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A Qualitative Study: Gendered Perceptions of Bullying
Among Adolescents at a Boys and Girls Club

A thesis

presented to

the faculty of the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology

East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in Criminal Justice and Criminology

by

Beverly Small Chandley

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Wayne Gillespie, PhD., Chair

Michael Braswell, PhD.

John Whitehead, PhD.

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ABSTRACT

A Qualitative Study: Gendered Perceptions of Bullying

Among Adolescents at a Boys and Girls Club

by

Beverly Small Chandley

Bullying is a form of peer violence needing extensive research to help understand the differences in gender for the prevention of such behavior. Most research has been performed in school settings and in a quantitative manner. This study was conducted by six researchers in an after-school facility with a qualitative approach. A minimum of 15 hours per researcher was spent observing behaviors and 20 interviews were performed. A grounded theory approach was used for the analysis of data which tend to show more similarities than differences in the way children bully as well as their perceptions of bullying.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It is a common fact that some children are frequently and systematically harassed or attacked by other children. Bullying has been described in previous studies, though almost exclusively within a school setting. I have noticed that only in the past two decades has bullying behavior been treated as a serious problem and not just a normal part of growing up, something to be accepted and condoned. Bullying can have long-term consequences for the bully, victim, and bystander (Selekman & Vessey, 2004). The current study is a qualitative study of teen and pre-teens at an after-school facility. Using interviews and observations, I focused on getting a child's perspective of different aspects of bullying behavior. I also looked for and allowed the possibility that there might well be differences between bullying carried out and suffered by persons of each gender.

Definition of Bullying

An early researcher in the field, Olweus (as cited in Dake, Price & Telljohann, 2003), defines bullying as: "A student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students" (p. 173). The current study will use this definition as a frame of reference. In general, bullying from observations is any act performed by one or more to another with the intent to cause some harm. This includes physical actions as well as psychological tactics that affect another in some negative way. Because the study was limited to one semester, it is difficult to include the phrase of 'repeatedly and over time' as mentioned above.

Examples of Bullying Behavior

During my observations, there were many times when a member of larger physique would enter the gym then purposely and deliberately take a basketball away from a smaller child. Sometimes, but not often, this was met with resistance; more often the smaller child would walk away with his or her head down and play quietly in another area. The child would come back to the gym but would avoid the larger member who took the ball.

Another example of this behavior occurred in the teen room when a 13-year-old girl told another member that “Brittney is a ho” (Ho is defined as a prostitute by Williams and Kornblum (1998) in an article titled Players and Ho’s. They are describing the double standard for males and females in society.) A day later there was a loud confrontation between several kids about who was a ‘ho’ and who said what. The 13-year-old and Brittney wanted to fight to defend their positions. The other children were encouraging the girls to fight. This was an ongoing feud throughout the semester. Both girls were physically attractive and they seemed to share the same male suitors, which only fueled the fire between them. The two girls were observed bullying others, both physically and emotionally.

During an activity with a researcher, four girls were having their nails painted. Another girl, seemingly of the same age but smaller physique, entered to join the nail painting but was met with name-calling and hateful behavior. The group of girls told her that she needed to go back in the other room and stay out of their way. They acted as if they had control of the room and could exclude anyone they chose. The little girl ignored

the name-calling and waited quietly for her turn. She was really proud of her nails and showed them to me when she was finished.

Extent of Bullying

Bullying is a problem all over the world and is evident by the ongoing research in many countries. Some examples are: Atlas and Pepler (1998) in Toronto; Baldry (2004) in the Netherlands; Cranham and Carroll (2003) in Australia; and Schwartz, Farver, Chang, and Lee-Shin (2002) in South Korea. It appears, from the conclusions made in these articles that the results are similar regardless of the culture or the set of norms by which one is raised. Statistics compiled by Knoll (2001) indicate that, “in a recent study, 77% of the students said they had been bullied. Fourteen % of those who were bullied said they experienced severe (bad) reactions to the abuse” (p. 1). Some estimate that 30% of children are involved in bullying either as a bully or victim. If bystanders are included, because they too are affected by bullying, the numbers would increase dramatically.

Gender difference is an area that is being studied in bullying research. The belief is and has always been that males are more likely to be involved with physical forms of violence or bullying. Statistics presented by the Bureau of Justice in 2001 indicate 46% of males and only 26% of females reported they had been in physical fights. Literature from Schafer et al. (2004) confirms that males are more aggressive than females and tend to want to hit, push, and kick. They also claim females are thought to be involved in emotional types of bullying such as name-calling and starting or spreading rumors about another to cause harm. Females are also more likely to exclude individuals from their

peer group. However, I would suggest this view of male and female differences may be part of a stereotype in contemporary culture.

Power imbalance is another issue with bullying where the stronger person is more likely to dominate the weaker person. Another type of power imbalance occurs when individuals feel more powerful because they are in a group where they have peers as their audience and support. They may not be stronger than the victim, but in the group they are perceived to be more powerful. Still another type of power similar to the peer group is to have a parent, older sibling, or a friend with authority nearby. An example of this will be detailed later in this study where a girl attending the club has a parent working in an authoritative position.

Consequences of Bullying Behavior

The consequences of bullying can range from mild discomfort to lifelong anti-social behavior or even death (Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Marttunen, Rimpela, and Rantanen, 1999). It has been found that bullies and the victims of bullying feel the effects of the behavior well into adulthood (Mishap, 2003). Bullying starts as aggressive behavior in childhood and, if left unresolved or untreated, can escalate into unlawful behavior as adults. Bullying behavior is linked to other types of anti-social behavior such as vandalism, shoplifting, skipping and dropping out of school, fighting, and substance abuse, all of which impact the criminal justice system (Ericson, 2001). Any number of homicides and suicides in our schools is unacceptable, of course, but the number of events have now risen to such an unusually high level that their numbers have garnered the attention of the public. Bullying is a component identified with these homicides and suicides, and, therefore, it must be addressed immediately.

Bullies feel more powerful than others. According to Mishap (2003), bullies tend to have an aggressive and impulsive personality, and they enjoy dominating others and feeling bigger, tougher, or stronger than their victims. This power can come from physical strength or it can come from feeling powerful in a group. Bullies are more likely to break the law early in adulthood (Schafer et al. 2004), and this has to be considered a continuum of the earlier, childhood events and experiences.

Victims of bullying experience loneliness, trouble making social and emotional adjustments, difficulty in making and keeping friends, plus humiliation and insecurity as described by Smith, Talamelli, Cowie, Naylor, and Chauhan (2004). Anxiety and lower self-esteem are also believed to result from being victimized by bullying behavior.

Victims sometime become withdrawn and passive to the world around them. Some even suffer feelings of hopelessness and feel suicidal.

Bystanders of bullying can be anyone. A bystander is someone who observes the bullying behavior but does nothing to help the victim or disrupt the bullying behavior. The bystander can also be affected by the bullying behavior through feelings of guilt or shame (Selekman & Vessey 2004). The bystander can actually add to the empowerment of the bully by inactivity and non-interference. The bystander's decision not to act translates to the bullies that they have one more in their audience to impress. Adults can also add to the empowerment of a bully by simply being bystanders during bullying behavior.

Social Context

Interaction and learning are processes associated with socialization. Socialization takes place in many settings with the most influential settings for children being the

family, the school and peer relationships. Sometimes peer relations are the cause or even the driving force behind bullying behavior.

Socialization in the early stages of life will determine how healthy one's future relationships will be (Karen, 1994). During an individual's elementary school years, parents are the authority figures that provide direct control through supervision and monitoring. Through this interaction an attachment bond is formed. Attachment is the basic element necessary to internalize the values and norms of society according to Hirschi (as cited in Corwyn & Benda, 2001). Many researchers refer to attachment more simply as sensitivity to others. Attachment figures provide a sense of security allowing a child to explore his or her surroundings and return for comfort and safety.

Children's social contacts extend beyond the family and home environment as the children get older. Peer relationships are important to the growth of an adolescent and are now receiving the attention they deserve. When a child becomes an adolescent, the parent's direct control is decreased and the child becomes more independent (Karen, 1994). Peer influence becomes more important and helps direct the adolescent in his or her search for a place in society. Peer groups become a major part of the adolescent's life and can contribute to a positive and rewarding time, although this is far from the case with all.

Intervention

Although much research is being done, it seems that bullying research is being neglected in places where children congregate other than schools, such as an after-school facility. Bullying behavior is present in our families, neighborhoods, summer camps, churches, daycares, and other non-academic programs. In particular, after-school

supervision such as that provided by the Boys and Girls Club offers the opportunity to do more in the way of intervention than would be feasible within the educational system.

Another key factor in this research is the different beliefs of the descriptions of bullying behavior according to gender. A great deal of prior research seems to have uncovered significant differences in the way boys and girls carry out and react to bullying. There is also a difference in perceptions of bullying between genders.

Current Study

This study will focus on adolescent behavior using both observed and self-reported data among the members of the Boys and Girls Club of Johnson City, Tennessee. A better understanding of the differences and commonalities between genders is sought in the hope that this will lead to improved theories and improved intervention programs.

A grounded theory approach will be used in this qualitative study. This means that an inductive approach to theorizing will be applied. This type of approach begins with the data collected from the observations and interviews which would be at a micro level. Through careful examinations of the data, new ideas and generalizations will develop into a more macro level explanation. With a little creativity from the researcher, a theory of the behavior being described will emerge.

Background information was collected on 20 club members ranging in age from 10 to 23. The member aged 23 was thrown out of the final analysis. Interviews were conducted to establish a self-reported history of bullying behavior or victimization among other issues. Researchers also collected data on observed behavior of these individuals and their peers at the club.

In this study, the quantitative data consists of the demographics along with figures to show the number of the same responses to questions. However, the study consists mostly of qualitative data with descriptions of observations and phrases used by interviewees. These data may be used in conjunction with future studies of a similar subject.

Bullying will be defined by the subjects themselves in the interviews. This will show how the subjects view behaviors and which ones they would consider to be bullying. Though it has been stated that bullying behavior may be considered normal for children, it is assumed that society recognizes the need for correcting such behavior. It is also assumed that research in this area will lead to knowledge that will enable sociologists to develop better working theories. Furthermore, it is believed that society as a whole demands some action on this problem and is willing to commit resources to intervention programs derived from studies such as this one.

Although the foundations for bullying behavior likely occur during early socialization, the process continues through adolescence due to environment and peer influence. The Boys and Girls Club provides a unique opportunity for successful intervention because these factors can be easily controlled. The power of peer influence can be better understood by developing programs that involve groups of children in a smaller, more controlled setting such as the Boys and Girls Club. This would not be practical in a school environment. By looking at gender differences in the perception of bullying, I will see if intervention should take gender into consideration during the development stage. If it can be shown that we all have similar bullying tendencies and for similar reasons, we can rule out the gender differences issue in bullying research.

The limitations of this study were numerous. The study was on a small group of subjects in a small after-school facility in a small town in East Tennessee. The time allowed for the collection of data was limited to one semester. Though many bullying incidents were observed, the same children showed up in the observations of the behavior. Self-reported and observed behavior data are very subjective and allow multiple interpretations with the analysis. Five students performed the 20 interviews. Although I performed half the interviews, it should be noted that I interpreted all the interviews and could not describe how the members acted during the interview of those I did not perform.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Bullying is a serious problem in North America as well as other areas of the world. This paper describes bullying in a Boys and Girls Club in Johnson City, Tennessee. The paper includes descriptions of bullying behavior that was compiled from interviews with 20 children at the club. Other descriptions were taken from observations from the Boys and Girls Club that were made by the researchers.

Definition of Bullying

The majority of previous studies start with a definition of bullying. For example, Selekman and Vessey (2004) define bullying as “Dynamic and repetitive persistent patterns of verbal and/or non-verbal behaviors directed by one or more children on another child that are intended to deliberately inflict physical, verbal, or emotional abuse in the presence of a real or perceived power differential” (p. 246). In an article written by Wong (2004), bullying is defined as “repeated oppression, physical or mental, of a less powerful person by a more powerful person or group of persons. It occurs where there is an imbalance in power between people, and it is a persistent or continued unwelcome behavior” (p. 537). This definition was also used in articles by Olweus in 1993 and 1994, Rigby in 1996, and Smith and Sharp in 1996 (as cited in Wong). Mishap (2003) gave a similar definition that stated bullying was “an imbalance of power between the bully and the victim and it occurs largely within the context of the peer group” (p. 513). Pellegrini and Long (2002) use a simplified definition. They wrote that bullying is “a specific form of aggression, one that is used deliberately to secure resources.” Regardless of the definition used, each describes a form of violence that is becoming more prevalent in

today's world and it "poses serious risks for victims and bullies" (Limber & Small, 2003, p. 445).

Bullies can be found almost anywhere children congregate. Bullies believe they can overpower the victim before they will act out with bullying behavior (Mishap, 2003; Heinrich, 2003). Brendtro (2001) contends that bullies have "lots of confidence, enjoy dominating others, and are comfortable with aggression" (p. 48). Mishap writes, "bullies tend to be stronger, more assertive and more impulsive than their peers" (p. 515).

Schafer et al. (2004) suggest that boys are more prone to physical violence while girls are more likely to be involved in relational or social bullying. Contradictory to what Schafer et al. found, Eisenberg, Neumark-Sztainer, and Perry (2003) found that "girls, Whites, Native Americans, and middle school students reported more harassment than boys, other ethnic groups, and high school students, respectively" (p.311). Further research is needed to clear up the contradictions.

Although it is important to realize the physical power difference in bullies and their victims, it is also important to recognize another type of power difference. If a child is in a group, she or he possesses a power over those who stand alone or who are with fewer peers. Children can be small and weak, but if they are in a group or if they have a parent or older sibling behind them then they possess power over others. So, as Olweus (as cited in Atlas & Pepler, 1998) stresses, there is the much-needed component of a power imbalance for bullying behavior to exist, but it is also important to remember that the imbalance does not have to be in the form of physical size or strength.

Victims on the other hand are described as introverted, anxious, insecure, cautious, sensitive, and quieter than other children (Cranham & Carroll, 2003). Ericson

(2001) describes a victim as one who is lonely, has trouble adjusting both socially and emotionally, has difficulty making friends, and has a poor relationship with classmates. Janssen, Craig, Boyce, and Pickett (2004) suggest that “overweight and obese school-aged children are more likely to be the victims and perpetrators of bullying behaviors than their normal-weight peers” (p. 1187). Weight is one issue described in the current study as an excuse for bullying. There is no clear cut answer as to who the bully will be or who his or her victims may be but research is working towards a concrete answer.

Bauer, Yang, and Austin (2004) conducted a study at two public middle schools. Their study included students, faculty, and staff. Each was interviewed and each was involved in small group forums. The study was looking at why children were not eating nutritional meals and getting the activity that is needed to live healthy lives. Obesity was one of the researchers’ concerns in this study. They found that although programs were in place to allow children time before school for activity, many children did not participate. There were many sports events that children would attend, but then would not actively participate, fearing humiliation or ridicule from the other children.

When talking about gym class, the researchers found that “students and staff often expressed that athletic competition and teasing and bullying among students were the predominant barriers to students fully participating in class” (p. 38). The children gave accounts of teasing and ridicule from some of the children who were skilled at the sport or activity. Along the same lines, the children told of feeling embarrassed because they, themselves, were not very skilled and so preferred to sit on the side and watch. In this same study, the researchers found that “both students and staff felt that teasing and bullying occurs so frequently that it would be impossible for the staff to monitor and

discipline everyone” (p. 42). This could have an impact on any plans for intervening in bullying.

Heinrich (2003) wrote, the “bystanders provide an audience for bullying” (p. 199). Cowie states (as cited by Cranham & Carroll, 2003) that the bystander contributes to the event either by cheering the bully on or by doing nothing. This gives the bully reinforcement to continue with the behavior. Ziegler and Pepler (as cited in Atlas & Pepler, 1998) found that 90% of children find bullying unpleasant and disturbing to watch. A bystander can often “feel guilty” for not helping the victim or stopping the bully. They can also be afraid of “reporting incidents and being labeled a ‘tattler’” (Heinrich, p. 100). Bystanders are negatively affected by bullying behavior and need to be involved in the solution to stop bullying.

Extent of Bullying

Research is being done in many different countries, and the findings are similar (Baldry, 2004; van der Wal., de Wit., & Hirasing, 2003; Wong, 2004). Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton, and Scheidt (as cited in Dake et al., 2003), surveyed 15,686 students attending grades 6 through 10 in the United States and found that almost 30% of the sample reported frequent involvement in bullying, either as a bully, victim, or both. Peterson (as cited in Bulach, Fulbright, & Williams, 2003) reported that 75% of adolescents have been bullied while attending school. This percentage was repeated in an article by Eisenberg et al. (2003).

Through longitudinal studies and surveys of people’s pasts, we have learned that the effects of bullying can follow the victim into adulthood (Mishap, 2003). Bullies are three times more likely to break the law by age 30 (Bulach et al., 2003). Quinn, Barone,

Kearns, Stackhouse, and Zimmerman (2003) found that children identified as bullies when they are in the sixth and ninth grade have a 40 % chance of having three or more arrests by the age of 30. Olweus (as cited in Smith et al. 2004) claimed that former school bullies were four times more likely to be convicted of serious crimes by the time they are 24-years-old. As we learn more about what bullying does to the victim(s) and what causes someone to bully, the better will be our ability to prevent bullying behavior in the future.

Effects of Bullying

Bullying has likely been with humanity since the beginning of time. It has been recognized and suffered for years, but only recently have we examined the effects of bullying for the victims, bystanders, and indeed on the bullies themselves. Research now investigates the topic to institute preventions and to put interventions in place. Ambert (1994) wrote that more attention was being given to abuse by parents than peer abuse. She said that society has an easier time accepting abusive parents than abusive children. According to Dake et al., (2003), bullying has gained attention because the media have publicized the homicides and suicides that were preceded and precipitated by bullying. They claim that “of 37 different school shootings, two-thirds involved attackers who felt persecuted, bullied, threatened, attacked, or injured by others prior to the incident” (p. 173). The subject of bullying deserves some serious research and intervention to help stop the escalation of violence.

Only recently have we realized the impact bullying has on our children and their well-being. Storch and Esposito (2003) suggest that being a victim of bullying can lead to post-traumatic stress. Juvonen, Graham, and Schuster (2004) also report, “Bullying

and being bullied have been recognized as health problems for children because of their association with adjustment problems, including poor mental health and more extreme violent behavior” (p. 929). In addition, a report authored by Arnette and Walsleben (1998) remind us of the old adage that traditionally bullying has been viewed as child’s play and ‘kids will be kids’ is a commonly used phrase to excuse, and thus ignore, the behavior.

Bond, Carlin, Thomas, Rubin, and Patton (2001) performed a cohort study of 2,680 students. They surveyed the students twice in their 8th grade of school and once in the 9th grade. They were looking for the possible relationship of recurrent peer victimization and onset of self-reported anxiety or depression. They found that the prevalence of victimization was high and relatively stable in this cohort. They also found that the effects of bullying are more emotionally damaging for females than for males.

The non-physical types of bullying can cause damage to the victim just as can the violent acts. Eisenberg et al. (2003) wrote that the nonphysical type of bullying may “severely damage young people’s sense of self, psychosocial functioning, and overall well-being” (p. 311). According to Bulach et al., (2003), the victims of bullying “suffer academically and socially with suicide being one of the most drastic repercussions” (p. 156). Dake et al. (2003) add that victims have increased feelings of loneliness proportional to their victimization.

Types of Bullying

Bullying can be carried out in several ways. It can be physical, verbal, or relational. Some acts of bullying are not yet thought of as bullying. Researchers are working on the subject and have come up with different ways of categorizing the various

behaviors known as bullying. Regardless of the type of bullying, the outcome is typically problematic.

In a qualitative study of two summer camps by Moore (2001), it was found that bullying occurs there as well. Although the study was not specifically about bullying, the bullying behavior was found in the camps. Moore describes how the older (10-12 year old) girls were anxious to be helpful to the camp staff. They would volunteer to help with things such as doling out snacks. Once the older girls were given the responsibility of handing out snacks, they would use their power to control the other children by withholding snacks until the children did exactly what they were told. The children were told to stand in a straight line and not talk. The girls with the power withheld the snack for five minutes before the staff stepped in and told the girls to hand out the snacks. This behavior of control and power was not seen with the boys by the researcher.

The bullying behavior described in Moore's article included name-calling. Although some words were not tolerated, it seemed to be up to the individual counselor as to what was acceptable and what was not. Moore writes,

Although the camp director expected staff to curb hurtful remarks that campers made to one another, there were no explicit rules delineating homophobic comments as inappropriate camper behavior. Thus, staff often ignored the homophobic teasing and the frequent, casual use of the word *fag* that many of the camp boys used to taunt someone, taunting that often indicated that someone was "doing" gender incorrectly. (p. 842)

Along the same lines as name-calling is teasing. Hoover and Olson (2000) write that children claim teasing is the most reported type of bullying. Hoover and Olson

discuss the power of teasing. They claim that young people often view words as “possessing a magical power” such as how words can make things happen. An example given was that a simple word could be rewarded with a cookie or a hug. Because children view words as powerful, teasing has a power in itself. Children tease each other for varying reasons but sometimes for no reason at all. Bullies can call others derogatory names. Some bullies make fun of those who look different or sound different. Bullies will also pick on those who may be new to the area. This form of bullying is experienced by both girls and boys according to Schafer et al. (2004).

Bullying can result in physical injury. Selekman and Vessey (2004) wrote that this could include hitting, punching, kicking, or tripping. They continue by listing other acts such as taking money, lunch, or homework, damaging belongings of others, and pulling pants down. Schafer et al. (2004) suggest that boys are more likely than girls to bully in a physical way.

Another form of bullying discussed by Espelage and Swearer (2003) is an indirect form of aggression where the bully might spread nasty rumors in order to hurt or offend the victim. This type of bullying would also include acts of excluding someone from a friendship group. This type of bullying is mostly experienced by girls (Schafer et al. 2004).

Atlas and Pepler (1998) observed 27 students who were pointed out by teachers as aggressive and non-aggressive. These children were targeted with cameras and microphones located in various places in the classroom. The study caught 60 episodes of bullying behavior in 28 hours of recording. They claim that girls and boys bully at the same rate; however, boys were observed to be the victim more than girls. This finding

contradicts previous studies of bullying. This study is important to the current paper because within the observational part of the project, girls were seen bullying as much or more than boys with boys more likely to be the victim than the girls..

Contradicting the above study is one by Gamliel, Hoover, Daughtry, and Imbra (2003). These researchers did a qualitative analysis from survey or observational data about bullying. They discussed bullying with six children (three females and three males) in 5th, 6th, and 7th grades. They discussed the students' perception of bullying behavior and how much bullying there was at their school. Then the researchers discussed methods of dealing with bullying used by the children in the past and strategies for dealing with it in the future. The outcome of this research was that girls perceive more behaviors as "bullying" than did the boys. The boys were more apt to define aggressive behavior as "horseplay," while the girls called the same behavior bullying. The girls also said that bullying was "a boy problem" when referring to the physical bullying. This research agreed with many of the previous studies that say girls are involved in social exclusion as bullying.

Context

Most of the literature about bullying refers to a school setting. Bullying is believed to occur at school and without an adult present (Selekman & Vessey, 2004). Children report that bullying occurs in the hallways of their school, the bathroom, near personal lockers where the doors can conceal the acts, and on the playground where it is hard for an adult to tell the difference between horseplay and bullying behavior. These areas are referred to by Brendtro (2001) as unsafe zones. The bullying can also take place with adults around. A teacher in a class of 20 students is unlikely to be able to hear

more than one or two conversations at once (Atlas & Pepler, 1998). This leaves multiple opportunities for bullying behavior within the school setting. In addition, Brendtro reported that teachers intervened in only 1 out of 25 episodes of bullying after watching 400 hours of videotaped episodes of bullying.

It is a real problem that bullying is possible at school with or without adults present. Mishap (2003) wrote that bullying occurs in a social environment within a peer group. This could include the classroom, school, the family, church, after-school programs, sports, and any other place that peers are together. Reiff (2003) suggests that bullying that takes place away from school is, or can be, more aggressive, such as the use of a weapon. Arnette and Walsleben (1998) point out that bullying is more likely to occur on school grounds than on the way to and from school.

A bullying episode can last for a few seconds or it can last for several minutes. It can take place a couple of times or it can continue for years. The amount of time a victim is bullied may depend on how the victim handles the situation. In an article written by Smith et al. (2004) non-victims, escaped victims, continuing victims, and new victims of school bullying were studied to observe the differences in their coping strategies. A sample of 406 students, ages 13-16 were interviewed and then given a Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire. Teachers of the students also completed the S&D questionnaire. The number one strategy used by the victims was to 'talk to someone.' The next most popular answers were to 'ignore it,' 'stick up for yourself,' and 'avoid or stay away' from the bully.

The results of the study were that the "two-thirds of escaped victims reported talking to someone in regard to an actual incident" (Smith et al., 2004, p. 578). It was

also noted that less than half of the new victims or continuing victims had talked to someone about an actual incident. Heinrich (2003) claims that actual observations show that teachers only intervene in 14% of bullying incidents in the classroom and only 4% on the playground. Certainly a teacher cannot be with every student all the time. It is likely that the teacher does not see all the incidents of bullying. Heinrich also found that “the majority of students who are the targets of bullies feel it will not help if they tell an adult in authority (including parents) about bullying. Many fear it will make matters worse” (p. 197). This research helps us understand where children are coming from and what we need to do to educate them about the problem.

Cultural aspects should be taken into account when looking at the various studies. Schwartz et al. (2002) performed a study in South Korea with 122 children ages 10 to 12 years old. This was a cross-sectional investigation that used peer nominations, teacher ratings, and self-report data to study victimization in this culture. In South Korea, children are taught that emphasis should be put on the group instead of individual concerns. The children are discouraged from furthering self-interests at the expense of the group. The cultural differences were taken into account, but the conclusions were the same as in the Western culture. The social processes underlying group victimization is similar in South Korea and the Western cultural settings.

Theories of Bullying

Geffner, Loring, and Young (2001) describe a tripartite belief model as a theoretical perspective for bullies and victims. The components include normative, self-efficacy, and outcome-expectancy beliefs. When using this model all three components must be reviewed in order to get a complete picture.

Normative beliefs refer to what the individual views as appropriate behavior. When a child is raised in a home where violence is a frequent occurrence, then violent behavior may become normal for the child. Some children see others hitting in response to a conflict or disagreement. This becomes the child's normative belief unless there is a successful intervention in place.

Self-efficacy belief is the component that we need to tell us that we can succeed at a behavior. A child who believes she or he can overpower or push another child around is more likely to proceed. Also, a child within a peer group might use the power of the group to bully someone with fewer friends. Self-efficacy then is the way we perceive our ability to perform a certain task.

Outcome-expectancy is when the child weighs the cost and benefits of his or her action. A child who decides the outcome or punishment is not so bad may be more likely to proceed with his or her planned action. This is considered the motivational component. Along the same line, if a bully feels that his or her friends will think he or she is strong or powerful, then he or she is more likely to continue with the behavior.

In this model, the belief is that bullying behavior is about power and control. Bullies want to control those around them if they feel they can be successful. Bullying is not involved in conflict resolution. Bullies use violence in unprovoked situations.

The theory of attachment is also important to look at when we are talking about bullying behavior or victimization. Karen (1994) writes that early childhood experiences affect the way we develop. This is carried with us throughout our life. Attachment could relate to the way we treat others as well as the way we feel about ourselves. He writes about the importance of attachment. Children who have an attachment to a parent are

more likely to be emotionally healthy children. A child who is neglected and unloved will lack the attachment and be less likely to love or feel empathy for others. Life has little value to those without attachment. Corwyn and Benda (2001) write, “It is noteworthy that attachments to female and to male caregivers and self-esteem are the factors that are inversely related to violence only among young adolescents” (p. 83). If this theory of attachment is true, bullying or victimization is a real possibility for those who are not attached earlier in life, and intervention must take this into account.

Children are known to look for approval from their family; adolescents look for approval from their peers (Corwyn & Benda 2003). They learn from those around them and they try to model the behavior they see. Adolescents look for ways to be popular or a part of the “in crowd” rather than watch from the sidelines. The social learning theory explains this in detail (Akers, 1997). When a child sees his or her parents attempt to resolve an argument with yelling or physical violence, the child is likely to respond the same way when he or she is faced with conflict. When children see children bullying others and becoming more popular or more liked, they may likely try it themselves. If they get satisfying results, then they will likely continue the negative behavior. Bullying is a learned behavior according to the social learning theory. It becomes natural to those who have grown up with it or been repeatedly exposed to it.

Every area of the world has norms. Norms are the rules set by society that dictate proper behavior (Comer, 2001). These norms can be stated or implied and they differ from one place to another. There are norms within cities and neighborhoods, and they can even vary within different neighborhoods. A theory named ‘Dynamics within the Bully/Victim Paradigm’ is discussed by Cranham and Carroll (2003). They make the

point that norms differ from one school to another. Children are to conform to the norms or rules they themselves set for their school. When the children break the rules or do not follow along with the norms that have been set, they are then separated from the rest. The ability of the children to conform or not dictates how they will be categorized in the bully/victim paradigm.

Those children who are new to the area may not understand the norms right away. They may become victims of bullying or perhaps become bullies in order to fit in. Once the children figure out the norms and begin making friends, they may move out of the victim/bully category. This theory lists other ways of becoming a victim or bully such as being quiet, academic achievement, and even the physical appearance of a child.

Intervention

Studies suggest that there are steps people can take to prevent or stop bullying. Ericson (2001) wrote that the programs put in place to eliminate bullying must reduce opportunities and rewards for this behavior. Mishap (2003) concluded that rules need to be in place and made clear to students, teachers, parents, and even other staff members of the school. Trautman (2003) gives several things to do in order to prevent or reduce bullying in the classroom. She wrote the key is to know the facts about bullying, know the definition of bullying, know the types of bullying that children are most likely to encounter, find out if there are intervention programs in place, know the warning signs in children, and have good communication.

Similar to the above prevention strategies, Heinrich (2003) writes about the key components to a successful bullying prevention program. She lists “increasing awareness and understanding, gathering information from teachers and students, developing class

rules, having educational teacher discussions and class meetings with students, increasing supervision in high-risk areas, applying formative consequences for bullies, providing social skills training for targets and bullies, and involving the parents of students in bully/target situations, including bystanders” (p. 196). This list follows Olweus (as cited in Smith et al., 2004) who was an early pioneer on the subject of bullying. He had a list that he called the vital “core components” of programs to prevent bullying. Olweus pointed out that the cost should be measured in the amount of time and energy that it takes to change attitudes, knowledge, and behavior.

One intervention program described by Quinn et al. (2003) took place at a clinical reading program during 5 weeks in the summer. A book called *Crash*, written by Jerry Spinelli, was used to help children get a better understanding of what bullying is and what it does to the victims. The researchers involved 24 students in grades 5 through 9. These children were separated into 3 different rooms (probably according to their reading skill). The researchers talked to the children about bullies, victims, and bystanders before they began reading. They explained what bullying behaviors were with a short film clip. The researchers found it interesting that in the beginning the students preferred to be thought of as the bully instead of the victim.

While the children read this book, they also kept journals and had small group discussions. The journals explained what stood out to them in the story. It helped them express their level of understanding which was shared with the teacher and sometimes with the other students. The children were encouraged to share their feelings as they read. The teachers also used situations and asked the children to write and/or discuss what was going on. This gave the teachers an insight as to the level of comprehension

the children had about what they were reading. Before long, the children were able to connect what was going on in the story with their own lives.

Once the novel was read, the children continued to discuss the topic of bullying. They also put on a skit that they called “The Crash Skit.” This allowed the children to put themselves in the shoes of the characters and act out the parts of bully, victim, and bystander. With all the interaction on the subject of bullying, the children got a thorough understanding of the subject. The authors state that “we teachers built a sense of purpose, belonging, identity and security that created a safe environment for our students to express themselves” (p. 591). These authors watched as a group of children grew in their knowledge and concern about bullying.

Corwyn and Benda (2001) concluded that several components needed to be in place for intervention to work. Family therapy was one of the components. Reaching the family would be very important in reinforcing the process of change for the adolescent. Parent management is another component. All parents should have some sort of class to help them manage their children. This could help children before they become bullies or victims of bullying. A few of the other components mentioned are social competence training, the Brainpower program, the PACT program, academic skills classroom contingency training, peer-based mediation, and conflict resolution. These programs can help the adolescents deal with their inner feelings. They can also be helpful in understanding attitudes about “attachment, beliefs, religiosity, self-esteem, and feelings of frustration and alienation” for those who may need it. This intervention appears to be complete and meets all the areas of an adolescent’s life.

In a study of Finnish adolescents, Kaltiala-Heino et al. (1999) found that bullies and victims have an increased risk of depression and suicide. They surveyed more than 16,410 eighth and ninth grade students in 2 different regions of Finland. They concluded that bullies as well as victims may need psychiatric care as part of their intervention plan. Brendtro's (2001) suggestion is similar. He said that we need to nurture the bullies' empathy for others as well as challenge their distorted thinking.

Research on bullying behavior continues to get increased attention. The problem of bullying is relentless. The current study consists of interviews and observations that will help us understand what the children believe and how they feel about bullying. The way the data are collected and analyzed can be as important as the data itself.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This is a qualitative study about bullying that took place at an after-school facility. Twenty subjects were interviewed and everyone in the club was observed for three months. A grounded theory approach was used to allow the data to emerge into something new and perhaps not yet considered in previous literature. This method uses induction and allows room for creativity with the data to direct the study.

Setting

This research took place at a Boys and Girls Club in Johnson City, Tennessee. The club consists of one large building with several large rooms. There are also a few smaller rooms used as offices for staff members. There are two gym areas that have basketball goals in each. There are two fairly good-sized rooms that are called homework rooms. One is used for the older children and the other is for the smaller children. There is also a small room in the back that has been converted to a teen room. This is where the teens can sit and watch movies, discuss issues of importance to their lives, and play games. The staff members try to stay spread out and have at least one adult in each of the rooms where the children are playing. One of the gyms is the biggest room in the building. Next to that room is a large room in front that has pool tables and foosball tables. The children have an art room that is a favorite of many. The club also has a small kitchen area where the children eat snacks. The children are required to move around from room to room and not stay in just one room all the time; however, each child has a favorite place to be and can usually be found there.

The club consists of children from ages 6 to 18 years old. I was told that no child will be refused admission to the club. One example is a 23-year-old male who is mentally impaired. He is permitted at the club but is considered a volunteer rather than a member. A volunteer is anyone over 18 who spends time at the club and is not an employee. There are 4 full-time employees at the club and 8 part-time employees who come when the members are present. The club is open after-school Monday through Friday during the school year. In the summer months the club is open from 6:30am to 6:00pm Monday through Friday.

The club had 175 members enrolled during the semester this information was gathered. Approximately 50 of the members were in the age group from which participants were selected. I was told that the club has 4 times more boys attending than girls and that 40% were Black while 60% were White. This was not apparent during the time I spent at the club. The fact that 40% of the membership was considered Black was explained by the fact that if a child is of a mixed race (which many were) the child is officially the race of the father, so using this determinant more such members were classified in the Black race.

Participants

There were 20 participants involved in the interview portion of the study, 10 males and 10 females. (One male was excluded from the final analysis.) Table 1 gives the frequency distribution of the interviewees. There were 4 ten-year-old children, 2 male and 2 female; 3 eleven-year-olds, 1 male and 2 female; 7 thirteen-year-olds, 3 males and 4 females; 4 fourteen-year-olds, 3 males and 1 female; and a 16-year-old female. Of the 19, 4 were Black and 15 were white.

Table 1

Frequency Distribution of Demographics for Interviewees

Variable	Categories	N	%
Age	10	4	21
	11	3	16
	12	0	0
	13	7	37
	14	4	21
	15	0	0
	16	1	5
Sex	Male	9	47
	Female	10	53
Race	White	15	79
	Black	4	21

Materials

An interview instrument was used for the first part of this study. The interview instrument consisted of approximately 40 open-ended questions. Some questions had multiple parts, and two had categories to help subjects answer the questions. Dr. Wayne Gillespie put the interview instrument together initially, and it has since been revised slightly by Dr. Gillespie to include attitudes about the Boys and Girls Club.

The interview instrument (Appendix A) consisted of five sections. The first included questions on self-concept and demographics. This section told us how the child felt about him or herself. The second section asked questions about family and peer relations. This section gave us insight on the family structures of the interviewees as well as how they relate to their family and peers. The next section included peer abuse,

harassment, and bullying questions. The answers given in this section allow us to find out what the interviewees know about bullying, and how they think bullying affects those involved. There is a section on after-school programs included in the interview to gather more detail on how the children feel about the Boys and Girls Club. The last section consists of nine questions related to self-esteem and academic performance.

Observations were made by the researcher and 5 research assistants (3 males and 3 females) who spent a minimum of 15 hours making observations. They made notes while volunteering time at the Boys and Girls Club during the fall semester of 2004. Incidents of bullying were noted while at the club and later explained in greater detail. Through these notes, we validate some of what the interviewees told us about bullying at the club and also at school. The data allow us to see what types of bullying behavior actually existed even though adults were in the vicinity and even some incidents that were not able to escalate because adults were present. From the literature, we expect to see males being more physically violent while females are more emotionally abusive. We also expect that the observations will show males are more likely to bully other males while females are assumed to bully other females.

Procedure

The interview participants were first chosen by the assistant director of the club. The parents of these participants were notified and asked to sign a consent form (Appendix B) allowing the child to participate. Once the consent form was signed, one of the five research assistants asked the member to agree to the interview and sign an assent form (Appendix C). Some participants had moved to another area before we could interview them. Some quit going to the club before the interview took place, and others

did not want to participate even though the consent forms had been signed by the parents. Once we had exhausted the names given by the assistant director, each interviewer randomly approached the children to ask for their participation. Once the children agreed to participate, a consent form was submitted for approval by the parents, and most agreed to allow their children to participate; however, we found some of these children willing to participate but parents not willing to sign a consent form.

The assent form explained what the interview was about and what was being asked of the participant. Once the child read the assent form, the interviewer verbally went over the form to be sure the child read and understood what was read before signing. The children were told that they were not obligated to answer any question that made them feel uncomfortable. They were also told that they could stop the interview at any time.

The location of the interview varied within the club. Sometimes the interviewers were given an office space to use. Other times we used a semi-quiet space in a corner or a small closet type room was used. The interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 90 minutes in length, with an average of about 55 minutes. Interviews were recorded and quickly transcribed; most of the transcripts were double-checked for accuracy. Some of the interviews had interruptions and background noise that caused a few problems in the transcription of the audio tape.

Coding Qualitative Responses

Audio-taped interviews were transcribed to analyze the data. Interviews were read and coded according to recurrent themes and categories in order to get the perspective of a child in an after-school facility. Definitions of bullying and acts of

bullying were coded according to the child's gender to see if there are differences by gender. Perceptions of bullying were also coded according to gender.

The observations were read and coded as well. The observations describe the types of bullying actually observed while the research assistants were present. One limitation in this emergent design is that not much direction was given for observations, so 2 of the male research assistants did not observe but instead intervened in every conflict around them. Their observations described explanations of how the children acted. Another research assistant stayed busy with children and, rather than observing bullying behavior, became an outlet for children being bullied. She revealed occasions where children came to her when being bullied. Her observations showed what she did and who handled each situation. These observations may be useful in identifying the types of bullying reported by the members to adults.

The fifth researcher observed bullying in the older children's homework room. This room is open and well-supervised at all times, limiting the opportunity for the children to bully. The researcher made notes as she helped children with their homework. She did intervene at times, but she described the bullying incidents well.

The last researcher did not intervene. She spent most of her time in the teen room. She talked with the children at times and participated in card games and other activities. She intentionally interacted with the children without using any type of authority over them. She did not seem to be noticed by the children after a short while. Because the members did not see her as a threat, quite a bit of bullying behavior went on around her.

The methods used in this study help reveal perceptions of bullying from the viewpoint of a child. The grounded theory method may lead us to new ideas and perhaps show us a new aspect that could expand our current intervention programs. Gender differences may also be exposed and lead to results that may be beneficial to the future of bullies, victims, and bystanders.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the observations from different researchers and interviews with juveniles are interpreted using content analysis to discern a basic description of bullying and to uncover any gender differences in the perception of this behavior. I began by describing how each of the researchers observed various behaviors and give examples of the types of behavior identified. Throughout the interpretation of the observations I noted any interactions or interventions by the researchers or club staff. In the analysis of the interviews, I use quotes given by the members to tell what they think of the Boys and Girls Club, activities that they enjoy while there, and get an idea of how important the club is to the members. Then the interviews were used to see how members describe bullying and if it is consistent with how adults detect it. Members' experiences with bullying were identified according to their recollections and associated with behavior witnessed by the observers. Finally, I decipher the members' attitude about adult intervention.

Analysis of Participant Observations

The researcher for this project is a 33-year-old male (hereafter referred to as the first researcher). He made observations of the members at the club and supervised the research assistants. The first researcher described the club as chaotic. He commented that adults were not always present in every area where the members played.

The research assistants consisted of a 26-year-old male (hereafter referred to as second researcher), a 25-year-old male (third researcher), a 37-year-old female (fourth researcher), a 22-year-old female (fifth researcher) and I, a 43-year-old female (sixth

researcher). We each spent a minimum of 15 hours at the club observing the behaviors of the members. We also conducted interviews that become part of the analysis and contribute to a conclusion in this paper. All interpretations were prepared by the sixth researcher.

The second researcher in this study took an active role in his observations; he actually worked at the club. This researcher was proactive and would try to prevent confrontations before they could start.

The third researcher used a method similar to the second. He tried to intercede before any harmful behavior occurred. This researcher was quick to say, “You don’t belong in here; get out!” Or, “What do you think you’re doing; stop that!” One time he physically stopped a child from entering the teen room where he knew the child did not belong. Most members avoided him. He was authoritative in his dealings with the members and did not socially mingle with them. The members reacted to his imposing style by ignoring him or giving him dirty looks. One boy jerked away and squealed when this researcher tried to make him leave the teen room.

His observations included three examples of what he considered bullying. The first example was of two girls playing. He wrote,

The older female would aggressively, and physically, pick up the girl, shake her in her arms, keep her from running away, and restricting her movement.

The researcher explained how he intervened and told the older girl to stop. She stopped for the moment, but once the researcher went to the other side of the gym, the younger girl went back to the older girl. He reported,

One could submit the idea that perhaps bullying shows a sort of favoritism. To the younger female, she may interpret the bullying as a sign of friendship from the older female. Also, the younger female may see the older female as being someone to protect her.

This may have been playful behavior between two girls. Differences in the interpretation of bullying behavior will be seen throughout the observations and interviews.

Another example given by the third researcher was a case of “Well, he hit me first and I wanted to get him back,” which may be considered conflict resolution rather than bullying. This incident took place in the larger gym where the bigger members play. There were many children of varying ages running and playing a variety of games. The incident involved an older boy who kicked a younger boy. The researcher questioned the older boy’s actions and tried to resolve the dispute. The researcher states,

I tried explaining to the older male that kicking the younger male was the wrong choice. My attempt at resolve was met with zero enthusiasm. The older male walked away to join in another activity.

The firmness used by the researcher was met with resistance in several situations. The researcher claimed to like children. Though I do not doubt this is true, it seemed that he preferred they play in an orderly or structured fashion.

The third researcher spoke about norms and rules within different areas of the facility. He was aware of the rules used in the gym during game play and noted that the rules were followed even though they were not written anywhere. In the homework room, he noted an environment of silence and restricted movement. The resistance to the

researcher from the members was also obvious in the homework room. The researcher writes about a girl who was talking continuously,

I informed her of the rules. She quickly stopped talking. But, as soon as I moved to another subject, she began talking and moving around her workstation. She then asked me for assistance on her homework. As I tried explaining to her how to solve her current math problem, she closed the book and started work in another area of her homework.

This researcher said that he simply moved on to the next member needing help and within a few minutes of the explanation to her, she “quickly completed her assignment” and proceeded to read her next assignment. The researcher proved to be of benefit to some members while becoming disengaged from others.

The fourth researcher had a style of observing that was totally different from the third. She stayed involved with the members in different areas of the club such as the art room, kitchen, teen room, and homework room. This researcher put a lot of emphasis on relationships. She scheduled activities for the members and also participated.

For example, she planned a day to teach the girls how to braid hair. This kept the girls busy and no bullying was observed. On another occasion, this researcher planned a “nail day.” The older girls painted the younger girls’ nails. There was an incident of bullying in this activity, but it was not readily interpreted by the fourth researcher; it was noticed by the sixth and described in the introduction chapter.

The fourth researcher became a channel to a solution for some members who were having problems with another member. She would calmly try to deal with the

situation; and if she felt the need, she would seek help from a staff member to achieve a win-win resolution.

This researcher described conflicts as “scuffles.” One incident occurred when an eight-year-old boy grabbed another boy about the same age by the waist. She said he was reaching for a ping pong ball and saying, “Give it back!” I asked for the ball and an explanation. The ‘aggressor’ stated that the other one took the ball that he and another boy were using for foosball. The boy that took the ball stated that it was for the ping pong table and they were not supposed to be using it for foosball. I told them I would ask the staff member across the room. He and I agreed there was no apparent harm in them using it for foosball. I told all the boys about our mutual decision. The two resumed playing foosball and the other one walked away. I asked them to please let an adult know if another problem occurred instead of fighting over things.

This researcher identified other incidents that could be considered bullying, but she continued to identify these activities as “scuffles.” Another incident had to do with two boys picking on a girl and taking her shoes. She often removed her shoes, and they would take them and run. The girl explained that if she wore tennis shoes, she did not take them off but the boys would still take them from her. This seemed to be more of a courtship behavior. Another incident identified by the researcher was,

A scuffle started between two boys over a ball on the basketball court. An older teen immediately stepped up and stopped it.

This is all that was written about this “scuffle,” although there were many incidents involving basketballs. An additional observation that this researcher viewed as “playful flirting” was described as follows,

Terri (a female, named changed) hit three boys while we set up for nails. It seemed to be playful flirting, but she hit hard. Only one of the boys hit her back. There appeared to be an ongoing spat. When I told her to stop, she said they’re always picking on her.

Terri was observed bullying boys and girls throughout the observation period. Some children would cower down to her when she approached. Another incident involving the same girl will be described later in this paper.

On another occasion, the fourth researcher wrote about a “positive interaction” between the youth, staff, and a volunteer, teaching each other different card games in the teen room. While the staff was busy with the cards, the fourth researcher observed something else going on. She expressed it like this,

In the background, two teens worked together to set up a video game system on the television. A third young man had been watching a movie but he offered no protest when they interrupted the movie to connect the system. Stephen, the teen room staff member, noticed what they did and sent them to the adjoining room to set it up.

Several of the members acknowledged that when bullying events occur outside the view of the adults, the adults can do little or nothing about it. There is no way an adult can see everything that is going on in a room full of children.

The fifth researcher was a soft-spoken female. She limited her observation time to the homework room. (It is not clear if this was her choice or if she was assigned to the homework room). The homework room was known to be a quiet place with many rules. Most of the members did not like going in there and often avoided it even when they had homework. In one instance, this room was used as a punishment by the parent of one member who had some behavioral problems at school. The parent made her child spend his afternoons in the homework room for two weeks.

The fifth researcher helped members with their homework as well as tried to resolve any conflict. She would also discuss issues with staff if there was a problem she could not handle. The researcher also played games with the members and noted their behavior during the games. She stated at the end of her time spent at the club that she did not enjoy her experience but she did not say why.

She encountered several incidents that were in her observations. One such incident occurred when one boy working on his homework was being bothered by another boy who kept talking. She wrote,

He was disturbing the others in the homework room and wouldn't quiet down.

He didn't seem to have any respect for the other children doing homework or the workers in the homework room... They kept fussing back and forth before they were separated which stopped the fighting.

She did not say who separated them or how they were separated, but the point was that the separation solved the problem, at least temporarily.

The fifth researcher described a boy who came into the homework room dressed as Harry Truman. She described the boy as looking "down and embarrassed by his

costume.” The “Truman” boy was confronted by the “talking” boy from the story above, whom the researcher now refers to as “the bully:”

The bully kept sarcastically telling the “Truman” boy how good he looked in his suit. All of the other children in the homework room (approximately 8-10) began laughing at him. The Truman boy just looked down at the floor sadly and opened his backpack to get out his homework. The bully kept saying things to him about his spray-painted hair and his clothes while the other children kept laughing. The “Truman” boy just kept his head down and worked on a worksheet. He stayed only 5-10 minutes; and as he left, everybody waved goodbye and laughed at him. He walked out of the room with his head down. The homework room workers told the children to be quiet and do their homework.

The researcher did not say anything about adult intervention in this incident although the boy was obviously feeling sad and embarrassed.

Another scenario from the fifth researcher had to do with relational bullying. The researcher watched as this incident unfolded. One little girl was crying because her best friend (a much larger girl) was mad at her:

Two girls had started the fight by telling the larger girl that the thinner girl said she was fat and ugly. The thinner girl had tried to talk to her friend, but the friend just kept walking away from her and ignoring her. She was very upset and didn't know what to do. She asked a staff member to help her out. Once the identity of the bullies had been discovered, they were talked to. The two girls were friends of the larger girl and didn't like the thinner girl, so they tried to break up their friendship. Another staff member also got the two best friends talking again.

This example is viewed in the literature as more common among females than males.

Another illustration given by the fifth researcher had to do with three boys being mean to another boy who obviously had some sort of “social functioning problem that may have been autism or a disease similar to it” during a game among the four. The researcher described the boy as,

very smart and communicated with others fine, but his mannerisms were different and he was very temperamental. He also talked to himself a lot.

She described a game where the temperamental boy was asking questions and keeping score. She said,

He had to be in control and didn't like it when others wouldn't listen to him. The three other boys kept cheating and trying to see the answers on the back of the question card. The temperamental boy kept getting very aggravated. He couldn't get the boys to stop cheating and kept saying to himself, “I'm going to lose my temper now.” A staff member tried to get the boys to stop cheating and making fun of the temperamental boy, but it didn't work. The staff member was almost laughing himself and wasn't really helping the situation. The three boys were very rambunctious and laughing and goofing around. The temperamental boy didn't really fit in with the scene (he was usually friends with these boys at other times), so he got angry and left to read a book.

This is a good example of boys teasing someone for being different. They like him, but because he is so temperamental, it was also fun to tease him. This boy was mentioned by the third and fourth researchers in their observations as “entertaining” due to his mannerisms.

The next example refers to peer pressure and how a child wants to “fit in” with a certain group. The fifth researcher described what she saw as follows.

One boy is generally well-behaved around the adults and certain children, but when he’s around other children who are bullies, he acts just like them. He’s easily swayed to join in with the group. He will play basketball just fine with some of the children and sit quietly and do his homework, but when he is around two certain boys, he acts just like them. He will go along with whatever those boys do, like tripping smaller children or stealing their pool sticks. Those two boys do not respect the staff either. He’s usually a really good kid until those boys come to play with him. The three of them generally just intimidate the younger children with behavior that was mentioned before.

The researcher pointed out that these boys did not trip children their own age. She mentioned three different times that this is a “good kid” as if there were some guilt involved with “telling on him” for his misbehavior with the other boys. It is possible that she did not see this child as an abuser, as explained earlier by Amber (1994). It was also a recurring theme in the interviews that children would first talk about a bully or a bullying incident and then make excuses for the behavior by saying something like, “They didn’t mean to,” or “They didn’t know what they were doing.”

The last scenario described by the fifth researcher has to do with the child whose parent has punished him by making him go to the homework room upon arrival at the Boys and Girls Club. The researcher said there were only two boys in the room on this particular Friday afternoon. A 14-year-old boy was working on his science project while

the boy being “punished” (approximately 12-years-old) sat at a table beside him. She went on to describe the scene as,

He was a known bully. The 14-year-old was a very studious young man who kept mostly to himself and one other friend of his. The 12-year-old boy kept smacking at the 14-year-old boy’s book. He then stole his homework paper and wadded it up. The homework room worker intervened several times, trying to keep the boys from talking to each other. The 12-year-old kept talking to the 14-year-old and disturbing him. The 14-year-old boy finally retaliated and stole the bully’s pencil. This started a slight physical altercation between the boys. The fight was easily stopped. They were just barely hitting each other. While neither one of them seemed very angry at the other, the fight was real. It was like they were just picking on and playing with each other and it got out of hand. The boys weren’t friends or enemies; they just happened to be in the same room together and got on each other’s nerves.

The researcher began this vignette with the bully picking on the studious boy; but by the end of the story, she said, “They just happened to be in the same room together and got on each other’s nerves.” Her interpretation seemed to change in the time it took to write the incident. Did she talk herself out of seeing the ugly and look for the best in people and situations? I tend to think so.

The author of this thesis was the sixth researcher. I took a totally different approach in regard to observing the children. I was originally “assigned” to the homework room but soon realized it would be more beneficial if I roamed around and mingled with the members in the teen room and the gym. I was not fond of the

homework room. It was too quiet, and I preferred listening to the children talk. Most of my time was spent in the teen room. I played games, watched movies, or just talked to the members. I intentionally stayed away from any authoritative stance and rarely intervened in any bullying behavior unless I was asked to do so. In one observation, I wrote,

While hanging out in the teen room, I sat on the couch with a girl who was reading. A few minutes later, two boys came in, turned on the television and began watching Scooby II. A third boy came in and sat beside the girl who was reading and grabbed her notebook. One of the boys watching TV told the boy to give it back. The girl said that he always reads her notes and said it was okay. This appeared to be more of a courtship behavior. According to the interviews, peers intervene in perceived bullying behavior at the club more than they do at school.

While walking around watching children, I saw a little boy sitting on a bench; he seemed sad. I felt sorry for him and sat down beside him. I asked, "What are you doing?" He said he was in trouble. This is when I realized he was in "time out" for misbehaving. The situation soon changed:

One boy walked up and began laughing at him for sitting on the bench. He was doing the whole dramatic, laughing thing with his hand on his belly, bent over and pointing at him. Two other boys walked up to him and asked why he was sitting on the bench. The boy who was laughing said that the boy on the bench got in trouble for throwing the ball at him in the gym. Then all three of the boys laughed and left the boy sitting.

Although the boy displayed an unacceptable behavior for which he was being punished, the boys laughed at him, adding insult to injury and showing a lack of compassion for their peer.

The literature refers to males being more aggressive and participating in more physical bullying than females. In my observations, I did notice some of this. For example, a boy threw a ball too hard at another boy or some boys picked on others for a variety of reasons. However, I also saw females physically bullying males.

One little girl, "Renee," was being mean to a boy, "Richard," of about the same size. These two children were 13-years-old. They claimed they had "gone out together," but now she didn't like him. Both were quite dramatic and had no problem expressing what was going on. Richard showed a passive reaction to Renee's constant attacks. Renee was continuously tripping him, pushing him, calling him names, and talking badly about him to me and others.

I observed Renee tripping others on many occasions and just being mean to other children. She did not seem to care if she made someone mad. I watched her for several weeks before I talked to her about her behavior. She was sitting alone in the teen room one afternoon when I entered. She was aware of my project and asked me about bullying and if I had observed any. I told her I had seen a lot of bullying behavior from her. She seemed shocked. I explained to her what I had observed, and she seemed as if she had just had a revelation. After I talked to her, she seemed to be more aware of her actions. I grew close to this girl and spent a lot of time with her in the teen room. One day I arrived at the club and,

I walked around the corner in time to see a kid walking past when Renee flung her foot out and kicked him. He said, "Hey!" but kept walking. I walked over and sat beside her and asked why she did that. She said, "Did what?" I told her what I saw and she curled up and said, "Did I do that? I did do that!" She seemed to be ashamed of herself. I asked her where her ball was (I formerly had given her a ball to squeeze when she feels like hitting someone), and she said it was at home. We talked about hitting and kicking and how it becomes a habit if you do it often. She laughed and apologized. I really don't think she is aware of what she is doing.

Renee was involved in many of the incidents that occurred while I was at the club.

Granted, I was often in the same area as she, but that did not have a bearing on if or when she got involved. One day Renee asked me if she was mean. I looked at her with "the look," and before I could say anything, she said, "No, I mean the mean kind of mean." I told her she was being mean. She said, "but," and I told her that she was a beautiful girl and should learn to keep her hands to herself. I also told her that I have seen her punch children who are just walking through. Some of the children take it and others turn to hit her back. She screams and they leave. Another example that involved Renee is as follows:

As I watched children who were halfheartedly watching a video about violence, there were four children sitting on the couch across from me. There was a skinny little Spanish-American boy, a chunky but not fat white boy, a petite white girl and another little boy. The four were all about the same height, but the white boy was larger because of his chunkiness. A taller black girl charged in and grabbed

the white boy's arm and jerked him violently off the couch. She yells at him that that was her seat first and to get out. The white boy looked scared and left. The black girl continued to be loud and seemed to be showing off. The children in the room just laughed and watched. No one said or did anything. Some of the others got off the couch. The black girl needed to go to the bathroom. She kept yelling and said she needed to "pee." Renee, who was sitting beside me, yelled at her to go to the bathroom. This went on for quite a while. The black girl finally went to the bathroom. Renee then jumped up and grabbed her seat. There was, of course, a confrontation when the black girl came back. She grabbed Renee and yanked and pulled. Renee and the petite girl were holding on to each other and the couch was being pulled from the wall. The black girl then started slinging her jacket. The zipper hit Renee which hurt her hand. The black girl grabbed a sock from Renee's foot and then stole her blanket. Renee did not give up her seat until she saw that she had "won" this battle. She then got up and came back to sit by me. Her hand was red, and I told her she might need some peroxide in the puncture wound from the zipper.

I was not sure why Renee got involved in that situation, but it appeared that she did not know how to get out of it once it became aggressive. She was quick to be aggressive but was not accustomed to others becoming aggressive with her. She may have expected me to intervene, but I did not. Renee is very small in stature but perceives herself as having quite a bit of power, I think, because her mother works at the club.

In the last couple of weeks of observations, I spent more time in the gym. I wanted to watch different children in another environment. Children play basketball,

kickball, and other games in the gym. Sometimes they have organized games, and other times they just shoot the ball and run around. There are other activities on the outskirts of the gym, too. Some children congregate on the bleachers in the gym and just talk. I saw a little girl playing cards by herself in the floor of the gym, so I joined in.

Terri, mentioned earlier in the fourth researcher's observations, was the most aggressive person I have seen in the club. She was involved in altercations several times, and each time she was physically aggressive. One day I simply watched children play and took notes on their various behaviors.

Terri stormed into the gym with a big frown and appeared quite angry. She ran into one boy, knocking him off balance. As she approached another boy, he jumped out of her path. Suddenly, Terri whirled around, made a fist and hit a boy, who was just standing there, in the upper arm. He did not try to defend himself but held his arm and shied away from her.

Terri was observed a few days later sitting on the bleachers in the gym. I noted,

I saw Terri hit another girl in the back with her fist. Another little girl joined in and hit the other girl as well. The girl being hit finally jumped up, and Terri took her seat. The girl later squeezed back in to sit on the bleacher.

Terri generates fear in other members. I am not sure what the attraction is to Terri, but she always has children around her. Perhaps she is part of the "in crowd" at the club.

An incident of name calling occurred in the teen room between Callie (female, name changed) who is black and a boy of a mixed race. The incident unfolded as follows,

Callie kept saying that the boy was a “black nigger.” He would say that he wasn’t black, he was white. Later he admitted he was of a mixed race. She kept harassing him. They went back and forth several times before I spoke up. I told her it wasn’t nice to tease him. He was really acting up with his lip stuck out saying that she was really hurting his feelings and that it would eventually lower his self-esteem. He made it hard to deal with the situation. She finally got mad at me and quit teasing the boy.

Although I made every effort to not interfere, this boy seemed really upset with the name-calling. Once the teasing ended, he acted like he was not serious about it hurting his feelings. Research shows that name-calling does hurt children by lowering their self-esteem, and he seemed to know it.

I made a note at the end of my observations about a male worker in the club who bullied all the children and also other adults or workers in the club. This man would walk through the teen room barking orders at all the children. It seems that he did not want the children to get too comfortable or have too much fun. He called the children names and ordered them to run errands, never saying thank you or please. On one occasion I watched this man bark an order at Terri. She told him no and ignored anything else he said. The man looked frustrated and just walked away.

As apparent in the observations, the term “bullying” is described in many ways by the different genders. The male researchers tended to be more proactive than the female observers in their dealings with bullying behavior. It seemed they tried to keep bullying from happening instead of waiting to see what might happen and then responding to the situation. This attitude may have kept some children from trying to relate to the men. On

the other hand, they may have been more appealing to the victims of bullying behavior. Studies show that victims tend to want to stay close to the teacher or other adult for protection. The males seemed to want to keep the children controlled and did not really care about relational matters.

The female researchers were more interested in relationships with the children. The fourth researcher showed an interest in working with and teaching groups of children. She kept them busy in hopes of occupying their time so they would not have time to bully or exhibit other unacceptable behaviors. The fifth researcher wanted to keep peace between the bullies and the “studious” children. Because she was in the homework room, the environment was defined by the rules of the room. The sixth researcher used relationships in order to get close to the children and eventually be invited into their crowd to participate in games, talks and even problem-solving issues.

Analysis of Interviews

The interviews covered a multitude of topics. Because we were interested in the perceptions of bullying according to gender at the club, we asked several questions pertaining to the club’s activities. We also asked questions that would identify how the children felt about the club. We asked them, “What do you and your friends do at the Boys and Girls Club?” The responses were similar between males and females. The most frequent responses given by both genders, was that they “play basketball and other sports.” Another popular answer given by both genders was “hang out in the teen room” which consisted of many different activities such as watching movies, listening to music, dancing, talking, and playing games. Some other activities mentioned by both genders

included, having a snack, going to the computer lab, playing pool, going to the art room, and playing other games. A male member stated,

Play basketball, have tournaments, and have snack. They make games fun.

Another male declared,

We get to play pool, go to the art room and draw sketches, if Ms. Joe gives us a sketch pad. We get to run around in the gym and do all kinds of fun stuff in the gym. Sometimes we play waffle ball or dodge ball. Sometimes we go outside and play kickball and touch football.

A female who has been at the club for several years answered the question as follows:

I think 13 (years-old) and up get to go in the teen room. We watch movies, DVDs, and listen to music every once in a while. The front gym is (for children) 10 (years old) and up. We play basketball; and in the back gym, little kids play “Cross my ocean.” They play little games, just pretty much little kids stuff, basketball, maybe softball with one of those squishy spongy balls. Then we have an art room and do all kinds of fun art and stuff. We have the games room where we have pool tables, all this cool stuff. We have a computer lab, of course it has games and then we go on with that and learn stuff. To go on the internet you have to go through this test thing. Then we have Ms. Keeley’s room, it’s educational I think. We’ll play missing link. You get to learn a lot of stuff in there. I think my favorite is Ms. Keeley’s room ‘cause I just learn a lot of cool stuff in there. It’s not boring like a classroom, but it’s really cool in there.

Several of the children pointed out the fact that there is a separate place for the little children to go. A male told me,

I play basketball, do homework, and play games in the game room. There's a different place for little kids and big kids.

From these descriptions, we could see that the children enjoyed the club and had plenty of activities to keep them busy. Then we asked them how they felt about the Boys and Girls Club. One male claimed,

It's very fun. It's a good place for after-school.

A female said,

It's a good idea to have a program for kids who can't go home and their parents work.

Another female stated,

I think it's a good place because they don't let nothing come up here. They don't allow cell phones. They don't allow nothing. And I think it is a good place for everybody to come up here.

A male responded,

It's a positive place for kids

There were two members who said they were bored or that the club was "okay." We then asked the children, "How would you feel if there wasn't a Boys and Girls Club?"

Responses varied. There were a couple of children that did not really care. They said they had other places to go if the club was not there. A male said,

I wouldn't wanna go to any other programs.

A female commented,

I don't know if it would completely tear me down, but it's a good thing to go to.

Another female claimed,

I would feel bored because there would be nothing to do.

A male answered,

I'd kind of be sad because there wouldn't be no place for me to go after-school.

Other responses included things such as: "Please don't," "I don't know what I'd do if I couldn't come here," or simply, "I wouldn't like it." Once we established the children's liking or dislike for the club, we returned to the topic of bullying again. The children were asked to "describe what bullying is." A male responded,

Taking somebody's money, picking on people, like calling them names, poking at them, you know, playing around with them and everything, (pause) and then not taking it so seriously, like they're taking it real serious when you're like meaning to play around with them and everything and they act like they think it's like bullying and everything.

The member discussed an incident of bullying behavior, and with a second thought, turned it into a playful act that had been taken the wrong way.

Overall, the responses to 'describe what bullying is' were similar between males and females (see Table 2). They said that children are being "mean" when they bully. Some of them went on to define "mean" as "hitting me" and "picking on me." All the males and half the females included "making fun" of people and being "annoying." Some of the other descriptions of bullying included "name calling," "pushing," "punching," and "poking" behaviors. Several of the children mentioned that bullying was when someone "makes you do things" that you do not want to and that it includes someone "taking your lunch money or other belongings." Another male said,

Bullying is when somebody picks on somebody for like continuously and they don't stop.

A female member also noted,

Bullying is like when you judge somebody, somebody that they're really not.

Like you say "Uh, give me your lunch money 'cause I don't like you," or "you're mean." And I think bullying can turn other people into bullying other people.

This male and female claimed they had bullied but only for good reason. They showed great insight into the subject of bullying. Most of these descriptions given by the members were of physical bullying. Some incidents of bullying were described in other parts of the interview that reflected the children's knowledge of emotional and relational bullying as well. The children described people making fun of others for their differences. A female said,

There are people at school who like to make fun of your hair or make fun of what shoes you're wearing, and if you're not wearing the best clothes.

Several reasons were given for why children are bullied. "Clothes" was among the top four answers given by males and females. The other three answers included "facial appearance/features," "being overweight or underweight," and "race."

The definitions or forms of bullying given by the members were consistent with how the researchers identified and transmuted their observations. Table 2 illustrates the number of responses of the different forms of bullying per gender. The behaviors were the same between the members' descriptions and the researchers' observations.

Table 2

Forms of Bullying

Response	Categories	N	
		Male	Female
tease or ridicule	Never	0	1
	Seldom	4	3
	Often	4	5
	Always	1	1
verbal attacks other than teasing or ridicule	Never	3	3
	Seldom	3	2
	Often	3	4
	Always	0	1
practical jokes	Never	1	2
	Seldom	3	5
	Often	1	1
	Always	4	2
vandalism of property	Never	2	5
	Seldom	6	3
	Often	1	2
	Always	0	0
physical attack	Never	3	4
	Seldom	3	4
	Often	2	2
	Always	1	0

We later asked the children specifically, “When you or someone else is being bullied, what did the bullies do?” (see Table 3). Items listed included: teasing or ridicule, verbal attacks other than teasing or ridicule, practical jokes, vandalism of property, or physical attack. They were to answer with never, seldom, often, or always. “Practical jokes” received more responses of “always” than did any other option by males and females. Similarly, “tease or ridicule” received the next highest number of responses

by both males and females. Once we went through this list, we asked the members if they could think of anything else. Some of them added, “Call people names,” “Talk about them to their friends,” “Being mean,” and “Taking other kid’s stuff and hiding it.” One male told me that gangs were involved in bullying and they had guns, knives, and weapons. He claimed that it “always” happened.

As the children told us earlier in several accounts of bullying, they were only “playing around.” They perhaps consider bullying to be nothing more than a practical joke. Unless the bullying becomes serious, it may be hard to differentiate practical jokes from bullying. The following are a few accounts of children being bullied. A female told her story of bullying others. She claimed,

People really like to talk about me behind my back, and I probably bullied them trying to get them back for it.

Then a male member acknowledged bullying others and said,

probably tripping people but it was a game.

Another male admitted to bullying others saying,

Yeah, like I just do things ‘cause I’m bigger and I can do ‘em. I just take the ball from someone. That’s bullying, still that’s not right. I don’t do it anymore, but I used to, so I bullied.

In another interview with a male who claimed to have bullied, he explained,

Sometimes I will call people names. I don’t do it intentionally. I just do it. I hurt their feelings. I know that. Just because I think that it’s a joke and I shouldn’t do it.

Table 3

Reasons Given for Bullying

Response	N	
	Male	Female
Clothes	6	7
Size of person	7	6
Race	7	6
Facial Appearance/features	5	7
Don't fit in	6	5
Speech Problem	5	3
Family is poor	6	5
Illness or handicap	5	5
Religion	5	4
Where they live	5	3
Physical Weakness	5	4

The children also described the bully and the person being victimized in their interviews.

A female member stated,

A person who does bully other people, I think that they don't have many friends, that they just bully other people to where everybody will think they're cool.

In another interview, an outspoken male stated,

People older than you and bigger than you, like, would pick on you and take your money and, like, they have, like, real problems and everything, you know. I'm

not saying, like, mental problems or anything, they just have problems in their home and they're taking it out on you.

A female was describing a bully but also appeared to be taking up for him as well. She rationalized it like this,

He (bully) doesn't seem to, like, hit anybody. He doesn't mean to. He didn't mean to hit me. It was, like, he just got mad. But he's a really nice person. Well, I feel okay around them but... because I know they won't do it again because I told my mom about it and the other staff and now he's, like, he's a really good friend.

Several of the members told us how the bully and the victim need a friend. A male member gave his thoughts on the person being bullied. He said,

The person that's being bullied is a person that really needs a friend and doesn't have one and if they're being bullied, someone should always stick up for them and they should tell a person, like a principal or a teacher.

The members of the club seemed to agree that the eighth and ninth grades were the years when most children are bullied. The answers varied from grades 1 to 12, but the greatest numbers of responses were the same between males and females. We found that children believed more bullying occurred at school than at the club. Most of the members said that bullying "seldom" occurred at the club, but they claimed that bullying occurred "often" at school.

We then asked the members how often adults stopped bullying at the club. Most males and females responded with "Always." One male claimed that adults "never" stop

bullying at the club. One male who said adults “always” stop bullying at the club explained his answer,

I mean when they don’t see it, they don’t know; but when they see it, they do something about it.

We asked the members how often other children tried to stop bullying at the club and received a high number of responses from both males and females of “Seldom” with no one claiming “Always.” When members were asked what they did when they saw someone their own age being bullied at the club, most males and females claimed that they would “try to help” the victim.

We then asked how often bullying occurs at school. One male exclaimed, I can guarantee you; you probably can’t go a day at school without seeing someone bullied. I’ll go in first thing in the morning and I’ll see at least two or three people being bothered. (Things such as) pushing around, fighting, saying things that aren’t true, um, discrimination. Uh, I mean things that maybe... the clothes they wear or they smell, bad hair, glasses, shoes, I mean, anything.

The answers to this question were at both extremes for males and females. Some claimed they saw few incidents while others said they saw a lot of them.

We asked how often adults stopped bullying at school. Five males claimed “always” whereas five females responded “often.” There were some differences but, overall, most children agreed that adults tried to stop bullying at school. One male who had talked previously about an annoying child, “who no one except maybe his family likes” added,

Probably often; sometimes they'll see, but kind of sometimes it'll depend on who the person is. If they don't... I've just seen it often, but if they don't like them... like that kid that's annoying for example... The teacher seen the person um, I mean the teacher seen him get bullied before, but he just got on his nerves and he just acted like he didn't even see it.

This male was perhaps describing something that had happened to him as well. He has been a victim in the past but appeared to be quite relieved that someone else in the class is being bullied instead of him this year. This boy gave reasons other children bullied him; and when I asked him if he had ever bullied someone else, he said "Sometimes I have."

When asked what they would do if they saw someone their own age being bullied at school the responses varied. Five males and only four of the females claimed they would "try to help." Four other females said they would "stay out of it."

The descriptions of intervention by the members seemed to be about the same as what the observers did and/or saw. No one was allowed to fight or harass someone else for very long. When adults saw a situation, either in the making or in progress, they would try to solve the problem. It is the "job" of the adults in these situations to keep the children safe from each other as well as from any outside threats. On the whole, adults at the club seem to be applying what they know is appropriate for the children in their areas. It was interesting to see the staff talk among themselves about some situations and get a confirmation of what they did was right.

After allowing the children to define and explain bullying, we asked them, "Have you ever been bullied?" Seven females claimed they had been bullied while only two

males said they had been. There were different reasons given for being bullied and not being bullied. One male said,

No, not really. Cause no one messes with me cause I got my brother.

Another male claimed,

Yes, people just make fun of me sometimes because I have glasses. They call me four eyes sometimes.

A female responded with,

Yes, there are people at school who like to make fun of your hair or make fun of what shoes you're wearing and if you're not wearing the best clothes.

Another female proclaimed,

No, because I stand up for myself.

We asked, "Have you ever bullied someone?" We got quite a few responses that declared the children bully their siblings. In all, five males and seven females acknowledged that they had bullied someone. At least two of these subjects had been victims and now admit to being a bully.

Summary

This chapter presented the analysis of observations and interviews reported by a diverse group of researchers who spent hours observing and interviewing members of a Boys and Girls Club. The observations and interviews were interpreted to distinguish any differences in perceptions of bullying behavior between genders. Addressed in this analysis are other aspects of bullying with particular interest in: determining the individual bullying definitions by interviewers and the members themselves; differences between bullying by each gender, both within gender and between genders; the reactions

of the bullies toward any adults observing the bullying events; individual reaction and self-initiated interference, disruption or involvement by each interviewer during observed bullying situations; and very importantly, the environment of an after-school facility as a venue for bullying.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

In this section I discuss the similarities and differences in what the researchers and members had to say about bullying. I talk about how attitudes toward bullying changed during the course of the bullying activity, leading to both researchers and members trying to excuse or make light of the bullying behavior. The environment at the club is discussed as a 'safe place' or ideal setting for intense intervention programs to stop bullying, a behavior that has become a serious problem which requires immediate attention.

Similarities

In reviewing the analysis of the observations and interviews, I discovered there are many more similarities than I had expected. All the researchers saw incidents of bullying behavior. This was not a surprise because children outnumbered the staff significantly, mathematically reducing the likelihood of adult prevention or even detection.

Norms and rules tend to be similar at the club for males and females. Most of the children understand the rules in the different areas of the club. They all seem to know the rules of the games in which they participated, even though they did not always abide by them. However, if someone did not fully understand the rules, the other children were quick to let that person know the rules and expected conformity. In the homework room the children were to be quiet. If they did not like the quiet environment, they tended to avoid the room.

All the members, male and female, participated in various activities. They enjoyed playing pool or basketball and just hanging out. When an adult put together a structured activity, males and females became excited and anxious to join in the activity. In fact, during the 'hair and nail' day with the girls, several boys asked to participate claiming that they could paint nails and braid hair as well as the girls. During structured ball games, both males and females wanted to participate. Often, activities were geared toward both boys and girls so that more members could play together. Less bullying was observed when the children were involved in an activity they enjoyed.

Both male and female victims of bullying reacted by being sad and withdrawn. This is described by Bond et al. (2001) as feelings of depression and reported in a later study by Dake et al. (2003). The victims looked downward and appeared to be embarrassed by the bullying behavior they were experiencing. These feelings were often overlooked or underestimated by the members as well as the observers because the victims often walked away and became interested in other activities. They did not talk about their feelings. During the interviews, at least one boy and one girl said they had been bullied in the past but now admitted to bullying others. This is consistent with a study by Atlas and Pepler (1998) where they found that "11 of the 17 children observed as victims were also observed as bullies" (p. 10). No one boasted about their bullying behavior, but they seemed relieved that they were not seen as a victim. Although no one liked to be seen as a victim, the children were all fairly knowledgeable about what it was like for the victim. This may be explained with a study by Cranham and Carroll (2003) that claimed victims see the "need for self-change" and yet they perceive this change to be "meaningless" (p. 129). Gamliel et al. (2003) agreed that the victims often know

effective strategies for dealing with bullying incidents but are unable to act on them in the heat of the bullying incident.

Males and females described bullies saying that they were mean. However, the definition of “mean” varied considerably from member to member. They claimed that most forms of teasing, hitting, and name-calling were mean and were forms of bullying. When describing a bully, most members described the act of bullying instead of the bully. In an interview, a boy said he could bully because he was bigger. The size of the bully was noted as significant by the researchers also. This is consistent with Atlas and Pepler (1998) who concluded that a large number of bullies in their study were heavier or taller than their victims.

Cranham and Carroll (2003) said social exclusion was used for those not complying with complex social constructs. Consistency was found in the current study, i.e., both genders used social exclusion as part of their bullying behavior. However, bullying behavior was also used as a social interaction. Teaching children how to interact with others in a more socially acceptable way may be another lesson that could put a stop to bullying.

In addition to defining the bully as mean, they described what bullying was. Both genders agreed that bullying involved ‘practical jokes.’ This is parallel to what many of the researchers said. There seems to be a thin line between practical jokes and bullying in some instances. People laugh at practical jokes, but it appears that people laugh at bullying behavior also. It may very well be that both are forms of entertainment for children. Intervention must define each and make the line between the two more distinct, because too often the victim feels bullied if he/she is the object of laughter, and so in the

mind of the victim, bullying has occurred, whether or not it was a deliberately intended act of bullying.

Contrary to Brendtro (2001) and Heinrich (2003) who say bullies enjoy dominating others and are unlikely to feel empathy toward the victim, the current study indicates, in both the interviews and the observations, that males and females admitted shame about their bullying behavior. Several did not want to admit guilt to some of their actions and even made excuses once they had admitted to bullying. Males and females both claimed they did not bully intentionally. They just did it. This leads me to believe that children get into a behavioral habit of bullying and, unless it is brought to their attention, it may not be recognized by the bully. Two of the children talked about a bullying incident but indicated they do not behave like that anymore. In fact, one female started crying when I told her what the interview was about. I asked her why she was crying. She said she was hurt that her mother would give consent for her to be interviewed instead of her sister. She said, "You should be talking to my sister; she is the bully." After explaining to her that she was not being called a bully, she calmed down and signed the assent form to proceed with the interview. This female had been a victim and admitted to more recently being a bully

All the interviewees gave similar reasons for why children bully. Clothing was one of the top four answers given by the members. This finding was confirmed by the observations as well. This was also consistent in Selekman and Vessey (2004) who found that victims are often "different" from their peers, naming clothing as one of the differences. Contradicting my findings, however, is a study by Olweus (as cited in Dake

et al., 2003), that stated “dress was unrelated to victimization.” It would appear that males and females bully for the same reasons.

In the observations as well as the interviews, both males and females said peer pressure was a reason why some children bully. Being part of the ‘in crowd’ appears to be an overriding factor for a child’s behavior. This is consistent with other studies, such as, Atlas and Pepler (1998), Baldry (2004), Selekman and Vessey (2004), and Storch, Brassard, and Masia-Warner (2003) who said that bullying may help someone gain status among peers. An example of this behavior might be when the children who are being bullied ran back to the bully to “hang out,” even if it meant that they would be a victim of bullying again. As one of the male researchers concluded, bullying may be seen as a sign of favoritism. This might have something to do with gaining someone’s attention; sometimes any attention is better than no attention. Kaltiala-Heino et al. (1999) claimed, “Victims tend to be rejected by peers” (p. 350), and so the victim may keep coming back looking for acceptance.

Several of the children pointed out that if adults at the club do not see the bullying behavior, they cannot stop it. In the observations, the researchers noted that when the adults were busy, bullying occurred in the same room. This is consistent with Atlas and Pepler (1998) who suggested that teachers may not be aware of bullying and Espelage and Swearer (2003) who claimed that teachers report less bullying than students. Males and females alike said the adults at the club stopped bullying behavior. This appears to indicate that the children feel safe at the club.

Differences

Although all the researchers witnessed bullying behavior, many times the female researchers called it something less significant, such as, a “scuffle” or “playful flirting.” It seems the researchers identified bullying behavior differently. In addition, the male researchers were much more proactive in dealing with situations at the onset of the behavior. The males were more apt to see and stop a potentially bullying behavior before it actually became one that would require a strong intervention. The females on the other hand interacted with the members in a relational manner and were more apt to explain or listen to excuses for certain behaviors. The female researchers were willing to discuss a problem and propose a win-win solution. Because of the different styles of the researchers, some became an outlet for helping the children, while others became someone to avoid, especially when some of the children were being difficult or ornery. Gamliel et al. (2003) agree that young people do not involve adults unless they view them as helpful.

Research is inconsistent with regard to gender and bullying. Baldry (2004) claimed that boys are more likely than girls to be involved in a “direct” bullying, whereas girls are more likely to be involved with “indirect” bullying. On the other hand, Atlas and Pepler (1998) concluded that boys and girls bully equally. Selekman and Vessey (2004) say that both genders bully equally but that boys are more likely to be physical and females choose “social toxicity.” In the current study, aggressiveness was similar in both males and females, but females seemed to persist longer and more aggressively in their bullying, whereas the males were more likely to hit the victim and leave the scene. Several examples were given of a male taking a ball from, or throwing a ball hard at,

someone else. The boys even picked on others while passing through, but it was seemingly in a harmless manner. Girls were more likely to posture themselves in a position of power and dare someone to approach or challenge them.

We observed quite a mixture of bullying combinations. For example, both boys and girls bullied boys and girls. In a study by Schafer et al. (2004), boys said they were bullied by boys and girls said they had been bullied by boys and girls. In the current study boys appeared to be more submissive to bullying by girls. They might yell back or raise a fist as a threat, but they were more likely to walk away. Girls, on the other hand, were more likely to fight back with another girl and continue with the dispute. Boys who bullied girls appeared to do it in passing and so did not carry the same animosity and persistence as the girl-on-girl bullying. Even when boys bullied boys, it lasted only a few seconds.

Limitations

The interviewers each came from different backgrounds and were in different stages of life. This could introduce a preconception of the seriousness of bullying and even put bullying behavior in a different light. This may be why we saw the same behavior with different significance. The reactions of the interviewers could also introduce a perceived partiality among the members. Pellegrini and Long (2002) suggested that youngsters react differently when observers are around. Sometimes the members seemed to become a little timid once they opened up and admitted to something that was considered bullying. The children spoke candidly, but with a certain “look” from the interviewer, the members would “change their story” or make an excuse as to why they behaved in the manner they did. It is possible the children were afraid of

getting in trouble. Because I interpreted all the interviews conducted by five of us (one researcher did not perform interviews), there may be some bias involved in the analysis. This bias would also affect the observations although not to the same degree.

During the course of conducting interviews, several of the interviewers and I were asked to define words that we were using. For example, ethnic and seldom were two such words that prompted the requests. Depending on the answers we individually gave to the children, we each may have gotten totally different answers. Interpretation is always a limitation when different people are defining terms.

This study took place in a small town Boys and Girls Club. There is diversity within the club, but the results are not to be generalized to any population. The purpose of this study involved the examination of bullying at this one location; children at other clubs may behave differently.

Implications

When we entered the Boys and Girls Club to interview and observe, we did not hear the children talking about bullying. As we discussed bullying with some of them, however, they became more aware of what bullying is and who was bullying. We need to take the time to listen to what they are saying about bullying. As the project was nearing the end, I noticed many more children discussing the subject of bullying and even asking me if I thought their behavior was considered bullying. Indeed, some children were bullying but were unaware of it.

Intimidation does not stop bullying, it merely sends it underground and it then becomes more subtle. Quietly relating to the members brings out more admissions of bullying as well as more reactions and feelings from the victims. Intervention should

take this into account and be planned with more discussion rather than lecture. The children know a lot and are anxious to learn. We have to be open to listening as well as teaching children about bullying.

Future studies should include listening to the children whether it is through interviews, surveys, or observations. Taking note of the issues relevant to the children in the area can lead us to more precise intervention. Understanding previous interventions and knowing what has worked may also lead us in a direction that can eventually bring interventions into play that can be generalized in all populations.

Intervention Strategy

The goal of an intervention program is to prevent or stop bullying at the Boys and Girls Club. The environment at the club is ideal for children of various ages to be involved in the educational process of becoming informed about bullying behavior and its effects. Involving the younger children could prevent this negative behavior from occurring before it has a chance to begin. Extending the process to the older members could curb the behavior and give them the tools to stop it whether it is their own or that of their peers.

The program should begin by training the staff. They should be able to recognize bullying behavior. The staff should also be aware of the consequences of bullying for the bully, victim, and bystander and be able to identify signs of this peer abuse. They should be given practical suggestions on the best methods of intervention, which involves awareness and open communication, and these methods should be practiced. Regular staff meetings should be held to share information regarding progress that has occurred, if any, and to offer suggestions on what is working and what needs refining.

Structured activities are enjoyed by all the club members. Bullying sometimes occurs during these structured activities. This can be an ideal opportunity for educating them on what bullying is and how it affects others. An example of this could be a game such as basketball or kickball where members are lined up and two leaders are chosen. The leaders select or choose their team members. A discussion as to why some children are chosen first and some are chosen last can follow. This can be taken one step further by allowing the last members selected or chosen to be leaders in the next game. This would reverse the roles and help one group understand and perhaps feel what it is like to be the first or last chosen for the team.

Books or stories of bullying can be used to encourage open discussions about bullying and to teach empathy for others. This method could be used with the younger members as well as the older members. The older members enjoy group discussions and the opportunity to voice their opinion on current issues. Once the stories are read, we can allow the members to come up with suggestions on the best solutions to the situations.

Drama role-playing is another option. The members can act out skits or plays that include a bully, victim, bystander, and an adult. The skit could be as simple as grabbing a basketball from someone or as complicated as a relational spat. The observers could communicate what they saw and thought about the different roles. They could break into groups and discuss ways of solving the problem acted out in the skit and then compare answers and decide which solutions are best and why. This would allow the children to discuss the issues, and it would give them ownership in resolving the issue.

Another activity might be drawing or coloring. The club's bulletin boards can be used for hanging posters or pictures drawn by members to depict bullying. These boards

are in an area visible to parents. Notices should be sent home to inform parents about this program and encourage involvement of the entire family in the anti-bullying program.

These activities can promote the recognition of one's feelings about bullying as well as empathy for others. This type of communication can also open doors to adults and promote a caring and enjoyable environment for everyone. Socially acceptable behavior will naturally be learned through the activities and the discussion that follows. Adults will learn through practice and experience how to listen and respond to the members' needs. A key component is helping the members identify, express, and understand their feelings.

Conclusions

There are more similarities than differences in the way males and females perceive bullying issues. The genders define, describe, and react similarly to bullying with very few differences noticed. Bullying is often ignored or undetected by adults who could have a major role in stopping the behavior.

The Boys and Girls Club is seen as a 'safe place' for many children who need a place to go after school. The environment is ideal for intervention programs that deal with children and current behavioral issues. Learning can be fun and in an environment that offers fun and entertaining activities like those at the club, prevention or intervention programs could thrive.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Interview Instrument

Part One: Self-concept & Demographics

1. How old are you?
2. Are you a boy or girl?
3. How do you feel about being a boy/girl?
4. How do you feel you compare with other boys/girls?
5. Who do you prefer to play with: boys or girls? Why?
6. What grade are you in at school?
7. Are you black, white, Hispanic, Asian, etc?
8. Ask yourself the simple question, Who am I? Try and think of ten answers to this question. Just tell me the first thing that comes to your mind. Answer as if you are only giving answers to yourself and not to somebody else. Don't worry about the order the responses come to you; don't worry about importance, etc. Just tell me the first ten things that come to your mind when you think about Who am I?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
 - e.
 - f.
 - g.
 - h.
 - i.
 - j.

Part Two: Family and Peer Relations

9. There are many different types of families today. Please describe your family to me. Prompts may include the following:
- a. Who cares for you most of the time (e.g., mother, father, grandparent, aunt, uncle, etc.)?
 - b. How well are you supervised at home? How much time does your caregiver spend with you?
 - c. How would you describe your relationship with your primary care giver?
 - d. How do you feel about the person who cares for you most of the time?
 - e. Are you an only child or do you have brothers or sisters?
 - f. If you do have brothers and sisters, how many do you have?
 - g. If you have siblings, describe your relationship(s) with them?
 - h. How close would you say the members of your family are to one another?
 - i. When you think about your family, what is the one thing that makes you feel happy?
 - j. When you think about your family, what is the one thing that makes you feel sad?
10. Thinking back over the past year (i.e., 2003), tell me about how you got along with other boys and girls? Prompts may include the following:
- a. Tell me about your best friend.
 - b. Tell me about any new friends that you made last year.
 - c. What makes a good friend?
 - d. If there's someone you don't like to be around, tell me about that person.
 - e. What sorts of things did you do with your friends last year?
 - f. What is your best memory of last year?
 - g. What is your worst memory of last year?
 - h. If you could change one thing that happened to you last year, what would it be?
 - i. What do you and your friends do at the Boys and Girls Club?
do at the Boys and Girls Club?
 - j. How do you feel about the Boys and Girls Club?
11. How did you spend your afternoons before you came to the Boys and Girls Club?

Part Three: Peer Abuse, Harassment, and Bullying

12. Describe these three things for me: bullying, the person who bullies, and the person who is bullied.
13. Have you ever been bullied? If so, please tell me about it.
14. Have you ever bullied someone? If so, please tell me about it.
15. During which grades would you say most bullying goes on?
16. What problems have you seen that bullying causes yourself and others?
 - a. physical health problems (hurt or made to feel sick)
 - b. social problems
 - c. emotional problems
 - d. academic problems (problems learning in school)
 - e. family problems
 - f. others _____
17. When you or someone else is being bullied, what did the bullies do?

	Never	Seldom	Often	Always
Teasing or ridicule				
Verbal attacks other than teasing or ridicule				
Practical jokes				
Vandalism of property				
Physical attack				
Other:				
Other:				

18. Why are most kids bullied?

facial appearance/features	race	who their friends are
overweight/underweight	ethnic group	no friends or social skills
speech problem	religion	where they live
a scar or mark	good/bad grades	who parents are
physical weakness	clothes	who brothers/sisters are
illness or handicap	cried or was emotional	family is poor
handicapped family member	short-tempered	other:
are in special education	don't fit in	other:
too tall or too short	new to the neighborhood/area	other:

19. How often do the following things happen when someone is being bullied?

	Never	Seldom	Often	Always
How often are kids bullied at the Boys & Girls Club?				
How often are kids bullied at school?				
How often do adults at the Boys & Girls Club try to stop it when a kid is being bullied?				
How often do adults at school try to stop it when a kid is being bullied?				
How often do other kids try to stop bullying at the Boys & Girls Club?				

20. What do you usually do when you see someone your age being bullied at the Boys & Girls Club?
21. What do you usually do when you see someone your age being bullied at school?
22. How many kids have you seen being bullied at the Boys & Girls Club? Describe them for me.
23. How many kids have you seen being bullied at school? Describe them for me.
24. How do the kids who are bullied act after they've been bullied?
25. What does bullying do to boys and girls?

Part Four: Evaluation of After-School Programs

26. How do you feel about the Boys & Girls Club?
27. How would you feel if there wasn't a Boys & Girls Club?
28. If you didn't spend time at the Boys & Girls Club after-school, what would you do?
29. What would you say to someone who wanted to close down the Boys & Girls Club?
30. What things do you get to do at the Boys & Girls Club?
31. Do you think you will still go to the Boys & Girls Club when you are older (17 or 18 years old)?

Part Five: Self-esteem and Academic Performance

32. Everybody has some things about him/her which are good and some things about him/her which are bad. Are more things about you... good, bad, or the same?
33. Do you ever feel like you are no good at all? Why or why not?
34. Do other people ever make you feel as though you're no good? Why or why not?
35. Do you ever think that you are not good at anything? Why or why not?
36. How happy are you with the kind of person you are?
37. How important is doing well academically (at school) to you?
38. What are your grades like at school?
39. What do you think about kids who are on the honor roll at school? Are you on it?
40. How much of your free time do you spend studying or doing homework?

Appendix B

Consent Form

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

East Tennessee State University
Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology

INFORMATION ABOUT Bullying Among Juveniles at an After-school Program

PRINCIPLE INVESTIGATOR

Dr. Wayne Gillespie

This Informed Consent will explain about being a research subject. It is important that you read this form carefully and then decide if you want to allow your child to be a volunteer.

PURPOSE

This is a study about bullying. We want to know if bullying goes on at the Boys & Girls Club. We plan to ask both boys and girls about bullying. Girls and boys may experience bullying differently. We also want to know which children are the biggest bullies at the Club.

DURATION

The interview will take about one hour. It will happen after school at the Boys & Girls Club of Johnson City & Washington County Inc. The address is 2210 West Market Street, Johnson City TN 37604.

PROCEDURES

The study will be explained to your child. Your child will be asked to read and sign an assent (or agreement). Your child will then be interviewed by a researcher from East Tennessee State University. Your child will be asked questions about his/her background, his/her relationships with family and friends, bullying, self-esteem and grades at school. Some questions ask for details about your child=s home life, such as his or her judgment of you as a care giver. The interviews will be audio-taped and then written down. The recordings will be erased after the study ends. There is one part to the study where we will ask your child to tell us which children at the Boys & Girls Club bully other kids. To insure anonymity, at the end of the interview we will ask your child to write the names of the children who are bullies at the Boys & Girls Club. Your child=s response will be sealed in an envelop and will not be opened until all interviews are finished. There will be no way to connect your child=s name with his or her answers. Please remember that you may refuse to have your child take part in this study if you so choose.

INFORMATION ABOUT Bullying Among Juveniles at an After-school Program

POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Some of the most negative memories from childhood involve bullying. Talking about this subject may be stressful for your child. The discomfort may be greater for children who have been victims of bullying. Also, we are asking your child to tell us which children at the Boys & Girls Club are bullies. This may appear as Asnitching@ or Atattling@ to your child. This, too, may cause some stress. This method is anonymous and confidential. Your child may refuse to answer any question that makes them feel bad. Please note that your child is free to quit at any time. If your child does not want to be interviewed, it will not affect his or her time at the Boys & Girls Club.

POSSIBLE or PERCEIVED BENEFITS

There are no known benefits to your child. Some children feel better after they talk about bullying or other problems in their lives. This study may show that bullying is a problem at the Boys & Girls Club. The findings may help other children in the future.

FINANCIAL COSTS

It will not cost you or your child anything to take part in this study.

ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES

We only want to interview your child. We are not using any other research methods.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Participation in this study is voluntary. You or your child may refuse to take part. You or your child can quit at any time. If you quit or refuse to allow your child to participate, it will not affect your child's participation in the after-school program. You will be informed immediately if any of the results of the study should reasonably be expected to make you change your mind about your child staying in the study. We may take your child out of the study at any time without your consent, if we decide it is not in our best interest to continue (i.e., if we believe your child is being uncooperative or untruthful). Your child may be taken out of the study if it ends early.

CONTACT FOR QUESTIONS

If you have any research-related questions or problems at any time, you may reach Dr. Wayne Gillespie at (423) 439-4324. You may reach the Chairman of the Institutional Review Board at 423-439-6055 if you have questions about your child's rights as a research subject.

INFORMATION ABOUT Bullying Among Juveniles at an After-school Program

INJURY/COMPLICATIONS

Under Federal Law, subjects are entitled to follow-up treatment if an injury occurs. Compensation may or may not be payable in the event of physical injury arising from this study under Federal Law.

COMPENSATION FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT

East Tennessee State University (ETSU) will pay the cost of emergency first aid for any injury that happens as a result of you child being in this study. They will not pay for any other medical treatment. Claims against ETSU or any of its agents or employees may be made to the Tennessee Claims Commission. These claims will be settled as provided under TCA Section 9-8-307. For more information about claims reach the Chairman of the ETSU/VA Institutional Review Board at 423-439-6055.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every attempt will be made to see that study results are kept confidential. A copy of the records from this study will be stored in the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology at East Tennessee State University for at least 10 years. The results of this study may be published and/or presented at meetings without naming your child as a subject. The ETSU IRB, VA Research & Development Committee, FDA, Department of Health and Human Services and (individual or department) have access to the study records.

CONSENT

By signing below, I certify that I have read or had this document read to me. I will be given a signed copy. I have been given the chance to ask questions and to discuss my child=s participation with the investigator. I freely and voluntarily choose to allow my child to be in this research project.

SIGNATURE OF LEGAL GUARDIAN

DATE SIGNED

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

DATE SIGNED

SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

DATE SIGNED

Appendix C

Assent Form

Assent to Participate in a Research Study

East Tennessee State University

Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology

Bullying Among Juveniles at an After-School Program

- X My parents (or legal guardians) have consented to allow me to take part in this study.
- X This study is about bullying.
- X People from the college are going to talk with me. They want to know if kids are being bullied at the Boys & Girls Club.
- X I am being asked to take part in this study because I go to the Boys & Girls Club of Johnson City and Washington County, Inc.
- X I know that the interview will take about one hour. It will also be tape-recorded.
- X I will be asked very personal questions about self-esteem, family life, bullying, friendships, and grades. Answering them may be stressful because they are so personal.
- X I can refuse to answer any question. I may stop the interview at any time. Quitting the study will not affect my time at the Boys & Girls Club.
- X I agree to take part in this study.

SIGNATURE OF SUBJECT

DATE SIGNED

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER

DATE SIGNED

SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

DATE SIGNED

VITA

BEVERY CHANDLEY

Personal Data: Date of Birth: May 22, 1961

Place of Birth: Stevenage, England

Marital Status: Married

Education: Public Schools, Austin, Texas & Elizabethton, Tennessee

East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee

Sociology, B.S., 2003

East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee

Criminal Justice/Criminology, M.A., 2005

Professional Foster Mom, Traces Foster Care, 1996-1997

Experience: Financial Manager/Farmer, Greenhill Dairy, 1999-2005

Graduate Assistant, East Tennessee State University, College of

Arts and Science, 2003-2005

Facilitator, Moral Kombat Intervention

Drug and Alcohol & Emotion Control, 2004-2005

Volunteer Volunteer, Court Appointed Special Advocate, 1997-2003

Experience: 20+ hours at the Johnson City Observation & Assessment Center

30+ hours at the Alternative Learning School in Johnson City, TN

30+ hours at the Boys and Girls Club in Johnson City, TN

Honors and Dean's List

Award: Outstanding Academic Performance in Sociology, E. Tennessee State University