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School Bullying

A Crisis or an Opportunity?

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In 1999, a U.S. Supreme Court justice asked lawyers for a young woman who had endured years of peer sexual harassment, “Is this just kids being kids?” (Stein, 2003). In doing so, the justice posed a question that is often applied to bullying. Many adults view ostracism, demeaning behavior, even physical assaults among young people to be normal or “growth experiences” for the victims. Yet considerable evidence indicates that bullying can deny young people basic educational opportunities, as they attempt to escape daily harassment through truancy or dropping out (Slee, 1994), or develop maladaptive ways of coping with emotional trauma (e.g., Graham & Juvonen, 1998). Effects are not restricted to those actively bullied. Bystanders learn that aggression pays. They may experience a disturbing mix of feelings such as fear, pleasure, guilt, and moral confusion (O’Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999; Jeffrey, Miller, & Linn, 2001).

These and other serious consequences occur in the context of behavior that is, in fact, statistically normative, at least at low levels. Observations of third- to sixth-grade children on school playgrounds revealed that 77% were observed to bully or encourage bullying of school mates who were disadvantaged because of age, size, or peer support (Frey, Hirschstein, Snell, et al., 2005). Espelage, Bosworth, and Simon (2000) found that 80% of their middle school sample admitted bullying someone in the previous month.

In talking with parents, we sometimes compare schoolyard bullying to tantrums among 2-year-olds. While each behavior may reflect a developmentally typical way to exert influence, each may impede development if rewarded and habitual. Those who bully repeatedly may become reliant on coercion, and fail to develop positive relationship skills—a failure that may be played out in dating relationships (Connolly, Pepler, Craig, & Taradash, 2000), families (Duncan, 1999), and the workplace (Harvey, Heames, Richey, & Leonard, 2006). At the most severe end, bullying is associated with increased risk for substance use (Nansel et al., 2001) and involvement in street violence (Andershed, Kerr, & Stattin, 2001).

Since the Supreme Court case, the shock of repeated school shootings has stimulated the passage of state anti-bullying laws. These typically mandate zero tolerance policies in schools (Stein, 2003). Exclusionary measures, however, have not provided effective deterrence (Skiba et al., 2006). Just as bullying affects all within a school community, the conditions that foster or deter bullying are created by the actions of everyone in that community (Frey & Nolen, in press). Bystanders, for example, typically reward bullying with increased attention and friendly

overtures (Craig & Pepler, 1995; Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000; Salmivalli, 1999). Universal programs try to harness the power of educators, parents, and the peer group in order to effect constructive changes that benefit all. Positive changes in individuals are sustained when they occur in concert with supportive changes in the relationships they have with others. Thus, many researchers recommend systemic anti-bullying programs that target multiple levels and social mechanisms (e.g., Olweus, 1993; Pepler, Craig, & O'Connell, 1999; Swearer & Espelage, 2004).

This chapter describes the conceptual foundations and specific practices of the *Steps to Respect* program (Committee for Children, 2001) and summarizes evidence of effectiveness. We examine teacher implementation efforts, arguing that adult failure to exercise leadership and protect student well-being jeopardizes adult credibility and opportunities to mentor students.

Conceptual Foundations of the Steps to Respect Program

Frey and Nolen (in press) have outlined a transactional model of school-based prevention that describes processes that encourage systemic change or stasis. In successful interventions, social transactions reflect changes in social norms that have occurred throughout the school community and stimulate additional changes (such as improved social skills) within individuals. *Steps to Respect* is a multi-level program designed to interrupt vicious cycles (e.g., bullying- rewards from bystanders; bullying-revenge) that maintain aggression. The program coordinates a school-wide environmental intervention (Olweus, 1993), a cognitive-behavioral class curriculum (Kendall, 1993), and a selective intervention for those involved in bullying (Skiba et al., 2006).

A School-Wide Environmental Intervention

The purpose of the school-wide intervention is to lay the groundwork for an adult-student partnership and promote a civil, learning-conducive climate. Adults cannot deter bullying if young people do not entrust them with information about peer abuse. Conversely, such information will not be forthcoming unless adults demonstrate they are receptive (Unnever & Cornell, 2004). Consequently, administrators who introduce *Steps to Respect* at their school need to improve school infrastructure and staff capabilities prior to implementing lessons that encourage students to report bullying. The school-wide intervention also attempts to reduce the reinforcement students receive for bullying and increase systemic supports for prosocial alternatives. If adults can demonstrate effective leadership and supervision, students may be more likely to respond to adult guidance.

School Infrastructure Teacher implementation is improved when it is accompanied by clearly defined roles and procedures, adequate training (Payne, Gottfredson, & Gottfredson, 2006), and a collegial peer network (Kallestad & Olweus, 2003). Group creation of policies and procedures promotes shared understanding of (a) school norms, (b) the consequences and sequence of events associated with violations of those norms, and (c) adult responsibilities. To accomplish program goals, administrators must lead the school in (a) planning and managing operational aspects of the programs; (b) inspiring and mentoring high quality classroom implementation; (c) documenting evidence of positive change; and (d) fostering cohesive and respectful peer relationships between staff members (Frey & Nolen, in press).

Staff Capabilities Adults provide leadership to students by encouraging positive behaviors, redirecting negative ones, and providing models of empathic, effective, and responsible behavior. Many teachers report they are unprepared to deal with bullying problems (Boulton, 1997). They

may underestimate the prevalence or potentially deleterious consequences (Hazler, Miller, Carney, & Green, 2001). Educators are not immune to ecological influences. Experiences with bully-conducive environments, for example, may predispose them to view annoying children as “deserving” of bullying. Such attitudes, coupled with inaction, may lead students to believe their teachers do not care about them (Astor, Meyer, & Behre, 1999). Perceptions that teachers care and that school is safe predict close teacher-student relationships, higher achievement, and fewer discipline problems (Crosnoe, Johnson, & Elder, 2004; Hamre & Pianta, 2001).

A Classroom Curriculum to Address Social Norms and Social-Emotional Skills

Classroom norm-building and instruction in responsible, effective social-emotional skills are crucial parts of an ecological and transactional approach to forging positive adult-student alliances. Students appear to view their teachers as better leaders (e.g., knowledgeable and effective) when their teachers actively promote respectful behavior and foster skills to avoid involvement in bullying (Frey, Hirschstein, Edstrom, & Snell, 2009). Equally crucial is the increased capability of students to handle their own problems or lead positive peer responses to bullying (Craig & Pepler, 1995). Programs attempt to improve behavior and the social-emotional skills believed to underlie behavior (Crick & Dodge, 1994; Huesmann, 1988; Kendall, 1993).

Goals and Beliefs Goals and beliefs are frequent targets of intervention due to their relative stability (Burks, Dodge, Price, & Laird, 1999) and power to motivate action. The unprovoked aggression typical of bullying occurs more frequently among youths that have dominance goals (Ojanen, Grönoos, & Salmivalli, 2005). They use fewer competent and more coercive strategies to resolve social conflicts than youths with egalitarian or prosocial goals (Frey, Nolen, Edstrom, & Hirschstein, 2005). Bullying is likely to increase when children believe it will bring rewards (Egan, Monson, & Perry, 1998), such as friendly overtures from bystanders (Craig & Pepler, 1995). More frequent intervention by educators combined with peer disapproval of aggression appears to be effective in changing norms about the acceptability of aggression (Henry et al., 2000).

Decision-Making Processes Children need to be effective decision makers in order to cope with bullying. During interactions, individuals construct specific goals, imagine possible actions, and evaluate the probability of success (Crick & Dodge, 1994). Decision making is itself shaped by beliefs about oneself and others. For example, practicing assertive responses to bullying may increase perceived competence and reduce reliance on aggressive retaliation (Egan & Perry, 1998).

Self-Regulation of Emotion and Behavior Bullying reduces the self-regulatory capacities of perpetrators and victims (see review by Vohs & Ciarocco, 2004). Witnessing bullying can also elicit strong emotions that interfere with competent decision making. Children who have difficulty regulating their emotions tend to respond in ways (e.g., visible fear, crying, ineffectual retaliation) that satisfy bullies’ dominance goals and increase the risk of future victimization (Egan & Perry, 1998). Increased self-regulation on the part of victims may have a transactional effect if perceptions of these children as “easy marks” erode.

Individual Coaching for Children Involved in Bullying

Young people who are chronically victimized comprise a relatively small percentage (16.3%) of the student body (Nansel et al., 2001). Those who report bullying others frequently (15%) are also

a small group (Espelage et al., 2000). Selected interventions (Skiba et al., 2006) provide timely assistance for those at-risk for future bullying and related adjustment problems.

Description of Steps to Respect School-Wide Environmental Intervention

Planning and Implementation Manuals and training sessions for the Steps to Respect program help build an infrastructure that provides protection and ways for students to avoid future problems. This includes creation of an anti-bullying policy, disciplinary code, and reporting procedures; identification of campus areas requiring greater supervision; and assignment of adult roles. A two-day facilitator training guides strategic planning during the early phase of program adoption. Two training videos; safety guidelines for bus, lunchroom, and playground; and a lesson for children in kindergarten through grade 2 are included.

Training to Increase Adult Awareness and Effectiveness Training and motivating supervisory adults to notice and intervene effectively are key program goals. The training manual provides written and video-based materials for a core instructional session for all school staff and two in-depth training sessions for teachers, administrators, psychologists and counselors. Part 1 provides a program overview, descriptions of direct and indirect bullying behaviors, and information that counters common myths (e.g., bullying is usually perpetrated by easily identified “problem” students). In part 2, educators practice strategies for responding to bullying reports and coaching students who are involved in bullying. Part 3 provides an orientation to the classroom curriculum. The administrator guide recommends school-wide procedures for increasing adult recognition of responsible social behavior. Materials for four “booster” staff trainings and parent-information nights are also included. Following training, teachers feel more prepared to deal with bullying than those in a control group (Hirschstein & Frey, 2006).

The Classroom Curricula

The classroom curricula focus primarily on the last 3 years of elementary school, a time when bullying and acceptance of bullying is on the rise (Frey & Nolen, in press; Hanish & Guerra, 2004; Swearer & Cary, 2003). Norms about aggression begin to stabilize in fourth grade, making subsequent change more challenging to effect (Huesmann & Guerra, 1997). The curricula are comprised of skill and literature lessons, developmentally sequenced into three grade levels. Videotapes, stories, and experiential activities serve as springboards for direct instruction, discussions, writing assignments, skill modeling and rehearsal—practices that support acquisition and generalization of skills and normative beliefs (Huesmann & Guerra, 1997).

Specific skills (e.g., recognition, refusal, and reporting of bullying behavior) are taught in the context of being part of the solution, versus part of the problem. Lessons provide examples of bystanders who display positive peer leadership or private support for bullied children. Following the 10 skill lessons is a literature unit based on children’s novels (e.g., *The Well*, by Margaret Taylor). These lessons integrate social-emotional learning objectives (e.g., empathy) with language arts content, providing further opportunities to discuss issues related to healthy, egalitarian relationships. Letters to parents outline key concepts and home activities that reinforce skill acquisition.

Beliefs and Goals *Steps to Respect* defines bullying as intentionally harmful behavior perpetrated by those who wield greater power (e.g., due to size, strength, social status, or weaponry). Teaching both students and teachers to distinguish tattling (trying to get people in

trouble) from reporting (trying to keep people safe) is a key program element. Lessons encourage empathy and the pursuit of socially responsible goals. The program challenges the belief that bullying can be ethically justified (Gianluca, 2006; Rigby, 2005; Terasahjo & Salmivalli, 2003). Commitment to program goals may be heightened when children pledge to resist bullying, which links one morally relevant action to another: keeping one's promise (Panigua, 1992). Shifting social norms, combined with improved supervision, may encourage antisocial leaders (Rodkin, Farmer, Pearl, & Van Acker, 2006; Vaillancourt, Hymel, & McDougall, 2003) to reassess the rewards associated with bullying. Prosocial leaders may also increase their defense of those targeted for bullying as social responsibility norms and bystander options are discussed.

Decision-Making Processes Victims of bullying are sometimes at risk of immediate harm. Lessons attempt to help children assess safety risks, identify responses they can use themselves, or seek assistance. Additional social problem-solving strategies are taught as a way to enhance friendship skills, as children with friends who support them encounter less bullying (Hodges & Perry, 1999; Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1997). Perspective-taking exercises encourage social inclusion within the peer system, increasing the likelihood that new friendship skills might be successful.

Self-Regulation of Emotion and Behavior *Steps to Respect* teaches self-calming techniques and simple social scripts for responding assertively (e.g., calm, polite, and strong), a skill that discourages bullying (Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2001) and provides a deterrent to victimization (Camodeca, 2005; Schwartz, Dodge, & Coie, 1993). Improving assertive and emotion regulation skills may also enable bystanders to manage emotional distress and channel their concern into socially responsible leadership (Eisenberg et al., 1996).

Those who bully vary in their level of social skill and self-regulatory capacity. Children who anger easily and lash out in a dysregulated fashion may become perpetrators and victims of aggression (Olweus, 1993; Toblin, Schwartz, Gorman, & Abou-ezzeddine, 2005). Thus, self-calming techniques may also reduce levels of bullying and retaliatory aggression.

Generalization Efforts Because generalization is the ultimate goal of prevention, the program offers numerous activities and suggestions to generalize skills and beliefs to real life. Teachers are encouraged to model program skills, for example, by using audible self-talk when they become angry. Teachable moments offer opportunities for prompts, rehearsal, and feedback in the context of classroom social dynamics. Lessons provide extension activities that integrate social-emotional with academic content.

Coaching Selected Students

Steps to Respect prescribes brief individual coaching sessions with each participant in bullying episodes. These are intended to provide solution-oriented responses to immediate and long-term student needs. The coaching protocols (one for perpetrators, one for targets of bullying) provide strategies to establish facts, empower students to avoid future problems, and assess effectiveness. While not ignoring the need for sanctions, coaching sessions focus on empathy, problem-solving, and assertiveness skills. Educators help children practice social skills. They discuss school norms and collective responsibility for school safety. Some set up procedures to help children identify their own problem behaviors, and write a note to parents that describes a behavior-change plan. Besides setting up clear expectations, the note keeps the focus on behavior, rather than a pejorative label (see Frey, Edstrom, & Hirschstein, 2005, for more details).

Evaluation Research

Perhaps the most rigorous test of a program occurs in relatively unsupervised areas such as playgrounds. We had coders who were blind to condition make second-by-second observations of playground behavior in schools that had been randomly assigned to Steps to Respect or a control condition. We measured student attitudes and social skills with student surveys and teacher ratings ($n = 1127$). In keeping with the emphasis on adult roles in maintaining or changing the school's ecology, we also measured teachers' beliefs and classroom practices. Finally, we examined whether teacher coaching predicted later student beliefs and playground behavior.

Group Differences in Student Behavior after 6 Months For 10 weeks in the fall and spring, coders observed playground behaviors of 544 students on at least 10 occasions (Frey, Hirschstein, et al., 2005). Multilevel analyses that controlled for the shared classroom environment examined changes from fall to spring (6-month posttest). Consistent with previous research showing elevated levels of playground aggression in the springtime (Grossman et al., 1997), bullying increased over the 6 months. A dramatic increase occurred in control schools (63.0%) as more students became involved as bullies. The corresponding increase in intervention schools was 14.1%. Overall, students were observed to bully another child about once an hour, but rates varied greatly between individuals. Group differences in bullying rates were largest among the students who had bullied in the fall. Fall perpetrators in the intervention group showed statistically significant declines in bullying rates (43.8%) compared to declines of 16.9% in the control group. Group differences in non-bullying aggression were not significant at the 6-month posttest, but argumentative behavior declined relative to the control group.

Behavior after 18 Months Children in grades 3 and 4 were followed over 2 school years ($n = 225$). Students in both grades received Level 1 of the classroom curricula in the first year, and Level 2 in grades 4 and 5. Multilevel analyses showed substantial 18-month declines in antisocial playground behaviors. Bullying/victimization declined 34.5% and destructive bystander behaviors declined 78.0% (see Figure 28.1). Non-bullying aggression and argumentative behavior declined by 36.4% and 32.3%, respectively (Frey, Edstrom, et al., 2009). Depending on the individual, the program appeared to both reduce problem behaviors and prevent escalation. After 18 months of intervention, the problem behaviors of those involved in bullying events at pretest no longer differed from the level of non-involved peers. Non-involved peers showed no increase over time. In contrast, control-group students ($n = 399$) showed grade-related increases in problem behaviors (Frey, Hirschstein, et al., 2005).

Beliefs Students were less accepting of bullying and aggression if they were in the intervention group, due to deterioration in the attitudes of control-group students across the school year (Frey, Hirschstein, et al., 2005). Fifth- and sixth-grade students, but not third- and fourth-grade students, responded to the intervention with increased confidence in their ability to respond assertively to bullying. However, student reports of aggression and victimization, and teacher reports of peer interaction skills, showed no significant group differences.

Teacher Attitudes and Behavior Following staff training, intervention teachers reported feeling more prepared to deal with bullying than did control teachers. There were no group differences in teachers' beliefs that bullying is an important school problem (Hirschstein & Frey, 2006).

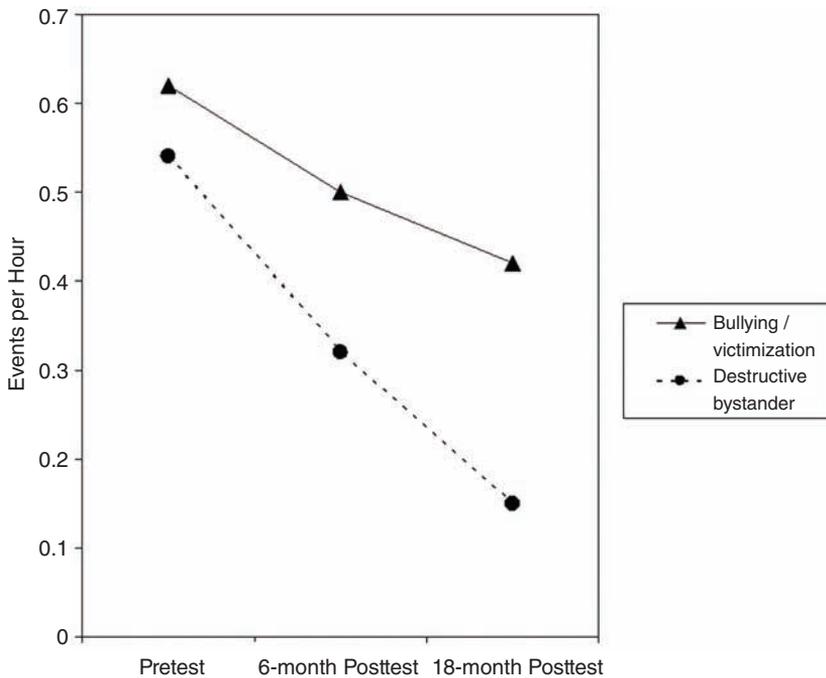


Figure 28.1 Playground behaviors at pretest and at 6- and 18-months after intervention (Adapted from Frey, Edstrom, et al., 2005).

Generalization Efforts and Coaching Teacher reports of their use of teachable moments to scaffold student behavior show moderate-to-strong correlations with observations of teacher behavior (Hirschstein, Van Schoiack Edstrom, Frey, & Nolen, 2001). Previous work suggests that teacher scaffolding of social-emotional skills may be differentially effective in intervention and control classrooms (Van Schoiack, 2000), perhaps because in-the-moment prompts that are not accompanied by formal instruction lack shared social norms and practice in pertinent skills.

Analyses undertaken within intervention classrooms indicate that in-the-moment prompts to use bullying coping skills predicted subsequent declines in playground aggression in fifth- and sixth-grade classrooms (Hirschstein, Edstrom, Frey, Snell, & MacKenzie, 2007). Springtime aggression was also lower in the higher grades if teachers coached students more frequently. Teacher efforts at coaching appeared especially important for children involved at pretest as victims and destructive bystanders. Victims were less likely to be targets of bullying during the spring (6-month posttest) with more frequent coaching (see Figure 28.2). Likewise, children who had encouraged bullying became less frequently involved as bystanders (Hirschstein et al., 2007).

Limitations and Future Research

A contribution of the Steps to Respect evaluation is the use of observational methods to assess changes in bullying and victimization. Additional work with larger school samples is needed to test effects on school social ecologies. We know of no evaluation research that examines changes in the peer social structure, for example. One possible result of a successful intervention is a shift to less hierarchical and more democratic interactions.

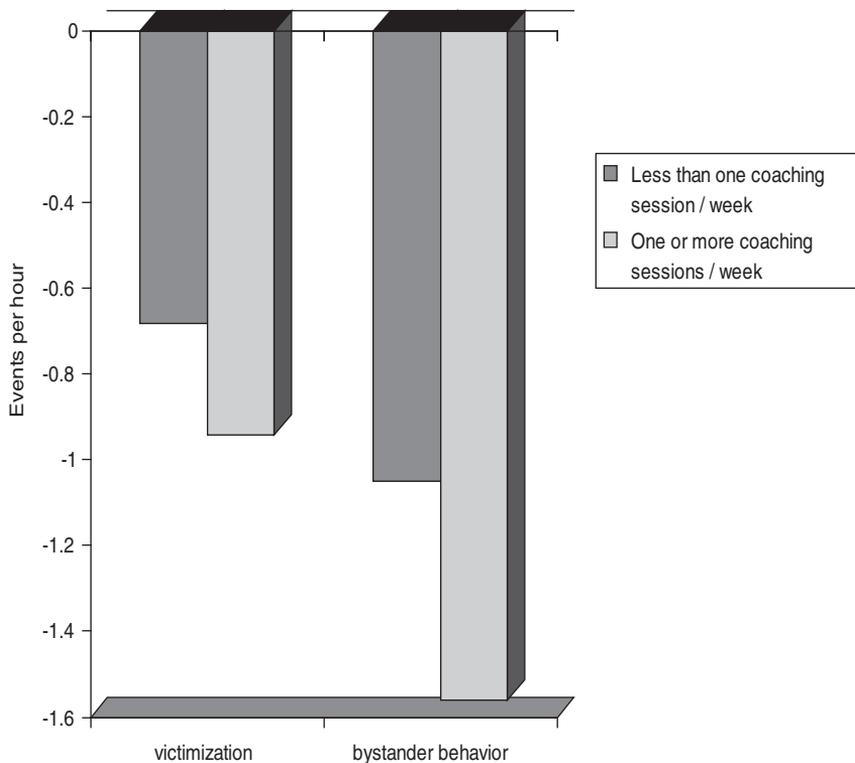


Figure 28.2 Weekly frequency of teacher coaching predicts fall-to-spring declines in victimization and destructive bystander behavior among children involved in those behaviors at pretest (adapted from Hirschstein et al., 2007).

There is also a need for longitudinal observations on the change process (Eddy, Dishion, & Stoolmiller, 1998). Even successful interventions may not proceed in a uniformly positive direction. The introduction of new ethical norms and environmental contingencies may stimulate push-back from students who stand to lose power (Frey & Nolen, in press). There may even be an exacerbation of tension between “early responders” and those determined to maintain their grip on power. Increasing our understanding of this process would greatly assist educators as they guide their students in a responsible, civil direction.

The dearth of research on implementation effects (Walker, 2004) is also a hindrance to establishing best practices. While our results argue for the importance of non-scripted program elements, experimental studies are needed to examine the larger classroom context. Such work could proceed, for example, by training randomly assigned teachers to (a) teach lessons, (b) coach individual students, or (c) teach and coach in the context of a school-wide program.

Such a study could also contribute to practice by examining teachers’ decision making with respect to coaching. Educators underestimate the number of children who bully (Cornell & Brockenbrough, 2004). They may overlook students who appear well-behaved and socially powerful (Frey, 2005) compared to unskilled bully-victims, who react aggressively to provocations. Research (Leff, Kupersmidt, Patterson, & Power, 1999) and our own observations indicate that identification becomes more difficult with age and, presumably, skill of the child.

The greater responsiveness of older students to teacher coaching may simply reflect higher initial rates of aggression in fifth and sixth grades (Frey, Hirschstein, et al., 2005) or a greater focus on conflict resolution in the advanced program levels. Alternatively, more developmentally

advanced students may be better able to enact skills they learn during coaching. Self-regulatory demands increase when individuals attempt unfamiliar social behaviors (Vohs, Baumeister, & Ciarocco, 2005), and younger children may require more practice. Finally, older students may simply be more sensitive to inconsistencies between teacher talk and action (Hirschstein et al., 2007). Teachers who make the effort to coach students provide a visible enactment of norms for caring and responsibility. Our data suggests that even small increases provide benefits that extend to bystanders, as well as victims and aggressors. Experimental designs can help ascertain the separate and joint influences of program content and developmental factors.

Another question for future research is the effect of low rates of adult intervention (Craig et al., 2000; Frey, Hirschstein, Snell, et al., 2005). We have previously suggested that apparent adult indifference to bullying may teach young people to tolerate coercive and abusive behavior (Frey & Hirschstein, 2008). Our playground observations showed that positive intervention on the part of peers or adults was extremely rare. Such consistency suggests powerful social norms that may interfere with the emergence of socially responsible leadership (Jeffrey et al., 2001).

What are the consequences of failures in adult leadership? Failure to provide specific guidance in the early school years may have unintended consequences later. Does adult enforcement of anti-tattling norms during elementary school help create the “code of silence” so disturbing to adults when weapons are brought to school? Failure of adults to provide protection may feed student perceptions that adults are incompetent (Hoover, Oliver, & Hazler, 1992) and uncaring (Astor et al., 1999). Do students in bully-conducive schools experience a crisis of confidence in adults? Our conversations with students indicate that they view bullying as an important issue. Are they less likely to trust and seek adult guidance if adults present themselves as irrelevant to young people’s concerns? We need research that examines how adult leadership in the bullying arena might affect educators’ ability to positively influence and mentor students.

Conclusions

Research has expanded our appreciation that bullying flourishes when social systems support it. Cross-national studies testify to the power of culture to influence bullying rates. Israel and the United States, for example, have high and moderately high rates of adolescent bullying relative to three Western European countries (Smith-Khuri et al., 2004). Because its frequency varies with culture, bullying may be more responsive to ecological interventions than adolescent problems that vary little across nations. We have argued that at some ages, experimentation with bullying is developmentally normal for American children. The United States may be unique in its attempt to deal with bullying through legal prohibitions. In the face of cultural supports for bullying, punitive frameworks are unlikely to foster the development of respectful means of influence.

In contrast, our work indicates that a multilevel intervention can yield substantial reductions in victimization, aggression, and argumentative and destructive bystander behavior. *Steps to Respect* combines a school-wide ecological intervention with overtly educational methods: classroom curricula and coaching of selected students.

Coaching provides a clear demonstration of teacher support for program norms. We believe that a disciplinary framework based on coaching offers three important advantages over well-intentioned zero tolerance policies (Frey, Edstrom, et al., 2005). First, it encourages reporting by demonstrating that adults are neither passive nor overly reactive in the face of bullying. Bystanders, and even victims, may subscribe to beliefs that bullying is inconsequential or deserved (Graham & Juvonen, 1998). Thus, expulsion may seem disproportionate and arouse student fears of a peer backlash, especially if the perpetrators have high status (Limber & Small, 2003).

Table 28.1 Implications for Practice: *Steps to Respect* Program Elements and Goals

Program Elements	Program Goals
Adult Leadership	Bolster adults' credibility as knowledgeable, caring, effective Foster ability to guide students, particularly in ethical matters
School-Wide Elements	Communicate policy and create supportive procedures Prepare adults to form student-adult partnerships Provide a practical demonstration of adult leadership
Classroom Curricula	Encourage personal link to norms via discussions and pledges Provide guidelines for bystander and victim responses to bullying Provide instruction, prompting, and practice in social-emotional skills Open teacher-student dialogue
Selected Intervention	Provide measured, consistent adult responses to bullying events Encourage student reporting Provide instruction and support to forestall future problems Enact norms of civility, justice, and respect

Second, the coaching model provides consistent, economical, and timely intervention. Inconsistencies in application of zero tolerance policies (Skiba et al., 2006) may be due in part to the number of young people involved in bullying—too many to be suspended. There is also the need to establish guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. Even with a considerable investment of time, the requisite proof may not be forthcoming, leaving adults in a relatively powerless position. Youngsters may develop entrenched bullying habits before clear evidence is available.

Third, coaching models provide important educational opportunities. Non-stigmatizing adult guidance exemplifies the values of anti-bullying programs. Students are expected to generate positive responses to bullying behavior, whether they are on the giving or receiving end. Students seem eager to understand and acquire a sense of power in their lives. Educators can help students learn requisite skills and communicate high standards of civility and responsibility. In sum, a coaching model provided in the context of a multilevel intervention enables adults to provide effective leadership, while scaffolding positive student development.

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