

Violence begets violence: risk factors for bullying in postwar and postsocialist context

Doc. dr. Jasna Kovačević

Department of Management and Organization

School of Economics and Business at University of Sarajevo

Trg oslobođenja – Alija Izetbegović 1, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

e-mail: jasna.kovacevic@efsa.unsa.ba

Summary

The empirical evidence on bullying mainly comes from studies conducted in the established democratic societies. However, studies on risk factors, psychological and social consequences of bullying in postwar, postsocialist West Balkan countries are relatively scarce. We utilize Bronfenbrenner's theory of social-ecological development in postwar, postsocialist context, aiming to review existing literature on complex interactions of actors within a child's environment and their impact on bullying behavior. Apart from focusing on immediate influences of families and schools, we also aimed at extending our analysis by observing the interplay of micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystem to identify broader environmental influences on bullying behavior among children in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina. Synthesis of findings from existing studies shows that although war ended in 1995, the macroenvironmental influences, resulting from changes imposed by postsocialist transition, ethnic tensions, segregation based on nationality and lack of consensus among politicians of three conflicted ethnical groups, create culture that perpetrates various forms of violent behavior in families, schools and society.

Keywords: *bullying; family; postsocialism; postwar; school*

Sažetak

Empirijska istraživanja o vršnjačkom nasilju najčešće dolaze iz razvijenih demokratskih društava. Studije o riziko faktorima, te psihološkim i društvenim posljedicama vršnjačkog nasilja u postratnom i postsocijalističkom kontekstu zemalja zapadnog Balkana su izuzetno rijetke. U ovom istraživanju, koristili smo Bronfenbrennerovu teoriju socio-ekološkog razvoja u postratnom, postsocijalističkom kontekstu sa ciljem identifikacije i kvalitativne sinteze postojećih studija o interakciji relevantnih sudionika u okruženju djeteta i njihovog direktnog ili indirektnog uticaja na incidenciju vršnjačkog nasilja. Pored fokusiranja na porodicu i školu kao neposrednog okruženja djeteta, nastojali smo proširiti analizu na druge nivoe djetetovog okruženja poput mikro, meso, exo i makro sistema, te interakcije između njih. Sinteza rezultata iz postojećih istraživanja je pokazala da iako su ratna zbivanja okončana 1995. godine uticaji iz makro okruženja, a koji su rezultanta postsocijalističke tranzicije, etničkih tenzija, nacionalne segregacije i nedostatak političkog koncenzusa, stvaraju kulturu koja daje podstrek različitim oblicima nasilnog ponašanja u porodicama, školama i društvu kao cjelini.

Ključne riječi: vršnjačko nasilje, porodica, postsocijalizam, postratni period, škola

Introduction

Bullying and peer victimization in schools can be categorized as physical, verbal or relational abuse (Rudolph and colleagues 2014) resulting from early behavioral risk, heightens children's social alienation and subsequent deviant peer affiliation (DPA with psychological, educational and social consequences (Carnell and Merrell 2001). Pellegrini (2010) explains why early adolescence is related to peer victimization, by arguing that adolescence "is a critical period where youth explore their new social roles and their pursuit of status among their peer groups, which can motivate aggressive behavior, especially for students making the transition from elementary to middle school". Carney & Merrell (2001) imply that short- and long-term psychological, social and educational implications of peer victimization are serious. However, educators, parents, other significant adults and institutions often neglect or minimize the problem, attributing it to adolescence as a fragile period of human development. Regrettably, studies on bullying and peer victimization in postwar, postsocialist societies of West Balkans are relatively scarce and unsystemic. Therefore, the focus of this article is to review research with an aim to illuminate risk factors of bullying among children in postwar, postsocialist context of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Conceptual framework: Mapping the terrain of responsibility from social-ecological perspective

By founding our approach in Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological perspective (1979) and relevant literature in the fields of developmental psychology, educational psychology and educational leadership and management, we seek to identify main actors and risk factors within child's micro-, meso-, exo- and macroenvironment which may contribute to increasing prevalence of bullying among children and adolescents in postsocialist context. Social-ecological framework is comprehensive and holistic, with a potential to expand knowledge and our understanding of bullying and peer victimization as social and not merely individual phenomena. Swearer and Doll (2001) argue that bullying, when observed from social-ecological perspective, should not be considered merely as a result of individual traits of a bully child.

Bullying also occurs because of "actions of peers, actions of teachers and other adult caretakers at school, physical characteristics of the school grounds, family factors, cultural characteristics and even community factors" (p. 10). Hong & Espelage (2012) describe the ecological environment as a system of nested layers consisting of micro-system (relationships, inter-parental violence, peer relationships, school connectedness and school environment), mesosystem (teacher involvement), exosystem (mass media, parent's work environment, parental stress, and neighborhoods), macrosystem (economic, political, educational, governmental, legal, cultural, religious systems) and chronosystem (changes in family structure, socioeconomic status, place of residence).

Evidence of bullying in Bosnian schools

The evidence on bullying and victimization among school children and adolescents in B&H is relatively scarce. There is no comprehensive statistical data or valid research studies focused on violence among children in Bosnian schools (Obrdalj & Rumboldt 2008; Obrdalj et al. 2013). However, we identified several studies that provide us with an insight into the nature and incidence of bullying.

The study by Obrdalj and Rumboldt (2008) conducted in cities of Stolac and Posušje revealed that 16.4% of children experienced some type of violent behavior in school, while 7% of them were bullied by their peers on a daily basis. The majority of bullies were boys. Similar study by Černi Obrdalj, Beganlić, & Šilić (2010) of 484 school children in cities of Stolac and Posušje aimed to identify types of violence in schools and students' perception of safety. The most frequent type of violence was verbal violence (59%), while sexual violence was reported in 2.24% of cases. Boys usually encountered in acts of physical violence, while girls were more frequently involved in verbal violence. Students perceive school toilets and school playgrounds as the most unsafe places in school where bullying usually takes place. The evidence suggests that children from Stolac perceive school playgrounds as unsafe places contrary to their peers in Posušje. Černi Obrdalj and colleagues (2010) argue that this finding in fact relates to absence of postwar reconciliation and schools' multiethnic structure and the system of "two schools under one roof"⁴ in Stolac, since this city is a multiethnic community, while Posušje is monoethnic.

The evidence from recent study of 1055 school children in Mostar suggests that bullying as a form of aggressive behavior is more common among boys, while girls were more often victimized (Obrdalj et al. 2013). This study also reveals that students involved in bullying have more trauma symptoms such as anxiety, sadness, nervousness and fear contrary to their peers who were not involved.

Pranjić & Bajraktarević (2010) have investigated depression and suicide ideation of secondary school adolescents involved in bullying. The study of 290 students in secondary schools in Tuzla points to increased prevalence of depression (29% versus 8.8%) and suicidal ideation (16.1% versus 3.5%) in victims of bullying in relation to non-victims. The authors argue that the familial financial deprivation combined with a single parenthood and a refugee status represent risk factors associated with an increased prevalence of depression in adolescent victims. Financially situated adolescent male students are usually the bullies. Pranjić and Bajraktarević argue that uncertain and turbulent political, social and economic environment influences the quality of human relationships and mental health of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly on children and

4 "Two schools under one roof" system in Bosnia and Herzegovina is considered as a form of segregation in schools, based on the existing administrative and political structure of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In these schools, children of different ethnic background attend different curricula in separate classes within the same school.

adolescents. Authors conclude that “fathers who were exhausted in the recent war and who are dissatisfied with low employment opportunities in the postwar period have little understanding of the “small problems their children face in schools”. In feedback, adolescents who were involved in bullying express negative feelings towards their fathers” (p. 11).

Macrosystem factors: Postwar and postsocialist context

Bosnia and Herzegovina as a postwar, postsocialist society: Transition from socialism to market economy, political instability, ethnic tensions, prevailing nationalist rhetoric, war in the region between 1991 and 1995 and deteriorated standard of living had a tremendous impact on cultural and social values. As Čehajić-Clancy et al. (2011) argue “although the collective violence that raged in Bosnia and Herzegovina ended with the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995, intergroup relations have remained severely strained, and the prospect of reconciliation in most spheres of everyday life remains far from reach”. (p. 9). Children and youth of all ethnic backgrounds were particularly affected by postwar effects (Kasumagic 2008; Hasanović, Sinanović, Selimbasić, Pajević, & Avdibegović 2006; Hasanović, Sinanović, & Pavlović 2005).

Education in postwar and postsocialist context; Extremely complex and bureaucratic administrative structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina established by the Dayton Peace Agreement consequently creates complexities within national educational system and its institutions. The educational system is governed by 14 ministries including the Ministry of Civil Affairs on the state level, two entity level ministries of education, 10 cantonal educational ministries and an education department within the Government of Brčko District. Pašalić Kreso (2008) argues such complexities result in unequal pedagogical standards, unequal financial resources and different interpretation of historical facts from textbooks with respect to national and political interests. Nationalist rhetoric and irreconcilable political interests strongly impact segregated education. Torsti (2009) implies that segregated education represents a continuation of the war through other means.

Gender stereotyping and patriarchal values: The political dominance of nationalist parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina significantly impacts the gender stereotyping and pronatalist discourse, prescribing women the roles of “mothers of nation”, primarily concerned for child-rearing and homelooking (Brunnbauer 2000; Dobrotić, Matković, & Zrinščak 2013). Accordingly, there is a strong prevalence of patriarchal values. Kodrnja (2002) argues that widely accepted patriarchal values are considered as a protective factor against the uncertainty and cultural shifts in postsocialism. Resilience of patriarchy in a more liberal context implies it is well hidden, subconscious and under investigated phenomenon that affects attitudes and social interactions within families and society.

Family microsystem factors

The evidence from research study by Kodrnja (2002) show there is a high degree of compliance to patriarchal values among participants (80.5% versus 15.7%). Widely accepted patriarchal attitudes reinforced with gender stereotyping, are predominantly related to family values. The system of patriarchal values emphasizes the role of mother in caretaking and authoritative father figure. Father, in his distant, authoritarian, hypermasculinized role imposes authoritarian parenting thereby potentially affecting child's external locus of control (Trusty and Lampe 1997), attitudes toward conflicts and aggression (Baldry and Farrington 2000) and social interactions in and out of family circle.

Exosystem factors and child maltreatment

After the war, the processes of restructuring and privatization of socialist state enterprises were initiated in order to revitalize industrial potential. However, these processes were particularly damaging for female working population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Grapard (1997) argues that female population in socialist economies was mainly concentrated in the light industries such as food processing, textiles, and shoemaking, retail and service sector. These industries were the first scheduled for restructuring and privatization, that consequently led to higher female unemployment rates, worsened financial and social status of unemployed women and stress within their families. *Parental unemployment and financial deprivation in postsocialism* as factors within exosystem that has indirect influence on children generate excessive stress within families. *Parental stress* can compromise caregiving practices and parent-youth attachment at home, which can affect youth's developmental outcomes (Patton, Hong, Williams, & Allen-Meaers 2013, p. 252). Buljan-Flander and Kocijan-Hercigonja (2003) argue that unemployment and financial deprivation in West Balkan countries represent main causes of child neglect, thereby affecting the quality of mental health and well-being of adolescents (Pranjić, Brković, & Began 2007).

School environment factors

Neglecting and/or dysfunctional families do not exist in vacuum. In alignment with Bronfenbrenner's theory on micro environment, numerous research studies in the domain of school leadership, school culture and teacher effectiveness show that school context can be a significant predictor of involvement in bullying behavior (e.g. Pellegrini, 2002; Card & Hodges, 2008; Santinello, Vieno, & De Vogli, 2011; Cixin-Wang, Berry, & Swearer, 2013).

School variables that have been previously investigated as predictors of student behavior in schools are school culture and climate (e.g. MacNeil, Prater, & Busch, 2009; Kythreotis, Pashiardis, & Kyriakides, 2010), principal – teacher relationships (e.g. Davis & Wilson, 2000; Littrell, Billingsley, & Cross, 1994; Eyal & Roth, 2011), teacher – student relationships influenced by teachers' social support (e.g. Twemlow, 2006; Santinello et

al., 2011; Oldenburg et al., 2015), teacher fairness (e.g. Swearer & Doll, 2001; Unnever & Cornell, 2004), teachers' locus of control (e.g. Rose & Medway, 1981; Rydell & Henricsson, 2004), and student – student relationships (e.g. Cowie, Hutson, Oztug, & Myers, 2008; Cowie, 1998; Flaspohler, Elfstrom, Vanderzee, & Sink, 2009)

Pašalić Kreso (2008) discusses school context in Bosnian schools, arguing that main challenges that teachers and principals face in Bosnia and Herzegovina are related to lack of educational standards, outdated and obsolete equipment, shortage of teachers with proper educational background for responding effectively and efficiently to the needs of the labor market, curricula overlapping, high student-teacher ratios and initial teacher training that fails to meet the real needs of teaching practice. On the school level, teachers are often exposed to mobbing, work overload, burnout and teacher isolation, absence of institutional support and mentoring, poor relationships with principals, students and parents, and disciplinary issues in classroom. Such factors can have significant impact on school variables within school context (e.g school culture and climate), acting as predictors of bullying behavior.

In Bosnian context, Letić and Ivanović (2012) conducted a large-scale research study on violence and child neglect. This study included 1000 high school seniors, ages 18 – 19, from municipalities in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (including Bihać, Gornji Vakuf, Livno, Tomislavgrad, Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zenica) and Republika Srpska, (including Banja Luka, Brod, Derventa, Čelinac, Drvar, Grahovo, Ljubija, Novi Grad, Prijedor, and Trebinje). The findings of this study imply that Bosnian students do not share their experiences of violence with teachers or other adults in schools (e.g. principals, and school psychologists). The authors explain that students' avoidance to speak to teachers or other school experts is a result of shame, fear of rejection or fear of being stigmatized by their peers. Another important finding from Letić and Ivanović (2012) study is related to students' beliefs that no adequate expert institutions or adult support are available. Similarly, study by Obrdalj & Rumboldt (2008) on bullying in schools in two cities in B&H (Stolac and Posušje) found that victims of bullying report bullying to teachers in only 10% of the cases, while students primarily confide to parents (38%), friends (33%) or siblings (19%).

Based on the relevant literature (e.g. Cixin-Wang, Berry, & Swearer, 2013; Cohen, McCabe, Michelli, & Pickeral, 2009; Kokkinos, Charalambous, & Davazoglou, 2010), we argue that the quality of teacher – student and student - student communication and relationships are greatly influenced by teachers' and peers' social support, teachers' fairness and teachers' locus of control (e.g. Flaspohler, Elfstrom, Vanderzee, & Sink, 2009; Oldenburg et al., 2015; Unnever & Cornell, 2004; Swearer & Doll, 2001) . Negative school climates are characterized by lack of teachers' social support. Accordingly, teachers that have negative relationships with students, neglect and/or often encourage bullying create a fertile ground for bullying or other types of violent behavior. On the other hand, positive school climates have been associated with strong teachers' social support and student willing-

ness to speak openly on bullying or other types of violence. Teachers who are available and ready to support their students represent the vital part of whole-school support (Gregory et al. 2010; Flaspohler, Elfstrom, Vanderzee, & Sink 2009).

The study by Rose & Medway (1981) showed that teachers with internal locus of control (internal teachers) create classroom environment where students are encouraged to strive to high achievements. Internal teachers proactively shape the classroom environment and classroom relationships. Even though research suggests that social support from teachers is extremely important aspect of healthy school climate; study by Flaspohler et al. (2009) confirms its importance but in addition shows that teacher support is not a sufficient condition to protect students from their bully peers. Peer support as an important aspect of student – student relationships was considered to be an important topic among researchers in the previous two decades (Cowie, 1998; Cowie & Olafsson, 2000; Cowie & Hutson, 2005; Cowie, Hutson, Oztug, & Myers, 2008; Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Salmivalli, 2010; Salmivalli, 2014; often providing the perpetrators with social rewards. The more such rewards (e.g., laughing, cheering Saarento & Salmivalli, 2015). The evidence from the study by Flaspohler and colleagues (2009) shows that peer support can in fact “buffer the negative effects of bullying on youths’ quality of life”, suggesting that social support from both teachers and peers mitigates the impact of bullying.

Discussion and implications for practice

The problem of violent behavior of children and adolescents in schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina is multifaceted and complex. By utilizing the social-ecological framework, we aimed to address the complexity of bullying by identifying actors involved in child’s development and potential risk factors within child’s environment. As presented in this review, the changes in one system (e.g. war, postsocial transition and its impact on social values) have a trickle-down effect, triggering changes in other systems (e.g. financial deprivation, parental unemployment, parental stress, dysfunctional families). Therefore, the systemic nature of child’s environment calls for mapping the terrain of responsibility for bullying in schools in order to seek a systemic solution.

In relation to bullying and peer victimization among children in Bosnian schools, we identified macrosystemic influences that indirectly contribute to child’s development and behavior in social context. The postsocialist transition influences values within a macrosystem, impacting other nested layers of child’s environment. As previously presented, parental *unemployment, financial deprivation, refugee status, parental stress, low cohesion within families* represent risk factors for child maltreatment and consequently bullying and peer victimization in schools.

Policy makers must acknowledge such risk factors and explicitly address them in school reform and school safety agendas. The official institutions must also address various forms of *segregation* as potential school-based risk factors for bullying and peer victimization in Bosnian schools. They must also promote antibullying practices and inclusive

policies that respect the interplay of various systems and actors within child's environment. More specifically, the school reform, inclusive educational policies and antibullying initiatives must acknowledge the relevance of actors and their interactions within child's environment by: a) advocating and supporting authoritative and active parenting and b) placing greater emphasis on quality and support to school leadership, inclusive school culture and climate, and teachers as essential ingredients of effective, healthy and safe schools and c) advocating active partnerships between parents, schools and communities while respecting diversity, ethnic and religious identities of families and children.

Concluding remarks

The lack of systemic empirical studies in Bosnian context related to broader, familial and school-based risk factors of aggressive behavior in children is evident. Therefore we call for relevant empirical evidence in this field in order to answer questions posed in this review. Although we did not succeed to find answers, the utilization of the social-ecological framework helped us to identify relevant actors and the potential risk factors within Bronfenbrenner's nested systems that may influence bullying in Bosnian schools.

In conclusion, we postulate that the social-ecological framework has the potential to serve as a springboard for illustration and broader analysis of complex interactions between actors and influences on a child's violent behavior. Such broad analysis should be grounded in multidisciplinary approach and theories of sociology, social policy, developmental psychology, educational psychology and educational leadership and management.

References:

1. Brunnbauer, U. (2000). From equality without democracy to democracy without equality? Women and transition in south-east Europe. *Europe*, (1994), 151–168.
2. Card, N. A., & Hodges, E. V. E. (2008). Peer victimization among schoolchildren: Correlations, causes, consequences, and considerations in assessment and intervention. *School Psychology Quarterly*, 23(4), 451–461.
3. Carney, A. G., & Merrell, K. (2001). Bullying in schools: Perspectives on understanding and preventing an international problem. *School Psychology International*, 22(3), 364–382.
4. Černi Obrdalj, E., Beganlić, A., & Šilić, N. (2010). Vrste nasilja među djecom i osjećaj sigurnosti u školama Bosne i Hercegovine. *Društvena Istraživanja Zagreb*, 19(3), 561–575.
5. Cixin-Wang, Berry, B., & Swearer, S. M. (2013). The Critical Role of School Climate in Effective Bullying Prevention. *Theory Into Practice*, 52(4), 296–302.
6. Cohen, J., McCabe, E. M., Michelli, N. M., & Pickeral, T. (2009). School climate: Research, policy, teacher education and practice. *Teachers College Record*, 111(1), 180–213.
7. Cowie, H. (1998). Perspectives of Teachers and Pupils on the Experience of Peer Support Against Bullying. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 4(2), 108–125.

8. Cowie, H., & Hutson, N. (2005). Peer support: A strategy to help bystanders challenge school bullying. *Pastoral Care in Education*, *23*(2), 40–44.
9. Cowie, H., Hutson, N., Oztug, O., & Myers, C. (2008). The impact of peer support schemes on pupils' perceptions of bullying, aggression and safety at school. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, *13*(March), 63–71.
10. Cowie, H., & Olafsson, R. (2000). The Role of Peer Support in Helping the Victims of Bullying in a School with High Levels of Aggression. *School Psychology International*, *21*(1), 79-95.
11. Davis, J., & Wilson, S. M. (2000). Principals' Efforts to Empower Teachers: Effects on Teacher Motivation and Job Satisfaction and Stress. *Clearing House*, *73*(6), 349–353.
12. Dobrotić, I., Matković, T., & Zrinščak, S. (2013). Gender Equality Policies and Practices in Croatia - The Interplay of Transition and Late Europeanization. *Social Policy and Administration*, *47*(2), 218–240.
13. Eyal, O., & Roth, G. (2011). Principals' leadership and teachers' motivation. *Journal of Educational Administration*, *49*(3), 256–275.
14. Farrington, D. P., & Ttofi, M. M. (2009). Reducing School Bullying: Evidence-Based Implications for Policy. *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, Vol 38, *38*(1), 281–345.
15. Flaspohler, P. D., Elfstrom, J. L., Vanderzee, K. L., & Sink, H. E. (2009). Stand By Me: The Effects of Peer and Teacher Support in Mitigating the Impact of Bullying on Quality of Life. *Psychology in the Schools*, *46*(7), 636–649.
16. Grapard, U. (1997). Transition from Socialist Regimes. *Journal of Economic Issues*, *31*(3), 665–686.
17. Gregory, A., Cornell, D., Fan, X., Sheras, P., Shih, T.-H., & Huang, F. (2010). Authoritative school discipline: High school practices associated with lower bullying and victimization. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *102*(2), 483–496.
18. Hasanović, M., Sinanović, O., & Pavlović, S. (2005). Acculturation and psychological problems of adolescents from Bosnia and Herzegovina during exile and repatriation. *Croatian Medical Journal*, *46*(1), 105–115.
19. Hasanović, M., Sinanović, O., Selimbasić, Z., Pajević, I., & Avdibegović, E. (2006). Psychological disturbances of war-traumatized children from different foster and family settings in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Croatian Medical Journal*, *47*(1), 85–94.
20. Kasumagic, L. (2008). Engaging youth in community development: Post-War healing and recovery in bosnia and herzegovina. *International Review of Education*, *54*(3–4), 375–392.
21. Kodrnja, J. (2002). Patrijarhalnost u hrvatskoj obitelji: briga ili dominacija. *Sociologija Sela*, *40*(1/2), 155–180.
22. Kokkinos, C. M., Charalambous, K., & Davazoglou, A. (2010). Primary school teacher interpersonal behavior through the lens of students' Eysenckian personality traits. *Social Psychology of Education*, *13*(3), 331–349.
23. Kythreotis, A., Pashiardis, P., & Kyriakides, L. (2010). The influence of school leadership styles and culture on students' achievement in Cyprus primary schools. *Journal of Educational Administration*, *48*(2), 218–240.
24. Littrell, P. C., Billingsley, B. S., & Cross, L. H. (1994). The Effects of Principal Support on Special and General Educators' Stress, Job Satisfaction, School Commitment, Health, and Intent to Stay in Teaching. *Remedial and Special Education*, *15*(5), 297–310.
25. MacNeil, A. J., Prater, D. L., & Busch, S. (2009). The effects of school culture and climate on student achievement. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, *12*(1), 73–84.
26. Obrdaj, E. C., & Rumboldt, M. (2008). Bullying among school children in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina: Cross-sectional study. *Croatian Medical Journal*, *49*, 528–535.

27. Obrdalj, E. C., Sesar, K., Santic, Z., Klaric, M., Sesar, I., & Rumboldt, M. (2013). Trauma Symptoms in Pupils Involved in School Bullying - A Cross Sectional Study Conducted in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Collegium Antropologicum*, *37*(1), 11–16.
28. Oldenburg, B., van Duijn, M., Sentse, M., Huitsing, G., van der Ploeg, R., Salmivalli, C., & Veenstra, R. (2015). Teacher Characteristics and Peer Victimization in Elementary Schools: A Classroom-Level Perspective. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *43*(1), 33–44.
29. Pasalic Kreso, A. (2008). The war and post-war impact on the educational system of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *International Review of Education*, *54*(3–4), 353–374.
30. Patton, D. U., Hong, J. S., Williams, A. B., & Allen-Meares, P. (2013). A Review of Research on School Bullying Among African American Youth: An Ecological Systems Analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, *25*(2), 245–260.
31. Pellegrini, A. D. (2002). Bullying, Victimization, and Sexual Harassment During the Transition to Middle School. *Educational Psychologist*, *37*(3), 37–41.
32. Pranjić, N., & Bajraktarević, A. (2010). Depression and suicide ideation among secondary school adolescents involved in school bullying. *Primary Health Care Research & Development*, *11*(4), 349–362.
33. Pranjić, N., Brković, A., & Began. (2007). Discontent with financial situation, self-rated health, and well-being of adolescents in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Cross-sectional study in Tuzla Canton. *Croatian Medical Journal*, *48*(5), 691–700.
34. Rose, J., & Medway, F. (1981). Teacher locus of control, teacher behavior, and student behavior as determinants of student achievement. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *74*(6), 375–381.
35. Rudolph, K. D., Lansford, J. E., Agoston, A. M., Sugimura, N., Schwartz, D., Dodge, K. A., and Bates, J. E. (2014). Peer victimization and social alienation: Predicting deviant peer affiliation in middle school. *Child Development*, *85*(1), 124–139.
36. Rydell, A.-M., & Henricsson, L. (2004). Elementary school teachers' strategies to handle externalizing classroom behavior: a study of relations between perceived control, teacher orientation and strategy preferences. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *45*(2), 93–102.
37. Saarento, S., & Salmivalli, C. (2015). The Role of Classroom Peer Ecology and Bystanders' Responses in Bullying. *Child Development Perspectives*, *9*(4), 201–205.
38. Salmivalli, C. (2010). Bullying and the peer group: A review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *15*(2), 112–120.
39. Salmivalli, C. (2014). Participant Roles in Bullying: How Can Peer Bystanders Be Utilized in Interventions? *Theory Into Practice*, *53*(4), 286–292.
40. Santinello, M., Vieno, A., & De Vogli, R. (2011). Bullying in Italian schools: The role of perceived teacher unfairness. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, *26*(2), 235–246.
41. Swearer, S. M., & Doll, B. (2001). Psychosocial Correlates in Bullying and Victimization: The Relationship Between Depression, Anxiety, and Bully/Victim Status. *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, *2*(2), 7–23.
42. Twemlow, S. W. (2006). Teachers Who Bully Students: A Hidden Trauma. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, *52*(3), 187–198.
43. Unnever, J. D., & Cornell, D. G. (2004). Middle school victims of bullying: Who reports being bullied? *Aggressive Behavior*, *30*(October 2002), 373–388.