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The Cognitive and Social Determinants of Bystander Intervention:
Techniques to Increase Helping Behavior in Bullying Situations

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April 2010

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my parents for instilling in me the belief that every child deserves an educational experience in which they are able to excel academically, socially and emotionally without the fear of being bullied.

Abstract

This paper examines the role of the bystander in bullying situations. Through a review of the theories and research on school bullying, it is argued that targeting bystanders is a more effective means of decreasing the prevalence of bullying. Researchers have observed the presence of bystanders in the majority of bullying situations. Additionally, studies have shown that most students maintain anti-bullying attitudes. The frequency of bystander interventions is quite low, however, and consequently the negative effects of bullying, to the bully, the victim and the bystander, remain substantial. Working from a theoretical grounding in prosocial development and models of bystander intervention, it is believed that a more multifaceted approach is necessary to ensure bystander intervention. Through the use of cognitive learning strategies in conjunction with social and behavioral reinforcements, it is argued that bystander intervention can be increased in bullying episodes.

Introduction

On April 20th, 1999 two students entered their local public high school and embarked on a shooting spree. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold killed 12 students, one teacher and injured 21 others before taking their own lives. After the attack, researchers and civilians alike attempted to determine what provoked such a horrific act of violence. One of their proposed theories was bullying. Harris and Klebold were apparently victims of bullying at Columbine High School and had decided to take revenge on the students who had once tortured them. This news brought school bullying to the forefront of political and educational debates. This paper intends to review the psychological literature on prosocial behavior as a framework to understand bullying from the role of the bystander. In understanding the context of bullying situations and the factors that influence the decision to intervene, I aim to provide techniques to increase bystander intervention in schools.

A study conducted by the United States Department of Health and Human Services reported that between 1974 and 2000, an alarming 71% of school shooters had been victims of bullying (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001, in Espelage & Swearer, 2003). Two years after the Columbine attacks, a report by the National Resource Center for Safe Schools (2001) reported that 30% of students in the United States are involved in bullying episodes, either as bullies, victims or both (Rock, Hammon, & Rasmussen, 2004). To understand it in a different way, researchers observing classrooms have noted that an average of 2.4 bullying episodes occur per hour within American classrooms (Craig, Pepler & Atlas, 2000; Frey, Hirschstein, & Edstrom, 2009).

A 2001 study conducted by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development examined bullying behaviors of 15,686 American students in sixth through tenth

grade. Results indicated that 29.9% of students were frequently involved in bullying situations, with 13% as a bully, 10.6% as a victim and 6% alternating between the two roles (Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton & Scheidt, 2001). Given the results, the survey estimates that over 1.6 million students are bullied on what was termed a “frequent” basis—at least once per week. Such rates are highly disturbing, as bullying has been found to be quite detrimental beyond the immediate physical injuries. Nansel et al. (2001) reported that being a victim of bullying was positively associated with lower academic achievement, poorer relationships with classmates, increased levels of loneliness, and cigarette smoking.

These findings have been supported in subsequent works such that victims of bullying have been found to demonstrate a reduction in classroom participation and an increase in school avoidance (Buhs, Ladd & Herald, 2006, cited in Frey et al. 2009). Furthermore, longitudinal studies report that being a victim of bullying is a significant predictor of poor academic performance even a year later (Nishina, Juvonen & Witkow, 2005, cited in Frey et al., 2009). As bullying episodes are often consistent and repeated, this work is especially troubling and indicates a long-term risk in success across victims’ academic career. In addition to the academic consequences of being bullied, research now indicates a loss of self-esteem and confidence, an increase in psychosomatic symptoms such as headaches and stomach aches, feelings of alienation, depression, and increased levels of anxiety and suicidal thinking as psychological and social consequences (Rigby, 2008). In one Australian study, 75% of students that that were being bullied at least once per week reported feeling miserable and angry about their social condition (Rigby, 2008).

However, in addition to the obvious effects on victims, bullying behavior has also been shown to be quite detrimental to the bullies themselves. Reports indicate that being a bully is

associated with lower academic achievement and increased cigarette smoking and alcohol use (Nansel et al., 2001; Pepler, Craig, Connolly & Henderson, 2002, cited in Frey et al., 2005). One study even found a significant correlation between bullying behavior in schools and abusive behavior in romantic relationships later in life (Connolly, Pepler, Craig & Taradash, 2000). Although these associations could be due to the presence of a third variable, such as deviant peers, they still demonstrate the severity of bullying for all participants.

A third, and often-overlooked, person involved in bullying situations is the bystander. Through observations, researchers have found that peers are present anywhere between 80 and 99% of bullying situations (Frey et al., 2005; O'Connell, Pepler & Craig, 1999; Pepler & Craig, 1998). Witnessing bullying has been associated with future aggressive behavior in children (O'Connell, et al., 1999). Bystanders have also been identified as secondary victims to bullying as not intervening, either due to fear or an inability, has been associated with strong feelings of guilt (Orpinas & Horne, 2005). When questioned, bystanders generally report anti-bullying attitudes and beliefs, however they rarely intervene (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). In doing so, they inadvertently contribute to the problem by acting as a passive reinforcer, in that their lack of action encourages the bully to continue.

O'Connell, Pepler and Craig (1999) observed video recordings of actual bullying situations in order to better determine the role that bystanders play in bullying episodes. They watched 53 video segments, averaging 79.4 seconds, of elementary school children aged five to twelve. They found that 20.7% of the time bystanders encouraged aggressive behavior by physically or verbally joining the bully and that 53.9% of the time bystanders passively reinforced the bully by continuing to watch while not intervening. It was only 25.4% of the time that peers actively supported the bullying by directly intervening, distracting the bully or

generally discouraging the aggression. Moreover, they found a significant correlation between number of peers present and the duration of the bullying episode such that as the number of peers increased so did the length of the bullying episode. Other studies that have examined bystander behaviors in bullying situations have estimated an intervention rate as low as 11% (Craig & Pepler, 1997, cited in Frey et al., 2005). These results clearly indicate that even the passive presence of bystanders has drastic effects on bullying situations. What is encouraging, however, is that a later study reported that when bystanders do choose to intervene they are usually effective in their efforts. Hawkins, Pepler and Craig (2001, cited in Frey et al., 2005) reported a 57% success rate in their observations of bullying interventions and observed that bullying stopped in an average of ten seconds after the intervention occurred.

Despite similarities among the dynamics of bullying scenarios, the reasons that certain children choose to bully are quite different and can be a combination of both internal and external causes. However, researchers have been able to identify certain characteristics and experiences as risk factors for engaging in bullying behaviors. For instance, Bosworth et al. (1999) studied 558 middle school students and found that anger was the strongest predictor of bullying. Other studies have identified depression (Austin & Joseph, 1996, cited in Espelage & Swearer, 2003), anxiety (Duncan, 1999, cited in Espelage & Swearer, 2003) and experiences of family violence (Thornberry, 1994, cited in Espelage & Swearer, 2003) as predictive factors. There exist, however, many bullies that do not exhibit any of these characteristics.

In an Australian survey of secondary school students, individuals were asked why they engaged in bullying behaviors. The most common responses were “they annoyed me” and “to get even” (Rigby, 2008). Such responses indicate that bullies may often feel justified in their actions. Additionally, 30% of boys and 20% of girls studied gave “for fun” as the reason they

chose to bully other children (Rigby, 2008). In that way, the causes of bullying behavior are dynamic and individual in nature. It is because of such reasons that a more effective means of addressing bullying in schools is through the development of bystander interventions. In targeting bystanders, with the intention of increasing prosocial helping behaviors, educators may be able to effectively decrease the prevalence of bullying episodes in schools. Studies show that the majority of children generally have anti-bullying attitudes (Rigby & Johnson, 2006; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). Yet as previously mentioned, there is a very low rate of bystander intervention. Developing and harnessing anti-bullying attitudes is a way to increase bystander intervention and reduce the overall prevalence of bullying in schools.

In addition to the immediate benefit of stopping the bullying episode, prosocial behavior is an important skill to develop in children, as it is often predictive of later academic achievements and social success. A longitudinal study showed that sharing behavior in preschool was significantly predictive of prosocial behavior 19 years later (Eisenberg, Guthrie, Murphy, Shepard, Cumberland & Carlo, 1999). Additionally, prosocial children are more likely to demonstrate interest in schoolwork, work independently, take turns, pay attention to teachers, listen, and stay on task (McClelland & Morrison, 2003, cited in Ramaswamy & Bergin, 2009). As such, prosocial children have been found to score higher on school readiness tests (Palermo et al., 2007, cited in Ramaswamy & Bergin, 2009) and have higher test scores from 1st grade through to high school (Caprara, Barbaranelli, Pastorelli, Bandura, & Zimbardo, 2000; Miles & Stipek, 2006; Wentzel, 1993 in Ramaswamy & Bergin, 2009). Such results are to be expected as academic achievement is dependent upon positive relationships with teachers and peers, as well as an active and cooperative engagement within the classroom. Unsurprisingly, research has shown that prosocial children are viewed as more popular with both peers and teachers from

preschool through secondary school (Ladd & Burgess, 2003). These findings suggest that the development of prosocial behavior should be a priority among educators and parents as it may lead to individual benefits that extend beyond prosocial acts. In the realm of school bullying, developing prosociality in children is an effective intervention strategy to decrease the prevalence of bullying.

Theory and Research on School Bullying

The development of psychological and sociological research on bullying has led to a more specific and universal definition. As a result, researchers have attempted to further distinguish between various forms of bullying. Originally, bullying was considered to be solely a physical and direct attack on an individual. As research on this topic has expanded, it has become necessary to distinguish between certain types of bullying. One such distinction has been made between direct and indirect bullying. *Direct* bullying consists of a direct attack, whether physical or verbal, on a particular individual (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Rigby, 2008).

Verbally threatening behavior, such as name-calling, teasing or insulting language, is an example of direct bullying despite the lack of physical aggression. *Indirect* bullying, conversely, includes a third party yet can similarly consist of both physical and verbal aggression (Espelage and Swearer, 2003; O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999; Rigby, 2008). Examples of indirect bullying include rumor spreading, ostracizing others, and manipulating peers to insult or abuse others (Rigby, 2008).

In addition to the distinction between direct and indirect types of bullying, it is also important to distinguish between relational and physical forms of bullying. *Physical* bullying consists of physical violence enacted towards another. Acts of physical violence include hitting, kicking, and using weapons against another individual (Rigby, 2008). On the other hand,

relational bullying, is behavior intended to damage a relationship. Relational aggression is most commonly verbal in nature and consists of manipulative social behaviors such as rumor spreading and social exclusion (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Rigby, 2008). It should be noted that each type of bullying is not mutually exclusive as it is quite possible to engage in more than one kind at once (see Figure 1). However, delineating bullying behaviors as such is helpful when conducting observations and attempting to determine risk factors and trends. Although it was originally believed that physical and direct bullying were most common, recent literature has found increased prevalence of relational and indirect bullying, specifically in girls (Espelage & Swearer, 2003).

As outlined above, there has been much change and progress in the development of a proper definition of bullying. There has been a move from the solely physical sense of the word to include the ways in which bullying can have social and emotional objectives as well. However, a consistent trend has been the emphasis on power within bullying situations. Researchers and educational theorists argue that bullying occurs when there is a misuse of a power imbalance (Olweus, 1993; Rigby, 2008). Using an inclusive definition of bullying, these power imbalances can be more than simply an imbalance in physical strength but also of perceived social power. This paper is working from the definition of bullying put forth by Frey et al. (2005). They define bullying as “the exploitation of power imbalances in order to dominate and harm others physically, socially or emotionally” (Frey et al., 2009, pg. 479).

In previous sections of the paper, individual risk factors for bullying were considered. However, in addition to the individual determinants, in order to fully understand the phenomenon of bullying it is essential to understand bullying within the social context of the school. Most bullying behaviors occurs in educational settings and schools are viewed as an

effective site for intervention as there is an assumed amount of situational control (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). A significant risk factor for bullying behavior in schools is a lack of adult awareness (O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999). Multiple studies have documented that teachers tend to report lower prevalence rates of bullying than do students (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Stockdale, Hangaduambo, Duys, Larson & Sarvela, 2002). Additionally, there is a significant correlation established between schools without institutional support systems intended to prevent bullying and heightened prevalence rates (O'Connell, Pepler & Craig, 1999). As previously mentioned, one of the most significant predictors and perpetrators of bullying situations is destructive bystander behavior. Both actively encouraging and passively witnessing bullying behaviors have been shown to enhance bullying rates (O'Connell, Pepler & Craig, 1999).

The psychological literature on school bullying shows certain trends in regards to age and biological sex. Studies have shown that as children age, their intentions and attitudes become more supportive of aggressive behaviors and bullies themselves (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). In their study on the intersection between attitudes, group norms and bullying behavior, Salmivalli and Voeten (2004) found that group norms in 6th grade classrooms were significantly more supportive of bullying than group norms in both 4th and 5th grade. Not surprisingly, other studies have documented that bystander intervention is significantly more likely to occur in younger than older children (Rigby & Johnson, 2006). Theorists posit this shift in behavior as a result of the increasing role of the peer group in adolescence (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004).

Another area of particular interest within the bullying literature is the influence of sex differences on bullying behaviors and bystander interventions. It was previously believed that the prevalence of aggressive behavior, in general, was much higher in boys than girls (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Nansel et al., 2001). However, researchers have recently begun to look at the

different forms that aggression can take. One type of aggression that is more commonly attributed to females is relational aggression, similar to relational bullying, which refers to a socially manipulative attack against a particular target (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). Recent studies have found that the significant difference in aggressive behavior between girls and boys no longer exists when more covert forms of aggression are measured (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). Researchers propose that certain types of aggression are more common in each sex based upon society's social expectations of the two (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). For example, girls are expected to be more relational in general and consequently their aggression is manifested in such environments. These societal standards also have an effect on the motivation to bully as girls are more influenced by the social context in bullying situations (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). However, in boys, personality factors are more predictive of bullying behavior than a particular social environment (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004).

Models of Prosocial Development

In order to more fully examine the issue of bystander intervention in school bullying episodes, it is essential to understand the developmental trajectory of moral reasoning within children and how it relates to their cognitive abilities. One such theory is based on the work of Lawrence Kohlberg. Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development (1976) progress from purely hedonistic reasoning to a more internalized type of moral reasoning. His first level of stages are what he terms the *preconventional* or *premoral* stages. Here the child is aware of certain rules and societal standards, but views them solely in regards to the rewards or consequences to him or herself. The next level, the *conventional* level, is when the child understands the moral values and is strongly tied to maintaining what he or she perceives as a societal standard. Finally, the last level, *postconventional*, is when individuals internalize moral values and shared norms and

are able to engage in an internal assessment of morality. Although Kohlberg's theory is widely used in discussing prosocial development, it has been criticized for focusing too deeply on moral reasoning and fails to adequately make the leap from cognition to behavior. Additionally, in specific regards to bystander intervention in bullying situations, it seems to be too far removed from the thoughts of the individual himself and is more a reflection of the individual's internalization of certain societal values. As such, the present analysis stems from a theoretical grounding in the work of Nancy Eisenberg.

Eisenberg's Five Levels of Prosocial Reasoning (1979) has become a widely accepted framework within the psychological literature on the development of moral reasoning. Much of Eisenberg's work is derived from her empirical research in which she assessed children's moral judgments in relation to their actual observable behavior. In a 1979 experiment, Eisenberg examined 125 boys and girls from 2nd through 12th grade. She presented each child with a dilemma that consisted of a tension between the wants and needs of the story's protagonist with the wants and needs of another individual. The student was then made to decide what the main character's actions should be and provide the experimenter with the reasoning behind his or her choice. Such stories were used to activate the moral reasoning within individuals. From such experiments, Eisenberg created her framework, which begins in a highly egotistical moral view and moves towards one that is more socially influenced.

The first level of prosocial reasoning is what Eisenberg terms the *self-focused orientation*. In this stage, individuals, mostly of preschool age, base their prosocial decisions solely on what consequences and benefits will incur for themselves. For example, children may decide not to intervene in a bullying situation out of fear of hurting themselves. In the self-

focused orientation, the child would make this decision without considering the viewpoint of the victim.

In the second level, *needs-based orientation*, children start to become concerned with the physical and psychological needs of others despite the contradiction with their own needs. However, in this stage, children lack self-reflection and have difficulty taking the perspectives of others and offering verbal sympathy. This stage is most often characteristic of children in early elementary school. To apply this to bystander intervention, a child in the needs-based orientation may intervene but would do so without an understanding of the consequences for him or herself.

Stereotypes orientation, the third level in Eisenberg's framework, is when children base their decision to help based upon stereotypes of good or bad people and behaviors. The approval and social acceptance of others begin to factor into the decision making process and provide justification after a particular behavior is chosen. This stereotyped orientation is most prevalent in older elementary students. In relation to bullying and bystander intervention, this theoretical framework works to provide some explanation for the reasons that bystander intervention is more prominent within elementary school as students may be basing their decision to intervene on behavioral stereotypes of "good" or "bad" children.

Level 4a, the *self-reflective empathetic orientation*, occurs most frequently in middle school students. It is when individuals begin to engage in active role-taking during the decision process. Furthermore, the behaviors begin to have more substantial emotional consequences. For example, in a bullying situation, an individual who takes the perspective of the victim, yet still does not intervene, may be left with feelings of guilt. The next stage, Level 4b, is what Eisenberg terms the *transitional level*. This stage is when individuals begin to incorporate larger societal norms, such as justice, into their decision-making process. A child in this stage may

intervene in a bullying situation because he or she feels that such an act is representative of a societal value. At this point, individuals have internalized some values yet their beliefs are not fully developed.

It is in the final stage, the *strongly internalized stage*, when decisions are made in reference to one's own value system and justification is based on norms that the individual has accepted and incorporated into his or her own sense of identity. For a student in this stage, the decision to intervene will be based on how such an act fits into his or her larger self-concept. Eisenberg found that this level is most often only achieved in late high school or adulthood (Eisenberg-Berg, 1979).

The development paths put forth by both Eisenberg and Kohlberg represent a similar shift from a self-focused orientation to one that is based on a set of internalized norms. Also, both frameworks rely heavily on cognitive abilities and follow a progression that mirrors cognitive development (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989). For example, without the ability to take the perspective of another child, it is impossible to factor another's wants or needs into one's decision-making process. To relate this concept to bystander intervention in bullying situations, until a child can take the perspective of a victim, he or she will not feel the urgency to intervene. Eisenberg and Kohlberg also emphasize the change from a simple reasoning paradigm that only takes the individual into account to a more social paradigm that attempts to incorporate the needs and beliefs of many. The key difference then, is that Eisenberg uses her paradigm to evaluate the location of each individual in regards to his or her own cognitive and moral development, whereas Kohlberg views the development in light of the individual's acceptance and internalization of society's moral values and statuses.

In one of the original studies on prosocial behavior in children, Eisenberg (1979) observed 35 preschoolers, aged 48-63 months, in order to determine the relationship between moral reasoning and prosocial behavior. Observations were conducted both in the classroom and on the playground over a 6-11 week period. Children's prosocial behavior was coded into four categories—sharing, helping, offering comfort and acting sociably. In order to measure the relationship between prosocial behaviors and moral reasoning, children were presented with short stories that required them to make some kind of moral judgment. One such story was the following:

One day a girl named Mary was going to a friend's birthday party. On her way she saw a girl who had fallen down and hurt her leg. The girl asked Mary to go to her house and get her parents so the parents could come and take her to a doctor. But if Mary did run and get the child's parents, she would be late to the birthday party and miss the ice cream, cake and all the games. What should Mary do? Why?

Responses to this prompt varied from ones that were quite egotistical to ones that were more appreciative of the condition of the other child. Researchers found that sharing behavior was positively correlated with needs-oriented reasoning (e.g. would help the other child because "their legs hurt" (Eisenberg, 1979, pg. 359)), and negatively correlated with hedonistic reasoning (e.g. would go to the party because he "likes games" (Eisenberg, 1979, pg. 359)). This study effectively supports the association between moral reasoning and prosocial behavior. Additionally, it demonstrates the relevance of using a framework of moral reasoning to think about why bystanders choose to intervene or not in situations of bullying.

Models of Bystander Intervention

As previously stated, bullying most often occurs within a social context. Whether in the classroom or on the playground, bystanders are usually present and influence the situation as passive or active participants. Researchers Latané and Darley (1970) have proposed the

Decision Model of Bystander Intervention as a means of explaining the process of bystander intervention. The beginning steps in their model require the individual to notice the event and then interpret the situation as one that requires help. They posit that clear and explicit cues of distress (e.g., screaming) are most helpful in helping bystanders interpret the event (Latané & Darley, 1970; Schroeder, 1995). Additionally, if cues are unclear, research shows that individuals then rely on the behavior of other bystanders for information on how to behave. The next step in their model is for the bystander to assume personal responsibility. After the assumption of responsibility, the individual then needs to choose a way to help and then implement that decision. They theorize that removing uncertainty from a situation is an essential aspect in increasing intervention behaviors as ambiguous situations lead individuals to rely more heavily on social information provided by other bystanders.

An additional model used to explain bystander intervention is the *Cost-Reward Model of Helping Behavior*. Proposed by Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner and Clark (1981), the *Cost-Reward Model* is based on two distinct processes. The first step is the physical arousal that occurs in response to the needs or distress of another individual. This is primarily an emotional response that acts as the motivational factor to intervene (Dovidio, 1984). The second stage of this model is the analysis of the costs and rewards of both action and inaction. This is a cognitive process that consists of the individual weighing the anticipated costs and rewards in order to make a decision. Although these two components often seem theoretically different, they are connected in actuality as certain situational aspects that affect arousal also influence the perception of perceived costs and rewards (Dovidio, 1984). Additionally, the recognition of certain costs can continue to enhance the arousal. For instance, in regards to bullying, the acknowledgement of the magnitude of potential harm to a peer may work to further arouse the bystander. This model

rests on the assumption that the individual is negatively aroused by the event to such an extent that he or she wishes to decrease that feeling of discomfort. If the arousal fails to reach that state of unpleasantness than the individual will lack motivation to intervene. In this model, the action works to reduce the unpleasant feelings of arousal. Moreover, the individual will act in such a way reduces arousal with the most benefits and the least amount of costs.

Techniques to Increase Bystander Intervention

As both the Cost-Reward Model and the Decision Model illustrate, bystander intervention is based on the intersection of both cognitive and social behavioral decisions. As such, strategies to increase bystander interventions in bullying situations must integrate the two domains. Past interventions have been too focused on addressing individual determinants of bullying behavior and have failed to understand bullying as it truly exists, within a larger social context. A more effective mechanism of change would be to target both the individual bystander and also the social environment to which they are apart. Therefore, it is in incorporating techniques that target both individual cognition and larger social situations that will likely be most effective at increasing bystander intervention in bullying scenarios.

Cognitive Techniques

Perspective-Taking

Children are known to be primarily egocentric beings such that they are often unable to take the perspective of another individual (Piaget, cited in Ginsburg & Opper, 1969). Piaget theorized that it is only around age 7 that children naturally gain the ability to de-center and begin to understand the viewpoints of other people. As such, it becomes important to understand the ways that different perspectives interact with the choices that children make in regards to bullying situations. For example, a young bully who is not yet able to take the perspective of

another child may not fully understand the distress and pain that he or she is causing with his or her actions. Additionally, Piaget posits that children do not develop the ability to understand abstract concepts until they are about 12 years old. Therefore, the consequences of an act like teasing, which are often hurt feelings, are difficult for children who struggle with abstract thought, to understand.

A recent study from Brazil examined different demographic and individual differences to see which variables would predict prosocial moral judgment and prosocial behavior in adolescents (Eisenberg, Zhou, & Koller, 2001). One hundred and forty-nine Brazilian adolescents filled out self-report questionnaires in an attempt to understand the relationship between, among other things, prosocial moral judgment, prosocial behavior and perspective-taking. It was found that perspective-taking abilities were predictive of both prosocial moral judgment and prosocial behavior itself. Although the directionality here is unclear, such that prosocial moral judgment and behavior could lead to an increase in perspective taking abilities, it is necessary to appreciate the association in relation to bystander intervention. This lends support to the idea that engaging in activities that enhance perspective-taking skills in children is a useful exercise as it could later inform behavioral decisions.

Role-Playing

Researchers believe that role-playing activities are a way for young students to work from concrete situations to understand multiple perspectives (Jones, 1991). Creative dramatic experiences provide children with the opportunity to move from a concrete to a more abstract situation. Researchers believe that if children are able to understand the perspectives of different characters in a story then that might enhance their ability to do so in similar real-life situations.

Role-taking also allows children the opportunity to practice acceptable modes of expressing themselves in a way that is controlled and safe (Jones, 1991).

One case study attempted to examine how perspective-taking activities worked as an intervention designed to reduce aggressive behaviors in two 4-year old girls enrolled in a public pre-kindergarten program (Jones, 1991). Four kinds of aggression were measured—physical violence, verbal violence, defiance and passive aggression. Passive aggression, probably the most ambiguous type, refers to behavior that is stubborn and passively manipulative, like delaying or performing a task inefficiently. As an intervention method, the teachers read fairy tales, such as *The Ugly Ducking*, and had the children act out the story as a play. The children did this 12 times for an hour each time. The prediction was that as children acted out the different characters they would enhance their perspective-taking skills and empathetic emotions. In increasing feelings of empathy, researchers predicted that aggressive behaviors would decrease. Ultimately, the intervention was effective as aggressive behaviors decreased in both girls. As empathy can be an important factor in the decision to defend in a bullying situation, it is important to think about the methods and efficacy of this intervention in relation to bystander intervention.

Induction

The goal of increasing perspective-taking abilities is to help children understand the viewpoint of the victim such that they are better understanding of the need to intervene. One such method of increasing perspective-taking skills in children is *induction*. Induction is a form of cognitive reasoning that helps children understand standards of behavior by encouraging them to think about how others feel as a result of their actions. Additionally, it is often used as a way of developing empathy in children as it enables the assumption of another's point of view (Jones,

1991). Specifically, induction is defined as “a form of discipline in which children are given reasons for their misbehavior” (Ramaswamy & Bergin, 2009, pg. 528). In victim-centered induction the adult explains to the child how his or her behavior made the other child feel. For example, in a bullying situation, the teacher may tell the bully not only that bullying is wrong but also that it is so because it makes other children feel miserable and devalued. It has been shown that children who are disciplined with induction are more likely to be prosocial, empathetic and kind (Paulussen-Hoogeboom, Stams, Hermanns & Peetsma, 2007 cited in Ramaswamy & Bergin, 2009). As induction is meant to adjust children's understandings, it can only truly affect cognition directly but is thought to be an indirect way of addressing behavioral issues.

A recent study attempted to determine the efficacy of induction as a way of increasing prosocial behavior (Ramaswamy & Bergin, 2009). Researchers studied 98 children between the ages of 3 and 5 years old. They examined five categories of prosocial behavior—helping, sharing, comforting, affection and cooperation. The intervention occurred over a four week period in which the teacher only used induction as a form of discipline. Specifically, the teachers were meant to convey four pieces of information to the children—how his or her behavior hurt the feelings of another child, that the behavior did not solve the problem, that there are others ways to solve problems that are not aggressive and that when the child shares and is being considerate they are being a nicer individual. It was predicted that using induction as a form of discipline would significantly increase the number of prosocial acts (as measured per hour). Not only was this hypothesis supported, but the results lend themselves to specific kinds of prosocial behavior. Acts of affection increased the most indicating that induction is a discipline strategy that increases empathy and consequently affection towards others. Induction is a relevant

technique in regards to bystander intervention as it can provide children with a cognitive understanding of the detriments of bullying itself and the benefits of acts of intervention.

Social and Behavioral Techniques

Through the use of various strategies to increase perspective-taking skills in children, such as role-playing and induction, teachers and researchers will likely be able to provide children with the cognitive ability necessary to intervene in a bullying situation. However, simply knowing how to help or that one should help within a bullying situation is not enough to motivate that particular behavior. As such, it is necessary to also use strategies, such as modeling and reinforcement, that work to provide increased incentive to perform a particular behavior. If teachers and peers provide increased support for bystander intervention, it will almost certainly increase the likelihood that such an act will be performed.

Modeling

As previously described, bullying behavior has been shown to increase with age as bystander intervention is likely to decrease (Henderson & Hymel, 2002 cited in Rigby & Johnson, 2006; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). Researchers hypothesize that this is due to the increasing relevance of social status and the heightened perceived costs of intervention behavior. However, observations of prosocial behavior show that as children age, their likelihood to be prosocial, in general, increases (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989). Part of this is due to the fact that younger children are often unaware of how to help or believe themselves to be unskilled at doing so (Dovidio, 1984; Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989). Additionally, they also may not have yet learned and internalized that they are expected to do so. As such, it becomes important for teachers to model prosocial behavior to provide children with examples of how to help. Witnessing someone else helping successfully will hopefully enhance the child's confidence in

his or her own ability to do so (Dovidio, 1984). Behavioral models also work to influence the analysis of cost and rewards in the event of a potential intervention situations. If a child observes another individual exhibiting helping behavior and is then socially rewarded for that act this would enhance the anticipated rewards of intervention (Staub, 1971; Dovidio, 1984). Research has also demonstrated the importance of certain model characteristics in determining how well the behavior is internalized and reproduced. Specifically, some believe that individuals who have control over the outcomes of the observers, like teachers or bosses, act as more effective models (Dovidio, 1984).

Social Learning Theory stipulates that people learn best through observation. In observing someone else, individuals intake information that later serves them as a guide of how to perform a particular action or behavior (Bandura, 1977). Previous studies have acknowledged that modeling is an effective way to teach new behaviors (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Bandura, 1965). Furthermore, there have been studies that have examined the use of behavioral models in regards to prosocial behavior.

One such study looked at the influence of models on donating behavior in young children (Rosenhan & White, 1967). Participants were 130 middle school students who received 5-cent gift certificates while playing a miniature bowling game. Resting on a table in the experiment room were the gift certificates and a box labeled “Trenton Orphans Fund” that was partially filled with gift certificates. Students either witnessed a model donating gift certificates to the Orphans Fund or witnessed a model keeping them for himself. In the pro-donation situation, the model said once, “I won. I believe I will give one certificate to the orphans each time I win.” Researchers predicted that having watched the model donate would enhance the likelihood that the child would also donate his or her own gift certificates. This hypothesis was supported such

that not only were participants who watched the model donate more likely to do so themselves but this behavior also continued in later games without the model present. This indicates that not only is the behavior being repeated but that it may be internalized as well.

Another study specifically examined the effects of observing prosocial models on later helping behavior (Staub, 1971). Staub intended to look at how nurturing behavior of the model influenced subsequent behavior. Specifically, the sample consisted of 64 kindergarteners who were either exposed to a warm and nurturing model or a neutral model. In order to manipulate nurturance, the model smiled frequently and often rewarded the children during the pre-experimental phase. In the neutral condition, the model was very task-oriented and offered no verbal or physical rewards. In the modeling condition, participants heard sounds of mild distress and saw the experimenter go into the adjacent room and heard them comfort the child. In the no-modeling condition, the experimenter went to check on the child in the other room but it was not in response to any specific cries of distress or need for help.

It was predicted that observations of a helping model, one that responded to cues of distress, would increase children's attempts to help a distressed peer. Additionally, Staub hypothesized that this process would be moderated by prior nurturance such that the group in the nurturance condition would show significantly more helping behavior than those in the control condition. The original hypothesis was supported with 68.8% of the children who had experienced both nurturing and modeling exhibiting helping behavior. Children who experienced neither manipulation (i.e., witnessed a neutral individual check on the child outside of signs of distress) were only found to aid the distressed child 25% of the time. This research indicates how the utilization of a model can work to significantly increase helping behavior in children. Furthermore, it demonstrates the potential effect that witnessing bystander intervention

could have on subsequent bullying situations. If a child were to view a teacher or peer intervene in a bullying scenario, they would be more likely to do so regardless of the presence of the original individual. As such, modeling prosocial behavior reminds observers of the social norms and works to reinforce their importance within the mind of the observer. Witnessing someone else intervene in a bullying situation would reinforce an anti-bullying norm and make salient the importance of intervention.

Reinforcement

Theorists believe that providing direct reinforcement for a behavior works to increase an individual's motivation to perform that behavior and consequently increase the behavior's frequency (Schroeder, 1995). Reinforcements can take different forms but are usually a social reward, such as praise, or a tangible reward, such as a sticker. Some researchers believe that although material rewards may be effective in the short-term they can, in fact, undermine intrinsic motivation towards pro-social behavior (Fabes, Fultz, Eisenberg, May-Plumlee & Christopher, 1989; Ramaswamy & Bergin, 2009; Wodtke & Brown, 1963). Praise, however, has been shown to increase prosocial behavior over longer periods of time, specifically if given by a respected figure (Mussen & Eisenberg, 2001). Punishment is another technique often used to influence behavior in children. However, punishment has been shown to be a less effective mechanism of behavioral change than positive reinforcement (Grusec & Redler, 1980; Walters & Grusec, 1977). Specifically, researchers have concluded that the effects of punishment are more often temporary as individuals are motivated by an external threat as opposed to an internal belief (Walters & Grusec, 1977; Baumrind, 1980)

In a study of the effects of reinforcement on prosocial behavior, researchers examined the use of a reward system in increasing acts of prosociality (Honig & Pollack, 1990). Specifically,

a star chart was used to reward children who performed prosocial acts of sharing, helping and cooperating. The acts had to be peer-to-peer and verifiable by another classroom member. Researchers hypothesized that reinforcing prosocial behavior through the use of a star chart would work to effectively increase prosocial acts. Throughout the four-week intervention period, there were 619 prosocial acts recorded which marked a significant increase from the pre-intervention rate. The control classroom showed no significant change in prosociality over the four-week period. This study indicates the effectiveness that direct reinforcement can have on the behavior of children. Additionally, this intervention was especially productive as it made helping behavior a social norm in the classroom. It is important to recognize the role of reinforcement in increasing bystander intervention rates. If a child is rewarded for intervening in a bullying situation, research indicates that he or she would be more likely to perform that behavior again.

In the aforementioned study on induction (Ramaswamy & Bergin, 2009), researchers also examined the role of social reinforcement in increasing helping, sharing, comforting, affection and cooperative behavior in young children. Children that were in the reinforcement condition were rewarded for exhibiting such behaviors. Specifically, teachers rewarded children with a hug, a gentle pat or a compliment. It was hypothesized that reinforcing prosocial behavior would increase the frequency of such behavior. After the two-month period, there was a significant increase in all forms of prosocial behavior which worked to support the researchers' hypothesis. Additionally, reinforcement was found to have the largest effects on helping, sharing and cooperation. Researchers hypothesized that this was due to the fact that teachers are more likely to actively reinforce helping, sharing and cooperating than comforting or showing affection towards others. This study further demonstrates the effects of reinforcement on increasing

desired behaviors. Again, if applied to the realm of bystander intervention, reinforcement can be used as a potentially effective strategy as children that are positively reinforced for intervening will be more likely to do so in a later scenario.

Social Norms

Social norms have been defined as “the expectations that particular groups have concerning the appropriate attitudes, beliefs and behaviors to be displayed by group members” (Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, Kiesner & Griffiths, 2008, pg. 889). Such norms have been found quite influential in the understanding of how individuals operate and participate within social groups and situations. More specifically, a social groups’ normative beliefs about helping behavior may very well determine how an individual perceives the potential costs and rewards of an intervention decision. For example, if bullying is seen as a socially acceptable behavior then bystanders would anticipate large social costs associated with intervention. On the other hand, when bullying is viewed as socially unacceptable, the benefit associated with intervention is likely to increase. Additionally, if social norms are particularly salient, they can influence arousal and the extent to which an individual is aroused by a specific behavior. In the situation of bullying, if a particularly salient social norm is anti-violence, physical aggression could be an especially salient method of arousal. Ultimately, social norms enhance the assumption of personal responsibility and within bullying situations this refers to active bystander intervention.

Norm of Social Responsibility

In an early study on the effects of norms of social responsibility, Ervin Staub (1970) found that when children were identified and labeled as being responsible for the well-being of their peers (i.e., “I will leave you in charge of things, O.K.?”) they were significantly more likely to exhibit helping behavior than individuals who were not labeled as such. Participants were 84

kindergarteners and first-graders who were aware that another child was alone in an adjacent room. The teacher then left the classroom and while she was gone the children heard crashing sounds and general cries of distress. As predicted, assigning responsibility enhanced helping behavior among both kindergarteners and first graders. An interesting result is that when children who did not choose to help were asked why they often denied hearing cries of distress. This also works to indicate the influence of social norms as children knew that to have heard the cries and ignore them was a socially unacceptable response. This early work demonstrated that social norms, particularly those of social responsibility, are powerful factors in a child's decision to help another in need. The above example also shows how effective this is even in the form of a single reminder, suggesting that a multi-dimensional approach would have even more definite results.

Other experiments have examined the role of the norm of social responsibility within adult populations. In a study of 48 male undergraduate students, researchers measured the relationship between group cohesiveness, the social-responsibility norm and bystander intervention (Rutkowski, Gruder, & Romer, 1983). Researchers hypothesized that group cohesiveness would be related to bystander intervention such that a higher level of cohesiveness would decrease diffusion of responsibility and increase the salience of the social responsibility norm. As a result, researchers predicted an increase in helping behavior. In order to manipulate cohesiveness, participants in the high-cohesiveness condition underwent a twenty-minute session in which they introduced themselves, talked about their families, their likes and dislikes of college and extracurricular interests. At the end, each subject was made to find at least three ways in which they were similar to the other three group members. The low-cohesiveness condition consisted of no interaction between participants. Before the experimenter left the room

participants heard a conversation between him and a maintenance worker on an intercom in the control room. Immediately after the experimenter left to go to the control room, participants heard a crash and sounds of distress and pain over the intercom. The emergency situation lasted for two minutes before the man became silent. As expected, participants in the high-cohesiveness condition were more likely to leave the room and attempt to aid the maintenance worker. Rutkowski et al. (1983) attribute this increased intervention to the enhanced activation of the social responsibility norm via high cohesiveness. The fact that twenty minutes of group cohesion manipulation can produce such striking differences indicates the magnitude of effect that an entire year spent within a particular classroom can have on the activation of the norm of social responsibility. Such results demonstrate the profound effect that prosocial helping norms can have on bystander intervention.

Attitudes and Intentions

In addition to the body of literature aimed at understanding the way that social norms influence bystander intervention in general, there is a growing amount of research that examines the intersection of social norms and bystander intervention in specific regard to bullying situations. In a study of 400 middle schools students in southern Australia, researchers Rigby and Johnson (2006) attempted to examine which factors were associated with intention to intervene in bullying situations. Unsurprisingly, students who had previously intervened in bullying situations and had a positive attitude toward the victim were more likely to express their intention to intervene. Additionally, researchers attempted to define the relationship between normative pressure to help victims and the intention to do so. Students were shown a picture of a child being physically bullied in the presence of bystanders and asked to indicate how their mother, father, friend and teacher each would expect them to act. Students responded on a five-

point scale which ranged from “strongly support the bully” to “strongly support the victim”. A multiple regression analysis identified expectations of parents and friends as significant factors in students’ intention to intervene. Although related to intention on its own, expectations of teachers failed to contribute overall within the multiple regression analysis. Rigby and Johnson (2006) attribute this to the dismissive view of teachers that is typical of many young adolescents. They do argue, however, that teachers can facilitate the development of anti-bullying norms by drawing attention to the number of students within each classroom who do hold such beliefs. It is believed that during a time when the peer group increases in importance it would be most effective to enhance the knowledge of anti-bullying beliefs within that social realm (Rigby & Johnson, 2006).

In a recent study, researchers (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004) examined the relationships between attitudes, group norms and behavior in bullying situations. Specifically, in a sample of 1,200 Finnish students aged 9 through 12 from 16 different schools, they measured if children bullied others, assisted the bully, reinforced the bully, defended the victim or remained passive outside of bullying situations. Peer evaluations were used to determine which of the five roles each classmate assumed in a bullying situation—bully, assister, reinforcer, defender, or outsider. Researchers predicted that attitudes and group norms would be related to bullying behavior such that pro-bullying attitudes and classroom norms would predict bullying behaviors and anti-bullying attitudes and classroom norms would predict intervention and support for victims. Attitudes were defined as “students’ moral beliefs regarding the appropriateness or inappropriateness of bullying and related behaviors” (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004, pg. 248) and were measured with scaled responses to statements like ‘Bullying may be fun sometimes’ or ‘It is the victims’ own fault that they are bullied’ (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004, pg. 249). Similarly,

within the context of this experiment norms were defined as “expected standards of behavior in a certain group” (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004, pg. 249), which in this case was in a particular classroom. To assess classroom norms, children were asked to respond to five situations involving bullying that included situations like laughing with others when someone is being bullied or telling the teacher. Experimenters found that attitudes and group norms were related to bullying behavior in the predicted directions such that pro-bullying attitudes and classroom norms were positively associated with bullying, reinforcing the bully and assisting the bully in bullying situations. Similarly, anti-bullying attitudes and norms were positively correlated with defending the bully or staying outside of the bullying situation. This study underscores the influence that the classroom environment can have on children’s beliefs about bullying and the roles that they undertake in bullying situations. Additionally, it is useful to examine the relationship between being a bystander (staying outside of the bullying situation) and anti-bullying attitudes and norms. If such students are against bullying, why are they failing to intervene? This demonstrates the need for a multi-faceted approach that incorporates more than just social and contextual factors of bystander intervention.

Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, Kiesner and Griffiths (2008) recently studied the effect of social group norms on bullying intentions of 7 and 9 year olds. The children were asked to draw a picture of him or herself and a week later they each met with experimenters and were told that their drawing has been rated as “excellent” and that they would be a part of a team with the illustrators of other “excellent” portraits. They were awarded a gold star as a representation of their outstanding quality. Participants were then showed the other drawings that had been rated “good” and experimenters emphasized that their own drawings were much better in quality than these. This acted as a social status manipulation as the children were meant to feel superior to

the children whose pictures had only been rated as “good”. In order to manipulate group norms participants were given an explanation of their team members’ feelings towards out-group members. Specifically, children in the out-group dislike condition were told: ‘Kids in your team really don’t like kids in the other teams and they are not friendly to them. If you want to stay in this new team that you have just joined then you can’t like or be friendly to any of the kids in the other teams.’ Conversely, children in the out-group like condition were told: ‘Kids in your team really like kids in the other team and they are very friendly to them. If you want to stay in this new team that you have just joined, then you will also have to like kids in the other teams and be friendly to them’.

To determine in-group and out-group attitudes, the children were asked to rate levels of trust, liking, and desire to play with children both on their team and the other team. Intention to bully was measured in a similar manner in which students were exposed to a vignette involving interaction with the other team and their responses were coded as being not bullying actions, direct bullying or indirect bullying. Specifically, researchers predicted that children on a team with a group norm of out-group dislike and rejection would have a greater intent to bully than members of a team that valued out-group liking and inclusion as a social norm. This hypothesis was supported such that children in the condition of out-group dislike had a significantly greater tendency towards both forms of bullying—direct and indirect. Such results underscore the inherent importance that social norms play in the decision-making process.

Additionally, this research further supports the *Theory of Planned Behavior* (Ajzen, 1991), which stipulates that attitudes, norms and perceived behavioral control together predict behavioral intention. This model can be successfully applied to the discussion of bystander intervention as students’ attitudes towards bullying (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004) and normative

beliefs about bullying, as influenced by peers and teachers, (Rigby & Johnson, 2006; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004) have independently been shown to predict intent to intervene in bullying situations. Additionally, perceived behavioral control (i.e., perceived ability to aid a distressed peer), has been identified as a potential barrier or motivator in helping scenarios (Dovidio, 1984). Taken together, these findings are consistent with previous work on the *Theory of Planned Behavior* and add validity to their relevance in this discussion on factors that lead to bystander intervention.

Teachers' Beliefs

Finally, in addition to the established social norms that exist within student populations, it is essential to make note of the influence of teacher's attitudes and normative beliefs about bullying on bystander intervention. Teachers that seem indifferent to bullying behavior or do not speak out against teasing and other behaviors related to bullying are promoting the value that bullying is acceptable (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). Additionally, their own lack of intervention may influence the bystanders' perceptions of costs and rewards. Through their inaction, teachers are demonstrating to students that intervention is not the socially appropriate response in a bullying situation. In addition to modeling intervention behavior, teachers can use inclusive practices within their own teaching. For example, when selecting students for certain things, a teacher who uses fair methods like picking names from a jar will demonstrate the importance of each member of the class. This is the type of value that, if established properly as a social norm, could later influence a bystander's decision to intervene. Both the original literature on social norms as they are related to helping behavior and more recent experiments that have examined such norms in regards to intent to bully support the predictive nature of norms on bullying behaviors.

Recommendations

As mentioned at the beginning of this analysis, nearly 30% of American students are involved in bullying situations on a weekly basis (Nansel et al., 2001). Such prevalence rates have led researchers and educational theorists to develop intervention programs aimed at decreasing the rate of bullying in schools. Why, then, does the occurrence of school bullying remain so high? It is my belief that too often interventions are aimed at preventing the bullying behavior itself. This however, is a largely futile effort, as reasons for bullying vary greatly by individual and community (Rigby, 2008). Moreover, research has shown that peers are present in over 80% of such situations with estimates as high as 99% (Frey et al., 2005; O'Connell, Pepler & Craig, 1999; Pepler & Craig, 1998). With rates of bystander presence so high, bystanders are an underused resource in the battle against school bullying. As such, this paper intended to examine the role of the bystander in bullying scenarios as means of intervention that is more universally applicable and likely more effective.

Additionally, many previous intervention programs do not take into the account the developmental stages of students. As such, they propose strategies that are often too cognitively advanced for young children. I propose that developing prosocial behavior in children should be a goal for educators as early as preschool. However, as Eisenberg and Piaget posit, most preschool age children view decisions solely in regards to their own needs. Instead of simply preaching moral behavior, I argue that educators must make attempts to enhance the perspective-taking abilities of young children and explicitly connect the needs of one individual to others.

Research shows that the importance of different groups of people shifts throughout an individual's development. In early childhood, the approval of adult figures, like parents or teachers, is most influential. This knowledge lends itself to strategies like modeling and

reinforcement, which depend on adult participants, as being most effective during this period of development. However, as children age and enter into adolescence, the peer group gains importance. As such, it is essential to develop anti-bullying social norms so that students feel social pressure to intervene in bullying situations. In using resources that are particularly salient at different points in development, interventions could be more targeted and effective.

Finally, as both the Cost-Reward Model and the Decision Model of Bystander Intervention indicate, all behavioral decisions are based upon the intersection of both cognitive and social processes. In focusing solely on one system, researchers are ignoring the duality of the human experience. Ultimately, I believe that it is in incorporating both cognitive and social determinants of bystander intervention that will prove to be the most effective mechanism of increasing intervention and decreasing the prevalence of bullying.

Conclusion

Although the literature on bullying behaviors is expanding, it is important to note some of the limitations of the work. Perhaps most relevant is the inherent inability to truly assess causality. Due to obvious ethical reasons, researchers are unable to manipulate bullying behavior and therefore lack true insight into the actual effects of certain interventions. An intervention that may seem to be effective in lowering prevalence rates or increasing bystander intervention could, in fact, be due a third variable. Beyond the issue of causality, much of the work is based on case studies and is observational, not experimental, in nature. While often effective, these small-scale interventions lower the overall generalizability of the work.

These limitations, however, do not undermine the strengths of the literature on bullying. Specifically, in drawing from the fields of psychology, sociology and education, the work is inter-disciplinary and multidimensional. Working from such different theoretical backgrounds

strengthens many of the intervention strategies. The intention of this specific work is to deepen this multidisciplinary perspective in a way that is understanding of cognitive and behavioral aspects as well as the interaction between the individual and their social context. As the peer group and school context are salient factors in bullying situations, it is necessary to understand how they affect the intervention behavior of bystanders.

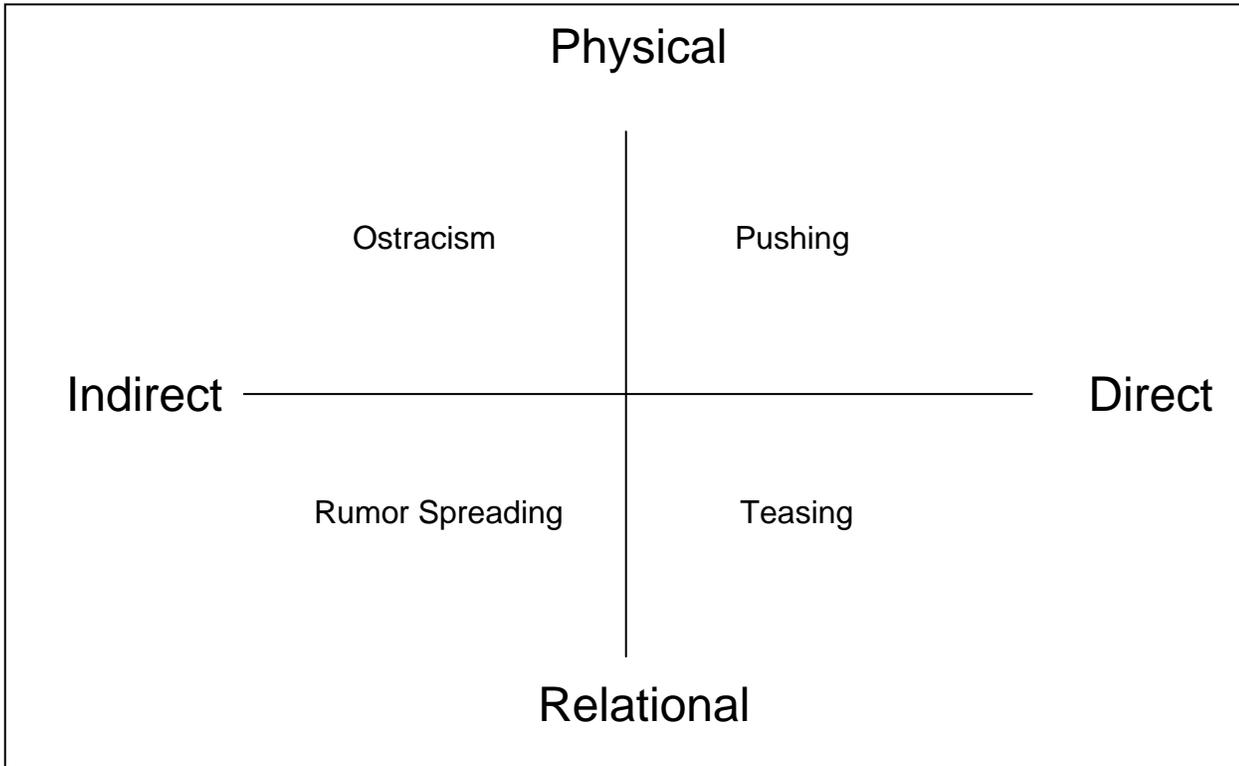
Further research must examine how bystander intervention changes according to the type of bullying. As technology use increases, more indirect forms of bullying such as cyber bullying will likely increase as well. Bystander intervention in such a situation is quite different from the intervention that occurs on the school playground. Therefore, just as the definition of bullying has expanded in recent years, so too must the concept of bystander intervention.

As this discussion illustrates, understanding bullying behaviors in schools is a complex issue that must factor in discussions of both cognitive capabilities and social determinants of behavior. More specifically, a comprehensive understanding of both cognitive and moral development is needed in order to create effective intervention methods that are developmentally appropriate. In attempting to understand bullying from the perspective of the bystander, one can gain a broader perspective on potential intervention techniques. Simply because students have the ability to intervene in a bullying situation does not mean that they will do so. Before action comes a series of processes based on the actual recognition of an emergency situation and the decision of if and how to respond. As Eisenberg states in her discussion of her model of prosocial development, competency of a particular behavior does not mean that that behavior will be exhibited (Eisenberg, Zhou & Koller, 2001). Therefore, simply demonstrating a behavior or increasing an ability, like perspective-taking, is inadequate as an intervention strategy. It is

then the role of teachers to establish pro-social norms and use behavioral reinforcements to provide students with conditions that facilitate the use of such skills.

Figure 1.

Types of Bullying with Example Behaviors



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