Overcoming Victim Behaviour Through Physical Education

Christopher L. Hobin, B.A. (Hon.), B.Ed.

Department of Graduate and Undergraduate Studies in Education

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

Faculty of Education, Brock University

St. Catharines, Ontario

© November, 2000
Abstract

This study presents information gathered during personal interviews in which participants were asked how they, as physical educators, might possibly assist the victim of bullying through their programs. The research is a qualitative study, using an inductive approach. Five participants were chosen, based on convenience sampling, with semi-structured interviews which were audio recorded. The theoretical research found that the most stable characteristics of victimized boys were lack of strength and lack of physical fitness. This suggested that Physical Education class might be the best place in which to empower victimized students to reduce their own victimization by addressing these areas of strength and fitness. From the interviews it became clear that, while these educators showed a willingness to help bullying victims through their programs, their adherence to a Physical Education model based primarily on elitism, as opposed to individual fitness, would make it difficult for them to do so effectively.
Acknowledgements

First, I wish to thank the participants, who gave willingly of their time during a particularly challenging period in their careers as physical educators. Secondly, I wish to sincerely thank my thesis advisors Professor Nancy Murray, from whose confidence in me I took a great deal of strength, and Professor Norah Morgan, who helped me to see this issue from so many different angles, for their critical guidance and encouragement throughout this long and sometimes daunting process. Thirdly, I wish to thank those who also sat on my thesis committee, Professor Zopito Marini, whose own research provided such important direction for my own, and Professor Cecilia Reynolds, for her time and contribution. Finally, I wish to thank Lillian Bloom, my teacher, mentor, and friend, whose support has been unwavering throughout this journey.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .................................................................................................................. ii  
Acknowledgements .................................................................................................. iii  

## CHAPTER ONE: THE PROBLEM

Introduction ............................................................................................................. 1  
Problem Statement ................................................................................................ 1  
Assumptions and Limitations .................................................................................. 4  

## CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Bullying Defined ...................................................................................................... 5  
Victim Behaviour, and the Reactions it Elicits ......................................................... 8  
The Need for Prevention of Victimization .............................................................. 11  
Current Victimization Prevention Initiatives ......................................................... 14  
The Role of Physical Education in Victimization Prevention ............................... 18  
Summary ............................................................................................................... 24  

## CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

Participant Selection .............................................................................................. 26  
Information Collection .......................................................................................... 27  
Information Processing and Analysis .................................................................. 29  

## CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

The Participants ...................................................................................................... 32  
Participants' Views on Bullying ............................................................................. 35  
  What Constitutes Bullying .................................................................................. 35  
  Who is Involved in Bullying ................................................................................. 37  
  How Bullying Affects Those Who Are Involved .............................................. 44  
  How to Identify Bullying .................................................................................... 46  
  How to Deal with Bullying ............................................................................... 51  
Participants' Views on Their Teaching Environments ......................................... 56  
  Physical Education Program Components ....................................................... 56  
  Assessment and Evaluation in Physical Education .......................................... 60  
  Retention in Physical Education Programs ....................................................... 62  
Participants' Views on Addressing Victim Behaviour Through the Physical Education Program .......................................................... 63  
  Fitness-Based Programming ................................................................................. 63  
  Helping the Victim ......................................................................................... 65  
Participants' Views on Having Participated in the Study ..................................... 67  

iv
CHAPTER FIVE: INTERPRETATION OF THE INFORMATION

Summary of the Study .........................................................68
Discussion .................................................................69
Implications ..................................................................80
Further Research ..........................................................87
Conclusion .....................................................................87

References ....................................................................89

Appendix A: Interview Questions ......................................93

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form .................................98
CHAPTER ONE: THE PROBLEM

Introduction

More than 20% of children may be bullied at school (Ambert, 1994; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Many such children are victimized over several years. Victims, who demonstrate certain consistent behavioural traits (Olweus, 1978; Björkqvist, Ekman, & Lagerspetz, 1982), may suffer the consequences of their victimization throughout the rest of their lives (Kupersmidt, Coie, & Dodge, 1990). Victimized school children are physically weaker than average (Besag, 1989), since their anxiety over the possibility of injuring themselves (Olweus, 1993) results in avoidance of ways in which their strength and coordination normally would develop. The ineffectual physical presence projected by the victim acts as a magnet to the overaggressive tendencies of the bully (Floyd, 1985). Under constant fear of attack at school, and with little self esteem, the victim eventually may find learning next to impossible (Marini, 1995). Such children either drop out of school or become 'psychological' dropouts, attending school physically but without intellectual commitment or accomplishment.

Problem Statement

In recent years, a number of bullying prevention programmes have been developed. Those of which I am aware have met with only limited success (Pepler, Craig, Ziegler, & Charach, 1994). Victims and bullies behave as they do for a combination of psychological and environmental reasons. Most of the above mentioned anti-bullying programmes aim to educate bullies to recognize the need to cease their bullying behaviour; however, in none of these programmes is there any attempt to
educate victims as to their need to cease victim behaviour. One may presume that as long as there are victims, there will be bullies.

While poor physical development has been clearly identified as being at the root of many of the problems of the victim of bullying (Olweus, 1978; Floyd, 1985), the possible benefits to victimized school children of specific Physical Education interventions has not been investigated. Since Physical Education, in its ideal form, is unique in using physical means to develop each person's whole being (Freeman, 1992), Physical Education specialists are in the best position to assist victims of bullying. First, the nature of their classes affords them the opportunity of identifying potential victims, based on the criteria of ineffectual physical presence rooted in body anxiety, without labelling them. Second, these teachers have the means at their disposal to help such victims help themselves reduce their victim behaviour, through showing them how to overcome body anxiety and develop strength. Third, they are able, through choice of activities and method of teaching, to ensure that no students, and in particular no victims of bullying, are put into situations in which they are unlikely to succeed and which may thereby result in damage to self esteem and an eventual rejection of Physical Education. Finally, Physical Education teachers can create the atmosphere of cooperation and tolerance for individual differences so critical to the elimination of bullying.

Olweus (1993) declared that a greater than average number of victims go on to be depressed, underachieving adults; this is a profile of the adult victim which is all too familiar to me. I was a victim of almost daily bullying from my entry into Grade 3 until the time I left high school at age 17. I went from being identified as intellectually gifted in primary school to failing to complete what was then Grade 13, with average grades in
the D+ range. I entered a community college program in an area which was completely unsuitable for me because a high school friend and fellow outcast was going there. I stayed for the three year duration of the course but did not complete it. I worked in a low paying, menial job in an area related to that course for more than seven years until I was fired for a so-called lack of enthusiasm. Somewhere within me I knew I was in the wrong place, but I was trapped by my lack of education and low sense of self worth. For the next eight years I held a succession of other positions, for which I was even less suited and consequently less successful. The tendency towards risk avoidance, which was demonstrated by lack of physical strength in school, gradually was transformed into an avoidance of close relationships, a fear of asserting myself in work situations, and a general inertia of personal development.

During my elementary and secondary school years, I possessed most of the qualities that make up the stereotypical profile of a victim; many of those characteristics continued to define me well into my 30's, and a few still remain with me. Lately, I have regained much of my sense of self worth, mainly due to a rediscovery of academic success. I now feel able to approach a study of victim behaviour with a sufficient degree of detachment to make the results more useful than a personal catharsis might have been.

The overall intention of this study, therefore, was to explore my two main contentions: that victim behaviour needs to be reduced every bit as much as does bully behaviour if bullying is to stop, and that Physical Education could play a major role in helping boys who are bullied to reduce their victim behaviour.
Assumptions and Limitations

The population selected for this study consisted of secondary school Physical Education teachers and department heads, employed at four secondary schools in a medium sized Central Ontario board of education. These teachers were selected from the total number of Physical Education teachers in the board because they expressed enthusiasm for learning how to tackle what is an important educational issue for them, and were willing and able to commit the time necessary to do so. A cross section of teachers, particularly in terms of teaching philosophy (e.g., movement education orientation versus traditional sports skills orientation) was sought, but it was assumed that teachers who were unconvinced of the need to address victim behaviour in their classes, or who were unwilling or feel unable to devote the time necessary to do so, were among those who did not choose to participate in this study. One limitation is that, since participation of the teachers was voluntary, a representative sample of the total population of Physical Education teachers was not obtained. Therefore, the results of this study can only be generalized to those teachers whose profiles are similar to those of the participants.
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Bullying Defined

Bullying takes place "when (a person) is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons" (Olweus, 1993). These negative actions are intended to cause physical and/or psychological trauma to the victim, and as such can be behaviours of physical nature, verbal nature, or both (Pepler & Craig, 1994). Bullying consists of "a repetitive and persistent pattern of conduct in which the basic rights of others or major age appropriate societal norms or values are violated" (Floyd, 1985, p. 9). Repetition is an essential facet of bullying because "while isolated incidents might be distressing to one participant or a set of participants, such incidents are not likely to be experienced by them as bullying unless the distress is accompanied by a sense of foreboding and the anticipation of further incidents" (Siann et al., 1993, p. 308).

Also implicit in the definition of bullying is an imbalance in physical competence between the strong, well developed bully and the weak, underdeveloped victim (Besag, 1989). As Floyd (1985, p. 9) observes, "it [sic] defies rational explanation when a strong, muscular bully teases, provokes, or assaults what may be the weakest, most pathetic student in class. The disparity in size or strength between bully and victim offends our sense of fair play ...". Bullying, or victimization, "needs to be understood in terms of the reciprocal behaviours in a relationship between an aggressor and a victim, or a tendency in the direction of such a relationship. Although a victim is sometimes a virtual stranger to the aggressor, victimization is rarely random. It can often be demonstrated that aggressors behave as if a relationship did exist, and the same is true for victims" (Floyd, 1985, p. 9). Several research studies have established the stability of bullying situations,
and bully-victim relationships. The same individuals appear as bullies and victims during long periods of time (Björkqvist et al., 1982).

Bullying can be very difficult to identify. Children report that bullying is more likely to take place on the playground than in the classroom (Atlas, 1994); the fact that bullying generally takes place out of the view of adults, who might be in a position to stop it, reflects its covert nature. Children are aware that overtly aggressive behaviour is inappropriate in most classroom settings, and therefore may take pains to keep it from the view of teachers. Also, both the physical confines of a typical classroom, and the degree of teacher supervision therein, do not permit the same level of activity as on the playground (Atlas, 1994). In some cases bullying can only be identified "by the distress it elicits in the victim (Besag, 1989)" (Craig & Pepler, 1997, p. 3). There are also definitional problems regarding bullying in that while one participant in a particular interaction might regard himself as being bullied, those that he regards as carrying out the bullying might define their behaviour as "having a bit of fun" (Siann et al., 1993, p. 308). A further problem for victims comes from the fact that they are often not believed by either the school or the family when they complain of having been bullied (Marini, 1995, p. 2).

Björkqvist et al. (1982, p. 307) considers bullying to be "a special case of aggression which is social to its nature", and which "appears only in relatively small social groups (such as school classes or army units), the members of which see each other regularly, usually daily". As such, "bullying should be regarded within a social context rather than from the view of individual pathology" (Siann et al., 1993, p. 319). It can take forms which are to some extent socially acceptable (Besag, 1989), such as
competitive behaviour in sport or business "which may be highly gratifying to some participants but which may make others feel inferior and distressed" (Besag, in Siann et al., 1993, p. 308). Furthermore, "bullying (is) surprisingly normative on the playground: children identified by teachers as nonaggressive were just as likely to bully as those identified as aggressive. Given the wide range of children observed bullying, it appears that children who bully on the playground do not simply represent the most deviant children in the school" (Craig & Pepler, 1997, p. 18).

Bullying is associated with the school environment in particular (Pepler et al., 1994, p. 85), and can be related to "the attitudes and support of school staff" towards anti-bullying interventions. Teachers are generally unaware of bullying, but even when they are they may do very little to intercede (Atlas, 1994). In addition, evaluations of interventions have shown bullying to be very much entrenched in the culture of schools. Craig & Pepler (1997, p. 12) found that, after one year of a highly regarded intervention programme in which some reduction in bullying was observed, "bullying (continued) to be a pervasive problem in Toronto schools". Part of this finding was attributed to the "extensive time required to develop an awareness of the problems associated with bullying and a repertoire of skills to intervene". Further, general anti-violence programmes, developed and implemented by schools with the best of intentions, "may not comprise specific policies and initiatives regarding bullying" (Pepler et al., 1994, p. 85). According to Floyd (1985, p. 9), bullying behaviour in schools "has been viewed as part of a package labeled 'conduct disorder'"; such a viewpoint leaves no room for consideration of the particular characteristics and consequences of bullying.
Victim Behaviour, and the Reactions it Elicits

Olweus (1978) found the passive victim of bullying to have an anxious personality pattern combined with physical weakness. These children (Olweus, 1993) appear to do nothing to invite attacks, and tend not to defend themselves when attacked. They have below average social self esteem (Olweus, 1978), which Deluty (1981, p. 156) relates to a failure to fulfil "the cultural standards of masculine achievement and competence". They often rate themselves as less intelligent than their peers (Björkqvist et al., 1982), a feeling likely to stem from repeated instances of being put down, as well as less physically attractive. Indeed, victims are "individuals with severe feelings of inferiority in many areas of life" (Björkqvist et al., 1982). Deluty (1981; p. 155) considered passive victims of bullying to be prone to the submissive response, which he defined as a "non hostile act that involves considering the feelings, power, or authority of others while denying (or not standing up for) one's own rights and feelings". Victims tend to avoid conflict at almost any cost, so that it can be said that they mismanage situations of conflict every bit as much as do bullies, albeit in different ways (Perry, Kusel, & Perry, 1988). Indeed, the definition of bullying should not include the presence of conflict, since victims of bullying usually submit without a fight.

Olweus (1977, p. 1312) found that "boys who were often attacked and teased by other boys did not actively provoke their peers in an attempt to attract aggression", but rather were "often in (bullying) situations not desired by themselves but forced upon them". While passive victims are not deliberately provocative, their displays of anxiety, submissiveness, and unwillingness and/or inability to defend themselves, are "provocative factors in the bully's response system" (Floyd, 1985, p. 11). Victimized
children often "reinforce their aggressive attackers by displaying signs of distress and vulnerability, acquiescing, crying, and by not retaliating" (Atlas, 1994, p. 15). According to Floyd (1985, p. 10), "victims ... are not selected arbitrarily by bullies", but are seen as potential targets "because they behave in ways which comply with the aggressor's needs and motives". This may explain why aggression "is not distributed evenly across all available peer targets but, rather, is selectively directed toward a minority of victimized children" (Perry, Kusel, & Perry, 1988, p. 812). Floyd (1985, p. 11) goes on to say that the bully "seeks out the weak one, in fact requires the weak one to trigger the aggressive motive".

The way in which other children involve themselves in a bullying incident, or fail to, has a significant effect on both its short and long term effects on the victim. As many as 85% of playground bullying episodes occur in the presence of peers, either as cobullies or bystanders (Craig & Pepler, 1997). When a group of children observe bullying, individual members can feel a sense of diffusion of responsibility, making it easier for them to justify not intervening (Olweus, 1993). This decreased sense of responsibility may result in otherwise nonaggressive children being drawn into the bullying. Excitement levels of children observing a bullying incident increase, further drawing in those who might not be inclined to participate otherwise. Also, children report that it is safer being on the side of the bully than on the side of the victim; the bully's advantage is strengthened by the support of other children who may either be impressed by or fearful of him (Craig & Pepler, 1997), or who want to share in his positive reputation (Atlas, 1994). Peers provide both a support group for the bully and an "audience for the theatre of bullying" (Craig & Pepler, 1997, p. 7); this support may come in the form of positive
comments or attention, by proximity, and by joining in the bullying.

Children identify troubled peers early, and those so identified are aware of these perceptions (Cowen, 1973). Peers behave towards the identified child based on these perceptions; children so typed and behaved towards may become increasingly isolated and "tabbed" by cohorts, which can exacerbate their difficulties. Peer rejection and victimization may be particularly problematic for victims since the victimized child's peer status may be a discriminandum that encourages aggressive attacks by other children (Atlas, 1994). The more a child is victimized, the greater the likelihood is that he or she will be disliked and rejected by other children (Perry, Kusel, & Perry, 1988). Peers, like bullies, may see victims as deserving of abuse (Atlas, 1994) because of their inability or unwillingness to defend themselves. At the very least, the low peer status of the victimized child may result in other children showing a lack of empathy for his or her suffering. In addition, group dynamics make it difficult for peers to intervene, since doing so may result in becoming the next target for abuse (Craig & Pepler, 1997).

Peer status of bullying and victimized children may also be an important factor in bullying interactions (Atlas, 1994). "Since bullies are often able to avoid punishment for their aggressive behaviour, they are perceived by peers as successful models" (Atlas, 1994, p. 15); it stands to reason that victimized children are likely to be perceived as unsuccessful models. As bullying interactions persist, reputations of certain individuals as successful "bully" models and unsuccessful "victim" models are established and consolidated within the peer group (Craig & Pepler, 1997). Peers' perceptions of bullies and victims may influence their participation in bullying episodes (Atlas, 1994); if a peer, who is not a bully per se, dislikes the child being victimized, he may see this as
justification for joining in. Victims become increasingly marginalized within the peer group, compounding their distress (Craig & Pepler, 1997).

**The Need for Prevention of Victimization**

According to Ambert (1994, p. 126), "a conservative estimate might be that a minimum of 20% of all children will be peer abused during their young lives - and we are not talking here of normal peer conflict/disagreement/teasing". The vast majority of schoolyard bullying episodes observed by Craig and Pepler (1997, p. 18) "were rated as tormenting the victim"; such observations should "raise concerns for the psychological and physical well-being of children at school". Such peer maltreatment could be causally related to severe psychological problems in youngsters (Coie, 1990; Kupersmidt et al., 1990); other researchers have pointed out that it can lead to school problems (Reid, 1985 in Ambert, 1994). Björkqvist et al. (1982) surmises that "the life of a victim in a school class is mentally very strenuous and difficult to cope with. The continuous humiliations they are exposed to have a devastating effect on their self esteem, which possibly was low even to begin with". Marini (1995, p. 2) points out that "education is a complex and fragile process. By all accounts, the best way to foster learning is by having a positive and supportive environment, free from (the) distraction and anxiety..." which is a consequence of being bullied. Craig & Pepler (1997, p. 7) write: "Schools have a primary role in the socialization of children. If bullying is allowed to continue at school with few consequences, it is likely to interfere not only with children's academic development, but also with their social and personal development". School performance usually deteriorates because of the poor learning environment created for the victim of
bullying (Marini, 1995, p. 2); "it is not uncommon to read about young students attempting suicide because of some severe or chronic conflict in their school environment".

Positive peer relations are critical to a child's healthy social and cognitive development (sources cited in Atlas, 1994). Conversely, poor peer relationships in childhood have been associated with a wide range of negative outcomes (Kupersmidt et al., 1990), including early school withdrawal, and mental health problems in adolescence and adulthood. Researchers have identified peer relations as an "important mechanism in the development of adaptive and maladaptive behaviour" (Pepler & Craig, 1995, p. 548). "The consequences of bullying can be severe and long lasting and may contribute to maladjustment in adulthood, for both the bully and the bullied" (Marini, 1995). According to Kupersmidt et al., peer rejection

... may be associated with difficulties in the types of future adjustment that require at least adequate social skills. Loneliness and the ability to make friends as an adult may be predicted by earlier peer rejection. Marital adjustment and the ability to sustain intimate friendship are forms of behaviour that should be most affected by social skill deficits. The workplace might emerge as another setting in which social deficiencies prove to be a serious handicap. Work attendance, job satisfaction, and productivity may be negatively associated with prior social rejection.

(1990, p. 301)

Furthermore, it is not certain that improving the social repertoire of rejected children to the point where they are no longer victimized will necessarily undo all the negative
consequences they have suffered during their victimization (Kupersmidt et al., 1990). Causal implications for future risk may also endure.

Olweus (1993) found that male victims of bullying had difficulty in asserting themselves, and felt this finding might be a result of family factors. Perry et al., quoting Olweus (1978), suggested:

Parents who avoid family conflict at all costs or who refuse the child any degree of assertion of self-expression during conflict may engender guilt feelings in the child over the thought of opposition or non-compliance, thereby creating the low-conflict victim who compulsively submits to the demands of stronger others. Parental overprotection may also shield the child from conflict and prevent the child from learning the skills necessary to avoid exploitation. (1992, p. 322)

In some cases, "parents, teachers, and other children ... may be actively inhibiting potentially beneficial assertive expression" (Deluty, 1981, p. 158).

Ambert reported a study, the initial goal of which was "to investigate the relative salience of peers and parents as key sources of happiness/unhappiness in young adults' past lives" (1994, p. 120). In the course of reviewing the autobiographies which the young adult participants in this study had been asked to write, the researchers discovered descriptions of peer abuse which had frequently overwhelmed many of the subjects' lives, "not only at the time of the original abuse, but for months or years afterward"; this became an important secondary focus of the study. Some of these autobiographies included accounts of having been happy and well adjusted before reaching a certain age, "but quite rapidly began deteriorating psychologically, sometimes to the point of
becoming physically ill and incompetent in school - all of this after having been evaluated negatively by peers, rejected, excluded, talked about, ... laughed at, bullied, harassed, taunted, chased away, or even beaten". As Ambert (1994, p. 123) reports, "The personality changes described by the students following these occurrences are quite spectacular". Finally, this study concluded that "in addition to direct victims, peer abuse also has secondary victims, the parents in this case. Parents suffered in sympathy with their children. But most parents were unaware of the extent of their child's suffering; rather, they inherited what one student aptly called 'the flak'. In addition, some parents were even blamed by clinicians for traumas that had peers at their source."

**Current Victimization Prevention Initiatives**

Anti-bullying interventions (e.g., Besag, 1989, Clark, 1996; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991) focus on a "passive constructive" response to bullying on the part of those being bullied. According to Sharp and Cowie (1994), pupil responses to bullying behaviour can be divided into four categories: aggressive, passive unconstructive, passive constructive, and assertive. The typical victim displays the passive unconstructive response, manifested by submission to whatever punishment the bully wishes to dispense. The recommended passive constructive response constitutes strategies such as ignoring threats and insults, avoiding the bully, and not allowing oneself to be found alone. While these recommendations often will temporarily alleviate an unsafe situation for the victim, they can further serve to disempower him or her in the face of the bully (Sharp & Cowie, 1994). "In ... passive constructive responses ... the pupil is not taking direct personal action to challenging the bullying behaviour
themselves but they are taking action which might prevent it from continuing or avoid it happening, even if this involves somebody else challenging the bullying pupil for them ...

There is also a danger that over-reliance on these kinds of strategies can disempower the bullied pupil further. They could come to view themselves as helpless to resolve the situation, having rather to seek help from others or to avoid the situation altogether" (Sharp & Cowie, 1994, p. 121); as well, carrying out these strategies is obviously not always possible.

The most sensible action specifically recommended to victims by anti-bullying programmes is to "tell a teacher" (e.g., in Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991). Clearly, a great deal of teacher education on the subject of how to respond to incidents of bullying is necessary. Most teacher education has included "very little supervised teaching practice with feedback for teachers actually addressing oppression in their classrooms" (Dodds, 1993, p. 35). Pepler, Craig, & Charach evaluated the anti-bullying intervention by the Toronto Board of Education, and observed that while codes of conduct may have been implemented for students,

(This) did not guarantee that staff were consistent in their response to misdemeanors. One school member noted that teachers were still uncertain about how and when to intervene in the playground and had difficulty distinguishing between rough-and-tumble play and aggression.

(Pepler et al., 1994, p. 83)

When school staff or other adults are uncertain of how to respond in the presence of a bullying incident, or give an incorrect response, it can have disastrous consequences:

"(W)hen a teacher... comes across a bullying incident and needs to respond immediately
... a common occurrence ... is for (him or her) to reprimand the bullying pupil and to comfort the bullied pupil. This kind of response can serve to reinforce the helplessness of the victim" (Sharp & Cowie, 1994, p. 129).

Many teachers may have a bias, most often but not always unconscious, against victims. Pepler et al. (1994) report a tendency for some teachers "to think of victims as children who were difficult to like and who elicited bullying", as well as a tendency to be "more aware of provocative victims ... than submissive victims". Some staff reported finding it easier to deal with bullies than with victims, presumably referring to the relatively straightforward nature of invoking disciplinary methods. Ziegler and Rosenstein-Manner (1991), in research conducted at Toronto, identified a need to expose staff to the profile of a passive victim through literature, parents' descriptions and other illustrations of actual cases, in order to "sensitize teachers to recognize the victim who is innocent of provocation, evokes sympathy, but is difficult to identify." The ability to identify victimized children is extremely important, since these children "need additional individual support to address their problems associated with bullying" (Pepler et al., 1994, p. 87). Unfortunately, details of such support, where present, focus on the abovementioned tenets of the passive constructive response (e.g., in Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991), and do not deal with changing the behaviour patterns of the victim in any significant way.

Sharp and Cowie (1994) describe preventive interventions against bullying: collaborative conflict resolution, peer counselling, and assertiveness training. Many schools in Toronto have implemented a peer conflict mediation programme which trains children to intervene in conflicts in the playground and elsewhere. The conflict
mediation does not specifically target bullying but includes any interpersonal conflict which children need help in resolving. Mediators can initiate the intervention, or they can respond to a request from another child. Teacher support is always available to assist in mediating a conflict. An example of this type of intervention is the "Peacemakers Programme" (Pepler et al., 1994). The main difficulty with reliance on conflict resolution programmes as a preventive strategy is that in most instances of bullying there is an absence of conflict. In addition, assuming that such whole-school interventions "should build on (all) students' desire for bullying to stop and their inclinations to help victims" (Pepler et al., 1994, p. 78), there will always be a small but significant percentage of students who have no such desires or inclinations - the bullies.

Pepler et al. reported:

The results of the survey of bullying in Toronto schools indicate that bullying is a pervasive and stable problem ... quantitative analysis of the effectiveness of the anti-bullying project indicated ... no significant change in children's reports of the prevalence of bullying, ... , peer interventions and in discussions about bullying with adults. Children reported significantly less adult intervention (at the end of the study vs the beginning) ... fewer children reported being uncomfortable observing bullying (later vs earlier). (1994, p. 84)

Pepler, Craig, Ziegler, and Charach summarized this preliminary evaluation of the Toronto programme by declaring some initial successes, but of a limited nature; as they state it, "a start has been made but considerably more work needs to be done to address the hidden violence of bullying in schools". Clearly, the need for a different approach is
The Role of Physical Education in Victimization Prevention

Once victimization has been identified, it is important to support victims and ensure they are protected from further abuse at the hands of bullies (Pepler et al., 1994). Teachers must, of course, work towards creating school environments which do not condone bullying, but must prepare students to handle themselves in bullying situations which still may occur. While stressing to victims the importance of seeking the help of an adult when confronted with bullying, teachers also need to train them in the skills of resisting and asserting themselves. Parents, teachers, and other pupils may encourage victims to 'stand up for themselves', but "rarely, however, are pupils told how to stand up for themselves unless this self-protection includes 'fighting back'" (Sharp & Cowie, 1994, p. 121). Individual help for victims in an anti-bullying programme should provide them with the skills to "cope with their experiences and develop strategies to prevent future instances", and also "promote victims' assertiveness and confidence" (Pepler & Craig, 1994, p. 34). The inability to be assertive is a key personality deficiency in victims. Pupils who learn to respond assertively will be able to stand up for their rights without violating the rights of the bully (Sharp & Cowie, 1994), and remain resistant to manipulative or aggressive tactics. Assertive responses rely not only on verbal messages but on eye contact and body language as well. Assertiveness training for victims of bullying "has been seen to increase self-confidence ... improve interpersonal relationships ... increase self-esteem ... decrease anxiety. Children who respond to conflict calmly and assertively are preferred by their peers" (Bryant, 1992, in Sharp &
"A major thrust of any intervention is getting students to learn behaviours that are incompatible with unwanted or antisocial behaviour" (Floyd, 1985, p. 14); the unwanted behaviours being targeted by this study are those which fall within the definition of victim behaviour. Victims are physically weaker than average (Besag, 1989), and this vulnerability per se attracts aggressors (Floyd, 1985), so training geared to increasing the victims' physical competence must accompany any training in verbal assertiveness. Training that develops physical vigor, muscle strength, body orientation, body control, posture, and appropriate eye contact, are all needed (Floyd, 1985). Physical education class is the obvious curriculum locale in which to address these needs, yet I have been unable to find evidence that there is a specific role defined for Physical Education in any existing interventions. Since "physical education teachers can ... contribute greatly to the way in which children and young people think about themselves and each other, about their bodies, abilities, and opportunities for involvement in school and post-school sport and other forms of leisure" (Evans, 1988, p. 176), ignoring their potential to help in combating victimization is a very serious oversight.

It is important at this point to comment upon central ideas current in Physical Education philosophy and pedagogy. Freeman (1992) outlines three basic tenets which define the field of Physical Education. First, Physical Education is conducted through physical means, i.e., some sort of physical activity is involved. Second, Physical Education is usually moderately vigorous, and is concerned with gross motor movements, meaning that the skills involved do not necessarily have to be finely developed or of high quality. This component implies inclusion of students throughout the entire range of
motor abilities. Third, the educational benefits for the student include improvements in non physical areas such as intellectual, social and aesthetic growth. Physical education is, therefore, not primarily education of the physical, but of the entire person through the physical (Freeman, 1992).

In recent years movement education has become an important alternative pedagogic voice within the discipline of Physical Education. Movement educators reject authoritative pedagogic practices designed to train for the acquisition of discrete motor skills, such as those used in particular sports, and instead concentrate on an inclusive view based on children's natural movement urges (Lathrop & Murray, 1996). Movement educators encourage thinking with and through the body, making students legitimate collaborators in the learning process, and requiring the teacher to be responsive to the individual potential of each participant. The stated philosophy of movement education "generally may be characterized as emphasizing motor skill development in conjunction with social responsibility, sensitivity to individual difference, and an orientation toward the empowerment of the child to make his or her own decisions" (Lathrop & Murray, 1996). These principles have met with much resistance, in that they contradict the established values of Physical Education which valorize order, physicality, competitiveness, and motor elitism; as well, movement education has been further marginalized through its perceived association primarily with elementary school levels and female practitioners. Nevertheless, the physical educator whose philosophy is aligned with that of movement education clearly is in a better position to assist the victim much better than a teacher from a traditional sports skills orientation towards Physical Education.
There are several systemic difficulties which must be considered before we can ask physical educators to assume the role of champion of the victim. One of these is that the victim is likely to have strong negative feelings towards Physical Education which must be overcome. Physical education is unique among school subjects in that it must encourage continued participation from the unsuccessful (McIntosh, 1979). "Poorly skilled participants have been frequent victims (of discrimination) in physical education classes" (Dodds, 1993, p. 31), and many there have suffered the effects of "motor elitism", whether consciously practiced or not. "In the gym, ... bias may take the form of ... motor elitism (using only one learning task, such as pushups, for a whole class when it is obvious that some students will be unable to perform that specific arm strength task at all)" (Dodds, 1993, p. 31). "Those who dislike competing in sport have not always done so" (McIntosh, 1979, p. 179), but when victims are humiliated at being ranked as failures by comparison to more able students (Floyd, 1985), they withdraw as much as possible from situations in which they are likely to continue to fail. Motor elitism ensures that "the concentration of physical education teaching and curriculum (is) on the able few at the expense of the less able many" (Thomas, 1992, chap. 7); the assumption on the part of victims that they will continue to fail at Physical Education is, therefore, quite reasonable. Learned helplessness with regard to physical competence may result (Abramson, 1978).

Dodds states:

Unfortunately, no law protects students with less motor ability against the apparent law of nature which guarantees that in the gym as in the wider world highly skilled performers reap rewards while other students
experience the psychological pain of rejection, ridicule, or just being ignored - unless, of course, sensitive teachers intervene to change the reward structure and help students celebrate more with each other than just being the best. (Dodds, 1993, p. 31)

Dodds goes on to say:

To become equitable physical educators, teachers individually face three difficult tasks: recognizing and being sensitive to equity issues in their own classes; developing specific strategies to interrupt inequities and address oppression; and realizing that fully addressing inherent barriers to equity in the social system requires coordinated work with others. (1993, p. 31)

All of these challenges involve considerable struggles against the status quo. From the standpoint of the individual teacher, the deliberate strategies necessary to counteract and interrupt various forms of oppression such as bullying, both in and through Physical Education, may not be at all obvious, since in their own education they may not have dealt extensively with issues of social inequality. After all, "in the gym, the prevailing white, male, heterosexual, middle-class, high-skilled ideology of elite performance in sport appears daily in physical education classes" (Dodds, 1993, p. 30). From the standpoint of Physical Education teachers as a group, "the marginal status of ... physical education in the school curriculum make(s) it difficult for physical educators to commit much energy toward combating oppression" (Dodds, 1993, p. 29), and "Sport and physical education are largely irrelevant in a process of schooling orientated primarily towards a future of employment" (Evans, 1988, p. 175) such as the process advocated by the Ontario Ministry of Education in recent times. In addition, "little attention has been
given to the role of (physical education) in the formation of social inequalities. Indeed, the complete neglect of Physical Education in many sociology of education texts is symptomatic of a much wider underestimate of the importance of the corporeal in schooling" (Shilling, 1993, p. 55).

In the literature, there are some practical suggestions and guidelines for addressing the need to change victim behaviour through Physical Education. Floyd (1985, p. 16) suggests that it is desirable to "work for small gains that nurture the student's confidence and interest in increasing his/her strength". It is necessary to provide a challenge for such a student, but to keep in mind that "unrealistic goals will only be humiliating and counterproductive" (Floyd, 1985, p. 16). The aforementioned learned helplessness "can be reversed and prevented by experience with success" (Abramson, 1978, p. 61). Recommended treatments, strategies, and tactics to combat the learned helplessness of victims (Abramson, 1978, table 3) include "chang(ing) the expectation (of a victim dealing with a bullying incident) from uncontrollability to controllability" by training the necessary skills "when responses are not yet within the person's repertoire but can be"; in this case, when no physiological reasons to avoid Physical Education exist. One of the most problematic areas is that of assessment; in a traditional high school Physical Education class, students may be rewarded for personal achievement against general criteria. "In an important sense, these students become pitted against each other, and end up being rank-ordered: winners, passers, losers and failures" (Floyd, 1985, p. 14). "Awarding incentives to teams of students leads to very different results ... give assignments that involve cooperation, sharing, collaboration, and teamwork. Grades and incentives are only given to the team when all players on the team have reached criterion."
... When bully and victim are on the same team, they are compelled to find ways to work together" (Floyd, 1985, p. 14). This particular suggestion must be approached with care; my personal experience is that the above scenario is just as likely to result in even greater contempt on the part of the bully for the victim's weakness and tendency to degrade team performance.

Summary

It is possible that more than 20% of all school children suffer from bullying, defined as peer abuse over an extended period of time (Ambert, 1994). The victims of chronic peer abuse, submissive in their behaviour patterns, tend to be physically weaker than their tormentors, and are often both unwilling and unable to defend themselves (Olweus, 1978). Suffering from continued abuse can result in victims becoming incompetent in school (Marini, 1995), with possible serious long range consequences in terms of lost opportunities in later life (Kupersmidt et al., 1990). Current anti-bullying initiatives, which concentrate upon teaching the victim the skills of passive resistance, have met with only limited success (Pepler et al., 1994). Assertiveness training is recommended as a way to overcome victim behaviour (Sharp & Cowie, 1994); it, in conjunction with training which addresses the deficits in the victims' physical competence, can possibly best be delivered through Physical Education programmes in schools.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

The first phase of this study was conducted with five secondary school teachers from among three secondary schools in a Central Ontario board of education, plus one teacher from a private secondary school in the same district. The original intent of this study was to convene and conduct focus groups, which would have required approximately twelve participants; an explanation follows of why this did not take place.

This study was conducted within one board of education in south-central Ontario, a board formed through the combination of two adjacent boards during the time the study was being conducted. The participants were selected prior to this combination, and are all from one of these two component boards. The territory of this board consists of one city, with a population of about 70,000, and its surrounding rural area. Two major industries, a university, and a community college largely determine the economic fortunes of this city. The rural area is dotted by small villages and hamlets, none of which has a population greater than 2,500, and contains many large farms. The city contains five of the board's seven public secondary schools; the other two are located in villages which are short distances from the city. Four of the five participants in this study came from three of these public secondary schools, with the fifth coming from a co-ed private school within the board's territory.

The ages of the participants ranged from mid-30s to late 40s. Each of the public board participants had spent the majority of his teaching career in boys' Physical Education, although two of them had recently moved from this area into the area of Guidance. One of the other two was department head of Physical Education at his
school, while the fourth was a full-time Physical Education teacher. The participant from the private school was the Director of Athletics for that institution. All five of these participants had spent virtually their entire careers at their current schools.

**Participant Selection**

This school board has 14 secondary schools, seven from each of two boards, which were amalgamated under provincial government guidelines during the time participants were being sought. I began the participant selection procedure by addressing a Physical Education department heads' meeting in one of the abovementioned boards, hereinafter referred to as the North Board. One of the seven male heads present showed great enthusiasm for the study, and became this study's most willing participant. I collected names and school phone numbers for the other six, as well as information as to when it would be best to contact them (time of day, spare periods, not too busy with extracurricular activities, etc.). Of these others, one agreed to participate after a telephone conversation shortly after the meeting mentioned above. At about the same time, early in 1998, the teacher at the private school agreed to participate in the study. From the beginning to the end of the second semester of that school year, i.e., early February to late June, I tried unsuccessfully to gain other participants from among the five remaining department heads. It proved extremely difficult even to contact most of these teachers; in fact, one of these teachers never returned any of my telephone calls. Of the remaining four, three were not interested in participating, and one asked me to contact him in September, at the beginning of the 1998-1999 school year. Somewhat discouraged, I was forced to set aside the study for the summer of 1998.
In September, I again tried to bring other participants into the study, now extending the search beyond department heads to all teachers of male Physical Education in the board’s secondary schools. The abovementioned department head who had asked me to contact him again was still unable to commit, but two of his staff did join the study, bringing the total number of participants to six. No other positive responses were received. It became evident that insufficient participants would be obtained in a reasonable time to conduct this study with focus groups, so I, after consultation with my supervisors, decided to alter the study to one in which information would be collected from personal interviews.

**Information Collection**

A three-interview process was decided upon. Participants were told that the commitment required from them would be no more than one hour per session. First interviews would concentrate on each participant’s memories of bullying during their own elementary, secondary, and post secondary education. I outlined possible first interview questions, which appear as Appendix I of this study. The purpose of these questions was to focus the participant on the issue in terms of how it feels to all concerned: bully, victim, observer. The second interview would cover participants’ impressions of bullying from their current perspectives as physical educators, with many of the same questions; 'did' would become 'do', 'were' would become 'are', etcetera. First interview responses were expected to offer guides to second interview questioning. Additional second interview questioning would cover how participants might think they could help the victim in their capacity as Physical Education teachers. The third interview was a sort of debriefing, in which participants would be asked questions
regarding how participating in the study has changed or helped them.

First interviews took place in November 1998, second interviews in December 1998 and January 1999, and third interviews in June 1999. Throughout the interview process I was concerned that six participants would not be enough to gain a sufficient cross section of perspectives; I continued to seek additional participants. In the late fall of 1998, school board amalgamation resulted in seven additional secondary schools from the other board (hereinafter referred to as the South Board) joining the North Board schools with which I had been working. After completing another application to be allowed to do research, I was faced with similar frustrations to those that were encountered during seeking of participants in the North Board. After letters of explanation both to South Board Physical Education facilitators (department heads) and their principals, and telephone calls to the facilitators, three facilitators declined the participation of themselves and their staffs, and four did not return my calls.

One factor cited by those potential participants who refused to join the study was that teachers in both the North and South Boards were in work-to-rule mode during contract negotiations in the fall of 1998. These teachers claimed, as a result, to be hard pressed to serve their students, let alone to become involved in any extra work-related activities. I took the position that since students would not directly participate in the study, teachers might consider participation off school property during this time, but only one of those who had already agreed to participate chose to take advantage of this. Once the teachers' contract had been settled in December of 1998, extracurricular activities resumed, including school sports; several potential participants then claimed unavailability for this reason. In the spring of 1999, the aforementioned department head who had asked me to contact him in the previous September agreed to participate after
being convinced by the two members of his staff who had, at that point, been interviewed twice. He was interviewed once, but a second interview could not be scheduled at a mutually convenient time. Third interviews with all other participants were completed by the end of June 1999. I began transcribing interviews in the summer of 1999; transcriptions for the remaining five participants' interviews were completed in October 1999. Copies of their transcribed interviews were sent to each participant for verification; at the same time, they were asked to provide aliases by which they could be identified only to me in the thesis document.

**Information Processing and Analysis**

Approximately 100 pages (double-spaced) of transcribed interviews were obtained from the tape-recorded interviews. I spent a period of time listening to the tapes with these transcriptions before me to reestablish the context in which participants' responses were made. In addition, I listened to each of the tapes several times, in no particular order, while driving to and from work each day, to recall the vocal inflections present in participants' responses, e.g., animated or flat, confident or unsure.

The next step I undertook was to survey and categorize each first interview separately for initial codes and categories, after the inductive manner described in McMillan and Schumacher (1993, Chapter 14); this procedure was repeated for the second and third groups of interviews. A preliminary list of codes was drawn up; my initial impression was that this list was rather too large and unwieldy. A second, uncoded copy of the transcripts was then cut into the individual sections to which a code had been attached on the first copy, and non-coded material was temporarily put aside. I then sorted the retained sections into files according to what information seemed to go
together, without particular regard for the first list of codes. After completion of this activity, I arrived at a second, more manageable list of codes. After several tries, I was able to combine files of coded material until a list of codes had been arrived at which I felt comfortable enough with to begin the procedure of determining categories. At this point, the information which had been put aside during the preliminary coding process was reexamined, and a small but significant amount of information was reintroduced into the files according to the codes which had by then been established. The categories which emerged from this final collection of coded information provided the framework for the report on findings which follows as Section Four of this study.
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

"... there are certain people that are labelled and nailed throughout ..."

(Scott, Interview 2)

This chapter presents the results of the study. First, a brief profile of the participants is provided. The results are then presented in accordance with the major themes identified in the information. Three such themes were identified: participants' views on the issue of bullying, participants' views on their teaching environments, and participants' views on addressing victim behaviour through the Physical Education program. The first theme, participants' views on the issue of bullying, was divided into five sub-themes: what constitutes bullying, who is involved in bullying, how bullying affects those who are involved, how to identify bullying, and how to deal with bullying. The second major theme, participants' views on their teaching environments, was divided into three sub-themes: Physical Education program components, assessment and evaluation in Physical Education, and retention of students in Physical Education beyond the mandatory Grade 9 level. The third major theme, participants' views on addressing victim behaviour through the Physical Education program, was divided into two sub-themes: fitness-based programming, and helping the victim. In addition to reporting the information by way of these three major themes and their sub-themes, this chapter includes a brief section in which participants' views on having participated in the study are presented. To maintain anonymity, each participant was asked to choose a pseudonym for himself.
The Participants

"Deacon", after nine years teaching boys' Physical Education and History, was in his second year as a full-time Guidance teacher during the course of being interviewed for this study. He teaches at one of the smaller schools in his school board, located in a village about 15 kilometres from the major city in the area, with a student population of about 600. Throughout the course of the three interviews I did with Deacon, his empathy for students having difficulties came through as his most recognizable trait.

"Kirk" was in his first year as a full-time Guidance teacher during the course of being interviewed for this study, after 22 years as a boys' Physical Education teacher and department head. He was very enthusiastic about joining the study, and has made the phenomenon of bullying a special interest of his, approaching its study both as a physical educator and as a guidance counsellor. He regularly attends workshops and professional development sessions on related topics.

"Scott", Physical Education department head at his school, has been a teacher of Physical Education for 18 of his 22 years in the profession. He teaches at the board's smallest secondary school, in a rural village near the perimeter of the district. Scott's most memorable comments during his interviews centred upon the deterioration in the level of respect he sees students showing both for teachers and for their fellow students.

"Townly" has taught boys' Physical Education for about ten years, at all levels in high school. A colleague of Deacon's, Townly was encouraged by him to join the study. In the current school year, he teaches three Grade 9 boys' Physical Education classes. He was unique among the participants in his ability to look at some of the questions in his interviews from opposite sides of the bully-victim equation.
"Reg", as well as being the Director of Athletics at his private school, also has the usual additional responsibilities of an academic staff member at such an institution. Primarily a teacher of English, he is also directly involved with the canoeing and skiing activities offered by the school. He now lives off campus after serving terms as a resident don and housemaster. He has been a teacher for 18 years. While Reg's perspectives on the issues of this study were often very different from those of his colleagues in the public system, I felt it important to consider his perspectives in the same manner as I did those of the others, rather than to exclude them as anomalous, in that they led me to see greater possibilities as I was forming my concept of an ideal program of physical education in a public secondary school.

Reg attended a large and prestigious boys' private school in Toronto, while the other study participants all attended public elementary and secondary schools. Despite this, his early encounters with bullying bear many similarities to those of Kirk, Deacon, Townly, and Scott. Reg mentioned two students from this era whom he thinks must have been victims of bullying. One student was an immigrant from central Europe who had some initial difficulty with the customs and language but who began to fit in and be accepted by the other students within a relatively short time after his arrival. Reg remembers taking part in the teasing and exclusion of this boy. After telling his parents what fun it was, Reg recalls being lectured on the injustice of such teasing, and taking this criticism somewhat to heart. The other fellow student Reg recalls was a boy who sucked his thumb and was teased and tormented by his Grade 8 classmates for doing so. Reg commented on how a teacher appeared to sanction the teasing in that, one day, he snuck up behind this student and surprised him, resulting in the student biting his thumb
and leaving teeth marks for the other students to see and laugh about.

The main differences in Reg's path as compared to those of the others begins with his university experience; Reg was the only one of the participants who was not a Physical Education major. His teaching experience has been at private schools. The program Reg describes at his current school is very different from those at the other participants' public high schools. There is no Physical Education class, as such, at Reg's school. Instead, each semester, every student must choose one activity from among a wide range offered; these activities naturally take place at different times of the day and in different locations. Since there are no Physical Education classes, there are no teachers whose main teaching responsibilities involve Physical Education; all teaching staff share in the supervision of physical activities according to their individual areas of expertise. All students at Reg's school, in order to graduate, must participate in physical activities for 19 out of 20 quarter-year study periods over the duration of their high school education; most students opt out of the remaining quarter-year period during their OAC year. This is in contrast to the public high schools of the other participants, at which students are not required to take Physical Education class after Grade 9. Reg feels that the opportunity for his students to most often be able to choose activities (and, consequently, activity supervisors and fellow students) for which they feel a degree of affinity results in a positive overall experience for the majority. In addition, since all teachers at his school have the opportunity at some point to observe the participation of all students at physical activities, Reg is of the opinion that there is a greater likelihood tell-tale signs of victim behaviour will be detected and addressed.
Participants' Views on the Issue of Bullying

"Bullying is a tough thing to deal with" (Scott, Interview 2)

**What Constitutes Bullying**

Scott, when asked at the beginning of his first interview whether he remembered bullying from his own elementary and secondary school days, answered that he hardly remembered any "fights after school, or fights in the hall" (Interview 1, page 1).

Kirk told the story of "pink-bellying" during his elementary school days; this is where a kid is pushed to the ground, his shirt is pulled up, and the perpetrators take turns whacking him on the stomach until it turns pink. Kirk said he would not have considered it bullying at the time because, as he remembers it, everyone took part and no one kid was singled out. Victims were not chosen because of any perceived weakness on their parts; rather, any kid was fair game. Kirk did say, however, that, although he believed he probably suffered a "pink-bellying" attack himself, he did not remember ever being a perpetrator, only a member of the crowd who watched.

Kirk also recalled a series of incidents from his high school days as a junior football player. A member of the senior team would urinate on members of the junior team in the showers when he wanted the showers to himself. Kirk remembered that he and his junior team-mates were really angry about being treated that way, but felt powerless to retaliate. Kirk intimated that this is just the way it is in the world of athletics, in that younger players with less authority were often subjected to this kind of treatment by the older, more experienced players.

Scott, Deacon, and Kirk all used the phrase "the pecking order" in their responses.
Taken in context, the phrase can be taken to mean the establishment of a hierarchy of power, from the strong, leader types to the weaker, follower ones. Kirk, in referring to his university experiences, supposed that the underlying motivation for the hazing of freshmen was to establish "who can take it and who can't" (Interview 1, page 3); interestingly, he commented in the same response that he didn't remember "any lasting repercussions about it". Reg reflected that teasing, when used by boys in Grades 7 though 10 to test each other's mettle, may have been one of the organizing principles of school life. He surmised that there was a collective compartmentalization or pigeonholing, according to strengths and weakness both athletic and academic, being conducted by students at this level upon each other. Reg commented that students who had the most difficulty coping with school life were those who could not fit into a compartment that represented a skill valued by the school community as a whole. Scott and Deacon both observed the pecking order as high school Physical Education students. Deacon mentioned "always (knowing) who were the weaker ones" (Interview 1, page 4), while Scott points out that these weaker ones bore the brunt of victimization. Scott also mentioned physical coordination and prowess at sport as being factors for determining one's place in the pecking order.

As a teacher, Kirk observed that the leaders in a class of boys were immediately obvious at the beginning of a term. In a subsequent response, he indicated that both the very strong boys and the very weak ones stood out to him. Each of the students had a role to play according to his place in the pecking order. Townly mentioned that those at the bottom, the ones who tended to be bullied, "felt accepted in a certain way" (Interview 1, page 5) through their roles as whipping boys, in that they were at least assured of being
allowed to participate in the "main game".

Who is Involved in Bullying

Scott had clearer memories of the bullies he encountered in elementary school than he did of the victims. "Who they targeted ... I can't say" was the way he responded to a question about victims (Interview 1, page 1). Scott remembered these bullies as having harassed anyone who they could get at. Bullying was a consistent occurrence at Scott's elementary school, and he remarked that the bullies seemed to thrive on it. Scott mentioned four specific bullies that he remembers from his elementary and intermediate school days; two from his early school experience were just big, tough boys who would intimidate other students in play activities, and the other two, later on, were members of the "Greaser" subculture who were "always looking for fights and just to create mischief" (Interview 1, page 1)

Townly did not tell me about any elementary school bullies in particular except himself. He had been a member of the group of "cool" male students at his school, who supported each other in taunting and intimidating anyone who was not part of the group; like Scott, he didn't remember any specific victims. Townly mentioned that, as far as he can remember, the bullying never went too far, so as to avoid making enemies of the recipients of the harassment. As he put it, "you kind of knew who not to do certain things to, and who you could" (Interview 1, page 1).

According to Deacon, there were always boys in his high school experience who liked to keep other boys fearful through harassment. Scott also remembered this aspect of a bully's modus operandi, i.e., that they would "haunt" the victim before turning to
physical harassment. The bullies that Deacon recalled were unlikely to direct their bullying towards anyone who was stronger than they were. In Physical Education class, especially during contact sports, Deacon remembered some male students who would always seek out weaker opponents to "run over", or verbally harass, or both; he stressed that weaker would not necessarily mean physically weaker, but "mentally and emotionally" (Interview 1, page 3).

Scott talked extensively about a student who is currently in Grade 12 at his school. This boy, whose parents are divorced, will direct his aggression towards other students in ways such as attempting to injure them in sports. In one response, Scott said that this boy would seek out the weak person to hurt, but he later amended that to include anyone who got in the boy's way. Although this boy has been the worst bully of all during his time at the school, said Scott, there are many others who are very close to him in terms of the amount of harassment they practise; they are, for all practical purposes, "a gang of intimidators".

Townly mentioned one particular bully whom he recently taught, without naming him. After bullying his way through Grades 9 and 10, this boy was suspended in Grade 11 for urinating on another student in the shower. After the boy's return from suspension, Townly observed an almost complete reversal of behaviour in him; he became cooperative and helpful in Physical Education class. Deacon remembered just a few students he has taught in Physical Education who would "take advantage of the situation of someone weaker".

Scott commented on the attitude of students he has encountered who carry out harassment. He observed that such students do not seem to care about the consequences
of their actions, either for themselves or for their victims. Scott has witnessed tremendous arrogance among such boys, who act as if they are the cream-of-the-crop of students (he used the phrase "King Shit") when, clearly, they were neither the best athletes nor the best at academics. He has also encountered racist and sexist attitudes among such boys, and speculated as to how these might be reinforced through their home lives and their exposure to the media, especially videos. Scott believed that part of the bullies' philosophy of directing their attacks against the weakest members of the class is so that they can look better by comparison. Scott cannot understand why bullies behave with such arrogance, or what sense of accomplishment they can have from harassing the weak; he has not yet posed these questions to any bullies. He did mention that the setting of his school, which is in a small rural community, seems to support the notion that if a boy is not big and tough, he does not belong.

Scott also commented on the effectiveness of counselling a bully. He recounted the story of one particular student, currently in attendance at his school, who has not seemed to change at all after conflict management therapy sessions. Scott considered the reinforcing effect of peers on the bully's behaviour, and believed that aggressors will tend to remain aggressors despite the efforts of counselling, in order to maintain their image within the group.

When asked whether he could tell me about any particular students who stood out in his memory as having been victimized, Scott told the story of two such boys who had begun Grade 9 at his school about four years previous. The first thing Scott mentioned about these two students was that their self-esteem seemed very low. One of them demonstrated this to Scott through his worn-out and dirty clothes; he has been wearing
the same scruffy ball cap every day for most of his four years at the school. The other victim, according to Scott, was small in stature, slow in his motor development, and showed fear of injury in Physical Education, especially during contact sports. In addition to being weak at athletics, these students were also "mediocre academically" (Interview 2, page 1); Scott believed that this combination of characteristics made them irresistible targets for the bullies at the school. "It's their size" (3) was one of the things about victims that Scott felt was consistent, but he did not specify whether this meant small, underdeveloped boys, overweight boys, or those at both ends of that particular continuum. He also noted that victims tended to lack "inner aggressiveness" (2).

Deacon recalled a "chubby kid", with whom he went to Grade 4, who wore shabby clothes and who was picked on at some point by almost every other student at the school. Deacon recounted that this boy, unlike many victims, would retaliate with vigour and effectiveness to this harassment. Deacon often returned to the word "different" when describing this boy, as well as when he talked about other students in general whom he observed to have been subject to harassment, including one who lived in his dormitory at university. Those who were overweight (or skinny), who generally wouldn't defend themselves, or who looked as if they came from deprived homes, were those who were likely to be bullied, according to Deacon. Scott also mentioned that victim types he has encountered often have a poor family background; one victim of whom he spoke was ridiculed as much at home as he was at school until finally leaving home and applying for student welfare.

Townly's image of the student who would have been targeted for bullying was of a boy who was quiet, perhaps to the point of being withdrawn, and who was perceived as
being unlikely to fight back if harassed. The bully, Townly thought, would seek out such a student on whom to practice aggression in games or sports; he observed that such victims would be chosen last, or not at all, for teams. Townly recalled practicing bully behaviour himself up to about Grade 9 or 10, and says, "you knew who you could hip-check into the snowbank, because they couldn't fight back" (Interview 1, page 1). Not only did the victims Townly remembers not have the means or the will to retaliate, they were unlikely to have friends who would step in against an aggressor on their behalf. When asked about a victim he might remember having taught, Townly cited an aboriginal boy who, while quite competent in Physical Education, was quiet and withdrawn, and seemed to be perceived as someone who wouldn't fight back. He acknowledged that there may have been a "racial ... basis" for the abuse this student endured.

Kirk listed the following traits of most students he observed to have been bullied: not aerobically fit; not physically strong; overweight; non-assertive; unskilled at athletics. In Physical Education, they were the boys who were likely to have dropped a ball if it were thrown to them. In addition, Kirk made the comment that he had known of students that would seem to "get themselves", which I took to mean that they engaged in behaviours or mannerisms which seemed almost to be deliberate attempts to attract harassment. Kirk painted a very detailed verbal picture of such a boy, with whom he attended high school:

I remember a kid who was no good at anything. And he was ... some interesting circumstance. I can remember it as a total picture, not just in the gym, and I'm sure he took gym classes for a number of years and I remember in those days how gym was compulsory - you had to take it
every year. I know you had to take it more than one credit ... probably had to take phys ed every year. He was quite unfit and quite overweight, and quite clumsy and awkward, and he was the object of harassment all the time, but it wasn't just in the gym, it was everywhere in the school. And, he used to do things that would embarrass himself, almost on purpose.

(Interview 1, lines 269-305)

Kirk did not know for a fact that this particular student was physically bullied, but surmised he probably was. Kirk did, however, recall that this boy was made fun of "all the time", and remembered thinking how strange it was that an apparently intelligent person would seem to set himself up for that kind of treatment.

Reg seemed to have encountered very little bullying in the private school environment in which he teaches. When asked about bullying victims he might recall having observed over his teaching career, Reg told the story of one boy who was harshly treated on one occasion by a group of students in retribution for his own long-term antagonistic behaviour. Another strong memory of what Reg considered to be bullying involved a new classmate at his elementary school who had come from eastern Europe. This boy, after enduring exclusion from playground games for a relatively short time after his arrival, began to fit in and apparently suffered no further persecution. There was one more student who stood out in Reg's memory, a quiet, nervous boy who sucked his thumb and was, as a result, "tormented in Phys Ed class". In Reg's words, "as soon as he stepped outside of the (regular) classroom, he was a target" (Interview 1, page 3).

Both Scott and Kirk cited having prowess at athletics as being very important in reducing the likelihood that one would be bullied. This is possible even for the
prepubescent student, according to Kirk: "because they can do certain (athletic) things, ... they are almost never victimized" (Interview 2, page 5). Scott, who described himself as having been a "skinny little runt" (Interview 2, page 8) as a child, realized at an early age that he had to "stand strong" (Interview 1, page 1), perhaps as a result of his upbringing. He knew almost instinctively that getting involved in sports was the way to do it that was most likely to meet with success. Scott made the comment that your talent had to lie in an area that the bullies considered acceptable, i.e., athletics and not chess, in order to avoid being picked on. Kirk also mentioned that very assertive students were unlikely to be bullied, regardless of the fact that they might be small in stature. Another way in which students who may not be good at athletics to avoid bullying was, according to Townly, to be "a good person to be friends with" (Interview 2, page 3).

Although none of my questions involved girls' bullying issues, both Deacon and Scott commented on how they have observed the issue of bullying as it affects girls. Deacon was amazed at how bullying of girls by girls has increased from what he perceived as a negligible level to being fairly widespread today. He told of one girl he knows to have left his school, convinced that other girls were going to beat her up.

Scott brought up the point of having observed girls being excluded by boys in co-ed Physical Education, at the Grade 11 level. He has observed that boys may block girls from full participation in team sports during Physical Education, by, for example, not passing them the ball. Scott lamented the fact that his efforts to insist girls not be excluded have not met with success.
How Bullying Affects Those Who Are Involved

The participants all speculated at what a victim of bullying, such as those described above, might be thinking and feeling. Deacon himself endured some teasing about his last name, and remembered being reluctant to volunteer answers in class for fear of further taunting should he be wrong. Scott made a similar observation about students who fear they will be taunted for almost anything they say, and further noted the difficulty that would be encountered by a teacher in retrieving such students, who would "just stay shut down within themselves". Deacon guessed that bullied boys suffer emotional distress and further damage to their already low self-esteem, and remarked that such damage may have long lasting effects.

Each of the participants was asked how being involved in a bullying situation, either as an active participant or an observer, made them feel. Both Scott and Reg mentioned, regarding their intermediate and secondary school experiences, being concerned mainly about their own lives, and not thinking too deeply about how a victim of bullying might be feeling. Girlfriends, school tests, and their own achievements in athletics were all of greater importance to the participants than what might be affecting the lives of those who were not part of their immediate circle of friends. Kirk also said that he would not have actively participated in bullying another student, but would not have been particularly sympathetic, either. Regarding a student who is mentioned in detail elsewhere in this study, Kirk remembered having thought that he was "completely foolish" (Interview 1, page 6).

Reg said that he probably wouldn't even have reflected upon how he himself might have been feeling while watching bullying going on. Reg believed his realization
of how such a boy might have been feeling was made clear by his parents after he told
them about what great fun it had been to ridicule and exclude a new student from another
country who didn't understand the rules of their playground games. Deacon commented
that he feels bad today about having participated in bullying in a small way during his
elementary school days, but wasn't sure he would have felt bad at the time it was
happening. Deacon remembered supposing, at the time, that the bullying in which he
was participating was wrong, but feeling compelled to go along with it because
everybody else seemed to be. Scott recalled, when it came to being picked for teams in
games or Physical Education, that he was just glad it wasn't himself who was picked last.

Scott and Deacon both mentioned having "felt sorry" for the victim in a school
bullying situation, but not being strongly compelled to come to their aid. Scott suggested
that it was a "matter of survival" not to become directly involved in a conflict between
two other students, and that children should not be expected to have developed their own
moral codes to the extent that they should object, either silently or actively, to the
treatment another child, who is not a friend of theirs, might be receiving. Reg
remembered that there were groups of friends among the students in his elementary
school classes, and that members of a group might have practiced exclusion to make an
undesired student uncomfortable about joining them. Reg also commented on how, when
bullying seemed to be going too far, a "level of discomfort" developed among the
observers which probably prevented any further escalation of the bullying.

Townly was unique among the participants in that he readily admitted having
actively participated in bullying in the elementary and intermediate grades. He
remembered being a member of a group of male students who were considered "cool",


and who supported one another in the bullying of weaker male students. Doing something to torment a victim would have gained one acceptance from the group, Townly recalled. He had a change of heart around the time he entered Grade 11, though, and began actively trying to include members of his team, in Physical Education sports activities, who seemed as if they were being left out. Townly credited his Physical Education teachers at the time for this change in his attitude, and remembered thinking that Physical Education class shouldn't have been "about making people feel bad about themselves".

**How To Identify Bullying**

Bullies ordinarily attempt to conceal their harassment of victims from teachers, Scott observed. He has been able to hear verbal harassment taking place in, for instance, the change room, on occasions when he happened to be standing nearby but out of view. Much of his realization that a bullying incident has happened has come from seeing the aftermath, said Townly. Kirk concurred, but noted that seeing a kid coming out of a change room, whose clothing is in disarray or who otherwise looks as if he has been roughed up, is insufficient reason to conclude that the kid has been bullied, in that what is seen might be evidence of horseplay among peers. Kirk suggested two ways in which the teacher might be able to tell if bullying had indeed occurred: one would be to compare who the suspected victim was with one's mental list of who might previously have been victimized; the other would be to try to gauge the emotional state of the suspected victim. Simply asking the suspected victim to confirm what had upset them very often would not result in any further enlightenment for the teacher, Kirk said, because victims will keep
silent for fear of the harassment getting even worse should the teacher come to their aid, further frustrating that teacher's attempt to stop harassment. Townly told of discovering by accident that a student had been being bullied, when he checked into the student's absences to find that he had only been missing Physical Education class; further investigation revealed that, in Physical Education, the student had been threatened daily with beatings. Townly also mentioned the importance of considering information received from third-party students about bullying occurrences. Reg pointed out that since his school is small and primarily residential, he becomes aware of any conflicts among students quite quickly, often from academic advisors, other teachers, or the school chaplain.

Deacon believed that teachers are generally more aware of bullying today than they might have been in the past, and are more ready to take action to "correct the behaviour". He was of the opinion that awareness has increased because he hears people talking about the issue and its various aspects. Deacon also observed that fear for his own children ever having to deal with harassment in school has given him greater empathy for the victims he sees now.

Kirk commented upon the insidious nature of bullying, suggesting that much of it is "the sort of stuff that you quite often don't catch" (2), such as a little push, or "nit-picking". Deacon commented on how Grade 9 and 10 boys always seem to be bumping into each other, hitting each other, and so on, he referred to it as the "build-up ... of nature", which I took to mean the biological upset brought on by puberty. Scott said that even when he becomes aware of a victim's plight it can be difficult to act, because much of bullying takes the form of such actions as nudging the victim into a bank of lockers, or
kicking his books, in the hallways during class changes. Another problem Kirk mentioned is that of determining exactly who the perpetrator of a bullying incident has been; even in cases where he has been in close proximity to the incident, he remembered having had difficulty interpreting the situation due to the number of people gathered around.

Most harassment goes on when a teacher cannot, or does not, control the environment in which it is happening, Kirk concluded. He notes that opportunity for bullying might arise in Physical Education when groups of students in a class are engaged in different activities in several locations around the gym or playing field; the teacher's attention cannot fully be on more than one of these activities at a time. Another prime location for harassment is the change room, mentioned Kirk, and Scott agreed. Scott complained of having been subjected to insolence and sexual innuendo from his Grade 9 or 10 students on occasions when he has remained in the change room while they are getting dressed.

Both Deacon and Townly, when asked how the awareness level Physical Education teachers have of bullying compared with the rest of the teachers in the school, said that they felt it was greater. Townly expressed the opinion that members of his department had good control of bullying. Deacon believed that the nature of Physical Education makes it an environment in which bullying may be more readily detectable than elsewhere in the school; he realized that this might be more the case in the relative confines of the gym than on the outdoor playing field. Deacon also observed that Physical Education class was a "break in the day" in which some students might be disposed to "let off steam" which had built up in the confines of a regular classroom,
perhaps, sometimes, through harassment of others. He lamented the fact that "triads" of teachers, who used to discuss the progress of all Grade 9 students, as well as any factors which might be impeding that progress, including harassment, are no longer in existence due to scheduling problems.

Kirk was of quite a different opinion about most Physical Education teachers' awareness of bullying. When asked if he felt Physical Education teachers typically shared his level of awareness, he replied:

No, I think they're less so. I think it's unfortunate, but I think it's probably true. I think they're so preoccupied with identifying a safe and reasonable environment in which to work in that they may see it, as I said before, boisterous behaviour, fooling about, putting someone else at physical risk, and dealing with it like that instead of recognizing it for what else it might be besides that. And it may go right by them. I wouldn't say that phys ed teachers as a bunch are very good at spotting harassment or bullying for what it is. And even though ... even if they might, they might not identify all of the aspects of it, and why this one kid is being harassed as opposed to someone else, or who the bully is and who the victim is. They might not even see it as a harassment-victim issue, they may just see it as an incident, a short time incident. I wouldn't say that they're very clear on it at all. (Interview 3, lines 39-52)

Kirk also believed that his awareness of the issue of bullying was greater than that of the teaching staff of his school as a whole. He surmised that most teachers would have a great deal of difficulty distinguishing an incident of bullying from one of horseplay
among peers, and might tend to approach both the same way in terms of disciplinary action.

Deacon suggested that Physical Education class may present more opportunities for victimization, in that in a standard classroom setting movement and conversation is much more restricted and therefore any unauthorized interaction among students is likely to draw the teacher’s attention. In Physical Education, many different activities involve both acceptable and unacceptable verbal and physical interchanges, and Deacon suggested that this makes identification of harassment much more difficult. Reg mentioned that unacceptable verbal exchanges among students would be difficult to eliminate. He thought, in view of this, that a teacher’s time was better spent both by being increasingly vigilant and becoming more adept at distinguishing between byplay among equals and bullying of the weak by the strong.

Kirk talked about a program of lunchtime intramurals at his school in which students who he perceived as victim types would regularly participate. While acknowledging that such programs might unintentionally provide bullies with additional opportunities to seek out and harass victims, Kirk stressed that supervision of these activities was very strict in terms of having no tolerance for unacceptable behaviour. The result, according to Kirk, seemed to be that bullies knew they would not be able to get away with practising their craft, and that victims felt safe in that they were shown that bullying would not be allowed. Horseplay was also forbidden, for reasons of safety, which Kirk explained had the desired side effect of removing the onus from the supervising teacher for distinguishing between it and bullying, thereby reducing the possibility that bullying might go undetected.
There can be obstacles in the way of a teacher who tries to make the gym a safe and welcoming place. Scott recounted, with some distaste, a situation involving two students in one Grade 9 class who were continually being harassed in Physical Education. He felt it necessary to be in the change room to protect them while they were getting undressed and dressed, and he had to endure a "belligerent" attitude from the other students who, among other behaviours, made comments involving sexual innuendo.

**How To Deal With Bullying**

When confronted with an obvious bullying situation, the first order of business for the participants was to ensure the safety of the victim, and at the same time, to stop the aggressor from continuing the harassment. As Townly put it,

I generally like to make sure that the person who may be hurt, whether it be physical injury or someone's just upset, more of an emotional state, I generally try to make sure that they are okay first. Now, "okay" can be quite a range, but make sure they're safe, make sure they're not in any more immediate danger, especially in the physical injury area, and then I deal one-on-one with the person who committed the act. (Interview 1, lines 22-28)

In general, the participants would complete their responses to any given situation of bullying by engaging in two further actions: reprimanding the bully, and comforting the victim. In most cases, the participants would deal with the perpetrator of the victimization and the victim separately.

Deacon reflected that he would try to correct the behaviour of the bully. He
would remind the perpetrator of appropriate behaviour in the class, and that victimization would not be tolerated. A student caught bullying in Deacon's Physical Education class would be warned of possible consequences of continuing the behaviour, including informing administration, parents, and outside authorities, if necessary, although Deacon preferred to "deal with it in the classroom" (Interview 2, page 2). He has observed that a student who is being reprimanded for an act of victimization will usually agree to stop his bullying behaviour, but may revert to it within a few days.

Kirk mentioned taking "appropriate action at the moment" (Interview 2, page 2) when catching a student in the act of bullying, without specifying what that might be. He did say that he would not permit "that sort of thing", meaning harassment of any kind, to take place in his class, regardless of whether he perceived it as bullying or conflict among students of equal power status. Kirk observed that any action he might take to prevent the bully from resuming his behaviour "never seems to really do it", i.e., generally proves to be ineffective in bringing a complete halt to the victimization.

Scott also believed that most of his attempts to correct the behaviour of a bully, after witnessing him in action against a victim, have been unsuccessful. He has observed that, when he has been unable to stop a bullying situation and has escalated his response to the next level, that of sending the bully to be dealt with by school administration, the issue might be dealt with as a "behavioural problem" in general terms, rather than a harassment issue. When this is the case, said Scott, the bullying will usually resume upon the bully's return to the class. Scott recalled that students who have been sent to administration for discipline after bullying incidents might also have been offered "conflict management" counselling.
Townly mentioned that he likes to go over with perpetrators of bullying incidents "what they did and why they did it" (Interview 2, page 1), i.e., the bully is forced to acknowledge that he has engaged in unacceptable behaviour towards another student. One action he does not require of the bully is to apologize to the victim; Townly realized that any apology insisted upon by a teacher would likely be insincere.

Having become aware of a bullying situation, Deacon suggested that he most often "didn't talk to the person who was being picked on about it" (Interview 1, page 5). When he did speak to the victim, he would do so away from the class, so that the victim would not be "centred out". Deacon might have asked how the student was feeling about being bullied, and if he wanted Deacon to get involved. The victim would be reassured that help in dealing with the bullying situation was available if he needed it. Deacon would also appeal to the victimized student to inform him of any subsequent negative action on the part of the perpetrator. Deacon admitted the possibility that most victimized students would not report harassment in the first place, nor would they report further problems with the bully even after Deacon had discovered the situation and offered his help in dealing with it.

Scott, when he felt that a pattern of bullying behaviour was taking place, would make it clear to the victim that he was aware of what was going on, but would also give that student the responsibility for reporting any further harassment. The victim would be encouraged to voice his feelings, in order to allow Scott to address the issues which were making the victim uncomfortable and which might lead to his eventual withdrawal from Physical Education. Scott would assure the victim that he would be there to help as much as he could, but that being informed of any bullying when it happened would assist him
Kirk recalled a student who approached him for help in dealing with harassment; he felt that this student may have done this because Kirk had made it clear in his classes that harassment of any kind was unacceptable and that he would "deal with it" (2). In situations where a victim of bullying did report the harassment to him, Scott indicated that he would then "deal with the bullies one-on-one" (2). Deacon appreciated being informed by victimized students of any harassment they were enduring, saying that his resultant increased vigilance would allow him to "step on it right away" if he saw evidence of further bullying. Whenever he actually saw bullying in Physical Education class, Deacon said he always made sure that he had "dealt with it". As he mentioned in his response quoted above, Townly, after ensuring the physical safety of the victim of a bullying incident, would then move to "deal one-on-one" with the perpetrator.

Scott, as a Bachelor of Education student in the 1970's, with a major in Physical Education, did not remember being given any strategies to combat victim behaviour; he could not recall the subject of bullying being discussed there at all. He was of the opinion that even today new teachers are ill prepared for dealing with bullying issues. Deacon also could not remember the subject of bullies and victims being broached at all in his B.Ed. year in the mid-1980's. He guessed that the professors with whom he studied thought that all Physical Education teacher candidates would know how to deal with bullying as a natural by-product of their previous training. Townly was certain that the issue of how to combat bullying had never been raised in his B.Ed. program, which he completed a few years after Deacon; he lamented the lack of adequate coverage of class management strategies as a whole.
Reg also did not recall any specific discussion about victimization, but stated that, in the B.Ed. program he attended, the lessons were "infused" with a philosophy of inclusion and cooperative learning. When Kirk was asked about his B.Ed. days, one of his clearest memories was of a professor who promised to fail any candidate who he observed using physical activity as a punishment, e.g., who forced a student to run laps or do push-ups to atone for misbehaviour. This professor's attitude, according to Kirk, was that physical activity should be engaged in as something a student likes to do, not something he is forced to do.

Townly did not recall ever having talked to an entire Physical Education class about bullying; rather, he has dealt with incidents as they have arisen. Kirk recalled having to speak to a class a number of times about his intolerance for horseplay, feeling that it was not necessary to identify either the victim or the aggressor when it is addressed as a whole-class issue. Deacon would speak to his Physical Education classes at the beginning of the term, laying clear ground rules for acceptable behaviour, which included that harassment would not be tolerated. As Deacon put it, "I just hate when people pick on people" (Interview 2, page 7).

Scott did not believe that talking with a class of Grade 9's or even Grade 10's about bullying would be very successful. He felt he might get better results with a Grade 11 class. Scott did recount a class with which, in order to curb chronic misbehaviour from a number of students, he tried a strategy of having each student express a positive, then a negative, opinion of an aspect of the personality of someone else in the class. He remembered that it "seemed to help", but that the behaviour of the main bully in the class was not changed.
Scott was of the opinion that some hope for the reduction of victimization lies in a conflict management unit that has become a ministry-mandated part of the health curriculum. Although he felt conflict management strategies are geared more toward the aggressor than the victim, Scott believed group discussions about conflict among students could allow group members to express feelings about each other and thereby gain a greater comfort level for participating in Physical Education. Scott could see adding a specific discussion about bullying to the conflict management unit, "at least if it's a fifteen-minute, twenty-minute talk".

Participants' Views on Their Teaching Environments

Physical Education Program Components

Townly's Grade 9 and 10 Physical Education programs, which consist of ten units of study of approximately eight days in length each, are typical of the programs the four public board teachers are using or have used in the recent past. Four of those units are for team sports, four for individual sports such as badminton, wrestling, or track and field, and two for health. There is an emphasis on team and group activities for Grade 9's and 10's for two main reasons, said Kirk: one, such programs are "easier to deliver"; two, they place less demand on space and equipment. This is a major consideration, according to Deacon, who said that at his school, which has only one gym, there might be four classes of Physical Education taking place at one time.

Kirk noted another reason for a predominance of group activities, which is the socialization function of group work mandated in ministry curriculum guidelines.
Townly expressed a similar rationale for so much group work, stating that what students learn in Physical Education about working together toward a common goal will be essential for success in their later lives. When Townly was asked if the Physical Education program's attempt to provide these cooperation skills is successful, he replied, "maybe that's ... one of those things that's happened throughout time and you just sort of keep going on in that way" (Interview 2, page 6). He commented that since a boy is in Physical Education class for just 76 minutes a day, for one semester a year, the majority of his socializing influences must come from elsewhere.

There is a fitness component throughout the Grade 9 and 10 program at Kirk's school. Students are tested for fitness at the beginning of the term, and once again later on, to determine how their fitness levels have improved over the length of the course. There is a fitness component to every day's activity throughout the term. Kirk said he believes that this method of delivering a fitness component encourages students to be more active every day in that they are monitoring their own improvement. In a Grade 11 class at Kirk's school, one health unit is devoted to fitness concepts. It is stressed to students that it is important to do something to keep fit for life, and that they can choose activities that are fun in order to accomplish this. In this unit, students design their own fitness programs and then practice them.

Deacon and Townly, who teach Physical Education at the same school, mentioned that programs which stressed activities specifically designed to improve fitness were introduced in their school at the Grade 11 level. Deacon mentioned that one of the reasons these programs, which are co-ed, are not introduced until Grade 11 is that most teachers believe Grade 9 and 10 boys and girls can be taught Physical Education better
separately; another reason Deacon gave was that resource scheduling and teacher
availability did not allow it at the Grade 10 level. His understanding was that few
schools would have separate fitness-oriented Physical Education courses for Grade 10's,
and no schools would offer such courses to Grade 9's. According to Townly, the fitness
programs do not include activities for strength building. Both Deacon and Townly also
mentioned that, since no Physical Education courses below the OAC level have
prerequisites, it was possible for a student who had dropped Physical Education after
Grade 9 to re-enter the program in Grade 11 or even Grade 12. Deacon said this
possibility would be affected by academic scheduling, which gets more difficult in the
higher grades; Townly acknowledged that he knows of no students who have actually
done this.

Scott's Grade 9 program is divided into nine two-week units, one of which is
devoted to weight training and aerobic exercises such as running and stepping. In his
team and individual sport units, students learn "skills and drills" for the first week, then
play the sport or game in the second week. Scott expressed the view that his program is a
well balanced as it could be among team and individual sports units and health units. He
commented that those who make up curriculum guidelines for boys' Physical Education
still want individual sport included, because it helps students to grow as individuals, and
team sport, because it shows them how to work cooperatively. Scott made specific
mention of the fact that dance is not part of his fitness unit, saying that it has "gone by the
wayside, for the gentlemen, anyhow" (Interview 2, page 10). Scott said that he believes
fitness must be integral to all Physical Education activities, and the reason for including a
fitness component in his program is to improve students' ability to do well at sport.
The athletics program at the private school where Reg teaches is quite different from those at the school of his public board counterparts. Students must be involved in athletics for a minimum of 19 out of 20 terms over the five years they attend high school. There is a very wide range of activities available, said Reg, at both competitive (varsity) and recreational levels, and in both individual and team settings. It is very rare that a student cannot find an activity in which he is comfortable participating. For school teams, virtually all students who try out find a spot on the team, although they are not guaranteed playing time in the games. Reg gave several examples of students who, while not among the elite at a particular sport, were still given the opportunity to experience it in this way.

Kirk remembered that some of his high school Physical Education teachers and athletics coaches were very sympathetic to the needs of all their students, and some were not at all, and were perhaps even abusive. He recalled two specific memories: one was of a high school Physical Education class, during a lacrosse unit, in which the teacher forced all students to "run a gauntlet" of the other students pelting them with balls; the other was of a football coach who forced him to perform a stretching exercise which left him with a sore back for days afterward. Kirk noted that the teacher involved in the gauntlet-running exercise mentioned above, later on in his career, became a much more empathetic teacher who went so far as to develop an inclusive gymnastics curriculum.

Deacon, who attended high school in the mid-1970's, recalled having heard "horror stories" about Physical Education teachers who would allow victimization in their classes, with the justification that it was just all part of boys' growing-up process, but did not experience such teachers himself. He believed that it is a teacher's obligation not to
allow such behaviour to take place. Deacon did, as a student, observe the age-old practice of teachers naming two dominant students as team captains and allowing them to choose teams for Physical Education activities, with the result that weak or unskilled students were often selected last. He condemned this as a "dehumanizing" practice and never allows it in his own teaching.

Townly, when asked how his high school Physical Education teachers would try to make their classes more inclusive of weaker students, answered, "I don't think a whole lot was done" (Interview 1, page 3). These teachers, Townly thought, may have tried to pair weaker students up with stronger ones who would help them, but he intimated that this might not always have happened because the teacher likely would have had many other priorities to accomplish in order to get through the lesson for the day.

Assessment and Evaluation in Physical Education

Participants were asked about how students were evaluated in their Physical Education classes. In Townly's program, a student's mark is broken down as follows: 40 percent for participation, which includes attendance and being prepared, i.e., having a proper uniform; 20 percent for citizenship (criteria unspecified); and 40 percent for skill. Deacon, who teaches at the same school as Townly, used a similar marking scheme when he last taught Physical Education two years prior to the interview, with 25 percent being allotted for attendance and participation, and the remainder of the grade being made up of marks for skill, citizenship, and effort, in unspecified proportions. Deacon did specify that his citizenship evaluation included considering factors such as the student demonstrating appropriate behaviour and sportsmanship, "playing by the rules", helping
out, and adopting a leadership role with fellow students. Kirk, while not indicating what percentages were assigned each of the components of his evaluation, indicated that attitude, attendance, effort, and participation all were given greater weight when calculating a student's Physical Education mark than was skill. For a student in his Physical Education class, good effort would overcome low skill level, said Deacon. I asked Deacon how he would evaluate the citizenship of a victimized student who might be afraid to try an activity for fear of injury or ridicule; he responded that such a student's citizenship mark would probably be good because they weren't hurting anyone else. Deacon did, however, give himself pause by suggesting that the student who wouldn't try at a Physical Education activity, for whatever reason, perhaps should be considered to be acting in an inappropriate manner.

Townly emphasized the importance of making a student aware of how he would be evaluated. When a student who may not be very skilled knows that participating to the best of his ability will guarantee him a good mark, remarked Townly, retention of that student beyond the mandatory Grade 9 level is increased. Students in Reg's athletic program know that effort is given equal value to achievement when grades are calculated. In all subjects at the private school at which Reg teaches, including Physical Education, marks appear on report cards in the form of, e.g., "72-A", where the number indicates achievement, and the letter, effort. The message he believes is conveyed to the students is that physical well-being is every bit as important as intellectual. In athletics, Reg said, one can achieve an "A" effort rating by simply showing up every time and trying one's best. Deacon also makes his students aware, on the first day of classes, that they will be evaluated on several other factors besides skill, and that there is no need to fear failure of
the course because they are not skilled at everything, because no one is. Kirk also speaks about this to his classes on Day One, telling them that they will be successful at Physical Education if they attend regularly, are prepared, maintain a positive attitude about being there, and "get out there and try it" (Kirk, Interview 2).

Townly, at several junctures during his interviews, talked about the trend toward evaluating skill demonstration versus skill performance. He practices this philosophy in his classes, and explained it as follows: A student, at the beginning of the basketball unit, may only be able to sink 2 out of 10 free throws; if, by the end of the unit, his mechanics of making a free throw have improved, he will get a good mark despite that he may still only put the ball into the basket on, say, three free throws out of ten. Kirk commented on the fact that objective testing in Physical Education is on the decline as a means of assigning a grade; he stated that he finds it "completely irrelevant in a Phys Ed setting" to evaluate a student on the basis of how many free throws he can put into the basket.

**Retention in Physical Education Programs**

Participants mentioned that their schools have "relatively" or "really" high retention rates in boys' Physical Education. When 80 percent of Grade 10 boys take Physical Education, after completing the Grade 9 mandatory Physical Education credit, it is considered a "really high retention rate" (Kirk 2). It is acknowledged that the 20 percent who do not re-enrol may contain many of those who have been victimized, and that once these victimized boys have withdrawn from the Physical Education program, it can no longer hope to assist them in overcoming their problems. Having a timetabling problem was also put forth as a reason for some students' choosing not to return to
Physical Education after Grade 9. Kirk mentioned that most of the bullying he has observed in his Physical Education classes took place at the Grade 9 and 10 levels.

Deacon said that those students for whom Physical Education had been a "bad experience", whether they had been victims of harassment or were just not successful at, or interested in, sport, might not sign up for it again after Grade 9. Kirk suggested that one way to ensure a high retention rate would be to "make the first year really enjoyable" (Interview 3, page 3) for all students, including those who might be prone to victimization; this could be done by emphasizing an overriding philosophy of the gym as a safe and welcoming place. Interestingly, Kirk, Townly, and Scott all made the observation that there were some students they remember as victims who did continue to take Physical Education after it was no longer mandatory. Scott recalled that he "could not believe it" when two students (see "Image of the Victim") who had been severely victimized in Grade 9 signed up for Physical Education again in Grade 10 along with most of their tormentors.

Participants' Views on Addressing Victim Behaviour Through the Physical Education Program

"I've had one of my projects who was overweight and unfit, and by the end of a year had worked really hard, … changed their body development, changed their shape, and turned from someone who was an outcast to a kid who was involved and who was more assertive, more self confident, and it's mostly because of self esteem, which of course builds confidence, and all the rest of that." (Kirk, Interview 2)

Fitness-Based Programming

Participants were asked about the inclusion of units in their Physical Education
courses that were geared toward general fitness, i.e., aerobic conditioning and weight training, as opposed to team or individual sport units.

Kirk observed that, when he had Physical Education students working in a weight room, there tended to be less bullying going on, and he gave two reasons for this: one, the relative confinements of such a room made it possible for the teacher to see what was going on with all students all at once; two, small groups of students are each working at individual stations, with very little interaction among groups. Scott also observed less bullying in the weight room, citing the same reasons Kirk mentioned, and adding that a group would typically not include both a bully and a victim. He also noted that each student, including the bully, would be concentrating on his own performance and so has no opportunity to pay any attention to, or comment upon, what others, including the victim, are doing at other stations. Townly agreed, and also has observed that the weaker victim can feel successful by, for example, being able to lift progressively heavier weights without having to endure comparison to a stronger bully who may have started at a much higher level.

Reg's school, because of its unique nature, offers a range of purely recreational, i.e., non-competitive, physical activities, including a walking-running program and a weight program. Some students may go on to competitive running, said Reg, but most will just enjoy the benefits of getting out and participating in some aerobic activity in any way they can. Reg's school was operating its own on-site weight facility for the first time at the time of his first interview, after having bussed students to a fitness club in previous years. Although the facility is available to competitive athletes, about 80 percent of its members are recreational users, and was already nearing its capacity for users. Reg cited
the wealth of expertise among teaching staff members and dons of the school as being another reason for the tremendous success of the program.

**Helping the Victim**

Near the end of Kirk's third interview, I asked him if he felt there were any avenues toward a solution that had not been discussed up to that point. Being aware that my main contention was that victim behaviour needed to be addressed as much as bully behaviour in working toward solutions to the problem of bullying, Kirk reiterated his agreement. Kirk stated his opinion that efforts made to change victim behaviour would meet with "a lot more success" than those made to change the behaviour of bullies. His subsequent comments were to the effect that since a teacher cannot always be around to protect a victim, the victim must be shown how to avoid being bullied in the first place, or how to cope with it if it does happen.

Kirk suggested that Physical Education might be a "good place to start" when it comes to helping victims of bullying overcome behaviour which might inadvertently cause them to suffer harassment. When Townly was asked if he thought Physical Education could help victims to help themselves, given that among the most stable characteristics of victims are their body anxiety and delayed physical development, he replied that discussions in the health units about stress management in the context of total health could contribute to a solution. To a similar question, Scott answered that he agreed, in that victims need to be shown how to stand up for themselves. According to Scott, Physical Education could fulfil the role of showing bullies how to manage their inner conflicts, and also could make victims more aware of their individual rights.
Kirk spoke extensively about how certain students of his have made great progress through receiving individual attention in Physical Education class. Every term he has taught Physical Education, Kirk has selected a "project" student with whom to work on improving his level of fitness and physical ability. He believes that most of his colleagues do this in some form or other, and stresses the importance of making any Physical Education teacher who is working with Grade 9 boys for the first time aware of the potential benefits of this kind of intervention, and offering guidance to them as to how to go about it. He expressed the firm belief that Grade 9 should be the "key focus point" for such intervention. Kirk has seen that the benefits of such individual interventions can be great, but remarks on how difficult in can be to implement them in a large class setting.

Kirk has observed significant improvement in many such students in the areas of appearance, strength, endurance, self-confidence, and success in relationships, and has found that victimization has been greatly reduced or has even disappeared for such students. Kirk identifies students who might be candidates for this kind of special intervention as those he feels are performing below their natural level of ability in Physical Education; he selects those he will give this attention to on the basis of the likelihood of the student responding positively to the intervention. Kirk states that he determines this likelihood by whether the student has himself shown any interest in improving by approaching Kirk and, to paraphrase Kirk's words, making an invitation for Kirk to help. Kirk felt that a student who does not show this interest, who does not approach him for help, and whom he might consider approaching himself and offering help, would usually reject the notion. He remembered at least one student he tried to
work with for whom this was the case; as he put it, "that's really hard to deal with, they just don't tend to come around" (2). Kirk also wondered at the motivations of those students who do not seek help, but enrol in Physical Education year after year only to fail.

Participants' Views on Having Participated In The Study

Kirk, in the period of time leading up to the first interview, had been interested in the phenomenon of bullying to a greater extent than the other participants, having attended related workshops and done quite a bit of reading. He expressed the feeling that certain "flags" have been raised for him; he notices information relevant to bullying that he may have bypassed before participating in this study. Townly also said that he feels his level of awareness is greater, though he feels it should be greater still. "Raising the issue," to him through the interviews has reminded Deacon of the bullying that can take place both in classes and elsewhere in the school, and has caused him to increase his vigilance. He feels he has a greater understanding of where bullying comes from and what the consequences may be if it is not effectively addressed. Scott also said that he is now more aware of bullying, and the need to "put more energy" into helping victims himself or, if necessary, involving higher authorities or outside agencies. Reg felt that his school's policies already proactively address the issue of bullying, and indicated that participating in the interviews affirmed that those policies have been effective.
CHAPTER FIVE: INTERPRETATION OF THE INFORMATION

This chapter discusses the findings of the study in detail, in the light of the literature. Implications from the study are made, and suggestions are offered for further research.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore my two main contentions: that victim behaviour needs to be reduced every bit as much as does bully behaviour if bullying is to stop, and that Physical Education could play a major role in helping boys who are bullied to reduce their victim behaviour. The literature suggested that among the most stable characteristics of boys who are bullied are body anxiety and lack of physical strength, both areas that might be addressed, as part of a holistic solution, through school Physical Education programming.

A qualitative approach was taken to this study, in order to gather the participants' views on my contentions in their own words. The five participants were all physical educators, either currently teaching high school Physical Education or recently having moved into teaching in other areas after long careers as Physical Education teachers. Four of the participants were from one public school board, while the fifth was employed by a co-ed private school in the same district. Semi-structured interviews were conducted at the participants' convenience, and each was audio recorded. The transcribed interviews were examined using an inductive approach, in order to identify themes that would serve to confirm, reject, or modify my interpretation of the literature that lead to his
 Discussion

Three main themes emerged from my review of the interview: participants' views on the issue of bullying, participants' views on their teaching environments, and participants' views on addressing victim behaviour through the Physical Education program. Within the theme of how participants viewed the issue of bullying, information was gathered which expressed the participants' memories of having encountered bullying throughout their lives, from their earliest memories of elementary school, right through high school and university, to their current teaching practice. The first sub-theme that emerged from this main theme was the participants' understanding of what constitutes bullying.

Bullying is repetitive by nature (Floyd, 1985), and takes place over time (Olweus, 1993). Responses varied in demonstrating participants' appreciation of that fact. Incidents of harassment that took place over a long period of time were recounted in detail, as well as those which were clearly transitory in nature. An imbalance of power and status is also implicit in the definition of bullying. Incidents in which this was surely the case were mentioned, as well as those in which there did not seem to be any such imbalance. Some students who were portrayed as bullies seemed to be willing to harass anyone without discrimination. However, no specific incidents were portrayed in which
a bully harassed someone who was clearly stronger or who enjoyed a higher status among the peer group. A scenario was recounted by one of the participants about which, at first, he remembered that every student seemed to take his turn at being first aggressor and then victim; he later amended that memory to include the fact that he did not remember ever having been the aggressor. Although this participant was not certain that this should be called bullying, it is difficult to imagine that the weakest, most timid members of the group would have been given a chance to practise aggression on the strongest and toughest ones. It follows that the weakest students would suffer most often in this scenario. Since repetition is one essential facet of bullying (Siann et al., 1993), and an imbalance of power between a bully and the target of his aggression is another (Besag, 1989), the data suggest that there needs to be some clarification for the participants of the basic definition of what constitutes bullying.

Several incidents were recounted about which the participants appreciated that the targets of aggression were chosen based on their membership in a group, i.e., senior students harassing juniors, veteran players hazing rookies, or upper-year university students initiating freshmen. The idea was put forward that boys of a certain age tease and torment each other indiscriminately as a way to identify each other's strengths and weaknesses. The use of these forms of aggression to establish a "pecking order", or hierarchy of power, in the classroom and on the playing field, seemed to be accepted as part of the maturation process of young men. Those students or team members who found themselves at the bottom of the hierarchy were subject to the most aggression. In this sense, a form of bullying which is to some extent socially acceptable (Besag, 1989) was taking place which may have been highly gratifying to some at the expense of others
Each participant talked about having remembered sufficient bullying during his own elementary and intermediate school years to support the contention (Craig & Pepler, 1995) that bullying is normative in schools.

The second sub-theme which emerged from the first main theme, which concerned how participants having encountered bullying throughout their lives, was: Who is involved in bullying? The bullies they encountered over their childhood years seemed, for the most part, to leave a more lasting impression on the participants than did the associated victims. Elementary and intermediate school bullies were remembered as big and tough boys who would continually direct their aggression towards those among their fellow students who were least equipped to defend themselves. Those victims have become faceless in the memories of the participants; only one participant could remember a specific student who had been bullied over an extended period. There was a shift in this focus as the participants got older. No participant mentioned a specific bully from his high school days. Unless high school students are the principal players in a bullying scenario, they appear largely oblivious to it. The support a high school bully gets for making a victim suffer comes from a relatively small cadre of cohorts, as opposed to the entire playground full of children in elementary school.

According to the literature, stable characteristics of the victim include: anxious personality (Olweus, 1993), submissiveness (Deluty, 1981), physical weakness (Olweus, 1993), avoidance of conflict (Perry, Kusel, & Perry, 1988), and feelings of inferiority coupled with low self-esteem (Björkqvist et al., 1982). All of these traits showed up in the participants' descriptions of victims they had encountered. The words most often
used by participants to describe such victims were unfit, overweight, and, in the case of one participant, "different". All interviewees cited cases where the targets of the aggression were perceived as being unable or unwilling to retaliate. Feelings of inferiority and low self-esteem were manifest in the behaviour and appearance of some students identified as victims in such ways as inattention to hygiene and grooming, and, to paraphrase one participant, a tendency towards self-sabotage. The issue of being unfit and overweight was a bit more complicated, in that all participants could recall such students who were not victims of harassment. The data support the likelihood that these two traits are not a factor in determining who will be victimized unless they are coupled with physical weakness and submissiveness.

The data also support the literature's contention that victims do nothing intentional to provoke attacks (Olweus, 1977), but that their unwillingness to defend themselves against harassment is seen as provocative by the bully (Floyd, 1985, and Atlas, 1994). One participant stated that bullying incidents he observed as a child seemed to be initiated by the bullies for their own gratification. Again, though, many traits which were put forth by the participants as being provocative to a bully, such as being fat (or skinny), unfit, poorly dressed or groomed, or just "different", do not seem to stand alone in the data as being determining factors; the perception that there is an unwillingness, and possibly an inability, to retaliate, appears to be key.

The fourth sub-theme which emerged from the first main theme, which concerned how participants having encountered bullying throughout their lives, was: How is bullying identified? Much of what the participants said supports the view of the literature that most school bullying is done out of the view of teachers. This concept can be
approached from several levels. On the surface, this contention considers the bullying which happens in areas of the school which are mostly unsupervised, such as remote corners of the playground or Physical Education change rooms (Atlas, 1994). At the next level, one must consider "out of the view of a teacher" as referring to the subtle nature of many bullying actions, such as quietly spoken threats or light physical contact. As the actions characteristic of bullying become more and more subtle as grade level increases, this interpretation of the definition becomes more appropriate. Moving one level deeper, one could consider "out of the view of a teacher" in the sense of overt bullying actions which the teacher is unable to identify as such. It is often difficult for a teacher even to pick out the aggressor and victim in a bullying scenario from the surrounding onlookers.

Most teachers are not trained to recognize bullying for what it is. Teachers today have read and heard a great deal about the phenomenon, both in the popular media and through professional development activities, but this evidently does not translate into an increased ability to recognize it when it is taking place. There seemed to be some lack of clarity among most of the participants regarding this distinction. While two participants suggested that awareness of bullying is highest among physical educators of all teachers, a third, perhaps the most 'bullying-aware' of the group, indicated that Physical Education teachers are no better than any other school staff members when it comes to identifying it. None of the teachers, whose experience ranges from less than ten years to almost 25 years, remembered discussing bullying, as a distinct issue separate from the issue of violence in schools, at all during their Bachelor of Education studies. While this may no longer be the case, it seems safe to say that the majority of senior teachers have had a similar dearth of experience when it comes to specific instruction on identifying bullying.
Bullying is indeed difficult to identify, even for those teachers who have trained themselves to recognize it. Teachers who are well aware of what constitutes bullying are still faced with the problem of determining whether a physical interaction between students is play or victimization. Verbal bullying is usually done out of earshot of the teacher; even so, insults or threats which a teacher could hear could be from one student to another of equal power and status, or they could be directed at a victim. A teacher coming upon a dishevelled student faces a quandary: Can he assume the student has been victimized, or is it possible the student has been involved in play or conflict without victimization? One participant suggested that a way to determine whether bullying has taken place might be to evaluate non-verbal cues in the response of the student toward which an aggressive act has been directed. Craig and Pepler (1996) suggest that bullying can sometimes only be identified by the distress of the person who is the target of an aggressive act. One further factor which was noted in the data as contributing to the difficulty teachers face in identifying bullying was the lack of retaliatory action on the part of the victim which might have served to alert the teacher to a problem.

Bullying can also be difficult to identify for peers of the victim and bully who are in close proximity to an incident. Sometimes even the bully would not seem to be aware that he is bullying (Siann et al., 1993). Several of the participants recounted scenarios in which bullying clearly was taking place but that they could not say for sure were bullying.

The fifth sub-theme which emerged from the first main theme, which concerned how participants having encountered bullying throughout their lives, was: How is bullying dealt with? The failure to recognize bullying as a distinct issue may result in
incidents of physical bullying being approached using policies that are designed to address incidents of general misbehaviour, where victimization as we have defined it is not taking place, i.e., combatants are of roughly equal strength and status in the peer group, and the incident is an isolated one. If there is a clear "winner" in a physical confrontation, the procedure would most likely be to punish the aggressor and leave the victim alone. This would certainly be the case when a bully assaults a victim. The bully will blame the victim for his punishment and will redouble his harassment efforts, while the victim will be further disempowered, in that the teacher is "dealing with" the situation, not himself.

Many disparate ideas came forth when participants were talking about how bullying might be fought against. One participant suggested that the elimination of all horseplay in the gym, desirable from a safety standpoint, would have the useful side effect of making it clearer if bullying were taking place. No doubt, physical harassment would be easier to identify in such an environment, but the subtle nudges and sotto voce comments which are so typical of bullying would remain just as difficult to catch. If a teacher happened to be in extremely close proximity to bully and his victim, the bully would simply follow his usual modus operandi and cease the behaviour until the teacher moved away.

Several other participants pointed to the success of conflict management programs, and suggested that their methods were applicable to the elimination of bullying. Interestingly, one of these same participants referred to a student who had undergone conflict management therapy but whose behaviour had not appreciably changed for the better. Conflict management depends on the desire of both the
conflicting parties to end the conflict; bullies are neither intrinsically nor extrinsically motivated to stop bullying. Bullies receive a great deal of support for their behaviour, from peers who cheer them on, and from victims who feed their needs, so they thrive upon it. Why would they want to stop unless they were forced to?

One participant suggested that it would be a good idea to present the issue of bullying during one of the health units in Physical Education, "at least if it's a fifteen-minute, twenty-minute talk". While this comment at first seems to reveal a lack of appreciation for what resources would be necessary adequately to present the topic, it reveals an issue which is at the forefront of all teachers' planning today; teachers are reluctant to add anything to their curricula which is not mandated by the Ministry of Education. Other participants revealed this in their interviews, suggesting that there is insufficient time to implement what is mandatory, let alone to add anything new.

A victim's failure to respond to being victimized includes not telling an authority figure, such as a teacher, what has been going on. A victim may be feeling ashamed of his inability to handle the situation without help, may be expecting not to be believed, or may be expecting that the bullying will just get worse if the teacher takes action against the bully. One participant made a particular point of mentioning that victims would probably not tell a teacher for fear of further harassment.

Every student seems to know who the victims of bullying are at his or her school. All participants, at one point or another in their interviews, mentioned always knowing who the bullied students were among them. Interestingly, neither as students nor as teachers did the participants remember very many victims by name, indicating that they become faceless after a time unless they have been victimized in some outstanding way.
By contrast, several of the participants could clearly remember the names and faces of bullies as far back as the middle grades of elementary school. Herein lies further evidence supporting the claim that identifying victimization is very difficult. Further to this is support in the data for the literature's claim that a victim's low peer status results in reduced empathy on the part of onlookers to a bullying scenario. The fact that it was difficult for participants to clearly remember victims connects with another claim in the literature, that bullies are viewed as successful models and victims as unsuccessful models (Atlas, 1994).

The literature contains many examples of the long term negative effects bullying has on school performance (Ambert, 1994, Marini, 1995, and Craig & Pepler, 1996) and on later success in life (Marini, 1995, and Kupersmidt et al., 1990). Several examples were cited by participants of students for whom a decline in school performance appeared to be connected to bullying. Only one participant could recall what happened to any of the victims after they left school, and that person, who had been one of the students who appeared to try to bring ridicule upon himself, seems to have done fairly well. One is left to speculate upon the fate of those victims who nobody remembers, especially in view of the aforementioned literature, which expresses the likelihood that they may have "social adjustment problems". This may possibly be a future study worth undertaking.

The second major theme which emerged from the data was concerned with participants' views on their teaching environments, and this theme was divided into three sub-themes. The first of these encompasses participants' responses connected with Physical Education programming. I asked the participants to describe the components of their programs in all grades. All participants said that, for Grade 9 and 10 boys (Physical
Education being gender-segregated at the schools of all public board participants until Grade 11, sport takes up virtually all of the part of Physical Education that happens outside of the classroom. Students in these grades spend about half of this time doing team sports, and half doing individual sports. Although participants stressed that students are being evaluated only in part for skill, acquisition and development of specific skills is certainly at the core of a sport-based program. All of the public board participants had taught most of their Physical Education careers with this arrangement, and none expressed any thoughts of making fundamental changes to the structure of their programs.

Fitness for fitness's sake is not a component of any of the public school participants' Grade 9 or Grade 10 Physical Education programs. Teaching and physical resource shortages were most often mentioned as reasons for this, but the fact that these physical educators buy into the existing sport-orientated structure of their programs so completely leaves little room anyway, either philosophically or temporally, for the inclusion of non-sports-orientated fitness activities. One participant even went as far as expressing the opinion that the purpose of incorporating a fitness component into a Physical Education unit should be to prepare students to do better at sports!

School as a socializing agent is discussed both in the literature, about bullying, and by the participants, about Physical Education. The main stumbling block preventing participants' consideration of shifting some of the emphasis of their programs away from sport and towards fitness for fitness's sake is their clinging to the notion that sport, especially team sport, provides much positive socialization. Team sport develops the student's ability to work together with others toward a common goal, which, it was
stated, is invaluable in later life. Unfortunately, the ideal of this philosophy and the reality of what happens in team sport in gym class are worlds apart.

According to the literature, there is a recent strong trend in the educating of physical educators towards movement education, a field which had its inception in about 1958, but none of the participants advocated inclusion of movement education components in their programs. Several factors must be considered when trying to understand why movement education has never taken hold among physical educators such as the participants in this study. First, none of these participants, all of whom has been teaching for at least 10 years, mentioned having come from university B.Ed. Physical Education programs in which movement education was part of the philosophy. One must also remember that all participants were male secondary school physical educators; movement education has long been stereotyped as being foreign in influence, having originated in Britain, feminist (possibly lesbian) in influence, and suitable for use only by female elementary school teachers. Another set of factors to be considered is that the Ministry of Education Physical Education program guideline document from which the participants seemed to be working at the time of the interviews dates from 1975. No internal program document exists for this school board because there were indications throughout the late 1980's and early 1990's that a new ministry document would be forthcoming. A draft ministry document dated 1988 contains a great deal of emphasis on movement and fitness outside of sport, but this document was never fully adopted.

All participants expressed their beliefs that their programs were as inclusive as they could be. Most admitted, however, that there were always some students who were marginalized either by their lack of skill or by their apparent reluctance to try at Physical
Education. Despite this admission, and the acknowledgement that many of the most "Physical Education-needy" students drop out of Physical Education as a result of this lack of inclusion, participants seemed unprepared to consider program components which are not skill dependent, such as those with a movement education basis or general fitness activities such as weight training and aerobics. The participants in this study all have been skilled in one or more areas of athletics, and they assign a great deal of value to that. The moral of this story seems to be: until the ministry says secondary school Physical Education programs have to be less sport-skill dependent, they will remain sport-skill dependent.

**Implications**

The findings from this research support much of that which is mentioned throughout the literature reviewed for this study. Participants painted portraits of victims which correspond to those most commonly found in the current knowledge base, although they also identified some students as victims who did not seem to fit the definition. This misidentification may have come as a result of the participants all having classified certain interactions as bullying that clearly were not, along with those that were. Bullying is clearly every bit as difficult for these physical educators to identify as it is for most teachers, given its covert nature, although it was discovered that the phrase "out of the view of teachers" can take on several meanings. Because bullying is so difficult to recognize, victims also can be hard to spot, although all participants mentioned at least one or two students who fit the description of a victim. The way participants described the actions of other students surrounding a bullying scenario
confirms what the literature says about this, too. "Why must victimization be prevented?" is a question that proved somewhat more difficult to answer, because many victimized students seemed to disappear from the memories of the participants after a while, but one participant's story about the long term effects being bullied has had on a student of his aligns very closely with what the literature puts forth as a common fate for the victim.

Another question raised by the body of knowledge of bullying, "How, and how well, is prevention of victimization currently being addressed?", was answered by the data in this study in a manner consistent with the literature reviewed. The answer, unfortunately, would have to be: "With limited success". Anti-victimization strategies focus on two main points: stopping bullying through appealing to the reason and compassion of bullies, and ensuring the well-being of victims through the vigilance of adults and through assertiveness training of the victims. Bullies, according to both the literature and the participants, lack motivation to stop their bullying behaviour, and victims, when they must accept the help and protection of others, retain the traits of a victim. Assertiveness training is an important part of the solution when it comes to reducing victim behaviour, but then the question becomes: "How should this be delivered?" It is difficult to see how it would be done in a school setting beyond the primary grades unless Physical Education programming becomes involved.

Several systemic difficulties were mentioned in the literature reviewed for this study, and were confirmed by the data; as well, several others came to light. The participants cling tenaciously to a sport model for their programs because that is how they were educated as elementary, secondary, and post-secondary students (successfully, in
their view), because they joined secondary school Physical Education teaching staffs which espoused this philosophy, because the dated curriculum documents that they feel compelled to follow require them to program this way, because the facilities they have to work with in their schools are orientated this way, and so on. Recent ministry documents (cf. Ontario Ministry of Education, 1999) place a much greater importance on fitness for life, but still support delivering this to students largely in the form of skill-dependent sports because they believe the socialization benefits team sports provide are too great to abandon.

One of the interviewees (Townly, Interview 2) himself suggested that the socialization benefits of Physical Education are dubious, since most social influences must necessarily come from outside due to the miniscule portion of their lives students spend in Physical Education class. Townly's opinion must also be considered in the light of the fact that a significant percentage of students receive all of their socialization influences from elsewhere, having withdrawn from Physical Education classes before completion of secondary school. Even when one examines only the minor, yet positive, socializing influence Physical Education programs, as most now operate, may hope to be, one can readily detect several glaring flaws. One of the main benefits to students of team sport, espoused both in proposed new curriculum and curriculum which has been in use in recent years, is that students will learn through it to work collaboratively. The information collected in this study, both from literature and interviews, strongly suggest that very few students do benefit from team sport in the way idealized by curriculum documents. This potential benefit is sabotaged by the percentage of boys who are marginalized by team sport, i.e., the ones who are unsuccessful at it, who become
excluded, consciously or subconsciously, by those who are successful at it (including, in some cases, their teachers), who either lose interest in Physical Education or are forced out through victimization, and who withdraw with a bad taste in their mouths which may cause them to have diminished future interest in physical activity.

One must also consider the "hidden curriculum" inherent in the idea of socialization of boys through team sport. The importance to a large segment of society of male professional team sport, mainly as it is presented through television, cannot be underestimated. Many outdated concepts of masculinity are evident in professional team sport, not the least of which is the notion that the purpose for one becoming physically strong and skilled is so that one can gain dominance over weaker, less-skilled others. The ramifications of this are huge: the members of a losing team are dominated by the winners; within a winning (or, indeed, the losing) team, there is a hierarchy of strength and skill which raises a relative few to first-string status and relegates the rest to the role of substitutes. When one considers that this sort of exclusion takes place at every level of sport from the major professional ranks right down through minor professional ranks, university and college ranks, high school varsity ranks, Physical Education classes, all the way to the sandlot, and that only the very best are promoted upward through these ranks, one cannot ignore that the percentage of participants in team sport who are not marginalized to some degree is almost zero. When one considers that a much higher percentage of women are marginalized by this social process even than are men, the overall benefits to society are very hard to see.

Another reason for the commitment to a sport model of Physical Education by government Ministries of Education, local school district administrators, and boys'
Physical Education teachers of whom those interviewed for this study should be considered representative, is the relative ease of maintaining the status quo. Secondary schools contain immense gymnasiums which are designed for team sport and which are not particularly conducive to small-group or individual fitness and strength building activities. Most Physical Education departments possess enough equipment to allow participation by all in team sport; the same cannot be said about these departments when it comes to weight training equipment, stationary bicycles, rowing machines, treadmills, and the like. One must also consider the investment which has been made in training Physical Education department teaching staff to operate their programs based on a sport model, and the investment which would need to be made to assist them in shifting to a model which does not have team sport as its basis. Indeed, one can easily imagine that many such teachers would find it extremely difficult to make such a transition no matter how much assistance was provided.

Despite all the problems which would face a school system in making the transition from a sport-based Physical Education program to one which had movement education as its foundation, it remains vitally important to the vast majority of boys who are marginalized by the sport model for these school systems to do so. From the standpoint of this study, a Physical Education program based on the philosophy of movement education offers far less opportunity for victimization. Such a program would not emphasize the development of sport-specific fine motor skills; the ability to acquire and use these skills contributes to rank ordering in a sport-based model. Such a program emphasizes activities for individual or paired students, effectively removing the pressure felt by students of measuring their performance against that of the strongest and most
skilled in their Physical Education class. Such a program would not require students to become proficient in sports for which their bodies are not suited or for which they have no interest, and which, as a result, they would be unlikely to pursue in later life. Such a program would certainly provide the victim of bullying with the necessary strength and fitness training to overcome the deficits in those areas which are among the most stable characteristics of the victimized. In addition, activities for individual or paired students would no longer force students who tend to be victimized to be part of an activity with those who would victimize them. It is conceivable that if the pressure to "measure up" and the fear of victimization are removed, many more students would remain in Physical Education classes.

What long-term benefits to society can one imagine if such a change in philosophy in boys' Physical Education were to be implemented? More males are likely to be concerned with remaining fit, resulting in increased productivity both at work and at home, and reduced strain on health care systems. If potential victims are presented with the opportunity to learn how to overcome their victim behaviours, victimization is likely to be reduced, resulting, again, in greater opportunities for a more rewarding life. Physical Education itself would be a less marginalized department within the education system, which has many implications in itself; these range all the way from more career satisfaction for the teaching cohort on the "front lines" to a more prominent place for Physical Education in the study of the sociology of education.

Even if ministry documents did adopt a movement education-centred philosophy, the participants in this study believe that the marginalization of their departments in schools today would make it unlikely that funds for necessary retooling (different spaces
and equipment, in-service training for staff) would be obtained. It seems to me that what is needed is not a lot of new equipment or training, but a fundamental shift in philosophy. All schools connected with the study have weight rooms, and much of what might be needed to expand and augment these resources could be improvised. Aerobic training requires a minimum of specialized equipment, and can be done virtually anywhere, for instance, in a regular classroom, outside the building, or on staircases. Groupings for Physical Education could be large, co-ed, and multi-level, with opportunities for team teaching, peer mentoring, and resource sharing abounding. Another difficulty mentioned by participants was not knowing what to do with the victimized student who will not "get in there and try", but this comes out of their observations within a sport model; several participants mentioned that "not trying" is observed much less often when students are working in a fitness-based environment.

Participant responses during the interviews conducted for this study indicate that in-service training which provides all school staff with a greater understanding of the effects of bullying would be useful, in that it would raise awareness of the issue and promote a culture of change. Most of the participants echoed the commonly held view that any anti-victimization initiative must include every area of the school to have any hope of success. It must be stressed, however, that this training would not be training in the identification of bullying; I believe that effort could be better spent elsewhere since bullying is so difficult to identify even for expert observers.

The physical educators I interviewed thought helping victims through Physical Education was a good idea, but they seemed to have some difficulty imagining a Physical Education program which is not sport (and therefore skill) driven. The roots of this point
of view run deep in the school system and in our society, right down to the bedrock of how masculinity is defined. Physical educators must be won over to the idea that a non-gendered program constructed on a platform of movement education and delivered to boys at the beginning of high school can have a multitude of benefits for all concerned, not only students who exhibit victim traits. A pilot project of this nature would seem to be in order.

Further Research

This study, in essence, explored the question "How do boys' physical educators feel about the contention that they may be in the best position of all, in schools, to assist victims of bullying to overcome their victim behaviours?" Several questions are raised by this exploration. How do boys' physical educators feel about the idea of reworking their Grade 9 programs to include fitness-based programming constructed on a platform of movement education? How could this reworking be done, and what obstacles might there be in trying to do it? How would students respond to this shift in programming direction? Would retention rates in boys' Physical Education be increased? Further research in any of these areas would help to answer these questions.

Conclusion

Enough information has come to light in recent years to make it impossible to deny that bullying is one of the most serious problems affecting students today. Victims of bullying must be shown how to stop their victimization themselves, through modification of certain of their traits which may contribute to it, since relying upon help
from others causes them to feel even greater powerlessness to that which they experience in the face of the bully. There is a significant physical element to these traits, and this element could perhaps best be addressed through Physical Education programming. Attempting to use Physical Education programming based on sports skills to address the issue of overcoming victim behaviour may prove problematic in achieving this goal. Bullying is virtually impossible to eliminate in a sports environment because of its subtle and insidious nature, and because it makes it necessary for the victim to remain in close proximity with his tormentors. The traits of body anxiety and lack of physical strength and presence are not specifically addressed in a sport-based program. Much promise for a successful reduction of bullying appears to lie in helping victims to construct a positive physical presence for themselves through a fitness-based program of Physical Education, but there would seem to be a great deal of resistance to the implementation of such a program.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A:

Typical First Interview Questions

- What memories do you have of observing bullying during your own elementary/secondary schooling?
- Do you recall how it made you feel?
- Did you participate in bullying?
- What role did you play?
- Were you yourself bullied?
- Can you recall specific bullies/victims?
- What impressions of them did you have?
- What behaviour did they exhibit which seemed to elicit bullying?
- Did you have a sense of how their behavior affected their lives in general?
- Do you still know any of them?
- What kind of people are they now?
- What were your own experiences of phys ed class in high school?
- Did you observe victim behaviour there?
- How did you regard boys who seemed unable or unwilling to defend themselves against bullying?
- How did the teachers seem to regard them?
- What were your feelings towards fellow students who were inept at sports?
- Was the issue of bullying covered at all during your teacher education?
- If so, to what degree?
- Was how to help the victims of bullying through phys ed dealt with at all?
- Did you observe bullying/victimization at university?

Typical Second Interview Questions

- For how many years have you taught/did you teach phys ed?
- Can you recall any specific bullies or victims that you observed during that period?
- What were your feelings towards kids who didn't seem to be competent or willing at phys ed?
- What might you have done to include such students?
- How would you, having observed one kid being victimized on a regular basis, handle that?
- Would you say this method was successful over a period of time?
- When you were talking to the victim after a bullying incident, did you try to convey the sense that you would not allow this to happen to them, and when you were talking to the bully, that you would not allow them to continue that behaviour?
- Did you have any strategies to offer the victim in terms of dealing with it himself?
- What is your sense of what a social worker would do different from you?
• Do you find, in talking with other teachers, that they are aware of bullying to a similar degree, or less aware?
• Do you recall any students that you felt actually left school as a result of having been victimized over long periods of time?
• How would you, in phys ed, approach working with a student who displayed typical victim traits?
• Has it been your experience that a victim would come to you for help?
• There are two students in your phys ed class, neither of whom are at all competent in phys ed. One of them appears to be being bullied, and the other one doesn't. How would you interpret that kind of situation?
• Describe your phys ed curriculum for Grade 9 / 10.
• Is there a particular rationale for not introducing fitness training, for its own sake, before Grade 11?
• Is Grade 10 still the first year that students can opt out of phys ed?
• What would you say your phys ed dropout rate would be from Grade 9 to Grade?
• Of the ones who drop out of phys ed after Grade 9, or even after Grade 10, can you make any sort of a connection between those people and people you might have thought of as victims of bullying?
• What would happen if you had a strategy to encourage people to stay in phys ed, and you had just as many boys in Grade 10 phys ed ... the normal sort of decline, just as you would in any other course, instead of that sharp drop-off - would you have the facilities to handle it? If that 20 percent was 5 percent, instead?
• Can you hypothesize on a strategy for keeping victimized boys in phys ed?
• Is it possible for a student to drop out after Grade 9 and come back in later?
• Have you ever conducted a class discussion centred around the issue of bullying?
• Did you go in the showers, or the change rooms?
• Does most bullying tend to happen at the Grade 9 or Grade 10 level?
• How long has it been that phys ed was not mandatory after Grade 9?
• Did most victim types tend to drop out of phys ed as soon as they could?
• Did you observe kids who were victim types over several years?
• Would victimized boys tend to be not good at any physical education activities?
• What does it take, in the early years of high school, to be successful at phys ed?
• What do you do with the student that you can't convince to try?
• Are the upper grades at your school co-ed for Phys Ed?
• How would you serve the upper level athlete in that environment (fitness-vs. sport-focussed)?
• What do you observe the participation level of the victim to be in a fitness activity versus a team or individual sport?
• You mention that you select one or two weaker students each semester as your "projects", to offer special help and encouragement. Is it your sense
that your colleagues do this too?

- During a fitness activity, would you say that harassment went on there at the same level, or less than, say, in a team game?
- Are the victims usually in the same grade level as the bullies?
- Do you think bullying has got worse? Or do incidents of one kind or another range back throughout your teaching career?
- Did you ever observe bullying first hand, or did you tend to observe the aftermath of it? Or the long term effects of it?
- Can you tell me a little bit about the appearance of the victim?
- Have you seen bullies try to bully a number of different kids?
- Have you seen anybody successfully deal with bullying?
- Does the bully seem to be the ringleader of a group, or does he operate alone?
- What do you think of the contention that physical education might be the best environment within a school to deal with helping the victim?
- How would you help a victim through phys ed?
- For someone you feel you can't help, is it a question of being too late... to take specific measures to get him over it within the school environment, within the Phys Ed environment specifically? Is it too much to be undone?
- Have you observed body anxiety and general physical weakness as being stable characteristics of the victim? What about fear of injury, or the unwillingness to take physical risks?
- In the fitness area, did you observe less of a difference, more of a difference, or no change, in terms of the pecking order, the level of participation of these weaker athletes?
- Is it true that you sometimes hear not necessarily from people who are direct participants in bullying, but sometimes from a third party?
- How do you tend to deal with bullying in your own class, when you see it first hand, or hear of it second hand?
- Did you observe any bully-victim relationship which seemed to exist over a period of time?
- What do you think it was about a victim specifically that made him an easy target?
- Have you ever had any sort of class discussions that centred around bullying?
- What would you do to try to encourage a victim to stay in phys ed? Do you think it would be of benefit for them to do so?
- You mentioned participation as being a large part of a student's phys ed grade. When I'm thinking of a kid who demonstrates typical victim behaviour, participation, per se, might be on the low side. How do you look at that? They're there every day, they've got the uniform on, but they aren't really participating.
- In one of my other discussions, there's a school that has a fitness unit, one of the units centres on fitness, and general fitness activities, aerobic activities, strength-building activities, and it was mentioned that during that ... in those
particular activities, there was a notable absence of the kind of bullying behaviour that you might find in a team sport, for instance. How would you respond to that?

- What about achievement levels for those kids who might be withdrawn or picked on in team sports? Do their achievement levels improve at all? In, say, that weight training unit?
- Why, in view of the relative success of victims in fitness-focused activities, do you feel there's still such a heavy concentration on team sport?
- If the ideal is that socialization skills are learned as part of the team sport experience, do you feel that the bullies and in particular the victims get that desired result out of it? Do these people learn to become team players?

Typical Third Interview Questions

- What benefit, if any, do you feel you've gained from this process of talking to me about bullying?
- What would you say your level of considering this to be an important issue would you have, compared to your colleagues, other staff members?
- Where would phys ed teachers as a group fit in there? Would you say their awareness of the issue and bullying and their consideration of it as an important issue would be average, more, less?
- What about my contention was that phys ed might be the best place to address victim behaviour, given that so many of the things that victims do are of a physical nature?
- Do teachers tell each other about students who may be victims?
- If phys ed is one component of a holistic solution to the problem of bullying, what could your current phys ed program do to help? If modifications were necessary, what might they be?
- Having citizenship as part of a student's mark seems focused toward the person who might be the bully. How would you evaluate the citizenship of a victim in that scenario?
- Throughout all of this has there been anything I've left out, in your view, any angle I'm not taking at this, that you think I might? Any questions I haven't asked?
- Can you think of anything that might be done specifically to retain victims in phys ed classes?
- You realized you had to stand strong, and that getting involved in sports is how you did that. Why do you think some kids might not realize this is what they have to do to avoid being picked on? Do you think that people can be made to realize that that's what they need to do? How do you think you might do that via phys ed? Do you think it's possible without a lot of external support?
- What would make a bully want to not be a bully anymore?
- You mentioned that when you were in high school phys ed, you were focused on what you're doing, and not really paying all that much attention to the social dynamic of the class. How would you make boys in your class
who aren't directly involved in bullying realize that there's a problem?

- Would you now tend to wait until an incident arises and address it, or are you thinking about presenting the issue of bullying prevention in a proactive way?

- What would be your idea of an ideal phys ed program? If you were in charge, and you yourself could mandate a phys ed program, how would it be similar and different from what it is now?

- Would you increase the fitness component of the program separate from the team sports and individual sports, or would you tend to leave it integrated, and why?

- Because of their cooperative nature, I think I'm developing an understanding of why you believe team sports are so important. Is that what really happens, though, in a phys ed class?
APPENDIX B: Research Study Consent Form

Author: Christopher L. Hobin, B.A. (Hons.), B.Ed.  Date: ______________________

Address: 14 Regent St. (P.O. Box 1071)  Telephone (Res.): 652-1394
Lakefield, ON K0L 2H0  (Bus.): 748-3800

Position: Teacher, Adult Day School, P.C.B.E.

Institution: Faculty of Education, Brock University, St. Catharines, ON

RE: MASTER OF EDUCATION THESIS

Effective Strategies of Physical Educators for Overcoming Victim Behaviour in Students

Name of Participant: ________________________________

I agree to participate in this study, which I understand will involve being interviewed regarding my knowledge and experiences related to the phenomenon of bullying. I understand that I will be interviewed three separate times, with each interview being of roughly one hour in duration, over the course of the 1998-1999 school year, and that these interviews will be audio taped. I understand that I am under no obligation to answer any particular question which may be asked during an interview. I understand that I will be given the opportunity to review all transcribed data from these interviews, to ensure their accuracy.

I confirm that my participation is entirely voluntary, and I realize that at any time, and for any reason, I may withdraw from participation in this study without penalty, and that should I wish to do so, it will be sufficient to convey this wish orally to the author. I have been assured that at no time will I will be identified to any outside agency, in any way, as having participated in this study. I understand that all data will be kept strictly confidential and that all information will be coded so that my name cannot be associated with any data. I understand that only the researcher named above and his supervising professors at Brock University will have access to the data.

______________________________  ________________________________
(signature)  (date)