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Review

Stigma-based bullying interventions: A systematic review

Valerie A. Earnshaw^{a,*}, Sari L. Reisner^{b,c,d,e}, David D. Menino^b, V. Paul Poteat^f, Laura M. Bogart^g, Tia N. Barnes^a, Mark A. Schuster^{b,c,h}

- a Department of Human Development and Family Sciences, University of Delaware, Newark, DE, USA
- ^b Division of General Pediatrics, Boston Children's Hospital, Boston, MA, USA
- ^c Department of Pediatrics, Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA, USA
- ^d Department of Epidemiology, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, Boston, MA, USA
- ^e The Fenway Institute, Fenway Health, Boston, MA, USA
- f Counseling, Developmental, and Educational Psychology Department, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, USA
- ^g Health Unit, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, USA
- h Kaiser Permanente School of Medicine, Pasadena, CA, USA

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ABSTRACT

Youth living with socially devalued characteristics (e.g., minority sexual orientation, race, and/or ethnicity; disability; obesity) experience frequent bullying. This stigma-based bullying undermines youths' wellbeing and academic achievement, with lifelong consequences. The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine recommends developing, implementing, and evaluating evidence-based interventions to address stigma-based bullying. To characterize the existing landscape of these interventions, we conducted a systematic review of stigma-based bullying interventions targeting youth in any country published in the peer-reviewed literature between 2000 and 2015. Our analysis was guided by a theoretical framework of stigma-based bullying, which describes stigma-related factors at the societal, structural, interpersonal, and individual levels that lead to stigma-based bullying. We screened 8,240 articles and identified 22 research studies describing 21 interventions addressing stigma-based bullying. We found that stigma-based bullying interventions are becoming more numerous, yet are unevenly distributed across stigmas, geographic locations, and types of organizations. We further found that these interventions vary in the extent to which they incorporate theory and have been evaluated with a wide range of research designs and types of data. We recommend that future work address stigma-based bullying within multicomponent interventions, adopt interdisciplinary and theorybased approaches, and include rigorous and systematic evaluations. Intervening specifically on stigma-related factors is essential to end stigma-based bullying and improve the wellbeing of youth living with socially devalued characteristics.

Introduction

Youth living with socially devalued identities, characteristics, and attributes [e.g., lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning (LGBTQ) youth; overweight and obese youth; youth living with disabilities; youth with minority racial and ethnic backgrounds] experience frequent bullying from their peers (Russell, Sinclair, Poteat, & Koenig, 2012). Experiences of bullying, in turn, undermine the academic achievement and wellbeing of youth, with lifelong consequences (Juvonen & Graham, 2014; McDougall & Vaillancourt, 2015).

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^{*} Corresponding author at: 111 Alison Hall West, Newark, DE 19716, USA. E-mail address: earnshaw@udel.edu (V.A. Earnshaw).

V.A. Earnshaw et al.

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In response to growing recognition of the elevated prevalence and harmful consequences of bullying, a report from the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (NASEM) recommended the development, implementation, and evaluation of evidence-based interventions to address bullying of youth living with socially devalued identities, characteristics, and attributes (i.e., stigma-based bullying; NASEM, 2016). In contrast to non-stigma-based bullying, stigma-based bullying is driven by distinct, stigma-related factors (e.g., social dominance orientation, stereotypes, prejudice); therefore, distinct intervention strategies may be needed to address this form of bullying. To understand the existing landscape of stigma-based bullying interventions targeting youth, we conducted a systematic review of these interventions that have been published in the peer-reviewed literature between 2000 and 2015. Herein, we introduce a theoretical framework of stigma-based bullying that guided this review, describe the results of this review, and present recommendations for future efforts to develop, implement, and evaluate stigma-based bullying interventions.

Bullying, discrimination, and stigma-based bullying

Research to understand and address stigma-based bullying currently exists in two empirical literatures: the school-based bullying literature and the school-based discrimination literature (NASEM, 2016). Although these literatures define their key constructs in different ways, they often focus on similar phenomena. *Bullying* is defined by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention as unwanted aggressive behavior that involves a power imbalance, is repeated or is likely to be repeated, and may cause harm to the targeted youth (Gladden, Vivolo-Kantor, Hamburger, & Lumpkin, 2014). Others have also defined bullying as a goal-directed behavior (Volk, Dane, & Marini, 2014). *Discrimination* is a behavioral manifestation of stigma, or social devaluation and discrediting (Goffman, 1963; Link & Phelan, 2001), that involves the mistreatment of people living with or perceived to live with certain identities, characteristics, or attributes.

Bullying and discrimination share several key similarities and yet are distinct processes. Both may involve aggression, including physical (e.g., hitting), verbal (e.g., name calling), and social (e.g., peer rejection) forms. Both can occur once or repeatedly over time (Gladden et al., 2014; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). Both rely on power imbalances between the perpetrator and target. Moreover, both lead to poorer psychological and physical health outcomes among those who are targeted (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Reijntjes, Kamphuis, Prinzie, & Telch, 2010). Bullying and discrimination are also different in several ways. Unlike discrimination, youth may be targeted by bullying even if they do not have socially devalued identities, characteristics, or attributes. For example, youth who are submissive (i.e., insecure, sensitive) are at increased risk of being bullied regardless of whether they have socially devalued identities, characteristics, or attributes (Juvonen & Graham, 2014). Bullying involves physical and/or social power imbalances whereas discrimination involves social power imbalances. Bullying is a goal-directed behavior, sometimes defined as intentional (Olweus, 1993), whereas discrimination can be intentional or unintentional (i.e., unconscious; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). According to the ways in which they are commonly defined in the literature, discrimination occurs at all ages (Link & Phelan, 2001), whereas bullying is most prevalent during childhood and adolescence (Gladden et al., 2014; Rodkin, Espelage, & Hanish, 2015).

Stigma-based bullying (also referred to as bias-based bullying or harassment) represents the overlap between bullying and discrimination, and can be defined as bullying that is motivated by stigma (NASEM, 2016). Stigma-based bullying often involves distinct behaviors, such as sexual harassment directed at girls, homophobic epithets directed at LGBTQ youth and youth presumed to be LGBTQ, or racial slurs directed at racial and ethnic minority youth. Many forms of stigma-based bullying appear to be more common than non-stigma-based bullying. Sexual minority youth and youth with disabilities are 1.5 to 2 times more likely to experience bullying than their heterosexual peers and peers without disabilities, respectively, with bullying disparities lasting from elementary to high school (Rose, Espelage, & Monda-Amaya, 2009; Rose & Gage, 2017; Schuster et al., 2015). Overweight youth also experience more bullying than their peers, with overweight girls being at greatest risk of bullying (Janssen, Craig, Boyce, & Pickett, 2004; Puhl, Peterson, & Luedicke, 2013; Wang, Iannotti, & Luk, 2010). For example, one study suggested that obese girls are 2 times more likely to experience bullying than normal weight girls, whereas obese boys are not more likely than normal weight boys to experience bullying (Janssen et al., 2004).

Evidence comparing bullying experiences of youth of minority races and ethnicities with other youth is mixed, with some studies suggesting that youth of minority races and ethnicities experience less bullying and others suggesting that they experience similar amounts of bullying as youth of majority races and ethnicities (Mueller, James, Abrutyn, & Levin, 2015; Sawyer, Bradshaw, & O'Brennan, 2008). The ways in which bullying is measured may partly explain these differences. In one study, African American youth were less likely than white students to indicate that they were bullied using definition-based measures of bullying but as likely as white students to indicate that they were bullied using behavior-based measures (Sawyer, Bradshaw, & O'Brennan, 2008). Moreover, evidence suggests that youth of minority races and ethnicities who do not fulfill stereotypes about their racial and ethnic groups are more likely to be bullied than youth who fulfill stereotypes. For example, African American youth who do not participate in sports and those with higher scores on national tests are more likely to be bullied than their African American peers (Peguero & Williams, 2013).

Some evidence suggests that stigma-based bullying is associated with worse outcomes than non-stigma-based bullying. Drawing on two population-based samples, Russell et al. (2012) found that youth who reported stigma-based bullying, including bullying associated with their sexual orientation, race, religion, sex/gender, or disability, were at greater risk of poor mental health (e.g., depression, suicide ideation and attempts), substance use, and low academic achievement than youth reporting non-stigma-based bullying. Moreover, childhood and adolescence may be "sensitive periods" when experiences of stigma-based bullying have a greater effect on wellbeing than discrimination experienced later in life (Gee, Walsemann, & Brondolo, 2012). Evidence that stigma-based bullying is both more common and pernicious than non-stigma-based bullying, and that youth may be particularly vulnerable to experiences of stigma, suggests that special attention is needed to address stigma-based bullying.

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