



Researchers on their results and children's voices on the journey from bullied to acknowledged.

**Always
take
action**



Chapter 4

The Need for a 'We-Culture': The Importance of the Larger Network and Social Norms for Tackling Bullying

René Veenstra

René Veenstra

Professor of Sociology at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands
Director of the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology, a graduate school for PhD students from Groningen, Utrecht, Nijmegen, and Amsterdam.

René Veenstra's work focuses on the theoretical and empirical elaboration of a social network approach to bullying and victimization and pro- and antisocial behavior. He has coordinated the implementation and evaluation of the KiVa anti-bullying program in the Netherlands. His articles have appeared in top-level journals, including *Child Development*, *Development and Psychopathology*, *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *Prevention Science*, and *Social Networks*. He was Associate Editor of the *Journal of Research on Adolescence* for the period 2010–2016. He is an elected member of the Royal Holland Society of Sciences and Humanities. He is a regular speaker at science communication events, including talks about bullying at the Children's University.



Introduction from Friends' experts

Frida Warg

Most of us went to school at some point in our life, and therefore have firsthand experience of the intricate web of relationships that a classroom consists of. If you are a teacher, you know that relationships between students are always ongoing processes that affect just about everything in school. Bullying impacts the students' relationships with friends and adults at school. It is common that bullied students feel ashamed, which makes it difficult to establish and maintain social relationships. Victimized students have fewer friends, are lonelier and trust their teachers less.

In this chapter Rene Veenstra argues that a 'we-culture' is needed to tackle bullying and that teachers should look at a classroom as a group rather than a set of individuals. His conclusions are based on social network research which is used to examine bullying as a group process and includes asking students questions about bullying (Who do you bully?), victimization (By whom are you bullied?), and defending (By whom are you defended?) as well as other relationships, such as friendships (Who are your best friends?) and rejection (Who do you dislike?).

One of the school's missions is to create conditions for good and healthy relationships between students, which is why mapping students' social relationships in school is important since children's and adolescents' social interaction with others is largely carried out in school. Since a school is a dynamic environment in constant change, it is important to create a picture of the situation at your school using

various mapping methods such as observations, interviews or surveys. The next step is to find out why the current situation is the way it is and to conduct an analysis by identifying the underlying causes. Knowledge on who is connected to whom and in what way can be a good start for teachers to determine where and how to intervene.

Social norms are highlighted in this chapter as something that needs consideration when it comes to bullying. Social norms shape and maintain behavior in the sense that if you are conforming to a norm you will be rewarded with for example approval, social inclusion and status – whereas if you deviate from a norm you risk punishment such as rejection, victimization and ostracism. It is important to remember that students are not the only ones responsible for the norms that exists in a classroom – teachers are also a part of constructing and reinforcing social norms. Adults must look themselves in the mirror and ask: In what way am I creating or co-creating the social norms in my classroom? If you only are chit-chatting with the hockey players about their hobbies, you are a part of constructing ice hockey as something that gives status and attention. If you are only mentioning couples that consists of a woman and a man, you are reinforcing the heterosexual norm in your classroom. If you do not react against bullying, degrading treatment or other forms of aggression, you are sending clear signals that it is allowed to bully someone. When a student does or says something that is in breach of the school's values – begin by establishing that very fact.

Even if societal factors – like gender inequality or racism – may be difficult to change overnight, it is still possible to design preventive measures based on them. One example is having discussions about norms that limits people and to criticize them together with the students with the intention of helping them understand (and hopefully take a more liberal attitude to) narrow societal norms. In addition, a norm-critical approach in general can help create a classroom culture where deviation from norms is easier and does not lead to punish-

ment and exclusion but on the contrary promotes inclusion, openness and tolerance.

When speaking to students almost everybody rejects bullying, but that is not always shown in their behavior. This can be explained by so-called “pluralistic ignorance” which is basically a will to adapt to social norms which makes an individual in public go along with a norm that they privately reject, but incorrectly assume that most others accept.

“The power of norms lies in its ability to contribute to the fundamental need to belong by steering a strong tendency to conform.”

This quote from Veenstra’s chapter is describing the problem with norms – but is at the same time something to lean on because it means that there also is power in the positive and wanted social norms, the norms based on everybody’s equal value and the basis for a positive atmosphere.

A relatively large part of the research on bullying deals with so-called risk and protective factors. Risk factors increase the risk of bullying and correlate with a high prevalence of bullying. Protective factors provide a buffer against bullying and correlate with a low prevalence of bullying. For instance, a positive school climate (protective factor) can act as a buffer for the bad influence of friends (risk factor) or for guardians who lack the preconditions to care for their children (risk factor). Having prosocial friends is such a protective factor, and in this chapter Veenstra highlights that the ideal classroom is a classroom in which popularity is positively linked to prosociality. Prosocial behavior can be explained as actions that benefit other people, such as helping, sharing and/or being nice and friendly.

The million-dollar question is how to create such a prosocial popularity norm. A good start is to build warm and trusting relationships between teachers and students by for example learning all students’ names, getting to know them and taking an interest in their person.

Warm relationships make students more inclined to act against bullying and increases their willingness to confide in an adult when they or others are being treated badly. Each student should have at least one adult at school that they trust. There are only benefits to be gained when you invest in building relationships with the students. As well, warm teacher-student relations are a solid foundation to establish a “we-culture”.

Everybody – students, teachers and other school staff – must feel that this is our school, not just a school. That must include both the actual school building and the people in it and be based on the notion that we have a common responsibility for each other and that we all have the power and the ability to create a good atmosphere. Promoting prosocial behavior can be hard work, not least since aggressive popularity norms often take precedence over prosocial popularity norms, which is pointed out in this chapter. Aggression may not only gain more attention due to fear but may also create admiration and be easier to imitate.

A very interesting and important part of the research presented in this chapter is “the healthy context paradox”.

“After schools had worked for two years with an anti-bullying program, these remaining victims were worse off and had higher levels of depressive symptoms and lower levels of self-esteem than before. Paradoxically, the following applies: the safer the school, the worse the position of the remaining victims.”

Even if teachers manage to instill a prosocial popularity norm, they must be aware that some students may have a hard time in a well-functioning and friendly classroom. This paradox is yet another reason to use the previously mentioned mapping methods, and as a teacher it might be even harder to see the problems in a friendly and prosocial classroom. Remember that the students are the experts of their

own reality, and therefore it should be them that identify, define, and suggest solutions to the school's problems. To increase awareness and create effective school strategies and policies, the students need to be involved from start, and it needs to be their experiences that formulates the school's challenges. Taking the students seriously is the base for creating a true "we-culture".

The Need for a ‘We-Culture’: The Importance of the Larger Network and Social Norms for Tackling Bullying

René Veenstra

We live in an era of individualization. For that reason, it is not a surprise that self-help books often become bestsellers. Individualization has several advantages, including an increase in social mobility and emancipation. A clear drawback, however, is the undeniable shift in society from solidarity to individuality, thus from collective to individual responsibility. The result is that many Western societies can be characterized as social-Darwinist states, where those who do not succeed have only themselves to blame. Another disadvantage of individualization is that people find it more and more difficult to take the behavior of others into account. For that reason, we can label our era as a ‘me-culture.’ However, a ‘we-culture’ is needed to tackle bullying. Victims need help from others to overcome the power imbalance with bullies, and teachers should look at a classroom as a group rather than a set of individuals.

In the school context, children and adolescents are always in the proximity of others. Peers play an important role in that context, and in this chapter I discuss insights into peer interactions, relationships, and groups related to bullying. Relationships between victims and bullies do not occur in isolation, but exist in larger networks and in interplay with other relationships (Veenstra & Huitsing, 2020). What do we know

about the larger networks in which bullying occurs? How important are social norms? Who sets the norm in a classroom? Are the feelings of victims about themselves context-dependent? I will show that no man is an island and that it is important to think about how we can propagate a 'we-culture.'

Bullying and Social Networks

Researchers are collecting increasingly rich data on relationships in childhood and adolescence through network questions. This includes network data on bullying (Who do you bully?), victimization (By whom are you bullied?), and defending (By whom are you defended?) as well as other relationships, such as friendships (Who are your best friends?) and rejection (Who do you dislike?).

One of the first network studies on bullying and victimization (Veenstra et al., 2007) examined who bullies whom, from the perspective of both the bully and the victim. The results showed that bullies had an advantage over their victims by being more dominantly aggressive. Bullies specifically picked on targets who were rejected in the classroom, which might be part of the bully's strategy not to lose social approval.

The findings from the victim's perspective were highly complementary and revealed a power imbalance in favor of bullies over victims. A related study investigated the extent to which bullies and victims differ in how important status goals (e.g., that others respect and admire you) are to them and the extent to which they are perceived as popular (Sijtsema, Veenstra, Lindenberg, & Salmivalli, 2009). It was shown that bullies found status important and were often perceived as popular. In contrast, victims found status less important, were only reactively aggressive, and were low in perceived popularity. That study also showed that being popular is not the same as being liked, because bullies were just as rejected by their classmates as victims. Furthermore, bullies in secondary education found status goals more important than did bullies in elementary education, possibly indicating that striving for status increases in early adolescence.

Network studies can also examine who defends whom. It was found that boys and girls predominantly defended same-sex peers (Sainio, Veenstra, Huitsing, & Salmivalli, 2011). Defenders were especially liked by the victims they defended, and were perceived as popular not only among victims but also among other classmates. Despite victims' high need of defending, they were somewhat less likely to seek each other's support than bullies did (Huitsing & Veenstra, 2012). Victims might fear that siding with other weak and powerless victims is damaging for one's social position. It was also shown that bullies created an *ingroup* of bullies and an *outgroup* of victims (Huitsing & Veenstra, 2012). The embeddedness in a group of bullies might protect them from retaliation by victims.

The ways bullying and popularity may go together has also been examined (Van der Ploeg, Steglich, & Veenstra, 2020). It was found that bullying often leads to an increase in popularity among classmates, and that high-status individuals tend to bully. Further, it was demonstrated that, unlike low-status bullies, high-status bullies did not continue to bully the same victims but searched for new victims across the school year. Furthermore, children in the higher grades of elementary school considered bullies popular, whereas younger children sanctioned bullying through a withdrawal of status attributions.

Some other social network studies have examined whom bullies select as their friends and to what extent children and adolescents influence each other in their bullying behavior (Huitsing, Snijders, Van Duijn, & Veenstra, 2014; Rambaran, Dijkstra, & Veenstra, 2020; Sentse et al., 2014). These studies found that bullies select other bullies as friends. In addition, children and adolescents adopt their friends' bullying behavior and collectively target victims. Furthermore, victims in secondary education (but not in elementary education) select each other as friends – perhaps to seek protection against bullies – but those adolescents that befriend victims, unfortunately, run the risk of becoming victimized by the bully (Lodder et al., 2016; Sentse et al., 2013; Sijtsema et al., 2013).

In sum, social network research is the way to examine bullying as a group process. It requires data on relationships between children and adolescents through network questions. Network studies allow us to examine who bullies whom, who defends whom, or who perceives whom as popular. It also allows us to examine how this evolves over time, which can provide insights for interventions. Whether network processes play a role in the development of bullying, victimization, and defending has implications for the design of interventions (Veenstra & Huising, 2020).

Bullying and Social Norms

How important are social norms? Social norms emerge from consensus about what is typical or appropriate in a given context. In addition, they shape, constrain, maintain, and redirect behavior at the individual level. As norms entail expectations about behaviors that align with the context, they have an important socializing function by prescribing what is typical or appropriate (Veenstra, Dijkstra, & Kreager, 2018). Conforming to a norm (behaving according to socially acceptable standards) results in positive external benefits and rewards, for instance, approval, social inclusion, status, honor, and respect, but also internal rewards, particularly when norms are internalized, such as feeling good about oneself. By contrast, deviation from the norm entails the risk of facing negative social consequences, such as rejection, victimization, ridicule, harassment, and ostracism as well as negative internal sanctions, such as feeling guilty or bad about oneself (Veenstra et al., 2018).

A key distinction can be made between prescriptive and descriptive norms. Prescriptive norms reflect what people approve ('what ought to be done') and reflect perceived moral rules of the group (also known as 'injunctive norms'). Descriptive norms cover what children or adolescents actually do ('what is done') and represent the kind of behavior that is most prevalent in a given context. Prescriptive and descriptive norms are typically defined by examining the mean level of attitudes

or behaviors, respectively, reflecting what is considered appropriate or typical in a context.

The focus on how descriptive norms strengthen or mitigate the effects of individual behavior on acceptance and rejection has been prominent. These studies typically build on the person-group dissimilarity model (Wright, Giammarino, & Parad, 1986). The main point of this model is that what is considered as “dissimilar” varies across groups because of different group norms. The very same behavior pattern can be socially approved and result in social acceptance in one group but can be socially disapproved and result in social rejection, social exclusion, and victimization in another group.

The first test of this model focused on a group of children with emotional difficulties at a summer school camp, and combined peer nominations with adult assessments of the children’s behavior. Specifically, the researchers were interested in to what extent the relations of aggression (e.g., Who hits and pushes other kids around?), prosocial behavior (e.g., Who helps other people?), and withdrawal (e.g., Who plays by himself most of the time) with peer acceptance (seen as a good friend by others) depended on the average level of aggression in the particular context. Prosocial children were more accepted in low-aggressive than in high-aggressive groups (Wright et al., 1986). Related studies showed that aggressive children were more rejected in low-aggressive classrooms and more accepted in high-aggressive classrooms (Stormshak et al. 1999) and that bullies were more accepted and victims more rejected in high-bullying classrooms (Sentse et al. 2007). Thus, prosocial (or defending) behavior increases the chances of peer acceptance and reduces the chances of peer rejection in classrooms with a low-aggressive norm, whereas this holds for aggressive (or bullying) behavior in classrooms with an aggression norm. As such, the power of norms lies in its ability to contribute to the fundamental need to belong by steering a strong tendency to conform.

Popularity Norms

Who are the norm-setters? It is likely that the behavior of popular peers is more important for imitation than the average behavior of peers (Henry et al., 2000). The behavior of popular children and adolescents is very noticeable and might be used as a guideline to increase one's own chances of becoming popular (Laninga-Wijnen, 2020). It was shown that particularly bullying by popular adolescents rather than the bullying behavior of all peers mitigated the negative effect of bullying on acceptance and rejection, showing that popular adolescents set the norm in the class (Dijkstra, Lindenberg, & Veenstra, 2008). Other research showed that popularity was related to defending, particularly when the popularity norm for bullying was negative in classrooms (Peets et al., 2015). This suggests that popular students not only set the norm, but also vary their behavior depending on the context and the rewards given by peers. Figure 1 depicts why social norms may play a role in explaining the classroom level of bullying and defending. At the classroom level, the link between bullying and popularity is associated with less defending of victims. The underlying mechanism might be that the popularity norm leads to conformity to the pro-bullying norm (e.g., out of fear of becoming victims themselves). The increase in conformity creates positive external benefits, such as social approval and social inclusion. These positive external benefits result in social outcomes that are characterized by less defending.

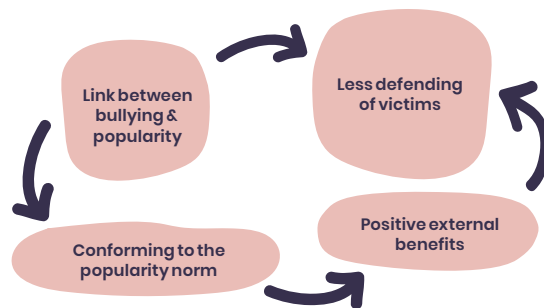


Figure 1.

Why the popularity norm plays a role explaining the classroom level of defending

In line with this, it was found that when adolescents perceived pro-bullying norms, bullying behaviors were more likely to be used as a friendship selection criterion and bullies were more likely to select each other as friends (Shin, 2020). In addition, as adolescents perceived pro-bullying norms, friendship influence on bullying and victimization was magnified. Anticipating positive consequences of bullying, bullies seem to engage in bullying even more frequently and also targeted the victims' friends. Accordingly, the experiences of victims were more severe (Shin, 2020).

Norm conformity can be an efficient guide of individual behavior in case of uncertainty and ambiguity. However, norm conformity can also be caused by pluralistic ignorance, where individuals privately reject a norm, but incorrectly assume that most others accept it, and therefore go along with it in public (Miller & McFarland, 1991). Figure 2 depicts that the underlying mechanism for the link between popularity norms for bullying and less defending can also be explained by pluralistic ignorance. It is likely that, privately, most children and adolescents reject bullying, but that they wrongly assume that most accept the norm and, because they have a need for social approval, adhere to this incorrect conviction. In sum, they suppress their dissent and copy the behavior of popular classmates, creating a self-reinforcing mistaken belief.

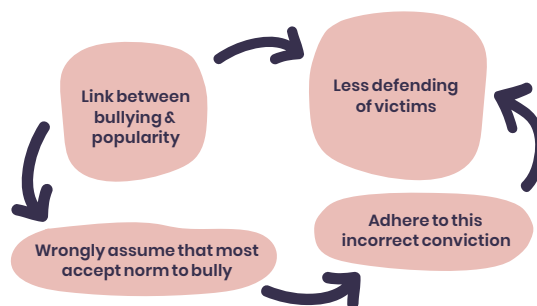


Figure 2.

Pluralistic ignorance as an alternative explanation for the link between the popularity norm and the classroom level of defending

The ideal classroom is likely to be a classroom in which popularity is positively linked to prosociality, which might result in more prosocial behavior and less aggression (or bullying). How easy is it to instill such a prosocial popularity norm? A recent study shows that in many classrooms the aggressive popularity norm prevails, because it is the only norm, in the case of aggressive classrooms, or because it wins from the prosocial popularity norm, in the case of classrooms with multiple norms (Laninga-Wijnen et al., 2019). What does it mean when a classroom contains multiple norms?

Perhaps there are sex-specific class norms. One study found that rejected children were more likely to become victims of bullying in classrooms where girls advocated pro-bullying norms (Isaacs, Voeten, & Salmivalli, 2013). Another study also found that especially girls set the tone in a classroom. Girls played a central role in shaping their classmates' normative beliefs about aggression and influenced the aggressive behavior of boys as well as girls (Busching & Krahé, 2015).

Alternatively, the occurrence of multiple norms might result from some children and adolescents combining prosocial and antisocial behavior (Hawley, 2003). Such bi-strategic students have the highest need for recognition and the highest level of influence. They employ both prosocial strategies (getting along with the group through influencing others, who feel a need to do something in return) and antisocial strategies (getting ahead of the group through bullying others to do what they want). They are often viewed as popular. Because only a few classmates set the tone, it is possible that the same students set the norm for prosocial and antisocial behavior (Laninga-Wijnen et al., 2020a). If so, the label multiple norms is a misnomer and should be replaced by bi-strategic norm.

Only when the aggressive popularity norm is absent does the prosocial popularity norm influence friendship processes, including the formation of new friendships and the continuation of existing friendships based on prosocial behavior (Laninga-Wijnen et al., 2020b).

In such classrooms, adolescents conform to the prosocial norm. This conformity creates positive external benefits, which result in social outcomes that are characterized by more prosocial and less aggressive behavior. This demonstrates that prosocial popularity norms *can* buffer against aggressive processes and encourage prosocial friendship processes – but *only* if aggressive popularity norms are absent. Educational interventions aimed at promoting prosocial behavior can foster a context in which aggressive and victimized students are less rejected (Palacios et al., 2019).

The finding that aggressive popularity norms overrule prosocial popularity norms is in line with prior work on the relative impacts of aggression and prosocial behavior. Aggression is usually considered to be more visible and impactful than prosocial behavior, particularly in adolescence (Laninga-Wijnen, 2020b). Aggression may not only gain more attention due to heightened fear, but may also create admiration and may be easier to imitate. Therefore, the aggressive side of popular peers receives more attention than their prosocial side. As a result, adolescents may use popular peers' aggressive norms rather than their prosocial norms to guide their social and behavioral decisions.

The Healthy Context Paradox

Even if teachers manage to instill a prosocial popularity norm, they have to be aware that some students may nevertheless have a hard time in this well-functioning, friendly classroom. The group of students that still feels victimized or rejected in such a context might be small, but can easily consist of about one student per class (Kaufman, Kretschmer, Huitsing, & Veenstra, 2018). Some students may have more difficulty creating or sustaining positive relationships with peers. They may be in such a disadvantageous position that peers do not want to be associated with them, because siding with victims might decrease a child's own status (Juvonen & Galván, 2008) or evoke retaliation by bullies (Huitsing et al., 2014). Therefore, students with a very low social

standing may have additional challenges to overcome and an anti-bullying program may be counterproductive for them (Kaufman et al., 2018). After schools had worked for two years with an anti-bullying program, these remaining victims were worse off and had higher levels of depressive symptoms and lower levels of self-esteem than before (Huitsing et al., 2019). Paradoxically, the following applies: the safer the school, the worse the position of the remaining victims. How is that possible?

The remaining victims might feel extra sad because they compare their own situation with that of the students who are no longer victimized. For victims through bullying, the reference group of relevant others consists of co-victims. When co-victims are no longer bullied and are, therefore, in a better situation, an upward comparison takes place. The remaining victims, therefore, assess their own situation as extra negative. Moreover, they will attribute the cause of the bullying to themselves (“It must be me”) instead of to the bullies (“It could be them”) when the victimization has stopped for others but not for them. The less classmates are bullied, the more victims blame themselves for bullying (Schacter & Juvonen, 2015), and these internal attributions are linked to higher levels of internalizing problems (Huitsing et al., 2019).

Conclusion and Discussion

Research has shown that bullying is a group phenomenon and happens in a context, and that it is, therefore, unprofitable to focus on the individual level to troubleshoot. Research on social networks and social norms provides insight into how bullying works. Nowadays, school-wide anti-bullying interventions aim to change social norms such that bullies are less supported by bystanders and that their behavior is less rewarded among peers (Huitsing et al., 2020; Kärnä et al., 2011). These interventions may lead to a prosocial popularity norm. Such a norm might be the ideal for most students. However, teachers have to realize that even in an ideal classroom a few students might

be victimized or rejected. For that reason, extra attention is needed for students who are dissimilar to the group, including students who are not helped by an anti-bullying intervention.

Social network information can also be used to formulate advice for teachers (Kaufman, Huitsing, Bloemberg, & Veenstra, 2020). Advice on who is connected to whom (in terms of friendships, defending, bullying or rejection) will provide teachers with suggestions on where and how to intervene. Information on how often students are nominated for bullying, victimization, or defending potentially fosters the understanding of group processes in bullying. It can also help in detecting students with a marginalized network position and identifying students who might function as role models because they are considered highly popular or prosocial leaders (Andrews, 2020). Furthermore, it is important that teachers realize that bullies are often popular and that, if that is the case, other students are less willing to defend victims, because of norm conformity or pluralistic ignorance.

The role of the teacher is important in combating bullying (Veenstra, Lindenberg, Huitsing, Sainio, & Salmivalli, 2014), but they have to be helped by the children and adolescents themselves. It is difficult for teachers to detect bullying, because they are often absent from the hot spots (e.g., online, in the corridors, or on the schoolyard). So, students have to solve bullying incidents as a group or inform the teacher. Teachers should take it seriously when students tell about bullying and they should instill a 'we-culture' in the classroom, because victims need help from others to overcome the power imbalance with bullies. Students should also realize that it is hard for victims to find support, particularly in a context where there are no co-victims. Thus, all students can play a role in tackling bullying. As Albert Einstein said: "The world is a dangerous place to live; not because of the people who are evil, but because of the people who don't do anything about it."

References

- Andrews, N. C. Z. (2020). Prestigious youth are leaders but central youth are powerful: What social network position tells us about peer relationships. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-019-01080-5>
- Busching, R., & Krahé, B. (2015). The girls set the tone: Gendered classroom norms and the development of aggression in adolescence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *41*, 659–676.
- Dijkstra, J. K., Lindenberg, S., & Veenstra, R. (2008). Beyond the class norm: Bullying behavior of popular adolescents and its relation to peer acceptance and rejection. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *36*, 1289–1299.
- Hawley, P. H. (2003). Prosocial and coercive configurations of resource control in early adolescence: A case for the well-adapted Machiavellian. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *49*, 279–309.
- Henry, D., Guerra, N., Huesmann, R., Tolan, P., Van Acker, R., & Eron, L. (2000). Normative influences on aggression in urban elementary school classrooms. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *28*, 59–81.
- Huitsing, G., Lodder, G. M. A., Browne, W. J., Oldenburg, B., Van der Ploeg, R., & Veenstra, R. (2020). A large-scale replication of the effectiveness of the KiVa anti-bullying program: A randomized controlled trial in the Netherlands. *Prevention Science*.
- Huitsing, G., Lodder, G. M. A., Oldenburg, B., Schacter, H. L., Salmivalli, C., Juvonen, J., & Veenstra, R. (2019). The healthy context paradox: Victims' adjustment during an anti-bullying intervention. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *28*, 2499–2509.
- Huitsing, G., & Veenstra, R. (2012). Bullying in classrooms: Participant roles from a social network perspective. *Aggressive Behavior*, *38*, 494–509.
- Huitsing, G., Snijders, T. A. B., Van Duijn, M. A. J., & Veenstra, R. (2014). Victims, bullies, and their defenders: A longitudinal study of the coevolution of positive and negative networks. *Development and Psychopathology*, *26*, 645–659.
- Isaacs, J., Voeten, M., & Salmivalli, C. (2013). Gender-specific or common classroom norms? Examining the contextual moderators of the risk for victimization. *Social Development*, *22*, 555–579.
- Juvonen, J., & Galván, A. (2008). Peer influence in involuntary social groups: Lessons from research on bullying. In M. J. Prinstein & K. A. Dodge (Eds.), *Peer influence processes among youth* (pp. 225–244). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Kärnä, A., Voeten, M., Little, T. D., Poskiparta, E., Kaljonen, A., & Salmivalli, C. (2011). A large-scale evaluation of the KiVa antibullying program: Grades 4–6. *Child Development*, *82*, 311–330.
- Kaufman, T. M. L., Huitsing, G., Bloemberg, R., & Veenstra, R. (2020). The systematic application of network diagnostics to monitor and tackle bullying and victimization in schools. *International Journal of Bullying Prevention*.
- Kaufman, T. M. L., Kretschmer, T., Huitsing, G., & Veenstra, R. (2018). Why does a universal anti-bullying program not help all children? Explaining persistent victimization during an intervention. *Prevention Science*, *19*, 822–832.
- Laninga-Wijnen, L. (2020). *They get the power! Consequences and antecedents of aggres-*

sive, prosocial and academic popularity norms in adolescents' classrooms. Utrecht: dissertation.

- Laninga-Wijnen, L., Harakeh, Z., Dijkstra, J. K., Veenstra, R., & Vollebergh, W. A. M. (2020a). Who sets the aggressive popularity norm in classrooms? It's the number and strength of aggressive, prosocial, and bi-strategic adolescents. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, doi:10.1007/s10802-019-00571-0.
- Laninga-Wijnen, L., Harakeh, Z., Steglich, C., Veenstra, R., Vollebergh, W. A. M., & Dijkstra, J. K. (2020b). The role of prosocial and aggressive popularity norm combinations in prosocial and aggressive friendship processes. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, doi:10.1007/s10964-019-01088-x.
- Lodder, G. M. A., Scholte, R. H. J., Cillessen, A. H. N., & Giletta, M. (2016). Bully victimization: Selection and influence within adolescent friendship networks and cliques. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 45, 132–144.
- Miller, D. T., & McFarland, C. (1991). When social comparison goes awry: The case of pluralistic ignorance. In J. Suls & T. A. Wills (Eds.), *Social comparison: Contemporary theory and research* (pp. 287–313). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Palacios, D., Berger, C., Kanacri, B. P. L., Veenstra, R., & Dijkstra, J. K. (2019). The interplay of adolescents' aggression and victimization with friendship and antipathy networks within an educational prosocial intervention. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 48, 2005–2022.
- Peets, K., & Hodges, E. V. E. (2014). Is popularity associated with aggression toward socially preferred or marginalized targets? *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*, 124, 112–123.
- Peets, K., Pöyhönen, V., Juvonen, J., & Salmivalli, C. (2015). Classroom norms of bullying alter the degree to which children defend in response to their affective empathy and power. *Developmental Psychology*, 51, 913–920.
- Rambaran, J. A., Dijkstra, J. K., & Veenstra, R. (2020). Bullying as a group process in childhood: A longitudinal social network analysis. *Child Development*, doi:10.1111/cdev.13298.
- Sainio, M., Veenstra, R., Huising, G., & Salmivalli, C. (2011). Victims and their defenders: A dyadic approach. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 35, 144–151.
- Schacter, H. L., & Juvonen, J. (2015). The effects of school-level victimization on self-blame: Evidence for contextualized social cognitions. *Developmental Psychology*, 51, 841–847.
- Sentse, M., Dijkstra, J. K., Salmivalli, C., & Cillessen, A. H. N. (2013). The dynamics of friendships and victimization in adolescence: A longitudinal social network perspective. *Aggressive Behavior*, 39, 229–238.
- Sentse, M., Kiuru, N., Veenstra, R., & Salmivalli, C. (2014). A social network approach to the interplay between adolescents' bullying and likeability over time. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 43, 1409–1420.
- Sentse, M., Scholte, R., Salmivalli, C., & Voeten, M. (2007). Person-group dissimilarity in involvement in bullying and its relation with social status. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 35, 1009–1019.
- Shin, H. (2020). The role of perceived bullying norms in friendship dynamics: An examination of friendship selection and influence on bullying and victimization. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*.
- Sijtsema, J. J., Rambaran, J. A., & Ojanen, T. J. (2013). Overt and relational victimization and adolescent friendships: Selection, de-selection, and social influence. *Social Influence*, 8,

177–195.

- Sijtsema, J. J., Veenstra, R., Lindenberg, S., & Salmivalli, C. (2009). Empirical test of bullies' status goals: Assessing direct goals, aggression, and prestige. *Aggressive Behavior, 35*, 57–67.
- Van der Ploeg, R., Steglich, C., & Veenstra, R. (2020). The way bullying works: How new ties facilitate the mutual reinforcement of status and bullying in elementary schools. *Social Networks, 60*, 71–82.
- Veenstra, R., Dijkstra, J. K., & Kreager, D. A. (2018). Pathways, networks, and norms: A sociological perspective on peer research. In W. M. Bukowski, B. Laursen, & K. H. Rubin (Eds.), *Handbook of peer interactions, relationships, and groups (2nd edition)* (pp. 45–63). New York: Guilford.
- Veenstra, R., & Huitsing, G. (2020). Social network dynamics in bullying and victimization. In P. K. Smith, & J. O'Higgins Norman (eds.), *Handbook of Bullying. Volume I: Characteristics, risks and outcomes*. New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Veenstra, R., Lindenberg, S., Huitsing, G., Sainio, M., & Salmivalli, C. (2014). The role of teachers in peer-reported bullying: the relation between antibullying attitudes, efficacy, and efforts to reduce bullying. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 106*, 1135–1143
- Veenstra, R., Lindenberg, S., Zijlstra, B. J. H., De Winter, A. F., Verhulst, F. C., & Ormel, J. (2007). The dyadic nature of bullying and victimization: Testing a dual perspective theory. *Child Development, 78*, 1843–1854.
- Wright, J. C., Giammarino, M., & Parad, H. W. (1986). Social status in small groups: Individual-group similarity and the social "misfit." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50*, 523–536.