

**Bullying-like Behaviours in South Korea:
Terms used, Origins in Early Childhood, and
Links to Moral Reasoning**

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Statement of Authentication

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original, except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

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Abstract

The present thesis investigated a phenomenon in South Korea, which corresponds to *bullying* with respect to terms, perceptions, origins and moral reasoning. These were examined by three main studies across various age-ranges.

Study 1 examined terms for and perceptions of bullying-like behaviours in South Korea using a qualitative approach, from young children to adults. Results showed that *wang-ta* was the term predominantly used to describe bullying-like behaviour in South Korea. Depending on types of aggression and participants' ages, different terms emerged showing historical changes within a culture. 10-15 years old pupils used their own terms, different from *wang-ta*; and workplace personnel and 10-15 year old pupils showed negative attitudes towards victims.

Previous studies showed that bullying-like behaviours among young children differ in some ways from those of older children. Study 2 investigated bullying-like behaviours among 6 year olds in South Korea using peer, self, and teacher reports; and examined bullying roles in relation to various types of aggression and peer status. Results showed that depending on informants, bullying roles were nominated differently; the role of aggressors showed higher consistency across informants than other roles. Relational victimisation was seen differently depending on informants.

One of the theories for why some people engage in bullying-like behaviours has focused on their moral understanding about aggressive behaviours. Study 3 investigated moral reasoning about aggressive behaviours in terms of types of

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aggression, age, gender, and experience of aggression. Sixty 7 year olds and ninety 11 year olds from South Korea participated. Results indicated that moral reasoning about aggressive behaviours differed by type of aggression and children's age. Social exclusion was regarded as less wrong and less harmful than other types of aggressive behaviours. Gender differences were rarely found. The results are discussed in terms of pupils' attitudes toward *wang-ta* in South Korea.

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Chapter 1

Introduction to bullying literature

The first chapter provides a background to research on bullying; definition, type of aggression, measurements, age differences, gender differences, and factors related to bullying. In addition, cultural differences in bullying are mentioned, and a brief introduction to prevention and intervention programs is provided.

Definition

It is difficult to reach a consensus on a definition of bullying because a number of studies use somewhat different definitions. However, one thing common across studies is that bullying is seen as a subtype of aggressive behaviour. Heinemann (1973) was the first scholar who investigated the phenomenon of bullying, using the Swedish term, *mobbning* which refers to sudden violence by a large and anonymous group of people against an individual. The term *mob* had been used to refer to unorganized, emotional, often antisocial and aggressive crowds (Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Berts, & King, 1982). The first systematic research of bullying was made in Sweden by Olweus (1993). While *mobbning* emphasized a group of people against one individual and the group usually exists only for a short period, Olweus stressed that bullying can be carried out by an individual pupil to another individual since pupils can be victimized by a single pupil as well as by a group. Thus he defined, ‘a student is being bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students’ (p.9).

Smith and Sharp (1994) described bullying as ‘a systematic abuse of power’ (p.4). Power can be abused in social relationships. Farrington (1993) used a more extended definition of bullying, ‘repeated oppression, psychological or physical, of a less powerful person by a more powerful person’ (p. 381). The power can derive from a physical strength or size, a dominant social position, high social status, strength in numbers (e.g. group of children vs. one child), systematic power (e.g. racial or cultural group) and also can be obtained by knowing the others’ vulnerability and using this as a means to distress them (Craig & Pepler, 2007).

Rigby (2002) described the definition of bullying most specifically as ‘a desire to hurt + hurtful action + a power imbalance + (typically) repetition + an unjust use of power + evident enjoyment by the aggressor and generally a sense of being oppressed on the part of the victim’ (p. 51). He focused more on the victim’s psychological oppression than did other researchers.

Therefore, there is a general agreement among many researchers that the definition of bullying includes four elements: an intentional + harm doing + imbalance of power + repetition of the behaviour. More specifically, it is a form of aggressive behaviour that is generally done repeatedly to another person who cannot defend him/herself easily and this includes a power imbalance.

Types of aggression in bullying

Most early studies on bullying had focused on overt behaviour patterns, like physical aggression (e.g. hitting, shoving), or verbal aggression (e.g. swearing, name-calling). Since the early 1990’s, relational forms of aggression have also been taken into

account (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, & Peltonen, 1988) and these are corresponding types of bullying. Relational aggression intentionally damages or threatens another person's social relationships (e.g. excluding a person from a group or activity). Similarly, social aggression intends to manipulate group acceptance and damage others' social standing (Galen & Underwood, 1997).

More recently, cyber aggression such as sending nasty messages through email, mobile phone or website has been considered as a new type of bullying (Slonje & Smith, 2008).

Physical, verbal, relational or social aggression can be enacted both directly and indirectly (done via a third party), although physical and verbal aggression are more likely than relational and social aggression to be direct in nature. Nevertheless, breaking or stealing others' belongings can be indirect-physical aggression and excluding one person from a social group (e.g. 'you can't play with us') is direct-relational aggression (whereas spreading gossip is indirect-relational aggression).

The concepts of proactive and reactive aggression are sometimes used to describe bullying in studies in the U.S. Proactive aggression refers to acquired instrumental behaviour controlled by external rewards and reinforcement and reactive aggression refers to a hostile, angry reaction to perceived frustration that is used in response to social provocation (Dodge & Coie, 1987). Bullying is mostly regarded as proactive aggression.

Relations among aggression, violence, and bullying

As defined earlier, bullying is a subcategory of aggression. It can be difficult to make a clear distinction between aggression, violence and bullying since all are closely related, but do not indicate the same thing. Olweus (1999) described one view of the relationship among them (see Figure 1.1).

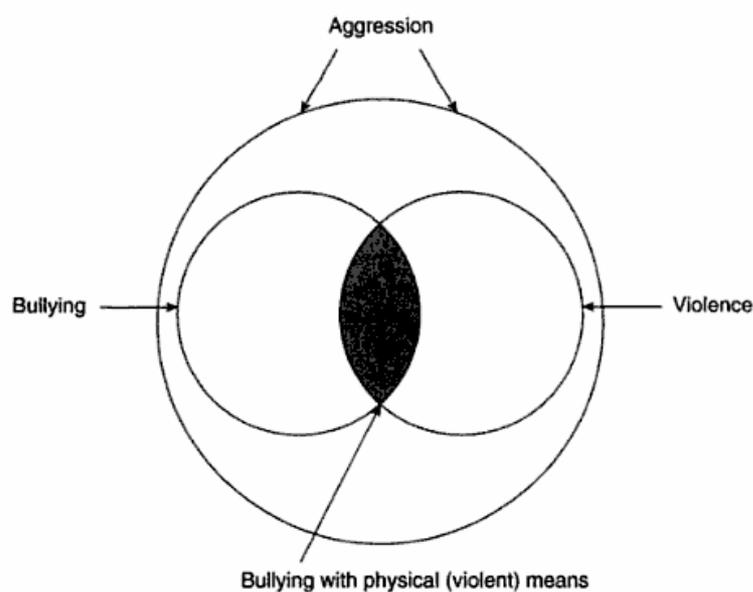


Figure 1.1 Venn diagram showing relationship among concepts of aggression, violence, and bullying (Olweus, 1999)

According to Olweus, violence can be described ‘as aggressive behaviour where the actor or perpetrator uses his or her own body or an object (including a weapon) to inflict injury or discomfort upon another individual’ (p.12); that is, it is physical aggression. Bullying with physical means overlaps with violence whereas other types of aggression such as verbal and relational aggression remain as bullying that is not violent.

However, this differentiation can be challenged depending on the way violence is defined. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines violence as,

‘The intentional use of physical and psychological force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development, or deprivation.’ (see fi-006: www.health.fi/connect)

Thus, according to the WHO definition, non-physical aggression can also be considered as violence (e.g. verbal insults). The relationship between bullying and violence also differs by culture. In South Korea, bullying in schools now tend to be considered as a subtype of school violence which includes a wide range of aggressive behaviour performed by pupils in school (e.g. extorting money, sexual abuse, physical, verbal, relational and cyber aggression) (FPYV, 2009). This is further discussed in Chapter 2.

Bullying in different contexts

Bullying is a ‘destructive relationship problem’ (Craig & Pepler, 2007, p. 86). Therefore, it can occur in any place in which a social relationship exists. A great number of studies have focused on bullying in school, especially bullying between pupils (Smith, Madsen, & Moody, 1999). However, it has been applied to other settings such as home, prison, workplace, and cyberspace (Monks et al., 2009). In the 2000’s, bullying in cyberspace using internet and mobile phones called *cyberbullying* (Slonje & Smith, 2008) was identified as a new type of bullying.

Measurements of bullying

Different methods have been employed by researchers attempting to find out about participants' knowledge and experiences of bullying. Each of these has its own merits and limitations. These are discussed below.

Interview

The issue surrounding the definition of bullying has usually been investigated by asking the participant, 'what do you think bullying is'; and perspectives on bullying are often investigated by interview. They often use semi structured interviews using some leading questions to elicit participants' responses (Teräsahjo & Salmivalli, 2003).

Interview methods are a useful way to investigate the unique nature of each bullying situation (Cowie, Naylor, Rivers, Smith, & Pereira, 2002) as they enable the researcher to obtain privileged information about the individuals' lived experiences. It has been applied for investigating perspectives around bullying: reasons, effects, or attitudes towards bullying (Owen, Shute, & Slee, 2000; Teräsahjo & Salmivalli, 2003). Also, it is often used for investigating young children's experiences of victimisation (Monks, Smith & Swettenham, 2005) due to their inability to complete questionnaires. Interviews can be carried out in focus groups or individually.

A cartoon task test has been used for investigating people's insights into bullying (Smith & Monks, 2008; Smoth, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefoghe, 2002). It is carried out by showing a cartoon vignette and asking the participant if they think that this is bullying. Aggressive and harmful behaviours are shown with stick figures (these are

used to exclude variables which can affect participants' responses, such as hairstyle, clothes, skin colour). A set of 25 cartoons with stick figures were developed illustrating different social situations that might or might not be bullying (Smith et al., 2002). Thus it can be used to find out about people's concepts and definitions of bullying. Further it is effective when participants are illiterate (i.e. young children) and make it possible for international comparison among the phenomena or terms similar to bullying (e.g. Smith et al., 2002).

Observation

Direct behavioural observation of children in the natural school setting could be an ideal method of collecting data on the frequency of bullying (Craig & Pepler, 1998). However, the environment in which the observation is made may affect the outcome of behavioural observation because bullying occurs in a variety of settings such as the lunchroom, toilet, or playground. Also, covert aggression (e.g. rumour spreading) is unlikely to be observed. Few studies have used observational methods.

Questionnaires

Most studies have relied on anonymous questionnaires for investigating the prevalence of bullying. The questionnaire can be completed by various informants; self, teacher, peer. One of the most widely used self-report questionnaires is the Olweus' Bully/Victim Questionnaire (BVQ), which was developed from 1986 to 1996, and is used to investigate pupils' bully or victim experiences. It asks how often an individual has been bullied or has bullied others during the past couple of months.

Teacher reports can take the form of a questionnaire regarding the specific behaviour of a child. One frequently used measure is the Aggressive Behavior Teacher Checklist (Dodge & Coie, 1987). It consists of six statements allowing teachers to rate how frequently a child exhibits a particular form of aggression.

The peer nomination method is typically used to assess aggressive behaviour of classmates. Using a list of classmates' names, children are asked to choose a child corresponding to a statement (e.g. peers who are teased, peers who are mean to others).

A number of studies have used the Participant Roles Questionnaire to investigate pupils' roles in bullying. This was developed by Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Österman, and Kaukiainen (1996); they extended the traditional bully or victim role to six types of bullying role (here after, *participant role*). They saw bullying as a group process and categorized children involved in bullying into six roles; not only bullies and victims but assistants, reinforcers, outsiders and defenders. The Participant Roles Questionnaire asks pupils to evaluate how well each child in their class, including themselves, fitted 50 bullying-situation behavioural descriptions (thus providing peer and self nominations) corresponding to these six roles. They applied this questionnaire to 573 Finish pupils, aged 12-13 years using peer nominations and found the following percentages:

Bullies (8.2%): ringleaders who start the harassment and encourage others to join in.

Assistants (6.8%): more passive followers of the bully, who aid the bully in the harassment, but do not start it.

Reinforcers (19.5%): who laugh at the victim and cheer the bully on.

Defenders (17.3%): who offer support to the victim, by telling an adult, comforting the victim, or actively attempting to get the bullying to stop.

Outsiders (23.7%): who keep their distance from the bullying situation and may pretend that nothing is going on.

Victims (11.7%): who are targets of repeated aggression.

No role (12.7%): who could not be assigned a clear participant role.

Ideally, self, peer and teacher methods are used together rather than separately, applied due to the advantage and disadvantage of each method. Peer reports may be reliable for reporting bullies, but pupils may be less aware of other pupils' victimisation, especially relational or indirect forms (i.e. exclusion, rumour spreading). Self reports may be useful for investigating victim experience of subtle forms of aggression (e.g. rumour spreading, excluding) as well as overt aggression (physical, verbal aggression), but participants may underestimate self as bully and overestimate self as victim (Monks, Smith, & Swettenham, 2003). Teacher reports for bullying behaviours work well for young children (Ladd & Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2002) but teachers may less often witness subtle forms of bullying.

Age differences

Prevalence

The number of children who report self as being bullied typically declines with age across studies (Olweus, 1991; Rigby, 1996; Scheithauer, Hayer, Petermann, & Jugert, 2006). Scheithauer et al. (2006) examined bullying and victimisation among 2086, 5th to 10th graders in Germany. They reported that the number of pupils who self reported being bullied steadily decreased from 17.8% to 6.6% during 5th to 10th grade.

Bullying others mostly occurs in middle childhood (around 10-14 year olds) and decreases after that. Scheithauer et al. (2006) found that there were fewer bullies among 5th and 10th graders (10-11 year olds and 15-16 year olds respectively) and most bullies were identified from 6th to 9th graders (11-15 years old). Nansel et al. (2001) reported that there were more serious bullies (bullying weekly) in 6th and 8th graders (9-10%) (aged 11-12 and 13-14 years) than 9th and 10th graders (6-7%) (aged 14-15 and 15-16 years) in the U.S.

However, the changes in the proportion of pupils bullying others with increasing age are rather small in relation to the decrease in the proportion of pupils being bullied (e.g. Whitney & Smith, 1993). This may reflect that bullying becomes more targeted with increasing age and children who are victimized are more likely to experience further victimisation than children who have not.

Smith et al. (1999) argued that the age decline in being bullied during early childhood to adolescence may reflect that younger children have more children older than them in school who are in a position to bully them. Also, they suggested that younger

children have not yet acquired the social skills and assertiveness to deal effectively with bullying incidents and discourage further bullying. Additionally, they noted that younger pupils have a broader concept of the term 'bullying' than older pupils and report behaviours such as fighting between children of equal strength as bullying, which may result in them reporting experiencing higher levels of bullying than older children. Pellegrini and Long (2002) argued that school transition such as moving from primary to secondary school can result in an increase in the levels of bullying: pupils need to re-establish their social relationships in their new schools and aggression can be used for obtaining status in the peer group.

Types of aggressive behaviour

There are age trends in the type of bullying behaviours used by children; younger children tend to use direct and physical or verbal forms of aggression, whereas older children use more indirect and relational aggression than younger children (Rivers & Smith, 1994; Smith & Levan, 1995; Smith et al., 1999). Scheithauer et al. (2006) found that physical bullies were more commonly identified in 8th grades (13-14 years old) than 9th and 10th grades (14-16 years old). Also bullies who use verbal or relational aggression increased with age and showed a peak in 9th grade (14-15 years old). This may indicate that children in lower grades are more likely to use physical aggression than upper graders. Older pupils may tend to choose non-physical, or covert forms of aggression rather than physical forms, when they bully others.

Definition of bullying

Young children have a broader concept of bullying than older children. Monks and Smith (2006) examined the definition of bullying held by 219 people in England; 4 - 14 year old pupils and adults. They showed cartoon pictures which described various types of aggressive behaviour and asked whether the participants thought they described bullying or not. They reported that younger children (4-6 years, and 8 years) tended to conflate aggressive behaviour and bullying, whereas 14 year old adolescents and parents included an imbalance of power and repetition in their definition of bullying. Also, in their study, there were no age-related differences in perceiving physical aggression between people in which power imbalance exists as bullying but social exclusion, and verbal aggression were considered as bullying more frequently among school pupils than adults.

Other studies reported a different concept of bullying between pupils and adults such as parents and teachers. Smorti, Menesini, and Smith (2003) reported that parents in England tended to view the term *bullying* as indicating severe physical aggression and did not include other behaviours such as severe social exclusion in their definition of bullying. Menesini, Fonzi and Smith (2002) compared the definitions of bullying-related terms between Italian teachers and pupils aged 8 and 14 years. They found that teachers were less inclusive in their definitions than pupils, being less likely to choose severe social exclusion, gender exclusion and verbal bullying as bullying-related terms.

The age-related differences in understanding of bullying may relate to different levels of cognitive development. Older pupils or adults may be more able than younger pupils to understand power dynamics, severity of harm-doing and the impact of the behaviours on another person. Alternatively, they may reflect real differences in behaviours existing at a certain ages (Monks & Smith, 2006; Younger, Schwartzman, & Ledingham, 1985).

Gender differences

Early studies on bullying or aggression focused on direct forms of aggression, and boys were reported as being more aggressive than girls (Hyde, 1984; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1975). In the late 1980s and 1990s, some studies began to show that boys and girls tend to bully in somewhat different ways (Björkqvist, Lagerspetz & Kaukiainen, 1992; Lagerspetz et al., 1988). Björkqvist et al. (1992) reported that girls were more likely than boys to use indirect aggression. Similarly, Crick and Grotpeter (1995) indicated that boys have been characterized as more physically aggressive than girls and girls use more relational aggression than boys.

However, more recent studies have shown no or only weak gender differences in relational aggression (Salmivalli & Kaukiainen, 2004; Scheithauer et al., 2006). These studies reported that boys are more likely to be aggressive in all forms of aggression than girls, and if girls are aggressive, they are more likely to use relational or indirect than overt or direct forms. Card, Stucky, Sawalani, and Little (2008) conducted a meta-analysis of 148 studies on children's direct and indirect aggression and reported that direct aggression was used more by boys than girls, and only trivial gender differences were found in indirect aggression.

In bullying roles, gender differences have been reported. Boys are more often identified as being bullies or bully/victims than girls and girls are more likely to be defenders of victims (Salmivalli et al., 1996; Scheithauer et al., 2006). For victimisation, there were no differences in the levels of self-reported victimisation among boys and girls aged 4-5 years (Monks, Smith, & Swettenham, 2003), 12-13 years (Salmivalli et al., 1996) and 5- 10th graders (Scheithauer et al., 2006).

Who bullies whom is also of interest. Rigby (2002) reported that within-gender bullying is more common than between-gender bullying in coeducational schools. In his study among Australian pupils, over 70 percent of boy victims were bullied by other boys and about 23 percent of boy victims were bullied by both boys and girls. In contrast, fewer than 25 percent of girl victims were bullied by other girls and about 50 percent of girl victims were bullied by both boys and girls. Therefore, boys were likely to be bullied by the same gender and girls tended to be bullied by the same and different gender.

Olweus (2010) indicated that cross gender bullying among girls is different depending on type of bullying. In isolation and rumour spreading girls were bullied by the same gender as often as by cross-gender whereas in verbal bullying girls were bullied more by cross gender than the same gender peers. Therefore, girls tend to bully relationally more than boys and the target peer are more likely to be the same gender than opposite gender.

Reasons for and attitudes towards bullying

Graham and Juvonen (2001) analyzed pupils' views on the reason why someone 'got picked on a lot' among 6th and 7th graders (11-13 year olds). They found 24% of the responses attributed the cause of the victimisation to uncontrollable factors, that is, the victims being younger, weaker, or unable to defend oneself. In contrast, 52% of the responses indicated the victim's behaviour was controllable; they show off, tattletale, bad-mouth others. The remaining 24% of the responses indicated the victim's physical unattractiveness, being different, and being unpopular or uncool as the perceived reason they were bullied.

Karhunen (2009) investigated understanding of bullying among adolescents aged 13-18 in Finland. When pupils were asked 'why bullying happens in their school', most of the attributions (37%) were related to the victim (i.e. 'high-risk characteristics of behaviour of the victim'). Also, 'conflicts in peer relationships' (22%) were often reported. The conflicts in peer groups were displayed in various ways: a fight, disagreement, unsolved argument, breaking up, the arrival of newcomers in the peer groups. 'Bully as troubled student' (16%), 'envy' (7%), and 'instrumentality of bullying' (7%) were further reasons given.

Mishna (2004) investigated perspectives to bullying among 61 Canadian pupils in 4th and 5th grade (aged 8-11 years) and their parents and teachers. The participants reported that identification of an event as bullying was complex, because it differed according to whether the victim was responsible, the incidents were serious, or there was a power imbalance.

Smith, Talamelli, Cowie, Naylor, and Chauhan (2004) interviewed 406 English pupils, aged 13-16 years, who had had victimisation experiences. They asked for the reason for victimisation and obtained 217 responses. 100 responses were about victim related reasons (e.g. victim's physical, social characteristics, being different or wrong behaviours), 49 responses were bully related reasons (e.g. strong character, immaturity, jealousy, anger), emotional gains (e.g. fun, feel better), physical gains (e.g. money, materials), or social gains (e.g. be popular, look big). Also 87 responses indicated that they did not know the reason or there were no reasons for the victimisation.

People generally have negative attitudes to bullying and are supportive of victims: the majority of children disapprove of bullies and sympathize with victims. Nevertheless, there is a minority who are not sympathetic to victims and this attitude differs by different ages: negative attitudes towards victims do increase through childhood up to around 14-15 years (Menesini, et al., 1997; Rigby & Slee, 1991, 1993; though see also Boulton, Trueman, & Flemington, 2002).

Eslea and Smith (2000) found that parents had different perceptions of bullying from their children. They were less likely to blame the victim (i.e. 'a small amount of bullying is good thing because it helps toughen people up') and more likely to see the bullies in a negative way (i.e. 'a bully is really a coward') than were children. However, not many studies have been conducted about parental perspectives on bullying, although parent's perceptions about bullying and aggression can influence a child's behaviour in school (Solomon, Bradshaw, Wright, & Chen, 2008).

Therefore, the reasons for bullying and/or being bullied seem to be perceived differently by victimisation experience (i.e. victim or non-victim), perspectives (i.e. pupils or adults) and related to situational factors in which the bullying actually occurred.

Cultural differences

Corresponding terms and phenomena

Bullying is an English term, and there is often no equivalent word in other languages which closely corresponds in meaning to it (Smith & Monks, 2008). Also, the types of aggression, which are categorized as bullying-like behaviours, differ across cultures (Smith et al., 2002). Most 14 year old English pupils categorized physical aggression in which a power difference exists between aggressor and victim, and verbal aggression into *bullying*, whereas social exclusion and physical aggression without power imbalance (i.e. fight) were only sometimes categorized into *bullying* (Smith et al., 2002).

Cross cultural investigation of terms in other languages similar to *bullying* in England has been conducted in 14 countries using a cartoon task (Smith et al., 2002). The cartoons show aggressive and harmful behaviours using stick figures (to exclude variables such as hairstyle, clothes, and skin colour), and respondents say whether this is an example of bullying, or some similar term used in their language/culture. Some terms have similar meanings to bullying and have been commonly used to describe bullying-like behaviours, such as Scandinavian *mobbning*, and Dutch *pesten*; but none of them have a perfect match.

For example, *prepotenza* in Italian refers to physical, verbal and social exclusion, but also fighting (without any repetition or imbalance of power), which does not correspond well to the term *bullying* in England (Smith et al., 2002). Also, the Turkish term *zorbalik* has the closest meaning to bullying among several Turkish terms, but it includes physical aggression as well as physical bullying and has less emphasis on verbal and social exclusion (Ucanok, Smith, & Karasoy, 2010).

The absence of an equivalent term to *bullying* in other cultures does not mean an absence of the behaviors in those cultures. The differences may be purely linguistic; for example in Italy the term *il bullismo* has been recently incorporated into the language, to refer to bullying behaviours which certainly exist (Fonzi, 1997). However, there may also be genuine cultural differences in the nature of aggressive and bullying-like behaviours. Different behavioural patterns in bullying are perhaps most obvious when findings in Western countries are compared with those from Eastern countries, such as Japan and South Korea.

Eastern and Western cultures

The differences between Western and Eastern bullying behaviours can be exemplified by three aspects: the main type of bullying behaviour, the number of aggressors, and the aggressor's age. In Japan, *ijime* has been studied as a comparable phenomenon to bullying in England; but *ijime* behaviours (as well as the definition) appear less physical and focus more on various forms of social exclusion and mental suffering (Morita, Soeda, Soeda, & Taki, 1999).

In South Korea, bullying-like phenomenon (called *gipdan-ttadolim* or *wang-ta*) appears similar to *ijime* in terms of making one person suffer by group acts; pupils using more verbal assault or social isolation than physical methods (Lee & Kwak, 2000).

Also, there were more aggressors than victims both in Japan and South Korea. This contrasts with findings from Western studies; for example, fewer aggressors than victims, 12 % to 27%, were reported in England (Whitney & Smith, 1993); and 7% to 9% in Norway (Olweus, 1999). However, when Akiba (2004) interviewed 30 Japanese middle school pupils, the author found that *ijime* is always perpetrated by a group of aggressors. Morita et al. (1999) reported 25.5% bullies and 21.9% victims in primary school, and 20.3% bullies and 13.2% victims in lower middle school. Similarly, in South Korea *wang-ta* is often carried by a group of 3 to 10 bullies (Koo, Kwak & Smith, 2008) or more (FPYV, 2009).

Aggressors are usually older pupils in Western studies; an older pupil attacks a younger pupil physically, verbally and sometimes socially. In a direct comparison, Kanetsuna and Smith (2002) reported that victims who were bullied by the same grades were 95.2% in Japan but only 36.4% in the U.K.; whereas victim who were bullied by older pupils were 63.6% in the U.K and only 4.8% in Japan. In Japan, aggressors are usually former friends in the class (Akiba, 2004; Kanetsuna & Smith, 2002). Morita et al. (1999, p.322) described *ijime* as ‘the common form of *ijime* is exclusion and ignoring, this kind of *ijime* will be more effective if the victim and the aggressors belong to the same group’. Similar to Japan, in South Korea, aggressors are usually the pupils in the same grade especially from the same class (FPYV 2007).

Pupils in South Korea or Japan are less likely to be bullied by pupils from other classes or those older than themselves. This may result from the homeroom class system; pupils are taught in their homeroom class, thus they spend all day in one space and have much less opportunity than pupils in Western education systems to meet pupils from other classes. This may exacerbate the targeted behaviour toward a person.

Related factors to bullying

Studies have investigated several factors for involvement in bullying; these have been examined in terms of personal factors, and social environmental factors such as family, classroom/school, and community.

Personal factors

Bullying or victimisation has been identified as a critical issue for children's mental and physical health. Generally, bullies tend to manifest externalizing problems such as conduct problems, aggressiveness, delinquency and attention deficit and hyperactive disorders (Gini, 2008; Kumpulainen, Rasanen, & Puura, 2001; Olweus, 1993). Connolly and O'Moore (2003) reported that bullies perceive themselves more negatively and have low self esteem; but this is far from universally found. Salmivalli, Kaukiainen, Kaistaniemi, and Lagerspetz (1999) reported that bullies had neither very high nor very low self-esteem.

Frequent experience of victimisation is related to internalizing problems such as depression, anxiety, and lower self-esteem, and more negative self-concepts (Craig, 1998; Egan, & Perry, 1998; Nansel, Craig, Overpeck, Saluja, & Ruan, 2004;

Menesini, Modena, & Tani, 2009). Victims also show psychosomatic problems, especially suffering from tiredness, nervousness, sleeping problems, and dizziness (Gini, 2008). Also, they are more likely to have suicidal ideation than pupils who are not involved in school bullying (Kim, Koh, Leventhal, 2005). Victimization experience may affect the recipient not only in childhood, but also later in life (Arsenault, Bowes, & Shakoor, 2009). Lund et al. (2009) conducted a cohort study of 6094 Danish men who born in 1953 to investigate depression and bullying experience in school years; they found that those who recalled being bullied in their childhood were more likely to be diagnosed with depression at 31–51 years.

Bully-victims (those who bully others as well as being bullied by others) are in the highest risk group. They typically report both externalizing and internalizing problems and difficulties in emotional regulation and social adjustment (Arsenault et al., 2006; Craig, 1998; Nansel et al., 2004). Their depression level is higher than bullies or victims (Swearer, Song, Cary, Eagle, & Mickelson, 2001) and they exhibit more problem behaviours (Kokkinos & Panayiotou, 2004). Also, they have a higher risk of psychosomatic disorder (Gini, 2008).

However, most studies have not shown causality regarding whether such psychological and behavioural problems have preceded victimisation or whether victimisation has resulted in these problems. Some studies have argued that it is better to view psychopathological problems as consequences of bullying rather than causes. Kim, Leventhal, Koh, Hubbard, and Boyce (2006) examined 1666 adolescents' (grade seven and eight, aged 13-14 years) bullying experiences and psychopathological problems in South Korea. They assessed pupils for psychopathological problems

twice, with a ten month interval, and found that there were stronger associations as consequences rather than causes of psychological behaviour (i.e. social problems, aggression, and externalizing problems) in relation to bullying experience. Also, most forms of new onset psychopathological problems were associated with antecedent bullying experience.

Although causality is not entirely clear, it is a reasonable assumption that there is a vicious cycle among psychosocial, emotional, or behavioural difficulties and bullying or victimisation experiences, and involvement in bullying may affect an individual's well being for a long time.

Family factors

A number of studies have indicated that parent-child relationships and family relationships are related to a child's involvement in bullying. Bandura (1977) indicated that aggressiveness in parents can have a modeling effect on their children's subsequent behaviours. Farrington (1993) reported a generational effect of aggressive behaviour: fathers who bullied others in their school years were more likely than fathers who did not to have children who bullied peers in school. Also, children who bullied others were more likely to have absent fathers, depressive mothers and incidence of domestic violence (Connolly & O'Moore, 2003; Georgiou, 2008b; Rigby, 1993). Olweus (1980) indicated that 'a young boy who gets too little love and interest from his mother and too much freedom and lack of clear limits with regard to aggressive behaviour is particularly likely to develop into an aggressive adolescent' (p.657).

Stevens, De Bourdeaudhuij and Van Oost (2002) examined family functioning in relation to children's involvement in bullying/victimisation at school for 1719 school pupils, aged 10-13, in Belgium. They found that bullies perceive their family as less cohesive, organized, and controlled and had negative relationships with siblings. Other studies (Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1994; Rigby, 1994) showed that bullies have more hostility and inadequate family communication structures. Connolly and O'Moore (2003) reported that bullies had difficulties expressing their emotions freely toward their families.

For victimisation, studies have consistently identified that maternal overprotection is implicated (Bowers et al., 1994; Georgiou, 2008b). Georgiou (2008b) examined the link between mothers' role and children's bullying/victimisation for 252 Cypriot children aged 11 years. The author confirmed the correlation between mothers' overprotection and children's victimisation. Mothers' overprotection resulted in their children being passive and submissive and prevented them from learning assertiveness and the ability to control their own behaviour which works as a coping skill against bullying (Georgiou, 2008b; Rigby, 1993), meaning that these children may become an easy target for bullies. There are gender-differences reported in mother's effect on victimisation; for boys maternal overprotection is correlated with victimisation and for girls, critical, bossy, and sarcastic mothers are related to victimisation (Finnegan, Hodges, & Perry, 1998).

Victims perceive their families as more cohesive (Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1992) which may reflect overly close or enmeshed relationships (Smith & Myron-Wilson, 1998). Permissive parenting (high responsiveness and low control) predicts the

experience of child's victimisation while the authoritarian parenting style (low responsiveness and high control) predicts bullying behaviour (Baldry & Farrington, 2000; Georgiou, 2008a).

Bully/victims perceived the most troubled relationships with their parents (Bowers et al., 1992) and showed a pattern in between bullies and victims. Bully/victim status was related to maternal depressiveness (Georgiou, 2008b). In Stevens et al.'s (2002) study bully/victims reported higher levels of conflict than bullies and less close relationship with their parents than non involved children. Schwartz, Dodge, Pettit, and Bates (1997) investigated a relationship between aggression/victimisation and home environment among 5 year old boys in the U.S. With a 5 year longitudinal study, they found that aggressive victims had experienced more punitive, hostile and abusive family treatment than passive victims (non-aggressive victims), non-victimized aggressor and normative groups, 5 years ago.

However, the issue of causality is not evident in these correlation studies. It is not clear whether maternal overprotection leads to children's victimisation or children's vulnerability makes the mother overly protective (Georgiou, 2008b). Similarly, causality is not clear for bullying behaviour; whether a child's aggressive behaviour increases harsh and punitive parenting or whether cold, authoritarian parenting or an aggressive family leads a child to learn aggressive behaviours. The child's personality cannot be ignored since it also interacts with parenting style or family relationships.

Classroom climate/ School factors

Studies have consistently found that negative school perceptions and experiences are highly associated with involvement in bullying. School climate is usually measured using pupils' perceptions of how pupils get along with one another and are cared for and monitored by school staff (Hoy, Smith, & Sweetland, 2002; Eliot, Cornell, Gregory, & Fan, 2010).

Roland and Galloway (2002) examined the effect of teachers' classroom management, pupils' social structure (i.e. peer relations, norms, concentration on schoolwork) and bullying behaviours among 2002 pupils' aged 10-13 years, and 99 teachers, in Norway. They found that classroom management had a direct effect on the prevalence of bullying behaviours: the more competent the classroom management by teachers, the less bullying behaviours happened. That is, pupils' perception regarding their teachers' caring, competence at teaching, monitoring and intervention were related to low levels of bullying behaviours.

Similarly, Meyer-Adam and Conner (2008) examined victimisation and bullying behaviours among 7538 U.S pupils aged 11-14 years and found that victimisation and bullying were negatively related to the psychosocial environment of schools. However, school size and teacher-pupil ratio were not significantly related to bullying behaviours in Taiwanese pupils (Wei, Williams, Chen, & Chang, 2010).

Community factors

Exposure to violence in the community may affect children's emotional development and cause behavioural problems. Furthermore, from a social learning perspective, a child can vicariously learn aggressive behaviours by witnessing violent interactions (Bandura, 1986). Studies have shown an association between violence exposure in the community and negative social outcomes (i.e. peer rejection, developing aggressive behaviours), including bullying in schools (Gorman-Smith & Tolan, 1998; Osofsky, Wewers, Hann, & Fick, 1993; Schwartz & Proctor, 2000).

Schwartz and Proctor (2000) examined a link between exposure to violence in the community, and bullying and peer rejection in 285 pupils aged 10 years in the U.S. They found that community violence exposure was associated with victimisation and peer rejection in schools, but this was mediated by emotional dysregulation. The victimized pupils in the community were less likely than non-victimized pupils in the community to be able to regulate their emotion, which, in turn, affected their social adjustment in school.

Bacchini, Esposito and Affuso (2009) examined 734 pupils in 7th, 10th, and 13th grades in Naples and found that pure bullies and bully-victims were more exposed to dangerous and violent situations in their neighbourhood than pure victim or non-involved pupils.

Prevention/intervention for bullying

Due to the negative effects of bullying, developing effective programs for preventing or intervening in bullying is an important issue. Anti-bullying programs typically include both prevention and intervention for bullying. Although there are a wide range of variations in bullying programs, the 'whole school approach' has been broadly used to reduce bullying. This approach provides initiatives which can be implemented on multiple levels; school, class, individual student. It was first applied during 1983-1985 in Norway, by Olweus and showed great effectiveness as a 50% reduction of bullying incidence was achieved (Olweus, 1993). However, many of the following programs which were often based on the Olweus program did not show such effectiveness (Smith, Schneider, Smith & Ananiadou, 2004).

Anti-bullying programs include a variety of elements for discouraging bullying behaviour and helping victims: encouraging positive classroom climate between teachers and students or among students (Roland & Galloway, 2002); curriculum work (i.e. providing information about bullying; the hurtfulness to victim and helping behaviour); educating counter attitudes towards social prejudice or racism and sexism; promoting coping skills or strategies for bully or victim (e.g. assertiveness, anger management, helping behaviour) (Rigby, Smith, & Pepler, 2004).

Peer support methods are also widely used to improve interpersonal problem solving skills among peers. Particularly, bystanders who observe bullying incidents are encouraged to take action such as peer counseling, befriending, conflict resolution/mediation and intervening in bullying situations (Cowie & Hutson, 2005).

For managing and providing solutions to bullying incidents, there are broadly three approaches: punitive, restorative justice and non-punitive. Punitive methods use discipline methods to perpetrators of bullying, emphasize the wrongness of what the perpetrators have done, and require them to discontinue it (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009).

A restorative justice approach was not necessarily resulted in punishment for the bully. It brings children (bullies, victims, and other children) all together and they discuss about wrong doing with respect to each other while not condoning it (Morrison, 2002). A way forward to restore non-abusive relationships is then aimed for.

A non-punitive approach focuses on solving the problem by encouraging pupils themselves to propose solutions, without requiring the bully to directly acknowledge their wrong-doing (Smith & Sharp, 1994). The Shared Concern Method (Pikas, 2002; Rigby & Griffiths, 2011) is a counselling-based approach toward group bullying. It encourages bullies to be concerned about the harmfulness toward the victim, communicate with the victim and take a step to help. An approach with a similar philosophy is the support group method (Maines & Robinson, 1992; Robinson & Maines, 1997).

Ttofi and Farrington (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of effectiveness of school based anti-bullying programs. 89 reports included in the analysis showed that on average bullying decreased about 20-23% and victimisation decreased about 17-20%. More intensive programs which include parent meetings, firm disciplinary methods, and play ground supervision were more effective to reduce bullying or victimisation.

Summary

Summarizing the present chapter, bullying can be seen as a result of a number of different factors: not only individual characteristics of a child, poor home environments, ineffective parenting, peer pressure derived from classroom climate, or exposure to violent community, but also implies a complex interaction among these factors. There are developmental, gender and cultural differences of bullying in terms of its definition, reason for or attitude toward bullying, and type of bullying. These have been investigated by multiple methods such as questionnaire, peer nominations, and interview. Anti-bullying programs can be applied at various levels such as an individual pupil, class or whole schools using diverse approaches; and have some measure of success.

Overview of the thesis

This thesis focuses on developmental issues concerning bullying. Particularly, it takes a broad perspective on bullying-like phenomena in South Korea, and how South Korean people think about bullying-like behaviours or *wang-ta*. As reviewed above, characteristics of bullying or bullying-like phenomena differ by cultures and people's ages.

Chapter 2 introduces geographical and socio-cultural information about South Korea which can be helpful for understanding the more collectivistic culture, and particular characteristics of bullying, in South Korea.

Chapter 3 reviews Korean bullying studies. There are a number of studies about this phenomenon which correspond to bullying in Western countries. This has been

investigated in terms of ‘*wang-ta*’ or other related terms (e.g. *hakkyo-pokryuk*, *gipdan-ttadolim*, *gipdan-gorophim*). Korean bullying is characterized by a relatively large number of aggressors and mostly the behaviours target only one person. However, most Korean studies only investigated prevalence rates, or personal factors related to bullying. Several important questions have not been investigated yet, including how this particular group dynamic is formed, and the underlying mechanism explaining what makes so many people get involved in bullying one person; and people’s perceptions about bullying, which may play an important role in whether they themselves engage in bullying behaviours.

Especially in collectivistic cultures, such as South Korea, group norms may be important in the attribution of responsibility about bullying, either to aggressor or victim (i.e. who is at fault, or responsible for the bullying). They may influence people’s attitude towards bullying, and in turn, the role they take in responding to bullying behaviour.

Therefore, this thesis started from an overall conception, with some central ideas running through the three studies. These were ‘What makes people bully/do *wang-ta* others? Are there cultural or developmental reasons to help understand the nature and occurrence of bullying/*wang-ta* behaviour in South Korea? These central ideas were further specified into several sub-questions.

What are bullying-like phenomena in South Korea (Question 1) ?,

Are there any developmental differences in bullying or *wang-ta*? Is bullying or *wang-ta* a life span phenomenon or rather a behaviour which occurs among school pupils only? (Question 2)?,

If bullying or *wang-ta* is a ubiquitous phenomenon across cultures which happens in varied age ranges, is it possible to identify any developmental starting point (Question 3)?,

Eventually, after looking at these issues, the research focused on the reasons people might have for engaging in bullying behaviours. The guiding research questions were: Why do people engage in bullying behaviours?, Do they consider that the behaviour is wrong (Question 4)?

These questions were explored across the three studies. Study 1 (Chapter 4) focused on Questions 1 and 2, by investigating terms for indicating bullying-like behaviours from young children to adults. To investigate what Korean bullying is, it is necessary to find out which terms Korean people use to describe bullying-like behaviours and how they think about them. For example, even if the same aggressive behaviour is shown to people, it can be perceived differently (e.g. Monks & Smith, 2006); some people may think of it as bullying, others may not, and this may differ by age (i.e. school pupils or adults).

Study 1 looks at this issue from a developmental perspective. The study examined whether there are age-related differences in the terms used and in the understanding of the behaviours. These findings are later discussed in relation to whether the terms people of different age groups use reflect developmental differences of bullying-like behaviours, and whether collectivistic cultural aspects may be reflected in the terms and in people's understanding of the behaviours.

Next, if bullying behaviour can happen across age-ranges, the research investigates at what age this behaviour starts (Question 3)? Do young children have the same point of view to bullying as older people? Also, are there cultural differences even at early ages? Study 2 (Chapter 5) examined young children's bullying-like behaviours, particularly focused on types of aggressive behaviours and how different roles are described. Here, the central issue was to include different types of informants, that is, peer, self and teacher's views. The reason for using different types of informants is that different views concerning roles may be related to cultural and particularly collectivistic aspects. That is, Korean bullying is characterized by a larger number of aggressors than is usual in Western bullying; therefore a majority consensus (conforming to a majority view) about someone's victim status may be a necessary precondition in South Korea to identify whether one person is a victim of bullying.

Five to six year old children were examined because examining bullying behaviour at the first year of formal education¹ may show the origins of bullying; how the bullying-like behaviour begins, and what kind of behaviours they use to bully others. This would show whether there is any agreement among young children about who is victimized, and in turn help explain whether young children's views about bullying behaviours are similar to *wang-ta* or bullying-like behaviours in older groups. This is relevant to gain a better understanding of developmental origins in the early years in the South Korean cultural context.

¹ 85-90% of 5 year old children in South Korea go to preschool. This is not yet fully compulsory education. At present, compulsory education starts at 6 years, and the government subsidizes families whose income is in the lowest 70%. From 2012, all 5 year old children are strongly recommended to go preschool and all of them who go preschool will be subsidized.

Finally, Study 3 (Chapter 6) focuses on how views towards those who are *wang-ta* or victims are developed. Why do people engage in these behaviours? Do they realize the wrongness of the behaviours which they take part in or witness (Question 4)? This study examines moral reasoning which may influence an individual's judgment about bullying-like behaviours. Study 3 assessed moral reasoning of children aged 6 and 11 years. These age groups were chosen because pupils at these approximate ages showed different attitudes towards bullying in the two previous studies (Studies 1 and 2). Thus, these age groups are appropriate for examining how the perception of or attitudes towards bullying-like behaviours are developed, and for making further links as to why bullying-like behaviours are more common in certain age-ranges (e.g. middle childhood).

Children's moral reasoning about bullying-like behaviours were examined in Study 3; in particular whether an aggressive behaviour is wrong or not, why it is wrong, how it has happened, which coping strategies were used across various types of aggression.

The last chapter, Chapter 7, summarizes the findings of the three studies, and makes links among them. The findings are also discussed in terms of cultural characteristics of South Korean society. General limitations of the studies are outlined, and some practical implications as well as directions for further research are suggested.

Methodologically, the three studies were systematically organized; the research questions were first explored qualitatively (Study 1), obtaining rather general opinions from a wide developmental age-range; next, measured by using interpersonal comparison as the research method (i.e. comparing judgments among informants)

(Study 2); and finally examining intrapersonal factor (an individual's moral reasoning) which may reflect their perception of bullying-like behaviours more directly. In sum, this thesis examines what bullying-like behaviour in South Korea is, how this is perceived by Korean people; and whether and how bullying-like behaviour is influenced by development and culture .

Chapter 2

Overview of South Korea

Geography

Korea is a peninsula and it (both North and South Korea) is 1,178 km (680 miles) long and 216 km (135 miles) wide at its narrowest point. The size (220,847 km² or 85,270 miles²) is similar to Britain. South Korea occupies the southern portion of the Korean Peninsula and occupies 45% of the peninsular as 100,032 km² (38,622,57 miles²). Mountains cover 70% of Korea's land area. Korea has a 4,335 year history with a homogeneous ethnic group. South Korea is populated by 48.5 million people and consists of nine provinces (*Do*); a capital, Seoul; and the six Metropolitan Cities of Busan, Daegu, Incheon, Gwangju, Daejeon, and Ulsan. In total, there are 68 cities (*Si*) and 103 counties (*Gun*) in the nine provinces. The population is heavily focused on Seoul (around 10 million) and the Metropolitan cities.

Language

The language is Korean (*Hankook-ue*). It is unique form of language (not similar to any other languages) and respect terms are particularly developed. The word order of Korean is subject-object-verb (different from English: subject-verb-object). Respect terms are usually made by changing the ending of a verb.

There are three systems of respect term: respect for subject, object, or listener. The usage of respect term is decided by the hierarchy, dependant on the relationship with a speaker (e.g. whether the subject/object/listener is older or in higher occupation than

a speaker). Particularly, there are 6 different levels of respect term in listener respect system (i.e. extremely respect, high respect, standard respect, friendly respect, friendly, command).

Korean alphabet called *Hangeul* was invented by *King Sejong the Great* (1397-1450) and a group of scholars in the 15th century. It is an exclusive form which is completely different from alphabet from other cultures. It was invented from the shape of vocal organs (i.e. tongue, mouth) when a sound is pronounced, thus it can describe all kinds of sounds. It consists of 10 vowels and 14 basic consonants that can be combined into numerous syllables.

Economic aspect

During the *Korean War* in 1950, Korea was completely devastated economically and environmentally. However, the economy rapidly developed from the early 1960s to the late 1990s. Now the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) was recorded at \$1.467 trillion in 2010, which is ranked 13th in the world, and GNI (Gross National Income) per person in 2009 is \$ 27, 240, which is slightly lower than that of the U. K. (\$ 35,860).

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GNP.PCAP.PP.CD>

Religion

The native religion is Shamanism (nature-worship). It blended naturally with Buddhism and Confucianism: Buddhism was introduced in the fourth century and Confucianism was introduced in the sixth century. Christianity was introduced more than two hundred years ago. Currently, 25% of Koreans are reported as Buddhist,

27% as Christian, and 40% of Koreans do not have a religion (Kim & Park, 2006).

Education

The current educational system was developed in 1951 and the structure is 6-3-3-4 system. Six years in elementary school, three years in middle school, three years in high school and four years in university (there is also 2 year college: technical college). The school year consists of two semesters, the first of which starts in the beginning of March and ends in mid-July, with summer vacation until the end of August, and the second of which starts in late August and ends in mid-February; there is winter vacation from late December to early February.

Table 2.1 describes the organization of education system in South Korea by the age which starts each grade.

Table 2.1 Education system by age

Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
School			Kinder- garten		Elementary school						Middle school			High school			
	Children's Home																
Grade					1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	1	2	3	

Elementary and middle school are compulsory education. Children between 6-7 years enter elementary school. Preschool is not compulsory. However, the current government has announced that from 2012, preschooling for 5 year old children will be compulsory.

There are two types of preschool in South Korea: one is kindergarten, the other called ‘Children’s Home’. Kindertartens tend to focus more on educational aspects and belong to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (previously the Ministry of Education) whereas Children’s Home focuses on caring as well as learning and belong to Ministry of Ministry of Health and Welfare. Also, children’s age in the Children’s Home (1-5 year old) more varies than that of children in kindergarten (3-5 year old). However, the function of kindergarten and some Children’s Homes are similar (caring and education).

Shin, Jung and Park (2009) integrated the data of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in 2009 and the internal data of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and the Korean Educational Development Institution in 2008 and summarized the number of children enrolled either in Children’s Home or in kindergarten by age. Table 2.2 describes the enrolment rate of young children in these institutions.

Table 2.2. Enrolment rate in institution by age of children (Shin et al., 2009)

Age	1 yr	2 yrs	3yrs	4yrs	5yrs
Enrolment rate	29.7%	54.5%	78.7 %	81.9 %	86.2%

The enrolment rate becomes higher with a child’s age and between 3-5 years old is about 80%.

Table 2.3 summarizes the descriptive statistics in 2010 by level of schools (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology & Korean Educational Development Institution, 2010).

Most pupils (92.4%) in middle school enter high school. The majority of high school pupils (71.1-81.5%) enter university or college. The number of pupils in each class ranges between 26 to 35. Discontinuation rate is generally very low.

Table 2.3. Educational Statistics analysis data 2010 (Ministry of E.S.T. & KEDI, 2010)

	Elementary school	Middle school	High school	Higher education	Special schools
Age	6-11	12-14	15-17	18-	3-18
Number of pupils	3,229,113	1,979,656	1,982,207	3,644,158	23,858
Number of schools	5,855	3,144	2,313	371	150
Enrolment rate	98.6%	97.6%	92.4%	70.1%	-
Advancement rate (to higher school)	99.9%	99.7%	General 81.5%	Tech 71.1%	-
Discontinuation Rate	-	0.8	1.2	3.6	
Pupils per class	26.6	33.8	35.5	29.1	

Note: General: General high school indicates high schools that aim at teaching academic skills to enter higher education. This type of school comprises 67% of high schools in South Korea; Tech: Technical high schools are specialized schools for teaching engineering. Some pupils go on to higher education but usually get a job after graduation. Higher education includes schools beyond high school level (i.e. 4-year University, 2 year college).

Classes in elementary, middle and high schools are based on the home-room system. Every class has a home-room teacher and pupils usually learn in their homeroom class and move to other rooms for some subjects which require special equipment such as music, sport, or science. The curriculum in each type of school is as below.

Elementary school

Pupils in elementary school are aged 6-11 years. There are six grades: 1st, 2nd, 3rd grade called lower grade and 4th, 5th, 6th grade called upper grade. Daily sessions start at 9 am; children in 1st and 2nd grade have 3-4 hours a day, 3rd graders have 4-6 hours a day and children in upper grades stay for 5-6 hours per day. Each session lasts for 40 minutes and has a 10 minute break. Pupils learn most subjects from their home-room class teacher and learn a few subjects (e.g. English, physical training) from a specialised teacher.

Middle school

Pupils in middle school are aged 12-14 years. There are co-educational schools and single sex schools. Pupils have 5–6 sessions a day from 9 am to 3 or 4 pm, each of 45 minutes with a 10 minute-break. Each subject is taught by specialized teachers on the subject.

High school

Pupils in high school are aged 15-17 years. There are two types of high school: the general high schools and technical high schools. Also, there are coeducational or single sex schools. The general schools focus on university entry whereas technical schools specialize in engineering. The majority of middle school pupils in 3rd grade

enter general high school. The high school pupils in South Korea are exposed to high academic pressure. They stay in school almost 11-14 hours in a day. The school sessions last from 8am -5pm and particularly pupils in 3rd grade in high school usually have extra classes and self-study time until 9 or 10pm. Each session lasts 50 minutes and has a 10 minute break. Each subject is taught by a specialized teacher on the subject as in middle school.

Special schools

Children who have learning disabilities or physical disabilities can choose to enter either elementary, middle schools or special schools depending on the degree or type of disability. There are special classes or integrating classes in general schools for children who have disabilities. Often, parents want their children to be educated in general schools as they feel it may encourage their children's social adjustment. It has educational implications both for children who do not have a disability and children with a disability, in terms of integrating and respecting diversity among people; but also children with a disability can have stress and difficulties due to their disabilities. Sometimes, their disability puts them at risk of being bullied (Kwon, Park, & Kim, 2008).

Discontinuation

The dropout rate from school is generally very low although the rate from technical high school (3.6%) is higher than other school levels. The reason for dropping-out of school has changed over the years. The main reason was problems at home until the late 1990s, however, maladjustment in school and conduct problems appeared as main reasons for discontinuation over the last decade. Thus, the school environment

or atmosphere, which is related to pupils' conduct, needs to be considered more (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology & Korean Educational Development Institution, 2010).

Fees

Education is not completely free in South Korea, even for compulsory schooling. Tuition fees are free across schools, but there are other fees to be paid by parents such as lunch, picnic, and travel fares. Also, in some schools, parents pay about £100-150 per year in the name of 'support fee for school management'. This depends on regions. This system is disliked by parents. Parents who have young children feel pressure from paying for kindergarten or Children's Home since they are more expensive than school (Na, 2003).

Private Education

Here, private education indicates all learning activities, which are made outside of schools. There is high demand for private education in South Korea. A great number of children receive private education usually with the aim of improving their academic skills. The institutions are managed in the way of a personal business. The Korea National Statistical Office (2010) reported that 86.4% of elementary school pupils, 72.2% of middle school pupils and 52.8% of high school pupils attended the private institutions. The subjects which are taught in private institutions usually focus on academic skills (mainly Korean, English, and Mathematics). In elementary school years, pupils learn artistic or sport skills (piano, *taegwondo*, drawing, ballet etc.) but during middle and high school years, private education mostly focuses on academic subjects.

Historically, due to the lack of natural resources in Korea, people have been regarded as a valuable resource. Enthusiasm for education is high and regarded as crucial to one's success, and competition is consequently very heated and fierce. This is why high school pupils put all their energy into entering a 'good university'. Parents spend a high portion of their income on their children's private education. They often complain about sending their children to private institutions for academic learning. That is, they do not want to, but they send their children to a private institution; because many other children attend a private institution, which makes parents afraid that their own children may fall behind academically. Partly, as a result of the burden of educational fees and highly competitive mood, the birth rate has lowered; the birth rate was 1.19 in 2008 (Korea Nation Statistical Office, 2009).

Cultural background

Traditional Korean cultural values

The dominant cultural value in South Korea is Confucianism. This ethical-moral system set up by Confucius (551-479 BC) governs all relationships in the family, community and nation. Confucian ideology and principles have influenced all East Asian countries (e.g. China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore). According to Confucianism, the relation between people is organized by hierarchy between superiors and subordinates. The family is regarded as a prototype of social unit and the principle of family living is extended to relationships in the larger society. One of reason that Confucianism has become a prominent principle in South Korea may be because it was adopted as the official philosophy of the *Choson* dynasty (1390-1910). The family-centered ideology was well applied for governing the country at that time. The other reason is its pragmatic and present-oriented philosophy, which was more

influential than religion to people's life (Yum, 1988).

Mainly, five relationships are prescribed as the major interpersonal relations: Ruler and follower, parent and child, older and younger brothers, husband and wife and between friends. For the superior, wisdom, responsibility and benevolence are needed, and for subordinate, compliance, loyalty, and respect are expected. Among friends, trust and sincerity are emphasized. These values pervade every Korean life, in terms of hierarchy among people and interdependence.

Cultural dimensions

To understand Korean culture, it is helpful to introduce how cultural characteristics and cross-cultural differences between cultures can be explained. Some researchers have made classifications to explain variation of cultural values (e.g. Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). The most representative study may be the large-scale survey by Hofstede; from 1969 to 1972, Hofstede conducted a survey on employees working in an international corporation, in over fifty countries and comprising sixty-six nationalities. He pointed out five dimensions to explain cultural characteristics: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, and masculinity were suggested in 1980s, and long-term/short-term orientation (which is often overlapped to Confucian values) was added later (Hofstede, 2001).

In particular, research on the individualism/collectivism (I-C) dimension has become very popular. In individualistic cultures "the ties between individuals are *loose*, and everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her

immediate family” (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 76). Individualistic cultural values emphasize self-reliance, autonomy, competition, and personal achievement (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990).

In collectivistic cultures, “people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups which throughout people’s lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty” (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 76). Collectivistic cultural values emphasize devotion, harmony, and sociability, and group goals have primary concern over individual goals when there is conflict between those (Triandis et al., 1990). Individuals are considered to be an aspect of a shared group identity. Table 2.4 shows differences between I-C societies in terms of general norms, family, and friendships.

Table 2.4 Differences between individualistic and collectivistic societies (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005).

High individualistic	Low individualistic (collectivistic)
Oneself, Nuclear family	Extended family
Think about “I”	Think about “We”
Speaking one’s mind	Harmony, avoiding direct confrontations
Friendships are voluntary	Friendships are predetermined
Individual ownerships of resources	Resources are shared
Criteria for marriage partner are not predetermined	Brides are younger than bridegroom

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) showed that South Korea ranked 63rd in individualism, whereas the U.K. was 3rd individualistic of the 74 countries surveyed.

I-C was regarded as a single dimension in Hofstede's work. However, for the last two decades, some researchers have suggested that I and C are independent dimensions which can coexist (Rhee, Uleman, & Lee, 1996; Triandis, 1993). In addition, I and C are emphasized more or less in each culture depending on the situation (Triandis, 1993). Furthermore, the work by Hofstede was conducted 30 years ago, so there might be changes in some characteristics although the general frame of cultural characteristics might remain consistent.

Attitudes towards dissimilarity

Some studies have shown that cultural characteristics are related to ways of defining self (i.e. self-construals): how to view one in relation to others is an important concept to explain cultural differences (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oysermann, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002).

Collectivistic cultures have generally been found to view themselves as interdependent (i.e. interdependent self-construals); they view the self as connected with others (e.g. group related identities). Interdependent self-construal plays a key role in social relations and as in-group members (Markus & Kitayama; 1991; Park & Ahn, 2008).

However, in individualistic cultures people define themselves as more independent (i.e. independent self-construals) than in collectivistic cultures. Individual behaviours

are organized and considered meaningful by reference to one's internal thoughts, feeling, actions, rather than by reference to others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

This difference in self-construals between cultures can be exemplified by different attitudes towards similarity and dissimilarity (Hofstede, 2001). Moreover, Korean culture has developed a distinct collectivism: "We-ness" (*uri*). This sense of belonging, oneness, bonding and acceptance are the critical characteristics of South Korean society (Cha, 1994). For example, when South Koreans indicate their own family members, they use 'our' concept rather than 'my' (e.g., our mum, our son). This distinct collectivistic characteristic may result from South Korean's high level of cultural and ethnic homogeneity, which is often viewed with pride among South Koreans (Kim et al., 2008); although this has become less emphasized in recent years due to the increase of multiethnic immigrants.

A preference for similarity and interdependent self-construals among South Koreans is demonstrated by Kim and Markus (1999). South Koreans preferred conformity to uniqueness and give more importance to harmony, compared to U.S. Americans. They indicated that "depending on the cultural context, 'uniqueness' can be 'deviance' and 'conformity' can be 'harmony'" (p. 786). Similarly, Park and Ahn (2008) reported that South Koreans are more likely to define themselves as interdependent with others (having interdependent self-construals) than U.S. Americans.

South Koreans are more likely to place the importance on the group. Kim, Shapiro, Aquino, Lim and Bennett (2008) examined the effects and responses to offense given by a coworker depending on workplace offender's characteristics among U.S. and

South Korean employees. They found that both Koreans and U.S. Americans were more motivated to reconcile when the offensive remark came from a similar than dissimilar coworker, but that Koreans were more likely to try to reconcile when the offence targeted them personally (not their group). In contrast, U. S. Americans were most motivated to reconcile when the offence targeted their group (not them personally). This indicated that Koreans were more likely to view offense focused on their group more negatively than offense focused on them personally.

Sociocultural changes of the traditional values

In Western cultures, industrialization and urbanization contributed to the development of individualism, since they caused a shift in family values. Financial independence, increasing availability of housing and a preference for privacy affected family size (e.g. extended family to core family or living alone). In contrast, agricultural cultures tend to more collectivistic, and value conformity (Berry, 1979).

South Korea has been undergoing sociocultural changes during modernization, industrialization and globalization. Industrialization in South Korea has brought on cultural complexity and affluence. Traditional values are often in conflict with contemporary individual needs and goals. For example, ‘compliance’ is not considered as important as in the past for subordinates in South Korea. Cha and Jang (1992) reported that the endorsement of certain Confucian values (e.g. respect for the hierarchical order and loyalty to superiors) were very low among Korean college students.

Surveys report that individualistic cultural values are associated with younger age, college education, living in the Seoul metropolitan area, and working for a large

company, whereas collectivistic values are more likely to be held by older Koreans, those who had finished only a high school education, and those living in rural areas or cities outside of Seoul (Ahn, 1999; Han & Shin, 1999).

In addition, the family-centered ideology has acquired different meaning during industrialization. Traditionally, the family is a basic social unit and the values which are required for family relationships were applied to broader contexts in the society and contributed to integrity both within the family and outside the family (i.e. community, society, and nation). However, the family centered value has been changed into consideration of their own family but less often considering others as their family (Kim, 2003).

Summary

South Korea has a unique form of language and alphabet. Respect terms are highly developed, which may reflect an importance of hierarchy among Korean people. Most children are enrolled in schools until 18 years old and discontinuation is very rare. There is no national religion, rather Confucianism as an ideology (not religion) pervades Korean people's daily life. However, some traditional values of Confucianism have interacted in a complex way with Western ideology. South Korea is characterized as much more collectivistic than some Western countries (e.g. U.K., U.S, and Australia). The distinct cultural characteristics (i.e. "we-ness") of South Korea may be relevant to the social phenomenon, *bullying*. The next chapter describes bullying studies in South Korea and introduces their characteristics.

Chapter 3

Studies of bullying in South Korea

There have been a substantial number of studies about bullying in South Korea since the late 1990's. In order to discuss Korean studies, it is necessary to look first at the terms which are used to describe the phenomena in South Korea, and which correspond to bullying in Western cultures.

Terms for bullying

There are several terms: *gipdan-ttadolim*, *gipdan-gorophim*, *hakkyo-pokryuk*, *wang-ta*, and *ttorae-gorophim*. Table 3.1 describes the approximate meaning of each term when they are translated into English.

Table 3.1 Korean terms which correspond to the term *bullying*

Korean terms	Translation
<i>Gipdan-ttadolim</i>	Group isolation
<i>Gipdan-gorophim</i>	Group harassment
<i>Hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	School violence
<i>Wang-ta</i>	-
<i>Ttorae-gorophim</i>	Peer isolation/peer harassment

These terms are generally used in the public, academic or official way to describe bullying-like phenomena; but the term *wang-ta* is a slang derived from school pupils in late 1990's Korea. Each of the terms in Table 3.1 is used rather interchangeably to

describe bullying-like behaviour in South Korea, although there are some differences of the meaning among them.

To look at the usage of these terms, the number of publications in which each term was used was investigated. Each term was used as a keyword to search theses, journals, and books at the Research Information Sharing Service (www.riss.kr) which is the most representative research information service in South Korea. Table 3.2 shows the number of theses, journals, and books in which a term was used.

Books include both academic books such as a published institutional report and non-academic books (i.e. general readership). Given that systematic research on bullying began in the late 1990's, the number of publications was investigated within three time frames (1997-2001, 2002-2006, and 2007-2011), these being three equal time periods of five years each. Three time-periods was also useful to examine any curvilinear trends.

By period, the term *hakkyo-pokryuk* has been most frequently used for 14 years and the number of publication using the term *gipdan-gorophim* increased until 2006 and then stayed rather constant although there was a slight decrease. *Gipdan-ttadolim* and *wang-ta* showed an increase up to 2006 but decreased thereafter. The term *ttorae-gorophim* has been used infrequently but consistently since 2002.

However, in theses and journals, which are more academic than books the terms *wang-ta* and *gipdan-gorophim* were much less used than *gipdan-ttadolim* and *hakkyo-pokryuk*. Particularly, the usage of the term *hakkyo-pokryuk* has increased, more than

doubling over 14 years.

In total, the terms *hakkyo-pokryuk* and *wang-ta* have been most frequently used, *gipdan-ttadolim* followed them and the terms *gipdan-gorophim* and *ttorae-gorophim* were least used.

Table 3.2. The number of studies in which a term has been used in the last 14 years

Year		1997-2001	2002-2006	2007-2011	Total
<i>Gipdan-ttadolim</i>	Thesis, journals	117	300	211	628
	Books	68	99	61	228
	Total	185	399	272	856
<i>Gipdan-gorophim</i>	Thesis, journals	44	72	69	185
	Books	36	24	21	81
	Total	80	96	90	266
<i>Hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	Thesis, journals	472	827	1053	2352
	Books	739	936	734	2409
	Total	1211	1763	1787	4761
<i>Wang-ta</i>	Thesis, journals	69	103	95	267
	Books	309	430	328	1067
	Total	378	533	423	1334
<i>Ttorae-gorophim</i>	Thesis, journals	43	73	67	183
	Books	4	7	10	21
	Total	47	80	77	204

Prevalence

Looking at the prevalence of bullying-like phenomenon in South Korea, six studies were chosen, which are summarized in Table 3.3. These studies were all conducted across several regions, and were chosen to represent the use of the different terms discussed above. Four studies (Kim & Park, 1997; Lee & Kwak, 2000; Park, Jung, Park & Han, 2006; Park, Son, & Song, 1998) have been frequently referenced across many Korean studies, one study (Koo et al., 2008) was chosen since it used the Olweus Questionnaire (as in Lee and Kwak (2000), but different types of aggression were used), and the percentage of bullying others was investigated. One recent study from Yang (2009) also used the term *hakkyo-pokryuk*, but included different types of aggressive behaviours from other studies. These studies in Table 3.3 are discussed through this chapter.

These studies used different terms, but they overlapped in terms of the types of behaviours they examined. They generally included physical, verbal aggression, threatening, extorting, and exclusion, which is often described as *gipdan-ttadolim*, and sometimes included sexual abuse and joining gang (called *pokryuk-circle*) which describes a violent social group in order to dominate school atmosphere.

The prevalence of victims in these six studies varies from 3.7~56%, and that of aggressors varies from 8~48.1%. The various ranges may have resulted from differences in the terms used, the type of behaviour examined and the duration across which the study explored these behaviours.

Table 3.3. Summary of prevalence among large-scale studies using different terms.

	Sample	Term used	Type of behaviours investigated	Duration*	Percentage of pupils	
					bullying	Being bullied
Kim & Park (1997)	1624 pupils in elementary, middle, high school. 10-17 year olds	<i>Ttadolim</i>	Exclusion	6 months	48.1%	30%
Park, Son & Song (1998)	6,893 pupils in upper elementary middle, high schools 10-17 year olds	<i>Hakkyo-pokryuk</i> , <i>Gipdan-ttadolim</i> (<i>Wang-ta, ta</i>)	Forcing a pupil to do something he/she does not want to do, Extorting, Insulting/Threatening Physical, Sexual abuse, <i>gipdan-ttadolim</i>	1 year	Not investigated	<i>Hakkyo-pokryuk</i> 56% <i>Gipdan-ttadolim</i> 24.2 %
Lee & Kwak (2000)	1500 pupils, 11-15 years old. Revised Olweus questionnaire	<i>Gipdan-ttadolim</i>	Verbal, Physical, Exclusion, Threatening, Rumour spreading, Breaking belongings,	1 year	Not investigated	19.6%

Chapter three: Studies of bullying in South Korea

Park, Jung, Park, & Han. (2006)	17,325 pupils, 10-17 years old	<i>Hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	Verbal, Physical, Extorting, <i>gipdan-gorophim</i> (also used <i>gipdan-ttadolim</i> , <i>wang-ta</i>), Sexual abuse, Ganging	3 months	Not investigated	3.7%
Koo, Kwak, & Smith (2008)	2926 pupils aged 11-16 years. Used Olweus questionnaire	<i>Wang-ta</i>	Name calling, Threatening by gestures and facial expression, Physical, Exclusion, Rumour spreading, Extorting or breaking belongings	5 months	10.2%	5.8%
Yang (2009)	442 pupils 11-15 years old	<i>Hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	Physical, Verbal, Threaten, <i>gipdan-ttadolim</i> ,	1 year	8%	10.2%

*Duration: period over which bullying might have happened

Depending on the terms used, different prevalences of being bullied were shown. Kim and Park (1997), who used the term *ttadolim* found a high incidence (30%). Park et al. (1998) found up to 56% of pupils experiencing being a victim of *hakkyo-pokryuk*. It may have resulted from the types of behaviour or severity included in the study. Kim and Park (1997) only included isolating or excluding behaviour but Park et al (1998) included a wider range of aggressive behaviour (see Table 3.3).

The level of detail in the description may have also affected the results. Park et al. (1998) specified examples of the behaviour (e.g. Have you been called, ‘fool’, ‘stupid?’) for each type of aggression. Thus, depending on the pupils’ familiarity with the descriptions, the incidence may vary.

Also, the definition of duration used in the studies appears related to incidence: studies limiting duration to experiences as short as 3 months (Park et al., 2006) showed much lower incidence than studies using 1 year of duration (e.g. Park et al., 1998; Yang, 2009).

Park et al. (1998) used several terms. Interestingly, they investigated *hakkyo-pokryuk* and *gipdan-ttadolim* in which *wang-ta* and *ta* were sometimes indicated together. They investigated *hakkyo-pokryuk* in terms of five types of aggression (i.e. forcing a pupil to do something he (she) does not want to, extorting, insulting/threatening, physical, sexual abuse) and whether *gipdan-ttadolim* had happened together with these five types of aggression. More than half of pupils reported being a victim of *hakkyo-pokryuk* for at least one type of aggression, and 24.2% of pupils had a victim experience of *gipdan-ttadolim*. Table 3.4 compares the percentage of pupils who were

victims of *gipdan-ttadolim* and *hakkyo-pokryuk* by the type of aggression they received.

Table 3.4. Percentage of victims of type of *gipdan-ttadolim* and *hakkyo-pokryuk* who received each type of behaviour (Park et al., 1998)

Victim type	forcing	extortion	insult	physical	sexual
<i>Gipdan-ttadolim</i>	6.0%	4.9%	13.5%	7.2%	3.4%
<i>Hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	19.7%	18.4%	45.0%	25.5%	11.4%

Both victims of *gipdan-ttadolim* and *hakkyo-pokryuk* received insults and physical aggression more than other types of behaviours, but much lower in *gipdan-ttadolim*. *Gipdan-ttadolim* seems to have different features from *hakkyo-pokryuk* in terms of the behaviour it describes.

However, Park et al. (1998) did not define *gipdan-ttadolim*, *wang-ta* or *ta* and used them interchangeably within the study: sometimes indicated together, sometimes using only one term. This affected the results. When they asked pupils ‘what kind of behaviour would make one person *wang-ta*’, the answers were mostly ignoring/not playing together (73.6%), insults/humiliation (43.8%), or hitting (13.1%). Up to 44% of pupils thought that insulting/humiliating would happen to make one person *wang-ta*. However, as seen in Table 3.4, 13.5% of victims of *gipdan-ttadolim* responded that they received insults. It may have resulted from different perspectives between victims and non-victims or from behavioural differences between *wang-ta* and *gipdan-ttadolim*. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between these terms.

The Foundation for Preventing Youth Violence (FPYV) has been conducting annual surveys to investigate the incidence of *hakkyo-pokryuk* since 2006. They used self report questionnaires administered to 5th and 6th grades (10-11 years) in elementary school and middle (12-14 years), and high school pupils (15-17 years), and asked about their experiences of *hakkyo-pokryuk* during the last year. This annual survey provides comprehensive information about *hakkyo-pokryuk* and has been particularly useful in tracking changes in its incidence. Table 3.5 shows the results of the percentage of pupils who have experienced *hakkyo-pokryuk* from 2006 to 2010.

FPYV used the term *hakkyo-pokryuk* and included verbal aggression, physical aggression, extorting money, *gipdan-gorophim* (*gipdan-ttadolim* and *wang-ta* were mentioned together with this), sexual abuse, joining gang and cyber aggression. The proportion of victims has decreased over time, whereas that of aggressors increased again after 2008 although there was a little decrease between 2009 and 2010. It may reflect that the behaviour has become more performed by groups of pupils and is more targeted to fewer pupils over time.

Table 3.5. Percentage of pupils who experienced *hakkyo-pokryuk* (FPYV, 2006; 2007; 2009; 2010).

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Doing <i>hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	12.6	15.1	8.5	12.4	11.8
Received <i>hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	17.3	16.2	10.5	9.4	11.4
Number of participants	3,915	4,579	4,119	4,074	3,560

For repetition of behaviour, 68.6% of victims reported that they received *hakkyo-pokryuk* only once, 21.9 % of pupils reported that their victimisation lasted a month to 6 months, and 9.4% of victims experienced victimisation for more than 6 months (FPYV, 2006).

Table 3.6 shows the percentage of cases which pupils received *hakkyo-pokryuk* in 2006 and 2007 by type of behaviour. Verbal and physical victimization were most common, followed by extortion and threatening and *ttadolim* and *gorophim*. There were relative increases in physical aggression, *ttadolim*, cyber aggression and sexual harassment over the two year period.

Table 3.6. Percentage of cases of receiving *hakkyo-pokryuk* by type of behaviour (FPYV, 2006, 2007)

Type of <i>hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	2006	2007
Verbal (insulting, swearing)	24.4	21.5
Physical (hit)	22.6	24.6
Extortion (extorted money or belongings)	19.6	16.3
<i>Ttadolim</i> (isolated, ignored by one or more than one pupil)	7.1	8.6
<i>Gorophim</i> (forced errands or what I don't want to do)	11.7	7.2
Cyber (received a nasty or threatening email, texts or video-recorded in insulted way)	4.6	6.1
Sexual (received physical or sexual contact)	0	2.9
Threaten (taunting, e.g. 'I will hit you', 'Bring money')	9.2	9.3
Etc. (other ways)	0.8	3.5
Total	100	100

Age differences

As shown in Table 3.3, studies generally focused on upper grades in elementary school pupils (9-11 years old), middle school pupils (12-14 years old) and sometimes 1st or 2nd grades in high school pupils (15-16 years old).

There is an age decline in bullying through middle to high school grades. Kim and Park (1997) reported that doing *ttadolim* happened more among elementary school (57.1%) than middle school (41.8%), general high school pupils (53.4%), and technical high school pupils (44.1%). Among pupils who did *ttadolim*, 80.9% of them did it one or two times during the last six months, 12.2% of them did it three to five times and 3.7% of them did it every day.

There is also an age decline in victimisation. Koo et al. (2008) found being *wang-ta* was more common in elementary school than in middle school pupils. In Kim and Park's (1997) study, 46.4% of pupils in elementary, 28.4% in middle school, 25.5% in general high school and 26.0% of pupils in technical high school received *ttadolim*. Among them, 72.2% receiving one or two times during the last six months, 15.3% of them received it three to five times, and 5.2% of them received it everyday. Many cases of *ttadolim* happened only once but also around 20% of the pupils had done it repeatedly and 27% of victims were exposed to repetitive isolation.

Similarly, Park et al. (2006) reported a decrease in victimisation with age: elementary school pupils (5.0%), middle school pupils (4.0%) and general high school pupils (2.2%), technical high school pupils (3.0%). Younger pupils (elementary school) were more likely than older pupils to experience *gipdan-ttadolim* (group isolation) and

middle school and high school pupils were more likely than elementary school pupils to be victimized physically (Park et al., 2006).

FPYV (2007) specified the decrease in incidence by each grade. Table 3.7 shows the prevalence in each grade. After 1st grade in middle school, the incidence of doing *hakkyo-pokryuk* decreased; and in high school, the incidence of doing *hakkyo-pokryuk* was half of the level found in upper grades in elementary school. Victimization (receiving *hakkyo-pokryuk*) decreased after 1st year in middle school and in high school years it decreased to one third of the incidence reported in elementary school years.

Table 3.7. Doing/receiving *hakkyo-pokryuk* (from once to a lot of times) (FPYV, 2007)

	Doing <i>hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	Receiving <i>hakkyo-pokryuk</i>
5 th grade in elementary (10-11 year old)	20.1%	22.0%
6 th grade in elementary (11-12 year old)	20.2%	25.1%
1 st grade in middle school (12-13 year old)	20.2%	21.7%
2 nd grade in middle school (13-14 year old)	14.1%	18.2%
3 rd grade in middle school (14-15 year old)	15.2%	15.2%
1 st grade in high school (15-16 year old)	8.2%	6.5%
2 nd grade in high school (16-17 year old)	9.7%	7.0%

There are relatively fewer studies of bullying among lower grade elementary school pupils or preschool children in South Korea. Lee and Lee (2003) investigated the perception of bullying (they used the term, *ttadolim*) among 163 preschool teachers.

Using a questionnaire, they found that 59.5% of teachers had seen *ttadolim* in their class: 80.6% of them observed it directly, 10.2% heard about it from the children's parents, and 7.4% of them heard about it from children's reports.

Kim (2008) examined *ttorae-gorophim* (peer harassment) among 297 children in preschool (aged 5-6) using teacher reports and found that exclusion (65.1%) was most common and physical aggression (40.1%) followed it. However, the studies about young children did not include the criteria of an imbalance of power or repetition which are generally applied to bullying among school pupils.

A study conducted by Park (2001) investigated young children's power abuse in peer relationships. This is more similar to bullying in older children. She observed 40 children in one class of a preschool in South Korea. During 31 observations for 4 months, she found that negative use of social power by an individual child was displayed through possession of toys, putting others down, cheating, rejecting and threatening. Power abuse was also observed by groups of children. A group of children labelled another child, spread rumours about them, and consequently other peers in the class also rejected the child. The children who used social power in a negative way were verbally competent to persuade others, physically strong, aggressive, competitive, and selfish. Thus, young children in South Korea seem to display bullying-like behaviours in which an imbalance of power exists although the repetition was rarely examined.

Gender differences in victim/bully

Girls are usually more likely than boys to be victimized. Kim and Park (1997) reported that girls (32.2%) were more likely to receive *ttadolim* than boys (26.2%). Lee and Kwak (2000) reported the gender difference by level of schools; female victims were more common in elementary school but there were more male victims in middle school.

However, FPYV (2006) reported that boys (20.5%) were more likely than girls (14.0%) to receive *hakkyo-pokryuk*. Also, Koo et al. (2008) showed that more boys than girls had experience of being *wang-ta*.

Park et al. (2006) showed that the gender differences may depend on type of aggression investigated: they found that girls more often experienced social, relational victimisation than boys; physical victimisation happened more among boys than girls. In fact, Kim and Park (1997) included only social exclusion (i.e ignoring, rejecting, avoiding) whereas the other studies investigated diverse types of aggressive behaviour. This may have affected the higher victimisation rate they found among girls than boys.

The number of aggressors

The number of aggressors has often been investigated in South Korean studies. This may reflect the group characteristic of bullying behaviour in South Korea. Koo et al. (2008) reported that in elementary school, 34.3 % of victims reported that they received *wang-ta* from more than 10 pupils and 46.5% of victims, by three to five pupils, and 19.1 % of victims by one pupil. FPYV (2009) has reported an increase

over time in number of pupils reporting being victimized by a group of aggressors (Table 3.8). The number of pupils who are victimized by more than two pupils has noticeably increased by 14% over four years. It may reflect that the power becomes more imbalanced between bully and victim, which may imply that a target child may receive more severe aggressive behaviour.

Table 3.8. Percentage of victims who received *hakkyo-pokryuk* from more than two pupils (FPYV, 2009).

2006	2007	2008	2009
54.9%	59.5%	69.1%	68%

Who bullied whom?

Studies have consistently reported that the majority of victims were victimized by classmates (FPYV, 2007, 2009, 2010; Lee & Kwak, 2000; Yang 2009). Lee and Kwak (2000) reported that 56.2 % of victims received *gipdan-ttadolim* by classmates, 19.0 % by other peers in the same grade, and only 2.9% received it from older pupils. Similarly, FPYV (2007) reported that 46.3% of victims received *hakkyo-pokryuk* by classmates, 19.4% by different class in the same grade, 13.9% from different grade, and 8.5% by other school pupils. Most *hakkyo-pokryuk* or *ttadolim* happened among pupils they knew, especially pupils in the same class.

When they are victimised or witness victimisation

FPYV (2009) found that the majority of victims (64.3%) did not report the incident or ask for help from others and only 35.7% of victims asked help; 40.5% of them asked for help from their parents and 36.4% asked for help from teachers. Therefore, victims tend to ask help for parents and teachers rather than other pupils. Also, more than half of pupils (56.8%) who witnessed *hakkyo-pokryuk* ignored the situation and 36.2% reported that they intervened and helped victims.

Collective beliefs about bullying behaviour

Looking at empirical findings about bullying in South Korea, it is useful to return to a consideration of the terms used, especially in relation to collectivism. Korean bullying has been characterised by degree of isolation depending on the severity of bullying or the number of aggressors. There are several terms which are derived from *wang-ta*. Pupils have made terms adding ‘-ta’ at the end of word since it is a radix, related to meaning of isolation. The words keep being created and disappear over time. For example, *eun-ta* means a victim isolated implicitly and only for few occasions, so the victim is often not aware of his/her victimisation, but other people may perceive the person was *eun-ta*. Another example is *jun-ta*. This means very severe victimisation: victimized by a whole school (*jun* means whole or completely).

Lee and Hong (2002) examined beliefs and rules which may lead pupils to make one person *wang-ta* among 567 pupils in middle school in Seoul. They found that perceived rules (i.e. “Other pupils think that *wang-ta* deserves the victimisation”) were more influential than personal attitudes towards *wang-ta* (“if I do *wang-ta*, I would feel guilty”) to predict doing *wang-ta*. This association was stronger among

pupils who did *wang-ta* than pupils who did not. According to their study, perceived group value surpasses personal moral value in engaging in *wang-ta* behaviour, thus *wang-ta* behaviour needs to be viewed from the perspective of group conformity. Generally, it is not easy for one person to act against the majority of people, it is even more so in collectivistic culture in which in-group norms are emphasized for integrating and low intimacy is shown to out-group members. Even when the group norm is contrasted to personal value, in a collectivistic culture the group such as family, community and society are often considered more important than individuals and the group may even require an individual's sacrifice.

Summary

Bullying-like behaviour in South Korea has been investigated using several terms (e.g. *hakkyo-pokryuk*, *ttadolim*, *gipdan-ttadolim* (*gorophim*) or *wang-ta*). Recently, the term *hakkyo-pokryuk* tends to be more used than other terms. The prevalence has differed by duration, type of behaviour, age, and gender. Also, the behaviours often are perpetrated by a group of pupils rather than an individual. The term *wang-ta* particularly seems to maximize the collectivistic aspect of aggressive behaviours and collectivistic cultural beliefs seem be used to justify an isolation toward a person who violates the group-norm.

Chapter 4.

Study 1. Terminology for, and perceptions of bullying-like phenomena in South Korea: a lifespan perspective

“I asked ‘what pages do we have to study for the next exam?’ to my friends, but no one answered, then immediately, I realized ‘ah, I become *wang-ta*’, I talked to them later about this, and they told me they were just not bothering to answer at that moment, but I still feel bad about that moment” (*Weekly Korea*, 1998, 9, 29)

“Children who are selfish, and who damage others’ relationships used to be *wang-ta*, but these days, someone can also be *wang-ta* without any reasons, unfortunately, disabled or weak people are often being *wang-ta*....there are no standards, studying well, good looking, bad looking all can be reasons for being *wang-ta*. It occurs even in kindergarten.” (*Gyunghyang sinmoon*, 1998, 12, 24).

Introduction

As seen in Chapter 3, many studies about bullying-like phenomena in South Korea have used several terms such as *gipdan-ttadolim* (group isolation), *gipdan-gorophim* (group harassment), *hakkyo-pokryuk* (school violence) and *wang-ta*. Studies in South Korea have used the three terms (*gipdan-ttadolim*, *gipdan-gorophim*, *hakkyo-pokryuk*) which are recommended by the Korean Ministry of Education. This recommendation resulted from the characteristic of the term *wang-ta*: it gives an impression of be-littling the victimized person.

History of the term *wang-ta*

In 1996, one high school pupil who had a heart disease committed suicide because of group harassment for 1 year towards him. The Korean mass media named it as *Korean Ijime*, *gipdan-hakdae* (group abuse) or *gipdan-gorophim* (group harassment). Since then, phenomena similar to *ijime* in Japan have been a matter of concern. The term *wang-ta* was introduced to the public during this period, in 1997, by a newspaper in South Korea (*Dong-ah ilbo*, 1997, 3, 27). The report introduced several slang terms used by school pupils and *wang-ta* was one of those; *wang-ta* was explained as being an abbreviation of the term *wang-ttadolim* (exclusion). *Wang* is both a noun and a prefix meaning ‘king’ or ‘big’, and *ta* is a short version of *ttadolim* (isolation) or *tadolida* (to isolate). Thus, *wang-ta* means severe exclusion or an excluded person.

After that, the term *wang-ta* sometimes appeared in the mass media when describing adolescents’ peer cultures and continuously the term has been used to describe not only adolescents’ peer cultures but also any social or political issue which describes a socially excluding (or excluded) situation. For example, ‘Was the Department of Marine *wang-ta*?’ (*Hakkook ilbo*, 1999, 3, 3), ‘If against U.S.A, the country would be *wang-ta*’ (*Gyunghyang sinmoon*, 1998, 11, 25).

In 1999, the government recommended the use of the term *gipdan-ttadolim* (group isolation) and discouraged the term *wang-ta*. Some scholars in South Korea suggested that the term *wang-ta* had negative connotations for the victimized person and may mean that these behaviours are taken less seriously (Kim, 2004; No, Kim, Lee, & Kim, 1999).

Koo (1997) defined *gipdan-ttadolim* or *wang-ta* as meaning verbal and physical behaviours which aim to ignore or attack one person or group of people by excluding them from a group, and which is carried out by more than two people.

Kwon (1999) defined *wang-ta* as

‘an excluding behaviour or an excluded person, it accompanies physical and verbal *gorophim*. An imbalance of power exists between aggressor(s) and victim(s) and the excluding process occurs constantly and repeatedly by negative labeling of the person in public’ (p.62) (in Korean).

He emphasized that a distinctive feature of *wang-ta* compared to *ijime* is a stigmatization by public labeling.

No et al. (1999) emphasized its collective aspects; *wang-ta* is a phenomenon in which a whole class of pupils or most pupils in a class engages in excluding one or fewer pupils. It is intentional *gorophim* which happens consistently and repeatedly.

No (2001) suggested that *wang-ta* does not simply mean teasing or harassing but also ignoring a person’s being. According to him, in Western *bullying* a person is being bullied when he (she) is consistently exposed to aggressive behaviours whereas a person is *being wang-ta* when all or majority of pupils in the class are engaged in the exclusion and therefore he(she) does not have friends at all.

Therefore, the characteristic of *wang-ta* seems to be collectivistic isolation and public labeling of a victimized person.

Although the several terms have been used interchangeably for bullying-like phenomena, there are some differences among terms. *Gipdan-ttadolim* and *gipdan-gorophim* imply group behaviours (rather than one-to-one), and *hakkyo-pokryuk* includes a wide range of hostile and violent behaviours which happen among pupils, within or around schools such as physical attack, name calling, *gipdan-ttadolim*, extortion of money, and sexual abuse. As described in Chapter 3, the use of the term *hakkyo-pokryuk* has been increased over time and a number of studies have often used this term rather than other terms.

However, only one study has examined which terms are actually used by pupils. The definition of the terms used to indicate bullying-like phenomena in South Korean noted above were those used by researchers. Koo (2005) found that the terms *gipdan-ttadiim* and *gipdan-gorophim* which were recommended by Korean government and used by researchers were not used by middle school pupils (during the period 2002-2003), instead, they used other term, *wang-ta*, to describe bullying-like behaviours.

Perception of *wang-ta* or bullying-like behaviours

How pupils perceive bullying-like phenomenon has been investigated. Pupils tend to do *hakkyo-pokryuk* or *ttadolim* without a particular reason. FPYV (2007) asked for pupils' perceptions of the reason for doing *hakkyo-pokryuk* (i.e. "why do you think some pupils do *hakkyo-pokryuk* to others?). The majority of answers were 'for fun' (41.2%), 'no reason' (26.7%). Table 4.1 shows the percentage of reasons for doing/receiving *hakkyo-pokryuk* by different school levels. For the reason for doing *hakkyo-pokryuk*, many pupils responded 'for fun' across all school levels and it is

higher in older pupils. ‘Conflict’ between peers was more commonly reported in elementary school pupils than middle or high school pupils.

Table 4.1. Percentage of perceived reasons for doing/receiving *hakkyo-pokryuk* (FPYV, 2007)

School level (ages)	Reasons for doing <i>hakkyo-pokryuk</i>			Reason for receiving <i>hakkyo-pokryuk</i>		
	No reason	For fun	Conflict	No reason	Aggressors look down on others	Victims are selfish
Elementary (11-12 years)	21%	37%	22%	17%	33%	14.3%
Middle (13-15 years)	31%	40%	16%	22%	40%	8%
High (16-18 years)	25%	47%	18%	20%	40%	8%

For the reason for receiving *hakkyo-pokryuk* (i.e. “why do you think some pupils receive *hakkyo-pokryuk*?), there was an age decline in thinking of victims as selfish, and an age increase in aggressors looking down others. Elementary school pupils were less likely than middle or high school pupils to think ‘no reason’ as a reason for receiving *hakkyo-pokryuk*.

Kim and Park (1997) found that the reason for *ttadolim* differed by bullying/victimisation experiences. More than 83% of pupils who did *ttadolim* and

pupils who witnessed *ttadolim* attributed the behaviour to pupils who received *ttadolim* (i.e. s/he deserved it). In contrast, 41.9% of victims reported they did not know the reason, 26.8% of victims reported the reason is that they had no friend to protect them, and 23.0% reported other pupils thought them as weak (multiple responses were allowed).

Park et al. (1998) reported that the majority of answers relating to the reason for someone being *wang-ta* were victim's arrogance (66.5%), selfishness and despising others (50.6%), and odd behaviour (36.4%) (multiple responses were allowed). Also, they found that the reason for making fun of the *wang-ta* increased with age: there was a higher percentage of the answers from high school than middle and elementary schools. Thus, pupils are less likely to attribute being *wang-ta* to victim's fault and more likely to attribute to aggressor's characteristics (e.g. for fun) as they grow up.

Pupils thought *hakkyo-pokryuk* (translated to school violence) was serious (30.3%) or very serious (12.1%) (FPYV, 2007): Physical aggression (27.4%) was thought most serious, followed by *ttadolim* (18.8%), extorting money (16.2%), *gorophim* (15.9%), verbal (13.4%) threatening (4.8%), and cyber (3.5%).

The perception of the severity of *hakkyo-pokryuk* differed by the age of pupils. Middle school pupils (25.8%) were more likely than general high school pupils (12.4%) and technical high school pupils (20.4%) to consider it as serious (Park et al., 2006). Yang (2009) reported that middle school pupils were more likely than elementary school pupils to think *hakkyo-pokryuk* becomes serious.

Bullying beyond school aged pupils

This varied usage and existence of terms seems to reflect the developmental sequence of aggression. Björkqvist, Österman, and Kaukiainen (1992) suggested that physical, verbal, and indirect aggression are developmentally sequenced and linked to advances in language and perspective-taking ability. When children are young, the use of aggression and experience tends to be more overt but it becomes more relational and covert with increasing age.

Studies of bullying initially focused on school contexts, but adult bullying, especially in the workplace, has become an important issue since the 1990s. The definition is similar to that of school bullying, emphasizing persistent and repeated negative actions which are intended to intimidate or hurt another person in a weaker position; or, a systematic abuse of power (Zapf & Einarsen, 2001). Workplace bullying behaviours have been categorized into threats to professional status, threats to personal standing, isolation, overwork, and destabilization (Rayner & Hoel, 1997).

Bullying behaviours in the workplace may be more subtle and sophisticated than school bullying. Rainivaara (2009) indicated that in difficult, exploitative or conflictual workplace relationships, there were relatively few strongly negative behaviours, and that people used distancing and avoidance as ways of coping. “Silence appears to be a significant factor in the maintenance of a bullying relationship” (Rainivaara, 2009, p.68).

Despite some comparability of school bullying and workplace bullying, no systematic comparison of lay persons’ understandings of bullying between the two

contexts has been made.

Needs for the present study

Although the studies reviewed before and other studies in South Korea have provided informative results, there are some limitations about them.

First, they did not provide a rationale for the choice of term used. The use of different terms, some undefined and some not commonly used and possibly not well understood by pupils, reduces their validity and comparability. Also, the terms used in the studies were chosen by the researchers. Apart from Koo (2005), there has been no systematic investigation of the terms used for bullying behaviours from the pupil's points of view.

Second, there is a lack of information on the use of the term *wang-ta* beyond school age; most Korean studies about *wang-ta* have focused on school pupils. This may have been related to the origin of the term *wang-ta* (i.e. pupils' slang). However, the term *wang-ta* has been known for 15 years and the pupils in 1990's who began to use it have now become adults. The term *wang-ta* has been discouraged its usage by Korean government. However, the term *wang-ta* may spread thorough many contexts (more than schools) and various ages (more than school pupils). Alternatively, other terms may be used in other contexts or other age-ranges. It is not known whether young children use the term, *wang-ta*, or other terms.

Also, there is little research on adults. This was taken forward in two ways in this thesis. One is the examination of adults in the workplace. Here, the interest is on

workplace bullying. Thus, this is a study of persons older than school pupils, and also necessarily in a different context (i.e. workplace rather than school). The second is how parents use terms to describe children's behaviours. This is examining the same context (schools) but from the perspective of different developmental stages. Examining people's usage of terms for and perceptions of bullying-like behaviours across varied age-ranges can indicate developmental changes in bullying-like behaviour. Investigating bullying among school pupils provides what Korean school bullying is. However, a life-span perspective provides comprehensive information about what Korean bullying is and whether those behaviours change when people are grown up.

Finally, there are few studies about how Korean people perceive bullying-like behaviour. Terminology about a certain phenomenon is closely related to perception of it because language is the primary tool to convey cultural knowledge, and the terms for phenomena and their meanings are important which are embedded in social life (Krauss & Chiu, 1998). Bullying behaviour in South Korea seems to be characterized in terms of social isolation, and this may imply certain beliefs which are shared amongst Koreans (i.e. cultural values). Furthermore, no Korean research has explored the views of bullying-like behaviour or *wang-ta* held by preschoolers or adults, although perceptions of bullying differ across ages in Western studies. These beliefs can be investigated using a qualitative approach.

Qualitative studies

A great number of studies about bullying have used quantitative methods. However, Teräsahjo and Salmivalli (2003) have suggested that bullying research would also

benefit from qualitative approaches which enhance our understanding of the phenomena without prejudging the categories used. A qualitative approach to indirect aggression and girls' bullying in Australia was used productively by Owens, et al. (2000), who conducted focus group interviews with 15 year old girls. Their results showed that girls socially excluded others from peer groups and gossiped about others because they wanted to alleviate boredom/create excitement, and for attention seeking and to retain their group inclusion status.

Strengths of focus group method approaches

An interview method has strength when researcher wishes to explore and discover about an issue which has been rarely investigated, so little background knowledge exists. A common group interview procedure is a focus group. The focus group method enables the researcher to interview people in a familiar setting and their interaction would encourage them to express their perspectives toward the topic. Also, it has strengths in that it provides in-depth information by promoting interaction among participants: similar or different attitudes or perceptions about an issue may appear during their discussion. They may respond to another person's opinion and explain their views to others, and this procedure helps a researcher understand and interpret the background behind people's thoughts (Morgan, 1998). Lastly, the actual language of that participants use increases the credibility of the information about the phenomenon because it is live data, not transformed into statistics (Owens et al., 2000).

Aims

This study examined these two issues: linguistic terminology, and perceptions of bullying-like behaviours in South Korea from early childhood to adulthood, and preschool to school to workplace.

This was investigated in terms of three aims:

- (1) what terms people use for describing different types of bullying-like behaviours,
- (2) how people think about the meaning of those terms and the differences among them,
- (3) how people perceive bullying-like behaviours ('why do you think the phenomenon happens?', 'how do you think about it?')

Method

Participants

One hundred and thirteen participants in seven age groups were interviewed. Preschoolers (5-6 years) came from one preschool; lower elementary (7-9 years), upper elementary (10-12 years), middle (13-15 years), and high school (16-18 years) pupils were from three academic institutes (running private after school classes for school pupils) and workplace personnel came from two companies; mothers who had school age children and were not in employment; due to difficulty in gathering father participants, only mothers were recruited. In fact, mothers in South Korea are generally more interested in their children's school life, and thus be more useful informants than fathers.

The organizations were located in a middle income area of northern or near Seoul; and mothers lived near Seoul. All those approached agreed to participate.

Measures

Among pupils and mothers, six cartoons adapted from Smith et al. (2002) were used: three were individual aggressive acts: physical one-to-one (hitting another who is smaller), verbal (saying nasty things), and indirect physical (breaking another's ruler); three were group-based: group physical aggression (several children hitting a child), direct/relational (not allowing someone to play with others) and indirect/relational (rumor spreading). The cartoons are shown in Appendix A-1.

A few difficulties and problems in using the cartoon methodology have been reported in previous studies. First, how the cartoons are understood may differ across participants, especially if no caption is provided. Second, only one cartoon was used to represent each type of aggression; thus, this may not represent the full range of behaviours within that type of aggression. However, these limitations could to some extent be overcome by the associated interviews. At the beginning of each interview, participants were shown a cartoon and asked what was happening. If they did not recognize what it was, or had a very different interpretation of the meaning of the cartoon, the researcher was able to help their understanding verbally. Also, the range of aggressive behaviours considered could be expanded by asking, 'have you seen this sort of behaviour or behaviours similar to this?' In fact, no such problems were observed during the interviews. The cartoons held children's attention and they showed interest and understood them as intended.

Among managers and employees at the workplace, six descriptions of bullying-like behaviours were used instead of cartoons. Following pilot work with three workplace adults, five descriptions were used which corresponded to the school-based cartoons, but with a work-related content (from Rayner & Hoel, 1997): physical (hitting or kicking), verbal (shouting at someone in front of other staff), indirect physical (damaging belongings), direct/relational (ignoring or excluding), and indirect/relational (spreading nasty gossip); while a sixth described specifically work-related aggression (setting impossible deadlines); there was no description of a group physical act, as this was not felt to be so appropriate for the workplace context.

The descriptions were initially written in English, translated into Korean and back-translated into English by a native Korean speaker fluent in English, to check for accuracy of translation. (Description in Korean which was used for the interview is shown in Appendix A-2)

Recruitment and consent

Head teachers of the preschool and academic institutions, and managers of organizations, were contacted by telephone and told of the aims and methods of the study; the author then visited and showed the teachers/managers details of what the participants would be doing. Mothers were contacted through the institutions to which their children belonged. All participants approached gave verbal informed consent, and were guaranteed anonymity of response. Helplines (phone numbers, web sites) for bullying in South Korea were available. The study had approval from the Ethics Committee in the Department of Psychology, Goldsmiths College.

Procedure

Twenty eight focus groups, each having 2 to 6 participants of similar age, and four individual interviews were carried out to give opportunities for discussion and to see if there was consensus on terms, their meanings, and general understanding about the behaviours. Members within each focus group were known to each other. Table 4.2 shows the number of focus group and participants by each age-range.

Data were gathered until substantially similar contents were generated in later focus groups. For example, if the third focus group at a certain age band generated similar contents to those of first or second focus groups, then no more groups were recruited

at that age.

Table 4.2. Age-range of focus groups and number of interviews

	Age-range (years)	Number of interviews	Number of participants
Preschool	5-6	5 groups	16
Lower elementary	7-9	3 groups	12
Upper elementary	10-12	6 groups	15
Middle school	13-15	4 groups and 1 individual interview	22
High school	16-18	3 groups	16
Mothers	30-40s	3 groups and 2 individual interviews	11
Workplace	Mid 20s- early 50s	4 groups and 1 individual interview	21
Total	5-50s	28 groups and 4 individual interviews	113

Each focus group (or an individual interviewee) was shown all the cartoons/descriptions. Each cartoon/description was then taken individually, and participants were asked: “What would you call this behaviour?” After this, they were asked: “Can you use one word to describe all these six behaviours?”. They were also asked specifically about the use of the term *wang-ta*. The interviews then continued with a more open format, to gather information relating to the meaning of the terms generated, and also why they thought such behaviours happened and what they thought about them. The interviews lasted 15-25 minutes.

Data analysis

The interviews were tape-recorded, and transcribed into Korean. A quantitative analysis was made of the terms used to label the cartoons/descriptions. The transcribed interviews were analyzed qualitatively using grounded theory.

Coding rules for Quantitative analysis

The terms generated were counted. These were usually in direct response to the structured questions, but due to the fluidity of discussion, responses which spontaneously emerged at other times were included if they were clearly relevant. The count was of the number of participants who explicitly stated that term in relation to a certain cartoon/description. Often when a person in a group said a certain term, other members in the group did not repeat it but showed agreement (by nodding, or saying 'yes'), unless they had different ideas about that cartoon; such responses were difficult to record consistently, so were not included in the counting. General verbs and nouns (e.g. hitting, disliking, a fool), were also not considered further.

Coding rules for Qualitative analysis

The whole interview contents were transcribed into Korean and analyzed by grounded theory. 71% of the interview contents could be categorized into three overarching themes that emerged from the transcripts relating to the general questions asked to get the discussion going, namely *definitions*, *origins* and *judgments*. However, these were derived by building up from basic *concepts* (words or phrases used by the informants) to *sub-categories* and *categories* by grouping together related concepts, and then grouping categories on a higher logical level into *themes*

(Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This inductive process worked back and forth between categories/subcategories and the transcripts, until a comprehensive set of categories within themes was established.

Reliability

After coding rules were set up, their initial application to one third of the data was sent to an independent Korean researcher and discussed and agreed upon. Finally, the entire dataset was analyzed applying these coding rules, and viewed by the independent researcher again, who discussed agreement of counting terms, responses and categories with the author. For the quantitative analyses, percentage inter-rater reliability averaged 0.95 for counting terms. For the qualitative analyses, percentage reliability was assessed for assigning responses to sub-categories; this also averaged 0.95 across the three main themes obtained.

Results

Quantitative results

A wide range of terms was generated for the cartoons/descriptions (Tables 4.3, 4.4). This was especially the case with school-age pupils; fewer terms came from the preschool and workplace groups.

“What would you call this behaviour?”

The main terms (those mentioned at least twice) are presented in Table 4.3. The numbers in Table 4.3 and 4.4 are closer to the number of focus groups (28) in which the terms were mentioned rather than to the number of all participants (see coding rules for quantitative analysis above). Overall, two terms, *wang-ta* and *pokryuk* (or *hakkyo-pokryuk*) were most prominently reported.

Looking at the responses by type of aggression, for physical aggression by an individual, *pokryuk* was most frequently mentioned; for group physical aggression there were more varied terms, with *wang-ta* and *dagul* were most followed by *gorophim*, *pokryuk* and *gipdan-pokryuk*. For social exclusion and for rumour spreading, *wang-ta* was most commonly reported, followed by *ttadolim*. Breaking belongings and verbal aggression generated only a few terms. Work related aggression (setting impossible deadlines) was not labeled by any of the terms mentioned in Table 4.3; some general terms were reported (i.e. *jikkwon-namyong*: power abuse, *bulhapli*: unreasonable).

Table 4.3. The number of times different terms were mentioned in response to the six cartoons/descriptions, and whether one term could apply to all of them¹

	<i>Wang -ta</i>	<i>Jjin- ta</i>	<i>Jun- ta</i>	<i>Ta</i>	<i>Pok ryuk</i>	<i>Gipdan- pokryuk</i>	<i>Hakkyo- pokryuk</i>	<i>Da gul</i>	<i>Goro- phim</i>	<i>Ttado- lim</i>	<i>Gipdan- ttadolim</i>
Phys-Ind					13		5		2		
Phys-Grp	8			1	4	4	3	8	6	2	2
Exclusion	20	1	3	1						6	
Rumor	13			1						5	2
Phys-Bel	3				1				1		
Verbal	1	1			3				2	2	
All	7			1	6	1	6	1	2		2
Total	52	2	3	4	27	5	14	9	13	15	6

¹*Note.* The vertical column shows cartoons/descriptions. Phys-Ind: physical attack by an individual; Phys-Grp: physical attack a by group of people; Exclusion: excluding a person; Rumour: spreading rumors about a person; Phys-Bel: physical indirect, breaking someone's belongings; Verbal: verbal aggression. All: asking for a term covering all 6 types of aggression. Total: sum of the number of times for a term. Numbers are the number of times a term was mentioned for each cartoon, by all focus groups across all age-ranges; however no workplace data was available for Phys-Grp, and the substitute 'Setting impossible deadlines' of workplace aggressions did not generate any of the terms above.

Table 4.4 shows the number of times each of the main terms was mentioned by age-range. *Wang-ta* and *pokryuk* were the most frequently reported, across most ages, but only once or twice by preschool and lower elementary school children. *Gipdan-pokryuk* and *gipdan-ttadolim* were mentioned a few times by focus groups of middle, high school pupils or mothers, but not by young pupils. *Jun-ta*, *ta*, *jin-ta* or *dagul* were used among upper elementary, middle, and high school pupils, but not by adults. *Gorophim* and *ttadolim* were mentioned across broad age-ranges. Pupils in lower elementary school did not report *wang-ta* but explained that they had some classmates who did not get along well with others, and were referred to by negative terms (e.g. ‘beggar’, ‘peanuts’).

Table 4.4. The number of times different terms were mentioned by age-range

	<i>Wang-ta</i>	<i>Jjin-ta</i>	<i>Jun-ta</i>	<i>Ta</i>	<i>Pok-ryuk</i>	<i>Gipdan-pokryuk</i>	<i>Hakkyo-pokryuk</i>	<i>Da-gul</i>	<i>Goro-phim</i>	<i>Ttadolim</i>	<i>Gipdan-ttadolim</i>
PS (5-6yrs)	1								1	1	
LS (7-9yrs)					2				2		
US (10-12yrs)	16	1	2	1	8		4	5	3	4	
MS (13-15yrs)	10	1	1	2	3	3	6	2	1		
HS (16-18 yrs)	8			1	3	1	2	2		2	3
MO(30-40 yrs)	12				5	1	2		5	5	3
WK (20-50yrs)	5				6				1	3	
Total	52	2	3	4	27	5	14	9	13	15	6

PS: Preschool, LS: Lower elementary school, US: Upper elementary school, MS: Middle school, HS: High school, MO: Mothers, WK: Workplace.

“Can you use one word to describe all these six behaviours?”

Wang-ta was reported 7 times, and *pokryuk* and *hakkyo-pokryuk* were each reported 6 times (see ‘All’ in Table 4.3).

Qualitative results

Three main themes were obtained, each with categories, sub-categories, and (examples of) concepts as shown in Table 4.5 (*Definitions*), Table 4.7 (*Origins*) and Table 4.8 (*Judgments*). Examples of statements in concepts and the number of focus groups and individuals contributing to each category across three themes are displayed in Appendix A-3.

Theme I: Definitions

This theme refers to statements about the meanings of terms and differences among them; the discussion was unconstrained except that participants were specifically asked about the meaning and usage of *wang-ta*. The theme embraced three categories: *relationships among terms*, *meaning of wang-ta* and *usage of wang-ta*.

Table 4.5. Conceptualization of the Theme I *definitions* consisting of categories, subcategories and concepts

Theme	Category	Subcategories	Concepts
Definitions	I-1. Relationships among terms	Physical or relational aggression	Hitting, excluding, happening separately or together
	I-2. Meaning of <i>wang-ta</i>	Passive or active isolation	A loner, ignoring, avoiding, abnormal
	I-3. Usage of <i>wang-ta</i>	Age differences Reason for not using	Generational/historical differences Alternative terms, absence of <i>wang-ta</i> , childish term, out of fashion, afraid of teacher

Category I-1: Relationships among terms (subcategory: physical or relational aggression)

Similarities and differences among the terms were described, and based on type of aggression, as indicated by the subcategory *physical or relational aggression*. All groups except preschool children made such a distinction, and these were usually focused on the two terms *wang-ta* and *porkryuk*, although sometimes including *ttadolim* or *dagul*.

A difference between *pokryuk* and *wang-ta* was described by upper elementary and middle school pupils, and mothers. *Pokryuk* meant hitting and resulted from power, whereas *wang-ta* included not playing together, ignoring, and harassing one child.

For example: “*pokryuk* is hitting, *wang-ta* means not playing together” (upper elementary pupil), “*pokryuk* means that a person hits the other, *wang-ta* means that several people harass one person” (upper elementary pupil), “*pokryuk* comes from power but *wang-ta* is ignoring” (middle school pupil”).

In one upper elementary school group a simple distinction between *pokryuk* and *wang-ta* was reported, e.g. “some cartoons are *pokryuk*, some are *wang-ta*”; whereas in one middle school group and some adults (mothers and workplace personnel) a link between the two was observed, e.g. “*pokryuk* includes *wang-ta*”, “*wang-ta* receives *pokryuk*”, “isolation such as *wang-ta* can be *pokryuk* because a human cannot live alone”.

Some upper elementary pupils explained the difference in terms of severity or degree of the behaviour: “*wang-ta* is just ignoring, doing nothing to the child because she is annoying, *ttadolim* is more severe than *wang-ta*”; “*dagul* indicates that several children hit a child after a school class when he (she) was left alone, whereas *wang-ta* means ignoring”; “*wang-ta* is just ignoring but *jijiri* is like a toy, we make a fun with him (her)”.

Therefore, pupils distinguished *wang-ta* as ignoring, while other terms implied more active forms of aggressive and hurtful behaviours. Sometimes, those behaviours happened together; one pupil said, indicating a victim in the cartoon, “the child is *wang-ta*, that is why s/he receives other’s aggressive behaviours”.

Category I-2: Meaning of *wang-ta* (subcategory: passive or active isolation)

All participants from upper elementary school and older were aware of the term *wang-ta*; however only 3 preschool children and 4 lower elementary school pupils knew the term. Generally, *wang-ta* was described as isolating one person, and the subcategory *passive or active isolation* explains how the isolating behaviour can be varied. Statements related to meaning of *wang-ta* were coded into categories in terms of age-ranges; these are shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. Content analysis of statements on the meaning of *wang-ta*

Category	Age-range of focus groups using the category (age)
A loner	PS (5-6 yrs), LS (7-9 yrs), MS (13-15 yrs)
Not getting along with a person	PS (5-6 yrs), US (10-12 yrs)
Avoiding a person	MS (13-15 yrs)
Ignoring a person	US (10-12 yrs), WK (20-50 yrs)
Excluding a person	US (10-12 yrs), WK (20-50 yrs)
Teasing a person	LS (7-9 yrs), US (10-12 yrs), MS (13-15 yrs)
Attacking a person	US (10-12 yrs)
An abnormal person	US (10-12 yrs), MS (13-15 yrs)

PS: Preschool, LS: Lower elementary school, US: Upper elementary school, MS: Middle school, HS: High school, WK: Workplace.

Responses of those preschool and lower elementary school children who knew the term were similar in terms of isolating, but much less detailed, e.g. ‘a loner’, ‘not getting along’. Although some lower elementary school pupils knew the meaning, their concept of *wang-ta* was not clear. That is, they were roughly aware of what

wang-ta means, that is an isolated person, but they did not have a broader understanding of distinctive features of *wang-ta*, such as characteristics of *wang-ta* or reasons for being *wang-ta*. One lower elementary pupil conversation with me showed this.

I (researcher): How many of these kinds of children (indicating aggressors in the cartoons) are there in your class?

P (pupil): There are no children who do *wang-ta* in my class.

I: What is *wang-ta*?

P: You don't know *wang-ta* ?....(no answer)

This child spontaneously used the term *wang-ta* after seeing the cartoons, however she was not able to explain clearly what it meant. She seemed to have a concept of *wang-ta* although her concept was not clear yet. This may have resulted from her developing cognitive ability to explain the term or may reflect that the *wang-ta* phenomenon was not common at her age so she was only roughly aware of it.

However, upper elementary, middle school pupils, and the workplace personnel clearly explained the term *wang-ta*. They discussed that the manner of isolation in *wang-ta* was extended to more active and intentional forms - avoiding, ignoring and excluding a person from a group. In some lower elementary pupils, upper elementary and middle school pupils it was described as accompanied by physical or verbal aggression, and mainly in upper elementary and middle school pupils, it reached the point of describing the victim in terms of some 'abnormality', e.g. "it means staying alone, abnormal".

Workplace personnel reported *wang-ta* as an exclusion and ignoring one person and did not make a link with physical aggression, but they varied on the level of exclusion, e.g. “complete exclusion cannot happen”, “each person has a necessary relationship with other people, we are connected by work”.

Category I-3: Usage of *wang-ta* (subcategories: age differences, reason for not using)

Most participants reported that they understood the term *wang-ta*, but did not use it. Usage of the term *wang-ta* was related to presence/absence of *wang-ta* and participants’ ages, this was referred as two sub-categories, *age differences* and *reason for not using*.

Age differences refers to generational/historical factors involved in the use of the term *wang-ta*. All but one of the pupils from upper elementary, middle and high school (52 pupils: 13 focus groups) reported that they did not currently use the term *wang-ta* although they knew what it meant. High school pupils reported that they had used *wang-ta* in the past, whereas upper elementary and middle school pupils had not used it in the past either. Young employees in their 20s and 30s reported having used the term *wang-ta* for describing a victim in their school years; some of them reported still using the term, e.g. “people occasionally use it for fun”. In contrast, people over 40 years had not used the term *wang-ta* when they were at school, nor currently, although they knew its meaning, for example: “we neither had this behaviour (isolating), nor had a term, *wang-ta*”.

Reason for not using refers to diverse reasons why the participants do not use the term. The reasons for not using the term *wang-ta* varied by age. Absence of *wang-ta* was reported as a reason for not using the term *wang-ta* by some of the lower elementary pupil, high school pupils and workplace personnel, e.g. “we don’t use *wang-ta* because we don’t have it”. Childishness of the term *wang-ta* was indicated by high school pupils and workplace personnel, e.g. “it is for children”. Some workplace personnel and mothers reported having heard the term from their children and used it to describe their children’s issues, but did not use it themselves in the workplace, e.g. “our children say *ta*, but we have never used it”.

Teacher effect, and the term being seen as being out of fashion, were reasons for not using the term *wang-ta* given by upper elementary school and middle school pupils, e.g. “teacher will tell me off” “it is out of fashion”. Some pupils also reported using the term is not worthy because they do not want to pay attention to the person (excluded person) by using a term for the person, e.g. “we don’t use any term for *wang-ta*, just ignore him (her)”.

Use of alternative terms was reported as a reason for not using the term *wang-ta* among upper elementary, middle, and high school pupils. They used other terms for describing an excluded person, depending on the level of isolation: “we don’t use *wang-ta*, but use ‘*jjin-ta* a lot”, “*eun-ta* means *eun-gun-hi* (implicitly)”, “we use *ta*”, “*jun-ta* means *junche* (whole)-*ta*, it’s the same as *wang-ta*”. *Eun-ta* meant isolated implicitly, so it was not clear whether someone was a *wang-ta* or not, because the person had been isolated only a few times and not in an obvious way; while *jun-ta* meant a victim isolated by all of the pupils in a school.

Interestingly, workplace personnel reported they do not use the term because they do not express their negative attitude toward *wang-ta* in public way, e.g. “we think someone as *wang-ta* but don’t talk with others about what we have done to *wang-ta*....just tacitly (happens)...how can we say, ‘he is *wang-ta*’? we show with behaviours not with words”. The usage of the term seems to be regarded as taboo among adults in the workplace. This may be related to the implicit aspect of bullying in workplace.

Theme II: Origins

This theme refers to statements about the causes of the behaviours, with four categories: *situational context*, *interpersonal context*, *imbalance of power* and *consistency* (Table 4.7).

Category II-1: situational context (subcategories: classroom climate, home environment, community atmosphere)

This was subdivided into three subcategories, *classroom climate*, *home environment* and *community atmosphere*. *Classroom climate* was referred to by upper elementary and middle school pupils, and *home environment* and *community atmosphere* by mothers. Thus both pupils, and mothers, attributed bullying-like behaviours to their main environment. Although both upper elementary and middle school pupils described classroom climate as an important element which contributes to aggressive behaviour, upper elementary pupils emphasized teachers’ responsibility to control aggressive behaviours, e.g. “teacher should stop them!”, whereas middle school pupils stated peer influences on behaviour, e.g. “no, we can’t tell the teacher, we are afraid of revenge by them (aggressors)”. Mothers highlighted home and

community environment as a reason for aggressive behaviour, e.g. “children can be violent and isolate other children because their parents don’t care and are unconcerned about them”.

Table 4.7. Conceptualization of the Theme II *origins* consisting of categories, subcategories and concepts

Theme II	Category	Subcategories	Concepts
Origins	II-1. Situational	Classroom climate	Teachers’ role, peer pressure
		Home environment	Violent parents, lack of warmth
		Community	Atmosphere of the community
	II-2. Interpersonal	Differences and discriminations	Conflict, dislike, gender, abnormal
		Self-defense	Depending one’s status
		Implicit agreement	Indirect, <i>eun-ta</i>
	II-3. Imbalance of power	Majority and minority	Grouping, violence of majority...
		Power	Hierarchy, control
	II-4. Consistency	Role	Improving behaviour, escape
		Phenomena	Middle childhood, daily event

Category II-2: Interpersonal context (subcategories: differences and discrimination, self-defense)

Interpersonal context refers to differences between people as explaining the causes for bullying-like behaviours; divided into two subcategories, *differences and discrimination*, and *self-defense*. *Differences and discrimination* between people, such as gender or behaviour, can cause bullying. This was mentioned by school pupils, who disliked some differences in appearance, or behaviour which were regarded as a disability or abnormal and a cause for discrimination, e.g. “he is odd, that is why he gets isolated”. Within gender issues were often reported by upper elementary and middle school pupils, e.g. “several girls strip other girl’s clothes”, “boys do sometimes verbally but not hitting or breaking stuff to girls”.

Self-defense was mentioned primarily in the workplace; employees reported that aggressive behaviours may occur in order to defend one’s status, e.g. “I have done these kinds of things, just to protect my work area”; whereas managers said that it could be done to encourage working, e.g. “sometimes we need to speak strongly to get work done”.

Implicit agreement was represented among workplace personnel especially for relational aggressive behaviours. There are unlikely to be aggressors who start bullying-like behaviours explicitly, but there are many people who agreed implicitly excluding one person. One young work personnel employee (late 20’s) said, “we are connected by work...thus, *eun-ta* is more appropriate word than *wang-ta* in workplace...people stop talking when someone comes in, and atmosphere suddenly gets cold... nobody suggests, ‘let’s exclude him’, but it just happens” This

represents the implicit aspect of bullying in the workplace. Furthermore, this person used the word *eun-ta* which was not mentioned by older employees. This is related to *reason for not using* subcategory above (why people in the workplace did not use the term *wang-ta*). This comments actually showed several aspects of bullying in the workplace; implicit aspect of *wang-ta*, generational difference of the term, and that absence of the term did not mean absence of the behaviour.

Category II-3: Imbalance of power (subcategories: majority and minority, power)

This refers to the inequality of power between aggressors and victims, and has two sub-categories: *majority and minority*, and *power*. *Majority and minority* indicates different numbers of people between aggressors and victims. Upper elementary and middle school pupils focused on the number of aggressors and power existing among peers rather than external physical strength, e.g. “he [the aggressor] is nothing without his friends”; whereas preschool and lower elementary school pupils only referred to physical strength, e.g. “older brother hits younger brother”.

One workplace person said “*wang-ta* may be violence shown by a majority who do not accept the diversity of others”. Pupils reported that most children were in social groups or cliques within a class, e.g. “a child who did not belong to any group, is *wang-ta*”. This was also mentioned among workplace participants, e.g. “we stop talking and the atmosphere becomes quiet suddenly when the person comes in”. A sense of belonging seems to be an important social element and the majority is able to decide an individual’s belonging.

Power meant occupying a high status position within a social group and resulted in a hierarchy among people. For example pupils stated “a pupil who has power decides the hierarchy among pupils”, “you know, there are levels of social order [hierarchy] in school”. Workplace respondents accounted for power in terms of competence or a high position in the workplace, e.g. “because of bad feeling toward subordinates, I’ve seen this behaviour [setting impossible deadlines] quite often”. They reported that excluding a person can occur among colleagues in the same position whereas other forms of behaviours come from a person who is in a higher position than the other. Employees discussed how the hierarchy of positions caused defensive behaviour, and involved both an official and private element, e.g. “if I order something related to work to colleagues who are older than me, they think I am a bit rude because I am younger than them though I have more work experience, so I have done these things to protect my area”, “I do these to protect myself when someone attacks me first, but the other would feel victimized”. They were concerned about misunderstandings between them and others who received their apparently aggressive acts, due to difficulty in distinguishing personal from official behaviour.

Category II-4: Consistency (subcategories: role, phenomena)

This refers to whether aggressive behaviours continue over time, and has two subcategories: *role*, and *phenomena*. *Role* refers to the consistency of the role as a victim; for this, age-related differences were found. Upper elementary pupils thought that the victim role in *wang-ta* was changeable, so that if a *wang-ta* made efforts to get on with others, s/he would not be *wang-ta* any more; e.g. “she (victim) is not annoying recently”. Middle school pupils regarded the role as much less

changeable, e.g. “a *wang-ta* can’t escape that status until graduation”.

However, adults (mothers and workplace personnel) did not mention the consistency of the victim role, instead discussing consistency of the *phenomena*. Mothers viewed the behaviours from a broader developmental context, in that the phenomena only happens in late childhood or adolescence and will stop when children are grown up, e.g. “it didn’t happen when my daughter was in lower grade, but since she has been in upper grade, grouping among girls has happened”, “it would stop after adolescence”. Workplace personnel however reported that the behaviours happened constantly on a daily basis, e.g. “some behaviours, such as verbal assault and setting impossible deadlines, happen every day”.

Theme III: Judgments

This theme refers to statements about how to judge the aggressive incident and the standards that were applied to judge it. It has three categories; *morality*, *whose fault*, and *criteria* (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8. Conceptualization of the Theme III *judgments* consisting of categories, subcategories and concepts

Theme III	Category	Subcategories	Concepts
Judgments	III-1. Morality	Bad or not	Individual right, fairness, spontaneity, necessary evil, worries
	III-2. Whose fault	Aggressor’s fault	Personality problem, goal pursuit,
		Victim’s fault	Maladjustment, incompetence, lack of social skills
	III-3. Criteria	Clarity or ambiguity	Peer effect, intention, severity, recipient’s feeling
Knowledge		Communication between parents and children, information about coping skills	

Category III-1: Morality (subcategory: bad or not)

This indicates the moral attitude toward the behaviours, with a subcategory *bad or not*. Although generally seen as bad across almost age-ranges, the older groups (high school pupils, mothers, workplace personnel) tended to express this most strongly; they described the wrongness of *wang-ta* in terms of injustice or unfairness, e.g. “this child looks down on the other, very bad”, “it can’t happen unless people are insane”. Mothers expressed wrongness with strong worries “I am very worrying this may happen to my child, this is really mean and unacceptable”.

However, some workplace personnel reported that it is not a matter of good or bad since it exists wherever people gather, and thus can happen spontaneously, e.g. “this has been happening infinitely, repeatedly since childhood”, “these cannot help existing within society, just expression of the behaviours differs across individuals and generations”.

Category III-2: Whose fault (subcategories: aggressor’s fault and victim’s fault)

Whose fault refers to participants’ attribution of the incident as being the fault of either the aggressor or victim. It has two subcategories: *aggressor’s fault* and *victim’s fault*. Aggressors’ fault indicates aggressors’ personality problem or usage of aggressive behaviour to achieve their goal. Aggressor’s personality problem was common across ages, and more prominently in older groups (high school pupils, mothers and workplace personnel), e.g. “it is his [aggressor’s] personality problem”, “the aggressors themselves would be *wang-ta* soon”. Workplace personnel reported that some people use aggressive behaviours (e.g. rumour spreading, setting impossible deadlines, verbal assault) for achieving across goal, which can lead them into a good position or promotion in the workplace.

Victims’ fault was referred to by some upper elementary and middle school pupils, who saw a victim as lacking in social skills and abnormal, e.g. “he (the victim) doesn’t approach us”. Also, some workplace employees stated that aggressive behaviours were unavoidable if there is a person who ruins the atmosphere, and that person was often regarded as being incompetent or maladjusted. For example, “there is a common thing among victims...they are not good at organizational life...if

someone doesn't adjust to the organization, *wang-ta* happens". These respondents argued that the victim was responsible for the incident, despite admitting the wrongness of the behaviour.

Category III-3: Criteria (subcategory: clarity/ambiguity, knowledge)

This refers to standards which are used for judgment of the incident, with the two subcategories, *clarity or ambiguity* and *knowledge*. *Clarity or ambiguity* refers when the standards were inconsistent among upper elementary school pupils, as one conversation among three girls showed:

Girl 1: "they [victims] are strange, like disabled people, they need to go to special school"

Girl 2: "you know, X [perpetrator's name] sent a text to Y [victim's name], 'you are ugly', that is why Y stuck with another girl"

Girl 3: "Y is really annoying"

Girl 1: "oh, that is too bad... X should be concerned about her face, not other's"

(All laughed)

They criticized the victim then changed to criticizing the aggressor. They seemed to judge the victim or perpetrator by preference rather than applying consistent rules. Their laughter implied agreement towards blaming the aggressor. It was not clear who provided the cause of the incident but they made fun of it. They seemed to be affected by their peers in the group rather than to have their own criteria.

However, workplace groups suggested specific criteria as to whether a behaviour was bad or not, and whether it was hurtful in either a work or personal way, in terms of intention, severity, and the recipient's feeling. They reported that these behaviours could be very subjective depending on the person who receives them, e.g. "the aggressive behaviour has a totally different meaning whether a particular person was targeted or not", "it is our daily life, my boss used to do this kind of things (verbal insult), but I feel worse about them when I am in bad mood". These statements emphasized the way of acceptance and individuals' perception of the behaviours rather than the behaviour itself, and give more consideration to intrapersonal aspects than was found with children.

Knowledge refers to awareness of information related to bullying situations or coping skills. This subcategory emerged from mothers. Mothers obtained knowledge about bullying-like behaviours from conversations with their children or other mothers, and the knowledge they have seems to be related to the attitudes towards bullying. One mother said, "these (excluding, rumours) things often happen among girls...it depends on how parents understand these and let children know what to do". She did not blame any children and focused on managing the accident. Another mother commented on unfairness of the physical aggression based on her experience, i.e. "fighting between two children who have the same body size is ok, but bigger one hits smaller is unfair, I am afraid my son gets this... he was afraid of big boys in his class...I heard a son of my friend was not teased anymore after he learned *taegwondo*, so I also let my boy learn it". She worried particularly about the imbalance of power resulting from different body size among children because her boy was small. Mothers were more interested in coping skills than any other age

Chapter four: Terminology for and perceptions of bullying-like phenomenon

groups. e.g. “I want to know what we can do when these things happen to my child rather than about talking these behaviours”.

Discussion

The first aim of this study was to investigate the terms people use to describe different types of bullying-like behaviours. Aggressive acts by a group of people (i.e. social exclusion, physical aggression, rumor spreading) were often called *wang-ta*. Other behaviours (physical aggression by an individual, verbal aggression, breaking belongings) were only sometimes described as *wang-ta*. Age-related differences in the use of terms and presence of different terms by types of aggression were also found.

The second aim was to evaluate how people think the meaning of the terms for describing bullying-like behaviours and differences among them. This was explained by the theme *definition*. Participants distinguished *wang-ta* and other terms in terms of types of aggressive behaviour and the degree of behaviour. Although people commonly labeled *wang-ta* as social exclusion, to some extent its meaning differed across ages.

The third aim was to examine how bullying-like behaviours are understood, at different ages and different contexts. This provides more comprehensive information than just the meaning of a term; namely how people perceive and discuss bullying-like behaviours. Diverse perceptions of the aggressive behaviour that occurred were explained through two themes, *origins* and *judgments*.

I will now discuss these findings in more depth with respect to use of terms, historical change in use of terms, origins and judgments of bullying-like phenomena,

and cultural and terminological issues.

Use of terms for describing bullying-like behaviours in South Korea

Bullying-like behaviour in South Korea includes harmful and consistent behaviours, within which there is an imbalance of power between the perpetrator and victim; this is consistent with the general definition of bullying. *Wang-ta* was the term which was most frequently reported to describe bullying-like behaviours, regardless of participants' age.

Wang-ta and bullying are comparable phenomena in that the cartoons and descriptions used, which were generally categorized into *bullying* in England (Smith et al., 2002), reminded the Korean samples of *wang-ta*. However, not all the aggressive behaviours described in this study could acceptably be labeled as *wang-ta*, though it was used as a general term to cover all types of aggression. Rather it seems that there are certain behavioural criteria to be defined as *wang-ta*.

In terms of behaviours, *wang-ta* is seen as aggressive group acts through which the isolation of one person takes place. Generally, except for young children (preschoolers, lower elementary school), all participants knew what *wang-ta* was and the basic definition did not differ among them: a socially isolated person. Then, *wang-ta* additionally included other forms of aggressive behaviours, such as rumor spreading and group physical aggression. These other forms were more likely to be included as *wang-ta* in the school context, whereas only social exclusion was reported as part of *wang-ta* in the workplace context. In the use of the term *wang-ta*, people did not generally use it, although they understood the meaning and were

implicitly aware of who was *wang-ta* in both contexts.

An interesting finding was that pupils made a distinction between individual physical aggression (*pokryuk*) and group-related physical aggression (*wang-ta*, *pokryuk* or *dagul*). No one used *wang-ta* for individual physical aggression even though imbalance of power was shown in the cartoon (by body size); and *pokryuk* did not include social exclusion. Considering that *pokryuk* has been translated as violence in English, and *wang-ta* has been regarded as Korean bullying, these distinctive uses of the terms are important in understanding bullying in South Korea.

The terms previously recommended by the Korean Education Ministry or used by the mass media (*gipdan-ttadolim*, *hakkyo-pokryuk*) were rarely used by school pupils. This is consistent with Koo's study (2005). Only mothers used them and were not aware of the slang terms their children used. Pupils aged 10-18 years did not use the term *wang-ta* to indicate a victim but used *jjin-ta*.

Workplace personnel did not have any general terms for indicating aggressive behaviours. They mentioned the term *wang-ta* mostly to describe social exclusion; no one reported that all descriptions were defined as *wang-ta*, unlike many school pupils. Rather, they had difficulties in providing one term to categorize all of the behaviours presented. One said, "each description looks different, how can I label all into one word?". Perhaps there are no specific terms for generally describing harmful and aggressive behaviour in the workplace. Alternatively, this may reflect different characteristics between school and the workplace, or differences in aggressive behaviours between childhood and adulthood. According to pupils, after

being socially excluded, other forms of aggressive behaviours may happen to the victim, sometimes repeatedly because s/he is *wang-ta*. No terms in the workplace may imply that bullying-like behaviours in workplace happen in complicated and subtle forms which were less likely to be noticed (Rainivaara, 2009).

However, further quantitative research is necessary to investigate the nature and possible sequence of such aggressive behaviours related to *wang-ta* status.

There are specific terms for describing group aggressive acts (*wang-ta*, *dagul*, *jjin-ta*), but few terms for individual acts, with *pokryuk* (violence) being the only one represented in this study. For example, in verbal aggression, direct forms did not have specific terms, but indirect forms (i.e. rumor spreading) were often called *wang-ta*. Terms seemed to be formed depending on the number of perpetrators or number of people involved in the situation.

Historical change in use of terms

Historical changes in the use of terms by Koreans are noticeable. Generational differences support this; adults in their mid 40s to 50s said that there were no victims called *wang-ta* in their childhood, i.e. about 30 years ago, but adults in their mid 20s and early 30s said that the term *wang-ta* was used in their class. Absence of the term *wang-ta* among older employees in their school years does not mean the absence of a victim, since exclusion is a pervasive aspect of social life.

Now, *wang-ta* has several levels among pupils, e.g. *jun-ta*, *eun-ta*. Ten years ago, the term *wang-ta* was used and *jjin-ta* was not used as an equivalent term; it existed

with a different meaning. No Korean dictionary includes *jjin-ta*, but its meaning is as a slang term belittling a clumsy or tactless person, the clumsiness being characteristically caused by a disability, e.g. stammer, learning disabilities.

This historical change is supported by the use of the term among pupils. In the use of *wang-ta* in the past, high school students stated that they had used it at middle school (3-4 years ago); middle school students stated that they had not used it at elementary school (3-4 years ago). If high school pupils' recollections are correct, then 3-4 years ago, *wang-ta* was used only among middle school pupils but not among elementary pupils. In any event the term is affected by trends in the use of language and its use seems to start from middle childhood. It is possible that elementary students have been creating new words such as *jjin-ta*, while middle school students continue to use the term *wang-ta*. Terms and the use of terms have been changing, which may reflect changes of the phenomena, change in people's perceptions, or both.

It is intriguing to speculate why *jjin-ta* is replacing *wang-ta*. Most pupils stated that a socially inept pupil who 'behaves like a disabled person' was at risk of being aggressed against. Considering both the meaning of *jjin-ta*, and the collectivistic characteristic of South Korean society, a link can be made between *wang-ta* and *jjin-ta*. In a collectivistic culture, being alone, whether as a result of victimisation or an individual's preference, is considered as 'not normal'. *Jjn-ta* implies 'disability' and *wang-ta* is regarded as an abnormal person who shows behaviours that violate group or social norms, thus, it is seen as strange, abnormal and maladjusted. This may imply that the expressions used toward the victim become more direct, thereby

increasing the humiliation for the victim.

Origins and judgments of bullying-like phenomena

Various causes and levels of judgment for bullying-like behaviour or *wang-ta* were found across age groups and contexts (school, workplace). Often, the causes for bullying-like behaviour which the participant perceived seem to affect their judgments (whether it is bad or not) towards it.

As reasons for the occurrence of bullying, people across ages and contexts cited both situational and interpersonal factors. However, there are differences as to which factor was more strongly emphasized. Pupils considered situational factor such as teachers' lack of supervision or peer pressure as well as interpersonal differences among peers, whereas adults in the workplace emphasized interpersonal conflicts which usually came from a person's maladjustment or personality problem, and few adults regarded situational factors. Also, pupils predominantly expressed attitudes towards the person (victim), whereas adults in the workplace were less likely to do so.

The different reasons for the occurrence of bullying-like behaviours between the school and workplace influence how the situation can be managed; at school the cause of aggressive events was seen as situated between individuals (a mismatch between pupil characteristics), thus pupils and mothers emphasized external support, i.e. intervention by teachers, parental education. In the workplace, it was seen as more likely to be located within the individual; thus taking efforts to adjust oneself to the environment are more pronounced as an individual's responsibility in order to

escape victimisation. The institution is assumed to have mature members who can take responsibility for their behaviours, and maladjustment within a group is a risk factor which would prompt banishment from the group. This suggests that aggressive behaviour reflects immaturity of the person involved, thus if it happens in the workplace, it is a sign of either the perpetrator's personality problems, or the victim's incompetence or maladjustment.

Young pupils (preschool, lower elementary school) were less aware of the imbalance of power and consistency of the behaviours than older pupils (upper elementary, middle school) or adults. The age-related difference in the perception of imbalance of power is consistent with Monks and Smith's (2006) finding that older pupils are more likely to consider repetition and imbalance of power. In South Korea, imbalance of power was explained in terms of number of aggressors rather than an aggressor's physical strength, and was referred to by upper elementary and middle school pupils more than by young children. Similarly, repetition of the behaviours was indicated among middle school pupils; they reported consistency of the victim role until graduation which was not reported in upper elementary pupils. However, the issue of intention was referred to only by adults (i.e. mothers and workplace personnel) and played an important role in judging the aggressive behaviours for them.

Different attitudes towards *wang-ta* or a victim were found at different age groups. Consistent with Rigby and Slee's (1991, 1993) studies, there was a more negative view toward victims with increasing age, but this trend changed after 15 years of age. In this study, preschool and lower elementary pupils (under 10) reported the

aggressive behaviours as being simply bad or wrong. Upper elementary and middle school pupils (10 to 15 years) showed the most negative attitudes toward victims by justifying the behaviours in terms of victim's maladjustment and social skill problems; whereas high school pupils (over 15) and adults held more negative attitudes toward such aggressive behaviours. High school pupils were perhaps the most perceptive in their views of the victim, for example noting that aggressors who behave like those in the cartoons will be *wang-ta* (socially isolated) themselves. Similarly, mothers showed the most negative attitudes toward the phenomena, but did not blame any side, rather emphasizing educational and environmental factors on children's behaviour. The older generations appear to increasingly recognize bullying as a morally wrong, unacceptable and immature behaviour, this may be related to their more developed moral concepts. This is consistent with other studies (FPVY, 2007; Park et al., 1998).

The negative view of aggressors can be related to the increasing tendency for internal causal attributions with age; Boxer and Tisak (2005) investigated external and internal attributions for aggression among 12-22 year olds, and found that the older participants were more likely to attribute the aggressive behaviour to the perpetrators' internal traits (i.e. emotional instability, antisociality, impulsivity and social cognitive deficits). This is consistent with the finding in this study: high school pupils are more likely than younger pupils to blame aggressor; (e.g. 'aggressor will be *wang-ta* (victimized)', 'it is a personality problem').

The negative view held of the victim or justification of bullying behaviours seems to be related to a context in which relationships among in-group members are highly

valued. Peer relationships are often considered a major concern for individuals especially during middle school (early adolescence) rather than among high school (late teenagers) (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007). Similarly, in the workplace, people reported that most of them were connected by work.

Although blaming of the victim and justification of the behaviour were observed both among 10-15 year old pupils and workplace personnel, the reasons for blaming differed. 'Difference' was regarded as something odd among school pupils, whereas among adults it was mainly seen as being caused by an individual's incompetence in the workplace. In the workplace, isolating one person on the basis of difference occurred among people who were in the same position, whereas other bullying-like behaviours happened between people in different positions.

Further investigation of the similarities or differences between the school and workplace contexts which contribute to these attitudes is needed. It would be helpful to understand whether developmental characteristics may interact with contextual elements (such as school or workplace climate) to elicit bullying behaviour.

Judging an incident as justifiable, or labeling someone as *wang-ta* can be complicated since many factors are related in terms of context and individual perception across ages. For pupils, they did not seem to use consistent standards. The means of judgment was very changeable, or there may have been no rule, just differences between pupils were used as the reason for victimisation. Inconsistent judgment and moral values related to bullying behaviours may be related to definitional issues. No et al. (1999) suggested that there was no common standard

among pupils for judging whether there was a *wang-ta* in a class, as a result, a certain behaviour may be a reason for being *wang-ta* in one class but not in another class. Although the criteria tend to be clear for adults (intention, severity, and recipient's feeling), it is still difficult to judge whether a certain behaviour is bullying or not because in the workplace bullying-like behaviours involve both personal and official aspects. For example, one person may not share necessary information with another person because she/he dislikes the other. Furthermore, intention or severity is included implicitly and awareness of victimization or hurtful feelings could vary depending on the person who receives it.

Cultural and terminological issues

The nature of the language we use to describe bullying interacts in a complex way with the nature of bullying behaviours that actually occur in different cultures (Smith & Monks, 2008). In collectivistic cultures, people are interdependent with their in-groups, giving priority to the goals of their in-group, and shaping their behaviour primarily on the basis of in-group norms (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005).

Group norms play a primary role in modifying attitudes towards bullying. In-group bullying norms have been found to increase the acceptability of bullying behaviours (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). The interpersonal context category illustrates this view: social exclusion or victimisation is deserved by people who go against the norm or beyond the status they have. The group norm plays a more essential role in determining group members' behavioural patterns in collectivistic than individualistic cultures.

Furthermore, in the workplace in South Korea, the interpersonal relationship is even more intricate since personal factors such as individuals' age show a complex relatedness to official relationships (i.e. occupation). In South Korea, as one of the Confucian cultures, age is an important factor in deciding social hierarchy among people: juniors should respect seniors, while seniors owe the juniors protection and consideration (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). For example, a young senior may have difficulty in treating an older junior.

Sophisticated levels of exclusion and terms (i.e. *jun-ta*, *eun-ta*) for describing it show one aspect of collectivistic culture. Also, *wang-ta* may be exacerbated by a home-based classroom system of schooling in South Korea: pupils maintain one class for most lesson topics (Koo, 2005). This may foster an environment in which *wang-ta* is more likely to occur.

It is clearly complicated to decide which term best describes bullying and aggressive behaviour in South Korea more correctly. No et al. (1999) proposed the use of *gipdan-ttadolim* rather than *wang-ta*. According to them, *gipdan-ttadolim* reflects the severity of isolating, ridiculing, and harassing which repeatedly happens with *ttadlim* (*isolation*) as a common aspect; whereas the term *wang-ta* may give a very general impression of an isolated person. Nevertheless, social isolation is now taken as a form of indirect bullying, and *wang-ta* seems to be the best term to reflect pupils' reality.

Koo (2005) and Koo et al. (2008) used *wang-ta* because it was found to be the most representative term to describe repeated bullying-like behaviours (physical, verbal,

indirect/relational) among Korean pupils. The findings supported this; participants used *wang-ta* broadly to indicate persons who were simply excluded, through to severely victimized persons who received physical and verbal attacks consistently from a group of others.

These difficulties are partly due to a lack of concordance between researchers' usage and everyday usage in the Korean language. It is also a matter of how much behavioural type and repetition should be considered as defining bullying-like behaviour. These have also been important issues in the definition of *bullying* in Western studies (Rigby, 2002).

Limitations

Firstly, the systematic comparison between school and work and early childhood and adulthood is confounded, as children reported their understanding of school bullying and adults reported their understandings of workplace bullying (although parents responded to the school bullying context). So, it is not fully clear whether age differences in the groups are a result of context (school versus work) or development (childhood versus adulthood). However, even school contexts vary with age (e.g. elementary, middle and high school), and I chose to ask participants about the context relevant to them.

Secondly, the cartoons/descriptions included a limited range of aggressive behaviours. Further study will be useful for examining perception of a wider range of aggressive forms (such as cyber aggression).

Finally, the participants all came from in/ around Seoul, the capital city, and this qualifies generalization to South Korea generally, although the evidence from Koo (2005) was that regional differences in understanding and experiences of *wang-ta* were relatively minor.

Conclusion

South Koreans' basic understanding of bullying-like phenomena, which was represented by the term *wang-ta*, describing particular aggressive situations (attacking and isolating one person) reflected current bullying-like phenomena in South Korea. *Wang-ta* is a term used to broadly describe a socially excluded person, although its original use was for indicating a victimized person in school. The meaning and the use of terms diversify depending on the user's age, intention or severity of isolating behaviour. The term *wang-ta* may be a less appropriate term for bullying behaviour in South Korea in the future; historical change in usage of the term *wang-ta* and the elaborated level of excluding reflect that the phenomenon has been evolving in South Korea. The developmental differences in perceptions of the origins and judgments towards bullying-like behaviours are partly consistent with Western studies on *bullying*, but require further research, for example to disentangle effects of age and context (school/workplace), and to examine in more detail the behavioural sequence of being defined as a victim in the school setting.

Chapter 5

Study 2: Origins of bullying-like behaviour in South Korea using peer-, self-, and teacher-nominations

Introduction

The first study investigated existence of bullying-like phenomena in South Korea in terms of its type of aggression from a lifespan perspective. Young children did not have any term to indicate bullying-like behaviours, however it does not mean that they did not have the bullying-like behaviours. Many studies (Crick, Casas, & Ku, 1999; Perren & Alsaker, 2006; Monks, Ortega, & Torrado; 2002) showed that victimisation is observed in early childhood and its characteristics differ from older children's in terms of consistency of a target child.

This chapter studies the origin of bullying-like phenomena: it focused on preschool children's aggressive behaviour in context of their peer relationships, which may explain the nature of bullying-like behaviour in early childhood.

Sociometric status and participants roles

Coie, Dodge and Coppotelli (1982) suggested five categories for sociometric status: popular, rejected, neglected, controversial and average. Popular children are liked and viewed by peers as prosocial, rejected children are disliked and perceived as disruptive and starting fights, and controversial children are both highly liked and highly disliked.

Generally, aggressive children are more likely than non-aggressive children to be rejected or disliked by their peers due to their aggression (Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004; Newcomb, Bukowski, & Pattee, 1993). However the relationship between sociometric status and aggressive behaviour or participant roles in bullying differs by age. In young children, aggression is positively related to peer rejection, but in older children some aggressive children or bullies are remarkably popular.

Monks et al. (2003) examined participant roles of 104 preschool children in England using peer, self, and teacher reports. They found that peer-nominated aggressors were more socially rejected than peer-nominated defenders or victims. Tomada and Schneider (1997) examined the relationship between aggression and peer acceptance in 314 8-to 10 year old Italian pupils. Using peer reports, they found that rejected and controversial children were more likely than popular, average, and neglected children to use both overt and relational aggression.

However, sometimes bullies are associated with high popularity. Cillessen and Mayeux (2004) examined 461 children's popularity in relation to bullying among 8-14 year olds. They found that 8-10 year old bullies are not perceived as popular, but 11-14 year old bullies are perceived as popular. The aggressive children who are perceived as popular tend to use relational aggression rather than physical aggression: they manipulate the relationship to their own benefit using relational aggression (Caravita, Di Blasio & Salmivalli, 2008; Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004).

There are two types of popularity: sociometric popularity (or social preference, e.g. Coie et al., 1982) and perceived popularity (Parkhurst, & Hopmeyer, 1998). Sociometric popularity is generally assessed by using nomination scores of like-most (who do you like most in your class, i.e. best friends) and like-least (who do you like least in your class) and perceived popularity is measured by identifying a popular kid in the class (i.e. who do you think popular in your class).

Aggressive behaviour is usually negatively related to sociometric popularity both in younger and older children, whereas it is sometimes positively related to perceived popularity with older children in which aggressive behaviour is used to occupy or maintain a dominant position in peer groups after early childhood (Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004). However, this relationship has not been observed in preschool period. Studies reported that the correlation between sociometric popularity and perceived popularity was strong and positive at 10 years, and decreased steadily after that (Caravita et al., 2008; Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004).

Victim status is differentially related differently to peer rejection with age. Salmivalli et al. (1996) reported that bullies, victims, reinforcers, and assistants were less accepted and highly rejected among Finnish pupils aged 12-13 years. However, victims may not be related to low peer status in young children. Monks et al. (2003) reported that victims in preschool were neither highly accepted nor rejected. Sometimes victims are related to rejection in younger group and this may be related to different type of informants: Monks, Palermi, Ortega and Costabile (2011) reported that teacher reported victims were more rejected than non-victims among 4-6 year old children. Therefore, the use of multiple informants for participant role

is necessary.

Defending has been investigated in terms of helping the victim by consoling or intervening in the aggressive behaviour, or reporting the aggressive episode to adults (Caravita et al., 2008; Salmivalli et al., 1996). Children who defend victimized children are reported to be more accepted and sociometrically popular. This is consistent across ages and using different nomination methods. Self-nominated defenders in preschool tend to be more accepted and less rejected than non-defenders or aggressors (Monks et al., 2003). Teacher nominated defenders in preschool were also more preferred than non-defenders (Monks et al., 2011). In children aged 8-10 years, defenders are socially preferred by their peers but also perceived as popular as well (Caravita et al., 2008). Peer nominated defenders aged 12-13 were highly accepted with low scores in rejection (Salmivalli et al., 1996).

Relationship between types of aggression and victimisation

Aggressive children's low popularity or rejection in peer groups may be related to victimisation: an aggressor in one type of aggression may be victim in another type of aggression.

Ostrov (2008) evaluated aggression and victimisation of 120 children in preschool and found that observed aggression was associated with teacher reported victimisation both in physical and relational aggression. Furthermore, observed physical aggression predicted increases in teacher reported relational victimisation. It may imply that children tend to reject or exclude a child who is physically aggressive. Similarly, relational aggression is associated with peer rejection (Crick

et al., 2006) and relational victimisation is correlated to peer rejection in early childhood (Crick et al., 1999).

Cross informants

Depending on the type of aggression and the participants' age, the most appropriate nomination method may vary. Peer, self and teacher nominations each have strengths and limitations for investigating the aggressor or victim roles.

Peer reports

Children may provide reliable data on aggression or victimisation. They are most aware of their peer relationships and notice aggressive behaviour or victimisation even in unsupervised contexts such as the school toilets (Ladd & Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2002). Also, obtaining as many as 20 to 30 pupils' opinion of each child participating in the study increases the reliability of the measure (Salmivalli, 1998).

However, Ladd and Kochenderfer-Ladd (2002) indicate that peer reports may be an unreliable method for investigating young children's victimisation. Young children may be less aware of their peers' victimisation experiences due to their lack of skills for monitoring, encoding and recalling the victimisation event. Moreover, these skills would be more difficult for subtle forms of aggression (e.g. excluding, rumour spreading).

Self reports

Self reports may be useful for examining victim experiences because children are very sensitive to negative treatment (Ladd & Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2002). Self-reports allow children to report their own victim experience, especially on more subtle forms of victimisation such as gossiping, or excluding, which peers and teachers may not be aware of. However, children may overestimate their victim experience and underestimate their aggressor experience due to social desirability (Monks et al., 2003).

Teacher reports

Teacher reports can provide reliable data for investigating aggressors in some cases. Juliano, Werner, and Cassidy (2006) examined 67 preschoolers' physical and relational aggression using teacher and observer's report. They found a significant correlation for physical aggression between informants. However, agreement between teachers and observers was not significant for relational aggression: the teachers may not be aware of all situations where victimisation has taken places, and also may have difficulty in being aware of more sophisticated aggression.

Ladd and Kochenderfer-Ladd (2002) suggested the necessity of using multiple informants to investigate preschooler's aggression. A multi-informant composite measure yielded better estimates of relational adjustment than any single-informant measure. Also, they suggested that no single informant measure proved to be the best predictor of relational aggression. Monks et al. (2003) suggested that peer report is reliable for aggressor but less reliable for victim and defender. Self-reports have better stability for nominations for victims than peer reports but tend to

underestimate the aggressor role. Teacher reports may be most useful for the aggressor role, but less helpful for victim and defender since teachers are less likely to be aware of these roles. Therefore, a combination of teacher and peer reports seems reliable for assessing aggressor role and a combination of self-and peer report may be useful for victim and defender roles.

Stability of aggression and victimisation

Several studies have shown stability of aggression and victimisation at young ages. Table 5.1 summarizes the methodology and findings of these studies. Stability may vary depending on participant roles, type of report, and type of aggression.

Monks et al. (2003) showed varied stabilities by participant roles: high for aggressor, moderate for defender and low for victim. The low stability for victim may reflect that aggressive behaviour at this age is less targeted to a particular child. Furthermore, provocative victim was more stable than passive victim (Monks & Smith, 2010).

Stability of aggression was generally lower in self reports than in peer reports but stability of victimisation was higher in self reports than in peer reports (Monks et al., 2003).

Stability of victimisation and aggression differed by type of aggression. Crick et al. (1999; 2006) showed the stability of relational aggression or victimisation was higher than physical aggression or victimisation: sometimes this applies only for girls.

Table 5.1. Summary of studies on stability of aggression and victimisation in young children

	Participants	Resources of informants	Correlation between time 1 and time 2
Kochenderfer and Ladd (1996)	200 children in kindergarten 5month stability	Self	Victimisation: $r = .24$
Crick et al. (1999)	129 children in age 3-5 years old; month stability	Teacher	Relational victimisation: $r = .63$ Physical victimisation: $r = .37$
Monks et al.(2003)	104 children in Preschool children; 4 months stability	Peer	Aggressor: $r = .78$ Victim: $r = .19$, n.s Defender: $r = .38$
		Self	Aggressor: $r = .21$ Victim: $r = .42$ Defender: $r = .08$, n.s
Crick et al (2006)	91 children: 30-53months; 18 months stability	Observation	Physical aggression: not stable. Relational aggression: $r = .39$ for girls. Not stable for boys
		Teacher	Physical and relational aggression: not stable
Monks and Smith (2010)	68 children in age 5 and 69 children in age 8; Test-retest reliability for one-week	Peer	5 year olds: Aggressor: $r = .73$ Passive victim: $r = .37$ Provocative victim: $r = .62$ Defender: $r = .36$
			8 year olds: Aggressor: $r = .72$ Passive victim: $r = .51$ Provocative victim: $r = .53$ Defender: $r = .87$

Verbal ability and bullying

Some studies reported there was no relationship between verbal ability and bullying role (Monks, 2000; Sutton, 1998). However, some studies reported a significant relationships between verbal ability and bullying. Park (2001) reported that preschool children who use their social power to dominate other pupils are more capable of expressing their opinion logically and persuading others.

However, she did not directly examine children's linguistic ability, but rather reported qualitative analysis based on 4 months observation. Although verbal ability was not a significant correlate in British samples in previous studies, it would be useful to test this in a Korean sample.

Needs for the present study

Although many studies have conducted relationships between peer status and aggressive behaviour in preschool children, there are several limitations. First, studies have usually focused on one side of aggressive behaviour (i.e. either aggression or victimisation). The exception was a few studies which examined both sides of aggression (e.g. Ostrov, 2008) or participant roles (Monks et al., 2003; Monks et al., 2011). Furthermore, even the studies which investigated participant roles seldom considered the roles by each type of aggression. Rather, participants were categorized simply into aggressor or victim. However, it is important to look at the participant roles by each type of aggression because some children who are physically aggressive may or may not be aggressive in other ways.

Second, only a few studies (Monks et al, 2003; 2011) have investigated the stability and consistency of young children's bullying or victimisation using multiple methods. Since repetition of victimisation is regarded as an essential element for definition of bullying, it is critical to investigate the stability of bullying and victimisation among young children. Furthermore, their behaviour is less likely than older children's to be repeated. Also, nomination methods may influence the results relating to the stability of aggressive behaviour. Particularly, covert forms of bullying may be influenced by way of report (i.e. self, peer, teacher) more than overt forms of bullying. A longitudinal design is necessary to assess the stability of these nomination measures and give an indication of how stable young children's bullying behaviours actually are.

Third, how different types of defending behaviour influences sociometric popularity has not been examined. For example, it may be plausible that a defender who directly intervenes against aggressors/bullies is more popular than a defender who asks help from others. This may be because directly confronting the aggressor/bully requires more braveness than other types of defending behaviours (e.g. reporting episode to adults). It is also possible that more popular children may feel that they have a level of 'protection' due to their popularity which means that they can behave in this confrontational way without fear of retaliation, whereas less popular children may feel that their safest (and perhaps only) recourse if they want to help is to go and tell an adult what is happening. In this study I separate the defender role into two types, which I call 'defender-stop' and 'defender-tell'.

There are no studies which investigate the participant roles among young children in South Korea, examining the role consistency and stability using multiple informants, Thus, the current study focused on aggression and victimisation in young children using several types of nomination methods and several types of aggression in terms of participant roles.

Aims

This study therefore aimed at examining:

1. whether peer nominations for each role (for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell) differed among four types of aggression (physical aggression, verbal aggression, social exclusion and rumour spreading)
2. whether a certain role was more frequently nominated than other roles: this was examined for each type of aggression by each type of nomination (peer, self, and teacher)
3. whether aggressive behaviour in one type of aggression is related to victimisation in the same type or other types of aggression
4. the relationship between nominations for participant roles in peer, self, and teacher nominations and likeability (like-most/like-least)
5. the relationship between participant roles and sociometric status

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6. the relationship between participant roles verbal ability, and gender
7. the short term stability of peer-, self- and teacher nominations from Time 1 to Time 2
8. the consistency among peer, self, and teacher nominations.

Method

Participants

Three preschools in Gyung-gi province (near Seoul) in South Korea participated. Head teachers in each preschool were contacted by telephone, given a brief explanation of the study, and then the author visited the schools. The preschools were matched in their socio-economic status; all were from lower-middle class areas. 95 (45 boys, 50 girls) children from four classes (class 1: $n = 21$; class 2: $n = 17$; class 3: $n = 29$; class 4: $n = 28$) of the preschools participated ($M = 74$ months, $SD = 4.06$, range = 64 to 88 months at the time of test 1). Only 4.2% ($N = 4$) were from a multiethnic background (Chinese-Korean, Indonesian-Korean) and 95.8% ($N = 90$) were from a mono-ethnic background (South Korean). One child (88 month-old) had a learning disability but the child was competent enough for answering interview questions, and thus participated in this study.

To examine stability of bullying roles, each child was interviewed twice, with a two month interval. The first interview was in November and the second interview in January. In South Korea, five to six years old children in preschool graduate in February and enter 1st grade of elementary school, thus it was necessary to have both time points before their graduation. Also, two months was regarded as a reasonable period to examine the stability of young children's bullying-like behaviours, and is similar to the period used in previous research (e.g. 1 to 4 months).

Three children left the schools after the first interview (Time 1), thus 92 children (43 boys, 49 girls) participated at Time 2. Six teachers who were in charge of the classes were also asked to complete a questionnaire.

Procedure

Role nomination

Peer, self, and teacher nominations were conducted at Time 1 and Time 2. The children were interviewed individually in a quiet room in the preschool. They were asked to nominate their peers and their own behaviour as aggressor, victim and two types of defender (defender-stop/defender-tell) for each of cartoons (see below and Appendix B-1). Children's verbal ability and likeability (like-most and like-least) toward their classmates were evaluated just after the nomination task.

The interview took about 25 minutes for each child. Nominating and likeability were tested at both Time 1 and Time 2, and verbal ability was only tested at Time 1. Some preschools had one week break during the Christmas period and others did not have a break.

Peer nomination

Each child was shown four cartoons: each described a different aggressive situation (physical aggression, verbal aggression, social exclusion and rumour spreading). These were used to obtain peer nominations of classmates including themselves for the role of aggressor, victim, defender-tell and defender-stop.

Children were first asked, “What is happening here?” “Yes, this child is hitting that child”, then role questions were asked:

“Do you have a child who does this in your class?” (aggressor),

if child said yes, they were asked, “Who does it?”; they were prompted by asking,

“Anyone else?”.

Then:

“Who in your class is like this person, being hit, kicked or pushed?”(victim)

“Do you have anyone in your class would stop the child (aggressor) doing that?”

“Who would do that ?” (defender-stop)”

“Do you have anyone in your class would tell a teacher about it?”, “Who would do that ?”(defender-tell).

The number of peers who nominated a child for each role was summed. The scores for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell were standardized across each class. Each child was assigned to the role for which their *Z* score was highest. However, if a child’s highest *Z* score did not exceed the mean (0), (s)he was assigned to ‘no role’. Also, if the difference between a child’s first and second highest scores was less than 1 SD, (s)he was assigned to a dual role.

Some previous studies have used 0.1 SD criteria rather than 1 SD for distinguishing roles (see Monks et al., 2003) but the data in this study did not suit this criterion, based on examining the range of the raw scores for the four roles. For example, a child who received 3 nominations (*Z* score = .84) for aggressor and 3 nominations for defender-tell (*Z* = 1.54) could be assigned into a dual role, ‘aggressor and defender-tell’ because the difference between the two *Z* scores was less than 1 standardized SD.

3 nominations for aggressor was a meaningful value within the class since the average of the class for aggressor was 1.35 (mean). However, there was one other child who received more than this child: the other child received 7 nominations for aggressor in the class, and this resulted in the low Z score for 3 nominations. Whereas, in defender-tell, there was no higher nomination than 3. I decided that 3 nominations for aggressor was also worthy to be assigned as aggressor. After screening all variables this way, 1 SD was judged as an appropriate criterion for assigning dual role.

Self nomination

After children were asked to nominate their peers in one cartoon, children were also asked about their own behaviour:

“Do you do this to other child? (aggressor)”

“Does anyone in your class do that to you?”(victim)”

“Do you stop the child who is kicking others?”(defender-stop)”

“Do you tell the teacher about that child (aggressor)?”(defender-tell).

The scores were coded binomially, with a score of 1 indicating that a child nominated himself/herself (answered ‘yes’) and a score of 0 indicating a child did not nominate himself/herself (answered ‘no’).

Teacher nomination

Teachers were given a questionnaire to nominate children. The questionnaire described the same four situations as the cartoons (physical aggression, verbal aggression, social exclusion, and rumour spreading). Teachers were asked to nominate children in their class for three roles (aggressor, victim, defender) at Time 1

and four roles (aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell) at Time 2. The questionnaires for teacher at Time 1 and Time 2 are shown in Appendix B-2.

‘Defender’ at Time 1 was investigated for only one type of defender which included a child either stopping aggressor, or telling adults; but at Time 2, it was investigated separately for defender-tell and defender-stop, as in peer or self nominations. At Time 1, teachers reported difficulties in distinguishing the two types of defenders but at Time 2 they were encouraged to report defenders separately by each type as much as they could.

Since teacher nominations for defender were examined differently at Time 1 and Time 2, when comparison of teacher nomination for defender between Time 1 and Time 2 was conducted, defender-stop and defender-tell at Time 2 were converged into ‘defender’ and compared to defender at Time 1. That is, nomination for either defender-stop or defender-tell or both was scored of 1, no nomination both for defender-stop and defender-tell was scored of 0.

Across the four types of aggression, responses were coded binomially. If a teacher nominated a child, (s)he was given a score of 1 and a child who was not nominated by a teacher was given a score of 0. Two classes out of four had two teachers of each child. Regardless of number of nominations a child received from teachers (maximum would be 2), if a child was nominated, (s)he was given a score of 1, otherwise a score of 0.

Global aggression

In addition to four types of aggression (physical, verbal aggression, exclusion, rumour spreading) which were used, one overall type of aggression was calculated. The numbers of nominations for each role across the four types of aggression were summed and called 'global aggression'. Thus, like other types of aggression, global aggression had four role nominations (global aggressor, global victim, global defender-stop, and global defender-tell). In self and teacher nomination, the summed score for each role of four types of aggression was coded dichotomously: if a child received one nomination for at least one type of aggression, s/he was scored 1, and if s/he did not receive any nomination across any of the four types of aggression, then s/he was scored 0.

In peer nomination, the scores were used as raw scores which were summed across the four types of aggression.

Likeability

Each child was shown photographs of all the children in their class and a cardboard bus (Perren & Alsaker, 2006) (*see* Appendix B-3). Head teachers of two preschools in which three of the classes of children participated agreed to use photographs of each child. However the head teacher from another preschool in which one class of children participated did not agree to use children's photographs due to reasons of privacy, thus in this school a class list was used. The children were all aware of the names of their classmates and could read their classmates' names.

Each child was asked to choose three peers whom they would take on the bus trip (like-most) and three whom they would not take with them (like-least):

“We are going to go on a bus trip now, could you choose the three children whom you most want to take with you?”

“Could you choose the three children whom you do not want to take?”

Likeability was investigated twice, at Time 1 and Time 2. The number of nominations of like-most and like-least that each child received were summed and standardized by class.

Sociometric status

To examine in more detail the relationship between peer nomination and likeability, the raw scores of like-most and like-least were categorized into one of five sociometric groups, using the method of Coie et al. (1982): average, popular, rejected, neglected, and controversial. Each child was assigned one of the five status types at Time1, and again at Time 2.

Verbal ability

The Korean PPVS-R (Peabody Picture Vocabulary Scales- Revised) was administered to each child and scored as in the instruction manual. The participating child was asked to choose the appropriate picture in response to the researcher’s questions. The test starts with easy words and moves up to a higher level of vocabulary. This test has been widely used as a standard measure of verbal IQ. It was given only at Time 1 because cognitive ability such as verbal ability was not expected to show radical changes over a short period (i.e. two months).

Verbal ability was categorized into three levels: low, average, and high. The PPVS –R score of each child was standardized. A standardized PPVS-R score (Z score) which was greater than + .5 was categorized as high level of verbal ability. A Z score between -5 and + .5 was categorized as average verbal ability. A Z score which was less than -.5 was categorized as low level of verbal ability.

Ethical Issues

This study required participants to recall their behaviour as well as their peers' behaviours involved in aggressive behaviours. This procedure might have reminded some participants of negative feelings, although negative consequences have been rarely reported among previous studies. If a child did not want to tell anymore, s/he was not asked anymore and could stop at anytime. Should any child be particularly distressed, the author had in place an arrangement (agreed with each preschool) of offering to take them to a teacher. However, this did not happen.

Verbal consent was obtained from the head-teachers and class teachers involved. Parents' consent was not required. In South Korea, teachers are usually responsible for children in their class during the children stay in school. Thus, children's participating relies on teacher's discretion and does not require parents' agreement unless the nature of research requires children's private information or may cause distress to children. Thus, it is widely accepted between teacher and parents that teacher can decide children's participation to the extent the participation does not affect their curriculum. The teachers whose children participated in this study were given general feedback regarding the findings.

Confidentiality of the children participating in this study was ensured by the author to teachers stating that any publications which might arise from the research would not identify any of those involved. Also each child was assured of the confidentiality of their answers: “I won’t tell anyone what you say”. This study was given approval by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology in Goldsmiths College.

Statistical Analysis

Huynh-Feldt correction

Mauchly’s test of sphericity examines the sphericity assumption which is one of the basic assumptions for conducting repeated ANOVA, indicating whether the variances of the differences between conditions are equal. If the test is significant, it means that the variances between conditions were significantly different, thus homogeneity of variances between conditions is violated. When the sphericity assumption is violated there are two different adjustments available, the Greenhouse-Geisser adjustment and the Huynh-Feldt adjustment. Howell (2007) has suggested using the Huynh-Feldt correction rather than the more conservative Greenhouse-Geisser correction when there is reason to believe that the true value of epsilon (ϵ) is near or above 0.75. Also, when reporting results, degrees of freedom should be adjusted by the Huynh-Feldt or Greenhouse-Geisser correction. Huynh-Feldt correction was used for analyses regarding aim 1 and aim 2, in which type of aggression was used as a repeated factor in ANOVAs. Therefore, the values of Huynh-Feldt adjustment were reported.

Phi

Phi shows strength of association between two categorical variables. (Field, 2005. p.689). The range of Phi is 0.0-1.0. The standards for interpreting coefficient values, as proposed by Cohen (1988), are as below.

$0.10 < V < 0.30$	Small effect
$0.30 < V < 0.50$	Medium effect
$V > 0.50$	Large effect.

In this study, these measures were used for examining aim 7. Phi was used for examining an association of nomination for each role (aggressor, victim, defender-stop, defender-tell) for all types of aggression¹ by self and teacher nomination between Time 1 and Time 2.

Cohen's Kappa

Cohen's Kappa measures agreement between two raters (inter-rater agreement). The coefficient varies -1 to 1: a value less than zero means that there was no agreement between the raters. Landis and Koch (1977) characterized values < 0 as indicating no agreement and 0–0.20 as slight, 0.21–0.40 as fair, 0.41–0.60 as moderate, 0.61–0.80 as substantial, and 0.81–1 as almost perfect agreement. This set of guidelines is however by no means universally accepted. Therefore, in this study, given stability coefficients of previous studies (see Table 5.1) and indication of Landis and Koch (1977), the interpretation of Kappa was based on the criteria below:

¹The term 'All types of aggression' was used to indicate physical aggression, verbal aggression, exclusion, rumour spreading and global aggression. The term 'Four types of aggression' was used to indicate physical aggression, verbal aggression, exclusion, and rumour spreading.

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$0.10 < \text{Kappa} < 0.30$, low agreement

$0.30 < \text{Kappa} < 0.50$, moderate agreement

$0.50 < \text{Kappa} < 1$, high agreement

Cohen's Kappa was used for examining agreement among peer, self, and teacher nominations (aim 8).

Results

Differences in the mean number of peer nominations among the four types of aggression (physical, verbal, exclusion, rumour spreading) for the roles of aggressor, victim, defender-stop, and defender-tell

The first aim of the study was to examine peer nominations for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell in four types of aggression. The mean number of peer nominations which a child received for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell at Time 1 and Time 2 is shown in Table 5.2 by type of aggression.

Generally, each role had a reasonable number of nominations and aggressor had the highest mean number of nominations among four roles. The mean number of nominations for victim was sometimes similar to the mean number of nominations for defender-stop and defender-tell. The mean numbers of nominations for defender-stops and defender-tells were generally similar.

The mean number of nominations for aggressor, victim, defender-stop, and defender-tell in physical and verbal aggression were higher than those for exclusion and rumour spreading at both Time 1 and Time 2. To examine whether the mean number of nominations for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell were significantly different by type of aggression, a within-subjects ANOVA was conducted for the four kinds of nomination (aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell). The results showed significant differences for some roles at Time 1 and Time 2.

Aggressor

At Time 1, significant differences were found for mean number of nominations for aggressor among the four types of aggression, $F(2.06, 193.28) = 5.20, p < .01$, with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon^* = .69$). Bonferroni comparisons showed that children were more likely to nominate their peers as aggressor using physical aggression than rumour spreading ($p < .01$), and more likely to nominate them as using verbal aggression than rumour spreading ($p < .05$). At Time 2, there were no significant differences for the mean number of nomination for aggressor among the four types of aggression.

Table 5.2. Mean number of peer nominations (standard deviations in parentheses) received for being an aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell by each type of aggression at Time 1 and Time 2

		Aggressor	Victim	Defender-Stop	Defender-Tell
Physical	T1	1.19 (2.49)	0.59 (0.94)	0.62 (1.00)	0.66 (1.00)
	T2	0.82 (2.34)	0.48 (0.90)	0.53 (0.92)	0.54 (0.95)
Verbal	T1	1.07 (2.48)	0.51 (0.71)	0.58 (1.00)	0.53 (0.82)
	T2	0.71 (1.93)	0.28 (0.56)	0.37 (0.64)	0.46 (0.86)
Social exclusion	T1	0.74 (1.29)	0.42 (0.75)	0.32 (0.61)	0.26 (0.53)
	T2	0.61 (1.27)	0.37 (0.68)	0.38 (0.66)	0.34 (0.56)
Rumour spreading	T1	0.57 (1.25)	0.44 (0.68)	0.21 (0.48)	0.25 (0.46)
	T2	0.54 (0.93)	0.34 (0.63)	0.32 (0.61)	0.27 (0.58)

T1:Time1, T2: Time 2

Victim

No significant differences were found for the mean numbers of nominations for victim among the four types of aggression, either at Time 1 or Time 2.

Defender-stop

At Time 1, there were significant differences in the mean number of nominations for defender-stop among four types of aggression, $F(2.82, 264.72) = 8.80, p < .001$ with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon^* = .94$). Bonferroni comparisons showed that children were more likely to nominate their peers as defender-stop in situations of physical aggression than exclusion ($p < .05$) or rumour spreading ($p < .01$). Also, they were more likely to nominate their peers as defender-stop in situations of verbal aggression than exclusion ($p < .05$), or rumour spreading ($p < .01$). At Time 2, there were no significant differences for defender-stop across the four types of aggression.

Defender-tell

At Time 1, there were significant differences in the mean number of nominations for defender-tell among the four types of aggression, $F(2.42, 227.01) = 9.68, p < .001$ with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon^* = .81$). Bonferroni comparisons showed that children nominated their peers as defender-tell more frequently in the physical aggression scenario than in the exclusion ($p < .01$) or rumour spreading scenarios ($p < .01$). Also, they were more likely to nominate their peers as defender-tell in response to the cartoon depicting verbal aggression than exclusion ($p < .05$), or rumour spreading ($p < .05$).

At Time 2, significant differences were found in the mean of nominations for defender-tell among the four types of aggression $F(2.75, 250.23) = 15.89, p < .05$ with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon^* = .92$). Bonferroni comparisons indicated that children nominated their peers as defender-tell more frequently in response to the physical aggression than the rumour spreading cartoon ($p < .05$).

Summary of results for Aim 1

Children were more likely to nominate their peers as aggressor, defender-stop and defender-tell in physical or verbal aggression than exclusion or rumour spreading. There was no difference in victim nominations across the four types of aggression. The significant differences were usually found at Time 1 rather than Time 2.

Comparing frequencies among four role nominations (aggressor, victim, defender-stop, and defender-tell)

The second aim was to examine whether a certain role was more frequently nominated than other roles: this was examined for each type of aggression by each type of nomination (peer, self, and teacher). Table 5.3 shows the percentage of children who received a nomination for being an aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell by type of aggression, and by type of report (peer, self, and teacher).

Table 5.3. Percentage of children who were nominated for being aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell by peer, self and teacher at Time 1 and Time 2

Type of Aggression	Nominating Roles	Peer		Self		Teacher	
		T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Physical	Aggressor	35.8	28.4	7.4	5.4	10.5	9.8
	Victim	36.8	30.5	28.4	20.7	7.4	6.5
	Defender-stop	35.8	35.8	23.2	12.0	14.7	8.7
	Defender-tell	40.0	36.8	27.4	17.4		12.0
Verbal	Aggressor	32.6	25.3	8.4	4.3	6.3	8.7
	Victim	37.9	26.3	18.9	16.3	3.2	8.7
	Defender-stop	34.7	30.5	18.9	23.9	8.4	7.6
	Defender-tell	35.8	29.5	25.3	15.2		13.0
Social exclusion	Aggressor	38.9	33.7	1.1	2.2	11.6	8.7
	Victim	30.5	30.5	23.2	13.0	7.4	8.7
	Defender-stop	25.3	32.6	12.6	15.2	11.6	6.5
	Defender-tell	22.1	32.6	14.7	10.9		7.6
Rumour spreading	Aggressor	26.3	33.7	4.2	3.3	5.3	7.6
	Victim	34.7	27.4	11.6	8.7	7.4	9.8
	Defender-stop	17.9	27.4	9.5	13.0	5.3	4.3
	Defender-tell	24.2	24.2	8.4	16.3		6.5
Global	Aggressor	58.9	54.8	14.7	6.5	26.3	23.9
	Victim	83.2	54.8	51.6	31.5	17.9	25.0
	Defender-stop	62.1	59.1	37.9	42.4	24.2	17.4
	Defender-tell	63.2	62.4	44.2	38.0		29.3

Note. T1:Time1, T2: Time 2. Teacher nomination for defender at Time1: there was no distinction between defender-stop and defender-tell at Time 1 investigation.

Peer nomination

As Huynh-Feldt correction of repeated ANOVA was not available as its epsilon value was so low, a Friedman test¹ was performed to examine whether there were significant differences of mean rankings of the four role nominations for each type of aggression. For follow up analysis, Wilcoxon signed-rank test was conducted.

At Time 1, the scores of peer nomination were not different among aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell in physical, verbal and global aggression, but they were significantly different in exclusion ($\chi^2(3) = 11.86, p < .01$), and rumour spreading scenarios ($\chi^2(3) = 8.71, p < .05$). At Time 2, no significant difference was found.

A follow-up analysis for Time 1 using Wilcoxon signed-ranks test showed that in exclusion (Time 1), children nominated their peers as aggressor more likely than defender-stop ($Z = 2.81, p < .01$) and defender-tell ($Z = 3.54, p < .001$). Similarly, in rumour spreading (Time 1), children nominated their peers more often as aggressor than defender-stop ($Z = 2.53, p < .05$) and defender-tell ($Z = 2.01, p < .05$).

¹ In table 5.3, peer nomination for number of children who received any peer nominations for being an aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell was indicated as percentage although peer nomination scores provided a continuous variable. It means the percentage of children who received at least one peer nomination for this role. This is just for easy comparison with self or teacher nomination; the scores of peer nomination were continuous variables whereas self, and teacher nomination were dichotomous. For statistical analysis, the mean number of peer nominations rather than percentage was used for investigating differences among role nominations by peer.

Self nomination

Cochran's Q test was performed to examine whether the percentages of children who self nominated for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell differed for each type of aggression and for global aggression. For follow up analysis, binomial tests were used to examine the differences in each pair (physical vs. verbal, physical vs. exclusion etc.) of the four types of nomination.

At Time 1, Cochran's Q test indicated significant differences among the percentages of children who self-nominated for the roles in physical aggression, $\chi^2(3) = 20.03$, $p < .001$, verbal aggression, $\chi^2(3) = 10.15$, $p < .05$, exclusion, $\chi^2(3) = 24.30$, $p < .001$, and global aggression, $\chi^2(3) = 36.63$, $p < .001$, but not significant for rumour spreading. At Time 2, Cochran's Q test indicated significant differences among the percentage children who self-nominated for each of the roles in physical aggression, $\chi^2(3) = 11.77$, $p < .01$, verbal aggression, $\chi^2(3) = 16.34$, $p < .01$, exclusion, $\chi^2(3) = 11.32$, $p < .01$, rumour spreading, $\chi^2(3) = 11.85$, $p < .01$, and global aggression, $\chi^2(3) = 40.59$, $p < .001$.

Follow up analyses indicated that for physical aggression, children were less likely to nominate themselves as aggressor than victim ($p < .001$), defender-stop ($p < .01$) and defender-tell ($p < .001$) at Time 1. Similarly, they were less likely to nominate themselves as aggressor than victim ($p < .01$) and defender-tell ($p < .05$) at Time 2.

For verbal aggression, children nominated themselves as aggressor less often than defender-stop ($p < .01$) and defender-tell ($p < .05$) at Time 1. Also, they nominated themselves as aggressor less often than victim ($p < .05$), defender-stop ($p < .001$) and

defender-tell ($p < .05$) at Time 2.

For exclusion, children nominated themselves as aggressor less often than victim ($p < .001$) defender-stop ($p < .01$) and defender-tell ($p < .01$) at Time 1. Similarly, they nominated themselves as aggressor less often than victim ($p < .01$), defender-tell ($p < .01$) and defender-tell ($p < .05$) at Time 2.

For rumour spreading, children nominated themselves as aggressor less often than defender-stop ($p < .01$) and defender-tell ($p < .05$) at Time 2.

For global aggression, children nominated themselves as aggressor less often than victim, defender-stop, defender-tell ($p < .001$) both at Time 1 and Time 2.

Teacher nomination

There were no significant differences in the percentages of children among the four roles for each type of aggression at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Summary of results for Aim 2

For peer nominations, relational aggression (exclusion, rumour spreading) showed significant differences between aggressor and two types of defenders: there were more aggressors than defender-stop and defender-tell children. However in physical aggression and verbal aggression scenarios children rated the four roles with similar frequencies.

In contrast, for self nomination, aggressor was less likely to be nominated than other roles in all types of aggression: physical aggression, verbal aggression, exclusion, rumour spreading, and global aggression.

Teachers nominated children for the four roles with similar frequencies across all types of aggression.

Relationship between types of aggression and victimisation

The third aim was to examine whether aggressive behaviour in one type of aggression was related to victimisation using the same type or other types of aggression.

Peer nomination

Correlation analysis between the four types of nominations for aggressor (physical, verbal aggression, exclusion, rumour spreading) and four types of nominations for victim (physical, verbal aggression, exclusion, rumour spreading) (4 x 4) were examined. No significant relationships between nomination for aggressor and for victim were shown.

Self nomination

Chi square analysis was conducted between four types of nomination for aggressor and four types of nominations for victim separately. Children who nominated themselves as aggressor in physical aggression were more likely than children who did not to nominate themselves as victim in exclusion, $\chi^2(1) = 4.91, p < .05$, at Time 1.

Children who nominated themselves as aggressor in physical aggression were more likely than children who did not to nominate themselves as victim in rumour spreading, $\chi^2(1) = 7.221, p < .01$ at Time 1.

Teacher nomination

Chi square analysis was conducted between four types of nomination for aggressors and four types of nomination for victim separately. Children who were nominated as aggressor in physical aggression by their teacher were more likely than children who were not to be nominated as to victim in exclusion, $\chi^2(1) = 8.39, p < .05$, at Time 1.

Children who were nominated as aggressor in verbal aggression by their teacher were more likely than children who were not to be nominated as victim in rumour spreading, $\chi^2(1) = 17.05, p < .001$, at Time 1.

Children who were nominated as aggressor in verbal aggression by their teacher were more likely than children who were not to be nominated as victim in rumour spreading, $\chi^2(1) = 16.06, p < .001$, at Time 2.

Relationship between nominations for the participant roles, and likeability

The fourth aim was to investigate the relationship between peer, self and teacher nominations and likeability.

Relationship between peer nominations and like-most

Multiple regressions were performed for the four types of aggression and global aggression. Like-most score was entered as the outcome variable, peer nomination

scores for aggressor, victim, defender-stop, and defender-tell were used as predictors.

Table 5.4 indicates which peer nomination scores (aggressor, victim, defender-stop, defender-tell) predicted like-most score.

Table 5.4. Regression analysis with *like-most* as outcome and peer nomination (aggressor, victim, defender-stop, defender-tell) as predictors in each type of aggression

Type of aggression		R square	Standardized Beta			
			Aggressor	Victim	Defender-stop	Defender-tell
Physical	Time1	.05	-.143	-.038	.139	.087
	Time2	.12*	-.085	-.120	.312	-.031
Verbal	Time1	.21***	-.159	.017	.392***	.049
	Time2	.07	-.019	-.017	.204	-.165
Social exclusion	Time1	.04	-.081	-.042	.123	.122
	Time2	.06	.077	-.188	.137	.001
Rumour spreading	Time1	.05	-.149	-.020	-.009	.175
	Time2	.02	.033	.025	.119	-.054
Global	Time1	.14**	-.206	-.046	.195	.203
	Time2	.15**	.001	-.141	.381**	-.114

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$.

The model was significant for physical aggression (Time 2), verbal aggression (Time 1) and global aggression (Time 1, Time 2) in which defender-stop showed higher coefficient than other roles (aggressor, victim, defender-tell). The nomination for defender-stop was a significant predictor in verbal aggression and global aggression but not in physical aggression. The nomination scores for aggressor mostly showed a

negative relationship with like-most score but were not significant at any type of aggression.

Relationship between peer nominations and like-least

Multiple regressions were conducted for the four types of aggression and global aggression: like-least score was entered as the outcome variable, peer nomination scores for aggressor, victim, defender-stop, defender-tell were used as predictors. Table 5.5 indicates which peer nomination scores (aggressor, victim, defender-stop, defender-tell) predicted like-least score.

In contrast to the relationship between like-most and peer nomination scores, all the models were significant across four types of aggression and global aggression. Peer nomination scores for aggressor significantly contributed to like-least scores: the more nomination for aggressors children had, the more disliked they were by peers. Peer nomination scores for defender-stop showed a negative relationship with like-least scores but with one exception were not significant. Peer nomination scores for victim did not predict like-least score. Interestingly, defender-tell scores were mostly positively related to like-least score; the relationships were significant for physical aggression (Time 2), rumour spreading (Time 2) and global aggression (Time 2): the child who tells teachers about aggressor's behaviour was not liked by other children.

Table 5.5. Regression analysis with *like-least* as outcome and peer nomination (aggressor, victim, defender-stop, defender-tell) as predictors

Type of aggression		R square	Standardized Beta			
			Aggressor	Victim	Defender-stop	Defender-tell
Physical	Time1	.49***	.655***	-.059	-.081	.136
	Time2	.56***	.737***	-.058	-.036	.166*
Verbal	Time1	.43***	.601***	.065	-.085	.120
	Time2	.58***	.755***	.082	-.117	.018
Social exclusion	Time1	.31***	.546***	-.071	-.125	-.047
	Time2	.34***	.510***	.187	.005	.083
Rumour spreading	Time1	.49***	.682***	-.020	-.063	-.079
	Time2	.33***	.450***	.101	-.176	.293**
Global	Time1	.54***	.700***	.000	-.103	.046
	Time2	.65***	.752***	.037	-.164*	.190*

*** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

Relationships between self and teacher nominations, and like-most/like-least

Regression models using self nomination and teacher nomination scores with likeability were not significant for any type of aggression.

Relationship between the participant roles and sociometric status

The fifth aim was to investigate a relationship between roles and sociometric status. To examine the relationship, ten roles were assigned by peer nomination scores in each type of aggression. Self and teacher nomination scores were not used for

assigning roles due to their dichotomous nature.¹ Table 5.6 indicates the percentage of children who were assigned in each role for each type of aggression.

Table 5.6. Percentage of children assigned into ten participant roles using peer nomination scores

%		Physical	Verbal	Exclusion	Rumour	Global
No role	T1	25.3	29.5	29.5	32.6	22.1
	T2	28.3	34.8	26.1	29.3	18.5
Aggressor	T1	13.7	14.7	14.7	12.6	10.5
	T2	13.0	12.0	16.3	14.1	9.8
Victim	T1	16.8	11.6	11.6	15.8	16.8
	T2	10.9	8.7	15.2	14.1	13.0
Defender-stop	T1	18.9	11.6	12.6	6.3	11.6
	T2	14.1	12.0	17.4	12.0	15.2
Defender-tell	T1	14.7	6.3	5.3	9.5	12.6
	T2	10.9	10.9	5.4	10.9	7.6
Agg / Vic	T1	1.1	3.2	10.5	2.1	3.2
	T2	4.3	1.1	1.1	4.3	4.3
Agg / Ds	T1	1.1	1.1	0	2.1	4.2
	T2	3.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	3.3
Agg / Dt	T1	2.1	3.2	5.3	3.2	7.4
	T2	3.3	2.2	3.3	5.4	5.4
Vic / Ds	T1	3.2	6.3	4.2	4.2	7.4
	T2	0.0	4.3	1.1	3.3	6.5
Vic / Dt	T1	1.1	4.2	1.1	8.4	0
	T2	4.3	5.4	6.5	0	8.7
Ds / Dt	T1	2.1	8.4	5.3	3.2	4.2
	T2	7.6	6.5	5.4	4.3	7.6

Note. Agg/Vic: Aggressor/Victim; Aggr/Ds: Aggressor/Defenderstop; Agg/Dt: Aggressor/Defender-tell; Vc/Ds: Victim/Defender-stop; Vic/Dt: Victim/Defender-tell; Ds/Dt: Defender-stop/Defender-tell.

¹ It was difficult to assign role using self and teacher nomination scores because only 1 nomination score a child received in each role (aggressor, victim, defender-stop, defender-tell). In contrast, for peer nomination, a child could receive as many as his(her) classmates for each role. Therefore, peer nomination was more reliable for assigning participants roles.

There were four single roles and six dual roles. Around one third of children were assigned 'no role'. Aggressor and victim were similar proportion at around 10-15%. Defender-stop and defender-tell were 5-19%. The six dual roles showed much lower proportions than single roles: they usually showed at around 1-5% for most of dual roles and sometimes indicated 7-9% for combination of victim, defender-stop, and defender-tell roles.

Levels of aggressor and victim were generally similar across four types of aggression although victim role showed somewhat lower percentage in verbal aggression than other types of aggression. Aggressor/victim role showed a highest percentage (10.5%) in social exclusion at Time 1 whereas for other types aggression this value was much lower. Defender-tell was less commonly assigned in relation to exclusion than in physical or verbal aggression.

Generally, the percentages of children in dual roles in all types of aggression were considered to be too low to conduct statistical analysis. Thus the dual roles were integrated to the four single roles using the percentages. Children who were assigned to dual roles had two high scores which were similar (the difference between the two score was less than 1 SD).

Thus, of the two scores, the score which occupied in a higher percentage than the other was used for assigning into single role. For example, a child who was assigned in aggressor-victim role would be assigned as victim; if the raw score of aggressor belong to the top 25% in the scores of aggressor and the raw score of victim belong to the top 10%. Table 5.7 indicates the percentage of children who were then assigned to

four roles in each type of aggression.

Table 5.7. Percentage of children assigned into four participant roles using peer nomination scores

		Physical	Verbal	Exclusion	Rumour	Global
No role	Time1	25.3	29.5	29.5	32.6	20.0
	Time2	28.3	33.7	26.1	28.3	17.4
Aggressor	Time1	15.8	17.9	24.2	15.8	16.8
	Time2	17.4	14.1	22.8	23.9	21.7
Victim	Time1	17.9	22.1	18.9	25.3	18.9
	Time2	17.4	18.5	17.4	17.4	21.7
Defender-stop	Time1	23.2	15.8	15.8	12.6	23.2
	Time2	20.7	18.5	21.7	15.2	25.0
Defender-tell	Time1	17.9	14.7	11.6	13.7	21.1
	Time2	16.3	15.2	12.0	15.2	14.1

Sociometric status was categorized as Average, Popular, Rejected, Controversial and Neglected using Coie et al. (1982) (see Method). Table 5.8 shows the number of children in each sociometric status, by roles assigned in global aggression.

The relationship between roles and sociometric status resulted in a very similar pattern across physical, verbal aggression, exclusion and rumour spreading. Therefore, the relationship between sociometric status and role was examined in terms of global aggression.

To avoid unnecessary multiple tests, regarding previous research findings (see Introduction) on the relationship between sociometric status and participants roles, the relationship was examined in terms of three aspects:

- whether Popular children were more likely than non-popular children to belong to defender-tell or defender-stop,
- whether Rejected children were more likely than non-rejected children to be aggressor or victim and
- whether Controversial children were more likely than non-controversial children to be aggressor.

Table 5.8. Number of children in five sociometric status groups by the participant roles in global aggression

		No role	Aggressor	Victim	Defender- stop	Defender- tell	Total
Average	T1	12	3	8	9	6	38
	T2	11	6	11	9	9	46
Popular	T1	3	1	6	10	6	26
	T2	2	3	2	9	1	17
Neglected	T1	0	0	1	1	1	3
	T2	2	0	2	2	0	6
Rejected	T1	4	7	3	1	4	19
	T2	1	9	5	0	2	17
Controversial	T1	0	5	0	1	3	9
	T2	0	2	0	3	1	6
Total	T1	19	16	18	22	20	95
	T2	16	20	20	23	13	92

Children of average status were most common, followed by Popular and Rejected children. Controversial and Neglected status groups were least commonly assigned: there were slightly more Controversial children were a little higher than Neglected children.

- Popular children were significantly more likely than children who were not popular to belong to defender-stop at Time 1, $\chi^2(1) = 4.71$, $p < .05$, and at Time 2, $\chi^2(1) = 8.68$, $p < .01$. Popular children were less likely than children who were not popular belong to defender-tell both at Time 1 and Time 2, but they were not significant ($p = .77$ at Time 1, $p = .28$ at Time 2).
- Rejected children were significantly more likely than children who were not rejected to belong to aggressor at Time 1, $\chi^2 = 5.12$, $p < .05$, and at Time 2, $\chi^2(1) = 12.18$, $p < .001$. However, rejected children were not likely to be victim than children who were not rejected.
- Controversial children were significantly more likely than children who were not controversial to belong to the aggressor, $\chi^2(1) = 10.64$, $p < .01$, at Time 1, although this was not significant at Time 2 ($p = .48$).

Relationship between peer nominated participant roles and verbal ability and gender

The sixth aim was to examine the relationship between participant roles, and verbal ability and gender.

Relationship between participant roles and verbal ability

One way independent ANOVAs were conducted for continuous verbal scores as a dependent variable and participant roles in physical aggression, verbal aggression, exclusion, rumour spreading and global aggression as an independent variable, separately. The result did not show any significant differences. For further investigation, verbal scores were categorized into three levels: high, average, low (see Method). The number of children in each bullying role by verbal ability is shown in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9. Number of children in the participant roles in global aggression by verbal ability

Verbal Ability	No role	Aggressor	Victim	Defender-stop	Defender-tell	Total	
Low	T1	9	5	7	3	3	27
	T2	6	6	6	5	4	27
Average	T1	5	7	4	11	8	35
	T2	5	9	6	8	6	34
High	T1	5	4	7	8	9	33
	T2	5	5	8	10	3	31
Total	T1	19	16	18	22	20	95
	T2	16	20	20	23	13	92

Children who had lower verbal ability were least common, and children who had average and high verbal ability showed similar proportions. Children with high verbal ability were most common in defender-stop role and lowest in aggressor.

Chi square tests were conducted for verbal ability by roles. The results showed that verbal ability was not significantly related to any of the roles (aggressor, victim, defender-stop, defender-tell) across four types of aggression as well as global aggression, either at Time 1 or Time 2.

Relationship between peer nominated participant roles and gender

Table 5.10 shows the percentage of children who were assigned to each role by gender and type of aggression.

For aggressor, there were more boys than girls in all types of aggression. For victim, there were more girls than boys for exclusion (both Time 1 and Time 2) and this is inconsistent for other types of aggression. For defender-stop, there were more girls than boys with one exception: there were slightly more boys than girls for physical aggression (Time 2). For defender-tell, there were more girls than boys with one exception: slightly more boys than girls for rumour spreading (Time 1).

Chi-square test were conducted for each role by gender. The results of the chi-squares are displayed in Table 5.11.

Table 5.10. Percentage of boys and girls in each bullying role by type of aggression, and global aggression, at Time 1 (boy: 45 girl: 50) and Time 2 (boy: 43, girl:49)

Type of aggression		No role		Aggressor		Victim		Defender-stop		Defender-tell	
		boy	girl	boys	girl	boy	girl	boy	girl	boy	girl
Physical	T1	24.4	24.0	35.6	0.0	24.4	12.0	6.7	38	8.9	26.0
	T2	27.9	28.6	27.9	6.1	14.0	18.4	23.3	20.4	7.0	26.5
Verbal	T1	33.3	26	28.9	8.0	22.2	22.2	8.9	22	6.7	22.0
	T2	32.6	34.7	25.6	4.1	14.0	22.4	16.3	20.4	11.6	19.4
Exclusion	T1	37.8	22.0	28.9	20.0	15.6	22.0	8.9	22.0	8.9	14.0
	T2	32.6	20.4	27.9	18.4	11.6	22.4	16.3	26.5	11.6	12.2
Rumour spreading	T1	28.9	36.0	20.0	12.0	24.4	24.0	11.1	14.0	15.6	14.0
	T2	32.6	24.5	37.2	12.2	11.6	22.4	9.3	20.4	9.3	20.4
Global	T1	24.4	16.0	31.1	4.0	20.0	18.0	11.1	30.4	13.3	28.0
	T2	18.6	16.3	37.2	8.2	14.0	28.6	14.0	34.7	16.3	12.2

Table 5.11. Results of gender differences for each role by type of aggression

Type of Aggression		Aggressor	Victim	Defender - stop	Defender - tell
Physical	T1	$\chi^2 (1) = 21.38^{***}$ (more boys)	n.s	$\chi^2 (1) = 13.07^{***}$ (more girls)	$\chi^2 (1) = 4.72^*$ (more girls)
	T2	n.s	n.s	n.s	$\chi^2 (1) = 7.03^*$ (more girls)
Verbal	T1	$\chi^2 (1) = 7.03^{**}$ (more boys)	n.s	n.s	n.s
	T2	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s
Exclusion	T1	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s
	T2	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s
Rumour spreading	T1	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s
	T2	$\chi^2 (1) = 7.39^{**}$ (more boys)	n.s	n.s	n.s
Global	T1	$\chi^2 (1) = 12.43^{***}$ (more boys)	n.s	$\chi^2 (1) = 6.97^{**}$ (more girls)	n.s
	T2	$\chi^2 (1) = 11.36^{**}$ (more boys)	n.s	$\chi^2 (1) = 5.25^*$ (more girls)	n.s

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

n.s: not significant

For aggressor, there were more boys than girls for physical aggression, verbal aggression, rumour spreading and global aggression. For victim, no gender differences were found. For defender-stop, there were more girls than boys in physical aggression and global aggression. For defender-tell, there were more girls

than boys only in physical aggression.

Only Exclusion did not show any gender differences for the participant roles.

Stability of nominations from peers, self, and teacher reports between Time 1 and Time 2

The seventh aim was to examine the stability of nomination by peers, self, and teachers between Time 1 and Time 2.

Stability of peer nomination

Pearson correlations for 92 children were performed to examine the relationship between peer nominations at Time 1 and Time 2. Table 5.12 shows correlation coefficients for the nomination scores for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell by type of aggression between Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 5.12. Correlations for peer nominations between Time 1 and Time 2 (n = 92)

	Aggressor	Victim	Defender- Stop	Defender- Tell
Physical	.780**	.378**	.302**	.453**
Verbal	.808**	-.020	.539**	.410**
Exclusion	.765**	.021	.287**	.084
Rumour spreading	.591**	.266**	.063	.043
Global	.883**	.360**	.562**	.544**

*** p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05

Generally, peer nomination scores were stable over time. Nominations for aggressor were highly stable over time across all types of aggression. Nominations for victim were less stable than other role nominations; victims of verbal aggression and exclusion were not stable over time. Nominations for defender-stop showed moderate relationship over time except for rumour spreading. Nominations for defender-tell were moderately stable in physical, verbal aggression and global aggression, but not in exclusion and rumour spreading.

Stability of self nominations

The associations in contingency tables (Time 1 x Time 2) in self nominations for aggressor, victim, defender-stop, and defender-tell were examined by Phi(ϕ) for all types of aggression. Table 5.13 shows phi(ϕ) coefficient for self nominations between Time 1 and Time 2

Table 5.13. Coefficient (ϕ) in self nominations between Time 1 and Time 2 (n = 92)

	Aggressor	Victim	Defender- Stop	Defender- Tell
Physical	.474***	.276**	.438***	.107
Verbal	.502***	.263**	.147	.096
Exclusion	-.016	.237*	.105	.159
Rumour spreading	.261**	.481***	.251*	.224*
Global	.378***	.336**	.506***	.261*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Nominations for aggressor showed medium associations (0.30 ~ 0.50) over time for physical, verbal aggression, and global aggression, and small association (smaller than 0.30) for rumour spreading, but it was not stable for exclusion. Nominations for victim showed weak to moderate stability across all types of aggression. Nominations for defender-stop were moderately stable for physical aggression and global aggression. Nominations for defender-tell were stable for rumour spreading and global aggression.

Stability of teacher nominations

The associations in contingency tables (Time 1 x Time 2) in teacher nominations for aggressor, victim, defender-stop, and defender-tell were examined by Phi(ϕ) for all types of aggression. Table 5.14 shows phi(ϕ) coefficient for teacher nominations between Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 5.14. Coefficient (ϕ) in teacher nominations between Time 1 and Time 2 (n = 92)

	Aggressor	Victim	Defender
Physical	.631***	.256*	.310**
Verbal	.777***	-.046	.283**
Exclusion	.264*	.348**	.177
Rumour spreading	.293**	.358**	.070
Global	.582***	.331**	.182

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Teacher nominations for aggressor were highly stable in physical and verbal aggression and moderately stable for global aggression. Nominations for victim were also stable across aggression except for verbal aggression. Nominations for defender showed some stability in physical and verbal aggression but not in exclusion and rumour spreading.

Table 5.15 shows summary of the results in peer, self, and teacher nominations.

Table 5.15. Summary of short-term stability between Time 1 and Time 2 in peer, self, and teacher nominations

	Peer	Self	Teacher
Aggressor	High	Low to moderate (no stability for exclusion)	Low to High
Victim	Low to moderate (no stability for verbal, exclusion)	Moderate	Moderate (no stability for verbal)
Defender-stop	Low to High (no stability for rumour spreading)	Low to High (no stability for verbal, exclusion)	Moderate (no stability for exclusion, rumour, global)
Defender-tell	Moderate to High (no stability for exclusion, rumour spreading)	Low (no stability for physical, verbal, exclusion)	

Nomination for aggressor was most highly stable in peer and sometimes highly in teacher nominations and medium stability in self nominations. Generally, higher stabilities were shown for physical and verbal aggression than for exclusion and rumour spreading. Nomination for victim, defender-stop, and defender-tell showed varied stability across informants by type of aggression.

Nominations for victim showed low stability in peer nomination but moderate stability in self and teacher nominations; furthermore, exclusion was not stable in peer nomination but stable in self, and peer nominations.

Nominations for defender-stop were stable in physical aggression across peer and self nominations but it was inconsistent in other types of aggression across peer and self nominations.

Nominations for defender-tell were stable in physical aggression and verbal aggression by peer. Similarly defender nomination by teacher was stable in physical and verbal aggression. However, defender-tell was not stable or showed small stability in self nominations.

Global aggression showed generally medium stability across roles in peer, self, teacher nomination, except for defender in teacher nomination.

Consistency among peer, self and teacher nominations

The final aim was to examine consistency among peer, self and teacher nominations. To examine agreement among peer, self and teacher nominations, Cohen's Kappa was calculated at Time 1 and Time 2. Table 5.16 shows Kappa coefficients between peer/self, peer/teacher, self/teacher for each role (aggressor, victim, defender-stop, defender-tell) by type of aggression at Time 1 and Time 2.

Generally, nomination for aggressor showed low to high agreements among peer, self, and teacher. Nominations for victims usually showed low agreement across four types of aggression but no agreement for exclusion. Nominations for defender-stop showed agreement only for physical aggression between self and teacher in Time 2. Also, nominations for defender-tell showed agreement among raters only at physical and exclusion.

Nominations for both aggressor and victim were low to moderately consistent across raters in global aggression but not in defender-stop and defender-tell.

In terms of type of aggression, physical and verbal aggression showed more agreement among raters whereas exclusion and rumour spreading show less agreement than physical and verbal aggression.

Table 5.16. Kappas comparing among peer, self, and teacher nominations for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell (n = 92).

	Peer/ Self		Peer/ Teacher		Self / Teacher	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Physical						
Aggressor	.139* (L)	.280*** (L)	.349***(M)	.470*** (M)	.163	.539*** (H)
Victim	.335**(M)	.154	.077	.161*(L)	.134	.068
Def-stop	.106	.075		.137		.356**(M)
Def-tell	.028	.349	-.140	.180*	.127	.094
Verbal						
Aggressor	.201**(L)	.266***(L)	.184**(L)	.487***(M)	.230*	.292** (L)
Victim	.207*(L)	.162	-.007	.083	.043	-.030
Def-stop	-.066	.100		.001		.025
Def-tell	-.023	.140	.123	.114	.012	.105
Exclusion						
Aggressor	-.021	.025	.138	.218**(L)	-.020	.171*(L)
Victim	.122	.039	-.009	.050	.029	-.117
Def-stop	-.022	.040		.011		.120
Def-tell	.132	-.033	.087	-.008	-.024	.289** (L)
Rumour						
Aggressor	.145*	.136** (L)	.023	.240** (L)	.049	.178
Victim	.065	-.074	-.032	.220* (L)	.145	.158
Def-stop	.034	.082	.064	.080	.047	.039
Def-tell	.078	.029		.059		.026
Global						
Aggressor	.140*	.153** (L)	.282**	.441*** (M)	.273** (L)	.453***(M)
Victim	.054	.290** (L)	-.004	.220*(L)	-.032	.259* (L)
Def-stop	.065	.115		.135		.163
Def-tell	.060	.120	.068	.117	.066	.182

Note. Def-stop: Defender-stop; Def-tell: Defender-tell.

Due to teacher's nomination for defender at Time 1, nomination for defender-stop and defender-tell in peer and self nomination at Time 1 were merged into 'defender' (coded 0 or 1) and compared with self, and peer nomination for defender. Interpretation of kappas: 0.10 ~ 0.30, low; 0.30 ~ 0.50, moderate; 0.50 ~ 1.00, high agreement: (L): low; (M): moderate; (H): high.

Discussion

The first aim of the study was to examine whether nomination for each role (for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell) differed across the four types of aggression (physical aggression, verbal aggression, social exclusion and rumour spreading). Results showed that depending on the type of aggression, each role nomination significantly differed among four types of aggression.

Preschool children nominated their peers as aggressor more in physical and verbal aggression than exclusion and rumour spreading. However, peer nominations for victim did not show any significant variation across type of aggression. Similar to aggressor, peer nominations for defender-stop and defender-tell were more common in physical and verbal aggression than exclusion and rumour spreading. It may reflect that physical and verbal aggression are more observable than relational aggression; mean that children are more aware of who behaves in these ways (and hence can nominate more peers for these roles). Alternatively, it may be that social exclusion and rumour spreading are less commonly enacted by children this age (e.g. Monks et al. 2003).

The finding that more nominations are given for defending for these more overt forms of aggression may also reflect the fact that these are more common among young children, but also that by their very nature they are more observable and hence provide more opportunity for prosocial children to defend the target against the behaviour. Furthermore, it is possible that children defend against overt forms of aggression as they may view them as more upsetting for the victim. It would be

interesting to explore these issues in further research.

The second aim was to examine whether a certain role nomination was more frequently nominated than other role nominations. Results showed that children tended to nominate some roles more than others, and the pattern of difference varied by type of informant (peer, self, teacher).

In peer nominations, there were no difference among aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell in physical aggression and verbal aggression. That is, children nominate their peers with similar frequencies across the four roles for physical and verbal aggression. However in exclusion and rumour spreading, they nominated their peers as aggressor more often than defender-stop and defender-tell. The explanation may be the same as above; defending relational aggression would be more difficult than physical or verbal aggression due to difficulty of knowing who started the rumour or that exclusion is actually taking place. It may also be that children have differing views on the severity of different types of aggression; meaning that they may be more likely to intervene when someone is being attacked physically or verbally, but less so when someone is having rumours spread about them or not being allowed to join in. This would be worth further investigation.

In self nomination, children generally nominated themselves as aggressor less often than other role nominations. This contrasts with peer and teacher nominations in which nomination for aggressor showed slightly higher than nominations for victim. It implies that children may be less comfortable admitting that they behave aggressively; exhibiting a social desirability bias (Monks et al., 2003). It is interesting

that the difference between nominations for aggressor and for victim among four types of aggression was largest in exclusion in self nominations: the percentage of nominations for victims was much higher than nominations for aggressor. It seems that children tend to be less sensitive regarding their excluding behaviour to others and more sensitive about being excluded by others. This may be because children who exclude others may not always view it as victimization and may feel that they have a valid reason for not allowing someone to join in; perhaps they are disruptive in the game or they do not fit gender stereotypes for the activity. In contrast, for the child who is not allowed to join in, this is still viewed as victimisation.

Children may think their excluding others as not as serious as other types of aggressive behaviours (e.g. physical or verbal), or they may not treat it as aggressive behaviour, rather considering it as normal interaction. But if received from others, it is interpreted as victimisation. This is further discussed in the relationship between aggression and victimisation (aim 3) and consistency among informants (aim 8).

Teachers nominated children in their class similar at a rate among the four roles. However, for teachers, nominating children as victim or defenders seems to be more difficult than nominating aggressor; one teacher said 'everyone can be victim or defender-tell', 'children say nasty words but not toward a particular child, everyone can hear that'. Partly, this may be a result of the methodology used: if teachers are asked to evaluate each child's aggressive, victimizing, defending behaviour, instead of nominating children in their class, it could generate different results. It may also reflect the finding that the victim role is less stable over time than that of the aggressor role (e.g. Monks et al., 2003), which would make it more difficult for

teachers to identify victims if a wide variety of children are experiencing victimization over a short period of time. Furthermore, it may reflect teachers' preoccupation with classroom management and that those children who are aggressive may be disruptive which will necessarily attract the teacher's attention (Monks et al., 2011).

The third aim was to examine whether aggressive behaviour in one type of aggression was related to victimisation in the same or another type of aggression. Results showed that physically or verbally aggressive children were involved as victims in relational aggression (exclusion, rumour spreading): they were more likely to be excluded and receive rumours. This is consistent with some previous studies (Crick et al., 1999, 2006). Furthermore, it is interesting that this was found in self and teacher nomination but not found in peer nomination.

For exclusion, children seem less likely to consider those who were excluded among their peers, than those who did the exclusion as described above. This may also be because they are more concerned about aggressive behaviour in general than the victim role (perhaps if they are worried that they may become the next target themselves they would want to make sure they knew who the aggressors were). However, in particular, they seem to be unlikely to care about exclusion which happened to aggressive children. It is not clear whether children actually do not recognize the exclusion toward children who are physically or verbally aggressive, or they recognize the exclusion toward the aggressive children but do not treat this as victimisation, rather they may treat it as a natural response to the aggressive behaviour; because even the third person (i.e. teachers) noticed who were excluded

from the peer group. For rumour spreading, physically aggressive children might have more bad or nasty stories about them: their overt and disrupting behaviours can easily spread among peers. In fact, some children were aware of rumour spreading (as shown in the cartoon) but some children tended to take a rumour spreader as a child who spoke about another's actual fault (not lies). Thus, young children's understanding about rumour spreading behaviour needs further consideration.

The fourth aim was to investigate the relationship between nominations and likeability. Peer nomination showed significant relationships with likeability but self and teacher nominations did not. Peer nominations for aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell showed significant relationship with likeability: like-least was much more influenced by role nominations than like-most.

Children's social preference (like-most) did not relate to nominations for aggressor, victim, and defender-tell. No relationship between nominations for victim and like-most scores is consistent with Monks et al.'s finding (2003). It may reflect that victim is a transient role at this age. Only peer nomination for defender-stop in verbal aggression and global aggression contributed to social preference, which is consistent with Caravita et al. (2008) and Salmivalli et al. (1996), although these studies did not distinguish the relationships depending on types of aggression.

In contrast to relationship between role nominations and like-most, children's low preference (like-least) was strongly explained by nomination for aggressor (as Monks et al., 2003 and Salmivalli et al., 1996) and sometimes explained by nominations for defender-tell. Interestingly, children who tell a teacher about an aggressive event were

less liked by their peers. This is very interesting because it suggests that children distinguish a type of defender even at a young age. Traditionally, defending behaviour was investigated in terms of either stopping the aggressor (or bully) or asking help to adults or peers, but without separating these two modes of defending in the methodology and analysis. The results of this study suggest more careful consideration of investigating the defender role(s) in this way.

Also, it should be careful about applying this finding (i.e. low social preference for defender-tell role) to other aggressive or bullying situations, because this does not mean that defending behaviour by telling adults about the aggressor is not preferable among children. Whether telling adults about an aggressive event is recommendable among peers may be related to the degree of aggressive behaviour: in early childhood, the aggressive behaviours tend to be less malicious or intentional than those in middle childhood, or adolescence. In a serious situation, stopping aggressive behaviour by reporting to adults about the situation should be recommended. However, sometimes children who tell teachers about an aggressive behaviour which is common among them may not be so favourable.

The fifth aim was to examine the relationship between participant roles and sociometric status. As with previous studies (Monks et al., 2003; Tomada & Schneider, 1997), the children in different roles showed differences in their sociometric status: children who defended a victim by stopping the aggressor were more popular than children who did not. Also, children who were assigned into aggressor role were more likely to be either rejected or controversial status than children who were not.

The sixth aim was to examine the relationship between participant roles and verbal ability and gender. Although children who were defender-stop had slightly higher verbal ability than those who were not defender-stop children, there was no significant relationship between roles and verbal ability, which is consistent with previous studies (Monks, 2000; Sutton, 1998).

Gender differences in the participant roles were found: more boys than girls tended to be aggressor except for in exclusion and more girls than boys belonged to defender-stop and defender-tell except for in relational aggression (exclusion, rumour spreading). There were no gender differences in victim role in all types of aggression.

For relational aggression, gender differences were not found, except for only one case: more boys than girls were identified as aggressor in rumour spreading (Time 2). For exclusion, there were no participant role differences found between boys and girls.

This may imply that boys are more aggressive physically, verbally, and relationally than girls, but girls are more likely to be relationally aggressive than physically or verbally if they engaged in aggressive behaviours. This is consistent with previous studies (Card et al, 2008; Salmivalli & Kaukiainen, 2005; Scheithauer et al., 2006). It is interesting that why gender differences in the roles were not shown for exclusion. Both boys and girls seem to exclude other children, or be excluded by other children at a similar rate. Further study could be useful to investigate whether children are excluded or do exclude the same gender of or opposite gender of child.

Also, given the more defending behaviours among girls than boys, girls seem to have more negative attitudes towards physical or verbal aggression. There were no significant differences on the percentage of victim between boys and girls, but more girls than boys were likely to stop aggressive behaviour or to report to adults about physically aggressive behaviour to adults. Perhaps, physical aggression may be sometimes seen as normal interaction among boys, but girls may treat it as victimisation or less acceptable.

The seventh aim was to examine stability of peer, self, and teacher nominations over two months. Results showed that three findings are common between peer and teacher nominations. First, both peer and teacher nominations for aggressor were most stable among the four roles (aggressor, victim, defender-stop and defender-tell); and nominations for aggressor more stable for physical aggression and verbal aggression than for exclusion and rumour spreading.

Second, both peer and teacher nominations for defender (either defender-stop or defender-tell) were not stable for relational aggression. This may reflect the difficulty of observing relational aggression. In fact, children or teachers who are not directly involved in the aggressive event have difficulty nominating defenders.

Third, both peer and teacher nominations for victim was not stable for verbal aggression ($\phi = -.020$ in peer nomination; $\phi = -.046$ in teacher nomination). The instability of victim role by peer reports is consistent with Monks et al. (2003) and instability of victim role by teacher report is consistent with Crick et al.'s (2006) study. This may reflect some teachers' comments mentioned earlier: children who use

nasty words did not target a particular child and rather were directed towards an unspecified group of classmates.

Also, three characteristics were found in self nominations which differentiated from peer or teacher nominations. First, self nominations for aggressor were less stable than peer or teacher nominations in all types of aggression. Especially, self nominations for aggressor for exclusion were not stable at all. As discussed earlier, it may imply that children usually admit their aggressive behaviour in physical, verbal aggression, and sometimes rumour spreading, but do not think themselves doing excluding other classmates.

Second, self nominations for victim were stable over time across all types of aggression, whereas other role nominations (aggressor, defender-stop, defender-tell) varied by type of aggression, this is contrasted with peer nomination.

Third, defender-tell were not stable in physical or verbal aggression which were stable in peer and teacher nominations. Children might think themselves reporting an aggressive event to teacher only sometimes, whereas peers and teachers were more likely to think there was a child who usually tells an aggressive event to teacher in physical and verbal aggression.

The last aim was to evaluate consistency among peer, self and teacher nomination. Nominations for aggressor were consistent across informants especially in physical and verbal aggression; the agreement was stronger between peer and teacher than between self and teacher or peer and teacher. This is consistent with previous studies

(Ladd & Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2002; Monks et al., 2003). Among the four types of aggression, nominations for aggressor in exclusion showed lowest agreement. It may show that evaluating exclusion differs by perspective. This is supported by agreement of victim in social exclusion: in other types of aggression, victim showed some consistency across raters, but only victim in exclusion did not show any agreement. Judging excluding others or being excluded seems to vary depending on individuals. Moreover, stability of exclusion showed a more varied pattern across raters than stability in other types of aggression. That is, peer report showed large stability for aggressor and no stability for victim, and self report showed no stability for aggressor and some stability for victim, while teacher report showed stability both for aggressor and victim.

Origins of bullying-like behaviours

This study evaluated young children's aggressive behaviours by types of aggression using varied nomination methods. Physical aggression and verbal aggression had clearly different characteristics from relational aggression: nominating roles, stability over time, consistency among raters.

Children at 5-6 year olds were sensitive about their relational victimisation. However they were unlikely to admit about their own relational aggression; and also about relational victimization which happened to other aggressive children. This has important implications for relational aggression as origins of bullying-like behaviour at early ages.

When investigating aggressor or victim for each type of aggressive behaviour, young children did not distinguish whether the aggressive behaviour was intentional or not. Rather, they simply nominated children who behaved in an aggressive way. The children's nomination for aggressors mixed both simply aggressive children and bullies who use aggression more intentionally to harm other people (i.e. distinction between proactive and reactive aggression). Young children seem to report physical or verbal aggression which can be both proactive and reactive aggression.

However, relational aggression such as excluding or rumour spreading has different characteristics from physical or verbal aggression, in that intention is involved more clearly in that than in physical or verbal aggression; relational aggression does not happen accidentally. Although as mentioned earlier it would be interesting to examine the issue of spreading unpleasant, but true stories as opposed to malicious lies. Furthermore, children are not as aware of others' relational victimisation as they are of their own victimisation unless the aggression is towards themselves. Particularly, physically aggressive children are more exposed this risk than non-physical aggressive children. Bullying can be defined differently depending on recipients' feeling; even one episode of victimisation can be bullying to victim. Physical aggression or verbally aggressive behaviour is obvious to other pupils, thus it may be easier to draw other's attention and sympathy.

The person who receives exclusion recognizes his/her victimization, but other peers may not recognize it. This is even more marked for the physically aggressive child because other children may think that he/she deserve the exclusion. Moreover, one of characteristics of *wang-ta* in South Korea is this blaming of the victim. It is

interesting to shed light on young children's social exclusion in terms of this.

Exclusion can be almost 'normalised' and the aggressor can pretend that it is a part of normal interaction rather than victimization, and rumour spreading is difficult to identify the original source. It is difficult for a child who is the subject of rumours to do much about it if they cannot identify the source, and regardless of the truth of it, the victim's status may be downgraded among pupils who heard the rumour.

This not only happens in South Korea, but also in other cultures. The point of exclusion in younger children in South Korea is how this may develop into *wang-ta* in later on in childhood. At this young age, many physically and verbally aggressive children did not seem to be bullies who manipulate social situation or relationships for their benefit; many of them seem to admit their aggressive behaviours as agreement among informants (peer, self and teacher) for physical and verbal aggression was higher for nominating aggressors than for other roles.

However, children who use relational aggression do not seem to admit their usage of it; agreement of nominating aggressors was low across informants. This inconsistency for aggressor among informants suggests what can be the next steps for investigating young children's bullying. It would be interesting to examine how exclusion is differently understood and perceived among young pupils between Eastern and Western cultures.

Limitations

There are some limitations in this study. First, some children seemed to find it difficult to recall aggressive situations and nominate defender roles especially for relational aggression. Aggressor role was relatively easy to recall, but defending behaviour may not be as easy for them, especially for relational aggression. Also, some difficulties were found using teacher nominations for defenders and victims. Teachers tended to have difficulty nominating victims and defenders. If teachers were asked to nominate the level of aggressive behaviour or victimization of each child, it could provide more fruitful information about a child. The difficulty of teachers' or children's recall of defenders or victims for relational aggression could be partly overcome by observational methods.

Next, the stability was measured over two months with two time points. If the period was longer and role nominations were examined three times, it could give more insight into the process of change of peer relationships among young children: how friendships or popularity change in relation to aggressive behaviours. In older children, at the beginning of the semester aggression can be used to establish peer status (Pellegrini & Long, 2002).

Conclusion

This study provided substantive information about young children's aggressive behaviour in their peer relationships. Some findings confirmed previous studies: relationship between participant role and likeability, sociometric status and gender differences. Some findings were newly displayed: different likeability depending on

types of defender, relationship between aggressive behaviour and victimisation. Confirming previous findings that aggression/victimisation experiences were seen differently depending on nomination methods, this study particularly shows that aggressive behaviour or victimisation in social exclusion are viewed differently even at early ages and are less stable over time than are other types aggression. This is interesting as many bullying behaviours in South Korea tend to focus on social exclusion. However, further cross-cultural investigation would be necessary to confirm whether this results from Korean collectivistic characteristics.

Chapter 6

Study 3. Moral reasoning about bullying-like behaviour in relation to type of aggression, and individual characteristics: age, gender, and experience of aggressive behaviour

The first study investigated whether there are bullying-like behaviours in South Korea and what people call them and the second study focused on early characteristics of the behaviours, ‘how those behaviours start?’ Now, the focus moves onto the reason for the behaviours, ‘why pupils do this behaviour?’ This can be considered as a moral issue concerning aggressive behaviours.

Introduction

Aggressive behaviours and moral reasoning

Children’s attitudes and beliefs about bullying can be influential in supporting bullying behaviour (Hymel, Rocke-Henderson, & Bonanno, 2005). The attitudes and beliefs about bullying or aggressive behaviours have been investigated in relation to moral reasoning (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996; Menesini et al., 2003; Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004, Helwig & Turiel, 2011).

Studies have shown that children’s values and moral reasoning are associated with aggressive conduct. Compared with non-aggressive peers, aggressive peers or children who bully others displayed a higher level of moral disengagement (Gini,

2006; Hymel et al., 2005; Menesini et al., 2003) and more positive attitudes regarding the use of violence in response to social difficulties and expected positive outcomes from their bullying behaviour (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004; Bandura et al., 1996; Crick & Dodge, 1996).

Moral reasoning

From social cognitive perspectives such as those of Piaget, Kohlberg, and Turiel, morality can be defined as concepts, reasoning, and actions related to well-being, rights, and the fair treatment of other people (Velez Garcia & Ostrosky-Solis, 2006). Moral reasoning involves thinking processes employed when deciding whether a behaviour is morally acceptable (Shaffer, 2000). A great number of studies of moral reasoning have investigated this in terms of moral judgment (whether something is right or wrong) and reasons for judgments of wrongness/rightness (often called *justification*). Also, studies have shown that moral reasoning varies by an individual's developmental and personal factor. In this study *moral reasoning* is used for indicating moral judgment (right or wrong), reason for the judgment (why right/wrong), attributional responsibility and harmful consequences. This study explored moral reasoning about various types of aggression in terms of participant's age, gender and aggressive conduct.

Moral reasoning by type of aggression

A couple of studies have showed that moral judgment may differ by type of aggression (Goldstein, Tisak, & Boxer, 2002; Murray-Close, Crick & Galotti, 2006). Children generally understand aggressive behaviour is wrong and harmful but they think about the level of wrongness or harmfulness differently, depending on the type

of aggression. Children tend to think that relational aggression is less harmful and less wrong than physical aggression because relational aggression is covert. Murray-Close et al. (2006) examined the relationships between children's moral judgment, reason for judgment about physical and relational aggression, and peer and teacher assessments of physical and relational aggression in 639 pupils of grade 4-5 (aged 9-11 years) in the U.S. For judgment, they found that pupils generally thought physical aggression as more wrong and more harmful than relational aggression. This is similar to Goldstein et al.'s finding (2002): They examined 99 preschoolers judgment on overt and relational aggression and found that relationally aggressive responses were more acceptable than verbally or physically aggressive responses.

Not only the judgment of aggressive behaviour but also reasons for judgment (i.e. why do you think this behaviour is wrong/not wrong?) differed by types of aggression. Murray-Close et al. (2006) found that relational aggression was more often regarded as a moral issue (i.e. it is wrong because it hurts others) than physical aggression. Physical aggression was more identified as prudential concerns (i.e. concern about how the behaviour may result in personal harm) than relational aggression. Except for Murray-Close et al. (2006) in the United States, no studies have been conducted on different reasons for judgments on subtypes of aggression and none have focused on this issue in South Korea.

Age differences in moral reasoning

Moral reasoning about aggressive behaviour differs by children's age. Extensive study of children's moral development dates back to the work of Jean Piaget (1932) and Lawrence Kohlberg (1981). Piaget (1932) noted that children develop their

understanding of moral rules by moving from an orientation characterized by heteronomous to an autonomous morality in later childhood. At the heteronomous level, individuals stick to rules out of a strong respect for the authority of adults or rules themselves and feel that the rules are not alterable. Children at the autonomous level understand rules as social constructions formulated in social relationships of cooperation among peers. The progression from heteronomous to autonomous morality is facilitated by a child's cognitive development from egocentrism to perspectivism with notions of equality and mutual respect among peers.

Piaget's theory was expanded and developed by Kohlberg (1981). As Piaget, he described moral development as moving through a series of stages. According to him, morality is defined first in terms of punishment or obedience to authority, through a conventional level in which individuals take the perspective of the legal system and uphold existing laws, and finally, in adulthood, a principled level may be reached where individuals develop truly moral abstract principles of justice and rights. He saw that young children's moral thinking is concerned with obedience to authority in order to avoid punishment.

Research based on the "domain approach" proposed that children's thinking is organized into the domains of 'morality' and 'social convention'. The moral domain is related to issues of harm, fairness and rights, and the social conventional domain pertains to behavioural uniformities that serve to coordinate social interactions of individuals within social systems such as dress, and etiquette (Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 1983; Tisak & Turiel, 1984). According to this approach, even young children have moral concepts and treat moral rules and non-moral rules differently and the age-

related differences lie in qualitative changes within a domain (Turiel, 1983). Damon (1977) showed that even young children do not legitimate parental commands to engage in acts if it violates their moral rules. Also, Zelazo, Helwig, and Lau (1996) showed that 3 year olds judged hitting an animal is wrong even if they were told that the animal likes to be hit.

Helwig, Hildebrandt and Turiel (1995) examined 6 to 11 year old U.S. children concerning their judgments about using verbal and physical aggression as a game rule. They found that both younger and older children judged 'calling peers stupid' or 'pushing peers' as wrong even though those are rules in the game. However, they found this was more so in older children than younger children. Younger children (6-7 year olds) were more likely to ignore perpetrator's intention or the recipients' perspective than older children (10-11 year olds).

Gender differences in moral reasoning

Gender differences in moral reasoning have been widely debated (Nunner-Winkler, Meyer-Nikele, & Wohlrab, 2007). In Murray-Close et al.'s (2006) study girls were more likely than boys to believe that aggressive behaviour is wrong and harmful, and suggested that general gender role socialization may make girls more likely than boys to believe this.

Also, their study showed gender differences on moral reasoning for different types of aggression. Although boys and girls did not differ in their judgments of the harmfulness of physical aggression, girls were more likely than boys to view relational aggression as harmful. Relationally aggressive girls were more likely to

view physical and relational aggression as a moral issue than boys, whereas boys were more likely than girls to identify the aggression as a matter of social, conventional and personal choice.

Gilligan (1982) proposed that men and women differ in their basic conception of self and morality which guides different justifications for their judgment. She suggested that men typically have a justice orientation which regards moral conflicts as issues of conflicting rights; whereas women have a care orientation which concerns wellbeing of self and others and harmonious relationships. The difference resulted from typical differences in self concept between men and women.

In contrast, some studies have shown that gender differences in moral orientation are scant (Walker, De Vries, & Trevethan, 1987; Wark & Krebs, 1996): males and females did not differ in care and justice orientation when judging moral conflicts. Gender differences were only found at the level of morality: females were at higher levels in Kohlberg's model than males (Wark & Krebs, 1996). Also, few differences were obtained between females and males in their care or justice orientation (Ford & Lowery, 1986).

Associations among the experience of aggressive behaviour and moral reasoning

Involvement in aggressive conduct may be related to a child's moral reasoning. Some studies have examined the relation between aggressive conduct and moral judgment. In Murray-Close et al.'s (2006) study, aggressive children were less likely to think such acts wrong than non aggressive children. However, they were more likely to consider the aggression as harmful. This is consistent with Sutton, Smith and

Swettenham (1999): aggressive children are actually aware of the consequences of their behaviour which enables them to use aggressive strategies effectively.

Aggressive children exhibit hostile attributional biases in response to situations in which the intent of the provocateur was ambiguous. Crick, Grotpeter, and Bigbee (2002) examined intent attributions and feeling of emotional distress about ambiguous provocative situations in 127 third grade children (aged 8-9 years) who were classified as aggressive and in 535 third- to sixth-grade children (aged 8-12 years) in normal population in the U.S. In both samples, they found that children who were physically aggressive displayed more hostile attributional biases and expressed distress responses (i.e. upset) to instrumentally aggressive situations than did children who were not.

Children who were relationally aggressive showed more hostile attributional biases and distress responses to relational aggressive situation than children who were not. Crick et al. (2002) emphasized that not all provocations are considered equally by aggressive children, that is not all aggressive children experience particular provocations in the same manner.

Associations among the experience of aggressive behaviour and coping strategies

Coping strategies may be related to experiences of aggressive behaviour, and studies have found that they depend on type of aggression, age, gender and bullying roles. Kristensen and Smith (2003) examined coping strategies for bullying among 305 Danish children, aged 10-15 years, and found that coping strategies differed for type of bullying. 'Seeking social support' (e.g. asking help) was favoured more in response

to attacks on property, compared with verbal bullying, social exclusion and rumour spreading. 'Distancing' (e.g. making believe nothing happened) was favoured less in response to attacks on property, than to verbal and physical bullying and rumour spreading.

Age-related differences in the use of coping strategies have been reported: Smith, Shu and Madsen (2001) examined coping strategies among 2000 pupils aged 10 to 14 years in England. They found that younger victims more often reported crying or running away, and older victims more often reported ignoring the bullies. Also, 10-11 year old pupils tended to more report 'telling aggressors to stop' than 12-14 year old pupils.

Gender differences in the use of coping strategies were also found: boys more than girls tend to report fighting back, or revenge and girls more than boys tend to report crying or asking friends or adults for help (Burgess, Wojslawowicz, Rubin, Rose-Krasnor, & Booth-LaForce, 2006; Kristensen & Smith, 2003). Also, depending on victim's aggressiveness, coping strategies were used differently: children classified as bully-victims more than non-victims tended to use externalizing and more 'aggressive' coping strategies in response to stressful encounters (e.g. get mad and throw or hit something) (Kristensen & Smith, 2003).

Needs for the present study

Although the studies above provide useful information about children's moral reasoning related to aggressive behaviour, there are some limitations. First, researchers have been unlikely to pay attention to moral reasoning depending on type

of aggression except for Murray-Close et al. (2006) and Goldstein et al. (2002). Furthermore, even these studies examined only three types of aggression: physical, verbal, and relational (social exclusion). There are also other types of aggression in bullying such as instrumental (breaking one's belongings), indirect/relational (i.e. rumour spreading), cyber aggression. Also, the relation between aggression and moral reasoning within the normal population has not been studied extensively (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004). It is necessary to explore how moral reasoning may be associated with different forms of aggression.

Second, studies examining children's moral reasoning about aggressive behaviour have focused on only one age-range, although theories of moral development explain developmental differences in moral reasoning. Except for Helwig et al. (1995), there are no studies investigating age differences of moral reasoning about aggressive behaviours.

Thus, there were no studies about how young children's judgments of bullying behaviours differ from older children's. In Study 1 negative attitudes towards *wang-ta* were commonly shown across upper elementary school (10-12 years), middle school (13-15 years), and workplace employees but not among younger children. Also, Study 2 showed that even at young ages (5-6 years), children have different views about victims of relational aggression compared to other types. Therefore, it is of interest to examine whether young children judge aggressive behaviours differently from older children. If they do, how do they differ?; and how can any different views on bullying-like behaviours be related to developmental and cultural aspects?

For this reason, this study focused on moral reasoning of children at 6 and 11 years. The age of six years may be seen as a starting point for bullying-like behaviours (as indicated by Study 2) while the age around 11 years is the developmental period in which bullying-behaviours most commonly happen and in which negative attitudes towards victims are shown (as indicated by Study 1). The findings of the study may show developmental differences in bullying-like behaviours or at least developmental differences in perceptions of bullying-like behaviours.

Third, the studies focused on intentional aggressive behaviour and there are no studies which studied moral reasoning about ambiguous situations in which the perpetrator's intention is unclear. Children's judgment on ambiguous provocation may be important for an individual to interpret an episode as bullying or not since bullying is defined in terms of 'intentional harm-doing'. For example, children may judge intentional behaviour more wrong than accidental or ambiguous behaviour. It is not clear whether children judge aggressive behaviour as wrong even though no situational information (e.g. facial expression, subtitle, perpetrator's intention etc.) is provided.

In this study, moral reasoning was considered in relation to four aspects: type of aggression, age, gender and experience of the aggressive behaviour. Moral reasoning in this study involved four elements: moral judgment (right or wrong), reason for the judgment (why right/wrong), attributional responsibility and harmfulness. Coping strategies of the aggressive behaviour were also investigated in terms of the four elements: type of aggression, age, gender and experience of the behaviour.

Aims

The aims of this study are as follows:

- 1) Examining moral reasoning (wrongness, reason for judgment, attributional responsibility, and harmfulness) and coping strategies by type of aggression,
- 2) Examining age and gender related differences in moral reasoning (wrongness, reason for judgment, attributional responsibility, harmfulness) and coping strategies,
- 3) Investigating relations between experience of aggressive behaviour (as victim and as aggressor) and moral reasoning (wrongness, reason for judgment, attributional responsibility, and harmfulness) and coping strategies.
- 4) Evaluating whether moral judgment (i.e. wrongness) is influenced by the reason for judgment, attributional responsibility, harmfulness and experience of aggressive behaviours.

Method

Participants

Two elementary schools in Incheon, South Korea were approached. Teachers in each school were contacted by telephone, given a brief explanation of aims and procedures of the study, and then the author visited the schools. Generally, in elementary school in South Korea, one class consists of around thirty children with same age, mixed gender. The schools were ordinary schools but some classes included two or three children who had learning disabilities. Those children did not participate in this study. Except for those children, all the children in a class were asked to participate and all agreed.

Sixty one children (33 boys, 28 girls) of 1st grade across several classes (class 1: n = 27 class 2: n = 25 and 9 pupils from other classes) and 96 children (55 boys, 43 girls) of 5th grade from three classes (class 3: n = 34; class 4: n = 32; class 5: n = 30) participated.

Pupils of one class (class 5) of 5th grade are from one school, and all other pupils were from the other school. The schools were located close to each other and matched in their socio-economic status, lower–middle class. 13.1% (n = 8) of 1st grade and 57.3% (n = 55) of 5th grade pupils had a mobile phone.

Measures

Eight cartoons in which different types of aggressive behaviours are described were presented: verbal, physical individual, social exclusion, rumour spreading, physical

group, breaking one's belongings, and two types of cyber aggression (sending a nasty text via mobile and a nasty message/email via computer) (*see* Appendix C-1)

Procedure

For each cartoon, children were asked 7 questions about it: four questions on moral reasoning (question 1, 2, 3, 4) one on coping strategy (question 5), and two on experience of that type of aggressive behaviour as a victim (question 6), and as an aggressor (question 7).

Four questions were closed and three questions were open-ended. A 4-point likert scale (see below) was presented for closed questions. For younger children, researcher read out the likert scale to help their understanding, although all the children were able to read it. The questions were as follows.

Question 1. How do you think about this? (moral judgment) (ok - not sure-a bit wrong-very wrong)

Question 2. Why do you think that? (open-ended; reason for judgment)

Question 3. Why do you think this happened? (open-ended; attributional responsibility)

Question 4. Would it hurt the child? (harmfulness) (no, it wouldn't – not sure – a bit hurt –very hurt)

Question 5. What could the child do so that it doesn't happen again? (open-ended; coping strategy)

Question 6. Do you have an experience like this child (pointing to the victim)? (victim experience) (no - a bit- often- very often)

Question 7. Do you have an experience like that child (pointing to the aggressor)?
(aggressor experience) (no - a bit- often- very often)

Pilot work

Before main data gathering, pilot work was conducted to explore whether interview questions and scales were appropriate particularly for young children. This was done with 13 children who were not involved in the main study. Eleven children of 7 years old and two children of 11 years old were interviewed using different likert scales and order of cartoons and order of questions. Six children aged 7 years were asked using 4-point likert (e.g. ok-not sure-a bit wrong-very wrong) scale and four children of the same age were asked using 5-point likert scale (e.g. ok-not sure-a bit wrong-very wrong-very very wrong) for wrongness and harmfulness. Two older children were asked using 4-point likert scale only because it was assumed that if younger children understood interview questions and chose appropriate answers, older children would have no problem to answer such questions.

The difference between 4 point and 5 point scale was small. Children always chose 'most wrong' answer and they were unlikely to care about relative level of wrongness. Furthermore, 5-point likert scale sometimes made them confused. Thus, a 4 point scale was chosen for the final version due to its clarity for the younger group.

Also, the cartoons were shown in random order for the 13 children. The order of cartoon sometimes influenced the decision of wrongness. Some children tended to change their answer on wrongness depending on order of two types of physical aggression. For example, a child who had been shown physical individual aggression

prior to physical group aggression sometimes tended to change answer, from 'very wrong' to 'a bit wrong' on physical individual cartoon, when considering the relative wrongness between physical group and physical individual aggression. Thus, to reduce order effect, it was decided to show all figure cartoons to the child before beginning the interview questions. Also, this was helpful in reminding a child of the type of behaviours which might have happened in the child's environment. None of the interview questions proved difficult for children to answer.

The order of two questions which ask about aggressor experience and victim experience was explored. There were two types of order of questions: one was to ask questions from 1 to 5 in each cartoon and then ask questions 6 and 7 later for each cartoon, the other was to ask all 7 questions at once for each cartoon. The former seemed to work better because if a child was asked for their experience following other questions, a child seemed to spend a slightly longer time to decide moral judgment (question 1) for the next cartoon. The child seemed to consider about the relation between the wrongness they reported and aggressor experience they had had. Also, children might have felt that they were being blamed for the behaviour. Therefore, the questions about experience were asked when all other questions about all cartoons were completed.

Main work

Each child was individually interviewed in a quiet room in their school. The child was first presented with the series of all 8 figure cartoons before answering any questions. Questions 1 to 5 were asked for each cartoon, and then a child was shown again the cartoons one by one and asked about experience of the behaviour (questions

6, 7) for each in turn.

Ethical Issues

Consent was obtained from the class teachers involved. In general, this study asked participants' general ideas about moral judgment on several aggressive behaviours. It did not ask any information about participants themselves except for their age and gender; and there are two questions asking about experience of the situation in the cartoons. Although negative consequences have been very rare in previous studies, the cartoons used in this study might have reminded some participants of their negative experiences related to bullying. If a child did not want to say any more, (s)he was not asked anymore and could stop at anytime. Should any child be particularly distressed, the author had in place an arrangement (agreed with each school) of offering to take them to a teacher or counselor for further support (e.g. phone number and web-sites of help-lines). However, this did not happen.

Confidentiality of the children participating in this study was assured by the author to teachers, stating that any publications which might arise from the research would not identify any of those involved. Also, each child was assured of the confidentiality of their answers: "I won't tell anyone what you say". This study was given approval by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Goldsmiths College.

Coding

Closed questions

Responses for wrongness (Question 1: How to you think about this?)

Responses of wrongness were coded on 4-point scales ranging from 1 to 4: 1 (OK), 2 (not sure), 3 (a bit wrong), 4 (very wrong).

Responses of harmfulness (Question 4: Would it hurt the child?)

Responses of harmfulness were coded on 4 - point scales ranging from 1 to 4: 1 (No, it wouldn't hurt), 2 (not sure), 3 (a bit hurt), 4 (very hurt)

Responses of victim and aggressor experiences (Questions 6 and 7: Do you have an experience like this child?)

Responses of victim and aggressor experience were coded on 4 - point scales ranging from 1 to 4 : 1 (No) , 2 (a bit), 3 (often), 4 (very often)

Open-ended questions

Responses for reason for judgment (Question 2), attributional responsibility (Question 3) and coping strategies (Question 4) were analyzed using content analysis. Categories developed from the responses, some categories were similar to previous studies and others are newly established. Initial categories were developed by the author and discussed with an independent researcher and then those were discussed with the first supervisor (Prof. Peter K Smith). If some disagreements of categories were found between the author and supervisor, the categories were modified by the author and again discussed with the independent researcher. This procedure was repeated until the most effective and appropriate categories were developed; it means

that categories are exclusive of each other, and all responses belong to one of the categories. For each open-ended question, responses were coded binomially, with a score of 1 indicating that the category was used and a score of 0 indicating that the category was not used.

Responses of reason for judgment (Question 2: Why do you think that?)

Table 6.1 shows the categories decided on for answers for reason for judgment. 'Welfare', 'fairness', 'obligation', 'authority and punishment avoidance', and 'prudential reasons' were mainly similar to those used in Davidson, Turiel, and Black's (1983) study and 'peer relationships', 'intention', and 'dismiss' were newly established for the responses that did not fit into these categories.

Responses of attributional responsibility (Question 3: "Why do you think this had happened?)

Table 6.2 shows the categories for attributional responsibility. The categories were mainly similar to those used in Smith et al.'s (2004) study. 'Situational factor' and 'disliking a child' were newly established from the answers.

Responses of coping strategies (Question 5: "What could the child (victim) do so that it doesn't happen again?)

Categories of coping strategies are displayed in Table 6.3. Categories of 'tell the aggressor to stop' 'fight back', 'seek help' are adapted from Smith et al.'s (2004) study and other categories were newly developed for this study

Table 6.1. Categories for reason for judgment (Question 2: Why do you think that?)

Categories	Defining categories
1. Welfare	Appeals to victim's physical, psychological harm, injury, loss, or negative affect ("The child got hurt").
2. Fairness	Appeals to maintaining a balance of rights between persons ("this is unfair because, the child can't defend himself if several children hit him /her").
3. Obligation	References to keep rules or prohibition and, or the act is bad itself ("We should not break other' property" "We should be nice to friends" "Hitting is bad/wrong").
4. Authority and punishment avoidance	Appeals to the approval of specific authority and punishment of other persons toward the actor ("My mum said this is bad" "The child would get arrested by policeman").
5. Peer relationships	Affect peer relationships between children ("Other classmates will get to know about the rumour")
6. Prudential reasons	Affect the actor's personal health, safety, or comfort ("If the child says bad words, he will get used to it" "the child will get a bad habit")
7. Intention	Intention of act decides its wrongness ("It is OK if the child broke the other's pencil by mistake").
8. Dismiss	Regard it as not serious or important and easy to solve ("It's OK, you can buy one later").
9. Don't know	"I don't know" or children did not answer.

Table 6.2. Categories for attributional responsibility (Question 3: “Why do you think this had happened?”)

	Categories	Defining categories
Aggressor’s fault	1. No reason	For fun, boredom, wanting to annoy others
	2. Characteristic problem	Venting one’s anger, obtaining other’s attention
	3. Practical reasons	Obtaining resource (“The child is extorting money”, “The child is jealous of the other’s goods)
Victim’s fault	4. Provocative victim	Victim provoked first
	5. Unprovocative victim	Caused by victim’s oddness (“The child is ugly, and odd”), characteristic problem (“The child is selfish, not kind”), competence (“The child is bad at the play”), <i>wang-ta</i> (“The child is <i>wang-ta</i> ”)
Situational	6. Situational factor	Attributed situational factor, neither to bully nor to victim (“There is no room”, “There would be misunderstanding among these children”)
Other	7. Disliking victim	Attributed to disliking the child (victim)
	8. Don’t know	Child did not answer or don’t know answer (“I don’t know)

Table 6.3. Categories for coping strategies (Question 5: “What could the child (victim) do so that it doesn’t happen again?”)

-
1. Tell the aggressor to stop: tell the aggressor assertively to stop the behaviour (“The child would tell the other not to do it”, “The child may want to solve by conversation with this child”).
 2. Fight back: stand up physically, or give back the same behaviour (“The child would get it back in the same way”).
 3. Seek help: tell about the event to someone and ask help from other people (adults, friends, and the police) (“The child would tell to his/her teacher”).
 4. Passive reactions: endure, ignore, avoidance (e.g. pretend nothing happened, run away, turning off mobile or computer) (“The child may ignore this”).
 5. Change oneself: change one’s behaviours, try to be nice and friendly, practicing play or activities to perform it better (“The child should try to be nicer to his/her friends”).
 6. Alternative strategies: playing with other children or oneself, change mobile number, doing exercise to make oneself strong (“The child can play with other children”).
 7. Correcting one’s fault: when victim provoked the aggressor, the victim apologizes and don’t attack other children first (“The child should apologize first other child”).
 8. Aggressor’s view: aggressor should apologize. (“The child (aggressor) should apologize”).
 9. Bystander’s view: other children should help the victim (“Other children should help him/her”).
 10. Playing in a friendly way with each other (“These children (both aggressor and victim) should be nice each other).
 11. Don’t know.
-

Reliability

10 percent of responses for each open-ended question were randomly selected and given to the other researcher to code, independently. Very high reliabilities were shown: Cohen's Kappa was calculated. $k = .949$, $p < .001$ for Question 2 (reason for judgment), $k = .959$, $p < .001$ for Question 3 (attributional responsibility), and $k = 1.00$ (perfect agreement), $p < .001$ for Question 5 (coping strategy).

RESULTS

Children's moral reasoning across 8 types of aggression

The first aim was to examine differences in moral reasoning and coping strategies by type of aggression. Moral reasoning was examined in terms of four variables: wrongness (judgment), reason for judgment, attributional responsibility, and harmfulness.

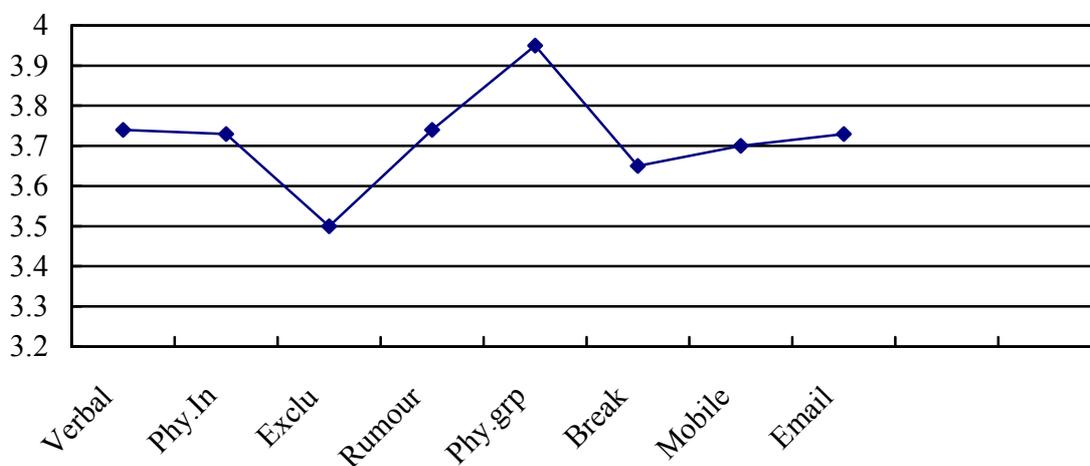
Wrongness

To examine the children's judgment of the wrongness by type of aggression, one factor ANOVA was performed by type of aggression as a within factor. The results showed a significant main effect for wrongness by type of aggression, $F(6.13, 955.94) = 10.08, p < .001$ with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon = .875$)¹. Figure 6.1 shows mean scores for wrongness across the 8 types of aggression.

Pairwise comparison showed that social exclusion was considered significantly less wrong ($M = 3.50, SD = .66$) than the five other types of aggressive behaviours (verbal aggression, physical individual aggression, rumour spreading, physical group, email aggression), $p < .05$, but was not different from breaking belongings and mobile aggression. In contrast, physical group aggression ($M = 3.95, SD = .20$) was reported significantly more wrong compared to all other 7 types of aggression ($p < .001$).

¹This study used Huynh-Feldt because since sphericity assumption was violated in Mauchly's test ($p < .05$), which is one of basic assumption for conducting repeated ANOVA. Results were reported using this correction; adjusted degrees of freedom were used (Field, 2005). This correction was made for analyses related to aim1 and aim 2.

Figure 6.1. Mean scores for wrongness by type of aggression



Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email

Reason for judgment

The children generally used ‘welfare’ and ‘obligation’ most commonly as reasons for their judgment. Three categories, ‘peer relationship’ ‘prudential reasons’, and ‘dismiss’ were very rarely mentioned in all types of aggression. Therefore, six categories (‘welfare’, ‘fairness’, ‘obligation’, ‘authority and punishment avoidance’, ‘intention’, ‘don’t know’) were used for analysis (Table 6.4) (for percentage and frequencies of all nine categories for reason for judgment, see in Appendix C-2).

Generally, ‘welfare’ and ‘obligation’ were most commonly used to explain wrongness across all types of aggressive behaviour. ‘Don’t know’ was also common especially in relational aggression (exclusion, rumour spreading) and cyber aggression (mobile,

email aggression). ‘Fairness’ was only sometimes used.

Table 6.4. Percentage of reason for judgment by type of aggression

	Welfare	Fairness	Obligation	Authority	Intention	Don't know	Total
Verbal	38.9	0.6	36.9	2.5	0.6	17.8	97.3
Phy.In	26.1	1.3	44.6	1.3	1.9	20.4	95.6
Exclu	14.0	15.3	41.4	5.7	0.0	21.0	97.4
Rumour	29.9	4.5	27.4	0.6	1.3	29.3	93.0
Phy.grp	14.6	49.7	21.7	0.6	0.6	11.5	93.0
Break	19.7	3.2	46.5	1.9	8.3	15.3	94.9
Mobile	27.4	3.2	28.0	3.8	3.8	28.7	94.9
Email	28.7	6.4	20.4	3.2	1.3	33.1	93.0

Authority: authority and punishment avoidance

Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

When examining differences of the proportions among all 8 types of aggression, Cochran’s Q test was conducted for each category, and then further McNemar tests were conducted for each possible pair of aggression. The overall results which show the values of chi-square and significance level by McNemar tests are summarized within tables in Appendix C-3. Only some important findings are described here.

Cochran’s Q test showed that there were significant differences among the 8 types of aggression for the frequency of ‘welfare’, $\chi^2(7) = 52.86, p < .001$, ‘fairness’ $\chi^2(7) = 313.90, p < .001$, ‘authority and punishment avoidance’ $\chi^2(7) = 14.30, p < .001$,

‘obligation’ $\chi^2(7) = 63.57, p < .001$, ‘intention’ $\chi^2(7) = 37.14, p < .001$, ‘don’t know’ $\chi^2(7) = 46.58, p < .001$.

‘Welfare’ was most commonly used to explain wrongness of verbal aggression and least used for wrongness of social exclusion and physical group aggression. It was used significantly more in verbal aggression than all other types of aggression except for rumour spreading.

‘Fairness’ was most commonly used to explain wrongness of physical group aggression followed by social exclusion and rarely used for other types of aggression. Further tests showed that it was significantly used more in physical group aggression than all other 7 types of aggression.

‘Obligation’ was highly used to explain wrongness of physical individual aggression, social exclusion and breaking belongings. Further analysis showed that it was used significantly more in physical individual aggression and social exclusion than in physical group aggression, mobile aggression, and email aggression. It was used significantly more in breaking belonging than all other 7 types of aggression.

‘Authority and punishment avoidance’ was rarely used to explain wrongness of judgment across all types of aggression; due to low cell frequencies, further analysis was not available.

‘Intention’ was not usually reported except for breaking belongings; 7 types of aggression except for breaking belongings had too low cell frequencies to conduct

further analysis.

‘Don’t know’ was mostly used to explain wrongness of email aggression. Further analysis showed that it was used significantly more in email aggression than in all other types of aggression except for rumour spreading and mobile aggression.

Attributional responsibility

The percentage of each category is shown in Table 6.5. ‘No reason’, ‘disliking victim’, and ‘provocative victim’ were most commonly used to explain why aggressive behaviour had happened. Interestingly, ‘no reason’ was rarely reported in social exclusion. Instead, ‘unprovocative victim’ explained most commonly the cause of social exclusion (for frequency of each category for attributional responsibility, *see* Appendix C-4).

Cochran’s Q test among all 8 types of aggression was conducted for each category except for ‘practical reasons’ due to its low frequency. Except for ‘disliking victim’ and ‘don’t know’, other five categories showed significant differences among the 8 types of aggression: ‘No reason’ $x^2(7) = 99.32, p < .001$, ‘personality problem’, $x^2(7) = 34.29, p < .001$, ‘provocative victim’ $x^2(7) = 26.04, p < .001$, ‘unprovocative victim’ $x^2(7) = 152.05, p < .001$, ‘situational factor’ $x^2(7) = 23.73, p < .001$. Further analysis was conducted using McNemar test for attributional responsibility (the results for each pair of aggression, *see* Appendix C-5).

Table 6.5. Percentage of attributional responsibility by type of aggression

%	No reason	Personality problem	Practical reason	Prv ¹	Upv ¹	Situation	Disliking victim	Don't know	Total
Verbal	12.7	12.1	0	17.2	1.9	7.6	18.5	29.9	99.9
Phy.In	22.9	6.4	0	22.3	4.5	10.2	10.8	22.9	100
Exclu	3.2	0.6	0	11.5	28.7	13.4	21.7	21.0	100
Rumour	17.2	7.0	0	16.6	9.6	10.8	14.6	24.2	100
Phy.grp	17.8	0.6	3.8	27.4	8.3	4.5	12.7	24.8	99.9
Break	19.1	9.6	4.5	17.2	2.5	5.1	13.4	28.7	99.4
Mobile	39.5	3.8	0.6	13.4	0	4.5	16.6	21.7	100
Email	32.5	5.7	0.6	14.6	1.3	2.5	20.4	22.3	99.9

¹ Prv: Provocative victim; Upv: Uprovocative victim

Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

‘No reason’ was mostly used to explain the cause of cyber aggression (i.e. mobile, email); it was used significantly more in mobile aggression, and email aggression than six other types of aggression. It was least used to explain the wrongness of social exclusion: it was used significantly less in social exclusion than all other types of aggression except for verbal aggression.

‘Personality problem’ was not available for further analysis due to low frequencies.

‘Provocative victim’ was attributed commonly to physical individual and physical group aggression; it was used significantly more in physical group aggression than in all other types of aggression except for physical individual aggression.

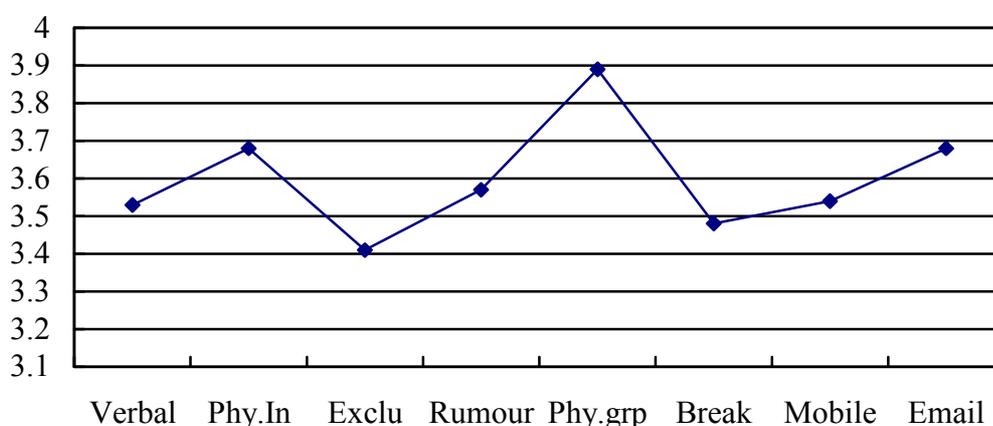
‘Unprovocative victim’ was most frequently used to explain wrongness of social exclusion, also used significantly more in social exclusion than in all 7 other types of aggression.

‘Situational factor’ was commonly used in social exclusion but a significant difference was found only between social exclusion and breaking belongings.

Harmfulness

There was a significant main effect for harmfulness by type of aggression: $F(6.34, 994.55) = 8.79, p < .001$ with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon = .911$). Figure 6.2 shows mean scores for harmfulness by type of aggression.

Figure 6.2. Mean scores for harmfulness by type of aggression



Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by Mobile, Email: sending a nasty Email.

Pairwise comparison showed that social exclusion was considered significantly less harmful ($M = 3.41, SD = .83$) than physical individual, physical group and email aggression. Physical group ($M = 3.89, SD = .35$) was significantly more harmful at $p < .05$ level compared to all 7 other types of aggression.

Coping strategies

Coping strategies which were frequently reported by children are shown in Table 6.6 by type of aggression. Four categories, ‘correcting one’s fault’, ‘aggressor’s apologies’, ‘bystander help’, and ‘playing in a friendly way each other’ were seldom mentioned. Thus, analysis was conducted excluding those categories (for percentage and frequency of all categories for coping strategies, *see* Appendix C-6).

Table 6.6. Percentage of coping strategies by type of aggression

	Tell aggressor stop	Fight back	Seek help	Passive reaction	Change oneself	Alternati ve	Don’t know	Total
Verbal	48.4	7	19.7	2.5	1.9	0.0	14.0	93.5
Phy.In	36.9	14.6	24.2	1.3	2.5	1.3	14.0	94.8
Exclu	18.5	2.5	4.5	0.6	21.7	21	22.3	91.1
Rumour	36.3	8.9	8.3	0.0	3.8	2.5	34.4	93.2
Phy.grp	18.5	8.3	36.9	4.5	3.2	0.6	19.1	91.1
Break	49.0	10.8	10.8	0.0	1.9	3.2	17.2	92.9
Mobile	26.8	5.7	21	19.1	1.9	1.9	19.1	95.5
Email	32.5	6.4	18.5	15.3	1.9	1.3	19.7	96.2

Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

Generally, ‘tell the aggressor to stop’ was a common coping strategy across 7 types of aggression (except for social exclusion), and ‘seek help’ and ‘fight back’ followed it. ‘Seek help’ was common in physical individual aggression and physical group

aggression. 'Passive reaction' was commonly reported in cyber aggression (i.e. mobile, email aggression). 'Change oneself' and 'alternative strategies' were more common in social exclusion. 'Don't know' was common in relational aggression (social exclusion, rumour spreading).

Cochran's Q test among all 8 types of aggression was conducted for each category and all showed significant differences: 'tell the aggressor stop' $x^2(7) = 87.15, p < .001$, 'fight back' $x^2(7) = 25.76, p < .001$, 'seek help', $x^2(7) = 98.08, p < .001$, 'passive reaction' $x^2(7) = 125.64, p < .001$, 'change oneself' $x^2(7) = 116.32, p < .001$, 'alternative' $x^2(7) = 146.30, p < .001$, 'don't know' $x^2(7) = 46.12, p < .001$.

Further analysis was conducted by McNemar test; significance and chi square for each possible pair among the 8 types of aggression are shown in Appendix C-7 by category. Here, only the important findings are described.

'Tell the aggressor stop' was most commonly used in verbal aggression and breaking belongings, in which it was used significantly more than all 6 other types of aggression.

'Fight back' was not available for further analysis due to lack of cell frequencies.

'Seek help' was used significantly more in physical group than all 7 other types of aggression.

'Passive reactions' was used significantly more in mobile than all 7 other types of

aggression.

‘Change oneself’ was used significantly more in social exclusion than all 7 other types of aggression.

‘Alternative’ was used significantly more in social exclusion than all 7 other types of aggression.

‘Don’t know’ was used significantly more in rumour spreading than all 7 other types of aggression.

Grade and gender differences of moral reasoning

The second aim was to evaluate grade and gender differences in moral reasoning. To examine whether there were grade and gender differences in the children’s judgment of the wrongness and harmfulness by type of aggression, 2 (grade) x 2 (gender) x 8 (type of aggression) mixed ANOVAs were conducted with type of aggression as the repeated measure, separately for wrongness and harmfulness.

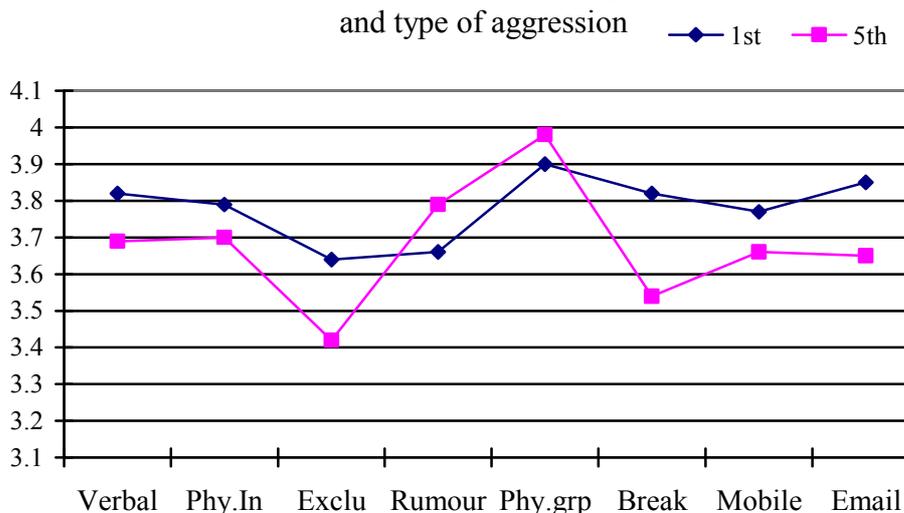
(a) Grade

Wrongness

Figure 6.3 indicates mean scores for wrongness by grade and type of aggression. There was a significant main effect of grade, $F(1, 153) = 5.48, p < .05$. Children in 1st grade ($M = 3.78, SE = .035$) thought aggressive behaviours significantly more wrong than children in 5th grade ($M = 3.68, SE = .028$).

A significant interaction was found between type of aggression and grade, $F(6.15, 940.65) = 3.07, p < .05$ with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon = .88$). Further analysis showed significant grade differences in three types of aggression: social exclusion ($t(155) = 2.09, p < .05$), breaking belongings ($t(154) = 3.29, p < .05$), and email ($t(153) = 2.68, p < .05$), but not in the other five types of aggression (verbal, physical individual, physical group, rumour spreading, and mobile). Two types of aggression, rumour spreading and physical group were thought more wrong by older pupils than younger pupils, although these differences were not significant.

Figure 6.3. Mean scores for wrongness by grade and type of aggression



Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email

Reason for Judgment

Table 6.7 shows the percentage of children using a category by grade and type of aggression, highlighting any significant gender differences obtained using chi square analysis. Older children were more likely than younger children to explain the aggressive behaviours in term of victim's welfare whereas younger children were more likely than older children to explain their judgment of wrongness in terms of obligation.

Chi square showed significant differences between younger and older pupils on 'welfare' in five types of aggression: verbal ($\chi^2(1) = 35.36, p < .001$), physical individual ($\chi^2(1) = 4.87, p < .05$), rumour spreading ($\chi^2(1) = 10.96, p < .001$), mobile ($\chi^2(1) = 10.22, p < .01$), and email ($\chi^2(1) = 14.41, p < .001$), but not physical group, breaking belongings and social exclusion.

'Fairness' was significant for social exclusion ($\chi^2(1) = 3.87, p < .05$) and physical group aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 11.40, p < .05$): older children were more likely than younger children to think of wrongness in these two types of aggression in terms of unfairness.

Perpetrator's 'intention' in older pupils was at much higher frequency than in younger children for breaking belongings ($\chi^2(1) = 5.79, p < .05$):

Table 6.7. Percentage of children on reason for judgment by grade and type of aggression

		Welfare	Fairness	Obligation	Authority ¹	Intention	Don't know	Total
Verbal	1 st	9.8 **	0	54.1 **	4.9	0	29.7 *	98.5
	5 th	57.3	1	26	1	1	11.5	97.5
Phy.In	1 st	16.4 *	0	54.1	1.6	0	26.2	98.3
	5 th	32.3	2	38.5	1.0	3	16.7	93.5
Exclu	1 st	11.5	8.2 *	49.2	1.6	0	27.9	98.4
	5 th	15.6	19.8	36.5	8.3	0	16.7	96.9
Rumour	1 st	14.8 *	0	37.7 *	0	1.6	42.6 *	96.7
	5 th	39.6	7.3	20.8	1	1	20.8	90.5
Phy.grp	1 st	11.5	32.8*	31.1 *	0	1.6	23.0 *	100
	5 th	16.7	60.4	15.6	1	0	4.2	97.9
Break	1 st	13.1	0	50.8	4.9	1.6 *	24.6 *	95
	5 th	24	5.2	43.8	0	12.5	9.4	94.9
Mobile	1 st	13.1 *	0	39.3 *	6.6	0	39.3 *	98.3
	5 th	36.5	5.2	20.8	2.1	6.3	21.9	92.8
Email	1 st	11.5 **	0	29.5 *	4.9	4.9	49.2	100
	5 th	39.6	11.5	14.6	2.1	2.1	22.9	92.8

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$ ¹Authority: authority and punishment avoidance. Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

Attributional responsibility

Table 6.8 shows percentage of attributional responsibility by grade and type of aggression, with significance of grade level differences by chi square. 'No reason' was significantly higher in older pupils than younger pupils across 6 types of aggression: verbal ($\chi^2(1) = 5.49, p < .05$), physical individual ($\chi^2(1) = 5.44, p < .05$), physical group ($\chi^2(1) = 14.42, p < .001$), breaking belongings ($\chi^2(1) = 7.68, p < .01$), mobile ($\chi^2(1) = 19.22, p < .001$), and email ($\chi^2(1) = 11.78, p < .01$); but not for social exclusion and rumour spreading. Especially cyber aggression (mobile, email) showed the biggest grade differences.

The grade difference for the 'unprovocative victim' category was significant only for social exclusion: older pupils were more likely than younger pupils to think unprovocative victim caused the social exclusion ($\chi^2(1) = 8.71, p < .01$).

Across the 8 types of aggression, 34.4% to 47.5% of younger children did not explain the reason of behaviour ('don't know'); this was much more than for older children (11.5% to 19.8%).

Table 6.8. Percentage of attributional responsibility by grade and type of aggression

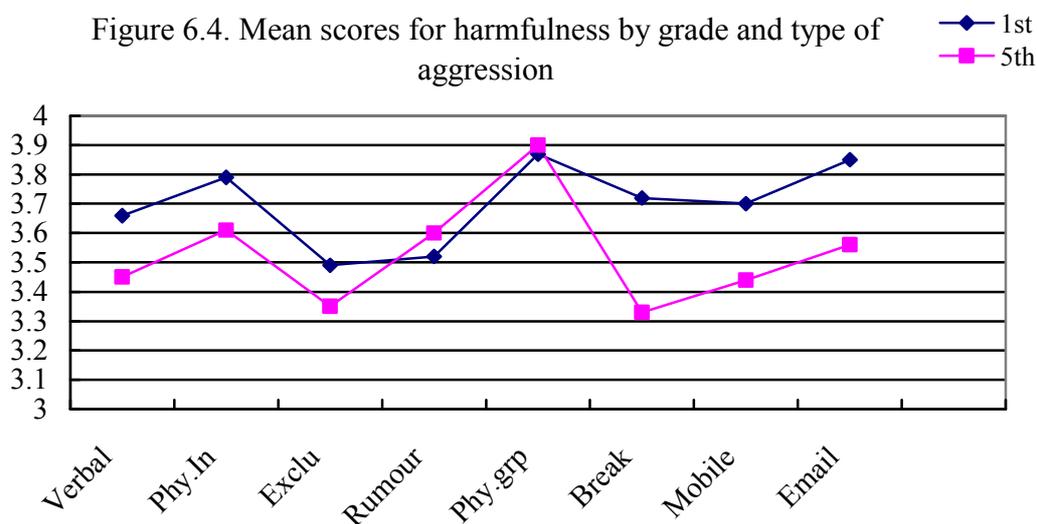
%		No reason	Personal ¹	Practi ¹	Prv ¹	Upv ¹	Situation	Disliking victim	Don't know	Total
Verbal	1 st	4.9*	8.2	0	16.4	0	1.6	21.3	47.5***	99
	5 th	17.7	14.6	0	17.7	3.1	11.5	16.7	18.8	100
Phy.In	1 st	13.1*	1.6	0	26.2	3.3	4.9	14.8	36.1**	100
	5 th	29.2	9.4	0	19.9	5.3	13.5	8.3	14.6	100
Exclu	1 st	1.6	1.6	0	14.8	14.8**	14.8	18	34.4**	100
	5 th	4.2	0	0	9.4	37.9	12.5	24	12.5	100
Rumour	1 st	9.8	3.3	0	16.4	11.5	4.9	11.7	42.6***	100
	5 th	21.9	9.4	0	16.7	8.3	14.6	16.7	12.5	100
Phy.grp	1 st	3.3***	1.6	0	31.1	1.6	4.9	16.4	41.0***	99.9
	5 th	27.1	0	6.3	25	12.5	4.2	10.4	14.6	100
Break	1 st	8.2**	6.6	3.3	21.3	4.9	1.3	9.8	42.6**	98
	5 th	26.0	11.5	5.2	14.6	1.0	3.8	15.6	19.8	97.5
Mobile	1 st	18.0***	6.6	0	19.7	0	4.9	13.1	37.7***	100
	5 th	53.1	2.1	1	9.4	0	4.2	18.8	11.5	100
Email	1 st	16.4**	6.6	0	19.7	1.6	1.6	14.8	39.3	100
	5 th	42.7	5.2	1.0	11.5	1.0	3.1	24	11.5	100

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ ¹Person: personality problem; Practice: Practical reason; Prv: Provocative victim; Upv: Unprovocative victim. Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

Harmfulness

Figure 6.4 shows mean scores for harmfulness by grade and type of aggression. There was a significant main effect of grade, $F(1, 153) = 7.75, p < .05$: younger children ($M = 3.71, SE = .048$) thought aggressive behaviour significantly more harmful than older children ($M = 3.54, SE = .038$). The interaction between grade and type of aggression was significant, $F(6.46, 988.79) = 2.43, p < .05$, with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon = .923$).

Further analysis showed significant grade differences of harmfulness for three types of aggression: breaking belongings, $t(141) = 3.65, p < .001$, mobile aggression, $t(144) = 2.14, p < .05$ and email aggression, $t(155) = 3.42, p < .05$. The differences were not significant for other five types of aggression did not differ: verbal, physical individual, social exclusion, physical group, mobile.



Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email

Coping strategies

Table 6.9 indicates percentage of each category of coping strategies by grade and type of aggression, with its significance of grade level differences.

‘Tell the aggressor to stop’ was more often suggested as a coping strategy by younger pupils than by older pupils, except for rumour spreading and breaking belongings: the differences were significant for physical individual ($\chi^2(1) = 4.81, p < .05$), physical group ($\chi^2(1) = 8.10, p < .01$), and mobile aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 4.42, p < .05$).

There was no significant grade difference found in ‘fight back’.

‘Seek help’ was more often suggested as a coping strategy by older pupils than younger pupils; the differences were significant for 6 types of aggressions, verbal aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 8.40, p < .01$), physical individual ($\chi^2(1) = 20.23, p < .001$), rumour spreading ($\chi^2(1) = 5.80, p < .05$), physical group ($\chi^2(1) = 39.54, p < .001$), mobile aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 12.57, p < .001$), email ($\chi^2(1) = 12.17, p < .001$).

‘Change oneself’ ($\chi^2(1) = 14.405, p < .001$) and ‘alternative strategies’ ($\chi^2(1) = 12.568, p < .001$) were significantly more often suggested by older pupils than younger pupils for social exclusion.

‘Don’t know’ answer was significant for all 8 types of aggression and the answer most common for rumour spreading: both younger pupils and older pupils had difficulty to find a coping strategy for rumour spreading.

Table 6.9. Percentage of coping strategies by grade and by type of aggression

		Tell aggressor	Fight back	Seek help	Passive React ¹	Change oneself	Altern ative ¹	Don't know	Total
Verbal	1 st	52.5	4.9	8.2*	1.6	1.6	0	29.7***	98.5
	5 th	45.8	8.3	27.1	3.1	2.1	0	5.4	91.8
Phy.In	1 st	47.5*	13.1	4.9***	0	0	1.6	24.6**	91.7
	5 th	31.3	15.6	36.5	2.1	4.2	1	7.3	98
Exclu	1 st	24.6	6.6	3.3	0	6.6***	6.6***	42.6***	90.3
	5 th	14.6	0	5.2	1	31.3	30.2	9.4	91.7
Rumour	1 st	31.1	6.6	1.6*	0	0	0	59.3***	92
	5 th	39.6	10.4	12.5	0	6.3	4.2	31	104
Phy.grp	1 st	29.5**	11.5	6.6***	4.9	0	0	34.4***	86.9
	5 th	11.5	6.3	56.3	4.2	5.2	1	9.4	93.9
Break	1 st	44.3	9.8	4.9	0	0	1.6	29.5**	90.1
	5 th	52.1	11.5	14.7	0	3.1	4.2	9.4	95
Mobile	1 st	36.1*	4.9	6.6***	16.4	0	0	29.5**	93.5
	5 th	20.8	6.3	30.2	20.8	3.1	3.1	12.5	96.8
Email	1 st	41	6.6	4.9***	16.4	0	0	29.7*	98.6
	5 th	27.1	6.3	27.1	14.6	3.1	2.1	14.6	94.9

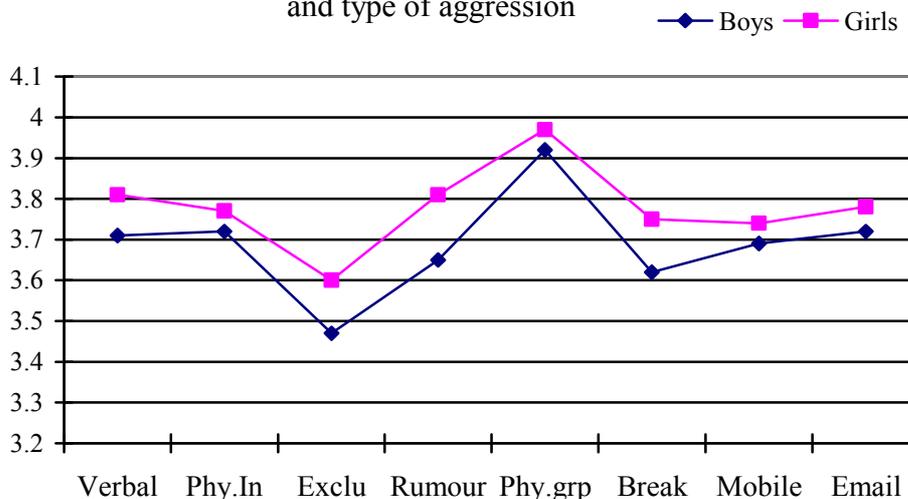
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. ¹Passive react: Passive reactions; Alternative; Alternative strategies. Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

(b) Gender

Wrongness

Figure 6.5 displays mean scores for wrongness by gender and type of aggression. A main effect of gender was found: $F(1, 153) = 4.20, p < .05$. Generally, girls ($M = 3.78, SE = .034$) tended to judge aggressive behaviours more wrong than boys ($M = 3.69, SE = .031$). The biggest gender difference in the means was shown in rumour spreading (girls: $M = 3.81$; boys: $M = 3.65$). The interaction of gender by type of aggression was not significant: $F(6.15, 940.65) = .284, p > .05$ with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon = .88$).

Figure 6.5. Mean scores for wrongness by gender and type of aggression



Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile , Email: sending a nasty email.

Reason for judgment

Gender differences were examined for six categories for reason for judgment (i.e. ‘welfare’, ‘fairness’, ‘obligation’, ‘authority and punishment’, ‘intention’, ‘don’t know’) and significant differences were found only in ‘welfare’ and ‘fairness’. Table 6.10 shows the percentage for ‘welfare’ and ‘fairness’ by gender and by type of aggression.

Table 6.10. Percentage of children for ‘welfare’ and ‘fairness’ by gender and by type of aggression

		Verbal	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Welfare	B	34.9	20.9	12.8	26.7	5.8**	19.8	18.6**	22.1*
	G	43.7	32.4	15.5	33.8	25.4	19.7	38.0	36.6
Fairness	B	0.0	1.2	14.0	3.5	60.5**	4.7	3.5	7.0
	G	1.4	1.4	16.9	5.6	36.6	1.4	2.8	5.6

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, B:Boys; G:girls; Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile , Email: sending a nasty email.

‘Welfare’ as a reason for judgment was given more by girls than boys in all types of aggression except for breaking belongings. The differences were significant for physical group aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 11.87, p < .05$), mobile aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 7.38, p < .05$), and email aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 4.01, p < .05$).

‘Fairness’ was mentioned similar rate between boys and girls except for exclusion and physical group aggression. It was significantly mentioned as reason for judgment

more by boys than girls for physical group aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 8.85, p < .05$).

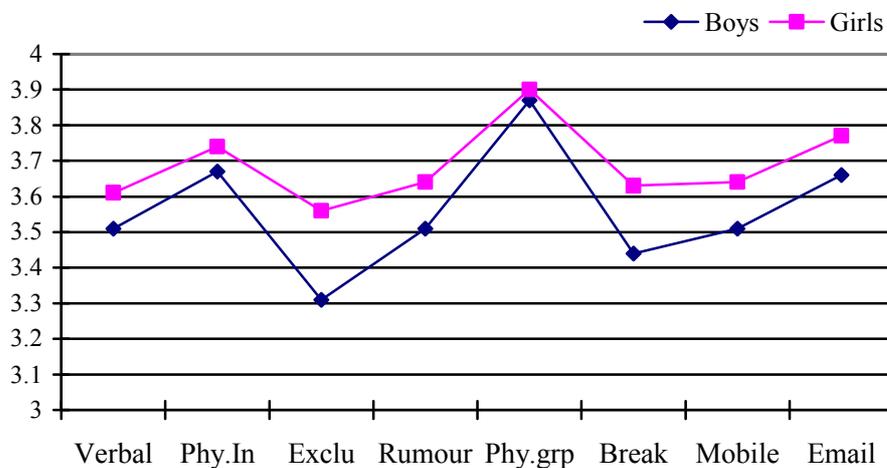
Attributional responsibility

Gender differences were examined for eight categories for attributional responsibility (i.e. 'no reason', 'personality problem', 'practical reason', 'provocative victim', 'unprovocative victim', 'situational factor', 'disliking victim', 'don't know') and significant differences were found only for 'provocative victim' and 'situational factor'. Girls (21.1%) more than boys (9.3 %) attributed email aggression to provocative victim ($\chi^2(1) = 4.35, p < .05$). Boys (15.1%) more than girls (4.2%) attributed physical individual aggression to situational factors ($\chi^2(1) = 5.04, p < .05$).

Harmfulness

Figure 6.6 shows mean scores for harmfulness by gender. The main effect of gender was significant, $F(1, 153) = 4.17, p < .05$. Girls ($M = 3.68, SE = .045$) reported aggressive behaviours as being more harmful than boys ($M = 3.56, SE = .041$). The biggest gender difference was shown for social exclusion (girls: $M = 3.31$; boys: $M = 3.56$). The interaction between gender and type of aggression was not significant, $F(6.46, 988.79) = .46, p > .05$ with Huynh-Feldt correction ($\epsilon = .92$).

Figure 6.6. Mean scores for harmfulness by gender and type of aggression



Coping strategies

Gender differences were examined for six categories of coping strategies (i.e. ‘tell aggressor to stop’, ‘fight back’, ‘seek help’, ‘passive reactions’, ‘change oneself’, ‘alternative strategies’, ‘don’t know’). Significant differences were found only in ‘fight back’ for physical individual aggression. Boys (19.8%) were more likely than girls (8.5%) to report this strategy ($\chi^2(1) = 3.984, p < .05$).

Victim and aggressor experience

The third aim of this study was to examine whether there are relationships between experience of behaviour and moral reasoning. Prior to examining these relationships, it is necessary to report percentages of pupils with victim and aggressor experience.

Victim experience

Table 6.11 shows the percentage of children who had victim experience by gender, grade and type of aggression. Comparing total percentage of victim experience

between younger and older children, older pupils had more received verbal ($\chi^2(1) = 10.01, p < .05$), mobile ($\chi^2(1) = 20.64, p < .001$), and email aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 4.21, p < .001$) than younger pupils. Younger pupils had received more social exclusion ($\chi^2(1) = 4.18, p < .05$) and physical group aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 5.38, p < .05$) than older pupils.

Table 6.11. Percentage (and number) of children who received each type of aggressive behaviour (victim experience) by gender and grade

	1 st grade (61 pupils)			5 th grade (96 pupils)		
	Boys (33)	Girl(28)	Total (61)	Boys (53)	Girls (43)	Total (96)
Verbal	51 (17)	21 (6)	37.7 (23)	70 (37)	56 (24)	63.5 (61)
Phy. In	42 (14)	31 (9)	37.7 (23)	40 (21)	19 (8)	30.2 (29)
Exclusion	46 (15)	57 (16)	40.8 (31)	42 (22)	26 (11)	34.4 (33)
Rumour	32 (11)	29 (8)	31.1 (19)	47 (25)	47 (20)	46.9 (45)
Phy.grp	27 (9)	11 (3)	19.7 (12)	9 (5)	5 (2)	7.3 (7)
Breaking	15 (5)	25 (7)	19.7 (12)	23 (12)	21 (9)	21.9 (21)
Mobile	3 (1)	0	1.6 (1)	25 (13)	40 (17)	31.3 (30)
Email	6 (2)	4 (1)	4.9 (3)	17 (9)	14 (6)	15.6 (15)

Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile , Email: sending a nasty email.

By gender, boys received more aggressive behaviours. Girls had slightly more experience as a victim for breaking belongings, and mobile than boys but these were not significant. Boys received significantly more verbal ($\chi^2(1) = 6.59, p < .05$) and physical individual ($\chi^2(1) = 4.93, p < .05$) than girls.

Aggressor experience

Table 6.12 shows percentage of children who had aggressor experience. Except for social exclusion, physical group aggression and email aggression, older pupils had more aggressor experience than younger pupils: verbal aggression ($\chi^2(1) = 38.24, p < .001$) and rumour spreading ($\chi^2(1) = 10.65, p < .05$) and mobile ($\chi^2(1) = 6.07, p < .05$) were significantly different between younger and older pupils.

Generally, boys had more aggressor experience except for rumour spreading: girls showed more aggressor experience in rumour spreading than boys. However, only verbal, ($\chi^2(1) = 8.26, p < .05$) and physical individual ($\chi^2(1) = 7.71, p < .05$) were significantly different between boys and girls.

Table 6.12. Percentage (and number) of children who used each type of aggressive behaviour (aggressor experience) by gender and grade

	1 st grade (61 pupils)			5 th grade (96 pupils)		
	Boys (33)	Girls(28)	Total (61)	Boys (53)	Girls (43)	Total (96)
Verbal	18 (6)	4 (1)	11.5 (7)	74 (39)	47 (20)	61.5 (59)
Phy. In	30 (10)	7 (2)	19.7 (12)	32 (17)	16 (7)	25.0 (24)
Exclusion	30 (33)	36 (28)	32.8 (61)	34 (18)	12 (5)	24.0 (23)
Rumour	3 (1)	14 (4)	8.2 (5)	26 (14)	35 (15)	30.2 (29)
Phy.grp	9 (3)	11 (3)	9.8 (6)	11 (6)	5 (2)	8.3 (8)
Breaking	12 (4)	18 (5)	14.8 (9)	32 (17)	12 (5)	22.9 (22)
Mobile	0	0	0	11 (6)	7 (3)	9.4 (9)
Email	0	3 (1)	1.6 (1)	2 (1)	0	1.0 (1)

Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile , Email: sending a nasty email.

Relationships between victim and aggressor experience and moral reasoning

Aggressor experience was positively related to victim experience across all 8 types of aggression and all correlations were significant; in other words (*see* Table 6.13), many aggressor-victim children existed in the sample.

Victim and aggressor experience and wrongness

Correlations (Pearson's r) between wrongness and victim and aggressor experiences are shown in Table 6.13. Wrongness was not significantly correlated to any type of victim experience. However, wrongness showed a significant negative correlation to aggressor experience of verbal aggression.

Victim and aggressor experience and reason for judgment

Chi square was conducted by victim experience and each category of reason for judgment. One significant difference was found: Children who had victim experience in physical individual aggression (26.9%) were less likely to report 'obligation' than children who had not (53.3%) ($\chi^2(1) = 9.82, p < .01$).

Chi square was conducted by aggressor experience and each category of reason for judgment. Children who had aggressor experience in verbal aggression (25.8%) were less likely to consider 'obligation' ($\chi^2(1) = 6.12, p < .05$) than children who had not (45.1%). Also, children who had aggressor experience in verbal aggression (48.5%) were more likely to consider 'welfare' ($\chi^2(1) = 4.45, p < .05$) than children who had not (31.9%).

Table 6.13. Correlations among wrongness, harmfulness, victim experience and aggressor experience

		Wrong	Harmful	Aggressor
Verbal	Victim	-.118	-.190**	.513***
	Aggressor	-.207**	-.224**	
Physical individual	Victim	.095	-.046	.401***
	Aggressor	-.116	.138	
Exclusion	Victim	.021	.032	.338***
	Aggressor	.056	.069	
Rumour spreading	Victim	-.019	-.174*	.369***
	Aggressor	-.056	-.262***	
Physical group	Victim	.068	-.039	.238**
	Aggressor	-.132	-.217**	
Breaking belongings	Victim	-.033	-.003	.191**
	Aggressor	-.041	-.018	
Mobile	Victim	.072	.049	.342***
	Aggressor	-.015	.004	
Email	Victim	-.071	-.170**	n.a
	Aggressor	n.a	n.a	

** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

n.a: correlation with aggressor experience in email aggression was not conducted because only one frequency was observed.

Victim and aggressor experience and attributional responsibility

Chi square was conducted by victim experience and each category of attributional responsibility. Children who had victim experience in physical group aggression (47.4%) attributed more 'provocative victim' than children who had not (24.6%) ($\chi^2(1) = 4.10$, $p < .05$). Children who had victim experience in social exclusion (18.8%) tended to attribute more 'provocative victim' than children who had not

(6.5%) ($\chi^2(1) = 5.65, p < .05$). Children who had victim experience in mobile aggression (61.3%) reported 'no reason' more than children who had not (34.1%) ($\chi^2(1) = 7.68, p < .01$).

Chi square was conducted by aggressor experience and each category of reason for judgment. Children who had aggressor experience in social exclusion (23.3%) more commonly attributed the behaviour to 'provocative victim' than children who had not (7%) ($\chi^2(1) = 8.11, p < .01$).

Victim and aggressor experience and harmfulness

Correlations between victim and aggressor experience and harmfulness are shown in Table 6.13. Harmfulness was negatively correlated to victim experience in verbal aggression, rumour spreading, email aggression and negatively correlated to aggressor experience in verbal aggression, rumour spreading, and physical group aggression.

There were strong correlations between aggressor and victim experience, these correlations may have affected the correlation between victim experience and harmfulness. After aggressor experience was partialled out, the correlation between harmfulness and victim was not significant any more in verbal ($r = .09, p > .05$), and rumour spreading ($r = .086, p > .05$).

Victim and aggressor experience and coping strategies

'Seek help' in verbal aggression was more likely to be reported by the children who had aggressor experience (30.3%) than children who had not (12.1%) ($\chi^2(1) = 8.10, p$

< .01). 'Tell the aggressor to stop' was less likely to be reported as a coping strategy for breaking belongings by the children who had victim experience (30.3%) than children who had not (54 %) ($\chi^2(1) = 5.87, p < .05$).

Predictors of moral judgment

The fourth aim was to examine whether moral judgment is influenced by reason for judgment, attributional style, harmfulness, and experience of aggression. To examine this, multiple regressions were conducted. For each type of aggression, wrongness was an outcome variable and reason for judgment, attributional responsibility, harmfulness, experience of victim and experience of aggressor were predictor variables. Table 6.14 shows the results indicating R square, *F*-value, coefficient (β) and standardized coefficient (β^*) by type of aggression.

Categories which were frequently used by participants were chosen as predictors. Categories as predictors from reason for judgment were 'welfare', 'fairness', 'obligation', and 'intention'. 'Welfare' and 'obligation' were included as predictors in all 8 types of aggression due to their high frequencies. 'Fairness' was included due to its high frequency in social exclusion and physical group aggression. 'Welfare' and 'fairness' from reason for judgment were integrated into one predictor (i.e. 'Welfare') due to low rate of fairness across types of aggression except for social exclusion and physical aggression. Furthermore, 'morality' was usually represented by these two concepts ('welfare' and 'fairness') in many studies (Davidson et al., 1983; Kohlberg, 1981; Piaget, 1932; Turiel, 1983). 'Intention' was included as a predictor for wrongness only in breaking belongings due to its high frequency there, whereas in other types of aggression, it showed very low frequencies.

Categories as predictors from attributional responsibility were 'no reason' and 'provocative victim', which showed most commonly in all types of aggression; but in social exclusion 'no reason' was not included due to very low frequency. Also, aggressor experience in email aggression was not available due to its very low frequency.

All regression models were significant and R square explained from 14% to 33% of variance of judgment of wrongness across the 8 types of aggression. Wrongness of the aggressive behaviour was mostly predicted by a category from reason for judgment (i.e. 'WelFair') and harmfulness. Categories from attributional responsibility ('No reason', 'Provocative victim') predicted wrongness only for rumour spreading and email aggression. Aggressor and victim experience did not significantly predict wrongness except for verbal aggression.

The predictor 'WelFair' and harmfulness were significantly contributed to wrongness in all types of aggression. The more wrong, the more 'welfare and fairness' the behaviour was reasoned. Also, the more wrong, the more harmful the behaviour was regarded. 'Intention' in breaking belongings contributed significantly to its wrongness. 'Obligation' contributed significantly to wrongness except for verbal and email aggression.

The more aggressor experience children had, the less they thought the behaviour to be wrong and harmful. However, the association between wrongness and experience of aggressor was significant only for verbal aggression.

Table 6.14. Contributions of reason for judgment (WelFare, obligation, intention), attributional responsibility (no reason, provocative victim) and victim, aggressor, experience to wrongness

	Verbal	Phy.In	Excl	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
R ²	.14	.28	.29	.16	.15	.33	.21	.28
F value	3.40**	8.36***	10.27***	3.98**	3.80 **	8.98***	5.63***	9.74***
WelFair ¹ β(β*)	29.(27)**	.51(.11)***	.49(34)***	.25 (.22)**	.19(.36)**	.25(.18)*	.34(.30)**	.21(.19)*
Obligation β(β*)	.09(.07)	.61(.52)***	.49(37)***	.29(.24)**	.19 (.31)**	.23(.20)*	.39(.32)***	.11(.09)
No reason β(β*)	-.12 (-.08)	.07(.05)	N/A	.39(.24)**	.07(.11)	.02(.01)	.02(.01)	-.20(-.18)*
Prv ¹ β(β*)	-.20(-.019)	-.01(-.004)	-.05(-.02)	.15(.20)*	-.01(.02)	.12(.08)	.05(.03)	.08(.05)
Harm β(β*)	.11(17)*	.23(.25)**	.26(.33)***	.16(.22)**	.14 (.20)**	.26(.32)***	.20(.30)***	.43(.49)***
Vic ¹ β(β*)	.01 (.01)	.01(.02)	-.002(-.001)	-.10(.01)	.05(.11)	-.02(-.02)	.03(.03)	.02(.02)
Ag ¹ β(β*)	-.12(.20)*	-.05(-.05)	.08(.07)	-.02(.02)	-.06(-.09)	.01(.01)	.004(.002)	N/A
Intention β(β*)	N/A ¹	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	-.60(-.29)***	N/A	N/A

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$: Significance values are in boldface. β:coefficient; β*: Standardized coefficient: ¹WeFair: Welfare and Fairness; Prv:Provocative victim;Vic: Victim experience; Ag: Aggressor experience ; N/A: Not Available:

Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email

Discussion

Differences in moral reasoning and coping strategies depending on type of aggression

The first aim of the study was to investigate the differences of moral reasoning and coping strategies for aggressive behaviour depending on type of aggression. The degree of wrongness, reason for judgment, attributional responsibility and harmfulness differed depending on the type of aggression. Also, different coping strategies were shown by type of aggression.

Physical group aggression and social exclusion were contrasted in terms of wrongness: physical group aggression was perceived as being most wrong and social exclusion was least wrong. Other types of aggression, verbal, physical individual, rumour spreading, breaking belongings, mobile, and email aggression did not differ from each other in terms of wrongness.

Children tended to think physical aggression was more wrong than indirect or relational aggression. However, the wrongness of physical individual aggression was similar to many other types of aggression. Responses to the cartoon about physical individual aggression may have been affected by children being asked to attribute wrongness to the cartoon about physical group aggression; children may have considered the relative wrongness between these two types of physical aggression.

The reasons for the judgments were generally explained in terms of other's 'welfare' and 'obligations' and rarely explained by 'authority and punishment avoidance'.

However, ‘authority and punishment avoidance’ was used as a reason for judgment in social exclusion to a degree. Some children who reasoned about the wrongness in terms of punishment avoidance said, ‘if you do *wang-ta* to others, it (the behaviour) returns to you later’. This may imply that social exclusion is an easy form of aggression to do or it is possible for the child who was excluded to do the same back to the aggressor whereas other types of aggression are overt and sometimes require physical strength. Otherwise, it may reflect that social exclusion which can be regarded as *wang-ta* happens easily in the peer group.

‘Fairness’ was one of the common reasons for judgment in social exclusion and physical group aggression, in which imbalance of power exists in terms of number of people: several people were against one person.

For attributional responsibility, children think that aggressive behaviours may happen without a reason, caused by disliking the victim or the victim’s provocation. Interestingly, only social exclusion was attributed to ‘unprovocative victim’ and rarely attributed to ‘no reason’. Children were likely to think that other types of aggressive behaviour may happen without reason or for the perpetrator’s fun in which the aggressor was blamed, whereas social exclusion rarely happens without a reason. Personal characteristics such as incompetence in play, appearance, or selfishness, justified being excluded. This is a similar finding that from Park and Killen’s (2010) study: children view a personality trait as a legitimate basis for peer rejection in terms of making the peer group function well (i.e. if an aggressive or a shy child gets involved in a group, the group does not function well).

Physical harmfulness seemed to be considered in children were judging the wrongness of behaviour as significant correlations between wrongness and harmfulness were shown across all types of aggression. Physical group aggression was perceived as most harmful and social exclusion least harmful. The children seemed to give priority to physical hurt rather than psychological affect: social exclusion was least harmful and physical group aggression was most harmful. This is consistent with Murray-Close et al. (2006).

However, the degree of physical harmfulness was not always the primary reason for deciding the degree of wrongness, because children did not give the justification of damaging the other's 'welfare' to explain the wrongness in physical group aggression (they explained this using 'fairness'). Thus, it is interesting how 'fairness' competes with other's 'welfare', as a criterion for judging the wrongness of the aggressive behaviour. The behaviours which were shown to children in this study were all aggressive behaviours which intrinsically affect and elicit harm to others. Therefore, they might have assumed harmfulness caused by physical group aggression and focused on the inequality inherent in physical group aggression and social exclusion with respect to the different number of people between perpetrator(s) and victim.

Children considered aggressive behaviours as wrong and harmful irrespective of the reason for the behaviour (i.e. whether or not victim's fault), but the degree of wrongness may differ by attributional responsibility. If responsibility is given to the victim, it may be regarded as less wrong than when the responsibility is on the aggressor; although there were few significant associations between wrongness and attributional responsibility.

Also, the importance of intention for making moral judgment differed by type of aggression: intention was an important factor for judging only for breaking belongings.

Children tended to think that 'doing *wang-ta* (social exclusion) is bad but there are always some reasons why a child becomes *wang-ta* (socially excluded)'. Given the finding that social exclusion was attributed differently from other types of aggression, further research needs to investigate the relationships between the causes of *wang-ta* and degree of wrongness.

Children seemed to perceive that cyber aggression is less likely to involve situational factor and more likely to relate to perpetrator's fun. Cyber aggression (mobile, and email) was attributed mostly to 'no reason' and rarely to 'situational reason' which was generally was at a similar rate as for other types of aggression.

'Disliking victim' in attributional responsibility seemed to result from the usual occurrences of conflicts among peers. In this study, it was commonly reported across all types of aggression but more frequencies with verbal aggression, social exclusion and cyber aggression. It may imply that the conflicts were more likely to elicit verbal aggression, social exclusion and cyber aggression.

To cope with aggressive situations, the majority of the children suggested 'tell the aggressor to stop', 'fight back' and 'seek help'. Whereas, for social exclusion they suggested different solutions: 'change oneself' or 'alternative' strategies (i.e. changing a friend). This also reflects a victim blaming style in social exclusion: 'it

happened because of the child (victim)'s behaviour or characteristic, thus the child (victim) should change'. This attitude for social exclusion was further specified by grade related differences.

Grade and gender differences on moral reasoning and coping strategies

The second aim of this study was to examine grade and gender differences in moral reasoning and coping strategies. Children's moral reasoning differed by their grade but was relatively less differentiated by gender. Coping strategies showed both grade and gender related differences.

Grade differences in moral reasoning and coping strategies

Grade differences were shown in moral reasoning (i.e. wrongness, reason for judgment, attributional responsibility, and harmfulness). Older children were more likely than younger children to distinguish wrongness depending on the type of aggression. Younger children tended to think that aggressive behaviours are wrong rather than considering the relative wrongness among them.

Generally, the younger children thought of aggressive behaviour as more wrong than the older children, however, physical group aggression and rumour spreading were seen as more wrong by older pupils than by younger pupils. Though the grade differences in the two types of aggression were not significant this is meaningful because older children showed a much lower level of wrongness than younger children in other types of aggression. Higher ratings of wrongness for rumour spreading in older children may reflect that with increasing age children are more able to consider psychological harm when judging the behaviour. Also, older children

seem to consider equality or fairness of power between aggressor and victim in physical group aggression, which are considered as moral elements.

The more consideration of psychological harm in older children is also found in judgments of harmfulness: exclusion, rumour spreading showed low level of harmfulness in younger children comparing to other types of aggression. It is consistent with Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1981): young children consider more concrete and immediate harm than psychological harm.

For reason for judgment, younger children explained aggressive behaviour more in terms of 'obligation' whereas older children explained it more in terms of other's 'welfare' or 'fairness'. This difference may be explained by the finding that children's perspective changes, from egocentric to the third person's as they grow up (Piaget, 1932): children are more likely to think from other person's view as grow up.

In this study, the category of 'obligation' needs further examination because it is uncertain whether the answers which were categorized into 'obligation' were generated by moral thinking or non-moral thinking. For example, when a child responded, 'this is wrong because we shouldn't do this' or 'this is wrong because doing this behaviour is bad itself', it is not clear whether these comments reflect their heterogeneous or autonomous level in moral development.

These answers may be generated by non-moral thinking, that is, they might have been taught by adults (i.e. hitting is wrong), which reflects their heterogeneous stage (pre-moral). Alternatively, the answers may result from moral thinking (e.g. conscience) in

which children do not change their thinking even though their thinking is against rules from authority. Some previous studies (Damon, 1977; Turiel, 1983; Zelazo et al., 1996) have shown that young children (such as 3 year olds) had a moral concept which is independent from authority of adults and that they were able to distinguish moral and non-moral events. The very low rate of answer for 'authority and punishment avoidance' which shows heteronomous moral stage (pre-moral) also supports this.

Instead, 'obligation' by young children can be explained by their cognitive ability, which allows them to reason and explain the reason for their judgment as concrete as older children do. Younger children are less likely than older children to abstract out harm from moral events and use these concepts of harm to guide their moral judgment.

Killen (2007) suggested that younger children had moral concepts, but decision making depends on how they weigh competing considerations such as group functioning, traditions, customs, and cultural norms. She indicated that as children grow up, the context becomes more salient and the ability to determine when morality should take priority in a given situation becomes more developed.

The lower frequency of 'welfare' or 'fairness' as a reason for wrongness of aggressive behaviour among young children may be because that they were less likely to take other's welfare, or fairness as important personal concerns. Also, the older children seem to be more competent than younger children in specifying why social values or norms should be kept. This does not mean that younger children are not moral but

rather that reflects their understanding of moral concepts is still developing.

With increasing age, children are more likely to regard the perpetrator's intention in aggressive situations. This is consistent with Helwig et al.'s finding (1995). Perpetrator's intention is seen as especially important in instrumental aggression (i.e. breaking other's belonging). In this study, the biggest grade difference in wrongness was shown for breaking belongings: it showed a low level of wrongness by older children but was regarded as very wrong by younger pupils. The cartoon used in this study described an ambiguous situation, in which there were no facial expressions, no captions, and no situational factors which triggered the behaviour. Thus, for older children, it was important to consider the perpetrator's intention to do the behaviour whereas younger children seemed to consider physical loss to the owner of the belongings.

Also, when children were asked about attributional responsibility for an aggressive situation, the answer of 'no reason' was much higher in older children than younger children for all types of aggression. This supports older children's understanding about intentional harm-doing. Older children understand that people can do aggressive behaviour to others without reason, just for fun whereas younger children seemed to think that there would be some reasons for it to happen such as victim's provocation. This may be related to understanding and development of bullying behaviour during middle childhood: older children regard intention more than younger children in defining bullying (Monks & Smith, 2006).

In coping strategies, younger children were more likely to report 'tell the aggressor to stop' to cope with the aggression. This is consistent with Smith et al. (2001). Older children tended to recommend 'seeking help' more than younger children. It implies that older children might have considered repetition of behaviour which comes from their experience. That is, 'tell the aggressor to stop' might not have worked well, so asking for help from another pupil or teacher would have worked more efficiently than talking to the aggressor, to solve the situation.

Gender differences in moral reasoning and coping strategies

Generally, girls were more likely than boys to think of aggressive behaviour as wrong, but the gender differences were not shown for each type of aggression. In the level of wrongness, the difference in rumour spreading was the biggest among all 8 types of aggression, though it was not significant.

Although there were no significant gender differences in the level of wrongness, more girls than boys thought of all 8 types of aggressive behaviours as more harmful; and the biggest difference was shown in social exclusion. Although the difference was not significant, it may imply that girls are more affected than boys by exclusion in the peer group. Further investigation is needed to examine consequences of relational victimisation among girls in relation to boys. This may relate to the differing nature of boys and girls peer-groups, with boys more likely to have larger, more loosely formed friendship groups and girls smaller, more close-knit friendship groups. Therefore, being excluded may be more upsetting to girls than boys.

This study partly confirmed Murray-Close et al.'s (2006) finding: girls regarded aggressive behaviours as more wrong and harmful than boys. However, the moral judgments of relational aggression between boys and girls were not significant in the present study, although they were significant in Murray-Close et al.'s (2006) study.

Girls were generally more likely to report 'welfare' than boys as reason for judgment across 7 types of aggression and they report it at a similar rate to boys for breaking belongings. Also, there were two types of aggression in which 'fairness' was often reported as a reason for judgment: social exclusion, and physical group aggression. It is noteworthy that the wrongness of physical group aggression was explained by 'fairness' among boys and by other's 'welfare' among girls, whereas for wrongness of social exclusion girls and boys showed a similar rate of 'fairness'. Perhaps, both girls and boys consider unfairness or inequality of a situation in which imbalance of power exists, but if physical aggression was involved in the situation, girls tended to consider the other's hurt more than boys; in contrast, boys still focused on the unfairness of the situation.

These findings reflect sex differences in moral reasoning as reported by Gilligan (1982): men typically regard moral conflict in terms of justice orientation, whereas women typically have a care orientation based on a concept of self connected to and interdependent with others. Also, the finding here (i.e. difference of reasons for physical aggression among boys and girls) shows that type of aggression can be an important factor in examining gender differences of reason for judgment about aggressive behaviours. Not all types of aggression were thought in terms of care orientation by girls and justice orientation by boys. Rather, there is a tendency to

consider care or justice orientation but also depending on certain types of aggression.

In relation to attributional responsibility, gender differences were shown in email and physical individual aggression. More girls than boys thought that victim's provocation caused the email aggression. More boys than girls thought physical individual aggression was due to situational factors. This may reflect that physical aggression is more common among boys in peer relationships, than among girls. A similar tendency was also shown in coping strategies. Generally, girls were more likely to report verbal solutions (i.e. 'tell the aggressor to stop') than boys, and boys recommended 'fight back' more than girls (although the difference was significant only in 'fight back' for physical individual aggression).

Experience of aggressive behaviour and moral reasoning

The third aim of the study was to examine whether there were relationships between experience of aggressive behaviour and moral reasoning.

Grade differences in experience of aggressive behaviour

Generally, children had more victim experience than aggressor experience. Many children who had been victimized had also had experience as an aggressor. This indicates that many children who are involved in aggressive behaviour could be considered as aggressor-victims. This is also found in other study (Smetana et al., 1999): the majority of children were observed acting in the role of perpetrator in some situations and victim in other situations.

Both aggressor and victim experience was higher in older children than in younger children. This contrasted with previous findings in bullying studies: self reported victim experience tends to decrease as children get older (Smith et al., 2001). It may be because this study did not restrict the period of doing/receiving the behaviour, thus older children may have had more experience than younger children due to their age. Generally, victim experience was higher than aggressor experience both for younger and older children, and this is more so in younger children. Younger children tended to report themselves as victim rather than aggressor. In older children, the difference between victim and aggressor experience was usually not as large as that for younger children, except for cyber aggression. Older children may be less likely to reveal their victim experience than aggressor experience or not want to admit that they are a victim (Smith et al., 2001).

By type of aggression, older children were most involved in verbal aggression, and rumour spreading and younger children mostly experienced social exclusion. Given the result of attributional responsibility, the high rate of victim and aggressor experience in social exclusion among young children seems to be caused by situational factors (e.g. no room for the person in the play group). Cyber aggressions were unlikely to happen in younger children whereas up to 30% in older children had victim experience for mobile aggression. It reflects that aggression by mobile phone becomes a more common form of aggression among children in middle childhood, and mobile phone ownership increases rapidly from 8-11 years.

Gender differences in experience of aggressive behaviour

Generally, more boys than girls were involved in both role of victim and aggressor. Particularly, physical individual and verbal aggression were more likely to happen among boys than girls. Victim experience in social exclusion and rumour spreading were similar between boys and girls.

However, aggressor experience in rumour spreading was higher in girls than boys. This indicates that relational aggression is more likely to be used by girls (Björkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukiainen, 1992; Salmivalli, & Peets, 2009). Therefore, boys more frequently use all forms of aggression than do girls and when girls do aggress, the preferred mode of aggression is indirect (Salmivalli, & Peets, 2009).

Relationship between experience of aggressive behaviour and moral reasoning and coping strategies

Generally, victim and aggressor experience seem not to influence decisions about the wrongness of the aggressive behaviour. Only one significant difference was found between aggressor experience and wrongness; children with aggressor experience in verbal aggression regarded the behaviour as less wrong than children who had not. Neither aggressive children nor non-aggressive children thought differently about the wrongness of aggressive behaviour.

There was a significant relationship between experience of aggressive behaviour and reason for judgment. For victim experience, children who had victim experience in physical individual aggression were less likely than children who had not, to consider the wrongness in terms of 'obligation'. That is, children who had victim experience

seem to consider other reasons which were more specified than simply thinking such as ‘this is bad’ or ‘we should not do this’.

For aggressor experience, children who had aggressor experience in verbal aggression tended to explain its wrongness in terms of victim’s welfare. It implies that they are more aware than other children of the hurt which is caused to a victimised child. This is consistent with Sutton et al.’s (1999) finding: some bullies had high level of theory of mind (i.e. high perspective-taking ability); they are actually aware of wrongness and harmfulness in certain types of aggression.

In attributional responsibility, children who had victim experience in physical group aggression and social exclusion were more likely to attribute behaviours to victim’s provocation. Children seemed to think that receiving aggressive behaviour which is performed by a group of people rather than an individual implies that there is something wrong with the child. However, for mobile phone aggression, children with victim experience explained that the behaviour happened without reason.

It is interesting that both children who had victim experience and children who had aggressor experience in social exclusion attributed situation to victim’s provocation. Blaming the victim was found as a consistent tendency in explaining social exclusion, regardless of age or gender; and it was attributed even more among children who had aggressor or victim experience. Provocation may result in exclusion, but also the reverse is possible: when children were rejected, they may think of their behaviour or characteristics (e.g. ‘what have I done wrong before?’, ‘is there anything wrong with me?’). This may be linked to a reason of *wang-ta*: some children who experienced

wang-ta may think the reasons why they were rejected and what they have to change. However, for cyber aggression such as mobile phone aggression, children seem to treat the reason for its occurrence differently than from other types of aggression. This may reflect the characteristics of cyber aggression: anonymity and ease of conducting the behaviour (i.e. less worry about repercussions and no risk from face to face confrontation). Children often do not know who the sender is, thus they seemed not to make a link to their own behaviour.

Harmfulness was related to experience of aggressive behaviour; children who had aggressor experience regarded the behaviour as less harmful for some types of aggression (verbal, rumour spreading, physical group) but this was not significant for other types of aggression (physical individual, social exclusion, breaking belongings, mobile aggression)

Summing up the findings about experience of aggressive behaviour in relation to moral reasoning, victim or aggressor experience does not seem to influence level of wrongness but is sometimes related to harmfulness: children with aggressor experience tend to think of the behaviour as less harmful. Children with either victim and aggressor experience are more likely to attribute aggressive behaviour to a provocative victim. However, these findings were inconsistent across types of aggression and shown only in certain types of aggression.

Generally, children's experience of aggressive behaviour is unlikely to be related to type of coping strategies, although two significant differences in type of coping strategies were found in verbal aggression and breaking belongings. Coping strategies

are more related to age and gender issues than to children's experience of aggressive behaviours.

Predicting moral judgment

The fourth aim of this study was to investigate what influences moral judgments. Regardless of type of aggression, the more harmful a scenario was, the more wrong the behaviour was regarded. Also, the more wrong the behaviour, the more is the judgment explained by 'welfare' and 'fairness'. Attributional responsibility was generally not significantly associated to wrongness. However, for rumour spreading, perpetrator's fun ('no reason') or victim's provocation were significantly related to its wrongness. That is, even though the behaviour was caused by victim's provocation, it is seen as wrong and less acceptable than other behaviours. This may be because the victim feels helpless about spreading rumours; there are few things a victim can do defend themselves or cope with it. Also, the high percentage of 'don't know' answers for rumour spreading supports this.

Generally, victim or aggressor experience did not significantly influence to moral judgments. Only verbal aggressor experience negatively contributed to wrongness. Victim experience was not associated with wrongness. This may be because there were many aggressor-victims, which may affect the attitude to their judgment of wrongness.

Limitations

The present study has several limitations which need to be considered in terms of the findings presented.

First, the cartoons used in this study described ambiguous aggressive situations; which is useful for examining children's tendency to interpret the situation, however it may have affected children's judgment in some ways. There were a lot 'don't know' answers from younger children in attributional responsibility: they had difficulty to explain why the behaviours had happened without social cues to specify the situation further. The ambiguity of the situation was necessary to examine attributional responsibility but also made it difficult to clarify its relationship with wrongness.

Second, this study did not examine rule contingency or rule alterability which may be important to clarify the issue of moral or non-moral thinking. That is, whether aggressive behaviour is wrong when there is no rule to prohibit it (rule contingency), or whether the rule can be changed (rule alterability). Although previous studies showed that younger children thought that aggressive behaviour is wrong regardless of the existence of rules or authority, this study could not really examine this. If further research examines rule contingency, the extent of influence of rule contingency could be compared among several types of aggression.

Third, further research needs to examine emotion as perceived by oneself: how would you feel if you were in the situation? Harmfulness of aggressive behaviour in this study was evaluated from the third person's view in the cartoon. It may be different from a view taken as oneself.

Also, this study rarely showed significant relationships between experience of aggressive behaviour and moral reasoning. This may have partly resulted from measurement issues: children may be less likely to report themselves as an aggressor. Teacher or peer report for aggressive behaviour may partly overcome this limitation. Also, this study did not specify the time during which experience of aggressive behaviour may have happened. This may make it more difficult to see which types of aggressive behaviour are more likely to occur in younger or older children; some older children may have reported experiences that happened years ago.

Conclusion

Children's reasoning about aggressive behaviours differed by age, gender and their experience of the behaviours. This study presented not only developmental differences of understanding of aggressive behaviours but also how moral thinking is related to aggressive behaviours which actually occur in their peer relationships.

Moral judgment about aggressive behaviours was related to consideration of other's welfare, fairness, and harmful consequences than attributional responsibility. For pupils, who has the responsibility for the aggressive behaviour does not seem to be important for judging about wrongness of the aggressive behaviour. This provides an idea for intervention programs to focus on the consequences for the victim rather than blaming the perpetrators. It would be helpful for emphasizing to pupils, how unfair a bullying-like behaviour is and how harmful it can be to the other. Then, pupils' negative attitudes to bullying behaviour may be increased.

Age-related differences were more prominent than gender differences in moral reasoning, and experience of a certain type of aggression was sometimes associated with moral reasoning. This may imply that social and cognitive aspect of development are influential in reasoning about aggressive behaviour and gender plays a role in terms of sensitivity in judgment of aggressive behaviour.

The results emphasize that different types of aggressive behaviour should not be regarded or examined in the same way. Examining one or two types of aggression does not properly show how children think about aggressive behaviours and only provides a general picture which might disregard detailed characteristics of children's reasoning. Children clearly distinguished social exclusion from other types of aggression: they thought of it as less wrong and less harmful, and attributed the behaviour more to victim's characteristic. This is similar to attitude towards *wang-ta* in which victim is socially excluded and often thought to be deserve the victimisation.

Chapter 7

Overview and general discussion

The issue of this thesis was to find out more about bullying-like behaviours in South Korea. From a review of previous research it was unclear whether certain types of aggression in South Korea would correspond to bullying behaviour in Western cultures. This thesis investigated this issue in terms of terminology, people's perception, the developmental origins of these behaviours, and moral reasoning about bullying-like behaviours.

This final chapter summarises the main findings of the three empirical studies in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and make links between them. Also limitations of the thesis, suggestions for further research and practical implications are suggested.

Summary of main findings in Studies 1, 2 and 3

Choosing and defining terms is a necessary prerequisite to examine a certain phenomenon. Study 1 (Chapter 4) investigated the terms used by Korean speakers to describe bullying-like behaviours and people's perceptions of them. Korean people distinguished social exclusion from physical aggression by labeling it as a different and distinctive term and showing different perspectives on the behaviour. Across various ages, *wang-ta* was mostly used for social exclusion, and often for rumour spreading and physical group aggression, but was not used for indicating physical individual aggression. Instrumental and indirect aggression (i.e. breaking other's belongings) and verbal aggression were only labeled *wang-ta* a few times. This shows

that *wang-ta* clearly involves relational aggression, focusing on isolating one person; and further teasing and harassing may occur when the isolation has already happened.

An important issue of Study 1 was to find age differences related to terminology of bullying. Although *wang-ta* represents a socially isolated person in current usage, the detailed meaning of *wang-ta* appears to differ by age. Table 7.1 summarises the age differences in the awareness (i.e. whether people know the term *wang-ta*) and usage of the term *wang-ta* and usage of alternative terms to *wang-ta*.

Table 7.1. Summary of age differences of the term *wang-ta*

	Awareness of a term <i>wang-ta</i>	Usage of term <i>wang-ta</i>	Usage of alternative terms
Preschool	Don't know	Not used	No
Lower elementary	Yes	Not used	No
Upper elementary	Yes	Not used	Yes (<i>jjin-ta</i>)
Middle school	Yes	Not used	Yes (<i>jjin-ta</i>)
High school	Yes	Not used	Yes (<i>jjin-ta</i>)
Mothers	Yes	Not used	No
Workplace	Yes	Not used	No

Pupils in middle childhood and early adolescents (upper elementary, middle school pupils aged 10-15 years) used various terms and late adolescents (high school pupils aged 16-18 years) had terms to describe bullying-like behaviours, but almost all school pupils did not use *wang-ta* to indicate a socially isolated person in their daily life. The differences of the usage of term, and existence of alternative terms may reflect historical changes or generational differences of the terms and this may be

related to historical changes in the perception of the phenomenon, or reflect real changes in it.

Not only the terms used, but also the perceptions of bullying-like behaviours differed by age. Table 7.2 summarizes the findings of the different perception of bullying-like behaviours across ages in terms of whether the behaviours were seen negatively, or as unavoidable (i.e. they necessarily happen).

Table 7.2. Summary of perceptions of bullying-like behaviours

	Negative	Unavoidable
Preschool	Present	Absent
Lower elementary	Present	Absent
Upper elementary	Present	Present
Middle school	Present	Present
High school	Present	Absent
Mothers	Present	Absent
Workplace	Present	Present

Generally, participants showed negative attitudes towards bullying-like behaviours, but upper elementary, middle school pupils and workplace personnel also thought that the behaviours are unavoidable since they think that some people deserve to receive the behaviours due to their maladjustment, lack of social skills or personality problem.

Also, young pupils (preschool, lower elementary school) rarely mentioned imbalance of power and repetition of the aggressive behaviours than pupils from upper elementary, middle school or adults. This is consistent with previous findings (Monks

& Smith, 2006).

Judging a bullying-like behaviour as wrong seemed to be more complicated in work place employees than school pupils. This is because several criteria for judging the behaviour, such as intention, severity of the behaviour and recipients' feeling, were mainly mentioned by workplace personnel, and these are often vague and implicit in the bullying-like episode. For example, implicit agreement among people is often used to exclude or bully someone in the workplace.

Study 2 (Chapter 5) investigated whether bullying-like behaviours exist in early childhood. In Study 1, no particular terms were found to be used by young children to describe bullying-like behaviour. However, this does not mean they did not display or experience bullying-like behaviours. They may display similar behaviours which may develop into bullying behaviours in later childhood. This chapter investigated several types of aggressive behaviours using multiple informants (i.e. peer, self, and teacher).

The results showed that young children's aggressive behaviours could be judged differently depending on who evaluates the behaviours. The five to six year old children did not usually report themselves as aggressors but more of victims, but reported their peers more as aggressors than victims.

More than 80% of the children were reported by their peers as being exposed to at least one type of aggression (physical, verbal aggression, social exclusion and rumour spreading). Physical and verbal aggression was more commonly reported than social exclusion and rumour spreading by peers.

Children's peer acceptance was not significantly related to aggressive behaviour or victimisation but peer rejection was significantly related to their aggressive behaviour. Gender differences of participant roles were also found; generally, more boys than girls were likely to be aggressors and more girls than boys were likely to be categorized into defender-stop. By type of aggression, gender differences in the participant roles were more common in physical and verbal aggression than in relational aggression. Furthermore, there were no gender differences in the roles in social exclusion. Therefore, boys were generally more aggressive than girls, but if girls were aggressive, they tended to use relational aggression than physical or verbal aggression. This is consistent to previous studies in Western communities (Card et al, 2008; Salmivalli & Kaukiainen, 2005).

Three findings were noteworthy in Study 2. First, children reported themselves high in victim role but not as aggressor role particularly in relational aggression (i.e. exclusion, rumour spreading). Next, they were not interested in aggressive children's relational victimisation. These two findings may help us understand early forms of bullying, making a link to *wang-ta* since the children seemed to justify their aggression and ignore other's victimization. Third, defending behaviour was not always related to high social status. This is a new finding. Defending a victim by reporting the behaviour to adults was often not considered as a preferable option among young children. This suggests further investigation for specifying defending roles. For example, the types of behaviours considered defending may differ between researchers and pupils. Also, reporting aggressive events to adults may be helpful for some aggressive situations but may not be for others. Further study may be worthy to distinguish types of behaviour which is considered as defending in older pupils;

whether a type of defender differs by children's age, and how each type of defender is related to peer status.

Stability of nominating roles differed by type of informant. Nominating aggressors was stable across peer, self, and teacher reports and most stable in physical aggression. In contrast, stability of other roles (nominating victims, defender-stop, and defender-tell) varied across peer, self and teacher report and types of aggression. Particularly, defender role in relational aggression was generally not stable in peer, self and teacher reports.

Consistency across the three types of informants was higher in nominating aggressor than other roles, and it was more so in physical and verbal aggression and between peer and teacher reports than between peer and self or between self and teacher. Victims were seen differently across informants especially in relational aggression. Similarly, nominating defenders was not consistent across informants. Interestingly, nominations for aggressor in social exclusion showed lowest agreement among informants. It may show that evaluating exclusion differs by perspective.

Finally, Study 3 (Chapter 6) evaluated children's moral reasoning about bullying-like behaviours. It focused on why children engage in the behaviour and how children at different ages reason differently about the behaviour. The results showed that both younger and older children thought social exclusion as less wrong and less harmful than the other 7 types of aggression examined (physical individual, verbal, rumour spreading, physical group, breaking belongings, mobile phone, and email). There are significant age and gender differences in moral reasoning. Both younger and older

children thought aggressive behaviours as wrong and harmful, but the reason for the wrongness differed by children's age and type of aggression.

As reasons for wrongness, children tended to think about victim's welfare for overt aggression (such as physical, verbal) whereas they gave less specified reasons for exclusion (i.e. 'just bad', 'we should not do this'). Older children were more likely than younger children to consider others' welfare.

For gender differences, girls were more likely to think aggressive behaviours are wrong and harmful than boys, and girls tended to consider victim's welfare as the reason for wrongness more than boys.

For attributional responsibility for the aggressive behaviour, older children were more likely to think the behaviour could happen without reasons whereas younger children less often attributed the behaviour in this way. Therefore, 6-7 year old children were less aware of aspects of bullying (i.e. intentional, repeated harmful action) than 11 year old pupils. This is consistent with studies on the definition of bullying among young Western children (Monks & Smith, 2006). Only social exclusion was attributed to victim's fault among 11 year old children, but not other types of aggression.

For coping strategies, 'seeking help', and 'telling aggressor to stop' were most common across aggressive behaviours. However, for exclusion 'changing oneself' was a common reason for older children whereas telling the aggressor to stop was most common among younger children. Also, boys were more likely than girls to report using fight back for coping with physical individual aggression.

Younger children commonly did not know how to manage cyber aggression except for ‘telling the aggressor to stop’ whereas older children often reported ‘telling the aggressor to stop’ and ‘seeking help’. This may result from education on coping strategies for cyber violence. School pupils in South Korea are recommended to report the case to the cyber investigation team which is a part of Korean National Police Agency.

The findings across the three studies mentioned above are further discussed by linking between studies, which in turn provides more understanding of the bullying phenomenon in South Korea.

Use of terms and moral reasoning about bullying-like behaviours

The meaning of and attitude towards *wang-ta* in Study 1 are related to moral reasoning in Study 3. People perceive *wang-ta* as a general term to indicate a socially isolated person (Study 1) and this is not regarded as so serious or harmful as other types of aggression (Study 3). The term *wang-ta* is a slang representing a socially isolated person who does not have any friend. Not only *wang-ta* and other terms which were derived from *wang-ta* by adding ‘*ta*’ at the end of tem (i.e. *jin-ta*, *eun-ta*, *jun-ta*) describe an isolated person in a ridiculing and despising tone.

Language is essential to define the social identity of a person and a marker of social identity (Krauss & Chiu, 1998). It affects the perceptions of an individual who uses it, who is called the term, who witnesses that another person is called the term. Furthermore, the term *wang-ta* may give a less serious impression to social excluding behaviour due to the ridiculing aspect of the term. Finally, this can influence people’s

perceptions and moral judgments of the behaviour.

Bandura et al. (1996) explain this type of moral disengagement about aggressive behaviour in terms of euphemistic labelling; people can justify and exonerate their aggressive behaviour by labelling it in euphemistic terms. For example, people can be crueler when assaultive actions are given a sanitised label than when they are called aggression (Diner, Dineen, Endresen, Beaman, & Fraser, 1975). Thus, people who label another person as *wang-ta* may justify their labelling and exclusion and take it less seriously.

The person who is labelled and continuously called *wang-ta* may develop an internalized self-identity that something is actually wrong with him (her). Labeling a person as *wang-ta* or *jjin-ta* is humiliating for the person; this stigma affects their self-esteem (e.g. I am worthless, I am a bad person) (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998).

From the third person's view, people who witness other person being labelled as and called *wang-ta* may have an impression that something is wrong and lacking in the person who is called *wang-ta* regardless of fact or reality.

Finally, people may think isolating and calling a person *wang-ta* is less wrong and harmful than other types of aggressive behaviour because the person who is called *wang-ta* is thought of as faulty, and this perception may be related to the ridiculing and derogating aspect of the term *wang-ta*. The finding from Study 3 that both younger and older children think social exclusion is the least wrong and harmful among the eight types of aggression also supports this.

Attitudes toward bullying-like behaviour and moral reasoning

Study 1 and Study 3 show that attitudes toward bullying-like behaviours are related to moral reasoning about them. The age differences in attitudes towards bullying-like behaviours shown in Study 1 can be explained by different moral reasoning about the behaviours shown in Study 3.

Judging certain behaviours as wrong does not seem to relate much to immaturity of moral concepts, because even young children judged aggressive behaviours as wrong, in both Study 1 and Study 3. Rather, developmental differences of moral judgments may relate to justification of their judgment. The reason why children often engage in the behaviours, which they know, as wrong is that they develop their ability to be able to justify their behaviour.

Also, 11 year olds pupils were more likely than 7 year old pupils to consider other's welfare, equality among people. According to Piaget (1932), children internalize their moral rules as they grow up, which occurs with children's cognitive development of perspective taking ability. Also, Kohlberg (1981) explained that moral growth is driven by experience in 'role taking', that is, looking at an event from others' perspectives.

Similarly, in Study 1, late adolescents (16-18 years old) and adults (mothers, workplace personnel) reported the badness of bullying-like behaviour because it is against human rights and it is a violence of a majority, which includes imbalance of power and unfairness. This may reflect their mature ability to consider other people's perspectives.

One interesting finding is that children between 10-15 years old and workplace personnel held an inconsistent attitude towards victims although they regarded the behaviours as wrong. Both 10-15 year old pupils in Study 1 and 11 year old pupils in Study 3 showed negative attitudes towards victims, especially for social exclusion despite the wrongness of the behaviour. It may imply that blaming a person who is social excluded is likely to happen in the place in which the group is regarded as an important unit. The peer group is most influential in middle childhood or early adolescence. Grouping in workplace is also important, because people are usually connected by work. In contrast, 16-18 years old pupils reported that they are busy for study to enter university (high school pupils in South Korea are under extremely high pressure for university entry exam) and did not have time to pay attention to bullying and making others *wang-ta*.

Relational victimisation in early childhood and *wang-ta*

For understanding bullying from a developmental perspective, one important question is whether the aggressive behaviour in early childhood can be seen as the origin of bullying. Study 2 shows that bullying-like behaviours are viewed differently depending on informants (i.e. peer, self, teacher). This is more so in relational aggression than in physical or verbal aggression: some relational aggressive behaviours are seen as bullying-like behaviours and other relational aggressive acts are not, depending on who the informant is. This is particularly important here given that exclusion and rumour spreading were often named as *wang-ta* (as shown in Study 1). In general, people may not feel the same way about others' victimisation as they do about their own; even preschool children are aware of being excluded by others, but less aware of other people being excluded. This suggests that bullying

studies need to focus on the victim's perspective in particular for covert forms of aggression.

Isolating one person is a form of aggression that can easily be justified as a normal part of social interaction: children can justify their isolating behaviour to others as their personal preference to choose friends. This makes it more difficult for the victim to be seen as a victim and to receive the help and support that he/she needs; few people may admit that the individual has experienced bullying-like behaviour and may simply state that it is part of everyday social experience, as shown in Study 1. Victimization is more likely to occur when a great portion of the group shares their dislike for another pupil (Buhs, Ladd, & Herald-Brown, 2010).

Although the characteristic of young children's relationally aggressive behaviour differed from older children in terms of its consistency or repetition, the attitude towards excluding behaviour and an excluded person among young children shown in Study 2 is consistent to the older pupils' attitudes toward *wang-ta* shown in Study 1. Therefore, this emphasizes the need for early intervention with children about how wrong and harmful excluding behaviour can be.

Cultural characteristic of bullying-like behaviours in South Korea

Blaming a victim is not a new aspect of bullying nor need it reflect any collectivistic cultural characteristic. Rather, it has been reported in Western studies: 10-17 years old pupils commonly blamed the victim's personality or his/her behaviour as causes of bullying (Karhunen, 2009; Teräsahjo & Salmivalli, 2003). This can be a universal characteristic in bullying.

However, this attribution seems to be more important in a collectivistic culture such as South Korea, in which in-group norms are emphasized (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). One of the biggest concerns among pupils in upper elementary schools in South Korea (No et al., 1999) is ‘whom can I have lunch with?’. This reflects that ‘I have to belong to a social group, whichever it is’. It was shown by the statement of an upper elementary school pupil in Study 1 (“everybody has a group they belong to”, “someone who does not have a group can be *wang-ta*”). Therefore, blaming a victim can be more serious in a culture which emphasizes group norms and harmony than a culture in which individual goals and achievements are important values.

Furthermore, justification can easily be made when the harmful effect to a victim is not visible, and responsibility for the behaviours can be distributed across a number of people. This collectivistic aspect can also explain why individual physical attack was not regarded as *wang-ta* in Study 1. Without agreement of the majority, one or two pupils who kick or hit another pupil may be easily blamed for this, and may lead to the perpetrator’s victimisation (e.g. classmates may reject the aggressive pupil). Therefore, aggressive pupils choose another pupil who is already excluded from the peer group, who has high-risk characteristics to be excluded or who does not have a close friend. This is why pupils are obsessed about grouping; being in a group can buffer one from being a target. This is why group physical aggression is regarded as *wang-ta* but not individual physical aggression, reflecting collectivistic aspect.

In Study 3, a low level of wrongness/ harmfulness, and blaming victim were displayed only in social exclusion. This is very interesting since *wang-ta* indicates a socially excluded person, furthermore this study did not use nor mention the term

wang-ta during the investigation. It is curious whether a low level of wrongness of social exclusion influences the *wang-ta*, or familiarity of *wang-ta* (i.e. pupils can easily observe or witness *wang-ta* in schools) affects pupils' judgment or attitudes towards social exclusion. Furthermore, the use or awareness of the term such as *wang-ta* or *jjin-ta* among them may affect their moral insensitivity toward social exclusion or an excluded person. Conformity tends to be stronger in the society in which relationships between individuals are tight than in the society in which the relationships are loose (Bond & Smith, 1996). Therefore, individuals in collectivistic societies may be more likely than in those individualistic societies to follow prevailing group norms; this conformity may influence pupils' attitude towards *wang-ta*.

Pupils' status in a peer group is maintained by calling a pupil who is bullied different names. The difference in the victim is construed as a culturally avoidable characteristic (Hamarus & Kaikkonen, 2008). Calling the bullied pupil's name increases the group's cohesion and the treatment of the bullied pupil creates fear in other pupils, who do not dare to fight bullying. In this way, bullying behaviour creates cultural norms and forces all pupils in the bullying community to follow them.

Limitations and further directions for research

The specific limitations of each study were described at the end of each relevant chapter (Chapters 4, 5, and 6). Here, the general limitations across the studies are discussed.

Measurement issue

The aggressive behaviours used in this thesis did not examine the concept of repetition and imbalance of power, which are generally included to define bullying. This was because the studies aimed to define and investigate bullying-like behaviours in South Korea.

The actual example of behaviour described in the cartoon may have affected the attitude or moral judgment. For example, the cartoon used to represent instrumental aggression described 'breaking others' pencil', however, if the pencil was replaced by another pupil's book or a school bag, it could generate more serious wrongness or unacceptability.

Based on the findings here, further steps can be made; how Korean people distinguish differently bullying-like behaviours and aggressive behaviours which include repetition or imbalance of power. Also, it would be helpful to examine depending on degree of behaviour, to what extent people perceive and judge a certain behaviour as bullying or not.

Scope of studies

The scope of the cyber and workplace bullying were rather limited. Cyber aggression used in this study (mobile, email aggression) differed from traditional bullying; pupils showed different moral judgment, attributional style and coping strategies for cyber aggression. Thus, it needs much further investigation to compare this with traditional bullying. It was clear that pupils in South Korea have experienced cyber aggression as a new major type of aggression. However, it was not been investigated to what extent

pupils perceive cyber aggression differently from *wang-ta*, or other types of bullying-like behaviour in school.

Also, workplace bullying was investigated only in Study 1. To provide a more comprehensive understanding of bullying behaviour from a developmental perspective beyond school aged pupils, workplace personnel were interviewed and this generated many useful findings. However, it requires further study in terms of its diverse forms, intention of perpetrators, and difficulty to distinguish between personal characteristics and official aggressive behaviours. It may also show strong cultural characteristics since hierarchy in the workplace would complicate personal and official ways of bullying others.

Other personal factors

Personal factors such as internalized/externalized problems, parenting style, or family environment were not considered, although they may influence bullying/victimisation experience, attitude or judgment towards bullying-like behaviours. This study focused on bullying as a problem in interpersonal relationships rather than on personal factors. It would be useful to investigate the relationships between perceptions or attitudes towards bullying and such personal factors.

Cross-cultural studies

Last, the cross-cultural factor was not investigated directly. This thesis focused on Korean bullying-like phenomena only. Although a great number of studies of bullying in England and other Western cultures showed relevant information with the findings in this thesis, enabling some indirect comparisons to be made, it would be beneficial

if a direct comparison between cultures was carried out. Furthermore, the cartoon task used in this thesis could be a useful method for examining cultural differences in concepts, terms, judgment or attitude toward bullying across cultures.

Implications for practice

Bullying is an interpersonal relationship problem in which a power imbalance exists. Thus, prevention or intervention can be made by changing the power structure and/or encouraging positive social relationships.

Power Shift

Since bullying happens in the context of an imbalance of power, we can shift the power which bully has to the other side, that is, to bystanders. In Salmivalli et al.'s (1996) study, children who did not do anything during bullying episodes were around 34%, and in another study, Craig and Pepler (1998) showed that peers are present in 85% of bullying incidents, but that only 11% pupils intervene in it. These children can play an important role because when bystanders reacted on behalf of the victim, they were often effective in putting an end to a bullying episode (Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001). Such an approach - encouraging high status children to be active as defenders – has been used productively in the KiVa intervention program in Finland (Salmivalli, Kärnä, & Poskiparta, 2011). This could be particularly applied to bullying in South Korea in which a majority of pupils in a class may passively join in bullying even by doing nothing. They should be encouraged to do the right action by helping a victim.

Furthermore, people need to show that they are not going to put up with bullying, and then bullies can be discouraged. Especially peers who have a high status leading supportive actions for helping a victim would be helpful (Valliancourt, McDougall, Hymel, & Sunderani, 2010).

Changing collective beliefs

From early childhood, generosity to the differences among people and lack of this openness to individual diversities should be taught as an important social value. This is the most fundamental reason for making one person *wang-ta*. However, this may take a longer time than any other practices for preventing bullying in collectivistic cultures. There is a rapid increase of immigrant children and children who have multiethnic background, in South Korea. Many children who have a multi-cultural background now are young, but in a few years time they will enter the schools. Without openness to other cultures, those children would be exposed to a more risky situation to be excluded from the group due to their ethnic background. Now, the South Korean government raises emphasis on respect for diversity of multi-cultures and this emphasis on respect to diversity can be applied to the bullying area.

Moral education

The children involved in bullying are associated with a higher level of moral disengagement. Thus, children who receive moral education may be less likely to be involved in bullying. Also, it is helpful for bystanders in that it increases the sensitivity to other's difficulties and conflict and may lead them to stand up for others who have a weak peer status. Moral dimensions of bullying can provide new insights into ways in which we understand the bullying phenomenon.

Importance of teachers

All schools in South Korea are run with a homeroom class system, and each class has one homeroom teacher who manages the class. Thus, homeroom teachers are in a good position to provide help for victims. Furthermore, the majority of those who reported their victimization to others tend to ask help from adults such as teacher and parents (FPYV, 2009) rather than their peers. Teachers can actively monitor children in their class and supervise what is going on there. They frequently come to the class during a day, and pupils have two formal class meetings in a school day with the homeroom teacher (morning and afternoon).

Education for teachers in bullying-related matters is strongly needed. Currently, education for teachers about prevention and intervention programs in South Korea is only for the teachers who choose to join, and usually the rate of participation is low. This needs to be expanded. Some middle school pupils said, “teacher already knows”. It reflects that the teacher has not actively intervened to stop pupils’ bullying. Some pupils are pessimistic or skeptical about whether the prevention and intervention programs are effective; there is a consultant teacher in every school who is in charge of pupils’ safety in school, however many pupils who experienced victimisation do not visit the teacher. Also, sometimes, the teacher does not take any action about it because they thought that it may not be useful and they are busy with other official work in the school (No et al., 1999). Otherwise, teachers may not know how to manage these types of aggressive behaviours. Education for teachers which emphasizes the detrimental effect of bullying, and practical and effective coping strategies need to be implemented.

There is no single route to decreasing bullying. However, educating pupils and teachers and changing people's collective belief toward differences among individuals can decrease and prevent serious bullying or *wang-ta*.

Contribution and Conclusion

This thesis contributed in two ways. First, methodologically the approaches of three studies are organized in a useful order. Generally, a large number of studies into bullying have relied on purely quantitative approaches, although recently some qualitative approaches have been emphasized. This thesis began with a qualitative method to explore terms, type and perception of bullying-like behaviours in South Korean people over a wide age-range. After looking at a lifespan perspective, the focus moved to the origin of bullying behaviours among young children and then finally the developmental cognitive aspect (i.e. moral reasoning) of the behaviours was examined in order to try to understand more about the reasons for pupils' engagement in such behaviours.

Second, this thesis can contribute to knowledge of these behaviours and in terms of raising awareness about bullying-like phenomena in South Korea. Bullying studies in South Korea have rarely been disseminated to the international research community. Although a number of studies which have been conducted in domestic South Korea have provided rich information, they have often been restrictive in the type of aggressive behaviours examined. They investigated bullying-like behaviours based on researchers' definition, often assuming the meaning of *wang-ta* or *gipdan-ttadolim* and rarely questioning the meaning of the phenomenon in the context of aggression.

Korean studies have heavily focused on incidence rate or related factors to *wang-ta* or *gipdan-ttadolim* and almost never investigated its nature or origin.

Moreover, some studies often borrowed the definition of *wang-ta* or bullying-like phenomenon of South Korea from *bullying* in Western cultures (e.g. Olweus' definition). This hinders understanding of the unique characteristics of bullying-like behaviours in South Korea from being explored, and disregards the differences of bullying in Western countries and in South Korea. This thesis can be a foundation for the comparison of types of bullying-like behaviours in South Korea with those in other cultures.

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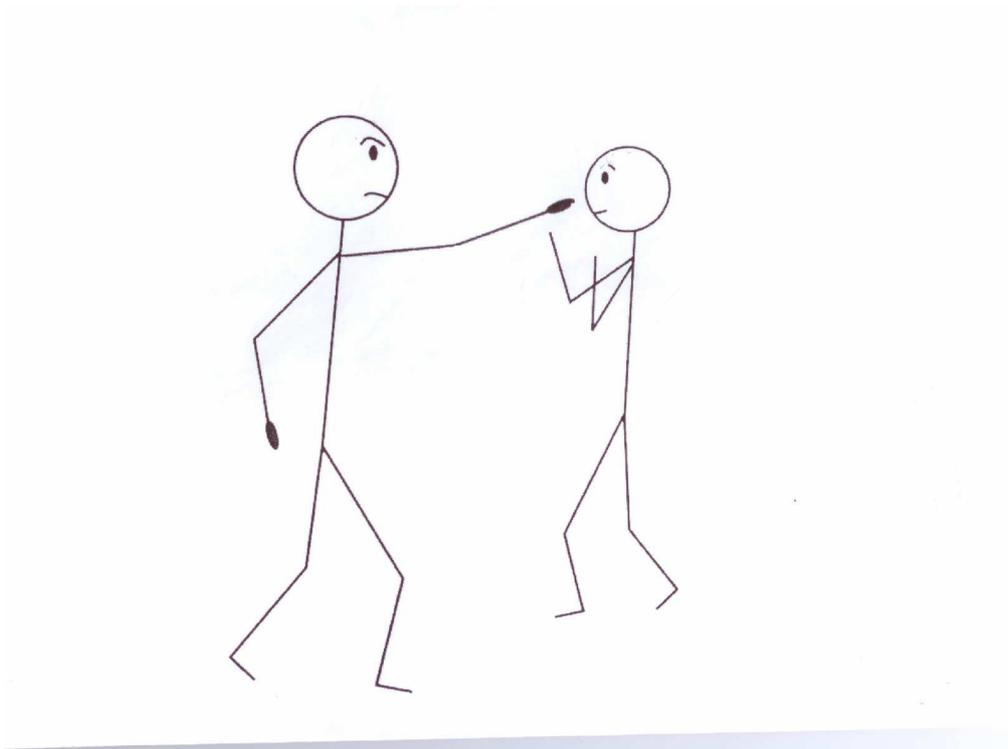
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Appendices

Appendix A-1.

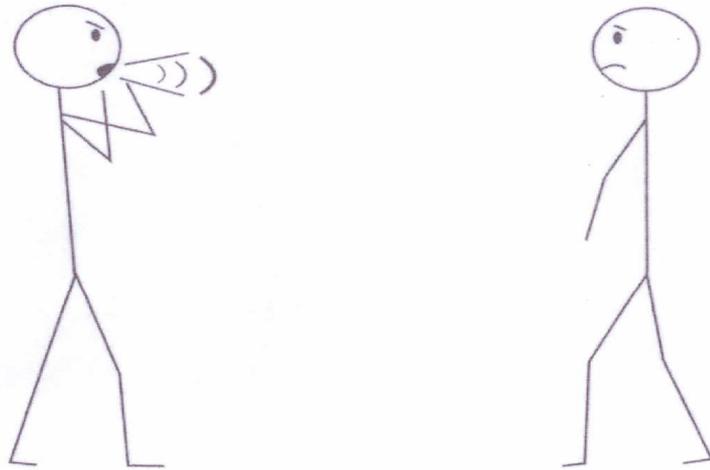
Cartoons used for Study 1.

Physical individual aggression



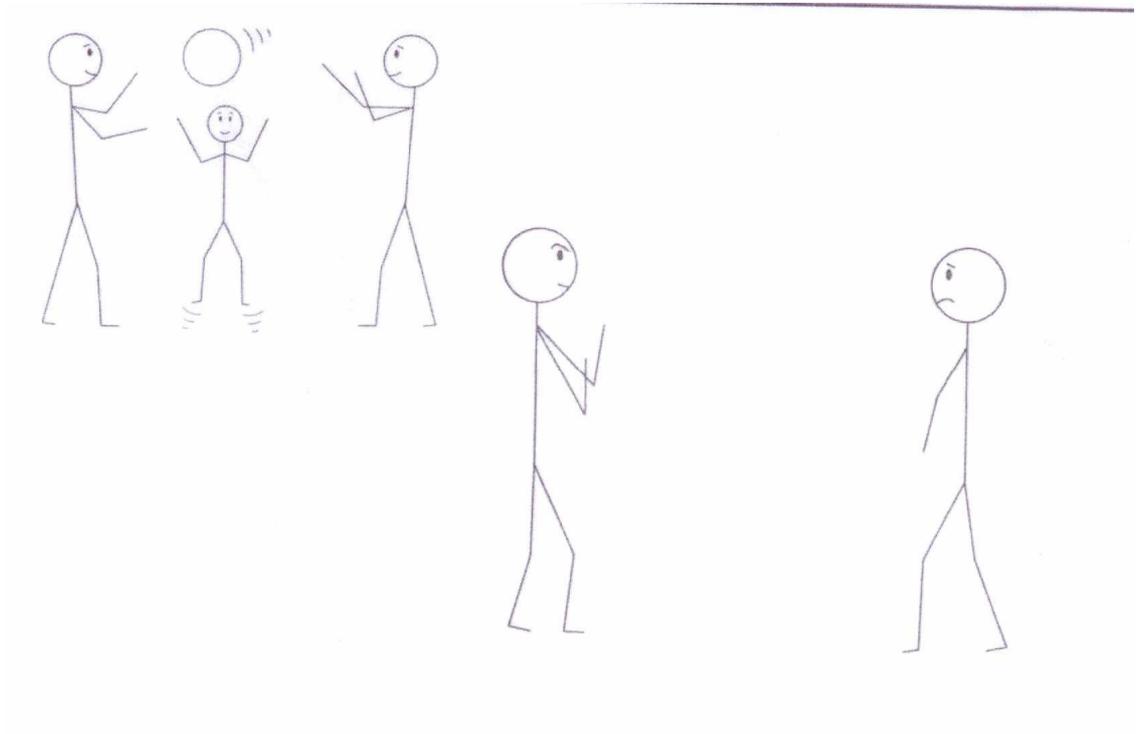
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Verbal aggression



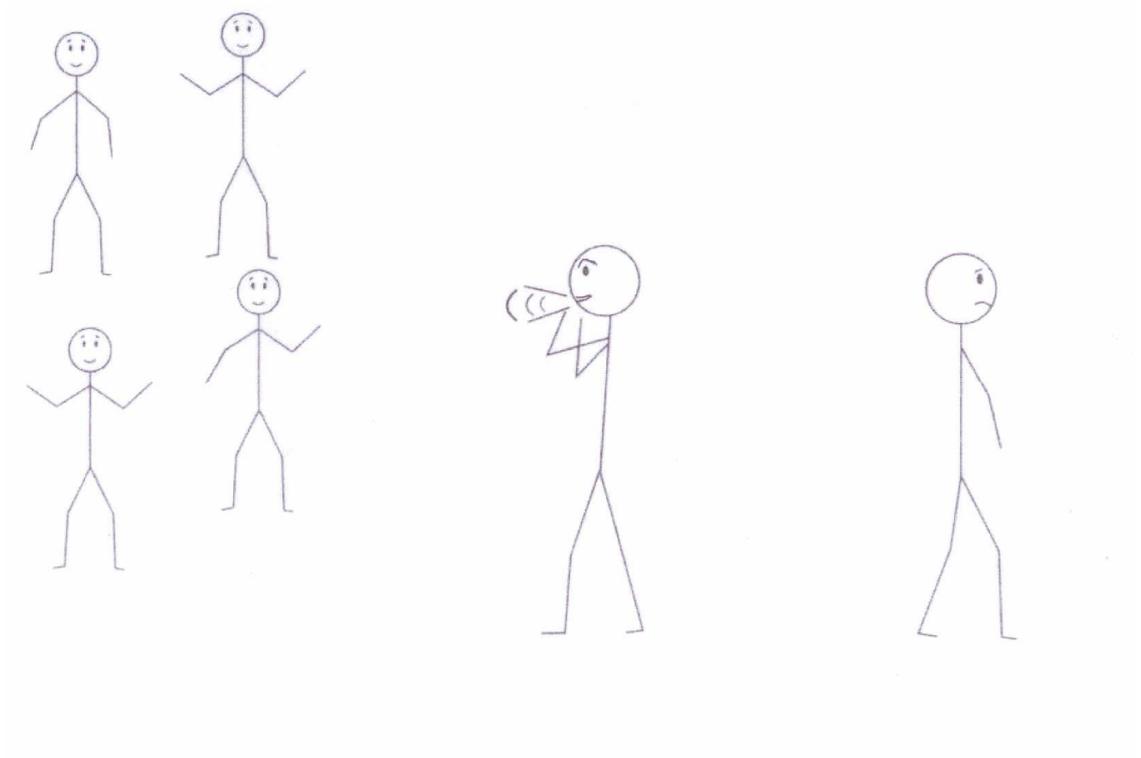
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Social exclusion



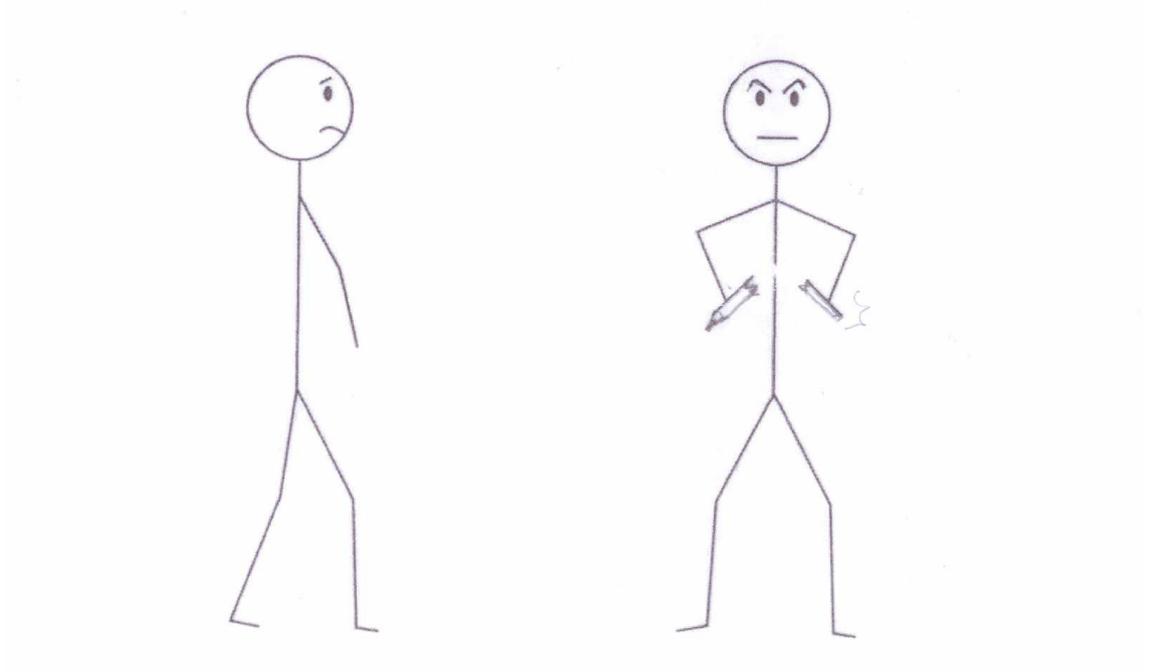
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Rumour Spreading



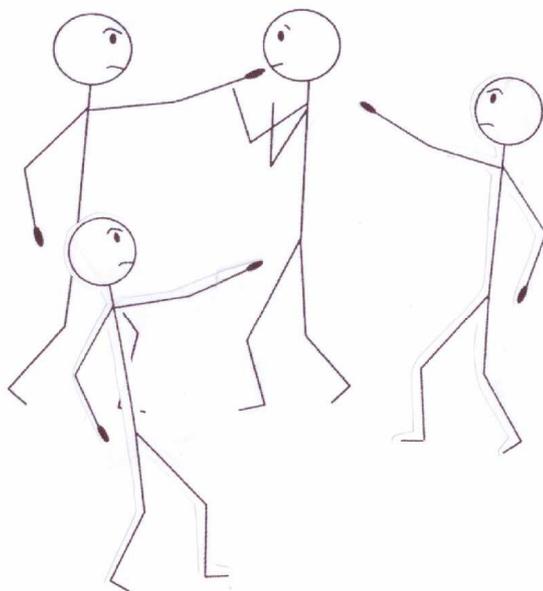
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Breaking others' belongings



Appendices

Physical group aggression



Appendix A-2.

Descriptions for bullying-like behaviours for workplace (In Korean)

직장내의 부정적 행동에 대한 연구.

안녕하세요? 귀하신 시간 내어주셔서 감사드립니다. 저는 영국 런던 대 골드스미스 칼리지에서(Goldsmiths College, University of London) 인간발달에 대한 연구를 하고 있는 심리학 박사과정, 이승하라고 합니다.

오늘 그룹 인터뷰는 직장 안에서 일어날수 있는 반사회적이고 부정적이며, 비합리적인 행동들에 대한 직장인들의 인식에 관한 것입니다. 아래 상자 안에는 그러한 행동들의 예가 제시되어 있습니다. 각 항목들을 읽어보시고, 이러한 행동들을 어떻게 부르면 좋을지, 연관되거나 떠오르는 단어에 대해 생각해보시기 바랍니다 (약2분간).

다시 말해, 제시된 행동들의 명칭을 짓는 것 입니다. 생각나는 단어 아무것이나 좋습니다. 예) 시험시간에 다른 사람의 답안을 훑쳐보는 행위 → 부정행위, 컨닝, 속임수..비도덕..등

2분 후 에는 생각하신 내용을 서로 이야기하는 시간을 갖겠습니다. 필요하신 경우에는 여백에 메모하셔도 좋습니다. 토의는 약 10 여분간 지속될 것 이며 토의내용은 녹음기를 통해 녹음될 것입니다. 토의참가자의 어떠한 개인적인 정보도 공개되지 않으며, 녹음된 토의 내용은 연구자 개인의 연구 목적 이외에는 사용되지 않을 것 임을 확신합니다.

성별: 남 /여 (해당란에 O) 직장경력: 년 나이: 세

1. 누군가를 발로 차거나 때리며 위협하는 행위.
2. 누군가의 소지품을 일부러 망가뜨리는 행위.
3. 다른 동료들 앞에서 소리, 고함을 지르거나 욕설, 비방하는 말 등으로 모멸감을 주는 행위
4. 업무뿐 아니라 업무 외의 활동에서도 일부러 무시하거나 배제시키는 행위
5. 다른 동료들에게 특정인에 대한 루머를 퍼뜨리는 행위
6. 불가능한 업무 마감 날짜(deadline)을 부과하는 행위.

Appendix A-3.

Conceptualization of each theme consisting of subcategories, concepts and example of statement; by categories (**bold**), sub-categories (*italic bold*) and concepts (*italic*). : PS: Preschool, LS: Lower elementary school, US: Upper elementary school, MS: Middle school, HS: High school, MO: Mothers, WK: Workplace.

Theme I: Definitions

Category (For each age group: number of focus groups and individuals contributing to that category)	Subcategories	Concepts	Example of statement (age group)
I-1. Relationships among terms LS:1; US:4; MS:1 + 1 ind; HS:1; MO: 1ind; WK:1	Physical or relational aggression	Hitting, excluding, happening separately or together	<p>“<i>Wang-ta</i> is just ignoring, but <i>jijiri</i> is like a toy, we make a fun with him/her” (US)</p> <p>“<i>Pokryuk</i> is hitting between one to one, but <i>wang-ta</i> means several people tease one” (US)</p> <p>“<i>Ttadolim</i> is not serious exclusion, <i>wang-ta</i> is very serious, teasing after school class when no one is left in school”</p> <p>“<i>Wang-ta</i>, <i>pokruk</i> and <i>ttadolim</i> are inclusive each other” (MO)</p> <p>“People cannot live alone, excluding</p>

			from the social group is also <i>pokryuk</i> " (WK)
I-2. Meaning of <i>wang-ta</i> PS:1; LS:2; US:6; MS: 3 + 1ind	Passive or active isolation	A loner, ignoring, avoiding, abnormal	"Alone, <i>wang-ta</i> " (LS) " <i>Wang-ta</i> means other children tease only one child" (US) "Abnormal...that is <i>wang-ta</i> " (US) " <i>Wang-ta</i> means avoding one person" (MS)
I-3. Usage of <i>wang-ta</i> LS:2; US: 4; MS:4 + 1ind; HS: 3; MO: 1; WK:3 + 1ind	Age differences	Generational/historical differences	"We use <i>dagul</i> , don't use <i>wang-ta</i> at all" (US) "We don't use <i>wang-ta</i> , just avoiding (the person)" (MS) "We used to use <i>wang-ta</i> in middle school not now" (HS) "Children use this, they are not aware of even that this is bad word" (MO)

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Reason for not using	Alternative terms, absence of <i>wang-ta</i> , childish term, out of fashion, afraid of teacher	<p>“<i>Wang-ta</i> is out of fashion” (US)</p> <p>“We can’t use <i>wang-ta</i>, our teacher will tell me off” (US)</p> <p>“We use <i>jjin-ta</i>, not <i>wang-ta</i>”(US)</p> <p>“We don’t use <i>wang-ta</i> but use <i>jjin-ta</i> a lot.”(HS)</p> <p>“I just use when I talk about my children’s matter” (WK)</p> <p>“Using the term <i>wang-ta</i> is just children’s issue, we just think the person is not present, ignoring”(WK)</p>
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Theme II: Origins

Category (For each age group: number of focus groups and individuals contributing to that category)	Subcategories	Concepts	Example of statement (age group)
II-1 Situational context (US:3; MS:2; MO: 3 + 1 ind; WK:1)	Classroom climate	Teachers role, peer pressure	“If a teacher is there, they can’t do this!” (US) “Teacher should stop them”(US) “Teacher already knows”(MS) “We can’t tell this to the teacher because they will revenge” (MS)
	Home environment	Violent parents, a lack of warmth	“These children (aggressors)’s parents don’t care and are unconcerned about them.” (MO) “These days, parents don’t teach their children properly, so the children get easily violent, and rude” (MO)
	Community	Atmosphere of the community	“Children can learn these behaviours in violent mood, our village is not that violent” (MO)
II-2 Interpersonal context (US:3; MS:3; MO:2; WK:4 + 1 ind)	Differences and discriminations	Dislike, abnormal, gender	“We just don’t like what they do” (MS) “Boys do this verbally to girls, not hitting or breaking stuffs.”(MS) “Girls strip other girl’s cloths” (MS) “These are related to interpersonal

			conflict” (WK)
	Self-defense	Defending one’s status	<p>“I have done these things to protect my work area” (WK)</p> <p>“Workplace is intrinsically involved to benefit, so if someone interrupts my work area, this happens”(WK)</p>
	Implicit agreement	Indirect, <i>eun-ta</i>	<p>“We don’t care about the person because we don’t talk with him(her)” (MS)</p> <p>“Intention is not related because there is atmosphere to ignoring a particular person” (WK)</p> <p>“We don’t think to make someone <i>wang-ta</i> but just naturally..implicitly..done” (WK)</p>
II-3 Imbalance of power (US:1; MS:3; WK:3 + 1 ind; MO:1 + 2 ind)	Majority and minority	Grouping, violence of majority	<p>“They have several people in their groups and do not allow me to join in” (US)</p> <p>“One person is not dare enough to attack another pupil (should be several)” (MS)</p> <p>“This is violence of majority” (WK)</p>

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	Power	Strength, hierarchy	<p>“They hit weak children” (US)</p> <p>“There are levels... levels of social order in schools”(MS)</p>
II-4 Consistency (US:2; MS: 1; MO:2 +1 ind; WK:2 + 1 ind)	Role	Improving behaviour, escape or not	<p>“She is not annoying recently”(US)</p> <p>“<i>Wang-ta</i> can’t escape that status until graduation, friends of a child who had done <i>wang-ta</i> to her would be in the same class with her next year” (MS)</p>
	Phenomena	Middle childhood, daily events	<p>“It didn’t happen when my daughter was in lower grade” (MO)</p> <p>“It is very common, a daily event in an organization.” (WK)</p>

Theme III: Judgments

Category (For each age group: number of focus groups and individuals contributing to that category)	Subcategories	Concepts	Example of statement (with age group)
2.1 Morality (PS:5; LS:2; US:3;MS: 2; HS:3; MO: 2 + 2 ind; WK:3 + 1 ind)	Bad or not	Unaccepted, human right, spontaneity, necessary evil	<p>“It is really mean” (PS)</p> <p>“The aggressor will be <i>wang-ta</i>” (socially isolated) (HS)</p> <p>“This should not happen” (MO)</p> <p>“This happen infinitely since childhood” (WK)</p> <p>“This always exists in societies, just types of behaviours, relationship in which the behaviours happen changed” (WK)</p>
2.2 Whose fault (US:2; MS:2; HS:2; MO:2; WK:4 +1 ind)	Aggressor’s fault	personality problem, goal pursuit	<p>“These children (aggressor) have aggressive, violent personality basically” (MO)</p>
	Victim’s fault	Maladjustment, incompetence, lack of social skills	<p>“He (victim) always cries without reason” (US)</p> <p>“That (the occurrence of the event) is <i>wang-ta</i>’s fault” (MS)</p> <p>“They (victims) are selfish, everybody tries to fit themselves to the group, but some people insist on having their own way” (WK)”</p> <p>“People who receive this behaviours are bad at organizational life”(WK)</p>

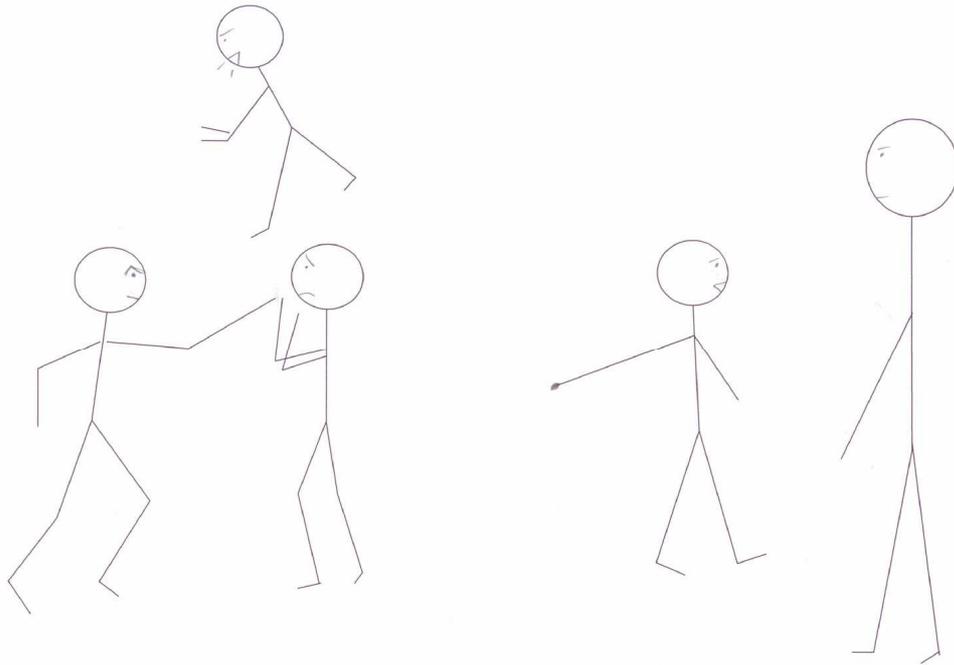
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<p>2.3 Criteria (US:3; MO: 2; WK: 4 + 1 ind)</p>	<p>Clarity or ambiguity</p>	<p>Not specified, peer effect, intention severity, recipient's feeling</p>	<p>“It depends on how severe the verbal assault is because it happens everyday” (WK) “These behaviours seem to be very subjective and relative depending on the person who receives them.” (WK)</p>
	<p>Knowledge</p>	<p>Communication between parents and children, information about coping skills</p>	<p>“These (excluding, rumours) things often happen among girls...it depends on how parents understand these and let children know what to do”(MO) “I want to know what we can do when these things happen to my child rather than about talking these behaviours” (MO)</p>

Appendix B-1.

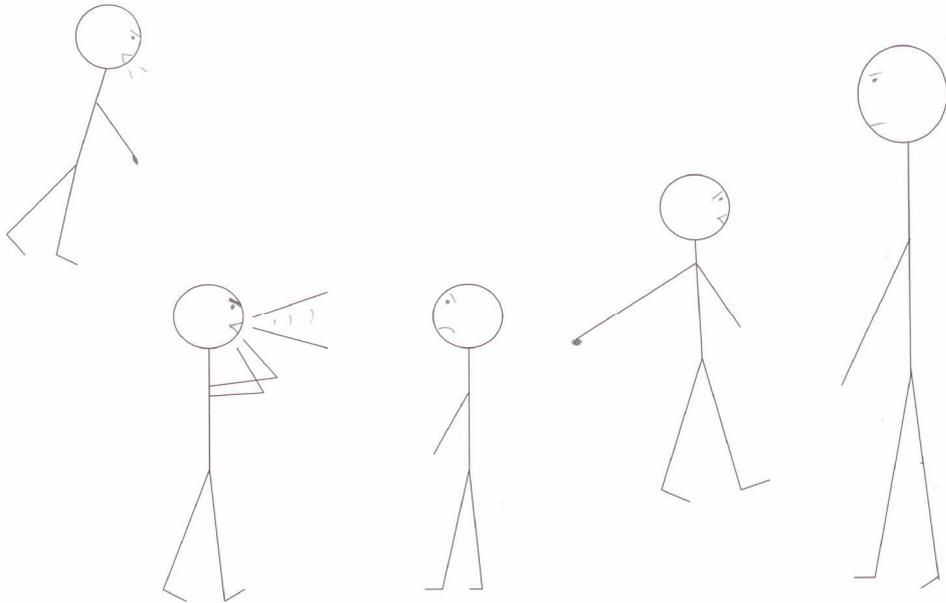
Cartoons for nominating four roles: aggressors, victims, defender-stop and defender-tell

Physical aggression



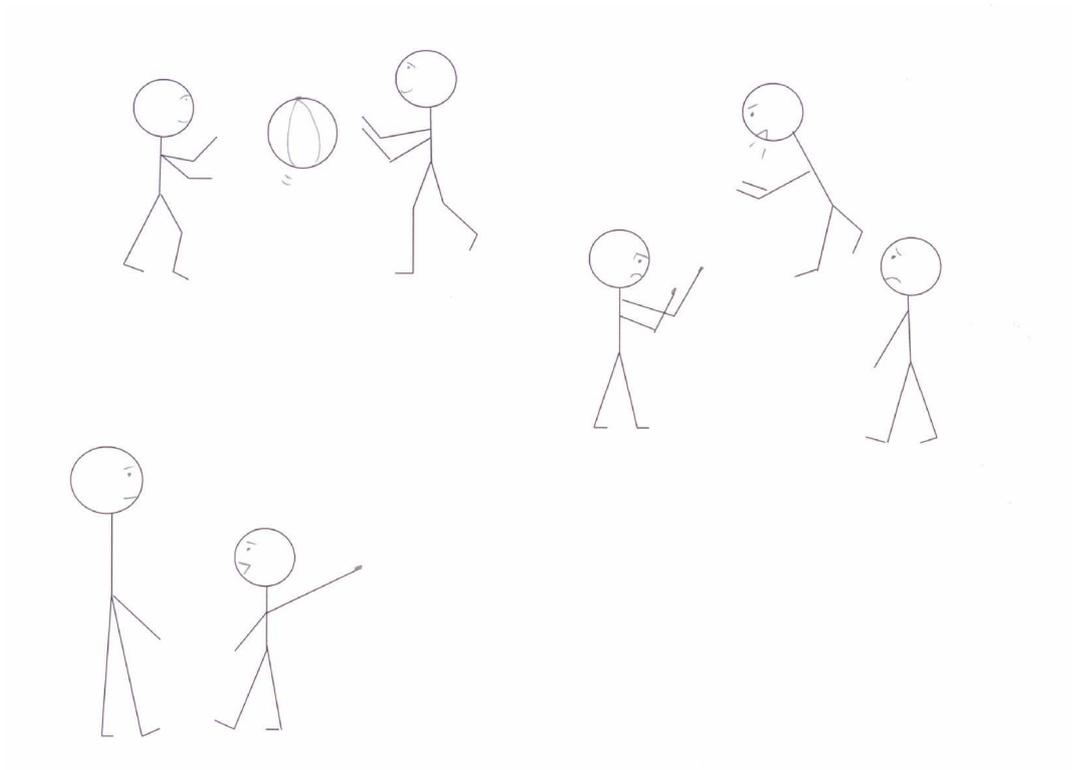
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Verbal aggression



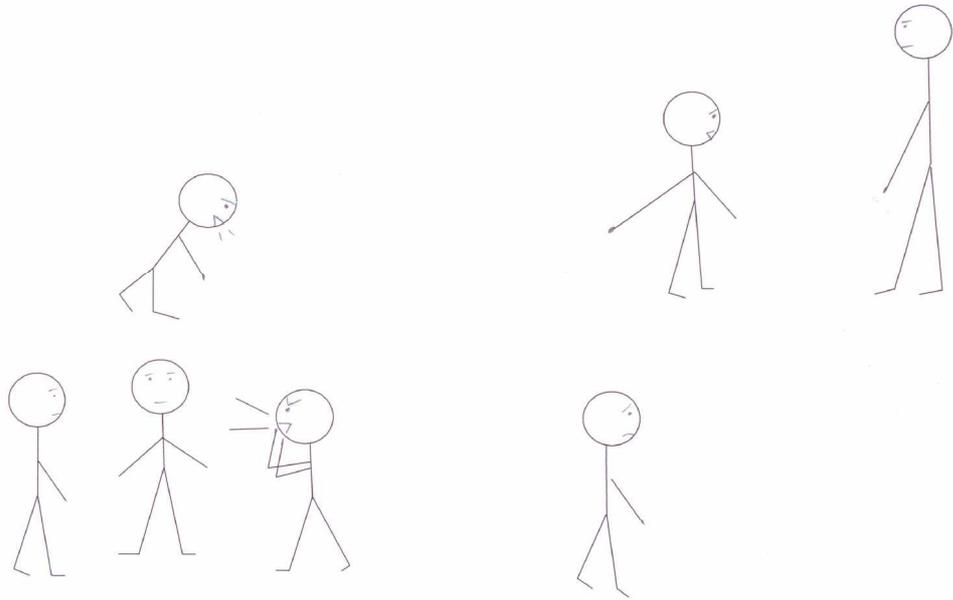
Appendices

Social exclusion



Appendices

Rumour spreading



Appendix B-2

The questionnaire for teachers nominating three roles (aggressors, victims, and defenders) for Time 1

Who do you think of within your class as behaving in these ways (if anyone)?

Hit/Kick other children:

Say nasty words or names:

Exclude others from their peer group

Spreading rumours about other children

Being hit/kicked by other children

Being heard nasty words or called names

Being excluded from peer groups

Have rumours spread about them by other children

Help other child who is hit/kicked by stopping a child who hit/kick other or by telling the child to teacher

Help other child who is heard nasty words by stopping a child who says those or by telling the child to teacher

Help other child who is excluded from peer group by stopping a child who excludes the child or by telling the child to teacher

Help other child who has rumours by stopping a child who spreads it or by telling the child to teacher

Help other child who has rumours by stopping a child who spreads it.

The questionnaire for teachers nominating four roles (aggressors, victims, defender-stop and defender-tell) for Time 2

Who do you think of within your class as behaving in these ways (if anyone)?

Hit/Kick other children:

Say nasty words or names:

Exclude others from their peer group

Spreading rumours about other children

Being hit/kicked by other children

Being heard nasty words or called names

Being excluded from peer groups

Have rumours spread about them by other children

Help other child who is hit/kicked by stopping a child who hit/kick other

Help other child who is heard nasty words by stopping a child who says those.

Help other child who is excluded from peer group by stopping a child who excludes the child

Help other child who has rumours by stopping a child who spreads it.

Continued...

Help other child who is hit/kicked by telling the event to teacher

Help other child who is heard nasty words by telling the event to teacher

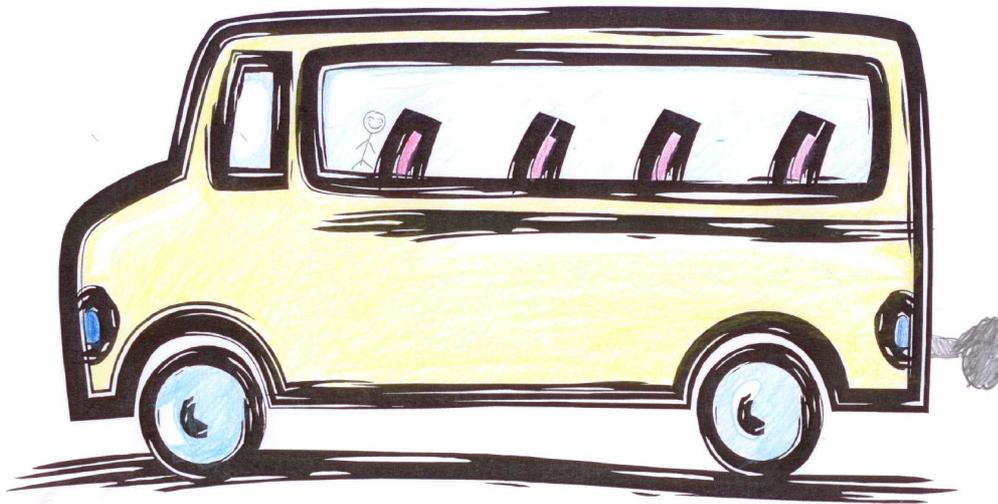
Help other child who is excluded from peer group by telling the event to teacher

Help other child who has rumours by telling the event to teacher

Appendix B-3.

A cardboard bus for likeability

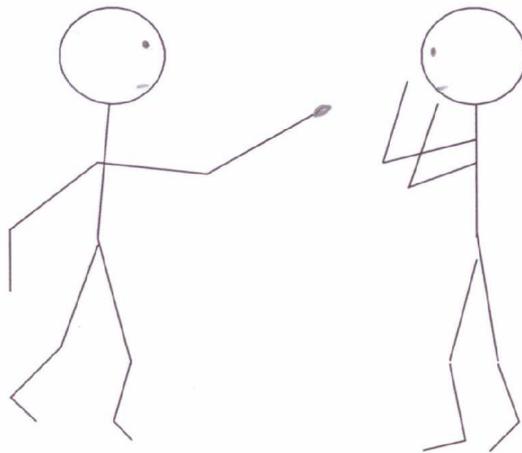
“We are going to go on a bus trip now, could you choose the three children whom you most want to take with you?” / “Could you choose the three children whom you do not want to take?”



Appendix C-1

Cartoons used for Study 3

Physical aggression:

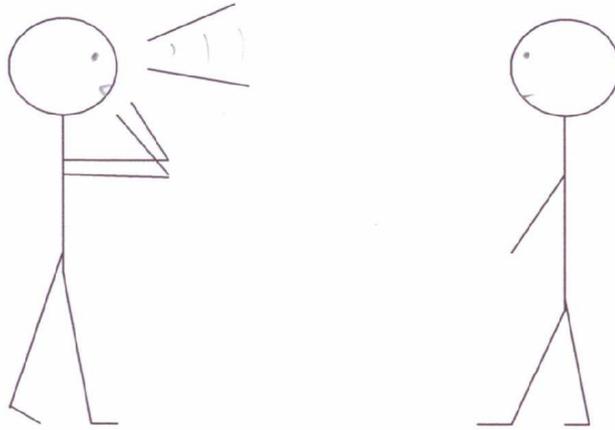


어떤 아이는 다른 아이를 때립니다.

A child hits other child

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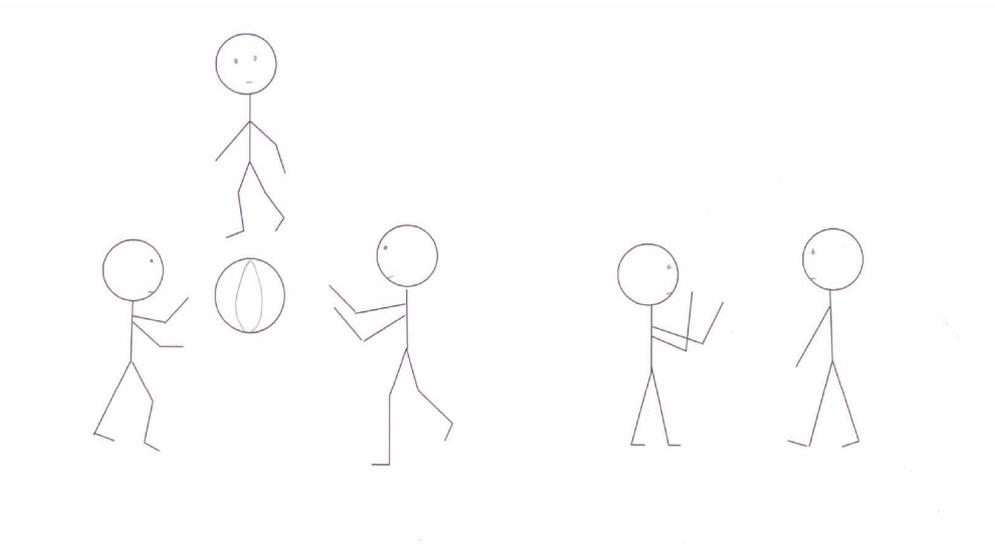
Verbal aggression



어떤 아이는 다른 아이에게 나쁜 말을 합니다.

A child says nasty words the other.

Social exclusion

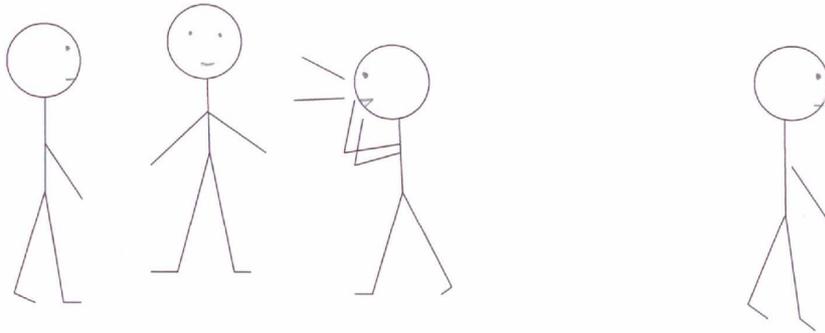


어떤 아이는 다른 아이를 놀이하는데 끼워주지 않습니다.

A child does not let other in a play.

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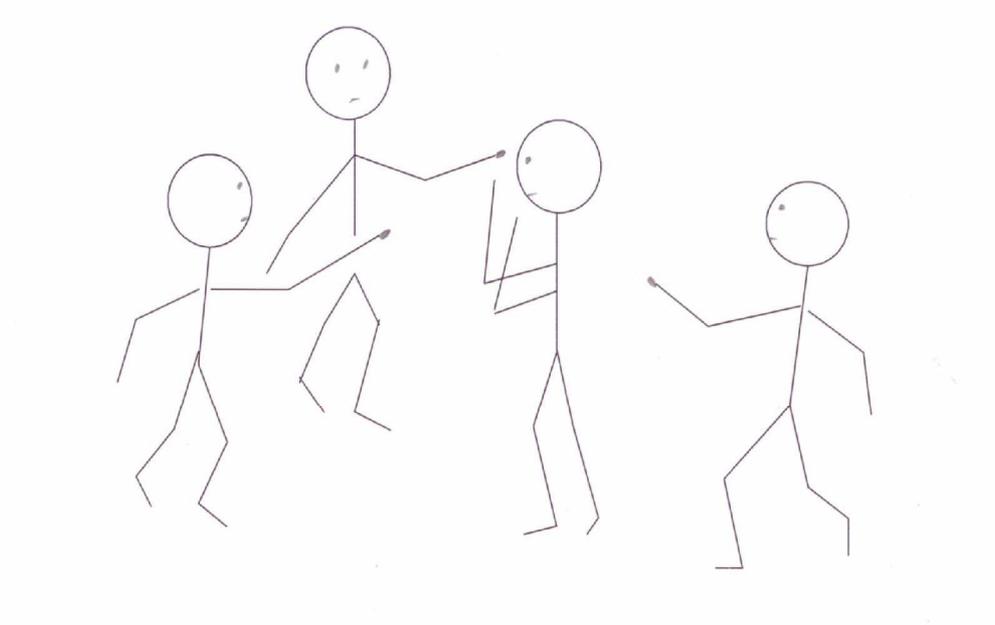
Rumour spreading



어떤 아이는 다른 아이에 대한 안 좋은 이야기를 퍼뜨립니다.

A child spreads bad story about other.

Physical group aggression



어떤 아이들은 여럿이서 한 아이를 때립니다.

Some children hit another child

Breaking other's belongings

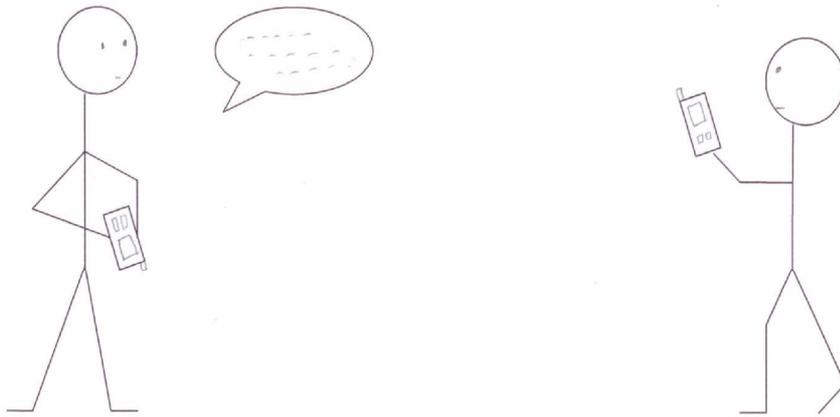


어떤 아이는 다른 아이의 물건을 망가뜨립니다.

A child breaks other's belongings (i.e pencil)

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Mobile aggression

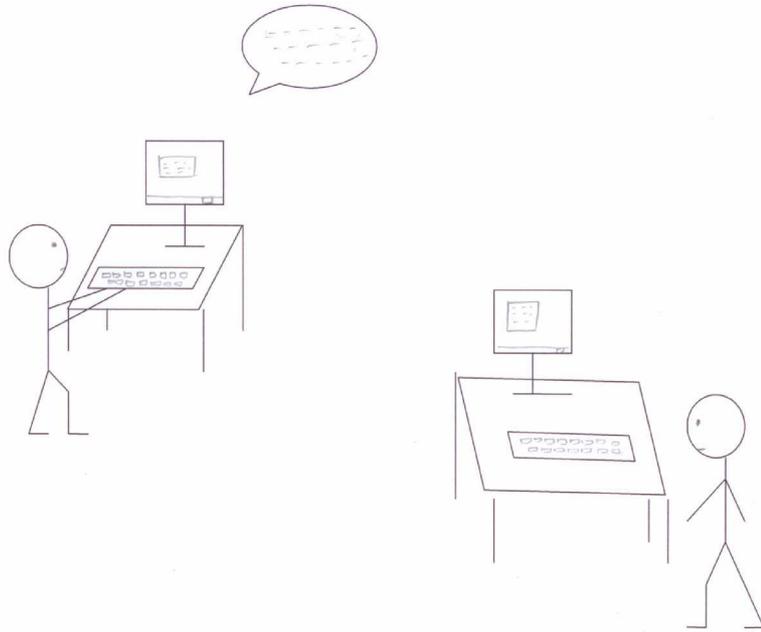


어떤 아이는 다른 아이에게 핸드폰으로 나쁜 문자메시지를 보냅니다.

A child sends a nasty text to other by mobile.

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Email aggression



어떤 아이는 다른 아이에게 컴퓨터로 나쁜 이메일을 보냅니다.

A child sends a nasty email to other.

Appendix C-2. The percentage (frequency) of all nine categories for reason for judgment

	Welfare	Fairness	Obligation	Authority	Intention	Don't know	Peer relation	prudential	Dismiss
Verbal	38.9(61)	0.6(1)	36.9(58)	2.5(4)	0.6(1)	17.8(28)	0.0(0)	1.3(2)	1.3(2)
Phy.In	26.1(41)	1.3(2)	44.6(70)	1.3(2)	1.9(3)	20.4(32)	0.0(0)	0.6(1)	3.8(6)
Exclu	14.0(22)	15.3(24)	41.4(65)	5.7(9)	0.0(0)	21.0(33)	0.0(0)	0.0(0)	2.5(4)
Rumour	29.9(47)	4.5(7)	27.4(43)	0.6(1)	1.3(2)	29.3(46)	5.1(8)	0.0(0)	1.9(3)
Phy.grp	14.6(23)	49.7(78)	21.7(34)	0.6(1)	0.6(1)	11.5(18)	0.6(1)	0.6(1)	0.0(0)
Break	19.7(31)	3.2(5)	46.5(73)	1.9(3)	8.3(13)	15.3(24)	0.0(0)	0.0(0)	5.1(8)
Mobile	27.4(43)	3.2(5)	28.0(44)	3.8(6)	3.8(6)	28.7(45)	0.0(0)	0.0(0)	5.1(8)
Email	28.7(45)	6.4(10)	20.4(32)	3.2(5)	1.3(2)	33.1(52)	0.6(1)	1.3(2)	5.1(8)

Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

Appendix C-3.

Results of McNemar tests in each category ('welfare', 'fairness', 'obligation, 'don't know') for reason for judgment (Why do you think that?) among 8 types of aggressive behaviours.

The number in cell shows chi (x^2) value in each pair among all 8 types of aggression

e.g. The number of 'welfare' category was significantly different between verbal aggression exclusion ($x^2(1) = 27.245, p < .001$).

n.a: test was not available due to low cell frequencies

n.s: the difference between two types of aggression was not significant

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Welfare

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Brea k	Mobile	Email
Verb		7.52	27.245 ***	n.s	25.35 ***	14.02 ***	5.78*	4.01*
Phy.In			9.26**	n.s	8.03**	n.s	n.s	n.s
Exclu				12.80 ***	n.s	n.s	9.30**	10.30*
Rumour					11.50**	4.69* *	n.s	n.s
Phy.grp						n.s	8.60**	10.50* *
Break							n.s	n.s
Mobile								n.s
Email								

Appendices

Fairness

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.a	n.a	n.a	75.01***	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.In			n.a	n.a	74.01***	n.a	n.a	n.a
Exclu				9.48**	37.96***	12.00**	11.1**	4.97*
Rumour					63.64***	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.grp						69.12***	71.01***	66.66***
Break							n.a	n.a
Mobile								n.a
Email								

Obligation

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.s	n.s	n.s	9.21**	30.94***	n.s	10.78***
Phy.In			n.s	11.46**	19.14***	39.95***	9.77**	22.82***
Exclu				7.35**	13.85**	37.52***	6.78**	17.97***
Rumour					n.s	14.58***	n.s	n.s
Phy.grp						7.54**	n.s	n.s
Break							12.85***	24.63***
Mobile								n.s
Email								

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Don't know

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.s	n.s	6.88**	n.s	n.s	5.22*	11.50**
Phy.In			n.s	n.s	6.04*	n.s	n.s	7.22**
Exclu				n.s	5.03*	n.s	n.s	6.11*
Rumour					18.23***	11.03*	n.s	n.s
Phy.grp						n.a	17.33***	25.93***
Break							9.76**	16.57***
Mobile								n.s
Email								

Verb: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

Appendix C-4. The percentage (frequency) of each category for attributional responsibility

%	No reason	Personality problem	Practical reason	Prv ¹	Upv ¹	Situation	Disliking victim	Don't know
Verbal	12.7(20)	12.1(19)	0.0(0)	17.2(27)	1.9(3)	7.6(12)	18.5(29)	29.9(47)
Phy.In	22.9(36)	6.4(10)	0.0(0)	22.3(35)	4.5(7)	10.2(16)	10.8(17)	22.9(36)
Exclu	3.2(5)	0.6(1)	0.0(0)	11.5(18)	28.7(45)	13.4(21)	21.7(34)	21.0(33)
Rumour	17.2(27)	7.0(11)	0.0(0)	16.6(26)	9.6(15)	10.8(17)	14.6(23)	24.2(38)
Phy.grp	17.8(28)	0.6(1)	3.8(6)	27.4(43)	8.3(13)	4.5(7)	12.7(20)	24.8(39)
Break	19.1(30)	9.6(15)	4.5(7)	17.2(27)	2.5(4)	5.1(8)	13.4(21)	28.7(45)
Mobile	39.5(62)	3.8(6)	0.6(1)	13.4(21)	0.0(0)	4.5(7)	16.6(26)	21.7(34)
Email	32.5(51)	5.7(9)	0.6(1)	14.6(23)	1.3(2)	2.5(4)	20.4(32)	22.3(35)

Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

Appendix C-5. Results of McNemar tests in each category of attributional responsibility (Why do you think this happened?): ‘no reason’, ‘provocative victim’, ‘unprovocative victim’, ‘situational factor’. The number in cell shows chi (χ^2) value in each pair among all 8 types of aggression

e.g. The number of ‘no reason’ category was significantly different between physical individual and social exclusion ($\chi^2(1) = 25.71, p < .001$).

n.a: test was not available due to low cell frequencies

n.s: the difference between two types of aggression was not significant

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

No reason

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		5.11*	n.a	n.s	n.s	n.s	30.02 ***	17.65 ***
Phy.In			25.71 ***	n.s	n.s	n.s	13.02 ***	4.17*
Exclu				15.75 ***	14.67 ***	17.46 ***	49.78 ***	40.50 ***
Rumour					n.s	n.s	21.81 ***	9.45* *
Phy.grp						n.s	21.78 ***	8.80* *
Break							20.02 ***	7.55* *
Mobile								n.s
Email								

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Provocative victim

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.s	n.s	n.s	4.89*	n.s	n.a	n.s
Phy.In			6.56*	n.s	n.s	n.s	4.69*	n.s
Exclu				n.s	13.40 ***	n.s	n.a	n.s
Rumour					5.22*	n.s	n.s	n.s
Phy.grp						5.11*	10.50**	7.85**
Break							n.a	n.s
Mobile								n.s
Email								

Unprovocative victim

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.a	36.54 ***	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.In			31.11 ***	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Exclu				17.52***	22.88 ***	32.65 ***	43.02 ***	41.02 ***
Rumour					n.s	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.grp						n.a	n.a	n.a
Break							n.a	n.a
Mobile								n.a
Email								

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Situational factor

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.a	n.s	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.In			n.s	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Exclu				n.s	n.a	4.97*	n.a	n.a
Rumour					n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.grp						n.a	n.a	n.a
Break							n.a	n.a
Mobile								n.a
Email								

Verb: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

Appendix C-6. The percentage and frequency of all categories for coping strategies

	Tell the aggressor stop	Fight back	Seek help	Passive reaction	Change oneself	Alternative	Don't know	Correction one's fault	Aggressor's apologies	Bystander help	Playing in a friendly way each other
Verbal	48.4(76)	7(11)	19.7(31)	2.5(4)	1.9(3)	0	14.0(22)	3.2(5)	0.6(1)	0.6(1)	1.9(3)
Phy.In	36.9(58)	14.6(23)	24.2(38)	1.3(2)	2.5(4)	1.3(2)	14(22)	1.3(2)	1.3(2)	0.6(1)	1.9(3)
Exclu	18.5(29)	2.5(4)	4.5(7)	0.6(1)	21.7(34)	21(33)	22.3(35)	5.1(8)	1.9(3)	1.3(2)	0.6(1)
Rumour	36.3(57)	8.9(14)	8.3(13)	0	3.8(6)	2.5(4)	34.4(54)	2.5(4)	1.3(2)	0	1.9(3)
Phy.grp	18.5(29)	8.3(13)	36.9(58)	4.5(7)	3.2(5)	0.6(1)	19.1(30)	5.1(8)	3.8(6)	0	0
Break	49.0(77)	10.8(17)	10.8(17)	0	1.9(3)	3.2(5)	17.2(27)	5.1(8)	1.9(3)	0	0
Mobile	26.8(42)	5.7(9)	21(33)	19.1(30)	1.9(3)	1.9(3)	19.1(30)	1.3(2)	2.5(4)	0	0.6(1)
Email	32.5(51)	6.4(10)	18.5(29)	15.3(24)	1.9(3)	1.3(2)	19.7(31)	2.5(4)	1.9(3)	0	0

Verbal: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by mobile, Email: sending a nasty email.

Appendix C-7.

Results of McNemar tests in each category of coping strategies (“What could do this child (victim) do so that it doesn’t happen again?”): tell the aggressor stop’, ‘seek help’, ‘passive reaction’, ‘change oneself’, ‘alternative’, ‘don’t know’

e.g. The number of ‘tell the aggressor stop’ category was significantly different between verbal aggression and social exclusion ($\chi^2(1) = 35.86, p < .001$).

n.a: test was not available due to low cell frequencies

n.s: the difference between two types of aggression was not significant

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Tell the aggressor stop

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		5.78*	35.86***	5.68*	35.86***	n.s	16.50***	10.11**
Phy.In			15.37***	n.s	16.00***	4.99*	4.02*	n.s
Exclu				14.58***	n.s	32.49***	n.s	8.82**
Rumour					11.76**	6.45*	n.s	n.s
Phy.grp						36.82***	n.s	9.59*
Breaking							18.35***	10.78**
Mobile								n.s
Email								

References

Seek help

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.s	18.89***	9.63**	13.80***	5.28*	n.s	n.s
Phy.In			23.08***	19.86***	8.21**	8.89**	n.s	n.s
Exclu				n.a	43.86***	n.a	18.38***	13.78***
Rumour					35.53***	n.a	10.62**	6.25*
Phy.grp						29.09***	11.29**	16.68***
Breaking							7.50**	n.s
Mobile								n.s
Email								

Passive reaction

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	20.83***	n.a
Phy.In			n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	26.04***	16.96***
Exclu				n.a	n.a	n.a	27.03***	n.a
Rumour					n.a	n.a	28.03***	n.a
Phy.grp						n.a	15.61***	n.a
Break							28.03***	n.a
Mobile								n.s
Email								

References

Change oneself

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.a	25.71 ***	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.In			26.28 ***	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Exclu				20.25***	23.76 ***	25.71 ***	27.27 ***	25.71 ***
Rumour					n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.grp						n.a	n.a	n.a
Break							n.a	n.a
Mobile								n.a
Email								

Alternative

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.a	31.03 ***	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.In			27.27 ***	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Exclu				23.76 ***	30.03 ***	20.25 ***	28.03 ***	27.27 ***
Rumour					n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Phy.grp						n.a	n.a	n.a
Break							n.a	n.a
Mobile								n.a
Email								

References

Dont' know

	Verb	Phy.In	Exclu	Rumour	Phy.grp	Break	Mobile	Email
Verb		n.a	4.65*	21.84 ***	n.s	n.a	n.s	n.s
Phy.In			4.97*	21.84 ***	n.a	n.a	n.s	n.s
Exclu				7.20 **	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s
Rumour					13.92 ***	17.33 ***	12.60 ***	10.30 **
Phy.grp						n.a	n.s	n.s
Break							n.a	n.s
Mobile								n.s
Email								

Verb: Verbal, Phy.In: Physical Individual, Exclu: Social Exclusion, Rumour: Rumour spreading, Phy.grp: Physical group, Break: Breaking belongings, Mobile: sending a nasty text by Mobile, Email: sending a nasty Email.