et al.'s (1961) Bobo Doll study on imitative aggression.

Elamé's (2013) findings on the key influence of the teacher regarding parity of esteem among students, absence of which can foster a negative climate of bullying, gains support from a Greek study (Kapari and Stavrou, 2010) of 114 secondary school students (58 female, 56 male) drawn from three Greek public middle schools: two urban schools in Athens and one rural school on the island of Zakynthos. In schools with high levels of bullying, students consider their treatment by adults to be unequal, the rules to be unfair, and student participation in decision-making to be very limited. Kapari and Stavrou (2010) highlight that the relationship between fairness perceived by students and bullying or school violence is consistent with results of previous studies in other EU countries. For example, in France, Carra and Sicot (1996) found that in schools with a high level of school violence victimisation, there is a significantly higher number of students who consider their grades to be unfair, the application of the rules to be inconsistent, the sanctions imposed to be arbitrary and the treatment of students by teachers to be uneven. Kapari and Stavrou (2010) also refer to the

research of Gottfredson et al. (2005) which found that schools in which students report that the rules are fair experience less student victimisation. According to Kapari and Stavrou (2010), particular attention must be given to the significant strong correlation between bullying and authoritarian practices of enforcing discipline in the school. It seems that levels of bullying are higher in schools where teachers use authoritarian and inflexible practices to cope with student misbehaviour.

Concern regarding a school climate of violence influenced by the role of some teachers also emerges from a Polish national survey of 3085 students, 900 teachers and 554 parents, across 150 schools (CBOS, 2006, see also Downes 2013, Cefai and Cooper, 2010 in Malta, Downes and Maunsell, 2007 in Ireland for qualitative research illustrating similar concerns). Experience of school violence from teachers towards students was reported directly as being hit or knocked over by 6 % of students with 13 % reporting having observed this occur to others. Teachers' use of offensive language towards students was reported by 16 % as having been experienced directly individually and 28 % as observed towards other students. The WHO (2012) report, based on an international survey of students, goes so far as to address the need for teachers to not publicly humiliate students who perform poorly.

Durlak et al.'s (2011) meta-analysis of universal curricular approaches to SEL found that teachers were as, or more effective in successful outcomes for students than external people. This highlights that multiprofessional teams are generally less relevant to the area of curricular issues within a universal prevention framework and are better employed in a more targeted way. However, this review did not focus particularly on *discriminatory* bullying and the question remains open as to whether teachers or external groups may be more effective in tackling discriminatory bullying. The 'cultural competence' (Moule, 2012) of teachers cannot be assumed and must be prepared for at a systemic level. The use of mediators, who are from the Roma community, in schools in Sofija municipality are an example of a commitment to representation and inclusion of the Roma minority (Downes, 2015). The recent report for the EU Commission on early childhood education and care (2014) similarly gives a strong emphasis to 'representativeness' in education systems which 'requires that the diversity of its cohorts of pupils is mirrored by the diversity of its staff and policymakers'.

BOX 14. Concern with Teacher Self-Efficacy about Intervening for Homophobic Bullying

Teacher self-efficacy about intervening for homophobic bullying was raised in an Irish national survey of 365 Social, Personal and Health Education Coordinators/teachers in post-primary schools (Norman, 2004). Of those teachers who were aware of physical homophobic bullying, 41 % stated they found it more difficult to deal with this type of bullying in their school than other types of bullying. Norman (2004) summarises this finding, 'Teachers reported that their desire to help in this situation was hindered by a desire to be sensitive to the victim and a fear of a possible negative reaction from parents, other staff and pupils if they are seen to protect the pupil who is perceived to be lesbian or gay'. This highlights the need for professional development and pre-service preparation for teachers to engage with this issue.

5.5. Peer Support Roles: Selected Prevention Issues

Debate in the international literature on the role of peer supports for bullying prevention has tended to focus on the empirical efficacy or otherwise of such interventions. However, this needs to be more strongly combined with a legal focus that includes the maxim, *primum non nocere*, first do no harm. The negative unintended effects of interventions have tended to be neglected in international research on health promotion more generally (Langford et al. 2014).

The role of peer supports at universal prevention levels has tended to focus on fellow classmates as bystanders. Bystanders may occupy a range of participant roles. They can act as (1) assistants, who join the bully and begin to bully; (2) reinforcers, who provide support to bullies; (3) outsiders, who remain passive bystanders or leave the situation; and (4) defenders, who help the victim (Salmivalli, 1999). In Salmivalli and Poskiparta's (2012) words, 'The indicated actions involve discussions with victims and bullies, as well as with selected prosocial classmates, who are challenged to support the victimized classmate' (p.295).

Ttofi and Farrington (2012) offer a strong critique of such peer-support approaches that questions both their efficacy and harmful side effects. Ttofi and Farrington (2012) observe that evaluations indicate the 'not encouraging' conclusions: although peer support schemes appear effective based on attitudinal surveys, these schemes are not related to actual levels of bullying or victimisation and are quite often related to an *increase* in bullying and victimisation. Their analysis was of programmes involving 'work with peers', if it included peer mediation, peer mentoring, or engagement of bystanders in bullying situations. Programmes were not included as work with peers if they only had role playing exercises and 'quality circles' for bullying awareness, but no formal engagement of peers in tackling bullying.

Ttofi and Farrington (2012) expand on the potential harm to defenders, although further implications of this require analysis. They highlight an evaluation comparing two UK secondary schools with a peer-support system and two without (Cowie et al., 2008), where very little difference was found between student perceptions of safety in schools with or without the peer-support system in place. Moreover, older students in schools without peer support responded that they felt safer in toilets and lessons than students in schools with a peer-support system. Referring to Canadian research (Hawkins et al., 2001), Ttofi and Farrington (2012) raise further concerns with peer defenders intervening in aggressive ways, 'peer interventions may reinforce the aggressive behaviour of school bullies and promote a cycle of violence' (p.456).

Forsberg et al.'s (2014) Swedish qualitative research involved 43 semi-structured individual interviews aged 10-13 years across 5 schools. It observed that social hierarchies exist among the students, which are kept in mind when observing bullying and guide their actions by evoking and mutually interacting with self-protecting considerations (e.g. the fear of retaliation, social disapproval, social blunders, getting bullied, losing friends or losing social status). Whereas bystanders with self-protection concerns avoid intervening when the bullies are older than they are, they see themselves as more capable of intervening if they are older than the bullies. These themes of social hierarchy and fear require further reflection, given also that issues of self-protection (Bellmore et al., 2012), including fear of consequences of intervening (Rigby and Johnson, 2005; Thornberg 2007; Thornberg, 2010; Thornberg et al., 2012) have been identified by students regarding why they did not defend a victim of bullying. In Psalti's (2012) research sample of 3869 of the Greek student population from primary and secondary schools, for the not-involved students between primary and secondary schools there was a decrease (by half) in the actual provision of help and an increase in their wish to help, as well in their doing nothing and just watching the incident. The shadow of inactivity on the part of peers is highlighted as not being through lack of will, but other factors warranting further investigation.

A student's intuition about the risks of getting involved may not need to be challenged but rather listened to. Their fear of getting involved may be a rational fear, a reading of circumstances where intervening would place them also at heightened risk of being bullied, with potentially long-term damaging consequences that are now well-documented in the international research literature. The position of Salmivalli and Poskiparta (2012) that such peers need to be 'challenged' to intervene requires much further consideration and caution.

The range of serious associations with being bullied, recognised in a range of cross-cultural contexts and with potentially long-term effects, illustrate that this is a child welfare and child protection issue (Farrelly, 2007; 8th European Forum on the Rights of the Child, 2013). Against this backdrop, it raises questions for approaches that rely centrally on peer supports, including to challenge the passive bystander effect. Approaches that encourage student peers to intervene to defend the child or young person being bullied, or to offer supports to such a student are usually interrogated in terms of the efficacy or otherwise of these approaches. Salmivalli and her colleagues, in the KiVa national anti-bullying intervention in Finland, point to sizeable reductions in bullying (behaviour and not only attitudes) through a range of school-system approaches that also centrally involve a peer-support component with challenges to passive bystanders for them to intervene. From a child welfare and protection perspective, it is however problematic that a system response centrally relies on other children and young people's responses and involvement. Defenders who intervene may or may not be putting themselves at risk of being bullied, depending on the motivations and power of the child/children who are perpetrators of the bullying. A system response to emotional supports risks being negligent, if it relies

centrally on children and young people to provide these supports for situations with such serious long-term consequences.

From a national policy perspective, it may also be problematic legally to place a burden of support on peers to deal with potentially highly complex emotional issues and to encourage interventions to defend the victim against the perpetrator; interventions to defend may also be placing the child or young person at risk of themselves being bullied. At least it is a reasonably foreseeable consequence that this could occur and this potentially breaches a duty of care on the State to all its students not to encourage them into situations that may be of harm for them. It resonates also with the medical injunction, *primum non nocere*, first do no harm.

Issues of complexity may not only have to do with the emotional needs and past background of those engaged in bullying, bully-victims or victims; the issue of cultural complexity due to social group identity again leads to some caution about placing students in a role as defenders amidst potentially complex, fraught situations between different ethnic or religious groups, where the problem is not simply between individuals but groups expressing wider macrosystemic tensions. Luc Claessens, Coordinator of Safe Schools, Antwerp municipality, Belgium (personal communication, 2015) observes that while they are 'not confronted with a structural problem on ethnic or racial violence or bullying over these subjects in schools in Antwerp', there is still the potential for individual-level problems to develop into wider ethnic, cultural ones: 'This does not mean that isolated cases of violence do not occur but the general feeling is that the trigger is far more often a personal issue (girl or boyfriend, money that has to be paid between the youngsters) than an ethic, religious or racial one. *Of course once an aggressive act towards a member of a group occurs this often triggers solidarity*' (our italics). Though with highly successful results in a Finnish context of the KiVa whole school programme, the Finnish example takes place in a highly homogenous ethnic and religious cultural context. This again raises questions about its transferability to interventions in schools with students from disparate ethnic and religious backgrounds, including where discriminatory bullying may be taking place. The individualist assumption underpinning such bullying problems needs to be challenged not simply by recourse to a group context of fellow classmates in school but also wider macrosystemic factors which point to the bullying as not simply being a conflict between individuals in a group, but as expressing wider cultural conflicts.

Selected prevention levels are not simply groups of individuals. They centrally involve groups with strongly defined social identity and categorisation, such as ethnic and sexual minorities. The bullying process may be part of a wider conflict between groups based on their social identities and may not simply be a personal individual interpersonal dynamic; broadening focus to peer bystanders is only one step within a wider lens to interrogate group relations. Salmivalli et al. have broadened the focus from children as individuals to children in a group and designed a strategy of peer defenders for children in a group. However, children *of* a group are not equivalent to children *in* a group. A peer-defenders strategy designed for children *in* a group may struggle to encompass conflict between children *of* different groups (ethnic, religious etc.).

The KiVa approach assumes that the perpetrator's motivation is fundamentally to be interpreted in the behaviourist and social learning theory terms of Bandura (1989), so that the reward patterns for bullying become changed through the social context of the peers' reactions: 'Bystanders maintain the bullying behaviour in part by assisting and reinforcing the bully, because such behaviours provide the bullies the position of power they seek after. On the other hand, if bystanders defend the victim, this turns bullying into an unsuccessful strategy for attaining and demonstrating high status. These views imply that a positive change in the bystanders' behaviours will reduce the rewards gained by bullies and consequently their motivation to bully in the first place' (p.797) (Kärnä et al., 2011b). Building on the social-cognitive theory of Bandura (1989) (Kärnä et al., 2011a), according to Kärnä et al. (2011b), the KiVa programme locates its theoretical background in the social status of aggressive children in general. It is assumed that bullies demonstrate their high status by harassing their low-status victims and that bullying is actually a strategy for gaining a powerful position in the peer group. In the KiVa programme, bullying is viewed as a group phenomenon.

Yet a diversity of motivations for bullying and aggression needs further recognition here. Even within social learning theory, the bullying may be imitative, for example as an entrenched pattern from home or the local community, thereby going beyond aggression as simple reinforcement (see Bandura et al.'s 1961 well-known Bobo doll study). Again, even internal to a framework of social status theory, the motivational path is open to the bullying perpetrator to seek to sustain a high status through challenging threats to his/her authority such as that offered by a peer defender – this challenge obviously could include attempts to bully also the peer defender. Beyond the frameworks offered by Kärnä et al. (2011 a, b), issues of bullying and aggression linked with attachment issues arising from early childhood (Golding et al., 2013), sadistic aggression (Fromm, 1977) and emotional trauma may be more enduring; they may not be responsive to peer negative reinforcement and may even be hostile to peer defenders. A social reinforcement framework assumes a level of extraversion (i.e. adjustment to the external social world, Downes, 2003) and empathy that may not be a feature of at least some perpetrators of bullying.

While the KiVa explanatory framework is an important one, it is not an exhaustive explanation of the motivations of perpetrators of bullying and violence. Exceptions to this framework need to be envisaged in a strategic approach. There is a potential conflict of levels, where a chronic need, indicated prevention level of need in a bullying perpetrator is assumed to be moderate and malleable, i.e. occurring at a selected prevention level of need. The peer defender model assumes a selected prevention level of moderate resistance from the bullying perpetrator to the peer defender intervention. This may not be assumed to be the case.

Ttofi and Farrington's (2012) conclusion arguably does not go far enough, at least from a legal perspective regarding promotion of peer defenders:

Various authors have acknowledged the significant challenges in implementing peer support schemes. Challenges include hostile reactions towards the peer supporters by other students and school staff (Cowie, 1998) as well as poor communication and lack of commitment of the part of staff and students (Cowie et al., 2004). This is not to suggest that these schemes should be abolished. Potentially, peer support schemes may be useful as long as they are carefully implemented as in the KiVa program for example (Karna et al., 2011). (p.455)

Even empirical gain in the aggregate does not justify a strategy inviting risk of danger to the individual student in intervening as a defender. Schools have a duty of care to each student as an individual. A utilitarian focus on the greatest good for the greatest number is to be rejected, as it does not encompass disproportionate impact upon the individual.

Smith et al. (2012) respond to Ttofi and Farrington's (2011, 2012) critique by seeking to widen the goals of peer support approaches:

Although there are certainly limitations to the use of peer support schemes in tackling bullying, it is important to remember that they are not designed to prevent bullying but to support victims after the bullying has taken place (Cowie and Smith, 2010). A blanket judgment that 'work with peers should not be used' could lead to the abandonment of many useful schemes, in particular those which are integrated into a whole school policy. (p.436)

This increased clarity about the goals of peer interventions, especially regarding an injunction to defend is needed and to be welcomed. However, again a role for other children as support to victims in situations of bullying that are child welfare and child protection issues must not be an abdication of responsibility or displacement of responsibility onto children to cope with difficult, complex and emotionally fraught issues. It is unclear also if this statement means that peer defenders are not meant to prevent but only to support, if so, this appears to make the role of peer defender something of a misnomer. A different name to reflect a different goal may be needed; such a peer becomes not a 'defender' but more a peer facilitator for a conflict resolution goal.

This is not an argument against all aspects of peer-support approaches. For example, Salmivalli (1999) makes an important distinction between the role of peers in refusing to reinforce a bullying process and in encouraging them to actively defend someone. Refusing to support a bullying process is a key role for peer support that differs from the possible unknown risks of actively defending someone. This is not to undermine the other key aspects of Salmivalli's (1999) emphasis on peer responses to bullying. Moreover, the concerns raised here are not to suggest that students are never to enter into a role as defender of peers. The question is rather regarding the role of the school or health professionals in actively encouraging or challenging students to do so, which may be a breach of a duty of care to the individual student, not to expose them to potential risks of him/her becoming bullied through intervening as a peer defender on an issue that is a child welfare and child protection one.

It might be argued that once parental consent and student consent is given to engaging in a structured role of peer defender that this would be adequate. However, the issue is also one of *informed* consent with knowledge of the risks, and currently even such informed consent would be problematic, based on a limited understanding available on the complexity of this issue in international research.

BOX 15. Summary of Concerns with a Peer Defenders Approach in the Finnish KiVa Model

A number of issues have been highlighted that are clearly problematic for the transferability of the dimension of peer defenders from Finland's KiVa approach to other European contexts. These distinct, though somewhat interrelated, issues include:

- Empirical evidence of increased bullying for peer interventions in some contexts, evidence of student fear of the consequences of intervening and of the ineffectiveness of this approach in at least some international contexts.

- Recognition of bullying as a child welfare and child protection issue renders it problematic that responsibility may be displaced onto other children to provide support and active defending.

- Schools have a duty of care to the individual and not simply to the aggregate of children, so that even gains in the aggregate do not justify disproportionate risk to an individual 'defender' from a perpetrator entrenched in bullying behaviour and likely to target defenders that challenge him/her. The principle of *primum non nocere*, neglected in much health promoting schools research, must not be violated here.

- There may be a conflict between a strategy suitable for moderate risk, i.e. selected prevention, being applied for children to defend others against perpetrators of high chronic need and risk, i.e. indicated prevention levels.

- Acknowledging the motivation of perpetrators to be based on gains in social status and via social-cognitive behavioural approaches are important perspectives but the motivation of bullying perpetrators is not homogenous. Exceptions to this motivational paradigm would need to be directly addressed in a strategic approach reliant on peer defenders that operates within this social status paradigm to go beyond this paradigm. Furthermore, even with the logic of these social-cognitive behavioural and social status paradigms, it is far from obvious that the bullying perpetrator would not be motivated to engage in bullying of the peer defender(s).

- Selected prevention levels are not simply groups of individuals. They centrally involve groups with strongly defined social identity and categorisation, such as ethnic and sexual minorities. The bullying process may be part of a wider conflict between groups based on their social identities. Exposing a peer defender to these wider group conflicts, expressed through bullying, is a concern.

- Discriminatory bullying, influenced by macrosystemic factors, may be unreceptive to a peer defender interpersonal group relations lens.

- Peer defenders in KiVa have been predominantly evaluated in a largely monoethnic society in Finland.

- The documented fear of some children to be placed in the 'firing line' of the bully through being challenged or encouraged to adopt a defender's approach needs to be acknowledged as a rational response to perception of threat rather than a moral failure to engage.

Chapter 6. Indicated Prevention: Chronic Need

The indicated prevention level of chronic need requires much more intensive individualised work with the child and their family. The indicated prevention level, involving multidisciplinary teams, has been the focus of some international research. For example, in Ttofi and Farrington's (2011) meta-analysis, cooperative group work among multidisciplinary professionals, including mental health providers, was a programme component associated with a decrease in being bullied and bullying others in working with students involved in bullying.

There is significant work to be done in a European context to develop a focused and comprehensive bullying and violence prevention strategy for children and young people in schools that targets those at the chronic need, indicated prevention level. Some countries have developed multidisciplinary teams in and around schools, especially for students of highest need (Downes, 2011; Edwards and Downes, 2013; TWG, 2013) and are recommended to do so in the Commission's School Thematic Working Group report (2013). However, even when these are established, it is far from evident that a coherent national or local strategic framework exists for such teams to engage with bullying and violence at chronic needs levels.

Bullying needs to be viewed as a problem of communication and emotional literacy. Recognising this, the importance of language support dimensions comes to the fore, especially for prevention of bullying in contexts of social exclusion. The need for speech and language therapists to be linked with schools, as part of multidisciplinary teams to engage in targeted intervention for language development, emerges from international research regarding language impairment as a risk factor for engagement in disruptive behaviour. Eigsti and Cicchetti (2004) found that preschool aged children who had experienced maltreatment prior to age 2 exhibited language delays in vocabulary and language complexity. The mothers of these maltreated children directed fewer utterances to their children and produced a smaller number of overall utterances compared to mothers of non-maltreated children, with a significant association between maternal utterances and child language variables. Rates of language impairment reach 24 % to 65 % in samples of children identified as exhibiting disruptive behaviours (Benasich et al., 1993), and 59 % to 80 % of preschool- and school-age children identified as exhibiting disruptive behaviours also exhibit language delays (Beitchman et al., 1996; Brinton and Fujiki, 1993; Stevenson et al., 1985). A study of children with communication disorders found that children with language impairments, who were more widely accepted, seemed to be protected from the risk of being bullied (Savage, 2005).

The particular lack of speech and language therapists (SLTs) in European schools as part of multidisciplinary teams, highlighted in the Eurydice report (2014) on early school leaving, is of real concern here for students at the chronic need, indicated prevention level, where maternal language difficulties may be affecting their violent behaviour (see Annex 3, Table 10). It must be emphasised that the role of speech and language therapists in working with children's communication is not confined to speech disorders but can also focus on language development processes, to assist not only children but also teachers and parents in fostering language development processes with the children. Moreover, the level of maternal language difficulty does not have to be at a clinical level of difficulty for it to centrally contribute to a range of school-related problems, potentially including aggression and bullying, as well as hindering social relationships and sense of belonging to school.

6.1. Need for Outreach Dimension for Family Support

Farrington and Ttofi's (2009) systematic review identified two main ways of involving parents in bullying prevention: information for parents such as in newsletters or booklets, and parent-teacher meetings. These are again universal approaches to prevention. The limitations of information-based approaches have already been highlighted from a health promoting schools perspective and need recognition also for engagement with parents. Axford, Farrington et al.'s (2015, in press) international review of parental involvement in bullying prevention concludes:

The implications for practice are that: there is good reason to involve parents in bullying prevention; consideration should be given to programs including a parenting support and education component; and this element should be amplified in cases of chronic involvement in bullying. Future studies need to explore what works best in terms of engaging parents in such interventions, especially those who might be deemed 'hard-to-reach'.

In other words, they seek an acceleration of focus on the chronic need, indicated prevention level with regard to parental involvement.

For the international right to the highest attainable standard of health, Hunt and Backman (2008) refer to the key role of 'outreach programs for disadvantaged individuals and communities' and observe that 'a State has a core obligation to establish effective outreach programs for those living in poverty'. The Eurydice (2014) report on early school leaving examined some features of multiprofessional working linked with schools. However, the issue of outreach to marginalised families' needs to be highlighted more. Individual outreach to families with chronic needs is a distinct strategic dimension as part of an indicated prevention approach to bullying and violence.

The lack of coordination of services for migrants at municipality level has been recently highlighted across 9 European cities, with the recommendation that there should be an identifiable lead person in a lead agency to guide a family in its interactions with a range of services (Downes, 2015). This would be a key feature of an outreach approach. A bullying in school prevention dimension needs to be built into an integrated agency approach taken for working with migrant families. An integrated approach to parental engagement and family support is needed for families from communities with little tradition of engaging with the formal school system, and is resonant with at least some EU policy documents on equity and social inclusion (Downes, 2014a).

A number of examples of multidisciplinary, community-based family support centres are available in European contexts, though evaluation of the impact of these for school bullying and violence prevention is scarce and thus, these issues can only be treated in exploratory fashion for the purposes of this report. One example is the SPIL centre in Eindhoven, highlighted by Eurochild (2011):

BOX 16. One-Stop-Shop Multidisciplinary, Community-Based Family Support Centres: Eindhoven SPIL Centres, the Netherlands

> *'The municipality of Eindhoven has chosen a family support policy based on multifunctional services directly linked to primary schools in these SPIL Centres. This choice had been made based on the principle of the early detection of children at risk as early as possible and as close to the family as possible. The main reason for this is that schools, day care centres and kindergartens are places with the best access to 'find' children at risk and their parents.'* (Eurochild 2011, p.21)

This SPIL centre approach resonates strongly with the Commission Recommendation (2013), *Investing in children: Breaking the cycle of disadvantage* which explicitly seeks to 'enhance family support' and 'promote quality, community-based care' as part of a challenge to the effects of poverty and social exclusion in education. Basically, such a centre is a 'one-stop shop' where a range of vital services across health and education are available in an accessible local location to engage marginalised families; the Centre is built

around primary education, playgroups and childcare. Other services may be added, such as parenting support, child welfare, youth healthcare and social work (Eurochild, 2011). These are early support systems for families, at least indirectly relevant to issues of bullying and violence prevention in schools, through helping build up supportive patterns of emotional coping and communication.

Another important example documented in the Eurochild report (2011) is the Nordrhein-Westfalen state programme *Familienzentrum*. They include care and education plus counselling and support to children and parents. Between 2006 and 2012 approx. 3000 of the total 9000 child care centres in the German federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia are being developed into certified family centres designed to bundle services for families in the local community.

It certainly cannot be assumed that those most in need will access available services. This requires acknowledgement of the need for outreach to the more marginalised. This is not an argument that bullying and violence prevention are a primary focus of such multidisciplinary family support centres linked with schools. Rather they are to be part of an early support approach for families with children at risk of developing a habitual pattern of aggressive responses as modes of coping, due to stresses in their younger years.

6.2. Common Support Systems for Bullying and Early School Leaving: Inclusive Systems

There is a striking commonality of interests with regard to strategic approaches for bullying prevention in schools and early school leaving prevention[12]. These can be classified as:

> Direct and indirect effects of bullying on early school leaving relevant to perpetrators, victims and bully-victims (school absence, negative interpersonal relations with peers and conflict with teachers, low concentration in school, decreased academic performance, lower school belonging, satisfaction, and pedagogical well-being, with the effects of bullying exacerbated for those already at risk of early school leaving, negative school climate influences).

> Common systems of supports (transition focus from primary to post-primary, multiprofessional teams for complex needs, language support needs, family support services and education of parents regarding their approaches to communication and supportive discipline with their children, outreach to families to provide supports, addressing academic difficulties).

> Common issues requiring an integrated strategic response, including the prevention of displacement effects of a problem from one domain to another, such as in suspension/expulsion which may make a bullying problem become an early school leaving problem.

> Common causal antecedents (negative school climate, behavioural difficulties, trauma)

> Teacher professional development and pre-service preparation focusing on developing teachers' relational competences for a promoting a positive school and classroom climate, including a focus on teachers' conflict resolution and diversity awareness competences

> Early warning systems.

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[12] Bullying is directly recognised as affecting early school leaving in the Annex to the Council Recommendation on Early School Leaving (2011). Echoed subsequently in the EU Council Recommendation (2011), the need for early warning systems are also highlighted in the Commission Staff Paper Reducing early school leaving Accompanying document to the Proposal for a Council Recommendation on policies to reduce early school leaving, article 57 on 'Early warning systems' states: 'There are several warning signs which help to identify pupils at risk of ESL. The most obvious is truancy or absenteeism. <..> Others signs are <..> family problems, regular misconduct, aggressive behaviour or being affected by bullying or violence' (European Commission Staff Working Paper, 2011).

These striking commonalities, requiring a holistic focus to bridge emotional and cognitive needs, are recognised already to some degree in key EU Documents on early school leaving.

The serious long-term impact of bullying on mental health has been highlighted in section 1.2 of this report. It must also be emphasised that mental health issues can impact also on early school leaving, thereby further requiring common policy responses for these areas (Downes 2011, 2014b).

Cefai et al.'s (2009) national study of approximately 7000 students, stratified mainly by school type, region and level across 69 primary schools and 44 secondary schools in Malta found that low socioeconomic status is one of the strongest and most consistent home variables related to children's social, emotional and behavioural difficulties. Montoya's (personal communication, 2015) summary of French research on school samples (DEPP, Evrard 2011; Debarbieux, 2011; Debarbieux, 2012; Debarbieux, 2012a, Debarbieux and Fotinos 2010) found that risk of experiencing violence in school is doubled in schools in the Zones prioritaire based on higher levels of poverty and socioeconomic exclusion, with strong variation also within these schools. However, Richard et al.'s (2012) French study of over 18 000 students did not find an association between socioeconomic status and bullying but only between victimisation and not having French as their first language. Even if a finding in France of an association between school violence and the social class of students were to be accepted, this is not necessarily the case in other countries and the argument for an integrated systemic strategic response for bullying and early school leaving prevention is not dependent on such an association between poverty, low socioeconomic status and school bullying or violence.

This argument for a commonality of system-level response for both bullying and early school leaving prevention is not to state that the same individuals are necessarily at risk for both, though they may share a number of common risk factors. It is to emphasise that a common response to develop inclusive systems, including a curricular focus on SEL, a whole school approach to school climate, bullying, mental health, a focus on teachers' conflict resolution skills, students' voices, parental involvement, multidisciplinary teams etc., are system support requirements that can both directly address the strategic policy of preventing both bullying and early school leaving. They are two sides of the same coin, though does this is not to state that other coins may also be additionally needed to address issues and needs specific to bullying and early school leaving as distinct issues.

BOX 17. Initial Strategic Integration of Bullying and Early School Leaving: Malta and Belgium (Fl)

According to the response of the Education Ministry Official in Malta: Bullying is not directly mentioned in the national Early School-Leaving Strategy 2014. However, the Early School-Leaving Unit works hand in hand with the Psychosocial Services and other stakeholders within and outside the Ministry for Education and Employment in order to address this phenomenon. In the prevention and intervention pillars of the plan, the term 'students at risk' is mentioned constantly. The Anti-Bullying section within the School Psycho-Social Services not only strives to initiate, support and coordinate the efforts of schools in anti-bullying programmes to ensure a safe and caring environment conducive to learning and well-being but provides services for class interventions and individual cases.

According to the response of the Education Ministry Official in Flanders, Belgium: Bullying is linked to a national early school-leaving strategy because bullying is one of the reasons for ESL. Specifically, there are several actions to tackle bullying included in the national plan for early school-leaving.

A social-ecological approach to bullying prevention (Espelage and Swearer, 2010) needs to focus not only on systems of relations, such as between students, schools, parents and community but also on system blockage (Downes, 2014), as an aspect largely overlooked in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) systems theory in developmental psychology. One aspect of system blockage is that of system fragmentation (Downes, 2014). A fragmented approach is a feature of those national systems without a national strategy for bullying prevention in schools. Yet fragmentation needs to be overcome also at a policy-implementation level through scrutiny of structures and processes at system levels. Overcoming system blockage, as fragmentation, requires a national implementation committee to monitor bullying and violence prevention implementation, whether as a distinct committee or as part of a national committee for inclusive-systems implementation. Strategies

without implementation structures, both nationally and in schools, are doomed to failure through system blockages bringing displacement, resistance, fragmentation, exclusion (Downes, 2014; Downes, 2014b).

BOX 18. A National Ministerial Delegation to Prevent *Le Harcèlement* in School: France

According to the response of the Education Ministry Official in France: In November 2012, the national education ministry established a ministerial delegation in charge of prevention and the struggle against violence in the school environment. Its mission is to develop propositions to redirect politics for the struggle against *le harcèlement* in school and to implement it on the ground.

BOX 19. A Health Promoting Education Emphasis at National Level: Portugal

According to the response of the Education Ministry Official in Portugal: The educational project of each school or groups of schools must include themes bearing on health. Four areas demanding priority action, among them mental health and prevention of violence. The Directorate-General of Education monitors and evaluates the Health Promoting Education at schools, and a teacher is appointed to coordinate the thematic area of health in each group of schools. The schools develop projects on Health Promoting Education, in which the theme of prevention of violence is one of the priorities. Since 2012 we have an increase in the projects, including bullying, gender violence, sexual and relationship violence. In 2012 – 88 % of schools have specific projects, in 2013 – 92 % and in 2014 – 94.2 %.

A *national* committee for inclusive systems in EU Member States needs to be cross-departmental bridging education, health and social services – these departments are all relevant for integrated systems of support. In order to be sensitive to needs of minority and socioeconomically marginalised groups, basic principles of representativeness would imply that minority NGOs, for example, be represented on such national committees (see also Downes, 2014). This would build on the recommendation of the ET2020 Thematic Working Group Report on Early School Leaving (European Commission 2013, p.11) that emphasises the importance of a national coordinating body. Similarly the European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice/Cedefop Report on early school leaving (2014) states that 'Formalising cooperation, for example, by means of a coordinating body, is a way to enhance synergies across government departments and between different levels of authority, schools and other stakeholders' (p.12). This report also points to their importance for improving the process of monitoring and evaluation, as well as identifying areas for further work. All of this is directly pertinent to the cross-departmental concerns of school bullying and violence prevention for a national coordinating committee.

6.3. Intensive Supports to Prevent Long-Term Serious Impacts of Bullying with Relevance Also to Early School Leaving Prevention

Given the seriousness of the long-term impacts of bullying, a prevention strategy needs to encompass not only prevention of bullying but *prevention of the consequences* of bullying through a holistic focus on system-level emotional, cognitive and social supports – as a dimension of the work of a multidisciplinary team. This prevention of consequences approach needs a much firmer policy focus. From the following illustrative examples from qualitative research on the consequences of bullying based on victims' experiences, such supports could intervene at an early stage to prevent the escalation of experiential processes, such as self-doubting and double victimising, described in a Swedish context (Thornberg et al., 2013). The concept of double victimising refers to an interplay and cyclical process between external victimising and internal victimising. Research examining cognitive perceptions in children who participate in bullying has found that many of the children involved experience cognitive distortions (Doll and Swearer, 2006).

Radliff et al. (2015) examine hopelessness as a mediator within the context of bullying. In a sample of 469 US middle school students, victims reported the highest levels of hopelessness and significantly higher scores compared with students not involved in bullying. Hopelessness was a mediator for victims, but not for bully-victims. Thornberg's (2015) Swedish ethnographic fieldwork in two public schools was located in urban

neighbourhoods of different socioeconomic statuses, representing both lower and middle classes, in a medium-sized city. In total, 96 students (50 boys and 46 girls) from four school classes (two classes in Grade 4 and two classes in Grade 5) participated along with four teachers. The children's ages ranged from 10 to 12 years. Striving towards normal identity and social acceptance appeared to be associated with efforts to change oneself and to socialise, perceiving the deviant identity as unchangeable and inevitably causing bullying and social rejection appeared to be linked to resignation and a range of escape or avoidance behaviour, such as social withdrawal and avoiding others, as well as trying to be socially invisible in the classroom and other school settings. Again this has implications for the potential role of emotional support services in helping students interpret their reactions to bullying and to minimise self-blaming approaches.

From their longitudinal study in Finland, Sourander et al. (2007) conclude, 'early crime prevention that focuses on bullying should be one of the highest priorities in child public health policy. Frequent bullying may serve as an important red flag that something is wrong and that intensive preventive or ameliorative interventions are warranted' (p.550). A combined strategic focus on bullying and early school leaving prevention is resonant also with the point made in developmental psychology by Rutter, that the cumulative number of risk factors impacts on outcomes, a perspective supported by recent research on students experiencing adversity in Portugal (Simões et al., 2015).

The PISA 2012 results on the experience of students from socioeconomically marginalised backgrounds on sense of belonging and social integration (feeling like an outsider) in school reveals that there is much work to be done on these issues across Member States – issues pertaining at least indirectly to both bullying and early school leaving. From Table 11 extracted from PISA 2012 (see Annex 4), it is evident that France especially, and also Belgium have particular need for systemic measures to improve sense of belonging in school for socioeconomically marginalised groups. This implies a whole school approach to developing inclusive processes and supports, while also recognising wider macrosystemic issues. From the French Ministry response for this report, it is notable that, while there is not an express link between bullying and early school leaving in its early school leaving strategy, French policy does put an emphasis on the school atmosphere and climate, and the well-being of pupils. However, that France is one of the very few EU countries without a requirement for school self-evaluation processes (Eurydice 2015).

BOX 20. School Internal Evaluation Processes: Compelled or Recommended Across EU with Exceptions of Bulgaria and France

> The recent Eurydice (2015) report on school evaluation systems, highlights that 'The only countries where schools are not compelled or recommended to carry out internal evaluation are Bulgaria and France, the latter limited to primary schools' (p.10). As quality review processes are largely embedded in school self-evaluation processes, a quality label, led by the EU regarding inclusive systems in and around education may be a meaningful extension of these review processes and highly relevant to issues of implementation of bullying and violence prevention strategies at school level. Such quality label approaches for schools would be voluntary to encourage system level development.

Chapter 7. Conclusions and Focus Points for Way Forward

This report on school bullying and violence in Europe encompasses evidence from European and international research on bullying in schools, aggression and violence, developmental psychology, and health promotion in schools. It combines learning from these distinct, though connected domains, with key principles from a policy and legal perspective in an EU context. The main findings from research evidence on key types of actions are examined at whole school, family, curricular, classroom, and community system levels. The conclusions are informed also by responses on current national strategies in Europe on school bullying and violence, from Members of the ET2020 School Policy Working Group, international researchers from the European Network for Social and Emotional Competence (ENSEC) and a number of NGOs across EU Member States.

A review of the evidence based on international comparative research reveals that bullying is a serious concern in Europe, due to its sizeable prevalence in many countries and negative long-term impact. Some groups, such as learners from certain minorities, LGBTI background or those with special educational needs are more often bullied than others. A large majority of EU Member States have at least one group of students nationally, aged between 11 and 15, who report being victims of bullying at rates of 12 % or more. Some Member States report over 24 % as being bullying victims in at least one group of students. Prevalence increases with age and in some countries also correlates with lower family affluence. The overall figures for Europe are quite similar to those in Northern America.

Based on longitudinal research, both in European and other international contexts, there is a growing realisation of the **serious long-term impact of school bullying**. Frequent victimisation is associated with suicide attempts and completion for both boys and girls, overall mental health problems, anxiety, depression and self-harm. Bullying perpetrators are found to be at risk of subsequent psychiatric symptoms, violent behaviour and anti-social personality disorder. The impact may also be long term, extending to adolescence and adulthood. A range of correlational studies associate bullying experiences with early school-leaving, poor attendance and achievement, while bully-victims are at a particularly high risk. Bullying prevention is a child welfare and child protection issue.

7.1. Major gaps in national approaches towards school bullying and violence prevention

The findings from this review of bullying and violence prevention strategies in schools in Europe reveal that:

> A large number of EU Member States do not have national school bullying and violence prevention strategies.

> Most EU Member States do not have common or linked strategies for early school leaving and bullying prevention.

> Of those countries with particularly high prevalence of peer victimisation and/or bully perpetrators, according to the World Health Organisation (i.e. Austria, Estonia, France, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Portugal, Romania and Slovakia), a number of these (Estonia, Greece, Latvia and Slovakia) still do not have systematic national strategies for bullying and violence prevention in schools.

> Anti-bullying strategies in EU Member States are generally confined to universal prevention approaches, without focusing on the differentiated needs of certain groups, and with no strategic focus on discriminatory bullying against certain groups, e.g. migrants, Roma, LGBTI, those experiencing poverty etc.).

> None of those countries for which the 2014 LGBTI survey of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights indicated particularly high levels of hostility and prejudice towards LGBTI groups (Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania), directly addresses prevention of homophobic bullying in schools at a national strategic level.

> While a systematic focus on social and emotional education at curricular level exists across almost all EU Member States, it is unclear to what extent an explicit focus on bullying and violence prevention is consistently present in these curricula.

> It is often unclear to what extent national inspectorate systems or school self-evaluation processes embed a focus on bullying and violence prevention into their school review processes, and whether these inform anti-bullying strategies at national and school level to establish an evidence-base.

> While there are at least systematic procedures for students' voices to be heard in the education system across many Member States, such as through student councils, there is inadequate focus on student participation in the design of anti-bullying approaches

7.2. The Way forward

1. A strategic approach for school bullying and violence prevention

Against the background of these findings above, there is a major need to address these strategic gaps through a **more comprehensive strategic approach at national level to prevent school bullying and violence**, **including focus on discriminatory bullying**, while taking into account that substantial common ground exists between bullying and violence prevention and neighbouring policies such as early school-leaving, children's rights, fighting discriminations based on gender, racism, disability, sexual orientation[13], social inclusion for migrants and for students from socioeconomically excluded communities.

There is a striking commonality of interests with regard to strategic approaches for bullying prevention in schools and early school-leaving prevention, therefore a common support system can be useful without prejudice to the more differentiated approaches needed[14]. **Common systems of holistic supports for both bullying and early school-leaving** need to include: a transition focus from primary to post-primary; multiprofessional teams for students and their families with complex needs; language supports, including speech and language therapy; family support services and education of parents regarding their approaches to communication and supportive discipline with their children; outreach to families to provide supports; support for students with academic difficulties; social and emotional education curriculum; systems to substantially promote voices of marginalised students.

Both bullying and early school-leaving prevention require teacher professional development and pre-service preparation focusing on: developing teachers' relational competences for a promoting a positive school and

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[13] In doing so, a strong focus on prevention of discriminatory bullying needs to be addressed by building on EU anti-discrimination policies such as: EU Council Directive of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin; Proposal for a directive of 2 July 2008 against discrimination based on age, disability, sexual orientation and religion or belief beyond the workplace; Framework decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law; Council recommendation of 9 December 2013 on effective Roma integration measures in the Member States; Communication of 17 June 2015 on the implementation of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies; Communication of 15 November 2010 on a European Disability Strategy 2010-2020: A Renewed Commitment to a Barrier-Free Europe. See also the European Commission's Report on the implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) by the European Union; Joint Report on the application of the Racial Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) and the Employment Equality Directive (2000/78/EC).

[14] This conclusion of a commonality of system-level response for both bullying and early school-leaving prevention is not to state that the same individuals are necessarily at risk for both, though they may share a number of common risk factors.

classroom climate, including a focus on teachers' conflict resolution and diversity awareness competences; early warning/support systems to identify pupils' needs for those at higher risk.

Focus point 1	There is a need for more comprehensive strategic national approaches for school bullying and prevention, including discriminatory bullying - and an integrated prevention strategy for bullying and early school leaving to promote inclusive systems in and around schools, based on the common holistic supports identified above

2. Holistic curricular approaches focusing on social and emotional education

Social and emotional learning/education (SEL) includes a range of holistic approaches emphasising awareness of emotions, caring, empathy and concern for others, positive relationships, making responsible decisions, impulse control, resolving conflict constructively and valuing the thoughts, feelings and voices of students. There is now a strong body of international evidence to conclude that SEL is a key aspect of personal development to challenge a culture of violence in school. SEL and its emotional awareness dimensions are not reducible to citizenship education or simply social competences or cultural expression.

SEL is already a pervasive feature of European school contexts, though the time given to this in the curriculum is unclear. Social and emotional education principles can be incorporated across diverse subjects, including the arts, history, languages and physical education, as issues of communication, empathy, perspective taking and emotional literacy. International evidence suggests that curricular approaches for SEL are particularly beneficial for primary school pupils. Classroom time and priority for SEL needs more explicit recognition as a strategic priority at national and European level, including within the EU Key Competences framework for Lifelong Learning. SEL also offers particular promise in relation to bullying for students with special needs or with language difficulties.

Credible curricular approaches require the **involvement of young people themselves**, who are part of minority groups such as Roma and migrants, LGBTI, Muslim populations and other minorities. This cultural dialogue at curricular level, is particularly important for post-primary students, who tend to resist didactic, top-down messages in anti-bullying programmes. Moreover, an explicit focus on homophobic-bullying prevention is needed at curricular level, especially at post-primary level.

Questions still remain about curricular approaches bringing change to bullying behaviour, as distinct from changing attitudes and aspects associated with school violence more generally. Specific international reviews focusing solely on bullying observe that curriculum materials about bullying were not among the significant programme elements for reduction in being bullied or bullying others, although videos to raise student awareness about bullying were significantly associated with a decrease in students being bullied. Curricular materials need to be more engaging for students; the role of students in co-constructing these materials in a way that is relevant to their lives, experiences and youth culture is important.

Focus point 2:	Involve young people who are part of minority groups, such as Roma and migrants, LGBTI, Muslim populations and other minorities in the design of concrete curricular resources for social and emotional education (including videos, the arts, websites) that address bullying prevention and challenge prejudice.

3. Whole school interventions – Democratic school culture

International research generally suggests that, even at primary level, a curricular approach to SEL is – by itself – not enough to change bullying behaviour as distinct from attitudes and other behaviours indirectly related to violence in school. A SEL curriculum needs to be viewed as one part of a whole school approach

and a range of other dimensions. Discriminatory bullying requires challenge through a democratic school culture promoting differentiated voices of students.

Reviews of international research focusing on universal whole school approaches to bullying prevention do not endorse one particular model, though they do highlight key features of successful interventions. The highly influential Ttofi and Farrington (2011) review found the most effective programme elements associated with a decrease in bullying others were: parent training/meetings, teacher training, improved playground supervision, disciplinary methods (that are not reducible to firm or zero tolerance approaches), cooperative group work between professionals, school assemblies, supports for parents, classroom rules and classroom management, a whole-school anti-bullying policy. The most effective programme components for reducing the prevalence of being bullied were: videos, disciplinary methods, parent training/meetings and cooperative group work between professionals.

Focus point 3	Promote a whole school approach to bullying prevention, building on democratic principles for schools and including key effective bullying prevention programme elements

4. Focus on teachers' conflict resolution skills

International research observes the key role of the teacher in ensuring equality of esteem in the classroom, and that teacher discrimination against ethnic groups or others is associated with increased bullying against those individuals and groups[15]. With discriminatory attitudes towards minority groups being part of wider society, at least in some contexts, teachers may be influenced by such attitudes with detrimental impact upon students in their classrooms. This is a system level problem. Facilitating conflict resolution skills of teachers enhances their listening roles and supports communication approaches that engage with minority groups and all students through empathy and understanding. **Conflict resolution skills are part of teachers' cultural and diversity competences** in the classroom.

Focus point 4	Develop teachers' conflict resolution skills and non-discriminatory attitudes (whether based on ethnicity, social class, sexuality) at teacher pre-service and in-service education to prevent a culture of violence in schools.

5. Engaging with parents and family support

The central importance of **parental involvement** to a whole school systemic approach is highlighted by international reviews. Research on the development of aggression recognises that habits of coercive communication occur with harsh parental discipline and patterns of family conflict. Not only are these associated with later bullying but working with parents is strongly associated with both a decrease in bullying and being bullied in school. However, many approaches to parental involvement for bullying prevention are reliant on universal top-down, information-based approaches rather than on ones that actively include the parents in constructing meaning and policy, as well as fostering their skills. This neglected aspect of a universal focus for active involvement of parents is an important area for further strategic development and evaluation as part of the challenge to a culture of violence.

Recognition of the importance of **family support services** for early intervention for bullying and violence prevention, as well as for positive mental health, highlights the need for multidisciplinary community centres

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[15] Wider societal influences on discriminatory bullying have been neglected in much international research; this attitudinal violence towards groups, such as Roma, LGBTI, migrants, ethnic minorities moves bullying research beyond its traditional individual focus on power imbalance between a particular bullying perpetrator and victim.

that are a 'one-stop shop', where a range of vital services across health and education are available in an accessible local location to engage marginalised families, especially of highest need. Eurochild (2011) advocates the establishment of 'one-stop-shop' centres across Europe, highlighting expansion of such centres in specific German and Dutch contexts. Specific family outreach strategies that promote multidisciplinary teams as early intervention family support services linked with schools can help counter the impact of early childhood and family related factors contributing to a pattern of entrenched bullying.

Focus point 5	Establish[16] an individual family outreach strategy at the level of schools to foster engagement with families, especially of highest need and establish community-based multidisciplinary teams as early intervention family support services, linked with schools.

6. Engaging with community systems and spaces

A strategic approach is needed to develop community-based spaces to promote connection through cooperative tasks between different social groups, tasks that are relevant to their lives and interests. A **community outreach** dimension[17] could be fostered by creating communal spaces to allow different groups to meet, exchange with a view to promoting mutual respect and understanding. Opportunities for investment in shared communal spaces for connection include community lifelong learning centres, arts and sports facilities, libraries, green spaces, community afterschool centres, family resource centres, religious centres, gyms. Building community leaders among children and youth from minority and marginalised backgrounds is part of a broader local community strategy for positive relations between groups of different social identities[18].

Focus point 6	Specific community outreach strategies relying on structured cooperation and communal spaces to allow different groups to meet can help overcome prejudice between groups

7. Governance and systemic support for implementation

Coordination at national level could be improved, for instance, by national committees or platforms for inclusive systems in education, a forum for cross-departmental cooperation bridging education, health and social services. This could be complemented with cooperation platforms within and across schools to facilitate dialogue, exchange of information and ideas at both local, regional and national levels. For instance, school committees involving students, parents, teachers and health professionals can play an important role in the individual school planning and improvement processes. These committees could be responsible for developing

> ❯ projects to promote the input of students and risk groups into the design of whole school and curricular bullying prevention resources, especially for older students;

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[16] Where possible also through European Structural Funds

[17] Community outreach dimensions for bullying and violence prevention in schools combine an international right to health approach with a lifelong learning lens, both aspects which are quite neglected in international research on school bullying and violence.

[18] See also the Structural Indicators Matrix Tool (Box 21 below), especially the Community Dimensions section. One of the Commission's priorities for regional policy development 2014-2020 is a strengthened urban dimension and fight for social inclusion: here a minimum amount of ERDF (European Regional Development Funds) is earmarked for integrated projects in cities and of ESF (European Social Fund) to support marginalised communities. Two particular priorities for the ESF, number 9. 'Promoting social inclusion, combating poverty and any discrimination' and number 10. 'Investing in education, training and lifelong learning' are especially relevant for current purposes.

> processes to ensure that the voices and needs of minority students regarding bullying and violence prevention are heard, as well as more widely on school climate issues;

> an explicit whole school and curricular focus on homophobic bullying prevention.

National committees and schools could be supported by practical tools, such as the matrix of structural indicators, as presented below. Schools applying such pre-established tools could be awarded a quality label.

A key output of this report is an **evidence-informed structural indicators framework** clustering key features of whole school and wider system interventions for schools, municipalities and national decision-makers to address in their strategic responses to school bullying and violence prevention (see Box 21 below). These structural indicators also build on international legal principles from the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the international right to the highest attainable standard of (mental) health, as well as health promotion principles to balance national strategic direction with local ownership of interventions in schools and the wider system of supports in and around schools.

This Structural Indicators framework provides a key reference point for a strategic framework of quality whole school and wider family and community system interventions for school bullying and violence prevention.

BOX 21. Dimensions of a Proposed Structural Indicators Framework to Guide Development of Bullying and Violence Prevention Strategies in School[19].

School Curricular Dimensions (Structural Indicators – Yes/No)
- Explicit focus on bullying prevention in a Social and Emotional Education Curriculum.
- Active learning, interactive pedagogies.
- Video resources.
- Input of children and young people into developing curricular resources for bullying prevention, conflict resolution and overcoming prejudice.
- Input from ethnically or culturally diverse students so that their input into materials, activities and goals is included.
- Time allocated for social and emotional education is of sufficient intensity.
- SAFE features: Sequenced step-by-step training, active forms of learning, focus sufficient time on skill development and have explicit learning goals.
- Cooperative group work in class.
- Resources reflect students' lives and experiences.
- Language learning integrated with emotional literacy for younger students.
- Explicit focus on homophobic bullying prevention.
- Cross-curricular integration of conflict resolution and bullying issues, including arts-based approaches.
- Clarity that social and emotional education is not reduced to civic education.
- Community outreach dimension to curricular activities.

Whole School System Approach/Ethos/Climate (Structural Indicators – Yes/No)
- Whole school anti-bullying policy.
- A coordinating committee at the school level to implement whole school approach.
- Student representation on school coordinating committee for inclusive systems with an explicit bullying focus.
- Health professional representation on school coordinating committee for inclusive systems.
- Cooperative team work between professionals.
- Bullying intervention approach operates for at least 2 years.
- Bullying intervention approach is of sufficient intensity, i.e. sufficient frequency of inputs during school.
- Participation of all key stakeholders in whole school approach to bullying prevention.

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[19] Based on a Triangle of being Informed by International Research Evidence, Legal Standards and Health Promotion Principles.

- Clarity of goals and shared goals for school coordinating committee.
- Questionnaire survey to assess scale of bullying in a specific school.
- School yard supervision.
- School assemblies.
- A school conference day for bullying prevention.
- Plan for transition from primary to post-primary, especially for SEND students.
- Concrete and professionally prepared materials for students, teachers, and parents.
- A whole pack of activities for students.
- Retaining the active ingredients of a programme, while allowing for well-planned programme adaptation for local circumstances.
- Interventions with peers who assist bully perpetrators and with reinforcers who provide support to bully perpetrators
- Revisiting steps as needed, to assume some turnover of staff, including school principals.
- Capacity-building support.

Teacher Support and Approaches (Structural Indicators – Yes/No)
- Teacher support (in-service/pre-service) on bullying prevention approaches.
- Teacher support (in-service/pre-service) on conflict resolution strategies for teachers.
- Teacher support (in-service/pre-service) on democratic classroom management competences.
- Teacher support (in-service/pre-service) on constructivist, active learning pedagogies.
- Teacher support (in-service/pre-service) on anti-discrimination.
- Collaboratively negotiated classroom rules with children.
- A range of disciplinary methods and psychological approaches adopted by teachers.
- Cooperative group work between professionals.
- Regular class meetings with students on bullying.

Active Parent Involvement and Family Support (Structural Indicators – Yes/No)
- Partnership with parents.
- Parenting training for communication approaches with their children.
- Class parent-teacher association at the class level.
- Building parents' awareness and confidence to help their children to develop social competence and to prevent or respond to bullying.
- Parental input into school bullying policies.
- One-stop-shop multidisciplinary teams linked with schools for family support.
- Outreach to families of highest chronic needs.
- Communication to parents of available range of professional supports and the different approaches of these supports.
- Common spaces of connection for parents (e.g. Parents Cafes for informal meetings, municipality bridging parents' associations across local schools).
- Common spaces of connection for parents from different ethnic and religious backgrounds.
- Parent peer support processes.

Differentiated Levels of Strategic Intervention (Structural Indicators – Yes/No)
- Universal prevention intervention (i.e. aimed at all students).
- Universal prevention intervention with selected prevention goals (i.e. also specifically aimed at groups at moderate risk).
- Selected prevention intervention for groups at moderate risk.
- Indicated prevention intervention with individual child at high risk with chronic needs.
- Indicated prevention intervention with individual family at high risk with chronic needs.

Guiding Principles (Structural Indicators – Yes/No)
- A holistic approach combining emotion and cognition.
- Recognising different individual needs.

– Processes for voices to be heard, active participation and representation.
– Recognition of non-discriminatory practices.
– Individual outreach.
– Community outreach.

Community Dimensions (Structural Indicators – Yes/No)

– Bridge-building processes to promote connection through collaboration between different groups for common goals.
– Urban development strategies to promote communal spaces of connection between diverse groups.
– Making the target groups subjects not simply objects of policy through direct stakeholder representation and consultation in the design of interventions and supports.
– Cultural competence training of professionals including teachers to meet needs of diverse students.
– Building community leaders among children and youth.
– A strategy to develop community-based spaces of connection and cooperative tasks between different social groups.
– Involving sports and arts as indirect ways to challenge tensions between groups through teamwork and common frames of reference.

National Ministries of Education (Structural Indicators – Yes/No)

– Existence of a national school bullying and violence prevention strategy.
– Existence of a national coordinating committee to implement this strategy as part of an inclusive systems approach.
– Representation of minority groups/NGOs on national coordinating committee for inclusive systems.
– Representation of students on national coordinating committee for inclusive systems.
– Representation of parents on national coordinating committee for inclusive systems.
– Cross-department scope of national coordinating committee for inclusive systems to include health and social services.
– Bullying prevention built into school self-evaluation processes.
– Bullying prevention built into school external evaluation processes[20].
– Explicit strategy to address bullying together with early school leaving.
– Explicit strategy to directly address discriminatory bullying in schools.
– Explicit strategy to directly address homophobic bullying in schools.

Focus point 7	Coordination of strategies and activities at national and local level need to be improved, for instance, through national coordinating committees for inclusive systems[21] and school level coordinating committees. Explicit focus needs to be placed on bullying and violence prevention in school self-evaluation, external inspection and whole school planning, drawing on the Structural Indicators framework in this report.

[20] According to the Eurydice report on Quality in Education (2015), external school evaluation is widespread in Europe. It is carried out in 31 education systems across 26 countries. However, there are exceptions such as Finland, where there are no central regulations on external school evaluation. However, in Finland local authorities may decide to use such an approach for the schools they are responsible for.

[21] Inclusive systems encompass a curricular focus on social and emotional education, a whole school approach to school climate, bullying prevention, mental health, a focus on teachers' conflict resolution skills, students' voices, parental involvement, and multidisciplinary teams.

7.3. Future Research

While there is a strong body of data in international research on whole school bullying and violence prevention programmes, especially at the universal prevention level, as well as on SEL curricular dimensions, there are notable research gaps in other areas – particularly regarding groups at the selected prevention (moderate risk) level. These gaps include research on bullying-associated experiences of older students particularly, as well as of experiences – in specific cultural contexts nationally and regionally – of minorities, migrants, LGBTI, students with SEND and students from socioeconomically excluded groups. The differentiated experiences of bully-victims, as well as victims and perpetrators, require more research, including intervention approaches to help prevent consequences of bullying. Aspects of parental involvement and family support that go beyond information-based models require much more international research, as do the impact of community outreach approaches for engaging groups at moderate risk of experiencing bullying. Pupil and student input into curricular SEL dimensions needs further support and evaluation, again in specific cultural contexts and with specific target groups.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1. REVALENCE OF SCHOOL BULLYING AND VIOLENCE: INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDIES, META-ANALYTIC REVIEW, COUNTRY-SPECIFIC STUDIES IN EUROPE AND FOR SPECIFIC GROUPS

INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDIES

In the last decades since Olweus' seminal work on bullying in Scandinavia in the 1990s, bullying has become an issue of increasing concern in schools across Europe. General estimates suggest that about one fourth to one third of students may be involved in bullying during their school years (e.g. Robers et al., 2013; Abrax, 2012; Nansel et al., 2001; Wang et al., 2009; Hymel and Swearer, 2015; Currie et al., 2012). In a recent review, Hymel and Swearer (2015) cite various international studies documenting the rate of students reporting victimisation varying from 10 % to 33 %, while 5 % to 13 % admitted to bullying peers, with boys reporting more bullying, than girls and girls more victimisation than boys, and with bullying starting early in school and peaking in the middle school years. There are also indications that bullying prevalence rates, however, vary depending on the definition and assessment of bullying, making it difficult to give an accurate rate and to compare rates across studies (Swearer et al., 2010). In a partial review of studies, Swearer et al., (2010) reported that the percentage of students involved in bullying ranged from 13 % to 75 %, citing assessment as the main factor underlying such divergence.

Chester et al. (2015) comparative study. They reported that occasional victimisation (once or more in the last two months) decreased from 33.5 % in 2001-2002 to 29.2 % in 2009-2010. One third of the countries demonstrated statistically significant declines in occasional victimisation for both genders, including Croatia, Denmark and Portugal; England Norway and Spain showed a decrease for both genders in 2009-2010 when compared to 2001-2002. A number of other countries showed significant decrease in one gender victimisation only. On the other hand, French Belgium and Finland were the two countries which showed an increase for both genders in occasional victimisation. Chronic victimisation (2-3 times or more) also decreased for both genders from 12.7 % in 2001–2002 to 11.3 % in 2009–2010. Of the 33 countries, Denmark, Italy and the Netherlands registered a decrease in chronic victimisation for both genders over the three surveys, while Lithuania and Spain also showed lower rates of chronic bullying for both genders in 2009–2010 when compared with 2001–2002. Many countries showed a decrease in chronic victimisation in one gender only, such as Croatia, England, Germany, Norway, Sweden and USA for boys, and Greenland, Lithuania and FYROM (Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia) for girls. On the other hand, Austria, France, Hungary and Scotland showed an increase for boys; while French Belgium was the only region which showed an increasing trend for both genders; Denmark, Italy and the Netherlands were the three countries that showed a decrease in both occasional and chronic victimisation for both genders from the 2001–2002 to 2009–2010 surveys.

TABLE 6. HBSC Victimisation and Perpetration Averages, %

Age	F	M	Aver	F	M	Aver
11 year olds	12	15	13	5	10	8
13 year olds	11	13	12	8	14	11
15 year olds	7	10	9	7	16	12

Source: WHO 2010

Wolke et al. (2001) carried out a comparative study on bullying and victimisation in primary schools in England and Germany. Individual interviews on bullying and victimisation were carried out with 2377 six to eight-year-old English students and 1538 eight-year-old German students. In both countries boys were more likely to be bullies; most bullies were also likely to be victims, and most bullying occurred in the playground and classroom. However the victimisation figures differed significantly, with 24 % of English pupils reporting being bullied every week compared to 8 % of German children; on the other hand, fewer English boys engaged in bullying every week (3.5 %) compared to German boys (7.5 %) while no difference was found in girls. This is an interesting study comparing two major European countries, but rather dated.

META-ANALYTIC REVIEW

Cook et al. meta-analytic review (2010). In a review of 82 independent studies with samples of children and adolescents from 22 countries, Cook et al. (2010) examined the variability of prevalence in victimisation and bullying. The authors based their analysis on a larger meta-analytic review based on an initial 1196 studies of school bullying and victimisation published between 1999 and 2006, which were then reduced to 82 studies which met the study's inclusion criteria (these were quantitative studies related to prevalence of bullying; they were focused on bullying and not aggression; they were non-intervention studies; and were based on children and adolescents not adults). Three main sources of respondents were identified, namely self-report, peer report and teacher report. There were three geographical locations of the studies, namely Europe (half of the studies), USA, and others (Australia, Brazil, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, South Africa and South Korea). The European countries included England (13 studies), Finland (7 studies), Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and Scotland (3 studies each), Greece, Norway and Switzerland (2 studies each), and Denmark, France, Portugal and Sweden (1 study each). The results show a significant variability between countries in the prevalence rates of bullies, victims and bully-victims, ranging from 5 % (Sweden) to 44 % (New Zealand) in bullying, 7 % (Switzerland) to 43 % (Italy) in victimisation, and from 2 % (Sweden) to 32 % (New Zealand) for bullying-victimisation. The highest prevalence rates in Europe were in Italy (43 % bullies, 43 % victims, and 7 % bully-victims), while the lowest prevalence rates were found in Sweden (5 % bullies and 2 % bully-victims) and Norway (6 % bullies, 11 % victims, and 7 % bully-victims). The prevalence rate of bullies in the USA (17.9 %) was significantly lower than that in Europe (20.9 %) and other countries (20.5 %); on the other hand the other countries had a significant higher rate of victimisation (30.5 %) than Europe (20.7 %) and the USA (21.5 %), while no significant difference was found between Europe and the USA in victimisation. Europe had the lowest rate of bullying-victimisation (6.4 %) followed by the USA (7.7 %) and the other countries (14.6 %). For the 16 countries which had separate prevalence rates according to gender, as expected, all except one (Italy) had higher rates for boys; out of 15 countries, 11 had higher rates of victimisation amongst boys. Boys are 2.5 times more likely to be involved in bullying than girls. The review found that bullying behaviours increase from childhood to early adolescence and remain high during late adolescence; victimisation and bullying-victimisation increases from childhood to early adolescence but decreases slightly during late adolescence. The combined prevalence rate across gender and age suggests that about 50 % of students are involved in bullying, with the greatest proportion being victims, followed by bullies and bully-victims respectively; this is significantly larger than the 20 % to 30 % estimates found in the literature.

Another important finding of this study however, was that prevalence varied according to the informant reporting the bullying behaviour, with peer nominations resulting in significantly smaller prevalence rates than both self-report and teacher report for bullying and victimisation. The major limitation of this study is that it reviewed studies which were published between 1999 and 2006. While the prevalence rates do give insight into the nature of bullying behaviours in Europe, they are not an accurate reflection of bullying behaviours in 2015.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC STUDIES IN EUROPE

Below is a summary of some of the major studies carried out in individual European countries which are available in English; the list is not comprehensive but a snapshot of various countries and regions across the EU from north to south and east to west.

Bulgaria. In a study in six Bulgarian schools with 11-13 year old students, Koralov (2007) reported that 25 % of students reported they were victimised by their peers once a week, while 10 % said that they bullied other students a few times per month. In a paper on the profiles of bullies and victims in Bulgarian schools, Yankulova (2012) reported that on average two or three students suffer bullying systematically, while one to two students bully others. The number of victims decreased fourth to sixth grade but increased in the 7th grade. The number of perpetrators remained stable until the seventh grade, increased sharply in the eighth grade, and then decreased again.

France: Richard et al. (2012) conducted a survey of 18 222 students (8 741 boys and 9 841 girls, mean age 15 years and 4 months, 85 % Caucasian with French as first language), 701 teachers and 478 principals from a nationally representative sample of 478 schools in France. Participants were randomly chosen among schools also randomly

chosen from each school district of France. Results found that girls were, as expected, significantly less involved in physical bullying than boys but more involved in verbal relational bullying. Students who did not have French as their first language reported being victims of physical bullying to a greater extent than others. Socioeconomic status was not significantly related to bullying, though this estimate was indirect based on school principals accounts of the percentage of students in their school from mid-high income families. Unexpectedly, school climate did not explain the variance in verbal/relational bullying as much as it did for physical bullying.

Germany. von Marées and Petermann (2009) carried out a study on the prevalence of bullying in primary schools in Germany with 550 six to ten-year -old children attending 12 primary schools in northern Germany. Overall, 10 % of children were identified as bullies, 17 % as victims and 17 % as bully/victims. There was a higher proportion of both victims and perpetrators amongst boys. Boys were more likely to engage in direct physical and verbal bullying, girls in indirect relational bullying. Bullying increased with age, while victimisation remained stable. Another study with over 2000 fifth to tenth grade students in two German federal states by Scheithauer et al. (2006) reported that overall, 12 % of the students reported bullying others and 11 % reported being bullied, with 2 % being bully/victims. Significantly more boys reported bullying others, regardless of bullying form, and more boys were classified as bully/victims. Although there was no gender difference in victimisation, boys reported being bullied physically significantly more often than girls. Middle school students reported the highest rates of bullying, while the younger students reported higher rates of victimisation.

Greece and Cyprus. In Greece and Cyprus, the prevalence rate of victimisation ranges from 8 % to 22 %, while the percentages for bullies are between 6 % and 8 % and for bully-victims between 1 % and 15 % (Psalti, 2012). In their study with a large-scale study of primary schools in Athens, Greece, Pateraki and Houndoumadi (2001) found a 15 % victimisation rate, 6 % bullying rate and 5 % being bully-victims; boys were more involved in direct bullying and girls in relational bullying. In a study with 1758 primary and secondary school students (10-14 years) attending 20 schools in northern Greece, Sapouna (2008) found that overall, 8 % of all students were victims, 6 % bullies and 1 % bully/victims. More boys were identified as bullies, but there were no gender differences in victimisation. Younger students were more at risk of being bullied. The most common type of bullying was name calling; boys were more likely to engage in physical bullying, while relational bullying was more common amongst girls. In a more recent study with 3969 primary and secondary school students in Greece, Psalti (2012) reported that almost half of the participating students were involved in bullying, either as bullies, victims or bully-victims, with higher involvement in secondary schools.

Ireland. A Nationwide Study of Bullying in Ireland indicates that 31 % of primary school students (4-12 years) and 16 % of secondary school students (12-18 years) have been bullied at some time (O'Moore, 1997). Of the total Irish school population, 23 % or 200 000 children are at risk of being victims of bullying. 74 % of primary school children reported being bullied in the playground and 31 % in the classroom. Secondary school students reported that 47 % of bullying incidents occurred in the classroom, 37 % in the corridors, and 27 % in the playground. This is one of the most important surveys of school bullying in Ireland, however it is based on data collected more than 20 years ago (1993–1994). A more recent study by the Anti-Bullying Centre (2008) reported that 30 % of students had been bullied in the previous 2 months (equal gender distribution); 25 % reported that they had victimised their peers in the past 2 months (12 % girls, 31 % boys). Minton (2010) carried out a study with 2 312 primary and 3 257 post primary students who completed a self-report questionnaire on bullying and victimisation in 2004–2005. He found that 35 % of primary school students and 36 % of post-primary students reported having been bullied over the last 3 months.

Italy. A recent survey conducted in 2012 in the framework of the Daphne III programme (ECIP project), adopted a multi-item response scale both for traditional bullying and for cyberbullying (Brighi et al., 2013). This survey has involved about 1700 students from middle and high school (age range 14-19) in Italy and has shown that traditional forms of bullying (both direct and indirect forms) included 27 % of student as victims, 19 % as bullies and the 9 % as bully/victims; moreover 25 % of the whole sample suffered episodes of online victimisation two or more times a month, 15 % said they had bullying online, while 9 % said they were both perpetrator and victim of electronic aggression (bully/victim role). These data, apparently in contrast to the previous survey, can be explained by the different methodology used (multi-item versus single question) and by the slightly higher age of the participants in the study. In another recent survey with young people in Italy, Leoni and Caravita (2014) found that when peers

are the source of information, 7 % of early adolescents have been found to be victimised, 15 % to be bullies-bully role, 14 % defenders of the victims, and almost 10 % to be passive bystanders. Another recent self-report study by Telefono Azzurro (2014) with a sample of 1500 students aged 11-19 years, reported that 34.7 % said they had witnessed bullying episodes, while 30 % of middle school students and 38 % of high school students were bullied at least sometimes**.**

Malta. Borg (1998) carried out a large-scale study on bullying in primary and secondary schools in Malta, with 6282 students from six grades (9-14 years) in 50 state primary and secondary schools. He found that 1 in 3 students were involved in frequent bullying either as victim or perpetrator. Most common victimisation was verbal bullying followed by physical bullying, with vice versa being true for perpetrators. Most bullying took place in the school yard and in the classroom. In a more recent study with 300 primary and secondary school students attending 7 schools in one regional college in Malta, Askell Williams, Cefai and Fabri (2014) found that around one quarter to one half of students were involved in bullying in most grades, but fewer in Grades 8 and 10, with no apparent gender differences.

Romania. Curelaru et al. (2009) surveyed 1100 students aged 15-21 years in 35 schools in north-eastern Romania reported frequent bullying in various forms of physical, verbal and relational bullying, ranging from offence (17 %) to gun threatening (5 %), with more physical bullying amongst boys and relational bullying amongst girls. Another study by Beldean-Galea et al. (2010) with 264 students aged 1-14 years in one locality, found that 4 % of the students bullied others once a week or more during the previous 3 months and 41 % had been frequently bullied by other students once a week or more often during the previous 3 months.

Scandinavia. Scandinavia may be considered as the birthplace of the study of bullying in recent decades, with Olweus' work driving many studies on bullying not only in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, but across the world. According to the HBSC, these countries have a low level of bullying when compared to other European countries. For instance, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland have one of the lowest rates of bullying and victimisation in Europe, with Sweden being at the very bottom of the list in terms of both bullying and victimisation (Currie et al., 2012; Craig et al., 2009). This is supported by other studies carried out in these countries. In Finland a large-scale national school health survey is carried out every year amongst 8th and 9th-grade comprehensive school students and 1st and 2nd-grade upper secondary school and vocational school students (but it is not published in Finnish). Commenting on the 2007 report representing 82 % of all Finnish students in those grades, Luukonen (2010) reported that 10 % of the boys and 6 % of the girls reported being victims of bullying at least once a week, whereas 10 % of the boys and 3 % of the girls admitted to being bullies. Bully-victims accounted for 3 % of the boys and 1 % of the girls respectively. Comparison of the results for the years 2000 to 2007 showed that bullying in comprehensive schools had not decreased in any province within the country. Commenting on the same report for 2010, Lommi et al. (2011) similarly found that the prevalence in a region with one of the lowest rates of bullying was the same as it was when the survey started in 2000.

Spain. In Spain a national study on school bullying was carried out in 2000 and repeated in 2006–2007 to compare the changes over the 7 year period, examining student-reported bullying and victimisation, gender differences, and age increase/decrease; both reports are in Spanish (Defensor del Pueblo-UNICEF, 2000; 2007). Gutierrez et al. (2008) reported that the 2007 report shows a decrease in both victimisation and perpetration in certain types of bullying (relational), while in others it remained the same. In their study with a representative sample of 3000 students from 300 secondary schools in various regions of Spain, 18 % reported being the victim of one type of peer bullying, while 30 % were the victims of two types of bullying.

UK: The latest annual bullying survey 2015 is one of the most comprehensive studies of bullying amongst young people in the UK (DTF, 2015). It was carried out in 73 schools and colleges across the UK with over 4800 young people aged 13-20 years. Students completed the online survey between October 2014 and February 2015; the responses of 3023 participants were analysed. The survey reported that 50 % of young people had bullied another person – 30 % on a regular basis (at least once a week); while 43 % reported peer victimisation – 44 % on a regular basis. In the vast majority of cases, bullying was carried out by another student (98 %). 74 % of victims were physically attacked, 17 % sexually assaulted, and 62 % cyber bullied. 40 % reported being bullied for personal appearance, while 36 % mentioned body shape, size and weight. Young people with disability, LGBTI and from low

income backgrounds faced the highest risk of being bullied. As a result of bullying, 29 % self-harmed, 27 % skipped class, 14 % developed an eating disorder and 12 % ran away from home.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC PREVALENCE STUDIES FOR SPECIFIC GROUPS: SEND, MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES, LGBTI

Skär (2003) studied 12 adolescents aged 15-19 years with restricted mobility in northern Sweden. She reported that the 12 adolescents saw themselves as regular members of their peer group but that the members of the adolescent group saw them as being different, and relationships with peers were either dysfunctional or non-existent. In a more recent study with over 3800, 13-15-year-old adolescents in Sweden, Beckman (2013) found that students with disability were more likely to be bully-victims in both traditional bullying and cyberbullying.

A study carried out with sixth and seventh grade students in Austria, Strohmeier and Spiel (2007) examined the relationship between native Austrian students and students who had emigrated from former Yugoslavia, Turkey and Kurdistan areas. They reported that native Austrian children were nominated both as bullies and victims more frequently than the non-native children. Turkish-Kurdish immigrants were less likely to be accepted by peers and to have fewer friends than the other groups.

Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) studied the experience of bullying experience of both native Dutch and minority (Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese) students attending more than 80 middle schools in the Netherlands. They reported high levels of relational bullying against minorities, particularly Turkish children, with 42 % reporting name-calling and 30 % social exclusion; bullying increased with the higher percentage of native Dutch students attending the school.

Eslea and Mukhtar (2010) carried out a survey study with 243 minority children (Hindu, Indian Muslim and Pakistani) in Lancashire, England, asking them about their bullying experience at school. The children reported a high level of bullying amongst the three groups, with 57 % of boys and 43 % of girls saying they were bullied at school, but bullying was likely to be perpetrated by both white or other Asian children. The authors reported that bullying was more related to religious or cultural differences such as clothing.

In a nationwide survey in Irish primary and secondary schools, O'Moore et al. (1997) found that 7 % of girls and 9 % of boys at primary level and 5 % girls and 8 % boys at secondary level indicated that they were called names because of colour and race. In another nationwide survey with 5569 school children (2312 primary and 3257 secondary) in Ireland (2004–2005), Minton (2010) found that 6 % of girls and 13 % of boys at the primary level, and 7 % of girls and 11 % of boys at the secondary level, were called nasty names about their colour or race, with significant gender difference at both school levels.

A number of studies on racial bullying in Finland suggest that immigrants are at a higher risk of victimisation when compared to non-immigrant groups. Soilamo (2006) found that 3rd to 5th grade students in six schools in Turku reported to be at a higher risk of being isolated and being bullied. They were over-represented in victimisation, with bullying taking place on a regular basis for 9 % of 3rd grade students and 3 % of 5th grade students respectively. It was also found however, that the minority children were also more likely to be bullies themselves as well. In an ethnographic study of racism in the lives of children with transnational roots in Finland, their right to belong was often questioned because of their parental ties to other countries. Rastas (2007) similarly found that such children were at an increased risk of being bullied, particularly relational bullying, while Honkasalo et al. (2009) reported that racism in the form of ostracism, exclusion and discrimination was a common experience for young people with multicultural background in Finland, with girls experiencing more relational bullying and boys both physical and relational bullying.

The National School Climate Survey (GLSEN, 2014) is a large scale, nationwide study on the challenges faced by LGBTI students in the USA and on the prevalence of homophobic bullying in schools across the USA. An online survey was completed by 7898 students in grades 6 to 12 (13-21 years) from all states and from 2770 unique school districts. Of the sample 68 % was white, 44 % females, and 59 % LGBTI. The majority of LGBTI felt unsafe at school, routinely heard anti-LGBTI language (50 % to 70 %), consequently avoiding school activities (about 65 %) or attending schools as a result (30 % missed at least one day of school in the last month; 11 % four or more days). In the past year, 74 % reported that they were verbally harassed because of their sexual orientation and 55 % because

of their gender expression; 36 % were physically harassed because of their sexual orientation and 28 % because of their gender expression; 17 % were physically assaulted because of their sexual orientation and 11 % because of their gender expression; 49 % experienced cyberbullying. 56 % of LGBTI students reported personally experiencing LGBTI-related discriminatory policies or practices at school, while 65 % said other students had experienced these policies and practices at school. LGBTI students who experienced higher levels of victimisation because of their sexual orientation or gender expression, were more than three times as likely to have missed school in the past month as those who experienced lower levels. In 2013, LGBTI students experienced lower verbal and physical harassment based on sexual orientation than in all prior years, and lower physical assault based on sexual orientation since 2007.

In Ireland, Minton et al. (2008) conducted an exploratory survey of the experience of homophobic bullying amongst 123 LGBTI young people at school. They found that 50 % of the students had been bullied at school within the last three months because of their sexual orientation (Minton et al., 2008). When they compared the proportion of bullied students with that of the overall post primary students in Ireland, they concluded that secondary school LGBTI students are likely to experience homophobic bullying and can be considered as an at risk population. In a more recent study with 561 2nd grade and 475 5th grade students attending six schools in various regions of Ireland, Minton (2014) found that no age-related decline was found in reports of homophobic bullying, with males more likely to be involved in homophobic bullying (both perpetration and victimisation). And in another study with over 1000 students in Ireland, 58 % had reported that homophobic bullying existed at their school; 5 % had left school because of such bullying (Mayock et al., 2009).

Galan et al. (2009) refer to three studies carried out on LBGT bullying in Spanish schools, namely a study in 2005 using a multidisciplinary approach in secondary schools in Madrid; a small survey of LGBTI young people social networking in 2006, and survey with 4500 high school students in two Spanish towns in 2007. The three studies confirmed that homophobia was an issue amongst young people in Spain and that most students still consider school not to be a safe place for LGBTI people.

A survey amongst LGBTI young people who had attended schools in the previous three years in Belgium, reported that 48 % had experienced teasing and ridicule, 39 % name calling, 36 % social isolation and 21 % intimidation (UNESCO, 2012). In a study carried out in the Netherlands in 2001, 35 % of LGBTI students reported that they never or seldom felt safe at school compared with just 6 % of students in general (UNESCO, 2012). In Hungary, 49 % of LGBTI respondents have encountered discrimination and bullying at school; over 90 % of them were targeted by fellow students (Takács et al., 2008).

Finally, a large scale survey on bullying and sexual orientation was carried out with over 3000 students in Norway (Roland and Auestad, 2009). A total of 3046 10th grade students (17-18 years) were asked whether they were bullied in the last 2 to 3 months. The responses showed that 48 % of homosexual males and 24 % of bisexual males (in contrast to just 7 % of heterosexual males) reported they had been bullied. For the females, 18 % of homosexual girls and 12 % of bisexual girls, in contrast to 6 % of heterosexual girls, reported victimisation in the past months. Depression and anxiety were higher amongst bisexual and homosexual students than they were amongst heterosexual students, and higher amongst bullied students than amongst non-bullied students.

ANNEX 2. UNIVERSAL PREVENTION: WHOLE SCHOOL AND CURRICULAR ISSUES

BOX 22. MindMatters Whole-School Programme Integrated into Health Promotion Networks: A German Example

A whole school approach, given emphasis in some German contexts, is MindMatters. MindMatters was developed in Australia in the late 1990s and adapted for German-speaking countries in 29 schools in Germany and 3 schools in Switzerland. It consists of eight modules promoting mental health, one of them a specific bullying-prevention module (Michaelsen-Gärtner and Witteriede, 2009).

MindMatters is a whole school programme including all school personnel, pupils and parents for systematic and sustainable school development. Two different areas are addressed for the prevention of bullying: the people involved (personal competences like knowledge, skills and strategies) and school structures (school culture and atmosphere in class) (Michaelsen-Gärtner and Witteriede, 2009). Measures are taken on all three levels (school, class and individual), with the school level as the main focus: building a MindMatters school team, conducting a pre- and post-survey, advancing empathy and respect, improving the design of class rooms and schoolyard, establishing support systems for pupils, advancing responsiveness and helpfulness of teachers, conducting teacher trainings and more.

For the first part of the study, 37 teachers, 435 pupils and 17 principals were surveyed (Michaelsen-Gärtner and Witteriede, 2009). Overall, the programme was favourably regarded. For the outcome evaluation, a pre-post-design was conducted in 2004 and 2005, questioning 633 teachers and 4019 pupils. The programme showed significant changes in school quality and communication from the teachers' perspective, as well as increased commitment of teachers, clear rules, better school climate; it also improved mental health (psychosomatic com-plaints, negative feelings and stress) from the pupils' perspective, although the effect sizes were small. The effect of the programme was significantly influenced by two factors: participation in school-specific training and the integration into health promotion networks (Michaelsen-Gärtner and Witteriede, 2009). However, analysis of the actual change of bullying behaviour prevalence is not directly addressed, which is crucial for judging the effect of the programme for current purposes.

BOX 23. Examples of Ineffective, Counterproductive Approaches to School Bullying Prevention

Nickerson et al.'s review (2013) highlights, ineffective and counterproductive approaches include:

- Using threats or public put-downs to discourage the bullying perpetrator is detrimental and can lead to knock-on consequences (Macklem 2003).

- Zero tolerance approaches for even minor rule violations is contraindicated (American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Scherer and Nicker-son 2010). Morrison (2007) argues that not only does zero tolerance fail to work, it also promotes intolerance and discrimination, since such a policy works to discriminate against a minority of pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties and fails to meet children's rights in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989).

- Suspension and expulsion tends to disproportionately impact upon racial or minority groups (Gregory et al., 2010; Skiba et al., 1997).

TABLE 7. Types of social and emotional skills covered in national education systems objectives

Countries	General social and emotional skills	Social and emotional skills related to specific categories		
		Achieving goals	Working with others	Managing emotions
Austria				Implicitly
Belgium (Fr)				
Belgium (Fl)				
Czech Republic		Implicitly	Implicitly	Implicitly
Denmark				
Estonia				
Finland		Implicitly	Implicitly	Implicitly
France		Implicitly	Implicitly	Implicitly
Germany (Nth Rhine-Westphalia) [22]				
Greece		Implicitly	Implicitly	Implicitly
Hungary				Implicitly
Ireland				
Italy		Implicitly	Implicitly	Implicitly
Luxembourg		Implicitly	Implicitly	
Netherland		Implicitly	Implicitly	Implicitly
Norway		Implicitly	Implicitly	Implicitly
Poland		Implicitly	Implicitly	Implicitly
Portugal	Implicitly			
Slovak Republic				
Slovenia		Implicitly		
Spain			Implicitly	
Sweden		Implicitly		Implicitly
Switzerland (Canton of Zurich)				Implicitly
United Kingdom		Implicitly	Implicitly	Implicitly

Source: OECD, 2015.

Specifically stated

Implicitly stated

[22] For Canada, Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom [and the US] in which curricula are set by subnational governments, the information presented in this table reflects the status of the most populous subnational entity in each of these countries

TABLE 8. Types of social and emotional skills covered in national curriculum frameworks

Countries	General social and emotional skills	Social and emotional skills related to specific categories		
		Achieving goals	Working with others	Managing emotions
Austria				
Belgium (Fr)				
Belgium (Fl)				
Czech Republic				
Denmark	▨	▨	▨	▨
Estonia				
Finland				
France				
Germany (Nth Rhine-Westphalia) [23]	▨			▨
Greece				◼
Hungary				
Ireland				
Italy				
Luxembourg				
Netherland				
Norway				
Poland				
Portugal	◼	◼	◼	◼
Slovak Republic				
Slovenia				
Spain			◼	◼
Sweden				◼
Switzerland (Canton of Zurich)	▨	▨	▨	▨
United Kingdom	▨	▨	▨	▨

Source: OECD, 2015.

Legend:
- (light) Specifically stated
- (▨ medium) Curriculum framework not available or not identified by the OECD Secretariat
- (◼ dark) Specifically stated

[23] For Canada, Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom [and the US] in which curricula are set by subnational governments, the information presented in this table reflects the status of the most populous subnational entity in each of these countries

ANNEX 3. BOUNDARIES BETWEEN EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Table 9 highlights the strong boundaries that typically pervade decision-making between education and health ministries in EU Member States.

TABLE 9.   Cross Government Cooperation on ELET (Early Leaving from Education and Training): Policy Areas Working with Education at Central/Top-Level, 2013/2014

Country	Social affairs	Health
BE (FR)		
BE (DE)		
BE (NL)		
BG		
CZ		
DK		
DE		
EE	∞	∞
IE		
EL		
ES		
FR		
HR	∞	
IT		
CY		
LV		
LT		
LU		
HU		
MT		
NL		
AT		
PL		
PT		
RO		
SI		
SK		
FI		
SE		
UK (1)		
UK (SCT)		
CH		
IS		
LI		
NO		
TR		

Source: Extracted from European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice/CEDEFOP (2014, p.68).

There is a tradition of cross-government cooperation at central/top-level

Cooperation mechanisms are being tested within projects)

Cooperation mechanisms exist/are being developed

Other policy areas are involved but cooperation mechanisms are not yet established

∞ = No comprehensive strategy/no specific ELET policies/measures

UK (1) = UK – ENG/WLS/NIR

TABLE 10. Professionals Involved in Tackling ELET (Early Leaving from Education and Training) at School and Community Level, 2013/14: Psychologists, Speech and Language Therapists

Country	Psychologists	SLTs
BE (FR)		
BE (DE)		
BE (NL)		
BG		
CZ		
DK		
DE		
EE	∞	∞
IE		
EL		
ES		
FR		
HR	∞	∞
IT		
CY		
LV		
LT		
LU		
HU		
MT		
NL		
AT		
PL		
PT		
RO		
SI		
SK		
FI		
SE		
UK (1)		
UK (SCT)		
CH		
IS		
LI		
NO		
TR		

Source: Extracted from European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice/CEDEFOP (2014, p.73/74).

Notes:

Legal obligation/basis to form partnerships

Development of partnerships within projects

Institutionalised partnership practice

Professionals are involved but partnership practice is not yet well established

	∞ = No comprehensive strategy/no specific ELET policies/measures
	UK (1) = UK − ENG/WLS/NIR

ANNEX 4. SCHOOL CLIMATE AND SOCIOECONOMIC EXCLUSION

TABLE 11. Percentage of Socioeconomically Disadvantaged Students who Agree/Disagree with the Following Statements: School Belonging and Feeling Like an Outsider (from PISA 2012, Table III.2.3c)

Countries	I feel like I belong at school, % Agree (S.E)	I feel like an outsider (or left out of things at school), % Disagree (S.E)
Austria	82 (1.6)	89.9 (1.1)
Belgium	63.5 (1.6)	88.4 (1.0)
Czech Republic	73.6 (1.9)	80.5 (1.6)
Denmark	69.3 (1.6)	90.3 (1.0)
Estonia	78.2 (1.8)	90.0 (1.3)
Finland	80.5 (1.1)	89.2 (1.0)
France	38 (1.7)	73.2 (1.8)
Germany	83.8 (1.6)	89.7 (1.4)
Greece	87.8 (1.2)	83.9 (1.4)
Hungary	83.5 (1.1)	85.6 (1.6)
Ireland	76.7 (1.5)	91.6 (1.0)
Italy	75 (0.9)	89.3 (0.6)
Luxembourg	71.9 (1.7)	85.9 (1.2)
The Netherlands	82.4 (1.7)	89.8 (1.3)
Norway	83.5 (1.5)	89.1 (1.0)
Poland	73.2 (1.8)	88.2 (1.3)
Portugal	87.9 (1.2)	87.4 (1.5)
Slovak Republic	75.4 (1.8)	74.0 (2.3)
Slovenia	83.7 (1.7)	89.0 (1.2)
Spain	92.1 (0.7)	90.1 (1.0)
Sweden	74.8 (1.9)	87.0 (1.3)
United Kingdom	74.9 (1.5)	86.9 (1.1)
OECD Average	78.1 (0.3)	86.2 (0.2)

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