

# Australian Covert Bullying Prevalence Study



Child Health Promotion Research Centre  
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# Executive summary

The safety of members of the school community is essential to enhance the academic, social development and well being of young people. In line with the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child, the National Safe Schools Framework (NSSF) is regarded as a highly innovative, collaborative effort on behalf of the Commonwealth, State and Territory Governments to foster the development and implementation of a series of whole-of-school initiatives to produce an integrated national policy for the prevention and early intervention of bullying and other aggressive and violent behaviours.

Yet despite the impact of the NSSF in terms of reducing direct, face-to-face 'overt' bullying, such as hitting, punching, kicking and teasing, evidence suggests that a less direct form of 'covert' bullying is becoming more prevalent and insidious, fuelled in part by the growth of new forms of Information and Communications Technology (ICT). From this perspective, the Australian Covert Bullying Prevalence Study (ACBPS), commissioned by the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR), represents a significant first step to understand and tackle this phenomenon.

The ACBPS investigated young people's experiences with covert bullying including: the nature and types of covert bullying behaviours used by young people, how often and where these behaviours occur, and risk and protective factors that may inhibit or encourage covert bullying behaviour. This report aims to shed new light on covert bullying among school-age children, with the ultimate goal of identifying feasible, effective and sustainable policy and practice to address this phenomenon.

While the general concepts and theories underlying covert bullying are not new, research into how to address covert bullying is still in its infancy. This is due in part to the erroneous perception that while covert bullying is unpleasant it is generally considered to be a less harmful form of behaviour. Emerging research indicates, however, that covert bullying has the potential to result in more severe psychological, social, and mental health problems than overt bullying, and is not only more difficult for schools and parents to detect, but also has the capacity to inflict social isolation on a much broader scale than overt bullying. Furthermore, the recent digital media revolution of the last decade has provided an additional platform and encouraged a communication culture within which covert bullying can operate among young people.



The ACBPS report describes the triangulation of covert bullying behaviour data collected using mixed methods across three separate studies from a total of 20 832 Australian students aged 8 to 14 years from over 200 schools and 456 school staff. The following series of qualitative and quantitative covert bullying sub-studies and desk research were conducted:

- Sub-study 1 – Synthesis of published theoretical and empirical evidence;
- Sub-study 2 – Qualitative data (2007) collected from 84 students aged 8 to 13 years;
- Sub-study 3 – Quantitative CHPRC data (from existing data sources 2002-2006) collected from 13 330 students aged 8 to 14 years; and
- Sub-study 4 – Cross-sectional quantitative national data (2007) collected from 7 418 students aged 8 to 14 years and 456 school staff.

While the findings from each sub-study provided insights to the nature and prevalence of covert bullying in Australia, findings from sub-studies 1-3 were systematically used to ensure the national quantitative study (sub-study 4) instruments provided developmentally appropriate, relevant, valid and reliable measures of covert and overt bullying behaviours and their predictors. The data from sub-studies 1-3 also provided an opportunity to compare the findings from the quantitative study with previous research in this area, including research with Australian students.

This report comprises six chapters that describe the findings from these four ACBPS sub-studies and recommendations for national, state and school policy and practice.



# Major findings from the report

## Defining covert bullying

- Students reported that the term ‘covert’ bullying was an adult term not typically used by young people and suggested that young people would think about this form of bullying as a series of discreet behaviours rather than classifying them as covert or overt. Moreover, they suggested that covert bullying is any form of bullying behaviour that is ‘not seen by adults’. Hence, while covert bullying is defined in the literature as a less direct form of ‘hidden’ bullying, the students suggested that covert bullying to them was ‘any form of bullying that is hidden’. Students reported the following examples of covert bullying behaviours are difficult for teachers and other adults to see including: ‘anything behind her back’; hand gestures; weird or threatening looks; whispering; excluding; blackmailing; spreading rumours; threatening; and stealing friends. Other behaviours suggested include damaging social relationships, playing practical jokes, breaking secrets, gossiping, criticising clothes and personalities, abusive notes, facial expressions, and turning your back on a person.
- Cyber bullying was defined by young people as cruel covert bullying used primarily by young people to harm others using technology such as: social networking sites, other chat-rooms, mobile phones, websites and web-cameras.
- For the purpose of the ACBPS overall, covert bullying was broadly defined as any form of aggressive behaviour that is repeated, intended to cause harm and characterised by an imbalance of power, and is ‘hidden’, out of sight of, or unacknowledged by adults. Covert bullying includes behaviours linked to social aggression, relational aggression and indirect aggression as long as the behaviour remains either unwitnessed, or unaddressed, by an adult.

## Prevalence of bullying generally

- Being bullied every few weeks or more often (considered to be frequent) overtly and/or covertly during the last term at school is a fairly common experience, affecting approximately one in four Year 4 to Year 9 Australian students (27%). Frequent school bullying was highest among Year 5 (32%) and Year 8 (29%) students. Hurtful teasing was the most prevalent of all bullying behaviours experienced by students, followed by having hurtful lies told about them.

- The majority of students (61%) who had been bullied in any way had also experienced covert bullying (either on its own or in conjunction with overt bullying). Of students who had experienced covert bullying, 60% had also been teased in 'nasty' ways, 24% had been physically hurt, and 13% had been sent nasty messages on the internet. Slightly over half (53%) of students who said that they bullied others had engaged in covert bullying (either on its own or in conjunction with overt bullying).
- Both overt and covert bullying were commonly observed by staff, with about 70% observing or having both these types of bullying reported to them in the term the survey was conducted.
- Less than one in ten students (9%) reported that they generally bullied others every few weeks or more often, with 11% of boys reporting they bullied others more frequently. By comparison, only 7% of girls reported that they bullied others frequently.
- When asked qualitatively why some students bully, most believed it was because the person bullying didn't like the person they were bullying; found bullying fun; enjoyed bullying others; liked to feel tough and strong, in control and popular.


## Prevalence of covert bullying

- Covert bullying appears to be one of the most under-reported of all abuses, perhaps due to the shame associated with the bullying or as a consequence of no or inappropriate responses provided by parents or teachers. Teachers and parents are more likely to intervene on physical ('overt') types of bullying behaviour than relational and social bullying. As a result, students may be encouraged to engage in covert bullying to reduce the likelihood of being detected or reprimanded.
- One in six students (16%) reported being bullied covertly every few weeks or more often in the term the survey was conducted. Students in Years 5, 6 and 8 were most likely to report being bullied in this way (18-20%) and those in Year 9 least likely (12%). This form of bullying was experienced slightly more often by girls (18%) compared with boys (15%) and in Government schools (17%) more often than non-Government schools (14%).
- Of those students who had ever experienced being bullied in ways traditionally considered to be covert, more reported being ignored, not being allowed to join in or being left out on purpose (between 40% in Year 4 and 22% in Year 9) than being made afraid they would get hurt (between 27% in Year 4 and 12% in Year 9).
- Very few students reported they covertly bullied others (5%). Although just over a half (53%) of students who said they bullied others also engaged in covert bullying (either on its own or in conjunction with overt bullying).

- Students were asked to report whether they had been perpetrators of any of the covert and overt bullying behaviours listed and the responses were combined. The lowest prevalence for bullying others (26%) was found in Year 4 and the highest (55%) in Year 9. Across all year levels, relatively few (10% or less) of the students reported only covertly bullying others whilst between about 10% and a quarter indicated they had bullied other students using both forms of bullying behaviours.
- The percentages of the students who had been both bullied and who bullied others in covert ways increased from 21% in Year 4 to almost half (47%) in Year 9.
- According to the students' self-report, being bullied in covert ways decreased from 60% in the Year 4 group to 35% in the Year 9 group. Similarly, being overtly bullied was reported at its highest among the Year 4 students (65%) and declined to 48% among the Year 9 students surveyed. Thus the students' self-report of their experiences of bullying behaviours generally decreased from Year 4 to Year 9.
- When looking at exposure to covert and overt bullying behaviours in combination, 10% or less of the students reported being targets of covert bullying only, 20% or less of overt bullying only and between 50% (in Year 4) and 28% (in Year 9) of both covert and overt bullying behaviours.
- Across all age groups, 10% or less of the students reported they had frequently been exposed to specific types of covert bullying behaviours in the previous term.
- Not all students exposed to bullying behaviours considered themselves to have been bullied. Of those exposed to only covert forms of bullying behaviours, between 19% and 35% (dependent on the year level) reported they had been bullied. By comparison, between 33% and 61% of those exposed to only overt (more direct) forms of bullying behaviours indicated they had been bullied. The majority of those who experienced both forms of bullying behaviours reported they were bullied (between 64% and 74%).
- The main findings of the (screening) quantitative analyses show that Year 4 and 8 students report the highest prevalence of bullying behaviour and that hurtful teasing is the most prevalent behaviour experienced by students, followed by having hurtful lies told about them.

## Prevalence of cyber bullying

- The vast majority of Year 4 through Year 9 students had not experienced cyber bullying, with only 7-10% of students reporting they were bullied by means of technology over the school term.
- Slightly higher rates of cyber bullying were found among secondary students and students from non-Government schools.
- Cyber bullying was not observed by or reported to as many staff members as other forms of bullying, but was not rare (20%).

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- Where information was available from data previously collected by the CHPRC on bullying behaviours using technology, 10% or less of students reported experiencing these behaviours.
  - Differences were found in each age group regarding the mode of technology most prevalent for cyber bullying in and out of school. More internet-based bullying through social networking sites was reported than through mobile phones, especially as students get older.
  - Cyber bullying appears to be related to age (or access to technology), with older students more likely to engage in cyber bullying than younger students.
  - Students reported that home cyber bullying is likely to be higher among older students especially if parents don't have the knowledge and skills to help their child.

## Covert bullying and gender of students

- Covert bullying appears to increase in frequency starting in the late primary school years among girls and then early secondary school years among the boys.
- Covert bullying most often occurs between students of the same gender, with boys more likely to be covertly bullied by another boy (47%) or a group of boys, and girls more likely to be bullied by another girl (48%) or a group of girls. However, nearly a third of boys (32%) and approximately a quarter of girls (28%) were bullied by both boys and girls.
- Qualitative data from students suggested girls were more likely than boys to bully in covert ways, with students beginning this behaviour as young as Year 3.
- No significant differences were found between the experiences of covert bullying behaviours for the boys and girls in the Year 4 and 6 groups in data previously collected by the CHPRC. Nevertheless, a significantly higher percentage of the girls than the boys in the Year 7 group felt that others had tried to have them socially excluded by telling lies about them and trying to make other students not like them. Girls were also more likely to have been sent mean and hurtful messages over the internet. Boys in Year 7 and Year 8 reported experiencing higher levels of threatening behaviour by being made afraid that they would be hurt. While no statistically significant gender differences were found for specific covert bullying behaviours in Year 9, girls were significantly more likely to report experiencing covert forms of bullying behaviours than boys.
- Gender was a significant predictor of bullying others in every year level. Whilst the girls were less likely to report being perpetrators of bullying behaviours, their engagement in covert behaviours only was slightly higher than for boys. In contrast, the prevalence of overt bullying behaviours was higher amongst boys, as was their use of both covert and overt forms of bullying behaviours.



## Covert bullying and age of students

- As students get older there is an increasing tendency to bully using covert rather than overt bullying behaviours.
- While many teachers reported the prevalence of covert bullying to be highest in the late primary and early high school years, many staff were unsure of how many, and at what age, students were covertly bullied or covertly bullied others.
- Cyber bullying differences were found in each year group (Year 4 to 9) regarding the mode of technology, with nasty messages more likely to be sent via the internet (most often through social networking sites) than via mobile phones, more especially as students get older.

## Factors associated with covert bullying

- Peer support was significantly associated with almost every bullying behaviour reported by students. Higher peer support reduced the odds of students being covertly bullied.
- Social competence reduced the odds of being covertly bullied, but was not associated with other bullying behaviours.
- Data from previous CHPRC research found that students' whose attitudes were in support of bullying were more likely to be covertly bullied and to covertly bully others. Students who had more positive attitudes to those who bullied others (pro-bully attitudes) were more likely to report being bullied (apart from exposure through technology amongst the Year 7 group) but less likely to bully others.
- Previous CHPRC data also found that those with greater expectations of negative outcomes from bullying others were also less likely to report covertly bullying others. In contrast, however, the Year 6 students who perceived more negative outcomes from bullying others were more likely to be excluded (ignored etc), whilst the Year 4 students with positive outcome expectancies were less likely to report being made afraid they would get hurt or that lies were told about them and that students tried to make others not like them.
- Students with a good understanding of social situations, but who lack empathy, find covert bullying works well in schools that do not take action to confront it. Using the peer group as an instrument of aggression requires skills and understanding of group mechanisms and leadership skills. Covert bullying requires a high level of everyday social cognition and social intelligence. No correlation has been found between overt behaviours and social intelligence.



## Covert bullying locations

- Students who provided qualitative data suggested covert bullying is more likely to happen and be nastier during break times and that its prevalence was related to the type of teacher supervision in the school yard. In contrast, students suggested that in the classroom its form is 'sneakier and more careful', with the most common form being note passing.
- Bullying tends to reflect the constraints of the situation, such that covert bullying may be more common in the classroom and overt bullying more common in the school yard.
- The majority of students who provided qualitative data also felt that being hurt at school during break times, in ways teachers cannot see, would be worse than being cyber bullied at home.
- Students who provided qualitative data suggested that places where older students cyber bully or were cyber bullied include social networking sites such as MSN, MySpace and Bebo, whereas younger students referred more to bullying by sending emails and messages to phones.

## Effects of covert bullying

- Covert bullying presents a higher effect-to-danger ratio, such that it contributes to the greatest harm, or effect, largely through social isolation, to the student being bullied, whilst minimising the risk that the student who is bullying will be caught, put in danger or reported for bullying.
- Across most year levels the most hurtful behaviour identified by students qualitatively was name calling (hurtful teasing) followed by exclusion, with the majority of students reporting it would be more hurtful to be bullied by the opposite sex.
- Students reported qualitatively that if they were covertly bullied they would feel lonely, scared, angry, hurt, annoyed, embarrassed, stressed, helpless, and would not enjoy school. Similarly, if they were doing the bullying they would feel 'really bad', mean, ashamed, embarrassed, guilty or sad.
- Students who were covertly bullied or who covertly bullied others reported lower levels of connectedness to their school, higher levels of loneliness at school, felt less safe at school and were more likely to experience difficulties such as emotional symptoms, conduct problems, inattention and peer relationship problems compared with students who were not covertly bullied.
- Important differences were found between Year 7 students who had moved to high school and been covertly bullied and Year 7 students in primary schools who were covertly bullied. The covertly bullied Year 7 students in secondary schools reported feeling much less safe at school (22.6% vs. 3.6%); had higher risk difficulties scores (27.9% vs. 9%); were more likely to feel lonely (75.8% vs. 46.7%); and were more likely to do nothing in response to being covertly bullied (51.3% vs. 37.2%) compared to Year 7 students who were covertly bullied but still located in primary schools.



## Identity of person bullying in covert ways

- Most of the students (88%) who experienced covert bullying, knew the person(s) who bullied them (or at least one of the people if they were bullied by more than one person). However, half (48%) of the students in Year 7 in secondary schools and one third (32%) of the students in Year 6 were bullied or also bullied covertly by someone they did not know.
- Year 9 students (compared with other year levels) were more likely to have been bullied over the internet, both by someone they had met while on the internet (12%) and by someone whose identity they did not know (17%).
- Students were most likely to be covertly bullied by students in their own year group (91%) or students in the year above them (50%).

## Responding to covert bullying

- Most students who were covertly bullied indicated that they responded by walking away (75%), staying away from the person(s) or the place where it happened (74%), ignoring the student(s) involved (72%), or becoming angry (72%).
- Friends (64%) followed by parents or guardians (57%) and then teachers and other staff members (46%) were the people students most commonly went to for help to deal with a bullying problem. Whereas boys (33%) were more likely than girls (23%) to not ask anyone for help, over half (56-57%) had spoken with friends or a parent.
- Young people reported losing faith in reporting bullying behaviour because some teachers and other adults are not taking action or not recognising covert bullying as bullying when they see it or when it is reported, especially via cyber means.
- Seeking help from an adult was not always effective, with more students indicating the bullying situation stayed the same or got worse (45%) instead of improving (28%).
- Students reported qualitatively they would not tell an adult if they were being or had been cyber bullied for fear of having their computer or mobile phone removed.
- School policies that increase the consequences of overt bullying without increasing the consequences of covert bullying unintentionally create fertile ground for the emergence of covert bullying.



## Staff attitudes to covert bullying

- The vast majority of staff were not accepting of bullying behaviours, and see themselves as having a responsibility to prevent bullying and to assist students who are being bullied.
- Female teachers (52%) were more likely to consider covert bullying to be more hurtful than overt bullying compared with male teachers (31%).
- Teachers who lack training to help them understand covert bullying are less able to recognise it, often consider it less serious or problematic, and have less empathy for children who are covertly bullied and are less likely to intervene to prevent it. As a result students don't tell them how they are feeling or talk about incidences of covert bullying because they feel it doesn't count.
- Covert bullying seems to have the greatest amount of suffering with the greatest chance of its occurrence going unnoticed. Hence young people perceive that it is condoned by adults.
- Overt and covert bullying were both commonly observed by staff. Around 70% of staff observed or had each type of bullying reported to them in the term the survey was conducted.
- Teachers perceived the prevalence of covert bullying to be highest in the late primary and early high school years, but many staff were unsure of how many students were covertly bullied or covertly bullied others.
- The majority of staff surveyed had observed a negative impact on students who had been bullied in the current term. Social withdrawal was the behavioural effect most commonly reported by staff (73%). Nervousness at school, depression, and declines in academic engagement and performance had all been observed by at least one half of the staff during the term.



## Strategies to reduce covert bullying in schools

- Over one half of the teachers surveyed rated the current whole school bullying prevention strategies in place in their school as moderately or very effective in reducing covert bullying (57%) with 21% indicating the strategies were only slightly effective, and 5% indicating they were ineffective.
- Strategies such as supervising students during lunch breaks were seen as more effective amongst primary school staff, whereas secondary staff were slightly more likely to rate strategies incorporating the school health services or the school behaviour management/pastoral care committee as more effective. Differences were also evident between staff in metropolitan and non-metropolitan schools and Government and non-Government schools.
- There was slightly less recognition of, and more uncertainty by, teachers about how to address bullying involving technology compared with other forms of bullying.
- Qualitative data from students suggested a variety of actions that they believe teachers could take to reduce covert bullying including helping young people to talk more with their parents and other trusted adults about these issues using strategies such as classroom meetings, an anonymous ‘worry box’, and separating different age groups of students during break times.
- The literature review suggested that the most promising interventions appear to be those that take a more whole-school approach, although their success has varied. Effective school policies to prevent and deal with covert bullying will require the development of programs aimed at:
  - enhancing a positive school climate and ethos which promotes pro-social behaviours;
  - providing pre-service and in-service training of all school staff to assist them to recognise and respond appropriately to signs of covert bullying;
  - creating physical environments that limit the invisibility of covert bullying;
  - increasing the awareness among young people of how group mechanisms work and strengthening their skills in conflict resolution; and
  - developing anonymous, peer-led support structures for students to access when they feel uncomfortable.



## Management of school bullying

- Government school teachers indicated that they spent more time managing bullying incidents with students or parents each week compared with non-Government school teachers, for both general bullying (22% and 10%) and covert bullying (13% and 4%).
- Teachers reported being more likely to intervene on overt bullying than covert bullying.

## School needs to address bullying

- The majority of staff (67%) felt other teachers at their school needed more training to enhance their skills to deal with a range of issues related to covert bullying, such as dealing with incidents or addressing covert (including cyber bullying) within the curriculum. Actions and motives underlying covert bullying behaviours need to be understood to know how to intervene and prevent.
- To address covert bullying, schools must first review how teachers are currently intervening to reduce this problem and the impact this is having. If covert bullying is believed to be less harmful, not recognised and/or adequately addressed by school staff, students who are covertly bullied are more likely to believe this behaviour is tolerated or condoned, feel less empowered and less willing to tell, which in turn may establish a normative culture of acceptance of this form of behaviour.



# Recommendations from this report


## I.0 Recommendations for national policy and practice

### Short term

- 1.1 Establish an Australian Council for Bullying Prevention that reports to the Prime Minister, chaired by the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, to lead the review of the National Safe Schools Framework and the concurrent development of a strategy that considers the following recommendations.
- 1.2 Facilitate sustainable joined-up-Government structures (including education, health, community development, and justice) and approaches to deliver key reforms.
- 1.3 Facilitate ongoing and active input from teachers, parents, and young people through linking with existing groups and organisations, such as the Safe and Supportive School Communities, the Consultative Working Group on cyber safety, and parent, teacher and student bodies.
- 1.4 Revise the National Safe Schools Framework and its implementation in schools to explicitly encourage schools to address covert and overt bullying and provide the necessary resources to support schools to minimise this bullying through their policy and practice.

### Longer term

- 1.5 Establish ongoing and routine data collection systems with standardised methods for defining and measuring covert and overt forms of bullying.
- 1.6 Facilitate sustainable longitudinal research to investigate the developmental trajectory, causes, protective factors, social and economic costs, societal and cultural influences, and identify the windows of opportunity for covert bullying prevention and intervention.
- 1.7 Support applied intervention research to determine the impact of promising strategies to reduce covert bullying that protect and support those involved, promote healthy relationships, reduce perpetration of bullying, and change the circumstances and conditions (individual, relationship, society, structural) that give rise to covert bullying.
- 1.8 Leverage the effectiveness of these interventions by establishing and evaluating linkages between these interventions with other programs such as those addressing domestic violence, aggression, harassment and child abuse.


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- 1.9 Assess the cost-effectiveness and sustainability of bullying prevention and reduction interventions and determine the thresholds of level of implementation necessary to reduce both overt and covert bullying.
  - 1.10 Work collaboratively with systems and sectors to support and monitor the implementation of the revised National Safe Schools Framework.

## 2.0 Recommendations for education systems and sectors

- 2.1 Encourage school leadership and other staff to recognise in an ongoing manner that covert bullying is as important as overt bullying and forms part of the National Safe Schools Framework as a national priority for ongoing professional development.
- 2.2 Promote and encourage greater awareness among schools about the National Safe Schools Framework and its implications for students' learning, achievements, health and well being.
- 2.3 Assist district/regional offices to establish links with schools and community structures and services to support students who are vulnerable to covert bullying and to help manage the behaviour of students engaged in this form of bullying.
- 2.4 Provide access to and support quality professional learning for school staff to help them understand the different forms and potential harms of covert bullying and school inaction, and develop staff attitudes and self-efficacy to take action to address bullying behaviour, particularly covert bullying.
- 2.5 Ensure new teachers entering the profession and other adults working with young people as part of their professional standards receive pre-service training and ongoing professional learning to help prevent and manage bullying, especially covert bullying behaviour.

## 3.0 Recommendations for schools

- 3.1 Establish with the whole school clear definitions of covert (as well as overt) bullying to ensure this behaviour is more specifically and consistently addressed in the school and understood by the whole school.
- 3.2 Establish clear policies, programs and procedures, developed in collaboration with staff, students and parents, which explicitly address covert bullying as part of the school's response to all forms of bullying.
- 3.3 Ensure procedural steps to manage covert bullying are developed by the whole school collaboratively and are clearly documented, and the roles and responsibilities of staff, students and parents are well understood.

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- 3.4 Survey students regularly to monitor and determine the types of covert and overt forms of bullying behaviours they are experiencing and in what social contexts, to develop tailored universal and targeted programs to diminish this behaviour.
  - 3.5 Address covert and overt forms of bullying throughout schooling to ameliorate their harms in concert with improvement in students' language skills and other social-cognitive abilities.
  - 3.6 Teach students about social skills, group mechanisms, motives for bullying, being effective bystanders and how they may be drawn into the bullying process, to help them feel more aware of pressures exerted on the group and their responsibility to deal with them.
  - 3.7 Examine the determinants of student cyber bullying behaviour as part of the whole school response to bullying, not the technology in which it is being manifest.
  - 3.8 Provide professional learning and resources to help primary and secondary school staff to enhance student transition and reduce the subsequent bullying, particularly covert bullying, which continues to increase following transitions in school.
  - 3.9 Create physical environments in schools and staff supervision practices that limit the invisibility of covert bullying behaviour.
  - 3.10 Support families through systematic parent awareness raising and skill building, training and support.
  - 3.11 Maintain regular, clear communication with parents about covert bullying behaviour and effective ways to deal with it.

“Bullying concerns and affects us all.”

(Kandersteg Declaration, Switzerland, June 10, 2007)<sup>[1]</sup>



# References

1. Kandersteg Declaration Against Bullying in Children and Youth. (2007). *Joint Efforts Against Victimization Conference in Kandersteg, Switzerland*, from <http://www.kanderstegdeclaration.org/pdf/KanderstegDeclarationEN.pdf>