Promoting peer intervention in name-calling[1]

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Results from two studies conducted at a mixed-ethnic elementary school in Canada are presented to demonstrate the potential for bystanders to stop verbal bullying. Name-calling is one of the most common forms of bullying, and leaving it unchecked fosters a tolerance for intergroup discrimination. Because it occurs in unsupervised places, peer bystanders must play a role in stopping it. The results of our survey with 204 students from third to sixth grade indicated that 60% witnessed bullying in the previous four weeks: 28% verbal, 24% social, and 23% physical. Compared to third graders, sixth graders witnessed more bullying and felt more bothered about it, yet fewer tried to intervene (10% compared to 22% for third graders). The second study used a modelling and role-playing paradigm to study the kinds of verbal intervention students felt comfortable making. Students from younger and older grade levels heard an audiotaped name-calling scenario with an ingroup bully and an outgroup victim. They then heard a peer or adult model use low- and high- explicit responses, with or without a rationale. An explicit response refers to stating the behavioural rule and/or value — a strategy found to be effective in other forms of socialisation. When students were given an opportunity to respond, post-test interventions were more explicit than pre-test ones. However, third graders were more influenced by adult models and sixth graders more influenced by peer models. Rationales given by students also varied as a function of grade and model. The findings are an important starting point in informing programmes as to the words and the models most acceptable to students who are being asked to take a stand against bias and bullying.

Keywords: intergroup relations, bullying, school programme, Canada

Bullying, defined as harmful physical, verbal, or relational aggression used intentionally to assert dominance (Craig & Pepler, 2003), is common in schools throughout the world and has deleterious effects on bullies, victims, and witnesses (Liang, Flisher, & Lombard, 2007; Nansel et al., 2004). Unfortunately, interventions targeting victims and bullies alone to reduce rates have met with limited success (e.g., Pepler, Craig, O'Connell,

Atlas, & Charach, 2004). Thus more recent interventions have included the peer group (Salmivalli, 1999). However, research on peer bystander intervention in bullying episodes has identified a discrepancy between students' unfavourable attitudes toward bullying and the limited actions they take to stop it. The purpose of this study was to describe the findings of a survey of bully, victim, and bystander experiences at one mixed-ethnic school in Canada, and then to examine conditions that facilitate bystander verbal retorts to bullying episodes.

Name-calling

Name-calling is by far the most frequent form of bullying and a common form of intergroup discrimination that goes largely unchecked in schools (e.g., Verkuyten, Kinket, & Van der Wielen, 1997). In one study describing the experiences of victims, 75% of the children reported being called names (Smith & Shu, 2000). In comparison, 38% had rumours and lies spread about them, 31% were socially excluded, and 21% were physically bullied. The name or slur need not be racial in content; if directed at an outgroup peer, it is perceived as racial or ethnic discrimination (Aboud & Joong, 2007). Because these incidents go unchecked, they set a norm for tolerating public discrimination.

Most name-calling episodes are witnessed by bystanders who are not directly involved in the bullying. Over 80% of students say that witnessing bullying makes them feel distressed, and they admire those who intervene. Most students express empathy: 43% saying they would try to help the victim, 33% saying they felt they should help but did not, and 24% saying it is none of their business (Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001). Yet, typically only 20% to 25% of elementary school bystanders intervene (Hawkins et al., 2001; O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999). Thus, there is a large gap between students' negative attitudes toward bullying and behavioural attempts to stop it.

The first study presented here is a survey of bullies, victims, and witnesses in a mixed-ethnic primary school. Previous research at the school found high levels of cross-ethnic interaction, though friendship declined with grade (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003). Positive outgroup attitudes were also documented with young children at the school (Aboud, 2003) and with older ones, as a function of having a high-quality friendship (Aboud et al., 2003). Still, one can expect conflict to co-exist with contact.

Teaching bystanders to intervene in name-calling

Programmatic attempts to stop name-calling, and intergroup discrimination more generally, have begun to include the wider social circle, in particular witnesses (e.g., Aboud & Joong, 2007; Lamb, Bigler, Liben, & Green, under review; Stevens, Van Oost, & De Bourdeaudhuij, 2004). Unlike the original bystander research with adults (see, for example, Darley, Teger, & Lewis, 1973), child bystanders of name-calling face a situation where they know the interactants and the harm is psychological rather than physical. For

these and other reasons, we found that intervening in an incident of name-calling was not a matter of deciding whether this was an emergency and whether the responsibility could be diffused (Aboud & Joong, 2007). There was no apathy here. Rather, witnesses appeared to be in an approach–avoidance internal conflict with equal weights attached to the push and pull forces: anger at the bully, yet not knowing what to say to be effective, and fear of the consequences. Children may resolve disputes with friends using criticism, but they typically do not reprimand peers for misdeeds involving others (Walker, Hennig, & Kretenauer, 2000). Moreover, bullies appear to have high status among their peers (Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004). Yet, because bullying takes place in unsupervised areas, peer bystanders are now regarded by many as potentially effective in putting a stop to name-calling.

Socialisation research identifies two key aspects of a successful response to transgressions, namely stating an explicit behavioural rule or value, and a rationale (e.g., Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). For example, when parents reprimand their children for not sharing toys with a peer, they could state the rule to 'share your toys with your friend', or the value that 'getting along with others is important', and a rationale for sharing, such as 'he's unhappy that he can't play with your toys and he won't want to play with you again'. We studied these using a modelling and role-playing paradigm during which children 'witnessing' a taped name-calling scenario heard a model intervene by stating a less or more explicit rule/value with or without a rationale. Children were then given the opportunity to play the role of bystander and respond to the name-caller. The explicitness of their response to the name-caller and the articulation of a rationale were measured both before and after exposure to the model. Because children were exposed to a variety of modelled responses, and then co-constructed their own, their responses told us what reprimands they were willing and able to acquire and use in name-calling situations. For example, in a previous study using this paradigm, we found that children gave a more explicit rule/value to an ingroup bully who targeted an outgroup victim compared to an ingroup victim; when the victim was outgroup, they were also more likely to state a moral justification for not calling names (Aboud & Joong, 2007). Consequently, students were more willing and able to express an explicit anti-bullying response in intergroup encounters.

The present study used the scenario of an ingroup bully with an outgroup victim, but varied as to whether the model was a peer or an adult (teacher). School social and health programmes are often delivered by teachers, despite known benefits of peer-led education (Mellanby, Rees, & Tripp, 2000). Because peer relations and peer conformity become important in the early adolescent years (Gavin & Furman, 1989), children in the later primary years of school were expected to be more influenced by a peer model, and younger children by an adult model. Both were expected to understand the seriousness of psychological harm potentially resulting from bullying (Helwig, Zelazo, & Wilson, 2001). In all cases, we used an ingroup model because of the persuasive impact of the ingroup (Mackie & Queller, 2000).

Acting as an assertive bystander in the role-playing paradigm was assessed in terms of the students' level of explicitness of the rule/value and their use of a reason for the rule/value. We developed a 7-point continuum of explicit responses to name-calling using rules and values as one endpoint and less explicit responses such as questioning and disagreeing as the other (Aboud & Fenwick, 1999). Levels of explicitness, while being derived from socialisation theory, were also observed by Hawkins et al. (2001), who found that 53% of responses to name-callers cited the behavioural rule (i.e., to stop calling names) or the value (i.e., the unacceptability of the behaviour); the other 43% were aggressive (e.g., pushing, swearing, or excluding).

The rationales given by students could also be effective in stopping bullying, according to socialisation theory (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). They might reveal what kinds of reasons students felt would be effective in stopping a name-caller. There are several ways to construe rationales, but one common system uses three categories: moral, social conventional, and psychological (Yau & Smetana, 2003). In our formative research, we found all three were used to justify both intervening and not intervening to stop name-calling. For example, moral principles such as fairness and respect might bolster intervening, whereas permitting privacy when it is not one's business or responsibility to interfere might be an argument for not intervening.

Finally, we examined how effective the students perceived their own and the models' responses to the name-caller. Effectiveness is usually conceived in terms of stopping the name-calling. However, a broader social perspective, including how effectively peer responses impact the victim, other onlookers, and the bystander him- or herself, was used in this study.

SCHOOL SURVEY OF BULLIES, VICTIMS, AND WITNESSES

Population and sample

The survey took place in a mixed ethnic elementary school where approximately 40% were white (including European), 30% of students were of Caribbean black background, 25% South Asian, and 5% East Asian. The school caters to students from lower to middle class neighbourhoods. All students in grades 3 to 6 were asked to participate with parental consent and student assent; 90% did. Ethics approval was granted by the researchers' university. Two hundred and four students completed the survey in class time as it was seen as part of the school's educational programme (Grade 3 $n = 42$, Grade 4 $n = 53$, Grade 5 $n = 51$, Grade 6 $n = 58$).

Measure and procedure

We used a survey produced and available online from the Canadian Public Health Association (Totten, Quigley, & Morgan, 2004). There are 47 items. Certain items were omitted for third graders in order to shorten the time required to complete the survey.

The section on bullying begins with a definition of bullying: 'A bully wants to hurt the other person (it's not an accident). A bully does or says the same things over and over again. Bullying is unfair.' This is to ensure that students do not consider harmless teasing or play fights or a one-time expression of anger. Physical (e.g., hit, kicked, or pushed), verbal (e.g., name-calling), social (e.g., exclusion or rumours), and electronic bullying are defined by examples (electronic bullying was uncommon and so data on it are not presented here). Students are asked if they have been bullied and what they did; if they took part in bullying other students, and if they witnessed students bullying other students. In addition, students report on 14 personal attributes that might have been targeted by the bullying. They report on the places at school where bullying happens most and when. All the bullying questions are given a time frame of 'the past four weeks'. The survey was administered four to five weeks after the spring school break, so students would have a clear time frame.

Results

The survey responses were analysed descriptively to determine the level of bullying, victimisation, and witnessing different forms of bullying. Twenty-seven per cent of students said they had been bullied at school sometimes, often or always: 13% were physically bullied weekly or more often, 22% verbally, and 16% socially; 11% said they had stayed home from school to avoid being bullied. According to these victims, the top seven personal attributes thought to be targeted by bullies were appearance 27%, academic strength 22%, clothes (especially girls) 21%, physical weakness (especially boys) 19%, weight 17%, skin colour 16.5%, and gender 16%. Some victims told an adult; an equal number fought back or stood up to the bully, and some tried to ignore it. Fewer students said they had 'taken part in bullying' on a weekly basis: 4% bullied others physically, 6% verbally, and 7% socially.

Over 60% of students had witnessed an incident of bullying in the past four weeks — 11% many times a week. Physical bullying was observed by 23%, verbal by 28%, and social by 24%. The breakdown for 3rd and 6th graders is presented in Figure 1. Older children witnessed more bullying than younger ones. They were also more likely to feel bothered when they observed others being bullied (50% vs. 33%). However, they were less likely to report trying to intervene (10% vs. 22%). The kinds of reaction they reported (see Table 1) included getting someone to stop the bullying, or to help the victim, or simply telling another person. However, large numbers either watched or ignored it. The most frequent reason for failing to intervene was not wanting to get involved ('it's none of my business'). Less frequently mentioned reasons were being afraid and not knowing what to say or do.
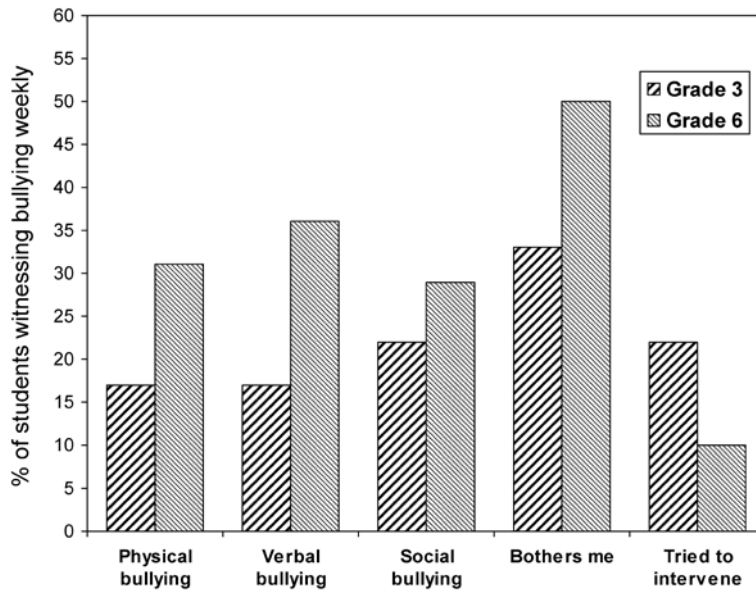
Figure 1. Percentage of students in grade 3 and 6 who witnessed bullying once a week or more in the past four weeks

Table 1. Percentage of students who reacted to seeing another bullied.

Reactions	Percentage
I got someone to help stop it.	31
I told an adult about it.	27
I told another student about it.	25
I told my parents about it.	23
At the time, I helped the person being bullied	21
I stood and watched.	14
I ignored it.	26
Reasons:	
− I did not want to get involved.	53
− I was afraid or felt threatened.	13
− I did not know what to do.	10
− Nobody would do anything about it	7
− The person being bullied deserved it.	6
− The bullying wasn't so bad.	5

Discussion

As in other research, name-calling was the most prevalent form of bullying in this mixed-ethnic school. It was relatively frequent in both the 3rd and 6th grades according to

both victims and witnesses. The attributes most likely to be targeted were appearance, academic achievement, race, and gender. Bullies are not necessarily prejudiced against these attributes; however, they choose attributes for which there is a societal stigma, such as race or weight, or they create a new schoolyard stigma towards academic strength or a type of clothing. So, students may begin to accept stigma attached to religion, dress, body shape, academic performance, and physical disability after witnessing regular bullying.

It must be recognised that contact provides an opportunity for conflict as well as friendship. Both existed at this mixed-ethnic school. The forms of bullying reported here were usually directed at individuals, but often because of their social category. Thus, the incidents were most probably perceived by witnesses as intergroup discrimination (Aboud & Joong, 2007). Because the discrimination was witnessed by so many students, on a frequent basis and with no negative consequences, it may engender an acceptance of public discrimination. Furthermore, peer bullying sets a norm that may undermine opportunities for positive integration arranged by school authorities and desired by students. For these two reasons, it is important that students who witness bullying learn to respond verbally.

Convincing students to intervene to stop bullying may not be easy. Very few reported intervening, particularly 6th graders and despite feeling somewhat or very bothered by bullying. Most did not want to get involved, but did want to watch or talk to someone else about it. Inhibitory feelings or cognitions such as fear of retaliation, and an absence of knowledge of non-confrontational words may underlie non-involvement. The present survey asked about soliciting the help of another adult, but did not raise the possibility that students would attempt to stop the bullying themselves. Students could be taught to use non-confrontational responses to name-callers, in a manner that does not put them in harm's way. Even if they are unable to stop the bullying, their anti-bias statements may serve to counter emergent norms of public discrimination.

MODELS FOR ASSERTIVE BYSTANDERS

The modelling and role-playing procedure used in this study has been used previously to study the acquisition of anti-bullying responses to intergroup name-calling (Aboud & Joong, 2007). Here we examined whether a peer or adult socialiser would be more effective as a function of the student's grade. The school had arranged classroom discussions on how to stop bullying, and students had drawn pictures and written stories. So our baseline consisted of what students had already learned from their classes. The immediate and delayed post-tests would reveal which of the model's responses they were willing and able to use in the name-calling scenario.

Both peer and adult models used a low-explicit level of response to the first name-calling incident and a high-explicit level of response to the second incident. Of interest, then, was which response students would use in the scenario when they took the role of intervening bystander. Only half the students heard rationales for why the bully should not call names. A psychological and a moral reason were given; social conventional reasons such as getting

into trouble or losing one's friends were not included because interviews had shown them to decline with age. Again, the purpose was to assess which rationales the students would use in the scenario. Conceivably, rationales might also convince our students to intervene with a higher level response. The effectiveness of these different anti-bully responses was also rated by students with regard to having an impact on the bully, the victim, other onlookers, and themselves. Finally, we predicted that, because of developmental changes in the influence of peers and parents, younger students would be more influenced to acquire responses from an adult model and older students from a peer model.

Participants

Students from the previously described Montreal school participated: grades 2/3 ($n = 45$; 24 boys, 21 girls) and grades 5/6 ($n = 51$; 21 boys, 30 girls). Once again, ethics approval was given by the researchers' university and parental consent was required. The response rate was 75%, lower for the black students than others. The ethnic distribution overall was 37% white, 27% black, 27% South Asian, and 6% East Asian.

Design and overview

A grade (2/3 and 5/6) × model (peer, adult) × condition (rationale modelled or not) × trial (pre-test, immediate post-test, delayed post-test, and generalisation) design was used with trial being a repeated variable. Students were randomly assigned to hear a peer or adult model, and to hear a model who asserted a low and then highly explicit response (assertion only) or these assertions with a rationale. Trial refers to the occasions when the subject was given an opportunity to take the role of a bystander in the name-calling scenario. The dependent measure was participant's verbal responses directed to the bully in an audio-taped scenario, and these were coded for explicitness and reasoning. We refer to the model's justification for his or her assertion as a rationale, and the participant's as a reason.

Procedure and measures

Participants were assigned to a female interviewer of similar ethnic background. Students were individually interviewed and informed about the confidential and anonymous nature of the study and their right to discontinue or refuse to answer. After a warm-up listening to common nasty names, students heard a taped intergroup name-calling scenario. They underwent a pre-test of their verbal responses to a name-caller, followed by exposure to a model (peer or adult, with or without a rationale), and then several post-tests of their verbal response to the name-caller (immediate, delayed, and generalisation).

Hurtful names

Children were presented with a list of hurtful names that the interviewer read aloud to

prepare them psychologically for the names to follow and reduce any surprise or discomfort they may have felt at having adults present hurtful name-calling scenarios. They were asked if they had heard any of these or others recently.

Name-calling scenarios

Students then listened to the audio-taped name-calling scenario while being shown the photograph of their schoolyard, and photographs with name labels of the bully and victim in the tape recording. Same-sex tapes and photos were used. The bully always had the same skin colour as the participant (white or brown), and the victim was always the participant's outgroup. The photos were slightly blurred to reduce attention to specific facial expressions. Participants were instructed as follows: 'I'm going to play you a tape of a situation that happened in your schoolyard. It has been acted out by other kids, but this situation was once overheard here.' The tape had 15 turns taken by three acquaintances: A bully, victim, and a bystander. The bystander had few turns, a name label, and no photo.

Pre-test

Participants then listened to the same audio-taped name-calling scenario, now including twenty-second pauses after each of the two name-callings on the tape. The order of the two name-callings was fixed. They were instructed to take the role of the bystander in the scenario and say something to the bully. Specifically, they were told: 'I want you to act as if you were in [the bystander's] shoes and say something to [the bully]. Let's see what you could think of saying to [the bully] if you were there.' A small tape recorder was placed in front of them to arouse their self-consciousness as it would be in a real-life situation. Participants' responses on the occasions of the two pauses, and subsequent ones, were written down and audio-recorded for later coding of explicit level and reason.

Model

Responses of a same-sex model (peer or adult) were played during the twenty-second pauses after each of the two name-callings in the same scenario. In one condition, responses contained only assertions. After the first name-calling, students heard a level 2 and 3 assertion ('Why would you want to call him/her that? S/he's not that way') and a level 6 assertion following the second name calling ('Stop calling him/her names. It's mean and rude'). In the other condition, students heard the same assertions but with a psychological rationale ('It hurts his/her feelings and he/she didn't do anything to you.') following the first name-calling and a moral rationale ('It's wrong to call anyone names, no one deserves to be called that.') following the second. These responses and rationales were initially obtained from open-ended interviews with students.

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Post-tests

Students then listened to the same audio-taped scenario immediately after hearing the model (immediate post-test) and again one week later (delayed post-test) with 20-second pauses to respond to the bully. The same instructions from the pre-test were used. As before, participants' interventions were coded for level of explicitness and for the absence or presence of a moral, social, and/or psychological reason.

Generalisation

Students listened to another audio-taped scenario during the delayed session. This one had the same format with 20-second pauses, but was about name-calling during lunch in the cafeteria. Instructions and coding were the same as before.

Effectiveness

Immediately following, participants rated the effectiveness of the taped interventions (their own comments as well as those of the model). Effectiveness was assessed by asking the same four questions (e.g., Would it stop the [bully] from name-calling? Would it make the hurt person feel better? Would it impress other kids to agree? Would it make the responder feel better?) with regard to their own comments, the model's first comment, and the model's second comment, which students answered on a scale of 0 (not at all) to 9 (definitely, yes). Composites were computed by averaging scores.

Debrief

Students were then thanked for their participation and reminded of the confidential nature of the interview, and the interviewer answered any questions they may have had. At the end of the study, a classroom discussion of bullying was held with students.

Method of coding students' responses to name-caller

A coding scheme of 0 to 6 was used to code participants' verbal interventions for level of explicitness:

0 = remain silent, walk away, agree, or not address bully
1 = continue as if nothing special was said or justify the victim's behaviour; e.g., let's play
2 = question comment or make an indirectly disagreeing remark; e.g., what do you mean by that?
3 = express direct disagreement with the content; e.g., he's not that way
4 = stop the comment without addressing content; e.g., stop saying those words
5 = express disapproval, negative evaluation; e.g., that's mean
6 = stop comment and evaluate it; e.g., stop calling her nasty names

Validation of the order of explicitness was determined with undergraduates who placed examples of each code in this order, though there is a big gap between levels 1 and 2.

If the participant provided a reason as to why the bully should desist, it was coded as either moral, social conventional, or psychological. Moral reasons concern principles of equality, rights, duties, responsibilities, respect, and fairness (e.g., 'nobody deserves to be called names'). Social conventional reasons concern schoolyard norms and disapproval from others (e.g., 'you won't have any friends if you talk to people like that'). Last, psychological reasons concern personal relationships and feelings (e.g., 'it hurts his/her feelings when you call names like that'). Inter-rater reliability for two coders was over 90% agreement on assertions and reasons combined.

Results

The analysed dependent variable was students' post-test assertions coded on a 0 to 6 scale. Initially, we expected students' replies to become more explicit over the two name-calling incidents on each taped scenario. However, this was not always the case. Consequently, we analysed the student's highest level of assertion over the two incidents. Preliminary analyses indicated that sex and ethnicity were not significantly related to post-test assertions and so were omitted from further analyses. The first analysis simply tested whether students' responses became more explicit from the pre-test to the post-test, using an ANOVA with grade, model, and condition, as well as the repeated measure of trial, namely pre-test, immediate post-test, and delayed post-test. Because the trial effect was significant, $F(2, 176) = 3.56$, $p < 0.03$, we went on to examine whether grade, model, and condition influenced their choice of response.

We conducted an analysis of covariance where grade, peer/adult model, and absence/presence of a modelled rationale were the between-subjects variables and the pre-test level was the covariate. Post-test assertions were then dichotomised (i.e., after the ANCOVA, as a follow-up analysis) to examine the proportion whose assertions were 4 or more indicating asserting the rule and/or value of not name-calling. Grade differences were examined to see whether they reflected the analyses of continuous scores.

The 2 (Grade) × 2 (Model) × 2 (Rationale) ANCOVA on immediate post-test assertion levels revealed a significant Grade × Model interaction, $F(1, 87) = 6.20$, $p < 0.02$. Means and standard deviations presented in Table 2 and Newman-Keuls comparisons of means found that, in the adult-model condition, assertions of younger students were significantly higher than assertions of older students, whereas no difference was found with peer models. Pre-test levels had been equivalent under all model conditions. Delayed post-test analyses, using the same strategy of covarying pre-test levels, yielded similar results: The Grade × Model interaction, $F(1, 87) = 4.00$, $p < 0.05$, revealed higher assertions by younger compared to older students in the adult-model condition. Dichotomising students into those whose highest level was greater than 3 indicated that approximately 70% reached this level on the pre-test. Over 90% of younger children in the adult-model condition reached this level on the post-test, whereas there was no change among older students. Change was reversed among those in the peer-model condition, with younger

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children showing a slight decline and older students a slight increase. In sum, there was strong support for the prediction that students' grade determined whether they were influenced by the peer and adult models.

Table 2. Mean (standard deviation) explicitness of students' verbal responses (0 to 6) as a function of grade and model

	Pre-test	Immediate post-test	Delayed post-test	Generalisation
Grade 2/3				
Peer model (n = 24)	3.92 (2.0)	4.00 (1.9)	4.17 (1.5)	3.92 (1.9)
Adult model (n = 21)	3.86 (2.0)	4.90 (1.1)	5.00 (1.2)	4.81 (1.3)
Grade 5/6				
Peer model (n = 24)	3.88 (1.8)	4.54 (1.4)	4.21 (1.5)	3.54 (1.4)
Adult model (n = 27)	3.88 (1.6)	3.85 (1.6)	3.96 (1.3)	3.52 (1.6)

Students' response to the generalisation name-caller was not significantly different; however, the Trial × Grade interaction indicated that younger students produced a more explicit response in this new scenario, F (1, 88) = 4.35, p < 0.04. Older students reverted to their pre-test level of explicitness.

There was little support for the expectation that students would produce more explicit assertions after listening to the model provide a rationale for not name-calling. Rationale condition had no significant effect on assertion level. However, an ANCOVA was conducted to examine the numbers across three post-tests of moral, social, and psychological reasons as a function of three between-subjects factors, namely grade (2), model (2), rationale condition (2), and the within-subject factor of three coded reasons, covarying the number of reasons given at pre-test. Students who heard the model produce rationales did respond with a higher frequency of reasons, F (1, 85) = 4.12, p < 0.05 (Ms = 1.00 and 1.78). However, the reasons they gave were not directly related to the ones they heard, as there was no Condition × Reason interaction. Rather there was a main effect for type of reason, F (2, 170) = 6.21, p < 0.002; Grade × Reason, F (2, 170) = 6.79, p < 0.001; and Grade × Model × Reason, F (2, 170) = 5.64, p < 0.004. Means for the last interaction (see Table 3) indicated that moral reasons came more from older students, social conventional reasons more from younger students who heard an adult model, and psychological reasons more from younger students who heard a peer model. Psychological reasons were generally highest.

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Table 3. Mean (standard deviation) sum of post-test reasons according to type, grade, and model

	Type of reason given by students		
	Moral	**Social conventional**	**Psychological**
Grade 2/3			
Peer model (n = 24)	0.12 (0.6)	0.37 (0.8)	0.92 (1.5)
Adult model (n = 21)	0.05 (0.2)	0.90 (1.3)	0.43 (1.0)
Grade 5/6			
Peer model (n = 24)	0.54 (1.0)	0.42 (1.2)	0.54 (0.8)
Adult model (n = 27)	0.37 (0.7)	0.15 (0.5)	0.74 (1.2)

Effectiveness ratings of their own and the models' responses to the name-caller were analysed. Alpha coefficients permitted summing across the three responses (own, model's less explicit, model's more explicit) for each of the targets: Bully ($\alpha = 0.58$), victim ($\alpha = 0.68$), onlookers ($\alpha = 0.69$), self ($\alpha = 0.79$). Consequently, a 2 (Grade) × 2 (Model) × 2 (Condition) ANOVA was conducted on the four repeated target measures. The target effect was significant, as was the Target × Grade interaction: F (3, 267) = 10.41, $p < 0.0001$, F (3, 267) = 3.54, $p < 0.02$, respectively. Neither the peer/adult model nor the provision of a rationale affected perceived effectiveness. Students in both grades rated anti-bully responses to be more effective in making the victim feel better and making themselves feel better, and less effective in stopping the name-caller and getting support from onlookers (see Table 4). Simple main effects found that older students were particularly sceptical of their effectiveness in stopping the bully, which notably had the lowest alpha coefficient.

Table 4. Mean (standard deviation) effectiveness ratings from 0 (not at all) to 9 (definitely yes) of anti-bully responses by grade

	Ways to be effective			
	To stop bully	**To support victim**	**To impress onlookers**	**Self-affirmation**
Grade 2/3	6.44 (2.5)	6.80 (2.5)	6.15 (2.5)	6.75 (2.9)
Grade 5/6	5.76 (1.8)	7.41 (1.7)	6.42 (1.8)	7.56 (1.8)
Total	6.08 (2.1)	7.13 (2.1)	6.30 (2.2)	7.18 (2.4)

Discussion

The main findings were that students adopted more explicit rule/value responses after hearing the model give both a less and more explicit response to the name-caller. Adult

models were more effective in raising the explicitness of younger students' response and less effective with older students who showed an inclination to be influenced by peer models. Students also used a rationale more if they had been exposed to a model's rationale for not calling names. Older students were more likely to use a moral reason, and younger students a social or psychological reason, depending on the model. Still, older students were less likely to maintain their explicit response in the generalisation scenario and felt that responses would not be strongly effective with the bully. Given that bystanders must take a more assertive role in stopping name-calling, providing acceptable models to students may be an important intervention for schools to adopt.

Socialisation theories have pointed out that clarity about the rule and value is important and that a rationale for the rule might motivate children to comply. However, students do not have many models for ways in which to directly dissuade peers from calling nasty names. They do not frequently hear their peers address a bully directly, and adults tend to reprimand or impose discipline, which is inappropriate between peers. Here we used the same assertions for peer and adult models, taken from open-ended interviews with students and put on a continuum from low to highly explicit. Adult models were more influential in raising the explicitness of younger students' responses but not influential with older students. Older students were more likely to offer moral rationales, whereas younger children offered social rationales, and both gave psychological reasons for not calling names. School programmes may therefore be delivered by teachers to younger students, emphasising the need for bystanders to be explicit with the anti-bullying rule and value. However, for older students, their engagement may be more complex.

Older students are more mature cognitively and must negotiate more complex social relations between adults and peers. Their cognitive maturity is evidenced by greater use of moral reasons for not calling names. Moral reasons in this case refer to the principles of fairness, equality, and respect, regardless of the social norms or personal relationships of those involved. Moral reasons cite a source that is more abstract than the particular situation. However, older students were more likely to adopt the explicit response of a peer than an adult and less likely to maintain this response in a new scenario. They may be suspicious of adult rules and reluctant to side with adults, though in fact the rule was the same as that expressed by the peer. Knowing that bullies are perceived to be popular among peers (Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004), older students may want to maintain good relations with them as well as with other onlookers. In fact, siding with a victim, and against a bully, may have negative relational consequences for older children, with little confidence that their response will stop the name-calling.

The findings presented here can be integrated into existing programmes to make them more effective. Results from a three-year-long school-based intervention in Toronto that included activities to change attitudes and promote support and communication to fellow students saw no significant improvements in bystander responses, although bullying rates did decrease in one school and teacher reprimands increased in the classroom, but not on the playground (Pepler et al., 2004). An intervention carried out in 24 Flemish schools

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consisting of four group sessions, which used perspective-taking, problem-solving strategies, social skills training, and modelling and role-play techniques, showed that peer bystanders increased their support for victims and seeking teacher support, but had no effect on direct responding to bullies (Stevens, Van Oost, & De Bourdeaudhuij, 2004) Thus, increasing bystander intervention in bullying episodes is a challenge.

Giving children effective words and phrases to say to bullies is important. The desire to watch and remain uninvolved may partly stem from their fear of selecting the wrong words that might attract the bully's unwanted attention. Lamb et al. (under review) found that letting students practise several different phrases helped them respond to gender discrimination more than simply hearing the phrases modelled in stories. This was practised during class time so that all students knew what to say if they were a bystander or victim and what to expect if they were a bully. The phrases stated the rule, but were a formula, such as: 'You can't say you can't play.' A formula might be easier to recall and articulate, but it may not be serviceable for all occasions and all ages. Still, group programmes that give students practice with non-confrontational phrases, along with moral rationales, would be a helpful start. Such programmes need to be sensitive to the developmental level of students, allowing older students more peer leadership and discussion of alternative assertions and rationales. To be effective, students need to co-construct their responses, as they did here.

Programmes could also emphasise the effectiveness of bystander interventions with persons other than the bully. Older students, here, were probably accurate in assuming that the modelled responses would be ineffective in the long term in stopping the name-calling. Yet, in the short term, peer interventions have been observed effectively to stop bullying in 75% of all episodes (O'Connell et al., 1999). More important, students in the present study felt more effective in making the victim feel better, and capturing the agreement of other onlookers. They also felt some self-affirmation. Consequently, by intervening, bystanders would create positive schoolyard norms for intergroup relations, re-affirm their own anti-bias attitudes, and serve as role models for other students. Thus, in addition to authority support for integration (Allport, 1979), bullying research suggests that attention be given to more assertive anti-bias input by peers.

The findings from this research provide evidence for only a few components of an anti-bullying programme. The controlled and safe context in which we studied students' responses to name-callers and the lack of peer onlookers likely enhanced the explicitness of students' responses. Our level of intervention was higher than what has been found in natural observations of school grounds (e.g., Hawkins et al., 2001). Thus external validity is limited. Missing is the direct influence of other students who might promote or hinder responding to bullies. Although students are influenced by subjective norms, pre-adolescent students may be particularly sensitive to the norms of those present. In conclusion, while the building blocks of a programme aimed at bystanders include models and words to use when confronting bullies, the role of the social context, particularly norms, will need to be better understood.

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NOTE

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