

Running head: ATTITUDE CHANGE TOWARDS BULLYING USING
CBT



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Can Bullying Attitudes in School-aged Children be Changed
Using Cognitive Behaviour Therapy Methods? A Pilot Study

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Abstract

The main aim of this study was to investigate whether Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT) methods could be used to change implicit attitudes towards bullying. The role of gender was looked at exploratively. 54 Primary school children (30 boys and 24 girls) completed a questionnaire (explicit bullying attitude measure), an IAT on bullying (Implicit Association Test which measures implicit bullying attitudes), two CBT-like sessions (a qualitative measure of implicit attitudes), followed by a second round of IAT on bullying. A main effect for CBT intervention was found, but only for female participants. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

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*Can Bullying Attitudes in School-aged Children be Changed Using Cognitive Behaviour
Therapy Methods? A Pilot Study*

On January 24th, 2012 the Swedish School board (Skolverket) announced that an investigation of all schools in the Stockholm area would be made in order to see whether schools are doing their part in counteracting bullying (Skolinspektionen, 2012). This is both relevant and important in the present study on bullying, as previous efforts in minimizing this problematic behaviour have had mixed success (Skolverket, 2012). According to Skolverket, some schools have had trouble with anti-bullying campaigns as these campaigns have failed to prove fruitful, while other schools have gone as far as having anti-bullying teams, student counsellors, and/or cooperations with external private organizations. While the above counter methods have had varying amounts of success, it is not the purpose of the present study to scrutinize or criticize the efforts of any organization, school or individual. Rather, this is a pilot study that seeks to explore whether attitudes towards bullying can be changed through the use of cognitive behaviour therapy (CBT) methods in conjunction with implicit attitude testing. Previous research in this area is sparse, and up until now focus has only been on whether explicit and/or implicit attitudes towards bullying exist, but no efforts have been made to see whether these attitudes towards bullying can be changed. To my knowledge, this is the first study to investigate whether implicit bullying attitudes can be changed, using CBT.

What is Bullying?

Bullying can be seen as a by-product of our social culture: It is the act of long-term repeated victimization with an imbalance of power between the bully and victim (Olweus, 1994). It involves physical, verbal or psychological (relational) abuse of an individual or group of individuals on the basis of their social position within a group (Scheithauer, 2012). Relational aggression refers to harmful behaviours (such as social exclusion or gossip) that destroy or threaten to destroy social relationships (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Scheithauer & Bull, 2008). Therefore, relational aggression can constitute bullying if it occurs repeatedly over time and if those who are targeted cannot defend themselves against the perpetrator(s) (Scheithauer, 2012). Consequently, bullying does not occur in a social-cultural vacuum, but rather as a reflection of the stereotypical value system of society. For example, children who dress differently than others, have less fancy or expensive clothing, speak differently than others, have learning disabilities in the classroom, come from a lower socio-economic background than the others, or appear to come from another country than others are bullied more often and more severely (Scheithauer, 2012). Bullying often takes place between school aged children, although it is a recurring phenomenon elsewhere as well. A multitude of studies has revealed negative outcomes or correlates of bullying, such as helplessness, feelings of loneliness, anxiety disorders, depression, suicide (also referred to as bullycide), relationship problems, psychosomatic disorders, eating disorders, or school avoidance and lower academic performance for the victims, and relationship problems, aggressive and delinquent behaviour, lack of pro-social behaviour, dating violence, risk behaviours, or low school bonding for the bullies (Scheithauer et al., 2003). Thus, bullying in schools is a negative behaviour accompanied by a multitude of negative consequences for affected students. It is therefore absolutely critical to not only

implement appropriate intervention and prevention programs, but also to implement ways in which the associated attitudes that lead to bullying can be changed so that the prevalence of bullying can be minimized.

The relationship between bullying and attitude

With respect to bullying, attitudes are of enormous importance, as it is an individual's attitude towards bullying that predicts whether he/she will become a bully, help a bully, be bullied, or become a bystander. A lack of action against bullying is associated with positive attitudes and (group) norms toward bullying, a negative class climate, and low identification with the school or class environment (Scheithauer et al., 2012). Several risk factors at the individual level have been identified, such as being oblivious to bullying behaviour and a lack of individual responsibility to intervene, deficits in social-emotional competencies (eg. empathy or sympathy), a biased interpretation of social-cognitive cues in social interactions, negative peer status, and a lack of positive social norms that form the basis of pro-social behaviour (Scheithauer et al., 2012). Finally, many teachers, administrators and parents ignore, passively support, or even engage in bullying behaviours themselves (Salmivalli, 2010; Smith, 2004; Stassen Berger, 2007).

Bullying as a social-cultural construct

Often bullying is approached as an individual or dyadic problem of bully and victim: this approach, however, ignores the social context of bullying and the presence of peers who are neither the primary bully nor the victim (Scheithauer et al., 2012). According to the participant-role approach, children take on various roles when it comes to bullying (Salmivalli, 1999). Some of them support the bully through active and clear encouragement (they are referred to as assistants), while others support the bully in a less

active way (re-enforcers). Passive bystanders (outsiders) tolerate the bullying behaviour and are therefore perceived as supportive of the bully by the victim, and still other children directly express their disapproval of the bullying behaviour (defenders).

Looked at in this way, bullying can be seen as rooted in social constructivist and social learning theory: people are active and adaptive, autonomic, with an individual (social) perception of the world, but influenced by experiences within their social environment. The individual has sole responsibility for and actively constructs his or her learning processes (Malti et al., 2009).

Implicit and explicit aspects of attitude as they apply to Bullying

In attitude research, a distinction is made between implicit attitudes and explicit attitudes: Implicit attitudes are often seen as impulsive, spontaneous, uncontrolled emotional reactions and evaluations (van Goethem et al., 2010). In contrast, explicit attitudes refer to deliberate, reflective, controlled, consciously self-reported evaluations (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). Furthermore, dual-process models assume that there exist two different modes of information processing that underlie implicit and explicit attitudes. According to these models more automatic, impulsive, associative processes underlie implicit attitudes and more controlled, reflective processes underlie explicit attitudes (van Goethem et al., 2010). These models also assume that behaviour is caused by the interplay of these two kinds of processes and attitudes (Evans, 2008; Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006; Smith & DeCoster, 2000). Dual-process models have gained wide support in various areas of psychology, including research on aggression (Hoffman et al., 2008). As explicit versus implicit attitudes are comprised of a different nature, so is the way in which each is measured: Explicit attitudes are measured directly by using self-reports (eg.

questionnaires), where participants consciously express what they feel or think about a certain topic or subject (van Goethem et al., 2010). One concern with self-report measures is that they can be biased by social desirability (Gustafsson, 2008). Therefore, since self-reports are controlled evaluations, they are not suited to measure implicit attitudes, or uncontrolled evaluations. Implicit measures, on the other hand, are intended to lessen the problem with social desirability by not asking direct questions to the participants, but instead inferring the participants' mental content indirectly (Gustafsson, 2008). Implicit attitudes are therefore indirectly inferred from participants' (impulsive) reaction times to stimuli (Greenwald et al., 2003).

The distinction between implicit and explicit attitudes can also be applied to the field of bullying research: Implicit bullying attitudes are impulsive, uncontrolled feelings towards bullying in general, such as attitudes towards bullying behaviour, or towards a person who bullies. These attitudes can be distinguished from explicit bullying attitudes that are deliberate and controlled feelings or thoughts (van Goethem et al., 2010).

Explicit attitudes are not necessarily truthful at all times: rather, these attitudes can be seen as a reflection of human nature and global culture. Our introspective access to the mental processes that underlie our behaviour and judgments are limited (Gustafsson, 2008; Dijksterhuis et al., 2005; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). This cultural perspective transcends our assumptions about ourselves and others: so much so that we often find it difficult to pinpoint that which has made us feel or behave in a certain way and when asked, we can make mistaken assumptions about the origins of our (human) actions (Gustafsson, 2008). Support for the existence of such unconscious governing of behaviour can be found in subliminal priming research where, for example, photographs of black or white faces were shown so quickly to participants that they were below the threshold of conscious

awareness, which means that the participants were subliminally primed (Bargh, Chen & Burrows, 1996). Results showed that those participants who were subliminally primed with the black faces behaved in a more hostile manner when they encountered a staged obstacle than the participants who were primed with the white faces. This may be because the priming of the black faces leads to an automatic activation of the stereotype that portrays black people as hostile (ibid). Unconscious mental content can therefore not be captured effectively by self-report.

The inability to capture unconscious mental content through self-report has led researchers to find methods other than self-report to study unconscious mental content. Today, unconscious mental content can be defined in at least three different ways (Gustafsson, 2008; Gawronski et al., 2006). First, it can mean that people are unaware of the mental content (content unawareness). For example, a person may like or dislike bullying without being aware of it. Second, it can mean that people are unaware of the origin of their mental content (source unawareness). For example, a person might be aware of liking or disliking bullying, but unaware of what has caused this attitude. Third, it can mean that people are unaware of how their mental content influences their other psychological processes (impact unawareness). For example, a person might be aware of his or her attitude and of what has caused the attitude, but unaware of how this attitude affects his or her behaviour or judgments (Gustafsson, 2008; Gawronski et al., 2006). For this reason, implicit tests have been proposed to capture unconscious mental content, and may be considered as fairly good substitutes to self-report tests.

Implicit tests and what they imply

According to Gustafsson (2008), support for implicit tests has increased over the past decade, if somewhat unsteadily. One claim that has resulted from intense debates is that implicit tests are less susceptible to social desirability concerns and that they capture unconscious mental content (Gawronski et al., 2007). If this is true, then it follows that if implicit tests are less sensitive to social desirability bias than explicit tests, the relationship between implicit and explicit tests should be moderated by social desirability. That is, when social desirability is high, the correlation between explicit and implicit tests should be low, and when social desirability is low, the correlation should be high. There has been very little support for this triangular correlation, however. Research suggests that there are more specific and context-relevant motivations that moderate the relationship between implicit and explicit attitudes (Gustafsson, 2008). One way to look at context-relevant motivations for bullying is to observe social desirability as a cultural phenomenon when studying prejudice and the motivation to control prejudiced attitudes. For example, research has found that individual differences in the motivation to control prejudice have been found to moderate the relationship between explicit and implicit measures and attitudes towards ethnic minority groups (Gawronski et al., 2007).

The Implicit Association Test (IAT)

One specific form of implicit test that directly reflects on the context-relevant motivation to control prejudice is the Implicit Association Test (IAT). It is the most widely used test of implicit attitudes in research. The IAT provides a measure of strengths of automatic associations. This means that the assessments we make about an individual or object often occur without our conscious insight into reasons for our preferences (Fazio et al., 1986). For this reason, implicit measures such as the IAT provide access to the measurement of

these automatic preferences (Greenwald et al., 1998). The IAT has also been found to be satisfactorily resistant to faking (Kim, 2003; Asendorpf et al., 2002; Banse, et al., 2001).

Research has shown that the IAT and self-report measures are systematically related and moderated by several factors, such as: the degree of spontaneity in the self-report measures, the conceptual correspondence between the measures, self-presentational concerns, how personal vs. normative the measured attitude is perceived to be, if the self-report measures were bipolar or unipolar and the strength of the measured evaluation, understood as how important, familiar and frequent the evaluation was considered to be (Gustafsson, 2008; Hofmann et al., 2005; Nosek, 2007).

It has been suggested by Gawronski and Bodenhausen (2006) that implicit and explicit measures differ in the following manner: implicit measures reflect the activation of associations in memory, whereas explicit measures reflect the outcome of a validation process. It follows from this theory that an individual has the capacity to assess his or her own attitude associations (such as bullying-good or bullying-bad) as accurate or inaccurate. Throughout this validation process, the individual also assesses the association with respect to all other context-relevant information and then decides whether or not he or she wants to accept the association as accurate and use it in a corresponding judgment (self-report): According to Gustafsson (2008), even if the individual were to reject the association in the validation process, this association may still be captured by the implicit measure and may therefore still affect behaviour. So depending on the social context a child is in, he or she may be able to regulate his or her attitude associations towards bullying. In a hypothetical situation, this would mean that even if the child were to report that they would not bully in a particular social context, he or she may still possibly implicitly associate his or her attitude with bullying behaviour. If that were true, then the

child would inhibit his or her own desire to bully due to the social context of a particular situation, thereby hiding his or her own implicit attitude towards bullying.

Furthermore, although substantial evidence for implicit tests capturing something “content unaware” is lacking, there may be some support for them capturing something “impact unaware” (Gustafsson, 2008; Gawronski et al., 2007) This means that implicit tests may capture associations (for example, bullying-good) that affect behaviour without people recognizing the influence such an association has on their behaviour. Therefore, there is fairly good support for the IAT being less susceptible than self-report measures to motivations to control responses in sensitive research areas such as bullying research.

Van Goethem et al’s (2010) study of implicit and explicit attitudes in relation to bullying behaviour has been the first of its kind; prior to this bullying research and programs had largely focused on explicit bullying attitudes. The attitudes looked at in previous studies are most often assessed on Likert-scales, where children are asked to what extent they agree with various statements on bullying (e.g. Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004) and their relation to bullying behaviour (e.g. Stevens et al., 2000) on a five-point scale. These studies show that the majority of school-aged children have a negative explicit bullying attitude whereas only a minority have a positive explicit bullying attitude (Andreou et al., 2005). In addition, children’s explicit bullying attitudes are also related to their bullying behaviour: generally, children with more negative explicit bullying attitudes bully less than children with more positive explicit bullying attitudes (van Goethem et al., 2003). However, research has shown that explicit bullying attitudes of children are only minor to moderate predictors of bullying behaviour (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). This finding that explicit bullying attitudes have low predictive power for bullying behaviour could indicate that children’s explicit bullying attitudes are not always in accordance with

their bullying behaviour, thereby creating an apparent paradox (van Goethem et al., 2010). A possible solution to this paradox was offered by van Goethem et al (2010) by taking into account the following idea: that bullying-related attitudes may influence children's bullying but it can also be that over time, a child adopts beliefs about bullying that are consistent with his or her bullying behaviour, which is a well-known mechanism applied when persons experience a certain cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). As a recent example, in their study, van Goethem et al. found that a significant interaction exists between implicit and explicit bullying attitudes: this indicates that in children with relatively positive explicit attitudes, implicit bullying attitudes are important predictors of bullying behaviour (van Goethem et al., 2010).

For many individuals, there exists a cognitive dissonance between implicit and explicit attitudes towards bullying. Cognitive dissonance is when a person's actions and behaviour are not in harmony. For example, a child may express disapproval of bullying because he/she knows that bullying is bad and that bullying leads to punishment in the school (referred to as a negative explicit attitude towards bullying or an explicit anti-bullying attitude), but he/she may secretly enjoy bullying because doing so gives him/her an initial feeling of power over other children at school (referred to as a positive implicit attitude towards bullying or an implicit pro-bullying attitude). In line with previous attitude research, implicit bullying attitudes can be measured using an indirect measure such as the IAT (Greenwald et al., 1998), while explicit bullying attitudes can be measured directly using self-report questionnaires.

The IAT and the IAT "effect"

The IAT is a reliable and valid measure of implicit attitudes (Greenwald et al., 2006; Nosek et al., 2005) and has been used with children (Baron & Banaji, 2006; van Goethem et al., 2010; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). The IAT is a double discrimination task in which participants are asked to assign single stimuli as fast as possible to a given pair of target categories and attribute categories using two response keys. The IAT typically assesses the speed with which target objects are combined with positive versus negative attributes. In the IAT, stimuli of two target concepts (for example, 'bullying' vs. 'non-bullying' in a bullying attitude IAT) and two attribute concepts (for example, 'pleasant' vs. 'unpleasant') have to be categorized by the use of two response keys. In two different phases of the test, two possible target-attribute pairings are mapped on the right versus the left response key of the computer. For instance, either the category pairs 'bullying' + 'pleasant' and 'non-bullying' + 'unpleasant' are assigned to the right versus left keys, respectively, or the categories 'non-bullying' + 'pleasant' and 'bullying' + 'unpleasant' are so assigned. When associated categories share the same response key responding should be faster. The crucial factor of the test is what combination of concepts generates the shortest response latencies for the categorization task (Gustafsson, 2008). The resulting score, known as the "IAT effect", is a relative measure of associative strength between the concept pairs. So in the above example, the IAT score reflects the relative strengths of associations of bullying versus non-bullying with positive versus negative valence (Greenwald et al., 2009).

Therefore the above IAT example can be described as providing an implicit measure of relative preference for bullying relative to non-bullying. If a participant's mean response time for the categorization task would be shorter when "bullying" and "pleasant" shared one response key and the concepts "non-bullying" and "unpleasant" shared the other response key (than for the inverted combination) this would be interpreted as the

participant associating “bullying” with “pleasant” more strongly than the opposite combination. The reasoning behind this is that it is easier to make the dual categorization task for a combination of categories that is consistent with ones patterns of associations. As bullying stereotypes typically portray bullies as pro-bullying and non-bullies as anti-bullying (van Goethem et al., 2010), the association pattern described above can be interpreted as an implicit (indirect) measure of bullying-stereotyping. In the present study, implicit attitudes towards bullying will be manipulated to see if these attitudes can be changed through cognitive behaviour therapy (CBT) .

Cognitive Behaviour Therapy: A social-cultural tool

Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) is a problem-focused type of intervention. Rather than an in-depth focus on past experience, CBT seeks to teach children to resolve their own cognitive conflicts. Given CBT’s emphasis on scientific analysis and quantifiable outcomes, it is not surprising that CBT has also become the most widely researched evidence-based psychotherapy (Bernal et al., 2009; Hwang, 2009; Nicolas et al., 2009). CBT helps children recognize their thought patterns and identify where and when those patterns help and where they hurt. By using problem solving strategies and skill building techniques the child can learn to change dysfunctional thoughts and replace them with more proactive thoughts and behaviours (Nebolsine, 2012). The concept of CBT was pioneered in the 1960s by Aaron Beck and developed out of Freudian therapy (Smith, 2009). That which is known as modern day CBT was originally developed by Beck as an intervention for cognitive disorders such as depression (Warman, 2009). Since the 1960s, a

vast number of studies have been conducted where the efficacy of CBT in reducing a negative behaviour has been successfully proven (Gavita et al., 2011). Today, CBT is a widely used and highly effective method in areas such as anxiety, self-esteem, anger management, and personality disorder (Fung, 2012). In addition, the field of CBT with children has made enormous progress and has been shown to be highly effective with childhood mood disorders (Fung, 2012). Furthermore, the process of integrating cultural and multicultural considerations throughout every aspect of CBT has led to CBT holding great promise for the development of culturally competent evidence-based practices (Hays, 2008).

CBT shares a remarkable number of assumptions with culture research: both emphasize the need to tailor interventions to the unique needs and strengths of the individual. CBT integrates assessment through therapy, an action that communicates respect for clients' viewpoints regarding their progress; such demonstrations of respect are considered a core part of culturally responsive practice (Boyd-Franklin, 2003). In addition, CBT's behavioural roots emphasize the influence of environment on behaviour, which fits well with culture research's emphasis on cultural influences (Hays, 2009).

CBT has never been used to alter behaviour in cognitively healthy individuals. Yet studies have shown that attitude and behaviour are two linked entities, which suggests that CBT could potentially be used even in cognitively healthy individuals: such evidence comes from many studies concerned with the prediction of behaviour from attitudinal variables that were conducted in the framework of the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) and the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). According to the theory of planned behaviour, people act in accordance with their intentions and perceptions of control over the behaviour, while intentions in turn are influenced by attitudes towards the

behaviour, subjective norms, and perceptions of behavioural control (Ajzen, 2001). It can therefore be possible that bullying behaviour in children may be associated with children's attitudes towards bullying. Furthermore, since it has been shown in previous research that attitudes consist of both implicit and explicit components, it may be possible to alter either one or both of these components in order to decrease the prevalence of bullying. Since CBT has been shown to be an effective tool in changing behaviour patterns, it is worth exploring to see whether CBT can be used to manipulate implicit attitudes towards bullying. The main components that must be covered under any given CBT program are: 1) attitudes towards a certain topic, 2) reasons for such attitudes, 3) associations to the topic (cognitive, social, personal associations, etc), and 4) changing said associations (Scheithauer et al., 2012). Beyond these four key components, the CBT method is largely open to individual interpretation by the participants (Benazon et al., 2002), which makes it an excellent tool in looking at the reasoning process of children, and how they express and question their own individual attitudes towards various phenomena such as bullying.

Therefore, incorporating CBT into a study on bullying could potentially make it possible for the experimenter to open a line of dialogue with participants, thereby not singling out any one participant as a bully, co-bully, victim or bystander, but rather as a group of individuals who are cooperating to eradicate a common social problem: bullying. This is accomplished by using CBT-like methods to explore the participants' attitudes towards bullying, their reasons for rationalizing the way they do, the associations they make when they think of a bully, and how to change the attitudes the children may have towards bullying so that bullying subsides over time. I will use CBT in this study as a qualitative method to test whether it is possible to manipulate participants' implicit attitudes, thereby increasing negative implicit attitudes towards bullying.

Present Study

The present study assesses school children's implicit bullying attitudes, and tests the hypothesis that these implicit attitudes can be changed using CBT. In addition, gender is looked at in an explorative manner to see whether males and females react differently to CBT intervention in affecting their implicit bullying attitudes.

Method

Participants

Two public elementary schools on the island of Öckerö in Göteborg were contacted. Both schools agreed to participate in the study.

I provided the schools with a letter of permission to send out to parents of all the sixth graders, and all parents agreed to the study (see appendix 1). The students at both schools were then informed that they would be taking part in a study about attitudes towards bullying.

54 students participated, of which 24 were from Kompassenskolan (boys n=13, girls n=11) and 30 from Ankaretsskolan (boys n=17, girls n=13). Random selection for the CBT treatment group occurred by randomly drawing students' names. 12 students from Kompassenskolan (boys n=7, girls n=5) and 15 students from Ankaretsskolan (boys n=9, girls n=6) were randomly selected to participate in the treatment group. The two schools differ only in their physical location and name but share the same lunchroom, playground and teachers. For this reason the two schools are treated as one entity in this study and no further differentiation is made between them. Four participants were removed from the

study because they either did not show up (n=1) or they missed portions of the study (n=3).

Measures

Attitudes towards bullying are measured with explicit and implicit (IAT) measures in the present study. The explicit attitude test (questionnaire) is meant to only gauge explicit attitudes towards bullying in general, while the implicit attitude test (IAT) is meant to measure implicit attitudes towards bullying and is therefore the measure of interest in this study. The CBT sessions are the qualitative portion of this study and are meant to manipulate both implicit and explicit attitudes towards bullying as well as predict eventual attitude *change* towards bullying. Unlike van Goethem et al's (2010) study, the general IAT was conducted twice instead of just once for each participant in the present study. The reason for this was that while van Goethem et al (2010) were looking to see whether negative or positive implicit bullying attitudes exist, the present study assumes that such stereotypical attitudes do exist (in line with previous research findings by Van Goethem et al, 2010, Greenwald et al, 2003, 2009, Gustafsson & Björklund, 2008), and is instead looking to see whether such implicit bullying attitudes can *change* over time with the help of CBT. Therefore the IAT is administered twice, once before the first CBT session and once after the second CBT session, in order to see if CBT could successfully change the participants' implicit attitude towards bullying.

Material and Procedure

The Explicit Test

Questionnaire

The testing began with me holding a brief introduction and presentation, where I partially explained the purpose of the study. Participants were told that the study is interested in their attitudes toward bullying. They were not told, however, that the study is looking for attitude change. The introduction was followed by a questionnaire that each student filled out individually (appendix 2). This questionnaire was the explicit attitude test and was a direct Swedish translation of the bullying attitude scale created in 2004 by Salmivalli and Voeten (appendix 2). This questionnaire has become an often-applied measure of explicit bullying attitudes and has satisfactory predictive validity as it is found to be associated with bullying behaviour (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). According to Salmivalli and Voeten (2004), this scale has satisfactory internal consistency, with Cronbach's coefficient alpha of 0.75. Identical to the original study done by Salmivalli and Voeten (2004), in the present study children were asked to evaluate on a 5-point scale, (1 strongly disagree, 5 strongly agree) the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with 10 statements about bullying (appendix 2). These statements were, for example, "Bullying may be fun sometimes", "it is not that bad if you laugh with others when someone is being bullied", and "joining in bullying is wrong" (this statement was reverse-coded). An attitude score was then produced, by averaging scores on all statements. A low average score on the questionnaire indicated a more positive explicit bullying attitude (ie: bullying is good/pro-bullying), whereas a high average score indicated a more negative explicit bullying attitude (ie: bullying is bad/anti-bullying).

The Implicit Test

IAT session 1

The participants then came one by one to a separate empty classroom where I told them that they would be playing a computer game in which they have to play as quickly as possible without making too many mistakes. The IAT was programmed on to a single Macbook Air computer, which meant that participants would be completing the IAT one by one rather than all at once. This was partly due to the limitations of the Inquisit program, and partly due to licensing limitations in Sweden, where a program cannot be mass-installed on school computers unless the issuer provides a license for such action. If mass installation had been allowed, the IAT test-taking process would have been expediated immensely.

Implicit bullying attitudes were assessed with a general IAT on bullying. Each child was told that they would be seeing a series of pictures and/or words that they would then have to classify into either two or four categories. The categories were as follows: Bullying- non-bullying, pleasant-unpleasant, and various combinations of bullying- non-bullying/pleasant-unpleasant. They were also told that the test “should not take too long”. No further directions were given, except when questions regarding procedure arose.

All participants (control and treatment) completed IAT session 1. This took approximately 10 minutes per participant but involved two weeks of data collection for myself. Pairs of target categories were combined with pairs of attribute categories in an association-congruent and an association-incongruent manner. The word-pairing in the present study was identical to van Goethem et al’s (2010) study, where the attribute categories “pleasant” versus “unpleasant” were combined with the target categories “bullying” versus “non-bullying”. Pleasant and non-bullying sharing one response key, and unpleasant and bullying sharing another response key was the congruent association. Pleasant and bullying sharing one response key, and unpleasant and non-bullying sharing

another response key was the incongruent association. The difference between the reaction times for association-congruent and association-incongruent assignments is usually interpreted as an indicator of the IAT effect: the relative associative strength between the two pairs of concepts. In line with van Goethem et al's (2010) findings, the underlying assumption is that when two categories (ex: unpleasant and bullying) are more strongly associated in memory, responses are faster when they share the same response-key. Also, as in van Goethem et al's (2010) study, the speed with which participants sort pictures of bullying together with positive as compared to negative stimuli would be interpreted as their implicit attitude toward bullying.

According to Greenwald et al (2003), D measures are based on all trials of the combination blocks (including practice phases), and they give an error-penalty of the reaction times on erroneous responses, and divide the outcome with a personalized standard deviation (SD) of the combination phases. While there are different kinds of D measures, the D-biep is the preferred IAT measure when the IAT procedure allows subjects to correct errors and records latency to the occurrence of the eventual correct response. The D-biep measure was therefore used in this study because subjects were allowed to correct their errors: the D-biep penalty score for practice and test was chosen as the main reaction time measure, which can roughly be interpreted as an individualized effect size, with 0.5 being a medium effect, and 0.8 being a large effect (Greenwald et al., 2003).

The general IAT on bullying used in the present study was similar to van Goethem et al's (2010) adaptation of the original IAT by Greenwald et al (1998), except for the D measure (van Goethem et al used the D2SD measure because they did not allow for a correction of response in their study). The general IAT on bullying used by van Goethem et al (2010) was in Dutch, while the IAT in the present study was translated into Swedish.

The translation was done with the help of Anne van Goethem, head author of van Goethem et al., 2010. The test was first translated from Dutch to English, then from English to Swedish. The pictures used in the IAT in the present study are borrowed from van Goethem et al (2010) with written permission. The words used in the IAT in the present study are slightly different from those used in van Goethem et al's (2010) study. Permission to use all material such as script, pictures and words from the van Goethem et al (2010) study was obtained by contacting the main author, Anne van Goethem. The IAT was programmed in Inquisit version 4.0, MAC version (Millisecond software, 2012).

Twelve bullying pictures vs. twelve non-bullying pictures were used as target stimuli categorized into bullying vs. non-bullying. The bullying pictures showed various bullying interactions between children: relational, verbal and physical bullying. The non-bullying pictures showed children laughing and being friendly and, in some pictures, putting their arms around each other. The general IAT on bullying contained pictures that were unfamiliar to the participants: the pictures were derived from a Dutch movie on bullying that was used by van Goethem et al (2010). Still pictures from the movie are included in the present IAT. For example, in one picture, the boy who is the leading character of the movie is being grabbed and hit by a group of other boys. This picture represents physical bullying. For the attribute stimuli, twelve pleasant words ("Love", "Sunshine", "Warmth", "Peace", "Hug", "Rainbow", "Friends", "Vacation", "Nature", "Spring break", "Weekend", and "Flowers") vs. twelve unpleasant words ("Sorrow", "War", "Evil", "Pain", "Death", "Sickness", "Fistfight", "Earthquake", "Thief", "Cancer", "Housefire", and "Failure") were used and categorized into "pleasant" vs. "unpleasant" (ex: Houben and Wiers, 2007). Children first practiced the attribute classification (pleasant vs. unpleasant words) with a right and left response key (20 trials).

In the second block, they practiced the target classification (bullying vs. non-bullying pictures) with the same response keys (20 trials). The third block was the first combination block during which both target stimuli (bullying and non-bullying pictures) and attribute stimuli (pleasant and unpleasant words) were combined. For example, when stimuli referred to pleasant words and non-bullying pictures, the left response key was pressed, and when stimuli referred to unpleasant words and bullying pictures, the right key was pressed (40 trials: 20 practice trials and 20 test trials). In the next phase, the children practiced the target classification with reversed response keys (bullying and non-bullying pictures, 40 trials); the trials were doubled to reduce the overall impact of block order within the IAT. This practice phase was then followed by a reversed combination block. In the reversed combination block the left response key was for example used for pleasant words and bullying pictures and the right response key was used for unpleasant words and non-bullying pictures (40 trials: 20 practice trials and 20 test trials). Table 1 shows an overview of all IAT blocks.

Table 1 Overview of IAT Blocks

The “Non-bullying” and “Bullying” stimuli are pictures and the “Pleasant” and “Unpleasant” stimuli are words; during reversed attribute practice, trials were doubled to reduce the overall impact of block order within the IAT (Nosek et al, 2005)

Block	Trials	Function	Left Key	Right Key
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1	20	Attribute practice	Pleasant	Unpleasant
2	20	Target practice	Non-bullying	Bullying
3	40 20 practice, 20 test	Compatible combination	Pleasant Non- bullying	Unpleasant bullying
4	40	Reversed attribute practice	Bullying	Non-bullying
5	40 20 practice, 20 test	Incompatible combination	Pleasant Bullying	Unpleasant Non-bullying

Half of the participants received the IAT in which the compatible combination comes first (bullying with unpleasant and non-bullying with pleasant). The other half of participants first had the incompatible combination (bullying with pleasant and non-bullying with unpleasant). In addition, the response assignment of the target categories to the left and right response keys and the position of the attribute-words (pleasant-unpleasant) were counterbalanced. Instructions were presented before each task on the computer screen. During the task, the labels of the categories assigned to the left and right response key were presented in the corresponding upper corners of the computer screen. Target and attribute stimuli were presented randomly in an alternating order in the middle of the computer screen against a black background. All textual elements (attribute-and target labels and attribute stimuli) were presented in white text. The inter-trial interval was 250 ms. Error feedback was presented in red beneath the stimuli after an incorrect response (“X”). As in van Goethem et al’s (2010) study, the “X” was used in the present study to check whether children correctly understood the treatment procedure. This check is especially important because the procedure subtly changes (the combination of categories: positive-negative and bullying-non-bullying changes) per block of the IAT, which increases the chance of a high error-rate. A high error rate would consequently lead to a high percentage of data that cannot be analyzed.

Internal consistencies were calculated for the IAT by using the Spearman-Brown corrected correlation of the D measure calculated for the practice trials of the combination blocks with the IAT effect measure calculated for the test trial of the combination blocks (Greenwald, et al., 2003). In the IAT, a low average score indicated a more negative implicit bullying attitude (ie: bullying is bad, anti-bullying), whereas a high average score indicated a more positive implicit bullying attitude (ie: bullying is good, pro-bullying).

CBT session 1

CBT session 1 took place three days after all students had completed IAT session 1. Once all participants had completed the IAT session 1, half of the children in each class were randomly selected to participate in the treatment group. I then collected the treatment group in a separate classroom where they were told that they would be participating in some group activities where the topic of discussion would be bullying. More precisely, I told the children that they will be working together in groups to provide answers to some questions about bullying, and that honesty, openness and teamwork are important aspects of the group activity. I also told them that they should be open and honest about their attitudes towards bullying, and that they should try their best to work together in small groups and listen and respect one another's attitudes and perspectives towards the bullying questions.

During this first CBT session, the treatment group watched two short movies in Swedish (approximately seven minutes long each) that depict bullying in Swedish schools: the first movie depicts bullying from a sixth grade boy's perspective and the second movie depicts bullying from a sixth grade girl's perspective (Brolin, 2011). After watching the

films the treatment group was given a task: to work in five small groups and respond to four open-ended questions in Swedish (appendix 4). The questions were as follows:

- 1) Why do you believe that some children bully others? Why do you believe that some children are bullied by others?
- 2) What do you think of when you see or hear that someone is/has been bullied?
- 3) How do you believe that bullying should be fought?
- 4) Other thoughts/opinions?

The children were given 25 minutes to answer the questions in their groups, after which group sharing was encouraged. At the end of the first session, I collected all the handouts from the children and recorded all answers (appendix 4A-4B).

CBT session 2

During the second CBT session, the treatment group was collected a second time and given another task: they were to work in five small groups and answer five new questions (appendix 5). I told the children that these questions were aimed at understanding “consequences” of bullying and their task would be to work in groups to actively discuss the questions while all the time considering consequences that bullying would have in the situations described. This exercise aimed to test whether the children were able to analyze a particular question or situation from a perspective other than their own (ie: the ability to show empathy). Five different question series were placed on sheets of paper at five different “stations” in the classroom and the groups were given 10 minutes at each station after which they rotated to the next station. They continued in this manner until each group had had the chance to discuss, analyze and respond to all five questions. Furthermore, each group had received instructions at each station, in accordance with the different

stages of CBT. As CBT is not a scripted method, each station's questions corresponded to a single stage of the CBT process. By rotating around to each station, therefore, the children would have the chance to experience the different stages of CBT. Recall that these stages are: 1) attitudes towards a certain topic, 2) reasons for such attitudes, 3) associations to the topic (cognitive, social, personal associations, etc), and 4) changing said associations (Scheithauer et al., 2012).

At station 1, the groups were asked: "Think about bullying: What can you do instead of being aggressive if you see that someone is behaving in an aggressive way? Is there something you could say or do? If so, what?". The group at station 1 then proceeded to discuss, analyze and answer question 1: What can you do instead of being aggressive? Say something? Do something?

Stations 2-4 were given the following instructions in accordance with stage 2 of CBT: "Identify the problem: What are some situations which usually lead to bullying? Do you have any examples? What is it that makes you angry or sad? Can you point out any special things that make you so angry or upset that would make you want to show your anger by bullying someone or making fun of them?" The groups at stations 2-4 then proceeded to discuss, analyze and answer question 2-4: "Situations that usually lead to bullying?", "What makes you angry?", and "Alternatives to bullying?"

Station 5 was given instructions in accordance with stage 3 of CBT: "Do you think that there is any alternative way to handle a similar situation in the future (with reference to what you saw in the two films)? If you could have gone back to an event in the past, would you have done or said something in a different way? Why? Each one of you should try to provide at least two possible solutions to the situation (from the films or from your imagination). Should you perhaps speak about something else and avoid a specific topic

until you have calmed down? Would this work between your group of friends? Outside your group of friends? Or would it be best to avoid the situation completely by just walking away? What do you think?" The group at station 5 then proceeded to discuss, analyze and answer question 5: "What would you have done differently if you could go back to a particular event? Why?" All the questions were open-ended to encourage detailed and thoughtful responses from the participants. The children were to discuss the questions as a group and then write down at least two responses per individual. Originality was encouraged and written instructions were given that an answer that had already been written at a station could not be repeated.

Once all groups had had the chance to rotate through all stations, the final two stages of CBT were acknowledged by asking the entire treatment group: "What kind of consequences do you think you would get if everyone did as you have suggested?" and "Which solution(s) is/are the best?"

All station sheets were then collected and all the answers were recorded for the treatment group (appendix 5 A-5B).

IAT session 2

Once the treatment group had completed CBT 2 (see *CBT session 2* above), all participants (treatment and control) completed the IAT once more. The procedure described in *IAT session 1* above was repeated in precisely the same manner for all participants.

Thus, to recap, as described above, the experiment began with an explicit measure of attitudes where I handed out the questionnaire to all the children. This was followed by the first of two IAT sessions where I measured all the children's implicit attitudes towards

bullying. The first of two CBT sessions followed, where I set out to manipulate only the treatment group's implicit attitudes towards bullying. The same applied to the second CBT session. Finally, during the second and final IAT session, I once again measured all the children's implicit attitudes towards bullying.

Results

Effect of CBT on implicit attitudes towards bullying

Recall that a lower D-score means that the implicit attitude towards bullying would be more negative, while a higher D-score means that the implicit attitude would be more positive. A mixed between-within subjects analysis of variance was conducted to assess the impact of CBT intervention on participants' implicit attitude towards bullying (measured by D-scores on the IAT), across two time periods. There was no significant interaction between CBT intervention and time (Wilks' Lambda = 1.00, $F(1,97) = .001$, $p = .97$, partial eta squared = $<.01$). There was no main effect for time (Wilks' Lambda = .99 $F(1, 97) = .289$, $p = .592$, partial eta squared = $.003$). Both the control and treatment group showed a reduction in D-values (increasingly negative attitudes towards bullying) across the two time periods (see table 2). However, these changes are small and it is unknown as to why the treatment group had a lower D-value already from the start of the experiment, despite random assignment.

The main effect comparing CBT intervention with no intervention was not significant, $F(1, 48) = .018$, $p = .89$, partial eta squared $< .001$. This suggests that CBT treatment alone cannot explain the variance in D-values pre- and post intervention; furthermore, this suggests that it is not CBT intervention alone, but perhaps some other

difference between the control and treatment groups that affects the respective group's implicit attitudes towards bullying.

Table 2

D-scores for control vs. treatment groups: Pre- and post intervention

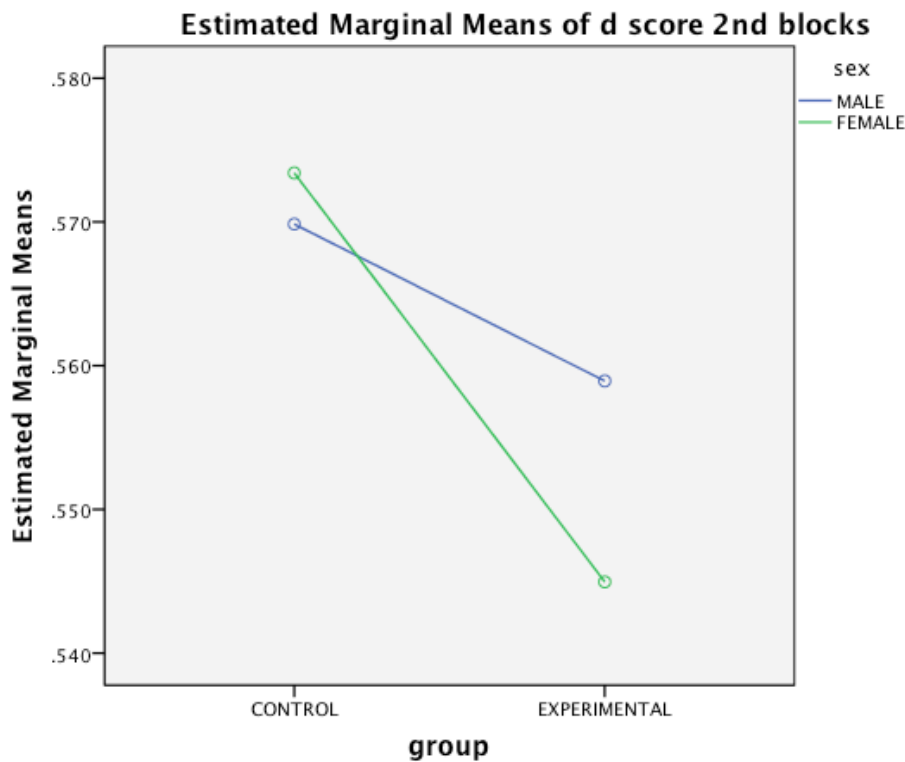
Time period	Control			Treatment		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Pre-intervention	50	0.63	0.57	50	0.53	0.61
Post-intervention	50	0.61	0.64	50	0.51	0.51

Effect of gender

A 2 (group: treatment vs. control) by 2 (gender: male vs. female) between-groups analysis of covariance was conducted to assess the effectiveness of the CBT intervention in increasing negative attitudes towards bullying for male and female participants. The independent variables were the group (treatment or control) and gender (male or female). The dependent variable was the D-scores on the IAT, administered following completion of the intervention (CBT). Scores on the IAT administered prior to the commencement of the intervention were used as a covariate to control for individual differences. Preliminary checks were conducted to ensure that there was no violation of the assumption of normality, linearity, homogeneity of variances, homogeneity of regression slopes, and reliable measurement of the covariates. After adjusting for IAT scores at Time 1, there was a significant interaction effect. $F(1,95) = 172.9, p < .0005$, with a large effect size (partial eta squared = .65). Neither of the main effects were statistically significant, group: $F(1,95) = .02, p = .90$; gender: $F(1,95) = .01, p = .94$. These results suggest that males and females

respond differently to CBT intervention. Females showed a more substantial increase in negative implicit attitude towards bullying after participation in the CBT intervention (see figure 1 and table 3); males, on the other hand, were not as affected by CBT intervention.

Figure 1
Mean D-scores on IAT, control vs. treatment groups.



Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: d score 1st blocks = .58207

Table 3
Mean D-values of control vs. treatment groups on block 1 and 2 of IAT, by gender

Sex	Group	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval
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N					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Male	14	Control	0.570	0.071	0.429	0.711
	16	Treatment	0.559	0.063	0.433	0.685
Female	13	Control	0.573	0.069	0.437	0.710
	11	Treatment	0.545	0.078	0.390	0.700

Explicit measure of bullying attitudes

The majority of participants reported very negative explicit attitudes towards bullying

($M=4.29$, $SD=1.136$) on the explicit questionnaire. However, while nearly all participants responded in the self-report questionnaire that they are against bullying (negative explicit attitudes), the results from the IAT as well as answers from the CBT trials show otherwise. If the IAT effect had been 0 then it would have meant that there was no difference between bullying-good and bullying-bad. The mean D-values, however, are all positive. Since a more positive D-value means that there exists a more positive implicit attitude towards bullying, it can be interpreted as the children more easily associating bullying with good than bullying with bad.

Qualitative analysis of CBT sessions

Recall that a substantially significant main effect for CBT intervention was found, but only for the female participants. During the first CBT session, attitudes towards bullying and the reasons for such attitudes were covered. I divided up the children into ten small groups.

Being unaware of the friendship loyalties in the class, I placed some children in groups that they would normally not choose, had they been in charge of forming groups themselves. The questions which the children were to answer promoted the children to 1) explain why they believe that some children bully others, 2) why they believe that some children are bullied by others, 3) what goes through their mind when they see or hear that someone is bullied, 4)

have they ever been bullied/seen a friend get bullied, and what did they do in that situation, 5) how do they believe bullying should be fought, and finally, 6) whether they have any extra thoughts on the topic of bullying.

Five of the ten groups had written that they are bullied on a regular basis but that nobody sees what happens because it either happens when nobody else is around or it happens indirectly; they have their belongings stolen, destroyed, they are ignored by their classmates, they are ignored by the teachers, they are bullied because they have learning disabilities such as ADHD, and/or that they are given the silent treatment by their other classmates. All five of these groups had also responded that they do not say or do anything about this because they do not want to “start something big”. These five groups were all female-only groups in the CBT trials and they were describing the sort of emotional and relational bullying that they experience in school. The other five groups consisted of boys. None of the boy groups had even responded to this question during the CBT trials.

During the second CBT session, associations to the topic of bullying (cognitive, social, personal associations, etc), and efforts of changing said associations were covered. The children were encouraged to reflect upon 1) things that can be done or said instead of being or acting aggressive, 2) situations that usually lead to bullying, 3) things that make them angry, 4) alternatives to bullying, and 5) what they would have done in retrospect if they could go back and change something that had happened.

The children were not given any form of directions except to turn to their own thoughts on the subject of bullying, work in small groups from before (CBT session 1) and infer from their own actions and thoughts when answering questions pertaining to bullying. This time, since it was possible for the children to see other group responses (they were rotating to different stations in the classroom), it may be possible that they learned from their own

previous actions and words by seeing their own and others responses. This could potentially explain why the treatment group had a slight decrease in their positive implicit attitudes towards bullying.

Again, since CBT is not a scripted method and since the questions in the CBT sessions were largely open to individual interpretation, it may be possible that the very use of CBT methods affected the way in which participants inferred their own attitudes. In addition, the results indicate that the participants in this study have more positive implicit attitudes towards bullying than that which they show through self-reports.

Discussion

Interpretation of results

The results suggest that CBT intervention can effectively manipulate attitudes towards bullying, but only for girls. It appears that CBT is less effective in manipulating implicit attitudes in boys. The results did not show support for CBT affecting bullying attitudes for all participants, as no interaction effect between CBT intervention and time was found.

However, when taking into account gender, girls in the treatment group showed more negative implicit attitudes towards bullying compared to the control group, after controlling for their initial implicit attitudes pre-intervention. The boys' implicit attitudes, however, were not as affected.

On the whole, it is interesting that only the girls were responsive to CBT. This shows that, at least in this study, either girls were feeling more bullied than the boys, or the boys were not reporting incidents of bullying during this CBT session. Also, these questions were only given to the boys and girls in the treatment group, which means that no hasty conclusions can be drawn. However, it may be possible that these sentiments that the girls in the treatment group shared during the first CBT session is very similar or identical to the sentiments of the girls in the control group, as the first CBT session was nearly at the start of the experiment. In addition, it may be possible that while the girls in the treatment group, due to the nature of CBT trials, had the chance to infer from their own attitudes and behaviours, think about the consequences of their own actions and how these actions have hurt others, the girls in the control group did not have this opportunity. So while the girls' treatment group learned to work through their conflicts and bullying problems, the control group did not. As a result, it is possible that the presence or absence of CBT intervention is the determining explanatory factor as to why the treatment girls' group experienced such a change in implicit

attitudes towards bullying while the control girls' group experienced nothing. The same explanation cannot be applied to the boys' treatment versus control groups, as CBT intervention was only found to have an effect on the girls.

Perhaps this means that CBT can be a good method for affecting girls' attitudes, but not boys'. More research is needed in this area; this study needs to be repeated and the results replicated before any major implications can be drawn. However, this may mean that future research on methods of manipulating implicit bullying attitudes should involve different interventions for girls and boys, respectively. If the results from future research are in line with those of the present study, then other methods need to be tested for manipulating boys' implicit bullying attitudes. In addition, it is suggested that future research address the reason(s) why boys' implicit attitudes were not affected. Possible hypotheses may include that boys in this age group are not as receptive to CBT because they have a lower maturity level than girls.

Why explicit tests are not good enough

It is possible that the self-report questionnaire answers were the result of participant bias; perhaps participants wanted to report answers that they believed to be in line with their general ideas about what is deemed as "right" and "wrong". Since most students are aware that bullying is not tolerated in schools and that there are consequences to bullying, it is not surprising that their responses generally show a very negative explicit attitude towards bullying.

If this is true, then it follows that those boys and girls who were part of the control group were not encouraged to infer from their own thoughts, did not gain any insight into their own actions, attitudes and behaviours, and therefore maintained the same positive

implicit bullying attitude throughout the period of the study.

Recall that the IAT is proven to be a very difficult test to fake, and also recall that the CBT trials are aimed at providing insight into ones own attitudes and behaviour. It may be possible, then, that the girls in the control group who have high positive implicit attitudes toward bullying have not gone through the CBT trials and therefore not been given the chance to infer from their own attitudes and behaviour towards bullying. This means that these participants have not experienced any kind of cognitive dissonance because their attitudes towards bullying have not been challenged as they would have been if they had been in the treatment group and received CBT trials. Therefore, the lack of intervention can be another explanation as to why the girls in the control group had more positive implicit attitudes towards bullying and also why this implicit attitude remained fairly stagnant throughout the entire period of the study.

If the above explanation is true, then this produces many challenges for future research. Not only would we need to look further into the various forms of bullying and aggression, but future research would also need to delve deeper into matters of gender differences and study the reasons as to why children's implicit bullying attitudes are differentially gendered.

Bullying as a cultural phenomenon

Perhaps bullying attitudes are differentially gendered because of our global culture and the ways in which males and females label acts of aggression. Indeed, much past research has focused on the type of bullying that can be seen with the naked eye-in most cases physical bullying and in some cases verbal bullying. Relational bullying has thus far not been studied in detail and it appears from the results of the present study that relational bullying is quite prevalent. The results of this study also suggest that relational bullying is more prevalent

among girls and this problem needs to be addressed in future research.

Recall that relational aggression refers to harmful behaviours (such as social exclusion or gossip) that destroy or threaten to destroy social relationships (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Scheithauer & Bull, 2008). Therefore, relational aggression can constitute bullying if it occurs repeatedly over time and if those who are targeted cannot defend themselves against the perpetrator(s) (Scheithauer, 2012). For example, in this study, children responded that those who are deemed “different” than the rest of the group, such as those with learning disabilities, those who dress differently, those who have an illness, those who are “ugly”, unpopular, bad at sports, and those who are “outsiders” were the targets of relational bullying. This is in line with previous research that has found that “different” children are bullied more often and more severely (Scheithauer, 2012). Also in line with previous research (Scheithauer et al., 2003), the present study found that those children who are the targets of bullying reported during the CBT trials that they feel helpless, lonely, and avoid many activities that require teamwork at school. Having confirmed these previous findings in the present study, it seems promising that CBT intervention has been successful in implementing at least a manipulation in implicit attitudes towards bullying.

In the present study, nearly all of the participants in the treatment group admitted that they have taken on various roles when it comes to bullying. This is in line with previous research (Salmivalli, 1999). While none of the participants in the treatment group in this study admitted to supporting the bully through active and clear encouragement, they did admit to being re-enforcers and/or passive bystanders. Some of the participants in the treatment group admitted to being defenders of bully victims. In any case, all of the participants in the treatment group responded that, in hindsight, given the chance, they

would go “back in time” to defend the victims of bullying that they have been witnesses to, and that they would take back their mean words and actions.

The findings in this study suggest that CBT is an effective method of producing awareness of bullying attitudes, the origin of the attitude, as well as the impact of the attitude.

Since using CBT methods was found to be a somewhat fruitful method of both studying and manipulating implicit attitudes towards bullying (albeit only in girls), it may be worthwhile for future bullying research to continue in this area. Specifically, in this study, I found that CBT could address the not-so visible forms of bullying and thereby provide insight to children of their own attitudes and behaviour, which would otherwise normally lead to bullying instances. Children were able to correct their own inferences and thereby change their implicit attitudes towards bullying.

It is not known whether these attitude manipulations are long lasting, but results from the second round of IAT suggest that the manipulations are promising. However, more research in this area is needed, with more participants, over a longer period of time and in various settings in order to draw any further conclusions.

If people can be made aware of their own implicit attitudes towards a problem such as bullying, and if they can go through a process of understanding this implicit attitude that they may or may not have known they had, then they can change the implicit attitude in question by understanding the impact it has on themselves and on their environment.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter of permission sent to parents

Stockholm, 2012-03-06

Studie om mobbning

Mitt namn är Firouzeh Büller och jag skriver en masteruppsats om mobbning vid Lunds universitet. Jag kommer under våren 2012 att utföra en studie på Kompassensskolan/ Ankaretskolan som syftar till att förändra barnens attityder kring mobbning och i förlängningen minska mobbningen på skolan. Jag undrar om ditt/dina barn kan vara med i studien? Om du godkänner detta, vänligen fyll i den lapp jag bifogat här och lämna den till skolan senast den _____.

Jag har inte tagit del om några uppgifter som tyder på att Kompassensskolan/Ankaretskolan har större eller mindre problem med mobbning än andra skolor. Min uppfattning är dock att mobbning förekommer på ett eller annat sätt i samtliga skolor. Denna studie kan vara ett första steg mot ändrade attityder till mobbning samt en mer rättvis och trivsamt skolmiljö. Studien är handledd av Fil. Dr. Una Tellhed, lektor i psykologi vid institutionen för psykologi vid Lunds universitet.

Hur studien går till

Barnen som deltar i studien kommer att få besvara tio enkätfrågor som handlar om deras åsikter om mobbning. De kommer också spela en typ av datorspel som innehåller ord och bilder. Orden handlar antingen om något snällt eller elakt (till exempel: solen, krig, et c) och bilderna visar antingen barn som leker tillsammans och ser glada ut eller barn som har gjort varandra illa och ser ledsna ut. Varken bilderna eller orden innehåller svordomar, könsord, våldsskildringar, nakenhet eller något annat som kan anses olämpligt.

Efter datorspelet kommer vissa av barnen att samlas i en grupp där vi tillsammans pratar om mobbning vid tre tillfällen. Varför man mobbar och vad man kan göra åt mobbning.

Etiska frågor

Alla resultat och uppgifter från studien kommer att anonymiseras och inga personuppgifter kommer att matas in eller sparas i datorsystemet. Det kommer därmed inte vara möjligt att identifiera vilket barn som har lämnat vilka svar. Barnen har också rätt att avbryta studien när som helst, om de så önskar.

Kontaktuppgifter

Ni är hjärtligt välkomna att kontakta mig via e-post om Ni har några frågor eller funderingar kring studien. Min e-postadress är: asa10fbu@student.lu.se

Med vänliga hälsningar,

Firouzeh Büller

Jag godkänner härmed att mitt barn kan delta i studien om mobbning under våren 2012.

Barnets namn _____

Förälderns namnteckning _____

Namnförtydligande förälders
namn _____

Appendix 2: Explicit Attitude Test-questionnaire

Attitudes towards bullying: This survey is intended to measure students' attitudes towards bullying on a 5 point scale.

1) Man ska försöka och hjälpa mobbningsoffer.

- Håller inte alls med
- håller någorlunda med
- vet ej
- håller med
- håller helt med

2) Att mobba kan vara kul ibland.

- håller helt med
- håller med
- vet ej
- håller någorlunda med
- håller inte alls med

3) Det är offerts eget fel om han/hon blir mobbad.

- håller helt med
- håller med
- vet ej
- håller någorlunda med
- håller inte alls med

4) Att mobba är dumt.

- Håller inte alls med
- håller någorlunda med
- vet ej
- håller med
- håller helt med

5) Att medhjälpa någon/några att mobba en annan är fel.

- Håller inte alls med
- håller någorlunda med
- vet ej
- håller med
- håller helt med

6) Det är inte hela världen om man skrattar med andra när någon blir mobbad framför dig.

- håller helt med
- håller med
- vet ej
- håller någorlunda med
- håller inte alls med

7) Man ska rapportera mobbning till lärarna.

- Håller inte alls med
- håller någorlunda med
- vet ej
- håller med
- håller helt med

8) Att bli vänner med mobbare är den rätta saken att göra.

- Håller inte alls med
- håller någorlunda med
- vet ej
- håller med
- håller helt med

9) Det är roligt, när någon retas en klasskamrat om och om igen.

- håller helt med
- håller med
- vet ej
- håller någorlunda med
- håller inte alls med

10) Mobbning leder till att den mobbade mår illa.

- Håller inte alls med
- håller någorlunda med
- vet ej

håller med

håller helt med

Appendix 3: CBT session script

“Hej! Jag heter Firouzeh och jag kommer från Kanada. Just nu läser jag psykologi på Lunds universitet. Jag hoppas att Ni känner igen mig från förra veckan! Som Ni kanske vet så gör jag en undersökning om attytider kring mobbning. Jag vet att mobbning är ett problem som förekommer på ett eller annat sätt på alla skolor, men det som jag är mest intresserad av är att få veta vad NI tycker om ämnet. Jag vill alltså inte veta vad den här skolan har för policy när det gäller mobbning, eller vad Era föräldrar eller lärare har sagt om mobbning, utan jag vill veta vad NI tycker. Hur Ni reagerar, vad ERA åsikter är, hur NI hanterar olika situationer, osv. På så sätt är allting som Ni delar med Er superviktigt och jag vill att Ni ska veta att det som Ni gör just nu har enormt betydelse och kommer formodligen bidra till att andra barn inte blir mobbade i framtiden, vilket jag tycker är fantastiskt. Så, är Ni med?? Jag vill bara säga en sak innan vi börjar. Allting som vi pratar om här inne är sekretessbelagd. Detta betyder att jag inte kommer att skriva vem som har sagt vad eller några namn. Allting kommer att vara anonymt. Men samtidigt vill jag att vi ska kunna lita på varandra och respektera varandra oavsett om Ni är bästisar utanför detta rum eller inte. Därför vill jag att Ni diskuterar så öppet Ni kan och bidra till samtalet så mycket Ni vill och kan utan att det ska kännas alltför obehagligt.”

Appendix 4: Open-ended questions, CBT session 1

- 1) Why do you believe that some children bully others? Why do you believe that some children are bullied by others?
- 2) What do you think of when you see or hear that someone is/has been bullied?
- 3) How do you believe that bullying should be fought?
- 4) Other thoughts/opinions?

Appendix 5: Rotating/Station Questions, CBT session 2

Stage 1: Think about bullying: What can you do instead of being aggressive if you see that someone is behaving in an aggressive way? Is there something you could say or do? If so, what?

Station/question 1: What can you do instead of being aggressive? Say something? Do something?

Stage 2: Identify the problem: What are some situations which usually lead to bullying? Do you have any examples? What is it that makes you angry or sad? Can you point out any special things that make you so angry or upset that would make you want to show your anger by bullying someone or “making fun of them”?

Station 2/question 2: Situations that usually lead to bullying?

Station 3/question 3: What makes you angry?

Station 4/question 4: Alternatives to bullying?

Stage 3: Do you think that there is any alternative way to handle a similar situation in the future (with reference to what was seen on the two films)? If you could have gone back to an event in the past, would you have done or said something in a different way? Why? I would like each one of you to give me at least 2 possible solutions to the situation (from the films or from imagination). Should you perhaps speak about something else and avoid a specific topic until you have calmed down? Would this work between your group of friends? Or would it be best to avoid the situation completely by just walking away? What do you think? I would like at least 2 answers from each and every one of you!

Station 5/question 5: What would you have done differently if you could go back to a particular event? Why?

Stage 4: What kind of consequences do you think you would get if everyone did as you have suggested?

Stage 5: Which solution(s) is/are the best?

Appendix 6A: Complete answers of children to handout for CBT 1-Kompassensskolan

Kompassensskolan answers to qualitative questions, KBT1:

(The following responses are written exactly in the manner in which the children have responded, hence the spelling and grammar have remained uncorrected).

1)-Därför att dom som mobbar tycker att de mobbade är fula.

-själv mår (mobbarna) de dåliga.

-Dom som mobbar gillar att retas med andra.

-För att mobbarna tycker att det e roligt.

-De som är mobbade kanske opopulära o fula.

-Mobbarna kanske tycker att (den mobbade) är ful.

-Om man är blyg så kan man bli mobbad.

-Jag tror att dom som mobbar är fega och avundsjuka på nåt.

-Dem som mobbar är osäkra och vll vara coola.

-Den som blir mobbad kanske inte har de nyaste, finaste kläderna.

2)-Det är tråkigt.

-Ja, (2 personer). De sa taskiga saker till mig; klämde på mig i ryggen; nöp mig; läraren sa inget/hjälpte inte; gick hem; mamma blev ledsen; en annan lärare (inte egen alltså) ringde och berättade det här för mamma.

-Jag har sett andra blir mobbade; men jag gjorde inget för att jag var rädd; sedan berättade jag för mamma att jag hade sett någon bli mobbad på skolan.

-Ja, för att jag har ADHD; de (mobbarna) puttar ner böckerna, säger taskiga saker, gör elaka saker, förstör mina skolsaker; andra elever i klassrummet bryr sig inte; lärarna säger inget/gör inget; Jag säger inget till lärarna för att jag inte vill börja något stort.

-Vi har aldrig blivit mobbade och vi har inte sett det på vår skola.

-Jag tycker att det är dåligt.

-Vi skulle tycka synd om personen och skulle hjälpa den.

3)-Man ska prata om det med lärarna.

-Det borde vara olagligt att mobba.

-Prata med lärarna på skolan.

-Man arbetar mot mobbarna och hjälper de mobbade.

-Ge dom som mobbar ett kokstryk och säga till dom.

-Säga till någon vuxen när man ser att nån blir mobbad.

4)-De som är mindre (går i förskola till exempel) blir mobbade oftare.

Appendix 6B: Complete answers of children to handout for CBT 1-Ankaretsskolan

Ankaretsskolans answers to qualitative questions, KBT 1:

- 1) -Dom som mobbar andra kanske vill vara tuffa och coola inför sina kompisar.
 - Klär sig på ett visst sätt, ser ut på ett visst sätt, gör vissa saker, mobbar för att få uppmärksamhet.
 - Dom kanske har det jobbigt hemma; dom kanske är annorlunda och är ensamma.
 - Dom tror att dom är coola oc populära; inte rätt kläder, smink, intressen, pratar annorlunda, kommer från ett annat land.
 - För att dom är osäkra och vill vara tuffa inför andra; mobbarna tycker och tänker att saker är fel hos den personen som blir mobbad (tror vi).

- 2) -Jag blir förbannad och säger till människan!
 - Det beror på vem det är och vad personen har gjort innan.
 - Mobbarna är alltid fegast.
 - Vill stoppa men vågar inte.
 - Ja det har hänt; man tycker synd om den personen som blir utsatt.

- 3) Undvika personer som man ogillar.
 - Den som blir mobbad ska prata med vuxna.
 - få mobbaren/mobbarna att sluta (ritade en bild).
 - Inte mobba andra; försöka hjälpa andra som blir utsatta.

Appendix 6C: Complete answers of children to station questions CBT2-Kompassenskolan

Kompassenskolans Qualitative answers KBT2:

Steg 1: Fundera på mobbning: Vad kan man göra istället för att vara aggressiv om man ser att någon betar sig på ett aggressivt sätt? Finns det någonting Ni skulle säga eller göra? I så fall vad?

1) Vad kan man göra istället för att vara aggressiv? Säga något? Göra något?

- Gå därifrån
- Hämta lärare
- Inte bry sig. De som mobbar är själva osäkra.
- Säga att den bara ska gå därifrån för att det inte ska leda till något dåligt.
- Prata med sina föräldrar/kompisar
- Skiter i det, struntar i det!
- Hjälper hen ("hen" is a gender-neutral term that is used more frequently in schools, and refers to both a female and male).

Steg 2: Identifiera problemet: Vad kännetecknar en situation som brukar leda till mobbning? Har Ni några exempel? Vad är det som gör Er arga eller ledsna? Kan Ni påpeka några särskilda saker som gör att Ni blir arga eller ledsna och vill visa ilskan genom att mobba någon eller "retas" med dem?

2) Situationer som brukar leda till mobbning?

- Om man är ensam, ful, opopulär och tjock; dålig på en sport.
- När man ser att någon inte har bra självförtroende.
- När någon fegar ur från något.
- När man är avundsjuk på någon.
- Om man eller någon har en sjukdom så man ser konstig ut eller om man är utanför.

3) Vad gör dig arg?

- När jag inte får köpa något.
- När någon/några är emot mig.
- När någon kaxar sig.
- När min lillebror är helt "cp".
- När någon mobbar någon annan.

- När jag ser någon som är ledsen och ingen hjälper den.
- När någon säger dumma ord!
- När någon är kaxig, i fotboll.
- När någon blir mobbad.

4) Alternativ till mobbning?

- Träna sig till 6 ft och slå ner alla.
- Gå därifrån.
- Säga till läraren.
- Prata med någon vuxen eller lärare.
- Prata hemma och med fröken; gå därifrån.
- Försöka få kontakt med den som mobbar.
- Ta med de andra och gå därifrån.

Steg 3: Tycker Ni att det finns något alternativt sätt att hantera en liknande situation i framtiden? Hade Ni kunnat gå tillbaka till en händelse i det förflutna, hade Ni gjort eller sagt något på ett annat sätt? Varför? Jag vill att var och en av Er ger mig minst 2 olika lösningar på situationen (kan vara från filmen eller i verklighet). Borde man kanske prata om något annat och undvika ett särskilt ämne tills man har lugnat ner sig? Skulle det funka inom Er kompiskrets? Eller borde man undvika situationen genom att ta sig därifrån? Eller? Vad tycker Ni? Jag vill ha minst 2 förslag från var och en av Er!

5) Vad hade du gjort annorlunda om du kunde gå tillbaka till en händelse? Varför?

- Vi hade hämtat lärare och försökt avbryta händelsen.
- Jag slår ner den som mobbar/skadar min kompis.
- Jag skulle gått fram och hjälpt personen.
- Jag hade ringt någon eller hämtat någon som var nära, som kunde hjälpa mig att hjälpa den utsatta personen.

Steg 4: Vad tror Ni man skulle få för konsekvenser om man gör som Ni säger?

Steg 5: Vilken/vilka lösning(ar) är det/de bästa?

Appendix 6D: Complete answers of children to station questions CBT2-Ankaretsskolan

Ankaretsskolans Qualitative answers KBT2:

Steg 1: Fundera på mobbning: Vad kan man göra istället för att vara aggressiv om man ser att någon betar sig på ett aggressivt sätt? Finns det någonting Ni skulle säga eller göra? I så fall vad?

1) Vad kan man göra istället för att vara aggressiv? Säg något? Gör något?

- Man kan räkna tyst
- Gå därifrån
- Man kan försöka hålla sig lugn
- Gå till en plats där man känner sig lugn
- Man kan säga till en vuxen
- Man kan säga förlåt
- Gå in på sitt rum
- Man kan göra något roligt
- Man kan tänka på varför man blev arg
- Prata med en kompis
- Vara för sig själv
- Försöka glömma det
- Prata med personen man blev arg på
- Skrika på personen
- Tänka på något annat
- Ta hjälp av någon vuxen
- Tänka över det som har hänt
- Om man har bråkat kan man lösa det snällt/muntligt

Steg 2: Identifiera problemet: Vad kännetecknar en situation som brukar leda till mobbning? Har Ni några exempel? Vad är det som gör Er arga eller ledsna? Kan Ni påpeka några särskilda saker som gör att Ni blir arga eller ledsna och vill visa ilska genom att mobba någon eller "retas" med dem?

2) Situationer som brukar leda till mobbning?

- Ny på en skola
- Har vissa problem
- Ser ut på ett visst sätt
- Beter sig på ett visst sätt
- Kaxig
- Gör vissa saker
- Inte går på någon aktivitet
- Om man har varit elak/dum
- Om man inte har så många kompisar
- Har en sjukdom
- Pratar annorlunda
- Man krockar med en mobbare
- Har anna klädstil
- Mobbarna vill vara tuffa
- Om man har det svårt i skolan
- Om man har mycket extra hjälp i skolan
- Dom mobbade gör något som är dumt mot mobbarna
- Någon är dålig på fotbollsplan

3) Vad gör dig arg?

- När någon blir arg på mig utan anledning
- Ifall någon ljuger
- När någon är kaxig mot en
- Ifall man får skulden för något som man inte har gjort
- När någon berättar mina hemligheter för andra
- När någon retas
- När någon tar mina grejer
- När ingen är tyst i klassrummet
- När min storebror och jag retas
- När mamma säger att maten är klar fast den inte är det
- När någon lånar mina saker utan att ge tillbaka dem.
- Om någon slår mig utan anledning
- När någon sparkar ner mig på fotboll
- När någon i mitt lag på fotboll tar bollen
- Falska personer som inte vet vad dom själva vill
- Mobbare

- Dom som tror att dom är bäst på allt
- Dom som blir sura för ingenting
- Såna som inte tåler ett Nej
- Såna som vill ha allas uppmärksamhet
- En ful tackling
- Kaxiga människor
- Dåligt spel på fotboll

4) Alternativ till mobbning?

- Säga dumma saker till samma person varje dag
- Gruppträck mot en ensam person
- Dassa/göra dumma saker mot någon
- Hota någon
- Kränka någon
- Utsätta någon pga deras klädstil/utseende
- Frysa ut någon
- Slå/sparka någon
- Blänger/kollar konstigt
- gömmer ens saker
- förstöra ens saker
- Säger att man är dålig på allting

Steg 3: Tycker Ni att det finns något alternativt sätt att hantera en liknande situation i framtiden? Hade Ni kunnat gå tillbaka till en händelse i det förflutna, hade Ni gjort eller sagt något på ett annat sätt? Varför? Jag vill att var och en av Er ger mig minst 2 olika lösningar på situationen (kan vara från filmen eller i verklighet). Borde man kanske prata om något annat och undvika ett särskilt ämne tills man har lugnat ner sig? Skulle det funka inom Er kompiskrets? Eller borde man undvika situationen genom att ta sig därifrån? Eller? Vad tycker Ni? Jag vill ha minst 2 förslag från var och en av Er!

5) Vad hade du gjort annorlunda om du kunde gå tillbaka till en händelse? Varför?

- Jag hade bara gått därifrån, från början, så att det inte hade blivit så stor grej av hela saken...sagt till någon lärare direkt istället.
- Våga säga Nej till den personen som frågar något som man inte vill...våga säga från dem som startar bråket.
- Sagt ifrån när kompis skrev dumma saker om mig, till en annan på FaceBook.

- Slutat vara "kompisar" med dom som är elaka.
- Prata om det, inte försöka starta en konflikt.
- Inte lägga sig i för då kan det bli mycket värre.
- Strunta i det.
- Jag skulle inte gjort det.
- Jag hade sagt förlåt.
- Jag hade gjort så inte konflikten skulle starta från början.
- Jag hade gjort så inte konflikten blev så stor.
- Jag skulle inte börja på skolan.

Steg 4: Vad tror Ni man skulle få för konsekvenser om man gör som Ni säger?

Steg 5: Vilken/vilka lösning(ar) är det/de bästa?

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