

Unveiling Bullying in Education: A Sociological and Legal Inquiry

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to enhance understanding of bullying in schools by applying a sociocultural theoretical framework. School bullying is a significant issue. The approach employed in this study involves doing a literature review by looking for relevant literature on the Scopus website. The retrieval procedure entails using specific keywords to search for articles on the Scopus website and subsequently analysing their relevance to the chosen keywords. The current literature review focuses on three primary themes: 1) The process of forming and understanding the concept of bullying; 2) The interpersonal aspect of bullying 3) Bullying as a component of an individual's life trajectory. The text discusses empirical findings for each topic to emphasise important issues, and presents arguments from relevant sociocultural theories to provide insight in each specific example. The findings demonstrate the potential for integrating diverse research on bullying and elucidating complicated phenomena. Considering sociocultural perspectives on bullying in schools has significant consequences for both study and practice. Bullying is influenced by the context in which it occurs, and it is important to consider the dynamics of relationships and the specific environments in which such behaviour takes place.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This essay will discuss school bullying from a sociocultural perspective. Despite the abundance of empirical research on bullying, which has contributed to our understanding of its nature, characteristics, and the experiences of those involved (Efianingrum, 2020; Nasir, 2018; Trisanti, Nisak, & Azizah, 2020; Utami & Astuti, 2019), we contend that there is a lack of emphasis in the literature on establishing a comprehensive theoretical framework that can effectively integrate and elucidate the complexities of this research. The sociocultural approach plays a crucial role in this context. An integrated approach utilising sociocultural theory offers a valuable foundation for examining bullying within its specific context and questioning the underlying assumptions that guide research and other techniques (I.G.A. Lokita Purnamika Utami, 2016).

While acknowledging the presence of differing opinions, it is important to note that there is a common comprehension of growth influenced by the environment in which individuals are situated, as well as the social connections and interactions that occur among them. Recently, scholars have suggested that sociocultural theory offers a framework for comprehending cognitive development in social interactions, as well as social and emotional learning that takes place in school settings among

peers and teachers (Ameri, 2020; Lantolf, 2000; Marginson & Dang, 2017; Mercer & Howe, 2012). Comprehension or the interpretation of meaning is facilitated by engaging in social activities, interacting with people, and receiving advice (Marginson & Dang, 2017). Vygotsky's work emphasises mediation as the central premise, which refers to the reciprocal process by which individuals and society shape one another (Danoebroto, 2015). Mediation involves utilising cultural artefacts, such as language or physical objects, as a means of facilitating communication and understanding. These artefacts are believed to establish a connection or connection between specific activities carried out by individuals and organisations, and the cultural, institutional, and historical aspects that regulate them. Proponents of sociocultural theory emphasise the significance of psychological tools that centre around social interaction. They argue that social and institutional structures play a crucial role in mediating individuals' psychological comprehension of cultural tools, primarily through practical experience (De Abreu & Elbers, 2005).

Sociocultural theory enables the analysis of bullying by examining individuals' prominence within different cultural environments, but also recognising these environments as fluid and subject to disagreement (De Abreu & Elbers, 2005). Cultural environments, such as families, schools, and social organisations, own distinct histories, social norms, and traditions that have been developed and perpetuated over time via the active involvement of their members. By engaging with society and assimilating into it, individuals convey information about cultural norms and conduct. Information regarding acceptable norms and practices is communicated through different methods, including less experienced individuals observing more experienced members. This process is similar to apprenticeships, where individuals engage in culturally organised activities and eventually become permanent members. Established members, acting as "scaffolding," learn through guided participation (Lave & Wenger, 2014). It shares resemblances with sociocultural theory nevertheless, an examination of the current body of research on bullying employs ecological models (CDC, 2020; Hartini, Bhakti, Ghiffari, Aji, & Kurniasih, 2020; Smeaton et al., 2023), which emphasise various levels of risk and protective factors that influence the occurrence of bullying. This research emphasises the need of examining bullying within the social context in which young people are involved. It also demonstrates the potential to provide valuable insights for developing interventions to address bullying. We recognise the significance of this theoretical shift and aim to expand upon it. However, we believe that sociocultural theory holds additional promise in this particular domain. The text lacks focus on the process of meaning-making and the social mediation of thinking, behaviour, and interpretation. Incorporating a sociocultural theoretical framework that examines the development, negotiation, and resolution of meaning is essential in studying bullying in schools. The references cited are Bell & Baron (2015), Crafter & Maunder (2012), and Cross (2009). In order to demonstrate our argument, we refer to the key topics discussed in the academic literature on bullying in schools: (i) the definition and understanding of bullying, (ii) the interpersonal dynamics involved in bullying, (iii) the role of bullying in an individual's overall life path. For each instance, we will present research results and elucidate how sociocultural perspectives might aid in comprehending the findings. The subject addressed in this study aims to determine the prevalence of bullying by examining its educational and legal dimensions using a sociocultural approach. The objective of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of bullying episodes in schools by examining educational and legal elements through sociocultural analysis.

2. METHODS

The research methodology employed in this study is an empirical approach that utilises sociological analysis to examine bullying issues from the perspectives of education and law. Regarding this matter, the author's study utilizing descriptive analysis approaches through literature studies. The research process encompasses several key components: 1) Identifying suitable research topics, 2) Analysing research data, 3) Concentrating on relevant sources that align with the acquired data, and 4) Utilising information from various sources such as empirical data, research reports, and relevant

to provide their thoughts on bullying in response to the prompt "Tell me what you think about bullying". The author utilises categorical analysis to examine this data, which forms the foundation for subsequent statistical analysis. According to this research, a clear correlation was observed between the responses of students and teachers about bullying. The analysis of the questionnaire responses revealed that a mere 9% of kids mentioned 'repetition' as part of their definition of bullying, which is significantly lower than the teacher's response rate of 17.8%. In addition, the percentage of pupils who had a 'bully purpose to hurt' was only 3.9%, whereas teachers had a significantly higher percentage of 24.9%. Students typically restrict their exposure to bullying, whether it be in the form of verbal or physical aggression, or by indirect behaviours such social exclusion, more so than teachers.

Abuhammad et al. (2020), Dardiri et al. (2020), Nasir (2018), and Utami and Astuti (2019) conducted a study comparing perceptions of bullying behavior among high school students, teachers, and support staff. Using rating scales, participants responded to various scenarios depicting potential instances of bullying misrepresentation and ambiguous behavior. The study found that teachers and support staff placed greater emphasis on a broader range of behaviors, including bullying, compared to students. In contrast, Elliott, Hwang, and Wang (2019) and Ulfah and Gustina (2020) revealed that teachers rarely label indirect and verbal bullying behaviors in writing. Instead, they often use fictional or cartoon characters to represent individuals exhibiting such behaviors. Similarly, students of different ages assigned varying interpretations to bullying definitions (Armitage, 2021; O'Donnell, 2015; Peyton, 2016). The findings suggest that younger students tend to have a broader understanding of bullying than older students (Gentry & Whitley, 2014). Additionally, global research highlights that the English term 'bullying' lacks precise translations in other languages and is often associated with inaccurate meanings (Gentry & Whitley, 2014; Rigby, 2015; Wolke & Lereya, 2015).

It is common for academic research and school policies to focus on preventing and raising awareness of bullying in educational settings. However, the research discussed highlights the complexity of bullying, emphasizing the need to consider individual interpretations when developing intervention strategies. Some of the studies mentioned adopt a positivistic epistemological approach, gathering and analyzing data based on predetermined variables such as the academic definition of bullying and various types of harmful behavior associated with it. These studies also compare errors in bullying perceptions across different groups, such as by gender, age, or student-teacher relationships. While these methods help reveal the ambiguity in defining abuse, fully understanding the meaning and implications of such definitions, including their intersection with institutional, historical, and cultural frameworks, can be challenging. Therefore, we propose adopting a sociocultural perspective to better grasp the underlying complexities of bullying behavior and its broader context.

From a sociocultural standpoint, it is evident that our comprehension and analysis of an encounter often clash with our actions. An essential element of the sociocultural approach is to concentrate on the essence of the behaviour under consideration and how it is influenced by society. Cultural practices encompass the daily acts and activities that individuals engage in. These practices are imbued with values, associated with moral beliefs, and closely tied to our sense of belonging and personal identity (Perry, 2012; Trigos-Carrillo, 2019). According to this perspective, the classification of bullying depends on how the circumstance is interpreted rather than being an objective occurrence that is universally applicable in all settings. There is a substantial amount of research on perceptions of bullying that has aimed to examine the surrounding circumstances. Although the study did not expressly embrace a sociocultural perspective, the stated findings are consistent with the concepts of this approach. In qualitative interviews regarding the management of bullying issues in schools, teachers have demonstrated that the definition of bullying varies depending on the circumstances. Additionally, there are organisational elements within the school, such as interpersonal dynamics among colleagues, relationships with students, and institutional protocols, that influence how such incidents are perceived and addressed (Maunder, Harrop, & Tattersall, 2010). It is a contextual variable that influences the classification of episodes as bullying and the likelihood of teacher intervention. A quantitative survey research study utilised bullying scenarios and response scales to assess teachers' perspectives on

different types of bullying. The study revealed that teachers considered physical and verbal bullying to be more significant than socially-oriented bullying, such as social exclusion. Furthermore, the teachers' evaluation of the severity of a bullying incident was found to be a predictor of their likelihood to intervene in the situation (Ellis & Shute, 2007).

Yoon (2004) argues that the severity of the incident influences teachers' decisions to intervene in hypothetical bullying scenarios, their personal feelings towards the child being bullied, and their own confidence in addressing such behaviour. Teachers' reactions to hypothetical aggressive situations with altered content also differ, depending on the information given about the child's popularity and their usual behaviour, as well as the teacher's perception of the student's behaviour in class (Nesdale & Pickering, 2006). These criteria indicate that teachers employ nuanced contextual assessments when confronted with an occurrence and determine their course of action in response. Nesdale and Pickering (2006) employed Social Schema Theory to substantiate their research, contending that teachers possess cognitive frameworks for categorising pupils as either good or evil, which influence their interactions with them. In addition, they employ Social Identity Theory (Stets & Burke, 2000) to demonstrate that a teacher's emotions towards their class group can result in prejudice, favouritism, and adverse responses to behaviour exhibited by individuals that are perceived as deviating from the group's norms. Cyberbullying initially referred to bullying that largely occurred through email and cell phones. However, with the advancement of technology, new forms of cyberbullying emerged, which may be categorised based on the specific media utilised or the sort of action performed (Capurso, Paradžik, & Čale Mratović, 2017).

The rise of social media platforms, instant messaging, and chat rooms has introduced new avenues for bullying, along with new terms to describe various forms of it. For instance, 'punking' now refers to verbal and physical aggression and derogatory remarks, typically targeting males, while 'frape' describes the unauthorized alteration of someone's online profile (Collins, 2015). 'Trolling' involves repeatedly sending insults and threats, 'flaming' refers to engaging in offensive online arguments, and 'slamming' denotes group participation in online harassment (Chisholm & Day, 2013). Technology has not only introduced these new forms of bullying but has also blurred the lines between incidents occurring at school, home, and online (Whittaker & Kowalski, 2015). Whereas homes were once considered a refuge from school bullying, the advent of cyberspace has removed this physical boundary. Akkerman and Bakker (2011) suggest that this blurring challenges the traditional definition of bullying, necessitating a reevaluation of its core components. Concepts like repetition and power imbalance, central to the classic definition of bullying, become more complex when applied to cyberbullying (Slonje, Smith, & Frisé, 2013). For example, posting photos online as a form of cyberbullying can lead to a 'snowball effect,' with others participating in its spread, creating lasting consequences. Additionally, identifying the sources of power in cyberbullying is challenging. Unlike traditional bullying, where physical or psychological strength determines the power dynamics, the nature of online bullying makes it difficult to assess the level of strength involved (Capurso et al., 2017).

Thus, the nature of bullying is fluid and evolves with cultural changes, resulting in new forms that require updated definitions. This evolving phenomenon urges us to reconsider preconceived notions about bullying, especially in light of changing environments and the profound impact it can have on individuals. Understanding bullying is an ongoing process that varies across different contexts. While historical perspectives on bullying are important, much research merely records specific instances within a certain timeframe, even when applying rigorous methods to explore complex processes. Furthermore, systematic approaches, such as positivist epistemology, often rely on predetermined variables that may overlook the nuances that can be revealed through sociocultural perspectives.

3.2. The Rational Aspect of Bullying

Psychological research has recently renewed its focus on bullying as a group phenomenon, where the behavior of the bully is influenced by aggressive norms established within their peer group. These studies often adopt a positivist methodology, aiming to identify these norms in advance and confirm

their significance through experimental means. Previous research, using qualitative interviews and peer-nomination surveys, has demonstrated that bullying can occur within friendship groups, challenging the traditional view that victims of bullying are always socially isolated (Wei & Jonson-Reid, 2011). Bullies and victims often maintain distinct relationships with their peer groups, with their interactions largely centered around bullying behavior. The findings reveal that bullying is embedded in the complex dynamics of peer networks, where individuals may take on inappropriate roles at different times.

Research on children's behavior during bullying incidents further supports the notion that bullying is a communal activity involving the entire peer group. Both those subjected to bullying and those engaging in it are part of a larger social environment, with most bullying occurring in the presence of bystanders. Kaukiainen et al. (1999) identified four distinct roles that witnesses may adopt in bullying situations: 'assistants,' who collaborate with the bully; 'boosters,' who encourage the bully by providing positive reinforcement; 'outsiders,' who disengage from the situation; and 'defenders,' who actively intervene to support the victim. Framing bullying as a collective social behavior shifts the focus from the individual dynamics between bullies and victims to the broader peer group, emphasizing the complex nature of bullying incidents (Kaukiainen et al., 2001).

Previous theories explaining participants' roles in bullying have drawn on social learning theory and desensitization, suggesting that repeated exposure to harmful behavior leads peers to model similar behaviors. The likelihood of delinquent behavior varies depending on sociocultural factors and specific circumstances. For example, an individual might alternate between the roles of 'defender' and 'reinforcer,' depending on the context of the situation. Kaukiainen et al. (2001) highlight the importance of context, noting that a child's role in bullying incidents is influenced by various situational factors. Children are often asked to provide self-reports or nominate peers they perceive to be involved in bullying, and these roles are assigned based on how well they describe different behaviors. Although children are generally thought to maintain stable roles among their peers, research shows moderate stability over time, indicating both role consistency and flexibility. Additionally, children can occupy multiple roles simultaneously, as evidenced by their self-reports or peer assessments, suggesting that they may perform different tasks in varying situations.

Apart from the research mentioned above, numerous additional investigations concerning the involvement of subsequent participants that embraced positivist epistemology frequently tackle this problem by creating evaluation instruments, assessment protocols, and statistical methods to determine the most effective way of determining individual responsibilities. (Ward, Hoare, & Gott, 2015; Adams, Keane, & Dutton, 2005; Ryan, 2006). In fact, this is required to establish group comparisons and to simplify the measurement of strong variables. The sociocultural perspective, however, contends that gauging participants' roles in this manner runs the risk of destroying the feeling of dialogue among coworkers in bullying scenarios. The issue that we like to highlight here is that studies that guide research in particular areas and types of attention are supported by epistemology. As a result, it can be appropriate to add different flavors in order to draw attention to the incorrect areas and suggest new study directions. According to the findings, children's behavior in bullying incidents may contradict one another depending on the circumstances.

The sociocultural approach acknowledges that our actions will always have a temporal dimension; social relationships are transactional and dialogical; and we are more interested in potential changes in interpersonal relationships than in relationships that stay the same. (Sources: Thornberg & Jungert (2013), Ulfah & Gustina (2020), Side & Johnson (2014), Hamarus & Kaikkonen (2008). The torture behind bystanders' behaviour and why children may choose to intervene or not in bullying incidents they witness. Although they do not explicitly position their work within sociocultural theory, their focus, approach, and findings align with this perspective. They adopted a qualitative semistructured interview approach using basic theory to enable them to understand how young people perceive

bullying situations (Abuhammad et al., 2020; Ganesan et al., 2021; Kontak, Kirk, Robinson, Ohinmaa, & Veugelers, 2019; Slattery, George, & Kern, 2019). A variety of considerations were reported, including their relationship with the abused child, who was involved, perceived responsibility, feelings of empathy or repressed emotions, and some serious incidents assessed. The roles of participants adopted by group members are part of the interaction between their individual characteristics such as emotions, attitudes, and motivations as well as environmental factors that are closely aligned with the Ecological Systems approach.

Peer groups are composed of individuals who share common beliefs, cultural traditions, and understandings, creating complex interpersonal relationships where individuals may sometimes take on inappropriate roles or obligations. These relationships may be characterized by support or conflict, with mutually agreed-upon processes for resolving disputes. A shared pattern of living and organization fosters a sense of belonging, allowing for flexibility and negotiation within the group. Analyzing peer groups in this way helps to reveal the roles individuals play in bullying, including bullying that occurs within friendships. This approach highlights the group's broader practices, such as norms of non-intervention or collective negative behavior toward others. Additionally, the behavior of those who participate but are not directly involved in bullying shapes their sense of identity within the group. Assuming a role in bullying within the peer group often serves to reinforce one's identity and sense of belonging. Children who possess the social skills to form peer connections may use bullying to strengthen their loyalty to the group or in response to pressure from dominant group members.

For example, studies have shown that when children are placed into groups, researchers can manipulate the group's norms—whether children prefer or dislike being part of the group, or whether they act kindly or unkindly toward others. Such studies demonstrate how group norms can shift based on the behaviors and intentions of children involved in bullying. The results of these studies are often explained using social psychological theories like Social Identity Theory and Social Identity Development Theory, which address the concepts of membership, identification, and compliance within groups (Davis, Love, & Fares, 2019; Mangum & Block, 2018; Stets & Burke, 2000). These theories emphasize the role of group dynamics in bullying, promoting an understanding of how peer involvement influences bullying incidents and the subsequent reactions of group members. However, these approaches tend to downplay the importance of context, and incorporating alternative frameworks, such as sociocultural perspectives, may provide deeper insights and open up new avenues for exploration.

An excellent example of this is the 2015 study by Morcom, which used sociocultural frameworks to explore bullying among older students in peer groups, focusing on the concept of 'shared spaces' (Morcom, 2015). Morcom employed a variety of methods, including interviews, observation, and logic models, to analyze how classroom discussions and activities were used to cultivate a shared understanding of the consequences of actions and words, promote socially beneficial behaviors, and foster positive relationships. Throughout the school year, students engaged in social interactions with peers, learning new customs and practices within their class groups. By emphasizing action, involvement, and shared responsibility, group attention shifted toward reinforcing group norms and recognizing the significance of specific classroom and peer settings.

From a sociocultural perspective, peer groups learn and negotiate their own norms, practices, and rituals, with new members learning from established interactions and discovering what qualities are valued within the group. Participation in the community involves learning these practices to foster a sense of belonging. As a result, bullying tends to be more common in peer groups where aggression, dominance, and negative interactions are normalized. For example, in a qualitative analysis by Hamarus and Kaikkonen (2008), the accounts of bullied students revealed that bullying often includes ritual elements that reinforce group ownership and cohesion. Bullying can also serve as a way to construct and reinforce cultural values, targeting individuals who are perceived as 'different' from the

group. The authors argue that bullying has a cultural dimension shaped by established group norms, which function to exclude those seen as outsiders or 'other.'

Similarly, groups that choose not to participate (such as those who do not engage in bullying situations or do not intervene in specific incidents) can also be identified by marking them as non-membership groups (either through active choice or exclusion); or by their pattern of involvement in a community (either as peripheral members or through marginality). In sociocultural theoretical literature, this phenomenon is sometimes referred to as retreat or 'forced self'. It describes a situation when a child is physically present but not actively engaged in a practical environment. For instance, when a child observes a bullying incident but refrains from getting involved, it may indicate that they do not belong to a specific group. This decision to not participate serves as a boundary between peer communities, and it is not necessarily a negative action. Alternatively, the child's choice to opt-out could be due to their limited influence within the group (e.g., occupying a marginal position) or because they are new members who are gradually integrating (e.g., occupying a peripheral position). Behavioral observers have reported that the relative position within peer groups is a factor that influences the decision to intervene.

Adopting a sociocultural viewpoint allows for a comprehensive comprehension of bullying as a transnational phenomenon. The level of paternal engagement within the family and the cultural context in which there have been conflicts, severe disciplinary measures, acts of violence, and instances of torture. The majority of research employ a survey design within a positivist framework to examine the connections between variables and construct statistical models using predictor variables and outcomes. This study has yielded valuable information regarding the correlation between different features of a relationship and behavior in other situations. These findings suggest that these aspects may significantly determine an individual's susceptibility to bullying. What remains ambiguous about this method is how individuals interpret their circumstances, the significance they derive from their interpersonal connections, their comprehension of their own experiences, and their ability to navigate the established relationships. Based on the aforementioned data, it can be inferred that children who grow up in dysfunctional households and are exposed to violent behavior tend to adopt this relational style and exhibit it not only in other settings but also at school. Embrace a sociocultural perspective that enables the examination of the interplay between these processes and connections.

There is empirical data in the field of bullying literature indicating that when a child engages in a peer group community, they acquire specific social skills and develop expectations regarding appropriate behavior and anticipated responses from others. Individuals develop their identities by adopting common patterns within their societies, which shape their perception and understanding of the world. For instance, when school students are bullied by their peers, they experience what is known as 'double victimization'. This refers to the ongoing mistreatment they face from their peers (external victimization) and the internalization of the victim's identity by the individual (internal victim) (Maunder & Crafter, 2018). During this theory interview, students describe how they adopt the role of victims and modify their conduct appropriately. This includes engaging in self-distracting activities, developing a lack of trust towards others, and attributing responsibility to oneself. Some individuals may resign from their positions and anticipate this outcome (Thornberg, Halldin, Bolmsjö, & Petersson, 2013)(Thornberg & Jungert, 2013). From this standpoint, individuals deliberately or inadvertently utilize the past to guide their present and future actions. Children who have experienced bullying, either as victims or perpetrators, have acquired specific patterns of social interaction and internalized knowledge and meaning from their past experiences. These can be utilized to navigate future encounters and manage their interactions with others. Firstly, it could elucidate the manner and rationale for an individual's encounter with bullying in a certain setting (such as a school), which could potentially transpire in that same setting or in other locations. Furthermore, it aids in comprehending the mechanisms and rationales behind the enduring impact of bullying on psychological and behavioral processes.

Bullying can have a long-lasting impact on individuals, affecting their self-perception and interpersonal relationships in the future (Ellis & Shute, 2007; Hamarus & Kaikkonen, 2008; Maunder & Craftsman, 2018; Trisanti, Nisak, & Azizah, 2020). Children who experience bullying at school face a heightened likelihood of encountering bullying in the future. Consequently, the 'victim role' will consistently manifest in their future endeavors. Engaging in bullying can be considered as a form of personal growth that holds significance for a continuing process of development. The significance of different activities for future growth varies, with some being more important than others depending on when they occurred in a person's life. The typical order and relative importance of these activities are determined by the characteristics of society. Bullying has a long-standing history as a social activity, attracting much attention from the media, literature, school policies, and public discourse. Gaining awareness of this can enhance our comprehension of the various ways it might impact individuals. Experiencing bullying during a critical period of personal growth can have a profound impact on an individual, leaving a lasting imprint and influencing their sense of self over time.

The literature is currently witnessing a growing interest in examining the resilience of bullying victims and comprehending the factors that contribute to certain children's ability to adapt more effectively and suffer fewer consequences compared to others (Armitage, 2021; Myklestad & Straiton, 2021; Rigby, 2015). Studies have revealed that attributes such as elevated self-esteem and healthy familial relationships, particularly with parents or siblings, are linked to reduced exposure to adverse impacts in adulthood following experiences of childhood bullying. Sociocultural theorists are likely to analyze the incorrect social and cultural resources that individuals employ to navigate and handle various situations. Therefore, an individual who identifies as a 'victim' or 'bully' at any one time may not necessarily hold that belief. Individuals have the ability to transition their lives and behaviors from a state of being identified as either aggressors or targets, and this dynamic is not a straightforward one. Identities are perpetually undergoing reevaluation, allowing for the formation of past identities in new contexts. However, it is also possible for identities to be recreated during this process. When examining bullying from this perspective, it reveals that the role of the 'bully' or 'victim' taken on by a person might vary and may not have lasting consequences. Put simply, not every child who undergoes bullying will persistently encounter bullying in the future, and not all of them will face long-term bad consequences.

4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research highlights the importance of using sociocultural perspectives to address bullying, shifting the focus from individual perpetrators to the broader contextual, historical, and institutional factors that contribute to such behavior. This approach encourages greater responsibility among those who interact with children and challenges societal norms that may perpetuate harmful behaviors. While sociocultural methods offer valuable insights, they also require careful consideration of the environment and long-term interactions, which can be complex to capture. A key limitation of this research is the lack of studies that examine school bullying from a strong theoretical foundation. Most existing work does not fully explore the underlying theories or contexts that shape bullying. For future research, scholars should adopt more comprehensive methodologies, consider alternative interpretations of data, and utilize technologies that allow for a multidimensional analysis of bullying in schools.

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