Journal of Educational Psychology
2005, Vol. 97, No. 3, 347–365

Copyright 2005 by the American Psychological Association
0022-0663/05/$12.00 DOI: 10.1037/0022-0663.97.3.347

How Students and Teachers View the Seriousness of Peer Harassment: When Is It Appropriate to Seek Help?

Richard S. Newman and Brian J. Murray
University of California, Riverside

When schoolchildren are harassed by peers, it sometimes is necessary to seek help from a teacher. However, students and teachers may have a different sense of when it is necessary. The authors investigated students' perceptions of harassment and help seeking, examining whether students' perceptions are related to popularity and whether perceptions of students and teachers differ. Fourth- and 5th-grade students (classified as popular, average, or unpopular) and teachers were interviewed about different types of harassment. Unpopular children perceived teasing more seriously than teachers and other children; in fact, they said that teasing is as serious as threats and physical aggression. Children often are reluctant to seek help because they believe that doing so will not resolve and may exacerbate the situation; unpopular children in particular fear retribution from the perpetrator. Findings suggest that unpopular children are at risk when teachers do not share their sensitivity regarding danger and the need for help.

In response to an alarming frequency of violence on the school campus, the topic of peer harassment and victimization has received a good deal of attention (American Psychological Association [APA], 1999; Espelage & Swearer, 2003b; Furlong & Morrison, 1994). Research has addressed correlates and consequences of harassment, why certain children engage in harassment, why certain children are vulnerable to harassment, and what factors buffer adverse effects of harassment (see Coie & Dodge, 1998; Espelage & Swearer, 2003a; Juvonen & Graham, 2001; Olweus, 1978; Pellegrini, 2002). A number of researchers have reported on intervention programs aimed at reducing victimization (e.g., Olweus, 1993b; Rigby, 1996; Smith & Sharp, 1994; Sullivan, 2000). Surprisingly, few studies have examined how children actually cope when they are confronted by a perpetrator (Boivin, Hymel, & Hodges, 2001; Ladd & Ladd, 2001; Smith, Shu, & Madsen, 2001). The focus of the present study is a particular strategy for dealing with harassment, namely, help-seeking (HS). Because teachers are not always present when conflicts occur, students may have to assess the level of danger and, if necessary, take responsibility for seeking help. However, doing so often carries with it personal and social costs (e.g., being perceived as weak and potential reprisal from the perpetrator; Newman, Murray, & Lussier, 2001). For many children, knowing when it is appropriate to ask a teacher to intervene presents a dilemma (Newman, 2003; Newman, in press). In this study, we examined how elementary school students and teachers view the seriousness of harassment and the appropriateness of HS.

Peer harassment has been defined in numerous ways. Many researchers use the terms *harassment, victimization, and bullying* interchangeably (e.g., Espelage & Swearer, 2003b; Hawker & Boulton, 2001; Pellegrini, 2002). Here, we use the term *harassment* to refer to unprovoked aggression (i.e., proactive; Dodge, 1991; Dodge & Coie, 1987) in which there is an imbalance of power or strength between two children, a perpetrator and a victim. We are not referring to aggression that is either unambiguously provoked (i.e., reactive; Dodge, 1991; Dodge & Coie, 1987) or in which it is ambiguous whether there has been provocation (e.g., a child runs into a peer, and it is not clear whether it was intentional or accidental; Erdley & Asher, 1996; Graham, Hudley, & Williams, 1992). Harassment can involve either overt (i.e., direct, face-to-face) or relational (i.e., indirect, covert) aggression (Crick, 1996; Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). In spite of increased attention being paid by researchers to relational aggression (e.g., social ostracism, spreading of rumors; see Crick et al., 2001; Underwood, 2002), we limited the focus of the study to overt aggression, particularly three types of incidents common to elementary school (i.e., teasing, threats, and physical aggression; see Craig & Pepler, 1997; Olweus, 1993b; Pepler & Craig, 1995; Whitney & Smith, 1993).

Elementary-aged children generally do not cope with interpersonal conflict by going to an adult for help. In struggles for personal control (e.g., two children have differing views about which game to play) and conflicts over equal rights (e.g., two children want to get on the computer at the same time), socially competent children are particularly likely to resolve the situation on their own with prosocial strategies (e.g., discussion, sharing, compromise, and assertiveness). Children lacking social competence are more likely to depend on help from adults (see Hartup,

Richard S. Newman and Brian Murray, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Riverside.

This research was part of an unpublished dissertation submitted by Brian J. Murray to the University of California, Riverside.

Brian J. Murray is now at the Office of Foothill Special Education Local Planning Area (SELPA), Glendale, CA.

We express appreciation to the students and teachers from Duarte Unified School District who participated in the study and to Robert C. Calfee, who provided helpful comments on an earlier version of the manuscript.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Richard S. Newman, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Riverside, California 92521-0128. E-mail: richard.newman@ucr.edu

1996; Rubin & Krasnor, 1986; Rubin & Rose-Krasnor, 1992; Shantz & Shantz, 1985). In more serious situations such as conflicts involving a rights infraction (e.g., a peer takes the child's seat in the lunchroom or grabs the child's video game), however, seeking assistance from an adult is seen as a reasonable backup strategy when prosocial strategies such as assertiveness fail to resolve the conflict (Hopmeyer & Asher, 1997). Although their focus was not harassment per se, Hopmeyer and Asher (1997) suggested that when "pushed far enough," children view HS as an appropriate response. Indeed, there is evidence that HS can effectively reduce victimization (Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1997) and buffer victimized children from further social problems (Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002). Findings of Kochenderfer-Ladd and colleagues have involved social support seeking from friends or family members rather than teachers.

The only study to date that has focused on students seeking help from teachers in the context of peer harassment at school is Newman et al. (2001). Using vignettes portraying a variety of hypothetical incidents, Newman and colleagues interviewed third- and fourth-graders in an attempt to identify situations in which students find it appropriate to get assistance from their teacher and to understand students' reasons for seeking and avoiding help. Children said they typically would ask for help if harassed by a peer physically larger than they. Generally, however, children expressed reluctance. Although it was expected that children perceive greater danger—and hence greater social sanctioning of HS—when they are alone (for discussion of violence in *unowned places* on the school campus such as playgrounds, see Astor, Meyer, & Behre, 1999; also Boulton, 1994; Craig & Pepler, 1997; Olweus, 1993a), findings did not confirm this. The most common reasons that students gave for seeking help involved pragmatic benefits of resolving the conflict (e.g., getting back what was taken from them, reestablishing control, righting the wrong, ending the fight). The most common reasons they gave for not seeking help involved potential costs (e.g., being perceived by peers as socially incompetent or weak, reprisals from the perpetrator) and desire to be independent. Consistent with research showing connections between children's goals and strategies for dealing with peer conflict (Chung & Asher, 1996; Erdley, 1996; Erdley & Asher, 1996), particular goals were related to HS. The greater their desire to resolve the conflict, the more frequently students said they would go to their teacher for help. The greater their interest in maintaining friendship with the perpetrator, the less frequently students said they would go to their teacher; presumably, children were aware that HS can end whatever friendship they have with the other child. Among third-graders, those most interested in retaliating against the perpetrator said they would seek help; they saw the teacher as their ally in meting out punishment. Fourth-graders interested in retaliating, on the other hand, were more likely to want to take things into their own hands to get even with the other child (i.e., reactive aggression; Dodge, 1991; Dodge & Coie, 1987).

The purpose of the present study was to follow up these findings and examine more systematically students' views about harassment and HS. We presented students with vignettes portraying three types of harassment (teasing, threats, and physical aggression) occurring at two locations (classroom and playground). For each vignette, students were asked to imagine themselves facing the perpetrator. The within-subject design of the study allowed us to examine how incident type may interact with incident location. We were interested in students' perceptions of how serious each incident is, their intentions to seek help, and reasons for seeking and not seeking help. It was expected that students (a) perceive teasing as less serious than threats and threats less serious than physical aggression, (b) perceive incidents on the playground as more serious than similar incidents in the classroom (where presumably the teacher handles difficulties without being asked), (c) perceive threats and physical aggression on the playground as especially serious, and (d) are most likely to say they would seek help in situations they perceive to be most serious. We examined, without specific hypotheses, whether students' reasons for seeking and not seeking help vary according to type and location of incident. In addition, the study addressed two issues: (a) whether students' views of harassment and HS differ according to student popularity, and (b) whether students' views differ from the views of teachers.

HS in Relation to Student Popularity

We were interested in understanding individual differences in how students perceive peer harassment and HS, particularly whether there are individual differences related to student popularity. Do popular children perceive certain incidents, such as teasing, to be relatively minor whereas unpopular children perceive the same incidents as serious? Correspondingly, do children's intentions to seek help and reasons for seeking and not seeking help differ according to popularity and type and location of harassment?

Although no research has addressed student popularity and HS, the developmental psychology literature on peer relations provides direction for the study (see Cillessen & Bukowski, 2000; Gifford-Smith & Brownell, 2003; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 1998). Popularity has been conceptualized in two ways: first, as a measure of social status or peer acceptance (*sociometric popularity*), and second, as a measure of social visibility or peer reputation (*perceived popularity*). Most research on popularity has involved sociometric popularity (see Coie, Dodge, & Kupersmidt, 1990; Newcomb, Bukowski, & Pattee, 1993). With the typical sociometric assessment, each child in a classroom is asked to nominate three children they "like the most" and three they "like the least." A continuous social preference score is calculated as the number of *like* nominations minus the number of *dislike* nominations, where the two numbers are first standardized within-classroom. Based on the classification system developed by Coie, Dodge, and Coppotelli (1982), children are considered *popular* if their social preference score is relatively high (usually at least one standard deviation above the mean). Other categories include *rejected*; these are children who have relatively few *like* and many *dislike* nominations. Recent research has established that social status groups are not homogeneous. For example, there are at least two subtypes of rejected children (e.g., *withdrawn* and *aggressive*) (see Rubin et al., 1998).

In this study, popularity was operationalized as perceived popularity (Parkhurst & Hopmeyer, 1998). The typical assessment involves children being asked directly, "Who is popular?" More specifically, according to the procedure of Cillessen and Mayeux (2004), each child in a classroom nominates three classmates who "are most popular" and three who "are least popular." A continu-

ous perceived popularity score is calculated as the number of *most popular* nominations minus the number of *least popular* nominations, where the two numbers are first standardized within-classroom. The two constructs, sociometric popularity and perceived popularity, overlap only moderately (LaFontana & Cillessen, 1999; Parkhurst & Hopmeyer, 1998). Children who are well liked by their peers (i.e., demonstrate sociometric popularity) are not necessarily the same children who have a reputation of being popular (i.e., demonstrate perceived popularity). Whereas children categorized as popular in social status tend to be seen as kind, trustworthy, cooperative, and prosocial, those high in perceived popularity tend to be seen as socially dominant, aggressive, "tough," and somewhat antisocial (LaFontana & Cillessen, 2002; see also Luthar & McMahon, 1996; Rodkin, Farmer, Pearl, & Van Acker, 2000). Most pertinent to the present study are findings that children high in perceived popularity are seen by their peers as not easy to push around (Parkhurst & Hopmeyer, 1998). Additionally, according to ethnographic observations of classrooms, children perceived to be popular and "cool" commonly use teasing and ridicule to establish social dominance (Adler & Adler, 1998; Eder, Evans, & Parker, 1995; for related findings on immunity from ridicule as an indicator of dominance, see Weisfeld, Bloch, & Ivers, 1984).

We expected that children perceived to be popular view teasing as relatively minor in comparison to threats or physical aggression, and that such children do not view teasing as requiring the teacher's help. In fact, for popular children, it is likely that going to the teacher is seen as an "uncool" thing to do. They may feel confident in handling the situation on their own by being assertive or aggressive (cf. Dodge, 1991; Dodge & Coie, 1987). We expected that children perceived to be unpopular view harassment differently. Lacking social dominance and toughness, they are likely to view incidents of teasing just as seriously as threats and physical aggression and, correspondingly, are just as likely to seek help in response to teasing as other types of incidents. In comparison to popular students, those who are unpopular are more likely to view teasing as serious and requiring assistance. The implication of this would be important. To the extent they appear overly sensitive to teasing, unpopular children may stand out in the crowd. Asking for help when it seemingly is not necessary (i.e., at least according to popular children) may be thought of as *tattling* (informing the teacher in order to get another student in trouble), with the child then being ostracized and socially excluded by peers (Newman, 2003; see also Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1997).

One can also envision a scenario in which children perceived as unpopular fail to seek help even when it seemingly is necessary (i.e., according to others as well as themselves); for example, in situations that involve physical aggression. That is, unpopular students may show a discrepancy between perceived severity and intended HS. The implication of this, too, would be important. To the extent they are passive or submissive—willing to tolerate harm rather than seek help and risk further social rejection by peers or retribution from the perpetrator—unpopular children potentially face serious consequences associated with chronic victimization (Espelage & Holt, 2001; Perry, Hodges, & Egan, 2001; Salmivalli, 2001). A goal of the study was to investigate different ways in which popular and unpopular children may view peer harassment and HS.

Differences in Views of Students and Teachers

We also were interested in the views of elementary schoolteachers and whether teachers' views differ from those of students. Do teachers perceive certain incidents (e.g., teasing) as relatively minor whereas students perceive the same type of incident as serious? Correspondingly, do teachers and students have different expectations about when it is appropriate to seek help? Are differences between teachers and students related to student popularity? Underlying these questions is the issue of whether teachers and students have different sensitivities or tolerance levels about danger at school.

There has been little research on how teachers think about, and deal with, student harassment. According to Boulton (1997), teachers generally hold negative attitudes toward bullies and are sympathetic toward children who are victims. Yet teachers tend to feel uncomfortable dealing with bullies and often do not intervene; presumably, they expect children to resolve interpersonal difficulties on their own (Atlas & Pepler, 1998; Olweus, 1993b; Stockdale, Hangaduambo, Duys, Larson, & Sarvela, 2002). There is some evidence indicating that teachers are not good judges of who is a bully or who is a victim (Leff, Kupersmidt, Patterson, & Power, 1999). No studies have examined how teachers view HS, and no studies have compared teachers' views on HS with those of students. A goal of the present study was to explore these issues. Given the expected likelihood that popular and unpopular children approach HS differently, it is important to compare teachers with each group of students.

It is likely that, in the context of physical aggression, teachers' and students' perceptions of the seriousness of incidents are similar. When danger is obvious, teachers no doubt are supportive of and responsive to a child coming to them for help, particularly when they are not present or able to intervene spontaneously. And, it is likely that most students, popular and unpopular alike, know that under these conditions, HS is sanctioned by their teachers as well as peers (for teacher–child relationship, see Birch & Ladd, 1996; Pianta, 1999). In contrast to physical aggression, teachers' and students' views may be dissimilar in situations involving teasing. We reasoned that a student–teacher difference may be manifest in one of two ways. What teachers view as an incident that students can handle on their own, for example, by being assertive (e.g., Rubin & Rose-Krasnor, 1992) or simply ignoring the problem (i.e., cognitive distancing; Fields & Prinz, 1997; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002), children may view as serious, requiring the teacher's assistance. To the extent that unpopular students are sensitive to teasing (in comparison to other students and in comparison to other types of incidents), as we expect, it is likely that these students in particular view teasing as more serious than teachers. An alternative hypothesis is that teachers view teasing more seriously than students. Given the salience of recent reports of serious consequences of peer harassment (e.g., loneliness, rejection, and depression; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Wardrop, 2001; Perry et al., 2001) and the prevalence of school-based programs aimed at preventing victimization (APA, 1999; Espelage & Swearer, 2003b; Furlong & Morrison, 1994), it is possible that teachers are more attuned than students to potential danger and the need to intervene (i.e., either spontaneously or in response to a child's request). To the extent that popular students are impervious

to teasing, these students in particular may view teasing less seriously than teachers.

In sum, the purpose of this study was to understand elementary-school students' and teachers' views about HS and peer harassment. Participants were presented hypothetical vignettes portraying three different types of harassment and were asked about (a) perceived severity, (b) intentions of seeking help, and (c) reasons for seeking and not seeking help. In addition, to explore possible differences in participants' sensitivities about dangers involved in harassment, we utilized a series of open-ended questions that probed students' and teachers' beliefs about conditions that warrant HS and conditions that make children afraid to ask for help. It should be noted that although our stated expectations about student popularity involve comparisons between two groups of children (popular and unpopular), the variable was operationalized according to three distinct groups (popular, unpopular, and those average in popularity). With three groups, we can address whether popularity is related to perceptions of severity and other dependent variables in a monotonic fashion, or whether the views of one group of students (e.g., those who are unpopular) are relatively extreme whereas views of the other group (e.g., those who are popular) are more the norm.

For several reasons, we focused on students and teachers at two particular upper-elementary grades (Grades 4 and 5). Although incidents of teasing, threats, and physical aggression are common on the elementary-school campus, concerns about danger and personal safety may be especially salient for students and teachers at these grades. (Hopmeyer & Asher, 1997; Newman et al., 2001). In the school district where the study was conducted, fourth- and fifth-graders spend lunchtime and free time on the playground with children (sixth-graders) who are older and physically larger than they. Fourth- and fifth-graders are in larger classes, with teachers who tend to have less personal involvement with students than is the case at lower-elementary grades. Hence, environmental conditions resemble in certain ways conditions experienced by early adolescents at middle school (Eccles & Midgley, 1989; Paris & Cunningham, 1996; Simmons & Blyth, 1987). Adolescence is the developmental period in which peer harassment has been most widely researched (e.g., Espelage & Swearer, 2003a; Juvonen & Graham, 2001; Pellegrini, 2002). A better understanding of issues regarding harassment in elementary school, at the upper grades in particular, might contribute to earlier efforts aimed at preventing victimization prior to middle school and high school.

Method

Sample

Students. Participants were fourth- and fifth-graders from two elementary schools in a school district in the inland area of southern California. In these schools, lower-elementary grades are kindergarten to Grade 3, and upper grades are Grades 4 to 6. According to statistics regarding assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program, children in the district generally come from families of low- to middle-income socioeconomic status. We identified 153 children from five classrooms who had at least average proficiency in English and were not receiving any special education services.

To ensure that the sample did not overrepresent well-functioning children, and at the same time following guidelines from the campus Institutional Review Board, we chose participants through a two-phase process of informed consent (for discussion of rationale, see Anderman et al., 1995; Weinberger, Tublin, Ford, & Feldman, 1990). First, using a passive informed consent procedure, parents of the 153 children were sent a letter describing the peer nomination phase of the study, asking them to call or write their child's school if they did not want their child to participate. As a result, 139 children were allowed to participate; all these children gave their assent to participate. Of the 139 children, the peer nomination procedure (see next paragraph) identified a group of 95 children for further study. Then, using an active informed consent procedure, parents of these 95 children were sent a letter describing the interview phase of the study, asking them to return a signed form to their child's school if they would permit their child to participate. As a result, 48 children were allowed to participate; all the children gave their assent.

In order to determine students' perceived popularity, we used a peer nomination procedure similar to that of Cillessen and Mayeux (2004). One hundred thirty-nine children (those with passive parental consent) were given two class rosters and asked to circle the names of three classmates who "have the most friends in your class" and then the three who "have the least number of friends in your class." Based on a perceived popularity score (i.e., the number of most-friends nominations minus the number of least-friends nominations, where the two numbers of nominations were first standardized within-classroom, and the difference was also standardized), children were classified into three groups. Students with a score at least one standard deviation above the mean were considered most popular; those with a score at least one standard deviation below the mean were considered least popular; and those with a score within one-half standard deviation above and below the mean were considered average in popularity. Ninety-five students fell into the three groups (ns = 23, 19, and 53, respectively). Of these children, we interviewed 48 (those with "active" parental consent). This final sample consisted of 19 children who were most popular (10 boys, 9 girls; 5 fourth-graders, 14 fifth-graders); 15 least popular (10 boys, 5 girls; 9 fourth-graders, 6 fifth-graders); and 14 average in popularity (9 boys, 5 girls; 5 fourth-graders, 9 fifth-graders). Hereafter, the three groups are referred to as *popular*, *unpopular*, and *average*. Sixty percent of the sample were Hispanic (predominately Mexican American), 34% Caucasian, 4% African American, and 2% Asian American; these proportions are nearly identical to the ethnic makeup of the student body at the two schools and the school district.

Teachers. In addition to students, we included in the study a group of fourth- and fifth-grade teachers. A letter was sent to all 13 fourth-grade and 12 fifth-grade teachers in the school district, inquiring if they were interested in participating; they all responded (on a written form with a 5-point Likert scale) with moderate to high interest. We chose the five teachers from the classrooms from which the 48 students came. Of the remaining 20 teachers, 10 were randomly chosen. The resulting sample of 15 teachers included 8 at Grade 4 and 7 at Grade 5. Three teachers were male and 12 female; they were 46% Caucasian, 40% Hispanic, 7% African American, and 7% Asian American; this is comparable to the ethnic makeup of teachers at the two schools and school district.

Materials

Prior to data collection, we interviewed an independent group of 10 fourth- and fifth-grade students and 10 fourth- and fifth-grade teachers. Based on stimuli used in Newman et al. (2001) and Hopmeyer and Asher (1997), we had constructed 48 vignettes representing three types of overt peer harassment common to elementary and middle school: Sixteen represented verbal teasing; 16 verbal threats; and 16 physical aggression. Pilot participants rated each vignette according to the likelihood (on a 3-point Likert scale) of the incident occurring during students' daily interactions at school. In each of the three categories (subsequently referred to as *teasing*, *threats*, and *physical aggression*), 8 vignettes that had the highest likelihood-scores from the students and teachers were retained. In several cases, vignettes were reworded so that, within each of the three types of

incidents, half occurred in the classroom and half on the playground (for examples, see Appendix). Each of the 24 vignettes had two versions, one involving a perpetrator who was a girl and one a boy. Each vignette was printed on a 3 × 5 in. (7.62 × 12.7 cm) index card. Based on piloting, we also developed a set of interview questions (see *Procedure*), making sure that both students and teachers understood the wording.

Procedure

In individual interviews, an experimenter presented in a random order the 24 cards. Children were presented a version of each vignette in which the perpetrator was the same gender as the participant. The experimenter read aloud each card. Children were asked to put the cards into three piles according to the severity of the incident; piles were identified as representing mild, moderate, and severe incidents. The experimenter recorded the pile in which each vignette was placed. Then, from each pile, the experimenter randomly chose four cards and asked children: "If you were in this situation, (a) Would you go and get help from an adult? and (b) why or why not?"[1] Responses were written down verbatim.

Following this procedure, each child was asked four sets of open-ended questions (nine items in all) that did not refer to the vignettes. For each question, a sentence stem was read and the child was asked to "fill in the blank." The first set (two items) involved conditions that warrant HS; one pertained to teasing ("If I am being teased by a classmate, it would be OK to ask an adult for help if . . .") and one to threats ("If I am being threatened by another student, it would be OK to ask the teacher for help if . . ."). The second set (two items) involved conditions that do not warrant HS; one pertained to teasing ("When I am being teased by another student, I would never ask an adult for help if . . .") and one to physical aggression ("When I have been hit or punched by another student, I would never ask a teacher for help if . . ."). The third set (two items) involved conditions that evoke fear of seeking help; one pertained to threats ("If I am being threatened by a classmate, I might be afraid to ask for help if . . .") and one to physical aggression ("If I have been hit or punched by another student, I might be afraid to ask for help if . . ."). The fourth set (three items) involved choice of helper if the participant is teased (or threatened or hit) on the playground (e.g., "When I am teased by another student on the playground, I might ask . . . [whom?] for help."). Note that items in the fourth set, about choice of helper, referred specifically to the playground; none of the other items specified a location. Choice-of-helper items involved the three types of incidents. For the other sets of items, questioning referred to just two types of incidents; time constraints forced us to restrict questioning to situations that pilot testing had shown to be most salient for children. The four sets of items, and individual items within each set, were presented in a random order. Responses were written down verbatim by the experimenter.

Teachers followed a nearly identical procedure. In individual interviews, the teachers first put the 24 cards (randomly chosen to represent male and female perpetrators) into three piles according to their (i.e., the teachers') perceptions of severity. Questioning about the vignettes (4 of which were from their *mild* pile, 4 from their *moderate* pile, and 4 from their *severe* pile) was worded as: "If a student were in this situation, (1) Would he (or she) go and get help from an adult? and (2) why or why not?"[1, 2] Finally, teachers were asked the same nine open-ended questions that the children answered (referring to how a student would react in each situation).

Experimenters were the second author (who is a school psychologist) and two female school psychologists; none of these individuals was employed at the participating schools. To code open-ended questions, the two authors examined and discussed responses, constructed coding schemes, independently coded all responses, discussed disagreements, and revised coding schemes. Under the guidance of the second author, two school psychologists (different from the experimenters) were introduced to the revised coding schemes and independently coded all responses (see interrater reliability coefficients, below). The authors resolved any disagreements. In several cases, because of very low frequencies, categories of *other* responses were created.

Results

Preliminary analyses indicated that there were no significant gender differences on any variable. Accordingly, male and female participants were combined for all analyses. For mixed-model, repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) and analysis of covariance (ANCOVA), we report within-subject effects with a Greenhouse–Geisser degrees of freedom adjustment (GG-ε); this is a precaution when assumptions of circularity (i.e., multisample sphericity) in a univariate analysis may be violated. For mixed-model, repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), significant within-subject effects were followed up with univariate analyses (see Bray & Maxwell, 1985; Hertzog & Rovine, 1985; O'Brien & Kaiser, 1985; Stevens, 1996). For all analyses, unless otherwise noted, post hoc tests were conducted using multiple comparisons with a Bonferroni procedure ($p < .05$) to protect the simultaneous Type I error rate. Where appropriate, multiple comparisons were preceded by tests of simple effects (see Marascuilo & Levin, 1983).

Because one aim of the study was to investigate differences between teachers and each of three groups of students (i.e., unpopular, average, and popular) as well as differences among the groups of students, analyses consider teachers and students as four categories of the independent variable, *participants*. Although a sample of teachers and a sample of students come from two distinct populations, in this study, the two samples intersect in important ways (e.g., they share a common environment and experience common events). Combining teachers and students in the same variable is supported empirically with evidence of homogeneity of variance between groups. For the study's two major dependent variables (perceived severity of harassment, and frequency of HS; see *Response to Vignettes*), a priori contrasts between two groups (i.e., teachers vs. all students) as well as contrasts among the four separate groups indicated homogeneity of variance (Levene's test), $Fs(1, 61) < 1.71$, $p > .19$, and $Fs(3, 59) < 1.01$, $p > .39$, for two- and four-way contrasts, respectively.

Response to Vignettes

Perceived severity. Numerical ratings representing perceived severity were assigned according to participants' categorization of each vignette (i.e., 1 = mild, 2 = moderate, 3 = severe; see Table 1). In a Participant (4) × Type of Incident (3) × Location of

[1] There was no restriction on the number of vignettes that students were to place in each pile. Although we had expected that participants would put at least four cards in each of the mild, moderate, and severe piles, this was not always the case. If a pile had fewer than four cards, the participant was questioned about the incident on each card in that pile. Three students put no cards in the mild pile and one student put no cards in the severe pile; in these cases, participants were not questioned about mild or severe incidents, respectively. All teachers put at least one card in each pile. Also, note that vignettes portraying teasing, threats, and physical aggression were not necessarily placed in the mild, moderate, and severe piles, respectively. Of the four vignettes representing each cell of the within-subject design (i.e., Type of Incident × Location of Incident), participants were questioned (i.e., asked whether they would seek help and why they would or would not do so) on slightly fewer than two vignettes ($M = 1.8$, $SD = 0.9$).

[2] Questioning matched gender of the victim with gender of the perpetrator.

Table 1
Mean (SD) Perceived Severity of Incidents and Frequency of Help Seeking in Relation to Participant, Type, and Location of Harassment

	Type of harassment					
	Tease		Threat		Physical aggression	
Response to Vignettes 3	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Playground
Unpopular students (n = 15)						
Perceived severity of incidents	2.13 (0.55)	2.30 (0.52)	2.33 (0.58)	2.48 (0.46)	2.32 (0.51)	2.35 (0.38)
No. of vignettes with “yes” response	0.73 (0.88)	0.67 (0.90)	1.07 (0.80)	1.20 (0.77)	1.47 (0.83)	1.00 (0.76)
No. of vignettes with “no” response	1.00 (0.93)	1.00 (0.85)	0.67 (0.82)	0.47 (0.64)	0.53 (0.64)	0.67 (0.82)
Proportion of vignettes with “yes” response	.43 (.43)	.37 (.40)	.72 (.35)	.74 (.32)	.73 (0.24)	.63 (.42)
Average students (n = 14)						
Perceived severity of incidents	1.77 (0.45)	1.80 (0.51)	2.16 (0.53)	2.37 (0.64)	2.11 (0.57)	2.27 (0.55)
No. of vignettes with “yes” response	0.36 (0.50)	0.64 (1.08)	1.14 (1.03)	1.71 (0.83)	1.29 (0.61)	1.29 (0.91)
No. of vignettes with “no” response	1.14 (0.95)	1.14 (0.95)	0.36 (0.63)	0.21 (0.58)	0.50 (0.65)	0.71 (1.07)
Proportion of vignettes with “yes” response	.24 (.33)	.35 (.46)	.72 (.45)	0.90 (.28)	.76 (.32)	.72 (.38)
Popular students (n = 19)						
Perceived severity of incidents	1.72 (0.42)	1.59 (0.37)	2.13 (0.50)	2.32 (0.55)	2.24 (0.51)	2.21 (0.50)
No. of vignettes with “yes” response	0.84 (0.90)	0.63 (0.76)	1.26 (0.87)	1.47 (0.77)	0.89 (0.81)	1.42 (0.84)
No. of vignettes with “no” response	1.37 (1.12)	1.53 (0.96)	0.58 (0.96)	0.32 (0.58)	0.37 (0.50)	0.68 (0.82)
Proportion of vignettes with “yes” response	.36 (.41)	.31 (.38)	.77 (.34)	.84 (.29)	.68 (.43)	.73 (.26)
Teachers (n = 15)						
Perceived severity of incidents	1.63 (0.50)	1.52 (0.35)	2.13 (0.46)	2.37 (0.43)	2.42 (0.45)	2.37 (0.35)
No. of vignettes with “yes” response	0.60 (0.83)	0.47 (0.64)	1.07 (0.59)	1.47 (0.92)	1.53 (0.64)	1.60 (0.83)
No. of vignettes with “no” response	1.27 (0.88)	1.87 (1.06)	0.60 (0.74)	0.40 (0.63)	0.33 (0.49)	0.47 (0.64)
Proportion of vignettes with “yes” response	.26 (.38)	.18 (.29)	.68 (.39)	.78 (.37)	.90 (.18)	.78 (.32)

Note. Perceived severity was scaled from 1 = mild to 3 = severe. “Yes” response and “no” response refer to whether student participants reported that they (or, in the case of teacher participants, “a student”) would or would not seek help. For proportion of vignettes, ns = 13–14, 11–14, 17–19, and 15 for unpopular, average, and popular students and teachers, respectively.

Incident (2) ANOVA, with repeated measures on the last two factors, there were main effects of Type of Incident, $F(2, 118) = 35.27$, $p < .001$, GG-$\varepsilon = .963$, $\eta^2 = .374$; Location of Incident, $F(1, 59) = 4.25$, $p < .05$, GG-$\varepsilon = 1.00$, $\eta^2 = .067$; Participant × Type of Incident interaction, $F(6, 118) = 2.63$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .118$; and Location of Incident × Type of Incident interaction, $F(2, 118) = 4.16$, $p < .05$, GG-$\varepsilon = .960$, $\eta^2 = .066$.

Figure 1 illustrates the first interaction. Tests of simple effects indicated participant differences for teasing, $F(3, 59) = 7.78$, $p < .001$, but not threats, $F(3, 59) = 0.48$, $p = .70$, or physical aggression, $F(3, 59) = 0.74$, $p = .54$. Teasing was viewed as more serious by unpopular students ($M = 2.2$) than by average students ($M = 1.8$), popular students ($M = 1.7$), or teachers ($M = 1.6$), $ts(27–32) > 2.59$; there were no differences between average students, popular students, or teachers, $ts(27–32) < 1.50$. For unpopular students, there were no differences in perceived severity between teasing, threats, and physical aggression (Ms = 2.2, 2.4, 2.3), $ts(14) < 1.18$. Students of average popularity rated threats and physical aggression (Ms = 2.3, 2.2) as more serious than teasing ($M = 1.8$), $ts(13) > 2.80$; but there was no difference between threats and physical aggression, $t(13) = 0.70$. Likewise, popular students and teachers rated threats (Ms = 2.2, 2.3, for popular students and teachers, respectively) and physical aggression (Ms = 2.2, 2.4) as more serious than teasing (Ms = 1.7, 1.6), $ts(18, 14) > 4.56$, with no difference between threats and physical aggression, $ts(18, 14) < 1.04$. The second interaction was due to participants rating threats on the playground ($M = 2.4$) as more serious than threats in the classroom ($M = 2.2$), $t(62) = 3.61$, whereas there was no difference according to location for either teasing (Ms = 1.8) or physical aggression (Ms = 2.3), $ts(62) < 0.44$.

Frequency of HS. Table 1 contains the number of vignettes for which participants answered yes or no when asked whether they (or, in the case of teachers, “a student”) would go to an adult for help. To normalize the measure of HS (participants were not necessarily questioned on the same number of vignettes; see Footnote 1), frequencies were converted to proportion scores (i.e., number of yes responses out of the total number of yes and no). In a Participant (4) × Type of Incident (3) × Location of Incident (2) ANCOVA, with repeated measures on the last two factors and perceived severity as the covariate, there was a main effect of Type of Incident, $F(2, 331) = 39.79$, $p < .001$, GG-$\varepsilon = .990$, $\eta^2 = .251$. Participants were more likely to report HS for threats (unadjusted $M = 0.78$) and physical aggression ($M = 0.74$) than for teasing ($M = 0.34$), $ts(61) > 7.65$, whereas there was no difference between threats and physical aggression, $t(60) = 0.76$. An arcsine transformation on proportions resulted in similar findings.

Reasons for seeking help. Responses to the question, “Why would you (or, in the case of teachers, ‘a student’) go and get help from an adult?” were coded with a high degree of inter-rater reliability (Cohen’s $\kappa = .93$). Participants gave five different reasons: (a) end the conflict (e.g., “just make them stop doing it”); (b) retaliate (e.g., “get the other kid in trouble . . . hopefully he’d get detention”); (c) uphold a principle of justice (hold perpetrator accountable for breaking a rule; e.g., “because what he’s doing is wrong”); (d) inform the teacher of the incident (simply notify the teacher, without requesting any specific action; e.g., “because my

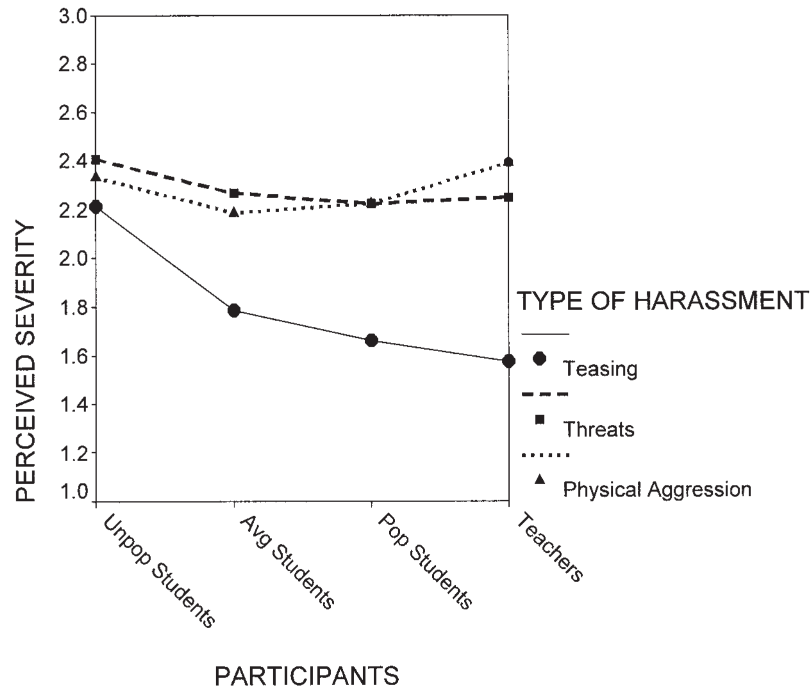

Figure 1. Perceived severity of incidents in relation to participant and type of harassment. Unpop = unpopular; Avg = average; Pop = popular.

knee's scraped and hurts! . . . she needs to know"); and (e) other, noncategorizable responses.

Table 2 contains response frequencies (i.e., the number of vignettes for which participants gave each reason). Due to overall low frequencies as well as similarity in response, frequencies were summed across location (i.e., classroom, playground). Frequencies of each reason were converted to proportions (i.e., the number of vignettes for which participants gave the reason divided by the total number of vignettes for which they said they would seek help; see Table 2). Since the denominator of these proportions is occasionally 0, *n*s are reduced considerably; hence, analyses involve frequencies rather than proportions.

Because of considerable differences in both frequency and variance between the *retaliate* reason and the other three reasons, we analyzed this one reason separately. For *retaliate*, a Participant (4) × Type of Incident (3) ANOVA, with repeated measures on the last factor, showed no significant effects for Participant, $F(3, 59) = 0.38$, $p = .76$, $\eta^2 = .019$; Type of Incident, $F(2, 118) = 0.56$, $p = .57$, GG-$\varepsilon = .867$, $\eta^2 = .009$; or Participant × Type of Incident, $F(6, 118) = 0.84$, $p = .54$, $\eta^2 = .041$. For the remaining reasons, frequencies are intercorrelated (i.e., the more likely a participant cited one particular reason, the less likely he or she cited other reasons); hence, we conducted a Participant (4) × Type of Incident (3) MANOVA, with repeated measures on the last factor. The analysis involves three dependent variables (i.e., frequencies for the three reasons). There was a significant effect of Type of Incident, Pillai's trace = .735, $F(6, 54) = 24.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .735$. As a follow-up procedure, we conducted three Type-of-Incident (3) repeated measures ANOVA, one for each reason. For the reason *end the conflict*, $F(2, 124) = 26.73$, $p < .001$, GG-$\varepsilon = .862$, $\eta^2 = .301$; this reason was cited more frequently in the context of threats ($M = 1.29$) than physical aggression ($M = 0.59$); both frequencies were greater than the frequency for teasing ($M = 0.21$), ts$(62) > 3.34$. For the reason *achieve justice*, $F(2, 124) = 3.56$, $p < .05$, GG-$\varepsilon = .987$, $\eta^2 = .054$; this was cited more for threats ($M = 1.08$) than for physical aggression ($M = 0.70$), $t(62) = 2.53$; the other contrasts, which involved teasing ($M = 0.75$), were not significant, ts$(62) < 2.04$. For the reason *inform the teacher*, $F(2, 124) = 39.62$, $p < .001$, GG-$\varepsilon = .648$, $\eta^2 = .390$; this was cited more for physical aggression ($M = 1.06$) than teasing ($M = 0.22$); both frequencies were greater than the frequency for threats ($M = 0.06$), ts$(62) > 2.61$.

To determine which reasons each group of participants cited most often, we collapsed frequencies across type of incident and conducted four sets (i.e., one for each group of participants) of multiple comparisons. Because of the exploratory nature of these tests, in order to protect the Type I error rate, the criterion for statistical significance was set at $p < .01$. Popular students cited *achieve justice* ($M = 1.11$) and *end the conflict* ($M = 0.54$) more frequently than they cited *inform the teacher* ($M = 0.32$), ts$(18) > 2.69$; the other contrast was not significant, $t(18) = 2.05$. Average students cited *achieve justice* ($M = 0.93$) more frequently than *inform the teacher* ($M = 0.36$), $t(13) = 2.79$; the other contrasts, which involved *end the conflict* ($M = 0.74$), were not significant, ts$(13) < 2.14$. For unpopular students (Ms = 0.49, 0.62, 0.80 for *inform the teacher, end the conflict, achieve justice*, respectively) and teachers (Ms = 0.67, 0.91, 0.47 for the same reasons), there were no significant differences, ts$(14) < 2.17$.

Reasons for not seeking help. Responses to the question, "Why would you (or, in the case of teachers, "a student") not go and get help from an adult?" were coded with a high degree of inter-rater reliability (Cohen's $\kappa = .94$). Participants gave six

Table 2
Mean (SD) Frequency of Reasons for Seeking Help in Relation to Participant and Type of Harassment

	Type of harassment											
	Tease				Threat				Physical aggression			
	Students				Students				Students			
Reason	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers
End the conflict												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.33 (0.82)	0.07 (0.27)	0.16 (0.37)	0.27 (0.59)	1.07 (0.96)	1.71 (1.14)	0.84 (0.90)	1.67 (1.29)	0.47 (0.64)	0.43 (0.65)	0.63 (0.90)	0.80 (0.77)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.20 (.40)	.13 (.35)	.15 (.31)	.33 (.50)	.46 (.39)	.65 (.31)	.38 (.40)	.57 (.37)	.23 (.31)	.17 (.25)	.28 (.39)	.27 (.31)
Retaliate												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.05 (0.23)	0.13 (0.52)	0.07 (0.26)	0.00 (0.00)	0.26 (0.81)	0.13 (0.35)	0.13 (0.35)	0.14 (0.53)	0.05 (0.23)	0.07 (0.26)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.02 (.07)	.07 (.22)	.02 (.09)	.00 (.00)	.09 (.27)	.10 (.28)	.06 (.16)	.05 (.18)	.02 (.08)	.02 (.09)
Principle of justice												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.67 (0.98)	0.79 (1.12)	1.05 (1.31)	0.40 (0.74)	1.00 (0.85)	1.07 (1.21)	1.47 (1.35)	0.67 (0.62)	0.73 (0.96)	0.93 (0.83)	0.79 (0.98)	0.33 (0.62)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.50 (.50)	.75 (.38)	.67 (.37)	.37 (.48)	.46 (.38)	.33 (.29)	.47 (.36)	.29 (.31)	.27 (.29)	.35 (.31)	.33 (.40)	.11 (.20)
Inform the teacher												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.40 (0.83)	0.07 (0.27)	0.21 (0.42)	0.20 (0.41)	0.13 (0.35)	0.00 (0.00)	0.05 (0.23)	0.07 (0.26)	0.93 (0.88)	1.00 (0.96)	0.68 (0.75)	1.73 (1.28)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.30 (.43)	.06 (.18)	.17 (.25)	.19 (.34)	.05 (.14)	.00 (.00)	.03 (.12)	.03 (.13)	.36 (.29)	.41 (.35)	.29 (.37)	.53 (.37)
Other												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.27)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.26)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.27)	0.11 (0.32)	0.00 (0.00)	0.20 (0.56)	0.07 (0.27)	0.16 (0.37)	0.20 (0.41)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.00 (.00)	.06 (.18)	.00 (.00)	.04 (.11)	.00 (.00)	.03 (.09)	.03 (.09)	.00 (.00)	.08 (.20)	.03 (.09)	.09 (.26)	.07 (.14)

Note. Responses are for classroom and playground incidents combined. For number of vignettes, *ns* = 15, 14, 19, and 15 for unpopular, average, and popular students and teachers, respectively. For proportion of vignettes, *ns* = 11–14, 8–13, 12–19, and 9–15 for unpopular, average, and popular students and teachers, respectively.

different reasons: (a) belief that the incident is not serious enough to warrant HS (e.g., "it would be embarrassing . . . I should be able to handle it myself" or "it is no big deal"); (b) use of assertiveness instead (e.g., "I'd just tell him to knock it off!"); (c) use of retaliation instead (e.g., "I'd smack him right back"); (d) reliance on friends instead (e.g., "I'd tell my best friend and she'd help"); (e) fear of retribution (e.g., "the kid would get even madder . . . then I'm in *big* trouble!"); and (f) other, noncategorizable responses. Table 3 contains response frequencies; as in the preceding section, these were summed across location. Proportion scores also are presented in Table 3; but again, because of reduced *n*s, analyses involve frequencies.

Participants overwhelmingly gave the reason, "the incident is not serious." Because of considerable differences in both frequency and variance between this and the other four reasons, we analyzed this one reason separately. A Participant (4) × Type of Incident (3) ANOVA, with repeated measures on the last factor, showed a main effect of Type of Incident, $F(2, 118) = 41.56$, $p < .001$, GG-$\varepsilon = .955$, $\eta^2 = .413$. Participants cited this reason more often in the context of teasing ($M = 2.29$) than in the context of threats ($M = 0.62$) or physical aggression ($M = 0.94$), $ts(62) > 6.46$; there was no difference between threats and physical aggression, $t(62) = 1.89$. For the remaining reasons, we conducted a Participant (4) × Type of Incident (3) MANOVA, with repeated measures on the last factor. The analysis involves four dependent variables (i.e., frequencies for the four reasons). There were no significant effects for Participant, Pillai's trace $= .282$, $F(12, 174) = 1.50$, $p = .13$, $\eta^2 = .094$; Type of Incident, Pillai's trace $= .234$, $F(8, 52) = 1.98$, $p = .07$, $\eta^2 = .234$; or Participant × Type of Incident, Pillai's trace $= .407$, $F(24, 162) = 1.06$, $p = .40$, $\eta^2 = .136$.

As we did in the preceding section, to determine which reasons each group of participants cited most often, we collapsed frequencies across type of incident and conducted four separate sets of multiple comparisons, with the criterion for statistical significance, $p < .01$. Differences were marginally significant for two groups of participants. Unpopular students tended to cite *fear of retribution* ($M = 0.18$) more frequently than they cited all other reasons (Ms $= 0.00$), $ts(14) = 2.09$, $p = .056$. Teachers tended to cite *assertiveness* ($M = 0.09$) more frequently than they cited *retaliation* ($M = 0.00$), $t(14) = 2.26$, $p = .041$; other contrasts, which involved *reliance on friends* ($M = 0.04$) and *fear of retribution* ($M = 0.02$), were nonsignificant, $ts(14) < 1.38$. For average students (Ms $= 0.12, 0.05, 0.00, 0.02$, for *assertiveness, retaliation, reliance on friends, fear of retribution*, respectively) and popular students (Ms $= 0.14, 0.07, 0.04, 0.00$ for the same reasons), there were no significant differences, $ts(13, 18) < 1.79$.

Response to Open-Ended Questions

Conditions that warrant HS. Participants were asked about conditions that warrant HS when they (or, in the case of teachers, "a student") are teased or threatened. Responses were coded (Cohen's $\kappa = .90$) as (a) seriousness, involving profanity (e.g., "if he swore"); (b) seriousness, involving potential physical harm (e.g., "if he's really going to hurt me . . . like *really*!"); (c) hurt feelings (e.g., "if he made me cry and sad"); (d) statement that they would always seek help (e.g., "*always* . . . are you kidding?!"); (e) expectation that going to the teacher would provide relief (e.g., "if it would help"); (f) confidentiality (e.g., "if I'm sure the other kid would not find out I told on him"); and (g) other, noncategorizable responses. Table 4 contains the number of participants who gave each response. Because of low frequencies on these as well as other open-ended questions, we present only descriptive statistics.

Responses were similar across the three groups of students. For both teasing and threats, most students and teachers said HS is warranted if the incident is serious. It appears, however, that seriousness took on different meanings depending on "seriousness" the type of harassment. When asked about teasing, 54% of students and 80% of teachers referred to profanity; a smaller group of students (17%) as well as one teacher referred to potential physical harm. When asked about threats, 69% of students and 73% of teachers referred to physical harm; no one referred to profanity. Whereas several students said it always is appropriate to ask for help when teased, none said the same regarding threats. In contrast, whereas several teachers said it always is appropriate for a student to ask for help when threatened, none said the same regarding teasing. Several students, but no teachers, said it is acceptable to go to an adult for help when threatened as long as the request for assistance remains confidential. For students, hurt feelings appeared to justify HS more frequently in the context of teasing (13%) than in the context of threats (4%).

Conditions that do not warrant HS. Participants were asked about conditions that do not warrant HS when they (or, in the case of teachers, "a student") encounter teasing or physical aggression. Responses were coded (Cohen's $\kappa = .89$) as (a) lack of seriousness (e.g., "if it is no big deal"); (b) expectation that HS would exacerbate the situation (e.g., "if it would make things worse"); (c) self-reliance (e.g., "if I could handle it myself"); (d) when the victim (not the presumed perpetrator) is actually to blame (e.g., "if *I* started it"); (e) expectation that going to the teacher would not do any good (e.g., "if I knew the teacher would not do anything anyway"); and (f) other, noncategorizable responses. Table 4 contains the number of participants who gave each response. Most students expressed one of two concerns: (a) lack of seriousness, or (b) expectation that HS would exacerbate the situation. When asked about teasing, more students expressed the first concern (65%) than the second (17%). When asked about physical aggression, more students expressed the second concern (50%) than the first (29%), with the exception of unpopular students who expressed the two concerns with the same frequency. Whereas several teachers said a student might refrain from seeking help if he or she expected it would do no good, students themselves never expressed this concern. Occasionally, teachers and students acknowledged that a student might not seek help if the victim was, in fact, the one who is responsible for the incident (i.e., the victim "egged on" the perpetrator).

Conditions that evoke fear of seeking help. Participants were asked about conditions under which they (or, in the case of teachers, "a student") might be afraid to ask for help if threatened or hit. Responses were coded (Cohen's $\kappa = .91$) as (a) expectation that HS would exacerbate the situation (e.g., "the other kid would threaten me even more"); (b) frightening characteristics of the perpetrator (e.g., "if he was bigger . . . or older . . . or one of the bullies"); (c) the victim retaliated and then got in trouble with the teacher (e.g., "I might *really* hit him back, and then I'd get in trouble"); (d) expectation that going to the teacher would not do any good (e.g., "he'd just expect *me* to handle it"); and (e) other,

Table 3
Mean (SD) Frequency of Reasons for Not Seeking Help in Relation to Participant and Type of Harassment

Reason	Tease				Threat				Physical aggression			
	Students				Students				Students			
	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers
Incident is not serious												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	1.73 (1.22)	2.00 (1.92)	2.63 (1.57)	2.67 (1.23)	0.93 (1.03)	0.29 (0.61)	0.53 (0.70)	0.73 (0.88)	1.07 (0.80)	1.07 (1.44)	0.84 (0.96)	0.80 (0.68)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.89 (.28)	.71 (.45)	.93 (.14)	.89 (.20)	.80 (.35)	.50 (.50)	.67 (.44)	.70 (.42)	.94 (.16)	.93 (.19)	.79 (.40)	1.00 (.00)
Be assertive instead												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.05 (0.23)	0.13 (0.35)	0.00 (0.00)	0.29 (0.61)	0.26 (0.81)	0.13 (0.35)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.27)	0.11 (0.32)	0.00 (0.00)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.01 (.04)	.03 (.08)	.00 (.00)	.50 (.50)	.13 (.27)	.10 (.21)	.00 (.00)	.04 (.09)	.10 (.29)	.00 (.00)
Retaliate instead												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.27)	0.16 (0.37)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.27)	0.05 (0.23)	0.00 (0.00)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.00 (.00)	.08 (.29)	.06 (.12)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.04 (.09)	.02 (.07)	.00 (.00)
Rely on friends instead												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.13 (0.52)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.11 (0.32)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.03 (.10)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.20 (.42)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
Fear of retribution												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.27 (0.59)	0.07 (0.27)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.26)	0.20 (0.41)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.07 (0.26)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.11 (.28)	.04 (.14)	.00 (.00)	.02 (.06)	.20 (.35)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.04 (.14)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
Other												
No. of vignettes with specified reason	0.00 (0.00)	0.14 (0.30)	0.05 (0.23)	0.13 (0.52)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.14 (0.27)	0.07 (0.26)	0.00 (0.00)	0.05 (0.23)	0.00 (0.00)
Proportion of vignettes with specified reason	.00 (.00)	.16 (.32)	.01 (.04)	.03 (.13)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.20 (.35)	.02 (.07)	.00 (.00)	.08 (.29)	.00 (.00)

Note. Responses are for classroom and playground incidents combined. For number of vignettes, *ns* = 15, 14, 19, and 15 for unpopular, average, and popular students and teachers, respectively. For proportion of vignettes, *ns* = 9–13, 5–12, 10–16, and 10–15 for unpopular, average, and popular students and teachers, respectively.

Table 4
Beliefs About Conditions That Warrant and Do Not Warrant Help Seeking and That Evoke Fear in Relation to Participant and Type of Harassment

Belief	Tease				Threat				Physical aggression			
	Students				Students				Students			
	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers
Conditions that warrant help seeking[a]												
Seriousness (profanity)	7	9	10	12	0	0	0	0				
Seriousness (potential physical harm)	3	2	3	1	11	10	12	11				
Hurt feelings	2	1	3	2	0	1	1	0				
It would always be OK to seek help	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	3				
Expectation that doing so would help	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0				
Expectation that doing so would be confidential	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0				
Other	0	1	0	0	2	1	3	1				
Conditions that do not warrant help seeking												
Lack of seriousness	8	10	13	4					5	3	6	2
Expectation that doing so would worsen situation	4	3	1	1					5	11	8	4
Self-reliance	1	0	1	0					1	0	4	2
When victim is to blame	2	0	1	1					0	0	0	5
Expectation that doing so would not help	0	0	0	7					0	0	0	2
Other	0	1	3	2					4	0	1	0
Conditions in which help seeking evokes fear												
Expectation that doing so would worsen situation					12	12	15	9	13	12	16	12
Frightening characteristic of perpetrator					1	1	2	0	0	1	1	0
Reactive aggression would get victim in trouble					0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
Expectation that doing so would not help					0	0	0	5	0	0	0	2
Other					2	1	0	1	2	1	1	1

Note. Entries are numbers of participants giving the response. *ns* = 15, 14, 19, and 15 for unpopular, average, and popular students and teachers, respectively.
[a] Participants were asked twice (i.e., one time for teasing and one time for threats) about conditions that warrant help seeking; they were not asked this question for physical aggression: similarly, for conditions that do not warrant help seeking and in which help seeking evokes fear, participants were questioned about just two types of harassment.

noncategorizable responses. Responses (see Table 4) were similar across student popularity and across type of incident. Most students (81% and 85%, for threats and physical aggression, respectively) said they would be afraid to seek help if doing so would make things worse; several other students referred to frightening characteristics of the perpetrator (i.e., factors that likewise may have been perceived as exacerbating the situation). Most teachers also said that a student would be afraid to seek help if doing so would make things worse. As was the case with the preceding items, several teachers gave a response that none of the students had given; they said a student might be afraid to ask for help if he or she felt that doing so would not do any good.

Choice of helper. We asked participants whom they (or, in the case of teachers, "a student") would choose to go to for help when harassed on the playground. Responses were coded (Cohen's κ = .92) as (a) playground proctor (i.e., an adult); (b) peer mediator; (c) friend; (d) teacher; (e) principal; (f) other adult (i.e., parent or grandparent); and (g) no one. There were no apparent differences according to student popularity (see Table 5). In response to teasing and threats, most students (63% for teasing and 71% for threats) said they would go to the playground proctor. In response to physical aggression, however, students were mixed between going to the proctor (40%) or the principal (40%). Teachers almost exclusively thought a student would go to a proctor, peer mediator, or friend if he or she was teased (93%), threatened (100%), or hit (73%). Only two teachers mentioned that a student might call on the principal, and this was in response to physical aggression.

Relations Among Variables

The final set of analyses examined the degree to which perceived severity is related to HS. Within each of the six categories of vignettes (i.e., Type of Incident [3] × Location of Incident [2]), we correlated perceived severity with frequency (i.e., proportions) of HS. No correlation was significant for any of the three groups of students or for teachers. However, after combining variables across location of incident (i.e., increasing from four to eight the number of vignettes represented in each variable), two correlations were significant. For unpopular students, greater perceived severity was associated with greater likelihood of HS for incidents of teasing and threats, $rs(ns = 15, 14) = .55$ and .59, $ps < .05$, but not physical aggression, $r(14) = .02$. All correlations for average and popular students and teachers were nonsignificant, $rs(14–19) < .25$. After combining variables across type of incident (i.e., increasing from 4 to 12 the number of vignettes represented in each variable), one correlation was significant. For unpopular students, greater perceived severity was associated with greater likelihood of HS for incidents on the playground, $r(15) = .65$, $p < .01$, but not incidents in the classroom, $r(15) = .43$. All correlations for average and popular students and teachers were nonsignificant, $rs(14–19) < .27$.

Discussion

An important characteristic of children's social competence is the ability to resolve conflict independently, through means of discussion, reasoning, compromise, and assertiveness (Rubin & Krasnor, 1986; Rubin & Rose-Krasnor, 1992; Shantz & Shantz, 1985). There are times, however, when children need assistance. Children must be aware of their limitations and be able to get help from an adult. The purpose of this study was to understand how elementary school students think about HS in the context of three types of peer harassment (teasing, threats, and physical aggression) occurring at two locations (classroom and playground). We were interested in whether students' views about harassment and HS differ according to perceived popularity and whether their views differ from those of teachers.

Our findings indicate a number of similarities in how students and teachers view harassment and HS. Students and teachers alike acknowledged that there are times when children should not be expected to handle conflict on their own. When incidents are serious, HS is justified. According to both students and teachers, physical harm, whether it is threatened or actually perpetrated, warrants HS. Also, there was consensus that when teasing is accompanied by profanity, and certainly when it is accompanied by physical aggression, children are justified in asking their teacher for assistance. It was in the context of threats more than teasing or even physical aggression that students often said they would need help putting an end to the conflict and holding the perpetrator accountable for his or her actions. When teachers were

Table 5
Choice of Helper When Students Are Harassed on the Playground in Relation to Participant and Type of Harassment

	Type of harassment											
	Tease				Threat				Physical aggression			
	Students				Students				Students			
Helper	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers	Unpopular	Average	Popular	Teachers
Playground proctor (adult)	7	8	15	8	12	9	13	10	6	8	5	9
Peer mediator	2	1	1	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	2
Friend	3	0	1	3	2	0	1	1	1	2	0	0
Teacher	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	1
Principal	1	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	6	3	10	2
Other adult	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	1
No one	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Note. Entries are numbers of participants giving response. *n*s = 15, 14, 19, and 15 for unpopular, average, popular students and teachers, respectively.

asked why students seek help, they pointed to similar reasons (to end the conflict, and to achieve justice), particularly in response to threats.

Both students and teachers reported that threats on the playground are more serious than threats in the classroom. Threats on the playground may be seen as situations that children have to handle by themselves, whereas the teacher will handle threats in the classroom. Certain places on the school campus are indeed more dangerous than others (Astor et al., 1999). Our findings indicate that the elementary school playground is seen as a relatively threatening place where children are on their own (cf. Craig & Pepler, 1997). When asked about their response to harassment (particularly physical aggression) on the playground, a good number of students said they might find it necessary to go to the principal for help. Teachers, however, rarely said that a student would go to the principal. Having to go to the principal, a person with obvious authority, suggests the degree to which students may be concerned about potential danger on the playground. An alternative interpretation is that elementary school teachers, with their many classroom responsibilities and duties, are not always present to assist students on the playground. At the schools where we carried out the study, adult proctors were assigned to watch over playground activity. Teachers may, in fact, not always be aware of happenings outside the immediate environment of the classroom.

Students and teachers acknowledged that asking for help can potentially exacerbate an incident. With threats and physical aggression in particular, students and teachers expressed concern that HS can make the situation worse. When they are threatened, several students acknowledged the importance of requests for help being confidential. This suggests that students are sometimes concerned that HS is seen as tattling and can lead to retribution from peers. Several teachers, but no students, told us that students sometimes refrain from getting help because they are afraid their teacher will not come to their assistance or that assistance provided by the teacher will not, in fact, help them. Desire for confidentiality and concern that HS may not do them any good and may even exacerbate the situation suggest an unspoken fear on the part of students. If they ask for help, will it be forthcoming? Will it get them into more trouble with the perpetrator?

Students' views about harassment and HS varied according to perceived popularity. Students perceived by their peers to be unpopular were especially likely to view teasing as a serious offense, as serious as a threat or physical aggression. Students of average and above-average popularity, on the other hand, thought teasing was less serious than either threats or physical aggression; this view was shared by teachers. When asked why they would seek help, average and popular students most frequently mentioned two specific reasons: to end the conflict, and to achieve justice. They relatively infrequently said the reason was to inform the teacher. With unpopular students, frequencies of the three reasons were similar. This suggests that unpopular students, similar to children lacking social competence (see Hartup, 1996; Rubin & Krasnor, 1986; Rubin & Rose-Krasnor, 1992; Shantz & Shantz, 1985), do not have well-articulated goals or understanding of how to resolve incidents of harassment. They may be satisfied simply notifying the teacher, expecting that he or she will know what to do. When asked why they would not seek help, unpopular students were relatively likely to say they would be afraid of retribution from the perpetrator.

Unpopular students said they would be less likely to seek help when teased than when threatened or hit, yet they perceived teasing to be just as serious as threats and physical aggression. Although unpopular children may fear teasing as much as other types of harassment, their reluctance to actually seek help when teased may belie an underlying sense of danger. A disconnect between perceived severity and intended HS perhaps indicates the degree to which unpopular children, as a group, are inhibited by implicit social rules that seeking help is "not a cool thing to do." Moreover, unpopular children may be especially fearful that seeking help will backfire, get them in trouble, and make them even less popular. In contrast to unpopular children, average and popular children were less likely to say they would seek help when teased than when threatened or hit; they also perceived teasing to be less serious than the other types of harassment. For average and popular children, who presumably possess a certain amount of toughness, it probably is not as necessary to get help when teased (see Adler & Adler, 1998; Eder, Evans, & Parker, 1995; Rodkin et al., 2000).

To understand better why children responded as they did to our hypothetical incidents, it is necessary to examine relations between perceived severity and intended HS. Among average and popular students, perceived severity of conflict—whether in the context of teasing, threats, or physical aggression, and whether in the classroom or on the playground—was unrelated to HS. Among unpopular students, however, the relationship was significant in the context of teasing and threats (but not physical aggression) and in the context of incidents on the playground. It is likely at the elementary grades that physical aggression is not as prevalent as teasing or threats (see Boulton, 1994, 1999; Olweus, 1978; Whitney & Smith, 1993), and when harassment occurs in the classroom as opposed to the playground, teachers intervene without the child having to request help. We can only speculate about why relations were significant for unpopular students only. For these children, the reality of school life may well involve a good deal of teasing and threats from classmates, especially on the playground. Significant relations may reflect unpopular children's attunement or calibration of HS behavior to real-life exposure to harassment. Alternatively, they may reflect how these children respond to overestimations of danger. Unpopular children may infer hostile intent in situations that average and popular children ignore (see Graham & Juvonen, 2001) and may seek help in situations for which other children rely on friends or use assertiveness or aggression. Still, there was no evidence of passivity or submissiveness on the part of unpopular children. They were just as likely as other children to perceive threats and physical aggression as serious and to report that they would seek help in these situations.

There are several limitations to the study. Perhaps most notable, the sample size was small. Because sample size affects statistical

[3] The power of tests of main effects, averaged over all analyses (i.e., involving 10 F- and 4 Pillai's trace-statistics) and calculated at $\alpha = .05$, was 1.00 and .81 for significant and nonsignificant findings, respectively. The power associated with interaction effects (i.e., both two- and three-way), averaged over all analyses (i.e., involving 10 F- and 2 Pillai's trace-statistics), was .78 and .54, for significant and nonsignificant findings, respectively. According to Murphy and Myors (1998), an acceptable criterion of power is .80.

power, one has to consider the possibility of Type II errors in the analyses. According to power analysis (Murphy & Myors, 1998), there was adequate power to detect main effects. However, nonsignificant results involving interactions should be interpreted with caution.[3] As HS and peer harassment is a new area of investigation, the following discussion, which focuses on limitations pertaining to students, teachers, and types of harassment, is meant to provide direction for further research.

First, it is important to consider students' gender and grade level in future studies. We found no gender differences; however, interactions with grade level were not tested because of the small sample. In our preliminary study (Newman et al., 2001), boys and girls at Grade 3 were equally likely to report HS, whereas at Grade 4, boys were less likely than girls to do so. When asked why they might be reluctant to seek help, boys at both grades were especially concerned that doing so can exacerbate the situation; they were concerned they would be perceived as socially incompetent or weak and that there could be reprisals from the perpetrator. In the present study, students expressed similar concerns. It is likely that social costs of HS associated with social comparison (e.g., perceptions of inadequacy or incompetence) are especially salient in situations where most peers, or at least those perceived to be dominant or popular, handle the problem on their own (Newman, 2003; for similar findings with academic HS, see Newman, 2000). Students' concerns are probably heightened at upper-elementary and middle school when the peer group becomes an increasingly important context for socialization (Bukowski & Sippola, 2001; Espelage & Holt, 2001; Ryan, 2001) and teachers increasingly expect students to resolve their own problems without assistance (Newman, 2003). In addition to normative social costs, the present findings indicate that boys and girls who are perceived as unpopular are especially likely to fear reprisals. Future research might address whether unpopular boys and girls are concerned about different types of reprisal. Perhaps girls are most concerned about relational aggression whereas boys are concerned with overt aggression (Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004; Rose, Swenson & Waller, 2004). The focus of the present study was harassment by perpetrators who were the same gender as victims. Situations in which perpetrators and participants are the opposite gender should be explored. As students increasingly socialize in mixed-gender groups, harassment of girls by boys may elicit perceptions, and indeed a reality, of increased seriousness and danger (Adler & Adler, 1998; Coie & Dodge, 1998; Crick, 1997).

It is important to examine how different measures of peer relationships (i.e., perceived popularity, dyadic friendships, and peer group acceptance) are related to students' views about HS. We focused on perceived popularity, reasoning that children who are perceived to be popular view harassment and HS in a way that reflects toughness, social dominance, and aggressiveness; and conversely, children perceived to be unpopular lack these qualities (e.g., LaFontana & Cillessen, 2002; Luthar & McMahon, 1996; Rodkin et al., 2000). The peer nomination procedure (i.e., "Who has the most, and least, number of friends?") was a modification of Cillessen and Mayeux's (2004) procedure (i.e., "Who is most, and least, popular?"). Asking about popularity in this particular way resembles the measure of Cairns, Leung, Gest, and Cairns (1995) in which children rate the extent to which classmates have "lots of friends." A group of children perceived by classmates to be popular (perceived as having relatively many friends) may overlap with a group of children who are liked by relatively many classmates (Newcomb et al., 1993; Parker & Asher, 1993). To the degree there was an overlap in our sample, unpopular children's responses, particularly perceived severity of teasing and fear of retribution, may have reflected a lack of peer support (for dyadic friendship as protective factor from peer victimization, see Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro & Bukowski, 1999; Hodges, Malone, & Perry, 1997; Pellegrini, Bartini, & Brooks, 1999). Perhaps the unpopular children had already experienced a good deal of harassment and rejection. Although this study focused on adults as potential helpers, students occasionally mentioned asking friends for assistance (e.g., on the playground). A natural extension of the study would focus on conditions in which popular and unpopular students choose friends versus adults as helpers (cf. Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1997; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002). Finally, it should be noted that African American, Latino, and European American students sometimes perceive popularity (e.g., Who is "tough"? Who is "cool"?) in different ways (e.g., Graham, Taylor, & Hudley, 1998; Luthar & McMahon, 1996; Rodkin et al., 2000). Relations between ethnicity and students' views of HS need to be addressed.

Second, how teachers think about harassment and HS should be examined further. We do not know whom the teachers in the study had in mind as they responded to questioning about students. What teachers think about harassment undoubtedly depends on specific identities and characteristics of the students who are involved (e.g., Who exactly is the victim? Who is the perpetrator? Who are the bystanders?; for participant roles in victimization, see Salmivalli, 2001). Rather than examining their views at this level of specificity, we asked teachers whether "a student" who is harassed by "another student" would seek help from "an adult." From our findings, one might infer that teachers' views of teasing are based on an expectation of how average and popular students perceive and cope with teasing (e.g., students should be able to handle it on their own, by being assertive, for example). What teachers expect of unpopular students remains a question. One can envision teachers believing that unpopular children are teased because of behaviors under their control (e.g., showing off), in which case they may feel unsympathetic and look unfavorably on a request for help. One can also envision teachers believing that unpopular children are teased due to uncontrollable causes that make it hard for them to handle the situation on their own (e.g., physical disability). In the latter case, teachers are more likely to be sensitive to the child's plight and understanding of a request for help (for attributional analysis of victimization, see Graham & Juvonen, 2001; Weiner, 1995). The larger issue is the degree to which teachers are sensitive and responsive to the needs of different children.

Of course, how teachers think about harassment and HS and how they respond to students' requests for help are also a function of various teacher characteristics. For example, male and female teachers may differ in how they judge the seriousness of harassment. Perhaps male teachers, more than female teachers, expect students (perhaps, especially, boys) to take care of their own problems (Atlas & Pepler, 1998; Olweus, 1993b). Another example is teaching experience. With more years of experience, teachers may be more sensitive to the dilemma in which certain students (e.g., those who are chronically victimized) find themselves if they are harassed. Alternatively, perhaps there is a curvilinear relation between experience and sensitivity, with veteran teachers prefer-

ring not to get involved in incidents. Students' willingness to approach their teacher for help undoubtedly depends not just on individual differences in student and teacher characteristics but also on the type of relationship teachers have with their students. HS is a social transaction (Newman, 1998). Teacher involvement and caring (as opposed to lack of support) are strong predictors of students' academic engagement in general (Patrick, Anderman, & Ryan, 2002; Skinner & Belmont, 1993) and academic HS in particular (Ryan, Gheen, & Midgley, 1998). Certainly, a positive teacher–student relationship must make it easier for students to approach their teacher for help if they are harassed (Newman, 2003). However, the role of the teacher–student relationship may be more complex. For example, a positive relationship potentially can be used as a shield with which certain children, perhaps individuals who are withdrawn and asocial, attempt to protect themselves from having to deal with peer interactions they should be able to handle on their own (Birch & Ladd, 1998).

A third set of issues involves how we operationalized peer harassment. Based on our initial study (Newman et al., 2001) as well as pilot testing, we limited the investigation to incidents of teasing, threats, and physical aggression. For each type of harassment, there are several specific features (i.e., instrumentality, imbalance of power, chronicity) we were not able to examine. Although some of the vignettes portrayed incidents that were explicitly instrumental in the sense that the perpetrator wanted to acquire something that belonged to another child (e.g., a game or position in lunch line), others were ambiguous as to whether the perpetrator wanted to acquire something, intimidate in order to achieve power, or simply get pleasure from hurting the other child (see Espelage & Swearer, 2003b; Juvonen & Graham, 2001; Olweus, 2001). Similarly, although an imbalance of power between perpetrator and victim was explicit in many vignettes, in others (most often, those representing teasing) it was only implied. It may well be that, for unpopular students, a perceived imbalance of power is what makes teasing seem so serious (cf. attributions of hostile intent; Graham & Juvonen, 2001). None of our vignettes indicated, either explicitly or implicitly, whether the harassment was an isolated incident or repeated over time (a condition generally included in the definition of bullying; Olweus, 1978; 1993b). Focusing on chronicity of harassment will be useful in understanding how children's thinking about HS may change, over time, in relation to problems that escalate in terms of severity (see Ladd & Ladd, 2001). In addition to systematically considering these features of harassment, future research should examine students' and teachers' views about HS in the context of relational aggression (e.g., spreading of rumors, excluding children from social groups). The present focus on overt aggression captures only partially the different ways in which children often are harassed at school (Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004; Crick et al., 2001; Rose et al., 2004; Underwood, 2002).

Finally, we stress the importance of being cautious when interpreting findings based on self-reports about hypothetical incidents of harassment. Participants in the study may have responded falsely in what they perceived to be a socially desirable way. Self-reports ideally should be cross-validated with other data (Caspi, 1998; Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2001; Pellegrini, 2001). Incidents of harassment can be emotionally charged. Researchers must examine the actual behavior of students and teachers in real school settings (for discussion of naturalistic observations of aggression at school, see Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000; Pepler & Craig, 1995).

In spite of these limitations, the study provides an important perspective on the development of peer victimization, a perspective that complements already-existing theory (e.g., Juvonen & Graham, 2001). Our findings show that elementary school students, particularly those who are perceived by their peers as unpopular, are sensitive to teasing. Children can find themselves in an HS dilemma (Newman, in press). It sometimes is appropriate, and perhaps necessary, to go to a teacher for assistance. At other times, it may not be necessary. When children try to handle seemingly minor incidents on their own, with assertiveness for example, but are awkward and unsuccessful, this potentially reinforces a negative image with peers and can lead to further harassment (Bierman, Smoot, & Aumiller, 1993; Schuster, 2001). Students perceived as unpopular probably lack friends who could provide support (cf. Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1997; Kochenderfer-Ladd & Skinner, 2002). If they go to their teacher for help, they run the risk of being labeled as a "tattletale." Children are concerned, with good reason, about social exclusion and reprisals from perpetrators. Internalizing taunts and blaming oneself for the cause of harassment can lead to loneliness, low self-esteem, depression, and increased vulnerability (Asher, Parkhurst, Hymel, & Williams, 1990; Ladd & Ladd, 2001). One can speculate about longer term developmental outcomes. In dangerous situations in which they truly need assistance, certain children may become submissive (cf. behavior of children considered withdrawn–rejected) or perhaps overreact violently (cf. behavior of children considered aggressive–rejected; Coie & Dodge, 1998; Hodges et al., 1997; Pellegrini et al., 1999; Perry, Kusel, & Perry, 1988; Schwartz, Dodge, & Coie, 1993; Schwartz, Dodge, Petit, & Bates, 1997).

To understand impediments to elementary school students' HS and to potentially intervene and prevent outcomes such as these, one must consider the role of teachers. In busy classrooms and unsupervised playgrounds, children are expected to handle many conflicts on their own, especially as they get older. Interventions aimed at helping children accurately assess danger and perceive intentionality and helping them develop problem-solving strategies (e.g., assertiveness, cognitive distancing, support from friends) are important. However, teachers may not share students' sensitivities, and indeed sensibilities, regarding fear and danger. To the extent that a teacher underestimates potentially adverse effects of peer harassment, and to the extent he or she has negative perceptions of those who need help, children are undoubtedly reticent to approach that teacher for assistance. To the extent a teacher has a supportive relationship with students, individuals who otherwise might have a difficult time dealing with harassment may be buffered from adverse social and emotional outcomes.

References

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1998). *Peer power: Preadolescent culture and identity.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

American Psychological Association. (1999). *Warning signs: A youth anti-violence initiative.* Washington, DC: Author.

Anderman, C., Cheadle, A., Curry, D. S., Diehr, P., Schultz, L., & Wagner, E. (1995). Selection bias related to parental consent in school-based survey research. *Evaluation Review, 19,* 663–674.

Asher, S. R., Parkhurst, J. T., Hymel, S., & Williams, G. A. (1990). Peer

rejection and loneliness in childhood. In S. R. Asher & J. D. Coie (Eds.), *Peer rejection in childhood* (pp. 253–273). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Astor, R. A., Meyer, H. A., & Behre, W. J. (1999). Unowned places and times: Maps and interviews about violence in high schools. *American Educational Research Journal, 36,* 3–42.

Atlas, R. S., & Pepler, D. J. (1998). Observations of bullying in the classroom. *Journal of Educational Research, 92,* 86–99.

Bierman, K. L., Smoot, D. L., & Aumiller, K. (1993). Characteristics of aggressive-rejected, aggressive (nonrejected), and rejected (nonaggressive) boys. *Child Development, 64,* 139–151.

Birch, S. H., & Ladd, G. W. (1996). Interpersonal relationships in the school environment and children's early school adjustment: The role of teachers and peers. In J. Juvonen & K. R. Wentzel (Eds.), *Social motivation: Understanding children's school adjustment* (pp. 199–225). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Birch, S. H., & Ladd, G. W. (1998). Children's interpersonal behaviors and the teacher-child relationship. *Developmental Psychology, 34,* 934–946.

Boivin, M., Hymel, S., & Hodges, E. V. E. (2001). Toward a process view of peer rejection and harassment. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.) *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 265–289). New York: Guilford Press.

Boulton, M. J. (1994). Understanding and preventing bullying in the junior school playground. In P. K. Smith & S. Sharp (Eds.), *School bullying* (pp. 132–159). London: Routledge.

Boulton, M. J. (1997). Teachers' views on bullying: Definitions, attitudes, and ability to cope. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 67,* 223–233.

Boulton, M. J. (1999). Concurrent and longitudinal relations between children's playground behavior and social preference, victimization, and bullying. *Child Development, 70,* 944–954.

Bray, J. H., & Maxwell, S. E. (1985). *Multivariate analysis of variance.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Bukowski, W. M., & Sippola, L. K. (2001). Groups, individuals, and victimization: A view of the peer system. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.) *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 355–377). New York: Guilford Press.

Cairns, R. B., Leung, M., Gest, S. D., & Cairns, B. D. (1995). A brief method for assessing social development: Structure, reliability, stability, and developmental validity of the Interpersonal Competence Scale. *Behavioral Research Therapy, 33,* 725–736.

Caspi, A. (1998). Personality development across the life course. In N. Eisenberg (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 3* (pp. 311–388). New York: Wiley.

Chung, T., & Asher, S. R. (1996). Children's goals and strategies in peer conflict situations. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 42,* 125–147.

Cillessen, A. H. N., & Bukowski, W. M. (Eds.). (2000). *New directions for child development: No. 88. Recent advances in the measurement of acceptance and rejection in the peer system.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Cillessen, A. H. N., & Mayeux, L. (2004). From censure to reinforcement: Developmental changes in the association between aggression and social status. *Child Development, 75,* 147–163.

Coie, J. D., & Dodge, K. A. (1998). Aggression and antisocial behavior. In W. Damon (Series Ed.) & N. Eisenberg (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 3. Social, emotional, and personality development* (5th ed., pp. 779–862). New York: Wiley.

Coie, J. D., Dodge, K. A., & Coppotelli, H. (1982). Dimensions and types of social status: Across-age perspective. *Developmental Psychology, 18,* 557–570.

Coie, J. D., Dodge, K. A., & Kupersmidt, J. (1990). Peer group behavior and social status. In S. Asher & J. Coie (Eds.), *Peer rejection in childhood* (pp. 17–59). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Craig, W. M., & Pepler, D. J. (1997). Observations of bullying and victimization in the schoolyard. *Canadian Journal of School Psychology, 13,* 41–59.

Crick, N. R. (1996). The role of relational aggression, overt aggression, and prosocial behavior in the prediction of children's future social adjustment. *Child Development, 67,* 2317–2327.

Crick, N. R. (1997). Engagement in gender normative versus nonnormative forms of aggression: Links to social-psychological adjustment. *Developmental Psychology, 33,* 610–617.

Crick, N. R., & Grotpeter, J. K. (1995). Relational aggression, gender, and social-psychological adjustment. *Child Development, 66,* 710–722.

Crick, N. R., Nelson, D. A., Morales, J. R., Cullerton-Sen, C., Casas, J. F., & Hickman, S. E. (2001). Relational victimization in childhood and adolescence: I hurt you through the grapevine. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 196–214). New York: Guilford Press.

Dodge, K. A. (1991). The structure and function of reactive and proactive aggression. In D. J. Pepler & K. H. Rubin (Eds.), *The development and treatment of childhood aggression* (pp. 201–216). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Dodge, K. A., & Coie, J. D. (1987). Social information processing facets in reactive and proactive aggression in children's peer groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53,* 1146–1158.

Eccles, J. S., & Midgley, C. (1989). Stage/environment fit: Developmentally appropriate classrooms for early adolescents. In R. Ames & C. Ames (Eds.), *Research on motivation in education: Vol. 3. Goals and cognitions* (pp. 139–181). New York: Academic Press.

Eder, D., Evans, C. C., & Parker, S. (1995). *School talk: Gender and adolescent culture.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Erdley, C. A. (1996). Motivational approaches to aggression within the context of peer relationships. In J. Juvonen & K. R. Wentzel (Eds.), *Social motivation: Understanding children's school adjustment* (pp. 98–125). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Erdley, C. A., & Asher, S. R. (1996). Children's social goals and self-efficacy perceptions as influences on their responses to ambiguous provocation. *Child Development, 67,* 1329–1344.

Espelage, D. L., & Holt, M. K. (2001). Bullying and victimization during early adolescence: Peer influences and psychosocial correlates. *Journal of Emotional Abuse, 2,* 123–142.

Espelage, D. L., & Swearer, S. M. (Eds.). (2003a). *Bullying in American schools: A social-ecological perspective on prevention and intervention.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Espelage, D. L., & Swearer, S. M. (2003b). Research on school bullying and victimization: What have we learned and where do we go from here? *School Psychology Review, 32,* 365–384.

Fields, L., & Prinz, R. J. (1997). Coping and adjustment during childhood and adolescence. *Clinical Psychology Review, 17,* 937–976.

Furlong, M. J., & Morrison, G. M. (1994). School violence and safety in perspective. *School Psychology Review, 23,* 139–150.

Gifford-Smith, M. E., & Brownell, C. A. (2003). Childhood peer relationships: Social acceptance, friendships, and peer networks. *Journal of School Psychology, 41,* 235–284.

Graham, S., Hudley, C., & Williams, E. (1992). Attributional and emotional determinants of aggression among African-American and Latino young adolescents. *Developmental Psychology, 28,* 731–740.

Graham, S., & Juvonen, J. (2001). An attributional approach to peer victimization. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 49–72). New York: Guilford Press.

Graham, S., Taylor, A. Z., & Hudley, C. (1998). Exploring achievement values among ethnic minority early adolescents. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 90,* 606–620.

Hartup, W. W. (1996). Cooperation, close relationships, and cognitive development. In W. M. Bukowski, A. F. Newcomb, & W. W. Hartup

(Eds.), *The company they keep: Friendships in childhood and adolescence* (pp. 213–237). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Hawker, D. S. J., & Boulton, M. J. (2001). Subtypes of peer harassment and their correlates: A social dominance perspective. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 378–397). New York: Guilford Press.

Hertzog, C., & Rovine, M. (1985). Repeated-measures analysis of variance in developmental research: Selected issues. *Child Development, 56,* 787–809.

Hodges, E. V. E., Boivin, M., Vitaro, F., & Bukowski, W. M. (1999). The power of friendship: Protection against an escalating cycle of peer victimization. *Developmental Psychology, 35,* 94–101.

Hodges, E. V. E., Malone, M. J., & Perry, D. G. (1997). Individual risk and social risk as interacting determinants of victimization in the peer group. *Developmental Psychology, 33,* 1032–1039.

Hopmeyer, A., & Asher, S. R. (1997). Children's responses to peer conflicts involving a rights infraction. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 43,* 235–254.

Juvonen, J., & Graham, S. (Eds.). (2001). *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized.* New York: Guilford Press.

Juvonen, J., Nishina, A., & Graham, S. (2001). Self-views versus peer perceptions of victim status among early adolescents. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 105–124). New York: Guilford Press.

Kochenderfer, B. J., & Ladd, G. W. (1997). Victimized children's responses to peers' aggression: Behaviors associated with reduced versus continued victimization. *Development and Psychopathology, 9,* 59–73.

Kochenderfer-Ladd, B., & Skinner, K. (2002). Children's coping strategies: Moderators of the effects of peer victimization? *Developmental Psychology, 38,* 267–278.

Kochenderfer-Ladd, B., & Wardrop, J. L. (2001). Chronicity and instability of children's peer victimization experiences as predictors of loneliness and social satisfaction trajectories. *Child Development, 72,* 134–151.

Ladd, B. K., & Ladd, G. W. (2001). Variations in peer victimization: Relations to children's maladjustment. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 25–48). New York: Guilford Press.

LaFontana, K. M., & Cillessen, A. H. N. (1999). Children's interpersonal perceptions as a function of sociometric and peer-perceived popularity. *Journal of Genetic Psychology, 160,* 225–242.

LaFontana, K. M., & Cillessen, A. H. N. (2002). Children's perceptions of popular and unpopular peers: A multimethod assessment. *Developmental Psychology, 38,* 635–647.

Leff, S. S., Kupersmidt, J. B., Patterson, C. J., & Power, T. J. (1999). Factors influencing teacher identification of peer bullies and victims. *School Psychology Review, 28,* 505–517.

Luthar, S. S., & McMahon, T. J. (1996). Peer reputation among inner-city adolescents: Structure and correlates. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 6,* 581–603.

Marascuilo, L. A., & Levin, J. R. (1983). *Multivariate statistics in the social sciences: A researcher's guide.* Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Murphy, K. R., & Myors, B. (1998). *Statistical power analysis: A simple and general model for traditional and modern hypothesis tests.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Newcomb, A. F., Bukowski, W. M., & Pattee, L. (1993). Children's peer relations: A meta-analytic review of popular, rejected, controversial, and average sociometric status. *Psychological Bulletin, 113,* 99–128.

Newman, R. S. (1998). Adaptive help seeking: A role of social interaction in self-regulated learning. In S. A. Karabenick (Ed.), *Strategic help seeking: Implications for learning and teaching* (pp. 13–37). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Newman, R. S. (2000). Social influences on the development of children's adaptive help seeking: The role of parents, teachers, and peers. *Developmental Review, 20,* 350–404.

Newman, R. S. (2003). When elementary school students are harassed by peers: A self-regulative perspective on help seeking. *Elementary School Journal, 103,* 339–355.

Newman, R. S. (in press). Students' adaptive and non-adaptive help seeking in the classroom: Implications for the context of peer harassment. In S. A. Karabenick & R. S. Newman (Eds.), *Help seeking in academic settings: Goals, groups, and contexts.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Newman, R. S., Murray, B., & Lussier, C. (2001). Confrontation with aggressive peers at school: Students' reluctance to seek help from the teacher. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 93,* 398–410.

O'Brien, R. G., & Kaiser, M. K. (1985). MANOVA method for analyzing repeated measures designs: An extensive primer. *Psychological Bulletin, 97,* 316–333.

Olweus, D. (1978). *Aggression in the schools: Bullies and whipping boys.* Washington, DC: Hemisphere.

Olweus, D. (1993a). Bullies on the playground. In C. Hart (Ed.), *Children on playgrounds* (pp. 85–128). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Olweus, D. (1993b). *Bullying at school: What we know and what we can do.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Olweus, D. (2001). Peer harassment: A critical analysis and some important issues. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 3–20). New York: Guilford Press.

Paris, S. G., & Cunningham, A. E. (1996). Children becoming students. In D. C. Berliner & R. C. Calfee (Eds.), *Handbook of educational psychology* (pp. 117–147). New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan.

Parker, J. G., & Asher, S. R. (1993). Friendship and friendship quality in middle childhood: Links with peer group acceptance and feelings of loneliness and social dissatisfaction. *Developmental Psychology, 29,* 611–621.

Parkhurst, J. T., & Hopmeyer, A. (1998). Sociometric popularity and peer-perceived popularity. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 18,* 125–144.

Patrick, H., Anderman, L. H., & Ryan, A. M. (2002). Social motivation and the classroom social environment. In C. Midgley (Ed.), *Goals, goal structures, and patterns of adaptive learning* (pp. 85–108). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Pellegrini, A. D. (2001). Sampling instances of victimization in middle school: A methodological comparison. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 125–144). New York: Guilford Press.

Pellegrini, A. D. (2002). Bullying, victimization, and sexual harassment during the transition to middle school. *Educational Psychologist, 37,* 151–163.

Pellegrini, A. D., & Bartini, M. (2000). An empirical comparison of methods of sampling aggression and victimization in school settings. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 92,* 360–366.

Pellegrini, A. D., Bartini, M., & Brooks, F. (1999). School bullies, victims, and aggressive victims: Factors relating to group affiliation and victimization in early adolescence. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 91,* 216–224.

Pepler, D. J., & Craig, W. M. (1995). A peek behind the fence: Naturalistic observations of aggressive children with remote audiovisual recording. *Developmental Psychology, 31,* 548–553.

Perry, D. G., Hodges, E. V. E., & Egan, S. K. (2001). Determinants of chronic victimization by peers: A review and a new model of family influence. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 73–104). New York: Guilford Press.

Perry, D. G., Kusel, S. J., & Perry, L. C. (1988). Victims of peer aggression. *Developmental Psychology, 24,* 807–814.

Pianta, R. C. (1999). *Enhancing relationships between children and teachers.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Rigby, K. (1996). *Bullying in schools and what to do about it.* Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research.

Rodkin, P. C., Farmer, T. W., Pearl, R., & Van Acker, R. (2000). Heterogeneity of popular boys: Antisocial and prosocial configurations. *Developmental Psychology, 36,* 14–24.

Rose, A. J., Swenson, L. P., & Waller, E. M. (2004). Overt and relational aggression and perceived popularity: Developmental differences in concurrent and prospective relation. *Developmental Psychology, 40,* 378–387.

Rubin, K. H., Bukowski, W. M., & Parker, J. G. (1998). Peer interactions, relationships, and groups. In W. Damon (Series Ed.) & N. Eisenberg (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 3. Social, emotional, and personality development* (5th ed., pp. 619–700). New York: Wiley.

Rubin, K. H., & Krasnor, L. R. (1986). Social-cognitive and social behavioral perspectives on problem solving. In M. Perlmutter (Ed.), *The Minnesota Symposia on Child Psychology: Vol. 18. Cognitive perspectives on children's social and behavioral development* (pp. 1–68). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Rubin, K. H., & Rose-Krasnor, L. (1992). Interpersonal problem solving. In V. B. Van Hassatt & M. Hersen (Eds.), *Handbook of social development* (pp. 283–323). New York: Plenum Press.

Ryan, A. M. (2001). The peer group as a context for the development of young adolescent motivation and achievement. *Child Development, 72,* 1135–1150.

Ryan, A. M., Gheen, M. H., & Midgley, C. (1998). Why do some students avoid asking for help? An examination of the interplay among students' academic efficacy, teachers' social-emotional role, and the classroom goal structure. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 90,* 528–535.

Salmivalli, C. (2001). Group view on victimization: Empirical findings and their implications. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 398–419). New York: Guilford Press.

Schuster, B. (2001). Rejection and victimization by peers: Social perception and social behavior mechanisms. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 290–309). New York: Guilford Press.

Schwartz, D., Dodge, K. A., & Coie, J. D. (1993). The emergence of chronic peer victimization in boys' play groups. *Child Development, 64,* 1755–1772.

Schwartz, D., Dodge, K. A., Petit, G. S., & Bates, J. E. (1997). The early socialization and adjustment of aggressive victims of bullying. *Child Development, 68,* 665–675.

Shantz, C. U., & Shantz, D. W. (1985). Conflict between children: Social-cognitive and sociometric correlates. In M. Berkowitz (Ed.), *New directions for child development:* No. 29. Peer conflict and psychological growth (pp. 3–21). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Simmons, R., & Blyth, D. (1987). *Moving into adolescence: The impact of pubertal change and school context.* Hawthorn, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Skinner, E. A., & Belmont, M. J. (1993). Motivation in the classroom: Reciprocal effects of teacher behavior and student engagement across the school year. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 85,* 571–581.

Smith, P. K., & Sharp, S. (Eds.). (1994). *School bullying: Insights and perspectives.* London: Routledge.

Smith, P. K., Shu, S., & Madsen, K. (2001). Characteristics of victims of school bullying: Developmental changes in coping strategies and skills. In J. Juvonen & S. Graham (Eds.), *Peer harassment in school: The plight of the vulnerable and victimized* (pp. 332–351). New York: Guilford Press.

Stevens, J. (1996). *Applied multivariate statistics for the social sciences.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Stockdale, M. S., Hangaduambo, S., Duys, D., Larson, K., & Sarvela, P. D. (2002). Rural elementary students', parents', and teachers' perceptions of bullying. *American Journal of Health Behavior, 26,* 266–277.

Sullivan, K. (2000). *The anti-bullying handbook.* Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Underwood, M. K. (2002). Sticks and stones and social exclusion: Aggression among boys and girls. In P. K. Smith & C. H. Hart (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of childhood social development* (pp. 533–548). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Weinberger, D. A., Tublin, S. K., Ford, M. E., & Feldman, S. S. (1990). Preadolescents' social-emotional adjustment and selective attrition in family research. *Child Development, 61,* 1374–1386.

Weiner, B. (1995). *Judgments of responsibility: A foundation for a theory of social conduct.* New York: Guilford Press.

Weisfeld, G. E., Bloch, S. A., & Ivers, J. W. (1984). Possible determinants of social dominance among adolescent girls. *Journal of Genetic Psychology, 144,* 115–129.

Whitney, I., & Smith, P. K. (1993). A survey of the nature and extent of bullying in junior/middle and secondary schools. *Educational Research, 35,* 3–25.

Appendix

Vignettes

Teasing

1. A boy in your classroom makes fun of your science project and calls you an idiot because you couldn't get it to work.

2. The boy that sits next to you in class teases you and tells you that you are "dumber than the dumbest kid ever."

3. During free time in the classroom, a boy teases you and calls you a "stupid idiot" because you got a lower grade than he did on the homework assignment.

4. Your teacher asks the class to break up into study groups. A boy in your class tells you that you can't be in his group because you are a "jerk."

5. You are out on the playground playing with some other students when one of the boys teases you and tells you that you should give up because you will never be able to win.

6. When you go out to the playground, a boy comes up to you and calls you "gay" because "your hair is ugly."

7. While you are playing soccer at recess, a boy tells you that "you suck" and that you can't play with them anymore.

8. At recess, you try to joke around with some other kids and you say something that you think is funny. However, one of the boys thinks it's stupid and makes fun of you and walks away.

Threats

1. A boy who sits next to you threatens to hit you if you take the special chair during silent reading time.

2. During free time in class, a boy cusses at you and tells you to get off the computer so he can play.

3. While you are lining up for lunch, a boy tells you to leave the lunch line or he will punch you in the stomach.

4. A boy comes up to you in class and tells you not to talk to his friends or he will punch you in the face.

5. At recess, a boy tells you to leave the basketball court or he and his friends will beat you up.
6. When you are lining up to go to recess, a boy tells you not to come out to the playground or he will beat you up.
7. A boy comes up to you and tells you to leave the soccer field or he will push you on the ground and kick you.
8. A boy approaches you before school starts and threatens to rip up your homework if you don't let him copy it.

Physical Aggression

1. As you are going to sharpen your pencil, a boy grabs you and rips a large hole in your new shirt. He then laughs and brags about it.
2. You are going over to use the classroom computer. A boy pushes you to the floor, causing you to scrape your knee.
3. When you are coming into the classroom, a boy comes up behind you and knocks your books out of your hands.
4. The boy sitting next to you in class begins poking you with a sharp pencil. You ask him to stop but he just laughs and continues to poke you.
5. A boy and several of his friends start pushing you around during recess. You fall to the ground and they rub mud all over your face.
6. A boy trips you during a lunchtime soccer game and laughs as he runs away.
7. You are running across the field at recess when another boy intentionally runs into you causing you to fall on the ground and get the wind knocked out of you.
8. A boy at recess takes off his jacket and begins to hit you with it. You tell him to stop but he keeps on hitting you.

Received December 11, 2003
Revision received February 10, 2005
Accepted March 18, 2005 ■

New Editors Appointed, 2007–2012

The Publications and Communications (P&C) Board of the American Psychological Association announces the appointment of three new editors for 6-year terms beginning in 2007. As of January 1, 2006, manuscripts should be directed as follows:

- *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* (www.apa.org/journals/xlm.html), **Randi C. Martin, PhD,** Department of Psychology, MS-25, Rice University, P.O. Box 1892, Houston, TX 77251.
- *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* (www.apa.org/journals/pro.html), **Michael C. Roberts, PhD,** 2009 Dole Human Development Center, Clinical Child Psychology Program, Department of Applied Behavioral Science, Department of Psychology, 1000 Sunnyside Avenue, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045.
- *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* (www.apa.org/journals/law.html), **Steven Penrod, PhD,** John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 445 West 59th Street N2131, New York, NY 10019-1199.

Electronic manuscript submission. As of January 1, 2006, manuscripts should be submitted electronically through the journal's Manuscript Submission Portal (see the Web site listed above with each journal title).

Manuscript submission patterns make the precise date of completion of the 2006 volumes uncertain. Current editors, Michael E. J. Masson, PhD, Mary Beth Kenkel, PhD, and Jane Goodman-Delahunty, PhD, JD, respectively, will receive and consider manuscripts through December 31, 2005. Should 2006 volumes be completed before that date, manuscripts will be redirected to the new editors for consideration in 2007 volumes.

In addition, the P&C Board announces the appointment of **Thomas E. Joiner, PhD** (Department of Psychology, Florida State University, One University Way, Tallahassee, FL 32306-1270), as editor of the *Clinician's Research Digest* newsletter for 2007–2012.