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Lunch Buddy Mentoring for Bullied Children: Four Case Studies and a Thematic Analysis

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Psychology

by

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> December 2013 University of Arkansas

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ABSTRACT

Lunch Buddy (LB) mentoring, a type of school-based mentoring, holds promise as a selective intervention for children who are chronically bullied (Elledge, Cavell, Ogle, & Newgent, 2010). This study expanded upon previous research (Elledge et al., 2010) by utilizing a case-study approach combining qualitative and quantitative methods to gain more evidence about the palatability of the intervention and to uncover possible mechanisms by which the intervention is working. Participants were four elementary school children in grades four and five who had been identified as bullied based on child and teacher reports. Quantitative data were collected at multiple points during the course of mentoring, and qualitative interviews with key stakeholders were conducted post-mentoring. Results supported the promise of LB mentoring for bullied children but also revealed outcomes that varied by assessment source and point of assessment. Thematic analysis supported the palatability of LB mentoring and identified factors that could potentially affect the process of mentoring.



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Lunch Buddy Mentoring for Bullied Children: Four Case Studies and a Thematic Analysis

Chronic peer victimization can lead to psychosocial maladjustment, significant impairment in multiple areas of functioning, and even suicidal behavior in adolescence and adulthood (Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Marttunen, Rimpela, & Rantanen, 1999; Kim, Leventhal, Koh, & Boyce, 2009; Rigby & Slee, 1999). Universal anti-bullying prevention programs, when implemented with fidelity, can have beneficial effects, but there is need for selective prevention programs for chronically bullied children (Gazelle & Ladd, 2002; Nation, 2007; Pepler, 2006). The current study used a series of case studies to examine in depth a school-based mentoring program designed for bullied children as well as a thematic analysis to uncover potential processes by which LB mentoring operates.

Bullying & Peer Victimization

Bullying is often defined as aggressive behavior toward another person characterized by a) repeated negative interactions (e.g. name calling, teasing, assaulting), b) a power differential, and c) harmful intent (Olweus, 1993). The term *bullying* focuses on the perpetrator's behavior. *Peer victimization* is a term, often used interchangeably with bullying, which shifts the focus to the plight of the victim. Peer victimization occurs in the context of relationships or roles that children develop among peers (Gazelle & Ladd, 2002). It is a group process (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996) often reinforced by peers either passively (e.g., not intervening) or actively (e.g., laughing at the bully's jokes). Peer support for peer victimization and the failure of peers to intervene on behalf of victims is usually compounded by ineffective strategies on the part of victims to escape from or cope with bullying and its aversive consequences (Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1997; Salmivalli, 2010). The combination of peer- and child-related factors conspires to perpetuate a cycle of victimization, leading some



children to become chronically bullied and at risk for negative sequelae (Rudolph, Troop-Gordon, Hessel, & Schmidt, 2011).

The prevalence of children who report being bullied ranges from 20-30% (Nansel et al., 2001). Generally, younger children report more peer victimization experiences than adolescents (Whitney & Smith, 1993). However, rates for self-reported bullying remain the same or increase from elementary school through high school, suggesting that as children get older some are being singled out and bullied more often (Boulton & Underwood, 1992). It is estimated that about 75-80% of children are relatively uninvolved in bullying, 10-15% are occasionally involved, and 5-10% are frequently, chronically bullied (Craig & Pepler, 2003; Craig, Pepler, Murphy, & McCuaig-Edge, 2010).

Bullying can occur in multiple ways: verbally, physically, and relationally (Olweus, 1993). Verbal and physical bullying types are more readily observed as direct forms of aggression. Relational aggression, the act of hurting others' relationships or hurting others via manipulating relationships is less easily observed due to the fact it is typically indirect and more subtle (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). Because of gender expectations, it is considered more normative for boys to act physically aggressive when bullying and for girls to bully through relational actions such as excluding others or gossiping (Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010). Recently, cyber-bullying (i.e., aggressive acts perpetrated by cell phone or internet) has emerged as another type of victimization with consequences similar to that of in-school bullying (Mitchell, Ybarra, & Finkelhor, 2007).

Risks Associated with Chronic Victimization

The experience of peer victimization can have harmful effects (see Card, Isaacs, & Hodges, 2007 for a review). Chronic victimization can lead to serious psychosocial



maladjustment in childhood and can carry forward into adulthood (Rigby & Slee, 1999; Roth, Coles, & Heimberg, 2002). At the school level, chronic victimization is associated with low school enjoyment, school avoidance and absenteeism, low academic performance, and greater enrollment in special education classes (Card & Hodges, 2008). In a national study of over 15,000 students, Nansel, Haynie, and Simons-Morton (2003) found both chronic victims and bullies were significantly more likely to carry a weapon into school than students who were "occasionally" or "never" involved in bullying experiences. Chronic bully-victims are often the least engaged in school and display the highest level of conduct and school problems (Juvonen, Graham, & Schuster, 2003). Outcomes for the bully-victim subtype are typically worse compared to children who are bullies or victims only (Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpela, Rantanen, & Rimpela, 2000).

Interpersonally, chronic victimization is related to low peer acceptance, high peer rejection, and a lack of supportive friendships (Card & Hodges, 2008; Craig & Pepler, 2003). Victims report difficulties getting along with classmates, including being actively rejected by peers (Card & Hodges, 2008; Juvonen et al., 2003). Other known correlates of chronic victimization are social skills deficits, problems with assertiveness, and higher levels of internalizing problems compared to peers who are not chronic victims (Reijntjes, Kamphuis, Prinzie, & Telch, 2010).

The probability of having a psychiatric disorder is higher for chronically bullied children and bully/victims than for children rarely involved in bullying (Kumpulaninen, Rasanen, & Puura, 2001). A meta-analysis of cross-sectional studies revealed that chronic victimization is significantly associated with depression, loneliness, social and generalized anxiety, and low self-esteem (Hawker & Boulton, 2000). Chronic bully-victims in particular are at risk for depression,



anxiety, psychosomatic complaints, eating disorders and substance abuse (Due et al., 2005; Kaltiala-Heino et al., 2000). Additionally, compared to children rarely involved in bullying, chronically bullied children and bully-victims are more likely to have a psychiatric disorder, such as Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, Oppositional Defiant Disorder, Conduct Disorder, depression, or other anxiety disorders (Kumpulainen et al., 2001). A prospective study by Kim and colleagues (2009) indicated that chronically bullied children and bully-victims are also at an increased risk of persistent suicidal ideation and suicidal behaviors, especially in girls.

Collectively, findings from studies examining the correlates of peer victimization suggest that chronically bullied children are a population at risk. They are more likely to have emotional, behavioral, and psychiatric disorders, interpersonal difficulties, and problems in the school environment than those who are not chronically bullied, indicating that they are a population in need.

Universal Prevention Programs for Bullied Children

Currently, the most prominent approach to dealing with school victimization is a universal intervention that targets the whole school. Most programs available today have these two characteristics: *Universal* and *whole school* (Craig et al., 2010). *Universal* means the entire population is eligible for participation in the program. Universal prevention programs are intended for all members of the population, regardless of risk. *Whole school* means the program is implemented throughout the entire school, rather than only directed at individual bullies and victims (Smith, Schneider, Smith, & Ananiadou, 2004). Whole school approaches cast bullying as a systemic problem with multiple causes at the individual, classroom, and school levels requiring interventions that target the entire school context (Smith et al., 2004).

Olweus was the first to implement and evaluate a prevention program for bullied children



as part of a nationwide campaign in Norway against bullying in schools (1978). The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP), as it is now called, aimed to reduce current levels of bully/victim problems and prevent the development of new problems by changing the contingencies surrounding bullying behavior and the contexts that set the occasion for bullying. The program included school- (e.g., school-wide surveys), classroom- (e.g., clear classroom rules against bullying, class meetings with students), and individual child- (e.g., serious talks with bullies, victims, and parents) components. The effects of the intervention were evaluated during a two-year period with 2,500 boys and girls and were impressive: There were reductions in approximately 50% of children's report of bullying and victimization, reductions in anti-social behavior (e.g., shoplifting, truancy, alcohol use), and improvements overall in classroom behavior and attitudes toward school (Olweus, 1991; Olweus, 1993).

Efforts to replicate Olweus' findings have yielded mixed results. Multiple studies suggest the OBPP is effective in reducing some self-reported bullying behavior and ratings of self-victimization (Bauer, Lozano, & Rivara, 2007; Black & Jackson, 2007; Limber, Nation, Tracy, Melton, & Flerx, 2004). However, replication attempts have not been uniformly positive (Olweus & Limber, 2010) and often come up short of replicating the initial findings (Bauer et al., 2007; Melton et al., 1998). For example, although Melton and colleagues (1998) found some reduction in students' self-report of bullying, there were no significant difference in self-reports of victimization. Studies have suggested effects may be variable based on culture, race, and environment as well. For example, Bauer and colleagues (2007) found moderate decreases in victimization among White students, but no program effect for minority students. Additionally, some researchers have proposed that stronger effects found in Scandinavian schools could relate to the distinct nature of the schools as well as to public support for the intervention, features that



were perhaps not possible to replicate in other countries (Gazelle & Ladd, 2002; Smith et al., 2004). These inconsistent results have led Smith and colleagues (2004) to conclude there is not enough evidence to adopt the OBPP "to the exclusion of other procedures" (p. 557).

Popularity of the OBPP has led to the development of other school-wide, universal programs. Some of these universal programs also contain *selective* and *indicative* elements within the larger program. Selective programs target a group of individuals who are deemed to be at-risk for the development of some disorder while *indicative* programs target individuals who are displaying some signs or symptoms of a disorder. Steps to Respect (Committee for Children, 2005) is one example that uses a social-ecological approach to address bullying in the upper elementary school grades. Within this program, bullying behavior is targeted in multiple contexts (e.g. peers, school, and individual) and at multiple levels (e.g. whole school, classroom, and individual). The program is designed to increase adult awareness and monitoring of bullying behaviors, increase support for pro-social behavior, and teach children social-emotional skills that promote positive peer relationships and counteract bullying. Evaluations of Steps to Respect have yielded promising results including reductions in bullying and victimization in classrooms where teachers spend more time implementing program components, such as "coaching" students (Frey et al., 2005; Hirschstein, Edstrom, Frey, Snell, and MacKenzie, 2007). Researchers also found overall reductions in bystander behavior, playground bullying, victimization, and non-bullying aggression after implementation of the program (Frey, Hirschstein, Edstrom, & Snell, 2009). Other investigators have found similar effects, including improved school climate, increased bystander involvement, lower levels of physical bullying, and improved social competency of children (Brown, Low, Smith, & Haggerty, 2011). Researchers have not examined the impact of *Steps to Respect* on chronically bullied children.



A more recently developed school-wide, universal program is *KiVa*, a Finnish acronym for "against bullying." KiVa uses both universal and indicated components as well. Its universal components are designed to a) raise awareness of the group process and roles each person plays in maintaining bullying, b) increase empathy toward victims, and c) increase ways to support victims. *KiVa*'s indicated components include addressing individual cases of bullying as they arise. In small groups, teachers discuss the case with victims and bullies, and other students are called on to support victims. Recent studies indicate the program is effective in reducing overall reports of bullying and victimization (Karna et al., 2011a; Karna et al., 2011b). Additionally, results indicated that bystanders defended victims more and assisted/reinforced bullies less after the program was implemented. Attitudes and empathy for victims also increased (Karna et al., 2011b).

Recently, *KiVa* researchers presented evidence examining two distinct types of indicated interventions for bullied children (Garandeau, Little, Karna, Poskiparta, & Salmivalli, 2011). Compared were a *confronting* method (e.g. disciplining the bully) and a *non-confronting* method (e.g. non-punitive approach aimed at increasing empathy for the victim) in handling bully situations, thus shedding light on the effectiveness of distinct disciplinary strategies. Evidence on what moderates the effectiveness of each method (e.g. gender, grade, length of victimization) was also presented. The researchers concluded the *confronting* method was less effective for long-term victimization and more effective for group bullying while the *non-confronting* method was more effective in primary school. Direct confrontation may work better with adolescents, but may be less effective for chronic victims (Garandeau et al., 2011). Additionally, results suggested the overall effectiveness of intervention was greater when victims had only been bullied for a short time and when relational aggression was not involved. Child gender and the



number of bullies involved with each case did not affect overall effectiveness (Garandeau et al., 2011).

Class-wide, teacher-implemented programs can be used alongside school-wide approaches. These programs are also universal in that they include everyone in the classroom, but they are not necessarily implemented across the entire school or are whole-school approaches. Bully Busters (Newman, Horne, & Bartholomucci, 2000) is one example of a class-wide program that uses teachers as key agents of change. Bully Busters is a psychoeducational training program designed to facilitate teachers' skills, techniques, and intervention strategies for bullying problems. Its goal is to increase teacher self-efficacy for managing bullying behavior in the classroom. Specific objectives of the training included increasing awareness of bullying, recognizing the bully and victim, and increasing the utilization of interventions for bullies and victims (Newman-Carlson & Horne, 2004). Results suggested the intervention improved teachers' knowledge and use of bullying intervention skills and teacher self-efficacy; there was also a significant beneficial effect on the number of student disciplinary referrals (Newman-Carlson & Horne, 2004). A recent study of an abbreviated version of Bully Busters yielded mixed results on bullying behavior but a positive effect on teacher-reports of self-efficacy in managing bullying behaviors (Bell, Raczynski, & Horne, 2010).

Despite the potential strengths of universal anti-bullying programs, there are several limitations to this approach. Universal interventions often consist of structural changes in the school (e.g., increasing teacher supervision, adopting an anti-bulling policy). Implementation of universal program components often is the responsibility of teachers and staff members. Teacher implementation can vary for multiple reasons including knowledge, skill of program delivery, and buy-in (Olweus, 1993). Universal programs tend to have the greatest outcomes when



teachers are engaged and adherent to the program goals and instructions (Hirschstein et al., 2007; Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, & Isava, 2008; Olweus, 1993; Salmivalli, Kaukiainen, Voeten, & Sinisammal, 2004; Salmivalli, Kaukiainen, & Voten, 2005). Sustaining a universal program over time can be difficult because support and buy-in from many parties (e.g., the principal, other staff, students) is needed and can be a difficult barrier to overcome (Vernberg & Gamm, 2003). In addition, public support and degree of commitment to an anti-bullying policy differs from school to school, as well as from country to country (Smith, 2011). Universal programs involving whole schools require materials, training, and other costs that are likely to exceed that of more focused interventions (Offord, Kraemer, Kazdin, Jensen, & Harrington, 1998).

In addition to the challenges of implementation and sustaining universal programs over time, another challenge is the lack of knowledge of the critical components of these programs. There have been few studies that have dismantled universal programs to determine the mechanisms by which these programs benefit children (Jacobs, 2008). Although some evidence suggests teacher training alone can be effective as a stand-alone intervention (Newman-Carlson & Horne, 2004), much more research is needed to be done.

Perhaps one of the biggest concerns with universal prevention programs relating to bullied children lies in the assessment of outcomes for chronically victimized children. Due to the common practice of assessing victimization with anonymous surveys, such as the Olweus Bullying Questionnaire, little is known about which children benefit from the program (Chan, Myron, & Crawshaw, 2005). Thus, it is not clear if chronically bullied children actually benefit, even when overall levels of victimization drop. As a result, some researchers (Nation, 2007; Pepler, 2006) have called for interventions that provide "more focused support" for chronically bullied children (Pepler, 2006, p. 16).



Need for Bullying Prevention Programs at the Selective Level

Craig and colleagues (2010) estimate that approximately 10-15% of children are at risk for continued, on-going involvement in bullying and victimization. Selective intervention programs are needed to prevent the negative psychological and social-emotional consequences of chronic peer victimization (Elledge et al., 2010; Nation, 2007). Selective prevention programs target individuals at risk for a specific disorder or negative outcome, and in the case of children who are chronically victimized, selective interventions might reduce their risk for later academic, social, and emotional problems, and risk for later delinquency. Given the psychological correlates and consequences of victimization, victims of chronic bullying often require more intensive intervention than what is typically provided (Card & Hodges, 2008; Nation, 2007; Pepler, 2006). Additionally, teachers may not know how to respond to specific cases of bullying, and systemic, universal interventions which focus on environmental changes may not provide enough support for the chronically victimized child (Nation, 2007).

A few researchers have developed interventions that focus on persistent cases of bullying or peer victimization (Nation, 2007). Pikas (1989) developed the Method of Shared Concern (MSC) in which teachers conduct meetings with the students involved in bullying. According to Rigby (2005), teachers meet with the suspected bullies and express concern for the victim's suffering. Suspected bullies are asked to identify individual goals and behaviors they can use to help the victim and make a contract agreeing to implement the solutions. Teachers also meet with victims and offer support and empathy, and additional individual and group meetings are held to assess progress on agreed upon solutions. Finally, bullies are asked to make a contract stating that bullying will not continue (Rigby, 2005). There have been few studies to examine the MSC's effectiveness, and sound research methodology in those that exist are lacking.



Findings from multiple cases (N = 17) suggested the approach is generally positive, with 90% of cases showing improvement (Rigby & Griffiths, 2011). Duncan (1996) also found that 34 of 38 cases had outcomes that were rated as "successful" or "very successful." Teachers reported being satisfied with the MSC and perceived lower frequency and severity of bullying in over three-fourths of cases (Smith, Cowie, & Sharp, 1994). Some researchers have found that teachers report difficulty putting the MSC into practice, as it required extra time and commitment (Rigby & Griffiths, 2011). Components of the MSC have been incorporated into larger anti-bullying programs (e.g., Salmivalli et al., 2004) which have reported overall reductions in bullying behavior (Rigby, 2005).

The No Blame Approach, now commonly referred to as the Support Group Method, originated from Maines' and Robinson's work. The Support Group Method is an anti-bullying intervention that seeks to change the behavior of the bully. Teachers first talk to the victim, then have a meeting with the bully (or group of bullies), and then act as the voice of the victim.

Teachers strive to increase the bully's empathy for the victim. Students come up with suggestions for how to deal with the problem, and each student meets individually with the teacher to report on his/her success. Research examining the Support Group Method is encouraging but limited (Smith, Howard, & Thompson, 2007). Maines and Robinson (1994) reported a high success rate based on teachers' impressions of whether or not their intervention was helpful. However, conclusions drawn from these findings were limited by the study's methodology (Maines & Robinson, 1994). Other researchers have found high success rates (i.e. over 80%) when examining case data while implementing variants of the Support Group Method (Young, 1998; Young & Holdorf, 2003). Smith and colleagues (2007) found that 63% of local authorities "generally supported" or "strongly supported" the approach; however, 81% of those



in the study believed they did not have any evidence for the overall effectiveness of the approach for handling bullying.

Bully Court is an intervention strategy whereby a select group of students meet and hear from the bully, the victim, and witnesses. Students in the court ("representatives"), with supervision from teachers, determine punishment for the bully. Elliot (1991) reported that rates of bullying dropped from 70% to 6% in schools that implemented Bully Court; however, there was a lack of clarity on the methodology used in these evaluations, thus limiting the conclusions that can be drawn. Brier and Ahmad (1991) found that student-reports of bullying incidents decreased 5-7% in grades that implemented the intervention and increased approximately 2% in grades without the intervention. Mahdavi and Smith (2002) examined the effects of Bully Courts over one school term in one school and found both students and staff members strongly supported the program. A large percentage of victims (80%) said they would use the bully court again, and 77% believed Bully Court was more effective than when a teacher deals with bullying (Mahdavi & Smith, 2002). Due to the lack of systematic controls within these studies, conclusions that can be drawn are limited.

Social skills training is another selective intervention that has been used directly with bullied children (Fox & Boulton, 2003; DeRosier, 2004). Social skills training programs have been evaluated using more rigorous experimental designs. Fox & Boulton (2003) found increased global self-worth for children receiving social skills training, but no significant differences on other outcome measures such as victimization, peer acceptance, and depression at post-test or follow-up. In another social skills training program, DeRosier (2004) found small effect sizes for changes in self- and peer- rated victimization and bullying ranging from d = .01 to .10 from pre-test to post-test. One-year follow-up analyses revealed no further gains in self-



or peer-reports of bullying or victimization (DeRosier & Marcus, 2005). Overall, greater support was found for girls and for aggressive children, but it was unclear what proportion of these children had been bullied and what proportion of those who had been bullied had benefited (DeRosier & Marcus, 2005). Thus, the research examining social skills training on children's bullying experiences to date is not very promising and no strong supportive conclusions can be drawn (Fox & Boulton, 2003; DeRosier, 2004; DeRosier & Marcus, 2005).

Support groups, art therapy, peer-counseling, and martial arts are examples of other interventions suggested for bullied children (Carr, 1988; Ross, 1996; Twemlow et al., 2008). To date, systematic research on the efficacy of these approaches is limited or non-existent (Nation, 2007). No systematic evaluations exist for support groups or art therapy. Peer counseling has been evaluated by asking randomly selected students if they used a telephone hotline service aimed at solving peer problems and if they thought it was a good idea (Sharp, Sellors, & Cowie, 1994). No outcome variables related to victimization or bullying have been evaluated with peer counseling methods. Finally, Twemlow et al. (2008) offers the only systematically evaluated program for martial arts, but it is not limited to bullied children. The researchers evaluated a martial-arts based intervention to reduce aggression in children as part of a larger, universal prevention program for bullying. Analyses indicated participation in the program was significantly related to decreases in aggression and increases in bystander behavior, but only for boys. No effects were found for girls or boys in reducing rates of victimization (Twemlow et al., 2008).

Some researchers argue that interventions designed to prevent the deleterious effects of chronic victimization should include strategies that strengthen children's social connections and peer relationships (e.g., Gazelle & Ladd, 2002; Pepler, 2006). Negative peer status tends to be



strongly associated with victimization, and victims are often rejected by peers or have few friends (Card et al., 2007; Ladd & Troop-Gordon, 2003). In fact, simply having a reciprocated best friend has been found to be a buffer against peer victimization and against negative adjustment associated with peer victimization (Fox & Boulton, 2006; Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro, & Bukowski, 1999). Friendships provide a context to build self-esteem and learn appropriate social skills (Hodges et al., 1999). Friendships can also promote school-belonging and attendance (Li, Lynch, Kalvin, Liu, & Lerner, 2011) both of which are often affected negatively by chronic peer victimization (Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1996). Researchers believe that interventions that strengthen friendships and promote peer acceptance may also increase the likelihood that peers will intervene in bullying, thus reducing overall levels of peer victimization (Cowie, 2011; Menesini, Codecasa, Benelli, & Cowie, 2003).

Youth Mentoring

Traditionally, youth mentoring consists of one-to-one visits with an adult volunteer outside school hours. Conceptual models of youth mentoring theorize that mentoring relationships promote emotional, social, cognitive, and positive identity gains for developing youth, including improvements in other important interpersonal relationships (Keller, 2005; Rhodes, Spencer, Keller, Liang, & Noam, 2006). From a prevention science perspective, youth mentoring has the potential to prevent children from the accrual of risk, protect children who are showing signs of risk, and promote children's competencies (Cavell & Elledge, 2013).

Despite the widespread public appeal of mentoring programs such as Big Brothers Big Sisters agencies, research evaluating these programs has lagged behind their implementation. A meta-analysis of youth mentoring programs provided evidence of modest benefits for mentored youth (DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Cooper, 2002). The average effect size for the programs



was d = .14, a small effect according to Cohen's guidelines (Cohen, 1988). Thus, DuBois and colleagues (2002) recommended adhering closely to best practices and to continual evaluation of individual programs. In a more recent meta-analysis, DuBois, Portillo, Rhodes, Silverthorn, & Valentine (2011) found an average effect size of g = .21, which is also considered a small effect size. However, they found mentored youth improved significantly over time (g = .25) while nonmentored youth showed a decline in adjustment (g = .17), indicating that mentoring may prevent poor outcomes. The authors concluded that mentoring programs can be successful in improving youth's behaviors, attitudes, and academic performance (Dubois et al., 2011).

School-Based Mentoring

The field has seen tremendous growth in school-based mentoring (SBM), which involves mentors meeting with mentees at school (Herrera, Grossman, Kauh, & McMaken, 2011). It is estimated that 70% of formal mentoring programs in the U.S. are school-based (Rhodes, Roffman, & Grossman, 2002). According to Herrera (1999), the popularity of SBM programs could be due to perceptions that it is less costly and more convenient than community-based mentoring, or that it creates opportunities for children to interact with school staff. Additionally, SBM could be viewed as a solution for the No Child Left Behind Act, as schools under pressure to improve students' academic performance turn to SBM programs that offer tutoring and academic help (Herrera, 1999). Mentoring at school is thought to provide youth with more positive school experiences and an increased sense of school-belonging (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002). Herrera and colleagues (2011) reported that schools are an "ideal" (p. 347) context to provide youth with a mentoring relationship because children spend the majority of their week days at school acquiring skills, learning values and behaviors, and forming important relationships with adults and peers.



Studies examining the benefits of SBM have generally yielded modest but positive effects. Randolph & Johnson (2008) qualitatively reviewed eight outcome evaluations and found the primary benefit of SBM programs to be increased school connectedness. Additional benefits were found for youth's connectedness to families and communities but mixed findings were found for classroom behavior and academics (Randolph & Johnson, 2008). More recently, Wheeler, Keller, and DuBois (2010) compared the results of three, large-scale randomized control trials of SBM. Examined were findings from studies evaluating SBM in the context of Big Brothers Big Sisters of America (BBBSA; Herrera, Grossman, Kauh, Feldman, & McMaken, 2007), Communities in Schools (Karcher, 2008), and the U.S. Department of Education's Student Mentoring Program (Bernstein, Rappaport, Olsho, Hunt, & Levine, 2009). Using meta-analytic techniques, Wheeler and colleagues (2010) found small effects (*d* ranging from .07 to .18) after one year of participation in a SBM program in the following domains: reduced truancy, presence of a supportive non-familial adult relationship, perceived scholastic efficacy, reduced school related misconduct, peer support, and reduced absenteeism.

School-Based Mentoring as Selective Prevention for Bullied Children

Youth mentoring has been suggested as an intervention for bullied children (Espelage & Asidao, 2001; Goldbaum, Craig, & Pepler, 2007) but there is little research to support its use. The Bully Court program (Mahdavi & Smith, 2002) pairs high school mentors with bullied students in lower grades as a component of the larger intervention but this component has not yet been empirically evaluated. Elinoff (2006) relied on groups of peer mentors in grade 6 to teach a skills training program to bullied children in grades 3–5 but adult mentors were not used. Both adult and peer mentors were part of the Peaceful School model for reducing school violence and peer victimization (Twemlow et al., 2001; Twemlow, Fonagy, & Sacco, 2005), but outcome data



specific to mentoring have not been published.

Despite the potential fit for school-based mentoring, few studies have examined the benefits of youth mentoring as an intervention for bullied children (Craig, Gregus, Faith, Gomez, & Cavell, 2012; Elledge et al., 2010). Elledge et al. (2010) used a form of SBM called *Lunch Buddy* (LB) *mentoring*. LB mentoring involves twice/weekly lunchtime visits by college student mentors (Cavell, Elledge, Malcolm, Faith, & Hughes, 2009; Cavell & Smith, 2005). The program was designed originally as a control condition in a randomized control trial evaluating the effectiveness of a more complex, multi-component intervention that included community-based mentoring (PrimeTime) for aggressive children (Hughes, Cavell, Meehan, Zhang, & Collie, 2005). The LB condition was intended to be inert because the mentors had limited opportunities for relationship formation: all visits occurred in the cafeteria, were limited to the school lunch period, and occurred with other children at the table. Additionally, the children were paired with a different mentor each semester. The researchers assumed such conditions would make it difficult to form a strong, lasting relationship, which historically is considered the key to good outcomes in the mentoring literature (Rhodes, Grossman & Resch, 2000).

Surprisingly, there were no significant between-group differences on major outcome variables at post-test, but significant between-group differences at the one- and two-year follow up emerged and favored the LB condition on measures of scholastic competence and externalizing problems; LB mentoring was also found to be more effective in schools with greater adversity (Hughes et al., 2005). LB mentoring has also been described as relatively easy to implement and replicate, with mentors receiving minimal training and matches last only one semester (Cavell & Henrie, 2010).

Elledge and colleagues (2010) paired children identified as bullied with a LB mentor for



one semester. Mentored children were viewed by peers as significantly less victimized following mentoring and as significantly less bullied than matched control children who attended a different school. No significant changes were found in self- or teacher- ratings of peer-victimization. Importantly, parents and teachers reported high satisfaction with LB mentoring and parents, teachers, and children perceived little or no harm associated with the program (Elledge et al., 2010). Craig et al. (2012) extended the work of Elledge et al. (2010) by examining changes in peer victimization after three semesters of mentoring. They found significant reductions in self- and teacher- reported victimization after three semesters, offering further support for LB mentoring as a selective intervention for bullied children.

Hypothesized Mechanisms of LB Mentoring

Researchers have speculated on the mechanisms by which LB mentoring would benefit participating children, but to date none have been tested empirically. Most theoretical models posit that a strong bond between mentor and mentee is at the heart of mentoring, with little change to be expected in the absence of a relationship marked by trust, empathy, and mutuality (Rhodes & DuBois, 2008). Cavell et al. (2009) suggested that consistency and the absence of conflict are key parameters in the mentoring relationship, given that children paired with LB mentors seemed to benefit even though they tended to rate the relationship as less supportive than did children paired with more traditional, community-based mentors. Cavell and Henrie (2010) hypothesized that LB mentoring serves to alter children's peer ecology, perhaps by enhancing mentored children's lunchtime peer interactions or their social reputation among lunchtime peers. Cavell and Henrie (2010) cited cognitive consistency theory to suggest that LB mentoring is beneficial because visits from a "cool" college student lead peers to adopt more positive attitudes toward children who had been socially marginalized. A recent study found



evidence that mentored children's relationship with peers improves only after gains in the mentors' relationship with the target child and with lunchtime peers (Craig, Murphy, Gregus, Gomez, & Cavell, 2012). Elledge (2012) speculated that LB mentors may also improve peer interactions through their use of monitoring and contingency management strategies. Given that the lunchroom is often a context for frequent school bullying (Parault, Davis, & Pellegrini, 2007), mentors may be directly intervening in bullying behavior, thus leading to overall reductions in reports of victimization.

Purpose of Current Study

The current study expanded upon previously conducted open trials of Lunch Buddy Mentoring, an intervention that could be useful in serving bullied children. This study used a case-study approach that combined qualitative and quantitative methods to gain more information about the palatability of LB mentoring and its possible mechanisms.

The current investigation has three aims. The first is to examine the pattern of changes associated with LB mentoring for four children identified as bullied. Included here are key outcome (peer victimization, bullying, social preference, and reciprocated friendships) and process variables (quality of lunchtime peer relationships and quality of mentor relationships). The second aim is to examine the extent to which relevant stakeholders (e.g. teachers, parents, school counselor) view LB mentoring as an acceptable intervention for bullied children. Past studies have yielded low ratings of harm and high ratings of satisfaction, but the current study adds qualitative data detailing stakeholder's impressions of LB mentoring. The third and final aim of the study is to uncover mechanisms by which LB mentoring benefits bullied children. As noted previously, some change mechanisms have been proposed but none have been empirically tested and other mechanisms could also be operating. Thus, rather than testing previously



hypothesized mechanisms, I used qualitative data to uncover a range of possible mechanisms that could account for change in LB mentoring.

Method

Participants

Participants were drawn from a larger study (N = 74) examining the correlates of peer victimization conducted at one public elementary school in Springdale, Arkansas. The current study involved 4 children who were identified as being bullied. A total of 224 consent forms were originally sent home, and 84 were returned (38% return rate). Of those returned, parent's written consent and child's assent were obtained for 74 (88%) children. Currently, there is no established, agreed-upon measure for identifying bullied children (Card & Hodges, 2008). Also, it is recommended that multiple informants be used when assessing children's level of peer victimization (Ladd & Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2002). Therefore, children were identified as bullied in this study via an index that summed child- and teacher- ratings of peer victimization. Scores on the Child-Teacher Victimization Index (CTVI) could range from 0-48 with higher numbers indicating greater victimization. By design, one boy and one girl from both the fourth and fifth grades were selected to participate, based on elevated CTVI scores. Children's parents were informed that their child "was one of the students [in the larger project] who said he/she was bullied," and who were eligible for LB mentoring. Of the parents contacted initially, only one declined. The child with the next highest CTVI score (and the corresponding gender and grade) was then recruited into the study. CTVI scores for children in the larger sample ranged from 0-32 (M = 12.28; SD = 7.18); CTVI scores for children identified as bullied and recruited for LB mentoring ranged from 19-32 (M = 25.25; SD = 5.38), with all scores at or above the 85th percentile for the larger sample. Demographic information for the four children is presented below. Three of the four of children came from two-parent homes, were Hispanic, and had



multiple siblings.

- a) Child 1, "Anna" was a Hispanic, 4th-grade girl. She lived with her three sisters, mother and father. Both English and Spanish were spoken in the home. Anna's CTVI score was 19.
- b) Child 2, "Bryan" was a non-Hispanic, White 5th-grade boy. He lived with his mother and grandparent. English was spoken in the home. Bryan's CTVI score was 32.
- c) Child 3, "Colt" was a Hispanic, 4th-grade boy. He lived with his father, mother, one brother, and one sister. Both English and Spanish were spoken in the home. Colt's CTVI score was 24.
- d) Child 4, "Darcy" was a Hispanic, 5th-grade girl who lived with her father, mother, one brother, and one sister. Spanish was spoken in the home. Darcy's CTVI score was 26.

Lunch Buddy mentors were college undergraduates. All mentors were non-Hispanic, White women (1 freshman, 1 sophomore, 1 junior, and 1 senior) and three of the four were psychology majors; one was undeclared.

Lunch Buddy mentoring. Children in the LB mentoring program were visited by their mentor twice weekly during scheduled lunch times. Mentoring took place during the spring semester, beginning in late January/early February and ending after the first week of May. All mentors were required to pass a criminal background check, and all were enrolled in an independent studies course that combined the experience of youth mentoring with related readings. Decisions about how to match mentors and children were driven largely by mentors' availability for children's lunch periods. LB mentors participated in a 90-minute training led by graduate research assistants. Training covered (a) preliminary paperwork, (b) issues of safety, (c)



proper dress and behavior in an elementary school setting, (d) procedures for handling critical events (e.g. highly disruptive behavior, disclosure of maltreatment), (e) instructions for completing weekly log sheets online, and (f) guidelines for preparing mentees for the end of the mentoring relationship. Mentors were instructed to sit with target children and peers at their assigned lunchroom table. Mentors were told they had two main goals for mentoring: 1) to facilitate positive peer interactions with nearby lunch mates and their mentee and 2) to help increase their mentee's social reputation. Children were introduced to their mentor by the classroom teacher or by the lunchroom monitor.

Fidelity of LB mentoring was promoted by the fact that participating mentors were enrolled in a lab experiences course for which the assigned grade was based in part on consistent attendance as a mentor. Mentor log ratings and periodic calls to the school counselor were used to assess treatment fidelity. Consistency of mentor visits was estimated by calculating the percentage of possible lunchtime visits actually attended. LB mentors, on average, attended 95% of their visits, with a range from 90% to 100%. The mean number of visits for the current study was 17, and ranged from 15-19 total visits for all four mentors. The total number of visits varied due to factors such as illness of the mentor or mentee, Benchmark exams (in which the mentors were asked not to mentor during that week), Spring Break, and/or classroom field trips the mentee took.

Procedure

The project was approved by the University of Arkansas' Institutional Review Board, and written parental consent and child assent were obtained for all participating children.

Children were recruited in the fall semester of their fourth- or fifth-grade year and were mentored in the spring semester. Quantitative assessment of key outcomes was conducted pre-,



mid-, and post-mentoring. Children completed self- and peer-report measures in class groups. For peer-report measures, children used a numerical roster listing all participating children; items were read aloud and children nominated classmates by writing the number corresponding to the classmate's name. To minimize discussion among participants, children were adequately spaced, instructed to keep answers covered, and asked to work on distracter activities (e.g., mazes) between sets of questions. Teachers completed all measures simultaneous with the administration of child measures. Parent measures were sent home in children's weekly folder, and parents were asked to return completed questionnaires in the mail using a separate, selfaddressed stamped envelope provided. Measures that assessed perceived harm and satisfaction with LB mentoring, as well as ratings of the quality of the mentoring relationship, were completed post-mentoring. Individual interviews were also conducted post-mentoring with mentors, with mentored children, and with children's teachers, parents, and school counselor. All measures referenced below, including interview questions, can be found in Appendix A. Examples of actual interview transcripts can be found in Appendix B. Teachers and parents received gift cards worth \$25 for their participation.

Quantitative Measures

Quantitative measures were used to assess the outcomes of peer victimization and bullying, social preference, and reciprocated friendships. Also assessed were changes in children's lunchtime peer relationships and the quality of their mentoring relationships, as well as perceived harm from and satisfaction with LB mentoring.

Peer victimization and bullying. Children's involvement in peer victimization and bullying was assessed through self-, peer-, and teacher-report measures. Children's self-reported victimization was assessed using a 16-item scale adapted from the *School Experiences*



Questionnaire (SEQ; Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2004). Physical, verbal, and relational forms of peer victimization were assessed, with each type represented by three items. The questionnaire also consisted of three items that assessed children's involvement in bullying behavior (physical, verbal, and relational). The remaining items were filler items that asked about pro-social peer behavior. Children rated each item using a five-point scale (0 = never; 4 = always). Scores were averaged across the nine victimization items to form a total victimization score and across the three bullying items to form a total bullying score. Elledge and colleagues (2010) reported that internal consistency of the victimization scale ranged from .82 to .84. Gregus, Craig, Hernandez Rodriguez, Pastrana, and Cavell (2013) found the internal consistency of the bullying scale ranged from .58-.81.

Teacher reports of victimization and bullying were obtained using a teacher version of the SEQ. Teachers were asked to rate participating students on the extent to which they experienced physical (e.g., hit, pushed or kicked by another student), verbal (e.g., called names, threatened, or teased by another student), and relational (e.g., left out of activities, not talked to by another student) peer victimization. A single item was used to assess each type of victimization and items were rated on a 5-point scale (0 = never, 4 = always). A composite victimization score was computed by averaging across the three victimization items. Elledge and colleagues (2010) reported internal consistency estimates for this scale that ranged from .75 to .77. Teachers also rated each child on a single item that assessed the child's use of physical, verbal, or relational bullying.

Peer reports of victimization were derived from a modified version of the *Revised Class Play* instrument (Masten, Morison, & Pellegrini, 1985), a widely used sociometric procedure known for its predictive validity (e.g., Gest, Sesma, Masten, & Tellegen, 2006). Researchers



often rely on peer report measures (Ladd & Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2002; Perry, Kusel, & Perry, 1988), including the *Revised Class Play* (e.g., Estell et al., 2009), when assessing the degree to which children are recurring victims of school bullying. With this instrument, children imagine themselves as directors of a class play and nominate peers who fit descriptors of various roles. Peers were asked to nominate up to three classmates who were bullied. Three separate items assessed verbal, physical, and relational victimization (e.g., "Which 3 kids could play the part of someone who gets teased, who gets called mean names, or who gets told hurtful things by other kids?"). Also included was an item that asked peers to nominate children who could play the part of a child who engages in physical, verbal, or relational bullying. Peer nominations were standardized within classroom to control for the number of nominating peers.

Social preference. Social preference was measured using a combination of sociometric nominations and peer ratings. Children were asked to nominate three classmates with whom they played the most. Additionally, children rated how much they liked to play with each classmate using a 5-point scale (1 = don't like at all; 5 = like very much), with ratings of "1" serving as proxy liked-least nominations (Asher & Dodge, 1986). The number of least-liked nominations were subtracted from the number of positive nominations to yield a social preference score. Social preference scores were standardized within classroom to control for the number of nominating peers.

Reciprocated friendships. Friendships were operationalized as reciprocated positive nominations. Thus, when two classmates nominated each other as a child with whom they liked to play with the most, this was considered a reciprocated friendship.

Quality of lunchtime interactions. Changes in the quality of interactions between the mentor, peers, and the mentee were assessed at multiple time points during the semester of



mentoring. After each visit, mentors completed an online log consisting of 15 items. Rated were their perceptions of the amount of interaction, valence of the interaction (positive to negative) and the degree of liking across three different relationships: mentee to mentor, peers to mentor, and peers to mentee. Sample items were "How positive or negative were the interactions between other children and your mentee?" and "How much do the other children seem to like your mentee?" Mentors rated each dimension on a 7-point scale ($1 = not \ at \ all$, 4 = some, $7 = quite \ a \ lot$). Additionally, three of these questions were open-ended and assessed what the mentor did to promote positive interactions and enhance reputations during the visit. The final question asked what the most important incident was that occurred during the visit.

The *Lunch Mate Rating Scale* (LMRS) is a 6-item measure collected at post-mentoring asking mentored children about the quality of their lunchtime interactions with their mentor and their peers. Children rated each item on a 5-point scale (0 = *never*, 4 = *always*). Sample items included "When your mentor was at school, did other kids at the table want to sit by <u>your</u> mentor?" and "When your mentor was at school, did other kids want to talk to <u>you</u>?" Gregus et al. (2013) found the internal consistency of the LMRS ranged from .64-.84.

Mentoring relationship quality. Measures of relationship quality were completed by children and mentors post-mentoring. Level of support in the relationship was assessed via the Mentor Alliance Scale (MAS; Cavell et al., 2009), a 12-item measure adapted from the Therapeutic Alliance Scale (TAS; Shirk & Saiz, 1992). Sample alliance items included, "I tell my mentor about things that upset me" and "I like spending time with my mentor." Levels of conflict or negative interactions during mentoring were assessed using the Conflict subscale of the Network of Relationships Inventory (NRI; Furman & Buhrmester, 1985). The NRI asks children to rate different aspects of their relationships (e.g. intimacy, companionship,



instrumental aid) with various members of their social network. The Conflict subscale of the NRI has been shown to be predictive of outcomes in a prior study of LB mentoring (Cavell et al., 2009). Sample conflict items included "My mentor and I often argue with each other" and "My mentor needs to punish me." Children rated items for both alliance and conflict on one 18-item measure entitled "Mentoring Scale" using a 5-point scale (0 = never; 4 = always). Parallel versions were completed by mentors. Internal consistency estimates for these scales, as reported by Elledge and colleagues (2010), ranged from .75 to .84 and from .81 to .91 for the child and mentor, respectively.

Harm and satisfaction. Parents' and teachers' satisfaction with LB mentoring was assessed via the *Lunch Buddy Satisfaction Questionnaire* (LBSQ, Elledge et al., 2010). This scale was adapted from the Client Satisfaction Questionnaire-8 (CSQ-8; Attkisson and Greenfield, 1994), an eight-item global measure of consumer satisfaction typically used in healthcare settings. Published estimates of internal consistency of the CSQ-8 are typically above .90. A sample item on the LBSQ was, "To what extent has our mentoring program met your expectations?" Ratings were made on a 4-point scale with higher ratings indicating greater satisfaction.

Perceived harm from LB mentoring was assessed using the *Lunch Buddy Harm Scale* (LBHS; Elledge et al., 2010). This scale was completed by children, parents, and teachers. The LBHS consists of three items rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 5 = *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicative of greater harm. Items on the child-version of the LBHS were a) "Other kids treated me worse at lunch because I had a mentor", (b) "Bad things happened to me because of my mentor", and (c) "I was picked on, teased, or left out of things on purpose because I had a mentor visit me at lunch." Parallel versions were completed by parents



and teachers. Internal consistency of these scales reported by Elledge and colleagues (2010) ranged from .62-.94.

Qualitative Measures

Qualitative data were gathered primarily via interviews with key stakeholders. Additional data came from mentors' weekly log ratings and their end-of-term papers.

Interviews. Semi-structured interviews designed to gain qualitative impressions about LB mentoring were conducted post-mentoring with children, mentors, teachers, parents, and the school counselor. Two of the four parents could not be reached or did not return requests for interviews. Interviews with children, parents, and school staff were individually administered by a trained graduate research assistant. Interviews with mentors were conducted by a trained undergraduate research assistant. All interviews contained approximately 20 questions that assessed 4 broad domains relevant to LB mentoring: basic knowledge about the LB mentoring program, help or harm associated with the program, suggested changes or recommendations for improving the program, and overall impressions of the program. Questions slightly varied depending on who the interviewee was. All interviews were transcribed for later review and analysis.

Mentor logs. Mentors completed an online log after each visit. The log consisted of 15 items assessing the quality of interactions between the mentor, peers, and the mentee as referenced previously. Three of these questions were open-ended. These questions asked what the mentor did to promote positive interactions and enhance reputations during the visit, as well as asked the mentor to identify the most important incident that occurred during the visit.

Mentor end-of-term papers. Mentors were required to complete end of semester term papers as part of the independent studies class in which they were enrolled. In these papers,



mentors described what the mentoring process was like and highlights/lowlights of their experience. They described strategies they used to enhance their mentee's reputation and the quality of interactions between their mentee and his/her lunch-mates. Additionally, they were asked to describe what they did to manage misbehavior. Finally, they were asked to provide advice for incoming mentors and feedback on the program overall.

Results

Results are presented in two parts. I first report quantitative and qualitative findings for each of the four cases and summarize qualitative results common across informants, giving specific examples to highlight key points and noting when reports differed between informants. Following that, I describe a thematic analysis of the qualitative data and present findings from that analysis.

Case Study #1: Anna

Background. Anna was a fourth-grade Hispanic girl who lived with her mother, father, and three sisters. Both English and Spanish were spoken in the home. Anna's CTVI of 19 indicated that she was the most bullied girl in her class (M = 13.11, SD = 3.33, range = 8-19). The school counselor also noted that Anna had a history of bullying problems. Specifically, she had an ongoing conflict with a group of girls in her same grade, which may have contributed to her high CTVI. In fact, the counselor met with Anna and these girls during the semester of mentoring and reported that it seemed to help resolve their issues. Anna's teacher noted that Anna was "never a problem student" and her mentor described Anna as an "easy" child, noting that she seemed to have an established group of friends at the start of mentoring. Indeed, the mentor stated that she "did not see anything wrong with [Anna's] reputation" and noted that Anna "always seemed to get along with other children."



Length and activities of LB mentoring. Anna and her mentor met a total of 15 times. The mentor reported giving Anna support and guidance with her problems. The mentor also reported trying to model "good" behavior and encourage positive social interaction between Anna and her peers. The mentor tried to engage everyone in conversation, played games with Anna and her peers, and tried to make Anna more often the center of attention. Her mentor reported trying to talk in Spanish, which was fun for Anna and her friends who spoke Spanish. Anna's mentor also tried to expand Anna's social network by talking to students in other classes during lunch. Anna's mentor noted trying to make Anna "look cool" by reinforcing her with praise and laughter. She also noted that because there was a "no-talking" period during lunch at times, her presence was one way that Anna and her friends could talk without getting in trouble and this seemed to also make her look cool. In this school, the "no-talking" policy was enforced for approximately five minutes when the students became loud to calm the students down and to ensure they were eating. At the end of mentoring, the mentor gave Anna a journal as a goodbye gift.

Mentor-mentee alliance and conflict. Both Anna and her mentor rated the alliance in their relationship close to the highest score possible (mean item scores were 3.83 and 3.5, respectively, on a 0-4 scale) and the conflict in their relationship close to the lowest score possible (mean item scores were .6 and 0, respectively, on a 0-4 scale).

Independent interviews with Anna and her mentor indicated the two had a strong bond and similar interests. Anna reported that she liked having a mentor and noted that her mentor "helped [her] with [her] problems." Specifically, Anna said that her mentor was "someone [she] could talk to" and someone who "took care of [her]." Anna's mother reported that Anna "loved" her mentor and made her daughter "feel special." Anna's mother noted increased self-esteem



and sense of security in Anna following the mentoring. Anna's mentor reported that they had a very strong relationship, noting that Anna called her "one of her best friends." Anna's teacher corroborated this and noted that Anna looked forward to visits with her mentor, "opened up" about her problems and "valued her mentor's opinion."

Victimization and bullying. Anna's self- and teacher-rated peer victimization scores from pre-to post-mentoring are presented in Figure 1. Both self- and teacher-reports of victimization were slightly higher than the class average at pre-test but steadily decreased over time to the class average. Peer nominations of being victimized were at or below the class average at all three time points, indicating her peers did not view Anna as bullied.

Anna's self-reported bullying behavior was higher than the class average pre-mentoring; however, post-mentoring, she rated herself lower than the class average. Anna's teacher did not view Anna as a bully, rating Anna below the class average at all three time-points (see Figure 2). Similarly, Anna's peer nominations of being a bully were below the class average at all three time points (see Figure 3).

Mean change scores across the various subtypes of victimization and bullying from preto post- mentoring for all four children are presented in Table 1. Anna's change scores for self-rated physical, verbal, and relational victimization each decreased more compared to the class average over the course of mentoring. Her self-rated victimization changed evenly across the subtypes of victimization. Anna's teacher-report of victimization decreased more compared to the class average for verbal and relational victimization but did not change for physical victimization. Ana's change scores for self-reported bullying behavior decreased more than the class average across all types of bullying. Her change score for self-rated physical bullying behavior had the largest decrease over the course of mentoring.



Social preference and reciprocated friendships. Anna's standardized social preference score pre-mentoring was -.50, below the class average. At mid-mentoring, her social preference was greater than the class average, at .33. Post-mentoring, her social preference score remained above the class average (.39), with a total increase in social preference of nearly one standard deviation (i.e., .89) from pre- to post- mentoring.

Anna had two reciprocated friendships pre-mentoring and three at mid-semester and post-mentoring, indicating she gained one reciprocated friendship over time. In her class, the possible number of reciprocated friendships could range from 0-8.

Lunchtime interactions. As noted in the Methods, after each visit Anna's mentor rated her perceptions of the degree of liking within three different relationships (Anna and her lunch mates, Anna and her mentor, and the mentor and lunch mates) as well as the frequency and valence of the interactions (positive to negative) between Anna and her lunch mates. For ease of interpretation, log data from all mentor visits were blocked temporally into thirds for each dyad. For Anna, the data suggest an increase in the degree of liking for all three dyads over the course of mentoring (see Figure 4). The data also suggest an increase in both the frequency and positivity of interactions between Anna and her peers over the course of mentoring (see Figure 5).

Anna indicated that during times when her mentor visited, nearby lunch mates "almost always" wanted to sit by and talk to her and her mentor. When her mentor was not at school, Anna perceived nearby lunch mates wanting to sit by and talk to her only "sometimes." These data indicate that Anna's perceptions of lunch mate liking varied as a function of the presence of the mentor.

In qualitative interviews, Anna's mentor described Anna as having friendships before



mentoring began but that she became "more popular" over the course of mentoring and that her self-esteem seemed to improve as well. Anna's teacher noted Anna was paying more attention to her peer group as well. Her mother reported that Anna gained some skills in managing bullying, specifically noting "she would ignore other's behavior more so and not feel so much harm." These observations are consistent with data on changes over time in social preference, reciprocated friendships, and lunchtime peer interactions.

Perceived harm, satisfaction, and overall qualitative impressions. Anna, her teacher, and her mother reported no harm to Anna from her participation in LB mentoring. Anna's mother and teacher also reported high levels of satisfaction with LB mentoring (M = 2.25 and M= 2.75, respectively, on a 0-3 scale). In qualitative reports, Anna, her mother, teacher, mentor and counselor all reported they were satisfied with the program and would recommend it to others. Anna's teacher noted that she liked that LB mentoring did not interfere with class time. Anna's mentor noted that being a mentor was also a positive experience for her as well as for Anna. The counselor expected that other counselors would like the LB mentoring program and noted that it required little extra effort on the part of front office staff and lunchroom monitors. Anna's mother liked the fact that LB mentoring provided additional monitoring for children in the cafeteria. Also consistent across stakeholders was the perception that LB mentoring would be improved if visits were more frequent or extended over a greater period of time. Anna's teacher thought teachers should be more involved in how children are selected for LB mentoring, given her belief that Anna was less in need of a mentor and had more friends than other children in the class, a sentiment in line with observations made by the mentor.

Case Study #2: Bryan

Background. Bryan was a non-Hispanic Caucasian boy in the 5th grade. He lived with



his mother and grandparent, had no siblings, and English was the only language spoken in the home. Bryan's CTVI of 32 indicated that he was the most bullied boy in his class (M = 15, SD = 10, range = 11-32). Bryan's teacher described him as a "difficult child" with "major behavioral problems" that ranged from bullying and lying to clogging toilets and not doing his school work. She noted that he was struggling academically as well. Both his teacher and mentor noted that Bryan had problems interacting with peers. His mentor reported that Bryan and his "best friend" were in frequent fights. Bryan's teacher noted some actions had been taken to correct his behavioral problems. Specifically, his teacher reported Bryan had starting taking medicine and also had another mentor in addition to his LB mentor. Bryan did report that he enjoyed school because that is where he saw his friends.

Length and activities of LB mentoring. Bryan met with his mentor for a total of 19 visits. Bryan's mentor reported trying to increase his prosocial interactions with peers by choosing conversational topics at the lunch table that Bryan knew about. She noted that she monitored and helped manage his behavior during lunch, offering explanations for why some behavior was inappropriate and modeling more appropriate ways to interact with his peers. She reported that Bryan opened up about personal issues and they frequently laughed, played games, and had fun together. His mentor also reported that she would complement him on his strengths and reinforce his positive behavior during lunch in front of his peers. Bryan also noted that his mentor would "talk to [him] about bullying." On the last day of mentoring, Bryan wrote his mentor a good-bye note.

Mentor-mentee alliance and conflict. Both Bryan and his mentor rated the alliance in their relationship above the midpoint (M = 2.67, and M = 3.25, respectively, on a 0-4 scale) and rated the conflict in their relationship close to the lowest score possible (M = 0 and M = 1,



respectively, on a 0-4 scale). In qualitative interviews, Bryan reported that he liked having a mentor because she "helped [him] out talking to friends." Bryan also noted that he liked how "she talked to [him] nicely." In interviews, Bryan and his mentor reported they had a good relationship and there was "never" any conflict between them.

Victimization and bullying. Bryan's self- and teacher-rated peer victimization scores from pre-to post-mentoring are presented in Figure 6. His pre-mentoring self-reported victimization score was slightly higher than the class average. The teacher's report of his level of victimization showed much higher victimization scores for Bryan compared to the class average. Both self- and teacher-reported victimization scores decreased from pre- to post-mentoring but remained higher than the class average at all three time points. Peer nominations of victimization were much greater than the class average at all three time points and increased slightly from pre- to post-mentoring.

Bryan's self-report of bullying behavior was slightly higher than the class average prementoring and remained relatively stable over the course of mentoring. His teacher's report of bullying was much higher than the class average and also remained stable from pre- to postmentoring (see Figure 7). Peer nominations for Bryan's bullying behavior were higher than the class average at pre-mentoring but were about average post-mentoring (see Figure 8).

Bryan's change scores for all self-rated victimization subtypes declined over the course of mentoring, indicating reductions in his self-report of victimization. However, only his self-rated physical victimization score showed a greater decrease compared to the class average. Bryan's change scores for teacher-rated physical victimization declined more than the class average, but did not change over the course of mentoring for verbal or relational victimization. Bryan's change scores for self-reported bullying behavior did not decline over the course of



mentoring either. His self-report of physical bullying remained the same from pre- to postmentoring, and he reported increases in both verbal and relational bullying behaviors over time. These increases were greater than the average change score for the class.

High, stable ratings of both victimization and bullying were congruent with qualitative data suggesting that Bryan was both a bully and a victim. Both his teacher and counselor reported continued difficulties with bullying and being bullied, consistent with few fluctuations in quantitative data during mentoring. The fact that Bryan's peer nominations for victimization were steadily above average over the course of mentoring is discrepant from the mentor's observations that "peers that once bullied him changed their opinion of him due to my presence."

Social preference and reciprocated friendships. Bryan's standardized social preference score pre-mentoring was -1.63, below the class average. Mid-mentoring, his social preference had decreased to -2.08. Post-mentoring, his social preference improved, but Bryan still remained below average at -1.22.

Bryan had no reciprocated friendships pre-mentoring. For his class, the total possible number of reciprocated friendships could range from 0-6. Mid-semester and post-mentoring, Bryan had one reciprocated friendship, indicating he gained one friend over the course of mentoring. However, this remained below the class average for the number of reciprocated friendships one could have.

Lunchtime interactions. Log ratings indicated that Bryan's mentor perceived high levels of liking for all three dyads (mentor-child, mentor-peer, child-peer) throughout the course of mentoring, suggesting the possibility of a positive rater bias. Level of perceived liking between mentor and peers was slightly higher than level of liking for the other two dyads, which had identical ratings throughout the semester, as shown in Figure 9.



Mentor log data indicated the frequency and positivity of interactions between Bryan and his peers were both rated relatively high at Block 1. While frequency of interactions slightly increased over time, valence of interactions slightly decreased over time (see Figure 10).

Bryan indicated that when his mentor visited, nearby lunch mates "always" wanted to sit by him and his mentor. He indicated that lunch mates "almost always" wanted to talk to him and his mentor. When his mentor was not at school, Bryan perceived nearby lunch mates wanting to sit by and talk to him "almost always." Thus, these data indicate that Bryan's perceptions of lunch mate liking did not vary much as a function of his mentor's presence.

Bryan's change in reciprocated friendships was consistent with his mentor's observation that he had a best friend. His mentor's ratings of lunchtime liking and the valence and frequency of his lunchtime peer interactions were generally high, consistent with her observations that "overall kids liked him" and that he talked to "4-5 friends every day at lunch." Thus, the mentor's impressions were more positive than those of his peers' and teacher's, when examining his social preference score and peer-nominations of bullying and victimization. Self-report ratings on the LMRS were consistent with the mentor's report that "other kids wanted to be part of the group talking to us."

Perceived harm, satisfaction, and overall qualitative impressions. Bryan indicated no harm from participating in LB mentoring. His teacher reported a low level of harm (M = 2, range 1-5), and a moderate level of satisfaction with LB mentoring (M = 1.75, range 0-3). No parent data were returned for Bryan. In interviews, Bryan reported that LB mentoring did not cause him any problems, which was consistent with quantitative data. His teacher, on the other hand, reported she had little knowledge of the LB mentoring program and therefore found it "difficult to say whether it helped or harmed him," but noted she thought other teachers would



like it. Bryan's mentor saw the program as helpful and not harmful, although she noted that Bryan seemed somewhat embarrassed at first by other peers asking him why she was there. Still, she reported observing some improvement in Bryan's self-esteem and in overall mood. She reported that she, too, received benefits from participating, as it "felt good making a difference."

Case Study #3: Colt

Background. Colt was a Hispanic boy in the 4th grade who lived with his mother, father, brother, and sister. Both English and Spanish were spoken in the home. Colt's CTVI of 24 indicated he was one of the most bullied boys in his class (M = 12.54, SD = 8.60, range = 1-26). The school counselor and Colt's teacher reported he had many peer problems. His teacher noted a history of bullying behavior as well as being victimized by his peers. The teacher reported that Colt was bossy toward other children and picked on them. Colt's mentor also reported that Colt had a "troublemaker friend," but noted that Colt "always seemed to have friends and someone to talk to." During the course of mentoring, Colt started playing baseball and his mentor reported that he began making more friends through this activity. During the interview post-mentoring, his teacher referred to Colt as the "star athlete" of the class, adding that he was generally "looked up to" and was the "class clown."

Length and activities of LB mentoring. Colt and his mentor met a total of 19 times.

During their visits, his mentor reported she would engage in conversations with Colt's peers and try to include him in the conversation when he and his peers shared common interests. His mentor noted she would try to manage misbehavior and bullying when it occurred during lunch by saying things such as, "that's not cool." She did report initial difficulties establishing a relationship with Colt and times when he ignored her, but she reported engaging in conversations with nearby "peers who seemed like they needed [a mentor] more" or with peers that Colt



himself had bullied. She hoped she had improved his reputation and peers' liking of him simply by their being associated together.

Mentor-mentee alliance and conflict. Colt rated the alliance with his mentor close to highest possible score (M = 3.67, range 0-4) and the conflict in the relationship close to the lowest possible score (M = .80, range 0-4). However, his mentor rated the level of alliance in the relationship at the mid-point (M = 2, range 0-4) and rated the conflict in the relationship above the mid-point (M = 2.20, range 0-4), suggesting an inconsistency in how she and Colt perceived their relationship.

During interviews post-mentoring, Colt reported he "liked" having a mentor because she was "fun." Colt's teacher reported the mentor was consistent in attending visits. However, his mentor reported there were days when it "seemed like he didn't want me there" and would not engage in conversation with her. In fact, she noted times when Colt would actually "bully [her]," turn his back toward her, ignore her, and call her "annoying." This is also consistent with mentor-log data, which indicated Colt's and her relationship had the lowest liking ratings out of the three dyads. Over time, however, Colt's mentor noted he would open up more, also consistent with liking data, which show the most growth of all dyads from pre- to post-mentoring.

Victimization and bullying. Colt's self- and teacher-rated peer victimization scores from pre-to post-mentoring are presented in Figure 11. Both self- and teacher- reports of victimization were higher than the class average at all three time points. While self-reported victimization remained relatively stable over time, teacher-reported victimization decreased slightly over time. Peer nominations of being victimized were also higher than the class average at each time point, indicating Colt's peers saw him as bullied. In contrast to teacher-rated victimization, the number



of peer nominations for victimization gradually increased over time.

Colt's self- and teacher-rated bullying behavior was much higher than the class average across mentoring. Over time, Colt and his teacher both reported decreases in bullying behavior, but the scores remained above than the class average (see Figure 12). The number of peer bullying nominations were also a great deal above the class average pre-mentoring and remained relatively stable over time (see Figure 13).

Colt's change scores for self-rated physical victimization decreased more than the class average over the course of mentoring. His change scores for self-rated verbal victimization increased more than the class average, and his self-report for relational victimization did not change over time. Colt's change scores for teacher-rated physical victimization did not change over time. However, his change scores for teacher-rated verbal and relational victimization decreased more than the class average over the course of mentoring. Colt's change scores for self-reported bullying behavior declined for both physical and relational bullying, and these were both greater than the average declines for the class. However, Colt's self-report for verbal bullying behavior did not change over time.

Teacher-rated victimization and bullying decreased slightly over time, and this is consistent with his teacher's qualitative report of his behavior. She noted Colt "tries harder" and tries to be a "role-model for the other kids in the class." The counselor acknowledged although Colt is not "instigating things" with his peers as much, he still has some "continued peer problems," which is reflected in the data. Colt's mother reported she had seen improvement in his social skills and noted that he has shown more respect for his classmates. She also reported he seemed to like school more.

Social preference and reciprocated friendships. Colt's standardized social preference



score pre-mentoring was .71, above the class average. Mid-mentoring, his social preference had increased to 1.44. Post-mentoring, Colt's social preference rating remained above average (1.06). These data suggest Colt was liked by his peers at all time points across mentoring.

Colt had two reciprocated friendships pre- and mid-mentoring and one reciprocated friendship post-mentoring, indicating he lost one friendship over the course of mentoring. In his class, the total number of reciprocated friendships could range from 0-12.

Lunchtime interactions. Liking between Colt and his mentor, Colt and his lunch mates, and Colt's mentor and lunch mates was rated above the mid-point for all dyads pre-mentoring, and gradually increased over the course of mentoring (see Figure 14). Liking between Colt and his mentor received the lowest ratings at all three time points, but also showed the most growth pre- to post- mentoring out of the three dyads. Mentor log data indicated the valence and frequency of Colt and his peers' interactions were rated above the mid-point pre-mentoring. The frequency of interactions increased slightly over time while the valence of those interactions remained stable (see Figure 15).

Colt indicated that when his mentor visited, nearby lunch mates "always" wanted to sit by and talk to him and his mentor. When his mentor was not at school, Colt also perceived nearby lunch mates wanting to sit by and talk to him "always." Thus, these data indicate Colt's perceptions of lunch mate liking did not vary as a function of his mentor's presence.

Social preference and mentor log data are consistent with his mentor's report that Colt "always seemed to have friends" and his teacher's report that other children in the class "looked up to him." Additionally, his mentor noted that LB mentoring probably helped increase Colt's self-esteem and improve his relationship with the girls in the class, based on her observation that many of the girls wanted to spend time with them while she was there. The fact that Colt lost a



reciprocated friendship seems discrepant with these reports, but consistent with the counselor's report that "the whole year has been difficult for him."

Perceived harm, satisfaction, and overall impressions. Colt reported no harm from his participation in LB mentoring. His teacher reported a low level of harm (M = 1.67, range 1.5), and a high level of satisfaction with LB mentoring (M = 2.75, range 0-3). No parent data were returned for Colt. Overall, harm and satisfaction ratings were consistent with qualitative reports. Colt's mentor noted he did not appear to be completely comfortable with having a mentor at first, as she believed "it made him stand out and feel different." However, Colt and his mentor both reported how much his peers wanted to sit by and talk to her. His mentor believed this made him feel more comfortable over time. The counselor thought mentoring was helpful because it gave Colt "someone to look up to" and "someone who modeled positive social interactions with peers." Stakeholders thought LB mentoring helped to increase the quality of Colt's social interactions and reported that other teachers, parents, and counselors would like LB mentoring. Colt's mentor reported that she, too, received benefit from participating, as it "made [her] try to be a better person." Colt's mentor thought the process of selecting children for LB mentoring could be improved, given her belief Colt was less in need of a mentor and had more friends than other children in the class. She also suggested that mentors and mentees be gender matched in an effort to build stronger relationships. The mentor was unsure whether any positive changes were due to mentoring and thought most of the change might have been due to Colt's involvement in baseball.

Case Study #4: Darcy

Background. Darcy was a Hispanic girl in the 5th grade who lived with her mother, father, and siblings. Spanish was the only language spoken in the home. Darcy's CTVI of 26



indicated that she was the most bullied girl in her class (M = 12, SD = 7.73, range = 7-26). Her teacher noted that Darcy had many problems at home and was "not sure that a regular school setting was appropriate for her." Her teacher also reported Darcy was very behind academically and "lacked basic foundational skills." She noted that Darcy might be "behind cognitive, processing-wise" as well and was worried about Darcy's mother's ability to parent. The teacher reported that Darcy also had severe difficulties with peers as well as serious emotional issues. Moreover, she was constantly being both a bully and a victim of bullying, and that she needed "major intervention," but the school was "limited" in their resources to help her, according to her teacher. Her teacher reported Darcy frequently lied, stole, and did not take responsibility for her actions. Darcy was known as the "meanest girl in school" according to the counselor. He reported "she has been on a rampage of torturing people" and that "people do not like her." Her mentor noticed that she was "immature" for her age and struggled fitting in. The mentor reported that Darcy was the largest child in her class and was often bullied for her weight. Children at school called her names and most reporters perceived Darcy as having very low selfesteem. Darcy's mentor noted that her teacher seemed to be "an advocate" for change and really cared about her.

Length and activities of LB mentoring. Darcy and her mentor met a total of 16 times. Darcy reported that her mentor "stopped arguments" with her and her peers. During mentoring, the mentor had talks with Darcy and her peers on "how to be a good friend, keep secrets, and be respectful" in an effort to improve their social interactions. Her mentor gave Darcy compliments in front of her peers and tried to include Darcy in conversations with her peers. Her mentor also reported managing conflict with Darcy and her peers by encouraging them to talk out their differences. During instances when Darcy was being bullied, her mentor reported outwardly



defending her. Due to "circumstances outside mentoring," Darcy was suspended during the last week that mentoring was scheduled, so they were unable to formally terminate their relationship.

Mentor-mentee alliance and conflict. Both Darcy and her mentor reported the alliance in their relationship above the midpoint of the measure (mean item scores were 3.00 and 2.83, respectively; range 0-4) and the conflict in their relationship below the midpoint of the measure (mean item scores were 1.60 and 1.40, respectively; range 0-4). Overall, both Darcy and her mentor reported similar levels of conflict and alliance suggesting a shared understanding of the relationship. Ratings of alliance and conflict within the relationship seem consistent with qualitative reports. Darcy's mentor noted they shared "common interests," and that Darcy "always greeted [her] with a hug." Darcy's teacher also reported that she could "always tell when the mentor was there because [Darcy] would come back from lunch with a huge smile on her face." Darcy's teacher also noticed that mentoring "made [Darcy] feel special" and that Darcy referred to her mentor as her "special friend."

Victimization and bullying. Darcy's self- and teacher-rated peer victimization scores from pre-to post-mentoring are presented in Figure 16. Both self- and teacher- ratings of victimization were higher than the class average pre-mentoring but decreased over time. Of note, the class average of victimization scores also decreased over time. While teacher-ratings of victimization for Darcy showed only a slight decrease over time and remained above the class average, Darcy's self-rating of victimization decreased to the class average post-mentoring. Peer nominations of being victimized were near the class average pre-mentoring, but over time, her peers rated her as more victimized (i.e. she received twice as many nominations at post-mentoring compared to pre-mentoring).

Interestingly, Darcy did not see herself as a bully at any time point across mentoring. Her



self-ratings of bullying were lower than the class average. However, her teacher saw her as bullying "always," which was much higher than the class average, and this remained stable across mentoring (see Figure 17). Similar to Darcy's teacher ratings, Darcy's peer nominations of being a bully were also higher than the class average at all three time points and remained stable over time (see Figure 18). This discrepancy suggests Darcy may have had low insight into her problem behaviors or may have answered questions in a defensive manner.

Darcy's mean change scores for self-rated physical and relational victimization declined over the course of mentoring, but did not change for self-rated verbal victimization. Both physical and relational victimization change scores were greater than those of her class for self-rated victimization, indicating her victimization scores decreased more compared to the class average over the course of mentoring. Darcy showed the largest decrease in self-rated relational victimization over time among the four children in this study. Darcy's change scores for teacher-rated physical victimization declined more compared to the class average, but did not change for teacher-rated verbal or relational victimization. Finally, Darcy's self-report of bullying did not change pre- to post- mentoring for any subtype of bullying.

Social preference and reciprocated friendships. Darcy's standardized social preference score pre-mentoring was -.92, below the class average. Mid-mentoring, her social preference had decreased to -1.58. Post-mentoring, her standardized social preference improved by approximately one standard deviation, but still remained below average at -.53, suggesting she was not accepted by her peers at any time during mentoring.

Pre-mentoring, Darcy had one reciprocated friendship, but this was lost by mid- and post-mentoring, when she received no positive nominations. In her class, the possible number of reciprocated friendships ranged from 0-4.



Lunchtime interactions. For Darcy, log data suggest a slight increase in the degree of liking over time for all three dyads over the course of mentoring (see Figure 19). The degree of liking was lowest between Darcy and her peers across mentoring, but still was above the midpoint. The mentee-mentor dyad showed the most increase in liking over time, followed by Darcy and her peers, and finally the mentor and Darcy's peers. The data also suggest a slight increase in the both the frequency and positivity of interactions Darcy and her peers had over the course of mentoring (see Figure 20). In fact, in Block 1, both frequency and positivity of interactions were below the midpoint of the measure. However, in Block 3, both had increased to above the measure's midpoint.

Darcy indicated that when her mentor visited, nearby lunch mates "always" wanted to sit by and talk to her and her mentor. When her mentor was not at school, Darcy also perceived nearby lunch mates wanting to sit by and talk to her "always." These data indicate she did not view her mentor's presence as impacting her peer interactions.

These data are consistent with Darcy's teacher's and counselor's report that her peer relationships had not improved (and had actually "worsened"). Both the counselor and teacher thought she was liked less and had a lower self-esteem. This is consistent with social preference data which indicate that Darcy was not accepted or liked among her peers. However, these data are discrepant with the mentor's report that Darcy's frequency and valence of interactions and liking with her peers had increased over time. These ratings, however, only showed slight increases, and the mentor did note that Darcy had difficult making friends and she frequently had to manage conflict at the lunch table. Darcy's self-ratings on the LMRS indicate discrepant information from qualitative interviews with her teacher, who noted that although her peers did want to sit by her more when her mentor was there, that this "did not extend to days when her



mentor was not there."

Perceived harm, satisfaction, and overall qualitative impressions. Darcy, her teacher, and her mother reported no harm to Darcy from her participation in the LB mentoring program. Darcy's teacher and mother also reported high levels of satisfaction with LB mentoring (M = 2.17 and M = 2.88, respectively, on a 0-3 scale).

Darcy reported that she "liked" having a mentor and thought it helped her. Her teacher noted "[mentoring] may have been the only time Darcy felt special in a group" and the counselor thought it was good because it gave Darcy "a chance to experience some positive social interactions with her peers," because her peers wanted to sit by her when her mentor was there. Although a number of stakeholders reported worsened behavior overall in Darcy, they noted it "had nothing to do with the program" and actually thought the program helped Darcy to experience some positive interactions. Her teacher noted that the program was "wonderful," but "just not what she needed," indicating that Darcy needed more intensive intervention. Darcy's mentor reported LB mentoring was "rewarding and inspiring." Stakeholders all reported they would recommend the program to other teachers, counselors, and mentors. Stakeholders also felt that LB mentoring could have more of an impact if visits were more frequent.

Thematic Analysis

I conducted a thematic analysis of all qualitative data, including post-mentoring interviews with key stakeholders (i.e., children, mentors, teachers, parents, and school counselor), mentors' end-of-term papers, and mentor log entries after each visit. Importantly, some qualitative assessment procedures were designed to explore previously published notions about how LB mentoring works. As such, thematic analysis focused initially on coding statements congruent with these a priori suppositions, followed by exploration of additional



potential mechanisms of change not previously identified. Themes related to program palatability were also examined. I used an iterative, inductive approach when reviewing all data extracts, allowing for key themes to emerge from the data.

Thematic analysis followed procedures outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) and began with transcription and review of all data extracts. Every statement that offered a discrete piece of information was identified and catalogued. Roughly 200 discrete statements were extracted from each child's pool of qualitative data. I then assigned to each statement a descriptive label that reflected its basic content and then combined redundant labels into groups or codes. Fifty-three different codes were identified across the four children's pool of qualitative data. I combined codes that reflected similar content into a single theme and discarded codes for which there were insufficient supporting data. This sorting process resulted in 13 different themes. As expected, two themes reflected a priori hypotheses about the mechanisms of change in LB mentoring: improved lunchtime peer reputation and increased positive social interactions at lunchtime. A third code reflected statements about the palatability of the mentoring program. The remaining 10 themes emerged inductively.

I then conducted a second pass through the original pool of data and assigned each discrete statement to one or more of the 13 themes (or to an additional category for statements that did not fit any category). A second, independent rater also completed this sorting process and inter-rater reliability was calculated. The second rater was an undergraduate research assistant who had received approximately one hour of training on the coding process. An initial overall kappa of .63 indicated "substantial agreement" between raters (Landis & Koch, 1977). Reliability data were used to identify themes that lacked agreement between raters, to combine themes with overlapping content, and to discard themes that occurred very infrequently. This



reduced the number of themes from 13 to 9, with an overall kappa of .75, which was computed without a second round of coding. Simple percent agreement on the final set of themes ranged from 52%-94%, with a median of 82%. In addition to themes about potential mechanisms of LB mentoring and its palatability, there were also themes that reflected potential moderator variables, as well as one theme that reflected stakeholders' perceptions about the benefits of LB mentoring. Comments about perceived benefits and changes of LB mentoring are not addressed in the thematic analysis but were reported in the corresponding case-study.

Themes

Palatability. Simple agreement between raters for this theme was 82%. The term palatability refers to the fact that comments representative of this theme spoke to both strengths and limitations of the Lunch Buddy mentoring program. Stakeholders generally viewed the program positively as evidenced by most individuals saying they would recommend the program to others. All four mentees noted they liked having a mentor and that it was helpful for them. Both mentors and mentees observed that peers tended to view the program as "cool" and frequently wanted to sit by and interact with the dyad at lunch. Indeed, in a number of interviews, it was noted that peers asked how they could get their own lunch buddy. There was very little concern among stakeholders about possible harm or clear disadvantages associated with children's participation in the LB mentoring program. Mentoring was not seen as negatively affecting front office staff or lunch room monitors and it did not interfere with class time. Mentors noted that participating in the program was a positive experience that afforded opportunities for growth (e.g., encouraged self-reflection, made them "want to be a better person"). Mentors also enjoyed the applied learning aspects of the program compared to a more traditional classroom setting.



Stakeholders noted a few limitations as well. Teachers reported having little knowledge of the program and would have preferred being more informed about the program and how participating children were chosen. Some mentors also questioned the process for selecting mentees, perceiving their mentee as needing little help when compared to other children at the lunch table. Mentors had concerns about factors affecting the program, in particular lunchroom rules. At this school, lunch monitors enforced a no-talking policy during the period of lunch when children were actually eating as way to promote adequate nutrition. Not surprisingly, this policy made it more difficult to communicate at the table. Another concern was that seating was not fixed but determined by the order in which students entered the lunch line, which made the seating arrangements somewhat unpredictable. One mentor suggested using only same-gender matches instead of paring female college students with school age boys. Some mentors and teachers were unsure about how much mentoring helped the children who participated. Some wondered if other factors (e.g., sports team) mattered more and some viewed mentoring as not enough intervention for a very troubled child. The durability and generalizability of the benefits afforded by the program were also questioned, with some stakeholders desiring longer matches and others noting positive effects only when the mentor was present.

Potential mechanisms. Five potential change mechanisms were identified from the qualitative data. Percent agreement between raters for these five themes ranged from 52% to 94%, with a median of 82%. Potential mechanisms included those emphasized by program design as well as other strategies or goals mentors pursued in the process of serving as a LB mentor. Mentors were specifically tasked with boosting their mentee's reputation among lunchtime peers and improving the quality of their mentee's social interactions with lunchtime peers. Evidence was found for themes reflecting these a priori hypotheses as well as for three



other themes. The five themes were labeled: Improving Peers' Attitudes about the Mentee, Promoting Positive Interactions between Peers and the Mentee, Managing Peer Conflict, Building a Strong Mentoring Relationship, and Play/Fun.

Improving peers' attitudes about the mentee. Common to this theme were mentors' use of techniques that portrayed their mentee in a positive light while seated with lunchtime peers. Examples included complimenting mentees or talking about their talents and successes in front of lunch mates. Other strategies involved mentors giving their mentee their full attention, laughing and smiling with their mentee, giving the impression that their mentee was fun and cool, and even directly stating to lunchtime peers that they enjoyed spending time eating lunch with their mentee. Some mentors reported that simply being present improved their mentee's reputation: They believed their recurring presence helped create a positive association for their mentee in the minds of their lunch mates. This notion of a positive association was especially evident in mentors' consistent reports that lunch mates were very interested in sitting by and interacting with the mentoring dyad.

Promoting positive interactions between peers and the mentee. Mentors engaged in a number of activities to increase and improve the quality of social interactions between mentees and their lunchtime peers. For example, mentors routinely engaged in conversation with nearby peers as a way to promote social interaction. Mentors also modeled positive interactions and provided informal instruction on social skills and communication techniques such as turn-taking, asking questions, and good manners. Mentors also tried to engage peers and their mentee in conversation by choosing topics the mentee knew about, was good at, or had in common with lunch mates. Some mentors used behavioral techniques such as extinction or coaching when their mentee (or another child) was interacting inappropriately (e.g., interrupting conversation).



Mentors also tried to be inclusive and expand their mentee's network of friends by talking to peers at a nearby lunch table or introducing the mentee to a new child at school.

Managing peer conflict. Managing peer conflict was a theme reflected in the comments of all four mentors. Included here were occasions in which mentors actively defended their mentee or other children at the table who were being bullied. Mentors also reported coaching children through conflict, encouraging open discussion of problems among lunch mates, verbally disciplining children for misbehavior, and using extinction to decrease problem behaviors.

Mentors' presence at the lunch table also meant they were another adult monitoring the level of peer-conflict and misbehavior that occurred. One child liked having her mentor around because "she stopped arguments." Some mentors encouraged listening skills or gave advice to their mentee about how to solve a peer-related conflict. Some mentors even discussed techniques to handle bullying in the future.

Building a strong mentoring relationship. Mentors also used various strategies to build rapport and establish a relationship with their mentee. Mentors looked for common interests with their mentee and asked open-ended questions to break the ice or further develop the relationship. Sometimes mentors used supportive listening when their mentee brought up personal problems. Mentees tended to view their mentor as a confidant and as someone who was encouraging, supportive, and caring. Through their consistent visits, mentors were also viewed as reliable and as someone children could depend on.

Playing and having fun. Mentors frequently encouraged play and the goal of having fun. Mentors used games and jokes to promote a playful atmosphere at the lunch table. For example, one mentor mentioned having fun on April Fool's Day as everyone took turns trying to fool each other with their jokes. One mentor brought in a journal and encouraged children to write or draw



something as a fun activity during "quiet-time" at lunch. In fact, some stakeholders saw mentoring visits as a way to get around the rules of silent lunch. Children were allowed to talk to their mentor during quiet time, a time when they were generally prohibited from talking with others, which some children thought was cool.

Potential moderators of LB mentoring. Two themes emerged that were not fully anticipated. Both related to factors that could potentially moderate the impact of LB mentoring on children's outcomes. I refer to these themes as risk factors and protective factors; the percent agreement between raters for these themes was 84% and 73%, respectively. Reflected in both themes were personal characteristics of the child as well as aspects of the child's environment that seemed to influence the impact of LB mentoring on child outcomes.

Risk factors. Multiple informants identified factors that put children at risk for increased problems and might have impeded the effectiveness of LB mentoring. Mentors, teachers, and the school counselor noted various personal factors such as a child's physical appearance or emotional difficulties as factors to be considered. For example, one child was the largest girl in her class and was consistently teased by peers for her weight and size. Two children were described as displaying characteristics suggesting a possible psychiatric diagnosis such as Attention Deficit-Hyperactivity Disorder or Oppositional Defiant Disorder. Other risk factors were lower intelligence and being a bully-victim, which is the victim subtype that typically has the worst outcomes (Veenstra, Lindenberg, Oldehinkel, De Winter, & Ormel, 2005). Also mentioned during interviews was recognition that mentored children often faced recurring problems at home.

Protective factors. Multiple sources also mentioned protective factors that occurred separate from LB mentoring that might have served to protect children and augment the gains



resulting from the program. For example, some children were described as having supportive relationships with a group of peers or with their teacher. Teachers noted specific instances when they used extra effort to manage difficulties a mentored child was having with peers or some other aspect of school functioning. Interviews also revealed that the school counselor had recurring contact with three of four of the children who were mentored. In some cases, it appeared that the counselor's intervention efforts had helped improve peer-related problems. Other factors that could have protected or benefitted children apart from mentoring were being placed on medication, being involved in and successful with a team sport, and being involved in an additional mentoring program.

Discussion

Universal programs delivered to whole schools are the most widely used approaches to the prevention of bullying behavior and research supports their effectiveness when implemented with fidelity (Hirschstein et al., 2007; Merrell et al., 2008; Olweus, 1991; Olweus, 1993).

However, there is value in developing and evaluating selective interventions for children who are chronically bullied and at risk for later problems (Nation, 2007; Pepler, 2006). One recently developed intervention, LB mentoring, has shown promise (Cavell et al., 2009; Elledge et al., 2010), but there is still much to learn about its efficacy, its potential mechanisms of change, and its acceptability to key stakeholders. In this study, I explored outcomes, processes, and palatability associated with LB mentoring for four children identified as bullied. Stakeholders had consistently positive views of LB mentoring and thought the intervention fit well in a school setting. There was also no evidence of harm to any child who was mentored. LB mentoring appeared to help some but not all participating children and those who seemed to benefit enjoyed improved lunchtime peer interactions and reduced levels of peer victimization. In depth reviews



of each case helped to identify environmental factors and child characteristics that could potentially moderate the outcomes of LB mentoring. Thematic analyses revealed evidence for improved lunchtime peer relationships as a potential mechanism of change but also evidence for other possible change processes.

Outcomes

There was a general trend for declines in self- and teacher-ratings of peer victimization but there was also marked variability by child and by informant. One child began with self- and teacher- ratings of victimization that were above the class average but ended with ratings at or below the class average. The other three children showed decreases in self- and teacher- ratings of victimization but the ratings were still above the class average post-mentoring. Teacher-rated bullying behavior changed little for three of the four children but declined for one child. Self-ratings of bullying behavior decreased for two children: one remained above the class average, while the other's score decreased to below the class average. A third child reported an increase in his bullying behavior and the fourth reported no change over time. Similarly, peer-reports of victimization and bullying showed little change from pre- to post-mentoring. In only one instance where the child was a bully-victim did both peer-reports of victimization and bullying increase following LB mentoring. Children with a pattern of both bullying and victimization also tended to show less gains compared to children who were primarily victims.

Of note, class mean scores for both victimization and bullying showed a tendency to decline from the start of mentoring to the end of the semester, suggesting the possibility of regression to the mean. However, when comparing change scores for mentored children to those of the class, Anna and Darcy evinced declines in their total self-rated victimization scores that were greater than declines in their classes. Additionally, when examining change scores from



teacher-ratings of total victimization, Anna and Bryan also decreased more compared to the class average. When examining the mentored children's scores to those of the class for bullying behavior, Anna and Colt both appeared to decrease more than the class average for self- and teacher- ratings of bullying, Bryan increased his self-rated bullying, and Darcy reported no change. These outcomes once again reflect the variability found in the current sample. Of note, Anna, who showed greater declines in both victimization and bullying compared to other children in her class had the fewest personal and/or environmental risk factors of the children who made up the sample.

No discernible pattern could be found when examining the various subtypes of bullying and victimization. Specifically, there were not greater decreases on one subtype of victimization more so than other subtypes across the cases, which might be expected considering the relational nature of a mentoring intervention. The results found in the current study may be due to the small sample size, or may suggest the overall average for victimization and the overall average for bullying is appropriate for use in this sample, such that LB mentoring does not appear to be targeting a specific subtype of victimization, but may impact victimization in all domains. A larger sample is needed to determine if this finding is generalizable.

Social preference scores improved for all four children but the degree of change varied. Two of the four children had standardized social preference scores that were above the class average post-mentoring and two had scores below the class average. Two of the four children gained a reciprocated positive nomination over the course of mentoring, while the other two children lost a reciprocated positive nomination.

In addition to being both a bully and a victim, other factors emerged that might potentially moderate outcomes. For example, significant problems at home or chronic



psychiatric difficulties were factors identified that may limit children's response to LB mentoring. On the other hand, children who enjoyed potential protective factors such as success in sports or having an additional, out-of-school mentor may show greater improvements on outcome measures or prevent shifts toward greater risk.

The pattern of change across the four children suggests LB mentoring is a promising intervention for children bullied at school, however more research is needed to understand the extent to which these gains can be attributed to LB mentoring. Needed are data from a randomized control trial to test whether LB mentoring actually benefits children and the extent to which other factors may be in play. Less clear is whether LB mentoring has promise as a standalone intervention for bullied children who also bully others or are struggling with severe behavioral or emotional issues. This is consistent with previous research examining moderators in other types of mentoring programs. Dubois and colleagues (2002) found that children with environmental risk factors (e.g., low socioeconomic status, few supportive relationships) seemed to benefit from mentoring programs, but that children with individual risk factors (e.g., behavioral and academic difficulties) did not show much benefit from mentoring and likely require more intensive intervention. Additionally, Schwartz, Rhodes, Chang, and Herrera (2011) found that children with very *troubled* relationship histories and children with very *strong* relationship histories tended to not show significant benefits from school-based mentoring, while children who had moderately close relationships with parents and teachers tended to show the most benefit from mentoring. Although these specific domains were not measured quantitatively in the current study, qualitative reports suggest a number of both environmental and individual risk factors may have contributed to the variability in outcomes for these four children.

Process



Quantitative data from mentor log ratings suggested all four children experienced improved lunchtime peer interactions in some way. Mentor logs indicated that all four children interacted more frequently with their peers across mentoring and that liking between the children and their peers increased over time. In addition, mentors reported that two of the four children also had more positive interactions with their peers over the course of mentoring. This finding is consistent with outcomes reported recently in other studies of LB mentoring (Craig et al., 2012b).

Additionally, all four children reported moderate to high levels of alliance and low levels of conflict. Three of four mentors also reported moderate to high levels of alliance and hardly any conflict. Only one mentor who reported having a difficult time establishing a relationship with her mentee noted higher levels of conflict than alliance in the relationship.

Palatability

LB mentoring was well received by stakeholders. Collectively, teacher and parents reported moderate to high levels of satisfaction with the program and low levels of harm to the mentored children because of the program on quantitative outcome measures. Mentors and school staff did not view LB mentoring as isolating or singling out children but as a strategy that brings positive attention to bullied children and facilitates greater inclusion among peers. In only one instance did a mentor report the possibility that her mentee was uncomfortable having a mentor; however, the child indicated in the interview that he "liked" having a mentor. Noteworthy was the frequency of reports from stakeholders indicating that lunchtime peers wanted to sit by mentors and wanted their own mentor. Indeed, multiple stakeholders stated that nearby peers described having a lunchtime mentor as "cool".

Because mentored children and their lunchtime peers seemed to enjoy mentors' presence,



LB mentoring may be a particularly good fit for bullied children. Bullied children are often reluctant to seek help (Rigby, 2005) and might even refuse help that is offered, believing that intervention will only make the situation worse (Oliver & Candappa, 2007). Theoretically, LB mentoring could bypass this problem through use of an indirect strategy that targets key protective factors in the peer ecology. For example, the process of identifying and selecting bullied children involved class-wide assessments did not require bullied children to "tattle" on their peers. Parents and teachers were aware of the reason for mentoring, but mentors limited explanations about their presence to such terms such *mentor* and *friend*, avoiding any discussion about mentored children's history of being bullied. In fact, when nearby peers ask mentors about their visits, mentors typically use this as an opportunity to boost their mentee's reputation (e.g. "I'm here because I think he/she is cool."). Therefore, mentoring may be indirectly addressing peer issues at the lunch table, and this may be a preferred approach for children who are bullied and at risk because of negative peer influences.

In addition to how the LB mentoring was received by mentored children and their peers, stakeholders also reported high levels of satisfaction. This is consistent with previous research indicating that parents and teachers were satisfied with LB mentoring and did not believe the program caused harm to bullied children (Elledge et al., 2010). These data are also consistent with studies of other selective interventions for bullied children that largely indicated high ratings of satisfaction with teachers, even when outcomes are unclear (Smith et al., 1994; Smith et al., 2007). This suggests that satisfaction with a program might have less to do with perceived effectiveness and more to do with appreciation for attempting to manage a difficult and pervasive problem, especially one which teachers and other school personnel find perplexing. Even when school counselors and psychologists receive training in anti-bullying intervention strategies, their



training is often limited and they may be restricted in their ability to choose which interventions to implement in the school, as most school personnel reported they were instructed by other officials in what intervention they must provide (Lund, Blake, Ewing, & Banks, 2012). That said, the current results identified aspects of LB mentoring that are not shared with other selective interventions and that seem appealing to school staff. Teachers were particularly appreciative of the fact that LB mentoring did not take away from class time and required little effort or participation on their part. In fact, because teachers are largely removed from the core aspects of LB mentoring, this particular approach to helping bullied children bypasses concerns about teacher efficacy, knowledge, buy-in, and reliable implementation that have been shown to be critical for universal anti-bullying programs (Kallestad & Olweus, 2003; Olweus, 1993).

Potential mechanisms of change

To the extent that these gains can be attributed to LB mentoring, thematic analysis revealed several possible mechanisms by which LB mentoring could benefit bullied children. Mentors engaged in a number of activities throughout mentoring: Some were consistent with training goals and expected, whereas others emerged spontaneously in the absence of formal training on the topic.

Consistent with previously offered hypotheses (e.g., Cavell & Henrie, 2010), thematic analysis supported the idea that LB mentoring may serve to improve bullied children's interactions with and reputation among their lunchtime peers. These two methods are less direct in reducing victimization but could serve to alter the peer ecology at the lunch table, through processes such as cognitive consistency or modeling more positive social skills (Hymel, 1986). Given explicit training goals to accomplish these two tasks, it is not surprising these themes emerged from the data. Importantly, mentors were given examples of how previous mentors



accomplished these goals but were not given prescribed behaviors or techniques to use.

Thematic analysis also suggested the possibility that LB mentoring might benefit bullied children by virtue of mentors' efforts to manage peer conflict at the school lunch table. Mentors' presence, for example, meant that an additional adult was monitoring peer's lunchtime behavior. Mentors reported actively intervening in cases of bullying directed at their mentee or other children at the lunch table. They also reported managing recurring difficulties their mentee was having with nearby lunch mates. This pattern of behavior may represent the most direct method by which mentors help reduce peer victimization. Indeed, similar strategies (i.e., increased monitoring, defending mentees, managing conflict) are used in current evidence-based interventions (Frey et al., 2005; Olweus, 1993). Interestingly, mentors were not trained in skills specific to managing misbehavior at the lunch table. It is encouraging that mentors used these behaviors in the absence of training. Research is mixed in determining whether direct or indirect methods are better for bullied children. Programs that include methods which target the peer ecology (e.g. OBPP, KiVa, Steps to Respect) actually tend to have greater empirical support than program that are more child-focused (e.g. social skills training, martial arts, group therapy). These programs, however, typically utilize a mix of both direct and indirect methods to target bullied children. However, there has been some evidence to suggest that more direct and confrontational methods are less effective for chronically bullied children than nonconfrontational methods (Garandeau et al., 2011).

Providing bullied children with a strong, supportive mentoring relationship was also suggested by thematic analyses. This finding is, of course, in line with more traditional views about youth mentoring and the process of change which state longer and stronger relationships have a larger impact on children's outcomes (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Rhodes et al., 2000).



In this traditional model, children are able to feel more supported and accepted in the context of a strong relationship, and this is turn is associated with better outcomes (e.g. increased school liking, attendance, and performance) (Rhodes et al., 2002). Notably, positive and engaging relationships in LB mentoring were not established via one-on-one interactions but occurred in the context of positive peer group interactions, which is not traditionally done in SBM. In more traditional SBM programs, mentor relationships are established by open listening, casual conversations, talking about topics of mutual interest, and engaging in fun activities (Herrera et al., 2007).

Some research suggest that more relationship-focused social activities and discussions are linked to better outcomes than are goal-oriented, problem-focused activities (Karcher, 2007). Indeed, mentors playing games and having fun with the children at the table also emerged as a separate theme. It is possible that this strategy facilitates other key processes, including promoting children's social interactions with lunchtime peers. Furthermore, strategies that strengthen children's social connections and peer relationships are recommended by researchers as methods of prevention for bullied children (e.g. Gazelle & Ladd, 2002; Pepler, 2006). Training, however, did not address or provide recommendations on how to establish a strong relationship or engage in playful activities. Inherent in the mentoring program were incentives for mentors to attend sessions with consistency but rapport-building skills were not taught.

Together, these themes reveal strategies and skills necessary to develop and maintain friendships. In this way, mentors are acting as "friendship coaches" by informally facilitating social interaction with their mentee and the peers at the lunch table. It appeared that some children needed more directive guidance than others, and therefore the needs of the child may be interacting with the tendencies of the mentor to produce the behaviors occurring at the lunch



table. Considering this, LB mentoring may be providing an informal way to apply techniques that are formally being conducted in other interventions for bullied children, such as social skills training (Fox & Boulton, 2003; DeRosier, 2004), teaching children social-emotional skills (Frey et al., 2005), or encouraging bystander intervention (Menesini et al., 2003; Karna et al., 2011b). In addition to these strategies, LB mentoring may provide the presence of a guiding adult relationship, which is embedded in a natural context for these children. Most surprising is the fact that while mentors were given two goals during training (i.e. improved social interactions and peer reputation at the lunch table), no further training was provided to mentors on how to go about these tasks. Mentors did not receive instruction on how to provide training in social skills, communication techniques, or how to apply behavioral principles of reinforcement and punishment. Mentors were also not given directive advice on how to establish a relationship with their child, and yet they were able to implement these strategies. Thematic analysis suggests these activities are happening naturally within the mentoring relationship.

Limitations

The current study allowed for a rich, in-depth view of children's experience in LB mentoring, but it has several limitations. As with any case study, especially one involving only four participants, generalization of results is limited. Data were also limited to matches that involved female mentors even though two of the children were boys. Additionally, the current study's methodology did not provide a test of whether LB mentoring actually benefits bullied children or whether mechanisms generated through the thematic analysis are actually operating as causal process variables. Further research that includes a larger sample size and assessments of the hypothesized mechanisms in the context of a randomized controlled trial would be needed to determine which of these emergent themes represent actual mechanisms of change in LB



mentoring. It should also be noted that limited participation by children in some classrooms resulted in a small number of students who provided peer data. Thus, findings involving peer ratings and peer nominations should be considered with some caution. Additionally, it is a limitation that two of the four parent data were missing. The current study was also limited to one-semester of mentoring, and it is unclear how effective it may be over time (c.f., Cavell et al., 2009). Further research is necessary to determine to what extent dosage impacts outcomes.

Implications and Future Directions

Findings from the current study offer some recommendations and implications for future iterations of LB mentoring. For example, teachers who were interviewed noted their minimal involvement and some requested to be more involved, especially in selecting children for LB mentoring. One recommendation is that selection of children could be enhanced by providing more information to teachers prior to assessment about the program and what it offers.

Of note, because CTVI scores were based on ratings of victimization only, some children selected were bully-victims. Results suggest that LB mentoring may be less effective for bullied children who also bully others. If subsequent research supports this limitation, researchers might consider limiting LB mentoring to those who are victims only or gathering more background information on the children pre-mentoring to understand other comorbid problems that may be occurring with their peer difficulties. For example, children with oppositional behavior may be too much to handle for mentors not trained in how to manage such behavior. Of course, this additional data must be weighed against time and costs constraints needed to conduct more thorough assessments.

Another implication from the results is that mentor training could potentially be enhanced to provide education on how to use behavioral techniques to manage conflict and misbehavior as



well as education about appropriate communication skills and social skills. Because mentors are already using these kinds of techniques to some degree, having more in-depth training might enable mentors to use these sooner and with greater effectiveness. Along the same line, having mentors engage in targeted sessions with their mentee (e.g. practicing specific social skills prior to eating lunch with their peers) would also extend the current program through utilization of more direct techniques. Although these added components might increase effect sizes of LB mentoring, if shown to be an effective intervention through additional experimental research, these additional components would use more resources and would require more of researchers, mentors, and the school personnel. Therefore, researchers should carefully weigh the pros and cons of adding additional components at the risk of losing what stakeholders find palatable in the current methodology: easy implementation, low demand of school personnel, and sustainability. Additionally, it is notable that although training did not cover specific behavioral techniques, the goals directed at mentors were intended to guide their behavior during mentoring, without providing a prescriptive curriculum, and that this method did not cause harm and allowed mentors to further these goals. An easily implemented recommendation is to train mentors in how to complete more accurately their log ratings following each visit. This training could limit the extent to which mentor ratings reflect a positive rater bias when assessing the quality of lunchtime relationships among mentors, mentees, and peers.

Taken together, emergent themes suggest that LB mentoring may follow a sequential pattern that includes multiple change mechanisms. For example, the relationship between the mentee and mentor may be necessary in order to promote other key tasks (e.g. boost the child's reputation, improve their social interactions), but is not sufficient on its own. Therefore, at the most basic level, the relationship might require consistency in visiting and a low level of conflict



for any of the other processes to take place adequately. From this starting point, other mechanisms may then occur. The mentored child and his or her peers may begin to communicate more with the mentor and grow to like the mentor more, thus providing the mentor with greater power of persuasion and social leverage to impact peers' attitudes. At this point, mentors may be more effectively able to improve their mentee's reputation, provide lessons on social skills, or manage conflict at the lunch table. Likely, playing games and having fun increases peer buy-in that the mentor is "cool," and perhaps through the theory of cognitive consistency, this can extend to the mentored child (Hymel, 1986). A mentor facilitating play and fun may also model positive social interactions as well as work to improve the relationship between the mentor, mentee, and nearby lunch mates. Given these considerations, a close bond between mentor and mentee is likely not sufficient in improving the child's peer ecology and reducing victimization, but it may be a good starting point.

Summary

In conclusion, data from the current study suggest that LB mentoring is a palatable, non-harmful intervention for bullied children. Mentored children varied in their response to outcomes, but generally showed improvements in their lunchtime interactions with peers. LB mentoring does not appear to be sufficient as a stand-alone intervention for children with greater risk factors. To the extent by which gains can be attributed to LB mentoring, thematic analysis revealed that LB mentoring may work in both indirect and direct ways to help bullied children, by helping improve social interactions and reputation with peers as well as directly managing conflict. Analysis also suggested mentoring may contribute to more positive outcomes through the development of a strong relationship with a guiding adult. Given the limitations of the data, it is not possible to determine whether outcomes are actually due to LB mentoring or whether



these emergent themes are actual processes that occur within LB mentoring. Needed is further measurement of these potential mechanisms in the context of a randomized control trial to determine if these emergent themes are actual predictors of outcomes. Such research would allow for stronger recommendations for whether or not indirect or direct methods should be pursued. Further research is also needed to determine how dosage and length of intervention impacts outcomes.



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Table 1

Victimization & Bullying Subtypes: Change Scores Pre-Post Mentoring (Class Mean Change Scores in Parentheses)

Outcome Measure	Anna		Bryan		Colt		Darcy	
Self-Rated Victimization	67	(44)	22	(14)	-1.00	(60)	-1.00	(22)
Physical		(44)	33	(14)		(60)		(33)
Verbal	67	(+.06)	33	(87)	+1.00	(+.21)	0	(+.13)
Relational	67	(22)	67	(70)	0	(27)	-3.33	(80)
Teacher-Rated Victimization Physical	0	(20)	-2.0	(29)	0	(68)	-2.0	(-1.80)
Verbal	-1.00	(46)	0	(+.28)	-1.00	(93)	0	(-1.40)
Relational	-1.00	(33)	0	(43)	-1.00	(76)	0	(20)
Self-Rated Bullying								
Physical	-2.00	(64)	0	(0)	-2.00	(18)	0	(+.20)
Verbal	-1.00	(+.11)	+1.00	(0)	0	(+.05)	0	(+.60)
Relational	-1.00	(34)	+1.00	(+.17)	-2.00	(27)	0	(20)

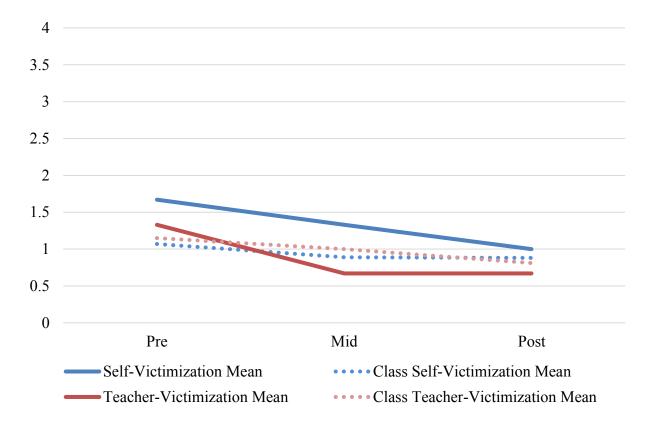


Figure 1. Anna's self-and teacher-report of victimization across three time-points of mentoring compared to the class averages on a 0-4 scale, with higher numbers indicative of more victimization.



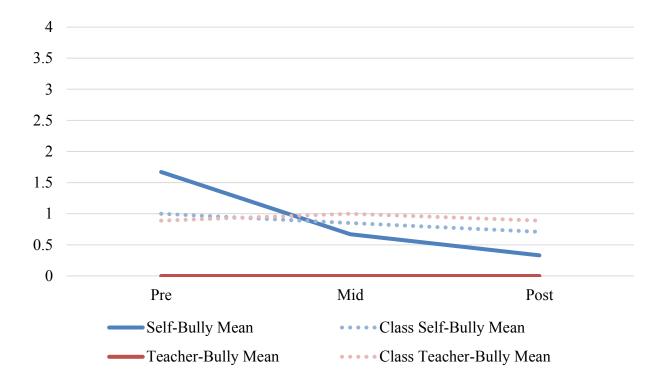


Figure 2. Anna's self-and teacher-report of bullying behavior across three time-points of mentoring compared to the class averages on a 0-4 scale, with higher numbers indicative of more bullying behavior.



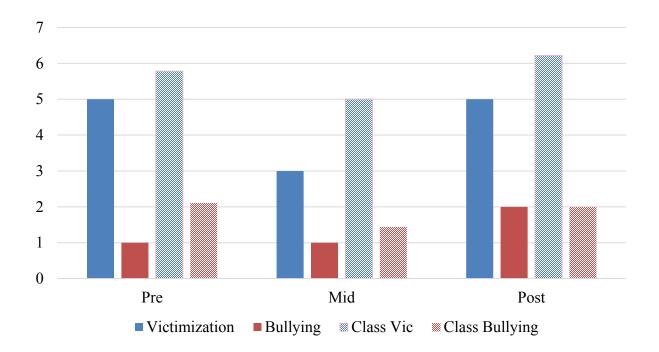


Figure 3. Number of peer nominations of victimization and bullying behaviors for Anna across three time-points of mentoring. Total number of peer nominations could range from 0-24 for victimization and 0-8 for bullying behaviors in her class.

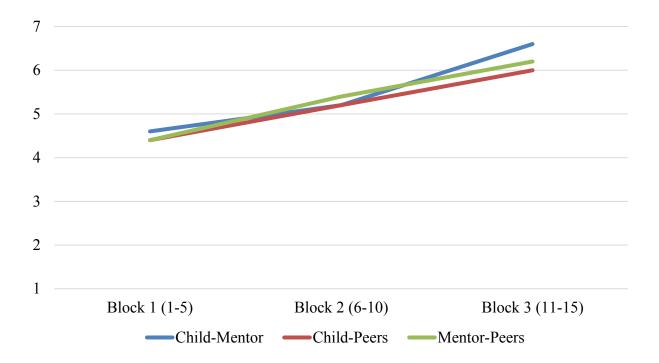


Figure 4. Perceived liking over time between the dyads of Anna-mentor, Anna-peers, and mentor-peers on a 1-7 scale as rated by her mentor, with higher numbers indicative of more liking. Visits were blocked into thirds and perceived liking was averaged for each block.



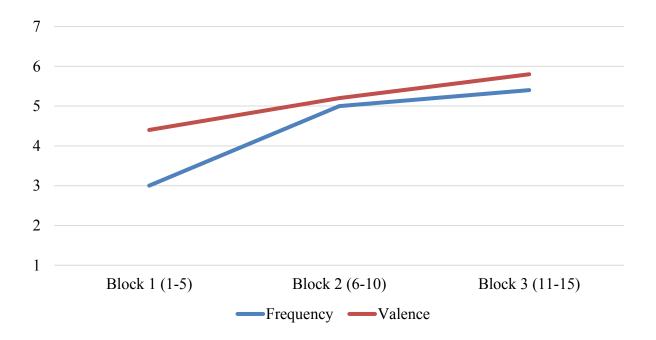


Figure 5. Anna's perceived pattern of frequency and valence of peer interaction over the course of mentoring on a 1-7 scale as rated by her mentor, with higher numbers indicative of greater frequency and valence. Visits were blocked into thirds, and frequency and valence of interactions were averaged for each block.



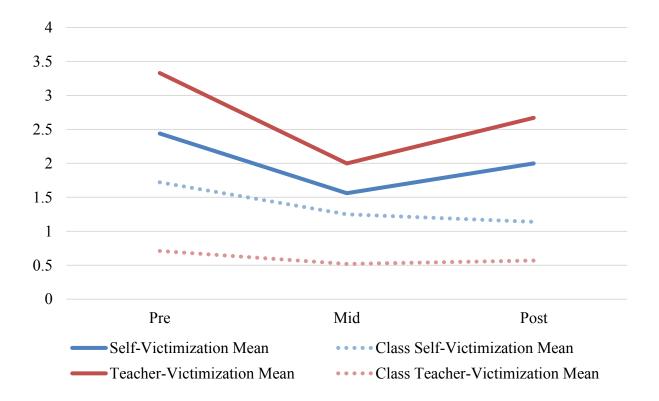


Figure 6. Bryan's self-and teacher-report of victimization across three time-points of mentoring compared to the class averages on a 0-4 scale, with higher numbers indicative of more victimization.



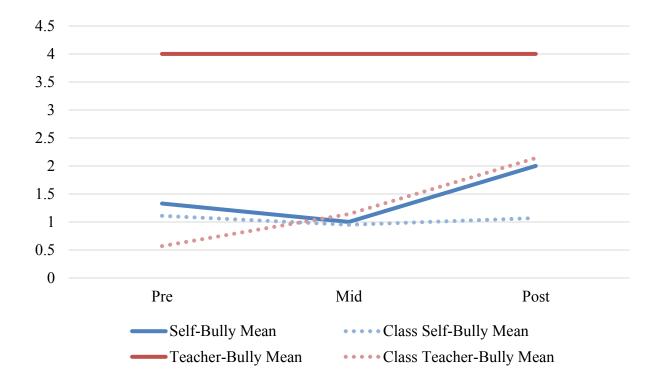


Figure 7. Bryan's self-and teacher-report of bullying behavior across three time-points of mentoring compared to the class averages on a 0-4 scale, with higher numbers indicative of more bullying behaviors.



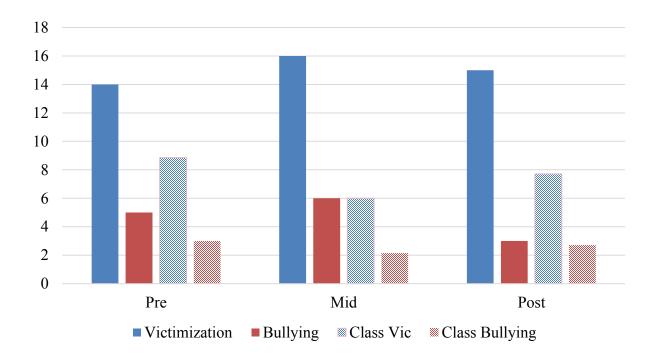


Figure 8. Number of peer nominations of victimization and bullying behaviors for Bryan across three time-points of mentoring. Total number of peer nominations could range from 0-18 for victimization and 0-6 for bullying behaviors in his class.



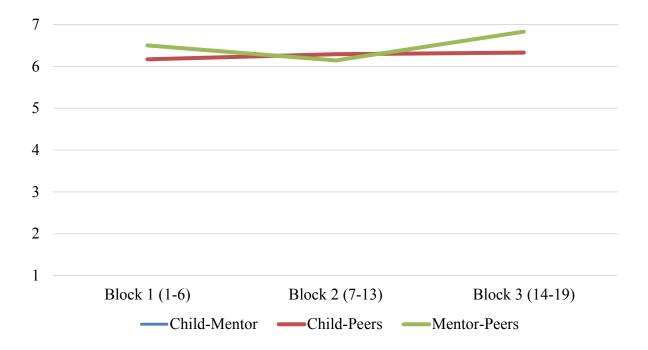


Figure 9. Perceived liking over time between the dyads of Bryan-mentor, Bryan-peers, and mentor-peers on a 1-7 scale as rated by his mentor, with higher numbers indicative of more liking. Visits were blocked into thirds and perceived liking was averaged for each block. The pathway for child-mentor followed the same pathway as child-peers.

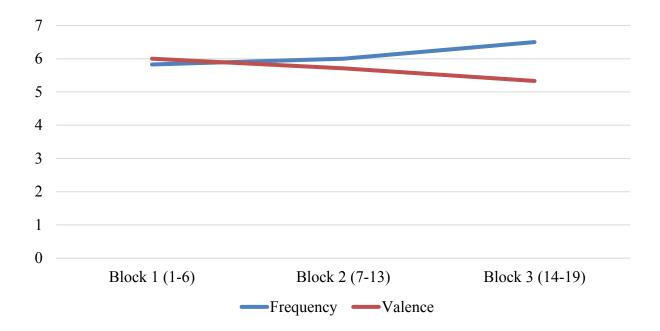


Figure 10. Bryan's perceived pattern of frequency and valence of peer interaction over the course of mentoring on a 1-7 scale as rated by his mentor, with higher numbers indicative of greater frequency and valence. Visits were blocked into thirds, and frequency and valence of interactions were averaged for each block.

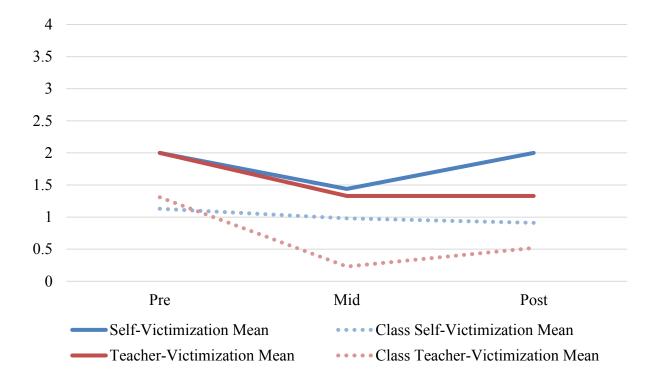


Figure 11. Colt's self-and teacher-report of victimization across three time-points of mentoring compared to the class averages on a 0-4 scale, with higher numbers indicative of more victimization.



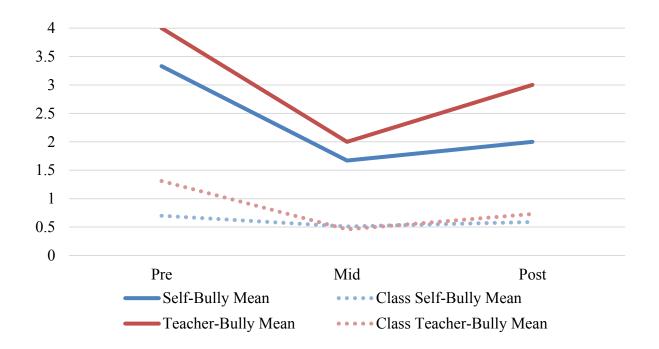


Figure 12. Colt's self-and teacher-report of bullying behavior across three time-points of mentoring compared to the class averages on a 0-4 scale, with higher numbers indicative of more bullying behaviors.



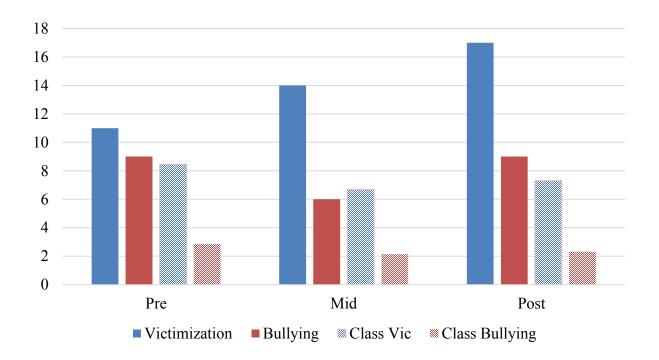


Figure 13. Number of peer nominations of victimization and bullying behaviors for Colt across three time-points of mentoring. Total number of peer nominations could range from 0-24 for victimization and 0-12 for bullying behaviors in his class.



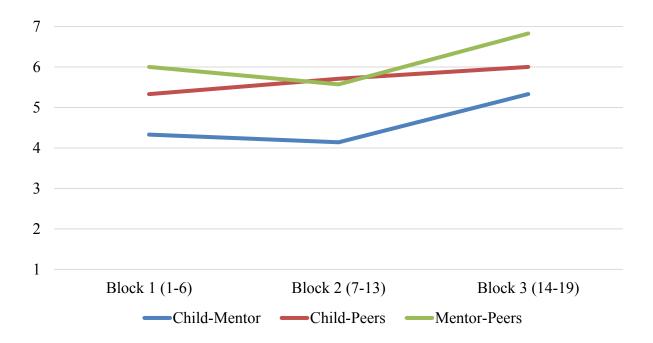


Figure 14. Perceived liking over time between the dyads of Colt-mentor, Colt-peers, and mentor-peers on a 1-7 scale as rated by his mentor, with higher numbers indicative of more liking. Visits were blocked into thirds and perceived liking was averaged for each block.

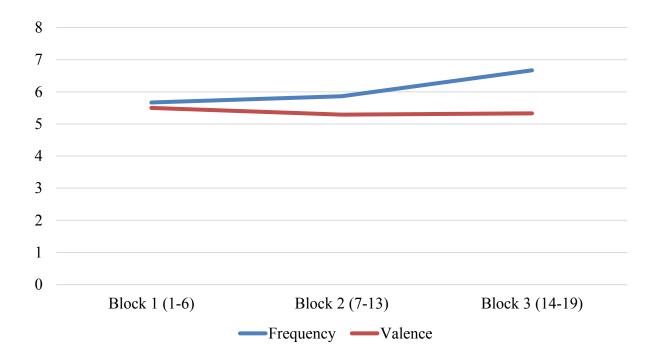


Figure 15. Colt's perceived pattern of frequency and valence of peer interaction over the course of mentoring on a 1-7 scale, as rated by his mentor with higher numbers indicative of greater frequency and valence. Visits were blocked into thirds, and frequency and valence of interactions were averaged for each block.



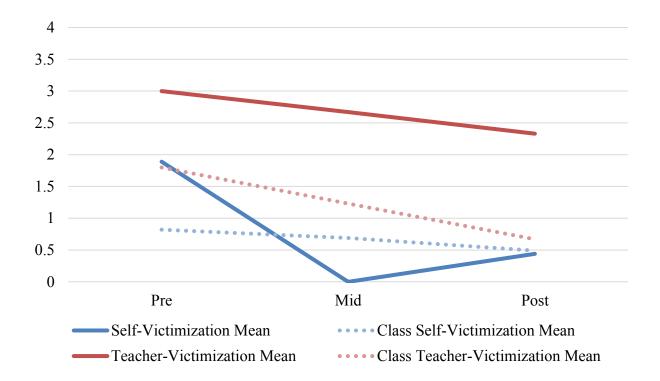


Figure 16. Darcy's self-and teacher-report of victimization across three time-points of mentoring compared to the class averages on a 0-4 scale, with higher numbers indicative of more victimization.



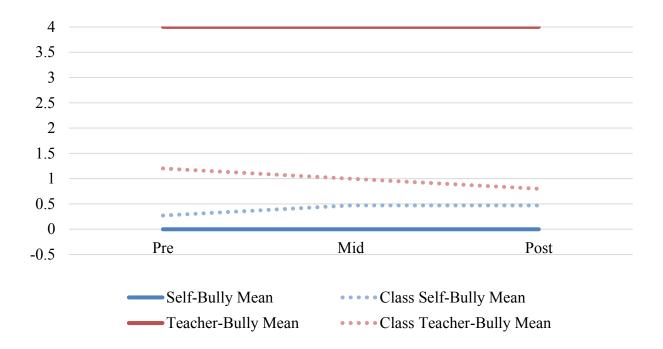


Figure 17. Darcy's self-and teacher-report of bullying behavior across three time-points of mentoring compared to the class averages on a 0-4 scale, with higher numbers indicative of more bullying behaviors.

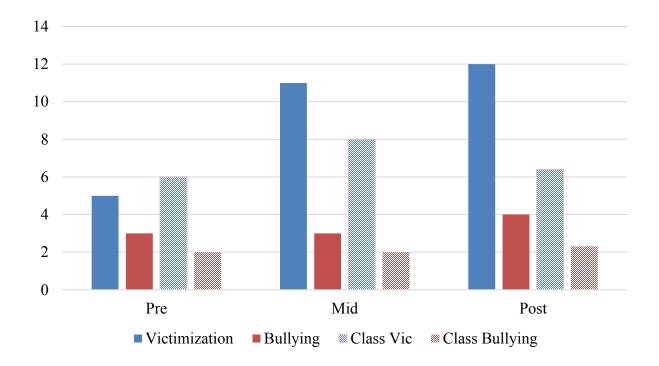


Figure 18. Number of peer nominations of victimization and bullying behaviors for Darcy across three time-points of mentoring. Total number of peer nominations could range from 0-12 for victimization and 0-4 for bullying behaviors in her class.



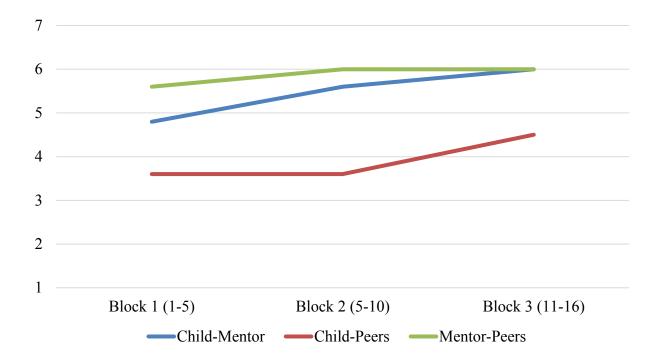


Figure 19. Perceived liking over time between the dyads of Darcy-mentor, Darcy-peers, and mentor-peers on a 1-7 scale, as rated by her mentor, with higher numbers indicative of more liking. Visits were blocked into thirds and perceived liking was averaged for each block.

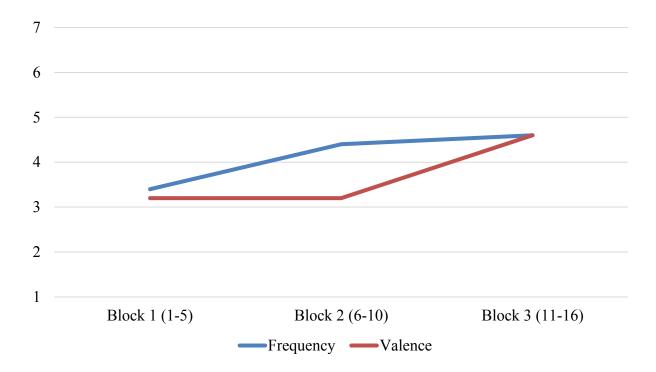


Figure 20. Darcy's perceived pattern of frequency and valence of peer interaction over the course of mentoring on a 1-7 scale, as rated by her mentor, with higher numbers indicative of greater frequency and valence. Visits were blocked into thirds, and frequency and valence of interactions were averaged for each block.

Appendix A: IRB Approval Letter

November 26, 2013

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TO:	Timothy Cavell James Thomas Samantha Gregus Freddie Pastrana		
FROM:	Ro Windwalker		
RE:	IRB Coordinator PROJECT CONTINUATION		
IRB Protocol #:	06-11-102		
Protocol Title:	Peer Safety Project (PSP)		
Review Type:	☐ EXEMPT ☐ EXPEDITED ☐ FULL IRB		
Previous Approval Period:	Start Date: 11/01/2006 Expiration Date: 12/04/2013		
New Expiration Date:	12/04/2014		

Your request to extend the referenced protocol has been approved by the IRB. If at the end of this period you wish to continue the project, you must submit a request using the form *Continuing Review for IRB Approved Projects*, prior to the expiration date. Failure to obtain approval for a continuation on or prior to this new expiration date will result in termination of the protocol and you will be required to submit a new protocol to the IRB before continuing the project. Data collected past the protocol expiration date may need to be eliminated from the dataset should you wish to publish. Only data collected under a currently approved protocol can be certified by the IRB for any purpose.

This protocol has been approved for 2200 total participants. If you wish to make *any* modifications in the approved protocol, including enrolling more than this number, you must seek approval *prior to* implementing those changes. All modifications should be requested in writing (email is acceptable) and must provide sufficient detail to assess the impact of the change.

If you have questions or need any assistance from the IRB, please contact me at 210 Administration Building, 5-2208, or irb@uark.edu.



Appendix B Measures

Demographics
School #: Teacher #: Today's Date:
Grade:
Grade: Student ID #:
Birthdate:
The leader will explain how to answer the questions below. If you don't know what to do after that, raise your hand and someone will help you.
Are you a boy or a girl?
□ Boy
□ Girl
Is this your 1 st year to be at this school? ☐ Yes ☐ No
What is your race (or culture)? White Black Hispanic Asian American Indian Pacific Islander Bi/multi-racial Other:
What languages are spoken in your home?
☐ English
□ Spanish
☐ Marshallese
□ Other:
Who are the people living in your house? ☐ Mother
□ Father
☐ Step-parent
☐ Grandparent
☐ Brothers
How many?



Sisters
How many?
Others:



The Way Kids Are

Some of these questions ask about the kids in your class. Other questions ask about you.

1. How much	h do the kids in your	class call you mean names	ş?	
0	1	2	3	4
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)
2. How muc	ch do the kids in you	r class hit you?		
0	1	2	3	4
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)
3. How much	h do the kids in your	class like each other as frie	ends?	
0	1	2	3	4
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)
4. How much	h do the kids in your	class say hurtful things to	you?	
0	1	2	3	4
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)
5. How muc	h do YOU tease oth	er kids, or call them mean	names, or say hu	rtful things to them?
0	1	2	3	4
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)
6. How muc	h do the kids in you	r class say mean things or t	ells lies about yo	ou to other kids?
0	1	2	3	4
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)
7. How muc	ch do the kids in your	r class kick you?		
0	1	2	3	4
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)
8. How muc	h do the kids in you	r class try to help you if you	u are being picke	ed on by other kids?
0	1	2	3	4
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)
9. How muc	ch do the kids in your	r class tell you that you CA	N'T play with th	hem?
	-		J	
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)



10. How much do YOU tell other kids they can't play with you, or NOT invite them to things to get back at them, or say mean things or tell lies about them to other kids?							
(Never)	-	(Sometimes)	•	(Always)			
11. How much	do the kids in your	class get along with each oth	er?				
0	1	2	3	4			
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)			
12. How much	do the kids in your	class tease you at school?					
0	1	2	3	4			
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)			
13. How much something:	13. How much do the kids in your class NOT invite you to things to get back at you for something?						
0	1	2	3	4			
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)			
14. How much	n do the kids in your	class push you?					
0	1	2	3	4			
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)			
15. How much	n do YOU hit, or pus	sh, or kick other kids in your	class?				
0	1	2	3	4			
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)			
16. In my clas	s, EVERYBODY is	my friend.					
0	1	2	3	4			
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)			



Teacher's Peer Bullying Scale

For each of these three questions, please rate the extent to which you think each student experiences the following:

How much are these students hit, pushed, or kicked by other students?					, told hu			alled me eased by			
Name/ ID #	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always	Name/ ID#	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always
1						1					
2						2					
3						3					
4						4					
5						5					
6						6					
7						7					
8						8					
9						9					
10						10					
11						11					
12						12					
13						13					
14						14					
15						15					
16						16					
17						17					
18						18					
19						19					
20						20					



How much are these students told they can't play or they have mean things or lies said about them, or they aren't invited to things just to get back at them?				How much do these students <u>bully</u> by hitting other students, by teasing other students, or by telling other students they can't play?				s, or				
Name/ ID	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always		Name/ ID#	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always
1							1					
2							2					
3							3					
4							4					
5							5					
6							6					
7							7					
8							8					
9							9					
10							10					
11							11					
12							12					
13							13					
14							14					
15							15					
16							16					
17							17					
18							18					
10							10					



Class Play

Pretend that you're directing a class play. Your job is to decide who will play the different parts in the play. Read the descriptions of the different kinds of parts, and circle the numbers for the 3 students who could play that part best. Remember, you're the director so you cannot pick yourself for any part. There is no right or wrong answer. Please keep your answers private.

A. Which 3 kids could play the part of someone who gets along well with the teacher, who likes to talk to the teacher, and who the teacher enjoys spending time with? Circle 3 different numbers

	,	J J 1 &	
1	7	13	19
2	8	14	20
3	9	15	21
4	10	16	22
5	11	17	23
6	12	18	24

B. Which 3 kids could play the part of someone who gets teased, who gets called mean names, or who gets told hurtful things by other kids? Circle 3 different numbers.

1	7	13	19
2	8	14	20
3	9	15	21
4	10	16	22
5	11	17	23
6	12	18	24

C. Which 3 kids could play the part of someone who gets pushed, who gets hit, or who gets kicked by other kids? Circle 3 different numbers.

1	7	13	19
2	8	14	20
3	9	15	21
4	10	16	22
5	11	17	23
6	12	18	24

D. Which 3 kids could play the part of someone who is told they can't play, who has mean things or lies said about them, or who aren't invited to things just to get back at them? Circle 3 different numbers.

1	7	13	19
2	8	14	20
3	9	15	21
4	10	16	22
5	11	17	23
6	12	18	24

E. Which 3 kids could play the part of someone who hits other kids, who teases other kids, or who tells other kids they can't play with them? Circle 3 different numbers.

0			
1	7	13	19
2	8	14	20
3	9	15	21
4	10	16	22
5	11	17	23
6	12	18	24



Peer Play Rating Scale

Look at the list of numbers on this page. Each number matches a child's name on the class roster. Think about each child, and put a check $(\sqrt{})$ in the box under the face that shows how much you like to play with that child. Be sure to check one box for each name on the class roster (except your own).

How much do you like to play with this child?	Not at all	Some 1	A little	A lot	Very Much
Roster Number	٩	@	®	☺	
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					
21					
22					
23					
24					



Positive Peer Nominations

Now tell us about the kids you play with. Who are the 3 kids that you play with the most? Circle 3 different numbers.

1	7	13	19
2	8	14	20
3	9	15	21
4	10	16	22
5	11	17	23
6	12	18	24



Lunch Buddy Impressions Survey

(Teacher's Version)

1. This student was picked on, teased, or left out of things on purpose because a mentor visited them at lunch.					
0	1	2	3	4	
(Strongly Disagree)	(Disagree)	(Undecided)	(Agree)	(Strongly Agree)	
2. Bad things happened to this student because they were mentored.					
0	1	2	3	4	
(Strongly Disagree)	(Disagree)	(Undecided)	(Agree)	(Strongly Agree)	
3. Other kids treated this student worse at lunch because they had a mentor.					
0	1	2	3	4	
(Strongly Disagree)	(Disagree)	(Undecided)	(Agree)	(Strongly Agree)	
0 (Strongly Disagree)	(Disagree)	2 (Undecided)	(Agree)	4 (Strongly Agree)	

Lunch Buddy Mentoring Program - Teacher Satisfaction Questionnaire

Please help us improve our mentoring program by answering a few questions. Thank you. PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER.

1.	How would you rate the quality of the Lunch Buddy Mentoring your student received?						
	0	1	2	3			
	(Poor)	(Fair)	(Good)	(Excellent)			
				·			
2.	. Did your student get the kind of mentoring you wanted?						
	0	1	2	3			
	(No,	(No,	(Yes,	(Yes,			
	definitely not)	not really)	generally)	definitely)			
3.	To what extent has ou	r mentoring program	met your expectation	ns?			
	0	1	2	3			
(None	have been met) (Only a	few have been met) (Most have been met)	(Almost all have been met)			
`	, ,	, (<u> </u>	,			
4.	Would you recommen	d our program to oth	er teachers?				
	0	1	2	3			
	(No,	(No,	(Yes,	(Yes,			
	definitely not)	not really)	generally)	definitely)			
5.	How satisfied are you	with the amount of n	nentoring your studer	t has received?			
	0	1	2	3			
	(Quite dissatisfied)	(Somewhat dissatisfie	d) (Mostly satisfied)	(Very satisfied)			
6.	6. Has our Lunch Buddy Mentoring Program helped your student?						
	0	1	2	3			
	(No, it made	(No, it really	(Yes, it helped	(Yes, it helped			
	things worse)	didn't help)	somewhat)	a great deal)			
7.	Overall, how satisfied	are you with the Lun	ch Buddy Mentoring	Program?			
	0	1	2	3			
	(Quite dissatisfied) (Somewhat dissati	isfied) (Mostly satisf	fied) (Very satisfied)			
	, ,	,	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,				
8	8. If it were ever offered again, would you allow your students to be in our program?						
0.	If it were ever offered	again, would you allo	ow your students to be	e in our program:			
0.	o the state of the	again, would you allo	2	a m our program:			
0.	_	again, would you allo 1 (No,					

Now please use the bottom of this page or the back to write anything else you want us to know about the Lunch Buddy Mentoring Program.



Lunch Mate Rating Scale

There were some days when your mentor was at school and some days when your mentor was not at school. Please answer these questions by checking the box that tells us what you think.

1. When your mentor was at school, did other kids at the table want to sit by <u>your mentor</u> ?						
Never	Almost Never		Sometimes	Almost Always	Always	
2. When your mentor was at school, did other kids at the table talk to <u>your mentor</u> ?						
Never	A	Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always	
3. When your mentor was at school, did other kids at the table want to sit by <u>you</u> ?						
Never		Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always	
4. When your mentor was at school, did other kids at the table talk to <u>you</u> ?						
Never		Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always	
5. When your mentor WASN'T at school, did other kids at the table want to sit by <u>you</u> ?						
No, never	r	Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always	
6. When your mentor WASN'T at school, did other kids at the table talk to <u>you</u> ?						
Never		Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Always	Always	



Mentoring Scale – Child

Your mentor's name:	Date:
---------------------	-------

These sentences are about things that can happen with a mentor. Please read each one and tell us how often these things happen with your mentor. There is no right or wrong answer.

1. I look forward to meeting with my mentor.						
0	1	2	3	4		
(Never)	1 441 41	(Sometimes)		(Always)		
2. I tell my mento	or about things tr	_				
0	1	2	3	4		
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)		
3. My mentor and	d I get mad or up	set with each other.				
0	1	2	3	4		
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)		
4. When I'm with	my mentor, I wa	ant the time go quickly.				
0	1	2	3	4		
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)		
5. When I'm with	h my mentor, I bi	ring up things that bother n	1e.			
0	1	2	3	4		
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)		
6. My mentor has to punish me						
0	1	2	3	4		
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)		
7. I like spending	g time with my mo	entor.				
0	1	2	3	4		
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)		
8. When I'm with my mentor, I keep my problems to myself.						
0	1	2	3	4		
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)		
9. I don't do what my mentor tells me to do.						
0	1	2	3	4		
(Never)		(Sometimes)		(Always)		



10. I like my men	tor.					
0 (Never)	1	2 (Sometimes)	3	4 (Always)		
11. When my mer	ntor asks about m	y problems, I talk about th	iem.			
0 (Never)	1	2 (Sometimes)	3	4 (Always)		
12. My mentor ha	s to discipline me	for disobeying.				
0 (Never)	1	(Sometimes)	3	4 (Always)		
13. I'd rather do	other things than	meet with my mentor.				
0 (Never)	1	2 (Sometimes)	3	4 (Always)		
14. I feel like my n	nentor is on my sic	de and tries to help me.				
0 (Never)	1	2 (Sometimes)	3	4 (Always)		
15. My mentor an	d I argue with eac	h other.				
0 (Never)	1	2 (Sometimes)	3	4 (Always)		
16. I talk to my mentor about my feelings.						
0 (Never)	1	2 (Sometimes)	3	4 (Always)		
17. I wish my mentor would leave me alone.						
0 (Never)	1	2 (Sometimes)	3	4 (Always)		
18. My mentor corrects me for doing things I'm not supposed to do.						
0 (Never)	1	2 (Sometimes)	3	4 (Always)		

Mentor Logs

1=Not at all/Very Negative
2
3
4=Some/Neutral
5
6
7=Quite a lot/Very Positive

- 1) During this visit, how much did your mentee interact with you?
- 2) How positive or negative were the interactions between your mentee and you?
- 3) At this visit, how much did other children sitting at the lunch table interact with you?
- 4) How positive or negative were the interactions between other children and you?
- 5) During this visit, how much did other children sitting at the lunch table interact with your mentee?
- 6) How positive or negative were the interactions between other children and your mentee?
- 7) How much does your mentee seem to like you now?
- 8) How much do the other children seem to like you now?
- 9) How much do the other children seem to like your mentee now?
- 10) Things you did (or tried to do) to promote positive interactions between other children and your mentee (open ended).
- 11) At this visit, how successful were you in promoting positive interactions?
- 12) Things you did (or tried to do) to enhance your mentee's reputation with other children (open ended).
- 13) At this visit, how successful were you at enhancing your mentee's reputation?
- 14) What would you say was the most important incident that happened during this visit? Why was it important? (Open ended)



Lunch Buddy Child Interview

<u>Opening statement:</u> Thanks for talking to me about [mentor's name]. We're interviewing children who were mentored so we can learn more about the Lunch Buddy program.

1. Knowledge

- a. First, what do you know about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?
- b. Why did you think that you got a Lunch Buddy mentor?
- c. What is it that Lunch Buddy mentors do?
- d.Did your teacher ever talk to you about [mentor's name]? What did he/she say?
- e. Did your parents ever talk to you about [mentor's name]? What did they say?
- f. Did other kids ever talk to you about [mentor's name]? What did they say?

2. Help/Harm

- a.Did having a mentor change how much that you talked to other kids?
- b.Did having a mentor change how much that other kids talked to you?
- c. Did having a mentor change how much that you liked the kids at your school?
- d.Did having a mentor change how much that other kids liked you?
- e. Did having a mentor change how much that you liked school?
- f. Did having a mentor change how much that you liked your teacher?
- g.Did having a mentor change how you behaved at lunch?
- h.Did having a mentor change how you behaved at recess or PE?
- i. Did having a mentor change how you behaved in class?
- j. Did having a mentor change how you feel about yourself?
- k. Did having a Lunch Buddy help you? How much? How did it help?
- l. Did having a Lunch Buddy cause problems? How much? How did it cause problems?

3. Changes

- a.Is there anything you would change about the Lunch Buddy program?
- b. Why or why not?

- a. Overall, did you like or not like having a Lunch Buddy mentor?
- b.Do you think other kids would like having a Lunch Buddy mentor? Why or why not?
- c. Would you ever want to be a Lunch Buddy mentor? Why or why not?



Lunch Buddy Mentor Interview

<u>Opening statement:</u> Thanks for talking to me about [mentee's name]. We're interviewing mentors because we want to what mentor's think about the Lunch Buddy program.

1. Knowledge

- a. First, how much do you know about the Lunch Buddy program?
- b. What, in your view, are the overall goals of the program?
- c. How would you describe the specific duties of the Lunch Buddy mentor?

2. Help/Harm

- a. Did you see any changes—good or bad—in [mentee's name] because of the mentoring? For example, did mentoring change...
 - i. How [mentee's name] acted at school?
 - ii. How [mentee's name] got along with the teacher?
 - iii. His/her attitude about school?
 - iv. How much [mentee's name] interacted with other children?
 - v. How much [mentee's name] was liked by other children?
 - vi. His/her self-esteem?
- b. Do you think that having a Lunch Buddy mentor helped [mentee's name]?
 - i. How much did it help?
 - ii. How did it help?
- c. Do you think that having a Lunch Buddy mentor harmed [mentee's name]?
 - i. How much did it harm?
 - ii. How did it harm?

3. Changes

- a. Is there anything you would change about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?
- b. Why or why not?

- a. Overall, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the program?
- b. Do you think other mentors would like the program? Why or why not?
- c. How has being a Lunch Buddy mentor affected you?



Lunch Buddy School Counselor Interview

<u>Opening statement:</u> Thanks for talking to me about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program. We're conducting this interview because we want to know what you think about the program. We also want to know how others at school view the program.

1. Knowledge

- a. First, what do you know about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?
- b. How would you describe the overall goals of the program?
- c. Do you know what Lunch Buddy mentors do when they visit?
- d. Who have you talked to about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?

2. Help/Harm for mentored children

- a. Did you personally see any changes—good or bad—in [student's name] because of the mentoring? For example, did mentoring change...
 - i. How they acted at school?
 - ii. How they got along with their teachers?
 - iii. Their attitudes about school?
 - iv. How they interacted with other students?
 - v. How much they were liked by other students?
 - vi. Their self-esteem?
- b. Based on your experience, do you believe that having a Lunch Buddy mentor helped or harmed these students?
 - i. How much did it help (or harm)?
 - ii. How did it help (or harm)?

3. Others' Views of Help/Harm

- a. Were other people at your school affected—good or bad—by the Lunch Buddy mentor program?
 - i. What did you hear from nearby lunch mates?
 - ii. What did you hear from other teachers?
 - iii. What did you hear from front office staff?
 - iv. What did you hear from lunch room monitors?
 - v. What did you hear from lunch room workers?
 - vi. What did you hear from your principal?

4. Changes

- a. Based on your general impressions, is there anything you would change about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program? Why or why not?
- b. What would make it a better program?

- a. Overall, do you think students, teaches, and staff were satisfied or dissatisfied with the program?
- b. Do you think other school counselors would like the program? Why or why not?



Lunch Buddy <u>Teacher</u> Interview

<u>Opening statement:</u> Thanks for talking to me about [student's name] and his/her Lunch Buddy mentor. We're interviewing teachers because we want to know what they think about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program.

- 1. Knowledge
 - a. First, what do you know about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?
 - b. How would you describe the overall goals of the program?
 - c. Do you know what Lunch Buddy mentors do when they visit?
 - d. Did [student's name] ever talk to you about his/her mentor? What did he/she say?
 - e. Did his/her parents ever talk about the mentor? What did they say?
- 2. Help/Harm
 - a. Did you see any changes—good or bad—in [student's name] because of the mentoring? For example, did mentoring change...
 - i. How he/she acted at school?
 - *ii.* How he/she got along with you as his/her teacher?
 - iii. His/her attitude about school?
 - iv. His/her academic performance?
 - v. How he/she interacted with other students? How other students interacted with him/her?
 - vi. How much he/she was liked by other students? How much he/she liked other students?
 - vii. His/her self-esteem or confidence?
 - b. Did having a Lunch Buddy mentor help or harm [student's name],
 - i. How much did it help (or harm)?
 - ii. How did it help (or harm)?
- 3. Changes
 - a. Is there anything you would change about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?
 - b. Why or why not?
- 4. Overall Impressions
 - a. Overall, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the program?
 - b. Do you think other teachers would like the program?
 - c. Why or why not?



Lunch Buddy Parent Interview

<u>Opening statement:</u> Thanks for talking to me about <u>[child's name]</u> and his/her Lunch Buddy mentor. We're interviewing parents because we want to know what parents think about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program.

1. Knowledge

- a. First, what do you know about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?
- b. What do you know about the goals of the program?
- c. Do you know what Lunch Buddy mentors do when they visit?
- d. Did [child's name] ever talk about his/her mentor? What did he/she say?
- e. Did your child's teacher ever talk about the mentor? What did he/she say?

2. Help/Harm

- a. Did you see any changes—good or bad—in [child's name] because of the mentoring? For example, did mentoring change...
 - i. How he/she acted at home? In what ways?
 - ii. How he/she acted at school? In what ways?
 - iii. How he/she got along with the teacher?
 - iv. His/her attitude about school?
 - v. How much he/she talked to other children? How much other children talked to him/her?
 - vi. How much he/she was liked by other children? How much he/she liked other children?
 - vii. His/her self-esteem?
- b. Did having a Lunch Buddy mentor help or harm [child's name]?
 - i. How much did it help (or harm)?
 - ii. How did it help (or harm)?

3. Changes

- a. Is there anything you would change about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?
- b. Why or why not?

- a. Overall, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the program?
- b. Do you think other parents would like the program?
- c. Why or why not?



Appendix C Examples of Actual Interview Transcripts

Lunch Buddy <u>Teacher</u> Interview

Interviewer: Okay, my name is Melissa Faith and I'll be interviewing you today. And I have Ms. BB, right? Okay. And I have a list of questions I'm going to ask you and feel free to elaborate as much as you can. Okay, first, what do you know about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?

Teacher: All I really know is that my student, XX, had a Lunch Buddy come in and just kind of interact with her and her friends, and I believe they met once a week. And I'm thinking this is connected to the bullying discussions that have been going on.

Interviewer: Okay, so can you tell me more about those discussions and why you think those are related to that?

Teacher: Because I've been filling out surveys talking about my kids and I have a list of I think, nine or ten students on the questionnaires that I've filled out I think three times this year, maybe twice, about if the student bullies or is the student bullied. And how frequently and that kind of thing.

Interviewer: So does it seem like all nine students are being studied because of bullying or that they're random?

Teacher: I would assume that it's probably based on the forms that came back, and this is just my knowledge on how research is conducted, but it seems like XX is really the one being zeroed in on. The questions are always on this group of students.

Interviewer: And I'll fill you in on all of the details after this. How would you describe the overall goals of the program?

Teacher: Again, I don't know. I'm thinking probably to just give students strategies in how to deal with social situations.

Interviewer: Okay. Do you know what Lunch Buddy mentors do when they visit?

Teacher: No.

Interviewer: Okay, did XX ever talk to you about her mentor?

Teacher: She looks forward to her coming. She doesn't tell me exactly what happens but I do notice that she comes and she stays during recess, on days that I have recess duty, I'll see her out there pushing her and her friends on the swing set and kind of playing with them.



Interviewer: Did she ever say anything to you about looking forward to the mentor, or how did you know?

Teacher: She always knows what days she's coming-she knows the schedule and she knows to expect her. And there was a time when, oh it was testing; XX was going to be pulled out for ELDA testing and-also during Benchmark testing too-she was in my extended time group. And because they're allowed extra time on the test we weren't going to finish in time for lunch and were going to have to eat in the classroom, and she was very concerned that her mentor was going to be waiting in the hall for her. So I told her that we'd have someone meet the mentor and kind of explain to her what was going on and that we couldn't do it that day. But she was very concerned

Interviewer: And have you ever met the mentor?

Teacher: Yes.

Interviewer: And do you know the mentor's name?

Teacher: I don't. I know her on sight.

Interviewer: Okay. And like I said, this is just to find out how much teachers know because I know that sometimes they don't know a whole lot. Did XX's parents ever talk to you about the mentor?

Teacher: No. I really don't talk to XX's parents a whole lot though. We don't have a lot of outside parent-teacher communication so I haven't seen them a whole lot.

Interviewer: Okay. Do they usually not come in when they're supposed to...?

Teacher: No they always come in when they're supposed to, but XX is not a student that I have to call about for any type of behavioral incident often and her parents don't tend to write me notes or show up for any additional ting, so.

Interviewer: Did you see any changes-good or bad-in how XX acted that could have been a result of the mentoring?

Teacher: I did notice she is paying attention to her social group a lot.

Interviewer: How so?

Teacher: They did have a few conflicts over the course of the year and it started, I want to say it may have started before she started meeting with her mentor, kind of early in the year. She came to me with some of her friends and she came to me with her friend, AA, and they were complaining to me about a friend in another classroom with whom they had been friends since kindergarten, but then starting last year it was kind of the girl breakdown going on where suddenly it was two groups of girls who had formed and it was them against us and one child,



when she would see XX or AA in the hall she would hold her nose and tell other friends don't play with them. So I sent them to Eddie, our counselor, and he met with all of the girls together and XX came up to me after the meeting and she said you know what we're all good now and we're all friends so then they all played together and that has pretty much been consistent this year. She came to me again, two or three times, she'll come to me and it's always about friend issues-usually it's the same type of thing, one friend not wanting them to play together.

Interviewer: Does she come to you more so than other kids do?

Teacher: Yes. And then the second time again I referred her to Eddie, and Eddie kind of met with them regularly for a while-he kind of had a girl group to talk about those kinds of issues. And then after the second time, when she came to me the third time I said, why don't you guys just try and work it out because I didn't think it was appropriate to send them to Eddie every single time. And it hasn't happened recently.

Interviewer: Okay. I'm going to ask you some pretty specific questions about changes you may or may not have seen. And if you did see changes, it may have been good or bad. How she acted at school-did that change at all?

Teacher: I don't know, she's always been a real sweet girl-she's never been a troublemaker and like I said the only thing that ever has stood out, outside of being on the straight and narrow, are the girl issues that go on. If anything I would maybe say a little more confidence, and that's just in class too-as far as volunteering answers and such.

Interviewer: Okay. Any changes about how she got along with you?

Teacher: We've always gotten along well.

Interviewer: Okay. Any changes about her attitude towards school?

Teacher: I don't think so.

Interviewer: Okay. Any changes in her academic performance?

Teacher: Yeah, she's grown through the year.

Interviewer: Grown as in her grades have gotten better or she's become more capable of completing assignments efficiently or...?

Teacher: You know, like I said she's never been a problem student in that way. She stays focused and she has a good work ethic already; she kind of started the year that way. So I would say kind of academically in general she's grown and like I said with her confidence, she's not afraid to try even if she thinks she might make a mistake. There's still a little bit of that fear there, that's kind of typical though.

Interviewer: Has it changed though-it seems like it's gotten a little bit better-the confidence?



Teacher: I would say, yeah.

Interviewer: Okay. Any change in how she interacted with other students in the class?

Teacher: That's a hard one to answer, I mean, it's always really easy to see when you have a child who stands out behaviorally, but because she's always been a pretty well-behaved child, I don't know. I will say, in her little group, she is the one who I placed by a student who is kind of known for outbursts and being off-task, and I do have him with her group because she's one of the kids who I think can handle him in a non-adversarial kind of way. So she does handle this student being in her group very well.

Interviewer: Okay. Do students treat her any differently now than they did, maybe before mentoring started?

Teacher: Well I know definitely, like I told you she had problems with the girl in the other class, and yeah I mean that's definitely been an improvement. And that's something that she claimed had been bothering her since third grade.

Interviewer: Long time. And some of these might be redundant so bear with me but do you feel like she was liked more or less by other students or that she liked the other students more or less over the course of mentoring?

Teacher: Over the course? I mean, she likes people, I don't know that that necessarily changed other than, again, going back to that same conflict.

Interviewer: Sure. Okay, how much would you say, if at all, Lunch Buddy mentoring either helped or harmed XX?

Teacher: Definitely did no harm. I think that it definitely made her feel special, and that she really enjoyed being able to count on that person to come and it was always a big deal to invite her friends-there were always two friends who she wanted to come sit with her mentor and her and I know she enjoyed, like I said, at recess when they would play. So I would say there was nothing but good to come out of it.

Interviewer: Overall, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with Lunch Buddy mentoring?

Teacher: I was satisfied.

Interviewer: Okay. Do you think other teachers would like the program?

Teacher: Yeah, I don't know, I mean it does nothing to interfere with what we're trying to accomplish. She doesn't get pulled out of instructional time or anything like that. I think it's a really good thing. I would've really liked to see-and like I'm glad XX got to have the opportunity, don't get me wrong-but I kind of wish I had known a little bit more prior to the mentoring. And to be honest with you I don't even remember if I was the person who supplied



her name or if she was picked but I wish the teachers were involved more, and if this comes into my classroom again next year then, now that I know a little bit more about it, I would be more selective.



Lunch Buddy Mentor Interview

Interviewer: Okay, it's May 4th, 2010. Starting time is 12:40 p.m. Child I.D. is 574504. Interviewer is BB. Mentor is AA. AA, thanks for talking to me about XX. We're interviewing mentors because we want to know what mentors think about the Lunch Buddy program. Question 1: First, how much do you know about the Lunch Buddy program?

Mentor: This is my second time to be a mentor so I guess I know quite a bit about it. I kind of already knew what I was getting into at the start of this semester and I know what the point is already so I feel pretty well-informed on it.

Interviewer: What, in your view, are the overall goals of the program?

Mentor: I think it's mostly to help kids who are either being bullied or bullying or both to help enhance their reputation with their peers and learn more constructive ways to interact with their peers in a positive manner.

Interviewer: Okay. How would you describe the specific duties of the Lunch Buddy mentor?

Mentor: Basically, your duties are to eat lunch with your Mentee twice a week, as consistently as possible, and just kind of help them engage in conversations with their peers at lunch that are constrictive and make sure they're included to kind of minimize negative actions. And just be a friend to them, and encourage them, and help them have a more positive view of themselves.

Interviewer: Okay good. Question 2-help or harm of the child. Did you see any changes-good or bad-in XX because of the mentoring? For example, did mentoring change how XX acted at school?

Mentor: Well, that's kind of a difficult question. I thought she was doing better but as far as how she acted at school I know that she had some behavioral problems and got in trouble several times and almost got suspended, and then I tried to talk to her about her behavior and keeping her hands to herself and not name-calling and stuff like that. And I kind of thought she was doing better until the very end-then she got suspended so I'm not really sure. Overall, I think she improved a little bit but obviously she still has some things she needs to work on.

Interviewer: Okay. What about changes in how XX got along with her teacher?

Mentor: I didn't get to see her much with her teacher, because her teacher was hardly ever in the cafeteria, but I think-from what I've heard-that her teacher was her advocate and that her teacher told her peers that XX is trying, she's trying to do better, so be patient with her. So I think her teacher was being as patient with her as she could be until XX starting doing the things that were crossing the line of the school rules and the public school policies.

Interviewer: Right. What about her attitude about school?



Mentor: She seemed to have a pretty good attitude about school for the most part. She didn't like math, but I didn't either so I understood that. And I think she enjoyed being at school. She never seemed to say, I hate school or I don't want to be here, so I think she stayed pretty positive about that throughout.

Interviewer: Any changes in how XX interacted with other children?

Mentor: I would say yes. I would say at first she was a little bit more kind of reserved; she didn't really know how to participate in the conversation or she would say things that were off subject or kind of inappropriate. But I think she got a little better with that because I would try and guide her into the conversation at the right time and guide her on the right things to say as far as how to have a good and solid interaction and you know, not offend her peers or upset anyone. So I think she improved in that, definitely.

Interviewer: Okay. What about how much the other children liked her?

Mentor: That was kind of hit or miss. Some days, they were nice to her and they would stick up for her and some days she would come in and everybody was mad at her because she pushed somebody on the playground or she called somebody a name or she upset someone in class or took someone's paper or something. I think they, like her teacher, were trying to be patient with her and kind of understood on some level that she wasn't really the same as them and that she had a little bit more trouble with that. Overall, I never saw anybody being too mean to her when I was there but I think that they respected her more maybe when I was there than when I wasn't there.

Interviewer: Okay. Any changes in her self-esteem?

Mentor: That's kind of tough she, obviously, did not have a good self-esteem but I could see towards the end of the semester that she would start to recognize when she had kind of done something good-like she got all her starts on her little sheet that let her go to the post-Benchmark party. I could see she was kind of starting to realize what she should be proud of herself for and I think she was doing a little better with that towards the end of the semester.

Interviewer: Okay. Do you think that having a Lunch Buddy mentor helped XX?

Mentor: I hope so! I tried. And I think it did; I don't know how much but I think it did.

Interviewer: Maybe in the view of the other kids?

Mentor: Yeah, I think it did. Getting the other kids to respect her, or at least for that thirty minute little period twice a week, I don't know how much it continued after I left, but I hope that it helped at least in that amount of time.

Interviewer: Any other ways?



Mentor: I think it helped her a little bit with her social skills. We had a lot of talks with her and her fronds about how to be a good friend and how to keep each other's secrets and how to respect each other and you know, keep your hands to yourself and those kinds of things. But I think that those are good lessons for any 5th grader to learn. And I think that that probably helped all of them a little bit-just to talk to somebody a little older about that and to say you know, it's okay to get mad at your friends, it's okay to be in a fight but you need to say you're sorry and you need to mend your disagreement, and you need to move on and forgive. So I feel like the hopefully learned a little bit from that so that now they're more willing to be the one to apologize and more willing to be the one to say it's okay when someone messed up.

Interviewer: Do you think that having a Lunch Buddy mentor harmed XX?

Mentor: I hope not; I don't think so. I mean, she did get in trouble at the end of the semester but I try not to feel responsible for that I just think she probably had some other outside issues that played into that. So I think overall mentoring was a good thing for her and a positive experience.

Interviewer: Okay. So you don't think it harmed her?

Mentor: No. I don't think so.

Interviewer: Okay. Is there anything you would change about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program and why?

Mentor: No, I think it's good the way it is, because I think it's a good amount of time to be spent there. It's not too long where the kids get too comfortable with you-they still kind of respect you as an authority figure, if you will, and they still kind of appreciate and get excited for you to be there. And I think it's run well, it's a good positive experience on both parts-for the mentor and the Mentee and yeah, I like the way it runs.

Interviewer: Okay. Question 4: Overall impressions. Overall, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the program?

Mentor: I was satisfied. This particular child was a little more difficult than my child last semester-a little more problems with behavioral kind of stuff-but I think that kind of made it more of a challenge for me and kind of made me have to think about new ways to talk to her and new ways to help her whereas it was a little bit easier last time. But overall I enjoyed it, I was satisfied with it-it was a good challenge for me and hopefully a good experience for her.

Interviewer: Do you think other mentors would like the program?

Mentor: Yes, I do. I've recommended several people to come over here and try it out, and they've all liked it so far, so I hope they continue to like it because I do.

Interviewer: Why?



Mentor: Because it's fun, and it's just a good experience. It's good to feel like you can make a difference and it's good to realize that just by going there and being a friend to them you might help them stay out of trouble or you might help them get more respect from their peers and cut down on you know bullying and name-calling and things that are hurtful to these kids. And especially as a college student, I just think that's a great feeling.

Interviewer: How has being a Lunch Buddy mentor affected you?

Mentor: Kind of like I just said, it's just made me realize that it doesn't take much to make a difference. Just going there and being present in their lives can have a positive effect on them, and a positive effect on how they view school, and how they view social interactions, and on how their friends view them. So overall I think it's showing us that we can make a difference in a little way that you might not realize.

Interviewer: Okay, thank you AA. Our stop time is 12:54 p.m.



Lunch Buddy Child Interview

Interviewer: Okay. It is May 20th, 2010 at 10:45 a.m. I am meeting with child I.D. 571502. Is it okay with you if we record this?

Child: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. Thank you. Alright, so we'll just go along the questions like we talked about. So, first, tell me what you know about the Lunch Buddy mentoring program?

Child: She's nice and she talks about bullying and she helps me out with talking to friends.

Interviewer: Okay. And I forgot to tell you a minute ago that there's no right or wrong answer, so you can just say whatever comes to your mind. Why do you think that you got a Lunch Buddy mentor? ... Can you say that out loud?

Child: I don't know.

Interviewer: Alright. What is it that Lunch Buddy mentors do?

Child: Help kids.

Interviewer: Okay. Did your teacher ever talk to you about um, XX

Child: No.

Interviewer: Okay, did your parents ever talk to you about XX?

Child: No.

Interviewer: What about other kids?

Child: No.

Interviewer: So did having a mentor change how much you talked to other kids?

Child: Yeah.

Interviewer: And in what way, like that you talked to them more or less?

Child: More.

Interviewer: Okay. Did having a mentor change how much that other kids talked to you?

Child: No.



Interviewer: Okay. Did having a mentor change how much you liked the other kids at your

school?

Child: No.

Interviewer: Okay. Did having a mentor change how much other kids liked you?

Child: No.

Interviewer: Okay. Did having a mentor change how much you liked school?

Child: No.

Interviewer: Did having a mentor change how much that you like your teacher?

Child: No.

Interviewer: Did having a mentor change how you behaved at lunch?

Child: Yes.

Interviewer: And in what way?

Child: Um, my behavior. Like, sometimes, I don't know.

Interviewer: Would you say that you behaved better or worse?

Child: Yeah. Better.

Interviewer: Okay. Did having a mentor change how you behaved at recess or PE?

Child: No.

Interviewer: did having a mentor change how you behaved in class?

Child: No.

Interviewer: Did having a mentor change how you feel about yourself?

Child: No.

Interviewer: Did having a Lunch Buddy help you?

Child: Yes.



Interviewer: And how much would you say it helped you? And you can think about those scales that we did. How we do a little, like not at all, a little, some, a lot, or very much, you know, that kind of thing.

Child: Little.

Interviewer: A little? Okay. And in what way would you say that it helped you? ... Can you say that out loud?

Child: I don't know.

Interviewer: Okay. Did having a Lunch Buddy cause problems?

Child: No.

Interviewer: Okay. Is there anything you would change about the Lunch Buddy program?

Child: No.

Interviewer: Alright. Overall, did you like or not like having a Lunch Buddy mentor?

Child: I liked it.

Interviewer: Okay. Did you think- do you think that other kids would like having a Lunch

Buddy mentor?

Child: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. And why do you think that?

Child: I don't know.

Interviewer: Okay. And would you ever want to be a Lunch Buddy mentor?

Child: Kind of. Maybe.

Interviewer: Yeah? What are your thoughts about that? Like why you would or why you wouldn't, you can give a reason for both.

Child: To help kids talk to their friends.

Interviewer: Okay. So that's why you would want to? Right? Okay why wouldn't you want to?

Child: I don't know.

Interviewer: Not sure?



Child: Not sure.

Interviewer: Alright. So we are done now, and I'll go ahead and stop this.

