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Bullying and Delinquency in a Dutch School Population

J. JUNGER-TAS
J.N. VAN KESTEREN



Kugler Publications

Bullying and Delinquency
in a Dutch School Population

Josine Junger-Tas
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Preface

The Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) as well as the Ministry of Justice have placed *Social Cohesion*, as an important subject of research, high on their agenda. In doing so the organization wants to respond to major concerns in Dutch society about the growing lack of social and economic integration of various groups. In this respect one might think in the first place of refugees and ethnic minorities, but of course the lack of social cohesion is not restricted to these groups. In fact, it has many faces. It may relate to certain specific population groups, which are relegated to the margins of Dutch society, but it may also apply to some sub-sectors of the population, which find themselves in particularly unfavorable situations that impede their normal functioning and integration in society. In this respect one might think of the long-term unemployed, the disabled, the mentally disturbed, the alcohol and drug addicted, and the homeless who are roaming around in our big cities.

More in general our society has some difficulties in paying attention to those who are unable to cope with the requirements of our social system, including the criminal justice system. For example, with respect to the latter, it has taken a long time to assign a rightful place to victims of criminal offenses in criminal justice proceedings. Victims hardly had any rights and they were mainly seen and used as witnesses with the purpose of clearing up criminal cases.

One may wonder: is it not a characteristic of western culture to relegate all kinds of victims to the margins of society? Not only because they are frequently weak and cannot defend themselves, but also because they tend to reflect most clearly the shortcomings of our social system. Illustrative in this respect are the victims of domestic violence who simply have been ignored for centuries, to be discovered as victims only since about the 1960's. Another example are the victims of school bullying. The problem of bullying has for a long time been considered as not serious and as something children have to sort out among themselves. Victims were considered as sissies who would benefit from being bullied. Even today some teachers claim that being bullied hardens children and teaches them useful lessons about human society.

However, from the moment that victims of criminal offenses in general and victims of domestic and school violence in particular were 'discovered', and their situation was recognized as a social and legal problem, the scientific community has investigated the problem. Legal research has looked seriously

to their position in the legal system and recommendations were made to improve that position in legal proceedings. In conjunction with this type of studies, criminological research concentrated on the victims as well as on their attackers. Numerous studies have been conducted on physical and sexual child abuse, wife battering and sexual abuse of women.

The field of school bullying has been less explored although, since Dan Olweus' breakthrough studies in Norway in the 1970's, the subject has been placed on the research agenda. One of the triggering elements in this respect was the finding that in a number of countries as diverse as Norway, Japan and England school bullying had led to the suicide of several victims.

The Meijers Institute has devoted a series of articles to the subject of *social cohesion* from a legal standpoint; they are published in this series as No. 6.

In respect of the special position of the Meijers Institute as the research institute of the Faculty of Law of Leiden University, the institute is also interested in publishing criminological studies on *social cohesion*.

The Meijers Institute considers the subject of school bullying relevant to the larger topic of social cohesion. Consequently we decided to publish this study in our series and hope it will find a large and interested audience.

Carel Stolker

Leiden, February 1999

Director of the E.M. Meijers Institute of Legal Studies

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We want to express our sincere gratitude to the children, and their teachers, of the 28 schools that participated in this project. Special thanks to Berber Krop who had a major contribution to the realization of chapter six.

The authors

1 Objectives and theoretical background of the study

1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This report is a review of the Dutch part of an international, comparative study into bullying in school. The initiative of this research project has been taken by Professor Yohji Morita of Osaka University in Japan. The reason for the initiative is the sometimes serious consequences of schoolbullying in Japanese schools. As a consequence of a number of spectacular suicides of schoolchildren in 1995, which has received considerable attention in the media, the Japanese Ministry of Education has given support for a study into causal processes and possible solutions for the problem of schoolbullying. However, schoolbullying is not an exclusively Japanese phenomenon. Other countries are also confronted with this problem, although it is unknown to what extent schoolbullying manifests itself in similar ways in other countries. This is probably also the case with respect to the solutions that are looked for. These questions form the background of the initiative to place the problem in a broader international framework and to conduct a comparative study. Both the Japanese Ministry of Education and the International Bureau of Education of UNESCO are involved in the international project.

The study has three main objectives:

- 1 to make an inventory of schoolbullying and related behavioral problems in a great many countries;
- 2 to conduct a comparative survey in a limited number of countries, leading to an analysis of the background of schoolbullying;
- 3 to make an inventory – and if possible evaluation – of programs that have been developed to prevent or combat schoolbullying;

The first objective has given rise to a number of national reports, in which experts have described the situation with respect to schoolbullying in their own country.¹

The second objective has led to a comparative self-report survey in five participating countries: Japan, Norway, England, The Netherlands and the

1 Smith et al. 1999.

state of Washington (US). To reach this objective, participants have developed a common questionnaire, based on an earlier one designed by Olweus. On the basis of the 'core' list, comparisons can be made between the participating countries. However, participants were free to add their own objectives, as well as questions that seemed of special interest in their own country, to the 'core' questionnaire.

As we are particularly interested in the relationship between bullying and delinquent behavior we have extended our questionnaire with specific questions on this subject. The reason is that, although this relationship has been noticed by a number of researchers, it has never been seriously analysed. Moreover, it would be extremely useful for policymakers if the study could offer more insights into both problems, as well as indicate better ways of effective prevention. This is why we have added a fourth objective to the study:

- 4 to examine and analyse the possible relationship of bullying with other delinquent and aggressive behavior.

1.2 BULLIES AND VICTIMS: BACKGROUND FACTORS

One of the first European studies into bullying among boys aged 12-16 has been conducted in Stockholm by Dan Olweus (1978). He found that 5% of the boys were pronounced bullies and 5.3% less pronounced ones. He also found that 5.4% of the boys were pronounced victims and 6.1% to a lesser degree. Olweus had based his study on information by the boys and on teacher ratings. Later research has been based on self-report data of both bullies and victims. Such studies have been conducted in several countries.²

Bullying cannot be explained by only one factor. Different factors contribute to this behavior and there is, moreover, considerable interaction between those factors. Therefore it is useful to distinguish between *child factors*, *family factors* and *school factors*.

Child factors

Research has shown that bullies have an aggressive personality.³ On the basis of their behavior they attract a lot of attention, which is what they want. They try to make other children participate in bullying. In most cases they do not perform well in school and they do not like their teachers. They are fairly popular among their schoolmates. Mooij found in his study of secondary

2 Ireland (O'Moore & Hillary 1989), Scotland (Mellor 1990), Germany (Bach et al. 1984; Holt-appels 1985; Schwind et al. 1995), France (Choquet et al. 1990), England (Smith 1991; Smith & Levan 1995) and The Netherlands (Junger 1990; Mooij 1992 and 1994).

3 Olweus 1978; Olweus 1994.

schools that bullies dislike school, are troublesome in class, often carry some sort of weapon – a stick or knife – and use soft drugs.⁴

Farrington emphasizes that bullying is not an isolated phenomenon but is an expression of more general aggressive tendencies, which show considerable stability over the years.⁵ This tendency to aggression is part of a broader syndrome of anti-social behavior. Olweus also noted great stability of the behavior: nearly two third of the bullies in the year of the research showed the same bullying behavior a year later. In The Netherlands Verhulst and Althaus have collected data among 1.412 parents of children aged 4-14 and they did so again two years later when the children were aged 6-16.⁶ Aggressive and related behaviors such as fighting, bullying, contradicting, disobedience, impulsivity, stubbornness, yelling and continuously demanding attention appeared significantly stable. Teachers also explained the stability of aggressive behavior as a reaction to frustrations over a period of four years.⁷ De Poorte et al. was able to determine homogeneous groups on the basis of judgements of peerratings of problem behavior, self-reports and sociometric measures among primary school pupils of grade 5 to 8.⁸ They found that strongly aggressive children were composed mainly by boys, who fought a lot, bullied their peers and had extremely disturbant behavior. A smaller cluster included children who were continually claiming support from teachers because they were also victims in addition to being bullies.

Victims of bullying generally have little self-confidence and low status in the group: they are physically weak, fearful, insecure and nervous. Often they are not attractive, sometimes they have a physical handicap, such as spectacles, a small stature, a hearing problem or they are too fat. Usually they are too intimidated to ask for help to parents or teachers, because they are afraid of represailles by their aggressor.⁹ De Poorte et al. found that these children have many conflicts, are constantly looking for help and have few friends. They appear to be unable to defend themselves against the bullies and this might explain the feelings of depression they harbor.¹⁰ The study of Verhulst & Althaus (1988) also showed that victims are often feeling lonely, persecuted, anxious and depressive. In Norway Olweus found that even seven to ten years later victims of bullying still suffered from low self confidence and feelings of depression.¹¹

4 Mooij 1994.

5 Farrington 1993, p. 381-459.

6 Verhulst & Althaus 1988.

7 Verhulst & van der Ende 1991.

8 De Poorte et al. 1994.

9 Farrington 1993.

10 De Poorte et al. 1994.

11 Olweus 1991.

Family factors

Bullies tend to come from problem families and are often rejected by their parents. Their parents tend to use harsh discipline combined with physical punishment. Moreover, violence – such as fighting, hitting and kicking – are often secretly encouraged by parents.¹² Bullying appears to be related to a lack of affective relationships between parents and child. The most important predictors of bullying, found by Farrington in his longitudinal study among 411 London boys aged 8-12, were neglect by parents (at age 8), parents that have been convicted (age 10), low schoolachievement (age 11), and little interest of the father for his sons leisure activities (age 12).¹³ However, these factors do not only predict bullying but also delinquency and other violent behavior. Farrington and West also found considerable intergenerational continuity.¹⁴ For example, having a child at age 32, that is bullying others, is strongly related to having been a bully oneself at age 14, low reading abilities and gambling at age 18.

School factors

According to Mooij (1992) most primary school pupils are bullied on the way to or from school.¹⁵ Other studies show that most bullying takes place on the playground when supervision is minimal.¹⁶ It is impossible to make unequivocal statements about schools size or number of children in the classroom in relation to bullying, although Mooij and Olweus did not find any relationship.¹⁷ However, schools do differ in the extent to which bullying is present and it is clear that social control on pupils by school personnel is easier in smaller and more easily surveyable schools. Furthermore it seems that school leaders of schools with few bullying problems have clear views on bullying and attach great importance to the control and prevention of bullying behavior.¹⁸ Important factors in this respect are the quality of the teacher and the intensity of supervision in the classroom and on the playground. An increase in bullying occurs in particular when teachers are too strict or can not keep order, as well as when there are many pupils present who intensely dislike school. School violence is related to a lack of bonding of the child with both family and school, with negative schoolexperiences playing an important role. A child-oriented atmosphere including positive social processes in the classroom promotes schoolbonding as well as a low

12 Bach 1984; Holtappels 1985.

13 Farrington 1993.

14 Farrington & West 1990.

15 Mooij 1992.

16 Farrington 1993.

17 Mooij 1994; Olweus 1978.

18 Stephenson & Smith 1989.

level of schoolviolence. In this respect acceptance and respect for individual pupils and support in case of schoolproblems are particularly important. If these are not present pupils have generally only two negative options: truancy and drop-out, or participation in schoolviolence to protect themselves.

Research in The Netherlands, Canada and England suggests that schools in the inner-cities, where unemployment, poverty, druguse and family problems are rampant, are confronted with more bullying problems than schools in middle-class neighborhoods.¹⁹

1.3 BULLYING AND DELINQUENCY

Bullying as measured in this study includes three dimensions: verbal harassment, physical bullying and an indirect way of bullying through exclusion of the child from the group. Farrington defines bullying as 'repeated oppression, psychological or physical, of a less powerful person by a more powerful one'.²⁰ Bullying can make a victim anxious and unhappy and, in extreme situations, have serious psychological or physical consequences. A general finding of the research in this field is that bullying and violence are not isolated behaviors. They are part of a much more general delinquent behavioral pattern.

There is considerable evidence that delinquent behavior is *not* characterized by specialization. Delinquent juveniles do not tend to commit exclusively property offenses or violent acts. They do all sorts of things, including bullying, and commit all kinds of delinquent acts.²¹ For example, Olweus found that 60% of the bullies were convicted for a criminal offense at age 24. Moreover, their recidivism rate was four times as high as that of a controlgroup.²² Dutch research of a random sample of young people aged 12-17 has shown high correlations between such diverse behaviors as truancy, running away from home, alcohol abuse, drug use, a certain promiscuity and frequent delinquent behavior.²³ On the basis of these findings it seems reasonable to speak about a deviant lifestyle which includes bullying as well as delinquency.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

So far it is clear that a fair number of studies of bullying have been conducted, mostly in European countries. Concerning The Netherlands we want to exam-

19 Mooij 1994; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner 1991; Stephenson & Smith 1989.

20 Farrington 1993.

21 Hindelang, Hirschi & Weis 1981.

22 Olweus 1991.

23 Junger-Tas, Krussink & van der Laan 1992.

ine in more detail the relationship between bullying and delinquent behavior. This relationship has not been ignored by researchers, but it has not really been a particular focus of attention. Overall, the following questions will be treated in this report.

Background factors of pupils

Possible differences in bullying and delinquent behavior in schools may be due in large part to differences between schools and schooltypes and to the influence of schoolpolicies and classmanagement on the behavior of pupils. However, it is also possible that individual differences between children are the main determinants of differential involvement in bullying and delinquency. For example Farrington concluded that despite considerable differences between schools in bullying and delinquent behavior, these differences disappeared once pupil variables were entered in the analysis.²⁴ The first questions in this respect are therefore:

- 1 What is the relationship of socio-demographic variables, such as sex, age, ethnicity and religious affiliation with bullying and delinquency?
- 2 to what extent are structural factors, such as family composition, (un)employment of father and mother and neighborhood related to bullying and delinquency?

The school environment

Referring to the finding that schools do differ in bullying and delinquent behavior, Rutter et al. stated that secondary schools have a clear influence on that behavior, independently of social status and IQ of pupils.²⁵ We also know that situational circumstances and the opportunity for deviant behavior play an important role in the occurrence of violence and delinquency.²⁶ This means that the hypothesis that schools have an impact on the behavior of their pupils is worth examining. Of course it is likely that the role of the school is a different one in primary schools than it is in secondary schools and the balance between individual factors and schoolfactors in the genesis of bullying may therefore also differ. We think that the following questions need to be answered.

- 3 What differences in bullying and delinquent behavior can be found between primary schools and secondary schools; between different school-

24 Farrington 1972.

25 Rutter et al. 1979.

26 Felson 1998.

types (lower stream and higher stream schools); and between different (denominational) schools?

If differences are found between schools and between schooltypes these can be due to differences in views and policy of teachers, mentors and school-leaders, which leads to the following question:

- 4 are differences in bullying and delinquency between schools and schooltypes related to differences in policy and class management of school leaders and teachers?

1.5 A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

However, answering these questions will not enable us to come forward with adequate explanations for deviant behavior among juveniles. Therefore a theoretical framework is indispensable. In this regard we have a preference for social control theory. This theory is based on the notion that every human being has needs, desires and aspirations that are in itself neutral: the way in which people try to realize these may or may not be of a delinquent nature.²⁷ It is the integration of the individual in the society he is part of, that determines the extent to which he will respect and follow the rules and norms of that society. Most important in this respect is what one has to win or to lose by respecting society's rules.²⁸

The control that a society holds on its members is realized by two fundamental processes. On the one hand there is a direct external control on children and young people by way of negative reactions to norm infractions and eventually by sanctioning behavior of authorities. On the other hand there is indirect control by rewarding conforming behavior, so that children have a stake in that behavior. This has been called 'a commitment to conformity'.²⁹ More concretely, important social institutions, such as the family and the school, have a strong social control function. In this respect the essential role of parents is to install in their children respect for conventional norms and values. Because parents generally function as representatives of that conventional culture, any breach in the relationship between parents and children increases the risk that children will turn away from their parents and will seek the support of their (delinquent) peers.³⁰ In contrast, a strong and confident relationship between parents and child reinforces internal controls through identification with parents and therefore increases internalization of their norms

27 Hirschi 1969.

28 Reckless 1961; Matza 1964.

29 Briar & Piltavin 1965.

30 Matza 1964.

and values.³¹ Internal controls may be defined as self-control, a positive self-image, high frustration tolerance and a sense of responsibility.³² In order to maintain parental control consistent light sanctions appear to be more effective than severe disciplinary measures or harsh physical punishment.³³

Control by schools is mainly exercised through the juvenile's adequate functioning, both in terms of successful school performance as in terms of social behavior. In addition to the bonds with social institutions Social control theory uses the concept of 'commitment', defined as a person's orientation to conventional goals, norms and values, which implies conformist participation in the existing social order. Hirschi has elaborated these notions in a coherent theoretical framework, distinguishing four basic concepts.

1 – *Attachment*, or the bond of a child with significant adults. In the majority of cases these will be the parents but it can also be another adult, such as a family member or a teacher. When a child has a strong bond with important key figures, it will respect and adopt their norms and values. Where there is no such bond there is nothing that will make the child accept existing norms and rules, and deviant behavior becomes a probability.

2 – *Involvement*, or adequate functioning in conventional sub-systems. To the extent that people are actively involved in conventional society and are rewarded for that participation by society, they will hardly be tempted by deviant behavior. This concept is related to the next one.

3 – *Commitment*, or having a stake in conventional sub-systems, such as school, work and leisure organizations. Dedication to these systems will bring rewards such as recognition, status, money, which one would risk to lose by deviant behavior.

4 – *Beliefs*, or the acceptance of society's norms and values. Hirschi states that there is a general consensus in society about fundamental norms and values. However, there is variation in the extent to which people act on these norms: the more a person feels that he is not bonded by certain prevailing norms, the more he will tend to breach them. If the bond with the conventional order is weak, then disapproval of the behavior by the community will hardly affect him.

Referring to this study, while we are interested in factors related to the school-community and in structural background factors of individual pupils, we also

31 Nye 1958.

32 Reckless 1961.

33 Reiss 1951.

want to examine elements of the bond that respondents have with their parents and with the school. This has led to two more research questions.

- 5 To what extent are parental discipline and the relationship between parents and child related to both bullying and delinquency?
- 6 To what extent are specific schoolfactors, such as schoolperformance and schoolbonding related to bullying and delinquent behavior of individual pupils?

2 Execution of the study

2.1 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

We have developed three measurement instruments: a questionnaire for pupils, one for classroom teachers and another one for those teachers that are responsible for managing the bullying problem.

Part of the first questionnaire is meant for international comparison. These questions have been integrated in the questionnaires of all participants in the study.¹ They are mainly concerned with different dimensions of bullying: prevalence and frequency, by whom and where it takes place, eventual consequences, reactions of students, family and teachers, possible interventions and their effects on bullying. Of course the questionnaire includes a number of structural background variables as well as socio-demographic variables.

To this section of the questionnaire we have added a number of questions that we were particularly interested in. These refer to offending behavior, both property offenses and aggressive acts and are taken from the International Self-report Delinquency questionnaire.² Some background factors, such as neighborhood, the bond with parents, peers and school, leisure activities, alcohol use and drug abuse, were added.

The teacher's questionnaire was used to collect information about estimates of and views on bullying in the classroom. Additional subjects were the pupils' and their own reactions and measures taken, such as teacher team discussions, classroom discussions, special lessons, extra surveillance. Concerning this part of the study the instruments used had been developed by the Institute of Criminology of Leiden University.³

-
1. Most of the core questions, the definition of bullying and the questions measuring 'being bullied' and 'bullying others' are taken from the revised Version of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire (Olweus 1996). Use of these questions, in research or otherwise, require written permission from Dan Olweus (Research Center for Health Promotion, Christiesgate 13, N-5015 Bergen, Norway)
 2. *Questionnaire for the International Study on Self-Report Delinquency*, The Hague, The Netherlands: WODC, Ministry of Justice 1992.
 3. Toornvliet, Hauber, & Zandbergen 1996.

A qualitative guided interview, based on open questions, was held with a number of expert teachers who had special responsibilities in dealing with the problem. Here we were interested in more general questions about trends in bullying, policy development, relations with parents and involvement of parents, their experiences and the results of their efforts in reducing bullying.

2.2 DATA COLLECTION

Data have been collected at the end of the schoolyear 1996-1997. The period covered by the survey was from Christmas 1996 to May/June 1997, which makes it about 6 months. With respect to memory effects in self-report research, 6 months seems a reasonable period.⁴ The questionnaire was completed by the pupils in the classroom, while a research assistant was present to answer questions if necessary. Assistants have been instructed about how to manage the research situation and what questions to expect. On the basis of a number of pilot interviews and experiences of research assistants, it appeared that the questionnaire did not cause mayor difficulties. This was the case both in the secondary schools and the primary schools.

2.3 THE SAMPLES

The study is based on two samples. The first one has been drawn by our research institute in a limited geographical area. This means that external validity has certain limitations. In an effort to increase the study's generalizability we asked the WODC, which is conducting national self-report delinquency surveys among the Dutch youth population aged 12-17 on a bi-annual basis, to add five questions on bullying to their 1996 survey.⁵ These data have been collected by face-to-face interviews in a national random sample of 994 young people.⁶ As may be expected the WODC sample presents a balanced gender, age and schooltype distribution. Each schooltype represents about 14 to 15%, except MAVO education (21.5%), the reason being that in our country a higher proportion of children attend MAVO schools than any other schooltype. Where possible we will compare our results with those of the WODC sample. However, it should be recognized that the comparison had its limitations: the WODC sample includes only a few questions on bullying, and both samples have partly different age and schooltype distributions.

4 Sudman et al. 1996.

5 The WODC is the Research Center of the Dutch Ministry of Justice.

6 More information on the methodology of this survey can be found in the WODC report Van der Laan et al. 1998.

The main study is based on a stratified sample in the west of the country. As far as primary schools are concerned we have drawn a random sample of 6 schools in one big city (The Hague), 6 in two middle sized cities (Leiden and Haarlem), 6 in small towns, 6 in large villages and 6 in small villages. The procedure was repeated for secondary schools with the exception of the small villages where secondary schools are absent. In the latter case we added the extra criterium of schooltype.⁷

Table 1. Responses of the schools

	approached	no response	positive response	response %
<i>primary schools</i>	34	5	12	41
large town	6	1	0	0
mid-size town	7	1	2	33
small town	6	1	2	40
large village	6	1	4	80
small village	9	1	4	50
<i>secondary schools</i>	31	3	15	54
large town	9	1	5	62
mid-size town	10	1	2	22
small town	7	1	4	67
large village	5	0	4	80

The schools were approached by a letter to the director, explaining the objective of the study and asking for his collaboration. This was followed by telephone contacts in order to arrange meetings. Data collection was completed in two successive rounds by well prepared student assistants. Two problems came up during data collection.

First, most secondary schools made only their first year classes available for the study. This was related to the fact that the first year is a kind of stepping stone to secondary education and many schoolleaders had understood that their collaboration was asked for this year only. Moreover, a number of schools had organized social skills training in the first year of secondary education and had paid attention to the problem of bullying. To what extent this circumstance may have resulted in more socially desirable responses is not known. Before the second round of data collection we explicitly asked for participation of second year classes. Although the request met with a favourable response, the sample remains rather skewed in this respect.

7 The Dutch secondary school system has lower stream schools, such as vocational education (VBO) or general education (MAVO), and higher stream schools, such as HAVO – leading to higher professional training – and VWO – leading to university.

Second, the willingness of primary schools to collaborate in the study was *disappointing*, in particular in the cities. According to several schools this is related to the fact that they are overburdened by requests for collaboration in all kinds of research projects (at least ten times a year), while the workload and consequent pressures are felt to be ever increasing. This is particularly the case in the cities, where bullying and other problem behavior are extremely frequent. Moreover, in contrast to most secondary schools many primary schools have paid considerable attention to the bullying problem during the last years.

The overall response of the secondary schools is 55% and of the primary schools 41%. In total the study has covered 27 schools and about 2,000 pupils. Table 1 gives an overview of the response among schools

2.4 THE RESPONDENTS IN THE STUDY SAMPLE

Table 2 gives an overview of the distribution of the sample according to *gender, age, education level and schooltype*.⁸

As appears in table 2, the gender distribution is quite normal, but the age distribution is highly skewed towards the higher ages, which is related to the greater response of secondary schools than primary schools. As a consequence, the sample includes about two times as many respondents in secondary schools than in primary schools. Finally, the distribution over secondary schooltypes is not representing the national picture: the lower vocational training schools (VBO) are overrepresented. This would suggest that the participation of secondary schools in the survey has been somewhat selective. Although Mooij's study is based on a far greater sample of secondary schools (71) and on a greater number of pupils (1998 versus 1350), he also found that HAVO/VWO schools tended to have a somewhat lower participation rate than the lower stream schools.⁹ However, our sample has a higher proportion of students in lower vocational training schools (37%) than Mooij (29%).¹⁰

Family composition

Of the total of about 2000 young people in the sample, 9.5% live in a one-parent family, generally headed by the mother. This corresponds to the national average in 1995, which is 10% of all families with children under 18. The

8 This report is based on non-weighted data. In order to make international comparisons the data would have to be weighted. Annex B presents the weighting procedures that have been applied to the data for further comparative analysis.

9 Mooij 1994.

10 Mooij 1994, p. 48.

proportion of one-parent families is higher among secondary students (10.5%) than among primary pupils (6%), which is obviously related to the younger age of the latter and thus to length of marriage of their parents. However, it is also higher among lower stream secondary students (12.5%) than among those of higher stream secondary schools (7.5%), which might mean that more of the former live in a rather stressful family situation. The large majority of the students live with their biological mother (97%). The biological father is present in 85.5% of the families, while in 7% there is a substitute parent, in most cases a stepfather.

Table 2 The Dutch sample

	n	%
GENDER		
girls	1023	51.5
boys	963	48.5
AGE		
9-10	60	3.0
11	281	14.0
12	438	22.5
13	747	37.5
14	376	19.0
15-16	81	4.0
SCHOOLTYPE		
<i>primary school</i>		
group 7	274	14.0
group 8	340	17.0
<i>secondary school</i>		
class 1	1091	54.5
class 2	259	13.0
<i>secondary school level</i>		
VBO	502	37.0
MAVO	389	29.0
HAVO	307	22.5
VWO	152	11.5

Ethnicity

About a quarter of all respondents do not have a Dutch background. The next table shows the ethnic distribution of the sample. However, there are differences in the distribution of ethnic background over the various schooltypes. For example 93% of higher secondary school students is of Dutch origin, compared to less than half of lower secondary school students. The majority of Surinamese, Turkish, Moroccan and 'other' children (70%) attend lower level

vocational training schools versus 18% of Dutch pupils. Somewhat less than half of all Dutch students (47%) attend higher forms of education, while this is the case for only 12.5% of ethnic minority students.

Table 3 Ethnic background

n=1993	%
Dutch	76.0
Other industrialised countries	6.0
Suriname	6.0
Turkey	3.5
Marocco	4.5
Other ¹⁾	4.0

Employment

According to 91% of the respondents their father is employed. This percentage is somewhat higher for the children in primary education, but the difference is entirely due to the higher proportion of unemployed fathers among lower secondary school students: 14% of the fathers is unemployed and 8.5% have not participated in the labor force for more than half a year, while among fathers of higher secondary students only 5% have no job. In this respect it should be recalled that about 70% of the lower secondary school students belong to an ethnic minority: the participation in the labor force of these fathers is considerably lower than that of Dutch men. 42% of the mothers have paid employment, but more mothers of lower secondary schools work outside the house (46%) than mothers of higher secondary students (35.5%), which might reflect the greater need of these families for additional income. If we take into account ethnicity, the difference in labor participation is striking: 95.5% of the Dutch fathers is engaged in paid labor, versus only 77.5% of the minority fathers. Considerably more of the latter are either unemployed or on (permanent) sick leave.

We did ask a question about father's and mother's profession, in order to get some information on the social economic status. However, it appeared that about half of the children could not answer that question. In addition, the response was strongly biased because most valid answers came from students at the higher education levels. This is why we decided that we could not use these data for further analysis.

1) This category includes children from central and Eastern Europe, South-America and Asian countries.

Religious background

Because we have some denominational schools in our sample and because of the notion that religious practising might be a social control factor, we have included some questions on this issue.

Somewhat less than half of the respondents (44.5%) did not mention any religious affiliation and this percentage is similar in all schooltypes. Our percentages are nearly identical with those of Mooij,¹² Islam is mentioned by 9% of the students. As expected Islam is mainly represented in the lower secondary schools, where the percentage is 17%.

Table 4 Religious background

n=1993	%
none	44.5
roman catholic	25.0
protestant	17.5
muslim	9.0
other	4.0

But of course one may wonder what the significance is of these percentages. Far more important than abstract religious affiliation is the question whether there is any concrete participation in church life. It appears that nearly half of the children (49%) never go to church or to the mosque, while 28.5% do so only a few times a year. A striking fact is that more higher secondary schools students (60%) go to church than lower secondary pupils (43%). In addition, the frequency of active church life is higher in the former group than in the latter.

Neighborhood

The neighborhood is an important social environment for young people. It is where they live, spend most of their leisure time and find most of their friends. Moreover, criminological research shows that some neighborhoods have higher rates of deviant and delinquent behavior than others. With respect to neighborhood the questionnaire therefore included four positive and five negative statements, asking students whether they agreed or not.

Most respondents feel they are living in a nice neighborhood (73%). They would miss these surroundings if they would be forced to move (65%). However, only somewhat more than half of them feel there is enough space for them to play, while 22% states that this is absolutely insufficient. With respect to the more negative aspects, as can be seen in Table 4a, about 12%

¹² Mooij 1994, p. 49.

feels that there is a lot of graffiti, fighting, crime and drugsdealing in their neighborhood. About 15% thinks there are some problems of graffiti, fighting and crime in their neighborhood, and 9% thinks this is true with respect to drugs.

Lower secondary students and those of higher secondary schools do hardly differ with regard to positive feelings about their neighborhood. However, they do differ concerning the negative aspects. Whether they consider the presence of graffiti, the number of boarded up houses, the degree of fighting, crime or drugsdealing, the lower stream students' judgement is consistently more negative than that of higher stream students.

Table 4a Evaluation of negative characteristics of neighborhood, in %

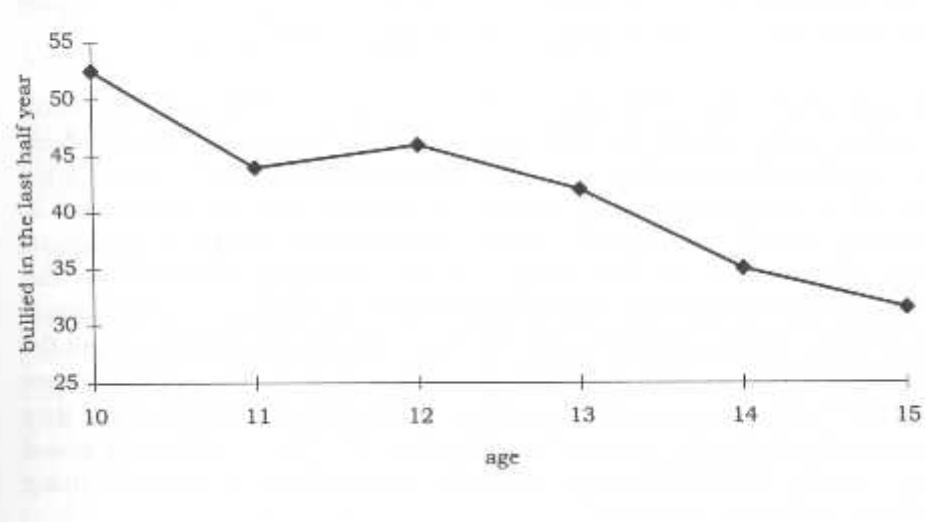
	empty buildings n=1958	graffiti n=1953	fighting n=1957	drugs 1941	crime 1965
not present	88	73	72.5	79	72.5
some present	6	15	15.5	9	16.0
present	6	12	12.0	12	11.5

3 | Victims of bullying

3.1 GENERAL INFORMATION

All in all 42.5% of our sample declares to have been a victim of bullying in the period between Christmas 1996 and May/June 1997. Among boys this was 43.5% and among girls 40%. So there is hardly any difference between the sexes in this respect and this is also true on the national level. The analysis shows – see Figure 1 – that there is a linear relation between age and being bullied, in the sense that the older one gets, the less often one is bullied ($r = -.08$, $p < 0.05$). The percentage respondents in the national survey, that admits being bullied in the preceding school year, is 34%. That is lower than in our sample, but this is mainly an age effect, due to the fact that the average age in the national sample is higher than in our sample. Otherwise there is the same relationship between age and bullying as mentioned above: the number of victims of frequent bullying (once a month or more) declines from 19% among 12 year olds to 5.5% among 17 year olds. It should be observed that although victimization rates do differ between the participating countries, the same relationship between being bullied and age has been found in the Japanese, Norwegian and English study.

Figure 1 Relation between age and being bullied



The relationship between age and being bullied is also reflected in the comparison between students in primary schools and those in secondary schools: 47% of the former reported being bullied during the second half of the schoolyear, versus 39% of the latter.

Moreover, the number of students reporting being bullied is also related to secondary schooltype (Annex A1). This number is significantly higher in the lower stream schools than in the others ($r=-.06$, $p<0.05$). The same relationship has been found in the national random sample ($r=-.15$, $p<0.01$). If one takes the frequency of being bullied into account there are hardly any differences between schools. About two third of students who report having been bullied said this happened occasionally. About 20% declare that bullying takes place several times a month and 6% say this occurs several times a week. This is also the case in the secondary schools where the number of students reporting to be frequently bullied is about 18%.

It is important to mention that children of Surinamese, Antillian, Turkish and Moroccan background are not significantly more often bullied than Dutch children (see Annex A7).

What about the *nature* of bullying? Some forms of bullying are related to sex and age. Boys are more often than girls victims of pushing and hitting (Gamma .38, $p<0.05$) and taking and hiding things (Gamma .35, $p<0.05$). Furthermore, calling names, social exclusion, hitting and pushing are more frequent among younger children than among those aged 14 and 15 (Annex A1a).

Crosstables show a negative relationship between the level of secondary school education and the frequency of verbal abuse (Gamma $-.11$, $p<0.05$): the higher the education level the less frequent is this form of bullying. However, taking and hiding things belonging to another student is more frequent in the higher stream HAVO/VWO schools (Gamma .13, $p<0.05$). With respect to other forms of bullying there is no difference (Annex A2).

Students may be bullied in different places (see Annex A3). In primary schools this is usually the classroom or the playground. With respect to older students this may be either the classroom, or the corridors. This is of course related to the fact that primary school children have their own classroom, while in secondary schools it is the teachers that have their own classroom and students change classrooms when they change courses. Many more younger than older children report being bullied in the playground, but since secondary schools usually do not have playgrounds there is no reliable information about the number of students being bullied outside the school. Of course children are not only bullied in or around the school: many of them complain that they are being bullied in the neighborhood they live (17.5%), or on the way to and from school (6.5%). In this respect also it is clear that the frequency of bullying declines with increasing age.

3.2 FREQUENT VICTIMS AND THEIR REACTIONS TO BULLYING

Of course every child is a victim of bullying once in a while and therefore it is not very interesting to analyse those who declared having been bullied only a few times. They will hardly differ from those who have never been bullied. If we want to look more closely at the real problem of bullying, we will have to concentrate on those students who report having been bullied more frequently, that is several times a month or more often. In other words, we are not interested in incidental victimization but in repeat victimizations. Shifting our focus to this group we find a total of 383 students or 19.2% of the sample reporting frequent victimization. In the national sample of secondary school students, this is 10%. Of course the proportion of frequent victims of bullying in a schoolpopulation depends on the definition of frequency. Therefore the proportion of frequent victims in the Norwegian and English studies is not exactly the same, due to different cuttingpoints.¹ However, all studies confirm that bullying is more frequent among younger pupils than among older students. Table 5 shows the distribution according to gender and schooltype.

These figures show indeed again that boys are bullied more often than girls and that bullying diminishes with increasing age. Moreover, whatever the level of secondary school education, it does not make any difference in the frequency of bullying.

Table 5 Percentage of children that indicate to be bullied regularly

	n	at least a few times a month
all	1986	19.0%
girls	1023	17.5%
boys	963	21.0%*
primary school	611	21.5%
secondary school	1349	18.0%*
low level	875	18.5%
high level	472	17.5%

* significant difference (Chisq test, $p < 0.05$)

An interesting question is how long the bullying is going on. Maybe it has been limited to a relatively short period of time, or it may have gone on for a long time. A majority of the frequent victims (63%) report that all in all they were bullied for about one month. However, 37% said it had gone on for more

¹ Solberg & Olweus 1998; Smith 1998 (unpublished papers).

than 6 months, while 14% declared that the bullying had started more than a year ago and was still going on. In this respect there was no difference between primary and secondary schools.

One might ask who the bullies are: are they classmates, and if so, is bullying a group activity or are bullies operating on their own? Most victims are bullied by their classmates and that is true for nearly all kinds of bullying (see Annex A4). Pushing, hitting and calling names is also done by students from a parallel class or older students. Bullying by lower class students hardly happens at all. Again there is no difference between schooltypes or level of secondary education in this respect.

In general children are bullied by more than one person: about half (48%) declare that bullies operate in two's or three's, some 40% say there are more of them. These findings are confirmed in the two other studies. A minority (11%) is victimised by only one specific pupil. As may be expected (Annex A5) boys are mainly bullied by boys. However, girls are frequently bullied both by girls and boys.

Table 6 Reactions to frequent victimization of bullying**, broken down by gender and educational level

	n	crying/ running away	no reaction	pretend not to be affected	tell them to stop	ask for help	bully back
girls	183	10.5%	34.5%	50.0%	19.5%	11.0%	18.5%
boys	200	20.5%*	33.0%	44.0%	17.0%	12.0%	21.0%*
primary school	132	22.0%	32.5%	44.5%	22.5%	28.0%	24.0%
secondary school	251	12.0%	34.5%	48.5%	16.0%	22.5%	17.0%

* significant difference (Chisq test, $p < 0.05$)

** multiple responses were allowed, percentages can add up to more than 100%

What is the reaction of victims? Table 6 shows that somewhat less than half of the respondents say they pretend they do not care, while one third just endures the bullying and does not react. About one fifth says they fight back and another 18% tell the bullies to stop. These data are confirmed by the answers in the national study of secondary students: more than 40% do not react and pretend they do not care, while 30% declare to fight or yell back. We found a difference between boys and girls in that girls react significantly more often by crying (11% versus 4%, Gamma .38, $p < 0.05$). They also tend to run away more often, while boys tend somewhat more often to pretend they do not care. As may be expected crying and running away are more frequent in primary schools than in secondary schools, but there is also a greater tendency among primary school pupils to fight back or to tell the bullies to stop bullying.

The victims' reactions show that many of them have developed some sort of avoiding behavior, that is they either pretend they are indifferent to the bullying or they do not react at all. By reacting in this way they probably expect that the bullying will stop. However, somewhat more than a quarter in primary schools and somewhat less in secondary schools ask for help, in most cases from the teacher.

As might be expected there is a significant relationship between the student's views on breaktime and being bullied. More than twice as many students who hate breaktime (34%) as those who like it (15.5%) report being frequently bullied. In addition there is a relation with the number of friends a child reports: the higher the number of friends, the less likely he is to report being bullied. More than half of those who say they have no friends are being bullied (51%), versus only 11% of those who say they have more than five friends, which shows the weak and isolated position victims of bullying have in their class. This finding is even more strongly supported by the answers to the question 'do you sometimes feel that others do not like you as much as they do your classmates?'.¹

Figure 2. Relation between being bullied regularly and self-esteem

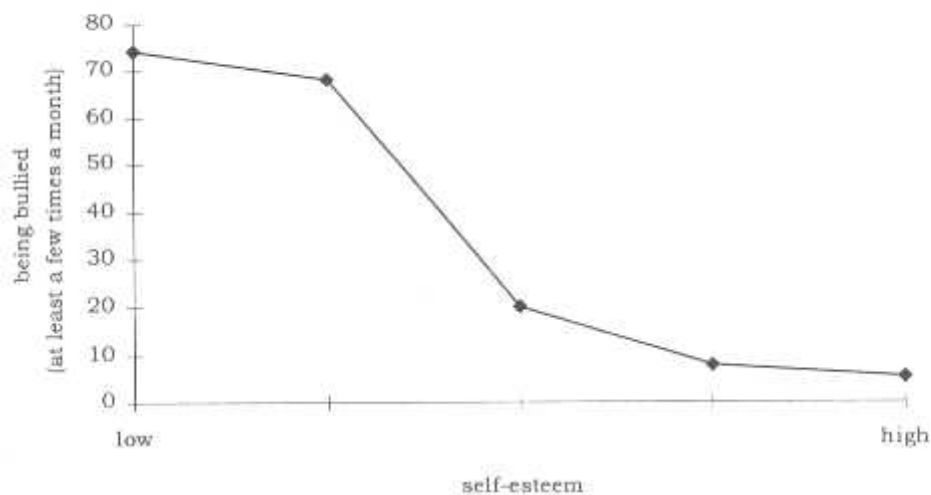


Figure 2 shows an extremely strong association between low self-esteem and being bullied. Half of the total sample report to have high self-esteem and only 7% of all students report low self-esteem. However, among the victims of bullying 70% suffer from these feelings. Our findings are confirmed by a study at the University of Nijmegen, where problembehavior in a sample of 2511 primary school pupils (grade 5-8) was measured by peer-reports and validated by self-reports.² They found that victims of bullying are rejected by their peers, have few friends, are not helpful towards others and are not cooperative. Those who seek help are bullied repeatedly. They often fight, have hardly any friends and do not collaborate with others.

Children are deeply hurt by bullying, as is apparent from the answers to the question what their feelings were during the incidents. About 25% of the victims felt utterly depressed, more than one third lost all interest in school and another quarter did not want to go to school anymore. More than 20% lost all confidence in their schoolmates and one third felt angry and anxious. These findings find confirmation in other Dutch research results. Verhulst & Althaus did provide information on the stability of feelings of loneliness and feeling persecuted when bullied frequently.³ For example their anxiety/depression scores had an average stability coefficient of .57 and shyness had one of .59 over all age groups.

Table 7 Feelings caused by frequently being bullied, broken down by gender and educational level

	n	felt unhappy/ depressed	lost interest in school	did not want to go to school	lost con- fidence	felt hate and fear	started bullying others
all	383	26.0%	35.5%	23.5%	22.0%	32.0%	5.0%
girls	183	35.5%	41.0%	30.0%	22.5%	28.5%	3.0%
boys	200	20.0%*	31.0%*	17.5%*	21.5%	35.0%	7.5%*
primary school	132	32.0%	44.5%	32.5%	30.5%	30.5%	6.0%
secondary school	251	22.5%*	30.5%*	18.5%*	17.5%*	32.5%	5.0%
low l.	167	23.5%	34.0%	24.0%	19.5%	29.5%	5.0%
high l.	84	21.5%	24.0%	8.5%*	13.0%	39.5%	5.0%

* significant difference (Chisq test, $p < 0.05$)

** multiple responses were allowed, percentages can add up to more than 100%.

Table 7 shows large differences between the sexes and between primary schools and secondary schools. Considerably more girls than boys feel unhappy, do not like school and do not want to go to school anymore because of being bullied, while boys react more often by anger and fear and by trying to participate in bullying others. Also, more children in primary schools than in second-

2 De Poorte et al. 1994, p. 268-283.

3 Verhulst & Althaus 1988.

ary schools have feelings of depression and do no longer trust their schoolmates. About 45% does not like school anymore, versus 30% in secondary schools. These are shocking figures which might be due to a greater prevalence of feelings of powerlessness among primary school pupils than among secondary school students. There are other striking findings: considerably more lower level secondary students (24%) than higher level ones (8.5%) do no longer want to go to school, a highly significant finding. The latter more often react with feelings of rage, without turning away from school.

These data really show the degree of suffering of victims of bullying, the extent to which it destroys their feelings of self-esteem, and the consequences it has for their interest in school. In particular the finding that so many of the victims in primary schools do not like school and do not want to go there any longer should worry us. If such young children lose all interest in school this is a bad prognosis for their schoolcareer. This is even more so with respect to students in lower level secondary schools. The fact that drop-out is particularly high in these schooltypes is extremely worrying. This underlines once more the importance of paying attention to the problem of bullying in schools. In this respect Mooij concludes that an increase in schoolviolence by bullies is related to their decreasing social bond to the school.⁴ From our research it is clear that this is also true for the victims of such violence.

Do victims speak with others about their victimization? They do indeed: 86% reports having spoken with someone else. One third talked with a teacher – usually their classteacher – more than half (54%) spoke about it at home – usually with their parents – and one third talked about it with their friends. In the English study this proportion was lower (70%) and in the Norwegian one it was slightly lower (81.5%).⁵

Table 8 indicates that girls are more willing to talk about their being bullied than boys. Girls talk about it with friends twice as often as boys (46.5% versus 23.5%). One might speculate that boys are more likely to consider such confession as a sign of weakness which would hurt their self-presentation. This might then explain their reluctance to talk about it, even with friends.

In contrast to students from secondary schools, pupils from primary schools do more easily talk about bullying with a teacher (41.5% versus 29%) or with their parents (63% versus 48%). Within secondary schools lower level students are more likely to talk to their teacher about the problem (33.5%) than higher level students (21.5%).

4 Mooij 1994, p. 103.

5 Smith 1998; Solberg & Olweus 1998 (unpublished papers).

Table 8 With whom did you talk about being bullied**

	nobody	teacher	parents	friends
girls	10.5%	36.5%	58.0%	46.5%
boys	17.5%*	31.5%	50.5%*	23.5%*
primary school	16.0%	41.5%	63.0%	29.5%
secondary school	12.5%	29.0%*	48.0%*	36.5%*
low level	12.5%	33.5%	48.0%	35.5%
high level	13.0%	21.5%*	49.0%	39.0%*

* significant difference (Chisq test, $p < 0.05$)

** multiple responses were allowed

However, the most important finding is that a majority of the respondents talk about bullying with their parents. Also, taking into account that nearly half of respondents declare that everybody may know they are bullied, we may conclude that for most of them there is no high threshold preventing them to speak about it to others. The question is important because the psychological consequences of being a victim of bullying might be less profound and persistent if children can talk about their victimization. In some cases, for example when victims confide in their parents or teacher, they may expect that some measures will be taken to stop the bullying. However, when they talk about it with friends, they might simply feel relief in sharing it with others and thus feel less isolated by the experience.

However, victims do not wish to confide in anybody: 14% do not want the school to know, 15% do not wish their friends to know and 10% will not tell their brothers or sisters.

If we ask students who should take action to stop the bullying the answer is clear: 75% of the victims feel that the school is first and foremost responsible for taking action. Somewhat less than half think the classteacher has a major role to play, while 40% feel this should be the schoolleader. Only a small minority of students proposes an active role for parents or friends. But has the school tried to put an end to bullying? In order to do this the school must of course be aware of the problem. In about 30% of the cases the school did not know and consequently could not take any action. Another 10% reported that although the school was aware of the problem they did not do anything about it. Whenever the school tried to do something about it this put an end to the bullying in only half of all cases. These interventions were for 60% successful. In the other half the bullying just went on or even got worse. Of those parents who were told about the bullying, half contacted the school. In 50% of these cases bullying decreased, but in the other cases the parent's intervention had no effect, or even made the bullying worse. Classmates usually do not take any action (62%). If they do, they are also successful in 60% of these cases.

One interesting question is what children do when one of their classmates is bullied. Do they participate, do they intervene to stop the bullying, or do they call the teacher?

The answers show that about half of respondents do not want to interfere, while a quarter tries to put an end to it. However, 8% says they join in the bullying and another 8% do not join but like to watch. Girls are more likely than boys not to interfere (52% versus 42%) or not trying to stop the bullying. Pupils of primary schools and secondary schools have some different reactions: the latter are more likely than the former not to interfere, while the former tend to call more often on the teacher for help. In addition lower level secondary students are more willing to start or join in the bullying than higher level secondary students, while the latter are more willing to stop the bullying.

4 | Bullying, delinquency and problem behavior

4.1 | BULLIES

The reactions of students to other students being bullied was a kind of transition to questions about their own bullying behavior. It was an attempt to increase the validity of the answers to these more sensitive questions, and indeed 4% of the students answered they usually participated in the bullying. Asked in a more straightforward manner 21.5% of the students in our sample and 13% of those in the national random sample reported to bully repeatedly other students. The results in the sample data show that the number of students who report bullying frequently is somewhat higher than the percentage students who report being bullied. As expected significantly more boys than girls report bullying, while bullying is also more frequent in the lower stream secondary schools than in the higher level schools, but this difference is not significant.

The national data confirm our findings: more boys (17.2%) than girls (7.9%) indicate they bully frequently, while the frequency of bullying is highest among 13-15 year old boys in lower secondary schools.

Table 9 Percentage of children that indicate to bully others regulary

	n	bullies regulary
all	1986	19.0%
girls	1023	17.5%
boys	963	21.0%*
primary school	603	17.5%
secondary school	1349	20.0%
low level	875	21.0%
high level	472	18.0%

* significant difference (Chisq test, $p < 0.05$)

Socio-demographic variables

Similarly to victimization of bullying, bullying behavior is not related to family status, that is no difference was found in this respect between students living in complete families and students living in one parent families.

Several questions on the neighborhood of residence have been used to get an approximation of socio-economic status and to explore its relationship with bullying. Those who gave negative evaluations of the neighborhood, in terms of abandoned buildings, graffiti, fighting, drugsdealing and crime, reported more frequent bullying behavior (27%) than those who said they were living in a neighborhood without these negative features (15%). Although ethnicity is unrelated to victimization, immigrant children tend to report somewhat more frequent bullying (23.5%) than Dutch children (18%).

Considering the nature of bullying (Annex A6), the most prevalent forms are name-calling, spreading rumors, and excluding someone. Boys do more often hit and push and take and hide things than girls, while the latter are more often spreading rumors on their victims. There are no differences between primary schools and secondary ones, but in lower stream secondary schools there is relatively more scolding, hitting and pushing and excluding other students than in other schools.

As already noted before, bullying is something you do not often do on your own (20%). It is a typical group phenomenon, mostly taking place in two's or three's (51%) and in more than a quarter of all cases even with more (28%). However, in contrast to the findings for victims of bullying, we did not find any association between number of friends and bullying behavior.

We have seen that victims of bullying have low self-esteem (see Figure 2 on p. 23). Interestingly, Figure 3 shows a positive relation between self-esteem and bullying. Although that relationship is weaker than the one with victimization, it is a significant one. This outcome confirms earlier findings of Olweus, who found that bullies score high on self-confidence.¹

The Nijmegen study, mentioned in Chapter 3, found two types of bullies. The moderately anti-social ones are characterized by some aggressive and troublesome behavior in class. They see themselves as bullies and do hardly collaborate with others. The strongly anti-social children, consisting only of boys, are continually fighting, show aggressive and disturbing behavior and frequently bully others.²

The answers to the question about what bullies felt the last time they were bullying their victims, are of special interest.

1 Olweus 1978.

2 De Poorte et al. 1994.

Figure 3 Relation between bullying others and self-esteem

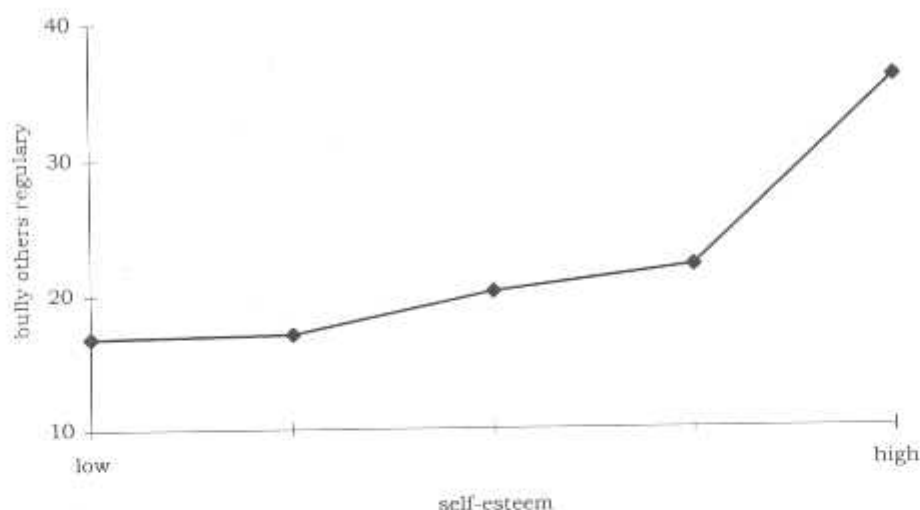


Table 10 What did you feel the last time that you bullied someone**

	n.	'they deserved it'	did not feel anything	'it was fun'	'I felt pity'	fear for reprisal
all	341	38.0%	36.0%	15.0%	26.0%	13.0%
primary school	96	43.0%	25.0%	20.0%	32.5%	17.5%
secondary school	245	37.0%	40.0%*	25.0%	23.5%	11.5%
low level	169	34.5%	41.5%	28.0%	22.5%	13.0%
high level	76	42.0%	37.0%	18.5%	27.5%	8.0%

* significant difference (Chisq test, $p < 0.05$)

** multiple responses were allowed, percentages can add up to more than 100%

38% of the bullies declared that the victim 'had it coming'. In fact, according to the bullies, the victim himself was responsible for being bullied. 36% report to feel nothing at all when they bully others. These answers are surprisingly similar to the kind of justifications that are given by violent offenders when asked whether they realize what they have done to the victim, or whether they are sorry about their violent acts. About 15% even go further and simply admit they feel 'bullying others is fun'. A small minority (15%) only feels pity for the victim and another 10% say they fear the consequences of their bullying were teachers or parents to learn about it. In fact only one third of the bullies report that their classteacher has talked with them about the bullying, while in the case of parents this is a mere 18%. So there is no objective reason to be overly afraid of punishment.

The national data confirm these findings: among secondary school bullies in Holland 44% reported that their victims 'had it coming' and 15% think 'bullying is just fun'. Table 10 also shows some differences between lower secondary school students and higher secondary ones. Significantly more higher than lower secondary students report that their victims 'had it coming', while the latter more often declare they feel 'bullying is just fun'.

4.2 DELINQUENCY

As mentioned before, one of our goals was to study the relation between bullying and delinquency, including other deviant behavior, and to find out if these are determined by the same background factors. With regard to delinquency, we added 7 delinquency items to our questionnaire.³ We asked the pupils if they had ever committed any of these acts. If so, at what age had they done this for the first time and had they done it during the last year. In interpreting the questions on 'ever committed' (Annex B3) we must keep in mind that there is a strong age effect. Older juveniles have simply had more time to commit offenses than younger children. This does explain the differences between primary and secondary schools. With the exception of vandalism and arson, secondary school pupils report considerably more offenses than primary school pupils. The answers to the question 'did you do this last year' (Table 11) present a more accurate picture in this respect and will be used in all coming analyses.

Table 11 Percentage of pupils that indicate to have, at least once in the previous year, committed the mentioned crimes, broken down by gender, type of education, level of education

	fare dodging	graffity	vandalism	shop lifting	set fire	violence	theft
all	15.5%	10.5%	6.5%	12.5%	5.5%	5.5%	5.5%
girls	14.5%	12.0%	5.5%	11.5%	3.5%	3.0%	4.5%
boys	16.0%	9.0%*	8.0%*	13.5%	7.5%*	8.0%*	6.0%
primary school	5.0%	6.5%	5.0%	7.5%	5.0%	3.0%	4.0%
secondary school	20.0%*	12.5%*	7.5%*	14.5%*	5.5%	7.0%*	6.0%*
low level	24.5%	14.5%	9.5%	16.0%	7.0%	9.5%	7.5%
high level	12.0%*	8.5%*	4.5%*	12.5%	2.5%*	2.0%*	3.0%*

* significant difference (ChiSq test, $p < 0.05$)

3. These items are derived from the International Self-Report Delinquency Questionnaire (IWDC, Ministerie van Justitie) (Junger-Tas et al. 1994) see Annex D.

There are significant differences between secondary schooltypes, with the exception of shoplifting. Lower level school pupils report twice as much vandalism and fare dodging and three times as much physical violence than higher level schools. This could be related to the finding that the former operate more often in groups. We know that a lot of delinquent behavior, especially vandalism and violence, are mainly committed in groups. The differences between the two schoollevels are significant for practically all offenses, with the exception of shoplifting, which is reported in equal proportions by both schooltypes (37.5% and 36.5%). Table 11 gives an overview of the offenses that were committed, broken down by gender, schooltype and school level.

Four out of seven crimes have been committed more frequently by boys than by girls. The one offense where girls have been more active than boys is graffiti. There is no sex difference with respect to fare dodging and shoplifting. The sex difference is mainly existing with respect to the more serious and violent offenses. The question about the age on which they committed a particular offense for the first time did probably not result in very valid answers, because answers strongly depend on the memory of the pupils.

This might be concluded from the fact that primary school pupils systematically indicate a younger age of onset than secondary school students. The difference varies between one year for graffiti and vandalism (10.5 y. vs 11.5 y.) to 1.5 years for shoplifting (8.5 y. vs 10 y.) and violence (9.5 y. vs 11 y.). This clearly indicates a memory effect called 'telescoping', which frequently appears in survey research, meaning that certain events are placed either earlier or later in time. According to the pupils reports, the first time an offense was committed, was at age 11. For some offenses, such as shoplifting, setting fire and theft at school, this would be age 10. This suggests that if children start committing offenses, they do this at a relatively young age. However, it should be realized that offending at the age of 11 and 12 is quite a different thing than offending at later ages. First, the rates are considerably lower. Second, the delinquency is less serious in terms of theft – and violent offenses. The only offense that is committed at equal rates by all respondents is setting fire, but setting fire at age 11 is more often playing rather than committing arson. It is important to keep this in mind, since lately much (media) attention has been given to 'delinquency of young children'.

A second striking finding is that there is no difference in age of onset between respondents of different secondary school levels. Although there is more delinquency in the lower level schools than in the higher ones, the age of onset of offending is the same. This is true for all selected offenses and it may mean that the differences between these students are not so much related to an earlier and more serious offending behavior pattern among students in lower level secondary schools, but rather to a greater participation rate of these students in all offense types.

4.3 OTHER DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

Our definition of 'other deviant behavior' includes smoking, use of alcohol, use of soft-drugs (cannabis), truancy and disciplinary problems in school. In this section only the first three items will be discussed.

It should be recalled that our sample consists of children aged 10 thru 15. We may assume that at this age smoking, drinking and the use of cannabis are not yet considered as normal behavior. Therefore we asked the pupils if they had *ever* shown this behavior and, if so, at what age for the first time. Because the answers to the question on age of onset seem to have low validity we will ignore this last item.

Table 12 Percentage of pupils that indicate to 'ever' have smoked cigarettes, drank alcohol or used cannabis

	smoking	drinking	used cannabis	at least one of these three
all	20.7%	41.5%	5.7%	46.0%
boys	19.2%	47.5%	7.5%	50.7%
girls	21.9%	35.8%*	3.8%*	41.5%*
primary school	11.0%	31.1%	1.3%	35.0%
secondary school	25.0%*	46.2%*	7.7%*	50.9%*
low level	28.6%	43.5%	8.3%	49.7%
high level	18.5%*	51.0%*	6.4%	53.0%

* significant difference (ChiSq test, $p < 0.05$)

The results are not surprising. More boys than girls report to have drunk alcohol and to have smoked a joint. There is no sex difference in smoking cigarettes. We know that smoking has become accepted behavior among young people, and this is also the case among girls. About 20% of our sample has ever smoked a cigarette, a bit more than 40% has ever used alcohol and 6% report that they ever used cannabis. We must keep in mind that we do not have information on the frequency of the use. As may be expected, all three behaviors are more often reported by secondary school pupils. Smoking cigarettes is more often reported by students of the lower levels of secondary schools, but with respect to the two other behaviors there is no difference. Of course these behaviors are less frequent among primary school children than among secondary school ones. However, lower secondary school students report more often to have smoked, while higher secondary school students report more often to have drunk alcohol.

4.4 RELATION BETWEEN BEING BULLIED, BULLYING OTHERS, DELINQUENCY AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

An important question is whether delinquency, problem behavior, being bullied and bullying others are correlated. For this purpose we dichotomised the four constructs. With respect to bullying and being bullied we used the same definition of frequency as in Chapter 3 ('several times a month or more' for at least one of the types of bullying). Concerning delinquency we use the criterion that at least one of the offenses was committed in the previous year. Problem behavior is defined by those children who *ever* smoked, *ever* drank alcohol or *ever* used cannabis. Since alcohol use was reported by the highest percentage of respondents, this is the dominant factor in this construct.

Table 13 shows on the left the four factors plus the percentages in our sample. On top we see the same factors. The table shows that 17% of the children are frequently bullied. Of these, 29% also bully others. 83 Percent of the children are not bullied, 17% of which bully others. This is a significant difference: victims of bullying are clearly more often bullying others than non-victims. Of course this effect is also reversed, that is bullies are more often bullied than non-bullies. According to the Nijmegen study, there are two different groups of children who are both victims and bullies. Some of them show extremely aggressive and disturbing behavior but are also frequently seeking help. Although they are also bullied, they see themselves essentially as bullies. The other group is also characterized by much aggressive and disturbing behavior but is very often bullied as well. These children show little pro-social behavior, do not seek help as often as the former group and have few friends. They consider themselves essentially as victims and not as bullies. Interestingly, although generally there was considerable agreement about the behavior of the children in the study, between their peers and the respondents themselves by self-reports, in the case of these two specific groups there was a discrepancy in judgement. The authors suggest that this might be due to a lack of social consciousness in these children of what their behavior actually represents and what it means to others.⁴ They conclude that these groups appear to be extremely problematic children who may run a very high risk of developing serious anti-social behavior at a later age.⁵

As far as delinquent behavior is concerned, our study indicates that being a victim has no significant effect on delinquency, nor on problem behavior. However, bullies commit twice as many offenses than non-bullies (54% versus 27%) and they also use significantly more often tobacco, alcohol and cannabis.

4 De Prorre et al. 1994.

5 Rubin, Lemare & Lollis 1990, p. 217-249; Olweus 1991.

Although we do not have information on delinquency in the national sample, we do have the data on the use of tobacco, alcohol and cannabis. We must keep in mind, however, that this sample does include juveniles aged 15 thru 18: at this age smoking and drinking are rather more accepted than at age 10-15.

Confirming our findings, the national sample also shows a relation between bullies and their victims. One quarter of the victims bully others, while about 20% of the non-victims do so. A striking fact is that 80% of the group including both victims and bullies are boys, while only two-third of the total of bullies are boys. This type of relationship is frequently found in victimological studies: it turns out that offenders are very often victims themselves and both victims and offenders can be found in the population of young men that live an active and outgoing life.

The WODC study also shows that the victims of bullying less often play truant from school and they use less often alcohol and drugs. Bullies, however, are more often truanting, they drink more often alcohol and use more often drugs. Table B1 in the annex shows large differences in this respect.

Table 13 Relation between being bullied, bully others, problem behavior and delinquency

		being bullied	bully others	problematic behavior	delinquency
being bullied	yes	17%	29%	46%	30%
	no	83%	17%*	46%	33%
bully others	yes	19%	26%	61%	54%
	no	81%	15%*	43%*	27%*
problematic behavior	yes	46%	17%	26%	48%
	no	54%	17%	14%*	18%*
delinquency	yes	32%	16%	33%	70%
	no	58%	18%	13%*	36%*

* significant difference (Chisq test, $p < 0.05$)

Both studies show a strong relationship between delinquency, problem behavior and victimization. This conclusion is not new. Older studies in The Netherlands and abroad found the same relationship.⁶ This study confirms that the relation is also valid with respect to bullying. This was to be expected since bullying is aggressive behavior and repeated bullying can shift easily

6 Hindelang et al. 1981; Junger-Tas & Kruissink 1990.

into acts of violence. In addition, as is the case with delinquents, bullies do not have much consideration for their victims.

The preceding chapters were mainly descriptive. In this chapter we try to draw a picture of some of the background factors that may help explain both aggressive bullying behavior and delinquent behavior. The reason for combining these two behaviors is the finding in the literature as well as in this study that these behaviors are strongly related.¹ One word of caution: for stylistic reasons we frequently write about 'bullies' and 'delinquents'. This does not imply that we are speaking about stable characteristics attached to these particular juveniles. In fact we are dealing with bullying – and delinquent behavior, behaviors that are not necessarily stable or predict a deviant career.

5.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS

Gender and age

As may be expected girls have a lower participation rate both with regard to bullying and delinquency. However, the differences between the sexes are not as great as sometimes found. For example 17.5% of the girls versus 21% of the boys admit to frequent bullying behavior, while 29.5% of the girls versus 34.5% of the boys report to have committed delinquent acts. The similarity in deviant behavior between the sexes may be explained by the relative lack of seriousness of the behaviors in question and in the study's method. We know that girls commit as many property thefts, such as shoplifting, as boys, but girls are considerably less involved in the more serious offenses and in aggressive acts. Similarly, the nature of bullying by girls is of a more verbal nature than that of boys. In addition, the self-report method is not very well suited to measure very serious offenses. The latter must be found in police statistics, where gender differences are even more pronounced. Indeed, the police level statistics show about seven boys for one girl.²

With respect to age the findings in chapter II showed that victimizations of bullying diminishes with age: more children in primary schools than in secondary schools suffer from being bullied. If we now consider those who frequently

1 Olweus 1978, 1991; Farrington 1993.

2 Junger-Tas et al. 1992; Junger-Tas & Haen-Marshall 1999.

bully, we find a positive relationship: the older students get, the more bullies are among them. This is in fact the same relationship as exists with delinquency.

Table 14 Percentage bullies and delinquents by age

	age (n)					
	10 y. (60)	11 y. (281)	12 y. (483)	13 y. (747)	14 y. (376)	15 y. (81)
bullies	16.5	14.0	19.0	18.5	23.0	28.5
delinquents	21.5	19.5	26.0	34.0	41.0	51.5

It is clear from Table 14 that both behaviors increase with age. However, the gap between the percentage of bullies and delinquents grows wider with age: delinquent behavior increases to a much higher degree than bullying. The reason for the difference might be that, although there is considerable aggressive delinquent behavior, most of juvenile delinquency consists of property offenses, while bullying is in most cases limited to aggressive acts. In addition it should be kept in mind that only somewhat more than half of the bullies did report to have committed delinquent acts in the previous years.

Family composition

With respect to family composition there is no difference in bullying or delinquency, whether there is a mother present or not, but it should be recalled that this condition is very rare (3%). Young people living in a family without a father show slightly more bullying (22.5% versus 19%), but considerably more delinquent behavior (43% versus 30%). This confirms earlier findings.³ The relation appears to persist in time, which is all the more worrying since the proportion of lone mothers is increasing and there are as yet no signs that this trend will reverse. It is true that father absence often means a lack of guidance and monitoring, supervision and discipline, all factors that are related to delinquency. Moreover, the father is the first and most important model of masculine behavior for a boy, just as the mother is a behavioral model for a girl. Absence of such a model may have a negative influence on a stable development of boys into adolescence and adulthood.

However, a review of the research on this issue during the last 60 years showed that the difference in delinquent involvement between children brought up in complete families and those raised in incomplete families is only 13%

3. Nye 1958; Hirschi 1969; Junger-Tas 1977; Wilkinson 1974; Rankin 1983, p. 466-479; Johnson 1986, p. 65-85; Morash & Rucker 1989, p. 45-93.

to 15%, and this difference is mainly due to 'problem behaviors' such as low school achievement, truancy, running away from home and substance abuse.⁴ Taking into account reconstituted families (generally including a substitute father), research showed that delinquent involvement is the highest in families with a stepfather. This suggests that the quality of the family is essential and not so much its structure that affects the (problem) behavior of children.

Ethnicity

When comparing different ethnic groups it should be kept in mind that there is a strong relation between lower social class, attending lower vocational schools and belonging to an ethnic minority group. Keeping this in mind the following table shows striking differences between ethnic groups, both with respect to bullying and to delinquency.

Table 15 Percentage bullies and delinquents by ethnicity

	Dutch +other western n=1624	Surinam + Dutch Antilles n=128	Turkish +other Middle East n=67	Moroccan + other North African n=86	other n=76
bullies	18.0	25*	18	23.5	29*
delinquents	29.5	51*	27	36.0	41*

* significant difference with dutch children, *Chisq test* $p < 0.05$

What appears from Table 15 is that bullying as well as delinquency seem to be the lowest among Dutch and Turkish pupils and the highest among Surinam, Moroccan and a rather heterogeneous restgroup, including children from central and eastern Europe, south-America and Asia. Although the percentages for bullying are again considerably lower than those for delinquency, the parallel between the two is striking. Of course we have to keep in mind that these are self-report results and we don't know to what extent the answers are valid. However, earlier studies found that sometimes large discrepancies existed between official police data and self-reports on deviant and delinquent behavior.⁵ These studies suggest that response validity among some ethnic groups might be lower than among others. Factors that have been found to be related to lower validity among ethnic minorities include lack of language skills, low socio-economic status, strong traditional values and length of residence in the country. In that respect our self-report findings do confirm what we know about the higher delinquency involvement of some

4 Wells & Rankin 1991, p. 71-93.

5 Kleck 1982, p. 427-433; Junger 1990a.

ethnic groups, in particular Surinamese, Antillean and Moroccan boys, suggesting that the validity of our data is at least reasonable.⁶

Religion

There is no clear and significant difference in bullying or delinquent behavior between children who report a religious affiliation and those who do not. Nor did the frequency of attending a religious service make any difference. There is a slight but non-significant tendency among catholic children to report less delinquent involvement (28% versus 32%), but the only real exception are protestant children: significantly less of these students reported delinquent acts (26.5% versus 32%). However, on the whole our results seem to indicate a general decline in the influence of religion on (anti) social behavior.

Employment

Does father's employment have any influence on the behavior of his children? It does not look like it: there is no difference in delinquent involvement whether the father is employed or not, and only a slight difference in bullying behavior. However, in view of some doubts about the validity of the answers to this question – especially regarding those of the younger children – not too much should be made of this outcome.

Neighborhood

We asked a number of general questions about the neighborhood where the respondents are living: would they miss their home environment if they had to move, do their neighbors sometimes compliment them when they do something worthwhile, do they feel they live in a pleasant neighborhood, do they have enough space to play? As is often the case with very general questions, these did not discriminate between bullies and non-bullies, nor between those who reported having committed offenses and those who did not.

However, when we asked a number of questions on the presence of some specific negative features in their home environment, we found huge differences. In Chapter 4 we have already reported that students who were stating that they live in a 'bad' neighborhood, in terms of vandalism, fighting, drugs and crime, admitted to considerably more bullying than students who declared they were living in a 'nice' neighborhood. Table 16 gives a detailed overview of both bullying and delinquency in relation to the presence or absence of negative characteristics in their home environment.

6 Etman, Mutsaers & Werdmölder 1993; Junger & Zeilstra 1989; Junger 1990b; Van Hulst & Bos 1993; Werdmölder & Meel 1993, p. 252-277.

Table 16 Percentage bullies and delinquents by presence of some negative features in neighborhood

	empty buildings	graffiti	fighting	drugs	crime
<i>bullies</i>					
not present	18.5*	14*	15.5*	16.5*	15.5*
some present	25.0	23	25.5	25.5	25.5
present	24.0	31	33.0	31.5	33.0
<i>delinquents</i>					
not present	30.5*	27*	25.0*	26.5*	26.0*
some present	38.0	39	41.5	41.0	40.0
present	41.5	49.5	55.0	56.0	55.5

* *Chisq test, p<0.05*

Both bullying and delinquency increase clearly according to the presence of negative features in the respondents home environment. Twice as many students who live in neighborhoods ridden with social problems report frequent bullying as well as delinquent acts than students living in pleasant neighborhoods. Again there is a difference between the number of bullies and the extent of delinquency. Among students living in problematic neighborhoods the highest percentage of bullies is 33%, while more than half of these respondents report delinquent acts. So the important finding is the overall very strong positive relation between the perceived nature of the neighborhood with bullying and delinquency.

School type

The last variable to be considered in this section is schooltype, because it might be possible that both the level of schooling and schooltype are related to participation in bullying and in delinquency.

Table 17 Percentage bullying and delinquency by schooltype

	primary school n=614	secondary school n=1376	second. higher n=891	second. lower n=485
bullies	17.5	20	18	21.0
delinquents	22.5*	36	28*	40.5

* *Chisq test, p<0.05*

As has been reported earlier there is not much difference in the extent of bullying between primary and secondary education and between the higher and lower level schooltypes. The proportion of bullies remains pretty much the same. This is not true as far as delinquent behavior is concerned. There

is considerably higher delinquent involvement in secondary schools. This is related to age, as we know that delinquent involvement increases during adolescence, reaching a peak at age 16 to about 20. What is also clear is that the highest number of delinquents are found in lower vocational training schools. With respect to this finding we repeat that the choice of secondary education is not a random process: children from deprived neighborhoods as well as members of ethnic minorities are disproportionately represented in vocational training schools.

5.2 FAMILY BONDING

In this study we want to check the nature of family bonding both in relation to delinquency as well as bullying. To this end three aspects of the bond have been examined by a limited number of questions: the extent of monitoring and supervision of parents, the kind of feelings and trust between parent and child, and types of punishment used by parents.

Supervision

One of the strongest predictors of delinquency is parent monitoring and supervision. This factor has been shown in research since long as essential.⁷ It was tapped by six questions to respondents: do their parents generally know their whereabouts, are parents familiar with the kind of friends they associate with and with their activities at school; do parents think studying is very important, do they compliment them when they brings home high marks, do they help them with homework?

The questions on the importance of studying and the one on compliments for high marks did not significantly discriminate between respondents: clearly most parents think studying is very important for the future of their child, and most of them do also compliment their children when they are successful in school. The problem is not that they don't care about school or homework. The problem sometimes is the lack of intense monitoring and supervision. This is illustrated by Table 18, showing large and significant differences in bullying and delinquency for three of the four questions.

The largest increases in bullying as well as delinquency are clearly related to supervision: if parents do not know where their children are when they are out, and if they do not know their children's peer group, the percentage of bullies doubles from 17% to more than one third, while delinquent involvement increases from about 26% to 56% and 60%. Helping with homework or

7 Hirschi 1969; West & Farrington 1973; Rutter & Giller 1983; Riley & Shaw 1985; Junger-Tas 1988.

Table 18 Percentage bullies and delinquents by parents' supervision and monitoring

	<i>they know where</i>		<i>they know with whom</i>		<i>they help with homework</i>		<i>they value study</i>	
	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies	delinquents
most of the time	17.0	26.0	17.0	27.0	18.0	29.5	16.0	29
some-times	22.5	41.5	27.5	50.5	23.0	40.0	22.5	34
rarely	35.5	60.5	35.5	56.0	26.5	46.0	28.0	42

* *Chisq test, $p < 0.05$*

making it clear that studying is important also makes a difference, but their absence has not quite as much impact on the respondents behavior as the lack of supervision. In all cases there is an inverse and linear relationship between supervision and monitoring and bullying as well as delinquency on the other.

The quality of parent-child relations

It is clear that the quality of the relationship between parents and child includes a number of dimensions, such as for example affection, confidence, trust and mutual respect.

In this study we measured only two of these by asking respondents whether they happen to talk with their parents about their thoughts and feelings and whether they talk with them about their problems. In both cases we find again a linear relationship. The percentage of bullies increases from about 17% when there is a warm and trustful relation, to 26% when this is not the case. As far as delinquency is concerned, the percentage delinquents is about 28% when there is affection and trust between parents and child, but it increases to 39% when thoughts and feelings cannot be communicated, while the increase is over 50% when the juvenile cannot talk with his parents about his problems. In the case of delinquency it is in particular the latter situation, that seems to have negative effects on juveniles. One may speculate that the fact of not being able to talk about their problems would alienate children from their parents, the consequence of which might be that the latter can no longer exercise any effective control over their children's behavior, including anti-social behavior. In that sense trust and affection might be conditional for the exercise of control.

The nature of discipline

Research has shown that the consistency and the nature of parental punishment has a strong impact on the behavior of their children.⁸ We considered four types of punishment: beatings, imposing restrictions (not being allowed to participate in certain activities), repeated nagging and being send to one's room.

Table 19 Percentage bullies and delinquents by nature of discipline

	beatings (n=564)		restrictions (n=1000)		nagging (n=348)	
	bullies*	delinquents	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies*	delinquents
rarely/ never	18.5	31.5	17	29.0	19.0	29.5
sometimes	25.0	30.5	21	31.5	21.5	41.0
most of the time	23.5	42.5	23	37.0	26.5	47.5

* *Chisq test, p<0.05*

One of the most recommended ways of punishment and, according to our respondents, the most frequently applied (76.5% of the parents), is sending a child to his room, which means temporary isolating him/her to cool off and think things over. However, this measure was not related to bullying nor to delinquent behavior. In other words whether parents did use this discipline method often or rarely did not have any significant impact on the participation in deviant behavior. Restrictions or the withdrawal of specific permissions was the next frequent punishment. This was practised by two third of all parents. Table 18 tends to show that imposing restrictions all the time is related to higher participation in bullying and delinquency, but the differences are not significant.

However, two punishment techniques did have a definite effect on both behaviors: beatings and nagging. Both punishments were not as frequently used: beatings were given by 37% of the parents, and nagging by some 25%. Although we know from the literature (see above) that harsh physical punishment is related to an increase in delinquent behavior, this is clearly also the case with respect to bullying, albeit to a lesser degree. Rather surprisingly, the strongest relation with these behaviors appears to be with nagging as a disciplinary technique and not with beatings, particularly in the case of delinquency.

8 Riley & Shaw 1985; Farrington 1986; Wells & Rankin 1988, p. 263-285; Larzele & Patterson 1990; Sampson & Laub 1993.

5.3 THE BOND WITH SCHOOL

One can hardly overstate the importance of the school in the life of children. It may be said that its significance for children can be compared to that of the workplace for adults. As a consequence there are different aspects of schoollife that warrant our attention in relation to both bullying and delinquent behavior. Three dimensions have been explored in this study. As the school is the first major social institution in which the child is confronted with specific expectations regarding his intellectual and behavioral performance, we examine both educational achievement and social behavior, as they have been reported by the youths themselves. In addition, we try to tap the relation with teachers, as well as the juveniles perception of the support they receive from teachers in trying to meet school requirements.

Schoolperformance

A transition from family to school is the question 'do your parents feel you work hard enough on your homework?' One might expect that such a question would not discriminate between social and anti-social students. However, those who reported parent satisfaction with their efforts admitted to considerably less bullying behavior (17.5%) or delinquency (27%), than those who said that their parents were not happy with their workperformance: 25.5% of the latter reported frequent bullying and 47.5% admitted to have committed delinquent acts.

Table 20 Percentage bullies and delinquents by schoolperformance

	bullies	delinquents
<i>schoolgrades compared to classmates</i>		
higher	20.0*	26.5*
similar	17.0	29.5
lower	29.0	48.0
<i>time spent on homework</i>		
2 - 3 hours	16.5*	26.5*
1 - 1.5 hours	18.5	32.0
none - 0.5 hour	22.5	35.0
<i>repeated class</i>		
did not repeat class	18.5*	29.0*
did so once	22.5	38.0
did so twice or more	27.0	57.5

* *Chisq test, $p < 0.05$*

Another way of measuring performance was to question students on average time spent on making homework, while school achievement was measured

by asking students whether their schoolgrades were higher, similar or lower than those of their classmates, A final measure consisted in asking whether, and if so, how many times, students had repeated a class.

As can be seen in Table 20 the relations between different measures of school-performance are rather straightforward. Participation in bullying and delinquent behavior of students who judge their schoolgrades as lower than that of their classmates, who spent little or no time on homework and who have repeated class once or twice, appears to be higher than among students who perform reasonably well. Again, results with respect to bullying are perfectly parallel to those concerning delinquency. The strongest relation appears to be with repeating a class, which is followed by the respondents judgement about their own schoolachievement. This is a quite interesting outcome, because it suggests that most students have reasonable insight in the quality of their schoolperformance and, moreover, are willing to report it.

Schoolattachment

Similarly to the analysis of family variables, one may distinguish two different aspects in schoolattachment: one is monitoring and control, the other is the relationship between teacher(s) and respondent. When considering these outcomes one should be reminded that both teacher control and relationship with teachers are measured exclusively by student perceptions. However, in so far as these perceptions do affect student behavior they are of relevance to this study.

Monitoring and control have been measured by asking whether teachers are willing to help respondent when he has learning problems, whether teachers check homework and whether they can keep good order in the classroom (see Annex B7).

Checking whether homework is done does not greatly affect the behavior of students: in either case the percentage of bullies is around 20%, while that of delinquents is between 30% and 37%. The strongest relation with (anti) social behavior is with keeping good order in the classroom. According to the teacher's ability to keep order, the proportion of reported bullying incidents varies between 14%, if the teacher is effective, and 27% if he is not. As for delinquent behavior the behavior varies between 21% and 59%, a huge and significant difference. However, respondents perceptions of the willingness of the teacher to support them in case of learning problems is also significantly related to student (anti) social behavior, although to a somewhat lesser degree than direct teacher control.

Perceptions of the relationship with teachers are probed with three questions: 'do you feel that teachers like you' and 'do you feel that teachers can't stand you', followed by 'do you generally like school' (Annex B8).

The first two questions do in fact tap the same underlying concept, that is respondents perception of the teachers' attitude towards them. The first one is significantly related to delinquent behavior but hardly to bullying. The second one, being more explicit, has a very strong relation with both variables: to the extent that respondents perceive growing negative feelings of teachers, bullying varies from 15% to 36% and delinquency from 25% to 56%. Finally and not surprisingly, liking school or not is related to bullying and delinquency to almost the same extent as the former variable, an outcome that has been found over and over again in earlier research.

Disaffection from school

Time and again research has demonstrated the strong correlation of truancy and discipline problems with delinquency. In fact students who are school failures and, in addition, feel rejected by their teachers, present growing problems to the school, to society, and above all to themselves. In this respect our study confirms earlier findings, as Table 21 shows.

Table 21 Percentage bullies and delinquents by truancy and discipline problems

	truancy		sent from classroom		suspended	
	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies	delinquents*
never	16.5	22.5	12.5	19	19.5	31.5
once or twice	21.0	53.0	22.5	34	16.5	39.5
often	38.5	66.0	30.0	57	26.5**	60.0**

* *Chisq test, $p < 0.05$*

** *small numbers in cell*

If we consider first bullying then it is clear that bullying is least frequent among students who never truant or sent from the classroom, One might add that if these occur once or twice the frequency of bullying is somewhat average. It is only when matters grow worse that frequent bullying increases. A slightly similar picture emerges where delinquency is concerned: respondents who are never absent nor are sent out of the classroom, only report a few delinquent acts, while with increasing truancy and discipline problems, delinquency becomes extremely frequent.

This is also true for being suspended but this appears to be a relatively rare phenomenon and thus one should not rely too much on these findings. Truancy does really show by far the strongest correlation with both bullying and delinquency. Frequent truancy is perhaps the best measure of disaffection from

school. It often precludes dropping-out altogether, in most cases without any certificate. It is clear that employment prospects for juveniles in such a situation are rather dismal.

It should be recalled that our sample is a school sample, the implication of which is that it does not include those students who have prematurely left school or were absent on the day of the interview. This might mean that our data on bullying and delinquency do underestimate the 'real' occurrence of such events. However, to the extent that we do not pretend to present rates of bullying and delinquency this is not a too serious handicap. In addition, for considerations of theoretical exploration sample representativeness is less of an issue.

5.4 LEISURE AND PEERS

A number of questions were asked about time spent by respondents on various leisure occupations. For example we asked how many hours a day were spent on watching tv, or behind the computer, reading comic books or other magazines, on sports and on reading books. As might be expected all young people have at least some sports activities and read comics and magazines. Both these variables have no discriminative power at all. However, watching tv or playing computer games and reading books appear to make a difference. Bullying increases with the number of hours watching tv, from 10% for those who do not watch at all to 27% for those who are daily watching four or more hours. Similarly, delinquency increases from 26% to 49% for frequent watchers. As may be expected time spent on reading books is inversely related with bullying and delinquency. Both behaviors tend to decline according to the growing number of hours spent on reading books but these relations are not statistically significant.

The instrument did not include many questions on the peer group and so we are not able to treat this subject in sufficient detail. We inquired about the time spent with friends, whether the respondent could talk with them about his/her problems and whether his friends did support him/her. Time spent with friends did not have any effect on bullying. However, we found a strong linear relation between this variable and delinquent involvement. According to a growing number of hours spent with friends, delinquency increases from 12.5% to 42.5%. Interestingly, the 'loners', that is those who report to spend no time at all with friends, were also considerably more delinquent (28.5%). This outcome does confirm earlier findings on this issue.⁹

9 Junger-Tas 1977 and 1988.

Talking with friends about one's problems seemed to lead to more delinquent involvement instead of to less: 31% of those who never did so, to 40,5% of those who always discussed their problems, reported delinquent acts. Support from friends does not lead to less deviant behavior. In fact it is not related to bullying, nor to delinquency. As a result, on a total of seven variables only two variables significantly stand out in their effect on (anti) social behavior: one is the number of hours spent on watching TV or computer games, the other is the number of hours spent with peers.

5.5 FAMILY, SCHOOL AND NEIGHBORHOOD: A MULTIVARIATE APPROACH

At this point it should be observed that some of the factors that have been considered so far are interrelated. For example the distribution of respondents in the different neighborhoods is not random: where people live is related to their income, family composition and also to ethnicity. In deprived neighborhoods one finds more unemployed, low income and incomplete families as well as more families belonging to an ethnic minority group than in other neighborhoods. Moreover, the choice for specific secondary education is not a random process either, but is related to variables such as social background and ethnicity. The implication is that as some of the socio-demographic variables tend to be interrelated, this might obscure our understanding of how these processes operate.

The question that is examined in this section is what impact do family, school and neighborhood variables have if we perform a multivariate analysis that can deal with these interrelations.

A first step was to reduce the number of variables into clusters of variables that are strongly interrelated by means of a factor analysis. The first family factor includes 6 items all referring to interest and support from parents for their children and was called 'parent support'. The second one covers the two control items ('do parents know where you are, when out' and 'do they know with whom you are associating') and is called 'parent control'. The third one includes all four discipline items and is thus named 'parent punishment'. The three factors are scaled and divided in three categories: low, average and high support, with the exception of the factor 'parent control' which distinguishes two control levels, a low and a high level. The school-items are broken down in two factors, one of which covers teachers supporting and controlling students and is called 'teacher support and control'. The two discipline items ('sent out of the classroom' and 'suspended') as well as truancy form the second factor which we called 'disaffection from school'. These factors are also scaled into three categories: low, average and high. Finally, we computed a single scale on neighborhood perception, using all nine neighborhood items, which are closely interrelated. This scale is also broken down in low, average

and high. These six scales were then used in a log-linear analysis, the results of which are presented in Table 22 and 23.

Table 22 Results of a log linear analysis on bullying, for all cases, boys, girls, primary school, secondary school and level of secondary school

	all cases	boys	girls	primary school	sec. school	sec. school low level	sec. school high level
<i>overall</i>	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.24	0.22	0.20	0.24
<i>parent interest</i>							
low	1.26*	1.11	1.43*	1.12	1.31*	1.48*	1.06
middle	1.02	0.99	1.05	0.99	1.03	1.09	0.96
high	0.78	0.91	0.66*	0.90	0.74*	0.62*	0.98
<i>parent control</i>							
low	1.11	1.16	1.03	1.06	1.13	1.10	1.24
high	0.90	0.86	0.97	0.95	0.88	0.91	0.81
<i>punishment</i>							
low	0.78*	0.70*	0.85	0.64*	0.83	0.84	0.82
middle	1.16	1.29*	1.03	1.22	1.02	1.14	1.20
low	1.11	1.10	1.14	1.27	1.18	1.04	1.02
<i>teacher support and control</i>							
high	0.83*	0.82	0.82	0.79	0.83	0.68*	1.20
middle	0.97	0.93	1.00	0.84	1.02	1.09	0.89
low	1.25*	1.31*	1.21	1.52*	1.18	1.35	0.94
<i>disaffection from school</i>							
low	0.61*	0.62*	0.59*	0.58*	0.62*	0.60*	0.59*
middle	1.11	1.08	1.13	1.18	1.07	1.17	0.91
high	1.49*	1.49*	1.51*	1.46*	1.52*	1.43*	1.88*
<i>neighborhood perception</i>							
positive	0.76*	0.73*	0.80	0.77	0.75*	0.84	0.63*
average	0.91	0.94	0.88	0.87	0.92	0.88	0.98
negative	1.44*	1.45*	1.41*	1.50*	1.44*	1.34	1.62*
<i>model statistics</i>							
n	1.885	898	982	583	1.299	836	463
Chisq	420	347	332	305	380	337	256
d.f.	408	346	321	255	378	324	234

* significant deviation from 0, *t*-test $p < 0.05$

Table 22 and 23 do not directly show the percentages of bullying and delinquent behavior but the ratios of the different groups. Overall the ratio for bullying is 0.22, which means that on the whole sample $0.22/(1+0.22)=18\%$ of them report frequent bullying. In addition, Table 22 allows us to calculate that 1.6 times more children, who perceive their parents as not supportive, report bullying, than children who perceive their parents as being interested and helpful ($1.26/0.78=1.6$). As far as delinquency involvement during the last schoolyear is concerned the overall percentage is $0.48/(1+0.48)=32\%$,

whereas only 1.13 more juveniles, who report low parent support, report delinquent involvement than those who feel their parents are supportive.

The question worth answering is what conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the six factors that came out of the factor-analysis on parent-, school-, and neighborhood variables, both in relation to bullying and to delinquency, and to what extent bullying and delinquent behavior have the same correlates.

Considering the factors one by one, the data show that low parent support is significantly related to bullying in particular in the case of girls, older students and students attending lower level schools. However, although the same tendency shows with respect to delinquency, the results are not significant. On the other hand parent control is significantly related to delinquency but not to bullying, its impact being especially strong in the case of juveniles aged 13-14 and attending lower level secondary schools.

High levels of punishment are correlated with bullying by boys and by younger children, while punishment does not seem to play an important independent role with respect to delinquency. Low teacher support and control seems to be related to bullying in the case of boys, primary school pupils and lower secondary school students, but it is a far stronger predictor of delinquency, the exception being higher secondary school students, where this factor does not seem so important. By far the strongest predictor of both bullying and delinquency is school disaffection (truancy, sent out of classroom, suspended). This is true for both sexes, all ages and all school levels. Finally, neighborhood perception is significantly related to bullying and delinquency. However, with respect to delinquency it should be observed that this is especially true for boys, primary school pupils and lower level secondary school students.

In fact the log-linear analysis does present similar results as the univariate analyses that have been reported, showing that parent support and interest as well as punishment seem to play a more important role in the case of bullying than in the case of delinquency, while parent supervision and control is significantly correlated with delinquent behavior, but not so with bullying. The school variables are significant predictors in both cases and so is neighborhood perception. These outcomes certainly suggest that, with some nuances, bullying and delinquent behavior have indeed a common background, thus confirming what has been found earlier.¹⁰ The results are also in line with research emphasizing the versatility of deviant and delinquent behavior.¹¹ Other authors have shown that much deviant behavior, such as alcohol and

10 Olweus 1991; Farrington 1993.

11 Hindelang et al. 1981.

substance abuse, and even accidents are part of a risk-taking and in some cases marginalized life-style.¹²

Table 23 Results of a log linear analysis on delinquency, for all cases, boys, girls, primary school, secondary school and level of secondary school

	all cases	boys	girls	primary school	sec. school	sec. school low level	sec. school high level
<i>overall</i>	0.48	0.46	0.52	0.42	0.51	0.55	0.42
<i>parent interest</i>							
low	1.05	1.13	0.95	0.94	1.08	1.05	1.16
middle	1.02	0.92	1.20	0.86	1.09	1.13	1.00
high	0.93	0.97	0.88	1.23	0.85	0.84	0.86
<i>parent control</i>							
low	1.27*	1.15	1.44*	1.27	1.26*	1.24*	1.27
high	0.79	0.87	0.69*	0.79	0.79*	0.81*	0.79
<i>punishment</i>							
low	1.00	1.03	0.97	1.05	0.98	1.00	0.99
middle	0.93	1.07*	0.79*	0.90	1.09	0.88	1.04
low	1.07	0.91	1.30*	1.06	0.94	1.14	0.97
<i>teacher support and control</i>							
high	0.71*	0.72*	0.72*	0.65*	0.75*	0.65*	1.09
middle	0.88	0.89	0.85	0.82	0.88	0.90	0.86
low	1.61*	1.56*	1.65*	1.86	1.51*	1.72*	1.07
<i>disaffection from school</i>							
low	0.43*	0.48*	0.40*	0.46*	0.43*	0.48*	0.34*
middle	0.97	0.89	1.04	1.30	0.87	0.87	0.88
high	2.39*	2.31*	2.40*	1.68*	2.64*	2.40*	3.36*
<i>neighborhood perception</i>							
positive	0.76*	0.70*	0.82	0.61*	0.85	0.87	0.86
average	1.06	1.12	0.97	1.05	1.03	0.96	1.26
negative	1.24*	1.27*	1.25	1.57*	1.14	1.21	0.92
* significant deviation from 0, t-test $p < 0.05$							
model statistics							
n	1.885	898	982	583	1.299	836	463
Chisq	372	357	317	256	361	306	258
d.f.	408	346	321	255	378	324	234

On the basis of the log-linear model one can make a 'risk' profile and make an estimate of how many children who fit that profile will bully others frequently or will be involved in delinquency.

These are children who perceive their parents as not supportive, who feel their parents do not supervise them but punish them frequently, who feel their

12 Junger-Tas & Kruissink 1988; Hirschi & Gottfredson 1990; Junger, Terlouw & van der Heijden 1995, p. 386-410.

teachers don't support them, who turn away from school and who live in a bad neighborhood. When circumstances are that negative the estimate is that nearly half (48%) of them will frequently bully their schoolmates and nearly three quarter (73%) of them will show delinquent behavior. In the case of a low risk profile the number of bullies will be 4% and the number of delinquents 7.6%.

Table 24 Percentage bullies and delinquents by family factors, school factors and neighborhood perception

	percentage bullies neighborhood		percentage delinquents neighborhood	
	positive	negative	positive	negative
<i>parent interest</i>				
high	10.0*	22.0	17.5*	32.5
low	17.0*	32.0	24.5*	46.5
<i>parent control</i>				
high	11.0*	22.5	17.5*	31.0
low	17.0*	33.5	32.5*	55.0
<i>punishment</i>				
low	10.0*	22.5	22.0*	39.0
high	15.0*	28.5	22.5*	48.0
<i>teacher support</i>				
high	10.5*	20.0	15.5*	28.0
low	25.5*	31.5	38.0*	57.0
<i>school disaffection</i>				
low	9.0*	17.5	11.0	15.0
high	23.0*	33.5	43.0	64.0

* *Chisq test* $p < 0.05$

A different way to examine the extent to which neighborhood, family factors and school factors add up in their impact on both bullying and delinquency is given in Table 24. Table 24 gives a simplified picture of the results, presenting only the extremes of the scales.

Possible interaction effects with neighborhoods were tested but no clearly significant interactions in the statistical sense were found. However, table 24 illustrates in a rather simple way what living in a 'bad' neighborhood means in terms of deviant behavior, in particular in combination with negative family and school conditions.

Considering respondents living in 'nice' neighborhoods, the data suggest that family factors do have much less of an impact on bullying behavior than do school factors. In the case of family factors – whether they are positive or negative – bullying appears to be about twice as frequent in 'bad' neighborhoods than in 'nice' neighborhoods. However, school factors seem to have a somewhat stronger impact on bullying behavior than the quality of the neighborhood.

A similar pattern is shown with respect to delinquency, although in this case parent control is particularly relevant, as is neighborhood. However, again teacher support and school disaffection seem to be rather more important than neighborhood quality in maintaining low levels of delinquency: if juveniles receive sufficient teacher support and if they do attend school regularly and are not often punished, it looks as if it does not matter as much where they live. To some extent this is true for bullying also, but the effect appears to be far stronger in the case of delinquent behavior. A cautious conclusion may be that family factors and school factors as well as neighborhood seem to have rather independent effects on delinquency.

In the past few years much attention has been paid to the bullying problem, not only by the media, but also by the government. It seemed useful to us to make an inventory of how schools deal with the problem and how this has developed over the years. To do this we interviewed one representative from each participating school. The interviews were semi-structured and dealt with the following subjects: *the present day situation in school* with regard to bullying. This includes the school's attitudes, both of pupils and of teachers, and possible explanations for the bullying situation in their school. *School policy* in the past and present as well as future plans. *Special programs* for teachers and students that are used in the lessons. And finally we asked for the manner in which the school and teachers deal with *specific cases* of bullying. We will end this chapter with a summary of our findings and some recommendations to policy-makers.

Apart from these extensive interviews we also asked the teacher of each class to fill out a brief questionnaire. Eighty teachers responded but, unfortunately, not every school is represented. Although this was not a random sample, the results give additional information on how teachers look at the problem. Furthermore, the questionnaires that were completed by the children allow us to make some comparisons between schools. We must be careful with our conclusions since our sample includes only a limited number of pupils in each school. Both school results from the childrens' responses and the teachers' responses are included in this chapter but the main core consists of the in-depth interviews with the school coordinators.

Description of the population

Representatives of 23 schools were interviewed, of which 15 primary school and eight secondary schools. Eight of the primary schools were public schools, three had a catholic status and four had a distinct protestant status. In the latter schooltype, the Christian religion plays an important part in the school philosophy. Nine of these primary schools were situated in mid-sized towns, and six in a village. The large cities are not represented here. Among the responding secondary schools there was one school that was exclusively

* With the collaboration of Berber Krop.

teaching the highest level of education, all others schools' teaching included different educational levels. Four of these schools were public, three had a specific Christian background. Two of the schools were situated in a large city, four in mid-sized cities and two in villages.

In each school we interviewed the teacher who was responsible for the school policy with regard to bullying. In primary schools this was in most cases the head-master, in secondary schools this usually was the school counsellor, responsible for the youngest pupils.

The present day situation

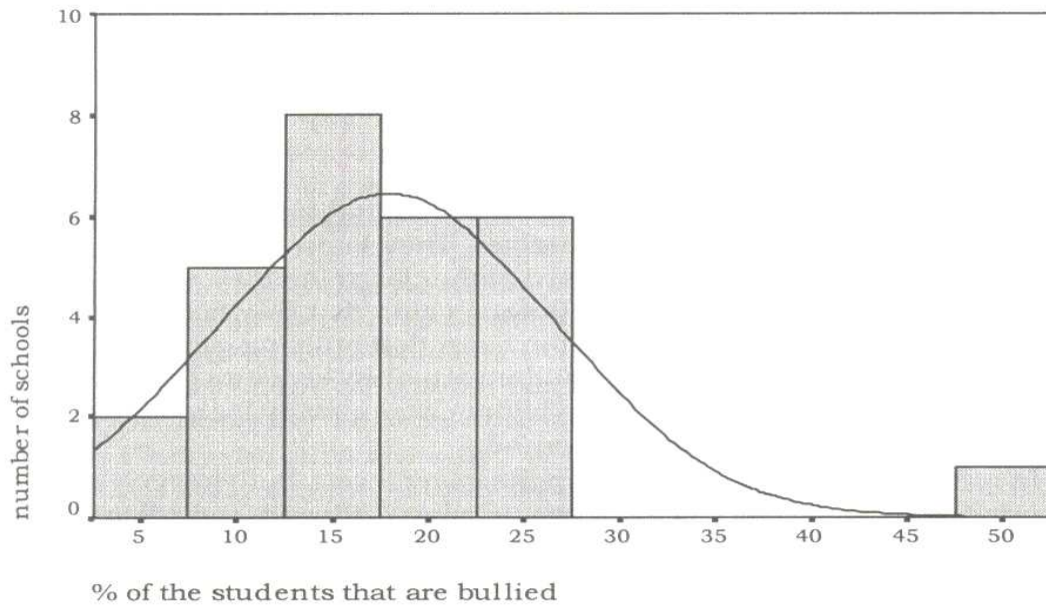
In general, the school climate in the primary and secondary schools is quite good. The teachers' general impression is that bullying does not occur very often. However, three schools indicate that the situation is quite serious. In these schools children do not respect each other and show racist attitudes. This is mainly attributed to the low social and economic background of the children. Teachers have the impression that bullying occurs more often in the lower levels of secondary schools, as compared to the higher levels. Our survey findings confirm this. Both in the primary schools and in the secondary schools it is hard to get a accurate picture of the bullying problem. Most of the bullying is done when teachers or other school staff are not present. One is therefore not sure how serious the problem is. In particular in secondary schools it is difficult for children to step forward and talk about bullying with a teacher. Pupils are afraid to loose face and fear retaliation from the bully. This finding is also confirmed by the survey results. With the exception of three schools, bullying is not regarded as a serious problem. But if bullying does occur, solving that matter has high priority.

Survey responses

The paragraph below shows that bullying is a very serious problem in one school. About fifty percent of the pupils in that school indicate that they have been bullied regularly in the past half year. The percentage of children that indicate that they bully others is equally high. If we disregard this single school, there still remain quite large differences between schools, ranging from 5% in two schools to 25% in six schools. There is hardly any difference between primary and secondary schools. In this paragraph we add a 'normal curve', showing that we would expect more schools with above average rates of bullying if we had a larger sample.

In general, teachers have an accurate impression about their schools situation if we compare it with survey responses. School status and the schools' neighborhood are important factors. The one school with very high bullying rates is located in a run down part of a mid-sized city. The two schools with very low bullying rates have a distinct Christian background.

Figure 4 Percentage of the children that are bullied aggregated by school



Trends in bullying

With regard to the amount and nature of bullying in primary schools, almost all schools indicate that there has hardly be a change over the past few years. Although three schools indicate that there has been an increase in bullying, they attribute this to changes in society. Life is believed to be much tougher these days than in the past, and parents seem less concerned and tend not to transmit as many behavioral norms and values to their children as they used to do. The influence of violent television programs is also mentioned. The nature of bullying seems to have changed. Children are much more emancipated these days, they are more assertive and also more physical. One school indicated a drop in bullying after serious adjustments in the playground so that children had more opportunity to play.

Five out of eight secondary schools indicate no changes in the number of bullying incidents in the past few years. Three schools, however, indicate an increase. They attribute this to higher requirements from society and pressures placed on children to perform better, as well as to a general trend towards more violence and to poor upbringing by parents. This leads to the conclusion that there does not seem to be fundamental differences between primary and secondary schools, apart from the fact that secondary schools in The Netherlands have different educational levels, and children in primary schools being allowed far more differentiation in school performance.

In the lowest level of secondary education there is a tendency towards more violence, both verbally and physically. This is also true for minority groups in Holland, which are overrepresented on the lower levels. A striking fact, according to teachers, is that victims of bullying in these schools are more often threatened not to snitch than in other schools.

Attitudes of the children towards bullying

In general, the children in primary schools seem indifferent to the problem as long as they are not bullied themselves. They know that bullying is not permitted and if the matter is discussed in the classroom they agree with the teacher and feel pity for the victims. But soon after that they fall back in their usual behavior. They do not realise the harm that bullying can do. Another response given by teachers is that children are often far more realistic about bullying than their parents. While the children have already forgotten all about it, they say, their parents are still worried.

In secondary schools, especially in the lower levels, bullying is said to be regarded as an interesting game. Victims are always blamed, and talking about it to a teacher is regarded as snitching. There is, however, a change to the better in the last few years. Students talk more openly about it and they are more aware that bullying is something that should not occur.

The size of the school is also of interest. In smaller schools there is far more social control on children. It is more likely that older students intervene if they see something happen. Most primary schools are relatively small, 200-300 children in the age of 4 through 12. Secondary schools are often much bigger.

Attitude of teachers towards bullying

The attitude of teachers has changed over the years. Teachers consider that they have a certain responsibility for observing and solving the bullying problem. This is in particular the case in primary schools, but somewhat less in secondary schools. This is partly caused by the different school systems. In primary schools each teacher has his own class during the whole week, while secondary schools work with subject teachers. They interact only for a few hours a week with a single class.

In former days teachers were very doubtful about intervening in these matters, they were afraid that by raising the problem, they would worsen it. Thanks to improved knowledge about bullying this has changed and, in addition, they now have the instruments to deal with it. However, some teachers still believe that children should sort these things out for themselves and some of them even stimulate bullying by making fun of pupils in class. This happens more

often in secondary schools than in primary schools but fortunately these teachers are a small minority.

Causes of bullying

We also asked the respondents about what they considered as direct causes of bullying. The responses were quite uniform. Most frequently mentioned was bullying as part of establishing a 'natural' order within the group. Also mentioned were the situation in school and specific characteristics of the victim and of the bully.

Both in primary and in secondary schools the fixing of a 'picking' order was mentioned as the main cause of bullying. They consider it to be part of human nature to establish 'who is boss'. The weaker children are targeted for bullying so as to show off without taking any risks for reprisal. This might be an explanation for the higher bullying rates in group seven in primary schools: classes are often reshuffled at the beginning of the schoolyear and group 7 and 8 stay together till they leave primary school. The same problem occurs when the children start secondary school.

The schoolsituation is also mentioned. Students at the lower levels of secondary schools have a tendency to be rather aggressive, both verbally as and physically. This leads to more bullying, a statement that is confirmed by survey responses. A great deal can also be said about 'environmental design'. In primary schools, children have not much room to move around, they are restricted to a single classroom with often a large group of 30 to 35 children. Insufficient space is also mentioned as a cause for bullying in secondary schools, especially at the lower level schools. One school reported a significant drop in bullying after the schoolyard was redesigned.

Another major cause that was mentioned, were the characteristics of the victim. Children who deviate from the norm, in behavior as well as in appearance, are often targeted. Something as trivial as the wrong brand of clothes can be a reason for bullying. Children who have a passive, resigned and insecure attitude are also vulnerable. They often do not have the social skills required to deal with bullies. These children are rather submissive and blame themselves for being bullied.

The home situation is frequently mentioned. Sometimes parents are said not to take good care of their children. This is noticed by the other children who start making nasty remarks, for example because these kids are wearing dirty clothes and smell.

The home situation is also mentioned with respect to bullies. In particular children who grow up in deprived circumstances are said not to get the guidance and structure they need. As a result they are lacking social skills

and feel they have insufficient control over their lives. They try to compensate this by intimidating and bullying other children. Quite often they do not realize where teasing stops and bullying starts. This is often noticed after week-ends or school holidays. It always takes some time for them to adjust again to the norms and values of the school.

Preventing bullying: educating the children

Until a few years ago, every teacher dealt with the bullying problem in its own way. If some bullying was detected they reprimanded the bully or sometimes ignored it, afraid that any reaction would stimulate further bullying. Hardly any attention was paid to prevention. Since a few years there has been a more structural approach to bullying. This has been instigated by publications and guidelines from the Ministry of Education about ways to deal with bullying. The campaign was accompanied by quite some attention in the newspapers, in television programs and in other media. It also aroused parents who became more interested in the problem. As a result special lessons have been developed for pupils. These do not always specifically address bullying but they train social skills and promote positive social interactions, although bullying is part of the training. In this paragraph we will describe what kind of lessons have been developed and what other measures the schools take to prevent bullying.

Most common is a set of rules of conduct specifying how children should behave themselves in and outside the school. These are not a fixed set of rules, imposed on them by the school staff, but quite often they are made up by the children themselves and, after elaborate discussions, accepted by the whole class. In most cases the rules are fixed on the wall of the classroom. In many cases these rules are set up as a contract that is signed by all pupils.

Since 1997 there is a compulsory course for all secondary school students on social skills and other group dynamics. Most schools use a program called 'keys'. The course includes two themes on bullying, including such themes as social and emotional development and learning skills. Some schools use a method that involves a set of cards with special topics. In the beginning of the week a card is randomly picked and the special subject is a returning theme in many

Bullying is also included in drama classes. Children act out a specific situation and feel how it is like to be bullied or, for that matter, being a bully.

In one secondary school, a tutor system has been developed. Fourth grade students guide the pupils through their first year of secondary school. The students get special training for this assignment and the program has raised great enthusiasm among students. Again, this program is not explicitly addressing bullying, but includes also learning and social skills.

A general objective of these initiatives is to further social and emotional growth, to make pupils gain insight in how to socialise with each other and to make them aware of the problem of bullying. As a result, children open up more easily and feel less inhibited in talking about it.

An initiative aimed at directly confronting bullying uses yellow and red 'warning' cards, just like the ones used in soccer. The cards are given to the bullies in the classroom as a 'warning' sign, when all children are present. After many of these warnings some sanction is imposed on the bully.

Educating teachers

There is a great need for information on how to deal with the bullying problem among teachers. Their main problem is how to notice what is going on in the classroom and what methods are available to stop and prevent bullying. In those schools where teachers had a special workshop on bullying, experiences are very positive. The workshops are often given by the School Guidance Center, which is present in every school district. One school invited specialists on bullying from a psychotherapeutic center.

Most schools have a special file containing the literature on bullying and how to deal with it. The literature is available to every teacher and is discussed with others. Some schools have no training program for teachers. In this case the school policy depends on whether the school management is able and willing to invest in training. Teachers who did follow a special course on bullying are usually very positive and are able to train their colleagues.

How do schools deal with individual bullying incidents?

We have discussed the general measures the school takes to prevent bullying, but how do they deal with individual cases of bullying? This depends on the seriousness of the incident and its duration. In most cases, the bullying goes on for a short period of time. The teacher talks with the bully and the victim and sometimes with both at the same time. The bully is always confronted with his or her actions and reprimanded, sometimes also threatened with some sanction. If the bullying continues, parents are informed about it, followed by a discussion with them on how to improve the situation. The victim is approached in a different way, the aim being to make the victim more responsive and less passive under the bullying. Attempts are made to increase the victim's self-esteem.

When the teacher talks with bully and victim, both parties get the opportunity to tell what happened and how they think the problem should be solved. Quite often the teacher speaks again with both after a few weeks to check if the bullying has really stopped.

All respondents agree that most bullying takes only a short period of time and if that is the case no other measures should be taken.

In secondary schools teachers intervene only if the victim comes to them to talk about his being bullied. Only in very rare cases does the teacher take action on his own. In primary schools teachers take more often the initiative when bullying takes place. They believe they should not wait till the pupil comes to them.

Involvement of parents

In primary schools, parents are usually informed when their child is bullied or bullies others. Most teachers believe that the home situation is partly responsible for the situation, so they try to find out how parents feel about it and what the home situation is. In secondary schools this is usually not done. Only in cases of serious bullying that does not seem to stop, are parents contacted. But in that respect schools differ, some schools believe that parents should be kept out.

Professional guidance

Another difference between secondary and primary schools is that secondary schools often have counsellors whose job it is to monitor and help children with problems, including bullying. The professional standard differs from school to school. Sometimes these are teachers with a specific interest in counselling, in other schools these are professionals such as a psychologist or a doctor. These professionals generally work in a school one day a week.

Most of the schools have contacts with external agencies, in most cases this is a RIAGG (Regional Institute for Mental Health). An average of one student per year is referred to this institute. The treatment usually includes psychotherapeutic techniques, followed by a training in social skills. General opinion is that if the bullying is really serious, the problem should be dealt with in a broader context. Most schools are not very satisfied about their contacts with the RIAGG, because they hardly get any feedback from the institute.

Another disadvantage of this approach is that the RIAGG has a negative image, it is after all a kind of psychiatric institute. This is the reason that secondary schools in particular prefer to have their own professional staff, as described above.

Conclusions and recommendations

The developments in the last few years have had as a result that bullying is no longer a taboo. Children are much more open and are willing to talk about it with their teachers and with others. Teachers, children and parents are also

more aware of the seriousness of the problem. As a result the consequences of bullying are less serious and expectations are that bullying might decrease in the long run.

In general, teachers do not feel that bullying has decreased over the last few years. But they consider that everyone is more aware of the problem and therefore more alert to it. It could well be that bullying has in fact decreased but that this is not recognised.

Almost all schools pay attention to bullying in one way or another. In most cases this is restricted to regular lessons on that subject. In most schools these lessons take place at the beginning of the new school year. Rules are established and discussed, but sanctions for bullies are not included. However, this helps students to become more aware of the problem and recognise it when it happens. But unfortunately, after a while the children fall back into their old behavior. Therefore it may be recommended to put the subject on the agenda a few times a year instead of only at the beginning of the school year, or to incorporate it into other lessons.

The method with 'warning' cards for bullying behavior, that is used in several schools, seems to be especially adequate for primary schools, where social behavior and group dynamics are a theme throughout the week. Drama lessons are also effective in showing children what bullying feels like. This has a greater impact than simply 'learn' about it.

Unclear rules are the biggest problem, especially in secondary schools. Students interact with many different teachers, who all have different opinions. Although there has been a development towards more consensus on bullying, differences still exist. It might not be a bad idea to make also rules for teachers, in order to achieve a more consistent reaction to the problem from school staff.

As mentioned, children are more willing to talk about being bullied, but do teachers know how to react? Talking with the victim is not always enough. In what ways can teachers help children to gain more self-confidence and more social skills in order to better cope with bullying. Most victims, as is shown in earlier chapters of this report, are rather passive and insecure. There is a great need among teachers for more information. All schools can rely on support from the School Guidance Center, which can give seminars on the subject. Those schools that have teachers attending such seminars are happy with the results. We recommend that each school has at least one teacher specialized in counselling on the subject. This would be useful for the children, but may also support his colleagues.

It is not sufficient that teachers and children try to reduce the bullying problem, parents play also an important role. If there are large differences

on how to behave at school and at home, children could get confused. What children learn at school should be supported by parents. Parents should at least know what the school policy is and what rules apply. Finally, the respondents indicate that there is much to gain by environmental design: bullying can be a result of boredom and frustration. Sufficient space and room to play are important in this respect.

One very fundamental issue is to what extent the school is responsible for the upbringing of its pupils. The classical distinction between the school doing the teaching, and parents doing the upbringing is no longer valid. The tasks of teachers and schools have increased enormously in the past decades, without sufficient increase in financial support from the government. This frustration was not mentioned by our respondents, but was stated by the schools that did *not want* to participate in the study. "Isn't it time to go back to teaching" was a typical response from one of the schooldirectors we approached.

7.1 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

This study is part of an international comparative study on bullying in schools, initiated and coordinated by Prof. Yohji Morita from Osaka University in Japan. Bullying is a serious problem in Japan but, as research in other countries has shown, it is far from being an exclusively Japanese problem. The first part of the study includes the national reports on schoolbullying from a great number of countries.¹ The second part consists of a survey in five countries: Japan, Norway, England, The Netherlands and Washington-state (US).

Although participants agreed on a common core instrument for purposes of comparison, they were free to add other questions in their own study. In our case this meant that we added a number of items on delinquent and other deviant behavior and on background factors related to the family, the school and the neighborhood.

In this report we have tried to answer the following questions:

1. What relationships do exist between socio-demographic variables, such as age, gender, ethnicity and religious affiliation, with bullying and delinquency;
2. To what extent are structural factors, such as family composition, employment and neighborhood related to bullying and delinquency;
3. What differences in bullying and delinquency can be found between primary schools and secondary schools and between lower stream and higher stream secondary schools;
4. Are there any associations between being a victim of bullying behavior, bullying others, committing delinquent acts and other 'problem' behavior;
5. To what extent are parent discipline and the relationship between parents and child related to both bullying and delinquency?
6. To what extent are specific school factors, such as school performance and the bond with school related to bullying and delinquent behavior of individual students?

1. Smith et al. 1999.

The sample

Although the design of the study included a random school sample, the realized sample has a biased age composition, due to the limited response of primary schools. Moreover, there is an overrepresentation of lower stream schooltypes in the secondary schools that participated in the study. Fortunately, the research institute of the Dutch Ministry of Justice allowed us to add some questions on bullying in their national bi-annual self-report survey on delinquent behavior, so that we were able to compare some of our data with findings in the national study, thereby validating some of our results.

The respondents in the sample

Recalling that we were interested in the bullying situation in the two last grades of primary schools and the two first grades of secondary schools, the respondents ages range from 10 to 15. The distribution over the sexes is about uniform. About 10% of the respondents reported to live in a one-parent family, the proportion being higher among the older ones and among lower stream secondary students. Unemployment of parents was mentioned by 9% of the pupils.

A total of 18% of the respondents belonged to an ethnic minority group, but in the lower stream secondary schools this proportion is one third. More than a quarter (27.5%) of the students gave negative scores to their neighborhood on account of the presence of graffiti, boarded houses, fighting, crime and drugsdealing, and again this percentage was higher among students of lower stream secondary schools than among the other students.

Victims of bullying

More than 40% (42.5%) of all respondents reported having been bullied during the recent school year, including those who reported having been bullied once or twice. In this respect there is no difference between boys and girls. However, as can be seen in figure 1 there is a relation with age: as they get older, students are less often bullied. As to the nature of bullying, boys are hit and pushed more often than girls, and they have more often their belongings taken away and hidden. Also, social exclusion, hitting and pushing and calling names are more frequent among the younger children. Finally, there is less verbal abuse but more taking and hiding things among higher stream secondary students than among lower stream ones.

Most bullying takes place in the classroom and on the playground (in primary schools).

Because of the fact that many students have only been bullied once or twice, a more accurate picture of the problem is obtained if we take into account only those who have been *frequently bullied*, that is several times a

month or more. In our sample frequent bullying was reported by 19% of the respondents. In the national sample it is about 10%, but this is related to that sample's higher average age (age range of 12-18). Taking into account the frequency of being bullied, we find that more boys than girls are frequently bullied. For 37% of these respondents the bullying was going on for 6 months or more while for 14% this was even one year or more. Two third of the victims are bullied by their classmates. Boys tend to be bullied by boys, while girls are bullied both by boys and girls.

How do the victims react to being bullied? Half of them say they 'do not care' and one third says they do not react at all. One fifth tells the bullies to stop and another fifth fights back. As may be expected girls tend more often than boys to run away or to cry, while the latter more often say they do not care or fight back. But a striking fact is that the large majority of the victims pretend they do not care and do not react to the bullying. There is a significant relation between having friends and being bullied: half of those who report having no friends are being bullied, while of those who report to have 5 or more friends only 11% do so.

The emotional consequences of being frequently bullied are serious. 25% reported feelings of depression, one third lost interest in school and some 25% did not want to go to school anymore. One third said they felt anxious and angry and 20% lost all confidence in their schoolmates. Girls tend to feel more often miserable, while boys express more often feelings of anger and fear. With respect to schooltype we found that in primary schools victims express feelings of depression, while in the lower stream secondary schools victimized students simply turn away from school. We found that victims of bullying have low self-esteem, confirming what has been found in other countries.

An important question is whether victims are willing to talk with others about being bullied. In this respect they seem relatively open, given the fact that 86% of them said they did so. One third spoke with teachers, more than a half (54%) spoke with their parents and one third talked about it with friends. There is, however, a large sex difference: two times as many girls as boys are willing to speak about being bullied. Not surprisingly children in primary schools tend to take more often others in their confidence, as compared to secondary school students.

In cases where the school tries to intervene, the intervention is effective only in half of the cases, meaning that bullying diminishes. The same is true when parents try to intervene. On the other hand, when we asked these respondents what their reaction was to other students being bullied, half of them did not interfere. One quarter said they tried to stop the bullying but 16% reported that they liked to watch or even participated.

The bullies

More than one fifth of the respondents (21.5%) reported they frequently bullied others. Again, the percentage in the national sample was lower (13%). A majority of the bullies were boys. Bullying was not related to family status, but it was related to neighborhood attachment. Those who gave negative evaluations of their neighborhood – in terms of vandalism, drugs and crime – reported more frequent bullying behavior than those who liked their neighborhood. Most of the bullying takes place in groups. Contrary to what has been found for victims, we found a positive association between feelings of self-esteem and bullying: bullies score high on self-confidence.

Asked about their feelings when they bullied others, the answers showed a great lack of sensitivity to the victims' suffering: 38% said the victim 'had it coming', 36% reported they felt nothing at all and 15% said bullying was just fun, findings that were confirmed by national survey data.

Bullying, delinquency and problem behavior

We added to our questionnaire 7 items on delinquent behavior, including property offenses, vandalism and violent acts, as well as questions on smoking, alcohol and (soft) drug use, truancy and disciplinary school problems. We did this in order to find out what relations would exist between being a victim of bullying, bullying others, delinquency and some other forms of deviant behavior. Table 13 shows that victims of bullying are significantly more often bullying others than do non-victims. However, victimization of bullying is not significantly related to delinquent behavior or to problem behavior, which means that, apart from retaliation, victims show no tendency to get involved in a delinquent or otherwise deviant lifestyle. Interestingly, bullies commit considerably more offenses than do non-bullies and they also use more often tobacco, alcohol and cannabis. This finding suggests that bullying is part of a broader complex of anti-social tendencies.

Background factors of bullying and delinquency

Growing up in a one-parent family is not related to bullying but it is to delinquency (43% versus 30%). The same with ethnicity: some ethnic groups, including Surinamese, Antilleans, Moroccan and students from a heterogeneous restgroup, report considerably higher bullying as well as higher delinquency rates than Dutch and Turkish students.

Both behaviors are strongly related to neighborhood attachment, with increasing rates when neighborhood evaluation is negative according to the presence of boarded up houses, fighting, vandalism, drug abuse and dealing and crime.

Confirming what has been found by numerous researchers, supervision and monitoring are strong predictors of both bullying and delinquency. This is also the case, but to a lesser degree, with respect to the quality of the parent/child relationship, expressed in sharing thoughts and feelings and talking about problems. As far as discipline is concerned, nagging and beatings had a positive relation with both behaviors, but in particular with delinquency.

Failing school performance, in particular having to repeat a grade, is again related to both behaviors. The latter factor seems even more important in the case of delinquency. Interestingly, teacher control and relationship with teacher show quite similar outcomes as control and relationship with parents in family life: they are all strong predictors of bullying as well as delinquency, disaffection from school, truancy in particular, also predicts both behaviors, the percentage bullies among frequent truants being twice-, and that of delinquents being threefold, that of non-truants.

7.2 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Returning to the first research question about socio-demographic variables, one finding that would need some clarification is the fact that the number of victims of bullying declines with age, while the number of bullies increases with age. Our data do not allow us to explain why this is so, but one might speculate that it could be related to either or both of two conditions. One is related to the finding that students in secondary schools do not talk about being bullied as much as younger children. In particular boys seem to be afraid that they might lose face and be seen as sissies if they complain about being victimized. It is possible that they would tend to deny victimization experiences when answering survey questions. Another possibility is that while growing older students develop some indifference to bullying incidents or tend to define it in other ways. Of course both processes may operate.

Another finding worth mentioning is that religious affiliation is not related to either bullying or delinquency, with the exception of orthodox protestant children having lower rates. These children live in small, tightly knit communities and are attending denominational schools. Social control exercised by the family, the community, the church and the school might explain their lower rates of bullying and delinquency. Comparable outcomes have been found in a general random survey of the Dutch adult population.²

Contrary to earlier self-report research on criminal involvement our findings do not suggest that some ethnic groups would be less involved in bullying

2 Junger-Tas & Terlouw 1991.

and delinquency than Dutch students.³ In fact the results on ethnicity in relation to bullying and delinquency do confirm what has generally been found in criminological research, which is that some of these groups show considerably more involvement in delinquency than the indigenous population. However, where these findings are usually based on police data, ours are self-reported. This does suggest that the validity of our data is at least reasonable.

We found that some structural factors, such as unemployment and family status, are not related to bullying. However, given the nature of the sample with respect to age, the data on father's profession as well as on unemployment might not be very reliable.

Family composition, although not related to bullying, does show a relation with delinquency, involvement being higher among children living in a family without a father. As delinquency is mainly a boy's business this finding confirms earlier research emphasizing the importance of the father's role with respect to their sons' social behavior.

A variable that was explicitly added in the instrument is neighborhood attachment. The (empirical) question whether neighborhood has any effect on the behavior of juveniles is not yet definitely settled. However, there is some empirical evidence that this may be the case.⁴ Although we did not have any independent measures of neighborhood quality, perception by respondents of that quality in terms of the presence of boarded up houses, vandalism, criminality, drug use and dealing, showed strong relations with both self-reported bullying and delinquency. Our data definitely suggest that neighborhoods do have an impact on (anti) social behavior in children and juveniles. Juveniles clearly perceive some neighborhoods as presenting a number of features that might facilitate, and even promote, involvement in deviant behavior. Where vandalism, crime and drugs are stable neighborhood characteristics, this would present juveniles with a number of illegal opportunities to participate in delinquent behaviors that promise relatively high incomes. These findings are in line with the writings of Felson emphasizing that much crime is opportunistic in nature, offenders taking simply advantage of the opportunity that presents itself to them.⁵ It does seem useful to study this aspect in more detail so as to test to what extent these findings can be validated. If this appears to be the case, considerable attention should be paid to local policy interventions.

Relating to question 3, we found a number of differences between primary schools and secondary schools. The former have a higher level of bullying as compared to the latter, while the extent of delinquent involvement is considerably lower. On the other hand, in lower stream secondary schools there

3 Junger 1990; Bowling, Graham & Ross 1994, p. 42-65.

4 Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls 1997, p. 918-924; Wikstrom 1998.

5 Felson 1998.

is both more bullying and more delinquency than in other secondary schools. As has been mentioned several times, lower stream (vocational training) schools attract a majority of lower class children, living in deprived neighborhoods and one third belonging to an ethnic minority group. Both their bullying and delinquent behavior is characterized by relatively more aggressive acts and physical violence. This has also been found before and it suggests that there is a social class effect on the nature of delinquency and – as we found now – of bullying.⁶

With respect to question 4 and, as found many times in criminological research we found a rather strong relation between victimization of bullying, bullying others, problem behavior and delinquency.⁷ However, detailed analysis showed some interesting differences. Although both the national WODC study and ours did find that significantly more victims of bullying also bully others (in particular the boys among them), victims of bullying are not participating in problem behaviors, such as truancy or substance abuse or in delinquent behavior to the same extent as bullies do. These are statistically significant differences. What they suggest is that a number of victims of bullying (29%) tend to retaliate when they have been victimized, but show little interest in other forms of deviant behavior. On the other hand, while only about a quarter of the bullies are also victimized, more than 60% show problem behavior and more than half reported recent delinquent acts. Of course not all of them do, which makes sense if we realize that bullying is aggressive behavior, while the bulk of juvenile delinquency consists of theft (related) offenses. However, the strong relation between bullying and delinquency suggests that frequent bullying behavior should be understood as a manifestation of a serious anti-social behavioral complex.

The two last questions refer to the bond with parents and with school. The variables that have been examined in that section are inspired by social control theory, although the study cannot be considered as a real test of social control theory. However, we were interested in both the relational aspects of that bond and the control and supervision dimension.

One interesting finding that came out of the uni-variate as well as multi-variate analysis, is that although the quality of parent/child relationship, as perceived by the respondent, is related to both bullying and delinquency, this seems to play a greater role in the case of bullying than with respect to delinquent behavior. In addition, as mentioned already less than half (46%) of the bullies do not report any delinquent acts. This finding seems to indicate that, although both behaviors are strongly related, they are not entirely similar and, as found

6 Junger-Tas, Junger & Barendse-Hoornweg 1983; Wiatrowski, Griswold & Roberts 1981.

7 Hindelang et al. 1981; Junger-Tas & Kruissink 1990.

in the log-linear analysis, the correlates of bullying behavior are partly different from those that lead to involvement in delinquency. On the other hand it should be observed again that several studies have shown the interrelationship between parent/child relations and parent discipline so there is no reason to underestimate the importance of this factor.⁸

However, the factor most strongly related to delinquency is indeed parent supervision and control, a finding that agrees with the criminological literature. With respect to the nature of punishment, nagging and/or beating a child seem to be precipitating factors in the case of bullying, but according to the log-linear analysis, which implies taking into account the interrelations between the independent variables, the relation of nature of punishment with delinquency is non-significant (see Table 22).

Both school factors are significantly related to bullying as well as delinquency, with disaffection from school – in particular truancy – showing the strongest relation. As has been observed already this is equally true for neighborhood perception.

On the basis of the findings one might cautiously conclude that, on the whole, bullying and delinquency have a common background. In addition, both social control variables and opportunity do seem to play a role in predicting both bullying and delinquency.

With respect to social control factors, the relationship with parents is an important independent risk factor in the case of bullying, while in relation to delinquency parent supervision and control appears to be the most important risk factor. The bond with and control by teachers are also quite important predictors, although the strongest one is truancy and dropping out of school.

As for illegal opportunities, the data on bullying and offending certainly suggest that neighborhoods, where incivilities, vandalism, drugs and crime are clearly perceived by our respondents, do not only create a community climate where drug use, drugs dealing and offending is part of daily life but also offer concrete illegal opportunities to get involved in different kinds of deviant behavior.

Finally, although others have already indicated that bullying is frequently accompanied by other deviant behavior or may be a predictor of later offending in this study we have tried to probe a little deeper and disentangle the background risk factors that lead to either or both behaviors.⁹ The data show that bullying, problem behavior and delinquency are strongly interrelated: about 60% of bullies did truant, drank alcohol or used drugs during the last year, while more than half committed offenses. This does suggest that bullying is part of a general 'risk taking' behavioral complex including different kinds

8 Riley & Shaw 1985; Junger-Tas 1988.

9 Mooij 1994; Olweus 1991.

of deviant behaviors. In this sense bullying should function as a warning sign to teachers and as a potential predictor for more trouble to come.

To conclude

This study has made clear that in The Netherlands, as elsewhere, bullying in school is far from exceptional. About one fifth of primary school – and secondary school pupils report being frequently bullied, and about the same proportion admits to bullying behavior.

One may of course discuss whether these proportions are high or low, but the important thing to note is the rather serious consequences that bullying has for the victims, in terms of self-esteem, trust in their teachers and school-mates, and in terms of their attitudes towards the school.

In view of these findings, schools should pay considerably more attention to this problem than they usually do. If one fifth of the school population ends up in hating school and turning its back to the school, a process that may already start at the primary level, the school is doing a bad job both in terms of individual happiness and in terms of positive outcomes for society as a whole. Many teachers used to think that pupils should sort these problems out among themselves. They felt that any intervention was useless and they were indeed reluctant to interfere.

This is even more of an issue in lower stream secondary schools, which have a high proportion of lower class and ethnic minority students. In these schools drop-out rates are usually high. Frequent bullying undermines trust, creates feelings of insecurity and permanent threat and does not create a positive learning environment. As a consequence the tendency to drop out of school will only be reinforced. If this occurs without the student having obtained any professional qualification, both the individual juvenile and society lose in the process.

This is not to claim that schools do nothing at all: the survey data indicate that in cases where victims approach teachers (one third of them do) or parents (half), both school and parents try to intervene. However, in terms of reducing bullying, they are successful in only half the cases. The data suggest not only that more has to be done, but it seems clear that banning bullying from schools should be a permanent concern as well as an integrated part of school policies. To this end more effective policies and programs should be sought and introduced. Fortunately, there is an increasing awareness that – in the school as in the community – specific values and behavioral norms have to be maintained and controlled. Following the initiative of the Ministry of Education, schools have realized there is a problem and they have started to develop programs to stop bullying (see Chapter 4). However, evaluation studies will be needed to examine the effectiveness of such programs.

Some special consideration should also be given to the association between bullying behavior, delinquency and other deviant behavior, including substance abuse. Despite the fact that a higher proportion of victims than non-victims tend to bully others, victims are no more inclined than non-victims to commit delinquent acts or show other problem behavior. The fact that the opposite is true in the case of bullies actually confirms the view that bullying is not the rather innocent, passing and childish type of behavior that it has been considered for a long time. Bullying seems indeed to be part of an anti-social and aggressive behavior pattern, that could have growing negative consequences both for the young people themselves and for their environment. In the case of frequent and persistent bullying, schools should consult with school health agencies (school medical doctor or school nurse) or school social workers, in order to examine possible assistance or (psycho-social) intervention with the juvenile and/or his parents. If necessary information should be gathered with respect to the family situation and to other forms of anti-social behavior, such as persistent problem behavior or involvement in delinquency. In some cases the juvenile should be referred to the local health organisation, the mental health institute or the Council for Child Protection.¹⁰

Finally, we would like to draw attention to the fact that the neighborhood in which a child is growing up has an impact on his behavior. To the extent that anti-social behaviors reported by the respondents, such as vandalism, fighting, crime and drugs, not only figure as some kind of model that might be followed, but also present the opportunities to do so, this is a very unfavorable situation. There is certainly a responsibility for local authorities to be vigilant and do whatever is in their power to keep neighborhoods from sliding down into slums where crime is an endemic problem. This is not only a question of good (neighborhood) policing, keeping neighborhoods safe, but also of good housing, labor, health, welfare, youth and childcare policies. In fact local authorities, schools, police and childcare, as well as parents have to work together to create an environment where children can thrive and find a worthwhile place in the community.

10 This organisation works on behalf of the juvenile judge, both in civil cases and in penal cases.

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Annexes

A Tables on Bullying

Table A1 Number of students that indicate to be bullied at least once in the last half year by age

age	total n	victims of bullying	%
10	59	31	52.5%
11	280	123	44.0%
12	435	200	46.0%
13	747	313	42.0%
14	374	130	35.0%
15	80	25	31.5%

Mantel-Haenszel test for linear association $p < 0.05$

Table A1a Percentage being bullied in the last semester by age, in %, of six types of bullying

type of bullying	10 y. n=60	11 y. n=281	12 y. n=438	13 y. n=747	14 y. n=376	15 y. n=81
scolding*	41.5	38.0	39.5	35.0	34.5	29.0
ignoring*	17.0	22.5	18.5	11.5	9.0	6.5
hit/pushed*	8.5	8.5	8.0	6.5	4.5	4.0
take things away or hide	8.5	18.5	20.0	25.0	19.0	12.0
spread rumours	35.5	29.0	34.0	32.0	29.5	27.5
ridicule	26.0	24.5	26.5	23.5	21.5	28.0

Mantel-Haenszel test for linear association $p < 0.05$

Table A2 Type of bullying (at least once in the last semester) by secondary school level, in %

type of bullying	VBO (495)	MAVO (382)	HAVO (324)	VWO (150)
scolding*	36.5	39.0	28.0	29.5
ignoring	8.5	12.0	11.0	9.0
hit/pushed	7.5	6.0	5.5	5.5
take things away or hide*	8.5	25.5	24.0	29.0
spread rumours	31.5	33.5	31.5	25.5
ridicule	23.5	27.0	20.0	18.5

* Chisq test $p < 0.05$

Table A3 Place where children are bullied by type of school, in %**

place	primary school n=614	secondary school n=1376
classroom*	45.5	52.0
halway cantine*	19.0	44.5
playground*	65.5	21.5
gymnasium*	26.0	20.5
elsewhere	23.0	27.0

** multiple response

* Chisq test p<0.95

Table A4 By whom have you been bullied (by five types of bullying), in %

	scolding* n=202	ignoring* n=65	hit / pushed n=27	taken / hidden * n=61	spreading rumours* n=154
classmates	72.0	84.5	70.5	93.5	82.5
other class, same grade	17.0	12.5	22.0	5.0	14.5
higher grade	9.5	3.0	3.5	1.5	2.5
lower grade	1.5	--	3.5	--	0.5

* Chisq test P<0.95

Table A5 By whom have you been bullied by gender, in %

	girls (n=158)	boys (n=176)
mainly by boys	31.0	75.0
by boys and girls	40.5	21.5
mainly by girls	28.5	3.5

X²=216,7, p<0.001

Table A6 Five types of frequent bullying by gender and schooltype/level, in %

type of bullying % victim	girls n=1023	boys n=963	elemen- tary school n=614	sec. school n=1376	sec. school level low n=891	sec. school level high n=485
scolding	14.0	16.0	12.5*	16.0*	18.0*	12.5*
ignoring	3.5	4.5	4.0	4.0	4.5	2.5
hit/pushed	1.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	3.0	1.5
take things away or hide	1.5	3.0	1.5	2.5	2.5	3.0
spread rumours	6.5	5.0	5.5	6.0	6.0	6.0

* Chisq test p<0.95

Table A7 Percentage victims of bullying by ethnicity

	Dutch + other western n=1624	Surinam + Dutch Antilles n=128	Turkish +other Middle East n=67	Moroccan + other North African n=86	other n=76
bullies	16.8	11.7	13.4	12.8	15.8

* significant difference with Dutch children, Chisq test $p < 0.05$

B Tables on Delinquency and Deviant Behavior

Table B1 Relation between bullying and truancy, alcohol and drugs use, in %

bullying	truancy n=103 (14%)	use of alcohol n=720 (68%)	use of drugs n=151 (14%)
both victim and offender	7.0	65.0	4.0
victims	5.0	49.5	5.0
offenders	23.0	77.0	22.5
none	13.5	69.0	14.0
X ² , df=3,	p<0.05	p<0.01	p<0.01

Source: WODC, Ministry of Justice

Table B3 Ever committed the mentioned crime, in %

	any of seven	fare dodging	graffity	vandalism	shop- lifting	set fire	violence	theft
<i>all</i>	54.6	24.2	16.0	11.1	32.3	11.5	14.8	11.0
<i>gender</i>								
boys	49.6	22.5	16.8	07.9	28.7	05.6	07.7	9.5
girls	60.1*	25.8	15.0	14.2*	36.1*	17.5*	22.1*	12.4
<i>grade</i>								
primary	40.6	08.4	10.1	09.4	21.5	09.6	07.9	8.1
secondary	60.9*	31.3*	18.6*	11.8	37.2*	12.4	17.9*	12.3
<i>level</i>								
low	64.0	37.8	21.7	14.3	37.4	14.5	23.7	14.0
high	55.3	19.6*	13.1*	07.3*	36.7	08.5*	07.5*	09.4*

* significant difference (Chisq test, p<0.05)

Table B5 Frequent bullying by age, in %

age	school sample*	national sample**
10	16.7	
11	13.9	
12	18.9	13.8
13	18.5	15.0
14	22.9	14.5
15	28.4	13.5
16		08.7
17		10.9

* Mantel-Haenszel test for linear association p<0.05

** Source: WODC, Ministry of Justice

Table B6 Bullying and delinquency by relationship with parents, in %

	talks with parents about feelings		talks with parents about problems	
	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies*	delinquents*
most of the time	15.5	28.0	18.0	29.5
sometimes	17.5	28.5	24.5	35.5
rarely	25.5	39.0	26.0	51.0

* Mantel-Haenszel test for linear association $p < 0.05$ and Chisq test $p < 0.05$

Table B7 Percentage bullies and delinquents by monitoring and control of teachers

teachers are:	willing to help		check homework		keep good order	
	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies	delinquents	bullies*	delinquents*
yes, they do	17.5	27.0	18.5	29.5	14.5	21.0
sometimes	20.0	35.5	20.5	31.5	20.5	33.0
no, they don't	27.0	43.0	21.0	37.0	27.5	59.0

* Mantel-Haenszel test for linear association $p < 0.05$ and Chisq test $p < 0.05$

Table B8 Percentage bullying and delinquency by relationship with teachers

teachers are:	like respondent		can't stand respondent		respondent likes school	
	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies*	delinquents*	bullies*	delinquents*
yes, they do	15.5	22.5	36.5	56.0	16.5	28
sometimes	20.0	35.5	20.5	31.5	20.5	33
no, they don't	23.0	48.0	15.5	25.0	39.0	55

* Mantel-Haenszel test for linear association $p < 0.05$ and chisq test $p < 0.05$

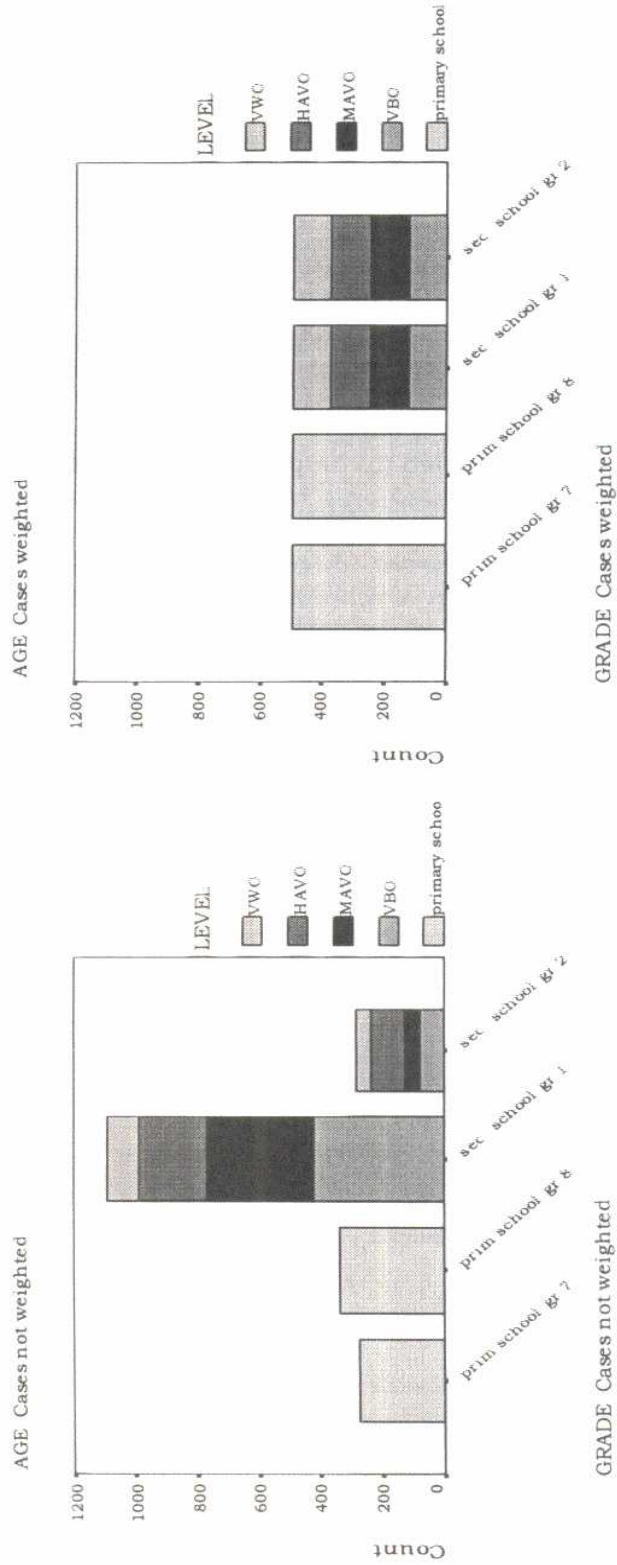
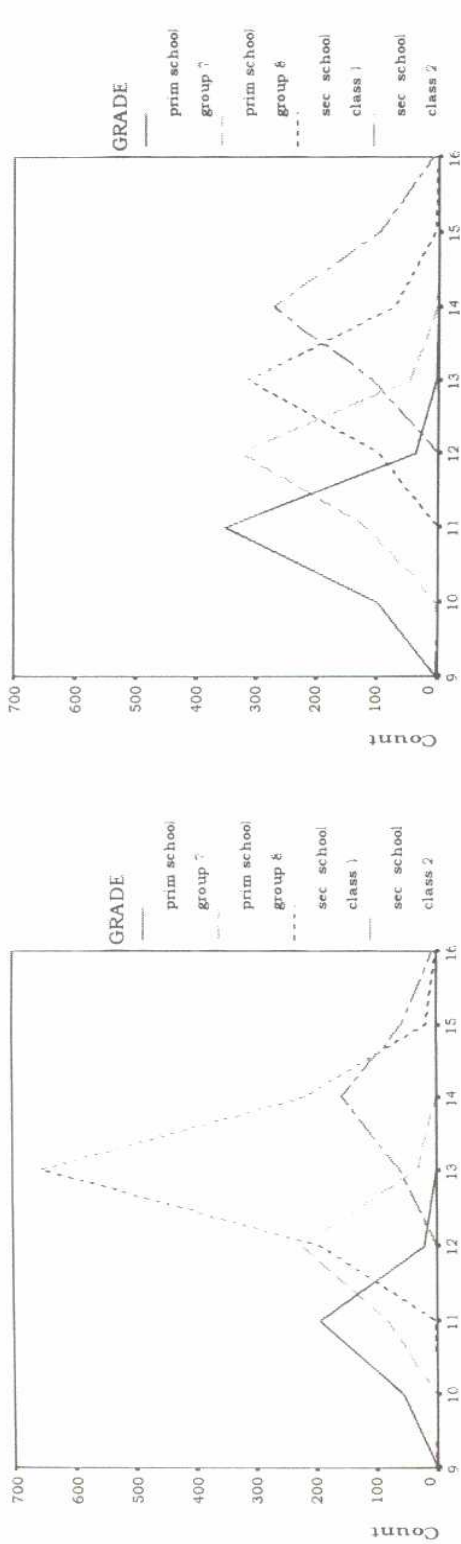
As far as the primary schools are concerned we have a nice spread over grade and gender. In the secondary schools we have an over-representation of the lower levels for grade one and an over-representation of the highest levels in grade two. Grade two is in total under-represented.

Weighting the data:

We have tried to compensate for the unbalance in the data by computing a weight variable based on schooltype. the several combinations of levels for the secondary schools are reduced to four levels. The next table shows the result of this weighting. Four graphs are added with the age distribution, before and after weighting and the distribution of schooltype by level, before and after weighting. The weight variable is included in the databases. For international comparison, we believe that using this weight gives the most reliable results, for this report we used unweighted data.

level	number of unweighted cases	number of weighted cases
<i>gender</i>		
boys	1023	1004
girls	963	973
<i>age</i>		
9+10	60	107
11	281	474
12	438	461
13	747	471
14	376	349
15+16	81	112
primary school group 7	274	495
primary school group 8	340	495
secondary school class 1	1091	496
secondary school class 2	285	496
secondary class 1		
VBO	422	124
MAVO	343	124
HAVO	255	124
VWO	101	124
secondary class 2		
VBO	80	124
MAVO	46	124
HAVO	108	124
VWO	51	124

unweighted and weighted distribution of age and secondary school level by grade



D | Questionnaire international bullying project¹
Dutch version
(translated into English)

Authors: Working group international school bullying project. Translation: Josine Junger-Tas & John van Kesteren.

In this booklet you will find a number of questions about school. To each question there are a number of answers. Mark for each question one answer.
For some questions you may mark several answers, but that is mentioned in the text.

Do not write down your name. Nobody at school or at home will ever know what you wrote. But it is important that you let us know your feelings.
Sometimes it is difficult to make a choice, in that case, mark the answer that is closest to what you think it should be.
Most of the questions are about what happened from the Christmas holiday till now. Some questions are about what happened before that, but that is indicated.

We will start with a few simple questions.

Are you a girl or a boy?

MARK JUST ONE; IF YOU ARE A GIRL MARK THE FIRST SQUARE, IF YOU ARE A BOY, MARK THE SECOND.

- girl
 boy

How do you like break time?

IN CASE YOU DISLIKE BREAKTIME VERY MUCH, MARK THE FIRST SQUARE,
IF YOU LIKE BREAKTIME VERY MUCH, MARK THE LAST SQUARE.

- dislike very much
 dislike somewhat
 neither like nor dislike
 like somewhat
 like very much

How many good friends do you have in your class?

- none
 I have 1 good friend in my class
 I have 2 or 3 good friends in my class
 I have 4 or 5 good friends in my class
 I have more than 5 good friends in my class

Do you feel you are less well liked than other students are in your class?

- no, never
 almost never
 sometimes
 often
 very often

Now follow a number of questions about bullying at school. You probably know what bullying is, but still we will explain it by giving some examples. Bullying is for example:

- * Say mean and unpleasant things or make fun of someone or call him or her mean and hurtful names
- * Completely ignore or exclude someone from a group of friends or leave him or her out of things on purpose
- * Take things away from someone or damage something or hide it
- * Hit, kick, push and shove around, or threaten him or her
- * Tell lies or false rumours about someone or send mean notes and try to make other students dislike him or her
- * and things like that.

But we don't call it bullying tease each other in a friendly and playful way. Also, it is not bullying when two students of about the same age or strength argue or fight.

How often were you bullied at school since Christmas? .

- I was not bullied at school
- it only happened once or twice
- two or three times a month
- about once a week
- several times a week

Here are a number of different types of bullying. Could you indicate for each of them how often	It did not happen to me	only once or twice	two or three times a	about once a week	several times a week
I was called mean names, I was made fun of and teased in a hurtful way.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other students kept me out of things on purpose, excluded me from their group of friends or completely ignored me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was hit, kicked, pushed and shoved around and threatened.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I had money or things taken away from me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other students told lies or spread rumours about me, and tried to make others dislike me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
They repeatedly made jokes about me while they know I do not like that.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I was bullied in another way (write down how)

How long did the bullying last?

- I was not bullied at school
- it lasted a day or two
- it lasted about a week
- it lasted about a month
- it lasted all term
- it (has) continued from last term
- it (has) lasted more than a year

Where did you get bullied?

MARK ONE OR MORE ANSWERS

- I have not been bullied
- in the classroom
- in the corridors or hallways
- in the playground
- in the gymnasium
- in the locker room
- behind the school
- in the toilet
- in the canteen
- somewhere else, namely.....

Have you been bullied outside school?

MARK ONE OR MORE ANSWERS.

- no, not at all
- yes, on my way to and from school
- yes, in the street where I live
- yes, at home or at the home of one of my friends
- yes, at the sportsclub
- yes, but somewhere else, namely.....

Who were the bullies? Here are a number of different types of bullying, could you indicate for each of them who the bullies were?	no one, I have not been bullied	class- members	students from a different class but same grade	students from one or two gra- des up	students from one or two gra- des down
I was called mean names, I was made fun of and teased in a hurtful way.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Students kept me out of things on purpose, excluded me from their group of friends or completely ignored me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was hit, kicked, pushed and shoved around or threatened.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I had money or other things taken away from me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
They told lies or spread rumours about me, and tried to make others dislike me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
They repeatedly made jokes about me while they know I do not like that.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Generally were you bullied by one, or by several bullies?

- I have not been bullied
- mainly by one person
- mainly by two or three
- mainly by a group
- mainly by a group of ten or more

Generally did boys, or girls bully you?

- I was not bullied
- only by boys
- mainly by boys
- by boys and girls
- mainly by girls
- only by girls

What did you usually do when you were bullied?

MARK ONE OR MORE SQUARES

- I was not bullied at school in the second term
- I cried
- I ran away
- I kept quiet and let them do, as they liked
- I pretended that I did not care
- I told them to stop
- I asked friends for help
- I asked an adult (teacher, lunchtime supervisor, etc.) for help
- I bullied them
- something else, namely

What happened to you when you got bullied?

MARK ONE OR MORE SQUARES

- I was not bullied
- It made me feel unhappy and depressed
- I lost interest in my schoolwork
- I lost faith in my teachers
- I did not want to go to school anymore
- I lost faith in my schoolmates
- It made me afraid and anxious
- I hated bullied and became angry
- I felt worthless/sick and tired with myself
- I started bullying another student
- something else, namely

Did you tell anyone that you were bullied?

MARK ONE OR MORE SQUARES

- I was not bullied
- I did not tell anyone
- the class teacher
- other teacher
- the principal or vice principal
- my parent(s)
- brothers/sisters
- friends
- the childline
- someone else, namely

Who should stop your being bullied?

MARK ONE OR MORE SQUARES

- I was not bullied
- myself
- the class teacher
- one of the other teachers
- the school principal
- my parents
- brothers/sisters
- friends
- someone else, namely.....

Who would you not want to know about your being bullied?

MARK ONE OR MORE SQUARES

- I was not bullied
- everybody may know
- the class teacher
- other teachers
- principal or vice principal
- my parents
- brothers/sisters
- friends
- someone else, namely.....

Did any of your teachers try to stop your being bullied?

- I was not bullied
- no, because they did not know about my being bullied
- no, they did not try
- yes, they tried but the bullying got worse
- yes, they tried but nothing changed
- yes, they did and the bullying got less

Did anyone at home contact your teachers to try to stop your being bullied?

- I was not bullied
- no, they did not notice my being bullied
- no, they did not try to stop my being bullied
- yes, they tried but the bullying got worse
- yes, they tried but nothing changed
- yes, they tried and the bullying got less

Did any of your classmates try to stop your being bullied?

- I was not bullied
 no, they did not notice my being bullied
 no, they did not try to stop my being bullied
 yes, they tried but the bullying got worse
 yes, they tried but nothing changed
 yes, they tried and the bullying got less

What do you usually do when you see someone else being bullied?

- I often start the bullying
 I often join the bullying
 I am forced to join in bullying by others
 I do not join in but enjoy watching it
 I try not to be involved in bullying
 I try to stop it
 I ask one of the teachers to stop it

**Here a few types of bullying,
 could you indicate how often you
 did this at school since Christmas?**

	Not at all	only once or twice	two or three ti- mes a month	about once a week	several times a week
I called another student(s) mean names, teased and made fun of him or her, teased in a hurtful way.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I kept another student(s) out of things on purpose, excluded him or her from my group of friends or completely ignored him or her.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I hit, kicked, pushed and shoved another student(s) around or threatened him or her.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I took away money or other things from another student(s).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I told lies or spread rumours about another student(s), and tried to make others dislike him or her.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I repeatedly made jokes while I know the other pupil does not like that.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I bullied in another way (please write how)

When you bully other student(s), do you usually do it alone or together with other students?

- I do not bully other students
- usually alone
- usually together with one or two other students
- together with a group
- usually together with more than ten other students

What did you feel the last time that you bullied other students?

MARK ONE OR MORE SQUARES

- I did not bully other young people
- I felt great
- I was scared of retaliation
- It was fun
- I was afraid of being punished by teachers or parents
- I felt he/she/they deserved it
- I felt bad
- I felt pity
- I felt nothing

Did any of your teachers talk with you about your bullying other young people?

- I did not bully other young people
- no, they did not talk with me about it
- yes, they talked with me about it

Did your parents or older brother or sister talk with you about your bullying other children?

- I did not bully other children
- no, they did not talk with me about it
- yes, they talked with me about it

We have now finished the questions about bullying.
Here are some questions about yourself and your home situation

How old are you?

- 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

Who of the following people are living with you at home? MARK ONE OR MORE SQUARES

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> mother | <input type="checkbox"/> father | <input type="checkbox"/> brother(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> stepmother | <input type="checkbox"/> stepfather | <input type="checkbox"/> stepbrothers(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> foster mother | <input type="checkbox"/> foster father | <input type="checkbox"/> sister(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> grandmother | <input type="checkbox"/> grandfather | <input type="checkbox"/> stepsister(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> aunt | <input type="checkbox"/> uncle | <input type="checkbox"/> other children |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> other adult(s) | |

How many brothers and sisters do you have?
(Or other children that live at home) MARK ONE OR MORE SQUARES

- | | older
brothers | older
sisters | younger
brothers | younger
sisters |
|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 0 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 or more | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

What is the highest level of schooling your father completed?

- my father is not part of the household
 lagere school
 lager beroepsonderwijs (LTS, VBO)
 middelbare school
 middelbaar beroepsonderwijs
 hoger beroepsonderwijs
 universiteit
 do not know

Is your father working?

- my father is not part of the household
 working full-time
 working part-time
 looking for work
 keeping house
 not working because he is ill/disabled
 retired
 other reason

Has your father been out of work during the last year?

- my father is not part of the household
- no, never
- yes, less than one month
- yes, 1 - 6 months
- yes, more than half a year

What is the highest level of schooling your mother completed?

- my mother is not part of the household
- basisschool
- lager beroepsonderwijs (LTS, VBO)
- middelbare school
- middelbaar beroepsonderwijs
- hoger beroepsonderwijs
- universiteit
- do not know

Is your mother working?

- mother is not part of household
- working full-time
- working part-time
- looking for work
- keeping house
- not working because she is ill/disabled
- retired
- other reason

Has your mother been out of work during the last year?

- mother is not part of the household
- no, never
- less than one month
- 1-6 months
- yes, more than half a year

Where does your family come from?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> the Netherlands | <input type="checkbox"/> Poland |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other western European country | <input type="checkbox"/> Czech or Slovak Republic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand | <input type="checkbox"/> former Yugoslavia |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Suriname | <input type="checkbox"/> other Eastern European |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dutch Antilles | <input type="checkbox"/> Morocco |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other Latin-American country | <input type="checkbox"/> other African country |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Turkey | <input type="checkbox"/> Indonesia |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Israel | <input type="checkbox"/> China |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other country in the middle east | <input type="checkbox"/> other Asian country, namely |

To what religious group does your family belong?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> none | <input type="checkbox"/> Jewish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Catholic | <input type="checkbox"/> Muslim |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Protestant | <input type="checkbox"/> Hindu |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reformed protestant | <input type="checkbox"/> Bhuddism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> an other Christian faith, namely..... | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> an other religion, namely | |

How often do you attend or practice religious services?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> once a week |
| <input type="checkbox"/> once a year | <input type="checkbox"/> few times a week |
| <input type="checkbox"/> a few times a year | <input type="checkbox"/> once a day |
| <input type="checkbox"/> once a month | <input type="checkbox"/> few times a day |
| <input type="checkbox"/> a few times a month | |

	yes always	mostly yes	sometimes yes sometimes no	probably not	never
Do your parents know where you are when you are away from home?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do your parents know whom you are with when you are away from home?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do your parents ever ask you about what you are doing in school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do your parents let you know that school is very important?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you brought home a good report card, would your parents praise you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you don't understand the homework you bring from school do your parents help you with it?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you share your thoughts and feelings with your parents?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you have any real problems do you discuss them with your parents?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

When your parents punish you, do they...	yes, always	mostly yes	sometimes yes sometimes no	probably no	never
slap or hit you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
forbid you to do things you like to do?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
say nasty things to you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
send you to your room to think things over?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Do your parents think you work hard enough in school?

- no, not hard enough
- yes, about right
- they think I work too hard

In general, do you like school?

- yes, mostly I do
- sometimes yes, sometimes no
- no, I don't like school

How well do you usually perform, compared to other students?

- very well
- rather well
- about average
- below average
- not well at all

Have you ever repeated a class?

- no, never
- yes, once
- yes, twice
- no, I even skipped a class

How much do the following statements describe your feelings about your neighbourhood?

	very true	true	in between	not true	not true at all
If I had to move, I would miss the neighbourhood.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My neighbour's notice when I am doing a good job and let me know.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I like my neighbourhood.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is lots of space to play for children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a lot of crime in my neighbourhood	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a lot of drug selling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a lot of fighting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are a lot of empty and abandoned buildings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is lots of graffiti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you have any real problems do you discuss them with your best friends?

- yes, I always do
 sometimes
 no, I never do

Would your best friends stick by you if you get into really bad trouble?

- certainly
 probably
 I doubt it

Do you sometimes smoke cigarettes?

- no yes At what age did you first begin to smoke?


Do you sometimes use cannabis?

- no yes At what age did you first begin to use?


Do you drink beer, wine or liquor when you are away from home?

- no yes At what age did you first begin to drink?


Did you ever travel on a bus, tram, underground or train without paying?

no yes  How old were you when you did it for the first timeyears old
Have you done this schoolyear? no yes


We often see that things on the street, like walls, busstops, trafficsigns and so on, are sprayed with graffiti. Did you ever do that?

no yes  How old were you when you did it for the first timeyears old
Have you done this schoolyear? no yes


We often see that things on the street, busstops, trafficsigns, bicycle, benches and so on, are vandalised. Did you ever do that?

no yes  How old were you when you did it for the first timeyears old
Have you done this schoolyear? no yes


Have you ever taken away things from a shop without paying?

no yes  How old were you when you did it for the first timeyears old
Have you done this schoolyear? no yes


Have you ever set fire to something like barn, a car, trees and bushes or something else that didn't belong to you?

no yes  How old were you when you did it for the first timeyears old
Have you done this schoolyear? no yes

Did you ever beat up someone, to such an extend that medical help or a doctor was needed?

no yes  How old were you when you did it for the first timeyears old
Have you done this schoolyear? no yes

Have you ever stolen something at school, something that belonged to the school, a teacher or a student?

no yes  How old were you when you did it for the first timeyears old
Have you done this schoolyear? no yes

THANK YOU FOR FILLING OUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The E.M. Meijers Institute publishes books and studies in its own 'Meijers series'. Since 1998, the following publications have appeared:

- MI-1 T. Barkhuysen, *Artikel 13 EVRM: effectieve nationale rechtsbescherming bij schending van mensenrechten* (diss. Leiden), Lelystad: Koninklijke Vermande 1998, ISBN 90 5458 530 7.
- MI-2 E.E.V. Lenos, *Bestuurlijke sanctietoepassing en strafrechtelijke waarborgen in de sociale zekerheid* (diss. Leiden), Lelystad: Koninklijke Vermande 1998, ISBN 90 5458 558 7.
- MI-3 M.V. Polak (red.), *Geschillenbeslechting naar behoren. Algemene beginselen van behoorlijke geschillenbeslechting in traditionele en alternatieve procesvormen*, Deventer: Kluwer 1998, ISBN 90 268 3298 2.
- MI-4 C.E. Smith, *Feit en rechtsnorm* (diss. Leiden), Maastricht: Shaker 1998, ISBN 90 423 0045 0.
- MI-5 S.D. Lindenbergh, *Smartengeld* (diss. Leiden), Deventer: Kluwer 1998, ISBN 90 268 3324 5.
- MI-6 P.B. Cliteur, G.J.J. Heerma van Voss, H.M.T. Holtmaat & A.H.J. Schmidt (red.), *Sociale cohesie en het recht*, Lelystad: Koninklijke Vermande 1998, ISBN 90 5458 618 4.
- MI-7 M.H. Elferink, *Verwijzingen in wetgeving. Over de publiekrechtelijke en auteursrechtelijke status van normalisatienormen* (diss. Leiden), Deventer: Kluwer 1998, ISBN 90 268 3352 0.
- MI-8 P.T.C. van Kampen, *Expert Evidence Compared. Rules and Practices in the Dutch and American Criminal Justice System* (diss. Leiden), Antwerpen/Groningen: Intersentia 1998, ISBN 90 5095 049 3.
- MI-9 N.C. van Steijn, *Mobil Oil III, een uitvinding of een ontdekking? Een onderzoek naar de gevolgen van de Mobil Oil III-beschikking van het Europees Octrooi Bureau van Nederland*, Den Haag: Jongbloed 1999, ISBN 90 70062 21 6.
- MI-10 R.A. Lawson, *Het EVRM en de Europese Gemeenschappen. Bouwstenen voor een aansprakelijkheidsregime voor het optreden van internationale organisaties*, Deventer: Kluwer 1999, ISBN 90 268 3463 2.