

## BYSTANDERS IN BULLYING SITUATIONS IN SCHOOLS. DOES IT MATTER? LITERATURE REVIEW

Baiba Moļņika

University of Latvia, Latvia

### ABSTRACT

Bullying is a model of social behaviour that develops and escalates if not recognized and accordingly addressed. Bullying can be verbal, physical, or cyberbullying. The causes of bullying and violence in schools are peers' physical deficiencies, gender, social inequality, ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity, gender identity. The impact of bullying on personal development can be substantial and include lowered self-esteem, anxiety, greater levels of depression, fear, school refusal, isolation, and even suicide. When analysing bullying situations in schools, the social context must be taken into account. Attention should be shifted from perceiving bullying as a relationship between two persons (perpetrator and victim) to perceiving bullying as a process involving and affecting bystanders – students who are present in bullying situations and taking certain roles towards it. Even apparent neutrality in bullying situations does not mean non-intervention, as non-reaction could be associated with the passive support of the bully. In deciding whether to stand up for the victim, students must consider their existing relationships, their position in the classroom, and their ability to influence the process. In addition, there is a fear that each of the victim's defenders can become the next victim. The actions, behaviour and attitudes of bystanders can both increase and decrease the level of bullying. The study aims to explore the trends and challenges regarding the role and impact of bystanders in bullying situations in schools. Research suggests that targeting bystanders and giving them the tools and encouragement to intervene should be an integral component of bullying interventions.

**Keywords:** *bystanders in schools, bystanders motivation, bullying prevention strategies, bullying circle, anti-bullying programs*

### Introduction

According to international studies (PISA, 2018, UNESCO, 2019), the most common form of violence in schools is bullying. Bullying can take the form of verbal, physical, and in cyberspace.

Bullying is a form of violent relationship that exists between peers in schools with the purpose to harm the other in various ways (physically, emotionally, and in cyberspace). The main characteristics of bullying are that it is intentional and takes place over

a long period. Bullying can take place on several levels, from spreading rumors and hiding belongings, to intimidating and controlling the victim. The imbalance of power between the bully, the initiator of the bullying, and the victim (physical, numerical, social) also play an important role. In accordance with the research, around 80% of bullying episodes take place in front of bystanders, peers, whose actions, behavior, and attitude could escalate or deescalate the bullying situation (Salmivalli et al., 2010; Padget & Notar, 2013; Thornberg et al., 2012). Olweus (2003) and Salmivalli (2014) provide a wide spectrum of roles that a student could take in bullying situations, from bully supporters to victim defenders. However, the majority of the bullying circle consists of those who are present in the situation but do not take an active role (Padget & Notar, 2013; Salmivalli et al., 2010; Jenkins et al., 2018). To enlarge the awareness of bystanders toward the actuality of bullying and to empower them to take up the responsibility and play an active role in bullying prevention the strategy should be built up (Cornu et al., 2022; Lodge & Frydenberg, 2013; Schott & Søndergaard, 2014). In order to get the awareness of bullying mechanism and the strategies that peers mostly use in bullying situations: direct verbal confrontation, direct physical violence, indirect intervention and remaining passive, researchers (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004; Rigby & Johnson, 2006) recommends the use of video film stories as well as role-plays and drama exercises. By combining problem-solving methods with group dynamics theory, the process of bullying could be understood both cognitively and emotionally (Schott & Søndergaard, 2014). The process of empowerment of bystanders should move from problem awareness to decision-making (Padget & Notar, 2013; Dunn, 2010). The teacher must create an environment where students understand and appreciate their abilities to find out solutions to bullying situations (Jungert et al., 2016). At the same time, bystander empowerment should be closely related to, and an integral part of bullying prevention strategy in schools (Salmivalli, 2014; Ruggieri et al., 2013). In that way, the whole school approach to bullying prevention will be promoted (Cornu et al., 2022).

The study aims to explore the trends and challenges regarding the role and impact of bystanders in bullying situations in schools. To achieve the research aim, the research questions were raised: How does the motivation of bystanders to intervene in bullying situations could be promoted? What is the role that bystanders are taking in bullying prevention strategies in schools?

## Methodology

The literature review describes the main approaches of how educators have attempted to link bullying prevention with the motivation of bystanders and collaboration among learners. It notes trends and challenges presented in the literature regarding the place and role taken by bystanders in bullying situations and makes recommendations for enabling bystanders to become upstanders and to change class and school climate accordingly.

In order to reveal the role and capacity of bystanders to intervene in bullying situations, research has been carried out using the latest scientific literature found in Scopus, Science Direct and & Francis that are published in English in the time period 2000–2020. Following the method given by Xu Xiao and Maria Watson (Xiao & Watson,

2019) the systematic review was realised in five phases. In the first phase, initial keywords were identified having considered the researcher's knowledge of the field and the research question: bystanders in schools, bystanders motivation. After reviewing databases 26 potentially relevant articles were found and identified for further research. In the second phase based on the review of abstracts, specific searches were conducted and criteria for inclusion and exclusion were defined (see Table 1).

**Table 1** Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
Studies in the English	Studies in other languages.
Studies from the school education field.	Studies from other fields.
Scientific articles, reviews or books, monographs.	Conference review
Pedagogical approaches toward bystanders	Bystanders in the broader context as school education

After reviewing of articles 3 articles were excluded based on chosen criteria. To obtain more articles the keywords: bystanders in schools – were combined with the term – bullying prevention strategies, as these terms represent the borders of this research. As a result, 5 more articles were added to the selected list.

## Results

In the third phase in accordance with the screening results, full texts of studies (3 scientific monographs, 1 literature review, and 22 empirical studies) were reviewed in order to realize quality assessment and to work out data extraction and analysis (Xiao & Watson, 2019). The time period analyzed in the review was 2000–2020 covering the following countries: Sweden, Australia, United States, United Kingdom, Taiwan, Switzerland and China. During the fourth phase, the characterization of the studies (Xiao & Watson, 2019) was realized. Following the inductive method information from each study was extracted and divided into research areas. After reviewing the studies the following thematic categories were constructed: Characterization of bystanders, Motivation of bystanders to intervene in the bullying situations, The place of bystanders in the bullying prevention strategies.

**Table 2** Thematic categories of systematic review

Thematic Categories	Authors
Characterization of bystanders	Lodge & Frydenberg, 2013; Xie, 2019; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004; Salmivalli, 2014; Schott & Søndergaard, 2014; Padgett & Notar, 2013; Olweus, 2003; Guerra et al., 2011; Thornberg & Delby, 2019
Motivation of bystanders to intervene in the bullying situations	Waasdorp et al., 2022; Jungert & Perrin, 2019; Jungert et al., 2016; Rigby & Johnson, 2006; Thornberg et al., 2012; Macaulay et al., 2019; Knox et al., 2021; Pavlich et al., 2017; Boulton & Macaulay, 2022; Ma & Bellmore, 2016
The place of bystanders in bullying prevention strategies	Wood et al., 2017; Ruggieri et al., 2013; Jenkins et al., 2018; Olweus & Limber, 2010; Salmivalli et al., 2010; Woods & Wolke, 2003

## Discussion

The fifth phase reveals the usage of the Thematic inductive analysis to explore and analyse the content of the studies in accordance with categories (see table Nr2). Thematic analyses allow operating with a wide range of theoretical studies that could respond to the study questions and could assist in forming the research design.

### Characterisation of bystanders

In order to de-escalate the bullying process, it is necessary to clarify the social processes that have created it, including the personally formed meanings that determine student behaviour in a bullying situation (Guerra et al., 2011; Thornberg & Delby, 2019; Padgett & Notar, 2013). Therefore, the ability to understand the context in which bullying occurs is crucial. Researchers (Salmivalli, 2014; Schott & Søndergaard, 2014; Ma & Bellmore, 2016) recognize that bullying in schools is a reflection of the situation in society, while also not forgetting the impact and expressions of individual aggression (Ruggieri et al., 2013). The focus should be directed to the group dynamics, next to the victim and the bully, analyzing also the involvement of the other peers, which either reinforces or reduces the bullying (Lodge & Frydenberg, 2013; Rigby & Johnson, 2006; Macaulay et al., 2019). Research (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004; Schott & Søndergaard, 2014; Thornberg & Delby, 2019) indicates that it is very important to evaluate bullying as a collective action that includes certain social roles and norms, power relations and hierarchies. This approach partly coincides with Olweus' bullying prevention programme (Olweus & Limber, 2010). According to the Olweus bullying prevention program (Olweus & Limber, 2010; Olweus, 2003), the victim is in the center of the bullying circle, around whom the other peers are positioned depending on their attitude towards the bullying situation. A bully is defined as the main aggressor in the circle, who both plans the bullying process himself and is also an active participant in it. Next to the bully, there are followers, who actively participate in the bullying, but aren't the planners and initiators of the process themselves. Then two groups of supporters are defined – supporters and passive supporters, who, depending on their attitude, actively or passively support the bullying. The other groups involved in the bullying process are divided into possible defenders, who condemn bullying, and are aware that they could get involved, but don't. The only ones who stand on the side of the victim are the defenders, who stand up against the bully and act to stop the bullying. Researchers (Jungert & Perrine, 2019; Ruggieri et al., 2013) indicate that victims who have friends can resolve bullying situations more easily and defend their positions better. The bullying circle created by Olweus has been used by several bullying researchers, some of them, for example, Salmivalli have created their own approach based on this circle (Salmivalli, 2014). When implementing the bullying prevention program KiVa, Salmivalli recommends (Salmivalli, 2014, Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004) dividing bully participants into four groups – combining passive supporters and possible defenders into one group, called disengaged onlookers. At the same time Salmivalli notes (Salmivalli, 2014), that this position has another meaning because neutrality in bullying

situations does not mean non-interference. This position is supported by several researchers (Schott & Søndergaard, 2014; Padgett & Notar, 2013), emphasizing that it is the active involvement of peers in bullying situations that is crucial in order to stop bullying in the long term. Therefore, researchers (Jungert & Perrin, 2018; Boulton & Macalay, 2022; Thornberg et al., 2012) actively analyze the roles and actions of bystanders. Bystanders are all students involved in the bullying process if they don't take the role of victim or bully (Salmivalli, 2014; Xie, 2019; Lodge & Frydenberg, 2013; Padgett & Notar, 2013).

### **Motivation of bystanders to intervene in the bullying situations**

To decide whether to become upstanders and to defend the victim, students must consider their existing relationships, their position in the classroom, and their ability to influence the process (Jenkins et al., 2018; Jungert & Perrin, 2019; Wood et al., 2017; Woods & Wolke, 2003; Xie, 2019). The empirical studies realized in Sweden (Jungert & Perrin, 2019) and the United States (Knox et al., 2021) show that students find it difficult to take a stand against bullying. One of the main reasons for non-intervention is the fear for the defender to become the next victim. Likewise, bystanders do not understand that non-intervention is the silent acceptance of aggressive behavior, which is one of the most important aspects to consider when thinking about reducing bullying in schools (Salmivalli et al., 2004). The study realized in the United States (Knox et al., 2021) analyzed the behavior of 183 American students aged 14–18 revealing the two main reasons for non-involvement. One of them is the unwillingness to get involved in solving mutual relations that are not directly binding, as well as the belief that the verbally expressed position or action cannot influence the situation sufficiently. At the same time, the study reveals that those who would like to get involved are students who have been in the victim role before or who have more developed empathy. There are some additional factors that should be taken in account when planning the implementation of the anti-bullying program. Researchers (Knox et al., 2021) recommend taking into account contextual factors such as students' social status (those without high social status are afraid to take risks in defending the victim) as well as cultural diversity (value system) are important points to make a choice. The importance of cultural aspects is also confirmed by a comparative study that was used in Taiwanese and American schools (Ma & Bellmore, 2016) – it was found that Taiwanese students would like to help the victim feel better when discussing their reactions to bullying situations. On the contrary, American students would like to convince the bully to stop the aggression. Another study realized in America (Thornberg et al., 2012), involving 30 students reveals the factors that determine the motivation of bystanders to intervene, and concluded that they are: assessment of the situation, social context, and awareness of one's strengths. Several studies also reveal that teenagers engage in bullying situations because they want to experience the drama of relationships, especially in the virtual environment, in social networks (Macaulay et al., 2019). Analyzing the bystander's responses to cyberbullying and comparing that with the bystander's reactions in cases of emotional and physical bullying, it is found that

the action scenarios, from ignoring the situation to seeking help and addressing the bully, are similar. However, research (Macaulay et al., 2019) shows that bystander reactions are higher when the bully remains anonymous and the victims are upset. The study carried out in Sweden, in which 900 students of age 9–13 were involved (Thornberg et al., 2012), mentions empathy, a sense of personal responsibility, and friendship as reasons for students to get involved. On the other hand, the reasons for not getting involved are: underestimating the situation, not associating oneself with what is happening, including the belief that the situation does not apply to them, self-defense, fear of consequences, friendship with the abuser, dislike of the victim, low social status and uncertainty about one's own possibilities to help. Analyzing students' behavior as two completely different positions the following aspects were indicated: ignorance of what is happening (taking the role of disengaged onlooker) and support for the bully (taking the role of follower) (Rigby & Johnson, 2006; Thornberg et al., 2012; Thornberg & Delby, 2019). Summarizing the opinions of researchers (Jungert et al., 2016; Macaulay et al., 2019; Ma & Bellmore, 2016), certain limitations can be highlighted that delay intervention: 1) intervention has a negative impact on the victim's condition, 2) by intervening, the student risks with his own physical safety 2) intervention will not change the situation, 4) the situation is an arrangement of mutual relations in which no one else has to intervene. In addition to the mentioned factors, it is also indicated that students with lower social status (younger, less popular, etc.) as bullies are less willing to be involved (Jungert & Perrin, 2018; Knox et al., 2021; Ruggieri et al., 2013; Waasdorp et al., 2022). At the same time, factors that influence motivation and strengthen the desire to defend the victim are also revealed – emotional empathy, sense of responsibility, safe and inclusive classroom and school environment, as well as self-efficiency and high social status in the classroom. The interesting factor for intervention reveals, by studying research done in America by group of researchers. They have realized that distance and volume for perception of the bully and victim has an certain impact (Pavlich et al., 2017). Several researchers (Jungert et al., 2016; Waasdorpp et al., 2022) have mentioned the inclusive and safe class and school climate as essential for implementation the anti-bullying policies. The data from examining more as 64 000 students revealed that besides the individual factors of personalities involved in bullying situations, it is necessary to consider the school climate through 3 dimensions: engagement, environment, safety (Waasdorp et al., 2022).

Summarizing the factors that promote and reduce motivation, the following Table 3 can be introduced (Waasdorp et al., 2022; Thornberg et al., 2017; Jungert & Perrin, 2019; Jungert et al., 2016; Rigby & Johnson, 2006; Gendron et al., 2011).

By exploring several approaches for enabling bystanders (Jenkins et al., 2018; Dunn, 2010; Salmivalli et al., 2010), several consecutive steps can be distinguished: Rising of awareness (types of bullying, roles); actuality; risk analysis and taking up responsibility; acquiring necessary skills and knowledge; a decision to intervene. The proposed bystander empowerment framework is summarized in a Table 4.

**Table 3** Motivating and demotivating factors for students to intervene in bullying situations

Motivating factors	Demotivating factors
Empathy (cognitive and emotional)	Fear of being victimized, audience excitement
Friendship; high social rank	Non-friend with victim, disliking victim; low social rank
Moral belief that bullying is wrong; believing that parents and friends (but no teachers) expected them to act to support victims	Bystander irresponsibility, blaming the victim; believing the bully
High self-efficacy	Low self- efficacy
Positive student – teacher relationship	Conflictual student – teacher relationship
Safe psychological and physical school and classroom environment	Unsafe and unreliable school environment

**Table 4** Framework of bystanders' empowerment

Empowerment of bystanders	Description
Rising of awareness (types of bullying, roles)	To increase empathy, researchers suggest using videos or role-playing. The main focus is to understand that the bullying process grows out of group dynamics
Actuality	Research reveals that students often do not assess the potential consequences of psychological bullying as accurately as they do with physical bullying.
Risk analysis and taking up responsibility (from bystanders to upstanders)	The researchers recommend to explain that not getting involved in the search for a solution to reduce bullying does not mean neutrality, but passive support for bullying
Acquiring of necessary skills and knowledge (socio – emotional learning)	Researchers recommend using a variety of instructional videos. The complex of socio-emotional learning would be very useful, where possible actions of students in conflict situations have been analysed, as well as games showing ways to how to act in conflict situations so that they do not turn into violence.
Decision to intervene	Although there aren't common view, however this is suggested that Intervention should be focused on changing group dynamics

## The place of bystanders in bullying prevention strategies

Empowering of students as one of the main criteria for evaluating bullying prevention has been highlighted in the recommendations developed by UNESCO for a whole-school approach to the prevention of bullying in education, developed by the Scientific Committee on Preventing and addressing school bullying and cyberbullying (Cornu et al., 2022). They determine 9 components of the whole education approach to prevent and address bullying and cyberbullying from political leadership to monitoring on anti-bullying programs and co-operation with stakeholders and most importantly with the students of respective schools (Cornu et al., 2022). According to the authors of the recommendations (Cornu et al., 2022), children and young people should be involved in program development, implementation, and evaluation. Schools are meant for children and young people,

they should be involved in the implementation of the program in an age-appropriate way. In order to realize the role of bystanders empowerment in the anti-bullying programs – the program developed by the Norwegian psychologist Dana Olweus – OLWEUS and the program developed by the University of Turku in cooperation with the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture – KiVa were taken for further consideration. Examination of both programs reveals (Olweus & Limber, 2003; Schott & Søndergaard, 2014) that they are based on similar principles and ideas, but the content of the programs differs. For example, both include actions with students at the class and school level, holding discussions with students involved in bullying situations, and both programs focus on the development of classroom rules. However, the KiVa program includes at least three features that distinguish it from similar anti-bullying programs (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). First of all, KiVa provides professionally prepared materials to all three target groups – teachers, parents, and students. This makes the program easier to implement and understand. The next element is the use of the virtual environment as a powerful tool for acquiring knowledge and skills on how to deal with bullying situations. Finally, what seems most important in the context of intervention research, KiVa goes beyond weighing the role of bystanders. Anyone involved in bullying can learn techniques to increase empathy and find the best ways to help the victim (Salmivalli et al., 2010; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004).

When analyzing the theoretical literature (Olweus & Limber, 2003; Salmivalli et al., 2010), it should be stressed that the main achievable result of the bullying prevention programs OLWEUS and KiVa is the change of the attitude of students and their capacity to transform from bystanders to upstanders in order to support the victim of bullying and to stop the bullying. It should be highlighted that even in the case of KiVa, when students' attitudes were carefully analyzed, the evaluation of the program confirms that the student's willingness to change the situation in order to stop or prevent bullying is still relatively limited.

The positioning of the students in the neutral zone (not getting involved and not actively intensifying the bullying) and the change of attitude towards the victim should be recognized as a common achievement of both programs. However, an in-depth analysis of empowering students to act in bullying situations or to prevent it, recognizing bullying as a social phenomenon that is formed in interpersonal relationships, have to be stressed (Thornberg et al., 2012; Macaulay et al., 2019; Boulton & Macaulay, 2022). In addition, it is important to realize that the roles in bullying situations can change, so it is necessary to think very carefully about the steps to be taken to get students to be aware of their role not only by positioning themselves closer to the victim or the abuser, but also to consider their capacity to offer solutions to stop or to prevent the bullying process (Thornberg et al., 2012; Gendron et al., 2011; Jenkins et al., 2018).



## Conclusions

1. Further analysis is needed to empower students to take action in bullying situations or before it occurs, recognizing bullying as a social phenomenon, but formed in interpersonal relationships.
2. The roles in bullying situations can change, so it is necessary to think very precisely about strategy how to change students' attitudes towards bullying and at the same time empower them to take an active role in solving the bullying situations.
3. According to the empirical data provided by researchers the greatest focus is on empowering peers to promote awareness of bullying and its importance. Special attention should be also paid to the use of technology and increased levels of cyber-bullying.
4. Students should learn the skills to control their emotions and transform their aggressive behavior into a non-aggressive, positive way. Special attention should be paid to empowering students who take the role of victim in bullying situations
5. The evaluation of bullying prevention strategies and programs confirms that the willingness of students to act in order to solve the bullying situation or to prevent bullying in schools is still limited

## REFERENCES

- Boulton, M. J., & Macaulay, P. J. (2022). Does authentic self-esteem buffer the negative effects of bullying victimization on social anxiety and classroom concentration? Evidence from a short term longitudinal study with early adolescents. *British journal of educational psychology*.
- Cornu, C., Abdurahobov, P., Laoufi, R., Liu, Y., & Séguy, S. (2022). An introduction to a whole-education approach to school bullying: Recommendations from UNESCO scientific committee on school violence and bullying including Cyberbullying. *International Journal of Bullying Prevention*, 1–2.
- Dunn, S. T. M. (2010). Upstanders: Student experiences of intervening to stop bullying. *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences*, 71(1–A), 81.
- Gendron, B. P., Williams, K. R., & Guerra, N. G. (2011). An analysis of bullying among students within schools: Estimating the effects of individual normative beliefs, self-esteem, and school climate. *Journal of school violence*, 10(2), 150–164.
- Guerra, N. G., Williams, K. R., & Sadek, S. (2011). Understanding bullying and victimization during childhood and adolescence: A mixed methods study. *Child development*, 82(1), 295–310.
- Jenkins, L. N., Fredrick, S. S., & Nickerson, A. (2018). The assessment of bystander intervention in bullying: Examining measurement invariance across gender. *Journal of School Psychology*, 69, 73–83
- Jungert, T., Piroddi, B., & Thornberg, R. (2016). Early adolescents' motivations to defend victims in school bullying and their perceptions of student-teacher relationships: A self-determination theory approach. *Journal of Adolescence*, 53, 75–90.
- Jungert, T., & Perrin, S. (2019). Trait anxiety and bystander motivation to defend victims of school bullying. *Journal of Adolescence*, 77, 1–10.
- Knox, J., Gibson, S., Gönültaş, S., & Mulvey, K. L. (2021). School connectedness and bystander intervention: The moderating role of perceived exclusion and privilege among African American students. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 316–329. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2021.1903231>
- Lodge, J., & Frydenberg, E. (2013). The role of peer bystanders in school bullying: Positive steps toward promoting peaceful schools. In D. L. Rhode (Ed.), *Peace Education* (pp. 329–336). Routledge.

- Ma, T. L., & Bellmore, A. (2016). Early adolescents' responses upon witnessing peer victimization: a cross-culture comparison between students in Taiwan and the United States. *International Journal of Developmental Science*, 10(1–2), 33–42.
- Macaulay, P. J., Boulton, M. J., & Betts, L. R. (2019). Comparing early adolescents' positive bystander responses to cyberbullying and traditional bullying: The impact of severity and gender. *Journal of Technology in Behavioral Science*, 4, 253–261.
- Olweus, D. (2003). A profile of bullying at school. *Educational leadership*, 60(6), 12–17.
- Olweus, D., & Limber, S. P. (2010). Bullying in school: evaluation and dissemination of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program. *American journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 80(1), 124.
- Padgett, S., & Notar, C. E. (2013). Bystanders Are the Key to Stopping Bullying. *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, 1(2), 33–41.
- Pavlich, C. A., Rains, S. A., & Segrin, C. (2017). The nonverbal bully: Effects of shouting and conversational distance on bystanders' perceptions. *Communication Reports*, 30(3), 129–140
- PISA (2018Volume III) .*What School Life Means for Students' Lives*. OECDlibrary
- Rigby, K., & Johnson, B. (2006). Expressed readiness of Australian schoolchildren to act as bystanders in support of children who are being bullied. *Educational Psychology*, 26(3), 425–440. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01443410500342307>
- Ruggieri, S., Friemel, T., Sticca, F., Perren, S., & Alsaker, F. (2013). Selection and influence effects in defending a victim of bullying: The moderating effects of school context. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 79, 117–126.
- Salmivalli, C., Voeten, R. (2004). Connections between attitudes, group norms, and behavior in bullying situations. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 28(3), 246–258.
- Salmivalli, C., Kärnä, A., & Poskiparta, E. (2010). From peer putdowns to peer support: A theoretical model and how it translated into a national anti-bullying program. In S. R. Jimerson, S. M. Swearer, & D. L. Espelage (Eds.), *Handbook of bullying in schools: An international perspective* (pp. 441–454). Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Salmivalli, C. (2014) Participant Roles in Bullying: How Can Peer Bystanders Be Utilized in Interventions? *Theory Into Practice*, 53(4): 286–292
- Schott, R. M., & Søndergaard, D. M. (Eds.). (2014). *School bullying: New theories in context*. Cambridge University Press, 280.
- Thornberg, R., Tenenbaum, L., Varjas, K., Meyers, J., Jungert, T., & Vanegas, G. (2012). Bystander motivation in bullying incidents: To intervene or not to intervene? *Western Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 13(3), 247–252.
- Thornberg, R., & Delby, H. (2019). How do secondary school students explain bullying?. *Educational Research*, 61(2), 142–160.
- UNESCO (2019). *Behind the numbers: ending school violence and bullying*. Retrieved from: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000366483>
- Waasdorp, T. E., Fu, R., Clary, L. K., & Bradshaw, C. P. (2022). School climate and bullying bystander responses in middle and high school. *Journal of applied developmental psychology*, 80, 101412.
- Wood, L., Smith, J., Varjas, K., & Meyers, J. (2017). School personnel social support and nonsupport for bystanders of bullying: Exploring student perspectives. *Journal of school psychology*, 61, 1–17.
- Woods, S., & Wolke, D. (2003). Does the content of anti-bullying policies inform us about the prevalence of direct and relational bullying behaviour in primary schools?. *Educational Psychology*, 23(4), 381–401.
- Xie, H. (2019). Participant roles of peer bystanders in school bullying situations: Based on a survey in Wuhan, China, *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*, Hong Kong.
- Xiao Y., Watson M. (2019). Guidance on Conducting a Systematic Literature Review. *Journal of planning education and research*, 2019-03, 39(1), 93–112.