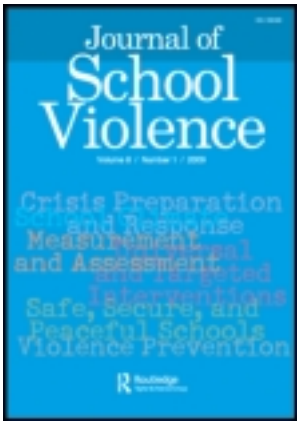

Journal of School Violence
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/wjsv20

Looking Toward the Future of Bullying Research: Recommendations for Research and Funding Priorities

Laura D. Hanish [a], Catherine P. Bradshaw [b], Dorothy L. Espelage [c], Philip C. Rodkin [c], Susan M. Swearer [d] & Arthur Horne [e]

[a] T. Denny Sanford School of Social and Family Dynamics, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, USA

[b] Johns Hopkins Center for the Prevention of Youth Violence, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, USA

[c] Department of Educational Psychology, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, Illinois, USA

[d] Department of Educational Psychology, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Lincoln, Nebraska, USA

[e] College of Education, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, USA

Accepted author version posted online: 03 Apr 2013.Published online: 26 Jun 2013.

To cite this article: Laura D. Hanish, Catherine P. Bradshaw, Dorothy L. Espelage, Philip C. Rodkin, Susan M. Swearer & Arthur Horne (2013): Looking Toward the Future of Bullying Research: Recommendations for Research and Funding Priorities, Journal of School Violence, 12:3, 283-295

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2013.788449

Journal of School Violence, 12:283–295, 2013

ISSN: 1538-8220 print/1538-8239 online
DOI: 10.1080/15388220.2013.788449

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Looking Toward the Future of Bullying Research: Recommendations for Research and Funding Priorities

LAURA D. HANISH
T. Denny Sanford School of Social and Family Dynamics, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, USA

CATHERINE P. BRADSHAW
Johns Hopkins Center for the Prevention of Youth Violence, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, USA

DOROTHY L. ESPELAGE and PHILIP C. RODKIN
Department of Educational Psychology, University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign, Champaign, Illinois, USA

SUSAN M. SWEARER
Department of Educational Psychology, University of Nebraska–Lincoln, Lincoln, Nebraska, USA

ARTHUR HORNE
College of Education, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, USA

Significant gaps in the bullying research literature remain, calling for an urgent need for empirical studies across a number of areas. These include the need for studies to address conceptual, definitional, and measurement issues; the social and psychological processes related to the development and persistence of bullying; and the intersection of bullying perpetration and bullying victimization with mental health issues. This article provides a brief overview of some critical contemporary research issues and identifies some research gaps requiring further investigation. It is concluded that additional research is needed to address emerging policy and funding priorities related to bullying.

Received January 15, 2013; accepted March 19, 2013.

The second, third, and fourth authors contributed equally; their names are listed alphabetically.

Address correspondence to Laura D. Hanish, T. Denny Sanford School of Social and Family Dynamics, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-3701, USA. E-mail: laura.hanish@asu.edu

KEYWORDS bullying, research, funding, priorities, aggression, victimization

There is a need—and a responsibility—to provide empirically sound information about school bullying to policy makers, educators, practitioners, and families. Although much has been learned about bullying (see recent meta-analyses, such as Ttofi & Farrington, 2011), continued research progress depends upon addressing several outstanding issues. For example, unresolved measurement issues hinder the ability to create consensus about what does or does not constitute bullying; surprisingly little is known about how key demographic factors (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity) operate with respect to bullying; and questions remain about how social and psychological factors are related to bullying. Addressing such issues is central to meeting societal goals of accurately identifying bullies and victims, conceptualizing power dynamics, understanding variations in bullying, developing efficacious intervention approaches, and grounding bullying within a larger framework of violence, discrimination, harassment, and prejudice. Educational, preventive, and treatment strategies could be further improved with increased research that takes the next steps in tackling some of the big questions that challenge the field.

The purpose of this article is to provide guidance to funders and researchers by describing current gaps in the extant bullying literature related to the conceptualization and understanding of bullying and by indicating how these gaps signify priorities in bullying research. Although space precludes a thorough review of all contemporary research priorities, the breadth of topics and issues reviewed here include areas that need to be addressed immediately to move the field forward.Addressing these issues may require novel methodological approaches, and some suggestions are provided to guide future research. In doing so, we encourage funders to prioritize the need for research in these areas and we encourage researchers to strive for answers to the issues raised. There is a critical need for more rigorous, large-scale research studies designed to address the complexity of involvement in bullying and the consequences to better inform school, family, and community efforts to mitigate these behaviors.

WHAT CONSTITUTES BULLYING? IMPLICATIONS FOR CONCEPTUALIZATION, MEASUREMENT, AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Current perspectives on bullying build on Olweus' (1993) early definition, which is characterized by three criteria—intentionality, repetition, and power imbalance. This following definition, or a variant, is often presented to student participants in studies and then they are asked to identify bullies and

victims or to indicate how often they bully or are victimized."A student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students . . . In order to use the term, "bullying," there should be an *imbalance in strength* (an asymmetric power relationship): the student who is exposed to the negative actions has difficulty defending him/herself and is somewhat helpless against the student or students who harass" (Olweus, 1993, pp. 9–10, emphasis in original). Despite the popularity of this definition among researchers, the limited research that exists suggests that students do not necessarily use the components of the Olweus definition to define bullying (Vaillancourt et al., 2008). Moreover, few researchers assess all of the Olweus components directly.

For these reasons, there has been debate among researchers about the appropriateness and necessity of providing a definition when measuring bullying (Green, Felix, Sharkey, Furlong, & Kras, 2012). It has been suggested that providing a definition prior to requesting self-reports is important so that the respondents are thinking about bullying in terms of repetition, power imbalance, and intentionality. Indeed, providing the traditional definition of bullying influences reporting. As indicated by the few studies that have addressed this issue, comparing different cut points determined by factors such as frequency and perceived power imbalance results in different levels of involvement in and outcomes of bullying (Vaillancourt et al., 2008; Ybarra, Boyd, & Oppenheim, 2012) . In contrast, some researchers opt to avoid the term "bully," and redefine the construct to focus on concrete behaviors underlying bullying, such as hitting, threatening, or name-calling, without specifying the need for repetition or the power differentials and other interpersonal dynamics between the bully and target (Espelage, Holt, & Henkel, 2003). Espelage and colleagues find that youth who self-report bullying others are more likely to be nominated by their peers as students who are often teasing and mean to others. However, few studies make direct comparisons across the two approaches, making it unclear whether there is or is not meaningful differentiation between bullying and aggression more generically.

Thus, a key research issue is the consideration of whether definitional requirements are superfluous or essential to the conceptualization of bullying, and to differentiating bullying from other forms of aggression. Addressing this issue will require delving into the three core features of the Olweus definition. Of the three, intentionality is a common element across bullying and aggression, adding little to the differentiation of bullying from aggression. However, repetition is a proxy for severity, included to exclude from bullying "occasional nonserious negative actions" (Olweus, 1993, p. 9). Repetition and severity are related (a chronic condition is usually worse than an acute one), but they are not the same, and in neither the case of repetition nor severity is there much research on dosage-response associations between

bullying and adjustment (see Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1996, for victimization). A related issue is that repetition can beget anticipatory fear in which the anticipation of aggression can be as debilitating (or more debilitating) than the aggression itself. Thus, fear may make the impact of the aggression more detrimental than would be true of single aggressive events.

Whereas repetition may be a useful indicator of bullying intensity or severity, it is the asymmetric power relationship that may be its most distinctive element. Unequal, coercive power, in which a more powerful aggressor attacks a less powerful victim (or attempts to derive power by constructing weakness in the harassed child), is what most clearly distinguishes bullying from other forms of aggression and links it with other similar forms of aggression such as dating violence and spousal abuse (Espelage & Holt, 2007). The broader aggression construct encompasses antagonistic behaviors that are emitted within a wider array of relationships. Power can be physical as well as psychological, such that the bully has more friends, greater status and prestige, or greater access to resources than the victim. The difficulty in establishing the most common dimensions among which power imbalances can be expressed and the circumstances in which power imbalances motivate bullying is a significant challenge for the next generation of research on bullying.

To complicate matters, definitions of traditional bullying may be in tension with bullying that occurs in cyberspace. It is an open question what intentionality, repetition, and power imbalance mean in cyberspace (Rodkin & Fischer, in press). For instance, cyberbullying might possibly extend to what is foreseeable and not just intentional; a repetition of cyberbullying might encompass both multiple incidents and multiple forwarding. Power imbalance has an ambiguous meaning in the indefinite world of cyberspace. This will necessitate new extensions of a bullying model to encompass what is actually happening within the cyberspace environment and in the relations between cyberbullying that originates off campus but makes its presence felt during the school day.

THE POWER DIFFERENTIAL: INTERSECTIONS WITH AGE, GENDER, SEXUAL ORIENTATION, CULTURE, RACE, AND ETHNICITY

Several variables—such as age, gender, sexual orientation, culture, race, and ethnicity—are linked with power and status, making them important to investigate in the quest to understand bullying. There are two sets of research issues to consider. The first is descriptive: To what extent are there variations in the frequency, form, and function of bullying by status group (e.g., variations for boys vs. girls) and does this depend on whether bullying occurs within or across status groups (e.g., same- vs. other-gender bullying)? The second is explanatory: Are there meaningful differences in

the predictors and outcomes of bullying for different status groups and for within- and across-status bullying? Although some of these questions have received more empirical attention than others, there are still many unanswered questions that speak to the role that power and power differentials play in bullying. The answers to these questions likely require assessment protocols that are sensitive, not just to who is a bully and who is victimized, but also to who is bullying whom and demographic aspects of those involved.

Gender

Bullying may be targeted both within and across gender (Hanish, Sallquist, DiDonato, Fabes, & Martin, 2012; Rodkin & Berger, 2008). However, bullying may have different meanings when it occurs within versus across gender. For instance, in a study of the behavioral antecedents of aggression, Hanish and colleagues (2012) found that peers (particularly female peers) respond aggressively to other girls' demands and attempts to control situations, but an aggressive response is rare when boys engage in similarly demanding and controlling behaviors. In a different study of social status variations in same- and cross-gender bullying, Rodkin and Berger (2008) found that, in same-gender dyads, bullies were popular among peers whereas victims were unpopular, but this pattern was reversed for male bullies of female peers. In this case, boys who were bullies were unpopular and girls who were victimized were popular. Both studies suggest that within-gender bullying may carry different meanings than cross-gender bullying, and more research examining such questions is needed.

Similar questions could be raised about bullying of gender atypical and sexual minority youth. Sexual minority youth have been found to be at greater risk for being victimized than their heterosexual and gender typical counterparts (Espelage, Aragon, Birkett, & Koenig, 2008). Even heterosexual youth are often targets of gender-based harassment and homophobic name-calling (Espelage, Basile, & Hamburger, 2011). Presumably, sexual minority and gender atypical youth are bullied by heterosexual and gender typical youth in an attempt to assert power. Yet, few research studies have directly addressed this issue, suggesting that there is a need to further establish the parameters under which sexual minority and gender atypical youth are (and are not) targeted for bullying. In support of this point, findings regarding the victimization of sexual minority youth appear to depend on such factors as one's specific status (e.g., questioning and transgendered youth as compared to other sexual minority youth), gender, ethnicity, age, and the community one lives in (rural vs. urban; well-educated vs. less-educated; Poteat, Aragon, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009). These findings speak to a complex intersection of gender, race, community culture, and sexual orientation that deserves additional study.

It is worth noting that victimization that is rooted in gender, gender typicality, and sexuality may involve traditional bullying behaviors (e.g., physical or verbal attacks), but it may also involve the use of homophobic language or gender- and sexuality-based harassment as a way to enforce gender norms, promote heteronormativity, and maintain traditional masculinity norms (Birkett & Espelage, in press; Poteat & DiGiovanni, 2012). Thus, there is a need to better understand the similarities and differences between bullying and sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination ("unwelcomed behavior of a sexual nature") that interferes with the right to receive an equal educational opportunity. As such, it is part of Federal Law Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which means that it is subject to specific legal requirements (i.e., schools must distribute a formal policy addressing sexual harassment, respond promptly with a thorough investigation when a complaint has been filed, and prevent retaliation). From a legal standpoint, sexual harassment is differentiated from bullying, which is also subject to state and federal laws. Such distinction has also been seen in separate lines of research on sexual harassment and bullying. However, there may be longitudinal associations of bullying, homophobic name-calling, and sexual harassment in youth as young as age 10 (Espelage et al., 2011). Thus, a research goal must be to further explore the extent to which there is overlap between sexual harassment and bullying.

Culture, Race, and Ethnicity

Similar issues operate with regard to culture, race, and ethnicity. The study of bullying has had a heavy cross-cultural influence, with assessments of bullying in almost every corner of the world. There has been controversy over whether some antibullying interventions, such as the Olweus program, work better in Europe than in the United States, given variation in cultural norms, school structure, or other social factors (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). Within a culture, an understudied issue concerns the social dynamics of bullying and victimization among children of different racial or ethnic groups (either immigrant or native-born). Immigrants may be at a power disadvantage, particularly if they look or dress differently or are associated with groups about which negative attitudes are common, but the evidence here is inconclusive. For instance, Stroheimer, Kärnä, and Salmivalli (2011) reported that bullying between and within ethnic groups increased with the ethnic diversity of multicultural Dutch classrooms, and that minorities (i.e., Turks, Morrocans) bullied at higher rates than native Dutch. Patterns of bullying and victimization are not much clearer when turning from immigrants to native-born minority groups. In the United States, minority groups such as African Americans may be perceived by peers to be both more popular and more aggressive than European Americans, a result that defies easy equivalence between minority status and low social status (Wilson & Rodkin, 2013).

Moreover, African American students may be less likely to be victimized than other ethnic groups, at least in diverse school settings (Graham & Juvonen, 2002; Hanish & Guerra, 2000). Additional research is needed to better understand whether, when, and how racial and ethnic status relate to involvement in bullying. However, the lack of studies that highlight who bullies whom, makes it difficult to estimate the relative prevalence of bullying that involves children of different ethnic backgrounds interacting with one another (Tolsma, van Deurzen, Stark, & Veenstra, 2013), and thus the extent to which bullying can be construed as an instrument of minority oppression.

Age

Although bullying seems to extend across the developmental spectrum, relatively little is known about how it varies with development, particularly into adulthood. Studies of elementary- and middle-school age youth have shown that victims of bullying tend to be anxious, socially withdrawn, and to have few friends (Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, & Sadek, 2010). These are characteristics that might signify that children with internalizing tendencies are relatively low on the social hierarchy and, thus, easy targets of bullying. However, studies of preschool-age children find no evidence that victims are anxious, socially withdrawn, or otherwise solitary (Hanish et al., 2004; Hanish et al., 2012). Thus, the factors that influence a power differential between bullies and victims in one developmental phase may not contribute to a power differential at other developmental phases. The value of developmentally based research in the bullying field is evident in the need for intervention efforts to be appropriately focused for children at various ages. For example, the intervention needs of children who are transitioning to middle school may be different from those who have not yet approached the middle school transition or who have already completed it (Pellegrini & Long, 2002). Addressing this issue may also require unique consideration of methodology. For instance, research designs that focus on a narrow participant age range predominate in this field. Using research designs that allow for consideration of a wider array of ages would inform our understanding of developmental variations (Ttofi, Farrington, & Losel, 2012), which would require much more attention to measurement issues.

TACKLING SIGNIFICANT QUESTIONS: THE NEED FOR SUBSTANTIVE RESEARCH

Greater knowledge of definitional, demographic, and power issues is important in its own right, but it is even more important when viewed in light of the current need to address macro questions and to translate knowledge to the

real world. That is, advances in measurement and conceptualization simultaneously advance researchers' ability to study the factors that increase or decrease the likelihood of bullying, responding to bullying, and the potential for harm from bullying. Although not an exhaustive list, we raise two substantive issues that require new research and funding priorities—one of these illustrates the idea that bullying is contextualized within the peer context and the other illustrates the idea that bullying involvement is related to individual level factors (such as mental health).

The Social World of Bullying: When, How, and Why Do Peers Matter?

Bullying is a relational phenomenon. Bullies and victims have relationships with one another, as well as with peers in the broader social group. Peers can play an important role in bullying. For instance, over 70% of school-age youth reported being a bystander to bullying within the past month (Bradshaw, Sawyer, & O'Brennan, 2007). Thus, bullying is not simply a behavioral problem that is ascribed to bullies or an interpersonal (or intrapersonal) problem that plagues victims. Instead, it is best thought of as a relationship problem in which bullies, victims, and peers all play a role. Some students may perpetrate the bullying, while bystanders either directly assist or reinforce the bullying behavior.Providing an audience for bullying by standing around and watching or laughing can also encourage and prolong bullying. However, intervening to stop the bullying or to defend the victim can effectively hinder the behavior.For this reason, school-based prevention programs have been developed to encourage bystanders to take a more active role in intervening to defend victims of bullying, and meta-analysis provides some support for the efficacy of these programs (Polanin, Espelage, & Pigott, 2012).

The promise of these programs highlights the need to better understand the role of peers and to further integrate new knowledge about the social processes that contribute to bullying into the next generation of bullying intervention programs. A complex array of individual and group factors helps determine whether a bystander will intervene to assist or defend the target of bullying (Espelage, Green, & Polanin, 2012; Salmivalli, 2010). Younger and female youth may be more likely to defend a victim of bullying than older or male youth.Empathy, moral competency, and a sense of personal responsibility might also be associated with defending behavior. At the same time, these individual characteristics interact with group norms to impact the likelihood that bystanders will effectively intervene (Espelage et al., 2012). Thus, it appears that the recent surge of scholarship on peers' behavior is pointing to a complex interaction between individual differences and peer group dynamics as explanatory variables.

Unfortunately, this research is based almost exclusively on study designs that present participants with hypothetical vignettes (Espelage et al., 2012).

It is not clear whether self-reported actions in hypothetical situations generalize to actual behavior and situations.As a result, many questions remain to be addressed through observational or other "real-time" assessments, such as: (a) How does students' willingness to intervene correlate with actual behavior in a bullying situation?; (b) Which peer behaviors are most effective in reducing bullying? (c); and What individual and peer-level predictors are associated with peers' efficacy in minimizing or stopping bullying?

The Intersection of Bullying and Mental Health

Bullying is a complex problem that affects, and is affected by, other aspects of children's lives. Involvement in bullying, both for bullies and for victims, is related to mental health issues (Copeland, Wolke, Angold, & Costello, 2013), although studies that distinguish causal from indicator models (as in the study of peer rejection) are rare. The extant literature has linked involvement in bullying with mental health diagnoses, such as autism spectrum disorders, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, anxiety disorders, and depressive disorders (Rose, Monda-Amaya, & Espelage, 2011).Some children, for example, have personal characteristics—such as disabilities—that make them particularly vulnerable to bullying others or being bullied. For example, children on the autism spectrum are at increased risk for being bullied, and children with Asperger's are at even greater risk than their lower functioning peers. This may be due, in part, to their participation in inclusion programs, which can increase their exposure to typically developing peers who may disproportionately target them (Zablotsky, Bradshaw, Anderson, & Law, 2012). Bullies may also have mental health needs. For example, bully perpetration may be symptomatic of youth diagnosed with conduct disorder (e.g., callous unemotional, moral disengagement). More research is also needed to better understand the types of supports that children with mental health diagnoses need to prevent bullying before it occurs and to assist them in coping and responding to bullying episodes without escalating the risk for behavioral, social, academic, or mental health consequences.

There is also growing recognition of the potential immediate and long-term impacts of bullying on mental and behavioral health (Copeland et al., 2013; Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010; Ttofi et al., 2012); these impacts are often true for perpetrators as well as victims, and are especially salient among youth who are involved in bullying as both a victim and a perpetrator (Bradshaw, Waasdorp, Goldweber, & Johnson, 2013). The breadth and potential severity of adjustment outcomes that can accompany bullying are cause for concern, particularly when illustrated by vivid media anecdotes that highlight severe adjustment problems for harassed youth.

For example, recent national attention to the issue of bullying has, in some instances, focused on particular cases of suicide. Whereas there are some correlational data linking involvement in bullying with suicidal ideation, recent longitudinal studies have shown these associations to be more complex and often due to underlying mental health concerns as well as gender-based variability (Copeland et al., 2013). Recent longitudinal studies have found that even after controlling for preexisting mental health problems, bullying was associated with greater risk for suicidal thoughts (see Copeland et al., 2013). Yet, the epidemiologic research generally suggests that the main predictor of suicidal ideation, suicidal attempts, and suicidal completion is a diagnosis of major depressive disorder (Holma et al., 2010). Therefore, one way to conceptualize the complex connection between bullying and suicidality is to view bullying as a stressful life circumstance; bullying may trigger a major depressive episode, which might then be expressed as suicidality (Winsper, Lereya, Zanarini, Wolke, & Wolke, 2012). Further, exposure to details of a suicide can lead some vulnerable individuals to perceive that it is somehow acceptable to commit suicide related to bullying (Romer, Jamieson, & Jamieson, 2006). It is imperative that we continue to use research designs that will enable parsing out the effects of bullying from the effects of other risk factors and that will identify risk or protective factors that might moderate the mental health effects of involvement in bullying.

CONCLUSIONS

Future research on bullying must involve attention to issues of measurement; consideration of status, power, and variability by demographic indicators; and exploration of important substantive questions, such as questions about peers and mental health. Addressing these goals requires utilizing methodologies that will enable researchers to unearth the complex psychological and social influences that fuel bullying behavior. These methods include tools for identifying children who bully and those who are targets (or both) and for linking the perpetrator with their specific targets; longitudinal studies that allow for consideration of developmental and temporal issues; designs that enable researchers to isolate causal factors; and approaches that facilitate the study of peer processes.

The significance of advancing bullying research comes in the subsequent ability to apply knowledge to policy, educational practices, and intervention approaches. Looking toward the next generation of bullying research, the aim of this article was to guide funders and researchers by providing a brief overview of some key issues that are central to moving the field to the next level. With additional attention to these and other important research issues, we hope to see the results translated to create more peaceful social environments where all individuals can thrive.

STATEMENT ON FUNDING

Laura Hanish's work on this manuscript was supported by the T. Denny Sanford Foundation. Dorothy Espelage's work was supported by CDC (1U01/CD001677).

COMPETING INTERESTS

There are no competing financial or vested interests.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors gratefully acknowledge the Bullying Research Network for convening the Think Tank meeting that led to this work.

REFERENCES

Birkett, M., & Espelage, D. L. (in press). Homophobic name-calling, peer-groups, and masculinity: The socialization of homophobic behavior in adolescents. *Social Development*.

Bradshaw, C. P., Sawyer, A. L., & O'Brennan, L. M. (2007). Bullying and peer victimization at school: Perceptual differences between students and school staff. *School Psychology Review*, *36*, 361–382.

Bradshaw, C. P., Waasdorp, T. E., Goldweber, A., & Johnson, S. L. (2013). Bullies, gangs, drugs, and school: Understanding the overlap and the role of ethnicity and urbanicity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *42*, 220–234. doi:10.1007/s10964-012-9863-7

Cook, C. R., Williams, K. R., Guerra, N. G., Kim, T. E., & Sadek, S. (2010). Predictors of bullying and victimization in childhood and adolescence: A meta-analytic investigation. *School Psychology Quarterly*, *25*, 65–83. doi:10.1037/a0020149

Copeland, W. E., Wolke, D., Angold, A., & Costello, J. (2013). Adult psychiatric outcomes of bullying and being bullied by peers in childhood and adolescence. *Journal of the American Medical Association Psychiatry*, *70*, 419–426. doi:10.1001/jamapsychiatry.2013.504

Espelage, D. L., Aragon, S. R., Birkett, M., & Koenig, B. (2008). Homophobic teasing, psychological outcomes, and sexual orientation among high school students: What influence do parents and schools have? *School Psychology Review*, *37*, 202–216.

Espelage, D. L., Basile, K. C., & Hamburger, M. E. (2011). Bullying perpetration and subsequent sexual violence among middle school students. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *50*, 60–65. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2011.07.015

Espelage, D. L., Green, H. D., & Polanin, J. (2012). Willingness to intervene in bullying episodes among middle school students: Individual

and peer-group influences. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, *32*, 776–801. doi:10.1177/0272431611423017

Espelage, D. L., & Holt, M. K. (2007). Dating violence and sexual harassment across the bully-victim continuum among middle and high school students. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*, 799–811.

Espelage, D. L., Holt, M. K., & Henkel, R. R. (2003). Examination of peer-group contextual effects on aggression during early adolescence. *Child Development*, *74*, 205–220.

Farrington, D. P., & Ttofi, M. M. (2009). School-based programs to reduce bullying and victimization. *Campbell Systematic Reviews, 6*, 1–148. Retrieved from http://campbellcollaboration.org/lib/download/718

Graham, S., & Juvonen, J. (2002). Ethnicity, peer harassment, and adjustment in middle school: An exploratory study. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *22*, 173–199. doi:10.1177/0272431602022002003

Green, J. G., Felix, E. D., Sharkey, J. D., Furlong, M. J., & Kras, J. E. (2012). Identifying bully victims: Definitional versus behavioral approaches. *Psychological Assessment*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1037/a0031248

Hanish, L. D., Eisenberg, N., Fabes, R. A., Spinrad, T. L., Ryan, P., & Schmidt, S. (2004). The expression and regulation of negative emotions: Risk factors for young children's peer victimization. *Development and Psychopathology*, *16*, 335–353. doi:10.1017/S0954579404044542

Hanish, L. D., & Guerra, N. G. (2000). The roles of ethnicity and school context in predicting children's victimization by peers. *American Journal of Community Psychology. Special Issue: Minority Issues in Prevention*, *28*, 201–223.

Hanish, L. D., Sallquist, J., DiDonato, M., Fabes, R. A., & Martin, C. L. (2012). Aggression by whom—Aggression toward whom: Behavioral predictors of same- and other-gender aggression in early childhood. *Developmental Psychology*, *48,*1450–1462. doi:10.1037/a0027510

Holma, K., Melartin, T. K., Haukka, J., Holma, I. K., Sokero, T., & Isometsa, E. T. (2010). Incidence and predictors of suicide attempts in DSM-IV major depressive disorder: A five-year prospective study. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *167*, 801–808. doi:10.1176/appi.ajp.2010.09050627

Kochenderfer, B., & Ladd, G. W. (1996). Peer victimization: Cause or consequence of school maladjustment? *Child Development*, *67*, 1305–1317. doi:10.2307/1131701

Olweus, D. (1993). *Bullying at school*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Pellegrini, A. D., & Long, J. D. (2002). A longitudinal study of bullying, dominance, and victimization during the transition from primary school through secondary school. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *20*, 259–280. doi:10.1348/026151002166442

Polanin, J., Espelage, D. L., & Pigott, T. D. (2012). A meta-analysis of school-based bullying prevention programs' effects on bystander intervention behavior and empathy attitude. *School Psychology Review*, *41*, 47–65.

Poteat, P. V., Aragon, S. R., Espelage, D. L., & Koenig, B. (2009). Psychosocial concerns of sexual minority youth: Complexity and caution in group differences. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *77*, 196–201. doi:10.1037/a0014158

Poteat, P. V., & DiGiovanni, C. D. (2012). When biased language use is associated with bullying and dominance behavior: The moderating effect of prejudice.

Journal of Youth and Adolescence, *39*, 1123–1133. doi:10.1007/s10964-010-9565-y

Rodkin, P. C., & Berger, C. (2008). Who bullies whom? Social status asymmetries by victim gender. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *32*, 473–485. doi:10.1177/0165025408093667

Rodkin, P. C., & Fischer, K. (in press). Cyberbullying from psychological and legal perspectives. *Missouri Law Review*.

Romer, D., Jamieson, P. E., & Jamieson, K. H. (2006). Are news reports of suicide contagious? A stringent test in six U.S. cities. *Journal of Communication*, *56*, 253–270. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00018.x

Rose, C. A., Monda-Amaya, L. E., & Espelage, D. L. (2011). Bullying perpetration and victimizaiton in special education: A review of the literature. *Remedial and Special Education*, *32*(*12*),114–130.

Salmivalli, C. (2010). Bullying and the peer group: A review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *15*, 112–120.

Stroheimer, D., Kärnä, A., & Salmivalli, C. (2011). Intrapersonal and interpersonal risk factors for peer victimization in immigrant youth in Finland. *Developmental Psychology*, *47*, 248–258. doi:10.1037/a0020785

Swearer, S., Espelage, D. L., Vaillancourt, T., & Hymel, S. (2010). What can be done about school bullying? Linking research to educational practice. *Educational Researcher*, *1*, 38–47. doi:10.3102/0013189X09357622

Tolsma, J., van Deurzen, I., Stark, T. H., & Veenstra, R. (2013).Who is bullying whom in ethnically diverse primary schools? Exploring links between bullying, ethnicity, and ethnic diversity in Dutch primary schools. *Social Networks*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1016/j.socnet.2012.12.002

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

Ttofi, M. M., Farrington, D. P., & Losel, F. (2012). School bullying as a predictor of violence later in life: A systematic review and meta-analysis of prospective longitudinal studies. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *17*, 405–418. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2012.05.002

Vaillancourt, T., McDougall, P., Hymel, S., Krygsman, A., Miller, J., Stiver, K., & Davis, C. (2008). Bullying: Are researchers and children/youth talking about the same thing? *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *32*, 486–495. doi:10.1177/0165025408095553

Wilson, T., & Rodkin, P. C. (2013). Children's cross-ethnic relations in elementary schools: Concurrent and prospective associations between ethnic segregation and social status. *Child Development*, *84*, 1081–1097. doi:10.1111/cdev.12020

Winsper, C., Lereya, T., Zanarini, M., Wolke, D., & Wolke, D. (2012). Involvement in bullying and suicide-related behavior at 11 years: A prospective birth cohort study. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, *51*, 271–282. doi:10.1016/j.jaac.2012.01.001

Ybarra, M. L., Boyd, D., & Oppenheim, J. K. (2012). Defining and measuring cyberbullying within the larger context of bullying victimization. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *51*, 53–58.

Zablotsky, B., Bradshaw, C. P., Anderson, C., & Law, P. (2012). Bullying among children with Autism spectrum disorders: Parents' perspectives on the influence of school factors. *Behavioral Disorders*, *37*, 179–191.