The Nature of Bullying in South Korean Schools

by

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ABSTRACT

The aims of this present research are to expand our general understanding of bullying behaviour and to advance our knowledge about bullying among Korean pupils. With the purpose of exploring the nature and features of Korean bullying several studies were carried out, including one nationwide survey.

At the beginning of this research, a sample (N=160) of Korean middle school pupils was selected in order to define the most appropriate term for bullying. The results confirmed that *wang-ta* is the most appropriate term for Korean bullying which can equivalently used for bullying in English speaking nations. With the term selected and two pilot studies a large-scale study (N=2,926) was carried out. The results showed that 5.8% of Korean pupils suffered by being bullied whereas 10.2% pupils reported that they bully other peers.

Results from the previous two studies indicated that there are different stages of victimisation in Korean schools. To investigate the stages of victimisation, 424 Korean pupils were selected. The results confirmed that there are different levels of victimisation and each level is named differently according to the level of victimisation. Moreover, in order to explore different stages of *wang-ta*, and study features of Korean bullying, 10 pupils, who quit school mainly due to being bullied, were interviewed. The participants well described the relationship between those three terms and their victimisation and a pattern of victimisation has been found.

Information and knowledge concerning the nature and features of wang-ta can be useful to correctional practitioners and policy makers as well as important to conduct comparative studies. Moreover, features of Korean bullying can help practitioners in order to better help victims in schools.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

OVERALL INTRODUCTION

Bullying differs from harassment and assault in that the latter can result from a single incident or small number of incidents - which everybody recognises as harassment or assault - whereas bullying tends to be an accumulation of many small incidents over a long period of time. Thus, bullying can have many negative influences on the lives of victims not only for their school days but also for their adulthood. Victimised people suffer continuing loss of confidence and self-esteem in social relationships in many contexts (e.g. marriage, careers). Bullies experience negative influences as well; there is an increased incidence of later problems of alcohol abuse, domestic violence and violent crime in the community.

The devastating influence of bullying is larger and more serious than one might originally think. It can disturb a person's life, family, school atmosphere, and community. Moreover, bullying can occur in many contexts, including the workplace and the home; it is particularly likely to be a problem in social groups that are based on clear power relationships such as the armed forces, prison, and schools. While not minimising the importance of other contexts for bullying, school bullying arouses particular revulsion because the problem is so general – it can affect anyone as a child-

and because children have less understanding and awareness of their own rights than adults do.

Bullying is not a contemporary problem, but has always been a part of human life. The first significant journal article which addresses bullying among young people was written by Burk (1897), but since then there was a long gap before the issue was taken up again. The question of bullying was considered in Scandinavia in the 1970s (e.g. Pikas, 1972; Olweus, 1978). Since the late 1970s, studies on bullying have developed with diverse approaches and considered in different social contexts (Whitney & Smith, 1993, Rigby, 1996; O'Moore & Hillery, 1987; Morita, 1985, Olweus, 1993). These considerable works are typically reflected in the different definitions of bullying and are adapted by other nations where pre-existing theories on bullying have not yet been established. Furthermore, methods of investigating bullying (e.g. self-reports and peer nominations of victimisation), in particular the questionnaire developed by Olweus (1978, 1993), have been widely acknowledged and used in many countries.

While not denying the validity of the questionnaire for investigating bullying, we must ask how the popular questionnaire and the definitions that were used for the questionnaire can explore the unique features of bullying phenomena in different cultures. Another question is whether or not bullying has manifested itself in the same form and/or definition in a given nation over a period of time. If not, how has it changed and developed? These are very important issues because the final goal of studying bullying is to reduce the incidence and prevent further potential problems (e.g. subsequent delinquency). Thus, there must be accurate information on the problem and

usually this information is obtained through large-scale, systematic investigation, which is based on questions that can be made with clear definitions.

Studying the forms and definition of bullying in earlier times is also important for understanding the current problem.   Once it has been studied, it becomes easier to predict further forms of bullying, which could be helpful in prevention of these problems.   Bullying could be subjectively perceived according to one's character, family background, community, and history.   While in some places it could be considered as a normal part of a person's relationships, in others it may be treated as a crime, depending on the social context.

Despite the on-going nature of the bullying problem, academic research in Korea has only seriously addressed this issue in recent decades, and since then some researchers have became actively involved in studying the bullying phenomenon among Korean pupils. In most cases the Olweus questionnaire (1978. 1993) has been adapted and used for their studies.   Evidence from their research indicates that there is fairly severe victimisation in Korean schools (Lee & Kwak, 2000; the CYP, 2002).   However, there were no generally agreed upon theories on Korean bullying. Although a great amount of study on bullying has been published in English language journals, only a few have focused on the incidence of Korean bullying. This lack of published studies on bullying underscores the absence of standardised tools for investigating Korean bullying which would encourage researchers to do comparative studies and publish the results with confidence (Kwak, 20002; Koo, 2002). Worse still is that there are no clear terms and definitions which reflect the particular features of Korean bullying. The Ministry of

Education has been at the centre of this unresolved problem because they recommend researchers to use two terms - *gipdan-gorophim* (group harassment) and *gipdan-ttadolim* (group isolation) - which are very academic and do not lead themselves to investigation of the feature of Korean bullying. Rather, they only emphasise a certain aspect of Korean bullying. More importantly, Korean pupils do not use these terms in their daily life.

The aims of this present research are to expand our general understanding of bullying behaviour and to advance our knowledge about bullying among Korean pupils. Therefore, when I started this study, I decided to do my research from basics and develop it step by step. For example, at the beginning of this study I attempted to use the Olweus questionnaire, to be modified so as to be more relevant to Korean pupils. However, I realised that first I had to study the limitations of previous studies. After reviewing the published studies on bullying in general and Korean bullying in particular, I realised that the most important reason for failing to have a general theory on Korean bullying was that there were no clear terms and definitions for it. Moreover, I noticed that Korean bullying is somewhat different from that in Western nations and even in Japan. Korean bullying has unique features that have not yet been explored. Thus, I came to understand that once it had been studied, it would open a significant opportunity to make good comparative studies between Western and Eastern cultures. With the purpose of exploring the nature and features of Korean bullying, this study breaks down into 8 subsequent chapters.

Explanation of chapters

The following chapter (chapter 2) reviews the concept of bullying, and aims to study how the same behaviour has been defined in earlier times and how it is defined in different social contexts. This chapter divided into 2 aspects. The first aspect is the history of bullying, seeing how it has been addressed and what forms it takes. The second aspect focuses on bullying in modern times since the first systematic study in 1978.

Chapter 3 introduces a general picture of Korea and its educational system, while chapter 4 deals with studies on school violence and bullying in South Korea. From these two chapters, ideas for further studies are developed, and the limitations of previous studies on Korean bullying offer a clear direction for this present research.

Chapter 5 involves defining the most appropriate terms for Korean bullying. The method used was the Cartoon Task (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefooghe, 2002). Two pilot studies were done before the main study. The aim of the first pilot study was to select terms used by pupils for Korean bullying. One hundred middle school pupils in Seoul (14 years old) took part. The second pilot study was done with the aim of confirming selected terms. Twenty middle school pupils (14 years old) in Seoul took part. The main study was conducted with the selected terms. One hundred and sixty students from 6 schools in Korea (2 of them located in Seoul, 2 in south-eastern Korea, and the other 2 from the south-western region) participated.

Based on the selected terms from Chapter 5, two further pilot studies were conducted in Chapter 6, in preparation for chapter 7 (a large-scale survey, using Olweus questionnaire). The purpose of the first pilot study was to investigate whether 14-year-old pupils acknowledged the selected terms from chapter 5 as corresponding to the bullying behaviours in Olweus's questionnaire. Forty five middle school pupils (14-year-old) participated. Based on the problems identified from the first pilot study, the questionnaire was modified. Subsequently, the second pilot study was conducted with a group of 220 pupils, 13 to 15 years old. However, in the course of conducting these two pilot studies, the most problematic issue that arose was that some of the response choices in the original questionnaire did not reflect the features of bullying in the Korean context and thus further revision of the questionnaire was required. The expanded questionnaire was based not only on the bully/victim questionnaire of Olweus but also on the methods in other studies on bullying (e.g forms of bullying in Smith & Shu, 2000) and the particular circumstances of Korean pupils (e.g. number of bullies) were taken account of.

Chapter 7 focuses on the most appropriate terms selected and the revised questionnaire. Eight primary schools and 9 middle schools in different provinces of 5 regional sectors participated in the study. Altogether, 2,926 Korean pupils took part: Seoul (n =1,196), Kyung-In (n =470), Choong-chung-do (n =338), Chulla-do (n =374), and Kyungsang-do (n =567).

Chapter 8 investigates the unique features of Korean bullying which result in there being different terms for different stages of victimisation. Although this is crucial in

understanding victimisation among pupils, it has not previously been identified. While conducting the present research in schools, I realised that the terms *eun-ta*, *wang-ta*, and *jun-ta* are related to each other. Thus, in order to find out if Korean pupils are familiar with these three terms and to see how pupils define them, I conducted a survey with 424 primary and middle school pupils, ages 12 to 16: Seoul (n =101), Kyung-In area (n =110), Kyungsang area (n=120), and Chullra area (n=93).

Chapter 9 involves interviews with 10 pupils. It studies these three terms again and confirms that they describe different stages of victimisation. Moreover, it shows that there are unique features of Korean bullying which result in a pattern of victimisation. For this, I interviewed 10 pupils who had quit school mainly because of being bullied and who were selected from secondary support units. The participants had been through all the stages of victimisation and two of them had tried to commit suicide. Thus, by studying the cases of those 10 young people, the nature of Korean bullying can be more significantly explored and the pattern of victimisation can be meaningfully documented.

Finally chapter 10 deals with overall discussion, summarising points raised in discussion in each chapter. Consideration will be made to the overall conclusions.

Methodologies Analysed

Overall, different methods have been adopted for this thesis; from a questionnaire with a large nationwide sample to specific semi-structured interviews with young people who quit school because of their being bullied. Some materials were adopted from other

well-known studies, and some were developed by myself in order to most efficiently present the aims of each study.

As is usual, a review was considered for the beginning of this thesis, involving critical interpretation of preceding studies on bullying in Western and Eastern nations. However, the method used for chapter 2 was not simply a review of materials published after the middle of the 1970s, as might be expected for a literature review on bullying. To see if there were any more actual reports on bullying among children and/or youth before the 1970, I did an old document search with a microfilm index of *The Times* from 1790-1980, carrying out a search of older documents published before 1970. This provided more understanding of how the definition and attitudes of people towards bullying have changed over historical time.

When I first was planning this thesis, I adopted Olweus's questionnaire for investigating general features of Korean bullying. However, soon I faced an important issue, that there is a problem of which term to use in questionnaire. Several terms had previously been used for studying bullying among Korean pupils with Olweu's questionnaire, indicating various rate of incidence. I was confronted with the serious problem of how to name the behaviour. Eventually, I decided to conduct a study for finding terms in the Korean language. The Cartoon Task (Smith et. al., 2002) was considered to be the best method for finding out the equivalent terms for bullying in Korea. The context of the Cartoon Task includes most kinds of direct and indirect behavioural patterns which can be easily seen and considered features of Korean bullying; for example, it contains psychological bullying e.g. social exclusion; direct and indirect verbal bullying; and

physical bullying. The cartoons vary according to the number of pupils involved (one against one or a group against one victim), provocation, repetition of negative act, and intention to hurt (Menesini, Fonzi & Smith 2002). Furthermore, it is also easy to conduct the survey in Korea because the task is presented using stick figure drawings and the situations explained in captions which most students understand and, therefore, find easy to answer.

After defining a clear term for Korean bullying, a nationwide study was conducted. A quantitative method using the self-report questionnaire of Olweus was employed. A number of techniques have been used to measure bullying in schools, including teacher ratings, peer nominations, individual interviews, and more recently systematic observation. Agreement between methods is far from perfect. Among those methods, one advantage often cited for using self-report questionnaires rather than individual interviews is that respondents are likely to be less willing to admit being involved in bullying vocally in a face-to-face situation (Farrington, 1993). Ahmad and Smith (1990) concluded that the anonymous questionnaire was more valid, presumably because it yielded a higher prevalence and because they implicitly assumed that denial was the main source of invalidity. Moreover, this is also the only feasible method for large samples.

Chapter 8 and 9 are related to each other. Chapter 8 aimed to investigate features of Korean bullying. This chapter deals with confirming different terms, involving the use of newly developed scenarios task to examine further distinctive feature of Korean bullying related to the terms. Consequently, relation and differentiation of three

different terms of victimisation among Korean pupils were reported. Chapter 9 aimed to find out more specific case of the terms applied to victimised pupils and the pattern of victimisation in Korean school based on finding from chapter 8.

Therefore, different methods were used for each chapter. For chapter 8, a quantitative method based on a questionnaire developed by myself and my supervisor was used whereas a semi-structured interview was taken for chapter 9. As there were no preceding studies on this issue, a quantitative method was taken to see if pupils generally understand and distinguish different terms for Korean bullying. Then, since those terms apparently happened one by one as a pattern, a qualitative study using a form of thematic analysis (chapter 9) was done with pupils who had been through all the stages related to the different terms.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF BULLYING IN DIFFERENT SOCIAL CONTEXTS

HUMAN NATURE AND BULLYING

Bullying has always been with us even though it has taken different forms in different social contexts and people conceptualise it differently according to their own experience with it.   Accordingly, the perception of bullying can alter depending on cultures, discipline system and prolonged periods of time.   This chapter aims to see the diverse dimensions of bullying and how this behaviour is defined differently.   General issues are discussed and the views of bullying from different aspects (e.g time dependency and different social and cultural contexts) are looked at and explored.   In this thesis I use a number of terms such as aggression, violence, and bullying. Although these terms are related to each other, each has somewhat different meanings.   Therefore, before starting to review the nature of bullying, I will briefly review these terms.

Baron (1977) defines aggressive behaviour as behaviour that is directed towards the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment.   Bandura (1973) states it is something that results in personal injury or destruction of property.   Carlson et al. (1989) argue that aggressive behaviour is

simply the intent to harm. Aggression can be considered as an umbrella term for unacceptable behaviours and, in fact, bullying and school violence are usually considered as subset forms of aggressive behaviours (Roland & Idsoe, 2001, Smith et al., 2002). Although there is a requirement for a better operational definition of aggression, there is general agreement that aggression is probably intended harm to others. However, it does not necessarily mean that the harmful behaviour occurs between two unequally powerful people, or that it happens repeatedly.

Regarding violence, there is a number of definitions of this term. I will cite three that illustrate the rage of definitions available. First, Olweus (1999) defines violence as aggressive behaviour where the actor or perpetrator uses his or her own body or an object (including a weapon) to inflict (relatively serious) injury or discomfort upon another individual. Second, the World Health Organisation (www.heath.fit/connect) defines violence as the intentional use of physical and psychological force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood or resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development, or deprivation. Third, the Encarta dictionary (1999) defines violence in two statements: the use of physical force to injure somebody or damage something; the illegal use of unjustified force, or the effect created by the threat of this. Among the definitions, two shared features can be noticed. First, violence is harmful or damaging, or at least threatens such harm or damage. Second, violence is intended and, therefore, accidental damage or hurt done by someone is not usually thought of as violent. Nevertheless, there are differences as well. For example, two of the definitions

suggest that violence should be physical, but this is far from being universally agreed.

However, bullying is also a subset of aggressive behaviour. Like violence it involves intentional harm to others. The following definitions are common in the literature on bullying: "A person is being bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students" (Olweus, 1993, p.9). Farrington (1993) states that "bullying is repeated oppression of a less powerful person, physical or psychological, by a more powerful person". Smith and Sharp (1994) defines it as "the systematic abuse of power". More recently Rigby (2002) states that bullying involves a desire to hurt other, a harmful action, a power imbalance, repetition, an unjust use of power, evident enjoyment by the aggressor and generally a sense of being oppressed on the part of the victim. While definitions of bullying often differ semantically, most or all of them not only agree that bullying is a subtype of aggression (Dodge, 1991, Olweus, 1993; Smith & Thomson, 1991) but also stipulate that it involves repetition, and imbalance of power. It is also widely accepted that bullying is not limited to physical actions. In addition, among aggressive behaviours in schools, bullying is a particularly serious and difficult problem. By definition, it is difficult for victims to cope on their own and teachers and other adults often know little about it.

There is also an issue of distinguishing the nature of bullying and mobbing. Bullying is a well-known concept in English. Mobbing describes a collective behaviour of harassing a victim. Understanding mobbing is useful to grasp the

meaning of bullying since mobbing could be a part of bullying, and early Scandinavian research on bullying used the word mobbing to describe the behaviour pattern (e.g. Heinemann, 1972; Lorenz, 1966). Lindzey (1954) considers the individuals of the mob share such a large degree of similarity in feelings, thoughts, and behaviour that it is possible to speak of a common reaction. As the definitions emphasise, the meaning of a mob usually is of a relatively large group of people joining in some kind of common performance. It is defined in a dictionary as follows:

"Of a group of birds: fly noisily and aggressively close to a predator etc";

and mobbing as *"violent or riotous action performed with others for a common illegal purpose"* (Oxford English Dictionary, 1993, p.1803)

The English word 'mob' has been used for some time in social psychology and sociology in terms of explaining the collective behaviour of individuals but ethologists also describe forms of bullying in the animal world as mobbing. For example, the Austrian ethologist Lorenz (1966) used the term mobbing to identify a collective attack by a group of animals on an animal of another species, which is usually larger and a natural enemy of the group. Lorenz mentions that a flock of crows will attack a cat or other nocturnal animal if they notice it during the daylight. According to his view, mobbing clearly has survival value for the group. It has the function of teaching the young and inexperienced animals in the group what a dangerous enemy looks like and where it may be found (Lorenz, 1966). Moreover, he also describes the action of a school class or a group of soldiers ganging up

against a deviating individual as mobbing.

Later Heinemann, another ethologist, described forms of bullying in the animal world as mobbing too and adopted the word in order to explain ganging up behaviour by children (1972). The interpretations or definitions of mobbing that have appeared in literary works generally represent a group of individuals (who are alike) who attack and torment an individual who deviates from the others. According to Heinemann (1972), the alleged deviance has usually concerned such external characteristics as being an immigrant, speaking a dialect, being fat, or having an odd appearance or a physical defect, and so forth.

Regarding the differentiation between bullying and mobbing, Pikas (1989) clarifies that the meaning of bullying may cover both type of relationships: a single bully attacking an individual or group; or a gang of bullies attacking an individual or group. Mobbing only designates the latter relationship. Moreover, according to Olweus (1978), as a rule, the mobs have not been formed for an intentional purpose and are not tightly organised. Olweus also argued that the members of the mob function side by side rather than face to face, and their identification with the group seldom lasts long. Bullying thus has a broader meaning compared to mobbing, and it is different from mobbing, especially in the number of assaulters. Mobbing happens to someone who is somewhat different from the major group and it could be considered as part of human nature in rejecting someone different from the majority. Although for victims of bullying, external characteristics could be a part of the reasons for being bullied, there could be many other reasons as well (e.g.

personality). Therefore, as Pikas (1989) stated, mobbing could be considered as a part of bullying.

BULLYING AND ITS HISTORY IN THE UK

Although there is no systematic research on bullying before the 1970s, some features of bullying could be figured out. A pattern of bullying in people has been described in books of social history and old newspapers from 18th and 19th centuries in the U.K. According to the documents, in earlier times, bullying occurred in reaction to different features of victims and bullying usually took the forms of physical harassment or isolation.

In general, in the 19th century, although the term bullying was not mentioned, the pattern of it has been described as interpersonal violence in everyday life (e.g. D'cruze, 2000). This violent behaviour was seen as private, in the sense that it was first and foremost a matter between individuals. According to Swift (1997), this kind of everyday violence was well documented in the 19th century. Swift pointed out that Irish people were the victims of racist violence targeted against individuals and located in urban and often the neighbourhood space[1] in the country. This is in line with Heinemann (1972) who pointed out victims' external characters (such as being immigrant and using dialect) as reasons for being bullied. Defining these situations as everyday violence or interpersonal violence does not imply that this

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[1] This topic is well introduced in research regarding racism. See, for example, Eslea, M. & Mukhtar, K. (2000) *Bullying and racism among Asian schoolchildren in Britain*. Educational Research, 42, 207-217.

violence was insignificant. Rather than trivialising these experiences, the everyday or interpersonal is a useful way of understanding the wrong interaction between people known to each other but at a different power level.

There is a good example of introducing bullying and discussing the term in early Victorian times. *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, first published in 1857, contains famous examples of bullying in school:

> *Very well then, let's roast him cried Flashman, and catches hold of Tom by the collar: one or two boys hesitate, but the rest join in. East seizes Tom's arm and tries to pull him away, but is knocked back by one of the boys and Tom is dragged away struggling. His shoulders are pushed against the mantelpiece, and he is held by main force before the fire, Flashman drawing his trousers tight by way of extra torture* (Hughes, 1857/1913, p.188).

The preface to the sixth edition of the book includes a letter from a friend of the author's which clearly and passionately elucidates the harm it can do. This extract from *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and the popularity of the book indicates that school bullying was a well-recognised circumstance in Victorian England even if it was not officially reported. There are not many other examples of bullying in popular books at that time, and it is difficult to guess how much bullying occurred in schools throughout the intervening decades, since factual knowledge was not available until systematic research began in the 1980s.

To see if there were any more actual reports on bullying among children and/or youth instead of in fictional accounts, I carried out a search of older documents published before the year 1970. For the search, I selected as keywords the terms for the behaviour pattern from the studies of bullying between 1978 and 2000, which were: bullying, mobbing, school harassment, school violence, teasing, school victim, and group isolation. Before starting this search, I decided to use two criteria for selecting articles:

1. It has to be facture, introducing when, where, who was involved and how.

2. It directly uses one of those terms especially the term 'bullying'; or if it does not directly use the term, it has to at least describe some kind of bullying behaviour pattern.

I searched newspapers especially *The Times* from 1790-1980. The reason for this is that newspapers, generally, introduce events in daily life. Hence, if there was any considerable number of incidents related to bullying, it would be introduced. Compared to other newspapers, *The Times* has a very good microfilm index and a computer can search the index. Beginning this search, I found a considerable number of articles mentioned bullying and other terms. I read them, typically, in the first and/or second sentence of the newspaper articles. Using this procedure, I found that bullying represented most forms of interpersonal violence because if there were articles on bullying, the other terms such like violence, group isolation, harassment, and teasing came up together (for example, articles in the Times. 6th

Aug.1862).

Alarming and significant incidents of bullying, using the exact term bullying, were described among school children or children in institutions, particularly where boys would gather. The following line chart in Figure 2-1 shows the number of articles on bullying up to 1980 (before systematic studies on bullying began). The duration is divided into every 10 years for the last 200 years and the numbers indicate the appearance of bullying in the Times newspaper.

The validity of figure 2-1 may be questionable as indicators of real life frequency because usually newspapers take single cases and there may be more cases of bullying which were not reported. However, the purpose of making the diagram is to show that bullying existed among young children in schools, or in organisations such as army camps. As the diagram illustrates, bullying incidents were part of British society in earlier times even if they were given less focus.

Individual cases serve as good examples for understanding bullying at that time. There were two peaks of reporting on bullying incidents. *The Times* introduced the first bullying incident on the 6th of August 1862, after the death of a soldier named Flood. The serious problem of bullying and its consequences warranted official mention and this was the first published announcement on bullying in the Times for the period covered since 1790. The news writer defined bullying as follows:

"The bullying propensities of human nature have, generally speaking, these

remarkable characteristics that they are not wandering, volatile, fluttering, oscillating, unsteady appetites, hopping about and changing from one subject to another, but that they settle upon some one object and stick close and faithfully and perseveringly to it. They are about the most unchangeable thing that this fickle world possesses". (The Times, 6th Aug. 1862, p.8, col. f)".

According to the writer, even at that time, bullying was considered as a part of human nature manifested in a school or a camp, or a barracks, or a ship's crew. Moreover, the writer especially mentioned systematic bullying in the army and, according to him, the soldier died as a result of bullying.

"It is clear from the evidence that this unfortunate man, dreadfully as he retaliated upon his tormentors, was the victim of long, malignant, and systematic bullying". (The Times, 6th Aug. 1862, p.8, col. f)

As the sentence indicates, there are elements of bullying in the events. First of all the victim had retaliated upon the bully who was one of the officers and was singled out for a long time by the rest as an object of constant vexations and attack. As the line chart in Figure 2-1 shows, there were two significant peaks in terms of the number of bullying incidents reported by the newspapers. The first was seen between 1888 and 1895. During this time bullying was construed as a misadventure of young schoolboys especially in boarding schools, which was carried out by senior pupils and teachers.

The death of a boy in the King's School in Cambridge could be a good example of this kind of bullying. Significant attention in the U.K was given to an incident when a twelve-year old boy in the King's School died from bullying behaviour by an older group in 1885. After the death of the boy, a former student of the King's School wrote a letter to the editor of *The Times* on the 27th of April 1885, reporting on the tragic incident in the school and ignorance of the teachers about the phenomenon and how a few physically stronger boys bullied peer groups and senior groups as a replacement of harsh punishment by teachers as follows:

"Bullying of the kind mentioned constantly occurred during the seven years I was at the school, and in no case can I remember a porter interfering - indeed, I doubt whether old Tomas knew that that was considered part of his duty..." "...as for the masters, they naturally spent the short break in the middle of the day in getting their own luncheon." "In my time a favourite habit of some of the elder boys was to link arms and rush down the long corridor at the top of their speed, and woe betide any unfortunate youngster..." (The Times, 27th Apr. 1885, p.7, col. e)

The incidents of bullying in Britain reported in 'The Times'

Figure 2-1 Number of articles on bullying in early times (Source: The Times from 1790-1980)

The accident, that caused the death of a 12-year-old boy, prompted people to write letters to the council in order to investigate the death. There is a good example of a letter from a parent: "*Surely, if no blame can be attributed to the head master it must attach to the council...*" (The Times, 27th Apr. 1885, p. 7, col. e). Inspectors of the council examined the death and saw bullying as a misadventure. There was no punishment given to the boys involved. People from the council also announced that this behaviour could be a normal part of a boy's school life. It could be guessed that at that time the meaning of bullying was presented as an acceptable behaviour among young male people.

A more serious bullying incident occurred in a training ship called 'Britannia' on the 20th September 1891. This incident was also related to a death of a boy. The news stated it as "*an unfortunate state of things has again come to light in connection with the cadet training ship Britannia*" (p.4, col. f). As the word 'again' indicates, bullying was emerging as a significant social ill, grabbing the attention of the newspaper-reading public in the U.K.

There is the second peak of reporting bullying from 1936 to 1945. From this time the meaning of bullying became broader and was adopted in order to describe behaviour between nations. On the 19th of August in 1943 *The Times* mentioned bullying in the War under the heading of 'Bullies of Europe'. The news writer reported the power play between nations. From this time people considered bullying as serious and something that should not occur. It is not difficult to guess that the Second World War may have changed the public perception of bullying to

be more a serious matter in society.

Although Figure 2-1 does not include it, there is a third peak of reporting bullying in the 1990s. From this time bullying has become the topic of a variety of research areas such as criminology, sociology, health, education, and psychology. Different disciplines consider bullying in their own way and a considerable number of debatable issues have arisen in terms of: the definition of bullying, characters of those involved, level of policies and so on.

BULLYING AND IT'S HISTORY IN JAPAN

In general, how people conceptualise a phenomenon is strongly related to the culture and traditional thinking of a nation. Hence, the meaning of the concept for the public could also be different. Japan could be the only nation in Asia where the problem of bullying (*ijime*) has been studied well, until very recently. *Ijime* became one of the biggest social problems featured through the Japanese mass media in the mid 1980s. Whilst it had previously existed in Japan, specialists perceived it as mainly a modern phenomenon during the 1970s.

From published research papers, we can see that there is a distinct difference between *ijime* and *bullying*. Whereas, in English speaking countries, bullies are often older children (Whitney & Smith, 1993), by contrast in Japan, victims and aggressors are often classmates, or if not mostly in the same grade (Morita et al., 1999). Moreover, *ijime* often takes a form of psychological (e.g. group isolation)

rather than physical hurting (Kanetsuna & Smith, 2002). Morita et al. (1999) explains this as due to the fact that the most common form of *ijime* is ostracism that generally takes place between members of the same classroom or extra-curricular activity in sports or arts. The reasons for this can be specified more by reviewing old social documents in Japan.

According to Prewitt (1988) citizens of ancient Japan considered children not as human beings but as possessions, particularly the possessions of the headman of the village in which they were born. They were frequently presented as gifts or traded to other villages. An important period in the construction of modern Japanese culture was the Edo period, from 1603-1866. *Ijime* could be seen even in this period but it happened in a context of family rather than school or other social contexts. According to Sakai (1985), *ijime* was viewed as both playing among young men and a way of treating children by parents. The old documents do not mention the word *ijime*, however, it is not difficult to see the pattern of *ijime* in them. If we observe the context of the Japanese family at that time, the most commonly used parental punishment techniques in Japan were: isolation of a child for a short period of time, separation from the family, and threatening a child with abandonment (Hendry, 1996). The parents believed that, through such behaviour, young men could learn how to survive and would stick together before telling their parents (Hendry, 1996). This kind of mental attitude is still retained in Japanese children. Lewis (1989) observes that even pre-school Japanese children themselves frequently carried out the roles of cautioning children about unsafe behaviour and managing aggression between classmates.

The pattern of school bullying was also initially described in this period. In 1608 the O-Yomei school had been established in Japan for royals. The school's punishment policy well described the pattern of *ijime*. One of the punishments was that teachers ignored a pupil and ordered that other group members could not talk to the boy, thereby making the pupil feel ashamed and lonely (Sansom, 1981). In addition, it still remains in the modern Japanese school environment. According to Hendry (1996) in her work *'Becoming Japanese'*, teachers in Japan encourage children to ostracise other children by pointing them out as being *Okashii* (strange and peculiar), in order to help create a norm of conformity: the children are quick to ignore the strange child who has yet to achieve accepted that is defined by a submission of oneself to the group. In this case one can see the origin of the bullying pattern in Japan. For example, *ijime* takes the form of psychological rather than physical punishment. However, psychological bullying may incorporate physical and verbal isolation in the modern form of bullying in Japan (Morita & Ohsako, 1997)

When we carefully analyse these accounts of old Japanese documents, it is easy to understand why Japanese pupils do not report their being bullied to their parents and teachers. Schoolland (1990) pointed that one of the most unacceptable things in Japan is shame. Benedict (1954) had already analysed Japanese society as a culture of shame, due to the way in which children are disciplined through psychological isolation rather than physical segregation. Benedict (1954) also pointed out that Japanese parents discipline children by saying 'please stop it because it is embarrassing' rather than because it is inherently wrong. This

suggests that Japanese children are not trained to have an innate sense of good and bad. That could be an important explanation of why some Japanese would prefer death to feeling infamy by others or circumstances.

BULLYING AND IT'S HISTORY IN KOREA

Korea has a very similar culture to Japan, but also a very distinctive social background from that of Japan. Unlike documents in Japan, there are not many cases for helping to understand bullying in Korea. However, there are a few reports in old Korean documents regarding bullying problems. Recent research will be discussed in later chapters, hence, only the cases of bullying introduced in old Korean documents are briefly mentioned here.

It is only for the last 7 to 8 years that researches have systematically been made on Korean bullying. However, it is not difficult to see the nature and forms of bullying through Korean history. The first document on Korean bullying could be seen in Chosun dynasty (1392-1910), where it is called *Myunsinrae*. The nature and forms of *Myunsinrae* were well described in 'the Story of Choson Dynasty' and because of its severity King Jungjong (2nd King of Chosun dynasty, 1357-419) and King Sookjong (19th King of Chosun dynasty, 1660-1720) gave orders to prohibit *Myunsinrae* (Yang, 2000).

Myunsinrae was officially a kind of a welcome event for new officers by the senior officers but, in fact, it was misconduct behaviour of the senior officers. Doing *Myunsinrae* was a secret between new and senior officers and it usually lasted for the first week or two weeks. However, there was a suicide by Chung Yoon-Hwa in the 1st year of King Danjong (the 6th King of Chosun Dynasty). Officer Chung had *Myunsinrae* by his older officers and colleagues for more than one year since the first day of his entry. By order of King Danjong, the suicide was investigated. According to the results, officer Chung did not have anybody to talk to, and was being isolated by other officers. His senior officer did not invite him to official events and because of that absence Chung had often been punished. Also, the investigators found that some other new officers had *Myunsinrae* for a long time from colleagues and senior officers.

Although *Myunsinrae* had happened only between new and senior officers, when the nature of it is looked at, forms of bullying could be figured out. First of all, for some new officers who did not do what they were asked to do, *Myunsinrae* had persistently happened for a long time with the intention of harming them. Secondly, there was a power imbalance between assaulters and victims.

Regarding the forms, there was physical harassment such as painting victims' face with dirt, hitting with sticks, playing horse on victims' back, making victims pass through between one's legs, and making victims do funny gestures. Moreover, the victims were continuously asked to pay for assaulters' drinks and often the victims were directly insulted in front of other officers, being ignored, and were not

informed about important information for carrying out their duties. The most often used form of *Myunsinrae* was 'playing invisible coat' in which assaulters considered victims as someone who did not exist. The assaulters often hit and kicked victims and said 'Whoops, there was something on my way but I could not see it'.

It seems that the bullying as evidenced in old Korean documents took more direct forms compared to that in Japan. In most cases, assaulters in old Korean accounts of *Myunsinrae* tried to make victims feel shame by physical and psychological insulting. This is because feeling shame was considered as equivalent to death among the better off in the social pyramid (Yang, 2000). Feeling shame is dishonourable not only for the person but also for the whole family, and fitting in with others used to be considered as the most important part of life in old Korean soul. Hence, making others not fit in and feel shame were the most severe ways of denying someone, among better off sections of society.

NEW AWARENESS OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR

As evidenced by historical documents, the phenomenon of bullying is not a new concept. The fact that some people are frequently and systematically harassed or attacked by others is described in literary works and it also has been found most realistically in schools, *"where the term bullying first gathered its particular modern connotations"* (Smith & Brain, 2000, p.3).

Moreover, there are good examples of bullying incidents among young people in earlier times; it traditionally entails one or a few physically strong ones cowing a smaller number of weaker ones. Thus, many adults may have personal knowledge of its existence from their own schooling. Though people are conscious of this problem, only very limited efforts were made to gain precise knowledge of bullying until the 1970s.

Even though the study of bullying is comparatively recent, the amount of work on it has increased very significantly since the end of the 1970s. Also general concern about violent behaviour becomes more noticeable in the 1970s. Radzinowicz and King (1977) state that *"we are much more sensitive to violence than were our less civilised ancestors"* (p.10). This leads us to wonder why people have suddenly become interested in bullying, which was considered for centuries merely to be a part of human life. The Second World War (WWII) could be considered as a factor, as it has significantly altered and affected our awareness of basic human rights and the dignity of life. This includes the notion that citizens have a right to be kept safe

from the threat of violence as *"everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person"* (UN, 1948, article 3). Moreover, after WWII other aspects of human rights have also significantly increased e.g. feminism and racism.

At this point, one could argue that there were wars prior to WWII and that these wars did not so appreciably alter people's perceptions about aggression. However, the general impact of war is visible in historical documents. For example, it is noted that the Napoleonic war influenced the discipline system in Britain (Stewart & McCann, 1967). During WWII the development of the popular press may have given people a greater awareness, perhaps greater than that which followed the First World War (WWI). It is possible that the public grew to realise that anyone could be the object of violence. Moreover, in 1948 and 1949, the United Nations (UN) declared the right of equality, the right to life, liberty, and security which heightened people's awareness of their rights.

Since the end of the 1960s, the world has recovered from the overt effects of WWII and has reflected on the results of violence. People who were children at the time of WWII, may, as adults, have become more sensitive to violence and aggressive behaviour and, thus, have realised that anyone can be the target of hatred and violence (Geen & Donnerstein, 1983). Therefore, individual citizens who are in fact the actual or potential victims of violence have begun to demand that the problem has to be controlled. These changing perceptions of the inter-relationship of human rights and violence may elicit the notion that bullying is to be considered as serious violent behaviour.

BEGINNING OF RESEARCH ON BULLYING

The awareness of violence as being antithetical to attack and threatening of human rights was initiated by Sweden which was not directly involved in WWII. Although there are some papers studying bullying before the mid 1970s (notably Burk in 1897), the first systematic and carefully documented research on bullying (with a large database) was carried out by Dan Olweus, a Swedish professor who from the 1980s was working at the University of Bergen in Norway. He invented the first systematic method of studying bullying, using a 'self-report questionnaire' (Olweus, 1978). Since then a number of researchers from different disciplines, such as education, psychology, sociology and criminology, have expanded the study of bullying. Furthermore, the problem of bullying has become an issue of general concern in the mass media and among teachers and parents in many countries. In the UK this occurred in the late 1980s. In 1989 three books on the topic were published in the U.K: D. Tattum and D. Lane (eds), *Bullying in schools*; E. Roland and E. Munthe (eds), *Bullying: An international perspective*; and V. Besag, *Bullies and victims in schools*.

Since the beginning of the 1990s many researchers have been actively involved in this topic and put significant effort into defining this phenomenon and seeking out solutions. A recent series of national reports (Smith, Morita, Junger-Tas, Olweus, Catalano, & Slee, 1999) illustrate the existence of bullying in remarkably similar structural forms in many countries, the U.S., Japan, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as in the developing nations. The pattern found suggests that any

school can anticipate bullying occurring, although with varying degrees of severity (Smith & Brain, 2000).

THE MODERN CONCEPT OF BULLYING

Sharp and Smith (1993) argue that it is important to define bullied, so that pupils, parents and staff should have no doubt whether or not people had bully others or been bullied. They also declared that a clear definition of what constitutes bullying behaviour helps to discourage common rationalisations for bullying behaviour such as 'we were only playing' or 'it's only a bit of fun' (p.48). As they said, a clear definition can help better interventions for bullying problems.

However, before considering the modern definition of bullying, it is very important to see the forms that bullying takes, the criteria for defining whether a behaviour is bullying or not, and the results of it, in order to have more clearly understandable and agreed definitions from different point of views. As Pikas argues (1989), it is not simply a matter of academic interest, for it leads to quite different treatment opinions. Therefore, the three components of bullying (form, criteria, result) could be important factors in defining bullying.

In contrast to the forms of bullying in the UK in earlier times whereby one or a few physically strong boys directly and harshly treated weaker ones, bullying in modern contexts includes more psychological and verbal threatening as well (see Smith et al., 1999). Also in the earlier work, bullying among girls was not

mentioned, but in these days it has been found that females specialise in psychological or indirect bullying (e.g., name calling, social exclusion) while males specialise in physical or direct bullying (e.g., Bjorkqvist et al, 1992; Besag, 1991). However, bullying has always included physical violence, threatening and teasing; extortion, stealing or destruction of possessions; ridiculing, name calling and social exclusion, even in earlier times.

In respect of the criteria for defining bullying, intention and repetition are very important for defining whether one's behaviour toward others is bullying or not. In general, a single incident is not counted as bullying and the incident must be repeated based on intentional harm doing towards others. As far as the frequency of bullying is concerned, children are typically asked to report whether bullying has occurred not at all, once or twice, sometimes (now and then), about once a week, or more often.

Although bullying takes a variety of different forms in schools, the results can be manifested in emotional, physical or behavioural difficulties (Rigby & Slee, 1993). Emotional problems include depression, feelings of helplessness, anger, hostility, fear and anxiety. Also, sleeplessness, lose of appetite, and nausea could result from bullying. School truancy, difficulties with concentrating in class, and avoiding people also emerge as behavioural problems. Bullying can adversely affect the atmosphere of a class or even the climate of a school (Tattum & Tattum, 1992).

DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS OF BULLYING

There is no doubt that the most important practical reason for studying bullying is to help victimised children and bullies to preserve their rights. To help pupils, many researchers have suggested solutions based on their research results, believing that the best way to utilise the findings of research on bullying is to develop policies and intervention programmes. For this, Munn (1993) states that the single most important thing to prevent bullying is having a clear policy to which staff, pupils, and parents are committed.

In general, the role of anti-bullying policies and intervention programmes is to reduce the motivation of bullies and to make bullying more difficult to commit. Also most researchers on this topic would agree that to alleviate current problems and prevent further ones, implementation of anti-bullying policies has to be based on a clear understanding of what bullying is. Nonetheless, even if the forms of bullying appear remarkably similar (see Smith et al., 1999), and also there is a shared belief that policies and intervention/prevention programmes should be set up, there are some different views among researchers about ways of defining and dealing with this phenomenon. In general, through the literature, I could figure out three views on the behaviour that I would name as the traditional view, the school management view, and the later delinquency view.

The Traditional View

According to Rigby (2004), this kind of view considers bullying as beginning in

early childhood when children begin to assert themselves at the cost of others in order to set up their social dominance. Children tend at first to do this offensively (e.g. hitting others), especially those less powerful than themselves, in an attempt to intimidate them. Rigby also states that this view is in line with evolutionary theory in which domination over others is a primary goal ensuring an individual's survival in a competitive.

Moreover, Smith and Brain (2000) mentioned that power relationships are "*ubiquitous in human groups*" (p.2). According to them, it is not difficult to think that a power imbalance could appear anywhere and that bully/victim relationships could be thought of as a normative behaviour, in the strictly limited sense that they are likely to be found in any relatively enduring human group which it is difficult for someone to leave if they are experiencing victimisation (Smith & Brain, 2000).

As an extension of this, there is a view that bullying is character forming and a necessary part of growing up where power imbalance exists. This kind of view was found in old documents on bullying (e.g Burk, 1897) saying "*where every man is enemy to every man*"(p.337). However, this perspective still remains in modern society as a preparation for life. O'Moore and Hillary (1989) report the view that bullying is a normal part of growing up. They mention the opinion of some people that "*through bullying youth could learn how to stick up for themselves and that it is a part of socialisation*" (p.440). A senior U.K politician (Clive Soley) was quoted as saying that school bullying was not a harmful matter to him and was a preparation for life (The Guardian, 1996).

This kind of view can be also seen in the literature in Japan on *ijime*. The most prevalent form of *ijime* throughout primary and junior high school is teasing/making fun of another student. Rios-Ellis, Bellamy and Shoji (2000) mentioned that *"what is perceived as teasing for the victim is often considered by the adult to be harmless joking"* (p.232). Moreover, according to Hendry (1996), Japanese parents constantly seem to over-emphasise the value of social norms by teaching children to avoid certain types of behaviour in order to become a real man. Although the opinion of seeing bullying as a part of children's life has not been widely socially accepted, one can still encounter the view that bullying is a training for real life and in that sense bullying can be routinely expected to occur. However, there is no doubt that bullying is socially unacceptable within the ethos of a democratic society (Smith & Brain, 2000).

The School Management View

In many published research works in the U.K. bullying is described as anti-social behaviour that should be schools' management problem (e.g. Elliott, 1991; Quinn, 1996). Olweus (1991, 1993) is concerned with changing school climate through development of a set of clear rules and active involvement by teachers and parents. Advocators of this view maintain that there must be school based intervention programmes and policies (e.g. Sharp & Smith, 1993; Tattum & Herbert, 1993; Cowie & Sharp, 1992; Foster & Thomson, 1991; Brier & Ahmad, 1991). They believe that the most effectively accomplished programmes have to be based on schools through the educational curriculum. Tattum and Herbert (1993) support placing pupils at the centre of the curriculum and concentrating on the development

of self in a social context in order to emphasise an individual's responsibility to

help others. Cowie and Sharp (1992) point out that *group work* and *quality circles*

in regular class lessons encourage pupils to work together, sharing ideas and

learning to deal with difficulties in relationships. Those of this opinion emphasize

the whole school approach, including parents rather than having only teachers'

efforts. Regarding this, O'Moore and Minton (2005) point that various levels of

success have been seen with the 'whole-school' approach. They also point that

Irish schools have benefited from a nationwide anti-bullying programme that

incorporates the training of school management, teaching staff, parents, and pupils.

The Later Delinquency View

There is a strong view of bullying which considers it to be a deep and dark social

problem which leads to later criminality. The most contentious empirical issue in

this aspect is how much overlap is going on between bullying and later delinquency,

simultaneously or sequentially. There is research by Eron, Huesmann, Dubow,

Romanoff, and Yarmel (1987) which studied the existence of the relationship. Eron

et al. did a longitudinal study for 22 years in the U.S.A and found that young

bullies have about one in four chance of having a criminal record by age thirty

whereas others (not bullies) have only a one in twenty chance of becoming adult

criminals. Olweus (1989) similarly found that school bullies are almost four times

more likely to become involved in later criminal activity than other children. From

his follow-up studies he found that approximately 60% of boys who were

characterised as bullies in grades 6-9 had at least one court conviction at the age of

24. Some 35-40% of the former bullies had three or more court convictions at this

age whereas only 10% of the control boys (those who were neither bullies nor victims in the same grade) had been convicted. Farrington (1993) also found evidence that there is a fairly strong relationship between bullying and later delinquent and violent behaviour.

DEFINITION OF BULLYING AS "4PS"

As this volume of investigation shows, there are a number of plausible definitions of bullying that do not adequately reflect a universal view. Nonetheless, while school bullying is a rather subjective concept, the majority of pioneering researchers on the subject are generally in agreement on the forms, criterion and results. Bullying is usually defined (e.g. Olweus, 1999) as a subset of aggressive behaviour, characterised by repetition and an imbalance of power. The definition of Smith and Sharp (1994, p.2) as "a systematic abuse of power" captures these two features as well as suggesting remediation. Bullying is generally thought of as being repetitive, i.e. a victim is targeted a number of times. Also, the victim cannot defend him-/herself easily.

According to my view the debate about forms, criteria, and results could generally be summarised by the 4Ps, as follows.

The first P is Power. According to Roland (1989), bullying is long-standing violence, physical or psychological, conducted by an individual or a group and directed against an individual who is not able to defend himself in the actual

situation. This statement indicates the imbalance of power between bullies and victims. Victims do not usually protect themselves. The child doing the bullying is generally thought of as being stronger or perceived as stronger; at least, the victim is not (or does not feel him/herself to be) in a position to retaliate very effectively. Overall, bullying is seen as physical or verbal attack with an imbalance of physical or psychological power. The powerful attack the powerless. These characteristics mean that bullying behaviour can be extremely distressing to the recipient, leading to a painful experience for victims.

However, in Japan and Korea bullying involves a group mechanism in which the power balance between individual peers is not so valid. It could be argued that with a more group-based mechanism, victims may have stronger physical and psychological power than the individual bully but he/she as a victim could not prevail against a group of bullies. Therefore, the strength of individual power does not protect a victim in such a situation. Even though individual power seems to be not so important in these two nations, the form of bullying in these nations are more collective than others, therefore, the power imbalance in the form of numerical predominance between bullies and victims remains a valuable factor in terms of defining the boundaries of bullying.

The second P is a result of bullying which is Painful. Wolke, Woods, Stanford, and Schulz (2001) found that bullying can lead to common health problems. Williams, Chambers, Logan, and Robinson (1996) also found that 9-10 years old who reported common health problems such as tummy aches or sleeping problems

reported being victims of bullying. Moreover, stress is created not only by what actually happens but by the threat and fear of what may happen. The bully does not have to be physically present for a child to be anxious and distressed (Tattum & Herbert, 1993). It is painful to the recipients of the aggressive behaviour. Victims may experience emotional pain, which is related to depression, helplessness, anger, and hostility. Physical pain that comes from sleeplessness, lost of appetite and the feeling of nausea may follow. School truancy, difficulties with concentrating in class, becoming on as is difficult and avoiding people also emerge as behavioural problems (Cullingford, 1995; Tattum & Herbert, 1993). Committing suicide is the worst case of this painful experience for victims as well as family members.

Bullying usually happens in groups or institutions from which the potential victim cannot normally or easily escape. According to Smith et al. (1999), *"schools are such institutions, since schooling is normally compulsory and changing schools or being educated at home are not easy alternatives"* (p.1). Therefore, painful experiences could be accumulated in the memories and feeling of victimised pupils. Also, one should particularly note that any kind of bullying can cause psychological trauma to those pupils (Quinn, 1996).

The third P is Persistence. The third P is involved in defining bullying. When we see aggressive behaviour as bullying, there is usually a continuous series of incidents between the same people over a prolonged period of time rather than a single aggressive act. In respect of this, Smith and Thompson (1991) observe that bullying is thought of as a repeated action; something that just happens once or

twice would not be called bullying. Moreover Olweus (1999) states that bullying is usually defined as a subset of aggressive behaviour, characterised by repetition.

The fourth P is Premeditation. This is also important in defining bullying. Some children who may have genuine difficulty in understanding the viewpoint of others and who are unable to empathise with the distress of their peers, genuinely regard their own teasing and taunting of them as just messing about. In this case, the declaration by victims of their pain is important. If it continues even after the victim has expressed his pain, the aggressive behaviour can then be seen as bullying. Smith and Thompson (1991) also state that bullying intentionally causes hurt to the recipient.

INCIDENCE OF SCHOOL BULLYING

Although rates reported in the literatures appear to vary somewhat across cultures and across studies (Griffin & Gross, 2000), researchers shows commonly that a considerable number of school children and adolescents are involved in bullying behaviour either as bullies or victims (Olweus, 1999; Morita et al., 1999; O'Moore et al., 1997; Genta et al., 1996; Whitney & Smith, 1993). To study the incidence of bullying, the most commonly used method is self-report, using anonymous data from pupils. Peer nomination and teacher reports are also often adopted as methods. All methods have strengths and weaknesses that will be discussed later. Olweus (1991) conducted a prevalence study, based on his questionnaire developed

in 1978, with a sample of 130,000 Scandinavian children ages 7-16, finding that between 5% and 9% of schoolchildren reported being bullied on a regular basis. Based on further study in Norway, Olweus (1993) concluded that 15% of children from primary and junior high school students were involved in regular interactions as either bullies or victims.

The growing body of research in the U.K has mainly been with local schools, such as the surveys of Whitney and Smith (1993) and of Stephenson and Smith (1988). Stephenson and Smith (1988) conducted a survey based on teacher reports in Cleveland. The teachers indicated that 23% of their pupils were involved in bullying; 7% victims, 10% bullies, and 6% both bully and victim. There is a problem of teacher reports in that teachers are not usually aware of every incident of bullying among pupils, which often happens outside their view.

In 1991, the first large scale survey in England based on pupil reports, was conducted with 7000 pupils in 24 Sheffield schools. The results confirmed that bullying was pervasive in schools; 27% of primary school pupils reported being bullied 'sometimes' or more frequently and the number included 10% bullied 'once a week' or more frequently (Whitney & Smith, 1993). For secondary schools, these figures were 10% and 4% respectively. The figures correspond to the opinion of Farrington (1993) that when the criterion for bullying is set at once a week or more often, the prevalence of victims decreases to 10% or less, and the prevalence of bullies to 5% or less.

Scotland has a separate educational system from England. Researchers there have conducted research on school bullying and reported that the incidence of bullying in Scottish schools is slightly lower than that in England. Mellor (1990) in his study of 942 pupils in 10 secondary schools in Scotland found an incidence of 6% who were bullied 'sometimes or more often' and 4% who had bullied 'sometimes or more often'.

The first study on incidence of bullying in Ireland was introduced by O'Moore and Hillery (1989). They studied the bullying problems in Dublin primary schools and found a figure of about 5% of pupils involved as bullies and a similar proportion as victims. Later O'Moore, Kirkham, and Smith (1997) conducted a large-scale survey with 20,000 pupils; 320 primary and 210 secondary schools were involved. The results suggest that 31.3% of primary-school pupils and 15.6% of post-primary pupils reported having been victimised within the last term; 26.5% of primary-school pupils and 14.9% of post-primary pupils reported that they had bullied others within the last term.

In Portugal Ferreira and Pereira (2001) conducted a study of children aged 5-10 years and concluded that 25% of them have been bullied and 17% have bullied others.

In Canada, a survey by Charach, Pepler, and Ziegler (1995) indicated that bullying and victimisation are a pervasive problem in Canadian schools. They found that during the past two months, 24% of the grade 3-8 students have bullied others at

least once or twice, and 15% more than once or twice. 49% of the students

reported that they had been victims of bullying at least once, 20% more than once

or twice, and 8% reported being victimised weekly or more often during the past

two month. Two years later O'Connell et al. (1997) conducted a survey with 5,000

Canadian elementary and middle school children (aged 5 to 14). They fixed the

reference period as a term and found that 38% of the pupils reported being bullied

at least "once or twice" during the term; and 15% reported being bullied "more

than once or twice". 29% reported bullying others "once or twice" during the term

and 6% reported bullying others "more than once or twice".

In Australia, Rigby and Slee (1991) published the first report on the incidence of

bullying among pupils in South Australian schools age between 6 and 16 years

(N=685). According to the results, about 10% pupils were bullied by their class

and 15% girls and 17% boys were bullied by pupils in other classes. Later Rigby

(1997) conducted a large-scale survey with 20,399 pupils (aged between 8 and 18

years) and found 20.7% of boys and 15.7% of girls were bullied at least once a

week.

In Japan in 1987, Monbusho announced that the number of *ijime* occurrences had

significantly decreased. According to the report, this was only 52,610 in 1986, and

35,065 in 1987 compared with 155,066 in 1985 (Monbusho, 1994). Later, the

Japanese government's White Paper on Youth also showed that since 1990 there

had been approximately only 32,500 incidents of *Ijime* reported in schools

throughout Japan (Somucho Seishonen Taisaku Honbu[2], 1999). If these cases involved the victimisation of only one child, 0.2% of Japanese schoolchildren were bullied. These surveys were based on teachers report. The reported data only indicated teachers' recognised cases. However, as Morita et al. (1999) pointed out, it does not indicate the concrete number of cases of *ijime* that children actually suffered and wanted it to stop. Since *ijime* is often concealed from teachers, and considering their unwillingness to report the incidence, the information given by teachers is likely to underestimate its prevalence (Morita et al., 1999).

There is a significant difference in numbers between the Monbusho survey in 1985 and a survey by Morita in 1984. Morita and his research group collected data with an anonymous self-report questionnaire from 1718 fifth and eighth grade pupils. The results showed that the rate of *ijime* prevalence in the sample was 11.3 % (in Morita's survey) whereas the Monbusho's survey indicated no more than 0.88% (Monbusho, 1994). Based on Morita's survey in 1985, Taki (1992) conducted a longitudinal study from 1985 to 1987, and found substantial evidence to support the conclusion of Morita's survey on the incidence of *ijime*.

These findings were all done in individual countries. There has been very little direct comparison of bullying in different countries. However, there has been a cross-national study on friendship and loneliness among bullies and victims in seven countries (Eslea, Menesini, Morita, O'Moore, Mora-Merchan, Pereira, and Smith, 2003). They conducted surveys with altogether 48,000 children over the seven nations. The results indicate that the range of incidence of victimisation was

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[2] The Japanese Youth Help Unit

surprisingly large: the proportion categorised as victims of bullying ranged from just 5.2% in Ireland to 25.6% in Italy (Florence) while the number of bullies were from only 2.0% in China to 15.9% in Spain. Bully-victims made up just 0.8% of the England (national) sample, but 19.6% in the Spanish one. Conversely, only 50.8% of Spanish children were not involved in bullying at all, compared with 91% of children in Ireland.

Influential factors on the frequency of bullying

There are several factors which may have an influence on the incidence of school bullying. Environmental influences such as school factors have been found to be important in explaining and understanding bullying, even though more research is needed in this area. Whitney and Smith (1993) mentioned that school variations in bullying are appreciable, and these differences cannot be explained by class or school size. However, there is some evidence that the form and incidence of bullying could be different depending on neighbourhood and socio economic situations. Moreover, although there has not been much systematic study on the relation between social identity and bullying, some recent research in this area can be reviewed.

Socio economic situational factor

Regarding socio-economic situations, Smith (1999) mentioned that there is "*more bullying in schools in more deprived areas*" (p. 73). It may be also assumed that the form of bullying at schools is different according to the location of schools. For

example bullying in high socio-economic areas could be more often psychological whereas those in lower socio-economic areas may be more often physical and extortion. However, Olweus (1991) failed to find any appreciable correlation between the urban/rural area of schools, and the frequency of bullying problems. This could be because Norway is a more homogeneous nation which has few socio-economic inequalities and no very large cities and a smaller percentage of ethnic minorities than the U.K.

School ethos factor

There is no doubt that school ethos plays an important role in social behaviour in school in general (Smith, 1991). Olweus (1989) also notes that the attitude and orientation of the school towards bullying are probably most important in explaining the variation in bullying between schools, as well as the reaction of the school to bullying.

Social and cultural factors

The occurrence of bully/victim problems reported also depends on both the definition of bullying and the time periods enquired about. As definitions could be different nationally in terms of culture, language, socio-economic situation, educational system and family structure etc, the incidence of school bullying could also be varied. Some nations, where the public has a heightened awareness of human rights, may count rude facial expressions or mean gestures as bullying, so that the frequency of bullying is higher whereas in some other states, only physical harm is considered as bullying and there may thus be a comparatively small

amount of incidents reported. This can be seen in the case of Italy, the types of bullying in there are broader than that of other countries, including physical fighting as bullying. As the results, the incidence of bullying in Italy is higher compare to other nations (see Eslea et al., 2003).

Disability factor

Bullying and victims problems are more prevalent in classes and schools for children with behavioural, emotional or learning difficulties. Whitney, Smith and Thompson (1994) pointed that the pupils with learning difficulties may have particular characteristics or have other disabilities which may make them an obvious target. O'Moore and Hillery (1989) have also reported that children with special educational needs are more susceptible to bullying than their mainstream peers, and are more likely to have few friends and be sociometrically rejected.

Social identity factor

As mentioned earlier, it is rare to see social identity theory related to bullying phenomena. According to Hogg and Abrams (1988), a social identity is a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group. Such social identity takes places on many dimensions, including ethnic background, race, religion, and age (Baron & Byrne, 2000). As broadly acknowledged, it is also not difficult to see this kind of categorisation among school children. From the perspective of social identity, people generally divide the social world into two distinct categories such as us and them (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In other words, they view other persons as belonging either to the in-group (their own group) or the

out-group (another group). According to researchers in this area (e.g. Judd, Ryan, & Park, 1991; Lambert, 1995; Linville & Fischer, 1993), individuals in the 'us category' are viewed in favourable terms whereas those in the 'them category' are perceived more negatively. This kind of perception can be easily seen in the phenomenon of bullying. Children in the bully group more often think of those in the victim group as someone who has problems (Boulton & Underwood, 1992) that may lead to more frequent bullying behaviour. A group with strong identity can easily share conformity even on a negative purpose (e.g. doing aggressive behaviour) (Cho-Han, 1999). Moreover, such conformity decreases responsibility of one's aggressive behaviour towards others.

Some recent research in this area will be reviewed. Ojala and Nesdale (2004) carried out an experimental study to identify the extent to which children's attitudes towards bullying could be moderated by in-group norms and perceived threat to group distinctiveness. The study investigated the responses of 120 male primary students age 10-13 years. The children read a story about a popular in-group and an unpopular out-group which involved the manipulation of three factors: the norms of in-group (bullying vs. fairness); distinctiveness threat (out-group similarity vs. out-group difference); and the behaviour of the in-group character towards the out-group character (bullying vs. helpful). The authors analysed two story response measures: in-group character liking and whether the in-group character would be retained as a group member following his behaviour. Through the study a considerable support for social identity theory was revealed. The in-group character was much more likely to be retained as a group member when he

behaved in accordance with group norms. These authors also found that bullying was more acceptable when directed at an out-group member who was similar and therefore possibly represented more of a threat to the in-group. Findings of this study present strong support for the influence of group norms and distinctive threat on perceived in-group retention of the in-group character, as opposed to weaker findings obtained regarding the children's liking of the in group character. Through this study, we may have two conclusions. First, group norms are important to the identity of the group and the members are required to behave in accordance with the norms. Second, the perception of a threat to group distinctiveness, via intergroup similarity, may be important in moderating attitudes towards bullying.

Nesdale and Scarlett (2004) also studied the influence of group and situational factors on children's attitudes to school bullying. They examined the effect on preadolescent children's attitudes to bullying of one group-based variable (group status) and two situational variables (rule legitimacy and rule consistency). Like the previous study, the authors only focused on boys (N=229). The method used was reading a story about a group of boys who had high or low (in a sport, handball) status. The liking, causal attribution, deservingness, and punishment responses to an intergroup bullying episode instigated by the group of boys against children from another class were measured. The results indicated that the situational variables, at least to some extent, were important for these outcome measures. Moreover, the results also showed that pre-adolescent children have a positive attitude towards the bully group and showed a negative attitude towards the victim group even when the situational rules were illegitimate and/or the bully

group behaved inconsistently with the rules.

The findings from these two studies suggest the importance of recognising the significant role that groups can play in the bullying of other individuals. On this basis, there are clearly good grounds for devoting more research attention to exploring this phenomenon, particularly given the possibility that bullying and aggression may simply become normative to particular groups, especially where the forms of bullying are more group-oriented (e.g. Korea and Japan). Given the incidence of bullying in so many cultures (Smith & Brain, 2000), and its potentially devastating consequences for the victims, further research focused on these issues is important.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BULLIES

To study the characteristics of bullies, three different dimensional factors have to be considered at the same time. First of all, the individual physical and mental characters of bullies. Secondly, how bullies interact with others and how others consider bullies; their interpersonal relationships with the peer group. The third dimension is family factors and family relationships.

Physical and Mental Character

According to many studies, bullies have distinctive features compared to non-bullies. Children who continually bully others tend to be physically stronger than

average, to be generally aggressive, manipulative and low in empathy (Farley, 1999; Olweus, 1993; Sutton & Keogh, 2000). Bullies have been also found to be easily provoked and to enjoy aggression (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Regarding this Smith and Thompson (1991) said that children who bully others are less empathic to the feelings of others. The results from their questionnaires and interviews suggested that bullies tend to feel positive or dispassionate about seeing bullying incidents, whereas most children say that they feel bad or unhappy about seeing bullying incidents.

According to Farrington (1993) bullies tend to be aggressive, tough, strong, confident, and impulsive. Olweus (1991) also stated that bullies could be described as having an aggressive-reaction pattern combined with physical strength. This means that bullies have been found, generally, to have an aggressive and impulsive personality with a favourable attitude towards aggression and aggressive means (Bjorkqvist, Ekman, & Lagerspetz, 1982; Olweus, 1978); to be tough, physically strong, well-coordinated, dominant, and confident (Olweus, 1989).

One area of interest and debate is whether bullies have low self-esteem. Some researchers, including O'Moore (2000), have suggested that bullies have low self-esteem, whereas Olweus (1999) argued that bullies do not suffer from low self-esteem. The difference may be due to differing samples and different methodologies (Smith, 2004). Moreover, bullies may score average on self-esteem tests but actually have a 'defensive egotism' – thinking highly of themselves but very sensitive to any criticism (Salmivalli, Kaukiainen, Kaistaniemi, & Lagerspetz,

1999). Moreover, bullies "*often have a positive outlook on the use of violence to solve problematic situations or get what they want*" (Carney & Merrell, 2001, p.369)

Interpersonal Relationships

Another area of interest and debate is whether children who get involved in bullying or being bullied are lacking in social skills. Besag (1991, p.5) described bullies as 'the 'oaf' of literature who torments the school. Randall (1997) stated that bullies do not process social information correctly and called them 'socially blind' (p. 23). However, it has been argued that there is little empirical evidence to support these views on bullies.

Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, and Kaukiainen (1996) developed the dynamics of bullying further. They suggested that bullies could be divided as either ringleaders (organising a group of bullies and initiating the bullying), followers (who join in the bullying once it is started), or reinforcers (who do not actively join in, but encouraging the bullying). Sutton and Smith (1999) used a similar procedure with 8-11-year-olds in England. The distinction Salmivalli made was proved useful in a study by Sutton, Smith, and Swettenham (1999). They claimed that, taking into account the social context and nature of bullying, it would seem likely that many children who bully can actually follow such social information very correctly, and they may use these skills to their benefit. To investigate the actual characteristics of bullies, Sutton et al. (1999) tested 'theory of

mind'[3] with 193 pupils age 8-11 years. They studied three different types of bullies: ringleader bully (active, initiative taking, and leader-like behaviour), assistant (active, but more follower than leader-like), and reinforcer (inciting the bully, and providing an audience etc.). The results of their study showed that ringleader bullies generally showed higher theory of mind. The view of the child who bullies as 'oafish' and stupid was not supported.

Some studies have found that bullies are of average or slightly below average popularity (Pulkkinen & Tremblay, 1992; Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Olweus, 1978). Bullies are often surrounded by a small group of two or three peers who support them and seem to like them (Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, Gest, & Gariepy, 1988). According to Olweus (1999) the popularity of bullies decreases in the higher grades but bullies do not seem to reach the low level of popularity that characterises the victims.

Family Relations

Bullies appear to have a number of family problems (Smith & Myron-Wilson, 1998). Rigby (2004) mentioned that the quality of family life is thought to contribute to the tendency for some children to engage in bullying their peers. He pointed out that dysfunctional families and oppressive parenting have been implicated in promoting aggressive behaviour of children towards their peers. Moreover, Carney and Merrell (2001) indicates that bullies are often exposed to

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[3] Theory of mind is a recent dominant paradigm in the study of social cognitive abilities. It is ability of an individual to attribute mental states to themselves and others in order to explain and predict behaviour.

harsh or aggressive child-rearing practices (e.g., corporal punishment) and inconsistent parental discipline strategies. These may include a low level of home supervision and monitoring, inconsistent child-rearing practices, parents condoning the use of aggression, marital conflict, a chaotic home background, parents likely to have been bullies, and the mother having a negative attitude towards her child. These characteristics, as may be expected, are very similar to those important in the explanation of aggressive behaviour and delinquency. Bullying others can be viewed as a component of a more generally anti-social and rule breaking (conduct-disordered) behaviour pattern (Olweus, 1991).

CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTIMS

Research on characteristics of victimised pupils has described them as those who are less physically attractive, less assertive, less well adjusted, more anxious and insecure (Lowenstein, 1978a, b). Children who are more often victimised than others tend to be physically weak, be introverted and have low self-esteem (Maynard & Joseph, 1997; O'Moore & Hillery, 1991; Slee & Rigy, 1993). Victims are also described as often being cautious, sensitive, and quiet (Olweus, 1978; Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Farrington, 1993). Victims of bullying are often characterised as having few friends as a source of emotional support and often having higher rates of internalising problems such as depression and anxiety (Hodge & Perry, 1996). In fact, Craig (1998) found that victims reported more anxiety and depressive symptoms in which victimised pupils hypothesised to be

cyclical.

Card (2003) did a meta-analytic review of the published literature on peer victimisation and found that victimisation is rather stable over time, especially for peer reported victimisation and during middle childhood and adolescence. The results also reported consistent sets of correlations provided by previous studies. The first set of correlations relates to characteristics of victims; these were physical weakness, internalising problems, externalising problems, low social skills/prosocial behaviour, low self-concept, peer rejection, and few friends. The second set of correlations is on consequences of victimisation; these are internalising problems, externalising problems, decreased social skills/prosocial behaviour, decreased self-concept, school avoidance, and peer rejection. As far as the family situation is concerned, there is some evidence that victims often have a very close relationship with their family. The parents may be over protective, particularly the mother (Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1994). There are also other studies on victims that will be more deeply discussed in chapter 9.

SUMMARY

Chapter 2 discussed the different concepts on bullying according to the time dependency and different social contexts. Forms and perception of bullying behaviour have been expanded and changed. Forms of it were more direct in earlier times but it has become both direct and indirect in more recent times. It was

also perceived as a part of growing up or man's culture, but the public are some more sensitive on this issue. There is much support for action to prevent and intervene against it.

Bullying is an important issue, which has aroused interest and debate for many years. The meaning of bullying has been expanded since the first study of Olweus in 1978. At the beginning of studying this issue, bullying was mainly considered as direct physical harassment by a group of pupils. However, in these days, the meaning of bullying constitutes direct, and indirect behaviours, and by individuals as well as groups. The meaning of bullying has also broadened; studies in the early years concentrated on physical abuse but these days, it includes even facial expression and mean gestures towards someone.

Bullying may take various forms, which can be direct overt in nature, such as physical assaults, verbal abuse, or threats (Ireland & Archer, 1996); alternatively, it may be more subtle and indirect, including gossiping, spreading rumours, ostracising, and making fun of someone. Smith and Sharp (1994) described bullying as a *"systematic abuse of power"*, and stated that it is most likely to occur in social groups where there are clear power relationships, and low supervision. Power relationships are present in any social group, *"...by virtue of strength or size or ability, force of personality, sheer numbers, or recognised hierarchy"* (p.12), and this power can be abused. Smith and Sharp further argued that the exact definition of what constitutes abuse depends on the social and cultural context.

The meaning of bullying or definition of bullying may be differentiated by social and cultural background of a nation. For example, in Korea, being bullied by a single pupil is rarely considered as bullying, whereas in Western nations, e.g. the UK, it is counted as bullying. Moreover, how victimised people take the bullying experience may be a subjective matter, depending on victims' personality and family background etc.

The overall aim of this thesis and the following chapters are not only to examine the incidence of bullying problems in South Korea, but also to try to broaden the overall understanding of the general background and of previous studies on bullying in the context of Korean society. For this, an approach that examines a society in terms of its particular and distinctive qualities is needed. Therefore, general features of Korea and its educational system that are relevant to understanding bullying phenomena will be introduced in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

SOUTH KOREA AND IT'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

SOUTH KOREA: NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

LOCATION AND HISTORY OF KOREA

North and South Korea has a 5000-year history with a homogeneous people, occupying a peninsula of about 222,145 square kilometres located between Japan and China. South Korea encompasses a total of 99,392 square kilometres -- approximately the same size as Britain. Mountainous terrain accounts for some two-thirds of the nation's territory, giving the landscape an appearance similar to Portugal or Hungary. A map of South Korea is shown in Figure 3-1. The Korean Peninsula lies on the north-eastern section of the Asian continent, in the north-western corner of the Pacific Ocean. The peninsula shares its northern border with China and Russia. To the east lies the East Sea, and beyond neighbouring Japan. In addition to the mainland peninsula, Korea also includes some 3,000 islands.

Until 1909, although deeply influenced by China, Korea had been a unified, independent nation stretching backing more than a thousand years. However, after 36

years of Japanese colonisation, the USA and Russia, (the USSR at that time), presided

over Korea's division in 1945. The division was disputed, resulting in the Korean war

of 1950-1953. The war lasted for 3 years and after that Korea has been divided into

North and South.

Figure 3-1 Map of South Korea

PROVINCES OF SOUTH KOREA

The mainland peninsula of South Korea constitutes 7 provinces (Figure 3-1). Seoul is the capital of the country and has the highest population density. Kyoungsang Province has specialised for industries while Chulla Province is known for culture and food. Kyoung-In area includes Seoul's satellite cities; since the end of 1980s, due to the population decentralisation policy, there has been a large population shift to this area and for the last 10 years a great number of Seoul population moved to the area. Choongchung Province is specialised for education and a new capital of South Korea will be located in this area by the year 2010. Kangwon Province is often described as a part of Choongchung and Kyoungsang Province, but with a lot of agriculture. The last province is Cheju Island, with the least population, but with a notable tourist identity.

LANGUAGE

The Korean alphabet, called Hangeul, was created by a group of scholars under the patronage of King Sejong the Great during the 15th century. Before its creation, only a relatively small percentage of the population could learn the Chinese characters, according to the social level. At that time, the opportunity of having education was very limited, to those of higher social status.

The Koreans are one ethnic family and speak one language. They all speak and write the same language, which has been a decisive factor in forging their strong national identity. Koreans have developed several different dialects in addition to the standard

used in Seoul. However, the dialects, except for that of Cheju Island, are similar enough for native speakers to understand each other without any difficulties. Linguistic and ethnological studies have classified the Korean language into the Ural-Altaic language group, along with Turkish, Hungarian, Finnish, Mongolian, Tibetan and possibly Japanese.

Sharing distinct physical characteristics, the Korean people are believed to be descendants of several Mongol tribes that migrated into the Korean Peninsula from Central Asia. In the seventh century, the various states of the peninsula were unified for the first time under the Silla Kingdom (57 B.C.-A.D. 935). Such homogeneity has enabled Koreans to be relatively free from ethnic problems and to maintain a firm solidarity with one another.

POPULATION

As of the end of 2000, South Korea's total population was 46,136,101, with a density of 1,188 people per square mile. The population of North Korea is estimated to be 22,175,000. A notable trend in Korea's demographics is that it is getting older with each passing year. In the 1960s, Korea's population distribution formed a pyramid shape, with a high birth rate and relatively short life expectancy. However, the structure is now shaped more like a bell with a low birth rate and extended life expectancy. Statistics show that 7.0 % of the total population of Korea was 65 years or older in 1999, while this generation made up 7.1 % of the total in 2000. The young population (under the

age of 15 years) will make up a decreasing portion of the total and most parents expect to have only child, while senior citizens (over 65 years) will account for some 19.3 % of the total by the year 2030.

The nation's rapid industrialization and urbanization in the 1960s and 1970s has been accompanied by a continuing migration of rural residents into the cities, particularly Seoul, resulting in heavily populated metropolitan areas. However, in recent years, an increasing number of people have begun moving to satellite cities of Seoul (e.g. Kyoung-In area). The GNP per person of South Korea in 2002 was $10,013; while not high, the GNP has been significantly increasing since 1980 with imminent prospect of South Korea attaining first-nation status

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN STOUTH KOREA

School is a representative social context for children in South Korea. Education is a high national priority and very competitive in Korea. Education is viewed as one of the most important ways for individuals to gain social status, recognition of achievement and personal growth. This national concern with education is thought to have contributed to the intense pressure that is put on children to succeed and conform in school.

THE MEANING OF EDUCATION
FOR THE KOREAN PUBLIC

According to the distribution of the level of education of the general population during

the last two decades, the proportion of the population with a low level of education (i.e.,

falling below the compulsory middle school education) has noticeably decreased

whereas the proportion above the level of high school education has dramatically

increased.   The proportion of the population below the level of completion of

elementary school education was 73.4% in 1970, but dropped to 27.6% by 1995. By

contrast, the proportion of the population above the level of completion of high school

education was 10.2% in 1970, but it has since climbed to 87.5% by 1995 and that above

the level of completion of university rose from 4.9% in 1970 to 19.1% by 1995.

While some variations inevitably between schools occur, according to the policies of the

local board of education, on the whole, the curriculum and content of education are

relatively uniform. Almost all children are assigned to schools closest to their homes.

As there are a small number of schools with notably high academic achievement in the

areas of greater incidence of families with high socio-economic level, the tendency for

people to move to areas where affluent families with high educational aims are

concentrated has become a significant social problem. This problem has been further

aggravated by the proliferation of expensive fee-paying institutes for private education

centred around these areas. Hence, there are claims that unfair disparities exist between

'privileged' students who have always had access to these private institutes versus those

who have not. However, sufficient statistical evidence to support such claims has not yet been produced.

GENERAL SCHOOL SYSTEM IN KOREA

School Organisation

The school organisation system is a unified structure connecting the different school levels. South Korea has a single-track 6-3-3-4 system which maintains a single line of school levels in order to ensure that every citizen can receive elementary and secondary education. The main track of the system includes six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, three years of high school, and four years of university education. Education is not free in Korea. The families of most school adolescents pay their children's tuition fees, though there is a support system which covers the cost for low income families.

Curriculum

The curriculum is set by the Ministry of Education and is almost identical for both public and state schools. The school Education Law articulates the goals and objectives of education for each school level, which are indicative of the contents to be organised by schools and teachers. To ensure the standard quality of education, Education Law 155 prescribes the curriculum for each school level and the criteria for the development of textbooks and instructional materials. However, the national curriculum and the regional guidelines afford flexibility for individual schools to apply them in pursuit of the characteristics and objectives of each school.

In principle, one instructional session, or lesson period, covers 40 minutes for elementary schools (about 5 subjects and one extra after school activity in a day), 45 minutes for middle schools (7 subjects and one hour extra subject), and 50 minutes for high schools (8 subjects and extra curriculum). However, the school is entitled to adjust the duration of each instructional hour depending on the weather and seasonal changes, individual school situations, the developmental level of the students, the nature of learning, and so forth. All school levels have 10 minutes break time between lessons and 40 minutes for lunch-time.

School Terms

The school year is organised into 2 terms. From March, children who are aged 7 before the end of February start normal schooling (elementary school). The school year starts from 2nd of March. The terms are almost 5 months; the first term lasts from the beginning of March to the end of July, the second term lasts from early September to the end of November and starts again from early January to the middle of February. There are three vacations as follows; summer vacation for one month in August, Winter vacation for one and half months from early December to beginning of January, and Spring break for a week at the end of February.

SCHOOL LEVELS

To give an understanding of the specific Korean school system, I will present the features of each school level.

Kindergarten Level

Kindergarten, which offers basic social and academic skills for pre-school children usually aged between 4 and 6, is not included in compulsory education. Kindergarten education is carried out in national, public, and private sectors. Kindergarten education aims at providing an appropriate environment for nurturing children and promoting the wholesome development of children through various pleasant activities. It has a diversified content and methods of instruction on the basis of the kindergarten curriculum provided by the state. Due to it not being free education, the enrolment numbers have changed over in Kindergartens for the last two decades, as seen in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1 Changing enrolment in Kindergarten

Year	No. of Kindergartens	No. of Classes	Proportion of Children enrolled
1981	2,950	4,116	17.3%
1986	9,762	16,695	57.1%
1991	8,448	15,063	45.1%
1996	8,943	19,220	44.8%
2001	8,323	21,158	43.9%
2003	8,292	21,839	46.9%

*As a result of establishing nursery centres under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Health and Welfare since 1991, both the number of kindergartens and enrolment rate at kindergarten have slightly decreased (source from Korean Ministry of Education 2004).

Elementary School Level

Compulsory education starts with primary school. Seven-year-old children are required to attend a six-year primary school within their attendance district. Primary school is intended to provide children between the ages of 7 and 12 with a general primary education. There are three types of primary schools. The majority of primary schools are state schools where pupils pay small tuition fees and pupils are assigned to the school nearest their residence; pupils in private schools pay fees almost fifty times higher. Private schools also follow the national curriculum but have many individual activities and provide extra subjects such as English. There are also a limited number of schools called national schools which provide private education for pupils but are owned by local authorities, and which function like state schools. In the year 2000, the number of elementary schools and branch schools[1] was 5,384 and 603 respectively.

Middle School Level

After completing primary school, all children are required to go on to a three-year middle school in their attendance district. This course aims to provide children between the ages of 13 to 15 with a general secondary education. Middle school can be considered as the natural starting point for competitive education since at the end of this educational stage, pupils must decide about high school in order to prepare for further education or vocational training, according to their academic achievement. Free compulsory middle school education began in 1985 in farming and fishing areas and is

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[1] Branch schools are available in remote areas. School in small and remote areas do not have own names but schools in large school share their name of send teachers for pupils in those areas.

planned to expand to all middle school students nationwide. All pupils are assigned to the school nearest their residence.

High School Level

Middle school graduates or those with equivalent academic background through *Gumjung-gosi* (school leaving exam for youth who has not completed their primary or secondary education for any reason) may enter high schools (Articles 47 of the Elementary and Secondary School Education Law, the Korean Ministry of Education, 2000). High school education is not compulsory. It is divided into two types in terms of preparation for higher education (called general high school) and professions (vocational high school). The period of study is three years and students bear the expenses of the education. There are various ways of election, such as recognition of the school activities records where the three-year life (including academic achievements) of middle school students is recorded, as well as the final entrance test score that is administered by the national board of examinations. After 1995, more than 90% of middle school pupils have taken up for high school.

The general high schools have selected students through a multiple application lottery system in each school district since 1996. After 1998, independent private schools, which have a clear philosophy and can be operated with finances from their own foundation and tuition, have the right to select students, and entering this kind of high school is very competitive.

Vocational high schools provide advanced general education as well as vocational training in agriculture, technology, commerce, fishery and oceanography, industry and home economics. The government is striving to devise a means to develop and support vocational high schools and to extend their roles by formulating a curriculum that takes into account both employment and higher education. However, due to the drastic changes that have recently occurred in the occupational world and the increased opportunity to advance to higher education, the number of aspirants to enter vocational high schools has decreased. This also leads middle school pupils to get into more competitive academic achievements.

Special Education

Special education offers school instruction, clinical education, and vocational training through curriculum, instructional methods, and educational media to meet the unique needs of students with visual, auditory, mental, physical, emotional, linguistic or other leaning difficulties. There are 137 special schools with a total enrolment of 24,192 children with severe learning difficulties. 26,868 children with mild learning difficulties are given education in regular schools and assigned to the nearest schools where they live.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

The drift of the rural population into cities, attendant to the rapid process of industrialisation in the 1970s and 1980s, left rural schools underpopulated, and urban

schools have become overcrowded. The overcrowded classrooms in urban areas have been a major obstacle in the development of education. Accordingly, the government created an education tax in 1982 to finance the expansion and modernisation of physical facilities and to improve the teachers' socio-economic status. As a result, the number of pupils per class dropped from 65 in 1970 to 36.9 in 2002.

The number of the students in the general high schools, which carry out the general high school education, has increased every year. This phenomenon, which is due to the increase in population of the age group for high school entrance, will continue in the future. The rate of increase in applications for general high schools is lower than that of applications for vocational high schools.

AFTER SCHOOL INSTITUTES

There is a very important role of private institutes and private tuitions after school. According to the Korean Education Times (4th June 2004), almost 75% of middle and high school youth also go to private institutes and spend more than 4 hours in terms of studying main subjects (English, Maths, and Science) in a day. About 10% of middle and high school youth have private tuition three times a week for 2 hours. Private institutes may lead to competition among pupils not only in his/her class or school but also between schools. In addition, the expense for children's learning (including school fees) per month in a family is 184,000 won (about 95 pounds), and a family pays 130,000 won (about 60 pounds) for private institutes. Thus, most parents in South

Korea have a double burden in terms of paying tuition fees for their children's education. In many cases, pupils understand their parents' sacrifice and feel a pressure to work hard and justify this expense.

SUMMARY

This chapter briefly introduced South Korea and it's educational system. Although Korea has a long history, the systematic educational system has been set up only for the last 35 years. Before it was a privilege for people in high society and only a small proportion of school children went to middle and high school. However, in these days, education is a national agenda in Korea and more than 90% of pupils enter high school, half of them take up university level education.

The next chapter describes more specific studies on bullying behaviours among Korean pupils. At the beginning of the next chapter, general aggressive and school violence will be considered, since bullying used to be lumped together with school violence and there was no distinction between bullying and school violence in Korean schools. After this, more specific studies on Korean bullying will be discussed.

CHAPTER 4

STUDIES ON SCHOOL VIOLENCE AND BULLYING IN SOUTH KOREA

The overall aim of this study is not only to find out about the incidence of bullying problems but also broaden overall understanding of bullying in the context of Korean society. Therefore, it is necessary to look at previous studies on school violence in order to have a better understanding of Korean bullying, or *wang-ta*. Before the end of the 1990s *wang-ta* was lumped together under the name of '*ssaum*' (children's fighting) or '*hakkyo pokryuk*' (school violence).

Table 4-1 Glossary of Korean terms

Korean terms	Translation into English terms
gipdan	group
eun-ta	no literal meaning
gipdan-gorophim	group harassment
gipdan-ttadolim	group isolation
hakkyo-pokryuk	school violence
jun-ta	no literal meaning
ssaum	fighting
torae-gorophim	peer harassment
wang-ta	bullying

SCHOOL VIOLENCE

The Number of Arrested Adolescents

There has been considerable research on different aspects of school violence from different disciplinary viewpoints in South Korea, and its current states and causes have been partly identified. The numbers of adolescents who have been arrested due to school violence in some previous years are as follows: 6,700 in 1994, 10,113 in 1995, 18,185 in 1996, 39,883 in 1997 and 35,374 in 1998 (Lee, 1999). Lee (1999) pointed out that there had been a significant increase in school violence from 1994 to 1997, even though there is a slight drop between 1997 and 1998. The latter apparent decrease may be because since 1997 the forms of *hakkyo pokryuk* (school violence) have been divided into simple violence and *wang-ta* (at that time it was considered as *ijime*) and *wang-ta* was not included in the number of 35,374. However, even if the public had recognised another aspect of school violence, until very recent times there was not a clear distinction between *hakkyo pokryuk* (school violence) and *wang-ta* (school bullying). Moreover, studies on school violence have included every kind of violence, including school bullying. Hence, the incidence figures of violence were very high.

Frequency of School Violence

According to a survey by the Korean Adolescent Violence Prevention Foundation (KAVPF, 1997), 41.3% of pupils had (at some point) experienced school violence. Moreover, a survey by the Korean Institute of Criminology (1996) gave a roughly similar figure of 58.6%; this was constituted of light physical damage that did not need much medical attention (33%), physical damage that needed medical treatment (18.1%), serious physical damage that required hospitalisation (6.5%), and death (1%). In the cases of mental damage, 56.1% felt anxiety, 11% refused to go to school, 3.2% required medical treatment for their depression, 0.5% attempted to commit suicide, and 0.6% committed suicide. In these cases of mental damage and committing suicide, there was some evidence of pupils being physically and psychologically harassed for a very long time by the same group of pupils (Yang & Jung, 1999).

Lee, Lee, and Kwak (1997) investigated the state of school violence in and around *Bucheon* (a satellite city), with 1,200 middle and high school pupils. The results showed that 49.8% had (at some point) suffered school violence. Of these robbery was most common (35.7%) followed by plundering (13.4%) and threats (10.2%). 21% of pupils claimed they were assaulters, and the kinds of assaults were robbery, violence and mugging in order of frequency. Those who were neither assaulters nor victims made up 44.2% of the pupils, and those who had only been victimised made up 34.8%.

The highest rate of being victimised due to school violence appeared in the study of Lim (1998). He carried out a survey with 500 middle and high school pupils and 61.8% of them had (at some point) suffered from school violence, which is a somewhat larger figure compared to other studies. Middle school male pupils gave the highest figure of 79.1%. With another high figure of 68.2% found for proportion of assaulters in this group, it was found that school violence was most serious amongst middle school male pupils in South Korea.

However, in the following year, another study by Park and Kim (1999) showed rather different results. According to this study, based on a survey with 850 elementary, middle and high school pupils, 28% of pupils had assaulted others, 37.5% had been assaulted, 15% of them had experienced both, and 19.5% of them were not involved in any of those behaviours. Park and Kim divided the participants into 4 groups; assaulter, victim, assaulter/victim, and bystander. They analysed the social relationships and emotional features among these groups. Assaulters showed hostility to their parents or teachers, did not get on well with others, and a high proportion of them also showed moral disengagement.

As seen above, despite differences found in various researches, taken together they suggest that some 40~50% of pupils had experienced school violence. The degree of violence ranges from light injuries to very serious ones. However, the research is based on different standards (definition, method etc.) and therefore the incidence of

school violence appears to be different depending on which research is considered. As well as simple violence and school bullying, there are phenomena where a group of pupils collectively ignore and/or physically and verbally harass a particular pupil on purpose (Lee et al., 1997). These are somewhat different phenomena; some researchers, however, do not distinguish those two terms: *wang-ta* and school violence (e.g. Yang & Jung, 1999)

STUDIES ON KOREAN BULLYING

Terms for Bullying in South Korea

Just before the middle of the 1990s, school violence in Japan was introduced into Korean society as *ijime* (Japanese for bullying). It should be explained that, in Japan, the term *ijime* has been used for a long time while there was no comparable term for the behaviour in Korean. The reaction of the Korean public was that schools in Korea are different to ones in Japan and that we have a much more moral educational system. There was general alarm in Korean society and this caused people to look carefully at the schools. Bullying was there in our schools but at that time when it was first acknowledged it was introduced as *ijime*. From 1995 to 1997, some news articles about *ijime* were published and some of them held the view that Korean pupils copied the behaviour of *ijime*.

However, as in other nations, there is no doubt that bullying exists in Korean society but that there has not been a distinctive term for it. As mentioned earlier, it used to be lumped together under the name of '*ssaum*' (children's fighting) or '*hakkyo pokryuk*' (school violence). Moreover, adults in their 60s and older and who had attended Japanese schools (during the period of Japanese occupation) observed that *ijime* was not only present in their school life but also that it still exists in Korean schools, having noted it in their own children's schooling.

Representative Term for Korean Bullying

In these days, the most well-known and popular term for bullying in South Korea is *wang-ta,* even though there are also several other terms for bullying (see chapter 5 of this thesis); *gipdan-ttadolim* (group-isolation), *gipdan-gorophim* (group-harassment), *wang-ta, eun-ta,* and *jun-ta.* Among these terms, *wang-ta* is the most used and well-known term in Korean society. Although *wang-ta* is used for bullying behaviour, we do not know where the term comes from. I surmise that it arose from the vocabulary of pupils and this spread out into society in general. One interesting detail about the term *wang-ta* is that the term reflects a distinctive feature of bullying in Korea. The literal meaning of *wang-ta* is 'the king of isolated and harassed victims by a large group of people'. Also, researchers, without any empirical evidence, pointed out that *wang-ta* is a collective behaviour (Kwon, 1999; Kim, Park, & Kim, 1997). However,

there was no statistical evidence for this. They did not systematically study how many pupils took part in bullying others and how many victims there were.

Wang-ta before 1997

Although awareness of the phenomenon of bullying in Korea has been raised since the middle of the 1990s, and studied separately from school violence since 1997, there was also some evidence of school truancy resulting from group isolation and group harassment before the middle of the 1990s. The fact that some school children are frequently and systematically harassed and attacked by other children has been described in very famous literary works.

An example is *Our Twisted Hero* by Lee Moon-Yeul (1987). This was published before the Korean public began to face the problem of *wang-ta*, but the author clearly shows how one pupil (called Mr. Um), who has a strong power, bullies another boy, who has transferred from another school and had a good academic achievement but does not follow the bully. It also describes well the roles of other classmates who are afraid of becoming the next target. The ringleader bully's classmates did not want to bully the victim and they did not bully the victim if the ringleader and his cronies were not there. However if the ringleader bully was there, the classmates started to kick, hit, and/or lock indoors the victim, who had just come from other school and did not know the rule of the classroom, even though Mr. Um did not order them to do that. If Mr. Um was not in the classroom they felt something like a freedom and did not bully the

new pupil. Sometimes, some classmates talked about Mr. Um and decided not to be with him, but the next day in school they found themselves still under the command of Mr. Um.

NEW AWARENESS OF WANG-TA

Before 1997, there were only newspaper articles on *wang-ta*, which reported some cases of school bullying and its consequences. Since 1997 researchers have tried to distinguish school bullying from general school violence and there are five well-known nationwide studies on school bullying in South Korea.

The First Study

The first research on school bullying was conducted in 1997 by Kim and Park with 1,642 primary, middle, and high school pupils. The researchers used the term *gipdan-ttadolim* (group-isolation) for school bullying. The results showed that about 48.1% of pupils had been doing *gipdan-ttadolim* during the previous six months: of these, 80.9%, 12.3% and 3.8%, for 1-2 times, 3-5 times and every day respectively. About receiving *gipdan-ttadolim*, 30% pupils reported this: of these 72.7%, 15.3%, and 5.2%, for 1-2 times, 3-5 times, and every day, respectively. Although this study was the first attempt to distinguish school bullying from general *gipdan-ttadolim*, it only focused on those singled out (social exclusion) from within a group and did not cover the whole range

of school bullying, such as physical and verbal bullying.

The Second Study

The following year, Park, Son, and Song (1998) conducted a survey based on Olweus's questionnaire with 6,893 primary, middle, and high school pupils. In this research, although Park and his colleagues modified some of Olweus's questions, they did not use the definition of Olweus and did not give any definition of Korean bullying. They use the term *hakkyo pokryuk* (school violence), fixed the duration at the last year, and divided school bullying into 5 categories: teasing, insulting, threatening, simple violence such as fighting, and sexual abuse. According to their results, 24.2% of pupils had been bullied in schools. Middle school pupils suffered the highest level of bullying followed by primary and then high school students. However, this study seemed to measure not only school bullying but also more general school violence. If a pupil reported one of those five categories, it would be counted as bullying, but this would be higher than actual incidents of school bullying by a more usually accepted definition.

The Third Study

The first systematic research with a clear term and definition for bullying in Korean was conducted by Lee and Kwak (2000). They did a survey of 1,500 pupils in primary

and middle schools in Seoul (the capital city) and its satellite cities. They used the term *gipdan-ttadolim* (group-isolation) and divided the duration into 'in this term' and 'in the last term'. They also adopted the explanation of Olweus as a definition, as follows:

"Gipdan-ttadolim is when a student or a group of students say nasty and unpleasant things to him or her; hit, kick, threaten, push; spreading rumours, singled out. This behaviour did not happen only once; it has happened repeatedly with the intention of harm".

At this point, there is a serious question of how much the term *gipdan-ttadolim* can be considered equivalent to bullying. The definition of Olweus is not a very appropriate explanation for *gipdan-ttadolim*. Olweus's definition of bullying includes most kinds of bullying forms; verbal, physical, psychological and social exclusion. However, *gipdan-ttadolim* only implies a part of indirect bullying, especially social exclusion among pupils. Nonetheless, providing this kind of statement is very important in order to get clear information, since pupils may have different perceptions of *gipdan-ttadolim* according to their own personal experience of it. The researchers also set a clear frequency of occurrence scale, as has been done in other nations, on each question, such as 'none', 'once or twice', 'once or twice a month', 'once a week', and 'several times a week'. It helps pupils to choose a clear answer. Also, it is easier to conduct comparative studies with other nations.

According to this study, 19.6% pupils had been bullied in this term; 13.3% once or

twice during this term, 1.7% once or twice a month, 1.6% once a week, and 3.0% several times a week. More pupils reported being bullied in primary school (28.6%) than in middle school (12.5%). Regarding the frequency during the last term, being bullied once or twice was most cited (17.4% and 10.2% for primary and middle pupils, respectively). Nonetheless, in primary and middle schools, the second most cited scale point was several times a week during this term as well as last term. From this, it is not difficult to guess that some pupils are being persistently bullied.

The Fourth Study

A survey conducted by the Commission on Youth Protection (CYP) (2002) with 5,381 pupils from primary to high school on school violence, included some questions on school bullying. Unlike other research, they did this survey in an impersonal way, using on-line Internet in the presence of class teachers. Most schools in Korea are provided with full computer systems as well as Internet networks. It was the first attempt to use the Internet for doing a survey on bullying and offered several benefits: saving costs and time, and apparently giving anonymity. The results showed that only 1.9% of pupils had been bullied 'in this term'. However, the presence of teachers in the class during the survey may have led pupils to not give accurate answers. Also, they did not solely investigate school bullying; they embedded some questions on school bullying without defining the differences between bullying and violence.

The Fifth Study

Kim, Koh, and Leventhal (2004) recently conducted a survey with 1,756 middle school pupils. They found 40% of all children participated in school bullying. By category, the prevalence of victims, perpetrators, and victim-perpetrators was 14%, 17%, and 9%, respectively. It was the first attempt to solely investigate school bullying in Korea and publish it in an international journal. It is a really good start to develop theories on Korean bullying not only in Korea but also in other nations. The method used for the study was the Korean-Peer Nomination Inventory which was developed by the authors. However, the places where they took samples were only Seoul and one of its satellite cities (Anyang), where they also have a bad reputation representing school violence problems (Lim, 1998; Lee et al., 1997). They also did not give a clear duration or reference period for being bullied or bullying others, and did not even give cutoff points for prevalence in bullying incidence.

RELATED FACTORS

An important aspect of studies on school bullying is information on causes of school bullying, how they are related to each other and how much influence each of these factors brings in various circumstances. The results from studies in Korea not only gave findings on frequency but also found out information on some related factors in school bullying.

Age Differences

Park et al. (1998) showed that middle school pupils experience more school bullying than elementary school pupils. It has been reported that school bullying starts at primary education, and even at kindergarten children aged 6~7 years form assaulting groups and bully others. However, Lee and Kwak (2000) found that primary school pupils are more involved in bullying behaviour than at other school levels.

Gender Differences

Lee and Kwak (2000) tell us that female victims are more common in elementary school but there are more male victims in middle school. In the CYP (2002), pupils were asked about forms of being bullied in the order from what is most common to what is least common - swearing and teasing, ignoring, beating up and threatening, spreading rumours, mugging money or other possessions and teasing about appearance. Female assaulters were more active in classrooms; their most common method of bullying others was leaving out and ignoring the victims. Male assaulters often worked outside school by committing physical violence. However, such results are not sufficient to make any generalised judgment on sex differences because they only focused on a certain area (Seoul, the capital and its satellite cities). More detailed and structured analyses considering age and sex differences are required.

Reasons for Being Bullied

In the CYP (2002) study, the most common response of pupils as to why victims were bullied was 'I don't know' followed by 'because the victims were being arrogant, the assaulters were bad pupils', or 'because they could not keep up with the current style'. Studies in Korea show an especially high proportion of "I do not know" responses among victimised pupils about reasons for being bullied. It is necessary to investigate whether this is because they are not able to judge objectively and feel how others think of them or because they just do not want to admit that they are ignored by others.

Related Psychological Factors

Lee and Kwak (2000) selected 477 pupils from 4th year of elementary school to 3rd year of middle school and assigned them to the following four groups: victim, bully, bully/victim, control. They were tested on their self-concept (academic achievement, social acceptance, sports, physical appearance, behaviour, self- confidence), social support (parents, peer group, teacher, close friends), and depression (self-value, possessiveness, self-blame, concerning suicide. Differences among the four groups were analysed. There was no difference in self-concept in academic achievement of bullies and victims; however, bullies had higher social acceptance or self-confidence than controls. Victims showed the lowest satisfaction in relationships with others and lacked social skills the most. Bullies had low support from teachers but had much

support from classmates, as predicted since they bullied victims in large groups. The bully/victim group was the most depressed of all, induced mainly from lack of motivation and energy. Victims also showed strong depression related to self-blame. Bullies were either equally popular or sociable as or only slightly less so than the control group.

METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

Limited Number of Studies on Wang-ta

Despite the long-standing nature of the *wang-ta* problem in Korea, academic research has only seriously addressed this issue in the last 7 years and there is still a lack of research, with fewer than 20 papers published to date (late 2004) and only a few of them based on a large-scale data base. It is well known in Korea that school counsellors wrote most of these papers based on their counselling cases, focusing on the frequency in their own schools (Kwon, 1999). Therefore, there is a limitation to generalisation. Table 4-2 shows most recent research relating to bullying behaviour in Korean pupils in addition to the five studies described earlier. Most of these studies show methodological limitations: they did not even fix the duration of behaviour and did not give any clear definition as to what counted as bullying. Also, some studies on bullying were not focused on this but embedded among other survey topics (e.g. the CYP, 2002).

An Influential Factor Leading to Wrong Information

There is a possible influential factor concerning the terms, recommended by the Korean Ministry of Education for studying bullying behaviour, which has led to misunderstandings. In fact, in most cases, discussion of bullying by researchers and reports in the mass media emphasise the word *gipdan* (group) in order to investigate Korean bullying: *gipdan-ttadolim* (group-isolation), *gipdan-gorophim* (group-harassment). Hence, if one pupil bullies another or two-three pupils bully another, even though these assaulters did it with intention repeatedly, this would not be considered an incident of bullying.

Lack of Pilot Studies

Olweus's bully/victim questionnaire has been used in many nations in order to assess the phenomenon of bullying among school children and adolescents. The general utility of the questionnaire has been confirmed in many studies (Whitney & Smith, 1993; Olweus, 1993). Moreover, some Korean researchers used this questionnaire when studying the phenomenon of bullying in Korean schools. Despite using the same questionnaire, the results of the studies revealed greatly varying frequencies in Korean schools, ranging from 3.7% (Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office, 1998) to 24.2% (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2000); see table 4-2. This divergence seems due to the fact that the researchers neither took into account cultural differences

when using Olweus' questionnaire (1978), nor allowed enough time to revise questions in it.

Moreover, none of the studies on Korean bullying have been based on initial pilot studies. The researchers only translated questionnaires from abroad (e.g. Olweus 1978) into Korean and directly used them in classrooms, without clarifying the application of the questionnaire in a new cultural context. Of course, the researchers had modified some questions by themselves but they did not do it based on pilot studies.

The studies on bullying presented in Korea therefore only offer a limited view on frequency, explaining reasons, and policy about school bullying. The most basic content of studies on school bullying should be occurrence rates under various circumstances, together with the differences present between groups differentiated by age, sex, and region. Some studies report on these differences, but they only selected a sample in a certain large city or focused on a particular province. Hence, there is a lack of comparisons by age, sex, and by region.

Limited Discussion of Definition and Duration

There also has been very limited discussion of the definition of school violence. Some say, whether it happens in a school or at home, it should be taken as school violence as

long as it is violence that pupils commit (Kwon, 2002). This also applies to violence in the Internet and via mobile phones. On the other hand, some people define school violence as only taking place inside and around schools (Kim, 2002). Different researchers use different definitions of school violence and sometimes do not even give a clear definition. They also rely on different data sources in order to get frequencies of school violence, such as 'yes-no questionnaire', 'multiple choice', and asking the incidence of being bullied or bullying others in open-ended questions.

Regarding the lack of definition, Solberg and Olweus (2003) point out that if there is no clear definition, participants will put more subjective interpretation on the meaning of bullying. They also said that lack of definition would increase variability. Correspondingly, there are not clear and consistent results in studies on the topic among South Korean researchers.

There is another important issue concerning the rates of being bullied and bullying others. Some studies do not give a clear rule for time-scale; whether this is one term, six months, or one year is left unspecified. There is also a lack of consistency in what response is included. Some researchers counted even 'once or twice in a term' in a proportion of bullying incidence (e.g. Lee & Kwak, 2000; Lim, 1998; Lee et al., 1997) even though the usual definition of bullying emphasises that it should be repeated. The end result is likely to be quite different depending on which choices are selected from various response choices. Solberg and Olweus (2003) point out that the decision

rules used in choosing a relevant cutoff point for prevalence in bullying incidence seem to be quite subjective. Therefore, a chosen variable used for occurrence assessment must also be shown to *"function reasonably well"* for its proposed aims (Solberg & Olweus, 2003, p.242). The cutoff point of 'now and then' and for serious bullying 'once a week or more' has been used in a number of large-scale studies (Olweus, 1993; O'Moore et al., 1997; Smith & Sharp, 1994). Hence, there is a serious question regarding how far behaviours that have happened only 'once or twice in a term' should be counted as bullying.

SUMMARY

The prevalence rate of bullying and victimisation depends on definitions and reference periods. Solberg and Olweus (2003) state that lack of definition leads to participants' subjective interpretation in the way of defining bullying, and they also point out that studies differ with regard to the framed period used in measuring bullying. Although there is no doubt that previous research contributed a lot in improving perceptions of the Korean public on bullying, key items of information such as use of a clear term, definition, and duration have often been left unclear. Moreover, researchers only selected samples in some particular areas. In order to clearly understand the nature of Korean bullying, there must be studies which remedy these methodological limitations of previous research. As the first step for systematic research on Korean bullying, the next chapter deals with finding the most appropriate term for Korean bullying.

Table4-2 Recent studies on bullying in Korea

Conducted by	Method	Area	Term used	Duration	Results
Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office (1998)	Phone-line 4,700 phone calls	All provinces in Korea	*Hakkyo-pokryuk* (School violence)	Three months	174 out of 4,700 phone calls from being bullied pupils
Adolescents Communication Centre (1999)	Yes/No Questions Samples: 1,624 7-17 years old	All provinces in Korea	*Gipdan-ttadolim* (Group Isolation)	No fixed duration	30% have been isolated from within group. Boys-26.2% Girls-32.2%
Lee Jong-Yeon Lee Jae-Shin (1999)	Self-confidence Questions Samples: 1,243 14 years old	Seoul and Choong-chung province	*Gipdan- gorophim* (Group Harassment)	No fixed duration	Being bullied pupils had lower self-confidence than others but it depends on personality of victims
Choi Eun-Sook Chae Joon-Ho (2000)	Bully/victim Questions, Parental attitude, anxiety measure scale Samples: 832 13-15 years old	Seoul	*Gipdan gorophim* (Group Harassment)	No fixed duration	There is a correlation between negative attitude of parents and being bullied and bullying others. The group of bully/victims showed more anxiety than other groups.
Oe Hea-Jung (2000)	Self-confidence and Depression measurement Samples: 376 14 years old	2 satellite cities (Yongin and Soowon)	*Ttorae- gorophim* (Peer Harassment)	No fixed duration	Provocative victims have the highest depression. Bullies showed more self-confidence
Kim So-Myoung (2001)	Child abuse scale, Marriage trouble scale, Group harassment questions Samples: 386 10-12 years old	Seoul	*Gipdan gorophim* (Group Harassment)	No fixed duration	There is a correlation between experience of child abuse at home and group harassment. Also marriage trouble affects children's bullying others.
Korean Educational Development Institute (2000)	Yes/No Questions Samples: 6,893 7-17 years old	All provinces in Korea	*Gipdan-ttadolim* and *gorophim* (Group Isolation and Harassment)	No fixed duration	24.2% pupils have been isolated and harassed by others. Boys-28.2% and Grils-20.3%

CHAPTER 5

THE CARTOON TASK
Defining the most appropriate term
for Korean bullying

THE IMPORTANCE OF DEFINING TERMS

As Smith et al. (2002) pointed the study of school bullying has recently assumed an international dimension. However, it is faced with difficulties in finding terms in different languages to correspond to the English word bullying. This is turn leads to difficulties in doing comparative studies accurately. Moreover, even in the same nation (as we shall in Korea), different terms have been used for response on bullying, producing information that is difficult to interpret in a comparative way.

To date, the cross-national comparisons among Western European and North American countries suggest that, despite some variations in incidence, and the relative importance of factors such as urban/rural area or social class, the structural features of bullying are quite similar. Although an exact translation for the English term *bullying* often does not exist, there are similar terms (such as *mobbing* or *mobbning* in the Scandinavian languages, *pesten* in Dutch, etc) (Arora, 1996; Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefooghe, 2002); and some countries are co-opting the word *bullying*, which clearly captures a significant conceptual meaning for many people: for example, *il bullismo* in Italy (Fonzi, 1997; Genta, 2002; Menesini, 2000).

The situation may be noticeably different in some Eastern cultures. Morita, Soeda, Soeda and Taki (1999) have pointed out that compared to *bullying*, the nature of Japanese *ijime* (usually considered the closest equivalent term) is rather different; *ijime* is focused more on social isolation than on physical attack, and may often involve a whole class rather than just one or two bullies. Some empirical support for the difference between *bullying* and *ijime* was also found in a bi-national comparison by Kanetsuna and Smith (2002).

Korea is a country close to Japan and with its historical and cultural identity quite strongly related to those of Japan and of China (although the Korean language is quite different, being in the Altaic group of languages). Some studies have been made on bullying in Korean schools, but mainly using western instruments such as the Olweus questionnaire (largely unchanged for Korean use), and western terms and definitions. It is not clear that the most appropriate Korean terms were used in these studies, and no empirical research has been carried out to establish the most useful terms to use (see chapter 4). To progress further with systematic research on bullying in Korea, I aimed to examine the terms for the phenomenon of bullying in Korea, to arrive at the most sufficient term for it.

TERMS FOR BULLYING IN KOREA

It is very difficult to specify a particular term to explain the behaviour since, even in Korea as in other countries, it implies psychological, physical, and inter-relational behaviour patterns. Depending on the purpose of the researcher's study and the term s/he uses, the definition can vary. However, it is difficult to obtain

accurate information on bullying without a clear definition, and the use of an appropriate term in questionnaires. In Korea, 'wang-ta' is the most popular and general term for bullying. However, 'wang-ta' is not a sufficiently academic term; therefore, the Korean Ministry of Education recommends that researchers not use the term due to it being a kind of slang used by pupils. The term is also not academically confirmed in terms of representing the behaviour pattern. Also the Ministry of Education recommends researcher to use the terms *gipdan-ttadolim* (group isolation) and *gipdan-gorophim* (group harassment).

There are other similar terms for bullying; *bomjoi* (vandalism), *tta* (isolation), and *pokryuk* (force) are other words for it in the Korean context. Different researchers use different terms in order to explain bullying behaviour according to the particular focus of their studies. Kwak (1999) studied group isolation of middle school pupils using the term '*gipdan-tadolim*'. As a result of this study, she defines bullying as psychological exclusion which is based on a group mechanism. On the other hand, Kwon (1999) used '*gipdan-gorophim*' and particularly focuses on physical harassment among boys and defines bullying as group harassment.

DEFINING REPRESENTATIVE TERMS

For the last 5 years some Korean researchers have used the Olweus questionnaire with different terms and definitions, depending on what they focused on. Results show that they have failed to obtain clear information on bullying. First of all, the observable frequency of bullying is totally different in Kwak's study (1999), where

it was 32%, whereas Kim and Park (1997) reported 12% more than once or twice a month, depending on what definition and terms were used.

There is also disagreement about the characteristics of bullies and victims among researchers in Korea. In Lee and Kwak's study (2000) that used *'gipdan-tadolim'*, victims were described as usually being pupils who deserve to receive bullying and are less popular than the bullies. However, Kim and Park (1997) who used *'gipdan-gorophim'* state that victims are well behaved, academically superior, and popular with teachers. Hence, establishing anti-bullying policies and prevention programmes are complicated (Kwak, 2002). From the results of those studies as well as my own experience with pupils, I realised the need for there to be a clear term, which would reflect all the forms and main definitional characteristics of bullying behaviour.

The term *bullying* is widely agreed upon in English-speaking countries and researchers in Asian countries on this topic know this term. However, as Smith et al. (2002) pointed out, the term is not commonly familiar in non-English speaking countries (e.g. Korea). These terms are also difficult to translate into other languages. However, although there is no equivalent term to *bullying*, it is not difficult to see a similar pattern of behaviour among Korean students. Thus, if one clearly investigates the kinds of behaviour that can be counted as bullying among Korean students and verifies that the pattern is similar to that in English speaking countries, then it should not be hard to arrive at a term which is equivalent to bullying.

Once I decided to study bullying, I looked for a method on which the definition of bullying among Korean students could be based. Initially, I adopted Olweus's questionnaire. However, I assumed from having read the previous literature in Korea on bullying that there are neglected factors that must be studied first. The first point is that, to the best of my knowledge, there is no systematic research on defining bullying itself in terms of clarifying terms for use in the questionnaire. The second point is that without a clear term, Olweus's questionnaire cannot be done sufficiently in terms of explaining the whole phenomenon of bullying behaviour. I was confronted with the serious problem of how to name the behaviour. Eventually, I decided to conduct a study for finding terms in the Korean language.

School bullying is now a worldwide problem. However, some forms of it are dissimilar in different countries and, therefore, definitions of it could be different. Since school bullying is not exclusive to a certain nation but is a serious problem in many countries, there should be cooperation in order to study it from different points of view and to obtain the most appropriate, systematic approach to the problem. For that, there must be a tool by which comparative studies between states can be done. The Cartoon Task (Smith et. al., 2002) is considered to be the best method for finding out the equivalent terms for bullying in Korea. A considerable number of national researchers have used the Cartoon Task, hence there is enough material for comparative study.

CARTOON STUDY: METHOD

The context of the Cartoon Task includes most kinds of direct and indirect behavioural patterns; for example, it contains psychological bullying e.g. social exclusion; direct and indirect verbal bullying; and physical bullying. The cartoons vary according to the number of pupils involved (one against one or a group against one victim), provocation, repetition of negative act, and intention to hurt (Menesini, Fonzi & Smith 2002). Furthermore, it is also easy to conduct the survey in Korea because the task is presented using stick figure drawings and the situations explained in captions which most students understand and, therefore, find them easy to answer. Moreover, as Smith et al. (2002) intended, the stick figures would obviate any issue of clothing, hair, weight etc. 14 countries involved for the study and Japan took a part whereas Korea was not included. The study found 5 categories from the 25 cartoons; non-aggressive, physical aggressive, physical bullying, verbal bullying (direct and indirect) and social exclusion.

First Pilot Study: Selection of Terms Used by Pupils

To begin with, to use the Cartoon Test appropriate terms which reflect a kind of bullying have to be selected. When it comes to selecting terms, the suggestion by Smith et al. (2002) of a procedure to select suitable terms was followed. The first step is to make a list and to identify existing terms for bullying and social exclusion in the Korean context. To this end, four of the most popular Korean dictionaries (*Dong-a, Shi-sa, Gipmoon-dang,* and *Elite*) and, especially, documentation from

the NAKL[1] were carefully researched.

However, there was no suitable vocabulary for bullying, and even the most popular term 'wang-ta', which is well known as signifying strong group isolation and harassment behaviour among pupils, is not listed in any of those dictionaries. As a result, I decided to base this study on the perception of pupils since there is no doubt that the pattern of bullying among Korean students is broadly similar to that found in English speaking nations. Therefore, based on the definition of western researchers (e.g. Olweus, Smith) and of Morita in Japan, general forms and patterns of bullying were listed and used in this first pilot study (see Table 5-1).

The samples of pupils were randomly selected from the lists provided by their teachers. One hundred 14-year-old middle school pupils were selected from two schools in Seoul, one for boys and one for girls. To prevent any disruptive behaviour and to enhance pupils' concentration on the Task, in each school each group of 50 pupils was divided into one of two groups. Twenty-five pupils were tested at a time. The following forms and patterns of bullying were written on a blackboard.

The task was carried out during PE class with the permission of the headmasters of both schools. The purpose of this study- to find a suitable word for the described behaviours- was explained and pupils were asked to discuss the behaviours. A

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[1]The Korean government established the National Academy of the Korean Language in order to encourage the Korean people to use their language correctly and appropriately.

pupil was designated by me to be the group monitor and to read the sentences.

Pupils were given a few minutes to think about the behaviour, before writing

anything down about what it is. After this, the pupil monitors collected the papers

for me. The results are shown in Table 5-2.

Table 5-1: Forms and pattern of bullying behaviour

Give a name for the behaviour patterns described
1. A student or a group of students say nasty and unpleasant things to him or her
2. A student or a group of students hit, kick, threaten, lock inside a room or
toilet, and take away personal belonging from him or her
3. A student or a group deliberately isolate or ignore him or her
Note: These behaviours did not happen only once; they happened repeatedly with the intention of harm. However, the recipients of the behaviour cannot defend themselves.

Table 5-2 Names given by Korean students for bullying behaviour patterns

Given names	**Number**	**Given names**	**Number**
Wang-Ta	27	Terrorism	7
Jun-Ta	19	Gipdan-ttadolim	5
Eun-Ta	15	Gipdan-gorophim	2
Pokryuk	12	Bullying	2
Bomjoi	9	Did not give answer	2

As Table 5-2 illustrates, 27 out of 100 pupils cited 'wang-ta' for the behaviour

pattern. 'jun-ta' and 'eun-ta' followed from the next 19 and 15 pupils, respectively.

Nine pupils called this behaviour '*bomjoi*' (valdalism); the number is more than I would have expected. Although the term *'terrorism'* is an English word, in Korea we use the word to mean an attack by someone without reason. One interesting finding is that, although the number of pupils is small (n=2), one boy and one girl specifically pointed out that the behaviour was '*bullying*' (they used the English term). When asked about this, the teachers gave information about these two pupils. The girl used to study at an international school in Seoul (Korea) and the boy used to live in Toronto, Canada. Hence, the term *bullying* was more likely familiar to them. A very important finding is that the terms *gipdan-ttadolim* and *gipdan-gorophim*, which have been recommended by the Korean Ministry of Education for researchers for studying Korean bullying, were not usually used by these pupils. There is a big gap between real world (school) and theory.

Second Pilot Study: Confirming Selection of Terms Used by Pupils

The first study elicited nine terms from the 100 pupils. Nine terms was too many to use in the main cartoon task, so I provisionally selected the six most frequently elicited in the first pilot study – *wang-ta*; *jun-ta*; *eun-ta*; *pokryuk*; *bomjoi*; *terrorism*. I wished to confirm that these terms were familiar to pupils in an independent sample, and to see which they considered most suitable when all six terms were simultaneously available for consideration. I randomly selected twenty 14-year-old pupils, 10 from a girls' school and 10 from a boys' school, in different middle schools in Seoul. The six terms were written on a blackboard and available on a handout. The same descriptive sentences – in Table 5-1 - were read to the pupils and they were given a few minutes to

think about the behaviours. They were asked to make a list ranking the six terms as to

how suitable they were for referring to such behaviours. The full results are shown in

Table 5-3.

Ten out of 20 participants cited *wang-ta* as the most suitable term for the behaviours,

followed by six for *jun-ta*, two for *eun-ta* and one each for *pokryuk* and *bomjoi*. The

Table 5-3 Ranking of six terms as appropriate for bullying type behaviour (n=20)

No.	Lists of terms ranked by pupils					
1	Wang-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Jun-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Terrorism –	Bomjoi
2	Wang-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Jun-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Bomjoi –	Terrorism
3	Bomjoi –	Pokryuk –	Jun-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Wang-Ta –	Terrorism
4	Jun-Ta –	Wang-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Eun-Ta –	Bomjoi –	Terrorism
5	Jun-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Wang-Ta –	Terrorism –	Bomjoi –	Eun-Ta
6	Wang-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Jun-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Bomjoi –	Terrorism
7	Eun-Ta –	Jun-Ta –	Wang-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Terrorism –	Bomjoi
8	Wang-Ta –	Jun-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Bomjoi –	Pokryuk –	Terrorism
9	Jun-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Bomjoi –	Wang-Ta –	Terrorism –	Eun-Ta
10	Wang-Ta –	Jun-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Bomjoi –	Terrorism
11	Jun-Ta –	Wang-Ta –	Bomjoi –	Terrorism –	Pokryuk –	Eun-Ta
12	Wang-Ta –	Jun-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Bomjoi –	Pokryuk –	Terrorism
13	Eun-Ta –	Wang-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Bomjoi –	Jun-Ta –	Terrorism
14	Jun-Ta –	Bomjoi –	Terrorism –	Pokryuk –	Wang-Ta –	Eun-Ta
15	Jun-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Wang-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Bomjoi –	Terrorism
16	Pokryuk –	Bomjoi –	Terrorism –	Wang-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Jun-Ta
17	Wang-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Terrorism –	Pokryuk –	Jun-Ta –	Bomjoi
18	Wang-Ta –	Jun-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Pokryuk –	Bomjoi –	Terrorism
19	Wang-Ta –	Eun-Ta –	Jun-Ta –	Bomjoi –	Pokryuk –	Terrorism
20	Wang-Ta –	Bomjoi –	Pokryuk –	Eun-Ta –	Jun-Ta –	Terrorism

mean rankings overall (on a 1-6 scale) were *wang-ta* 2.15, *jun-ta* 2.60, *eun-ta* 3.45. *pokryuk* 3.50, *bomjoi* 4.10, and *terrorism* 5.20. This was the same order as obtained in the first pilot study, Table 5-2. I decided to use the first four terms, *wang-ta, jun-ta, eun-ta* and *pokryuk*, for the main cartoon study.

Main Cartoon Study

Before undertaking research into bullying in Korea and in respect of the specific terms for bullying in Korea, the object of the pilot studies was to arrive at a word for bullying among Korean students. For that, there were 2 phases. The first phase elicited the most common terms used to define bullying and social exclusion behaviour in Korea, as selected by 100 pupils. The second phase consisted of two focus groups of 10 pupils who ranked the most common 6 terms elicited, for similarities. On the basis of this pilot work, four terms were selected for the main cartoon study. Approximate English translations of these terms are given in brackets but I refer to the original Korean terms throughout this study.

Selected Term 1 is *Wang-Ta*   (Strong social exclusion and harassment)

Selected Term 2 is *Jun-Ta*   (Group-Harassment)

Selected Term 3 is *Eun-Ta*   (Isolation)

Selected Term 4 is *Pokryuk*   (Force)

The last phase, for selecting the most appropriate term for bullying in Korea and for better understanding the meaning of each term, consisted of using the set of cartoons to measure the definition of these Korean bullying - related terms. The set

of 25 stick figure captions was first translated into Korean and then a Korean middle school English language teacher translated it back into English, in order to confirm if there was any misinterpretation.

Finally, the Cartoon set was slightly revised to be more relevant to Korean students in general. The full version of the Korean Cartoon Task is added as appendix A. For example, it is uncommon to see foreign students in Korean Schools because foreign pupils attend the international schools. Hence, question 13, which asks about racism does not apply to the case of Korean students and so the question was altered to reflect teasing about other pupils' skin colour. Likewise, as the question of homosexuality (cartoon 15) has not significantly arisen in Korean society, the issue was changed to pupils' adopting opposite gender behaviour. Finally, the names of all the pupils on the cartoons were reworded into Korean names. The final set of captions for the Korean Cartoon Task is shown in table 5-4.

Sampling and Procedure (3 girls and 3 boys)

The sampling unit for this study was middle schools. The population I selected was in the age-range of 13 to 15 (compared to age 14 in the previous international data set, Smith et al. 2002). Using the revised Cartoon Task, 160 students from 6 schools in Korea (2 of them located in Seoul, 2 of them in south-eastern Korea, and the other 2 from the south-western region) were asked to fill in answer sheets. I selected a sample which is larger than has normally been done in other countries (Smith et al., 2002), because there has been no attempt to identify an exact

definition of bullying in Korea and look at regular differences. In each school, the pupils were randomly selected, about 13-14 pupils each and divided into two groups in order to give enough space to answer independently. Class teachers did not participate in this procedure.

Participants were presented with the 25 stick-figure cartoons, showing different types and contexts of bullying and related behaviour. The cartoons were also explained by captions (Table 5-4). Pupils were asked to evaluate whether each of the four target terms was an appropriate description for each of the cartoons. For example, "*Chulsoo* starts a fight with *Dongsoo* every break time". Do you think this situation can be considered '*wang-ta*' or 'not'? If a pupil's answer is 'yes', he/she gave a tick in a 'yes' box, and if 'no', he/she gives a tick in a 'no' box. Participants checked a standard score sheet. The score sheet is attached as appendix B. The procedure was repeated until the selected 4 terms had been investigated.

In this study, the captions were given in the order shown in Table 5-4, as the original authors did. This was done to maximise consistency with findings from other nations in the original study, and to give a narrative line to the task, as children moved through physical, verbal, and more indirect/relational scenarios. There was a possible drawback of order effect that was also recognised in the original study. However, pilot work which I carried out did not show any effect of ordering captions, and pilot work in the original study (Smith el al., 2002) suggested that a random order was more confusing for the students to follow. Therefore, the captions were always presented in the order shown in Table 5-4.

There was also an issue of ordering the four terms given to the participants. However, this was not thought to be a problem, since the four terms were given for each caption, one after another. Although they were always given in the same order, it was not my impression that the order of terms had any effect on the responses, and randomly changing the order of the four terms would have been complicated and might have been confusing to the participants. However, the possibility of such an order effect cannot be totally discounted.

Definitional issue on terms selected

There is an important issue regarding the use of terms for this study, since there was no equivalent term in Korean dictionaries to 'bullying' in English. The terms selected as possibly equivalent to bullying were *wang-ta*, *jun-ta*, *eun-ta*, and *pokryuk*. The meaning of *wang-ta* as used by pupils is strong social exclusion and harassment, of *jun-ta* is group-harassment, of *eun-ta* is isolation, and of *pokryuk* is force. The aim was to see if these four terms could be used to find the most appropriate term for Korean bullying, and if they can be representative terms bearing in mind the general definitions of bullying. Although there could be possibility of considering other terms, these four terms were those most often given by pupils in response to a general definition of bullying. The aim of this study was to find the most appropriate term for Korean bullying.

Table 5-4. The revised captions for the Korean cartoon task, translated into English

1. Minsoo and Joonsoo do not like each other and start to fight

2. Bumjun starts a fight with Jungmin

3. Minyoung starts to fight with Ajin, who is smaller

4. Seyoung starts a fight with Omin because he said Seyoung was stupid

5. Chung starts a fight with Dongjun every break time

6. Dongmin tells Sooyoung that if he does not give him some money, he will harm him.

7. Namsoo and his friends start to fight Taemin

8. Namjun borrows Dongan's ruler and accidentally breaks it

9. Hyoungho takes Juan's ruler and breaks it

10. Jun has forgotten his pen so Kyoung lends him one of his

11. Kyum says nasty things to Bumsoo

12. Chulsoo says nasty things to Myoung every week

13. Soojun says nasty things to Jay about the colour of his skin

14. Jooan has a bad leg and must use a stick; Chulmin says nasty things to hims about it

15. Gohyoun says nasty things to Daechul about his behaving like a girl

16. Kim makes fun of Gyounghyun's hair, they both laugh

17. Anjun makes fun of Semin's hair so Semin is unhappy with that

18. Minsoo asks Rubin if he would like to play with him

19. Myoungho will not let Jimin play today

20. Sekyoung never lets Jangrae play with his peers

21. Hyoungkyu and his friends do not let Jaemin with them

22. The girls do not let Majun skip with them because his is a boy

23. The boys do not let Kyounghee play football because she is a girl

24. Jungwoo tells everyone not to talk to Jaesoo

25. Bumjun spreads nasty stories about Anseung

MAIN CARTOON TASK: RESULTS

Statistical tools for Data Analysis

As indicated earlier, this study aims to find out the most appropriate term for describing

Korean bullying and the most equivalent term for bullying in English. Therefore, in the

analysis I first looked at the overall structure of the cartoon set responses in relation to

the four terms; then the individual structure of the cartoon set responses for each of the

four terms; checked for gender and regional differences; and then aimed to make

comparisons of the four Korean terms with other national terms, specifically English

bullying and Japanese *ijime*. In the course of the analyses, some differences in the

Korean situation emerged, and were pursued.

For analysing the results, SPSS 11.0 was used for all statistical analyses, including

Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) and Hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) as in Smith

et al. (2002). The percentage of participants who included each of the 25 cartoons (in

the previous study by Smith and his colleagues, the cartoon on sexual orientation was

excluded but for this analysis the cartoon number 15 on sexual orientation, which

edited as opposite set behaviour, was included) as part of their definition of each term

was computed. The similarity or difference among cartoons could be assessed by

comparing their percentage profiles. This permitted an analysis of the structure of the

cartoon set, over all the responses from participants. To this end, MDS was conducted

with data from 4 different Korean terms for bullying behaviour. MDS has been

confirmed as a valuable method of seeing how people perceptualise a phenomenon.

The MDS was run on SPSS 11.0. The Manhattan proximity measure was used to create a single distance matrix between cartoons, the distance between two items being the sum of the absolute differences between the values (percentages) for the cartoons. The matrix is square symmetric. An ordinal MDS model was specified, using Kruskal's (1964a in Smith et al., 2002) least squares monotonic transformation. The Euclidean distance model was used. The Kruskal stress values Formula 1 for 2 dimensions were .10, .07, .09, .10, for *wang-ta, eun-ta, pokryuk,* and *jun-ta,* respectively. The stress values of an MDS solution indicate degree of it within the number of dimensions used, with smaller stress values meaning a better fit. Hence, the low values suggested two-dimensional solutions were adequate. I present the structure of the set of cartoons using these 2-dimemsional MDS solutions.

However, there were some difficulties in visually distinguishing between some cartoons in the figures produced. In addition, there is a limitation of MDS in that it does not show clearly how different cartoons fall into related categories. Hence, HCA was used on the same percentage profile data in order to support the interpretation of the MDS solution. Broadly speaking, as Lattin, Carroll, and Green (2003) clarify, cluster analysis involves categorisation, dividing a large group of observations into smaller groups so that the observations within each group are relatively similar (i.e., they possess largely the same characteristics) and the observations in different groups are relatively dissimilar. In many respects, cluster analysis is similar to multidimensional scaling. Beginning with some assessment of proximity between objects (which may be either a directly assessed

similarity or a distance-type measured derived from attribute data), I tried to find a solution in which similar objects were placed together and dissimilar objects were placed apart. The differences are in the way of presentation of the solution. With MDS, the results arrive at a spatial representation whereas with HCA, the results arrive at a categorisation. HCA is very efficient method use as a support method for grouping the items on MDS map and has been used by researchers who study perceptions of people (Kim, 2005).

For HCA, Ward's method was used to combine clusters. The distance matrix between cartoons in terms of similarity was based on Euclidean distance. As Hair et al. (1998) have stated, HCA classifies objects (in this study the objects are cartoons). The resulting clusters of objects should then exhibit high internal (within-cluster) homogeneity and high external (between-cluster) heterogeneity. Thus, if the classification is successful, the objects within clusters will be close together when plotted geometrically, and different clusters will be far apart. Therefore, hierarchical cluster analysis was run to simplify the meaning profiles and the visual distinction of the 4 selected terms in terms of identifying common dimensions underlying the answer. With hierarchical cluster analysis, I attempted to identify relatively homogeneous groups of cartoons.

Overall analysis for terms

This is shown in Figure 5-1. The horizontal axis differentiates those cartoons that are non-aggressive (right-hand) from those that are increasingly aggressive (left- hand). The vertical axis differentiates social exclusion (bottom) and physical bullying and

aggression (top).

Figure 5-1 MDS for Korean terms

The structure of responses is similar to that from the 14-sample cross-national study reported by Smith et al. (2002), but with a few differences, one very important. As expected, the non-aggressive cartoons (8, 10, 16, 18) form a tight distinct group; physical aggression (1,4) and physical bullying (2, 3, 5, 6) are distinct groupings, as are verbal: direct and indirect (9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17) and social exclusion (19, 20, 21, 24, 25). One difference is that cartoon 7 (a group start to fight with someone), which was part of the physical bullying cluster in the earlier study, is rather closer to the social exclusion cluster in the Korean sample. Cartoon 15, on atypical sexual behaviour in the Korean version of the task, was omitted in the earlier study analysis, but here was included as verbal (direct and indirect) bullying. The major difference is that in the

Korean sample, the social exclusion cluster does not include cartoons 22 and 23, which illustrate exclusion based on gender discrimination. These formed a separate cluster, gender discrimination (22, 23), which is in the non-aggressive area of the solution in Figure 5-1.

Although the MDS solution has some advantages in order to see the structure of the set of cartoons for the selected terms, there is a limit of analysing with SPSS in terms of viewing clear clusters. SPSS is user friendly and has many types of the visual output plot but for small and detailed plots may be visually illegible. Thus, hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) was run to overcome MDS results. Through a HCA with the terms selected, 6 clusters were identified (see figure 5-2). These were: non-aggressive (10, 8, 16, 18), social exclusion (19, 20, 21, 24, 25), verbal: direct and indirect (9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17), physical aggression (1,4), physical bullying (2, 3, 5, 6, 7), and gender discrimination (22, 23). Cartoon 15 on sexual orientation (which was excluded from the previous study, Smith et al. 2002), appeared as direct and indirect verbal bullying. Also, cartoon 7 (a group start to fight with someone, is rather closer to the social exclusion cluster in the Korean sample in MDS but categorised as physical bullying in HCA (as with earlier study).

Figure 5-2 H CA for overall Korean terms

Individual Analysis for terms

In order to see which term is best to describe the phenomenon of bullying in Korean schools and which term can be used equivalently to bullying in English, each individual term was analysed.

(1) Wang-ta

Among the selected terms, *wang-ta* was the term for bullying behaviour most frequently cited by Korean 14 year-old pupils. Figure 5-3 shows in dimension 1

(horizontal axis in figure), those cartoons that are non-aggressive (8, 10, 16, 18) and gender discrimination (22, 23) at one end (on the left-hand side) and cartoons of increasingly aggressive behaviour, which is verbal bullying (15, 13, 14, 11, 12, 24, 25, 17), toward the other end (right- hand side). The second dimension (vertical axis in figure) clusters divergent physical bullying (bottom: 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9) and social exclusion (top:19, 20, 21).

Figure 5-3 MDS for Wang-ta

Through HCA with the selected term *wang-ta*, 6 clusters were identified (see figure 5-4). Non-aggressive (10, 8, 16, 18), social exclusion (19, 20, 21), verbal: direct and indirect (15, 13, 14, 11, 12, 24, 25, 17), physical aggression (1, 4), physical bullying (2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9), and gender discrimination (22, 23). Cartoon 15 on sexual orientation (which was excluded from the previous study, Smith et al. 2002),

appeared as direct and indirect verbal bullying.

```
C A S E        0        5        10       15       20       25
    Label     Num   +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

    Q22        22
    Q23        23
    Q10        10
    Q18        18
    Q16        16
    Q8          8
    Q1          1
    Q4          4
    Q11        11
    Q12        12
    Q24        24
    Q25        25
    Q13        13
    Q14        14
    Q15        15
    Q17        17
    Q19        19
    Q20        20
    Q21        21
    Q2          2
    Q3          3
    Q5          5
    Q6          6
    Q7          7
    Q9          9
```

Figure5- 4 Cluster analyses for Wang-Ta

(2) Eun-Ta

Figure 5-5 indicates the MDS structure of cartoons for the selected term *eun-ta*. There are not many clear groups represented in Figure 5-5. The structure of presented cartoons of the term *eun-ta* is simpler than for other terms. Broadly, dimension 1 (horizontal axis in figure) contrasts those cartoons involved in psychological hurting in terms of spreading rumours and making one isolated (nos. 20, 21. 24. and 25) at one end (left-hand side) and cartoons on non-aggressive

toward the other end (right-hand side). Dimension 2 (vertical axis), clusters gender discrimination cartoons (no. 22 and 23) in the bottom and direct verbal bullying cartoons (nos. 6, 12, 13, 14, 15) on top.

Figure5-5 MDS　for Eun-ta

The HCA categories for *eun-ta* are presented in Figure 5-6. It yielded 5 clusters but the homogeneity is very different compared to *wang-ta*. The first cluster combined physical bullying and non-aggressive cartoons (1, 2, 4, 8, 10, 16, 18; and 17 placed more distantly). Other clusters are gender discrimination (22,23), direct verbal bullying (11, 12, 13, 14, 15), physical threatening (3, 9, 6, 5), and social exclusion including indirect verbal bullying and power imbalance (7, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25).

```
  C A S E          0        5       10       15       20       25
  Label      Num   +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

  Q10         10    ┐
  Q16         16    ┤
  Q8           8    ┤
  Q1           1    ┘
  Q18         18    ┐
  Q2           2    ┤
  Q4           4    ┤
  Q17         17    ┘
  Q22         22    ┐
  Q23         23    ┘
  Q3           3    ┐
  Q9           9    ┤
  Q6           6    ┤
  Q5           5    ┘
  Q11         11    ┐
  Q12         12    ┤
  Q13         13    ┐
  Q15         15    ┤
  Q14         14    ┘
  Q19         19    ┐
  Q20         20    ┤
  Q21         21    ┐
  Q24         24    ┤
  Q7           7    ┤
  Q25         25    ┘
```

Figure 5-6. Cluster analysis for Eun-Ta

(3) Pokryuk

Compared to Figure 5-7 (*eun-ta*), the cartoons in the MDS soution for the selected term *pokryuk* are more spread out and show some clear distinctions, see figure 6. Nonetheless, dimension 1 (horizontal axis in figure) presents a similar structure to that of *eun-ta*, with aggressive cartoons at one end (left-hand side) and non-aggressive cartoons on the other end of side (right-hand side).

Figure 5-7 MDS for Pokryuk

As with the other selected terms, the two cartoons on gender discrimination are at a distance from others and close to each other. These two cartoons are on dimension 2 (vertical axis) at the bottom whereas cartoons on direct bullying in terms of psychological and physical are at the top. Cartoon number 7 (group starts to fight one) is significantly apart from the rest of the cartoons.

As a comparison, HCA was run on the same percentage of profile data for *pokryuk,* see figure 5-8. Six clusters were found for the terms *pokryuk.* The solution distinguished between the gender discrimination cartons (22, 23), fighting (1, 4, 2, 11, 17), non-aggressive (8, 10, 16, 18), physical bullying (3, 5, 6), direct verbal bullying (12, 13, 14) it also includes damaging another's belonging (9) and sexual orientation (15), social exclusion including indirect verbal bullying and power imbalance (7, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25).

```
    C A S E       0         5        10        15        20        25
    Label     Num  +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

    Q22        22
    Q23        23
    Q10        10
    Q16        16
    Q8          8
    Q18        18
    Q1          1
    Q4          4
    Q2          2
    Q11        11
    Q17        17
    Q3          3
    Q5          5
    Q6          6
    Q13        13
    Q15        15
    Q12        12
    Q14        14
    Q9          9
    Q19        19
    Q20        20
    Q21        21
    Q24        24
    Q25        25
    Q7          7
```

Figure 5-8. Cluster analysis for Pokryuk

(4) Jun-ta

Regarding the selected term *jun-ta*, the MDS solution shows very clear clusters of cartoons even though the bunches are spread all over the dimensions, see figure 5-9. The broad visual impact is very similar to that of *eun-ta* but *eun-ta* does not show many clear clusters whereas *jun-ta* does. It shows on dimension 1 (horizontal axis) those cartoons that are non-aggressive at one end (left-hand side) and cartoons of increasing physical bullying toward the other end (right-hand side), whereas the second dimension (vertical axis) opposed physical aggression cartoons at the

bottom of the figure and verbal and social exclusion cartoons on top.

Figure 5-9 MDS for Jun-ta

The HCA in Figure 5-10 shows that the cartoons on gender discrimination are not separate clusters from the others. There are 5 clear clusters, see figure 9. Non-aggressive cartoons are a group including gender discrimination (22, 23, 8, 10, 16, 18). Social exclusion and indirect verbal bullying are combined as a group (19, 20, 21, 24, 25), and other clusters are direct verbal bullying (9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17), physical bullying which is including power imbalance (3, 6, 7, 5), and physical aggression (1, 2, 4).

```
   C A S E        0        5       10       15       20       25
   Label    Num   +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

   Q22       22
   Q23       23
   Q10       10
   Q16       16
   Q8         8
   Q18       18
   Q19       19
   Q20       20
   Q21       21
   Q24       24
   Q25       25
   Q11       11
   Q12       12
   Q14       14
   Q15       15
   Q13       13
   Q9         9
   Q17       17
   Q3         3
   Q6         6
   Q7         7
   Q5         5
   Q1         1
   Q2         2
   Q4         4
```

Figure 5-10 Cluster analysis for Jun-Ta

Gender Differences

An analysis of the MDS structure of the cartoons was carried out separately for boys and girls. The structures showed very similar results, see Figure 5-11 and 5-12. Both boys and girls separately distinguished gender discrimination (22, 23) non-aggressive (8, 10, 16, 18), social exclusion (19, 20, 21, 24, 25), indirect and direct verbal bullying (9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15), physical aggression (1, 4) and physical bullying (3, 5, 6). The main differences were for cartoon 2 and 17; cartoon 2 was included as physical bullying for boys, but as physical aggression for girls. Cartoon 17 was included as indirect and direct verbal bullying, for boys but as non-aggressive for girls.

Figure 5-11 MDS for boys

Figure 5-12 MDS for girls

Regional Differences

An analysis of the MDS structure of the cartoons was carried out separately for different regions: Seoul, Kwang-ju (south-eastern region), and Tae-gu (south-western region). The structures illustrated very similar results over three regions, see Figure 5-13, 5-14, and 5-15. Pupils in Seoul, Kwang-ju, and Tae-gu clearly distinguished gender discrimination (22, 23) non-aggressive (8, 10, 16, 18), social exclusion (19, 20, 21, 24, 25), indirect and direct verbal bullying (9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17), physical aggression (1, 4) and physical bullying (2, 3, 5, 6). The only noticeable differences were for cartoons 2 and 7. Regarding cartoon 2, this was included as physical bullying for pupils in Kwang-ju and Tae-gu, but as physical aggression for pupils in Seoul. Cartoon 7 was included as indirect and direct verbal bullying for pupils in Seoul and Kwang-ju, but it was closer to social exclusion for pupils in Tae-gu.

Figure 5-13 MDS for pupils in Seoul

Figure 5-14 MDS for pupils in Kwang-ju   Dimension 1

Figure 5-15 MDS for pupils in Tae-gu   Dimension 1

Comparison of Korean Terms, ijime and bullying

In order to compare the four Korean terms with *ijime* in Japan and *bullying* in England, I used the five clusters as defined in Smith et al. (2002). However, the main discrepancy obtained from my own MDS analyses was that whereas the earlier, largely western-based study had included cartoons (22, 23) on gender discrimination as social exclusion, this did not seem valid in Korea. Given that gender discrimination is not considered a form of bullying behaviour among Korean middle school students and being close to obviously non-aggressive behaviours, I also re-calculated the social exclusion cluster apart from cartoons 22 and 23.

For each term, the percentage of participants who incorporated each of the 25 cartoons as part of their definition of that term was computed. The connotation of each term was operationalised with regard to the mean percentage loading for the cartoons in each of the six clusters. Comparing the percentage profiles across the six clusters makes it possible to assess the similarity or difference in meaning between any two terms. For this, I needed the individual percentages for each cartoon stimulus from original study. Hence, I contacted one of the authors of the original study, who held the full data set. Table 5-5 was made using data which was kindly given by Dr. Ragnar F. Olafsson. The first five data columns in Table 5-5 use the clusters from the original study, the sixth column the new cluster which takes gender discrimination out from social exclusion.

As expected, pupils scored very low percentages for non-aggressive cartoons on all the terms. An important comparison is between the social exclusion clusters that do, or do

not, include gender discrimination. All the Korean terms, and also *ijime*, score

substantially higher on social exclusion when gender discrimination is omitted. This is

not the case at all for *bullying*. It appears that the previous, mainly western-based

analysis of social exclusion is not only inappropriate for Korean terms, but may have

distorted the interpretation of Japanese terms as well.

Table 5-5 Mean percentages loading for four Korean terms, comparing to *ijime* (in Japan) and *bullying* (in England), on six cartoon clusters (see text for explanation).

	Non-Aggressive	Physical Aggression	Physical Bullying	Verbal Direct+ Indirect	Social Exclusion with 22, 23	Social Exclusion without 22, 23
Pokryuk	4	39	40	38	49	71
Eun-ta	2	30	33	41	57	90
Wang–ta	3	12	58	82	47	67
Jun–ta	6	41	79	42	23	34
Ijime	4	9	50	87	39	51
Bullying	4	34	94	91	62	63

Note: The clusters consist of the following cartoons: Non-Aggressive (8, 10, 16, 18), Physical Aggression (1,4), Physical Bullying (2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9), Verbal: direct + indirect (11, 12, 13, 14,15, 17, 24, 25), Social Exclusion with cartoon 22 and 23 (19, 20, 21, 22, 23), Social Exclusion without cartoon 22 and 23 (19, 20, 21).

Examining the profiles of the four Korean terms, *pokryuk* and *eun-ta* are relatively

similar, and highest on social exclusion (especially with gender discrimination omitted).

However, *pokryuk* and *eun-ta* do not distinguish between physical aggression and

physical bullying, whereas all the other terms do.

Wang-ta has a profile very similar to Japanese *ijime*. It loads moderately highly across physical bullying, verbal bullying and social exclusion; although it has relatively a lower loading on physical bullying than *bullying* (58% compared to 94%). Among Korean terms, *jun-ta* is the closest to *bullying* in physical bullying, but it is lower on verbal bullying and social exclusion; and it loads moderately highly on physical aggression. Thus, *wang-ta* has a profile very similar to *ijime*, and broadly is the most comparable to *bullying*.

DISCUSSION

Using the method of cartoon tasks for determining a term for bullying behaviour among Korean 14-year-old pupils generally proved successful. The participants were very interested in the set of cartoons and concentrated on the test. The findings also suggested the most suitable term for bullying in Korean.

In general, *bullying* can be described as a systematic abuse of power, misbehaviour and aggression (Smith and Sharp, 1994, Olweus, 1999). The form it takes, across genders, is teasing and name calling, followed by hitting and kicking, and other threats (Stephenson & Smith, 1988; Sharp & Smith, 1991). As the forms of bullying indicate, *bullying* refers to a broad spectrum of unacceptable behaviour from inflicting direct form (physical, taking one's belongings, direct verbal harassment) to indirect harm (social exclusion, indirect verbal harassment).

Hence, when a term is considered as equivalent to *bullying*, it should consistent with these definitional issues. Among the selected Korean terms, *jun-ta* does not clearly distinguish physical aggression and physical bullying with a power imbalance. Also, *jun-ta* only covered physical bullying and social exclusion rather than verbal aggression. The terms of *eun-ta* and *pokryuk* did not designate social exclusion and only moderately included physical aggression and physical bullying. The meaning of *eun-ta* is isolation in English. *Eun-ta* does not usually imply physical bullying. However, both *eun-ta* and *pokryuk* were seen as verbal

harassment whereas only a small number of pupils described *jun-ta* as verbal harassment.

Although to date it has not been systematically studied in Korea, *wang-ta* is the most popular descriptive term for bullying. Based on the findings here, it has a strong meaning of verbal bullying. It also includes physical bullying and social exclusion. When we see the response to individualised cartoons instead of to clusters, there are some cartoons with much higher percentages. For example, some cartoons of direct verbal bullying were cited as *wang-ta* by more than 85% of the participants. Also, *wang-ta* discriminates physical bullying form physical aggression.

Korean 14-year-old pupils distinguish physical aggression from physical bullying. As the result for cartoon 1 (fighting between equals) shows, if a power imbalance was not indicated in a cartoon, pupils did not describe it as *wang-ta* (only 12.5% did so). However, as cartoon 3 demonstrates, in the similar situation, if there is a power imbalance between the opponents in fighting, they accept it as *wang-ta* (68%).

Cross-national differences in the behaviour

The term *bullying* has been in usage for a long time, to describe this kind of behaviour in children at school. The term *teasing* is similar in English but has the milder connotation of verbal and possibly playful aggression. Another term, *harassment*, appears similar to *bullying* but tends to be used for adult or adolescent

rather than child behaviour. These terms have somewhat different dictionary definitions but, more importantly, they may be understood differently by persons answering questionnaires. The Japanese term most equivalent to *bullying* appears to be *ijime*. However, Morita and his colleagues (1999) consider that *ijime* does differ somewhat from *bullying*, in having a less physically violent connotation, and a relatively greater emphasis on social manipulation.

Many Scandinavian studies of the late 1970s concentrated on mobbing as a form of *bullying* which involves more than one attacker harassing one or more victims (Pikas, 1989). Within the USA, bullying involves victimisation, and generally includes attacks on peer groups and teachers. In the U.K, *bullying* is involved with physical harassment and does not fully include social exclusion (Smith et al., 2002). By contrast, in Japan and Korea, *ijime* and *wang-ta* are generally used to isolate one or more of the class members. In these countries *ijime* and *wang-ta* mean to psychologically exclude or be singled out. The meaning and understanding of bullying can be different for each individual according to his/her own background. In other words, perceptions of bullying can alter according to different cultures, disciplines, and prolonged periods of time. Hence, in terms of ontology, the definition of bullying can be variable and imprecise and there cannot be an exact definition of the term. However, there can be a universally accepted loose, rather than fixed, definition of bullying. According to this, bullying can be defined as repeated aggression, verbal, psychological or physical, conducted by an individual or group against others.

In the study of Smith et al. (2002), excluding pupils of the opposite gender in playing time is categorised as social exclusion. However, the MDS solution for boys and girls in this study shows that cartoons on gender discrimination are significantly apart from those of social exclusion. Moreover, with hierarchical cluster analysis, what is verified is a separate cluster for 3 of the 4 selected terms (the exception is *jun-ta*, which is highly indicative of physical bullying). The gender discrimination cartoons (22, 23) were included in the non-aggressive cluster. In relation to social exclusion for Korean pupils, there is a distinction between more serious types and gender exclusion episodes, which at a certain age can be considered as normative behaviour between opposite sex peers (Maccoby, 1990). In Korean schools it is very rate to play together with opposite gender pupils. Hence, they may not consider the gender episodes as social exclusion whereas the pupils in other countries describe those cartoons as social exclusion. Except for these 2 cartoons, the MDS results in this study for *wang-ta* are very broadly consistent with previous research (Smith et al., 2002).

My findings are that gender discrimination is not a significant form of bullying behaviour among Korean middle school students, being close to obviously non-aggressive behaviours. Hence, I re-calculated the percentage of social exclusion for the selected terms and the results increased the rate for each term (See Table 5-5). It shows that *wang-ta* has a strong meaning in terms of social exclusion.

CONCLUSION

In these studies, I have tried to identify appropriate terms for bullying behaviour among Korean students. Hence, I looked at some materials and methods in order to determine a clear definition of bullying in Korean students. I considered that the Cartoon Task written by Smith et al. (2002) was the most efficient material since the set of scenarios for bullying are very clearly understood. It also contains some control cartoons such as non-aggressive behaviour that are good for comparison. However, as this was the first attempt to determine a term for bullying in Korea, there were some difficulties in finding widely used terms. Therefore, I selected about 10 terms, drawn from the perceptions of pupils, instead of using Korean dictionaries, and then narrowed these down to 4 terms.

Among these selected terms, *wang-ta* may be considered to be the most suitable equivalent term to bullying. According to the findings, many pupils described social exclusion, verbal bullying and physical bullying as *wang-ta*, but not physical aggression. Using the selected terms, the cartoon task was conducted in several regions of Korea. The Cartoon Task was very useful for surveying the views of pupils, since it presented stick cartoons with captions and most pupils were interested in doing the task. Since Western researchers created the task, some situations may not appeal to Korean students and some forms of bullying among Korean students were left out of the cartoon task, as will be examined in later work in this thesis. However, the lack of unique forms of bullying could not be altered.

In Korea, the form of *wang-ta* strongly relates to group mechanisms such as the whole class against one instead of a subgroup against one. If there were some cartoons which indicated some of these group mechanisms, the result could be even more accurate. However, the overall results have suggested a clear term equivalent to bullying as *wang-ta*. This is very important since, based on identifying a definition, further studies can be conducted with more confidence. Moreover, other Korean researchers can develop this study, making a more developed analysis that can then be expanded by the cartoon task which includes all kinds of *wang-ta*.

CHAPTER 6

INITIAL STUDIES FOR THE FIRST NATIONAL STUDY ON 'WANG-TA'

Two pilot studies for studying the nature of wang-ta

INTRODUCTION

It has become clear over the last two decades that bullying is quite common in schools. Although consciousness of this problem has been recognised in many nations since the beginning of the 1980s, only a limited effort has been made to methodically observe bullying in Korean schools before the end of the 1990s.

The data reported here is, in fact, the first time the subject of bullying in the South Korean context has been studied with a clear term, *wang-ta*, in the Korean language. The literal meaning of *wang-ta* is 'the king of isolated and harassed victims by a large group of people'. Unlike the case in western nations where the assaulter has a distinct name as *bully*, in Korea there is no particular term for the assaulter, but there is a name

for victim, *wang-ta*. The term can be used as verb and implies the malicious behaviour itself, and as a noun for indicating a victimised pupil. Hence, often pupils say that *"X is wang-ta of my class and we wang-ta him"*. The first *wang-ta* labels the victimised peer and the second indicates the behaviour done towards him.

The overall concern of this chapter is to improve on using the most well known questionnaire for investigating bullying in Korean schools. For that, there are two aims. The first aim is to examine the self-report questionnaire devised by Olweus (1978, 1991), which has been used extensively in many nations as well as in Korea, to see if it can be directly used in the Korean school context. The second aim is to adopt this self-report questionnaire to make it more relevant to collect basic data on the prevalence, nature and circumstances of bullying behaviour in Korean schools, which is best translated as *wang-ta*.

A method cannot be perfect in order to investigate a social phenomenon but an understanding of limitations and strengths in using a method is very important to make improvement for further studies. Therefore, before presenting the two pilot studies, I will briefly discuss the validity of methods for studying school bullying.

OVERALL VALIDITY OF THE QUESTIONNARE

Various techniques have been used to measure bullying in schools, including teacher ratings, peer nominations, individual interviews, and more recently systematic observation. Agreement between methods is far from perfect. Card (2003) did a meta-analysis and reported on correlations of victim scores across methods. The correlation between self and peer report averaged 0.37 across 21 studies; adult (usually teacher) reports correlated 0.29 with self-reports (5 studies) and 0.42 with peer reports (7 studies). Observational data correlated 0.21 with self-report and 0.16 with peer reports. These correlations are modest; studies using different methods might clearly produce different findings. Pellegrini and Bartini (2000) have argued that, whenever possible, future studies should use multi-method approaches to the constructs of bully and victim.

Among those methods, one advantage often cited for using self-report questionnaires rather than individual interviews is that respondents are likely to be less willing to admit being involved in bullying vocally in a face-to-face situation (Farrington, 1993). Also a self-report questionnaire is the only method feasible for large samples. Ahmad and Smith (1990) argued that the self-report questionnaire was more valid than individual interviews or teacher and peer nominations. They reported that the percentage agreement between questionnaires and interviews was about 90% for bullying and 95% for victimisation (both scored dichotomously). However, only half

of those who admitted bullying in the questionnaire also admitted it in an interview one week later, although 85% of those admitting victimisation in the questionnaire admitted it in the interview. Ahmad and Smith concluded that the anonymous questionnaire was more valid, presumably because it yielded a higher prevalence and because they implicitly assumed that denial was the main source of invalidity.

Using a Self-report Questionnaire for This Study

The method chosen for this study was self-report in a group setting, since the utility of this method has been confirmed by many researchers (e.g. Solberg & Olweus, 2003; O'Moore et al. 1997; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Mellor, 1990; Roland, 1989). Moreover, the questionnaires refer to specific time periods, and response alternatives are fairly specific, allowing for objective interpretation and scoring. The popularity of the self-report method is also attributed to its ease of use and efficiency in data collection and partly to the belief that much bullying may be covert, and hence difficult to measure by direct observation or third party reports.

The Olweus questionnaire obtains information about characteristics of bullies and victims and typically asks about the prevalence, frequency, and nature of bullying, where and when bullying most often occurs, and the response of children and teachers to this behaviour. An important aspect is that the questions are preceded by an explicit definition of bullying so that respondents have a clear understanding of what this term

means. Also as the questionnaire has been used in many countries, it could be efficient

to do comparative studies with the results obtained. Therefore, Olweus's revised

version (1993) of the bully/victim questionnaire was used as a basis for this study.

A Term for this Study

The previous chapters discussed the literature on general school bullying and the terms

used for Korean bullying. Although pupils recognise the insufficiency of the terms

gipdan-ttadolim (group-isolation) and *gipdan-gorophim* (group harassment), the two

terms have been used in most cases of discussion of bullying in South Korea. Both

terms only emphasise one aspect of Korean bullying. *Gipdan-ttadolim* strongly points

out social exclusion whereas *gipdan-gorophim* stresses physical aggression.

The purpose of conducting this nationwide survey was to obtain more clear and

accurate information on Korean bullying with the term *wang-ta,* which implies most

kinds of school bullying and is the most popular term among Korean pupils for

bullying behaviour. It is the first occasion of conducting a nationwide survey, which

provides an exact term for Korean bullying derived from the views of school children.

Before conducting the main study described in chapter 7, two pilot studies were

conducted at the end of a school term, in early February 2002 in Seoul and in late July

2002 in Seoul and one of its satellites cities. This was in order to ensure that the pupils

understood the questionnaire (see the next section). The reason for conducting both

these surveys at the end of a school term was that the results of questions on bullying

others or being bullied '*in this term*' would be influenced by the time of conducting a

survey.

FIRST PILOT STUDY

The result of the Cartoon Task (chapter 5) were obtained from 14-year old pupils.

Hence, the first pilot study for the questionnaire was conducted with 14-year old pupils,

but in a different school. The purpose of this pilot study was to investigate whether

14-year old pupils acknowledged the term *wang-ta* as corresponding to those bullying

behaviours in Olweus's questionnaire, and to see if the questionnaire prevented any

problems in cultural understanding. There were likely to be some questions in the

Olweus questionnaire which more strongly relate to Western culture and are not so

relevant to bullying in Korean schools.

Olweus's revised version (1993) of the questionnaire for senior pupils was initially

translated into Korean by myself, and then back translated into English by a middle

school English teacher. Finally it was checked by my supervisor in order to make a

more accurate Korean version of the questionnaire (See Appendix C).

Participants

A class of 14-year olds was selected in a mixed (boys and girls) middle school. Pupils (N=45), in a group setting, were given the translated self-report questionnaire of Olweus (1993) for seniors. The questionnaire had been directly translated into Korean without any modification in order to check the parts that needed for modifying based on the views of the pupils themselves. The duration of 'last term' in the questionnaire was specified as ' last term, from March to July' and of 'this term' as 'this term, from August to January'. The survey was conducted of the beginning of February 2002.

Procedure

Participants were told by the class teacher several times that the survey was very important in terms of finding ways of revising the questionnaire and ultimately for helping pupils who suffer. Also, before starting to fill in the questionnaires, pupils were informed by myself that this was not for seeing the frequency of *wang-ta* in the classroom but for seeing ways of revising this questionnaire.

However, confidentiality was promised and pupils also were reminded that involvement in this survey was not part of regular schoolwork and that they could refuse to participate without fear of penalty. Pupils also were informed that they could ask any question relating to the survey at any time, for example if they had difficulties understanding a question. After completion of the self-report questionnaire, pupils were again asked to circle any word or sentence which was not understandable. Also

they were able to make some comments at the end of the paper about the questionnaire, if they wished to.

Results of the First Pilot Study

In this initial pilot study, 18 out of 45 (40%) pupils reported bullying other classmates at least twice in this term and some of them gave more information at the end in terms of the ways of bullying others (giving wrong information to teachers about the boy; talking about his/her mother; lifting her skirt up in front of other boys etc.) and gave a few names of victims ("*H is wang-ta in this class*" etc, actually H was the name of the boy whose name I was given by the teacher).

Only 1 student reported being bullied now and then (the boy H), and 4 pupils reported being bullied once or twice in this term. Therefore, it seemed that either being a victim of *wang-ta* was more stigmatising than being a bully, or bullies did indeed out number victims. Also when they were asked about places of being bullied in an open-ended question, some of them reported being bullied in private institutes and in a playground by his/her apartment.

Issues Raised by the First pilot Study

During the survey, pupils raised some issues concerning the questionnaire.

1. Seating arrangements

I was informed before entering the classroom about a seriously victimised boy who had been bullied by a group of classmates. Therefore, I gave my attention to him (he was very small and seated in front of the teacher's desk) without showing any notice. I counted his seat number and looked at his questionnaire. However, the boy did not say that he had been bullied. I discussed this with the class teacher who had a very good relationship with the boy. This boy raised the first issue. There was the problem of under-reporting by victims due to fears that other pupils might see their responses in the group setting. As mentioned before, indeed, classrooms in South Korea are typically not big. Hence, it is difficult to seat pupils far enough apart so that secrecy of their responses from each other can be ensured.

2. Question wording

A second issue rose regarding the inappropriate contents of some questions; for example, question 9 "*In what way have you been bullied in school?*". Pupils asked if it happened at the same time but in a different school such as a private institute, what should they answer. This was a very important issue because most Korean pupils went to private institutes after school especially from the beginning of middle school. In fact, in question 25 "*Have you been bullied anywhere else this term?*" some of the pupils

indicated private institutes as a place for being bullied. Hence, there was a need to define that it was about last/this term in your school. There was an item among the answers about 'being called nasty names about one's race or colour'. However, Korea has a homogeneous population so this item was not suitable for Korean students.

3. Wording of response options

The third issue was that pupils were not able to elaborate on some questions which they had difficulty in answering simply by choosing from the response alternatives on the questionnaire. This was because when some terms were translated directly into Korean, they did not make sense. For example, pupils asked about questions 5 *"Do you feel lonely at school?"*, 6 *"Do you feel you are less well liked than other students in your class?"*, 20 *"How often do other students say nasty and unpleasant thing to you?"*, and 33 *"Do you think it's fun to make trouble for other students?"*. Korean pupils seemed to not distinguish the difference between the definitions of the response choices 'now and then', 'fairly often' and 'often'.

Concerning question 2 *"How do you like recess time?"*, pupils could not distinguish 'dislike', 'dislike somewhat', and 'neither like nor dislike'. Regarding questions 12 *"how often do the teachers try to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied in school?"*, 13 *"How often do other students try to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied in school?"*, and 19 *"How often does somebody try to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied on his or her way to and from school?"*, pupils did not distinguish 'once in a while',

'now and then', and 'often' because all choices were translated into Korean as 'sometimes'. Also pupils were unsure about the difference between 'no definitely' and 'no' and 'yes' and 'yes, may be' in question 34 *"Do you think you could join in bullying a student whom you do not like?"*.

4. Pupils bullying teachers

The fourth issue was the last part of the questionnaire about pupils bullying teachers. Korean pupils were very interested in those questions on pupils bullying their teachers, which was in questions 36 to 41. Actually, this was not a familiar issue in Korean society at all. Pupils kept asking if teachers in other countries were bullied by their pupils. Hence, pupils were told if they did not want to fill in these questions, they could leave them, indeed only a few pupils gave answers to the questions.

5. Layout of questionnaire

The last issue was related to the formulating of the questionnaire: the order of presenting questions and answers. Pupils pointed out that the questionnaire was somehow difficult to understand; the gap between questions was too narrow; the layout of answers to tick was not good (the response options had been laid out horizontally).

Modified Questionnaire for the Main Pilot Study

The questions were revised in light of the feedback provided by pupils from the initial pilot study, and are presented in Appendix D. The definition of bullying was reworded using terms and examples more relevant to Korean students. Especially the forms of bullying were more specifically described in order to prevent misunderstanding of the term *wang-ta*.

Regarding the first issue raised, each class was divided into two groups and pupils made to sit far enough apart. Thus, the secrecy of their responses from each other could be ensured. Also pupils were asked if they had enough room in order to answer the questions.

For the second issue raised, the questionnaire itself emphasises and I also mentioned that the questions were about bullying in school not in other places. Also regarding question 8, which asked the ways of being bullied, answers 'I have been called nasty names about my race or colour' and 'I have called nasty names in other ways' were modified to 'I have been called nasty names'.

For the third issue raised, the junior version of Olweus's questionnaire was considered for use for Korean pupils, because the response choices in the junior version were simpler than those in the senior version in order to translate into Korean.

For the fourth issue raised, there was a very careful discussion about the questions on bullying teachers. As mentioned earlier, the explanation of bullying is strongly related to culture, and pupils could not even imagine these kinds of behaviours about bullying teachers in Korean culture. Also, if I used those questions, it would lead to a problematic curiosity among pupils. Hence, finally, I decided not to include those questions in this survey.

For the last issue raised regarding the formulating questionnaire: sufficient gap between questions was provided given and the response options were laid one for each line.

Also, after the first pilot study, I tried to work with other professors and middle school teachers in order to prevent misinterpretation of the text and questionnaire based on the experience from the first pilot study. The tone of the sentences presented in the questionnaire was adjusted to the level appropriate for teenagers, as judged by the middle school teachers. The teachers checked the final version again.

THE MAIN PILOT STUDY

Approximately 5 months later, revised questionnaires were given to a further set of pupils (N=220). This main pilot study was done in 3 different schools in order to check generalisations of findings.

Sampling

The revised Self-Report Questionnaire was given to 220 middle school students (aged 13 to 15) in a girls', a boys', and a mixed middle school, in Seoul and its satellite city. I randomly selected between 23 to 27 pupils from the lists of teachers (about 5 pupils per class) in each grade and they came to one room. I selected only a small number of pupils in each class because the research was carried out by myself and it was not easy for an individual to do a survey in schools. Hence, I decided not to disturb class lessons too much. The survey was conducted usually over a week, usually two groups for each day, since it was done on the most convenient days for each school, during assembly and early free studying time[1] before starting regular schoolwork with the permission of class teachers and head teachers.

Procedure

The survey was usually conducted in a music room in order to prevent disturbing other class lessons and give enough room. Teachers were not involved in order to give pupils more confidence in answering honestly. Each survey took about 30 minutes. The purpose of the survey was introduced and a promise of confidentiality was given to pupils. Pupils were reminded that involvement in this survey was not part of regular schoolwork and that they could refuse to participate without fear of penalty. Also the way of collecting questionnaires was discussed with pupils; the first day a boy

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[1] Most schools in Korea have early study time for 50 minutes before starting the regular school day.

suggested using a large size box and returning the questionnaires by themselves as soon as they had filled it in and other participants were very satisfied with this method. From the following day, this method was used with the permission of each group of participants. The data obtained was coded and analysed by SPSS.

Results

While acknowledging that they are based on small numbers (N=220), it is useful to summarise the results from the main pilot study here. As discussed previously, the prevalence of bullying depends on the definition. It has been argued that aggression that only occurs "once or twice" in a term should not be defined as bullying. Hence, pupils in the present study were classified as bullies or victims only if they were involved "now and then" or "more often", which includes once a week and several times a week in a term.

Frequency

Table 6-1 shows, with the above definition, 20.1% of pupils were involved in bullying during this term: 13.3% as bullies, 6.8% as victims. Regarding last term, 25.1% of pupils were involved in bullying: 14.3% as bullies, 10.9% as victims.

Forms of bullying

The most frequent form of victimisation was being called nasty names (14.2%) followed by other ways (8.3%) and physical hurting (7.9%); see Table 6-2. The participants wrote about the other ways of being bullied; a number of pupils said they

were singled out from within a group, being threatened, rumours spread about them, were asked for money often, being teased about their physical appearance, and bullies talked about his/her parents' job. A significant difference appeared across schools. Pupils in the mixed school more often reported being bullied, especially physical forms.

Table 6-1 Prevalence of Bullying and Victimisation, 'this term' and 'last term'

Question	% never	% 1-2 times	% now and then	% once a week	% several times a week
Bully (this term)	62.7	24.1	10.5	2.3	0.5
Bully (last term)	56.4	29.5	12.3	1.4	0.5
Victims (this term)	80.9	12.3	3.2	2.7	0.9
Victims (last term)	76.4	12.7	7.7	1.4	1.8

Table 6-2 Forms of victimisation (proportions of victimisation) by school types

Forms of victimisation	Mixed school	Boys school	Girls school
Not being bullied	61	73	73
Called nasty names	16	11	17
Being hit, kicked	13	6	5
Other ways	10	10	5
Total	100	100	100

Perceptions of pupils towards bullying behaviour

When pupils were asked if they think bullying another is fun and if they could join in bullying someone they do not like, for both questions, about 30% of pupils said they could do so.

Suitability of the Questionnaire

Although the questionnaire was revised according to the issue raised in the first pilot study, there were some remaining issues; for example, the forms of bullying and number of bullies were not enough to describe features of *wang-ta*, and some response options were still not fully clear. These issues arose from the main pilot study and the modifications resulting from them are described in chapter 7.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

While conducting the two pilot studies, the most problematic issue that arose was that some of the response choices in the original questionnaire did not reflect the features of bullying in the Korean context. For example, according to both pilot studies, most bullying is done by a large number of pupils. However, the response choices regarding the number of victims and bullies in a class focuses on bullying in individual cases, rather than on the collective situations which are more representative of Japanese and Korean bullying (Morita, 1999; Kwon, 1999). Also, a few issues were raised related to the meaning of language. Pupils were not able to elaborate on some questions' response choice. For example, they asked about how many times could be counted as '*often*' and they also did not distinguish some response choices 'once in a while', 'now and then', and 'often' because all choices were translated into Korean as 'sometimes'.

Moreover, bullying among school children and adolescents takes more forms than Olweus's questionnaire looks at. Therefore, some distinctive features of Korean bullying, which are not included in the questionnaire of Olweus, were referred to by pupils during the pilot studies.

Due to these particular problems, revising Olweus's questionnaire for the Korean version of my study required many procedural steps based on careful consideration.

Ultimately, it became clear that Olweus's questionnaire needed substantial revision for studying bullying in Korean schools. Therefore, the questionnaire was expanded based on the findings of the two pilot studies and also considering other methods and revisions of it (e.g Smith & Shu, 2000). Moreover, the particular circumstances of Korean pupils were taken into account when revising the questionnaire. It became clear that when adopting a survey method from abroad, there must be careful consideration and study if it is to fit to one's culture, school contexts, and meaning of language. The particular revisions made are given in the next chapter, chapter 7, which also describes the results of a first national survey, using this revised questionnaire.

CHAPTER 7

THE FIRST NATIONAL STUDY
ON WANG-TA

:The nature, incidence and distinctive
features of Korean bullying

The overall concern of this chapter is to examine the problem of bullying in South Korea which is somewhat different from that in Western nations, and find out more about the nature of Korean bullying. I will look at overall characteristics of Korean bullying according to gender, school type, and regions.

FINAL REVISION TO QUESTIONNAIRE

With the issues raised from the two pilot studies a number of revisions were made. The response choices were revised, specifically, the response choice 'often' was put with a specified number and period as 'often (once or twice in a month)'. After the questions of *"In what way have you been bullied in school?"* and *"In what way have you bullied others in school?"*, seven individual forms of bullying were separately given: hitting, damage to belongings, name calling, social exclusion, spreading rumour, threatening, and facial expression. Again in order to define and see the consistence of responses, other questions were added under the question. Also how pupils participated in bullying was

assessed in response to a new question 28 which was *"How did you participate in bullying others?"* in order to define the different types of bullies.

Although *wang-ta* often happens based on a group mechanism, there has been insufficient investigation of the number of victims and bullies. To investigate the extent to which Korean bullying is based on a group mechanism, question 14, *"Have you been bullied by one or several students?"* was modified to *"By how many students have you been bullied?"*. In addition to the response choice 'I was not bullied at school in this term', 5 other response choices were provided: 'usually by 1 pupil', 'usually by 3-5 pupils', 'usually by 10 pupils', 'usually by 20 pupils', and 'usually by more than 30 pupils'. Moreover, to see the consistency of the answers, another question for bullies was included as question 31. This was *"How many pupils were involved in bullying other pupils in your class?"* and the same response choices were given.

One more response choice for question 13 was added. This asked *"In what grade is the student or students who bully you?"* Olweus gave 6 choices; I haven't been bullied in school this term: In my class: In different class but same grade as me: In a higher grade: In a lower grade: In different grades. However, according to the experience of the previous two pilot studies and working in schools, there can be a group of bullies who come from both the same class and a different class and/or grade. Hence, another choice of the response was 'Mixed (in my class and different class etc)' instead of the response choice 'in a different grades'.

METHOD

FINAL CONTENTS OF THE REVISED QUESTIONNAIRE

The modified questionnaire had 47 questions. Of these, 21 questions were from Olweus's original questionnaire but slightly modified (e.g. in the response choices). 16 questions about the ways of being bullied and bullying others were taken from Smith and Shu (2000) but adopted and modified (N=16). 3 questions had been developed in order to better assess collective behaviour among Korean pupils. 3 questions had been developed in order to verify the answers to question 23 "*What do you usually do when you see a student of your age being bullied in school?*" A question for seeing consistency was added as question 21 "*Have you put a stop to it when any student had been bullied?*" Moreover, there was another question, 21-1 about the reasons for not helping victims for respondents who scored 'no, never' or 'almost never' to this. If a student scored one of these, he/she was asked to took 21-1 whereas pupils who scored 'now and then' or 'often' or 'almost always' gave for question 21 took question 22 immediately.

Question 43 was developed into "*Do you think someone who disturbs class lessons could be bullied?*" in order to see pupils' perception of victims which is also related to question 21-1 which is for the reason of not helping victims. The reason for being bullied was specifically asked for in open-ended questions as Q21-2 (for pupils who scored 'victims deserve it' in 21-1), "*Why do you think victims deserve it?*" and 21-3 "*Do you think there is*

any other reason for being bullied?". Also related to question 42 on pupils perception of

bullies, another open-ended question was added in order to get some information on

bullies (see Appendix E).

RECRUITING SURVEYORS AND TRAINING THEM

The people carrying out the survey were mainly students of psychology and education in

undergraduate courses (N=16). Surveyors were given instruction handouts in terms of

how to treat pupils, the terms to be used in a class, how to begin the survey, timing, how

to divide a class into small cells, and overall procedure for the survey. Moreover, they

were themselves trained to complete the questionnaires in order to make them more

familiar with the questions and thus to fully understand the procedure. The surveyors

were also given a record sheet, which was to be filled in by them for each class, noting

the beginning and end time of each survey, and whether anything happened while they

were conducting the survey in a class.

The way of carrying out the questionnaire survey may also affect the result. Whether it

was done by teachers or trained specialists, whether it was confidential, how much

emphasis was made on the confidentiality, where it took place, how much time was

given, they all may affect the result. Since school bullying often takes place secretly and

persistently, it is quite possible that victims do not give honest answers. Especially,

when the pupils realise the questionnaire is about school bullying, they might be

defensive and not tell what they really think even through the survey is confidential. In order to get over this problem, Austin and Joseph (1996) tried to embed questions related to school bullying inside other questionnaires. This can help in decreasing the defensive attitude of the pupils but the limitation lies in the fact that the questions cannot be well structured to take detailed information.

With all these considerations, I finally decided to give correct information on the purpose of this survey to the participants and got permission in the classroom. Hence, when I trained the surveyors, I emphasised to them that they should give a clear promise of confidentiality to the participants and this was the most important matter. The promise of confidentiality was give as: no name on the questionnaire; no data relating to results will return to the school; data will be only looked at by the research team, my supervisor in London, and myself.

RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS

The survey was done over a month (from the middle of June to the middle of July, 2003). Altogether, 2,945 students (aged between 11 to 16 years) were asked to fill in the final version of the Self-Report Questionnaire. Initially, 27 schools were randomly selected from the list of schools in the Korean Ministry of Education. However, 10 schools did not give permission for this survey. Samples were also randomly selected from all over the country in order to reduce the impact of regional differences and to reflect the

general phenomenon of bullying among Korean school children and adolescents. The final schools were 8 primary schools and 9 middle schools from different provinces in 5 regional sectors: Seoul (n=1,196), Kyoung-In (n=470), Choongchung-do (n=338), Chulla-do (n=374), and Kyoungsang-do (n=567). See Table 7-1 for a breakdown by year and provinces.

Table 7-1: Distribution of participants in different years and

	Seoul	Kyoung-In	Choongchung	Chulla	Kyoungsang	Total
Elementary 5	217 (18.1)	159 (33.8)	73 (21.6)	85 (22.6)	73 (12.8)	607 (20.6)
Elementary 6	195 (16.3)	152 (32.3)	73 (21.6)	78 (20.8)	79 (14.0)	577 (19.6)
Middle 1	232 (19.4)	47 (10.1)	69 (20.4)	70 (18.9)	145 (25.5)	563 (19.1)
Middle 2	296 (24.8)	52 (11.1)	64 (18.9)	67 (17.8)	113 (20.0)	592 (20.2)
Middle 3	256 (21.4)	60 (12.6)	59 (12.6)	74 (19.9)	157 (27.7)	606 (20.6)
Total	1,196 (100.0)	470 (100.0)	338 (100.0)	374 (100.0)	567 (100.0)	2,945 (100.0)

PROCEDURE

The study was done at the end of a term (late July 2003) in order to have a clear reference period of 5 months. Participants were divided into small groups in order to give enough room. A class was usually divided into 2 groups. Usually half of the class remained in the classroom whereas the other half moved to the music room. Unlike in previous research, the term *wang-ta* was directly mentioned in the introduction of the questionnaire as follows:

"I may guess that you have heard about the term wang-ta and have ideas what it is. Wang-ta is a kind of physical, verbal, and psychological harassment. I will give some examples of wang-ta. The given behaviour did not happen only once. It has happened repeatedly with the intention of harm. It is wang-ta if a student or a group of students say nasty and unpleasant things to him or her directly or indirectly. It is wang-ta if a student or a group of students hit, kick, threaten, lock inside a room or toilet, and take away personal belonging from him or her. It is wang-ta if a student or a group deliberately isolate or ignore him or her. But fighting between pupils of equal strength is not considered as wang-ta ".

This definition of *wang-ta* (clearly indicated in writing on the questionnaire) was read and explained to the pupils. The reason for directly mentioning *wang-ta* was that, currently, pupils already have experience of participating in surveys. Hence, even if I

introduced this survey as studying schooling or friendship, they would know what these questions were for.

Moreover, pupils were expected to be aware of what they were doing. I supposed that being honest could provide better results than pretending or hiding the reality. Thus, there could be some pupils who had been bullied and for whom the questionnaire would be disturbing. Because of this, children's agreement was obtained prior to the administration of the questionnaires, and the surveyors were informed accordingly. Children were reminded that involvement in this survey was not part of regular schoolwork and that they could refuse to participate without fear of penalty.

At the end of each survey, participants were informed about relevant phone numbers and web-sites and told that if they needed any help and/or wanted to know more about anything related to *wang-ta*, they could use these, or contact the researchers. When completed, the questionnaires were stored in a locked personal filing cabinet for the duration of this study. No one had access to the test data except for the research team and myself. The researcher's supervisor had access to the test data in a non-identifiable computerised form only. The results from the questionnaires were taken directly from the schools and entered into a database in the SPSS 11.0 statistical program for retention and analysis.

FREQUENCY OF BULLYING AND DEFINITION OF BULLYING

For analysing the results, only the last three response choices were counted as bullying incidents. Those were 'now and then', 'once a week', and 'several times a week'. The justification for this is that bullying is a subset of aggressive behaviours which happens repeatedly over time. Therefore, according to the usual definitions of bullying, these three response choices would be an appropriate measure of what is bullying rather than just an occasional incident.

CODING THE DATA

The bullying questionnaire contained categorical multiple-choice items and rating scores as well as open-ended questions with blank spaces. The multiple-choice responses were pre-coded by two students of psychology from undergraduate courses who were given a form of coding direction. The researcher double-checked whether they had been correctly coded and coding directions had been followed. Responses to open-ended questions were written on the Excel sheet separately and some of them were categorised.

CONTROL FOR ERRORS

Each participant's responses were looked at carefully three times to screen for markedly inconsistent responses especially for questions 4 to 11 (which were frequency of being bullied and forms of it) and 26 to 38 (frequency of bullying others and forms of it). If I was

being very strict, the overall error rate would have been about 18-20%. However, I distinguished between major inconsistencies where a child was clearly either deliberately not answering properly, and/or misunderstanding key questions; and minor inconsistencies where one question might be inconsistent for example but usually in an 'understandable' way.

As major inconsistencies, I found some errors between question 4 *"How often have you been bullied this term"* and questions 5 to 11 on the ways of being bullied. If a child scored 'no, never' for question 4 and scored more than 2 of 'once or twice' or 'now and then' or 'once a week' or 'several times a week' or more than 3 of 'once or twice' in questions 5 to 11, this questionnaire was discarded.

I allowed through minor inconsistencies, specifically, if a child checked 'no, never' for question 4 and then gave less than 3 response choices of 'once or twice' or one response choice of 'now and then' or 'once a week' or 'several times a week' for questions 5 to 11. The same rules for allowing and discarding applied for questions 26 and 32 to 38, on bullying others. Basically, I went through taking out questionnaires that were obviously inconsistent throughout or in a serious way, but did not take out questionnaires where one or two 'explicable' errors were made.

The resulting discards made up only 19 out of 2,945. After taking these out, the number of selected participants was 2,926. The final numbers of participants are as follows: Seoul

(n=1,186), Kyung-In (n=467), Chulla-do (n=371), Choongchung-do (n=338), and

Kyungsang-do (n =564).   Children were aged 11-16 years. Table 7-2 shows the final

distribution of children according to their school type and geographical region.

Table 7-2 School type, gender and geographical region of pupils

		Region					
		Seoul	**Kyoung-In**	**Choongchung**	**Chulla**	**Kyoungsang**	**Total**
Elementary	**Boy**	217	151	77	83	78	606
		53.2%	48.9%	52.7%	51.6%	51.7%	51.6%
	Girl	191	158	69	78	73	569
		46.8%	51.1%	47.3%	48.4%	48.3%	48.4%
	Total	408	309	146	161	151	1175
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Middle	**Boy**	423	86	90	121	191	911
		54.4%	54.4%	46.9%	57.6%	46.2%	52.0%
	Girl	355	72	102	89	222	840
		45.6%	45.6%	53.1%	42.4%	53.8%	48.0%
	Total	778	158	192	210	413	1751
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total number of participants		1,186	467	338	371	564	2,926
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

RESULTS

Before starting to analyse the main results, there is a very important issue about treating independent variables of this type. Strictly speaking, some of the independent variables in this study were, in fact, scored as ordinal data. Therefore, the use of ANOVA and t-test might be questioned. Despite this, many preceding studies have treated them like interval data, using ANOVA. In order to carry out more efficient comparative studies with the results from this study, I planned to use ANOVA analyses. However, to check the robustness of results from ANOVA analyses, I ran comparison analyses using log-linear analysis for 'being bullied' and 'bullying others'. Log-linear analysis was used since it is a statistical process which can be considered equivalent to ANOVA and its developmental form MANOVA, but designed to analyse categorical/ordinal rather than interval data.

The results from log-linear analysis indicate very similar output from the ANOVA analyses. According to the results of log-linear analysis, for frequency of being bullied, there are significant differences for gender (p<.001) and school type (p<.001) but no significant differences for region. The results were in line with the corresponding analysis ANOVA. Log-linear analysis was also run for frequency of bullying others. Significant differences were found for gender (p<.001) and region (p<.001), in line with the results of the ANOVA analysis; however, there was no significant difference found.

No significant difference for school type was found whereas this was indicated by the ANOVA analysis (p<.05). After running log-linear analyses, although there was one different result between two methods, out of six comparisons, the difference was not large. Therefore, I decided to follow the statistical method of many preceding studies which used similar questionnaires (for example, by Olweus, Smith, and others), and who used ANOVA and t-tests for reporting their results.

The major descriptive statistics were frequency counts and percentages, rounding up to one decimal place, to show the incidence of bullying and victimised behaviour among Korean pupils. For statistical analysis, chi-square was used for some variables with categorical response choices. For some variables treated as 5-point scales, I did one, two, and three way ANOVA and MANOVA in order to investigate relationships between variables and measures of bullying and victimisation. There are some results which are not presented in the tables, however, these results are reported in the text.

As discussed previously, the prevalence of bully/victim problems depends on both the definition of bullying and the time periods enquired about. The questionnaire in the present study enquired about bullying, over a term of about 5 months in the South Korean educational system. As will be seen, the results indicate that the prevalence of bullying in Korea is somewhat smaller than in many other countries. However, the results also indicate that it is a serious problem among Korean pupils since even though

there were a smaller number of victims, many have been bullied for a long time by a

large number of students and almost every day.

OVERALL FREQUENCY OF *WANG-TA*

Table 7-3 shows the overall proportion of being *wang-ta* and doing *wang-ta* others.

When the definition of bullying included those pupils who have been bullied or have

bullied others 'once or twice' in a term or more, the majority of pupils (55.2%) were

involved in bullying: 40.3% as bullies, 14.9% as victims, and 7.6% as bully/victims

Table 7-3 Bully and victim comparison

		How often have you taken part in wang-ta other students in school this term?					
		no, never	once or twice	now and then (once or twice a month)	once a week	several times a week	Total
How often have you received wang-ta in school this term?	no, never	1,532	737	158	31	35	2,493
		52.4%	25.2%	5.4%	1.1%	1.2%	85.2%
	once or twice	112	98	37	9	9	265
		3.8%	3.3%	1.3%	0.3%	0.3%	9.1%
	now and then (one or twice a month	38	31	10	5		84
		1.3%	1.1%	0.3%	0.2%		2.9%
	once a week	23	9	1		1	34
		0.8%	0.3%	.0%		.0%	1.2%
	several times a week	39	8	3			50
		1.3%	0.3%	0.1%			1.7%
Total		1744	883	209	45	45	2926
		59.6%	30.2%	7.1%	1.5%	1.5%	100%

However, for the majority of the analyses conducted in the present study, because of the importance of persistence and repetition in defining bullying, I used only the last three response options of 'now and then', 'once a week' and 'several times a week'. For an estimate of more frequent bullying, either being bullied or bullying others, I considered only the last two response choices of 'once a week' and 'several times a week'.

RECEIVING *WANG-TA*

Regarding the rate of victimisation (question (q) 4 " *How often have you been bullied in school this term?*"), 5.8% (168) of pupils reported being bullied once a month or more during this term: 2.9% (now and then, once or twice in a month), 1.2% (once a week), and 1.7% (several times a week). To assess the differentiations, I used ANOVAs with gender, school types (elementary and secondary), and regions (5 areas) as the between-subject variables, and frequency of being bullied as the within-subject independent variables.

There was no significant interaction between the variables; therefore, the main effects were examined. A summary of the descriptive statistics for each variable is presented in Table 7-4 (mean based on 5 point scales, 1. '*no, never*', 2. '*once or twice*', 3. '*now and then* '(once or twice a month), 4. '*once a week*', and 5. '*several times a week*'). When these main effects were examined for gender, school type, region, statistically significant differences were found for both gender, $F_{(1,2906)}= 10.50$, $p<.01$, and school type,

F(1,2906)=5.42, *p*<.01, while no statistical difference was reported for region. Regarding

the differences, as Table 7-4 indicates, more boys reported being bullied than girls and

elementary school children experienced more bullying than secondary school

adolescents.

Table 7-4 Frequency of being *wang-ta* and doing *wang-ta* others in this term
(1= no, never, 5= several times a week)
(%= sum of now and then, once a week, and several times a week)

		Being *wang-ta*		Doing *wang-ta*	
		M (SD)	Number %	M (SD)	Number %
Gender	Boy	1.30 (.02)	110 7.3	1.47 (.02)	142 9.3
	Girl	1.20 (.02)	58 4.2	1.59 (.02)	157 11.1
School Type	Elementary	1.29 (.02)	83 7.0	1.48 (.02)	100 8.5
	Secondary	1.21 (.02)	85 4.9	1.58 (.02)	199 11.4
Region	Seoul	1.30 (.02)	69 5.8	1.65 (.02)	154 13
	Kyoung-In	1.29 (.03)	33 7.1	1.41 (.04)	28 5.9
	Choongchung	1.20 (.04)	16 4.8	1.59 (.04)	35 10.4
	Chulla	1.20 (.03)	16 4.3	1.49 (.04)	34 8.8
	Kyongsang	1.30 (.03)	34 6.0	1.51 (.03)	48 8.5

DOING *WANG-TA*

Regarding the frequency of bullying others (q26 *"How often have you taken part in bullying others in school?"*), 10.1% of pupils reported having bullied others more than once a month in this term. Of these 7.1% reported they bullied others 'now and then' while 3% of them said that they bullied others 'more often'. ANOVAs with gender, school types (elementary and secondary), and regions (5 areas) as the between-subject variables, and frequency of bullying others as the within-subject independent variables. There was no significant interaction between variables; therefore, the only main effects were examined. A summary of the descriptive statistics for each variable is presented in Table 7-4. Statistically significant differences were reported for all variables gender, $F_{(1,2906)}=11.28$, $p<.001$, school type, $F_{(1, 2906)}=7.82$, $p<.05$, and region, $F_{(4,2906)}=8.16$, $p<.001$. Unlike the case for being bullied, more girls reported bullying others than boys and adolescents in secondary schools reported more bullying others than those in elementary schools. Regarding regions, post-hoc LSD tests showed that the response of pupils in Seoul was significantly higher than other areas on bullying others ($p<.001$).

TRENDS OF BEING BULLIED AND BULLYING OTHERS

To see if there was any general trend on frequencies of bullying as pupils' age increases, the school types were divided into the grade levels, making 5 different grades. Statistically significant differences were found on 5 grade level differences (grade 5 and

6 in elementary and grade 1, 2, and 3 in secondary) in both being bullied ,F $(4, 2921) = 5.10$, $p < .001$, and bullying others, F $(4, 2921) = 6.50$, $p < .001$.

To make accurate figure proportions of being bullied and bullying others were calculated separately. In general, the prevalence of victimisation decreases as their age increases; 7.8% and 6.2% in 5th and 6th primary school pupils respectively; 4.1%, 6.1%, and 4.3% in 1st, 2nd, and 3rd middle school pupils respectively. In addition, 2nd year in middle school (14-year old) pupils were the most involved in being bullied among middle school pupils. Post-hoc LSD tests showed that pupils in ES5 (7.5%) are bullied most whereas those in SS3 (4.3%) are bullied least. The trend of bullying others increased as grade level increased, up to the first year in secondary school and it then gradually fell.

Figure 7-1 Trend in proportion of victims and bullies at each grade level

ES5: 5th year in elementary school   ES6: 6th year in elementary school
SS1: 1st year in secondary school   SS2: 2nd year in secondary school
SS3: 3rd year in secondary school

GRADE AND NUMBER OF BULLIES AND VICTIMES

Pupils were asked which grade of students they had been bullied by and the number of students who bullied them in order to understand the features of the bullying group and if there is any distinctive difference compared to other nations. Chi-square tests were used for the analyses.

Grades of bullies

Grade of bullies was examined (by q13 "*In what grade is the student or students who bully you?*") to see if it implies any features of bullying in Korea. The answers of pupils who reported being bullied (N= 499) was examined separately and presented in Table 7-5. Unlike the cases of other nations, where pupils reporting being bullied mainly by pupils in higher grade, 77.4% of Korean pupils reported being bullied by 'classmates'. Noticeably, 3% of victimised pupils reported being bullied by 'higher grade'. The relationship of gender, school type, and regions to grade of bullies was examined by 2 x 2 cross-tabulations. No statistically significant difference on gender and region were seen whereas a significant difference was found for school type, $\chi^2(5)=43.39, p<.001$. In both school types, the most cited response choice was being bullied by a pupil 'in my class' (79.2% of elementary and 75.5% of secondary). However,12.6% victimised pupils in secondary school reported being bullied by a mixed group (bullies were in my class, different class, and different grade) compared to only 2.4% victimised pupils in elementary schools.

Table 7-5 Grade of bullies

	Elementary		Middle		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
In my class	194	79,2	192	75,6	218	79,9	168	74,3	386	77,4
In a different class but same grade as me	33	13,5	24	9,4	24	8,8	33	14,6	57	11,4
In a higher grade	9	3,7	6	2,4	7	2,6	8	3,5	15	3,0
In a lower grade	3	1,2	0	0	3	1,1	0	0	3	0,6
Mixed (in my class, different class etc	6	2,4	32	12,6	21	7,7	17	7,5	38	7,6
Total	245	100	254	100	273	100	226	100	499	100

Number of bullies

Table 7-6 shows the responses, for q14 *"By how many students have you been bullied?"*. The answers of those pupils who did report the number of bullies (N= 460) was examined and findings presented in Table 7-6. A comparatively small proportion of victimised pupils (16.9%) said that they had been bullied by mainly one student. The most common response was being bullied 'by 3-5 students' followed by 'by 10 students', 50.3% and 27.6%, respectively. There is a significant difference for gender, $\chi^2(4)=23.90$, $p<.001$.

There was a marginally significant difference for school type, $\chi^2(4)=9.44$, $p=.051$. As can be seen in Table 7-6, more pupils in elementary school were bullied by 'mainly one peer' than those in middle schools. Victims in middle schools were bullied by many pupils than those in elementary school; 7.4% of victims in secondary school were bullied

by more pupils (by 20 and more than 30 students) but only 3.0% of victimised pupils in

elementary school.

Table 7-6   Number of bullies

	Elementary		Middle		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Mainly by one	44	19.1	33	14.3	51	20.6	26	12.2	77	16.7
By 3-5 students	107	46.5	125	54.3	138	55.9	94	44.1	232	50.4
By 10 students	72	31.3	55	23.9	46	18.6	81	38.0	127	27.6
By 20 students	4	1.7	9	3.9	6	2.4	7	3.3	13	2.8
By more than 30 students	3	1.3	8	3.5	6	2.4	6	2.3	11	2.4
	230	100	230	100	247	100	213	100	460	100

Number of Victims

Table 7-7 shows how pupils responded to q19 "*How many students in your class have been

bullied in this term, do you think?*". About 60% of the participants reported the number of

victims in their class.   The answer of pupils who reported number of victims in their

class (N= 1,743) was examined separately and presented in Table 7-7. According to the

results from Chi-square test, there is a significant difference for gender, $\chi^2(4)= 15.76$,

$p<.01$). While most pupils cited 1 student as having been bullied, more girls reported

that one or two students in their class had been bullied while more boys said that more

than 3 students in their class had been bullied. There is a significant difference for

school type, $\chi^2(4)= 31.89$, $p<.001$). Although for both type of schools 1 student being

bullied is most cited, pupils in elementary schools indicated a comparatively smaller number of their peers had been bullied than secondary pupils.

Table 7-7   Number of victims

	Gender				School type					
	Male		Female		Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1 student	381	44.8	448	50.0	353	49.5	476	46.0	829	47.5
2 students	237	27.8	281	31.4	218	30.6	300	29.0	518	29.7
3 students	154	18.1	80	8.9	98	13.7	136	13.2	234	13.4
4 students	40	4.7	42	4.7	23	3.2	59	5.7	82	4.7
More than 5 students	39	4.6	45	5.0	21	2.9	63	6.1	84	4.8
Total	851	100	896	100	713	100	1034	100	1747	100

FORMS OF WANG-TA AMONG KOREAN PUPILS

Different forms of being bullied and bullying others were also examined to investigate distinctive features of bullying behaviour among Korean school children and adolescents that may reflect unique behaviours of Korean pupils. Seven different forms of bullying were presented to pupils. Differences in the seven forms (calling nasty names, singled out, physical bullying, spreading rumours, threatening by gestures and facial expression, extorting and breaking belongings, and calling about physical appearance) were examined using a MANOVA. The variables of gender and school type were used as independent variables in this analysis. A summary of the descriptive statistics for each type is presented in Table 7-8.

FORMS OF BEING *WANG-TA*

Regarding being bullied, significant main effects were seen for both gender and school type. An overall F-value of 2.18 (p<0.05) from the MANOVA indicates a significant interaction between gender and school type. Each of the bullying forms was separately examined and what presented as Figure 7-2. A statistically significant interaction for gender and school type over time was observed on the form of being called by nasty names; although the line of boy is relatively close to parallel while that of girl shows a trend of downward, showing that using of called nasty names of girls decrease as their age increase while that of boys do not much change. Although the analysis indicated a significant interaction, it was seen only on one item. Therefore, the main effects were examined.

According to the results for gender differences, boys were much more involved in being 'called nasty names' ($F_{(1, 2916)}=27.92$, p<.001), using spreading rumours ($F_{(1, 2916)}=4.64$, *p*<.05), and physical threatening ($F_{(1, 2916)}=12.90$, *p*<.001). Regarding the main effect for school type, significant differences were observed for three types of bullying; middle school pupils reported using more 'singled out' ($F_{(1, 2901)}=14.63$, *p*<.001), 'facial expression and gestures' ($F_{(1, 2901)}= 26.73$, *p*<.001), and 'insulting about physical appearance' ($F_{(1, 2901)}= 6.96$, *p*<.01).

Called nasty names

Singled out

Hitting

Spreading rumours

Using facial expression

Extortion and Object breaking

Called about physical appearance

Figure 7-2 Forms of being bullied

Table 7-8 Forms of being wang-ta

	Being *Wang-ta*			
	Gender		School Type	
	Boy	Girl	Elementary	Middle
	M	M	M	M
	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)
Calling nasty names	1.69	1.51	1.71	1.50
	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.02)
Singled out	1.28	1.21	1.30	1.20
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Hit, kick, threaten and similar things	1.27	1.10	1.23	1.15
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Spreading rumours and nasty stories	1.27	1.20	1.26	1.21
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Using facial expression and gestures	1.23	1.26	1.25	1.23
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Extorting and breaking belongings	1.17	1.08	1.14	1.11
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Calling about physical appearance	1.39	1.34	1.37	1.37
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)

Results for Open-ended Questions

When participants were asked to write about the other ways of being bullied in an open-ended question, a noticeable number (N=176) wrote that they were often asked to be out of the classroom or to be separated from a group for a while if their friends wanted to talk without them. Pupils also said that their best friends suddenly stopped talking to them and started whispering and singled them out. Some pupils received nasty messages on their mobile phones and by e-mail.

FORMS OF DOING *WANG-TA*

Regarding forms of bullying others, significant main effects were found for gender and school type as well. An overall F-value of 5.04 (p<0.001) from the MANOVA indicates a significant interaction between gender and school type. Each type of bullying was separately examined and presented as Figure 7-3. A statistically significant interaction for gender and school types over time was observed for using facial expression and gestures. The line for boys is relatively horizontal while that for girl shows an upward trend of upward, showing that girls use more facial expression and gestures compared to boys as their age increases (see Table 7-9).

Table 7-9 Forms of bullying others

	Bullying Others			
	Gender		School Type	
	Boy	Girl	Elementary	Middle
	M	M	M	M
	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)
Calling nasty names	1.86	1.70	1.77	1.80
	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)
Singled out	1.38	1.51	1.38	1.51
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Hit, kick, threaten and similar things	1.25	1.10	1.17	1.18
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Spreading rumours and nasty stories	1.33	1.32	1.32	1.34
	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)
Using facial expression and gestures	1.52	1.75	1.54	1.73
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Extorting and breaking belongings	1.06	1.03	1.04	1.05
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
Calling about physical appearance	1.51	1.61	1.52	1.61
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)

Calling nasty names

Singled out

Hitting

Spreading rumours

Facial expression and gestures

Extortion and breaking objects

Calling about physical appearance

Figure 7-3 Forms of bullying others

Significant main effects were seen for both gender and school type. Although the MANOVA indicated a significant interaction, it was seen only on one item. Therefore, the main effects were examined. According to the results for gender difference, boys were much more involved in 'called nasty names' ($F_{(1, 2901)}=14.94$, $p<.001$), and physical threatening ($F_{(1, 2901)}=46.31$, $p<.001$) where as girls were more involved in 'facial expression and gesturing' ($F_{(1, 2901)} =40.31$, $p<.001$), 'insulting about others physical appearance' ($F_{(1, 2901)}=9.11$, $p<.01$), and 'singled out' ($F_{(1, 2901)}= 14.21$, $p<.001$). Regarding the main effect for school type, a significant difference was observed for three types of bullying; secondary pupils reported using more 'singled out' ($F_{(1, 2901)}=14.63$, $p<.001$), 'facial expression and gestures' ($F_{(1, 2901)}= 26.73$, $p<.001$), and 'insulting about physical appearance' ($F_{(1, 2901)}= 6.96$, $p<.01$).

Results for Open-ended Questions

When participants responded about other ways of bullying in the open-ended question, a considerable number (N=69) said they often put dirty water on his/her victimised peer(s). Some pupils (N=23) reported that they locked their victims in toilets and put dirty water over the door onto them. Some girls said they stopped talking if a certain peer came into their classroom. Moreover, some pupils said they talked about their victims' parents and/or siblings. Some used mobile phone and e-mail in order to make his/her victims feel shame and upset, they reported that they kept phoning on their victims' mobile phones and if the victimised boy/girl did not answer the phone, they sent nasty messages on their victim's mobile phone and/or e-mail.

GENERAL BEHAVIOUR WHEN SEEING WANG-TA

Perceptions about Helping Victimised Peers

Pupils were asked q23 *"What do you usually do when you see a student being wang-ta in school?"* Overall, the largest proportion thought that they ought to help victimised peers even though they did not do it (58.4%) followed by those who said that they did not do anything and thought it was none of his/her business (26.7%). A comparatively small percentage of pupils (14.9%) reported that 'they tried to help their victimised peers'; see Table 7-10.

Gender difference

As seen in Table 7-10, there was a significant gender difference ($\chi^2(2)= 21.19$, $p<.01$), with more boys (17.7%) reporting that they tried to help victimised peers than girls (11.6%). Slightly more girls than boys reported that they think of helping their victimised peers even though they do not do anything or that they do not do anything on others' victimisation because it is none of their business.

Table 7-10 Reaction of seeing a student being bullied in school (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nothing, because it's none of my business	391	25.8	390	27.8	781	26.7
I don't do anything, but I think I ought to help	853	56.5	850	60.6	1703	58.4
I try to help him or her in one way or another	267	17.7	163	11.6	430	14.9
Total	1511	100	1403	100	2914	100

School type difference

Table 7-11 shows that there was a significant difference by school type, ($\chi^2_{(2)}$= 55.01, p<.001). More middle school (30.9%) than elementary school students (20.8%) said that they do not do anything when their peers are being bullied because it is none of their business. More elementary school pupils (19.4%) tried to help their victimised peers than middle school pupils (11.6%).

Table 7-11 Reaction of seeing a student being bullied in school (school type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nothing, because it's none of my business	244	20.8	537	30.9	781	26.7
I don't do anything, but I think I ought to help	700	59.8	1003	57.5	1703	58.4
I try to help him or her in one way or another	227	19.4	203	11.6	430	14.9
Total	1171	100	1743	100	2914	100

Frequency of Putting a Stop to it When Wang-ta is Happening

Another question with more specific response choices was asked: q21 *"Have you tried to put a stop to it when a student is being Wang-ta in school?"*. As shown in Table 7-12, 43.1% of participants reported that they almost never put a stop to bullying whereas only 5.9% of them said that they almost always did so. A 2-way ANOVA was conducted for gender and school type differences.

There was no significant main effect for gender (F(1, 2910)=3.00, *p*=.08) and no significant main effect for school type (F(1, 2910)=2.99, *p*=.84). No significant gender by school type interaction was found (F(1, 2910)=1.15, *p*=.283).

Table 7-12 Put a stop to it when a student is being bullied in school (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Almost never	661	43.8	596	42.5	1257	43.1
Once (in a while)	285	18.8	332	23.6	617	21.2
Now and then	410	27.2	374	26.6	784	26.9
Often	54	3.6	31	2.2	85	2.9
Almost always	100	6.6	71	5.1	171	5.9
Total	1510	100	1404	100	2914	100

Reasons for not Helping Victims

Why do pupils not help their peers who are in trouble? In order to find specific reasons for this, a multiple choice question q21-1"*Why did you not help a student who was being wang-ta?*" and two open-ended questions: q21-2 "*Could you explain why?*" and q21-3 "*Do you think there is any other reason for not helping?*", were made for students who scored 'almost never' or 'once in a while' on q21. (Pupils who scored 'now and then', 'often', 'almost always' on q21 were asked move to q22 directly "*How often do other students say nasty and unpleasant things to you?*"). Of those 1,874 participants who scored 'almost never' or 'once a while', in q21, 1,786 answered q21-1; results are presented in Table 7-25.

Table 7-13 Put a stop to it when a student is being bullied in school (school type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Almost never	495	42.4	763	43.6	1257	43.1
Once (in a while)	229	19.6	388	22.2	617	21.2
Now and then	329	28.2	455	26.1	784	26.9
Often	38	3.3	47	2.7	85	2.9
Almost always	76	6.5	95	5.4	171	5.9
Total	1167	100	1747	100	2914	100

The most cited reason for not helping victims

The most cited reason was that even if they helped victims, nothing would be changed (26.0%), followed by because victimised peers they deserved being *wang-ta* (23.6%). Another 19.7% said that they did not help victims because it was none of their business, while 16.5% said that because other friends did not do anything neither would they. Finally 14.2% reported that they were afraid to be the next target after helping victimised peers.

Gender

There was a significant gender difference ($\chi^2(4)=20.43$, $p<.001$); see Table 7-14. More boys (23.4%) cited 'because it is not my business' than girls (16.1%). More girls cited 'because other friend do not do anything neither do they' than boys.

Table 7-14 Reasons for not helping victimised peers (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Because it is not my business	210	23.4	142	16.1	352	19.7
Because other friends do not do anything neither do I	125	13.9	169	19.0	294	16.5
Because I may be the next target if I help them	123	13.7	130	14.6	253	14.2
Because victims deserve it	204	22.7	218	24.5	422	23.6
Because nothing will be changed even though I help victims	236	26.3	229	25.8	465	26.0
Total	898	100	888	100	1786	100

Table 7- 15 Reasons for not helping victimised peers (school type)

	Elementary		Secondary		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Because it is not my business	107	16.0	245	21.9	352	19.7
Because other friend do not do anything so do I	103	15.5	191	17.1	294	16.5
Because I may be the next target if I help them	134	20.1	119	10.6	253	14.2
Because victims deserve it	127	19.1	295	26.3	422	23.6
Because nothing will be changed even though I help victims	195	29.3	270	24.1	465	26.0
Total	666	100	1120	100	1786	100

School type difference

Table 7-25 shows that there is a significant school type difference, ($\chi^2(4)$= 48.01, $p<.001$). About twice as many elementary school students (20.1%) scored 'because I may be the next target if I help them' than those in middle school (10.6%), and more elementary school students (29.3%) reported that they do not help victims 'because nothing will be changed even though they help victims' than in secondary school (24.1%). More

middle school students (26.3%) said they think that 'victims deserved being *wang-ta*' than elementary school (19.1%), and 'because it is not my business' (21.9% and 16.1%, respectively).

Further explanations

Of those who seldom or never helped victims, 23.6% of the pupils felt that victims deserved to be *wang-ta* (see Table 7-14 and 7-15). In order to find why these pupils think that victims deserved to be bullied, those who marked 'because victims deserve it' were asked why they felt pupils would deserve to be *wang-ta* in q21-3. The outcomes of this open-ended question were categorised and are presented in Table 7-16. The most commonly given response was that a pupil deserves to be *wang-ta* because he/she is 'informant and/or spy of teachers' (32.2%) followed by 'mouthy' (21.7%), and because they disturbed playing time and/or class lessons (19.4%).

Table 7-16 Reasons for thinking why victims deserved to be *wang-ta*

	Total	
	No	%
Informant, spy of teachers	76	32.2
Mouthy	57	21.7
Disturb their playing time and/or class lesson	45	19.4
Do not keep his/her promise	18	8.1
Break classroom equipment, physically aggressive	17	7.6
Other responses	19	8.0
Total	222	100

In addition, a few pupils stated that pupils who had lower academic achievement that made the mean academic score of the whole class go down could deserve being *wang-ta* and peers who behaved younger than their age, who seem to treat the classroom like his/her own room (shouting often), did not listen while other students were speaking and/or talked and later talked about wrong information, and behaved 'like a prince and princess' could become a target of *wang-ta*.

A few reported that peers who have a naive personality (easily taken advantage of), do not contribute in sports activities, whose parents always come to school and who is the favourite of class teachers, could become a target of *wang-ta*. One interesting finding was that, according to a few pupils, there were other victims who would like to be singled out by her/himself in order to concentrate on studying. Pupils also said that some victims were equally disliked, and therefore rejected and ignored by teachers and peers, and a number of pupils indicated that teachers had intentionally told them, under the pretend of joking, to single out another pupil.

GENERAL ATTITUDES ABOUT *WANG-TA* BEHAVIOUR

Table 7-13 showed that a large number of pupils (64.3%) say that they seldom or never help victims whereas a comparatively small number of pupils (8.8%) usually put a stop to a peer being *wang-ta*. If they do not want to help their victimised peers and/or sometimes take a part in doing *wang-ta*, there must be different normative behaviour of pupils. Hence, some questions on general attitude of pupils towards *wang-ta* were asked.

In order to analyse the data on attitudes, pupils were divided into three groups; bully, victim, and control group, based on the data shown in Table 7-3.   The bully group are those pupils (N=299) who report having done *wang-ta* others at least 'now and then' or more ('once a week' or 'several times a week'). The victim group (N=168) are those pupils who have received *wang-ta* at least 'now and then' or more. The control group (N=2,479) are those pupils who have never been *wang-ta* and have not done *wang-ta* to others at all or no more than 'once or twice in a term'. There were 20 pupils who belonged to the bully as well as the victim group; pupils who scored being bullied 'now and then' or more, and simultaneously bullied others 'now and then' or more'. Due to their small numbers, the bully/victim category was not included separately in the comparisons. According to type of variables, T-test, chi-squared analyses, and one way ANOVA, two way ANOVA for gender and school type, and three way ANOVA for group, gender, school type were conducted.

If Doing Wang-ta is Fun

Overall results

Initially, pupils were asked if they think making others wang-ta is fun (q40 "*Do you think it is fun to wang-ta others?*"). A majority of pupils (70.4%) said that they never think it is fun at all while only 0.6% of pupils said that they think it is fun 'always'; see Table 7-17. A 3-way ANOVA was conducted for gender, school type, and group.

Group difference

A significant main effect for group was found (F(1, 2931)=121.51, $p<.001$). Post-hoc LSD tests showed that both controls and victims thought making other *wang-ta* were significantly less fun than did bullies. As can be seen in Table 7-28, about 70% of the pupils in victim (67.2 %) and control groups (74.7%) scored 'no, never' on the question but the most cited response choice of the bully group was 'yes, once a while'. Among bullies, 14.4% of them reported that they think making others *wang-ta* is fun 'now and then' but only 4.2% of pupils in victim group and 3.4% of pupils in normal group said so.

Table 7-17 Fun to make others wang-ta (group)

	Victim		Control		Bully		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, never	113	67.3	1850	74.7	107	35.9	2070	70.4
Yes, once a while	44	26.2	524	21.2	128	43.0	696	23.6
Now and then	7	4.2	85	3.4	43	14.4	135	4.6
Often	2	1.2	12	0.5	10	3.4	24	0.8
Almost always	2	1.2	6	0.2	10	3.4	18	0.6
Total	168	100	2477	100	298	298	2943	100

Gender difference

There was no significant main effect for gender (F(1, 2931)=.29, $p=.59$), see Table 7-18.

School type difference

There was no significant main effect for school type (F(1, 2931)=.69, $p=.41$), see Table 7-19.

Table 7-18 Fun to make others wang-ta (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, never	1090	71.3	980	69.5	2070	70.4
Yes, once in a while	351	23.0	345	24.2	696	23.6
Now and then	63	4.1	72	5.0	135	4.6
Often	12	0.8	12	0.9	24	0.8
Almost always	13	0.9	5	0.4	18	0.6
Total	1529	100	1414	100	2943	100

Interactions Between Variables

There was no significant interactions between variables: gender by group ($F_{(2, 2931)}=.63$, $p=.53$), gender by school type ($F_{(1, 2931)}=.22$, $p=.63$), group by school type ($F_{(2, 2931)}=.41$ $p=.66$), and gender by school type by group ($F_{(2, 2931)}=.75$, $p=.47$).

Table 7-19 Fun to make others wang-ta (school type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, never	877	74.1	1193	67.8	2070	70.4
Yes, once in a while	255	21.6	441	25.1	696	23.6
Now and then	30	2.5	105	6.0	135	4.6
Often	14	1.2	10	0.6	24	0.8
Almost always	7	0.6	11	0.6	18	0.6
Total	1183	100	1760	100	2943	100

Group level trends on thinking of making others wang-ta is fun

With the proportion of pupils who think making others *wang-ta* is fun, I could separately see how the attitude of girls and boys was changing as grade level increases. According

to the results of a 2-way ANOVA, there was a gender by grade levels interaction (F(4, 2933) =2.50, *p*<.05). Post-hoc LSD tests indicate that there was a different trend as boys and girls get older. For girls, as grade level increased the rate of positive attitude to *wang-ta* increased up to grade SS1 and then decreased whereas that of boys increased up to grade SS2 and then decreased. Figure 7-4 shows the sum of four responses choices ('yes, once in a while', 'now and then', 'often' and 'almost always').

Figure 7-4 Proportion of pupils who think making others wang-ta is fun (school year*gender)

Thinking of joining in Wang-ta to Others

Overall results

As can be seen in Table 7-20, regarding q 41, *"Do you think you could join in wang-ta to a students whom you do not like?"*, 12.1% of participants gave very strong positive answers

for joining in wang-ta others whom they did not like. A 3-way ANOVA was conducted for gender, school type, and group.

Group difference

There was a significant main effect for group ($F(2, 2934)=60.90$, $p<.001$), see Table 7-20. Post-hoc tests showed that pupils in the bully group were more positive about bullying others whom they do not like than those in control and victim groups.

Table 7-20 Could you join in *wang-ta* to a student whom you don't like (group)

	Victim		Control		Bully		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes, I do	18	10.7	254	10.2	84	28.1	356	12.1
Yes, may be	40	23.8	522	21.1	107	35.8	669	22.7
I don't know	48	28.6	871	35.1	72	24.1	991	33.6
No, may be I don't	27	16.1	344	13.9	22	7.4	393	13.3
No, I don't think so	35	20.8	488	19.7	14	4.7	537	18.2
Total	168	100	2479	100	299	100	2946	100

Gender difference

There was a significant main effect for gender ($F(1, 2934)=10.25$, $p=.001$). Table 7-22 showed that more boys have a negative attitude towards joining in *wang-ta* of a student whom they do not like than girls, especially for the 'no, I don't think so' response.

School type difference

A significant main effect was found for school type (F $(1, 2934)$=26.01, $p<.001$). As shown in Table 7-22, pupils in elementary school show a more negative attitude to joining in *wang-ta* to others whom they do not like.

Table 7-21 Could you join in *wang-ta* to a student whom you don't like (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes, I do	178	11.6	178	12.6	356	12.1
Yes, may be	283	18.5	386	27.3	669	22.7
I don't know	493	32.2	498	35.2	991	33.6
No, may be not	208	13.6	185	13.1	393	13.3
No, I don't think so	368	24.1	169	11.9	537	18.2
Total	1530	100	1416	100	2946	100

Table 7-22 Could you join in *wang-ta* to a student whom you don't like (school type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes, I do	105	8.9	251	14.2	356	12.1
Yes, may be	205	17.3	464	26.3	669	22.7
I don't know	413	34.9	578	32.8	991	33.6
No, may be not	167	14.1	226	12.8	393	13.3
No, I don't think so	293	24.8	244	13.8	537	18.2
Total	1183	100	1763	100	2946	100

Interactions Between Variables

There was no significant interactions between variables: gender by group (F(2, 2934)=2.03, *p*=.13), gender by school type (F(1, 2934)=2.21, *p*=.14), group by school type (F(2, 2934)=.73, *p*=.49), and gender by school type by group (F(2, 2934)=.57, *p*=.57).

A grade level trend on thinking of joining in wang-ta

To see if there was a significant gender by grade levels interaction a 2-way ANOVA was conducted. Figure 7-5 shows the sum of two responses choices ('yes, I do' and 'yes, maybe'). There was no significant gender by grade levels interaction (F(1, 2942)=1.69, p=.19). A positive attitude towards joining in *wang-ta* shows a consistent grade level trend upwards to SS2 and then starts to decrease again.

Figure 7-5 Trend of pupils joining in wang-ta others (grade*gender)

General Perception of Students Who Bully Others

Overall results

Pupils were asked q42 "*What do you think of students who do wang-ta others?*". As seen in Table 7-23, the most cited response choice was 'I don't know' (34.3%) followed by 'It's hard to understand that they do it' (21.5%). However, a considerable proportion of pupils report that they can understand or sometimes understand bullies. A comparatively small percentage said that they were often upset by what bullies do. A 3-way ANOVA was conducted for gender, school type, and group.

Group difference

There was a significant main effect for group (F(2, 2932)= 47.13, *p*<.001). Post-hoc tests show that there is no big difference between victims and controls, but pupils in the bully group show more understanding of students who bully others.

Gender difference

There was no significant main effect for gender (F(1, 2932)=3.17, *p*=.075), see Table 7-24.

School type difference

There was a significant main effect for school (F(1, 2932)=9.94, *p*=0.002), see Table 7-25. Pupils in elementary schools show less understanding of bullies than middle school pupils.

Interactions Between Variables

There was not significant interactions between variables: gender by group $(F_{(2, 2932)}=.86, p=.43)$, gender by school type $(F_{(1, 2932)}=.30, p=.58)$, group by school type $(F_{(2, 2932)}=.89, p=.41)$, and gender by school type by group $(F_{(2, 2932)}=.93, p=.40)$.

Table 7-23 Perception of students who bully others

	Victim		Control		Bully		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I can understand	13	7.7	317	12.8	85	28.4	415	14.1
Some times, I can understand that they do	22	13.1	482	19.5	92	30.8	596	20.2
I don't know	61	36.3	871	35.2	82	27.4	1014	34.3
It's hard to understand that they do	39	23.2	570	23.0	25	8.4	634	21.5
It upsets me a lot that they do	33	19.6	237	9.6	15	5.0	285	9.7
Total	168	100	2477	100	299	100	2944	100

Table 7-24 Perception of students who bully others (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I can understand that they do	207	13.5	208	14.7	415	14.1
Sometimes, I can understand	241	15.8	355	25.1	596	20.2
I don't know	542	35.4	472	33.4	1014	34.3
It's hard to understand that they do	367	24.0	267	18.9	634	21.5
It upsets me a lot that they do	173	11.3	112	7.9	285	9.7
Total	1530	100	1414	100	2944	100

A grade level trend on thinking of joining in wang-ta

To see if there was a significant gender by grade levels interaction a 2-way ANOVA was conducted, finding no gender by grade levels interaction. Figure 7-6 shows the response choices 'I can understand that they do' and 'sometimes I can understand they do', summed together. A trend of positive attitude towards *wang-ta* behaviour upto SS1 or SS2 can be seen

Table 7-25 Perception of students who bully others (school type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I can understand that they do	133	11.3	282	16	415	14.1
Sometimes, I can understand	191	16.2	405	23.0	596	20.2
I don't know	393	33.2	621	35.2	1014	34.3
It's hard to understand that they do	309	26.1	325	18.4	634	21.5
It upsets me a lot that they do	156	13.2	129	7.3	285	9.7
Total	1182	100	1762	100	2944	100

Figure 7-6 Grade level trend on understanding bullies (gender*class level)

General Perception about Pupils Who Disturb Class Lessons

Overall results

In order to see if this was a specific factor in being bullied, participants were asked q43 *"Do you think someone who disturb class lessons could be bullied?"*. 14% of the participants said that they think someone who disturbs class lessons could be bullied, see Table 7-26. A 3-way ANOVA was conducted for gender, school type, and group.

Group difference

A significant group difference ($F_{(2, 2933)}=40.73$, $p<.001$) was found, with post-hoc tests showing that participants in bully group showed a more positive attitude to bullying their peers who disturb class lessons. However, pupils in the victim group also had a more positive attitude to bullying someone who disturbed class lessons than those in the control group.

Table 7-26 Perception of pupils who disturb class lessons (group difference)

	Victim		Normal		Bully		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, never	67	39.8	1233	49.8	82	27.4	1382	46.9
I don't know	70	41.7	940	37.9	133	44.5	1143	38.8
I think so	31	18.5	305	12.3	84	28.1	420	14.3
Total	168	100	2478	100	299	100	2945	100

Gender difference

There was no significant main effect for gender ($F_{(1, 2933)}=1.69$, $p=.19$), see Table 7-27.

Table 7-27 perception of pupils who disturb class lesson (gender difference)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, never (he/she has to be bullied)	704	46.1	678	47.8	1382	46.9
I don't know	580	37.9	563	39.8	1143	38.8
I think so (he/she has not to be bullied)	245	16.0	175	12.4	420	14.3
Total	1529	100	1409	100	2945	100

School type difference

There was no significant main effect for school type ($F_{(1, 2933)}=1.72, p=.19$), see Table 7-28.

Interactions Between Variables

There was no significant interactions between variables: gender by group ($F_{(2, 2933)}=8.3$, $p=.44$), gender by school type ($F_{(1, 2933)}=.14$, $p=.91$), group by school type ($F_{(2, 2933)}=1.49, p=.23$), and gender by school type by group ($F_{(2, 2933)}=.93$, $p=.39$).

Table 7-28 perception of pupils who disturb class lesson (class level difference)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, never (he/she has to be bullied)	632	53.5	750	42.5	1382	46.9
I don't know	401	33.9	742	42.1	1143	38.8
I think so (he/she has not to be bullied)	149	12.6	271	15.4	420	14.3
Total	1182	100	1763	100	2945	100

TEACHERS, PARENTS AND VICTIMS

Having Help From Teachers About Being Bullied

These analyses were only carried out for pupils who said they had been bullied at least once a term or more (N=389).

Overall results

Pupils who had been bullied were asked q16 "*Have the teachers helped you when you were being bullied in school?*", see Table 7-40. About 64% of victimised pupils reported they have not received any help whereas 18% said that teachers 'often' or 'almost always' helped them.

Gender difference

No significant gender difference was found (chi^2 (4)= 6.36, p=0.17), see Table 7-29.

Table 7-29 Have the teachers helped you when you were being bullied in school? (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, they have not helped me at all	125	66.3	120	59.3	245	62.8
Yes, they have rarely helped me	36	19.1	39	19.4	75	19.2
Yes, they have often helped me	3	1.6	5	2.3	8	2.0
Yes, they almost always help me	23	13.0	38	19.0	61	16.0
Total	187	100	202	100	389	100

School type difference

A significant school type difference was found (chi^2 (4)= 29.70, p<.001). As can be seen in Table 7-30, pupils in elementary school report more help from teachers when they were bullied.

Table 7-30 Have the teachers helped you when you were being bullied in school? (school type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, they have not helped me at all	100	53.5	145	71.8	245	62.8
Yes, they have rarely helped me	43	23.0	32	15.8	75	19.2
Yes, they have often helped me	3	1.6	5	2.4	8	2.0
Yes, they almost always help me	41	21.9	20	10.0	61	16.0
Total	187	100	202	100	389	100

Talking With Parents About Being Bullied

Overall results

Pupils who had been bullied were also asked q18 *"Has your mother or father talked with you about your being bullied in school?"*, see Table 7-31. 60.% of victims never talked about it with their parents and only 5% of them 'often' talked to the parents. A 2-way ANOVA was conducted for gender and school type.

Gender difference

There was no significant main effect for gender (F(1,2941)= 3.23, p=0.70), see Table 7-31.

School type difference

There was a main effect for school type ($F_{(1,2941)}=18.53$, $p<.001$), see Table 7-32.

Overall, pupils in elementary school talk more with parents about their being bullied.

Interaction

There was no significant gender by school type interaction ($F_{(1, 2941)}= .27$, $p=.61$)

Table 7-31 Have your parents talked with you about your being bullied in school? (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, they have not talked with me about it	130	63.1	122	56.2	252	59.7
Yes, once or twice	54	26.2	65	29.9	119	28.0
Yes, now and then	15	7.3	18	8.3	33	7.8
Yes, very often	7	3.4	12	5.6	19	4.5
Total	206	100	217	100	423	100

Table 7-32 Have your parents talked with you about your being bullied in school? (school type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, they have not talked with me about it	115	55.6	137	63.6	252	59.7
Yes, once or twice	62	29.9	57	26.3	119	28.0
Yes, now and then	19	9.2	14	6.4	33	7.8
Yes, very often	11	5.3	8	3.7	19	4.5
Total	207	100.0	216	100.0	423	100.0

TEACHERS AND PARENTS TALKING WITH BULLIES

Teachers Talked With You About Your Bullying Others

Overall results

These analyses were only carried out for pupils who said that they had bullied at least once or twice a term or more (N=898). Pupils who had bullied others were asked q29 "*Has your teacher talked with you about your bullying other students?*", see Table 7-33. Most reported that the teachers have never talked with them, and only 2.6% said that this had happened more than once. A 2-way ANOVA was conducted for gender and school type.

Gender difference

There was a significant main effect for gender ($F_{(1, 2940)}=10.55, p=.001$). As shown in Table 7-33, more girls talked with their teachers than boys about their bullying others.

Table 7-33 Has your teacher talked with you about your bullying other students? (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, the teachers has not talked	336	80.6	378	78.6	714	79.6
Yes, only once	71	17.0	90	18.7	161	17.9
Yes, sometimes	8	1.9	9	1.9	17	1.9
Yes, very often	2	0.5	4	0.8	6	0.6
Total	417	100	481	100	898	100

School type difference

There was a significant main effect for school type (F $_{(1,2940)}$=7.35, p=.007), see Table 7-34. Slightly more pupils in elementary school talked with teachers compared to those in secondary school.

Interaction

There was no significant gender by school type interaction (F $_{(1,2940)}$=3.49, p=.06)

Table 7-34 Has your teacher talked with you about your bullying other students? (School type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, the teachers has not talked with me	263	80.7	451	78.9	714	79.6
Yes, only once	54	16.6	107	18.7	161	17.9
Yes, sometimes	7	2.1	10	1.7	17	1.9
Yes, very often	2	0.6	4	0.7	6	0.6
Total	326	100	572	100	898	100

Parents Talking with You about Your Bullying Others

Overall results

Pupils were also asked q30 " *Have your parents talked with you about your bullying other students?*", see Table 7-35. They were talked to by parents even less than with teachers. About 20% of pupils who have bullied others have been talked to by teachers but only

13% of pupils said they have been talked to by parents about it. A 2-way ANOVA was conducted for gender and school type.

There was a significant main effect for gender ($F_{(1, 2940)}=17.44$, $p<.001$). As can be seen in Table 7-35, more girls talk with their parents about their behaviour than boys. There was no significant main effect for school type ($F_{(1, 2940)}=3.61$, $p=.06$), see Table 7-36. No significant gender by school type interaction was found ($F_{(1, 2940)}=1.26$, $p=.26$).

Table 7-35 Talking to parents about their bullying other students (Gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, they have not talked with me about it	351	88.8	394	85.5	745	87.1
Yes, only once, they have talked about it	39	10.0	53	11.5	92	11.0
Yes, sometimes, they have talked about it	2	0.6	8	1.7	10	1.1
Yes, very often, they have talked about it	2	0.6	5	1.3	7	0.8
Total	394	100	460	100	854	100

Table 7-36 Talking to parents about their bullying other students (School type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, they have not talked with me about it	270	86.0	475	88.3	745	87.1
Yes, only once, they have talked about it	39	12.0	53	9.9	92	11.0
Yes, sometimes, they have talked about it	4	1.3	6	1.1	10	1.2
Yes, very often, they have talked about it	2	0.7	5	0.7	7	0.7
Total	315	100	539	100	854	100

DISCUSSION

The final Korean version of the bully/victim questionnaire included most features of Korean bullying known as '*wang-ta*' and its clear definition as obtained from pupils and as set out in Chapter 5.   Use of this revised questionnaire generally proceeded successfully.   The participants collaborated very well, showing that they clearly understood the questions; the error rate was only around 1% not answering questions sensitively.   The results suggest that while bullying behaviour in Korea displays some similar characteristics with those in other nations, it also has very distinctive features.

PROPORTION OF *WANG-TA*

Comparison of Frequency

The findings suggest that about 5.8% of school children and adolescents in Korean schools are being *wang-ta* "now and then or more" (see Page 168).   These figures are comparatively smaller than those previously found by some researchers from abroad for bullying and that of findings by other researchers in Korea.

The proportion of bullying in the study by Whitney and Smith (1993) is much higher than *wang-ta* in Korea.   According to them, in the U.K 27% of primary and 10% of secondary school pupils are bullied 'sometimes' or more frequently.   Moreover, in Japan

the proportion is 21.9% for primary and 8.5% for secondary school pupils (see reports in

Morita et al., 1999). The proportion of victimisation in Sweden, although lower than in

most other nations, is also much higher than in Korea, with a rate of victimised pupils of

9% (Olweus, 1999).

The 5.8% result in Korea is also significantly lower than many of those previously found

by other Korean researchers. For example, in the study of Kim and Park (1997), the

results indicated that 48.1% of pupils have been '*ttadolim*' (being singled out) which is a

part of *wang-ta*. There is also a report which indicates that about 30% of school children

and adolescents have been '*ttadolim*' (the Adolescents Communication Centre, 1999). It

is apparent in both studies that the researchers have not used the right definition of

wang-ta as persistent harm doing. They only asked if they have been singled out.

However, the proportion of my findings (5.8%) is higher than the 3.7% figure found by

the Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office (1998). In that study, the research group used

the definition of '*hakgyo-pokryuk*' (school violence) and only focused on physical

aspects of *wang-ta*. In general, the frequency of physical bullying is lower than that of

verbal bullying and social exclusion. Because of that, the results from Prosecutor's

Office are lower than my findings.

My studies are consistent with the findings of Lee and Kwak (2000). Of course, they did

not use the term *wang-ta* but used instead the definition of bullying that emphasises its

being characterised by repetition, imbalance of power, and taking different forms

physically, verbally and psychologically. Their results suggest that about 6.6% of

school children and adolescents have been bullied. However, their samples were all

taken in Seoul (the capital city) and the Kyoung-In area where academic competition is

higher than in other provinces. Thus, if Lee and Kwak (2000) had selected samples not

only from large cities but also other small provinces, even though there may be no

observable statistical difference, the proportion of *wang-ta* might be less than they

reported.

Locality and Frequency

Regarding the locality, although it is often thought that school bullying would be more

common in schools located in metropolises, according to the nationwide research by

Olweus (1978) in Norway, locality (e.g. urban and rural) does not affect occurrence rates.

In Norway, the occurrence rates of school bullying in cities like Oslo, Bergen, and

Trondheim are similar to or even lower than those of other regions. Findings from the

survey covering the largest region in South Korea also shows similar results to those of

Olweus; locality does not significantly affect the incidence of bullying but the trend is

for bullying to be slightly more common in large cities than small cities (the CYP, 2002).

My findings indicate that more pupils in large cities are bullied than those in small cities

(see Table 7-4).

GRADE DIFFERENCE

Grade Level Differences in Being Bullied

There are consistent findings regarding grade differences in being bullied. Past studies have revealed a fairly steady downward trend through elementary and secondary schools. My findings also confirm a general steady decrease in the proportion of victims as grade increases (see Figure 7-1) through elementary and middle schools: it was 7.8% at the 5th year in elementary school and decreased to 6.1% in the 2nd year in middle school and dropped to 4.3% in the last year in middle school. These results are consistent with those by other researchers. Whitney and Smith (1993) found that the proportion of victims tends to decrease with age through different grades. The results are also in line with Olweus (1999), reporting the percentage of students who reported that being bullied decreases in higher grades; the proportion of victims is 16.5% in grade 2, 6.9% in grade 6 and 4.7% in grade 9. Moreover, Rigby (1996) shows steady and substantial decreases of being bullied with age among Australia pupils. O'Moore et al. (1997) also found a downward tendency of being bullied as age increases among Irish pupils.

Regarding the decreasing proportion of victims, Smith, Madsen and Moody (1999) suggest four possible explanations for this grade decline of being bullied as follows: (1) younger children have more children older than them in school, who are in a position to bully them; (2) younger children have not yet been socialised into understanding that

they should not bully others; (3) younger children have not yet acquired the social skills and assertiveness skills to deal effectively with bullying incidents and discourage further bullying; (4) younger children have a different definition of what bullying is.

The researchers examined these possible reasons for the grade decline and argue that the data mostly supported the first and third explanations. The first hypothesis is also in line with Whitney and Smith (1993), pointing out that many bullies are in higher years than their victims, therefore, according to them "*age trends in bullying seem largely to follow what would be expected in terms of opportunities to dominate another*" (p21). Hence, the lower grade pupils could be more bullied than older pupils. Moreover, the third hypothesis is also supported by Olweus (1993), who argues that the reason for the age decrease in notes of being bullied is perhaps pupils developing more effective coping strategies.

As discussed before, most bullies in Korean schools are victims' classmates and peers in the same grade but different classes. Therefore, the decrease in proportion of victims among Korean students cannot be explained by the argument of Whitney and Smith (1993) and the first explanation in the study of Smith et al. (1999). It is more likely in line with Olweus (1993) and the third explanation in the study of Smith et al. (1999). As Korean pupils get older they may develop ways of avoiding their opponents and realise how to behave in order not to be bullied.

However, victims in higher grades, even if less numerous, may suffer more because the number in the bullying groups is larger than in lower grades. The results (see Table 7-6) indicate that victimised pupils, who were bullied by more than 20 peers, are 0.6% of all pupils in elementary school whereas those in middle school are 10% of all. It means that more victimised pupils in middle schools receive *wang-ta* from a larger number of bullies than those in elementary school.

Grade Difference in Bullying Others

Regarding the proportion of bullies, my finding is in line with Olweus (1999). There is no clear up or downward trend of the proportion of bullies according to pupils' grades. The results are also in line with Whitney and Smith (1993); they found a small fluctuation in the proportion of bullies over grades and there is no clear up wards or downwards trend of the proportion of bullies.

GENDER DIFFERENCE

In the study of Whitney and Smith (1993), no significant gender difference in being bullied appeared. However, Olweus (1999) reports that more boys are bullied than girls. My findings are in line with Olweus. The results of my research also suggest that more boys (7.3%) are bullied than girls (4.1%). There is a similar finding by Park et al., (1998): indicating that the proportion of victimised boys is 28.2% while that of girls is

20.3%. The results in Lee and Kwak's study (2000) also show the same finding that being bullied is more common amongst boys than girls

There is an interesting difference regarding those who bully. In the study by Olweus (1999), more boys are involved as bullies, as well as victims. However, analysis of my data suggests that, in Korea, while more boys are involved as victims, more girls are involved as bullies; the proportion of bullies among boys is 9.4% whereas that of girls is 11.1%. There is a similar trend in Japanese schools, Morita et al. (1999) point out that aggressors are more numerous among girls than among boys. . However, the results from the study of Kim et al. (2004) show that more boys are involved as bullies and victims. One difference between the materials used by Kim et al. (2004) and other researchers (e.g. Lee and Kwak) is that other researchers used self-report questionnaires whereas Kim et al. (2004) used the Korean-Peer Nomination Inventory (K-PNI) which was developed by the authors and used for studying peer victimisation. There is a difficult in making comparison with their results since their material does not fully cover indirect forms of victimisation, that are more common among girls. Hence although there must be further study on the differentiation, it could be assumed that bullying among girls is more based on group mechanisms and girls gather together more closely for such a purpose if this implies protection from becoming another victim.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF *WANG-TA*

The Most Common Forms

Although there is a characteristic gender difference in forms of bullying, the most common form remains verbal bullying, 'being called nasty names'; 37% of victimised students experience it. This is a consistent finding; in the studies in chapter 6 and this study, the most scored form of being bullied is 'being called nasty names'. It is also in line with Whitney and Smith (1993). In their study the most often cited form of being bullied is name calling, with 50% (junior/middle) and 62% (middle) of victims experiencing it. Moreover, in the study of Morita el al. (1999), verbal bullying is one of the most common forms of being *ijime* in Japan as well.

Differentiation of Indirect Forms

Although the most common form of being bullied is in line with past research, there are apparently different results regarding gender difference. In the studies of Whitney and Smith (1993) and Olweus (1999) more boys are directly bullied (e.g. physical) while more girls are indirectly bullied (e.g. spreading rumours). However, my findings present rather different results; although slightly more girls are involved in mainly threatening facial expressions, boys are more widely involved in both direct and indirect forms of being bullied e.g. 'called nasty names', 'spreading rumours', and 'being singled out'.

The differences could be explained in two possible ways. The first one is that, as some researchers (e.g. Cho-Han, 1999) from sociology point out, in these days more boys lose their gender identity and are more feminised than in earlier times. However, although more boys report that they were bullied in indirect ways (e.g. spreading rumours and nasty stories), still significantly more boys said that they were physically threatened and extorted. Therefore, the first reason cannot be solely used for explaining the differences. There is another possible reason for these phenomena, that the indirect forms of bullying presented for victimisation are not sufficient to find out the differences in gender. The traditional view on gender difference is that more boys are involved in direct forms of bullying while more girls are involved in indirect forms of bullying. However, as Bjorkqvist et al., (1992) point out, the traditional view on gender difference in aggressive behaviour that females display very little aggressiveness, may need to be corrected. Rather than being a quantitative difference, I felt it might be a question of a difference in quality; girls maybe display their assertiveness, in different ways from boys which might be not included in the questionnaire. Actually, I can find some evidence for this from responses to the open-ended questions in this study.

Distinctive Forms of Wang-ta

The overall results of the open-ended questions suggested that the forms of *wang-ta* are more specific and various than I addressed in the multiple-choice items. More boys said that they were bullied in general ways (which were presented in past studies: singled out, spreading rumours and nasty stories) while more girl victims received very distinctive

and specific ways of *wang-ta* which were not studied in past research, from their friends. When I separately asked in an open-ended question about other ways of being bullied, a number of girls reported that they were bullied in other ways than being singled out and receiving verbal taunting. They replied that they are often asked to be out of the classroom or to be separated from within a group for a while if their friends want to talk without them. Girls also reported that their best friends might suddenly stop talking to them and sometimes whisper in front of them and/or behind them. Moreover, some girls said that their classmates suddenly stopped talking as they entered the classroom. More boys wrote that others often threw dirty water at them and some pupils were pushed down stairs.

In addition, one interesting finding was that both boys and girls mentioned that they were bullied by mobile phone text messages and/or e-mail from anonymous bullies. It could be a very serious problem soon because, as is widely acknowledged, more than half of Korean pupils own mobile phones and the internet is provided in most Korean homes. Hence, victims are more exposed to being bullied in lots of indirect and impersonal ways.

In summary, the forms of bullying are more specific and various than expected. Therefore, there need to be more separate studies on specific forms of bullying and different effects of it depending on the type of bullying experienced.

PERCEPTIONS OF VICTIMS AND BULLIES

Perceptions of Victims

As widely acknowledged, victims are the worst group in terms of having the most dreadful experiences from bullying. Pupils generally do not have positive feelings and/or empathy towards victimised peers. There is an interesting finding that some victims said that they could understand bullies' behaviour (see Table 7-23). This suggests the existence of different kinds of victims in Korean schools. I found that there are three different kinds of victims. Moreover, the results not only indicate different types of victims but also possible reasons for victimisation.

When bullying is reported, especially in the case of Korea where a large number of pupils bully a particular person, it is interesting to know if victimised pupils have some actual reasons for receiving bullying. Lane (1989) and Slee (1994) emphasise psychological factors, saying victimised pupils have low self-esteem and high social anxiety. Olweus (1999) found that poor physical strength of victims could be a reason for being bullied.

All of the reasons presented are possible causes of being bullied. However, the findings in my study indicate that 23.6% (elementary 19.1%, middle 26.3%) of pupils said that victims deserved to be bullied (see Table 7-15), but the reason for being bullied strongly related to a pupil's personality rather than physical appearance (see Table 7-16). The

most common response given was that a pupil deserved to be bullied if he is mouthy, an informant, or someone who acts tough around other pupils, or if a pupil cannot contribute in a group's shared agenda e.g. sports activity. In fact, sports activity is a very important part of pupils' schooling because most of the activities are group competition, sharing responsibility for winning. Moreover, there is another kind of victim who is called a *bat*[1]. Pupils who are considered to be a *bat* may be likely to fall in the category of both bully and victim. It appears that these pupils may try to bully others, but are not successful and the result leads them to be bullied themselves.

The results also indicate that someone who is not involved in class activities but only concentrates on their own study may become a victim of *wang-ta*. This kind of victim may have a good academic achievement and, since academic achievements often are considered as a criterion for judging good and bad students, teachers may discriminate them from others in showing more affection to them.

Respondents also indicated that a large number of pupils who are bullied do not deserve to be bullied. Nonetheless, these pupils are characterised as being "naive", unaware of how to behave in school, and therefore vulnerable and easily taken advantage of.

So, the different types of victims in Korean schools appear to be as follows. The first type is those who are intentionally provocative (e.g. mouthy, bat). The second type is

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[1] Although there is generally one victim, there are a few sub-groups in a class. Most pupils in a class belong to one of these sub-groups. A pupils called a *bat* tries to belong different sub-groups according to his/her benefit.

those who are unintentionally provocative (e.g. unaware of how to behave in within group). Victims in this case are sometimes introduced on TV and also appeared in the study of Lee and Kwak (2000). They do not want to make friends because they want to concentrate more on their studies, thinking that making friends before entering university is waste of time. The last type is those who are vulnerable because they are naive and easily taken advantage of.

My findings suggest that it is very complicated to define feature of victims. If you see the victimised pupils from the view of keeping a group's shared agenda and that fitting into a group is a vital behaviour, there seem to be clear reasons for the bullying of victimised peers. However, if you respect the individual character of victimised peers, there is no clear reason for bullying them. Thus, it cannot simply be said that a physically and/or psychologically weaker pupil is at risk of being bullied. The target is simply a useful object onto whom the bullies can displace his/her aggression under the name of saving their group's agenda. In other words, if a child is picked on because they are allegedly 'fat', then losing weight will not make any difference. Bullies may simply invent another justification.

Perceptions of Bullies

Salmivalli et al. (1996) found that in some cases children bully their peers to reach a dominant position in the group one have a lack of empathy for their victims. The results in this study are very much in line with the findings of Salmivalli et al. As far as bullies

are concerned, some Korean pupils indicate that the bully is *jjang²* and pupils show a

more positive attitude towards bullies than victims. Only 9.6% of pupils report that what

bullies are doing make them upset (see Table 7-23) whereas 23.6% of them say victims

deserve to be bullied (see Table 7-15).

Types of bullies

Regarding the types of bullies, Salmivalli and her colleagues (1996) identified three

types of bullies: ring leaders (organising a group of bullies and initiating the bullying),

followers (who join in the bullying once it is started), and reinforcers (who do not

actively join in, but reinforce more passively by watching and laughing or encouraging

the bullying). They also stated that the last kind of bully is the most dangerous.

Because of the differentiation of questionnaire contents between Salmivalli et al. (1996)

and this research, findings in this study on types of bullies do not allow any comparison

with their results.

Shields and Simourd (1991) studied types of bullies in young offenders houses and

classified three kinds of bullies: those who bully for material gain e.g. asking for money;

those who are leaders and have assistant to do their bullying for them; and those who

bully because they enjoy it. However, although the background of participants differs,

according to my findings, bullies in Korean schools are more like a cooperative group

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² *Jjang* is a most popular and new term for a peer who has a highly valued role in the classroom. *Jjang* is usually only one pupil in a class who has good academic achievements as well as being good at sports activities.

compared to the results of Shields and Simourd (1991). Cooperative bullies behave as peacekeepers of classroom conflict, and were found to be involved in little overt management. It can be seen from Table 7-26, that bullies more strongly believe that pupils who disturb class lessons have to be bullied. Nonetheless, many bullies in Korean schools appear to resemble the last of the types in Shields and Simourd (1991), considered as the most dangerous. A significant proportion of pupils in the bully group (65%) think of bullying others as being fun.

An interesting question is whether the *jjang* is the most highly-valued role because they have power and can do things for other inmates, or because they are popular. Part of the answer may lie in a distinction pupils make between what they referred to as *jjang* and *iljin*[3]. *Jjang* bullies are popular and had the respect as well as fear of both peer group and teachers, like the person called Mr. Um in the novel mentioned earlier. These bullies rarely used physical aggression, and usually bullied through intimidation in order to keep things quiet in the classroom. *Iljin* bullies are disliked by both teachers and peer group but peers are afraid of them. They are more likely to use physical aggression as a means of intimidation, and often bullied others for their own gain, to cause trouble, or because they enjoyed it. The cases of *iljin* bullies are in line with Tattum and Herbert (1993), saying there is some connection between school bullies and later criminal activity. *Iljins* usually have some connection to a violent group or they have an older

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[3] Pupils who are *iljins* are usually physically stronger than other peers but have lower academic achievements. They usually show toughness in class and are sometimes involved in fighting with other school *iljins*.

sibling who is involved in violent or illegal activities in the same or a different school (Kim, 2002).

Bullies' perception of victims

Every reason is a deceptive justification for bullies to use in a predictable pattern of bullying behaviour against another child who is physically and/or psychologically weaker than them. It is possible that bullies may say all of their victims are provocative, thus allowing them to feel less guilty about their behaviour. So far as the perception of bullies toward victims is concerned, Boulton and Underwood (1992) report that most bullies thought that the victim provoked bullying episodes. Moreover, Slee (1993) stated that most bullies usually overestimate situational factors as compared to personal variables to explain aggressive episodes and showed a positive attitude to bullying others.

In this study, the results strongly support the views of those researchers. Pupils in the bully group in my study showed very positive responses in term of bullying others. 63.8% of bullies reported very strong positive answers about bullying others whom they do not like whereas only 34.5% pupils in non-involved group did so (see Table 7-20). There is also a consistent finding with some studies in Germany, which suggest that those who are frequent bullies have a more positive attitude toward aggression (Schwind, Roitsch, Ahlborn, & Gielen, 1995; Todt & Busch, 1996). The results of these other researchers and my study may suggest that bullies minimise others' feelings, possibly for their own advantage. The findings in this study also provide reasons for why the

incidence of bullying is difficult to decrease and, ultimately, remove. Bullies do not feel guilty because there are others who are on their side, and they come to think that the victims deserve the suffering.

REACTIONS TOWARDS SEEING WANG-TA

Whitney and Smith (1993) found that 19% of both primary and secondary school children said they would not do anything to help if they saw someone being bullied, and thought it was none of their business. This is in sharp contrast to the results of the present study, in which 43% of pupils said they almost never help another pupil who they saw being bullied (see Table 7-12). This finding highlights an important difference in attitudes towards bullying between Western and Eastern countries. Bullying in Eastern nations usually takes place based on collectivism. Hence, helping others may be more difficult in a large group setting. With the results of this study, I found four possible strong reasons for why pupils do not have much motivation to help victimised pupils (see Table 7-14).

The first reason could be because *wang-ta* is mimetic behaviour. A great number of pupils said that they did not help victims because other friends did not help victimised peers. In a group phenomenon, pupils may not want to behave in a way that makes them stand out, such that they would be in a minority. Also, young people may stick with their friends and may enjoy sharing a secret with them. Moreover, according to Rigby

(2003), pupils are strongly influenced by peers with whom they have a relatively close association.

The second reason for not helping victims may be because *wang-ta* is pressured behaviour. Olweus (1999) pointed out that students who are usually nice and non-aggressive sometimes participate in bullying with great misgivings. Pupils take a part in *wang-ta* because they do not want to be the next target (see Table 7-14). It is also a belief among Korean students that if one helps a victimised peer then he/she will become the next *wang-ta* in the class. Hence pupils, even though they are neither a 'bully' nor a 'reinforcer' may experience a strong pressure to be involved. In a group mechanism, pupils may experience pressure of believing that victims have characteristic problems and have to be bullied. Maybe as the number of a bully group gets larger they need a more strong and rational reason for sticking together and for making one of them isolated within their group.

The third reason is the most serious and considerable, which is dis-empowerment. More than half of Korean pupils say that they do have motivation to help victimised peers but, in fact, they do not help them. Korean pupils are utterly dis-empowered by the collectivism of *wang-ta*. As Table 7-14 shows, pupils do not put a stop to it when they see someone is being bullied because they thought their helping would not change anything. Even if they helped the victimised pupil, it would not change any situation and/or not improve the current bully/victim situation.

The last reason is that, even though the number is small, in open-ended questions some pupils reported that they had helped victimised peers but subsequently they became a victim and those whom they used to get help from now bullied them with the others.

It seems that with *wang-ta*, not only are the victims weakened but also others can be dis-empowered as well. Salmivalli et al. (1996) distinguished outsiders as those who are completely non-involved and defenders as those who help the victim, get help, or tell the bullies to stop. It could be also assumed that there is an important role of defenders but when young people realise that their courageous behaviour has little effect, they may lose the awareness of judging what is right and wrong behaviour. Consequently, most pupils are not willing to help victimised peers.

COLLECTIVISM AND *WANG-TA*

Findings for Collectivism and Wang-ta

This study indicates that the most significant difference between Korea and Western countries is the basic mechanism of bullying. It can be argued that bullying in Western nations is based on individualism whereas in Japan it is a part of collectivism. Some of my findings also clearly demonstrate that *wang-ta* in Korea is a collective behaviour similar to *ijime* in Japan, but exhibits a stronger group mechanism than *ijime*. It is widely acknowledged that Japan and Korea have similar cultures and in both nations, fitting into a group is a very important part of social life.

It is a finding that the proportion of bullies compared to victims is larger in situations where bullying is based on collectivism. Hence, the number of bullies in Korea and Japan should be larger than the number of victims. In fact, the proportion of victims to bullies is 5.8% (victims) to 10.2% (bullies) in Korea. A similar finding was also seen in the study of Morita et al. (1999), indicating that there are 13.0% victims and 17.3% bullies in Japanese schools. However, where bullying is based on individualism, as commonly in the West, significantly different ratios are found. In Sweden 9% of pupils are victims as contrasted with 7% bullies (Olweus, 1999). In the U.K, 27% of primary and 10% of secondary pupils report being bullied while 12% of primary and 6% of secondary school pupils take part in bullying others (Whitney and Smith, 1993). In Ireland, O'Moore et al. (1997) found that 31.3% of primary-school pupils and 15.6% of post-primary pupils reported having been victimised within the last term whereas 26.5% of primary-school pupils and 14.9% of post-primary pupils reported that they had bullied others within the last term. The findings in Italy are similar reporting 26% victims and 20% bullies (Fonzi et al., 1999). Moreover, Vettenburg (1999) in Belgium suggests 23% of victims and 16% bullies in Belgian schools.

It becomes clear that if the bullying of a particular nation is based on individualism, the proportion of victims will be larger than that of bullies. On the contrary, if the proportion of victims is smaller than that of the bullies in a nation, bullying in this nation is based on collectivism. The ratio of the number of bullies to the number of victims

could be a useful criterion defining whether the bullying phenomenon in a nation is based on collectivism or individualism.

Collectivism and Age Difference

The findings in this study also consistently show that the number of bullies in a group enlarges as grade level increases. According to Tables 7-4, in this study the difference in elementary schools is also not considerable (7.0% victims to 8.5% bullies) but the difference in middle school is large (4.9% victims to 11.2% bullies). As the grade level increases the proportion of bullies and victims also enlarges. These findings are consistent with those for Japanese schools. In Morita et al.'s study (1999), he reports the proportion of bullies and victims in Japan based on the Japanese national survey of 1994-1995; the difference in elementary schools (21.9% victims to 25.5% bullies) is not significant whereas it is in the lower secondary schools (13.2% victims to 20.3% bullies). From the results of this study and Morita's study, it is possible to infer that if a child is being bullied and does not fit in with his peer group, the child may have more opponents as age increases.

Collectivism and Number of Bullies

Nevertheless, although bullying in both Korea and Japan is based on collectivism, there is a distinctive difference between *wang-ta* and *ijime*. Table 7-37 summarises the number of bullies in different studies. My findings indicate that *wang-ta* implies

stronger collectivism than *ijime*. This is because the number of victims who experience *wang-ta* at the hands of one person is only 16.7%, but 50% of them experience *wang-ta* at the hands of 3-5 people, 27.5% by about 10 of their peers and 5.2% by more than 20 peers.

However, according to Morita et al.'s study (1999), the proportion of victims who experience bullying at the hands of 'two or three aggressors' is 46.6% overall while those who are bullied by 'from four to nine aggressors' is 24.9%. Kanetsuna and Smith's study (2002) suggests similar findings with Morita et al. (1999): according to them about 53.3% of victims are bullied by 1-3 members of their peer group.

Table 7-37 Number of bullies

Number of bullies	1peer	2peers	3peers	4peers	5peers	10peers	More than 20
Korea (My findings)	16.7%		50.3%			27.6%	5.2%
Japan (Morita)		46.6%		24.9%			
Japan (Kanetsuna and Smith)	53.3%						
UK (Kanetsuna And Smith)	70%						

In summary, there can be different kinds of victims according to the number of bullies in Korean schools. It seems that some victims are subjected to *wang-ta* by comparatively small groups. Others are subjected to it by groups of large numbers and may be in deeper trouble. Although there is not much evidence of correlation of the psychological suffering of victimised pupils and the number of bullies, Kochenderfer and Ladd (1996) report that the duration of victimisation is a precursor of children's loneliness and school avoidance. The size of bullying groups is probably as important as the duration of victimisation. It is logical to assume that, taking into account the character differences of individuals, the dreadful experience of victimised pupils may differ according to the size of the bullying groups. Moreover, victimised pupils' school maladjustment and suicide attempts may relate to the proportion of bullies; this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Features of the Bully Group

My findings also confirm that a great number of South Korean victims (77.2%) are bullied by their classmates and 13.2% of them are bullied by those in the 'same grade but different class' (see Table 7-5). There are similar findings in Japan and Korea. Although Kanetsuna and Smith (2002) do not present separate figures for the exact proportion of victims who were bullied by their own classmates, they state that 95.2% of Japanese students are bullied by those in the same year. However, in the U.K more victimised pupils are bullied by 'higher years' group (63.6%) rather than 'the same years' (36.4%). These results regarding English schools are different from the finding of

Whitney and Smith (1993). Their findings are more in line with the results of studies on this issue in Korea and Japan; suggesting that 31.1% of secondary pupils are bullied by their own classmates and 36.6% of them are bullied by students of the same year but different class whereas 28.9% of them are bullied by higher-grade students and 3.4% of them are bullied by lower-grade students.

Another significant finding is that unlike other nations, there is another group of bullies in Korean schools; 'mixed bully groups' which are also a feature of collective behaviour. Some findings in Whitney and Smith's study (1993) suggest that pupils in mixed-age classes may be subjected more often to bullying than in classes stratified within the same year group. This is not the same as the case of mixed-age classes where the members of 'mixed bullies group' come from the victim's own class. However, in the case of Korea, regarding 'mixed bully group', the bullies are compounded from victims' own classmates, the same grade peers from different classes, pupils from lower grade and from higher grade. The proportion of pupils being bullied by this group is comparatively small (7.6%). However, if a child is bullied by this 'mixed bully group', it is clear that the victim will find it much more difficult to cope with it or avoid being bullied.

GUILT AND EMPATHY

One of the most troubling aspects of *wang-ta* phenomenon is that students who participate in *wang-ta* tend not to feel guilt about their cruel acts. Numerous studies

have shown a special link between guilt and empathy and that guilt appears to motivate us in a more moral direction (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994). Also, Hoffman (1998) found a relation between guilt and empathy; clarifying that guilt focuses on a specific behaviour, and implies the ability to understand other's suffering and emotions. Moreover to experience the emotion of guilt there must be two necessary abilities: awareness of being the cause of other's sufferings and answering to this emotion with empathy.

However, if a cruel behaviour happened with a shared purpose of being in a large group, the feelings of guilt and empathy might not be expected. According to my findings, Korean students have a different perception towards normative behaviour in which pupils may experience emotions of guilt and empathy. In my results, a considerable number of Korean students (14%, see Table 7-26) think that if a peer's behaviour had a bad influence over the class, the peer has to be bullied. Moreover, about 40% of pupils show a positive attitude to bullying others who disturb the class atmosphere. Although about 70% of pupils do not think that doing *wang-ta* is fun (see Table 7-17), about 30% of them said they would join in doing *wang-ta* if the victim is someone that they do not like (see Table 7-20).

As can be seen in the results for those questions regarding the perception towards making someone *wang-ta*, a large number of pupils report that they are not sure if they could be involved in the behaviour or not. Perhaps pupils do not have a clear thinking of

what is right and wrong behaviour or they may think doing *wang-ta* is not right but have

to take a part in it. As Smith and Brain (2000) state, it may turn out that bully-victim

relationships are normative in the sense that they can be routinely expected to occur. It

may relate to the culture of Korean school too. In *wang-ta* phenomena, pupils may

engage in it because one typically different mentality of Korean people from that of

people in the UK and other Western nations is the practice of 'shared responsibility' and

'shared agenda of majority'. It means that there is no one who solely takes

responsibility for the collective behaviour of the group to which he or she belongs. For

example, if the condition of cleaning[4] in a classroom is not good or if the atmosphere in

a class is cold towards a certain peer, teachers usually give punishment not only to

whoever brought about the problem but also to the whole class. Therefore, if bullying is

done by a large number of pupils, there is no one who has to solely take the

responsibility and, therefore, pupils may feel less guilty. Moreover, if a class has been

punished because of someone being bullied, the rest of the class might more strongly

gather good excuses and against the peer who was being bullied. That could lead

victims not to complain about his/her being bullied.

SCHOOL AND HOME ENVIRONMENT AND RECEIVING *WANG-TA*

Overall, the proportion of victimised pupils in Korea is not typically larger than those in

other nations. However, the relative lowness of these figures should not be used as a

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[4] In Korea, pupils take turns in cleaning their classroom.

reason for assuming a lesser level of need for intervention and/or prevention programmes. It is predictable that academic institutions and residential features in Korea will provide a fertile environment for bullying to occur. Of course, bullying can occur in any context, including the workplace and even within the home, but it is particularly likely to be a problem in social groups with a clear power hierarchy such as the armed forces, prison, and schools. Bullying has been described by Bjorkqvist et al. (1982) as appearing in relatively small social groups (such as classes or army units), the members of which see each other regularly, usually daily, and thus the victims have no possibility of avoiding their tormentors. Except for some places, e.g. prisons, there is no setting which fits this description more closely than the Korean educational environment.

A large proportion of pupils spend at least 9 hours - some as many as 11 or 14 - with their peer groups, in primary, middle, and high school, respectively. As mentioned before, a large proportion of students also have private lessons in institutes from age 11. In fact, my two pilot studies suggested that pupils are most often bullied at the private institutes and around their homes.

Moreover, the housing culture in Korea is based on large sets of 20-storey high rise blocks where vast numbers of people live in relatively cramped spaces and share many common facilities: e.g. elevators, playgrounds, local shops, sports centres, cinemas. It is easy to understand that there is no way for victims of bullying to avoid their aggressors short of staying at home.

While not denying the importance of other contexts for bullying, school bullying perhaps arouses particular revulsion because the problem is so general. It can affect anyone as a child, because children have less awareness of their rights than adults do and they have to spend a large proportion of their time with their peers in school and private institutes. This is compounded because many of them do not know how to react to these kinds of harassment.

CONCLUSION

School bullying is evidently a considerable and pervasive problem in Korean schools. The purpose of this present research was to increase knowledge and understanding of *wang-ta* behaviour among Korean students. The frequency of *wang-ta* is less than that in other nations, but the number of bullies is considerably larger than that of victims. *Wang-ta* is clearly based on collectivism in which an individual's opinion over a peer is not important but pupils have to follow the silent decision of a majority. Although school administrators deny the incidents of bullying in their schools, the numbers of suicides reported on the mass media show that it is a serious problem of Korean school children and adolescents.

It is very important to define what pupils think of bullying behaviour since it could be an important factor in understanding pupils' nature of thinking in these days on what is

normative behaviour. If the normative behaviour in the thinking of pupils differs from the public's expectation, then different policies and intervention programs have to be provided. When I talked to older people in the course of preparing my thesis, I found that older people say that there were bullies and victims in their school days, but even so people who were victims had friends in earlier times and when bullies harassed victims some of the classmates put a stop to it. However, in these days, many victims complain about having no friends and nowhere to stay in their school, as appeared from my research with victimised pupils.

Bullying is difficult to assess, due to its covert nature, so it seems vital that new ways of monitoring such behaviour are created and evaluated. It is still not understood why bullying is such an integral part in schools and the factors that determine the level of bullying need to be examined further. Moreover, there must be a concern about why so many pupils do not talk to parents and/or teachers about their being bullied. Also why non-victimised pupils do not believe that their teachers and parents can control the situation. Before pupils are considered as an object of anti-bullying policies, there should be a training and understanding of adults about new and changed forms of bullying. In addition, government must take a share of responsibility in providing proper training courses for parents and teachers in terms of helping victimised children and/or bullies.

Through this study, I realise that *wang-ta* will probably become more covert behaviour and in more impersonal ways because new forms of bullying behaviour are being developed relating to the new modern technologies (e.g. mobile phone and internet). Hence, not only teachers and parents should pay attention to new forms of bullying among pupils but also the wider public should be concerned about mental health in young school children and adolescents. Moreover, most research has been about bullying that happens within schools. However, I believe that there must be a broad study of bullying that includes not only the incidence in schools but also the incidence of bullying in other places such as private institutes and residential places.

It is clear that there has been a remarkable development in research during the last few years in Korea. Nonetheless, there is still little and rather unclear information on the form of Korean bullying called *wang-ta* and there is no study on the effects of being bullied. We are now moving into a phase in which interest is centering on what forms of intervention actually work in reducing bullying. Further development should be encouraged, and there must be regular study of frequencies of bullying and its changing forms in order to see if any policy succeeds and prevents further problems. Research is also needed to assess the experiences of individuals in the school system and what successful coping skills those who have been bullied use and manage to stop being a victim.

CHAPTER 8

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF VICTIMISATION IN KOREAN SCHOOLS:

Clarifying three terms for *wang-ta*

While conducting the previous chapters and related research in Korea, I began to realise that a distinctive feature of *wang-ta* (compared to *bullying*) is that there are stages of victimisation and each step has its own name. *Wang-ta* is applied to victimised pupils as a noun and the malicious behaviour itself as a verb. *Eun-ta* and *jun-ta* are applied in the same way. It seems that according to the stage of victimisation, the label for victims differs. Even though *wang-ta* is the most representative term for Korean bullying and *bullying* in English can be best translated as *wang-ta*, this is an over-simplification of a more complex reality in Korean schools and peer groups.

In the studies of chapter 5 and 7, the three terms *eun-ta, wang-ta* and *jun-ta* were often used by pupils in conversations about a representative term for bullying in Korea. While talking with pupils, I noticed that each term represents the status of victims in a class and/or school. Pupils made remarks such as: "A is *eun-ta* among my friends... C is *wang-ta* in my class.... D is *jun-ta* of my school...". These findings have not been noticed in previous studies on bullying in Korea; nor were these terms familiar a decade

or so ago (for example when I and my colleagues were at school). Moreover, different terms for the process of victimisation may be rather unique phenomena of Korean bullying; it is very rare to see other research on this topic. The closest we know of is Yokoyu's (2003) description of the stages of victimization in Japanese schools; this however is couched more in terms of the psychological state of the victim (as isolation, disempowerment, and transparency) and does not involve distinct different words to label a victim at these stages.

It appeared that although *wang-ta* is one form of Korean bullying that is most general and well-known, at least colloquially, the terms *eun-ta* and *jun-ta*, although different, are perhaps related to *wang-ta* in ways that deserved further study. These terms are used among pupils and even adults have recently adopted the terms in order to describe their colleagues who have peculiar personality traits and/or are isolated within a group. Reports in daily newspapers sometimes use these terms and even teachers sometimes tell pupils 'do not make any *eun-ta* or *wang-ta* in my class'. However although these terms are now rather often used by young people and adults to refer to victimised people, they have not been systematically studied. Nor do we know if the terms are widely understood in elementary as well as secondary school; and equally so across the whole country. Therefore, the aim of this study was thus to explore the relationships between the three terms *(eun-ta, wang-ta,* and *jun-ta)*.

METHOD

DEVISING A QUESTIONNARE

In order to define these three terms and see if *eun-ta*, *wang-ta*, and *jun-ta* can be generalised to represent different circumstances of victimised pupils, a questionnaire was devised. Since there is no past study in this area, the questionnaire was devised following certain procedures.

First of all, some pupils were interviewed by me and asked their criteria for defining each term. Pupils were also asked if they could give some examples of these three terms. Interviewees confirmed that these terms are used in different circumstances for victims. Secondly, the questionnaire was made by myself basing it on my experience in schools and interviews with pupils, and then checked by my supervisor in the UK. Lastly, the questions were sent to Korea and looked at by some teachers and pupils in order to check if there were any ambiguous terms and/or sentences. The final questionnaire was attached as Appendix F.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire was anonymous and made it clear that it was not asking about personal experiences, but about 'how you and your friends use words in school'. Following information about the pupil's gender and age, the questionnaire embodied

three aspects:

(A) open-ended questions to see if pupils can spontaneously give definitions of each of the three terms.

(B) giving multivariate response choices to see if (even if they do not give a spontaneous definition), they can distinguish between pairs of the terms, in relation to number of involved bullies, frequency of being bullied, and number of friends that victims have.

(C) asking them to give the term (out of the three) that best described 12 behavioural scenarios, chosen to vary along the features above.

SAMPLING

4 elementary and 4 secondary classes in different areas were selected as representative of Korean schools (N=431). Participants who gave the same response to questions or who did not give any answer were not included for the analysis. After taking out those pupils, the participants numbered 424. The final numbers of participants were as follows: Seoul (n =101), Kyung-In area (n =110), Kyungsang area (n=120), and Chulla area (n=93). The children were aged 12-16 years. Table 8-1 shows the distribution of children included in the standardisation according to their grade and geographical region.

Table 8-1 Distribution of the participants for defining three terms

	Elementary school		Middle school		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Seoul	49	23.6	52	24.1	101	23.8
Kyung-In	54	26.0	56	25.9	110	21.9
Kyoungsang	61	29.3	59	27.3	120	28.9
Chulla	44	21.2	49	22.7	93	25.9
Total	208	100	216	100	424	100

PROCEDURE

The terms *wang-ta, eun-ta,* and *jun-ta* were used in the questionnaire. There might be some pupils who had experienced any stage of these three experiences, and for whom the questionnaire could be disturbing. Because of this, participants' agreement was obtained prior to the administration of the questionnaires. Participants were reminded that involvement in this survey was not part of their regular schoolwork and that they could refuse to collaborate without fear of penalty. Participants, in a group setting, were given a questionnaire. Before distributing the questionnaires, I informed pupils that my purpose was only to record their perceptions. Confidentiality was promised and students were also reminded that involvement in this survey was voluntary. Pupils were also informed that they could ask for clarification of questions in the survey.

At the end of the survey, participants were given phone numbers and web sites related to *wang-ta* and also told that if they needed any help and/or wanted to know about anything related to *wang-ta*, they could contact me. The promise of confidentiality of the test data was addressed again. The results from the questionnaire were taken directly from the schools and entered a database in the SPSS 11.0 statistical program for retention and analysis. The open-ended questions were presented on the Excel sheet separately.

RESULTS

The major descriptive statistics were frequency counts, to ascertain the criteria that pupils used to define the terms and to see if pupils can distinguish each term according to forms of bullying in various situations. Chi-square was used in order to investigate relationships between gender, school type (elementary/secondary) and area of country, with the measures assessed; this was to see whether the findings could be generalised across gender, age, and regional area. Any significant findings relating to these variables are mentioned.

RESPONSES TO OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

In order to see if students can summarise the definition of each term, three open-ended questions were asked. Because the questions were open-ended, I did not push the participants to answer them. Usually, more pupils in secondary schools gave definitions than elementary school students. The purpose of this section was simply to see the perspective of pupils on the terms without only constraint. I made a content analysis of the responses, and calculated the number of pupils who gave broadly similar responses in each category.

What is E*un-ta*

The first questions related to the definition of eun-ta *(qI-1, "If you know the meaning*

of eun-ta, please write here what you think it means."). 288 participants have made this

question. The replies obtained could be divided into three definitions. The most

frequent was given by 112 students; they said that *eun-ta* is "receiving *wang-ta*

from close friends". The second most frequent given by 96 pupils, was that *eun-ta*

is "sometimes being ignored by his/her friends". Another, 61 participants defined

eun-ta as " being indirectly singled out". Some 19 participants gave other

responses such as *eun-ta* is "the way of making others behave themselves" and "not

severely singled out".

Figure 8-1 Given definitions for eun-ta

What is W*ang-ta*

The second question was the definition of *wang-ta* (qI-2, " *If you know the meaning of wang-ta, please write here what you think it means*."). 234 participants gave answers. The meaning of *wang-ta* seems to be more complicate than *eun-ta*. The most frequent definition was that *wang-ta* is "the whole class against one" (N=64). The second most frequent was "severely and directly singled out by a large number of peers". Following that was; "completely ignored by classmates" (N=48) and "all friends hate one" (N=42), with 31 "other" responses.

given definitions

| | boys | girls |

- other: 14, 17
- all friends hate one: 17, 25
- completely ignored by classmates: 18, 30
- sevely and directely harrased by peers: 20, 29
- the whole class against one: 39, 25

number of pupils

Figure 8-2 Given definitions for *wang-ta*

What is *Jun-ta*

In general, pupils had a clear idea of the meaning of *jun-ta*. The answers given were clearly categorised. By the two most frequent was "wang-ta by the whole school" (N=183), followed by "the whole school against one" (N=61), and 29 "other" responses.

given definitions

other
12
17

the whole school against one
30
31

wang-ta by the whole school
99
84

boys   grils

0   50   100   150   200

number of pupils

Figure 8-3 Given definitions for jun-ta

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TERMS

After asking the different meaning of each term, 15 questions as multiple-response choices were given. Pupils seemed to more easily answer these questions compared to the open-ended questions. The first 3 questions related to the criteria for defining each term. The terms were compared in pairs; five response choices were give as shown in Table 8-2 to 8-5. Regions, gender and school type were compared using chi-square analysis.

Difference Between Eun-ta and Wang-ta

Question II-1 asked *"what are the differences between eun-ta and wang-ta"?*. As can be seen in Table 8-2, the most cited response choice was 'different forms of being bullied' (44.1%). There were only fractional differences between other choices replied. Smaller numbers said 'frequency of being bullied' (18.9%) followed by 'number of friends victims have' (13.4%).

There was no significant difference according to different regions ($\chi^2(12)=16.21$, $p=0.18$), no gender difference appeared ($\chi^2(4)=8.62$, $p=0.07$) or school type ($\chi^2(4)=2063$, $p=0.62$).

Table 8-2 Criteria for distinguishing eun-ta and wang-ta (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	28	13.0	16	7.7	44	10.4
Number of involved bullies	20	9.3	36	17.3	56	13.2
Frequency of being bullied	40	18.5	40	19.2	80	18.9
Number of friends victims have	28	13.0	29	13.9	57	13.4
Different forms of bullying	100	46.3	87	41.8	187	44.1
Total	216	100	208	100	424	100

Table 8-3 Criteria for distinguishing eun-ta and wang-ta (school types)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	20	9.6	24	11.1	44	10.4
Number of involved bullies	32	15.4	24	11.1	56	13.2
Frequency of being bullied	35	16.8	45	20.8	80	18.9
Number of friends victims have	28	13.5	29	13.4	57	13.4
Different forms of bullying	93	44.7	94	43.5	187	44.1
Total	208	100	216	100	424	100

Difference Between Wang-ta and Jun-ta

Question II-2 asked "*What are the differences between wang-ta and jun-ta?*". 68.4% of pupils said 'number of involved bullies'. A much smaller number said 'number of friends victims have' (12.7%) or any other responses.

Regarding locality, there is a significant difference ($\chi^2(12)= 33.95$, $p<0.001$); see Table 8-4. While there is not much difference between other areas, more pupils in

Chullra area scored 'frequency of being bullied' for measuring differences of two terms. Although the response choice of 'number of involved bullies' was mostly cited, the proportion of it in the Kyoung-In area is slightly more than other areas. There was no significant school type difference ($\chi^2(4)=3.72$, $p=0.45$) or apparent gender difference ($\chi^2(4)=3.97$, $p=0.41$).

Table 8-4 Difference between wang-ta and jun-ta?

	Seoul		KI		KS		CR		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	6	5.9	14	12.7	8	6.7	13	14.0	41	9.7
Number of involved bullies	70	69.3	80	72.7	79	65.8	61	65.6	290	68.4
Frequency of being bullied	6	5.9	6	5.5	5	4.2	11	11.8	28	6.6
Number of friends victims have	19	18.8	10	9.1	21	17.5	4	4.3	54	12.7
Different forms of being bullied	0	0	0	0	7	5.8	4	4.3	11	2.6
Total	101	100	110	100	120	100	93	100	424	100

KI: Kyoung-In
KS: Kyoungsang
CR: Chulla

Table 8-5 What are the difference between wang-ta and jun-ta?

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	26	12.0	15	7.2	41	9.7
Number of involved bullies	147	68.1	143	68.8	290	68.4
Frequency of being bullied	14	6.5	14	6.7	28	6.6
Number of friends victims have	25	11.6	29	13.9	54	12.7
Different forms of being bullied	4	1.9	7	3.4	11	2.6
Total	216	100	208	100	424	100

Difference Between Jun-ta and Eun-ta

Question II-s was *"What are the differences between eun-ta and jun-ta?"*. 48.1% of participants reported " different forms of being bullied" followed by 'frequency of being bullied (16.5%).

There were no significant gender ($\chi^2(4)$=4.30, p=0.31) or school type difference ($\chi^2(4)$=2.74, p=0.60). However, a clear locality difference appeared ($\chi^2(12)$=51.54, p<0.001); there was a large difference between Seoul and other areas, see Table 8-6. A larger number of pupils in Seoul have a clear idea compared to pupils in other areas. 70.3% of pupils in Seoul said that the difference is 'different forms of being bullied' compared to only 34.5% of pupils in Kyoung-In. Also, 25.5% of pupils in the Kyoung-In area scored 'frequency of being bullied' while only 5.9% of pupils in Seoul did so. The difference also came out from the response choice 'I don't know; 16.1% of pupils in the Chulla area cited this while only 3.0% of pupils in Seoul did so.

Table 8-6 What are the difference between eun-ta and jun-ta?

	Seoul		KI		KS		CR		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	3	3.0	13	11.8	10	8.3	15	16.1	41	9.7
Number of involved bullies	6	5.9	11	10.0	23	19.2	13	14.0	53	12.5
Frequency of being bullied	9	8.9	28	25.5	25	20.8	8	8.6	70	16.5
Number of friends victims have	12	11.9	20	18.2	15	12.5	9	9.7	56	13.2
Different forms of being bullied	71	70.3	38	34.5	47	39.2	48	51.6	204	48.1
Total	101	100	110	100	120	100	93	100	424	100

KI: Kyoung-In
KS: Kyoungsang
CR: Chulla

APPLICATION OF TERMS TO DISTINCTIVE BEHAVIOURS

In the last section of the questionnaire, pupils were asked which of the three terms best applied to 12 behaviour scenarios, shown in Table 8-7. Each scenario was made with the hypothesis that they would most apply to different terms; 4 were expected to apply most to *wang-ta*, 3 to *eun-ta*, 3 to *jun-ta*, and 2 were not expected to be related to any term presented. The percentage responses actually obtained for each term are shown in Table 8-7. As expected, the two non-aggressive scenarios (Q7, Q10) yielded very few 'false positives', with most pupils saying that none of the three terms applied. Again difference by region, gender and school type were compared by chi-square analysis.

Behaviours related to Eun-ta

Three intended questions for *eun-ta* behaviour were asked.

Being bullied today by one peer

Questions III-1 was *"Jiyeon will not let Soomi play with him/her today"*. 68.5% of participants reported that it is a part of *eun-ta* behaviour followed by 16.5% for *wang-ta*. As can be seen in Table 8-8, there was no gender difference ($\chi^2(4)=4.15$, $p=0.30$). Moreover, there was no significant school type difference ($\chi^2(4)=5.05$, $p=0.28$), see Table 8-9, or difference according to region ($\chi^2(12)=16.21$, $p=0.18$).

Table 8-7 Results of 12 questions on matching each term

Question	I don't know	Eun-ta	Wang-ta	Jun-ta	None of these
1. Jiyeon will not let Soomi play with him or her today	37 (8.7%)	291 (68.6%)	70 (16.5%)	10 (2.4%)	16 (3.8%)
2. Kim and his friends often ignore and isolate Lee.	33 (7.8%)	148 (34.9%)	223 (52.6%)	11 (2.6%)	9 (2.1%)
3. Jay's classmates never talk to him	12 (2.8%)	16 (3.8%)	372 (87.7%)	16 (3.8%)	8 (1.9%)
4. Even peers from different classes hit or kick Jun	40 (9.5%)	13 (3.1%)	48 (11.4%)	316 (75.1%)	4 (1.0%)
5. Haesoo's classmates say nasty things behind her back everyday	25 (5.9%)	45 (10.6%)	320 (75.7%)	10 (2.4%)	23 (5.4%)
6. Junmo's friends sometimes do not play with him	41 (9.7 %)	281 (66.7%)	68 (16.2%)	6 (1.4%)	25 (5.9%)
7. Kim ask Young if she wants to share Kim's chocolate bar	52 (12.3%)	5 (1.2%)	4 (0.9%)	4 (0.9%)	359 (84.7%)
8. Ajin is often kicked or heard nasty things by others not only from his class but also from other class and years. And he does not have any friend in his school.	31 (7.4%)	5 (1.2%)	56 (13.3%)	320 (76.2%)	8 (1.9%)
9. Han does not have any friend in his school	35 (8.3%)	10 (2.4%)	35 (8.3%)	319 (75.4%)	24 (5.7%)
10. Jayoung tells Kyoung "do not tease Minsoo and be friends with her"	54 (12.7%)	17 (4.0%)	16 (3.8%)	8 (1.9%)	329 (77.6%)
11. Mina's classmates do not play with her and she doesn't have any friend in her classroom but she has some close friends in other classes in the same school.	69 (16.3%)	60 (14.2%)	249 (58.7%)	9 (2.1%)	37 (8.7%)
12. Jay has close friends in his class but they sometimes do not play with Jay	45 (10.7%)	310 (73.5%)	46 (10.9%)	4 (0.9%)	17 (4.0%)

Table 8-8 Jiyon will not let Soomi play with him or her today

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	23	10.6	14	6.7	37	8.7
Eun-ta	141	65.3	150	72.1	291	68.6
Wang-ta	37	17.1	33	15.9	70	16.5
Jun-ta	7	3.2	3	1.4	10	2.4
None of these	8	3.7	8	3.8	16	3.8
Total	216	100	208	100	424	100

Table 8-9 Jiyon will not let Soomi play with him or her today

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	22	10.6	15	6.9	37	8.7
Eun-ta	141	67.8	150	69.4	291	68.6
Wang-ta	35	16.8	35	16.2	70	16.5
Jun-ta	2	1.0	8	3.7	10	2.4
None of these	8	3.8	8	3.7	16	3.8
Total	208	100	216	100	424	100

Being bullied by friends sometimes

Question III-6 was "*Junmo's friends sometimes do not play with him*". 66.7% of participants reported it as behaviour of *eun-ta*. As can be seen in Table 8-10, there is a significant gender difference ($\chi^2(4)=19.95$, $p<0.001$). About 20% more girls than boys cited it as *eun-ta*; 76.9% of girls and 56.8% of boys. However, considerably more boys (20.4%) than girls (11.5%) cited it as *wang-ta*. More boys

scored 'I don't know' and 'none of these'. There is no significant school type difference $(\chi^2(4)=5.94,\ p=0.20)$, see Table 8-11, and no significant regional difference $(\chi^2(12)=15.60,\ p=0.21)$.

Table 8-10 Junmo's friends sometimes do not play him.

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	29	13.6	12	5.8	41	9.7
Eun-ta	121	56.8	160	76.9	281	66.7
Wang-ta	44	20.4	24	11.5	68	16.2
Jun-ta	4	1.9	2	1.0	6	1.4
None of these	15	7.0	10	4.8	25	5.9
Total	213	100	208	100	421	100

Table 8-11 Junmo's friends sometimes do not play him.

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	23	11.1	18	8.4	41	9.7
Eun-ta	134	64.7	147	68.7	281	66.7
Wang-ta	38	18.4	30	14.0	68	16.2
Jun-ta	4	1.9	2	0.9	6	1.4
None of these	8	3.9	17	7.9	25	5.9
Total	207	100	214	100	421	100

Being bullied by close friends sometimes

Question III-12 was "*Jay has close friends in her class but they sometimes do not play with her*". A clear majority, 73.5% of pupils, cited this as 'eun-ta', the proportion is higher than for the first two questions discussed.

There is a large gender difference ($\chi^2(4)$=20.00, p<0.001). Table 8-12 summarises the results for gender, showing that even more girls (82.7%) perceive being bullied by close friends as '*eun-ta*' than boys (64.5%). There is no significant school type difference ($\chi^2(4)$=7.54, p=0.11).

Table 8-12 Jay has close friends in his class but they sometimes do not play with Jay.

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	34	15.9	11	5.3	45	10.7
Eun-ta	138	64.5	172	82.7	310	73.5
Wang-ta	29	13.6	17	8.2	46	10.9
Jun-ta	2	0.9	2	1.0	4	0.9
None of these	11	5.1	6	2.9	17	4.0
Total	214	100	208	100	422	100

Table 8-13 Jay has close friends in his class but they sometimes do not play with Jay.

	Seoul		KI		KS		CR		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	8	7.9	8	7.3	8	6.7	21	23.1	45	10.7
Eun-ta	75	74.3	88	80.0	97	80.8	50	54.9	310	73.5
Wang-ta	13	12.9	7	6.4	11	9.2	15	16.5	46	10.9
Jun-ta	1	1.0	1	0.9	1	0.8	1	1.1	4	0.9
None of these	4	4.0	6	5.5	3	2.5	4	4.4	17	4.0
Total	101	100	110	100	120	100	91	100	422	100

KI: Kyoung-In
KS: Kyoungsang
CR: Chulla

There is also a significant difference according to region (χ^2(12)=29.33, $p<0.01$), see Table 8-13. Fewer pupils in Chulla areas cited with behaviour as *eun-ta*. Moreover, more pupils in Chullra area scored 'I don't know' than other areas.

Behaviours related to Wang-ta

Four statements related to *wang-ta* behaviour were presented.

Being bullied by small number of peers

Question III-2 was "*Kim and his friends often ignored and isolated Lee*". 52.6% of pupils said this is *wang-ta*, followed by *eun-ta* (34.9%).

As can be seen in Table 8-14, there is a difference by gender (χ^2(4)=9.59, $p<0.05$). Although, overall, *wang-ta* was the most cited response choice, for boys this clearly predominated over *eun-ta*, whereas for girls, there is only a fractional difference between two terms. There was no significant school type difference (χ^2 (4)=5.02, p=0.29).

There was a significant regional difference (χ^2(12)=27.55, $p<0.01$). Table 8-15 shows a lower proportion of *eun-ta* and a high proportion of 'I don't know' in the Chulla area.

Table 8-14 Kim and his friends often ignore and isolate Lee

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	19	8.8	14	6.7	33	7.8
Eun-ta	62	28.7	86	41.3	148	34.9
Wang-ta	125	57.9	98	47.1	223	52.6
Jun-ta	7	3.2	4	1.9	11	2.6
None of these	3	1.4	6	2.9	9	2.1
Total	216	100	208	100	424	100

Table 8-15 Kim and his friends often ignore and isolate Lee

	Seoul		KI		KS		CR		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	6	5.9	5	4.5	6	5.0	16	17.2	33	7.8
Eun-ta	38	37.6	42	38.2	48	40.0	20	21.5	148	34.9
Wang-ta	52	51.5	54	49.1	62	51.7	55	59.1	223	52.6
Jun-ta	3	3.0	6	5.5	1	0.8	1	1.1	11	2.6
None of these	2	2.0	3	2.7	3	2.5	1	1.1	9	2.1
Total	101	100	110	100	120	100	93	100	424	100

Being bullied by large number of classmates

Question III-3 was "*Jay's classmates never talk to him*". A large majority of pupils (87.7%) indicated that situation is *wang-ta*.

There was no gender difference ($\chi^2(4)$=9.98, p=0.41), see Table 8-16. Moreover, there was no regional or school type difference (for both, $\chi^2(4)$=18.08, p=0.11).

Table 8-16 Jay's classmates never talk to him

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	10	4.6	2	1.0	12	2.8
Eun-ta	9	4.2	7	3.4	16	3.8
Wang-ta	188	87.0	184	88.5	372	87.7
Jun-ta	4	1.9	12	5.8	16	3.8
None of these	5	2.3	3	1.4	8	1.9
Total	216	100	208	100	424	100

Question III-5 was "*Haesoon's classmates say nasty things behind her back everyday*". A majority of pupils (75.7%) said that the behaviour was *wang-ta*, followed by *eun-ta* (10.6%). There was no significant gender difference ($\chi^2(4)=3.49$, $p=0.48$). There was a significant difference by school type ($\chi^2(4)=10.40$, $p<0.05$), see Table 8-18. More elementary school students (80.7%) report that this *wang-ta* while than secondary school students (70.8%). No significant locality difference was found ($\chi^2(12)=20.25$, $p=0.06$).

Table 8-17 Haesoo's classmates say nasty things behind her back everyday.

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	16	7.4	9	4.3	25	5.9
Eun-ta	23	10.6	22	10.6	45	10.6
Wang-ta	162	75.0	158	76.3	320	75.7
Jun-ta	3	1.4	7	3.4	10	2.4
None of these	12	5.6	11	5.3	23	5.4
Total	216	100	207	100	423	100

Table 8-18 Haesoo's classmates say nasty things behind her back everyday.

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	10	4.8	15	6.9	25	5.9
Eun-ta	22	10.6	23	10.6	45	10.6
Wang-ta	167	80.7	153	70.8	320	75.7
Jun-ta	3	1.4	7	3.2	10	2.4
None of these	5	2.4	18	8.3	23	5.4
Total	207	100	216	100	423	100

Being bullied by mixed bullies but have a friend in other classes.

Question III-11 was *Mina's classmates do not play with her and she doesn't have any friend in her classroom but she has some close friends in other classes in the same school"*. *Wang-ta* (58.7%) was most cited by pupils, see Table 8-19. There was a significant gender difference ($\chi^2(4)$=17.33, p<0.001). Considerably more girls reported that it is wang-ta than boys; 68.4% and 49.5% respectively, whereas more boys (20.8%) than girls (11.5%) were not sure which behaviour it was.

Table 8.19 Behaviours in wang-ta (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	45	20.8	24	11.5	69	16.3
Eun-ta	33	15.3	27	13.0	60	14.2
Wang-ta	107	49.5	142	68.3	249	58.7
Jun-ta	6	2.8	3	1.4	9	2.1
None of these	25	11.6	12	5.8	37	8.7
Total	216	100	208	100	424	100

There was no difference according to school type ($\chi^2(4)$=4.68, $p<=.32$). There was a significant regional difference ($\chi^2(12)$=28.06, $p<0.01$), see Table 8-20. More pupils in large cities (Seoul and the Kyoung-In area) cited *wang-ta* than other pupils in Kyoungsang culture. More pupils in Chulla 'I don't know

Table 8-20 Behaviours in wang-ta (locality)

	Seoul		KI		KS		CR		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	11	10.9	11	10.0	19	15.8	28	30.1	69	16.3
Eun-ta	20	19.8	11	10.0	20	16.7	9	9.7	60	14.2
Wang-ta	63	62.4	75	68.2	64	53.3	47	50.5	249	58.7
Jun-ta	2	2.0	3	2.7	3	2.5	1	1.1	9	2.1
None of these	5	5.0	10	9.1	14	11.7	8	8.6	37	8.7
Total	101	100	110	100	120	100	93	100	424	100

KI: Kyoung-In
KS: Kyoungsang
CR: Chulla

Behaviours related to Jun-ta

Three scenarios described the behaviour of *jun-ta* were presented

Being bullied by classmates and peers from other classes

Question III-4 was "*Even peers from different classes hit or kick Jun*". Most pupils (75.15) reported it as *jun-ta* followed by *wang-ta* (11.4%), see Table 8-21.

There is a significant gender difference (χ^2(4)=33.44, p<0.001). More girls (87.0%) than boys (63.6%) said this behaviour as *jun-ta*. There is no difference by school type (χ^2(4)=3.55, p=0.47) or by region (χ^2(12)=19.51, p=0.08). However, regarding locality, there is a trend consistent with other questions, relatively large proportion of pupils in large cities (Seoul and Kyoung-In) cited *wang-ta* (see Table 8-22).

Table 8-21 Even peers from different class hit or kick Jun.

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	33	15.4	7	3.4	40	9.5
Eun-ta	10	4.7	3	1.4	13	3.1
Wang-ta	33	15.4	15	7.2	48	11.4
Jun-ta	136	63.6	180	87.0	316	75.1
None of these	2	0.9	2	0.1	4	1.0
Total	214	100	207	100	421	100

Table 8-22 Even peers from different class hit or kick Jun.

	Seoul		KI		KS		CR		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	9	9.0	8	7.3	12	10.2	11	11.8	40	9.5
Eun-ta	0	0	4	3.6	4	3.4	5	5.4	13	3.1
Wang-ta	11	11.0	19	17.3	7	5.9	11	11.8	48	11.4
Jun-ta	79	79.0	76	69.1	95	80.5	66	71.0	316	75.1
None of these	1	1.0	3	2.7	0	0	0	0	4	1.0
Total	100	100	110	100	118	100	93	100	421	100

KI: Kyoung-In
KS: Kyoungsang
CR: Chulla

Having no friend in school

Question III-9 was "*Han does not have any friend in his school*". A majority (75.4%) of participants said that this is *jun-ta*. There is a considerable gender difference ($\chi^2(4)=20.66$, $p<0.001$). Significantly more girls (84.6%) than boys (66.5%) cited *jun-ta*. More boys replied that they did not know, or 'none of these', see Table 8-23. There was no school type difference ($\chi^2(4)=7.49$, $p=0.11$), and no locality difference ($\chi^2(12)=12.93$, $p=0.37$).

Table 8-23 Han does not have nay friend in his school.

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	25	11.6	10	4.8	35	8.3
Eun-ta	5	2.3	5	2.4	10	2.4
Wang-ta	26	12.1	9	4.3	35	8.3
Jun-ta	143	66.5	176	84.6	319	75.4
None of these	16	7.4	8	3.8	24	5.7
Total	215	100	208	100	424	100

No friend and being bullied by mixed bullies

Question III-8 was "*Ajin is often kicked or heard nasty thing by others not only from his classmates but also from other class and years. And he does not have any friend in his school*". Again a majority (76.2%) of participants cited *jun-ta*. As with the previous two questions, there was a significant gender difference ($\chi^2(4)=16.30$, $p<0.001$), see Table 8-24. 84.6% of girls cited *jun-ta* compared to 69.0% of boys. More boys replied *wang-ta*, or did not know. There was a

significant difference according to school type ($\chi^2(4)$=11.68, $p<0.05$), see Table 8-25. Slightly more pupils in elementary school (77.9%) than secondary school (74.5%) reported that it is *jun-ta*. There was no difference by region ($\chi^2(12)$=18.79, p=0.09).

Table 8-24 No friend and bullying by mixed bullies (gender)

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	24	11.3	7	3.4	31	7.4
Eun-ta	4	1.9	1	0.5	5	1.2
Wang-ta	32	15.0	24	11.6	56	13.3
Jun-ta	147	69.0	173	83.6	320	76.2
None of these	6	2.8	2	1.0	8	1.9
Total	213	100	207	100	420	100

Table 8-25 No friend and bullying by mixed bullies (school type)

	Elementary		Middle		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I don't know	19	9.1	12	5.7	31	7.4
Eun-ta	1	0.5	4	1.9	5	1.2
Wang-ta	26	12.5	30	14.2	56	13.3
Jun-ta	162	77.9	158	74.5	320	76.2
None of these			8	3.8	8	1.9
Total	208	100	212	100	420	100

DISCUSSION

When pupils were asked the meaning of each term in open-ended format, about one third could not give the answers in written summary. However, when the questions were more focused on specific issues and presented as multiple-response choices, they seemed to understand better and showed more clear ideas on each term. Overall, characteristic features of *eun-ta, wang-ta* and *jun-ta* are relatively well recognized by pupils (Figure 8-1, 2, 3). My findings clearly demonstrate that even if *wang-ta* is a representative term for Korean bullying, the phenomenon is in fact best described by the three terms *eun-ta, wang-ta*, and *jun-ta*.

As a representative term for Korean bullying, *wang-ta* means premeditated and repeated verbal, physical, and psychological harassments in direct and indirect ways. However, regarding stages of victimisation, it is more complicated. The meaning of *eun-ta* for pupils is 'being indirectly singled out', 'sometimes being ignored', '*wang-ta* by close friends'. The meaning of *wang-ta* for pupils is receiving *wang-ta* from most or all classmates. The meaning of *jun-ta* for pupils is 'the whole school hating one peer' and '*wang-ta* by the whole school'. These were the definitions most given by participants.

There are distinctive features of each term. Scenarios that mentioned being singled out now and then by close and best friends were most cited as *eun-ta*. Scenarios that

involved 'a large number of classmates' and 'the whole class' were pointed out as *wang-ta*. Scenarios about 'the whole school' were cited mostly as *jun-ta*. Each term has its unique features according to the number and type of bullies. *Eun-ta* is an indirect singling out by close friends and does not often happen; in *wang-ta* the number in the bully group enlarges and it happens often; in *jun-ta* the whole school is involved.

My empirical findings (Figure 8-2) suggest that the definitions of *eun-ta* and *jun-ta* are relatively simpler than that of *wang-ta*. Some pupils gave the definition for *wang-ta* as: all friends hate one, completely ignored by classmates, severely and directly harassed by peers, and the whole class against one. Nonetheless, it is clear that the victimization in *wang-ta* stage involves the victims' own classmates and not the whole school.

Eun-ta could be considered as a part of growing up since it is strongly related to close friends and being sometimes ignored by one friend. Moreover, it is an 'on and off' behaviour; according to open-ended and multi-choice response questions, victims in this stage are not always being bullied, but are sometimes indirectly singled out by their close and/or best friends. These kinds of victims seem similar to those reported in Japan by Morita et al. (1999), who found that 23.6% and 20.3% of aggressors in elementary and secondary schools respectively, described their victims as close friends.

However, the stage of *wang-ta* should not be considered as a part of children's growing up. As can be noticed from the scenario of 'the whole class or a large number of classmates' bullying a certain peer, the stage of *wang-ta* has to be considered as a serious problem. Victims in *wang-ta* are bullied by a large number of pupils. But the

most serious case of victimization is *jun-ta*. Although victims in the *wang-ta* stage do not have a friend in their class, they have some friends in other classes and they can get along with them during break and play times. However, in the case of *jun-ta* there is no way out of the harassment for victims. It is a very extreme case but as the results suggest it is also a well-known phenomenon among pupils.

Most of my findings were very similar for girls and boys. Overall, there was no gender difference on describing the differences between pairs of terms. However, on some questions for choosing the most appropriate term for the scenarios, more girls had a clear idea on the forms of *eun-ta*. Among different types of bullies in *eun-ta*, there was no gender difference on the scenario that described being singled out by a peer today (Q1). However, when the scenarios mentioned being singled out by victims' friends (Q6) and close friends sometimes (Q12), more girls had a clear idea of what *eun-ta* is. When the scenario described being bullied by small number of peers (Q2), for boys the most cited response choice was *wang-ta* and then *eun-ta*. More girls may be involved in large group-based *wang-ta*, so possibly more girls think that being singled out by small number of peers as a group may not be called *wang-ta*. Bullying among girls may be more based on a group mechanism than in boys.

The scenarios that mentioned 'mixed bullies' (Q4, Q8) and 'the whole school' (Q9) were cited as *jun-ta*. However, girls had clearer ideas about what is *jun-ta* compared to boys. It cannot be said that *jun-ta* is more often occurs among girls than boys. However, it could be explained with that girls are possibly more sensitive about labelling than boys especially the labels are relate to their victimisation.

Generally girls have clearer ideas about all the scenarios, while boys more often do not know what the terms are. A significant finding is that averaging over all ten aggressive scenarios, boys responded I don't know' in 12.0% of cases, contrasted with only 5.3% for girls. There are two possible explanations for this. First is that even though *wang-ta* takes various forms, the original meaning of *wang-ta* (strong isolation) implies a form typical of aggression manifested by girls. Hence, girls may be more sensitive to being called by these labels whereas boys possibly care less about the labels, even if they are bullied by others. This is in line with the findings of Slee, Ma, Sim, Sullivan and Taki (2003). They point out that *ijime* is the word typically considered typical of girlish aggression. The second is that boys appear less likely to understood the scenarios exactly. Pro-social cartoons (Q7 and Q10 in scenarios) could be useful in explaining the gender difference. The results of analysing these two cartoons suggest that there are no significant gender differences in pro-social cartoons. It means, boys understand the scenarios as well as girls do. Thus it could be that the first reason is more plausible when explaining gender differences.

There was no difference between pupils in elementary and middle schools on describing the differences between pairs of terms, and few (only for Q5 and Q8) in choosing the most appropriate term for the scenarios. Not only could pupils in middle school clearly distinguish the three terms and associated behaviours, but so also could those in elementary school. In other words, even if the forms of bullying may be differentiated in elementary and middle schools, the three terms are understood in much the same way.

Although the same pattern of results was also generally found across the four regions of the country samples, some regional differences were obtained. When pupils were directly asked the criteria for distinguishing the three terms, more pupils in Seoul had clear ideas on the criteria for defining *jun-ta* compared to pupils in small cities. The phenomenon of *jun-ta* may more frequently occur in large city schools. In other words, if a relatively higher proportion of a certain response choice is lacking in a certain area, it may mean that the term and even the phenomenon described, is not familiar with many pupils in the area, and they may not have clear ideas about it. There was a rather consistent regional difference over all the response choices of 'I don't know'. In most cases pupils in Seoul least report 'I don't know' whereas over many questions, especially those related to eun-ta and jun-ta, pupils in Chullar area most cited 'I don't know'. For example, when the participants were asked the difference between *wang-ta* and *jun-ta*, 5.9% of pupils in Seoul said 'I don't know' but 14.0% of those in Chullar said so. To date, people in Chullar area have been considered having sensitive and quiet characters. It is also well known in Korea that people in Chullar do not like to argue with others, calmly speak to each other, and have been educated to do not criticise others directly. In addition, compare to Kyoungsang area, a majority of Chullar area is considered as remotes places and not developed. These are possible reasons of their reporting more on 'I don't know'.

However, the results indicate that even though pupils in small cities do not have such clear ideas about what is *jun-ta*, they are familiar with the behaviour of *jun-ta*. It can be seen in the multiple choice response questions that specifically described the behaviour of *jun-ta*. Even though pupils in small cities are familiar with the

three behaviours, regional differences for *wang-ta* and *eun-ta* depend on the content of the questions. Pupils in large cities have more clear ideas for each term and its forms. No differences were found for simple questions (e.g. being bullied by friends or classmates), but a significant difference was seen if the question seemed complicated (e.g. being bullied by close friends or being bullied by mixed bullies, the victims have friends in other classes).

CONCLUSION

This research was instructive in the use of methodologies to study a new area, and in particular the need to adapt instruments used primarily in western contexts, for an eastern culture such as Korea. The research has uncovered a particular pattern of bullying behaviours in Korean schools, an apparently sequential sequence which can move from relatively localized episodes (*eun-ta*) through to whole class isolation (*wang-ta*) and even whole school isolation *(jun-ta)*. This pattern appears reasonably robust across gender, across the age range 12 to 16 years, and across different areas of the country.

I have uncovered distinctive features of Korean bullying, with three different terms used in different situations according to the level of victimization. Moreover, these three terms seem to relate each other in a process of victimization. The last two types, *wang-ta* and especially *jun-ta*, are very severe in nature and can have disastrous consequences for victims. Regarding the Korean situation, more needs to be learnt about the particular processes at work in what appears to be a unique developmental sequence. The detailed process of victimization can best be obtained from pupils who went through it. In depth case study interviews that explore the process of being bullied can be retrospectively would give valuable information in chapter 9.

CHAPTER 9

PERSONAL HISTORY OF VICTIMS AND ACTUAL PATTERN OF VICTIMISTION

After studying the nature of *wang-ta*, *eun-ta* and *jun-ta*, as a feature of Korean bullying, seeing if they are familiar to pupils and if they have the same opinion of the terms, I considered a shift of paradigms to find out more about the specific nature of *wang-ta*. Before presenting the results of interviews with victimised pupils for this chapter, I will introduce briefly what past studies on victims have suggested. Studies on victims of bullying found several important elements: possible characters of victimised pupils in school, influence of victimisation, trend of victimisation (e.g. incidents of bullying decreases as age increases), and victimised pupil' coping strategies.

CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTIMS

Pioneering studies by Lowenstein (1978a, b) relied partly on teacher nominations to identity characteristics of bullying and bullied children. According to Lowenstein, bullied children were seen as less physically attractive. less assertive and less well adjusted on a number of measures. In later studies, the findings of

Lowenstein were confirmed and a relatively clear picture of typical types of victims has been found in western studies (e.g. Olweus, 1978; Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Farrington, 1993). These researchers suggest that typical victims are more anxious and insecure than non-victimised students and that they are usually cautious, sensitive, and quiet. Victims, especially boys, are usually described as someone who is not mentally strong (e.g. having anxious personality pattern) combine with physical weakness (e.g. Olweus, 1991). This personality pattern includes a negative attitude towards aggression, being unwilling to retaliate, feeling fear when provoked, and possible temper outbursts due to provocation and frustration (Olweus, 1978; Lowenstein, 1978b). In addition, victims were also described as typically someone who are isolated and unpopular, withdrawn, inhibited, having a negative view of themselves and their situation (Olweus, 1991). In addition, Frost (1991) concluded that victims tended to be misfits because of their physical appearance, lack of friends, low self-esteem, or being irritating or unusually compliant.

THE INFLUENCE OF VICTIMISATION

Short-term Influence

Among past research on the influence of bullying, the most common effect of bullying is reported as victims' lower self-esteem. This is well presented in a study by Rigby and Slee (1993). They conducted a survey based on Rosenberg's measure of self-esteem and found that students who were victims of bullying

tended to make the following statements:

"I feel I don't have much to be proud of".

"At times I think I am no good at all".

"I wish I could have more respect for myself".

"All in all, I am inclined to think I am a failure" (p. 50).

In contrasting, more non-victimised students cited the following statements:

"I feel I am a person of worth at least on an equal plane with others".

"I am able to things as well as most people".

"On the whole I am satisfied with myself" (p.50).

At this point, there is a vital question as to whether victims are bullied because they have lower self-esteem, or have lower self-esteem because they have been bullied. Regarding this speculation, Kochenderfer and Ladd's (1996) longitudinal study supports the view that victimisation is a precursor of children's loneliness and school avoidance. Their study also shows that duration of childhood victimisation is related to the magnitude of their school adjustment problems. Reid (1989) reports that victimised pupils feel psychological and/or physical distress or pain, may find it difficult to concentrate on their school work, and may be afraid to go to school for fear of being victimised.

Although being bullied relates to school truancy, it is very rare to find research that investigates solely the relationship between school truancy and bullying. Some researchers only assumed possible relations between school bullying and pupils'

school maladjustment and suicide from retrospective studies. Rigby (1996) gathered some reasons about the extent of school truancy; pupils were asked if they had ever stayed away from school because of bullying; 5% of boys and 8% of girls said that they had, and a further 12% of boys and 18% of girls said they had thought of doing so.

Although there is still a lack of study on whether the effects of victimisation are a cause or a consequence of being bullied, there is no doubt that victims suffer by being bullied, and that they do have lots of internalised problems (e.g. low self-confidence) which need help from teachers, peers as well as parents. Among recognised problems caused by school bullying, the worst problem, which causes most harm not only to victims but also to peers, parents, family relationships, teachers, and school atmosphere, is suicide of victimised pupils.

According to Bjorkqvist and Osterman (1999), clinical data suggest that victims of severe bullying frequently foster suicidal thoughts, and adolescents who commit suicide often have a history of being bullied. When investigations are made of victimised pupil's suicide, the media often concentrate on his/her victimisation itself, and ignore environmental and situational factors; the media seem to want to find a single cause of the problem or a scapegoat. However, it is almost impossible to identify a single cause for suicide. Pupils decide to commit suicide mainly or partly because they were bullied, but there are also many other possible reasons to consider: lack of parental guidance and teachers' support for example.

Long-term influence

Kochenderfer and Ladd (1996) said that the longer victimisation occurs the greater the suffering and loss of self-esteem. The long-term influence of bullying could be divided into two kinds even if both are strongly related to victims' psychological states. The first is difficulty in establishing good relations with others, due to their depression and/or low-self esteem from early victimisation. The other is a tendency to continue, beyond school, to suffer comparable victimisation.

Although there is still a lack of research into the long-term consequences of victimisation, evidence suggests that the long-term prognosis for victims is poor. Rigby (1996) points out that victims grow up to have difficulties forming satisfactory relations with the opposite sex. Olweus (1993) found that former victims suffered more from depression than do their non-victimised peers. He also states that among the immediate and direct effect of victimisation is internalisation and it can affect self-esteem in later life of victims as a predisposition to depression. Moreover, Dietz (1994) confirmed by a retrospective study that low self-esteem and the tendency to depression were typical of adults who reported being frequently bullied at school.

Another long-term influence of bullying is that victims in childhood may also suffer by victimisation in adulthood. Randall (1997) has argued that many childhood victims go on to become victims of bullying in their adult lives. One reason for this may be that bullying during childhood strongly correlates with later
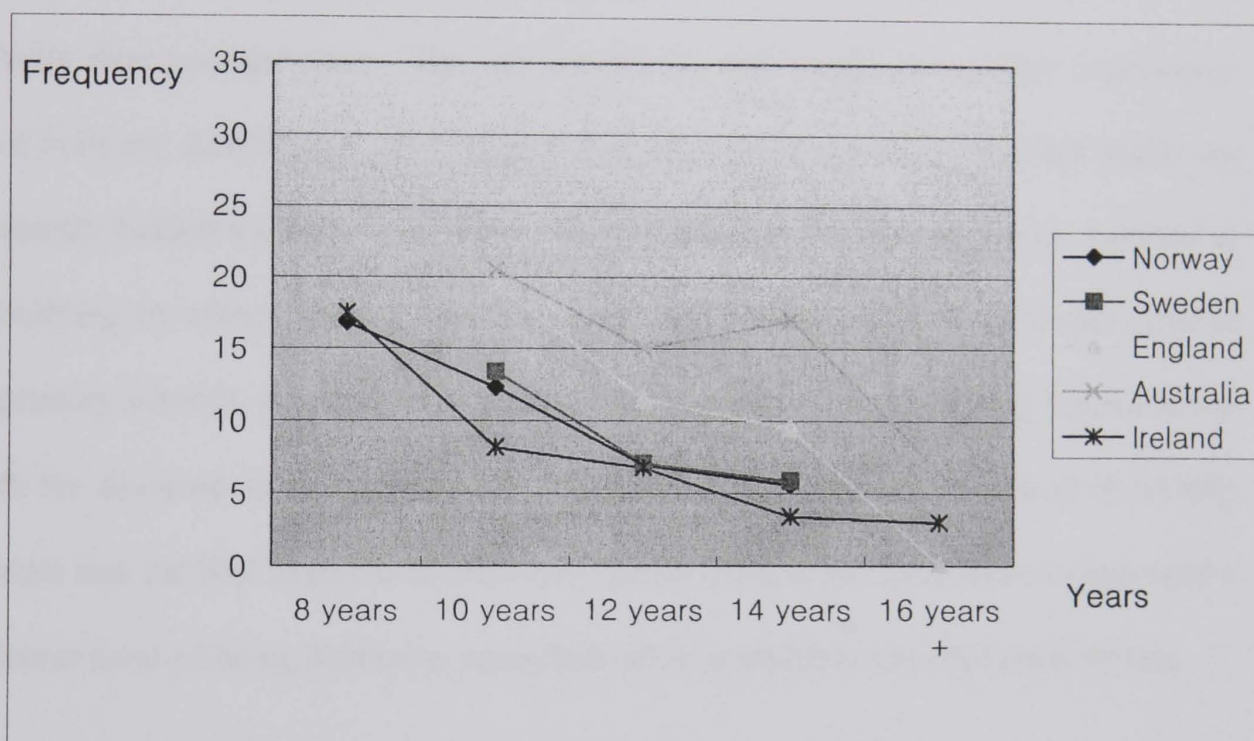
submissiveness to dominant and aggressive individuals during adulthood. Another possibility advanced by Randall (1997) is that victimisation leads to a form of childhood post-traumatic stress disorder that predisposes children to becoming victims in their adult lives. In contrast with findings on continuity of victimisation, research by Olweus (1993) suggests that victimisation at school does not seem to increase the probability of being victimised in young adulthood even though victimised pupils show stronger symptoms of depression than non-victimised peers. He speculates that this may be because victims can choose their social environments more readily when they are older.

Smith, Singer, Hoel, and Cooper (2003) examined through a retrospective study whether reported roles in school bullying and victimisation in the workplace are connected. They found a significant relationship between reported roles in school bullying and experience of workplace victimisation. According to the results, people who were bully/victims in their schooling were at the highest risk of workplace bullying, followed by those who were only victims. Their findings also suggest that school pupils who consistently cannot cope with bullying are more at risk for later victimisation in their workplace. However, many people who reported being bullied when they were school are not being victimised in later life. The results also suggest the importance of contextual or environmental influences on risks of victimisation for adults.

BULLYING AND AGE DECREASES

There are other studies on features of victimisation and the results suggest that bullying decreases as age increases (e.g. Olweus, 1993; Whitney & Smith, 1993; Smith, Madsen, & Moody, 1999). The trend is presented in Table 9-1.

Table 9-1 Percentage of victimised pupils

Notes: Data for this table is from the study of Smith, Madsen, and Moody (1999). Norwegian data from Olweus (1993); Swedish data from Olweus (1993); England data from Whitney and Smith (1993); Australia data from Rigby (1996); Irish data from O'Moore et al. (1997).

There are some possible reasons suggested for the decrease. Smith et al. (1999) presented four hypothesises: first is that *younger children have more children older than them in school, who are in a position to bullying them*; second is that *younger children have not yet been socialised into understanding that a person should not bully others*; third is that *younger children have not yet acquired the social skills*

and assertiveness skills to deal effectively with bullying incidents and discourage further bullying; fourth is that *younger children have somewhat different definition.*

Among those hypothesises, most supported were the first and third. The first hypothesis has also been advanced by Besag (1991) and Olweus (1994). According to them, older children are in an advantageous position to bully younger ones because they have more physical strength and may know more ways of how to bully than younger ones. Through interviews with pupils about their experiences of bullying, Smith et al. (1999) found that, at primary school level, older pupils are mainly bullied by same age pupils whereas younger pupils experience substantial bullying by older pupils as well as same age pupils in school. For the case of primary schools, it is clear that much of the decrease in rates of being bullied is due to the decrease in being bullied by older pupils. However, Smith et al. (1999) state that the first hypothesis could only partly explain the data; there is generally a lower level of being bullied in secondary schools which is not explained by this.

Regarding the third hypothesis, Thompson and Arora (1991) suggest that because older children get more mature, the incidents of bullying may decrease as age increases. Olweus (1994) also indicates that older pupils know more how to behave than younger pupils. Kochenderfer and Ladd (1997) point out that the ways of dealing with being victimised is important for reducing further risk of being bullied. Data from the study of Smith et al. (1999) support the opinion of previous researchers on the hypothesis, suggesting that *many children are indeed acquiring better social skills for dealing with situations where they might be, or are*

being, bullied; particularly by secondary school age (p. 282).

Although Thomson and Arora (1991) suggest that getting more mature affects not only victims (hypothesis 3) but also bullies (hypothesis 2), the second hypothesis was not well supported in later research. Smith et al. (1999) point out that the steep decrease in being bullied post-15 years may be influenced by a decreased tendency of pupils to bully others. It is unclear whether this is an age-related effect or a school selectivity effect.

Moreover, hypothesis four was partly accepted by Smith el al. (1999). Children in primary school, especially in early years, do not consider any 'imbalance of power criterion' when they count the number of being bullied but do seem to be more likely to include any negative behaviour (e.g. fighting) as being bullying. This was also found in the study of Smith and Levan (1995). According to them younger age-groups report general fighting as much as actual bullying.

These four points are understandable reasons for the age decrease in bullying. However, there is a question still remaining. As Smith, Shu, and Madsen (2001) argue, many children experience some teasing and harassment in their early school years, but continued harassment is likely only with those who fail to cope in satisfactory ways and get into a reinforcing cycle of poor coping, low self-esteem, lack of protective friendship, and vulnerability to further bullying. Then who are they? Do they have natural characteristic problems?

COPING STRATEGIES OF VICTIMS

Olweus (1999) states that victimised pupils usually do not fight back and commonly react by crying (at least in the lower grades). However, in the study of Smith et al. (2001), when victimised pupils were asked about their reaction to being bullied, 64.1% of them said that they just ignored it. Moreover boys (28.8%) were clearly more likely to report fighting back whereas girls (27.4%) were more likely to report crying or asking friends or adults for help. Smith et al. (2001) also found that crying is associated with severe harassment and it clearly decreases with age. Crying may be seen as a call for help, and its success can depend on the empathic response of witnesses. Girls tend to be more emphatic than boys and are more frequently defenders of victims (Salmivalli et al., 1996; Sutton & Smith, 1999). However, according to Olweus and Endresen (1998), boys appear to be particularly lacking in empathy for victims as they approach adolescence.

WHAT IS NOT YET STUDIED ABOUT BULLYING

Past studies showed the age trend in victimisation, reactions of victims to bullies, and subsequent outcomes (e.g. loneliness, low self-esteem), but there is still a serious question about that whether victims have a natural problem with their self-esteem and/or confidence which leads them to be bullied and not to protect themselves from being bullied, or they became lonely and/or someone who has lower self-esteem because they have been bullied.

The results from previous research also suggest possible causes of victimised pupils' characters (e.g. shy, quiet). However, with finding from studies and from my previous chapters, I assume that while the characters of persons may affect to a certain level of victimisation, with the statement by Smith et al., (2001) that not all the pupils who were bullied in his/her early school years have continued being bullied in later school years. Characters of victims may not have equal importance over certain stages of victimisation. For this a study of the process of victimisation is needed.

However, what past studies missed are the whole picture of victimisation; the development of victimisation and its pattern, which relates to the entire personal history of victims through retrospective life history investigation; if there are any distinctive features in their infancy, an event at the beginning of victimisation, how it arose and developed, how they reacted at the beginning and later, the reaction of other peers, his/her feeling towards others, why they did not get help from others and if being bullied harmed his/her family relationships. Furthermore, if they have quit school and/or tried suicide, there should be on investigation into the circumstances of quitting school and/or attempted suicide.

This demands a qualitative approach based on retrospective study. As Owens, Shute, and Slee (2000) mentioned, qualitative investigation will complement and enrich the quantitative work already completed. Qualitative research enables an understand of what Van Manen (1990) described as the "lived experience". In this case, stories of seriously victimised pupils about their nature and character, the

tough times they went through, possible reasons for their victimisation, the pattern of it etc could be studied.

There are two purposes to the study in this chapter. First is to find out a pattern of victimisation. Unlike the case of other nations, there are labels for victims at different levels in Korea, namely *eun-ta*, *wang-ta* and *jun-ta*. Hence, this suggested pattern of victimisation could be more thoughtfully investigated. Second is to find out the nature of victimisation at different stages and its time course.

METHOD

At the beginning of this study I considered a quantitative approach, since it allows me to gather information from many participants so that a generalisation could be more effectively built up. However, the problem with quantitative research is that it can generalise human experience but often ignores individuality (Crewell, 1994). The numerical results from generalisation by quantitative researchers may reflect general perceptions of participants on a phenomenon, however, even though a particular response choice was cited mostly by participants, this reason for choosing the choice could vary. If a study proposes to explore specific reasons for taking certain behaviour, a more individual qualitative approach may be useful.

Cullingford and Morrison (1995) clarify that quantitative methods are useful for description of different attitudes to a certain phenomenon rather than for explanation. According to them, quantitative methods are not adequate to answer complex questions about the nature of human behaviour. To investigate the process of victimisation and focus on how victims might be reformed, the use of a qualitative approach is necessary.

STRENGTH OF QUALITATIVE METHODS

After considering several approaches I concluded that a qualitative method, which draws upon an interpretative approach based on conversation with the victimised young people, would be the most appropriate. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first attempt to study the personal history of victimised pupils in Korea. Therefore, the findings should reflect the actual process of victimisation and the pattern at different stages of victimisation, as well as how it damaged victims' lives. For that, I considered analysing the contents obtained from participants according to the different stages of victimisation the victimised pupils had gone through, the particular events between the stages, the possible gender difference in terms of forms and coping strategies, the factors which affect pupils' victimisation, and the personality of victims. Thus, I decided that the material would be best obtained through lengthy and careful interviews with students who had been bullied. In these interviews my role is to establish rapport and empathy with the victims and to interact with them so as to maximise the amount of information obtained.

Method of interview

Interview as a conversation between two people that is initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining relevant information. Cohen and Manion (1989) point out the purpose of interviews is to gain more information from respondents through conversation.

According to Robson (1993) interviews generally are divided into three kinds. The structured interview has predetermined set questions asked and the responses recorded on a standardised schedule. The unstructured interview uses an interview schedule with the topics listed but with few specific questions and no fixed questions; these interviews aim to be carried out in-depth. When investigators require more specific information but with the advantage of some flexibility and open structure, a semi-structured interview format is used. Here, the interview is carried out with a set of framework questions in advance, but interviewers are free to modify their order and depth based upon how the interviewee responds, and on what issues are brought up during the interview.

Of these interview methods, the semi-structured interview, *"where the interviewer has clearly defined purpose, but seek to achieve them through some flexibility in wording and in the order of presentation of questions"* (Robson, 1993, p.227) was adopted for this study.

Sampling

"Sampling is an important aspect of life in general and inquiry in particular" (Robson, 1993, p.135). In any kind of research, particularly in the case of qualitative research, rely strongly on the response of participants and on who takes part in the study. Therefore, sampling was very fully considered. The main purpose of this study was to find out a visible pattern and nature of victimisation through exploration of the dreadful experiences of victims. Hence participants had

to have experienced all three types of victimisation and they should not mind telling me what had happened to them. Moreover, I had to determine whether there was a pattern to episodes of bullying depending on what they told me.

OVERALL PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY

After consideration, I decided to select samples from psychiatric hospitals where victims of bullying would have received medical treatment. Initially, I had help from friends who work in psychiatric hospitals. With their participation, medical doctors selected participants who had complained about their being bullied in schools while they had counselling with them. However, the most serious problem arose due to their lack of communication skills. All the participants were taking drugs for depression and most of them felt easily tired. Moreover, there was not much evidence which showed that they used to be bullied and quit school because of that. Accordingly, I considered that these young participants were not suitable for this study, but I was informed that some private alternative education centres[1] (AE centres), also called secondary support units, had youths who quit school because of being bullied in normal schools.

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[1] Alternative Education Centres were established in Korea from the mid 1990s. They were usually established by NGOs for youth who quit school for any reason, but want to study.

Searching for alternative education centres

I found 58 alternative education centres over Korea and enquired if they included youths who quit school for reasons other than economic problems and whether they worked in co-cooperation with psychiatric hospitals. Most centres were for youths of poor families who work during the day and study in the evening for preparing G-exam[2]. I found 15 AE centres which dealt with young people who quit school mainly due to school maladjustment problems. According to the administrators, 8 of these were especially involved with youths who had been bullied at school and that co-worked with psychologist from psychiatric hospitals. However, I could not initially get permission to conduct my interviews in their centres.

Getting permission to enter the centres

A severe problem had arisen regarding access to the centres. I considered convenience sampling. According to Robson (1993), convenience sampling means choosing participants who are the nearest and most convenient to act as respondents. In this case, I had to get help from people whom I knew very well and they had to get permission from participants who were best contacted by them initially. I discussed sampling with my supervisor and some NGO administrators in Korea who were strongly involved in the centres. With their help, I was introduced to 5 heads out of 8 centres.

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[2] The G-exam is a general standard examination for education and also a school-leaving exam. If someone who quit school wants to continue to study, she/he must pass this exam and get the certificate for higher education.

Criteria for selecting participants

Before trying to contact the support units, I determined criteria for choosing interviewees as follows:

- First of all, they had to be in a secondary support unit and studying regular academic subjects for G-exam. This was because there may be youths who are not interested in regular academic work and due to that they left school but are cared for these AE centres. I assumed that young people who quit school and are studying in this kind of educational support unit for preparing G-exam may have left school because they could not stand being bullied any more, but were still interested in higher education and hoped to obtain the school-leaving certificate.

- Secondly, there must be a report regarding previous schooling, which is available on application to an AE centre. The document could confirm that maladjustment to school and quitting was mainly because of being bullied.

- Thirdly, there should be psychiatric hospital documents which confirm that they had no previous mental health problem but only some kind of depression resulting from being bullied. Nor should participants have learning difficulties and/or pathological problems. Participants should not have features distinctive from those pupils who are called 'normal'.

- Finally, I selected interviewees who had quit school no more than one and half years before, because if the absence were more than that, they might not clearly remember all the incidents.

Definitional issue on terms used

There is an important issue regarding the definitions of the three terms if they are to be used for describing a pattern of Korean victimisation. As discussed in chapters 5 and 8, *wang-ta* can be used as equivalent to bullying and *eun-ta* and *jun-ta* appear to be pre- and post- events of *wang-ta*. Hence, when a pattern of Korean bullying is studied, these three terms can all be used. *Wang-ta* means premeditated and repeated verbal, physical, and psychological harassments in direct and indirect ways. The meaning of *jun-ta* is more broad, namely 'the whole school hating one peer' and '*wang-ta* by the whole school'. *Eun-ta* for pupils is 'being indirectly singled out', 'sometimes being ignored', '*wang-ta* by close friends'.

Contacting centres and parents

Having determined criteria for selecting respondents, I visited the heads of the AE centres and explained the purpose and procedure of my study. It is a very sensitive issue for parents if their child was being bullied and because of that they quit school and studied in those centres. I decided not to contact the parents directly but asked the heads to talk to them and explain what I wanted to do. Despite this, 17 phone numbers were given by the heads for contacting parents.

Prior to phoning them, I sent a summarised proposal of my research and a proof of my identity to the parents. In my introductory letter I enclosed a stamped post card. Parents were asked to give me the most convenient time for phoning them and send the post card back to me. 15 out of 17 parents replied back to me and as soon as I received post cards I phoned the parents, explaining the purpose and procedure of my study. Some parents suggested that they would like to be with their child at the beginning of the meeting and asked me not to mention their child's being bullied in their child's presence. Before carrying out this interview schedule, I submitted the proposal for this study to the Ethics Committee of Goldsmiths College and obtained clearance.

Interview strategy

My final strategy for the interviews was as follows:

1. I should have a meeting with these young people at least three times, in order to establish a rapport and send mobile text messages in order to check if they felt anxiety and/or frustration while they talked to me.

2. The first meeting should also be with parents and to talk about general issues (e.g. the weather, books), not mentioning the specific purpose of my research.

3. At the second meeting I would interview them but not directly ask about their suffering from being bullied but talk to them about their previous

schooling and friendships. However, if the participant seemed to realise

what I was doing then I should honestly let them know about my research.

4. At the third meeting, I would interview them and asked what had happened

   through their schooling and more directly about bullying.

Final Participants

The questions to be asked were to explore the participants' experience of *eun-ta*,

wang-ta, and *jun-ta* stages. However, I avoided any use of these terms. After the

first meeting, 12 participants from the 15 allowed me to conduct a further interview

with them. However, 3 of them did not turn up for the second individual meeting

and I was informed that they were frightened to talk about their previous schooling.

This left 9 participants from the centres. In addition one girl from normal high

school was able to be interviewed. She was a 2nd year high school pupil thinking of

quitting school because of being *wang-ta*. She was introduced to me by an English

teacher who helped me with the questionnaire in this study. I included the girl

because she might prove a good example of the last stage before pupils left school.

Therefore, the final sample was 10 young people. Information on them is presented

in table 9-1.

Formulation of the questions

Before commencing the second interview, the purpose of the research was explained as studying friendship and schooling. Much importance was attached to maintaining confidentiality, and the right of respondents to remove themselves from the interview process at any time was stressed. It is important to maintain participants' informed consent, in considering the ethics of research.

I based my interview on the points emphasised by Robson (1993, p.238) as follows: introductory comments; list of topic headings and possibly key questions to ask under these headings; set of associated prompts: closing comments. Questions using jargon or long (Hoinville & Jowell, 1977) were avoided.

Interview procedure

The type of interview I chose was semi-structured and had certain set themes e.g. their thinking about schools, best friends, and teachers. Those whom I felt most difficult in carrying out conversation with, were asked to bring photographs from previous schools. In order to avoid contamination of the data, hints or guessing of the 'right' responses, participants were not aware of exactly what it was the interviewer was seeking.

I did not immediately proceed with interview questions as soon as I met them since the contents of the interview might have frightened them, provoking memories of dreadful experiences at previous schools. I usually went to the cinema, an art

gallery or sports centre with them, because, at this stage, creating a rapport was the most important objective. Each respondent was interviewed individually in a private setting over a few days depending on the participant's condition, interview progress, and amount of information obtained.

Reassurance was given that in analysing the results, their names and any information on them would not be mentioned. In each case a tape recorder was used and the respondents were clearly informed that the tape of the interview would be destroyed as soon as data analysis was completed. In order to give a clear understanding of my interview process, a diagram is shown below as Table 9.2.

Data Translation

The transcript of interviews was taken down in Korean from the tape recorder. A bilingual Korean girl helped me. I initially took down all conversation with the participants and then took out non-related conversation (e.g. chat about movie stars and food). I used a form of shorthand in order to save time. For example, a square for schools, a T for teacher, an F for friends, a star for their best friends. It took at least 7 hours per tape.

After that my translator assistant read the transcript as she listened to a tape. She was asked, when she heard the conversation on the paper from the tape recorder, to circle the number of each sentence. She was allowed to skip non-related dialogue.

The transcript was then translated into English by two bilingual 16-year-old pupils as well as myself; this was because the interviewees were of that age and I might not understand teenager's language and/or slang in English. Finally, my supervisor read through the interview transcripts and made comments and asked me to add some explanation of Korean terms (e.g. PC bang, which is Internet cafe).

Data Analysis

An important consideration for researchers using qualitative methodology is the way of analysing the data collected. It is particularly so for the case of interviews. There are several ways to analyse interviewees' experiences (e.g. using a quantitative method, counting specific types of words) and thematic analysis is one of them. Thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and/or behaviour (Newfield, Kuehl, Joanning & Quinn, 1991; William, 1992). This analysis is a very efficient way of finding a pattern of a certain experience of people (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984) that exactly meets with the aim of this study. Moreover, using themes while doing interview gave a clear guideline to what should be obtained in what order from the informants, avoiding confusion.

For doing thematic analysis, a systematic research deign is required. Adopting thematic analysis should be planned from the beginning of interviews and interviewers should keep mind the themes that they would explore. The aim of this study was to find out a pattern of victimisation and related sub-factors of being bullied in Korean schools by interviewing young adolescents who went through catastrophic events during his/her schooling. Participants in this study were very

extreme cases of being bullied, experiencing mild (*eun-ta*) through to severe (*jun-ta*) bullying and because of that they quit school and some of them attempted suicide. Individual cases of the participants differed, but a pattern of their victimisation was noticed. Therefore, using thematic analysis provide an advantage in organising information collected from the young adolescents. To have a more efficient way of analysing the data collected the following steps were taken.

As a first step, following Spradly (1979), overall patterns of relating to bullying were listed from the transcribed conversations. This was done from direct quotes or paraphrasing common ideas. The second step was to identify all data that related to the already classified patterns, namely *eun-ta*, *wang-ta*, and *jun-ta*. Third step was to combine and catalogue related patterns into sub-themes. Themes were defined as units derived from patterns such as "conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, and feelings (Taylor & Bogdan, 1989, p.131). However there is also an issue of dealing with information which is not related to the aim of this study. Therefore, themes were identified by "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone" (Leininger, 1985, p. 60). Last, I brought all the pieces of information together so that a "coherence of ideas rests with the analyst who has rigorously studied how different ideas or components fit together in a meaningful way when linked together" (Leininger, 1985, p. 60). Therefore, themes that emerged from the young adolescents' stories were pieced together to form a comprehensive picture of their collective experience.

Table 9-1-(1) Information on interviewees

	Park Jin	Jung Min
Age	16	18
Gender	Female	Male
Currently taking medicine	Sleeping pills	Tranquilizer
Information in advance[3]	Friendship	Exactly Given
Experience of transferring school	No	1st year of high school caused by bad friends
Quit ordinary schooling	3rd year of middle school	2nd year of high school
Years since left ordinary school	17 months	8 months
Current education	Private Institute for G-Exam	Counselling centre Secondary support unit
Family background	1 older sister who died, parents (both working), used to live with grandparents.	1 younger brother, 1 younger sister, Parents
Medical problems and treatments	Stomach ache Still having counselling	Nervous breakdown, for the last 9 months
Attempted suicide	No	Once
Number of meetings and interviews	3 times (twice for interview)	4 times (twice for interview)

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[3] After the discussion with the participants' parents, some of them were informed exactly what I wanted to do, whereas others were informed simply that I wanted to study friendships.

Table 9-1-(2) Information on interviewees

	Min na	So Eun	Kim Jun	Oe Jae
Age	17	16	19	17
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Male
Currently taking medicine	Tranquilizer	No	No	Often taking paracetamol
Information in advance	Friendship	Friendship	1st Friendship 2nd exactly given	Friendship
Experience of transferring school	Went to middle school in a different area caused by Wang-ta	6th year of elementary school caused by Peers	No	No, went to private school
Quit ordinary schooling	Didn't go to high school	3rd year of middle school	1st year of high school	2nd year of middle school
Years since left ordinary school	16 months	13 months	18 months	6 months
Current education	Secondary support unit	Secondary support unit	Private institute for G-Exam	Secondary support unit
Family background	1 younger brother, parents	1 older sister, parents	Only child parents (step mother)	1 older sister, parents (both working)
Medical problems and treatments	Nervous breakdown, lasted 8 month	No	No	No
Attempted suicide	No	No	No	No
No. of Meetings and interviews	3 times (twice for interview)	Twice for interview	Twice for interview	3 times (twice for interview)

Table 9-1-(3) Information on interviewees

	Han Min	Kim Won	Jeung Young	Choi Mi
Age	14	15	19	17
Gender	Male	Female	Female	Female
Currently taking medicine	No	Sleeping pills	Tranquilizer (sometimes)	No
Information in advance	Friendship	Friendship	Exactly given	Exactly given
Experience of transferring school	No	Transferred from the U.K in 4th year of elementary school	Went to high school in different area caused by wang-ta	2nd year of elementary (moving home)
Quit ordinary schooling	1st year of middle school	2nd year of middle school	2nd year of high school	Study in a conventional school
Years since left ordinary school	8 months	12 months	18 months	/
Current education	Secondary support unit	Private lessons	Private institute for G-Exam	High school
Family background	1 younger sister, parents	Parents (father used to work in the U.K)	1 older brother, parents	1 younger sister, parents (both working)
Medical problems and treatments	Eating problem, ophthalmic hospital	Cystitis Anorexia nervosa	Depression (6 months)	No
Attempted suicide	No	No	Once	No
No. of Meetings and interviews	3 times (twice for interview)	Twice for interview	4 times (twice for interview)	Twice (once for interview)

Table 9-2 Interview strategies

Stage 1 ⟹

Contact to the centres
Head Masters' contact
parents and seek permission
Lists of parents

Stage 2 ⟹

Contact parents to get
permission to interview their
child

Preliminary meeting with
the participants and their
parents   ⟸ Stage 2.1

Send mobile text
messages in order
to check
participants'
circumstances at
least once a day.

2nd and 3rd interview with
the participants without
parents.

Stage 3 ⟹

RESULTS

As past studies on school bullying and the results of my study indicate, the proportion of victimised pupils decreases as pupils age increases. However, according to Smith and Shu (2000) in England, 1-2 percent of pupils have experienced long-term victimisation over many years of their schooling. As Smith and Shu pointed out, not all pupils who have been bullied have experienced long-term victimisation but even though it is only about 2%, those who are in that proportion suffer prolonged psychological and physical pain. Also, some of them do not continue to carry out their normal schooling but leave school or sometimes commit suicide. It seems worse in Korea because, as argued in the previous chapter, bullying in Korean schools is based on collectivism. Therefore, a minority, who have been bullied for a long time, have experienced it from a large number of classmates and/or school members.

In many cases adults do not realise how those pupils were suffering since the true nature of the victimisation has not yet been fully discovered. The participants in this study were bullied for a comparatively long time in their normal schools and due to that they left school; some of them had attempted suicide and/or had treatment at psychiatric hospital. Although they had quit school and were studying in second education centres, some of them still depended on medical treatment. The findings are summarised now in terms of individual characteristics of victims, long and short-term effects, features of different stages of victimisation (eun-ta, wang-ta, and jun-ta), overall pattern, and current circumstances.

I provisionally concluded from the findings that these three types of victimisation formed stages of increasing severity, so I had referred them as stages in the analysis that followed.

Although none of the participants directly mentioned the terms for each stage of their victimisation, they divided the difficult times they went through into three periods. In most cases, the *wang-ta* stage does not start with serious victimisation but with simple singling out by close friends and/or teasing by classmates.

THE *EUN-TA* STAGE

From the interviews, a gender difference was found in the stage of *eun-ta* that is consistent with the findings of chapter 8. Girls usually receive that kind of isolation by their close friends but there is not serious teasing and/or physical hurting. There is no particular victim in this stage, it could happen to anybody. The victimised pupils were not only victims in this stage but they also did *eun-ta* to others. Pupils consider *eun-ta* as a part of their growing up, often on and off and not lasting for long.

"She prevented others from playing with me.. Not at the beginning. She sat behind me.. we had lunch together.. went to toilet together... and we also went home together after school " (Kim Won, Female, aged 15)

"Not at first... but later on some of my friends ignored me.. so sometimes I ate on my own at lunch times.." (Park Jin, Female, aged 16)

"Er.. Even before that they sometimes did not talk to me... From the end of the 2nd year of middle school, things got repetitive... whenever I said something they told

me to be quiet.. when lessons were over they left without waiting for me....and when I phoned them they told their brothers to say they weren't in... actually even I behaved like them before" (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

"At first, they singled me out sometimes but they did not bother me too much because I sometimes did it too. Yes.. but I always used to have problems with them... when we had an argument they were 3 and I was alone... they didn't let me play with others... they did not talk to me for a while... when it's short it lasted for 10 days, the longest was 2 months" (Choi Mi, Female, aged 17)

"I wasn't that close to them either.. they weren't that close to me as well. They only called me out when they needed me... do you know what *eun-ta* is? I guess you don't since you are from England... there is such thing here in Korea.. only my friends can call me eun-ta... no others call me eun-ta in A's group" (So Eun, Female, aged 16)

The form of *eun-ta* among girls is very simple, that is singling out; it is an on and off problem. Girls understand it very well as something that can happen to anybody. However, the form of *eun-ta* among boys is somewhat differentiated from that of girls. Boys in the stage of *eun-ta* are not so much being singled out but asked for money and/or receive light physical threatening.

"At lunch time, when they were playing, they told me to get some water. They also told me to get ice cream and they did not give any money for it either. They made me pull girl's underwear strings... they hit me if I didn't.. I did sometimes hang out with friends when I was a first year..." (Kim Jun, Male, aged 19)

"I didn't have any friends before that... but then kids didn't bully me or ask for money. It was OK up to the 4th year, but from the 5th year 3 people from my class started it.. No, then my friends told them to stop and told me to ignore them." (Han Min, Male, aged 14)

"I wasn't wang-ta (in the technical school)... it was better in the technical high school.. well..they did not make me wang-ta.. only asked for money... sometimes hit my head.. it was OK.. I could stand it.." (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

Being *eun-ta* does not presuppose a particular personality and character of victims, but those two factors possibly make pupils get problems with other peers more often. At this point, there is a vital question as to whether victims are bullied

because they have naturally lower self-esteem that leads them to not defend themselves, or victims have lower self-esteem because they have been bullied. It cannot be said that victims of *wang-ta* naturally have low self-esteem but according to this study, victims who had seriously received *wang-ta* had somewhat different early childhood experiences. They enjoyed being alone and did not have many friends in their kindergarten.

"I went to kindergarten for 4 years... I did not play with friends in the kindergarten... after kindergarten, I just went home and played by myself" "Yes... but ever since I was little I stayed home a lot... I used to study, did play-station, talk to my mum" (Han Min, Male, aged 14)

"Not really.. except one or two friends... I never really liked friends... I don't have any memory of playing with friends" (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

"I had a few friends at kindergarten... but I preferred to be alone and didn't make friends. Those who I liked were not active ones.. but ones with somewhat different characters from others, say, those with quiet and timid character" (Min Na, Female, aged 17)

"Well.. I went to kindergarten when I was 4... the others kids were 6 or 7...I always play by myself the toys first and others let me play first" (Choi Mi, Female, aged 17)

Moreover, the unusual early childhood possibly affected their school adjustment problems from dealing with *eun-ta* and building a good relation with other peers. My findings suggest that pupils who are characterised by submissive-withdrawn behaviour are more frequently victims of maltreatment by peers. This is not the same as saying that victimised pupils have natural problems, but it is clear that after being bullied they tend to become lonelier and more timid.

"I tend to be friends with someone new quite easily but I cannot sustain the relationship for long... my friends told me that I am a tedious person... seemed to

not have any opinion" "but after being isolated... I more often wavered in saying or deciding something" (So Eun, Female, aged 16)

"Uhm... I went to kindergarten in England. I went to elementary school there as well, then I moved to Korea...Others teased me a lot because I could not speak Korean well... I was worse than others at writing and reading" " So I couldn't go to school often and afraid to talk in front of other peers and it became worse and worse" (Kim Won, Female, aged 15)

"I stuttered a bit. Yes, I was a bit slow with things... I ate slowly... I was the one to show up in the playground for PE classes... My team always lost because I was not at all fit..." " I gave everything they asked of me.. I made more silly mistakes without any intention.. because I was terrified to be bullied I wanted to show them I was ok.. but everything was getting worse" (Jung Min, Male, 18)

The results indicate that pupils who have an outgoing personality and good academic achievement can also possibly become *wang-ta*. Although their characters differed, being *wang-ta* still led victims to become more terrified to make decisions and behave appropriately.

"At first it was OK, but the teachers were nicer to me because I came from a good public school.. but frankly the teachers at my primary school were better than the middle school ones.. well... there's the pronunciation... in my primary school we did it with an American teacher... I did not really complain.. I just told them which parts were wrong... Yes.. at first the kids thought I was great and found it funny... but gradually they become annoyed with me.. and a friend told me to watch my mouth a few times" " Yes.. after that I wasn't close to them anymore.. I didn't really want to be either.. actually I was afraid... I just hung out with the kids who went to the same public school." (Oe Jae, Male, aged 17)

"My friends always told me that I was fun but too honest in many cases... this is what my friends in middle school told me.. there is a great difference between someone who likes you and someone who hates you" "After being isolated several times... I could not try to talk to anybody in my class" (Choi Mi, Female, aged 17)

THE *WANG-TA* STAGE

Eun-ta possibly happens to anybody but some kinds of personality and character of pupils may easily be targeted. If *eun-ta* is an on and off problem and it can happen to any pupil, then how and why does this stage develop to *wang-ta*? Most of the informants clearly pointed out that there was a certain incident when they had trouble with other peers as *eun-ta*. After that incident, they were getting further away from their peer group. It was not just isolation but a separation and division, and they became *wang-ta* in their class. Unfortunately parents and teachers, in many cases, got involved but made the situation worse. Wrong decision making and/or an awkward interaction of adults can lead victimised pupils to get into more trouble.

"Yes.. I got caught stealing money from dad's wallet. He got angry and was going to the school to tell teachers that others asked me for money... if that happened, they would have killed me... He kept it quiet on condition that I will transfer to H high school... there were many from the same classes as me in elementary and middle school in the high school.. and also that I went to a technical high school because I was not good at academic studies.... But I moved to the high school because my dad provided the money...." (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

"Er... at first there were not any problems even though they teased me... but things went wrong... In the 5th year my friends started asking for money... I stole my brother's piggy bank... he told my mum... so I had to tell her that my friends borrowed money off me.. mum went to school and talked to the teacher.. but the kids said that I borrowed money and I did not reply them... they were 3 and I was 1... my teacher told my mum that I borrowed money from them... my mum said that I was not like that... but my teacher said that he will call the police and bring in a lie detector.. at first I said I did not but my teacher kept on telling me off and telling me to tell the truth... so I said that I borrowed the money.... mum cried... my dad said that if mum went to school again, it will just make things worse... so the next day my mum went to school and gave them the money.... yes, but they just bullied me more... my classmates did not talk to me... after that I became wang-ta and everyone bullied me from then on.." (Han Min, Male, aged 14)

"One day teacher said that we were going to have a survey on bullying.. I was the only one who wrote about being bullied but the other kids said that nobody was

being bullied... the teacher called me to the staff room and asked me things...Yes (I told the names of peers who bullied me)... in assembly we were all punished.. me too... things became worse..." (Park Jin, Female, aged 16)

"We had an English listening test.... most of the class had this plan of cheating... you are meant to take exams with your own skills... and if they cheat and do well on the exam, my rank goes down... so before we took the exam I went and told the teacher.. they knew (I told that to the teacher) by instinct... actually there were 2 other kids being eun-ta in my class but from then on, my classmates only bullied me so badly." (Oe Jae, Male, aged 17)

"Porn magazines were popular amongst boys in my class... the teacher asked me who had such things.. I told him I did not know... but when he told me he would check the personal cabinets... some peers told me to keep them....yes (the magazines were found in my cabinet)... I kept quiet in the class.. but when he told me to bring my parents... I told him (the names of peers who owned the magazines)... my classmates called me spy.. wrote 'traitor' on my school jacket.. my teacher did not take all of the magazine but left one by mistake... at that time, my classmates talked a lot about masturbation... I was curious what it was... and there was something on masturbation in that magazines I could not read it at home... I read it in a toilet in the after school institute secretly and I got really curious and tried it... then the owner of the magazines and the others who got told off by the teacher opened the door in order to bully me again and saw me... I could not attend the lessons but went to the classroom to get my bag... when I went in, the girls ran away screaming.. the boys tried to strip my trousers" (Kim Jun, Male, aged 19)

"They couldn't make it obvious (wang-ta) in the first year because of my sister.. my sister had graduated...my classmates bullied me from time to time... took my money and so on and the art teacher found it out.. he called my mum... she got angry.. she came to the school and talked to my homeroom teacher and then they went into a fight.... Yes (that is why I transferred to another school)... my teacher was angry with me and my classmates would not say a word to me." (So Eun, Female, aged 16)

"But then, one day when I came back after a PE lesson, somebody had scribbled something on my exercise book... I assumed it was Suzi and told it to mum... she came to school and talked to Suzi's teacher.. and Suzi and her friends, including the one in my class, got told off by teachers badly... I don't know.. I think it was her... but then Suzi's mum called my mum and they had a fight.. before there were some who bully me and some who didn't .. but (after that happened) those who didn't bully me didn't talk to me or do not cleaning with me either." (Kim Won, Female, aged 15)

This form of *wang-ta* is somewhat different from bullying studied in Western research, in terms of the number of bullies, the actual forms, and the grades of the bullies. It is not just verbal teasing and/or physical hurting. The victimisation is a

combination of the pupils' worst behaviours. More importantly, although the incidents of *wang-ta* may be reduced as age increases, forms of *wang-ta* get worse as pupils get older. Unlike *eun-ta*, *wang-ta* is more group based, and although at the beginning it is only psychological pain, being commonly strongly singled out by classmates, after a while bullies treat the victims as a slave and as someone who does not have emotions. The harassment becomes worse as time passes.

"They are little, you see. They just teased me or didn't play with me (in elementary school)... but it's a lot worse in middle school [in bullying me]... If I get up and move around, their eyes follow me... they watched what I was up to" (So Eun, Female, aged 16)

"Well.. at lunchtimes when I looked for my lunch, it was in the bin.. they poked me in the back with pens.. at cleaning times while I was carrying the water they would trip me up and said that I ruined the cleaning... when I said that I did not do it, I was slapped.." (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

"Yes... in primary school they just teased me a bit and hit me sometimes.. but in secondary school it was horrible. They poked me in the back with pens, and when I was wearing my PE kit they pulled my trousers down in front of the girls." (Han Min, Male, aged 14)

"Yes... my classmates called me spy and threw my exercise books and textbooks into the bin... they wrote 'traitor' on my school jacket... ignored me when I said something.. When I walked past, they looked at me like a worm.. and when I walked between rows of desks they tripped me and when I fell others laughed together..... It got worse and worse as time went by.. they forced me to do all the cleaning they were supposed to do.. they took money from my wallet" (Kim Jun, male, aged 19)

"I could not go to the toilet when I was at school... when I went there at breaks then the other pupils whispered to each other, and even when I queued they ignored my position there in the queue and went forward... so I had to go during lessons, but teacher wouldn't like that.. so I did not go...." (Kim Won, Female, aged 15)

"Pupils from other classes called me '*wang-ta of class 3*' and spoke ill of me when I wasn't around.. they were saying that I said or did things I never actually did... some even lied that they saw me smoking in the toilets" (Min Na, Female, aged 17)

"In elementary school, they only teased me or scribbled something on my books or exercise books... and I could keep it to myself... there were some who hit me... and I could also bear it myself... But it got rather worse in middle school.. they stabbed me with pencils, and they called me to a toilet and beat me up.. forced me to crawl between someone's two legs.. threw my bag in the bin..." (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

"I'm not sure.. at first I just took it.. it become worse afterwards… in primary school they just ignored me and sometimes hid my stuff and pushed me.. but in secondary school they locked me in the toilet and sprayed paint on my uniform… whispering behind my back" (Park Jin, Female, aged 16)

The results also showed that victims of *wang-ta* often behave as if nothing had happened, do not speak at all while they are at school, stay in one place and do not go where they were bullied, have lunch alone, or walk around facing down. They rarely tried to argue; most victims seemed to passively isolate themselves.

"I gave up any attempt to make friends and thought it would be better just to do what the other pupils told me to do.." (Min Na, Female, aged 17)

"Yes.. I ate lunch all by myself.. while the others were playing, I walked around by myself and went home" (Park Jin, Female, aged 16)

"… I gave money when they asked .. most of the pupils in technical high schools have poor families so it was okay as long as I gave them money appropriately" (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

"Of course… but my temper isn't good either, so I didn't just sit there getting beaten up… but when it goes on and on again… I gave up…. let them do whatever they wished to do with me" (So Eun, Female, aged 16)

"I think it was during the field trip at the beginning of April… there were problems before.. then I asked them what was wrong with me.. they did not reply.. then the other pupils told me 'If you think you have a problem, find it out yourself and correct it.. I tried to fit in with them but soon I gave up and stayed alone as they wanted " (Choi Mi, Female, aged 17)

"… So I gave up trying to argue or to make friends in the end.. I just let them do what ever they wanted with me…completely" (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

"Yes…and I got to skip school.. I was really afraid of people in the school.. my father found out about it and I got scolded many times.. but it was better to get beaten by my dad than go to school" (Kim Jun, Male, aged 19)

Some also said that there is only one *wang-ta* in a class, who is a scapegoat labelled as *wang-ta*, as this makes others feel safe. *Eun-ta* does not necessarily mean being

that only one in a classroom. However, in many cases, there is only one *wang-ta* in

a class, who has to take all the burdens. From analysing the data, children seemed

to feel relaxed in a situation where bullying occurs as long as they are not

personally the victim. If there is one instance of *wang-ta* then the rest of the class

is peaceful. It seems that singling out an individual who is *wang-ta* is a way of

reinforcing group identity and thus fostering collective harmony. This findings are

in line with Schuster (1999), indicating a scapegoat in a class.

"So I didn't fit into any group.. and K and M went around saying that in the 2nd year I was *eun-ta* by them... there was this girl who I became close to... but then she was also *eun-ta* in the 2nd year... so everyone said that *eun-ta* were sticking together so we drifted apart and I became *wang-ta*... after then this girl was worse than others... you know... she was more terrible than the others" (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

"I think they bullied so more because they were afraid of becoming *wang-ta*. If they hung out with me then they would also be targets for bullying. In fact, there were a couple of pupils who benefited because of me... those two also got sometimes *tta* [singling out] but as there was me as *wang-ta* they were not bullied.. there is always only one victim in a class" (Min Na, Female, aged 17)

"Actually there were 2 other kinds being bullied sometimes in my class but from then on, I became *wang-ta* and they got free.. you know what, after that those two bullied me more than anybody... I think that they were afraid of becoming *wang-ta* after me..." (Oe Jae, Male, aged 17)

"At first they didn't bother me too much... actually there was a *wang-ta* in my class... no, I didn't play with the wang-ta because then I'd become the centre of attention... but later I became *wang-ta* in my class and she doesn't get bullied anymore... of course she [former *wang-ta*] doesn't have any friends but others do not bother her much...now I am their target..." (Choi Mi, Female, aged 17)

While the interviews were being carried out it became clear that pointing out a

certain bully and/or bully group is very difficult for a *wang-ta*. That may make it

difficult for teachers trying to control *wang-ta* phenomena. Unlike the cases in

other nations, in most cases, there is no certain bully in the classroom. According

to the participants, sometimes there was a peer who did not bully them in any direct

way but the participants knew that it was because of the peer that they had been

bullied. However, there was no evidence to use to complain about them. Although

the invisible ring-leader did not do anything, other pupils usually bullied them in

turns directly and indirectly, on different occasions.

"It wasn't just the classmates... there were kids from other classes too. So catching them was harder... here's the funny thing... there were times where I was bullied by them... but truthfully, the whole class bullied me in fact... the teacher looked into this closely... he found a victim, but no one who caused it... Yes... the teacher told me to say names but there weren't any exact names to be picked out.... And I think the teacher was in a difficult position... although he wanted to tell them off, he could not find a reason to do it" (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

"Most of my classmates took part... some encouraged bullies, some just ignored it ... but most thought it was fun... they also bullied me in turns..." (Han Min, Male, aged 14)

"the only ones who directly hit or teased me were J' friends... the others didn't directly bully me...No, J never did directly but I knew it was him... Do you think I'm that stupid? Without evidence mentioning J's name is stupid" (Oe Jae, Male, aged 17)

"No.. those who bullied me directly after the transfer were from other classes.. they (classmates) laughed together... some told me to buy cigarettes at break times... I asked the class monitor for help.. but he ignored it" (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

"I don't know... one day my teacher said that we were going to have a survey on bullying. He gave out pieces of paper and told us to write if we had ever been bullied or had ever seen anyone being bullied.... Yes [I wrote that I had been bullied] but the other kids said that nobody was being bullied in the class" (Park Jin, Female, aged 16)

THE *JUN-TA* STAGE

Although there seems be a particular happening between *eun-ta* and *wang-ta* stage,

becoming *jun-ta* seemed to be only a matter of time, at least for these participants

that I interviewed. This is the procedure for becoming *jun-ta*; if a pupil became a

wang-ta, peers in other classes and different grades gradually notice who is *wang-ta* in a class and the story about *wang-ta* spreads out as time passes. This is a good reason why victimised pupils are afraid of having that label and worry about it spreading that they are *wang-ta* in a class. The informant for this issue below is in normal high school but thinking of quitting school due to being *wang-ta*:

> "And no-one wants to play with me when I have problems with them [former close friends].. It's even more serious now... at least before I had someone to talk to when I had problems with them but... this time no-one wants to talk to me.. as you know, I am receiving *wang-ta* now....but the worrying this is... I saw it happening everywhere.. if this carries on, I'm never going to have any friends until graduation... and truthfully, there was not *jun-ta* before in my school and I'm afraid that I might be the first one called by that label"

> "Yes... I think it'll be better if I had a reset for a year and come back next year... Yes.. not many know that I'm being *wang-ta* ... so next year they're going to be in the last year of high school, they'll be too busy to bother me and after that they're going to graduate"

> "If I move school, people are going to think I moved because there was a problem and I think that'll make things worse... If I have a rest I can say that I was ill. (Choi Mi, Female, aged 17)

Other participants too remembered that it was only a matter of time in terms of becoming *jun-ta*. When they became *wang-ta* automatically they became *jun-ta* as time passed. Once labelled as *wang-ta* this remains through the whole school life and the label will be changed to *jun-ta* as time passes and news of their victimisation spreads:

> "It was fine in the beginning of secondary school even if I was *wang-ta* in my elementary school.. but as time went by, my classmates found out that I was *wang-ta* when I was in D elementary school.. there were pupils from the same elementary school as me. They told others that I was *wang-ta*... It was really bad again" (Kim Won, Female, aged 15)

"I was *jun-ta*.. being bullied by the whole school... everyone in the school knew about me.. this is why I stopped going to school... I could bear it when the whole class bullied me.. but when my juniors had got to tease me, I could not stand any more... No [I was not *jun-ta* at the beginning], my classmates who were from the same elementary school as me went blabbing.. that I was a *wang-ta* ... After a while lots of my school mates noticed that I was a wang-ta..."(So Eun, Female, aged 16)

"Instantly... the news that I used to be *wang-ta* was spread quickly... they [parents] settled for me moving to a high school far away... at first it was really good... I had many friends... but one day someone found out that I was *wang-ta* in middle school.. they said that I lied... even the friends who I was close to said that they felt horrible with me.. I could not get over it... so I attempted suicide" (Chung, Female, aged 19)

"After transferring.. there were many from the same classes as me in elementary and middle school in the new high school.. they knew I had been bullied... they spread what had happened to me and I became wang-ta again... there was no way out of it unless I quit school or killed myself" (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

"No, I did go to the school where I was supposed to be assigned. Dad talked to the Department of Education of Jeonju and I was sent to a school that was about half an hour away by bus.. it was fine at the beginning.. but Jeonju is a really small town... you know everyone if you go through one person...yes, one of my classmates was a cousin of one of my classmates in the 6th year of elementary school.. she told everything... I really gave up in middle school..." (Min Na, Female, 17)

Moreover, when the victimisation is getting worse and they become *jun-ta*, pupils suffer greatly on the way to school and home. Most pupils in Korea are assigned schools near where they live. Hence, there is no ride by parents to school. Usually only one or two teachers watch for pupils coming to school and none watch for them going back home[4]. A very important issue appeared while I talked to the participants regarding another hot spot for receiving bullying. When pupils become *jun-ta* they almost gave up worrying what about happened from classmates, but worried about on the way to school and back home.

"I go to school early then I say that I'm ill and stay in the sick room when the lessons start.. and when the lessons end, I go to places like the music room and stay there until everyone else is gone before I go home.." (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

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[4] From primary school to high school, usually, one or two teachers stand in front of main school gate and look after pupils, check pupils' school uniform and if someone comes school late, he/she caught by the teachers and get punished.

"It was better when I was in the classroom because only my classmates teased and hit me.. It was a lot worse on the way to school and back home.. so I often went to school at 6 in the morning and went back home at 8 in the evening..." (Kim Jun, Male, aged 19)

"No...at break times I could lie down or stay in the staff room... It was harder going to and from school.." (Han Min, Male, aged 14)

According to the interviews with the participants, there are three strong related factors affecting long-term victimisation. The first is labelling, as was mentioned before. The other factors are connected with modern Korean educational culture. One of these is the internet. More than 85% of youth in South Korea have the internet at home and make friends and exchange information through the internet. Moreover, most of them do chatting and make *cyber friends*[5]. This was not ever considered as an issue which can promote long-term victimisation, but it can spreads stories of one's victimisation in a very short time.

"They settled for me moving to a high school far away.. at first it was really good.. yes, the people in my middle school all knew which high school I went to and the kids in my high school knew where I went to before... then a classmate found out that I was wang-ta in my old school when she was chatting with someone [on the internet] from my old middle school... one day I went to school, when I entered the room, everyone just ignored me and started to whisper... I never dreamed it..." (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

"What happened in the toilet. news about my masturbation.. spread out so quickly... even friends from elementary school heard and girls former classmates screamed on the street at seeing me.... most of us do chatting [on the internet].. you know 'Buddy Buddy' which is the most famous... they made jokes about the toilet masturbation and sent it through e-mail and/or told their friends online.... even my friends in New Zealand heard that.. I told you most of us do chatting and are members of an internet chatting society..." (Kim Jun, Male, aged 19)

"When they had problems with me... they talked about what had happened to my former classmates and friends in other schools.. chatting [on the internet]. They do a lot of chatting... of course, they did not tell exactly what had happened.. they just

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[5] Cyber friend is a well-know term for someone met on line. Friends register the same chatting network and do hobbit together (e.g. a certain online games) but do not personally meet.

told them what I did... I do not like to do chatting... even someone who does not personally know me knows my name, school, and I am *wang-ta*.. it spreads so quickly... the internet makes it... I am a member of some chatting society... but I do not login anymore.." (Choi Mi, Female, aged 17)

The other factor is after school institutes. These can take a very important role in long-term victimisation, in terms of spreading rumours and stories about victims. Peers who are in the same institutes but from different schools can be informed about who are *wang-ta* and/or *jun-ta* in which school. Conversely, if anything happened in a private institute, most classmates will soon know that. This possibly helps to create a situation in which pupils have no way out of *wang-ta* once they become a victim of it.

"Yes (what had happened in my after school institute spread across the school)... girls ran away screaming when I went to the school shop at breaks... and boys hit me or swore at me.... I have been bullied in school and the institute as well and even on the street people who attended the same institute whispered " (Kim Jun, Male, aged 19)

"I had private lessons.. it was enough at school, if I went to an after school institute... I would have killed myself... I saw others being bullied at school and at after school institutes... If I went there, they knew who I was and my situation that I was *wang-ta*" (Oe Jae, Male, aged 17)

"I took a course aiding all the subjects at the same private institute with Suzi (who silently bullied me but I could not give any evidence to teachers). So did Suzi's cronies. I was all alone there as well.. After all the lessons were finished for the day, Suzi's friends stood in front of the institute and peeped at me and whispered to each other. So I couldn't use the main entrance but used the back door to commute. And my school friends who went to the same institute found out what happened in the 6th year of elementary school." (Kim Won, Female, aged 15)

"...When I went to high school the rumour had spreaded there already... there were those who went to the same private institute (they knew what had happened)... so were my old classmates from the third year..." (Kim Jun, Male, aged 19)

SYMPTOMS OF VICTIMISATION

When a death of victimised boy/girl is introduced on the media, every adult involved says that there was no previous sign about it. Adolescents in Korea are generally obedient and diligent and have for many years followed the wishes of their parents and ignored their own feelings of victimisation. Faced with some setback, usually related to academic achievement, victimised pupils usually choose to avoid the pain and disappointment of failure by refusing to go to school.

"Until the end of the 1ˢᵗ year, I took it thinking of my parents" (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

"My parents did not know until that thing [attempt at suicide] happened.. I did not want to make them worried" (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

"No... I think they'd be very sad so I did not tell them" (Choi Mi, Female, aged 17)

"I could not tell them until I had decided to quit school because they had great expectations about me... they thought I could enter one of the best universities (Kim Jun, June, aged 19)

Therefore, in many cases, parents and teachers had not recognised the possible victimisation of their child. Moreover, in Korean culture, telling what had happened between peers in school to parents and/or teachers is taboo among pupils. However, according to the interview with the participants, there is a significant indication, which shows possible victimisation of pupils in school. They said that, being *wang-ta* not only affects the psychological stability of victimised pupils but also produces various psychosomatic symptoms, such as headaches and stomachaches. It suggests that if parents and/or teachers would pay a little more

attention to them, they might realise that a boy/girl is being bullied. At the beginning of *wang-ta* stage, several pupils in my sample had such symptoms (more girls than boys).

"I started taking sleeping pills from secondary school. Otherwise I couldn't sleep and my head hurt too.. I had stomach pains because of stress.. It was from the first year in secondary school... I always easily forgot what I was asked" (Park Jin, Female, aged 16)

"When I went to school my head hurt... my heart started beating like mad.. I couldn't concentrate... my grades fell too" (Oe Jae, Male, aged 17)

"Until the end of the 1ˢᵗ year, I took it thinking of my parents but... depression took over me... I had no appetite... my head kept hurting ... I could not concentrate on lessons....so I went to the sick room a lot... to get some drugs..." (Jeung Young, Female, aged19)

"Usually I put up my hand during lessons and told the teacher that I needed to go to the toilet when there is no one in there...because of this I was often told off... I even got an acute cystitis" (Min Na, Female, aged 17)

"I got cystitis and anorexia nervosa... I could not eat the meal service of the school in elementary school and I could not even eat breakfast and supper after I went to middle school... when I did, I threw it up" (Kim Won, Female, aged 15)

"Even when I had to go to the toilets, I was afraid that they might lock me in there again, so I couldn't go. Even in PE lessons when we played with balls in pairs I did not have a partner.. so I stayed inside, saying that I was ill. At first it was a lie, but later on when I went to school I felt sick, I felt like vomiting and my head hurt like it was going to crack... I couldn't sleep at nights" (Park Jin, Female, aged16)

"Yes...and I got to skip school often... My parents found it out and I got scolded many times... but it was better to get beaten by dad than going to school." (Kim Jun, Male, aged 19)

Many pupils stated that there was a relationship between maltreatment by peers and their feelings of social dissatisfaction. As might be expected, research conducted in Western settings has shown that persistently bullied children experience considerable psychological stress. It may be worse in the case of Korea, because

harmony in interpersonal relationships is likely to be of even greater concern in the more collectivistic South Korean culture. Social problems with peers could prove especially difficult for children in this setting. This interpretation is also consistent with the finding that the depression of victims was mainly due to self-blame and the reaction of bystanders. Former victimised youth did not attempt suicide because of a certain bully, but because they blamed themselves that nobody tried to be their side because they were stupid and thick. Victims complained about having no friends and nowhere to stay in their school, and that made them feel lonelier and more depressed.

"There was no reason to live.... I felt so lonely and felt a failure.. it would last forever... I could not stop thinking about how stupid I was... silly.... It was meant to be a shock for those sons of bitches... and I didn't really want to live either... they lived in the same apartment, went to the same school and private institute... so there was no way of avoiding them... and later those who were in K Technical high school (his former school before transfer) came around asking for money... I couldn't do anything but tried to die" (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

"Until the end of 1st year, I took it thinking of my parents but depression took over me.. I hated myself... I thought that I am worse than anybody... one day my teacher called my mum to school... he told her to take me to a counsellor.. school nurse said that I was in deep depression but she had not asked me or tried to talk to me about what had happened... I was not mentally sick.. I just needed to talk with someone...so the 2nd year began... the first day was horrible... whenever I went past someone they avoided me... I weighed 38kg then... I couldn't eat... I wanted to have revenge but I couldn't.. If I committed suicide and wrote all the things they did.. I thought they couldn't get away with it so.." (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

Former victimised youth are not bullied by their enemies any more but they still feel they are being bullied by the public. They often feel shunned, perceiving themselves as failures in the view of others, when out on the street in daytime and/or going to the secondary support units later:

"I heard that the people next door spoke about my failure... they said that my parents were stupid to made me quit school.... they said that I would not be adjusted in any society... " (So Eun, Female, aged 16)

"So so... It's difficult to see for the exam, and all the village people stare at me with curiosity because they know I am not going to school" (Min Na, Female, 17)

"Bus drivers asked to them my students ID card.. when I said that I do not have that.. they looked at me like an alien..." (Han Min, Male, aged 14)

"When I go to secondary support unit where lessons start around 10 o'clock... I used to leave home around 9 then our neighbours looked at me and started to whispering to each other.... I felt sorry for parents...especially my mother. In these days... now I usually leave home around 7 o'clock as normal school students do and stay at PC bang until the support unit opens". (Oe Jae, Male, aged 17)

"When I buy bus tickets... they ask me to show my students ID card.... It made me sad.. I have to pay as adults do..." (Park Jin, 16)

"My aunt and uncles still don't know that I quit school.... I have to pretend that I am in high school... it is hard... and I am really worry about if they find out... fortunately they live far from where I live..." (Jung Min, Male, aged 18)

Although they say that they will not go back to normal school, they still want to be a member of a normal school. Victimised pupils are characterised by wanting to go to school, knowing they must go, but being unable to make themselves go. Pupils who quit school due to being bullied, have to bear extra burdens from pressure of passing the G-exam and also getting negative from the public. Although they are in secondary support units, they still think of going back to normal schools.

"I still do not want to think of previous schooling but I want to find out my identity as a student.. not as someone in a secondary support unit.." (Min Na, Female, aged 17)

"I am preparing to go back to normal school after passing the G-exam.. No, I am not thinking of going back to school in Korea.... I am thinking of going back to England... yeah.. because I want to be in a normal school setting and do normal school activities.... Otherwise, I will keep thinking that I am a failure" (Kim Won, Female, aged 15)

"Yeah.. I've just heard that I have passed the G-exam.... I am too old to go back to a school.... I have not.. never... regretted what I decided [quit school] but sometimes I

realise what I have missed.. memories of school days... Sometimes I wish that I could go back to my normal school days before receiving *wang-ta*. (Jeung Young, Female, aged 19)

"I didn't want to go to the same school as them... but I feel like being there... there is no regret but sometimes I want to go back to my primary school.. Of course, after passing the G-exam, I am planning to go back to normal school but not in Korea, that will make me sick again... I will go to study in another country.." (Oe Jae, Male, agd 17)

DISCUSSION

Having interview with the participants generally proceeded successfully. Although being and receiving *wang-ta* must be a very crucial experience and it was not easy to recall the hard times they went through, the participants collaborated very well, showing that they clearly understood my questions.

From the results of this study, I found that adolescents who did not have good relations with their peer group and who went through a tough time due to their being bullied suffer with strong long-term psychological and pathological damage; some of them still take medicines for controlling their depression and still have treatment in psychiatric hospitals even though they left school years ago.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

Apart from *eun-ta*, a gender difference in the experiences of victimisation was not found. However, in the *eun-ta* stage, girls usually have the problem with their close friends whereas boys receive it from their peers. Also the forms of *eun-ta* are not similar. For girls it is usually singling out but that for boys it is teasing and/or asking for money. However, from the stage of *wang-ta* no gender differentiation was found. In the *eun-ta* period, although close friends make them get into trouble and they are singled out, the victimised pupils still have friends. The problem with *eun-ta* is on and off between close friends; sometimes. it last a few months but

usually it remains for just a week or so. The considerable difference between *eun-ta* and *wang-ta* for girls is that *eun-ta* is an on and off problem but *wang-ta* is not. The significant difference between *eun-ta* and *wang-ta* for boys is not so much frequency but the seriousness of victimisation. However, for both sexes, the numbers of involved peers are important in order to distinguish the terms. For examples, boys in *eun-ta* are bullied sometimes by a few peers in the form of teasing and playful physical hurting. However, when in *wang-ta* stage, even though they are only being bullied sometimes, they are bullied by a large number of classmates in the form of verbal taunting, physical hurting, and insulting.

PATTERN AND NATURE OF VICTIMISATION

The results of this study also suggest the existence of a victimisation pattern. There is a clear pattern of Korean school bullying that has been often ignored and has not yet been paid attention by researchers.

There may be several possible ways of victimisation but it usually starts as an on and off problem as *eun-ta* and there is a particular event (in many cases, the wrong involvement of adults) which leads pupils in *eun-ta* to be *wang-ta*. However, then becoming *jun-ta* appears to be a matter of time and the victimisation lasts until they quit school or attempt suicide. The overall results are enough to find a pattern of victimisation as follows.

on and off problem   particular incidents   continuous problem

Eun-ta   timing
                          Wang-ta
                                                              Jun-ta
    teasing and singling out   forms of bullying are getting worse

Figure 9-1 pattern of victimisation

Eun-ta

Through interviews, an important issue concerning the meaning of social exclusion was found, namely that Korean students conceptualise 'social exclusion' differently according to the stages of victimisation. In the case of *eun-ta*, the meaning of 'social exclusion' is simply 'singling out' within a group whereas in the *wang-ta* stage it is separation from a major group and losing identification (discussed more later). In *eun-ta*, usually the bully group is comparatively small and they are the victim's close friends and/or classmates.

To the best of my knowledge, unlike in the case of Korea, there are no separate terms for different stages of victimisation in other nations; but similar ways of becoming a victim of bullying could be seen in Japan which is another collectivistic country. Although the approach was dissimilar from that of this study, Yokoyu (2003) shows how bullies treat victims according to different stages of victimisation in Japanese schools. He describes the process of victimisation in *ijime* through case studies, dividing the process of *ijime* into three categories: *isolation, disempowerment,* and *transparency*. According to him, bullying starts

with isolation by bullies when the victim realises s/he is helpless. It has a similar structure to the *eun-ta* stage. Finding of this study suggest that *wang-ta* does not start with serious physical and/or direct harassment but victims are usually isolated and/or have mild teasing. This is in line with the suggestion of Yokoyu that *ijime* starts from isolation. With the results from this study and that of Yokoyu, it may be assumed that bullying based on collectivism may not take the form of physical and/or verbal attack at the beginning. It could be considered that pupils who are assaulters consider peers in *eun-ta* and/or *isolation* stage as considered part of a normal friendship group, therefore it is not easy to do direct bullying.

Regarding characters of victimised pupils, my findings are partly consistent with Schwartz (2002), who studied victimisation in South Korean children and concluded that Korean pupils who are characterised by submissive-withdrawn behaviour are more frequently victims of maltreatment by peers. In my results, the victims were seen someone who is shy, does not like to play with peers since when they were very young, likes to stick to their mother, and get easily upset (see p. 304).

Although *eun-ta* can happen to anybody, in this stage, character and personality is a very important issue in terms of frequency of receiving it and how to get over it. The findings from the interviews suggest that pupils had *eun-ta* because they were slow, quiet, and insecure (see pp 304-305). Characters of victims in the *eun-ta* stage are also in line with past studies. Olweus (1978) found that typical victims are more anxious and insecure than non-victimised students and they are usually

cautious, sensitive, and quiet. Boys in the *eun-ta* stage are often asked for money and sometimes are told to be aggressive to girls, but they are unwilling to retaliate; this is a similar finding with Olweus (1991), who points out the physical weakness of victims and their unwillingness to fight back.

Even though pupils I interviewed might be considered to have somewhat weaker characters which could be easily taken advantage by bullies, it cannot be said that victimised pupils in general have natural personality problems; but it is clear that after being bullied they tend to become lonelier and more timid people. This was also found by Kochenderfer and Ladd (1996), saying that victimisation led to children's loneliness. Moreover, Sullivan (1953) proposed that having positive peer relationships fosters a sense of belonging and positive self-worth in that children and adolescents can develop more confidence in their communication and behaviour. Also, Kim and Park (1997) states that children with close friends have more positive self-esteem than do their friendless peers.

There is an important correlation between having friends and having a good imagine of oneself since friends are generally complementary, supportive and provide an accepting environment that assists healthy development as children get older. Especially in the case of some nations, where harmony with others is more valued than individuality, such as Japan and Korea, having a good relationship with the peer group takes on an important role for developing children's normal psychological development and self-esteem (Cho-Han, 1999). Hence, being bullied by the peer group could damage children and adolescents' self-confidence

and make them more anxious and insecure.

However, the personality of victimised pupils seems not to play an important role after the *eun-ta* stage. At the beginning, the character of a pupil may be involved in victimisation, but it does not necessarily mean that moving to the next stage relates to one's character. It may more relate to management skills, combining with other elements (family support, teacher's intervention skills) than character or personality. As the conversation on pp 306 – 307 showed, sometimes wrong intervention by teachers and/or parents can lead to more serious bullying. Hence, if teachers and/or parents want to get involved, they should intervene before one has become *wang-ta*, and with a very careful approach that should not directly harm bullies.

Wang-ta and Jun-ta

Even though there is no particular victim in the *eun-ta* stage, in the case of *wang-ta*, there is a certain victim in a class; but as some participants said (see p. 311), pointing out a certain bully or bully group is not easy in *wang-ta*, as group pupils usually bully victims by turns.

In the *wang-ta* stage singling out is not considered within a group, but involves separation from a class. If someone is singled out within a sub-group, he/she can move to other groups and stick to them but if someone is separated from a majority group (constitution of sub-groups), the person is not able to move to any other group. Yokoyu (2003) describes the middle stage of ijime as *disempowerment*.

The bullies disempower the victim, so the victim feels that counterattack would be useless, do not belong to any subgroup, and has to give up fighting back. The results of this study found a similar reaction of victims in the *wang-ta* stage. The results at p. 308 well shows how victimised pupils gave up trying to get over from *wang-ta*. Usually at the beginning of the victimisation, participants tried to get over it and argued with the bullies. However, after a while, victims suddenly gave up fighting back since they felt useless to retaliate, accepted their status and felt more comfortable letting the bullies do anything they wanted to do upon them. This was found in a study by Kwak and Koo (2004). They observed a class for 3 months through CCTV and found that the *wang-ta* in the class did not move an/or fight back even if others hit, kick, and take his belongings away. Yokoyu (2003) says that during this stage it is necessary for bullies to make the victim realise repeatedly that nobody is on his or her side, in order to make the victim fell powerless. According to this study, victims soon realise that they are helpless.

Although developing *wang-ta* from *eun-ta* possibly involved with a particular incident, becoming *jun-ta* seems then just a matter of timing often for the participants I interviewed. As the finding on pp 311 - 312 suggests, developing *jun-ta* from *wang-ta* is strongly involved with timing. Once a careless approach by adults (in some cases) is involved, as time passes the level of victimisation gets more severe and this wrong intervention leads more peers to get involved in bullying the victims. This may be because when teachers and/or parents are involved and bullies get told off, other peers may think that it is unfair for someone who has stronger power to be involved and that makes the rest of them get closer

except for the person who brought about the unfairness. This was also found as bullies had low support from teachers but had much support from classmates in the study of Lee and Kwak (2000).

As mentioned earlier, from the stage of *wang-ta*, victimised pupils are separated from a major group, not isolated within a group, and they lose their identity as a member of a certain group. Regarding assaulters, there is no particular person who gives pressure to separate victims from a group, but as time passes the number enlarges. Also, the findings through the interviews indicate that the majority group is enlarged to victims from the whole class, to other classes, and sometimes peers in the same locality are included. The most common form of the separation (*wang-ta*) is verbal taunting, spreading rumours, and hitting, but as time passes the degree of victimisation in each form could get worse. Pupils in the majority group also often threaten the victims to silence, telling them not to try to come to their group, and treat them as someone who does not exist. This finding is also in line with Yokoyu (2003). He called the last stage of *ijime* as *transparency*. According to him at this stage, bullying becomes invisible to witnesses. It means bullies do not feel any guilt in bullying the victims in anyway.

LONG TERM VICTIMISATION

Victimisation of *wang-ta* is a long-term problem. Of the three stages, *eun-ta* is the most important opportunity to be integrated by adults and/or pupils themselves. If pupils in the stage of *eun-ta* do not get manage it and if it continues over a long

time, it could prove difficult to get over. There are three factors which possibly promote long-term victimisation in Korean schools. These three factors are labelling, the culture of the internet, and the educational environment in Korea.

The question of labelling is essential to the understanding of *wang-ta*. In the study of Korean bullying (e.g. Yang & Jung, 1999; Kwon, 1999) researchers suggest ways for people to avoid being bullied, such as consulting with teachers and local educational authorities and transferring children to a different school in another area. Other research also mentions that if a child is being bullied, the best thing is for parents to talk with the victims or to provide a new environment (e.g. moving school). They also point out that transfer to another school can be a good opportunity for making new friends.

However, the results of this study suggest that transferring and/or involving parents does not make any difference if a pupil has already become *wang-ta*. This is because pupils are very sensitive to labelling. After the stage of *eun-ta*, being bullied sometimes does not involve one's character or behaviour, but labelling plays a significant role for long-term victimisation. Pupils do not want to associate with someone who has been labelled as *wang-ta*. They treat the label as a contagious disease. In fact, pupils avoid victims if they find out a peer is being bullied.

In Korean culture, labelling according to his/her age (e.g. of students) is very important in terms of having social relations with others. For example, people do

not usually get along with different age groups but spend most time with people of the same age. Moreover, the tradition of relationships between family members can also be negatively affected when a child is labelled *wang-ta*. Hence, if a child fails to be called by an appropriate label (e.g. a high school or middle school student), it is more difficult for the child to carry out his/her social life, not only as a member of society but also as a member of a family. This is because the Korean population is racially homogeneous, particularly because Koreans consider neighbours as relatives and, thus as people with whom they must maintain harmonious relations. Hence, if someone does not fit in with the main group, he/she may feel more lonely and like failures. In other words, not only do the adolescents who have quit school suffer from the stress of the new environment and situation they are put into, but their parents and siblings also experience anxiety and feeling of failure. This was obvious when I contacted parents as well. They are really frightened to talk about their child's past experience and most of them still overprotected their child.

Long-term victimisation is also related to the internet. This is demonstrated in the conversation with the participants described on pp. 314-315. At the end of the 1980s, as a policy of the Korean Ministry of Education, most middle and high school pupils had to have after school lessons on TV through a special network. As a result, since the middle of the 1990s, 169 private internet broadcasting services for after school education have been established. Furthermore, as a result of the Ministry of Education's programme of decreasing the role of private institutions, the questions that pupils are asked for the general school leaving

exams are taken from the internet lessons. Hence, more than 80% of households have internet at home, which is the highest percentage in the world (Back, 2002), and more than 75% of Korean middle and high school students use internet chat lines; most of them are internet society members. This is so rampant that there is a new psychiatric symptom called 'internet addiction' (Kim, 2003). Users can exchange information very quickly which means that victims of bullying have no way out from their victim labels. As the cases of *Jeoung Young, Kim Jun, and Choi-Mi*) suggest, transferring school does not ensure a solution. Rather, the internet locks victimised pupils into the labels.

The last factor is that the educational environment in Korea provides a fertile setting for bullying to take root. Bullying has been described by Bjorkqvist et al. (1982) as appearing in "relatively small social groups (such as classes or army units), the members of which see each other regularly, usually daily – thus the victim has no possibility to avoid his tormentors." Korean pupils attend regular school and most of them go to private institutes after school. It means that they have to see each other not only in school but in the institutes as well. As the conversation on p. 298 reveals, private institutes heighten a victim's feeling of frustration and of having no where to hide themselves.

Kochenderfer and Ladd (1996) mention that it is possible that peer victimisation impacts children's school achievement. The findings in this study are in line with this. Participants recalled that at the beginning of *wang-ta* they complained about a decline in concentration and physical sickness (see p. 317). This suggests that there are links between academic difficulties and victimisation because of the stress

associated with persistent negative treatment by peers. Also victimisation relates to school maladjustment. For example, victimised pupils often had school truancy and asked to go to the toilet during lessons; this annoyed teachers and they were often told off by parents and teachers, which had a bad influence on their concentration during lessons as well.

It is clear that one of the most enduring memories of school that the participants had, are of the general atmosphere of bullying and aggression that pervaded their life in school. The *wang-ta* experience still affected their current life. Consistent with the extant literature on peer victimisation, findings from this investigation offer further evidence that children who were victimised by their peers experience greater adjustment difficulties than non-victimised peers (Olweus, 1993; Dietz, 1994; Boulton & Underwood, 1992). Even though the participants are not being bullied at the current time, they say that they avoid having friends and do not go to public meetings (e.g. church, private institutes). This was also found by Olweus (1993); former victims try to choose their social environment and narrow down their social activities in order to avoid possible victimisation.

CONCLUSIONS

It was not easy to conduct interviews with people who went through *wang-ta*. At the beginning of the interviews, some of them were worried if their name would be put in my thesis as an example of a *wang-ta* case. Hence, promising anonymity and making rapport were the most difficult and important parts. Through discussion with their parents, some of them were informed exactly what I wanted to do while some of them were told that I would like to have some information about their friends. In the latter case, it was not easy to recall their experiences about being bullied. While having the interview a boy who was asked to tell me about friends suddenly realised what I was doing, and directly asked the purpose of my study. In this case, I thought honesty would be best solution so I apologised to him and explained my aim of this study. The interview was stopped. However, he called me later and told me his experience as *wang-ta* since he was in primary school to the end of middle school.

Some of the girls often cried when they mentioned what had happened in schools. It needed my patience and skill to carry out the interviews successfully. For this, my previous work as a counsellor in young offenders houses helped me a lot. There is a very important issue concerning qualifications of an interviewer, since recalling the hard times they went through is not easy and in some cases that might hurt the participants again. What I learnt through this study is that researchers who intend to carry out a qualitative research on victims have to have a careful pre-

investigation of their participants. Having permission and collaboration with parents is very important. As mentioned, there are different stages of victimisation. Even if there are different degrees of victimisation, the influence of it over victims could be severe and may last long until their adulthood. I found that *wang-ta* is not any more a normal part of children's growing up. It could possibly be useful to consider it as a part of children's culture, but as the interview with the participants indicated the forms and influence of it are worse than expected.

This study indicates the important role of the public in terms of helping psychological development of former victims. Adolescents who quit school are not satisfied with their current situation but feel a failure and suffer from depression which mainly comes from loss of a belonging group. Adolescents who quit school have more burdens in their failure of schooling as well as studying for general school leaving exams by themselves.

Being *wang-ta* is worse than I expected as it can ruin a person's life as well as family relationship. Hence there is an important issue of intervention and/or prevention. In a few cases, well-known intervention programs have been adopted from abroad and applied to Korean pupils, but the form of *wang-ta* is very distinctive; therefore, there must be programs that consider distinctive features of *wang-ta*. For this, more studies on victims from their point of view have to be carried out; and views and personality of assaulters also need to be taken into account for making intervention/prevention programs.

As this study, and the study from Yokoyu (2003) show, although there is no term for the procedure of victimisation, it is not difficult to find a pattern of it. Nations with collectivism present very similar ways of becoming victims of bullying. At this point, it is very important to have a comparative study with the procedure of victimisation in Western nations where individualism has been taken further compared to Eastern nations. Also expanding this kind of study to other Eastern nations (e.g. China) is necessary in terms of having more accurate information on the differences of procedure of victimisation between various Western and Eastern cultures. That will help us to have different but more efficient approaches to reducing the problem of bullying and improving our ability to help victims.

CHAPTER 10

OVERALL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have attempted to develop a general account of bullying and victimisation behaviour among Korean pupils – a topic that has not yet been well reported. The implications of the results of each specific aspect of this research have been discussed in specific sections in earlier chapters. This final chapter first summarises several points raised in discussion so far with various theoretical and methodological questions arising from these discussions. Finally, consideration will be given to the overall conclusions which may be reached from this research and implications for practical measures and schools.

THE MEANING OF BULLYING IN KOREAN SCHOOLS

The surveys and interviews reported in this thesis deepen and extend our understanding of bullying in general and especially in Korean schools. In particular, although there are general and plausible definitions of bullying phenomena, it was important to consider using a definition which arose from the specific social context. Throughout history, humans have lived in groups and over the time the groups have enlarged. Moreover, according to Smith and Brain (2000), power relationships are everywhere in human

interactions. Farrington (1993) also says that bullying is one of the interaction problems resulting from different power balances. With their statements, it is not difficult to assume that as the group enlarges, problems regarding the interaction between individuals may arise since individuals have particular characteristics and different levels of power. Also, there is no doubt that bullying can occur between peoples who do not have equal power and this picture could be in seen most societies, in various ways. However, the findings of this research suggest that when it comes to definition, there must be a very careful approach when researchers from different cultures intend to use a rounded definition for his/her research.

This thesis found that *wang-ta* is the most popular descriptive term for Korean bullying and could be reasonably equivalently used to *bullying* in English and *ijime* in Japanese. These three terms are representative terms for bullying in those nations and imply verbal, physical, psychological, direct, and indirect harassment 'persistently and repeatedly' by peers who are stronger than victims. Nonetheless, although there is a general agreement that these three terms include most kinds of bullying behaviours, each term emphasises different aspect of bullying behaviour and has particular features that makes them distinctive from the others.

USE AND ANAYSIS OF THE CARTOON TASK

As the results in chapter 5 show, *bullying* appear to have a strong meaning of physical (94%), verbal (91%), and social exclusion (62%) harassment to pupils in England. *Ijime* means strong verbal (87%) and social exclusion (39%) to Japanese students and

wang-ta is verbal (82%) and social exclusion (47%) for Korean pupils. However, these findings appeared paradoxical regarding the percentage of social exclusion in each nation, since researchers in Japan (e.g. Morita et al., 1999) and Korea (Kwak & Koo, 2004; Kwon, 1999) have been saying that social exclusion is a strong feature of *ijime* and *wang-ta*. But in this cartoon study the weighting of social exclusion responses for *ijime* and *wang-ta* are lower than for *bullying*. There is a limitation of the previous method of analysing of the Cartoon task for defining social exclusion in different cultures. The Cartoon Task had been developed by Western researchers who did not really consider the features of bullying in Asian nations. Cartoons for gender discrimination (nos. 22 and 23) were included in the social exclusion category. However, gender discrimination should not be considered as bullying in Korea, as is confirmed in this study and probably also in Japanese culture.

Although the set of 25 cartoons includes most forms of bullying and social exclusion, there is a serious question about how relevant the contents are to pupils in different cultures. For example, *wang-ta* (Kwak & Koo, 2004) and *ijime* (Morita et al., 1999) have a strong meaning of isolation by a large number of pupils but set of cartoons does not really cover such situations. This was recognised a preliminary Korean version of the Cartoon Task (Kwak & Koo, 2004) that includes three new cartoons covering features of *wang-ta* (e.g. a large group of pupils bully one person in silent ways). The results showed that the weighting of social exclusion for wang-ta was 93% with the new social exclusion cartoons and without the gender discrimination cartoons. It cannot be certain that Japanese researchers would get similar results but I assume that if they make

some items for their own kinds of social exclusion, then the weighting of social exclusion for *ijime* in Japanese samples may be increased.

Therefore, it is important to have a definition of bullying that takes full consideration of social and cultural differentiation; this applies both to verbal definitions, and to tasks such as the cartoon task that have attempted to operationalise such definitions in actual scenario situations.

COLLECTIVISM IN WANG-TA

Another theoretical issue raised was the criterion for defining collectivism. According to the published studies on bullying, the forms of bullying show not only some similarities but also some characteristic differences from one state to another. The differences could be especially noticeable when comparing Western and Eastern countries. More specifically, Western culture is generally considered as individualistic whereas Eastern cultures have a collectivistic orientation (Farver, Kim, & Lee-Shin, 2000).

Although features of collectivism have been found in studies of Korea and Japan, there is still a lack of criteria to define what types of bullying can be considered as collectivistic. Pikas (1972) pointed out that mobbing is a collective behaviour, a large number of people against one. However, there is still a question as to how many people could be considered as a large group. The findings of this thesis suggest that the numbers of victims and bullies could be used to define collectivism and individualism:

the proportion of bullies compared to victims is larger in situations where bullying is based on collectivism versus individualism. Studies in Western nations indicate that the number of victims is larger than that of bullies, whereas bullies in Korea and Japan are larger in number than victims.

This thesis has opened up the dynamics of individualism and collectivism. However, although the results of this thesis and from previous research have confirmed that the numbers of bully and victims could be used for defining one feature of group mechanism, there should be more specific studies on this issue. They should also include more Asian nations which could be considered to have a similar social context to Korea and Japan (e.g. China). It is a very important issue, because according to the features of bullying in each nation, the approaches for prevention and/or intervention programmes should be differentiated.

EVOLUTION OF FORMS OF BULLYING

The third issue raised was related to the evolution of forms of bullying through historical time. The fact that some children are frequently and systematically harassed and attacked by other children has been described in literary works (e.g. *Tom Brown's School days*, 1857), and many adults have personal knowledge of its existence from their own school days. This thesis made two suggestions. Firstly, over time the meaning of what bullying includes has broadened, so as to cover indirect form. Secondly, the attitude towards it has been changing; it used to be considered as a part of

children's growing up but now is considered as a social problem which has to be controlled. Both are very important issues because if the possible developmental forms of bullying can be predicted, more efficient prevention programmes could be provided in order to reduce the incidence of bullying.

In earlier times, bullying was seen as a more clearly specified and simple set of behaviours than at the current time. According to descriptions in old documents from the 18th to early 20th centuries in the U.K, bullying was generally described as physical (or verbal) harassment that usually related to a death, strong isolation, or extortion in school children. Bullying was largely seen as misbehaviour in direct physical aggression and verbal taunting until around 1950.

According to Morgan (1952), in the early 1950s, studies of children's misbehaviour viewed aggressive behaviour among children as involving mainly robbery and stealing. Morgan pointed out that the two most serious of children's misbehaviours were stealing and rowdyism. Going into the 1960s, the perception of children's misbehaviours become more complicated, especially in terms of defining what is 'misbehaviour'. For example, persistent inattention, carelessness, underhandedness and smoking occupied the major part of Greenberg's (1969) list of student misbehaviours, which was a representative work of its kind in the 1960s.

Since the middle of the 1970s, children's misbehaviour has increasingly included bullying behaviour. In the 1970s, Olweus (1978) studied overt behaviour among school children and described bullying as physical hurting, but facial expression and other

forms of indirect bullying were not mentioned in the description of bullying behaviour and only more direct and harmful behaviour used to be considered as bullying. However, in contrast to the forms of bullying in earlier times, and the first descriptions of bullying as one or a few physically strong boys directly and harshly treating weaker ones, bullying in modern contexts includes more psychological and verbal threatening as well.

Since the 1980s the meaning of bullying has been expanded and now includes direct verbal taunting and social exclusion. For example, Bjorkqvist et al. (1992) expanded the meaning of bullying and included indirect forms of bullying (e.g. rumour spreading). Moreover, Olweus (1999) now includes more indirect ways of bullying such as mean gestures and facial expression. Researchers such as Smith and Rigby have included forms of indirect bullying: gossiping, mean gestures and spreading rumours. As the above shows, the meaning and form of what is considered as children's misbehaviour and especially bullying has changed over the last half-century and it has became more psychological as well as physical.

From the findings in this thesis I assumed that the forms of bullying might be developed further in more impersonal ways, rather than face to face. Although it has been yet systematically investigated to any great extent, the participants in chapter 7 reported being bullied by mobile text messages and/or e-mail. Therefore, researchers should again look carefully at schools, and youth culture and study new forms of bullying and their possible influence.

THE NATURE OF WANG-TA

A new level of meaning of *wang-ta* was argued in previous chapters. The literal meaning of *wang-ta* is "King of isolated people". Although *wang-ta* emphasises isolation of people, the most common form found was verbal taunting - 'being called nasty names'. When Kwak and Koo (2004) conducted a survey with new cartoons for social exclusion, based on collectivistic action with isolating by a large number of classmates, then 93% of pupils agreed that *wang-ta* applies to this strong social exclusion.

Through this research I obtained two contrary results for *wang-ta*. The first is that it implies strong social exclusion. The second is that although it has this strong meaning of social exclusion, the most often occurring form of it is not isolation but is verbal taunting. I found a possible explanation for this when I carried out interviews (chapter 9) with former victims of bullying.

With the results from chapters 5, 8 and the interviews (chapter 9), I conclude that Korean students define the meaning of social exclusion in a complicated way. There seem to be two different types of social exclusion. The first type of social exclusion relates to *eun-ta*; it is just singling out someone whom he/she does not like - a type of behaviour that is also widely acknowledged in other nations. The main forms of this are well presented in the cartoons '*A will not let B play today*', '*A never lets B play with his peers*', and '*A and his friends do not let B play with them*'. These kinds of behaviour are also reported in chapter 8 in this research. Korean pupils defined *eun-ta* as

'sometimes ignoring by his/her friends', *'being indirectly singled out'*, *'receiving wang-ta by close friends'*, and *'not severely singled out'*. Therefore, the first meaning of social exclusion is just singling out someone who is not liked by certain person(s) in the same group (e.g. class, or sports team).

The second type of social exclusion may relate to the stage of *wang-ta* in that social exclusion is not simply being singled out within a group, but is a separation from a majority group. If someone is singled out within a sub-group, he/she can move to other groups and stick with them. However, if someone is separated from a majority group (such as the whole class), he/she is not easily able to move to another group. In the case of *eun-ta*, the meaning of being singled out is indirect and there are other sub groups in his/her class; but from *wang-ta* the bully group is enlarged to the whole class; and in the case of *jun-ta*, the majority group will be the whole school.

According to the findings in chapter 9, separation in this context have a strong meaning of invisibility, with victims being treated as if they are not in the same class and/or same place, and as someone who does not have any emotions. Pupils in the majority group treat the victim like an alien who does not have the same emotions as them, and they do not feel any guilt because the victim is not a part of them. However, in *eun-ta* pupils do consider victims as a part of them, who may be friends with them and it is also an on and off problem; the bullies do not bully them too seriously but just single them out for a while.

Further studies about *wang-ta* must consider these two possible ways of social

exclusion and reflect on these different terms and meanings. Moreover, although the features of social exclusion for Korean bullying may be different from these other nations, it could be a very interesting comparison to see if other countries recognise new forms of social exclusion.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

My findings on frequency of victimisation are in line with those of Olweus (1999), who reports that more boys are bullied than girls. The results of my research also suggest that more boys (7.3%) are bullied than girls (4.1%). Other Korean researchers also found this; for example, Park et al. (1998) indicated that the proportion of victimised boys is 28.2% while that of girls is 20.3%. Lee and Kwak's study (2000) also shows the same finding that being bullied is more common amongst boys than girls.

Olweus (1999), with most Western researchers (Whitney & Smith, 1993; Rigby, 1996; O'Moore & Hillery, 1987), found that more boys are involved as bullies as well as victims. Also the results from the study of Kim et al. (2004) in Korea showed more boys involved bullies and victims. However, the Korean-Peer Nomination Inventory (K-PNI) which was developed by these authors and used for the study for studying peer victimisation, has been criticised as a method which does not fully cover indirect forms of victimisation that is more common among girls. For example, for verbal bullying it does not include spreading rumours but only items such as "Don't come to school" or "I will hurt you". The results from my thesis however suggest that, in Korea, while more

boys are involved as victims, more girls are involved as bullies. This has also been pointed out by Morita et al. (1999, p. 321); in Japanese schools aggressors are more numerous among girls than among boys. Hence although there must be further study on this differentiation, it can be hypothesised that bullying among girls is more based on group mechanisms and girls more closely gather together with a common aim if the gathering implies protection from becoming another victim.

Regarding the definition of *wang-ta* in chapters 5 and 8, no gender difference was found. However the results suggest that girls, compared to boys, have more clear ideas on *eun-ta* and *jun-ta*. According to the findings in chapter 8, when the scenarios mentioned being singled out by 'victim's friends' or 'close friends', a significant gender difference was seen; more girls had a clear idea how to label this. This was made clearer in chapter 9 when I had interviews with former victims. According to the participants, there was a gender difference in *eun-ta* behaviour, in that more boys had been bullied by classmates who were not close friends, whereas more girls had been bullied by her close friends.

Regarding *jun-ta*, according to the results from chapter 8, girls seem to be more familiar with the situations in *jun-ta*. Of course, with only the results from the scenarios I cannot be certain that *jun-ta* more often occurs among girls, but I could assume that *wang-ta* among girls was more based on large group than in boys, and that girls are more aware what *jun-ta* is. This was confirmed in chapter 7; even though it was only a trend, some gender differences were found; 55.2% of girls said that they were being bullied by more than 10 pupils while only 25% of boys gave the same reply. In addition,

the proportion of boys who were bullied mainly by only one person is 20.4% while only 12% of girls gave this reply.

Another possibility is that girls are more sensitive about labelling than boys, especially when the labels relate to their victimisation. The results only suggest the differentiation between boys and girls. There are also no previous studies to help in explaining this differentiation. It is another important issue to be considered since the results suggest a different mechanism of *wang-ta* between boys and girls that should be taken into account in developing intervention and prevention programmes. Hence, further studies are needed to explore this in more detail.

In general, girls have more clear ideas about the three terms as applied to the scenarios, and boys more often did not know which terms applied. I consider this to have two possible reasons. First, girls may be more sensitive to be called by the terms whereas boys possibly care less about the terms even if they bullied others. The second is that boys are not so good at the verbal requirement of dealing with the scenarios in chapter 8. The prosocial cartoons (Q7 and Q10 in scenarios) were useful to look at these explanations for the gender differences. Analysing those two cartoons suggested that there were no significant gender difference on the prosocial cartoons. This suggests that the first reason is more plausible to explain the gender differences than the second one.

LIMITATIONS OF THIS THESIS

Even though this research provides much new knowledge about the nature of bullying in Korea, there are some limitations.

For the Cartoon task, although the sample size was larger than that of previous studies, the perception of pupils in lower grades was not taken into account when considering what bullying in Korea is. Therefore, further study must include pupils in lower grades and make age comparisons.

The survey of 2,945 pupils was based on pilot studies that have often been ignored by other Korean researchers and, thus, the questionnaire was significantly modified for Korean students. However, although the sample size was large enough, it did not cover all regions of South Korea; for example, Kangwon region and Cheju Island were not included. In addition, some small size schools in remote areas were not included because of the difficulty of obtaining permission to conduct the survey. Further research is required in these areas using similar methods to those samples from the excluded areas in this study, to obtain a truly national perspective on the phenomenon.

Taking into account the difficult situation of the severely victimised young adolescents whom I interviewed, the sample size (N=10) was reasonable. Nevertheless, ten participants were still not enough to thoroughly be able to investigate the actual process of victimisation and arrive at a generalised pattern of the three terms for Korean bullying. Moreover, a longitudinal study is required in order to see how pupils in

trouble by *eun-ta* (the first and mild stage of victimisation) would develop. In addition, views from non-victimised pupils should be taken into account if the pattern of victimisation can also be recognised by them. To increase the sample size in order to help devise prevention/intervention programmes that are both efficient and sufficient, there needs to be collaboration with other researchers, medical doctors, heads in the secondary support units, parents and teachers.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

The findings of this research are important and raise a number of issues that have not usually been considered in previous research on bullying in Korea. Broadly speaking, three influential and important results that should be the focus for further research and programmes for intervention/prevention and/or making new theories on bullying have emerged.

First, this research provides a definition of Korean bullying that can be effectively used in further studies when building up theories about Korean bullying, such as that done by Japanese researchers on *ijime*. For the last few years, some researchers (e.g. Kwak 1999; Kim, 2002) have complained to the Korean Ministry of Education that *gipdan-ttadolim* and *gipdan-gorophim* are not appropriate terms for the phenomenon of bullying in Korean; though these researchers at the time failed to provide evidence for their position. The Cartoon task which I did was the first attempt to define the most appropriate terms for Korean bullying as '*wang-ta*' and established the basis for further

research in terms of using exact Korean terms and definitions. I believe, based on what I have found, that more accurate research can be done in further studies to help build a concrete theory on victimisation in Korea.

Second, the different features of Korean bullying found provide a clear direction for establishing prevention/intervention programmes in order to decrease bullying incidents among Korean pupils. The interviews with former victims of bullying suggest that interventions would be better starting before he or she becomes *wang-ta*. The results have also confirmed that different numbers of pupils get involved in different stages of victimisation. Most students act as bystanders in ways which are prone to maintain and encourage bullying rather than diminish it, despite the fact that the attitudes of most children have been found to be against bullying. Nonetheless, as individual's attitudes do not always guide his/her behaviour. This is more common in a context of a group of peers, where group norms and mechanisms such as conformity often create pressure for certain behaviours.

Therefore, conducting a successful intervention approach against a strong group – oriented behaviour is not easy. Moreover, once someone becomes a victim separated from their in-group, it seems difficult to attain a different role amongst peers. According to my interviews, even in a completely new class with no former classmates, victimisation tends to start again. Transferring the victimised student into a new class thus cannot be regarded as a solution to bullying problems. This limitation was also found in some Western research, (e.g. Salmivalli et al., 1998).

However, it does not necessarily imply that there is no hope in trying to reduce bullying problems. Rather, it shows that when no systematic intervention is conducted, and no change takes place in the social environment, the participant roles that students have adopted tend to prevail. These problems should be also handled within the social group in which they have arisen. At this point, interventions focusing only bullies or victims cannot be an efficient method; interventions emphasising the positive roles of bystanders are also needed.

Interventions focusing on victims or bullies may not be sufficient themselves without involvement of bystanders, and this may be especially true in a more collectivist culture. Therefore, focusing on bystanders can be a way important approach in Korea. In addition, separately giving personal counselling to victims (e.g. assertiveness approach) and bullies (e.g. Pikas's no blame approach) maybe useful and should be evaluated..

If one is to help an individual change his/her typical behaviour in the group, we should be able not only to motivate the individual and provide him/her with the necessary skills, but also ensure that other group members allow that change. If one thinks about interventions against bullying, the most obvious general principle implied by using the bystanders is that since most children are somehow involved in the bullying process, and their respective roles are supported by the group, interventions should be directed not only towards the bullies and the victims but towards the bystander group. Children in the different bystander roles (outsiders, assistances, or reinforces) should be made use of when trying to put an end to bullying. It may be that their behaviour is easier to change than the behaviour of those doing the aggressive bullying. Through these

changes the behaviour of the bullies might also be affected. The bully will hardly continue to bully without his/her supporters and audience.

Third, this study has further opened up the dynamics of Korean bullying or *wang-ta*, by suggesting three different stages in victimisation. This is an important hypothesis for which there now appears to be good evidence, but which does clearly call for further research to substantiate it. This increased knowledge regarding features of Korean bullying can help practitioners seeking to effectively help victims in schools. Finally, this thesis has broadened the international perspective on bullying. It will be also useful material for doing comparative studies between cultures. Information and knowledge concerning the nature and features of *wang-ta* can be useful to correctional practitioners and policy makers as well as being important for conducting comparative studies. Moreover, features of Korean bullying can help practitioners seeking to effectively help victims in schools.

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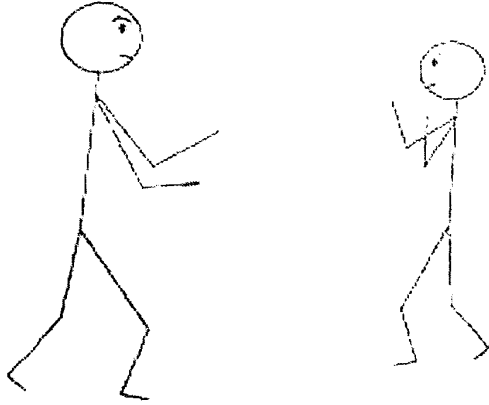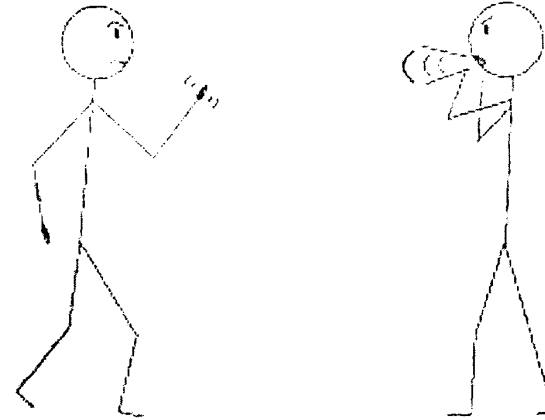
Appendix A

The Cartoon Task Questions

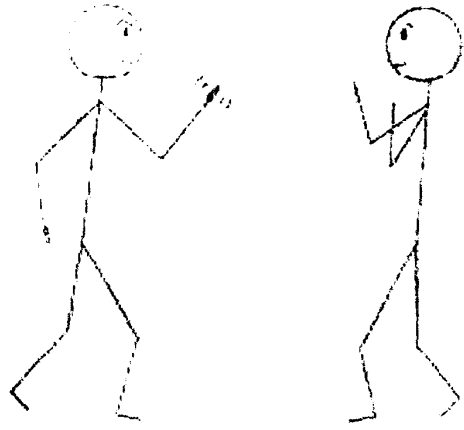1. Minsoo and Joonsoo do not like each
   other and start to fight

2. Bumjun starts a fight with Jungmin

3. Minyoung starts to fight with Ajin,
   who is smaller

4. Seyoung starts a fight with Omin because
   he said Seyoung was stupid

5. Chung starts a fight with Dongjun
   every break time

6. Dongmin tells Sooyoung that if he does not
   give him some money, he will harm him.

7. Namsoo and his friends start to fight Taemin

8. Namjun borrows Dongan's ruler and accidentally
   breaks it

9. Hyoungho takes Juan's ruler and breaks it

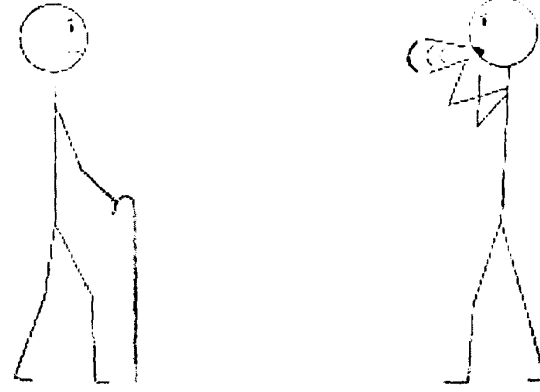10. Jun has forgotten his pen so Kyoung lends him one of his

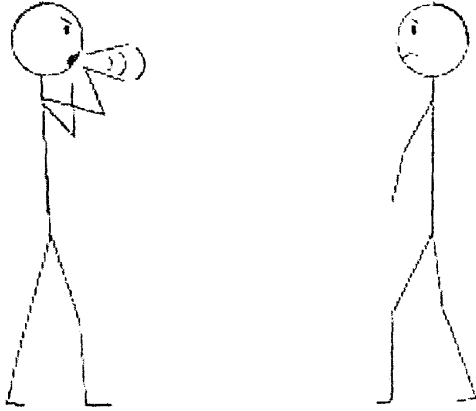11. Kyum says nasty things to Bumsoo
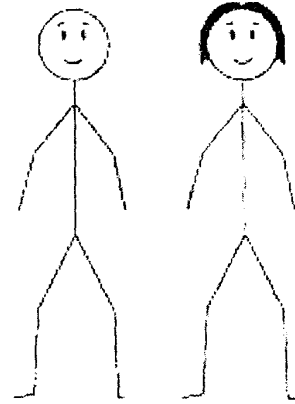

12. Chulsoo says nasty things to Myoung every week

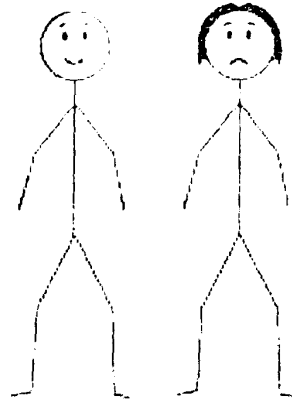13. Soojun says nasty things to Jay about the colour of his skin

14. Jooan has a bad leg and must use a stick; Chulmin says nasty things to hims about it
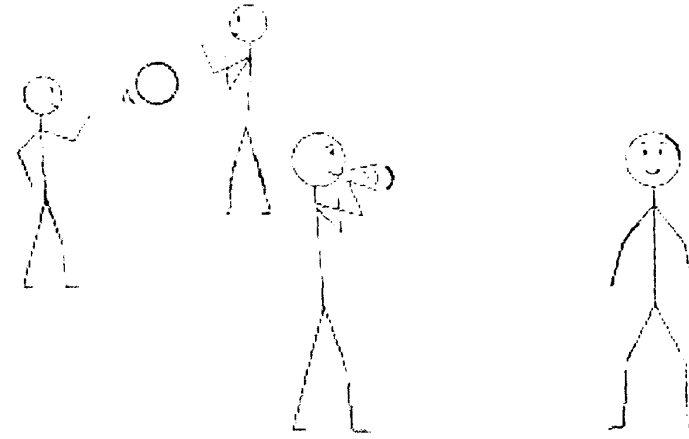
15. Gohyoun says nasty things to Daechul about his behaving like a girl
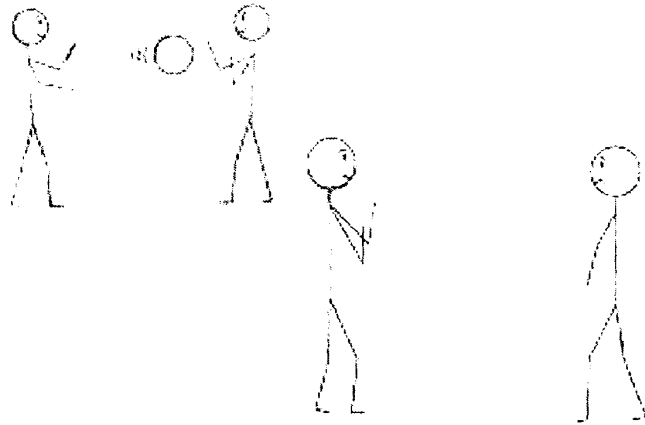
16. Kim makes fun of Gyounghyun's hair, they both laugh

17. Anjun makes fun of Semin's hair so Semin is unhappy with that

18. Minsoo asks Rubin if he would like to play with him

19. Myoungho will not let Jimin play today

20. Sekyoung never lets Jangrae play with his peers

21. Hyoungkyu and his friends do not let Jaemin with them

22. The girls do not let Majun skip with them because his is a boy

23. The boys do not let Kyounghee play football because she is a girl

24. Jungwoo tells everyone not to talk to Jaesoo

25. Bumjun spreads nasty stories about Anseung

Appendix B

Standard Score Sheet for the Cartoon Task

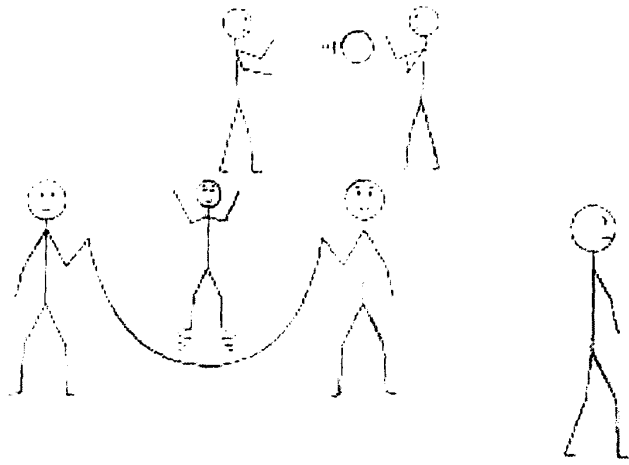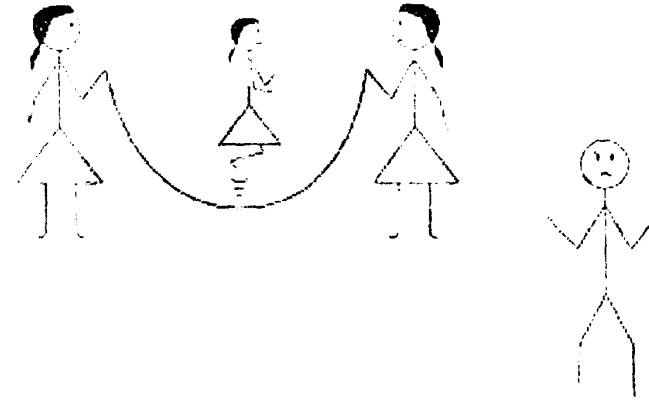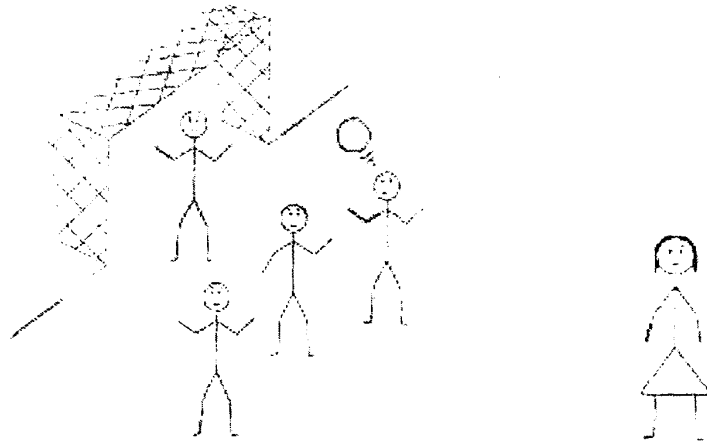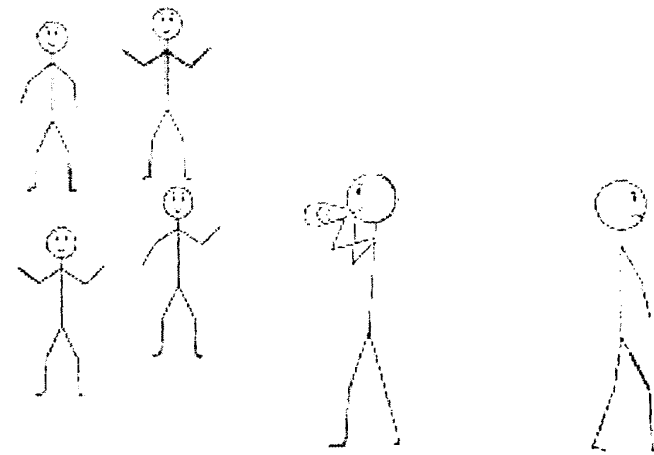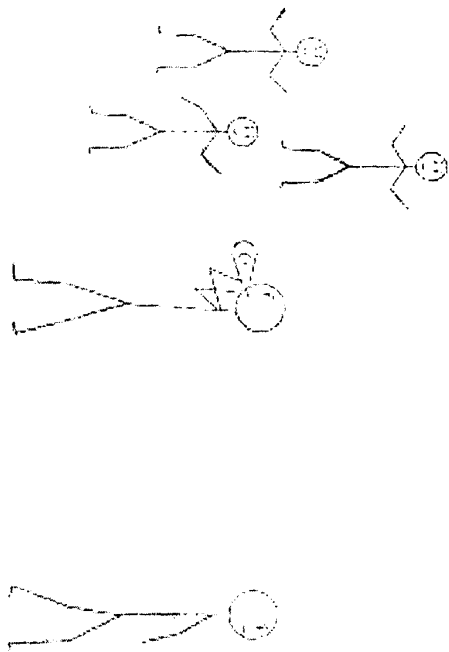|	Wang-ta	Jun-ta	Eun-ta	Pok-ryuk
1. Minsoo and Joonsoo do not like each other and start to fight				
2. Bumjun starts a fight with Jungmin				
3. Minyoung starts to fight with Ajin, who is smaller				
4. Seyoung starts a fight with Omin because he said Seyoung was stupid				
5. Chung starts a fight with Dongjun every break time				
6. Dongmin tells Sooyoung that if he does not give him some money, he will harm him.				
7. Namsoo and his friends start to fight Taemin				
8. Namjun borrows Dongan's ruler and accidentally breaks it				
9. Hyoungho takes Juan's ruler and breaks it				
10. Jun has forgotten his pen so Kyoung lends him one of his				
11. Kyum says nasty things to Bumsoo				
12. Chulsoo says nasty things to Myoung every week				
13. Soojun says nasty things to Jay about the colour of his skin				
14. Jooan has a bad leg and must use a stick; Chulmin says nasty things to hims about it				
15. Gohyoun says nasty things to Daechul about his behaving like a girl				
16. Kim makes fun of Gyounghyun's hair, they both laugh				
17. Anjun makes fun of Semin's hair so Semin is unhappy with that				
18. Minsoo asks Rubin if he would like to play with him				
19. Myoungho will not let Jimin play today				

20. Sekyoung never lets Jangrae play with his peers				
21. Hyoungkyu and his friends do not let Jaemin with them				
22. The girls do not let Majun skip with them because his is a boy				
23. The boys do not let Kyounghee play football because she is a girl				
24. Jungwoo tells everyone not to talk to Jaesoo				
25. Bumjun spreads nasty stories about Anseu				

Appendix C

Questionnaire for the first pilot study

Wang-ta is that···

1. another student, or a group of students, say nasty and unpleasant thin
   to him or her.
2. a student is hit, kicked, threatened, locked inside a room, and thing lik
   that.
3. a student is teased repeatedly in a negative way.
4. these things may take place frequently and it is difficult for the student
   being bullied to defend himself or herself.

But it is not bullying when two students of about the same strength quarrel or
fight.

Please read the following questions and reply by circling one of the
response choices provided under each one.

1. Are you a girl or a boy?   A. girl   B. boy

2. How do you like recess time?

A. dislike very much   B. dislike   C. dislike somewhat   D. neither like nor dislike

E. like somewhat   F. like 7 like very much

3 How many good friends do you have in your class?

A. none   B.I have 1 good friend in the class   C. I have 2 or 3 good friends .

D.I have 4 or 5 good friends   E. I have many good friends in the class

4 How often does it happen that other students don't want to spend recess with you and you end up being alone?

A. it hasn't happened this terms   B. once or twice   C. now and then

D. about once a week   E. several times a week

5 Do you feel lonely at school?

A. no. never   B. yes, once a while   C. now and then

D. fairly often   E. often 6 very often

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

A. it hasn't happened this terms   B. once or twice   C. now and then

D. about once a week   E. several times a week

7. How often have you been bullied in school this term?

A. I haven't been bullied in this terms   B. once or twice   C. now and then

D. about once a week   E. several times a week

8. In what way have you been bullied in school?

A. I haven't been bullied in school this term
B. I have been called nasty names about my race or colour
C. I have been called nasty names in other ways
D. I have been hit, kicked and similar things
E. I have been bullied in others (4) ways (for example threatened or locked in doors), describe how:

---

9. In what grade is the student or students who bully you?

A. it hasn't happened this terms
B. in my class
C. in a different class but same grade as me
D. in a higher grade
E. in a lower grade
F. in different grades

10. Have you been bullied by one or several students?

A. I haven't been bullied this term   B. mainly by one boy   C. by several boys

D. mainly by one girl   E. By several girls   F. by both boys and girls

11. About how many times have you been bullied in the last 5 days at school?

A. no time   B. once   C. twice   D. 3 or 4 times   E. 5 or more times

12. How often do the teachers try to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied in school?

A. I don't know   B. almost never   C. once in a while

D. now and then   E. often   F. almost always

13. How often do other students try to put a stop to it when a student(s) is being bullied in school?

A. I don't know   B. almost never   C. once in a while

D. now and then   E. often   F. almost always

14. Have any of your teachers or your counsellor talked with you about your being bullied in school?

A. I haven't been bullied in school this term
B. no, they haven't talked with me about it
C. yes, they have talked with me once or twice
D. yes, they have talked with me several times

15. Has your mother or father talked with you about your being bullied in school?

A. I haven't been bullied in school this term
B. no, they haven't talked with me about it
C. yes, they have talked with me once or twice
D. yes, they have talked with me several times

16. About how many students in your class have been bullied this term, do you think?

A. none   B. 1 student   C. 2 students   D. 3 students

E. 4 students   F. 5 students   G. 6 or more students

17. How often were you bullied in school last term?

A.I wasn't bullied last term   B. it has only happened once or twice   C. now and then

D. about once a week   E. several times a week

18. (This term again) How often have you been bullied on your way to and from school?

A. I haven't been bullied on my way to and from school   B. once or twice

C. now and then   D. about once a week   E. several times a week

19. How often does somebody try to put a stop to it when his or her way to and from school?

A. I don't know   B. almost never   C. once in a while   D. now and then

E. often   F. almost always

20. How often do other students say nasty and unpleasant thing to you?

A. no. never   B. yes, once a while   C. now and then   D. fairly often

E. often   F. very often

21. How do you usually feel when you see a student being bullied in school?

A. I don't feel much   B. I think it's a bit unpleasant   C. I think it's unpleasant

22. What do you usually do when you see a student of your age being bullied in school?

A. nothing, because it's none of my business
B. I don't do anything, but I think I ought to help
C. I try to help him or her I one way or another

23. Have you told any of your teachers or your counsellor that you have been bullied?

A. I haven't been bullied this term   B. no, I haven't told them   C. yes, I've told them

24. Have you told your mother or father that you have been bullied?

A. I haven't been bullied this term   B. no, I haven't told them   C. yes, I've told them

25. Have you been bullied any where else this term?

A. no, I haven't been bullied anywhere else   B. yes, in the street where I live

C. yes, at a youth club   D. yes, somewhere else (say where:)

26 How often have you taken part in bullying other students in school?

A. I haven't bullied other students in school this term   B. once or twice

C. now and then   D. about once a week   E. several times a week

27. About how many times have you taken part in bullying other students in the last 5 days at school?

A. no time   B. once   C. twice   D. 3 or 4 times   E. 5 or more times

28. Have any of your teachers or your counsellor talked with you about your bullying other students?

A.I haven't bullied other students in school this term
B. no, they haven't talked with me about it
C. yes, they have talked with me once or twice
D. yes, they have talked with me several times

29. Has your mother or father talked with you about your bullying other students?

A.I haven't bullied other students in school this term
B. no, they haven't talked with me about it
C. yes, they have talked with me once or twice
D. yes, they have talked with me several times

30. About how many students in your class have been engaged in bullying others this term, do you think?

A. none   B. 1 student   C. 2 students   D. 3 students   E. 4 students

F. 5 students   G. 6 or more students

31. (About last term) How often did you take part in bullying other students in school last term?

A. I haven't bullied other students in school last term   B. once or twice

C. now and then   D. about once a week   E. several times a week

32. (This term again) How often have you taken part in bullying other students on their way to and from school?

A. I haven't bullied other students in school this term   B. once or twice

C. now and then   D. about once a week   E. several times a week

33. Do you think it's fun to make trouble for other students?

A no. never   B. yes, once a while   C. now and then   D. fairly often

E. often   F. very often

34. Do you think you could join in bullying a student whom you don't like?

A. yes   B. yes, maybe   C. I don't know   D. no, I don't think so

E. no   F. definitely no

35. What do you think of students who bully others?

A. I can understand that they do it

B. I don't know

C. it's hard to understand that they do it

D. it upsets me a lot they do it

36. How many students are there in your class who try to bully your class (main) teacher?

A. no students tries to bully the class teacher

B. one student

C. 2 or 3 students

D. 4 or 5 students

E. more than 5 students try to bully the class teacher

37. How often have you taken part in bullying your class (main) teacher?

A. I haven't bullied the class teacher this term

B. once or twice

C. now and then

D. about once a week

E. several times a week

38. How often have you taken part in bullying any of your other teachers?

A. I haven't bullied any of the other teachers this term

B. once or twice

C. now and then

D. about once a week

E. several times a week

39. (About last term) How often did you take part in bullying any of your teachers last term?

A. I haven't bullied any of the teachers last term

B. once or twice

C. now and then

D. about once a week

E. several times a week

Any comments on this questionnaire:

Appendix D

The First Revised Questionnaire for the

Main Pilot Study

What is *wang-ta*?

Wang-ta is a kind of physical, verbal, and psychological harassment. I will give sor examples of wang-ta.

* The given behaviour did not happen only once. It has happened repeatedly with tl intention of harm.

It is wang-ta if a student or a group of students say nasty and unpleasant things to him or h directly or indirectly.

It is wang-ta if a student or a group of students hit, kick, threaten, lock inside a room or toilt and take away personal belonging from him or her.

It is wang-ta if a student or a group deliberately isolate or ignore him or her.

* But fighting between pupils of equal strength is not considered as *wang-ta* .

Please read the following questions and reply by circling one of the response choices provided under each one.

Q1. School type

   A) mixed school B) boys school   C) girls school

Q2. Which year are you in?

   A) Year 1   B) Year 2   C)Year 3

Q3. Are you girl or boy?

   A) Boy   B) Girl

Q4. How do you like recess time?
    A) dislike very much
    B) dislike
    C) neither like nor dislike
    D) like
    E) like very much

Q5. How many good friends do you have in your class?
    A) None
    B) I have 1 good friend in the class
    C) I have 2 or 3 good friends
    D) I have many good friends in the class

Q6. How often does it happen that other students don't want to spend recess with you and you end up being alone?
    A) it hasn't happened this term
    B) it has only happened once or twice
    C) now and then
    D) about once a week
    E) several times a week

Q7. Do you feel lonely at school?
    A) no, never
    B) yes, once in a while
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) often

Q8. Do you feel you are less well liken than other students in your class?
    A) no, never
    B) yes, once in a while
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) often

Q9. How often have you been bullied in school this term?
A) I have not been bullied in school this term
B) It has only happened once or twice
C) now and then (once or twice a month)
D) once a week
E) several times a week

Q10. In What way have you been bullied in school?
A) I haven't been bullied this term
B) I have been called nasty names
C) I have been hit, kicked and similar things
D) I have been bullied in other ways (describe how)

Q11. In what grade is the student or students who bully you?
A) I haven't been bullied in school this term.
B) In my class
C) In a different class but same grade as me
D) In a higher grade
E) In a lower grade
F) In a different grades

Q12. Have you been bullied by one or several students?
A) I haven't been bulled in this term
B) mainly by one boy
C) mainly by one girl
D) by several boys
E) by several girls
F) by both boys and girls

Q13. About how many times have you been bullied in the **last 5 days at school?**
A) no, I have not been bullied
B) once
C) twice
D) 3 or 4 times
E) 5 or more times

Q14. How often do the teachers try to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied in school?
   A) I don't know
   B) Almost never
   C) Now and then
   D) Almost always

Q15. How often do other students try to put a stop to it when you are being bullied in school?
   A) I don't know
   B) Almost never
   E) Now and then
   F) Almost always

Q16. Has the teacher talked with you about your being bullied in school?

   A) I haven't been bullied
   B) No, they have not talked with me about it
   C) Yes, they have talked with me about it

Q17. Has your mother or father talked with you about your being bullied in school?
   C) I haven't been bullied
   D) No, they have not talked with me about it
   E) Yes, they have talked with me about it

Q18. How many students in your class have been bullied this term, do you think?
   A) None
   B) 1 student
   C) 2 students
   D) 3 students
   E) 4 students
   F) More than 5 students
   G) More than 6 students

Q19. Now think back to last term- how often were you bullied in school last term?
A) I wasn't bullied last term
B) once or twice
C) now and then (once or twice a month)
D) once a week
E) several times a week

Q20. (this term) How often have you been bullied on your way to and from school?
A) I haven't been bullied on my way to and from school
B) once or twice
C) now and then
D) about once a week
E) several times a week

Q21. How often does somebody try to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied on his or her way to and from school?
A) I don't know
B) Almost never
C) Now and then
F) Almost always

Q22. How often do other students say nasty and unpleasant things to you?
A) no, never
B) once in a while
C) now and then (once or twice a month)
D) often

Q23. How do you usually feel when you see a student being bullied in school?

A) I don't feel much
B) I think it's a bit unpleasant
C) I think it's unpleasant

Q24. What do you usually do when you see a student of your age being bullied on his or her way to and from school?
A) Nothing, because it's none of my business
B) I don't do anything, but I think I ought to help
C) I try to help him or her in one way or another

Q25. Have you told your teacher that you have been bullied?
A) I haven't been bullied
B) No, I haven't told the teacher
C) Yes, I've told the teacher

Q26. Have you told your parents that you have been bullied?
A) I haven't been bullied
B) No, I haven't told them
C) Yes, I've told the them

Q27. Have you been bullied any where else this term?

A) no, I haven't been bullied anywhere
B) yes, in the street where I live
C) yes, some where else

Q28. How often have you taken part in bullying other students in school?
A) I haven't bullied other students in school in this term
B) once or twice
C) now and then (once or twice a month)
D) once a week
E) several times a week

Q29. About how many times have you taken part in bullying other students in the last 5 days at school?
A) no time
B) once
C) twice
D) 3 or 4 times
E) 5 or more times

Q30. Has your teacher talked with you about your bullying other students?
A) I haven't bullied other students
B) No, the teacher has not talked with me about it
C) Yes, the teacher has talked about it

Q31. Has you mother or father talked with you about your bullying other students?
   A) I haven't bullied other students
   B) No, they have not talked with me about it
   C) Yes, they have talked about it

Q32. How many students in your class have been engaged in bullying others this term, do you think?
   A) None
   B) 1 students
   C) 2 students
   D) 3 students
   E) 4 students
   F) 5 students
   G) 6 or more students

Q33. (last term) How often did you take part in bullying other students in school last term?
   A) I did not bully other students last term
   B) once or twice
   C) now and then
   D) once a week
   E) several times a week

Q34. (this term) How often have you taken part in bullying other students on their way to and from school?

   A) I have not bully other students last term
   B) once or twice
   C) now and then (once or twice a month)
   D) once a week
   E) several times a week

Q35. Do you think it's fun to make trouble for other students?
   A) No, never
   B) Yes, once in a while
   C) Now and then
   D) Often

Q36. Do you think you could join in bullying a student whom you don't like?
   A) Yes, maybe
   B) I don't know
   C) No, I don't think so
   D) No

Q37. What do you think of students who bully others?
   A) I can understand that they do it
   B) I don't know
   C) It's hard to understand that they do it
   D) It upsets me a lot that they do it

Appendix E

Final Revised Questionnaire for the

Main Study

I may guess that you have heard about the term wang-ta and have ideas what it is. Wang-ta is a kind of physical, verbal, and psychological harassment.

I will give some examples of wang-ta. The given behaviour did not happen only once. It has happened repeatedly with the intention of harm. It is wang-ta if a student or a group of students say nasty and unpleasant things to him or her directly or indirectly. It is wang-ta if a student or a group of students hit, kick, threaten, lock inside a room or toilet, and take away personal belonging from him or her. It is wang-ta if a student or a group deliberately isolate or ignore him or her.

But fighting between pupils of equal strength is not considered as wang-ta.

Q1. How do you like recess time?
  A) dislike very much
  B) dislike
  C) neither like nor dislike
  D) like
  E) like very much

Q2. How many good friends do you have in your class?
  A) None
  B) 1
  C) 2 or 3
  D) 4 or 5
  E) More than 5

Q3. Do you feel lonely at school and less popular than others?
  A) no, never
  B) once or twice
  C) now and then (once or twice a month)
  D) once a week
  E) several times a week

About being bullying and the way of being bullying

Q4. How often have you been bullied in school this term?
  A) no, never
  B) once or twice
  C) now and then (once or twice a month)
  D) once a week
  E) several times a week

Q5. I have been called nasty names.
  A) no, never
  B) once or twice
  C) now and then (once or twice a month)
  D) once a week
  E) several times a week

Q6. Others students intentionally singled out me from within group
    A) no, never
    B) once or twice
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) once a week
    E) several times a week

Q7. I have been hit, kicked, threatened and similar things
    A) no, never
    B) once or twice
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) once a week
    E) several times a week

Q8. They spread rumours and nasty stories about me
    A) no, never
    B) once or twice
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) once a week
    E) several times a week

Q9. They have not verbally and/or physically bullied me but using his/her gestures and/or facial expression to bullied me.
    A) no, never
    B) once or twice
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) once a week
    E) several times a week

Q10. I have been extorted and they have broken my belongings
    A) no, never
    B) once or twice
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) once a week
    E) several times a week

Q11. I was insulted about my physical appearance
    A) no, never
    B) once or twice
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) once a week
    E) several times a week

Q12. I have been bullied in other ways (for example threatened or locked indoors), describe how:

_____

Q13. In what grade is the student or students who bully you?
    A) I haven't been bullied in school this term.
    B) In my class
    C) In a different class but same grade as me
    D) In a higher grade
    E) In a lower grade
    F) Mixed (in my class, different class etc)

Q14. Have you been bullied by how many students?
    A) I haven't been bullied this term
    B) Mainly by one
    C) By 3-5students
    D) By 10 students
    E) By 20 students
    F) By more than 30 students

Q15. About how many times have you been bullied in the **last 5 days at school?**
    A) No, never
    B) Once
    C) Twice
    D) 3 or 4 times
    E) 5 or more times

Q16. Have the teachers helped you when you were being bullied in school?
    A) I haven't been bullied
    B) No, the teachers have not helped me at all
    C) Yes, the teachers have helped me but it is very rare
    D) Yes, the teachers have helped me often
    E) Yes, the teachers almost always help me

Q17. How often do other students try to put a stop to it when you are being bullied in school?
    A) I haven't been bullied
    B) Almost never
    C) Once (in a while)
    D) Often
    E) Almost always

Q18. Has your mother or father talked with you about your being bullied in school?
  A) I haven't been bullied
  B) No, they have not talked with me about it
  C) Yes, once or twice
  D) Yes, now and then
  E) Yes, very often

Q19. How many students in your class have been bullied this term, do you think?
  A) None
  B) 1 student
  C) 2 students
  D) 3 students
  E) 4 students
  F) More than 5 students

Q20. Now think back to last term- how often were you bullied in school last term?
  A) no, never
  B) once or twice
  C) now and then (once or twice a month)
  D) once a week
  E) several times a week

Q21. Have you try to put a stop to it when a student is being bullied in school?
  A) Almost never
  B) Once (in a while)
  C) Now and then
  D) Often
  E) Almost always

If you put a response choice A or B go to question 21-1 otherwise go to question22.

Q21-1. Why didn't you help a student who was being bullied?
  A) Because it is not my business
  B) Because other friend do not do anything so do I
  C) Because I may be the next target it I help them
  D) Because victims deserve it
  E) Because nothing will be changed even though I help victims

Q21-2. If you scored response choice D could you explain why?

Q21-3 Do you think there is any other reason for being bullied?

_____

Q22. How often do other students say nasty and unpleasant things to you?
    A) no, never
    B) once or twice
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) once a week
    E) several times a week

Q23. What do you usually do when you see a student being bullied in school?
    A) Nothing, because it's none of my business
    B) I don't do anything, but I think I ought to help
    C) I try to help him or her in one way or another

Q24. Have you told your teacher that you have been bullied?
    A) I haven't been bullied
    B) No, I haven't told the teacher
    C) Yes, I've told the teacher

Q25. Have you told your parents that you have been bullied?
    A) I haven't been bullied
    B) No, I haven't told them
    C) Yes, I've told the them

About bullying others and the ways of bullying others

Q26. How often have you taken part in bullying other students in school?
    A) no, never
    B) once or twice
    C) now and then (once or twice a month)
    D) once a week
    E) several times a week

Q27. About how many times have you taken part in bullying other students in the last 5 days at school?
  A) no time
  B) once
  C) twice
  D) 3 or 4 times
  E) 5 or more times

Q28. How did you taken part in bullying other students?
  A) I usually help students who being bullying
  B) Only observing
  C) Move close to them and laughing together
  D) Sometimes verbally help bullied and push victimised student
  E) I do not help victim(s): I neither observing nor taking a part in anyway.

Q29. Has your teacher talked with you about your bullying other students?
  A) I haven't bullied other students
  B) No, the teacher has not talked with me about it
  C) Yes, only once, the teacher has talked about it
  D) Yes, sometimes, the teacher has talked about it
  E) Yes, very often, the teacher has talked about it

Q30. Has you mother or father talked with you about your bullying other students?
  A) I haven't bullied other students
  B) No, they have not talked with me about it
  C) Yes, only once, they have talked about it
  D) Yes, sometimes, they have talked about it
  E) Yes, very often, they have talked about it

Q31. How many students in your class have been engaged in bullying others this term, do you think?
  A) None
  B) Mainly by one
  C) By 3-5students
  D) By 10 students
  E) By 20 students
  F) By more than 30 students

Q32. I have called nasty names.
  A) no, never
  B) once or twice
  C) now and then (once or twice a month)
  D) once a week
  E) several times a week

Q33. I singled out a student/students from within group
   A) no, never
   B) once or twice
   C) now and then (once or twice a month)
   D) once a week
   E) several times a week

Q34. I have hit, kicked, threatened and similar things
   A) no, never
   B) once or twice
   C) now and then (once or twice a month)
   D) once a week
   E) several times a week

Q35. I spread rumours and nasty stories about a students/students
   A) no, never
   B) once or twice
   C) now and then (once or twice a month)
   D) once a week
   E) several times a week

Q36. I use my facial expression and gestures
   A) no, never
   B) once or twice
   C) now and then (once or twice a month)
   D) once a week
   E) several times a week

Q37. I have extorted and baking others' belongings
   A) no, never
   B) once or twice
   C) now and then (once or twice a month)
   D) once a week
   E) several times a week

Q38. I insulted about his/her physical appearance
   A) no, never
   B) once or twice
   C) now and then (once or twice a month)
   D) once a week
   E) several times a week

Q39. I have bullied in other ways (for example threatened or locked indoors), describe how:

_____

About your perception on bullying others

Q40. Do you think it's fun to make trouble for other students?
   A) No, never
   B) Yes, once in a while
   C) Now and then
   D) Often
   E) Almost always

Q41. Do you think you could join in bullying a student whom you don't like?
   A) Yes, I do
   B) Yes, maybe
   C) I don't know
   D) No, maybe I don't
   E) No, I don't think so

Q42. What do you think of students who bully others?
   A) I can understand that they do it
   B) Sometimes, I can understand
   C) I don't know
   D) It's hard to understand that they do it
   E) It upsets me a lot that they do it

Q42-1 What is your opinion on bullies?

_____

Q43. Do you think someone who disturbs class lessons could be bullied?
   A) No, never (he/she hasn't to be bullied)
   B) I don't know
   C) I think so (he/she has to be bullied)

Thank you ^^

Appendix F

Questionnaire for Defining Three Terms for

Korean Bullying

SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT WORDS LIKE WANG-TA

This is a short questionnaire about how you and your friends use words in school. We are interested in the 3 words eun-ta, wang-ta and jun-ta. We are not asking about your own personal experiences, just how you think these words are used and what they mean. **There is no need to write your name on the questionnaire.** We hope you can answer the questionnaire, but you don't need to if you do not wish to.

Hyojin Koo: University of London, England

Please put a circle around the answer you choose. For example circle 1 below if you are female, 2 if you are male.

I. About you

Are you   1) female   2) male

What is your age (in years) : 12, 13, 14, 15, 16

II. About the meaning of eun-ta, wang-ta and jun-ta.

If you know the meaning of eun-ta, please write here what you think it means:

If you know the meaning of wang-ta, please write here what you think it means:

If you know the meaning of jun-ta, please write here what you think it means:

What are the differences between Eun-ta and Wang-ta?

    1. I don't know   2. number of involved bullies   3. frequency of being bullied

    4.   number of friends victims have

    5.   other (please explain)   .

What are the differences between Wang-ta and Jun-ta?

    1. I don't know   2. number of involved bullies   3. frequency of being bullied

    4   number of friends victims have

    6.   other (please explain)   .

What are the differences between Eun-ta and Jun-ta?

    1. I don't know   2. number of involved bullies   3. frequency of being bullied

    7.   number of friends victims have

    8.   other (please explain)   .

III. For each of these behaviour, which term describes it best?

Jiyeon will not let Soomi play with him or her today

    1. I don't know 2.Eun-ta 3. Wang-ta 4. Jun-ta 5 none of these

Kim and his friends often ignore and isolate Lee.

    1. I don't know 2.Eun-ta 3. Wang-ta 4. Jun-ta 5 none of these

Jay's classmates never talk to him.

    1. I don't know 2.Eun-ta 3. Wang-ta 4. Jun-ta 5 none of these

Even peers from different classes hit or kick Jun.

    1. I don't know 2.Eun-ta 3. Wang-ta 4. Jun-ta 5 none of these

Haesoo's classmates say nasty things behind her back everyday.

    1. I don't know   2.Eun-ta   3. Wang-ta   4. Jun-ta   5. none of these

Junmo's friends sometimes do not play with him.

    1. I don't know   2.Eun-ta   3. Wang-ta   4. Jun-ta   5. none of these

Kim ask Young if she wants to share Kim's chocolate bar.

    1. I don't know   2.Eun-ta   3. Wang-ta   4. Jun-ta   5. none of these

Ajin is often kicked or heard nasty thing by others not only from his class but also from other class and years. And he doesn't have any friend in his school.

    1. I don't know   2.Eun-ta   3. Wang-ta   4. Jun-ta   5 none of these

Han does not have any friend in his school.

    1. I don't know   2.Eun-ta   3. Wang-ta   4. Jun-ta   5 none of these

Jayoung tells Kyoung "do not tease Minjoo and be friends with her".

    1. I don't know   2.Eun-ta   3. Wang-ta   4. Jun-ta   5. none of these

Mina' classmate do not play with her and she doesn't have any friend in her classroom but she has some close friends in other classes in the same school.

    1. I don't know   2.Eun-ta   3. Wang-ta   4. Jun-ta   5 none of these

Jay has close friends in his class but they sometimes do not play with Jay.

    1. I don't know   2.Eun-ta   3. Wang-ta   4. Jun-ta   5 none of these

Thank you for your helping ☺!