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Portrayals of Bullying in Children's Picture Books and Implications for Bibliotherapy

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- Abstract –

Bullying, a serious issue in today's schools, negatively impacts children. This article summarizes research and emphasizes the need for effective tools, such as bibliotherapy, to deter bullying. To assist professionals in selecting books for bibliotherapy, 38 bully-themed children's K-3 picture books ranked 1- 4 by *The Horn Book Guide* (HBG) from January 1, 2004 through January 1, 2010 were analyzed. Comparisons were made between the selected books' portrayals of bullying and aspects of bullying, and bully prevention described in research literature. Information was summarized, including the following details: (a) gender of bully and victim, (b) type of bullying, (c) location of bullying, (d) responses of bystanders and adults, and (e) resolution of bullying problems. Considering this descriptive information, professionals are advised to more selectively recommend books to fit the unique needs of students and encourage desired bullying resolution strategies.

In the Harry Potter series, young Harry is bullied incessantly by his cousin Dudley Dursley. Though Dudley's bullying drastically decreased after Harry's magical powers surfaced, Harry endured years of Dudley's intimidation and derision. Escaping Dudley, Harry entered wizards' school at Hogwarts, only to face Draco Malfoy's relentless tormenting (Rowling, 1997). One reason Rowling's millions of

readers, both children and adults, relate to Harry is because they, or someone close to them, have been bullied. Stemming from this common bond, readers of all ages are incensed by Dudley's and Malfoy's bullying.

Bullying is a familiar topic in both layman and professional literature. Thousands of articles, hundreds of books, and dozens of large-scale prevention programs address this hot topic (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Olweus, 1993; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). In particular, incidents of bullied victims expressing their revenge in school shootings have galvanized national efforts to mandate school-based bully prevention programs (Vossekuil, Fein, Reddy, Borum, & Modzeleski, 2002). More recently, highly publicized suicides linked to harassment and bullying prompted President Obama to voice his concern, "We've got to dispel the myth that bullying is just a normal rite of passage, or an inevitable part of growing up. It's not" (U.S. Department of Education, 2010, ¶ 4). Similarly, a 10-page letter from the U.S. Department of Education and Office for Civil Rights (2010) directed schools to take action in reducing bullying and discriminatory harassment.

Bullying

Although bullying occurs in homes and neighborhoods, the bulk of research has focused on bullying in schools (Smith, Schneider, Smith, & Ananiadou, 2004). Incidents tend to occur most frequently in locations where adult supervision is limited, such as on the school bus (Allen, Young, Ashbaker, Heaton, & Parkinson, 2003), playground (Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000), and in hallways, cafeterias, and bathrooms (Fleming & Towey, 2002; Olweus, 1993). Nevertheless, bullying also occurs in classrooms with teachers present (Parault, Davis, & Pelligrini, 2007; Rivers & Smith, 1994).

Bullying occurs when an individual is subjected, repeatedly over time, to negative actions perpetrated by others who possess greater physical, social, and/or intellectual power (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Olweus, 1993). A variety of participants are involved: (a) bullies (perpetrators), (b) victims (more recently referred to as targets), (c) bully-victims (children who both perpetrate and are victimized by bullying), and (d) bystanders (sideline observers of bullying incidents).

Perpetrators often employ multiple forms of bullying. Physical bullying includes pushing, shoving, taking possessions, or acting in some way to physically harm or control victims by direct physical means. Verbal bullying includes name-calling, ridiculing, or threatening victims. Relational bullying refers to using social power to damage another person's image and/or relationships with peers. This

includes spreading mean-spirited rumors that humiliate, discount, reject, exclude, and diminish targeted victims. Although physical and verbal bullying is fairly straightforward, relational bullying often happens behind the scenes and is more difficult for adults to detect (Leff, Kupersmidt, Patterson, & Power, 1999). In addition, relational bullying is more commonly associated with preadolescents and adolescents.

Reported rates indicate that between 15 to 30% of schoolchildren are either bullied or bully others (DeVoe & Kaffenberger, 2005; Nansel, Craig, Overpeck, Saluja, & Ruan, 2004; Nansel et al., 2001). Other studies report 20 to 40% of students are involved in *cyberbullying* (Stover, 2006), a type of relational aggression in which students send vicious rumors, threats, embarrassing messages, and degrading pictures by email, blogs, and cell phones. However, these rates may greatly underestimate involvement, given that student-to-student sexual harassment (a form of bullying) is reported by approximately 80% of adolescents (American Association of University Women [AAUW], 2001).

Bullying Prevention and Intervention

In regard to school-wide bully prevention and intervention programs, long term outcomes have failed to demonstrate anticipated results, in particular changing student behavior and reducing bullying (Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, & Isava, 2008; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Therefore, strategic planning must consider narrowing the focus and shaping interventions to address children's social and emotional needs in classroom settings, as teachers must actively support a safe and inclusive environment (Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000; Frey et al., 2005). Commonly advocated steps include: (a) increasing children's awareness of bullying behaviors; (b) enforcing clear rules and consequences to deter bullying; (c) providing support and supervision for students; and (d) encouraging and rewarding prosocial behaviors, such as inclusion and cooperation (Olweus, 1993; Smokowski & Kopasz, 2005; Sprague & Walker, 2005). Interventions must also consider the social aspect of bullying: Bullying is a social phenomenon that extends beyond bully-victim dyads (Orpinas, Horne, & Staniszewski, 2003; Parault et al., 2007). Therefore, intervention efforts must focus on two critical ingredients: the overall social tolerance for bullying and the need for effective problem-solving strategies, particularly for victims and bystanders (Craig, Pepler, & Blais, 2007; Davis & Davis, 2007).

Davis and Davis (2007) note the importance of focusing on the broad base of bystanders, strengthening the vast majority of students who may ignore, tacitly

endorse, or actively encourage bullying. These students must be encouraged to step forward and take an active stand against bullying. To this end, bibliotherapy holds promise as a potential tool to strengthen positive, supportive, and inclusive classroom environments, in particular educating and involving bystanders in more actively supporting victims (Crothers & Kolbert, 2008; Jack & Ronan, 2008; Oliver & Young, 1994).

Bibliotherapy

Bibliotherapy involves reading a carefully selected book independently or in a group, discussing the story, and applying *lessons learned* in activities that build on the story's message. A good story invites children to identify with characters, become emotionally invested, express emotions, and apply new insights to personal situations (Pardeck & Pardeck, 1984). Mental health professionals use bibliotherapy as a counseling tool to assist individuals in addressing, understanding, and coping with personal challenges (Forgan, 2002). When children are faced with typical developmental challenges such as bullying, parents and teachers are also encouraged to share books that identify coping strategies (Heath, Moulton, Dyches, Prater, & Brown, 2011; Prater, Johnstun, Dyches, & Johnstun, 2006). In addition to teaching skills, sharing stories also strengthens adults' social and emotional support for children, a critical element in alleviating children's suffering (Davidson & Demaray, 2007; Sprague & Walker, 2005).

The body of research investigating the effectiveness of bibliotherapy is not extensive (Jack & Ronan, 2008), nor is it integrated with the massive body of bullying research. However, bibliotherapy has proven effective in treating childhood emotional and behavioral problems, including depression (Kazdin, 2009; Smith, Floyd, Scogin, & Jamison, 1997; Stice, Rohde, Seeley, & Gau, 2008), anxiety disorders (Rapee, Abbott, & Lyneham, 2006), darkness phobia (Santacruz, Mendez, & Sanchez-Meca, 2006), and aggression (Shechtman, 1999, 2000, 2006).

From a mental health perspective, bibliotherapy aligns with Cognitive Behavioral Therapy ([CBT]; Pattison & Harris, 2006). CBT emphasizes the relationship between thoughts, feelings, and behavior (Cohen, Mannarino, & Deblinger, 2006). When changing bullying behavior we must also consider changing children's thoughts and perceptions. This is where bibliotherapy's potential comes into play. Carefully selected stories open classroom discussion, normalize challenges, reduce isolation, model coping strategies, define behavioral expectations, and offer hope (Heath et al., 2011). Though minimal research supports bibliotherapy in specifically

reducing bullying, researchers and practitioners often recommend children's books and stories to address this topic (Beane, 2005; Henkin, 2005; Kriedler, 1996; McNamara & McNamara, 1997; Olweus, 1993; Ross, 1996) and to reduce children's aggressive behavior (Jones, 1991; Shechtman, 1999, 2000, 2006).

Selecting Books for Bibliotherapy

Prior to implementing bibliotherapy, parents, teachers, and professionals are faced with the challenging task of selecting from hundreds of available bully-themed books. This screening process involves reviewing and evaluating books prior to sharing them with children. To increase the potential for students to identify with story characters, selected books should match student characteristics and the specific nature of bullying situations. Professionals should consider multiple variables, such as (a) the characters' gender, (b) type(s) of bullying, (c) characters' role in bullying (i.e., bullies, victims, bystanders), (d) adults' role in the situation, and (e) coping strategies.

Though limited, some research provides useful information regarding available bully-themed children's books. Oliver and Young (1994) analyzed 22 books written for preadolescents (ages 9-12), describing characters' use of violence in response to bullying. They also identified major coping and problem-solving methods and strategies. However, their study, published 15 years ago, did not investigate younger children's picture books.

A more recent article analyzed 25 picture books published between 1995 and 2003 and written for children ages five through eight (Entenmen, Murnen, & Hendricks, 2005). In this study, several important variables regarding bullying situations were analyzed and the researchers found that verbal bullying was the most commonly portrayed form of bullying in the analyzed books, followed by physical bullying. Although bullies were more likely to be portrayed as males, victims were equally represented by males and females. Major characters were more frequently represented as animals rather than human. Most commonly, bullying occurred at school, followed by home. The majority of their sample (22 of the 25 books) included a bystander. However, bystanders' responses to bullying varied from assisting the victim to encouraging the bully's attack. Almost half of the books included an adult offering help or intervention and, while problem resolution varied widely, most bullies faced consequences for their behavior, at least to some degree. Although Entenmen et al. (2005) geared their research to elementary teachers' needs, this

information also helps parents, counselors, and school-based mental health professionals to more strategically select children's bully-themed literature.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to selectively analyze a current sample of bully-themed picture books and to compare these results with the professional literature on bullying. K-3 children's picture books were analyzed. This age group was selected for two main reasons. First, young children need strategies to effectively confront and deter bullying (Schwartz et al., 2008). Second, it is important to address bullying at a young age, thus helping prevent the escalation of bullying during middle school. Picture books were selected because they are (a) quickly and easily read by students, parents, teachers, librarians, and school-based mental health professionals; (b) cost effective; (c) readily available in school or public libraries; and (d) written and illustrated for young children. This analysis ultimately provides information for librarians and professionals to more selectively identify bully-themed books for bibliotherapy.

Method

Procedures: Identifying a Sample of Books

Several criteria were established to determine an adequate yet manageable number of early-elementary (grades K-3) picture books related to bullying. More specifically, selected books were fictional; written in English or translated from other languages into English; and included the word *bully* (or variant of the term bully) in the title, main subject, or keyword in a database or catalog search. Because children's books quickly go out of print, only recently published books, between January 1, 2004 and January 1, 2010, were selected, ensuring the sample's books would be readily available in public and school libraries. This sample chronologically extended beyond the previously published books reviewed by Entenmen et al. (2005).

The final criterion for inclusion was based on The Horn Book Guide (HBG) reviews. This guide's information was consulted for several reasons. First, HBG reviews the largest number of books compared to other major children's book reviews. Second, HBG reviews books that are widely available. Third, this guide provides a numerical rank for each book and other reviews, though potentially helpful, did not include a quantitative rating system. HBG ranks each book on a scale of

one to six, with one indicating the highest most desirable rating and six indicating the lowest rating. Books ranked one to four were included in this study. Those books with a rating of five (Marginal, seriously flawed, but with some redeeming quality) and six (Unacceptable in style, content, and/or illustration) were excluded. Based on HBG reviews from 1989-2010, almost one third (30%) of reviewed K-3 picture books identified with the key word "bullying" were rated five or six.

In order to identify picture books with a bullying theme published since January 1, 2004, web-based book databases were searched, including the Children's Literature Comprehensive Database, the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) Online Union Catalog, and the popular book-selling website Amazon.com. From this search, 114 potential books were identified that met the initial criteria. Sixtytwo of these books were not reviewed by The Horn Book Guide and were therefore eliminated from the sample. The Horn Book Guide rating was then noted for each of the remaining 52 books. Of these books, 14 received a ranking of five or six and were not further analyzed. The remaining 38 books met all inclusion criteria. These books were included in this study's sample (see Table 1).

 Table 1. Selected Bully-Themed Books and Horn Book Ratings

Book	Horn Book Guide Rating ^a
Alexander, C. (2008). Lucy and the bully. Morton Grove, IL: Whitman.	4
Aliki. (2005). A play's the thing. New York: Harper Collins.	2
Arnosky, J. (2005). Coyote raid in cactus canyon. New York: Putnam Juvenile.	4
Aruego, J., & Dewey, A. (2006). <i>The last laugh</i> . New York: Dial Books for Young Readers.	4
Aston, D. H. (2008). Not so tall for six. Watertown, MA: Charlesbridge.	3
Bateman, T. (2004). The bully blockers club. Morton Grove, IL: Whitman.	4
Campbell, B. M. (2008). <i>I get so hungry</i> . New York: Putnam Juvenile.	4
Cannon, J. (2004). <i>Pinduli</i> . Orlando, FL: Harcourt.	3
Chen, C. (2004). <i>Guji Guj</i> i. La Jolla, CA: Kane/Miller.	3
Choldenko, G. (2006). How to make friends with a giant. New York: Putnam's.	2
Cohen, M. (2008). Tough Jim. Long Island City, NY: Star Bright Books.	3
Crummel, S. S. (2006). <i>Ten-gallon Bart</i> . New York: Marshall Cavendish.	4
Cuyler, M. (2009). Bullies never win. New York: Simon & Schuster.	3
D'Amico, C., & D'Amico, S. (2004). Ella, the elegant elephant. New York: Arthur A. Levine.	4

Book	Horn Book Guide Rating ^a
Gormley, G. (2006). Rocky and the lamb. Hauppauge, NY: Barrons Educational Series.	3
Kroll, S. (2006). Jungle bullies. New York: Marshall Cavendish.	4
Landström, L. (2005). Four hens and a rooster (J. Sandin, Trans.). New York: R & S Books.	3
Lears, L. (2009). Stay away from rat boy! Morton Grove, IL: Whitman.	4
Lenain, T. (2008). Little Zizi. El Paso, TX: Cinco Puntos.	4
Lester, H. (2004). Hurty feelings. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.	3
Luthardt, K. (2004). Hats! Morton Grove, IL: Albert Whitman.	3
Meister, C. (2004). Luther's Halloween. New York: Viking.	3
Morrison, T., & Morrison, S. (2004). Who's got game? The lion or the mouse? New York: Scribner.	4
Moses, B. (2006). Trouble at the dinosaur café. New York: Walker & Co.	3
Moore, J. (2009). Freckleface Strawberry and the dodgeball bully. London: Bloomsbury.	3
Nolen, J. (2006). Plantzilla goes to camp. New York: Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers.	4
O'Connor, G. (2005). Ker-splash! New York: Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers.	4
Pearson, T. C. (2004). Myrtle. New York: Farrar Straus.	3
Pinkwater, D. (2007). Yo-yo man. New York: Harper Collins.	4
Recorvits, H. (2008). Yoon and the jade bracelet. New York: Frances Foster.	2
Ross, T. (2004). Is it because? London: Andersen.	3
Roth, J. J. (2006). Knitting Nell. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.	3
Schwartz, A., & Marcus, L. (2006). Oscar: The big adventure of a little sock monkey. New York: Katherine Tegen.	4
Slavin, D. (2004). <i>Teeny meany</i> . In M. Thomas & C. Cerf (Eds.), Thanks & giving all year long: Marlo Thomas and friends (pp.7-9). New York: Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers.	4
Valckx, C. (2005). Lizette's green sock. New York: Clarion.	2
Wahl, J. (2004). Candy shop. Watertown, MA: Charlesbridge.	4
Winstead, R. (2006). Ruby and bubbles. New York: Dial Books for Young Readers.	3
Winters, K. (2004). The teeny tiny ghost and the monster. New York: Harper Collins.	4

^aThe *Horn Book Guide* bases ratings on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 indicating the highest most desirable rating and 6 indicating the lowest rating. Books receiving a rating of 1, 2, 3, or 4 were included in this study.

Measures

Selected books were analyzed according to multiple descriptors. Information was summarized in charts (see Table 1 and Appendices A and B). This information offers readily accessible information to assist librarians and professionals in searching for a specific book to match a child's unique bullying situation. As noted above, Table 1 includes each book's HBG ranking. Based on these books, Appendices A and B contain coding summaries of analyzed variables, divided into two major categories: information describing characters (Appendix A) and information describing the bullying situation (Appendix B).

Appendix A contains summarized information that describes characters portrayed as bullies and victims. Coding categories included the following descriptors: (a) whether characters were humans or animals; (b) gender of both bully and victim; (c) race/ethnicity of both bully and victim (only coded when characters were human and if race/ethnicity was evident); (d) whether the bully was older than the victim; and (e) additional traits that may have contributed to victimization (e.g., physical appearance, behavior, disability, personality, being the new kid, a unique interest or hobby, academic performance, or family characteristics).

Appendix B contains summarized information that describes the following categories: (a) type of bullying (physical, verbal, relational, or a combination); (b) setting where bullying occurred; (c) description of perpetrator, an individual or a group; (d) involvement of bystanders and their response(s); (e) involvement of adults and help or intervention they provided; and (f) type of resolution to the bullying situation (e.g., developing self-confidence, being friendly to the bully, ignoring or avoiding the bully, gaining empathy for the bully, using humor, being protected and/or supported by others, and getting revenge on the bully).

Each selected book was read independently by two reviewers and analyzed for identified variables of interest. Reviewers included two school psychology graduate students and two associate professors in the department of Counseling Psychology and Special Education. After the primary author developed a basic coding instrument and instructions, the reviewers were trained. Coders reviewed the coding instrument and discussed instructions on completing each book's coding. After separately reading and coding three selected books, reviewers discussed questions and clarified aspects that were somewhat ambiguous. After coding details were further specified, reviewers coded the remaining books (two reviewers per each book). In order to reach consensus on all coding categories, coding disagreements were independently evaluated and resolved by a third reviewer.

Research Design

This study involved an exploratory content analysis of selected children's picture books, specifically on the topic of bullying. The analysis involved coding each book's content based on predetermined categories reflecting professional literature and basic information of interest to professionals. After coding the sample of selected books, descriptive statistics were calculated (percentage and frequency counts). Data were summarized, providing an overall view of selected books' content. Information from this selected sample was compared with current research on the topic of bullying and bullying prevention, identifying areas of agreement and disagreement between literary portrayals in selected children's books and current research.

Results

Analysis of 38 bully-themed children's picture books offered a view into the type of information portrayed in these books. Authors, publication dates, and publishers for these books are included in Table 1. The analyzed variables were summarized under two categories: (a) demographic variables describing characters, summarized in Appendix A; and (b) variables describing bullying situations, summarized in Appendix B. A discussion of these results follows.

Demographic Variables Describing Characters

Character Portrayal

In almost half of the 38 books (*n*=16; 42%), characters were portrayed as animals. Twenty books (53%) portrayed characters as humans. Characters in two books (5%) did not fit into the identified categories. The ghosts in *The Teeny Tiny Ghost and the Monster* (Winters, 2004) were not classified as animal or human, but were coded as *other*. In the second book, *Luther's Halloween* (Meister, 2004), characters were mixed, with a dinosaur in the major character's role and children in supporting roles.

Gender

In regard to the bully's gender, the majority was male. Twenty-eight of the 38 books (74%) portrayed male bullies: 22 portrayed one male bully; 3 portrayed a group of male bullies; and 3 portrayed males in mixed gender groups of bullies. Female bullies were portrayed in 9 (24%) of the 38 books: 5 books portrayed one female bully; 1 book portrayed a group of female bullies; and 3 books portrayed females in a mixed gender group of bullies. Four books (11%) portrayed the bully

as a gender-neutral animal or ghost characters (gender not specified and could not be determined by the books' pictures).

In regard to the victim's gender, the majority was female. Of the 38 books, 26 (68%) portrayed female victims: 15 portrayed one female victim; 1 portrayed a group of female victims; and 10 portrayed females in mixed gender groups of victims. Male victims were portrayed in 21 of the 38 books (55%): 9 portrayed one male victim; 2 portrayed a group of male victims; and 10 portrayed males in a mixed gender group of victims. One book (3%) portrayed the victim as a gender-neutral character (no gender specified and could not be determined by the book's illustrations or text).

Race/Ethnicity

The analysis of characters' race and ethnicity was impacted by the fact that almost half of the books (n=17; 45%) included characters that were animals or ghosts. For the remaining 21 books, race/ethnicity was determined primarily through illustrations and text cues, such as names. Thus, coding this category was somewhat subjective. Of the 21 books with human bullies, 17 books included Caucasian bullies; 1 included a Hispanic bully; 1 included an African American bully; and 1 included a mixed group of ethnic characters portrayed as bullies. One book's human bully was of undetermined ethnicity (could not be determined based on illustrations and text cues).

Similar to the race/ethnicity breakdown of bullies, 12 of the 21 books with human characters portrayed Caucasian victims; 1 portrayed an African American victim; 1 portrayed a Korean victim; and 1 portrayed an Asian victim. In two books the victim's ethnicity could not be determined from the illustrations and text. Four books included a mixed group of ethnic characters who were portrayed as victims.

Age

Both pictures and text clues assisted coders in determining the relative ages of story characters. However, the age relationship of characters was often ambiguous, making this coding category difficult to identify in almost half of the books. Due to this ambiguity, 16 books (42%) were not coded in this category. Accounting for the remaining 22 books, 15 books (39%) portrayed bullies and victims within the same age range; 7 books (18%) included a bully that was clearly older than the victim; and none of the books included a bully younger than the victim.

Victim's Personal Characteristics

In addition to gender, race/ethnicity, and age, reviewers identified other personal characteristics that may have contributed to the victim becoming a target of bullying. The most common characteristic of victims was being shorter and smaller. In 17 of the 38 books (45%) the victim was much smaller than the bully. Four books (11%) included other physical characteristics of victims that bullies preyed upon, including being overweight, too tall, and too thin. Eight books (21%) portrayed bullies that targeted individuals with less social power. In stories with animal characters, less social power was associated with being lower on the food chain. In seven books (18%) victims appeared to be targeted because of distinctive personality traits or behaviors (e.g., shyness, hyper-sensitivity). Other traits of victims included wearing unique clothing (n=2; 5%) and being the new kid in town (n=3; 8%).

Variables Describing Bullying Situations

Type of Bullying

Bullying behaviors were classified as either physical (e.g., hitting, taking possessions), verbal (e.g., teasing, name-calling), or relational (e.g., excluding, ostracizing, gossiping). Several books in this study included more than one type of bullying: The most commonly portrayed was verbal bullying, present in 30 of the 38 books (79%). Physical bullying was present in 24 books (63%) and relational bullying was observed in 7 books (18%).

Setting

The location of the bullying was classified in general categories, including home, school, neighborhood, and *other place* (most often the animal's natural habitat) and some books included bullying incidents in more than one setting. Bullying was portrayed most often in school settings (n=17; 45%), followed by neighborhood (n=12; 32%), other place (n=9; 24%), and home (n=3; 8%). Two books (5%) did not designate or describe a location. Of the 17 books that portrayed bullying in school settings, bullying was most commonly portrayed in classrooms (n=10) and outside the school building, such as on the playground or in front of the school (n=10). Bullying also occurred in school hallways (n=3), lunchrooms (n=4), pools, gymnasiums, and locker rooms (n=3), and school buses (n=2).

Bullying Group

Bullying was most frequently perpetrated by one individual rather than a group. The bully acted alone in 28 of the 38 books (74%). Nine books (24%)

included bullying perpetrated by two or more individuals. One book was unclear as to whether the bullying was perpetrated by an individual or a group.

Bystander Roles

Of the 38 books, 25 (66%) included one or more bystanders who witnessed the bullying incident and responded in some way. Bystander responses were classified into six general categories with each of the 25 books containing one or more responses: (a) sticking up for the victim in the presence of the bully (n=11, 44%); (b) indirect support of the victim (e.g., consoling, befriending; n=10, 40%); (c) ignoring the bully and doing nothing (n=10, 40%); (d) laughing or smiling in support of the bully (n=3, 12%); (e) joining in with the bully (n=3, 12%); and (f) telling an adult authority (n=2, 8%).

Adult Roles

In 23 books (61% of the sample), adult characters' responses to bullying were not included. However, one book—Not So Tall for Six (Aston, 2008)—included memories of family sayings and traditions that guided the victim's responses. Numerous books did not have adult characters, especially books that featured animal characters in their natural habitat.

Of the 16 books that included adults' responses to bullying, most included more than one adult response. Nine books included teacher responses, eight included parent responses, two included neighborhood adults' responses, one included a school playground supervisor's response, and one included the bully's mother's response. The most commonly observed adult response was attending to and offering emotional support to the victim (n=11). These behaviors included attending to the victim by listening and offering encouraging words. Seven books portrayed adults teaching skills and strategies to the victim. Three books portrayed adults who encouraged friendship and reconciliation between the victim and bully and five books included adults correcting the bully's behavior (e.g., discipline, verbal redirection). In Stay Away from Rat Boy (Lears, 2009), after disciplining the bully (time-out), the teacher tried to teach the bully new behaviors. In one book, the adult directed the bully to immediately stop bullying others. Also observed in 3 of the 16 books, adults ignored the bullying and did nothing. Only one book involved the teacher actively encouraging classroom support to deter bullying - Bullies Never Win (Cuyler, 2009).

Resolutions to Bullying

Resolutions to bullying incidents were classified into one or more of 11 categories. Most books included more than one type of resolution. The most common resolution was for the victim to receive some sort of support (direct or indirect) from others. This was observed in 29 (76%) of the 38 books. The next most common resolution was for the bully to stop the bullying behavior. This occurred in over half of the 38 books (n=24, 63%). Of these 24 books, eight books demonstrated that although the bully stopped, there was no realization of wrongdoing. Thirteen books demonstrated that after the bully stopped, he or she realized wrongdoing. The remaining three books did not indicate the bully's disposition regarding their wrongdoing. It is important to note that in 14 (37%) of the 38 books, the bully's behavior was not clearly extinguished. In other words, the bullying would most likely continue at some point in the future. Another common resolution occurring in 61% of the books (n=23) was that the victim demonstrated increased self-confidence and support from others commonly occurred in tandem.

Other resolutions were much less common than the previous three. Sixteen books (42%) ended with the victim being friendly to the bully. Nine books (24%) ended with the victim seeking retaliation (revenge). Other less common resolutions involved the victim taking such actions as showing empathy for the bully (n=6, 16%), ignoring or avoiding the bully (n=6, 16%), using humor to diffuse the situation (n=5, 13%), confronting the bully about their wrongdoing (n=2; 5%), and threatening to tell the teacher (n=1, 3%). Three books (8%) ended with the bully avoiding the victim or running away from the victim (e.g., in *Coyote Raid in Cactus Canyon* [Arnosky, 2005], a group of wolf bullies harassed smaller wildlife until they were scared away by a rattlesnake not involved in the conflict).

Discussion

The 38 books analyzed in this study included a diverse portrayal of bullying incidents and situations. When compared with the current research literature on bullying, some representations were more accurately portrayed than others. Overall, several aspects of bullying were realistically portrayed, laying the groundwork for readers to relate with the stories' characters and situations. For example, the increased representation of male perpetrators (more male bullies than female bullies) aligns with the research indicating boys are more likely than girls to bully others (Glew, Fan, Katon, Rivara, & Kernic, 2005; Nansel et al., 2001). Likewise, the

research literature indicates that boys are also more likely to be targeted by bullies. This trend, however, was not reflected in this analysis.

Almost half of the books contained animal characters. The remaining books were overrepresented with Caucasian victims and bullies. When selecting books for bibliotherapy, professionals may want to consider the ethnic makeup of their audience, matching books' story characters to their audience of children. This will increase the likelihood of children identifying with story characters.

The high frequency of verbal bullying found in this analysis aligns with research prevalence rates, identifying this type of bullying as the most commonly observed (AAUW, 2001). The sample's low incidence of relational bullying also corresponds with research suggesting this type of bullying is difficult for adults to recognize and more frequently employed by older children (Merrell, Buchanan, & Tran, 2006).

According to recent meta-analyses (Smith et al., 2004; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007), it is unclear which strategies are best for addressing school-wide bully prevention. However, one of the most commonly advocated strategies is for adults and peers to offer support for victims (Davidson & Demaray, 2007; Olweus, 1993; Smokowski & Kopasz, 2005). In sync with this commonly recommended strategy, in 29 of the 38 books victims received direct and/or indirect support from others. Professionals who want to encourage bystanders' social support for the victim should select books that model this behavior. In particular, Davis and Davis (2007) emphasize the importance of focusing on the strength of bystanders, encouraging classmates to actively support victims, taking a stand against bullying.

Another common resolution strategy involved the victim developing self-confidence and/or other skills to stand up for him or herself, demonstrating an active rather than passive response to bullying. When providing anti-bullying tactics to parents and educators, much of the research literature advocates such a strategy. In fact, Brewster and Railsback (2001) state that the primary goal of bullying intervention should be helping victims develop appropriate assertiveness and conflict resolution skills. Although practitioners offer advice on how to counter bullying, more research is needed to determine which strategies are actually the most effective in deterring and eliminating bullying. Thus, because research is inconclusive, strategies presented in this analysis cannot be judged against conclusive research findings. However, professionals should determine which strategies are most acceptable in their settings and utilize books that support the identified strategies.

Research indicates bullying occurs most frequently at school (Fleming & Towey, 2002). Although less than half of the analyzed books portrayed bullying in school settings, schools were the most common setting, particularly in classrooms and on school grounds. As noted by Olweus (1993), bullying in schools most often occurs in places with limited adult supervision. Aligning with this research, adults were not involved in over half of the books' bullying situations (n=22, 58%). Research also indicates that the most frequent location of elementary school bullying is on the playground (Olweus, 1993; Rivers & Smith, 1994). In this sample, only one fifth of books included playground bullying.

Several books portrayed disturbing responses to bullying. For example, 9 of the 38 books portrayed victims seeking revenge or retaliation. Two books ended with a feeling of "justice served," victims satisfied and humored that bullies were scared or chased away by someone (or something) not affiliated with the victim. "Getting even" in some way or scaring the bully runs counter to school-endorsed messages. When selecting books, adults must carefully review the story's ending and how bullying situations are resolved. The story's core message should align with what adults want children to learn and books should model desired behaviors.

Another disconcerting element in many of the selected books was a lack of realism. Several books included a magical resolution to the bullying problem. In *Ella, the Elegant Elephant* (D'Amico & D'Amico, 2004), a hat inflating to the size of a parachute gently floats the bully and victim from a precarious situation to safety; in *Ten-Gallon Bart* (Crummel, 2006) the bully coughs up all the objects he has rudely eaten, making him feel better and no longer wanting to bully the local townspeople; and in *Luther's Halloween* (Meister, 2004) the victim's pet dinosaur chases off the bully who was stealing Halloween candy. Children who are dealing with bullying situations are unlikely to benefit from thinking that bullying problems are resolved with magical interventions or fairy-tale endings. This type of ending ignores the importance of children developing coping strategies and critical skills to address and deter bullying.

Three books portrayed unrealistic resolutions: The victim and bully instantly become close friends. These books included *Plantzilla Goes to Camp* (Nolen, 2006), *Jungle Bullies* (Kroll, 2006), and *Hats!* (Luthardt, 2004). Sending a message to children that instant friendship springs forth from a bullying situation may strengthen unrealistic expectations that clash with real world outcomes. When identifying books for bibliotherapy, stories should model realistic and desirable resolutions to bullying situations.

It should also be noted that the concept of bullying did not have the same meaning across stories as bullying situations varied widely. This was especially true for books involving animal characters in their natural habitats, such as in *Coyote Raid in Cactus Canyon* (Arnosky, 2005) and *Who's Got Game? The Lion or the Mouse?* (Morrison & Morrison, 2004). In such cases, the bully was an animal higher up on the food chain, possessing more power than the other animals. When animal bullies harassed their victims, it was often a predator-prey interaction. Children would most likely relate differently to stories in which books portrayed bullying between children. When selecting books for bibliotherapy, professionals should consider scenarios and details that facilitate children identifying with story characters.

Limitations

Though efforts were made to select a representative, adequate sample and to conduct a sufficient analysis, there are several limitations to this study. First, only K-3 picture books were included in the sample. Second, in order to reduce the selection to a manageable size and ensure quality and availability of selected books, inclusion criteria excluded a large number of books. Third, several books contained ambiguous information about characters, bullying situations, and resolutions to bullying problems, which might have reduced coding accuracy.

Another limitation is that HBG historically gives lower ratings to didactic books that may be identified for bibliotherapy (e.g., the long-running *Berenstain Bear* series by Jan and Mike Berenstain). Of the 74 *Berenstain Bear* books reviewed by HBG since 1989, only 3 received a rating better than five. In other words, 71 of the 74 reviewed books in this popular series received ratings of five or six (the lowest ratings offered). Though not positively rated by HBG, in actuality this type of book may fit in a classroom curriculum that focuses on directly teaching social skills to deter bullying. In addition, books such as *Nobody Knew What to Do* (McCain, 2001) and *Just Kidding* (Ludwig, 2006) were rated five by HBG, yet these books are routinely listed on libraries' bibliotherapy lists and frequently endorsed by teachers and school-based mental health practitioners.

Future Research

Several potential areas for future research are suggested. First, bully-themed books written for older children and adolescents should undergo a similar content analysis. Because bullying is especially problematic in middle and high school, analyzing, summarizing, and identifying effective young adult literature for this age

group would be particularly helpful. Another area of future research would involve surveying professionals and/or parents who might use bibliotherapy to address the topic of bullying. Surveys could solicit their impressions of selected bully-themed books and their impressions of how effective these stories are in deterring bullying and supporting children who struggle with it. Likewise, a similar study could survey children's perceptions of these important topics. Future research could also analyze the effectiveness of bibliotherapy in changing attitudes and reducing bullying behavior by comparing group behaviors of a treatment group (participating in bibliotherapy) and control group (not participating in bibliotherapy). Participants' attitudes and behavioral changes could be tracked over time.

Conclusion and Implications for Professionals

In this study, children's K-3 picture books (*N*=38) were analyzed regarding information about bullying, including characteristics of bullies and victims, descriptions of bullying behaviors, where bullying occurs, and how others respond to bullying. Optimally, this information will assist librarians and professionals in more selectively identifying bully-themed books for bibliotherapy with young children. Professionals are advised to carefully consider books' content and core messages prior to sharing them with children. Most importantly, stories should model desired behaviors and align with school rules. For example, *Little Zizi* (Lenain, 2008) was rated 4 by HBG and included in this analysis, yet may be considered inappropriate for many children in one-on-one settings and even more inappropriate for group and classroom storytelling. A young boy's private body parts and the pictures and images presented in this book could increase teasing, rather than help children develop coping strategies to address bullying. Prior to sharing stories with children and to ensure a good fit with the intended audience, adults should always carefully review books for content and core message.

Reading carefully selected bully-themed stories with children offers a cost effective and quick strategy to initiate conversations about bullying. Additionally, classroom reading helps teachers strengthen bystander support for victims and builds proactive efforts against bullying. When selecting books for bibliotherapy, professionals may want to consider the unique makeup of their audience, matching story characters to the children who will be listening to the story. This may increase the likelihood of children identifying with story characters.

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Appendix A

Selected Books: Description of Characters

D 1 T41	Type of	Ger	nder	Ethnicity/Race		Bully's age	Traits of Victim	
Book Title	Character	Bully	Victim	Bully	Victim	Compared to Victim	(if specified)	
Lucy and the Bully	Animal	Male	Female	NA	NA	Same age	Artistic, admired by classmates	
A Play's the Thing	Human	Male	Mixed group	Hispanic	Mixed group	Same age	Not mentioned	
Coyote Raid in Cactus Canyon	Animal	Unknown	Mixed group	NA	NA	Unknown	Smaller size, less social power	
The Last Laugh	Animal	Unknown	Unknown	NA	NA	Unknown	Less social power	
Not So Tall for Six	Human	Male	Female	Caucasian	Caucasian	Same age	Smaller size	
The Bully Blockers Club	Animal	Male	Female	NA	NA	Same age	Smaller size	
I Get So Hungry	Human	Male	Female	Black	Black	Same age	Larger size (overweight)	
Pinduli	Animal	Mixed group	Female	NA	NA	Older	Unique appearance	
Guji Guji	Animal	Unknown	Male	NA	NA	Older	Smaller size, unique behavior	
How to Make Friends with a Giant	Human	Mixed group	Male group	Mixed group	Unknown	Same age	Extra tall, new kid	
Tough Jim	Human	Male	Male and Female	Caucasian	Caucasian	Older	Smaller size, younger	
Ten-Gallon Bart	Animal	Male	Male	NA	NA	Unknown	Not mentioned	
Bullies Never Win	Human	Female	Female	Caucasian	Caucasian	Same age	Less social power, smaller size (thin)	
Ella, the Elegant Elephant	Animal	Female	Female	NA	NA	Same age	Smaller size, new kid, unique personality and clothing	
Rocky and the Lamb	Animal	Male	Female	NA	NA	Unknown	Smaller size	
Jungle Bullies	Animal	Male group	Male group	NA	NA	Unknown	Smaller size less social power	
Four Hens and a Rooster	Animal	Male	Female group	NA	NA	Unknown	Not mentioned	
Stay away from Rat Boy!	Human	Male	Mixed group	Caucasian	Mixed group	Same age	Less social power, easily intimidated	
Little Zizi	Human	Male group	Male	Caucasian	Caucasian	Same age	Less social power, Small penis	

D 1 T41	Type of	Ger	Gender		Ethnicity/Race		Traits of Victim	
Book Title	Character	Bully	Victim	Bully	Victim	Compared to Victim	(if specified)	
Hurty Feelings	Animal	Male	Female	NA	NA	Unknown	Personality	
Hats!	Human	Male	Mixed group	Caucasian	Mixed group	Unknown	Unique clothing	
Luther's Halloween	Both	Male	Mixed group	Caucasian	Unknown	Same age	Not mentioned	
Who's Got Game? The Lion or the Mouse?	Animal	Male	Mixed group	NA	NA	Unknown	Less social power	
Trouble at the Dinosaur Café	Animal	Male	Mixed group	NA	NA	Unknown	Smaller size, less social power	
Freckleface Strawberry and the Dodgeball Bully	Human	Male	Female	Caucasian	Caucasian	Unknown	Smaller	
Plantzilla Goes to Camp	Human	Male	Male	Caucasian	Caucasian	Same age	Smaller size	
Ker-splash!	Human	Male	Mixed group	Caucasian	Mixed group	Older	Smaller size	
Myrtle	Animal	Female	Mixed group	NA	NA	Unknown	Not mentioned	
Yo-yo Man	Human	Male	Male	Caucasian	Caucasian	Older	Smaller size	
Yoon and the Jade Bracelet	Human	Female	Female	Caucasian	Korean	Older	New student, less social power	
Is It Because?	Human	Male	Male	Caucasian	Caucasian	Unknown	Not mentioned	
Knitting Nell	Human	Male	Female	Caucasian	Caucasian	Same age	Not mentioned	
Oscar: The Big Adventure of a Little Sock Monkey	Human	Male	Male	Caucasian	Caucasian	Older	Smaller size	
"Teeny Meany." In Thanks & Giving All Year Long	Human	Female	Male	Caucasian	Caucasian	Unknown	Size (overweight)	
Lizette's Green Sock	Animal	Male group	Female	NA	NA	Unknown	Smaller size, personality	
Candy Shop	Human	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Asian	Unknown	Not mentioned	
Ruby and Bubbles	Human	Female group	Female	Caucasian	Caucasian	Same age	Unique behavior	
The Teeny Tiny Ghost and the Monster	Ghosts	Mixed group	Male	NA	NA	Same age	Smaller size, personality	

Appendix B

Description of Bullying Situation, Character Involvement, and Outcome

Book title	Type of bullying	Setting of bullying	Bystander involvement	Adult involvement	Outcome or resolution(s) to bullying problem
Lucy and the Bully	Verbal, Physical	School: classroom, grounds	Ignore, act unaware	Victim's mother asks questions, listens, calls teacher; Bully's mother corrects bully	Victim supported by mother Empathy for bully Bully stops, with realization of wrong Uses humor Friendly to bully
A Play's the Thing	Verbal, Physical	School: classroom	Sticks up for victim Indirect support Tells adult	Teacher corrects bully, encourages friendship	Friendly to bully Victim supported by others Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Coyote Raid in Cactus Canyon	Physical	Other	Ignores it Also victimized	No adult involvement	Bully chased away by another Victim supported by others
The Last Laugh	Verbal	Not described	No bystanders	No adult involvement	Revenge, retaliation Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others
Not So Tall for Six	Verbal	School: playground	1 friend's hand on victim's shoulder (indirect support) 2 ignore, whisper to each other	Family traditions (memories)	Uses humor Empathy for bully Friendly to bully Bully stops
The Bully Blockers Club	Verbal, Physical	School: classroom, hallway, playground, lunchroom	Ignores it Sticks up for victim Indirect support Also victimized	Parent, teacher, and playground supervisor: Correct bully, support victim, teach victim	Friendly to bully Increased self-confidence Ignores/avoids Uses humor Victim supported by others Bully stops, with realization of wrong

Book title	Type of bullying	Setting of bullying	Bystander involvement	Adult involvement	Outcome or resolution(s) to bullying problem
I Get So Hungry	Verbal	School: bus, classroom	Sticks up for victim Laughs with bully Verbal putdown to bully	Teacher Indirect support: Smiles with victim, talks about healthy eating Ignores verbal bullying (name-calling)	Uses humor Victim supported by others
Pinduli	Verbal	Other	No bystanders	No adult involvement	Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Guji Guji	Verbal, Relational	Other	No bystanders	No adult involvement	Revenge, retaliation Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others Bully stops, with no realization of wrong
How to Make Friends With a Giant	Verbal, Relational	Neighborhood; School: bus, classroom, playground	Sticks up for victim Indirect support Also victimized	No adult involvement	Friendly to bully Increased self- confidence Ignores/avoids Support from others
Tough Jim	Verbal, Physical	School: classroom	Comforts victim Sticks up for victim Verbally confronts bully	Teacher Supports victim	Classmates support victim Bully stops and runs (embarrassed)
Ten-Gallon Bart	Verbal, Physical	Neighborhood	Sticks up for victim Indirect support Also victimized	No adult involvement	Revenge, retaliation Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Bullies Never Win	Verbal, Relational	School: classroom, cafeteria, playground	Ignores it Laughs with bully Sticks up for victim Encourages victim to stand up to bully	Parent supports victim, teaches victim; Teacher teaches class to ignore bullies	Increased self- confidence Threatens to tell teacher Verbally confronts bully Bully stops

Book title	Type of bullying	Setting of bullying	Bystander involvement	Adult involvement	Outcome or resolution(s) to bullying problem
Ella, the Elegant Elephant	Verbal, Physical, Relational	School: classroom, playground	Laughs/smiles Joins in bullying	Parent and teacher scolds bully, supports victim, teach victim	Friendly to bully Increased self-confidence Empathy for bully Victim supported by others Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Rocky and the Lamb	Verbal, Physical	Other	No bystanders	No adult involvement	Bully chased away by another Friendly to bully Victim supported by others Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Jungle Bullies	Physical	Other	No bystanders	Parent supports victim, teaches victim, encourages friendship	Friendly to bully Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Four Hens and a Rooster	Verbal, Physical	Other	No bystanders	No adult involvement	Revenge, retaliation Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others Bully stops, with no realization of wrong
Stay away from Rat Boy!	Verbal, Physical	School: playgound, classroom, hall, cafeteria	Also victimized Avoids bully	Teacher disciplines bully (time out), teaches bully	Empathy for bully Friendly to bully Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Little Zizi	Verbal, Relational	School: pool dressing room, Neighborhood	Joins in bullying	Teacher ignores (victim's memory) calls victim a "dimwit"	Victim supported by bystander Bully stops, with no realization of wrong

Book title	Type of bullying	Setting of bullying	Bystander involvement	Adult involvement	Outcome or resolution(s) to bullying problem
Hurty Feelings	Verbal	Neighborhood	Ignores it	No adult involvement	Friendly to bully Increased self-confidence Empathy for bully Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Hats!	Verbal	Neighborhood	No bystanders	No adult involvement	Friendly to bully Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Luther's Halloween	Physical	Neighborhood	Sticks up for victim Also victimized	No adult involvement	Revenge, retaliation Increased support from others Bully stops, with no realization of wrong
Who's Got Game? The Lion or the Mouse?	Verbal	Neighborhood	No bystanders	No adult involvement	Friendly to bully Increased self-confidence Bully stops, with realization of wrong
Trouble at the Dinosaur Café	Verbal, Physical	Other	Tells adult or other authority Also victimized	No adult involvement	Revenge, retaliation Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others Bully stops, with no realization of wrong
Freckleface Strawberry and the Dodgeball Bully	Physical	School: gymnasium	Also victimized	No adult involvement	Increased self-confidence Frightened bully Friendly to bully
Plantzilla Goes to Camp	Physical	Other	Sticks up for victim Indirect support	No adult involvement	Revenge, retaliation Friendly to bully Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others Bully stops, with realization of wrong

Book title	Type of bullying	Setting of bullying	Bystander involvement	Adult involvement	Outcome or resolution(s) to bullying problem
Ker-splash!	Verbal, Physical	Other	No bystanders	No adult involvement	Revenge, retaliation Increased self-confidence Support from others Bully stops, with no realization of wrong
Myrtle	Verbal, Physical	Home	No bystanders	Parent and other adult: support victim, teach victim	Increased self-confidence Ignores/avoids Uses humor Victim supported by others Bully stops, with no realization of wrong
Yo-yo Man	Verbal, Physical	School:, classroom, playground	Ignores it	No adult involvement	Increased self-confidence Bully stops, with no realization of wrong
Yoon and the Jade Bracelet	Relational	School: cafeteria, playground	No bystanders	Teacher supports victim	Teacher confronts bully's false story Victim supported by others Bracelet returned to victim Increased self-confidence
Is It Because?	Physical	Not described	No bystanders	No adult involvement	No resolution Empathy for bully Victim supported by others
Knitting Nell	Verbal	School: playground	No bystanders	No adult involvement	Friendly to bully Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others
Oscar: The Big Adventure of a Little Sock Monkey	Physical	School: hallway, grounds	Sticks up for victim Also victimized	No adult involvement	Ignores/avoids Victim supported by others

Book title	Type of bullying	Setting of bullying	Bystander involvement	Adult involvement	Outcome or resolution(s) to bullying problem
"Teeny Meany." In Thanks & Giving All Year Long	Verbal, Physical	Neighborhood	Ignores it	No adult involvement	No resolution Friendly to bully
Lizette's Green Sock	Verbal, Physical	Neighborhood, Home	Indirect support	Parent supports victim, teaches victim	Ignores/avoids Victim supported by others
Candy Shop	Verbal	Neighborhood	Indirect support	Neighborhood adult supports victim, teaches victim	Victim supported by others
Ruby and Bubbles	Verbal, Physical, Relational	Neighborhood, Home	Laughs/smiles Joins in bullying Indirect support	Parent ignores it, encourages friendship	No resolution Increased self-confidence Victim supported by others
The Teeny Tiny Ghost and the Monster	Verbal, Physical	Neighborhood, School: classroom	Ignores it	No adult involvement	Increased self-confidence Ignores/avoids

About the Author

Emily Moulton serves as a School Psychologist in Colorado Springs. Melissa Allen Heath, Mary Anne Prater, and Tina Taylor Dyches are faculty members in Brigham Young University's Department of Counseling Psychology and Special Education. All authors share a passion for children's literature and its potential to change attitudes and behavior.

