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Bullying in schools

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Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:

2017

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Oldenburg, B. (2017). Bullying in schools: The role of teachers and classmates. [Groningen]: University of Groningen.

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Nederlandse samenvatting

(Summary in Dutch)

Samenvatting (summary in Dutch)

Pesten is een groot probleem dat ernstige gevolgen voor het welzijn van alle betrokkenen kan hebben. In de afgelopen jaren is er veel onderzoek naar pesten gedaan. Uit deze onderzoeken blijkt dat pesten niet, zoals eerder werd gedacht, een negatieve interactie tussen alleen de pester en het slachtoffer is, maar dat het een complex sociaal verschijnsel is waarbij leerkrachten en klasgenoten ook een belangrijke rol spelen. Onlangs hebben studies aangetoond dat 1) leerkrachten belangrijk actoren zijn als het gaat om pesten, 2) klasgenoten als publiek voor de pester fungeren en 3) pesten en daaraan gerelateerd gedrag beïnvloed worden door de directe relaties tussen leerlingen en door andere relaties in de klas.

In dit proefschrift presenteer ik vier empirische studies waarin ik de rol van leerkrachten en klasgenoten bij pesten verder heb onderzocht. De focus lag op percepties en gedrag van leerkrachten en klasgenoten. In de volgende secties zet ik per hoofdstuk uiteen welke vragen onderzocht zijn en wat de belangrijkste bevindingen waren.

Is er een relatie tussen leerkrachtkenmerken en het aantal gepeste leerlingen?

In het eerste empirische hoofdstuk, **hoofdstuk 2**, onderzocht ik of er een relatie was tussen leerkrachtkenmerken en het aantal gepeste leerlingen in de klas. Ondanks de centrale rol die leerkrachten spelen bij het tegengaan van pesten, is nog nooit onderzocht of er meer gepest wordt in klassen van leerkrachten met bepaalde kenmerken. In hoofdstuk 2 onderzocht ik dit door data van 3.385 basisschool leerlingen te combineren met data van 139 leerkrachten van deze leerlingen. De resultaten lieten zien dat verschillen tussen klassen in het aantal gepeste leerlingen inderdaad (voor een deel) aan leerkrachtkenmerken toe te schrijven waren. Zo waren er meer gepeste leerlingen wanneer leerkrachten pesten associeerden met factoren buiten de leerkracht om, wanneer leerkrachten geloofden dat zij het pesten van hun leerlingen makkelijk konden beïnvloeden en wanneer leerkrachten zelf een verleden als pester hadden. Ten slotte bleek de klassensamenstelling ook van invloed op het aantal gepeste leerlingen: er waren minder gepeste leerlingen in combinatiegroepen en in klassen met oudere leerlingen.

Zijn leerkrachten voldoende toegerust om pesten aan te pakken?

Het aanpakken van pesten is geen gemakkelijke opgave. In **hoofdstuk 3** onderzocht ik in hoeverre leerkrachten zijn toegerust om pesten aan te pakken. Ik stelde dat leerkrachten 1) moeten weten wat pesten is, ze 2) informatie over het pesten onder hun leerlingen moeten hebben en ze 3) slachtoffers als dusdanig moeten herkennen. Ik combineerde interviewdata van 22 basisschool leerkrachten met surveydata van 373 van hun leerlingen. Uit de data bleek dat leerkrachten onvolledige definities van pesten gaven, inefficiënte methoden gebruikten om pesten te detecteren en dat ze leerlingen die beweerden gepest te worden vaak niet als slachtoffers beschouwden. Deze studie suggereert dat hoewel leerkrachten een centrale rol hebben bij het tegengaan van pesten ze hier niet voldoende op toegerust zijn.

(H)erkennen leerlingen klasgenoten die gepest worden?

Uit hoofdstuk 3 bleek dat leerkrachten leerlingen die gerapporteerd hadden gepest te

worden vaak niet als slachtoffer beschouwd. In **hoofdstuk 4** onderzocht ik hoe dit zat voor klasgenoten. Het is onwaarschijnlijk dat leerlingen klasgenoten die zij niet als slachtoffers beschouwen, zullen helpen en verdedigen. In diverse studies wordt (impliciet) verondersteld dat de meeste leerlingen in de klas op de hoogte zijn van het pesten. Deze aanname is echter nog nooit expliciet onderzocht. In eerdere studies werden wel zelf-rapportages en rapportages van klasgenoten vergeleken, maar de rapportages van klasgenoten werden dan meestal samengevat in percentages. Door de nominaties op deze manier te aggregeren, kon niet onderzocht worden of sommige leerlingen beter waren in het herkennen van slachtoffers dan andere leerlingen.

In hoofdstuk 4 onderzocht ik of individuele middelbare scholieren klasgenoten die rapporteerden gepest te worden ook als slachtoffers (h)erkenden. Door de overeenstemming tussen zelf-rapportages en rapportages van klasgenoten op een dyadische manier te onderzoeken, kon onderzocht worden of overeenstemming samenhangt met relationele, individuele en klaskenmerken. Beschrijvende analyses lieten zien dat een groot aantal leerlingen dat volgens hun zelf-rapportages gepest werd, niet als slachtoffers beschouwd werd door hun klasgenoten. Met andere woorden, er was weinig overeenstemming tussen zelf-rapportages en rapportages van klasgenoten. Multilevel logistische regressie analyse liet meer overeenstemming zien tussen leerlingen van hetzelfde geslacht, vooral tussen jongens. Leerlingen die probeerden niet betrokken te raken bij het pesten (zogenoemde buitenstaanders) beschouwden zelf-gerapporteerde slachtoffers minder vaak als slachtoffers. Leerlingen die zich doorgaans als verdedigers gedroegen, waren het daarentegen vaker eens met de zelf-gerapporteerde slachtoffers. Daarnaast lieten de resultaten zien dat leerlingen minder vaak slachtoffer-nominaties gaven aan klasgenoten die af en toe werden gepest dan aan klasgenoten die (erg) vaak werden gepest. Ten slotte suggereert hoofdstuk 4 dat het herkennen van pesten niet alleen van de relaties tussen leerlingen en hun individuele kenmerken, maar ook van de klassensamenstelling afhangt. Er was minder overeenstemming tussen leerling in grotere klassen.

In hoeverre overlappen verdedigen, vriendschap en iemand niet leuk vinden?

Ten slotte, onderzocht ik in **hoofdstuk 5** door middel van sociale netwerk analyses in hoeverre verdedigingsrelaties overlappen met vriendschapsrelaties en iemand niet leuk vinden. Ik verwachtte dat verdedigen vaak plaatsvindt tussen vrienden en tussen vrienden van vrienden en dat het weinig gebeurt tussen klasgenoten die elkaar niet leuk vinden. Ik verwachtte ook dat verdedigen vaak plaatsvindt wanneer twee gepeste kinderen door dezelfde klasgenoten niet leuk gevonden worden en wanneer zij dezelfde klasgenoten niet leuk vinden.

Ik toetste deze hypothesen door middel van bivariate Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGMs) en gebruikte het programma XPNNet. Ik onderzocht verdedigingsnetwerken in zeven basisschoolklassen (groep 5) en vond, zoals verwacht, dat gepeste leerlingen verdedigingsnominaties gaven aan klasgenoten die zij als vriend zagen of wie hen als vriend zagen. Daarnaast was de kans op verdedigen groter als de gepeste leerling en zijn potentiële verdediger allebei als vrienden genomineerd werden door dezelfde klasgenoten. Ik vond ook dat het onwaarschijnlijk was dat gepeste leerlingen klasgenoten die zij niet leuk vonden of die hen niet leuk vonden, nomineerden als verdediger. Ten slotte, werd er vaker verdedigd als leerlingen dezelfde klasgenoten niet leuk vonden.

Algemene conclusies

Op basis van deze empirische hoofdstukken kan een viertal conclusies getrokken worden.

1. *Leerkrachten: Niet goed toegerust of onzeker?*

Ten eerste blijkt uit hoofdstuk 2 dat leerkrachten een verschil kunnen maken als het gaat om het aantal gepeste kinderen in de klas, maar suggereert hoofdstuk 3 dat leerkrachten niet volledig toegerust zijn om het pesten ook daadwerkelijk aan te pakken. Zowel uit hoofdstuk 2 als uit hoofdstuk 3 bleek dat leerkrachten soms incorrecte opvattingen over pesten hebben. Zo gaven sommige leerkrachten aan dat zij het gemakkelijk vonden om pesten onder hun leerlingen aan te pakken, terwijl er in die klassen juist veel gepeste leerlingen waren. Daarnaast leken de leerkrachten niet goed te weten wat pesten precies is, zagen ze sommige leerlingen die beweerden gepest te worden niet als slachtoffers en nomineerden ze leerlingen die volgens hun zelf-rapportages niet gepest werden juist wel als slachtoffers.

In Nederland heerst er momenteel, net als in veel andere landen, een sterk anti-pestklimaat. Het is waarschijnlijk dat leerkrachten hierdoor soms sociaal-wenselijke antwoorden gaven. Het zou kunnen dat leerkrachten het pesten ontkenden omdat ze bang waren toe te geven dat er gepest werd in hun klas en dat ze het moeilijk vonden om dit te stoppen. Mocht dit inderdaad het geval zijn, dan zou er meer aandacht moeten komen voor hoe moeilijk het is om pesten te stoppen. Pesten kan negatieve gevolgen hebben voor de betrokken leerlingen, maar, zoals hoofdstuk 2 ook liet zien, in bijna iedere klas wordt wel gepest. Als er gepest wordt, betekent dit niet meteen dat de leerkracht zijn of haar werk niet goed doet. Tegelijkertijd betekent dit niet dat de leerkracht helemaal niet hoeft in te grijpen; leerkrachten kunnen de situatie van gepeste leerlingen wel degelijk verbeteren.

2. *Pesten is een subjectief verschijnsel*

De tweede conclusie die op basis van de studies in dit proefschrift getrokken kan worden, is dat het moeilijk is om te bepalen of een leerling *echt* gepest wordt. Hoofdstukken 3 en 4 laten zien dat er weinig overeenstemming is tussen zelf-gerapporteerd slachtofferschap en rapportages van leerkrachten en klasgenoten. Deze bevinding is zorgwekkend omdat het kan betekenen dat leerkrachten en klasgenoten niet goed weten wie er in de klas gepest worden. Het kan echter ook zo zijn dat leerkrachten en klasgenoten het wel weten, maar zichzelf (en anderen) vertellen dat er niet *echt* gepest wordt. Leerkrachten en klasgenoten voelen zich mogelijk verantwoordelijk voor het pesten en dit kan voor stress zorgen. De—schijnbaar—eenvoudigste manier om van deze stress af te komen, is door te ontkennen dat een bepaalde leerling echt gepest wordt. Ten slotte kan het zo zijn dat er weinig overeenstemming is tussen zelf-gerapporteerd slachtofferschap en rapportages van leerkrachten en klasgenoten omdat leerlingen ten onrechte hebben gerapporteerd dat ze gepest werden. Diverse leerkrachten gaven aan dat hun leerlingen het pesten overdreven en ook in de literatuur wordt gesteld dat leerlingen soms onterecht rapporteren gepest te worden. Omdat moeilijk vast te stellen is of bepaalde leerlingen *echt* gepest worden, zou een richtlijn kunnen zijn om leerlingen die aangeven dat ze gepest worden altijd serieus te nemen. Het is immers het pesten zoals het ervaren wordt door het slachtoffer wat diens welzijn beïnvloedt.

3. *Verdedigen*

Wanneer leerlingen hun gepeste klasgenoten verdedigen, is het voor de pester minder aantrekkelijk om door te gaan met het pesten. Daarnaast kan verdedigen als een buffer tegen de negatieve gevolgen van pesten werken; er is ten minste iemand die je helpt. Hoewel uit onderzoek blijkt dat de meeste kinderen tegen pesten zijn, verdedigen ze hun gepeste

klasgenoten niet altijd. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat ze pesten niet als dusdanig herkennen. Hoofdstuk 4 suggereert dat leerlingen die hun gepeste klasgenoten verdedigen, ook beter zijn in het herkennen van slachtoffers. Dit zou kunnen betekenen dat het herkennen van pesten leidt tot verdedigen. Echter, omdat de data in hoofdstuk 4 cross-sectioneel waren, is het niet mogelijk hier conclusies over te trekken. Het zou ook zo kunnen zijn dat verdedigen leidt tot beter herkennen.

4. De klassensamenstelling doet ertoe

Ten slotte bleek uit hoofdstukken 2 en 4 dat de klassensamenstelling van invloed is op het herkennen van pesten en op het aantal slachtoffers in de klas. Hoofdstuk 4 liet zien dat leerlingen in grotere klassen minder vaak slachtoffer-nominaties gaven aan klasgenoten die hadden gerapporteerd gepest te worden. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat leerlingen elkaar minder goed kennen en minder over elkaar weten in grotere klassen. Daarnaast liet hoofdstuk 2 zien dat er minder slachtoffers waren in combinatiegroepen. Dit wordt mogelijk veroorzaakt doordat in deze groepen er een mix van jonge en oudere leerlingen is en er daardoor minder competitie is. Toekomstige studies kunnen verder onderzoeken of aanpassingen in de klassensamenstelling leiden tot minder pesten.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to all the teachers and students who participated in the studies presented in this dissertation. I am very grateful you took the time and effort to answer our (sensitive) questions. Without you it would have not been possible to conduct this research.

I would like to thank my promotor René Veenstra for his continuous support and for giving me enough space to find my own path. I am also very grateful for the support of my co-promotor Marijtje van Duijn. Marijtje, you are the conscience of the sociology department and I really admire that.

I would also like to thank the members of the reading committee, Beate Völker, Roel Bosker, and Wendy Troop-Gordon, for taking the time and effort to read and review my dissertation.

Working in Groningen has been a pleasure because of the great colleagues. I especially want to thank the members of the KiVa research group: Gijs Huitsing, Rozemarijn van der Ploeg, Ashwin Rambaran, Mariola Gremmen, Coby van Niejenhuis, Gerine Lodder, Tessa Kaufman, Danelien van Aalst, Julia Fischmann, and Sanne Berends. Moreover, I would like to thank everyone of the WALM research cluster. I really enjoy our stimulating discussions.

One great feature of the ICS PhD program is the opportunity to do an internship. I am very grateful I got the chance to further develop my expertise in Research Data Management at Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS). I would particularly like to thank Marion Wittenberg and Peter Doorn.

In the years that I have worked in the sociology department I changed offices seven times. That is a lot, but fortunately I always shared the office with great colleagues. Rozemarijn van der Ploeg, Gert Stulp, Nynke Niezink, Marina Montelongo Arana, and Gerine Lodder thanks for being great office mates!

Thanks also to Tali Spiegel. I will never forget our amazing time at the Bloemensingel, especially not our outings to MamaMini and Ikea. Loes van Rijsewijk, I am very happy that after all this time away you are going to stay in Groningen for a while now. Finally we will have time for chai and 'the handworkers' again.

I am very happy with the beautiful cover of this dissertation. It was designed by Thijs de Bont, one of the most creative persons I know. Thank you!

Groningen became a sunnier place when I met Leonel and Pedrito. *Muchas gracias* for showing me that life is like a hammock and for always making me laugh.

Many thanks to Davide. You have been a big support during and after my PhD. It is amazing that we can talk for 3 hours and still do not have enough time to discuss all our (research) ideas. By the way, you were right about the predicted probabilities.

Finally, I would like to thank all people who are dear to me (Groningen, Utrecht, Brabant and abroad) and who have supported me in the past years. You know who you are. Thank you.

About the author

Beau Oldenburg was born in Hank, Brabant, the Netherlands on May 30, 1987. She moved to Utrecht to study Cultural Anthropology in 2005. In 2008 she obtained a Bachelor degree in Cultural Anthropology with a minor in Sociology at Utrecht University. In 2008 Beau switched to sociology and she subsequently completed the academic master 'Policy and Organization' (2009) and the research master 'Sociology and Social Research' (2011) at Utrecht University. In September 2011, she moved to Groningen and started a PhD at the Interuniversity Centre for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS), at the Sociology Department of the University of Groningen. During her PhD she was involved in a large scale data collection among elementary school students and their teachers (KiVa). This experience sparked her interest in Research Data Management. Accordingly, she conducted a three months internship at Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS). Currently, Beau is employed as a postdoctoral researcher at the Sociology Department of the University of Groningen. In addition, Beau is secretary of the ICS board.



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