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ABSTRACT
        This study examines how students perceive and describe the
problems they experience or witness in their schools. In addition, a
comparison was made of boys' and girls' conceptualizations of bullying and
teasing. This work is part of a broader set of studies designed to evaluate
Expect Respect, a program implemented in elementary schools in Austin, Texas.
The program uses a prevention model to address social acceptance of bullying
among students, teachers, and school staff and aims to improve communication
and peer relationships among students. Forty fifth-grade students from four
schools participated in the study. Two of the schools were part of the Expect
Respect program and two were not. One implication of the study's findings is
that in order to devise effective programs, children's own terminology of
what is meant by bullying and teasing must be understood. It suggests that
children may be more likely to assimilate the lessons with their existing
experiences if they do not have to first unlearn their own definitions. Data
also suggest that although boys and girls conceptualize bullying in the same
way, they do not necessarily experience it in the same manner. Appendixes
include: Expect Respect Student Interviews and Quotes from Students in
Response to Interview Questions. (Contains 24 tables and 14 references.)
(JDM)

That's Not Teasing - That's Bullying: A Study Of Fifth Graders'

Conceptualization Of Bullying And Teasing

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That's Not Teasing - That's Bullying: A Study Of Fifth Graders' Conceptualization Of Bullying And Teasing

Research on peer victimization in schools has increased dramatically in recent years. This issue is crucial because it is so prevalent, and because it has long-lasting consequences. A convincing case can be made for the negative social, academic, psychological, and physical impact of bullying in the schools. Exposure to bullying by peers has been found to be related to increased dropout rates, lower self esteem, fewer friends, declining grades, and increases in illness (Ballard, Argus, & Remley, 1999; Rigby, 1999; Sagarese & Giannetti, 1999). Bullies in elementary and middle school are more likely to be convicted of crimes (Olweus, 1994) and more likely to take part in sexual harassment and assault in high school and in adulthood (Stein, 1995). The period of transition between elementary and middle school is particularly critical, and has been called the "brutalizing period" due to the increased frequency and intensity aggression experienced by students (Cairns & Cairns, 1986).

The literature has suggested that boys and girls experience bullying in a different manner. Boys tend to experience more physical aggression than girls, and are more likely to be the bully and the target (Siann, G., Callaghan, M., & Glissov, P., 1994). This gender difference is evident in elementary as well as in middle school (Kumpulainen, Rasanen, & Henttonen, 1999). A difference in the type of bullying has also been found, as males tend to be more physical than females, and females are more likely to use relational aggression-- such as excluding one from social belonging (McNeily-Choque, M. K., Hart, C. H., & Robinson, C. C., 1996). It has also been

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reported that girls have more negative views of bullies and bullying than do boys (Kumpulainen, Rasanen, & Henttonen, 1999).

The purpose of the current study is to investigate how children conceptualize bullying in school settings, and how they differentiate bullying from teasing. In addition, gender difference in these conceptualizations will be examined. This study is part of a broader set of studies designed to evaluate a program entitled *Expect Respect*. (Differences between students who were taught about bullying in the Expect Respect program and stduents at schools which didn't have such a program are discussed in a different paper.)

The Expect Respect program used a prevention model that addressed social acceptance of bullying among students, teachers, and school staff. Its primary aim was to improve peer relationships and communication skills among students. It attempted to help bullies understand the boundaries between appropriate and inappropriate behavior and taught targets of bullies skills for responding to such behavior. After the first year of the program, a review of our evaluation findings indicated that a better understanding of the children's *own* definitions of bullying and teasing behaviors would help us to improve the curriculum. This study was designed to learn about students' descriptions of problems they experience or witness in their schools. In addition, we were interested in comparing boys' and girls' conceptualizations of bullying and teasing, and their reported experiences.

Expect Respect was implemented in six elementary schools in Austin, Texas. Elementary schools were chosen because research suggested that interpersonal violence is a learned behavior that can be prevented through education and early intervention

(Hazler, 1996; Stein, 1995). Without such early intervention, elementary school bullying has been shown to be predictive of more serious violent acts by individuals during later years (Marano, 1995; Stein, 1995; Fried & Fried, 1996; Besag, 1989). The program followed the direction of research suggesting that school-wide programs are more effective than those focusing on specifically identified bullies or victims (Salmivalli, 1999). School-wide interventions are believed to be more successful because they address the fact that approximately 75% of untreated elementary school students passively watch or actively support observed bullying behavior (O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999). Fifth graders were chosen because they would be facing a major transition into middle school in the following year, a time that often shows significant shifts in the levels and nature of peer bullying and victimization as students move into a new school and social system (Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000).

For the purposes of this study, bullying was defined as "unwanted words or physical actions that make a person feel bad" (Stein, 1995). This behavior is generally distinguished from teasing in the literature by the way it makes the recipient feel (Crick, Casas, & Ku, 1999, Hugh-Jones, & Smith, 1999, Pellegrini, Bartini, & Brooks, 1999)-- children who are teased are not made to feel bad because it is clear that the behavior is done for fun. The *Expect Respect* project was taught by trained facilitators once a week for 12 weeks throughout the semester and used a curriculum developed by Nan Stein, Senior Research Scientist for the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley College. The curriculum included core lessons comprised of writing activities, reading assignments, class discussions, role plays, case studies, and homework assignments. In pilots of this lesson plan, children gained a conceptual framework and a common

vocabulary that allowed them to find the distinctions between appropriate and inappropriate, between playful and hurtful behavior (Stein, 1995).

Methods

Forty volunteer students from four schools participated in the study. Two of the school had received the Expect Respect curriculum and two had not. Eighteen of the participants were males, while 22 were females. A semi-structured interview (Appendix A) was designed and piloted by the researchers and educators involved in the project.

With the exception of two interviews, boys were interviewed by male interviewers and girls were interviewed by female interviewers. The interviews took place in a private room at school in order to encourage the children to speak openly and candidly. We experienced only a few inadvertent interruptions by school staff during the 40 interviews. The trained interviewers tape recorded the interviews (with children's knowledge and permission) and recorded extensive field notes. All the interview tapes were transcribed for analysis. Interviews lasted between 30 to 60 minutes.

Data Analysis

The two authors of this paper read the transcribed interviews and data records and coded the data independently (both of us had conducted some of the interviews). We then came together to examine each other's codes and to discuss how to sort the codes into categories. We were aware that coding and categorizing rich interview data has the potential of removing children's expressions from their contexts and therefore distort their intended meanings. In order to prevent losing sight of the richness of the information that the children shared with us, during the coding and categorizing process we routinely referred back to typed transcripts and data records. We didn't simply "count" the number of times a specific code name (such as "calling people names") was

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mentioned. Each time the code-word was named, we referred to the interview transcript to understand the context in which the child mentioned the code-word in order to understand the meaning the child wished to convey. In other words, the code categories are not simple word counts, but rather a count of the number of times children *referred* to that code category, no matter which specific *word* or *name* they used.

After coding the responses into these initial categories (and analyzing differences in student responses within these categories), we grouped them into higher level codes. For example, the four initial coded categories for students' statements about characteristics of the bully ("Crowd Pleaser", "Poor Emotional Self-Control", " Mean", and "Arrogant") were later grouped into the higher-level code of "Personality Characteristics". It is these higher level codes whose analysis forms the basis of this paper.

Once we were satisfied that our categories and codes accurately reflected children's responses, we summarized the data for evaluation purposes. We counted the number children in each of the two groups who referred to a specific code. The two student groups and the number of children from each group who participated in the interviews are listed in Table 1.

Table 1
Number of students from each group who participated in the interviews.

	Comparison Schools	Intervention Schools	Total
Boys	10	8	18
Girls	12	10	22
Total	22	18	40

Interview Question: What do kids do or say to make other kids feel bad?

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Every single child mentioned some form of *"verbal aggression"*. It is remarkable than even when we specifically asked each student to talk about things that children *do* to make other kids feel bad, most of them still mentioned a verbally aggressive act, such as laughing at others (for example, their appearance, race, academic or athletic abilities), cursing at them, or spreading rumors about them. Appendix B contains a more complete list of quotes from children.

Girls were more likely to report *specific* types of name calling, particularly pointing out shortcomings in academics or athletics. Girls were also more likely to report seeing or experiencing the spread of rumors, stealing or destroying property, mean games (such as saying "ew, you have so and so's cooties"), and prejudice (making fun of someone for her race or disability). The largest of these differences was in the "name calling-athletics" category, with 50% of girls, but only 11% of boys mentioning it. Boys were more likely than girls to mention laughing at someone's misfortune (such as laughing at someone who is crying).

Boys and girls mentioned *"physical aggression"* at similar rates (about two thirds). However, girls were twice as likely as boys to mention *"isolation"*.

Table 2
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "verbal aggression" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	10 100%	8 100%	18 100%
Girls	12 100%	10 100%	22 100%
Total	22 100%	18 100%	40 100%

Table 3
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "physical aggression" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	7 70%	5 63%	12 67%
Girls	6 50%	7 70%	13 59%
Total	13 59%	12 67%	25 63%

Table 4
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Isolation" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	2 20%	2 25%	4 22%
Girls	7 58%	3 30%	10 45%
Total	9 41%	5 28%	14 35%

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Interview Question: What are the characteristics of the people who do or say things that hurt other people's feelings a lot? How would you describe them?

It is important to note that we did not use the word "bully" in asking for these descriptions. The word bully is used in discussion of results as a shortcut to referring to "people who do or say things that hurt other people's feelings a lot", which are the words used in the interview question.

The majority of students from both groups, but a higher proportion of boys than of girls, mentioned characteristics which we coded under the *"personality characteristics"* category. The word "mean" was the most popular term for describing bullies. About one third of the students used the word "mean" to characterize bullies. More boys than girls (33% vs. 11%) characterized bullies as having "poor emotional self-control", but more girls than boys (all from the comparison schools) characterized bullies as "crowd pleasers".

Thirty five percent of all students described *"physical characteristics"* of bullies. These descriptions were not consistent, although more children mentioned "tall" or "big" rather than "short" or "small". Girls were about twice as likely as boys to describe bullies in terms of their physical characteristics.

Another one third of students described bullies as having a *"poor support system"*. Twenty two percent of the students described bullies as being from troubled homes. Students stated that bullies' troubles at home are because they're mistreated by their parents ("abused", "yelled at"), their parents are divorced, or they are "poor". Twenty two percent of the girls, but none of the boys, characterized bullies as being isolated and not having a lot of friends.

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Students' remaining descriptions fall under the *"behavioral characteristics"*

category. Twelve percent of the intervention group girls, but no students from any other

groups, mentioned poor academic achievement as a characteristic of bullies.

Table 5
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Personality Characteristics" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	7 70%	6 75%	13 72%
Girls	7 58%	6 60%	13 59%
Total	14 64%	12 67%	26 65%

Table 6
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Physical Characteristics" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	2 20%	2 25%	4 22%
Girls	9 75%	1 10%	10 45%
Total	11 50%	3 17%	14 35%

Table 7
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Poor
Support System" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	3 30%	3 38%	6 33%
Girls	2 17%	4 40%	6 27%
Total	5 23%	7 39%	12 30%

Table 8
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the
"Behavioral Characteristics" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	1 10%	3 38%	4 22%
Girls	5 42%	2 20%	7 32%
Total	6 27%	5 28%	11 28%

Interview question: Without giving any names, tell me how you would describe the kids that have this kind of thing happen to them a lot. What are some of their characteristics?

Forty three percent of all students described targets of bullying in terms of *"behavioral characteristics"*. The same percentage described *"physical characteristics"* of targets. Boys and girls mentioned these higher-order categories about equally. However, having a "different nationality" was mentioned exclusively by girls. Whereas

mostly girls mentioned the target's "bad clothes", mostly boys mentioned that targets "wear glasses".

Five percent of children stated that targets are academically inferior to their classmates. On the other hand, 24% of all children (all but one in the comparison group) believe that targets are academically superior to others.

About an equal percentage of students from the two groups listed *"personality characteristics"* of targets. The two most frequently mentioned of such characteristics were "shy / quiet" and "sad / frightened" with about a third of the children mentioning each category. All but one of these mentions was by girls. All but one of the mentions for "weak/helpless" were boys.

Table 9
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Behavioral Characteristics" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	4 40%	2 25%	6 33%
Girls	7 58%	4 40%	11 50%
Total	11 50%	6 33%	17 43%

Table 10
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Physical Characteristics" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	4 40%	4 50%	8 44%
Girls	7 58%	2 20%	9 41%
Total	11 50%	6 33%	17 43%

Table 11
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Personality Characteristics" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	2 20%	3 38%	5 28%
Girls	6 50%	5 50%	11 50%
Total	8 36%	8 44%	16 40%

Interview Question: What does "bullying" mean to you?

Eighty three percent of children's definitions fit in the *"verbal aggression"* higher-level category. Slightly more than half of all children mentioned *"physical aggression"*. Boys and girls mentioned verbal aggression at about the same rates, while a higher percentage of boys than girls mentioned physical aggression. The most-mentioned categories within this code was inflicting (or threatening to inflict) physical harm. More boys than girls mentioned "taking your money or lunch".

Table 12
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Verbal Aggression" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	9 90%	6 75%	15 83%
Girls	10 83%	8 80%	18 82%
Total	19 86%	14 78%	33 83%

Table 13
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Physical Aggression" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	7 70%	6 75%	13 72%
Girls	6 50%	4 40%	10 45%
Total	13 59%	10 56%	23 58%

Interview Question: What does "teasing" mean to you?

Responses to this question fell into three higher-level categories: "verbal aggression", "playful", and "physical aggression". More than two thirds of children overall mentioned "verbal aggression" with slightly more of these mentions being from girls. More boys mentioned name calling than girls. For the category of "making fun of people/intimidating people" the percentage of girls was higher than that of the boys.

Interestingly, only 15% of the students stated that teasing was friendly and nice for both people. All of these students were in the intervention group, most of them girls.

Finally, two students (both boys) described teasing as a physically aggressive act.

Table 14
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Verbal Aggression" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	8 80%	3 38%	11 61%
Girls	11 92%	5 50%	16 73%
Total	19 86%	8 44%	27 68%

Table 15
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Playful" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	0 0%	2 25%	2 11%
Girls	0 %	4 40%	4 18%
Total	0 %	6 33%	6 15%

Table 16
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Physical Aggression" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	1 10%	1 13%	2 11%
Girls	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Total	1 .05%	1 .06%	2 .05%

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Interview Question: If a kid does something that makes another kid feel bad, does it make a difference to you if he or she was actually *trying* to make the other kid feel bad or if he or she wasn't really thinking about making the other kid feel bad?

About the same percentage of boys and girls (44% and 41% respectively) indicated that *"yes, intent makes a differe*nce". About one third of both boys and girls stated "no, intent makes no difference". For 56% of the intervention group intent makes no difference, while that percentage is only 14% for children in the comparison schools.

Table 17
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Yes-Intent makes a difference" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	4 40%	4 50%	8 44%
Girls	7 58%	2 20%	9 41%
Total	11 50%	6 33%	17 43%

Table 18
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "No-Intent Makes No Difference" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	2 20%	4 50%	6 33%
Girls	1 8%	6 60%	7 32%
Total	3 14%	10 56%	13 33%

Interview Question: Do you think bullying is a problem in schools in general?

Thirteen percent of children think bullying is not a problem in schools, but 53% believe that it is. There is a large differences in this category are between boys and girls.

More than twice as many girls than boys believe bullying is a problem in schools.

Table 19
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Yes-Bullying Is a Problem" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	5 50%	3 38%	8 44%
Girls	5 42%	8 80%	13 59%
Total	10 45%	11 61%	21 53%

Table 20
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "No-Bullying Is Not a Problem" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	4 40%	5 63%	9 50%
Girls	4 33%	0 0%	4 18%
Total	8 36%	8 44%	13 33%

Interview Question: What do you think should be done about bullying in schools?

The most frequently mentioned category was "*education/discussion*". The next most-mentioned group of suggestions fit under the category of "*intervene/get involved in*

bully's life". Boys' and girls' responses were very similar to each other in these categories.

A third group of suggestions fit in the "*punish the bully*" category. The percentages of boys who suggested punishment was almost twice that of the girls.

A remarkable difference between the two groups was in the percentages of mentions that "*nothing can be done about bullying*". None of the boys expressed this opinion, whereas 9% of the girls did.

Table 21
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Education/Discussion" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	4 40%	3 38%	7 39%
Girls	7 58%	3 30%	10 45%
Total	11 50%	6 33%	17 43%

Table 22
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Intervene/Get Involved in Bully's Life" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	5 50%	2 25%	7 39%
Girls	5 %	4 %	9 41%
Total	10 45%	6 33%	16 40%

Table 23
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Punish the Bully" Category.

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	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	5 50%	4 50%	9 50%
Girls	3 25%	3 30%	6 27%
Total	8 36%	7 39%	15 38%

Table 24
Number and Percentage of Students from Each Group who Mentioned the "Nothing Can Be Done About Bullying" Category.

	Comparison Number %	Intervention Number %	Total Number %
Boys	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Girls	2 17%	0 0%	2 9%
Total	2 9%	0 0%	2 5%

Discussion

First, most children seem to use the word *teasing* to refer to a subtype of *bullying*. Teasing is used primarily to refer to the most common type of bullying: verbal aggression. In fact, children were much more likely to use the word *teasing* when talking about verbal aggression than the word *bullying*.

Almost half of the boys used some of the *same words* to define both bullying and teasing (none of the girls did). This is especially noteworthy as the question about the definition of teasing comes right after the one about the definition of bullying. Presumably children would have remembered how they defined bullying only a few minutes earlier. Several students used the word "teasing" consistently throughout the interview to refer to what we have been calling "bullying". For example, a CB

responded to the question of "describe the characteristics of the bully" with the following:

> "Like the people who do the teasing. A lot of times they pick on a single person and tease and tease so that person then tries to tease back. That ends up turning the person who's been teased into a teaser."

Students' responses suggest that the word *teasing* has perhaps replaced the word bullying, at least when problems are not physical in nature. Even for the intervention group the percentage of children who defined "teasing" the way the Expect Respect curriculum does (as something fun for both parties involved) was small (15%).

Students' responses also suggest that bullying and teasing are mostly conceptualized (and perhaps experienced) as verbal aggression. Every single student listed an example of verbal aggression in describing how kids hurt each other, while only about half of them described a physically aggressive acts. Similarly, when directly asked to define bullying, 83% of all children defined it as verbal aggression.

About half of the children never mentioned physical aggression. Considering that the stereotypical image of a bully is someone who beats up other kids, it is surprising that not more students defined bullying in terms of physical aggression.

Consistent with prior findings, girls listed "isolating" behaviors (a category others have also called "relational aggression" (McNeily-Choque, M. K., Hart, C. H., & Robinson, C. C., 1996)) at a rate more than twice higher than the boys. Girls also mentioned "spreading rumors" (another "relational aggression" action) more than boys did. Boys, on the other hand, were more likely than girls to mention "laughing at other's misfortune", such as laughing when someone is crying or when someone trips and falls.

Bullies are described by both groups mostly in terms of their personality characteristics. Boys attribute poor emotional self-control to bullies, while girls describe them as crowd pleasers who are isolated from others and don't have a good support system.

Boys' and girls' descriptions of targets of bullying is mostly in terms of their physical and behavioral characteristics. Only girls said targets were from different nationalities or ethnicities and mostly girls said targets wore "bad clothes", but mostly boys said targets wore eyeglasses. Targets' personalities were characterized as shy and quiet almost exclusively by girls, but mostly boys described them as being weak and helpless.

About one third of both boys and girls believe that in defining bullying, the *intent* of the bully is not an important factor. However, more of them (about 44%) believe that bullying is worse when the bully intentionally hurts the target. Here the differences were very pronounced between the intervention and the comparison groups. As the Expect Respect curriculum had taught the intervention students, more than half of them (compared to 14% of the comparison group) stated that intent makes no difference. Still, about one third of the intervention group (and half of the comparison group) believe that intent of the bully *does* make a difference (i.e., bullying is worse when the bully specifically targets the recipient).

More than twice as many girls as boys acknowledge that bullying is a problem in schools. It is interesting to note that many of the same students who had described episodes of bullying at their schools during the course of the interview stated that bullying is *not* a problem at schools. It remains to be studied whether they *expect*

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bullying as a part of the school social environment, they don't perceive it as a *problem* since they are not targets of it, they don't like to admit to a "problem", or if there is another explanation.

For solutions to bullying in schools, boys and girls equally suggested "education/discussion", "adult intervention". However, boys were more likely than girls to offer "punish the bully" as a solution. An important difference between the two groups was in the percentages of mentions that *"nothing can be done about bullying"*. None of the boys expressed this opinion, whereas some of the girls did (all from the comparison group).

Limitations

Most of the interview questions were written with the intent to elicit responses from children that reflected their general conceptualizations of bullying and teasing. Children's responses to the interview questions, however, were mostly biographical; that is, they tended to talk about what they had seen children do or say, rather than talk about their general impressions. This outcome, though not totally unexpected, makes it more apparent that children's reported conceptualizations of bullying, bullies, and targets are perhaps influenced by their recent encounters at school or exposure to television shows or stories they may have read.

Second, we attempted to dissociate the interviews from the Expect Respect program by having students at those schools interviewed by people who were not directly involved in teaching the Expect Respect curriculum. Additionally, interviews were conducted four weeks after the program sessions ended at these schools. Still, students could not help but perceive a relationship between the interview and the Expect Respect Program. It is possible that such a perceived association primed them for giving

responses compatible with the program's teachings. It is our hope that Expect Respect students will be similarly primed for remembering these lessons when they encounter real bullying episodes.

Finally, having data from observations of students at schools would have provided a richer context for interpreting students' comments.

Conclusion and Implications

These data have several implications for school-based violence prevention programs. When we began the Expect Respect program, we felt as if our extensive literature review combined with our experiences in working with children had given us a clear understanding of the bullying and teasing that fifth graders experience. The first lesson in the curriculum asks the students to sort a list of behaviors under two categories: "bullying" and "teasing". The objective is to help students learn which behaviors are hurtful to others (listed under "bullying") and which are not hurtful (listed under "teasing"). Based on these findings, it appears that referring to the "non-hurtful" or "playful" behaviors as "teasing" may be confusing to children since they seem to be using the term "teasing" to refer to "verbal bullying". One implication for educational programs may be that in order to devise effective programs, we need to use children's own terminology about bullying and teasing. Children may be more likely to assimilate the lessons with their existing experiences if they don't have to first "unlearn" their own definitions.

Second, a violence prevention program at a school may need to start by addressing students' beliefs about two important fundamentals: 1) that bullying *is* a problem at their school, and 2) that something *can* be done to correct it. One may not

assume that children *perceive* what we call bullying as a "problem" in their school. Even if they *do* perceive it as a problem, they may not consider that a solution for such a problem exists.

Further, these data suggest that although boys and girls conceptualize bullying generally in the same way, they do not necessarily *experience* bullying in the same manner. Boys mention *physical aggression* more frequently and girls mention *isolation* more frequently. School-based violence prevention programs need to work with both children and teachers on affecting both types of actions. Teachers and other adults at schools may notice physical aggression more easily than "isolation" of one child by others. Isolating others is an inconspicuous bullying action that may remain underreported and uncorrected.

Comparing students in intervention and comparison schools, we found that those in the comparison schools mentioned "isolation" more frequently. This suggests that perhaps the Expect Respect program helped reduce the extent of such behaviors at intervention schools. Such an interpretation would be consistent with our anecdotal observations at schools and at teachers' focus groups. Teachers, the vast majority of whom were female, tended to address bullying behaviors in girls more than in boys. This was true both in terms of their verbal expressions in the focus groups (they brought up girls' problem behaviors more), and in terms of their attempts to correct bullying behaviors by children in their classrooms. Clearly more research needs to be done in order to fully understand findings.

Last, from students' responses it seems that surveys that simply ask students to report whether they "feel safe" at schools, or if bullying is a problem, may have results

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that are artificially low. Even many students who describe personal examples that based

on their *own* definitions of bullying would be considered bullying, report that bullying is

not a problem at schools. Boys in particular may underreport bullying at schools.

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Appendix A
Expect Respect Student Interviews
Shirin C. Khosropour

Sometimes kids say or do things that make other kids feel bad.
1. What kinds of things do kids *say* that make other kids feel bad?
2. What kinds of things do kids *do* that make other kids feel bad?
3. What kinds of things do kids do or say specifically *in class* that make other kids feel bad?
4. What kinds of things do kids do or say at places other than the class that make other kids feel bad? Places like on the playground, hallways, cafeteria, the bus, or any other places you can think of that kids come in contact with each other outside of class.
5. Are there people at your school who do this kind of thing a lot?
6. Without giving me any names, tell me how would you *describe* the kids who do this kind of thing a lot? What are some of their characteristics?
7. Are there people at your school who have this kind of thing happen to them a lot? Like they get picked on a lot by other kids?
8. Again, without giving me any names, tell me how you would describe the kids that have this kind of thing happen to them a lot. What are some of their characteristics?
9. What does *bullying* mean to you?
10. What does *teasing* mean to you?

If by this point, the student has not been using a specific word to consistently refer to what we call "bullying" suggest this word for the sake of brevity in questions. Say something like:
"Some people use the word "bully" to talk about kids who do or say things that make other kids feel bad a lot. So from now on, if I use the word "bully", I'm just talking about kids who do or say things that make other kids feel bad a lot of the time."

11. How do you think bullying makes the person who's being bullied feel?
12. How do you think bullying makes the bully feel?
13. Sometimes when someone is being bullied, there are other kids around who don't do any bullying themselves, but can see what's happening. How do you think the kids who are watching the bullying feel?

If by this time, the issue of "intent" has not come up, ask:
14. If a kid does something that makes another kid feel bad, does it make a difference to you if he or she was actually *trying* to make the other kid feel bad or if he or she wasn't really thinking about making the other kid feel bad?
Let me read this question again. It's kind of a long question. There's no right or wrong answer to this question. *(Read question 14 again).*
  • Can you tell me how you decided on your answer?

15. Do you think bullying is a problem at schools in general?
16. What do you think should be done about bullying at schools?

17. There may be other things about how you feel or think about bullying, teasing, or watching bullying happen that I haven't asked you about? Are there any other things you think I should know?
18. Do you have any suggestions about other questions I should ask the other children about bullying?
19. Do you have any suggestions about questions I should ask the adults about bullying?
20. If you could talk to your principal about bullying and knew that they'd take what you say seriously, what would you say to your principal?

Appendix B

Quotes From Students In Response To Interview Questions

Interview Question: What do kids do or say to make other kids feel bad?

"Verbal Aggression" Category.
    Verbal Abuse (General Name Calling)
- "Fag", "Gay", "A shrew" (CB[1])
- "Sometimes people call people names just to be mean…geek, shrimp, wimpy" (IB[2])
- "Fruitcake" (IB)
- "Call them names and give them dirty looks". (CG[3])
- "Make fun of them. Call them 'dork'". (CG)
- "Maybe call them names. Act like they are lower than them". (CG)
- "Say that you're no good. You can't do it, Get Away, Nobody likes you". (CG)
- "They could hurt your feelings when they talk about your parents". (CG)
- "Call them the 'B' word". (CG)
- "call kids crazy". (CG)
- "Some people call people 'Lesbians'". (CG)
- "Sometimes they tell 'your mama' jokes". (IG[4])
- "Like calling them names, like dork or geek. Maybe if they are doing well in school, kids might call them nerd." (IG)

    Verbal Abuse (Appearnce)
- "Your smile looks like your teeth fell out" (CB)
- "You're too big"(CB)
- "Short"(CB)
- "You're ugly, you're fat"(CB)
- "You're ugly, too short, too tall" (IB)
- "I have newer shoes, better radio, bigger fish" (CG)
- "You stink" (CG) "They call them square head, fat, poor, make fun of how they dress" (CG)
- "If they wear glasses that are really skinny or really big" (IB)
- "They make fun of this boy who looks like a girl. When teacher says 'Girls, go get your lunch' they say…go get your lunch." (IG)

    Verbal Abuse (Academics)
- "My writing is better than yours" (CB)

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[1] Comparison Boy (boy in the comparison group)

[2] Intervention Boy (boy in the intervention group)

[3] Comparison Girl (girl in the comparison group)
[4] Intervention Girl (girl in the intervention group)

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- "You are stupid or retarded" (CB)
- "He's geeky and knows too much stuff" (CB)
- "In calls say that they are dumb" (IB)
- "Say 'He's geeky and knows too much stuff and he's stupid' He knows about not regular stuff like Barney and cartoons and Teletubbies" (CG)
- "Someone asks a question, say 'that's a dumb question'" (IG)
- "You're dumb cause you can't get the math problem right or, you're stupid cause you can't read" (CG)
- "That's stupid, I have a better idea" (CG)
- "If a teacher asks a question and you don't know, they make fun of you" (IG)
- "Saying someone's report stinks" (IB)
- "You don't know anything" (CB)
- "You are on the honor roll because the teacher felt bad for you." (IB)

Verbal Abuse (Athletics)
- "You can't run" (CB)
- "Say they are weak" (CB)
- "Oh, you can't kick the ball" (CB)
- "You wimp, you can't kick the ball" (CB)
- "You wimp you can't catch" (CG)
- "…You kick like a Kindergartner" (CG)
- "If you miss a goal, they say 'you're bad at soccer'"
- "The teach will be really mean to kids who can't run. She's really stern with them." (CG)
- "She can't pass the ball, she is so bad" (CG)
- "In PE when ever someone can't so it because they aren't athletic, they make fun of it" (CG)
- "You so slow you wouldn't be able to get out in a fire drill." (CG)
- "They laugh or point a finger because they can't pass a ball or do something." (CG)
- "…you can't dribble." (IB)
- "If they mess up or do something wrong, they'll just keep bringing that. Like if you fall down during gym class later on-they'll just keep teasing you about it." (IG)
- "I got all first places and you didn't because your bad" (CG)

  Spreading Rumors
- "Talk behind their back and start rumors" (IG)
- "They start rumors. Or they just tell somebody a secret that they didn't want anyone else to know" (IG)
- "Pass notes" (IG)
- "They could lie. Just to put people down make themselves feel better" (CG)

  Laughing at Someone's Misfortune
- "If a class mate fell out of a chair, he might laugh and say you deserve that" (CG)
- "Laugh when someone else is crying" (CG)
- "They want to cry but if they cry kids will make fun of them more." (CG)

Prejudice
- "White trash, Black trash, Mexican trash"(CB)
- "Maybe talking about their religion. If they don't believe in something you believe in and they think that's a dumb belief."(IG)
- "Maybe they're prejudice and they don't like to do anything with anyone that isn't their color." (IG)

"Physical Aggression" Category
Physically Hurting
- "Like to punch them, and they start to cry" (CG)
- "They could hit somebody. That makes them feel bad because everyone sees them and laughs at them." (CG)
- "Push somebody down" (IG)
- "Maybe like it's a very close friend and they fight. That would probably make him feel bad because like he doesn't want to get in a fight with his close friend." (IG)

Pranks / Mean Games
- "Kick their lunchbox and then say 'pick it up'" (CG)
- "Trip them. Pretend they accidentally through water and it hit them." (CG)
- "They would take their work, crumple it up, and throw it away." (CG)
- "They might be standing in line, they'll walk up and hit you on your shoulders and say 'out of the way, dork'" (CG)
- "They cut in line. And cut them off when talking." (CG)
- "They put this kid in a trash can when he is getting water." (IG)
- "Cut in front of kids in cafeterias." (IG)
- "They will also tell them to do stuff for them and make them feel bad because they're doing something they don't want to." (CG)

Destroying Property
- "Gimmie your money" (CG).
- "spitting on this girls jacket" (IG).

"Isolation" Category.
- "Don't play with me" (IG)
- "They may say "seat saved" but just don't want somebody sitting by them" (CG)
- "They won't let them play in the games that the other kids will play" (CG)
- "I am not going to be your friend anymore" (CG)
- "I don't like you get away from me"
- "Exclude people from class games" (CB)
- When they get into groups, they will try to switch groups or say something about the person they don't want to be with like he's stupid (IG).
- I've heard people say to me "you're not like us because you're Oriental (CG).
- They may leave them out of things---exclude them from stuff. No one beats each other up in this school (IB).

Interview Question: What are the characteristics of the people who do or say things that hurt other people's feelings a lot? How would you describe them?

"Personality Characteristics" Category.

Mean:

- "they're mean" (all of the children who are counted in this category used the word "mean");

Arrogant:

- "they act like cool and stuff and they try to be handsome and they think they're all that" (CB);
- "they always want to put you down" (IB);
- "they usually act cool like they're better than everyone else" (IG);
- "feel like they know everything and can do anything they want because they are older or better than you" (CG).
- "they always have to be the best in everything" (CG).

Poor emotional self-control:

- have too much hatred in them (2CBs);
- grumpy (2CBs);
- hot tempered (CB);
- rude, in your face (CB, IB);
- "he was wild, no one could clam him. I always was thinking he had ADD" (CG);
- "if they got mad…they'd start rumors about you" (IG).

Crowd pleaser:

- "they always want to be the class clown" (CG);
- "they go with what their friends say—not what their body tells them" (CG);

"Physical Characteristics" Category.

- "average size; blond or dark hair, not in-between like red hair" (CB);
- "a lot of them are athletes who think they're better than everybody" (IB);
- "for the guys—wear those baggy pants or shorts" (CB);
- "most are kinda' short" (CG);
- "Big, and calls me shrimp" (CG);
- "sometimes they're tall and they have this mean face" (CG)
- they're mostly girls (IB, CG);
- "both of them have like spiky blond hair that looks kind of like a buzz cut. Ah, ah, one of them wears a longhorn cap, well almost every day, …and they're both pretty pale looking. (The girl) has black hair, she almost looks like, ah, she looks Hispanic and stuff; looks pretty mean." (CG)
- they're mostly boys (2 IG).

"Poor Support System" Category.

They have troubles at home:

- "they get treated bad at their house, so they think they can just treat anybody—like they can do anything" (CB);
- "they have poor parents, so they pick on kids with rich parents" (CB);

- "I used to be like a grumpy bully sometimes—in second grade. My grandfather used to hit me with a belt, treat me meanly and I used to contribute that onto other kids" (CB);
- "they would not have a good family life; their mom and dad would probably yell at them a lot" (IB);
- "they have a problem at home, like a divorce, and are really sad about it" (CG)
- "they get put down at home a lot" (IG).

Isolated:
- "they don't have friends" (IG);
  (One IG stated the opposite: "usually they have a lot of friends, but their friends are a lot like them, being rude most of the time")
- "they're jealous because they're not as popular" (IB);

"Behavioral Characteristics" Category.

Get in trouble with teachers:
- "they would talk a lot and get in trouble with the teacher" (IB);
- "they are not scared of the teacher, like they talk back" (CG).

Poor academic achievement:
- "they usually don't do well in school" (IG).

Interview question: Without giving any names, tell me how you would describe the kids that have this kind of thing happen to them a lot. What are some of their characteristics?

"Behavioral Characteristics" Category.

Cry; Frightened:
- "act sad" (CB)
- "cry...are frightened" (IG-2)
- "probably frightened, worried" (IG)
- "they cry a lot. they tell the mommy, but never the teachers" (IG)
- "crybaby" (CG-4)
- "often starts to cry" (CG)
- "they say she is a crybaby" (CG)
- "...like be sad" (CG)

General Abilities – Inferior:
- "they are not very good at things we do here. Like when we do stuff in class they don't know much about it." (IG)
- "like, can't really do anything that good" (IB)
- "people who are not good at sports" (CB)
- "she doesn't really like sports" (CG)

Being Different:
- "they don't look like anyone else. Something is wrong. Their teeth are different. They do weird stuff that is annoying. They act weird." (IB)
- "they're different from everyone else." (IB)
- " tell real dumb jokes" (IB)

Academic – Inferior:
- "they're dumb...They're way behind in class. They don't know a lot." (CG)

- "...or they're really bad in class - don't do well in class" (CB)

Academic – Superior:
- "They're either really smart or ..." (CB)
- "it's the smarter people in class" (CB)
- "get teased for doing stuff for the teacher" (CB)
- "make real good grades and are good at solving problems" (IB)
- "really scientific" (CG)
- "really smart" (CG)
- "they are really smart when other's aren't" (CG)
- "because they're all really smart" (CG)
- "really smart. Others call them 'brainiac'" (CG)
- "they usually do real well in school" (IG)

Attitudes/Feelings:
- "really bossy and snotty" (CB)
- "they are nice inside of class but not outside of class" (IG)

Poor Social Skills:
- "Interjects when people talk" (CG)
- "Laughs when something is not funny" (CG)

"Physical Characteristics" Category.

Physical Characteristics - General:
- "other kids think they're ugly" (CB)
- "usually have some disability or something ..., like wear big glasses or are overweight - ADHD" (CB)
- "small" (CB)
- "shrimpy and skinny. Or they're big ... fat. They don't look the same as everyone else
- ... like their teeth are different" (IB)
- "they're smaller" (IB)
- "they would either be real skinny or real big" (IB)
- Unkempt (CG-3)
- "she smells" (CG)
- "teeth are crooked" (CG)
- "doesn't comb his hair" (CG)
- "talk funny" (CG-6)
- "talks low and fast" (CG)
- "they talk funny" (CG)
- Size (CG-3)
- "really short" (CG)
- "skinny" (CG)
- "big" (CG)
- "he's disabled, he walks funny" (IG)

Physical Characteristics - Glasses:
- "wear glasses" (CB-2)
- ".... like they wear big glasses..." (CB)

- "they wear glasses" (IB)
- "wear glasses" (CG)

Different Nationality:
- "they are from other countries" (IG)
- "ethnic minority" (CG)
- "Japanese" (CG)
- "oriental and Korean" (CG)
- "looks Hispanic" (CG)

Bad Clothes:
- "wore an outfit that they shouldn't have worn to school" (CG)
- "they wear glasses or dress weird, with like Barney characters or old clothes with holes" (CG)
- "wear tie-dye shirts" (CG)
- "he often wears these shirts, you know the kind that uh, have a little like jacket sort of thing, over shirts" (CG)
- "he wears mom's clothes - like tweetie bird shirts" (CG)

"Personality Characteristics" Category.

Shy; Quiet:
- "they're real shy" (IB)
- "he's really quiet... quiet most of the time" (CG)
- "shy, quiet" (CG-2)
- "the mainly quite type" (CG)
- "doesn't really have a lot of friends" (CG)
- "shy, don't talk a lot" (CG)
- "shy, not social" (IG-3)
- "they're shy" (IG)
- ."kind of a nerd. Not very social" (IG)
- "they are very shy people" (IG)

Weak, helpless:
- "they're helpless. Sometimes they can't get out of it when people are picking on them" (CB)
- "their self-esteem is sometimes lower than others" (CB)
- "couldn't stand up for himself" (IB)
- "don't like to stand up for themselves" (IB)
- "no muscle" (IB)
- "bully picks on people that they think are weak" (IB)
- "wimpy - weak" (IB)
- "won't stand up for what they know is right" (CG)

Hot Tempered:
- "easily provoked if somebody bumps into them they'll just get really mad" (CB)
- "rude ... pick a lot of fights" (CB)
- "has a hot temper" (CG)

Nice:
- "they try to be as nice as they can to other people" (IB)

- "they usually have a lot of friends who are there for them" (IG)
- "a good kid" (IG)
- "nice, funny" (CG)

Interview Question: What does "bullying" mean to you?
"Verbal Aggression" Category.
    Being "mean"; picking on someone; calling people names; making others feel bad:
- "making fun of someone continuously" (IB),
- "insulting someone" (CB);
- "cussing" (CB);
- "calling mean names" (CG);
- "say 'you aren't as good as me'" (CG);
- "when one kid tries to pick on another and calls them names" (IG);
- "hurting feelings; …saying you are wimpy or woos" (IG).

    Teasing:
- "teasing you a lot" (CB);
- "teasing people about certain hobbies, like reading;--teasing people about their size, athletic ability, artwork, and other school work" (CB);
- "bullying is kinda' like being teased" (IG).

    Miscellaneous:
- "being surrounded by people", spreading the word about somebody being bullied (IB);
- "someone is jealous of another person or just wants to take it out on somebody else because he or she is mad"(CG);
- "dares them to do things, like shoplift" (IG)

"Physical Aggression" Category.
    Physically hurting someone, pushing, shoving, or threatening to physically hurt someone.
- "person that's being bullied gets hurt in some way" (IB);
- "hurting kids…it's more of a physical process rather than a word process" (IB);
- "beating up someone" (IB);
- "someone who beats up people" (CG);
- "when you get pushed around by people" (CG);
- "shoving, pushing, hurting physically" (IG);

    Bossing people, telling them what to do, putting them down:
- "making them like your servant" (CB);
- "treating another human being the way they don't want to be treated" (IB);
- "big, tall people stopping you and telling you what to do" (CG);
- "bossing someone around" (IG).

    Taking your property or threatening to take your property:
- "taking your lunch money, taking things from you" (CB);
- "trying to steal your money" (CB);
- "saying, like, 'give me your lunch money'" (CG).

Interview Question: What does "teasing" mean to you?
"Verbal Aggression" Category.
    Name calling; cussing:
- "it's calling them names, cussing at them; like a bully, except for not physically, but verbally" (CB);
- "calling names, but not a threat" (IB);
- "calling someone names" (CG);
- "when they call people names" (IG).

    Taunting, making fun of someone, intimidating someone:
- "saying 'ha, ha, I got something and you didn't get it" (CB);
- "intimidation" (CB);
- "they make fun of people because they're different" (CG);
- "taunting somebody, like 'I can do something better than you do'" (CG);
- "staring at them" (IG);
- "people talking about your private life" (IG).
- "...like they see if there's something that's theirs that you wanted, and when you say yes (that you want it), they say 'well, you can't have it' and they give it to someone else". (CG)

    Annoying, upsetting, or bothering you:
- "bother or annoy someone" (CB);
- "playing mind games,…spreading rumors" (CG);
- "telling things that aren't true" (CG)
- "like taking your stuff…when they bully, they don't give it back; when they tease, you just give it back. They like make you sing for it or something. (CG)

"Playful" Category.
    It's friendly; it's nice and fun for both people.
- "calling somebody else names that they're kind of ok with, that they don't get mad about" (IB);
- "something fun for both people" (IG);
- "a friendly thing to do" (IG);
- "I don't thing teasing is as serious" (IG).

"Physical Aggression" Category.
- "it's like bullying, you push someone, but it doesn't make you feel *that* bad" (IB);
- "taking things" (CB);

Interview Question: If a kid does something that makes another kid feel bad, does it make a difference to you if he or she was actually *trying* to make the other kid feel bad or if he or she wasn't really thinking about making the other kid feel bad?

"Yes-Intent makes a difference" Category.
- "Different" (CG-2)
- "Worse if the person wasn't thinking about how it affected me" (CG)
- "It depends on how the target takes it inside" (IG)
- "It's different. On purpose, meaner" (IG)

- "If there's a really mean bully, he would probably be glad to make the other kids feel bad. If ... he wasn't really thinking, he really wouldn't try to make the kid feel bad. I used to be a big time bully, but now I'm just a little grumpy. I do make others feel bad, because I'm grumpy. You don't want to make me grumpy especially when I don't get my medicine" (CB)
- "If intentional, should be punished. If not, should be made to apologize (gives personal example as a bully)" (CB)
- "Sometimes you know that they did it on purpose. Other times you don't really know - if did it on accident. Why should they get in trouble?" (CB)
- "Just blurting out words is bad, but not as bad as if they think it over and purposely say mean things. Just blurting out words hurts, but it's not as mean" (IB)
- "Leave it alone if not intentional. If intentional maybe go tell the teacher" (IB)
- "If they did it by accident, I would probably forgive. But if it's on purpose, that's kind of different because they're trying to pick on you and just don't like you for some reason" (IB)
- "It's just different. If somebody did it intentionally I would be really upset" (CG)
- "The one trying to make me feel bad is worse because they would keep doing it" (CG)
- "If they didn't (mean to) they would not be as scared" (CG)

"No-Intent Makes No Difference" Category.
- "It doesn't matter to me, because I don't like people do that to me" (CB)
- 'Either way it's the same" (IB)
- "No, it doesn't really make a difference to me. If you're bullying, you shouldn't be doing it in the first place --- it doesn't matter if you were trying to make them feel bad or not" (IB)
- "It doesn't matter" (IG)
- "It doesn't matter because they feel bad anyway" (IG)
- "No, usually that person still feels hurt" (IG)
- "Not really, they made the person feel bad" (IG)
- "I don't think so" (IG)
- "Not really, they still making the person feel bad" (IG)
- "Not really" (CG)

Interview Question: Do you think bullying is a problem in schools in general?
"Yes-Bullying Is a Problem" Category.
- "more of a problem after school because that's when the teacher has left, and they think, "ok, now that schools out, the rules don't apply to me." (CB)
- "yes people can get hurt." (CG)
- "there is bullying at every school." (CG)
- "I think so. Bullying can happen anywhere." (IG)
- "I guess, because people aren't getting along." (IG)
- "I don't really think so at our school, in middle school it's probably a bigger problem." (CG)
- "not at our school, but at others." (IG)
- " some, but not a lot of schools." (CB)

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- "not a lot here, but at my old school there was a lot of bullying going on." (CB)
- "we don't have much bullying here. I think other schools would have more if they didn't have Expect Respect." (IB)

"No-Bullying Is Not a Problem" Category.
- "uh, no I think it was before, when my parents were kids because they didn't have monitors." (CG)
- "no not really. Everyone pretty much gets along." (CB)
- "I don't think it's a big problem here because they keep it under control. If someone sees someone getting bullied; they will tattle tale." (IB)

Interview Question: What do you think should be done about bullying in schools?
"Education/Discussion" Category.
Educate the Bully
- "teach them how to be a good person." (CB)
- "talk about what they have done and how that made the other person feel." (CB)
- "ask why they do it. They have to have a reason, they can't just spontaneously want to bully you." (IB)
- "take them to a counselor." (CG)
- "an educational talk." (CG)
- "peer mediation." (CG)
- "counselors talk to bully and parents." (IG)

Public Discussion
- "they should have a talk about it just like Expect Respect." (CB)
- "learn more about bullying." (IG-3)
- "more classes like Expect Respect." (IG)

"Intervene/Get Involved in Bully's Life" Category.
Adults should intervene:
- "like maybe teachers and counselors could find out who's really being teased and bullied so the bully can be stopped." (CG)
- "adults should know so they can fix the problem." (CB)
- "I think adults should try to stop it. Be more aware about people who are getting picked on." (IB)
- "kids should tell the teacher." (CG)
- "greater supervision." (IG-2)

Involve Parents:
- "maybe their mom could make them sit in principal's office and think." (CG)
- "sending a note home to parents; letting the parent deal with it." (CB)
- "parents should teach kids to have confidence; to stand up for themselves." (CB)
- "bullies get a note sent home to parents." (IG)

See if there is a problem at home:
- "talk to the bully. Find out what's going on at home." (CG)
- "parents spend more time with kids." (CG)
- "talk to bullies parents. Sometimes a bully becomes a bully because his parents mistreat him." (CB)

Other kids should help target:
- "you should just go and try to help them." (CB)
- "should be lots of safety patrols watching." (IG)

"Punish the Bully" Category.

Loss of Privileges:
- "as a consequence take points from them." (CB)
- "give harsher punishment." (IB)
- "get shorter recess." (IG)

Punished:
- "all bullies should be punished." (IG)
- "they should be punished bad." (CG)
- "sometimes the kids who do the bullying a lot actually don't get punished for it since they do it so often." (CB)

Isolate (School/Class):
- "they could like separate the bullies from the other kids; at lunch sit them at one table." (CG)
- "they have to go to different schools; that would keep them out of other kids way." (CB)
- "if talking doesn't work, put all the bullies in one class so other kids can concentrate on learning." (IB)

Suspension:
- "the mom could take him home for a day." (CG)
- "expelled from school." (CB)
- "suspended from school." (CB)

"Nothing Can Be Done About Bullying" Category.
- "nothing really." (CG)
- " nothing you can do." (CG)
- "it doesn't work (school suspension)." (CB)

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