School Bullying in Korea and Christian Educational Approach

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The central purpose of this study is to examine approaches for dealing with the problem of bullying (*wang-tta* in Korean) in schools from the Christian educational perspective. There has been much development in both research and practice in the 1990s and 2000s relating to bullying in Korean schools. Most Korean research on bullying, however, has almost exclusively focussed on verification of the facts that bullying or peer rejection is a widespread phenomenon in schools. This study, however, is mainly concerned with how to tackle effectively the bullying problem on the basis of Christian educational philosophy. To do this, this paper suggests a four stage approach to dealing with bullying: namely, clarifying the Christian school ethos, leading to determine the school's bullying policy. With the bullying policy, school anti-bullying programs could be developed in order to create a bullying-free school environment.

Key Words**:** school bullying, wang-*tta*, Christian educational philosophy, Christian anti-bullying approach

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"Bullying is the forerunner of adult violence"(Randall, 1991: 50)

Many people over the world would remember the 2002 Soccer World Cup, which was held in both Korea and Japan in June this year. The foreign reporters impressed by the orderly attitude of the noisy Korean fans called the soccer games in Korea "Three NO" World Cup, namely, 'no violence', 'no waste', and 'no disorder'.

However, these same Korean youngsters who surprised the whole world with their peaceful attitude during the games also live with various forms of school based violence. In fact, youth violence, in particular, bullying in Korean schools, as elsewhere, is being currently recognised as a major social problem. The bullying problem in Korea emerged onto the public arena following one particular tragedy, which lead to

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sensational coverage by journalists. The report has it that in 1996 a high school student was hospitalised for mental problems following longstanding malign bullying by some of his colleagues. Several students had bullied the student who was physically weak. The bullies hit and kicked him in the classroom several times and even used to prick him on his finger using an educational compass. The parents of the victim sued the bullies for their son's mental and physical damage and won the lawsuit. The parents of the bullied student, however, ended up having to emigrate overseas. Another Korean newspaper dated July 29, 2002 reported that a young man stabbed his mother and elder brother to death. He was reported to have been suffering from mental illness caused by *wang-tta* (bullying) in his middle school years.

This incident is just the tip of a vast iceberg of misery experienced by thousands of children every day although the extent of bullying is varies depending of the individual. Many Korean educators are currently very concerned about what they see as an increasing amount of violence and aggression in Korean schools. Some claims that the violence and to a lesser extent bullying is getting out of control in schools.

Bullying in schools has recently become a popular subject of research amongst Korean academics. Various reports

and studies, for example, have established that approximately 25% of students are either bullied regularly or are initiators of bullying behaviour, which is much higher than in schools of Western countries. In Australia, for example, one student in six between the ages of 9 and 17 is bullied at least once a week (CCI Bulletin, 2000). One exception is Donnellan's May survey(2001), which is a quite recent study on bullying in England (England only or the UK-the distinction could be rather important-Ed). The study, involving 2600 students in middle and high schools indicated that more than 30% of pupils had been victimised in the past year.

All of the studies in Korea claim that bullying is a serious problem that can have negative consequences for the general school climate and for the right of students to learn in a safe environment without fear. At the least, they maintain, it causes stress and suffering. At the worst it can destroy a person's life. Various reports on bullying in Korea, therefore, claim with one voice that efforts should be made at national level to identify and curb bullying.

Hitherto, most Korean research on bullying, however, has almost exclusively focussed on verification of the facts that bullying or peer rejection is a widespread phenomenon in schools and even in the workplace. This study, however, has no intention to replicate the same sort of research on bullying in schools. Instead, this study is primarily concerned with the search for an approach to bullying from the Christian educational ideal or thoughts. This researcher firmly believes that the Christian educational ideal can play an important role in creating an ethos where pupils learn to treat each other with respect and where bullying is recognised as wholly unacceptable. The paper begins with the brief literature review on school bullying. It then examines the malign characteristics of the bullying, followed by a Christian educational approach to tackle the problem.

Definition

Violence in school can be defined as "anything from name-calling, teasing, sexual taunts, rough treatment of younger children, frequent fighting, protection rackets, and harassment on the way to and from school through to the extremes of individual persecution and racial attacks" (Lane, 1989, p. 4). Bullying is a subcategory of aggressive behaviour; but a particularly vicious kind of aggressive behaviour, since it is directed, often repeatedly, towards a particular victim who is unable to defend him or her effectively.

The counterpart (though may not be identical) of bullying in Korean vocabulary is 'Wang-tta' meaning 'peer exclusion'. In Japan the widely used word is 'Ijime'. Let us compare the following definitions which are widely used in Scandinavia, Japan, and Korea respectively.

> *Bullying* is longstanding violence, physical or psychological, conducted by an individual or a group and directed against an individual who is not able to defend himself in the actual situation. The physical bullying could include kicking, pushing, or beating the victim, while the most common means of psychological bullying are teasing and exclusion (Roland, 1989, p.21).

> *Ijime* is a type of aggressive behavior by which someone who holds a dominant position in a group-interaction process, by intentional or collective acts, causes mental and/or physical suffering to another inside a group (Morita, 1985).

> *Wang-tta* is a repetitive pain-giving behavior, being physically or psychologically, against an individual of a group, who is weaker than the aggressor or who violated the group's tacit rule, by one person or several persons together (Park, 1998).

There may be arguments about the claim that *Wang-tta* and *Ijime* in Korea and Japan respectively have the same meaning with bullying in English. It is beyond my study or intention to distinguish the difference of the terms. It is, however, clearly evident that the three terms, despite the difference of cultures, are very similar, comprising direct behaviors such as teasing, taunting, threatening, hitting, and stealing that are initiated by one or more students against a victim. In addition to direct attacks, bullying may also be more indirect by causing a student to be socially isolated through intentional exclusion. In this study the term, bullying is used as also involving the concept of *wang-tta*, or peer exclusion.

Bullying in Korean schools: Literature Review

Frequencies of bullying

It is almost impossible to tell exactly how much bullying goes on in Korea because of the mixture of secrecy and exaggeration which surrounds bullying. There are, however, some Korean estimates. The first concern is regarding the extent of bullying. The question in most studies was similar to the following: 'how often have you been bullied at school?' In

an exhaustive study restricted to examining bullies only, Park (1998) sampled 6,893 students in 57 primary and secondary schools throughout the country and reported an incidence of 24.2 percent victims. That is, one in four students of primary and secondary schools reported being bullied 'now and then' or 'once a week' or more often.

This finding is quite similar to the results from other surveys (e.g., Kim, 1997; Shon, 1997). Shon (1997) published results from a study on bullying in primary and secondary students in the province of Chollabukdo in Korea. 23.6 percent of the students admitted bullying others more than once or twice in the last semester and 23.9 percent of children reported that they had been victimized at the same rate. Kim's study (1997), involving 1624 students of primary and secondary schools in Korea, shows a similar phenomenon of bullying. 30 percent of the respondents were bullied more than once or twice in the last six months and 48.1 percent, surprisingly much higher than in other surveys, admitted bullying others. 22.1 percent of the students were involved in bullying as either victims or bullies.

The bullying problem appears to be more severe and is getting worse. One study (Kim, 1997), focussed on direct physical abuse in middle and high school students. Kim's longitudinal study (1997) on school violence revealed that physical violence in secondary school students got worse from 1990 to 1996 (Table 1). A significant finding in the research was that bullying was found to occur much more frequently in middle school students, being boys and girls, than high school counterparts. Also, the survey indicates that physical assault was the most serious problem in both middle and high school and even girls were not exceptions to this general finding.

It would seem that the Korean figures for bullies and victims indicate a considerably more serious problem than

European countries. However, it should be noted that the comparison is not exact because the different methodologies, especially different definitions and sampling methods used. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the data in Korea are considerably higher than those in European countries like Canada (Perhaps you would like to include Canada in North America rather than Europe) Scandinavia, Ireland, and England. In Canadian surveys of 4,743 children in Grades 1 to 8, 6% of children admitted bullying and 15% of children reported that they had been victimized. Very few children (2%) reported being both bullies and victims (Pepler et al., 1997). Canadian data are quite similar to those from Scandinavia, Ireland, and England (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Olweus, 1991).

Types and Characteristics of bullying

It is a general trend that directs bullying seems to increase through the elementary years, peak in the middle school/junior high school years, and decline during the high school years (Park, 1997). However, direct physical assault is an exception and still problematic in high school students in Korea. While direct physical assault seems to decrease with age, verbal abuse appears to remain constant. For the effect of school environment, most studies indicate that bullying is much more serious in schools in suburban or rural areas than those in urban areas.

All the surveys in Korea show that boys engage in bullying behavior and are victims of bullies more frequently than girls. This is consistent with other surveys in western societies. However, it should be noted that a considerable number of girls in secondary schools are more involved in physical assault and money extortion than often recognized. It is clear, however, while boys typically engage in more

Table 1. *Change of School Violence in Secondary Students*

Violence Type	Year	Total	Male		Female	
			Middle School	High School	Middle School	High School
Money Extortion	1990	22.6	40.7	28.7	8.4	4.2
	1996	27.6	47.9	28.7	21.3	12.3
Physical Assault	1990	14.1	21.1	24.9	4.2	3.1
	1996	40.8	56.0	57.8	26.4	21.8
Threatening	1990	15.8	21.5	23.2	10.0	5.5
	1996	19.4	30.4	23.0	12.4	11.3
Sexual Harassment	1990	37.8	-	-	32.8	45.8
	1996	38.7	-	-	28.3	47.6

Source. Kim (1997, pp.19-21)

physical forms of bullying; girls tend to bully in indirect ways, such as spreading rumours and enforcing social isolation.

According to Hyun's survey (1999), most of the bullying took the form of indirect aggression such as "sending them to Coventry"(53.8%) say, deliberately leaving them out or ignoring them, and "not letting them join in play"(56.8%), which may seem to be lesser extent of violence. Another popular form of bullying is verbal, for example name-calling (48.8%), nasty teasing (30.8%) or spreading rumours (28.7%). Physical assault including hitting, kicking (21.5%), threatening (13%), taking or damaging belongings (12.1%), which is more serious violence, and is also one of the considerably more frequent forms of bullying in Korean schools.

It should be noted that verbal and indirect bullying are also very aggressive although they may not seem so. They can cause serious distress to the victim. Although the bullying takes very subtle forms, such as a nasty look, which is difficult to detect by adults, they are still terrifying for the child or young person on the receiving end because they imply what might happen.

Who are the bullies? Hyun (1999) in collaboration with *Hangil Opinion Research Institute* published results from a study on bullying involving 1st and 2nd grade students in middle and high school located on Seoul and metropolitan area. Their findings indicate that students who bully are physically stronger and have a need to feel powerful and in control. In most cases, the aggressive student attacks the victims together with one or more bullies rather than by him/herself. In contrast to prevailing myths, 41 percent of the bullies in Hyun's survey (1999) appear to have little empathy for their victims and show little or no remorse about bullying, even possessing strong self-esteem. Simply, it can be cool to be a bully (at least in the bully's perception).

Research also reveals that victims often fear school and consider school to be an unsafe and unhappy place. Many of bullied students want to stay home rather than go to school because of bullies. More than 60 percent of the victims suffer in silence without telling others, even their parents (Hyun, 1999). Thus, parents are often unaware of the bullying problem and talk about it with their children only to a limited extent. Less than half (46%) the victims feel that adult intervention is ineffective, and that telling adults, 4.2% of the being bullied think, will only bring more harassment from bullies. The act of being bullied tends to increase some students' isolation because their peers do not want to lose status by associating with them or because they do not want to increase the risks of being bullied themselves.

Malign Characteristics of Bullying

Many Korean people do not regard the bullying between children as serious violence, saying children have their own social system and should sort themselves out. In other words, they say, the victim will toughen up and learn to cope.

However, this problem is not so simple, as indicated through the seriousness of bullying in the above section. What this researcher wishes to point out in this paper is the unique characteristics of the bullying, which is done in the form of *wang-tta*. That is, what I stress is that wang-tta is a particularly vicious kind of violence whether it is direct or indirect. It may be important what kind of bullying behaviours the bullies engage in, for example, whether the attacks are verbal or psychological. However, the more important point is the values or attitudes of the bullying students in that they can bully others physically weaker than themselves. In other words, the more serious problem is the positive attitude of the bully students toward aggression or violence, which may lead to adult violence.

Bullying contains several vicious kinds of violent characteristics. Firstly, bullying is not 'instrumental violence' but 'hatred violence'. Instrumental violence is an aggressive behaviour with the intention of achieving some purpose such as acquiring money or goods. In contrast to this, hatred violence aims at just enjoying the violence itself. Hyun (1997) reports that 34 percent of the bullies in Korean secondary schools responded they are bullying victims just for fun, deriving satisfaction from inflicting injury and suffering on others, and 'for enjoying bullying' (Park, 1998).

Secondly, bullying is a wilful, conscious desire to hurt another person (Tatum, 1989). That is, bullying is any action or implied action intended to cause fear, distress, and pain. This intentionality is what underpins the vicious uniqueness of bullying. The third vicious aspect is the nature of stability. Bullying occurs over a period of time, rather than being 'once-off' incidents of verbal and physical assault. Korean studies reveal that bullying goes on from several months to two or three years (Park, 1998). Hyun (1997) also reports that the bullying continues for a month (36%) and for more than one month (60.1%). Whether the bullying is direct or indirect, the key component of the bullying, as Olweus (1993) mentioned, is that the physical or psychological intimidation occurs repeatedly over time to create an ongoing pattern of harassment and abuse.

Fourthly, by its very nature, school bulling or *wang-tta* is a secret activity and it may be very difficult to check the incidence of the behavior. Many victims, as Hyun's study

(1997) revealed, are reluctant to speak up about their situation for fear that it will make it even worse. In this sense, *wang-tta* can be said to be a hidden form of violence unlike systemic violence like shootings and fighting although school bullying in some ways is similar to systemic violence. The hidden forms of violence are not always noticed, and sometimes the least discussed in conversations about violence.

It should be noted, however, that the hidden forms of violence like wang-tta or bullying is the forerunner of systemic violence (Randall, 1991). Much research reveals a strong correlation between bullying other students during the school years and experiencing legal or criminal troubles as adults (Olweus, 1993). For instance, Olweus (1993) claims that 60% of those characterized as bullies in grades 6-9 had at least one criminal conviction by age 24. Other researches (e.g., Oliver et al, 1994) reveal that chronic bullies seem to maintain their behaviours into adulthood, negatively influencing their ability to develop and maintain positive relationships.

Three Ways of Dealing with Bullying

Schools have to do much to improve the school climate, student discipline policies, teaching relevant subject matter in courses to reduce school violence and disruption. In fact, schools may be the only effective avenue for change for some children where their parents feel helpless and unskilled in dealing with their situation. Many schools in Korea have attempted to solve bullying problems without success. There are few schools that have a culture: that develop a policy in place to make it clear that bullying is inappropriate; that support the victimized student; or that there is a designated person to whom the student could turn to in his time of need. One of the solutions they are trying is focusing on adequate supervision of the problematic student. Adequate supervision, by itself, however, cannot be relied upon to deliver substantial reductions in the level of bullying.

Essentially, three distinctive ways of dealing with bullying have been developed in recent years. Firstly, the punishment approach as a response to bullying reflects the criminal justice system. That is, if an offence is committed and the person is found to be guilty, he or she is punished by doing community service, paying a fine, or going to jail. The equivalent punishments in a school context are detention, extra homework, tasks around the school and, if the behavior persists, suspension and expulsion. However, many (e.g., Lawrance, 1998) argue that suspending or expelling disruptive students without referral to an alternative program simply puts them out on the street with nothing to do.

The second way of dealing with bullying is the consequences approach. Simply, if a student chooses to bully, then there have to be consequences. The distinction Tattum made between this approach and punishment-based response is that consequences should be educative rather than punitive (Sullivan, 2000). In other words, rather than just listening to the circumstances surrounding a bullying incident and then punishing the bully, the intention is to let the bully know that there will be consequences if the bullying does not stop.

A third way of dealing with bullying can be termed the feeling response. According to Sullivan (2000), the philosophy is that, rather than punishing or providing consequences for bullying, it is more effective to appeal to the better nature of the bullies and to alter the bullying system. One of the characteristics of bullying is that those who bully usually see their victims as worthless, as non-people, a picture that the victims, in their despair, probably share. With a feeling approach, a major concern is to 'rehumanise' the situation. This means not only stopping the bullying but also aiming to change the behavior of the perpetrator so that he or she empathizes with the victim, feels what it is like to be bullied, has a sense of remorse, and comes to the realization that it is wrong to bully (Sullivan, 2000).

The punishment approach, which may be used by many Korean schools, relies on an authoritarian figure upbraiding a bully and providing a punishment for the crime of bullying. However, it could be argued that this approach is essentially the same as the act of bullying itself: it involves a person in power in some way hurting a person with less power. The consequences approach is less authoritarian than the punitive approach, but is similarly static. Programs that use a feeling approach are grounded in an understanding that bullying is a dynamic situation, that there is room for maneuver, and that if the dynamics can be changed then it may be possible for the bullying to stop.

Undoubtedly, the feelings approach must be basically chosen as an appropriate approach in terms of Catholic educational philosophy, although only one approach should not be necessarily chosen. The two approaches, punishment and consequences, deal with only the symptom of the bullying rather than the bullying itself. This type of response also exposes bullied children to retaliation and revenge. The feeling approach is more humane and problem-solving, and regards bullying as a dynamic that can be changed. An important thing is that the feeling approach is essentially a systems approach. The underlying intention is to change the dynamics of the situation, to raise awareness of the participants about bullying, and to support the peer group in taking responsibility for the bullying.

Anti-Bullying Approach from a Christian Educational Philosophy

Most researchers suggest that a systems approach, like the feeling approach, must be introduced to tackle effectively the bullying problem in schools. For the systems approach, the school first has to clarify the school ethos or philosophy, leading to determine the school's bullying policy. With the bullying policy, then, school anti-bullying programs could be developed in order to create a bullying-free school environment. From the viewpoint of a Christian educational philosophy, the systems approach is considered very useful in that it highly emphasizes educational philosophy as the most important step to create an anti-bullying school culture. Christian educational philosophy is fundamentally based on human dignity, which is greatly emphasized in the systems approach.

Sullivan (2000) suggests these four stages of anti-bullying approach (Figure 1). I will discuss this model in terms of a Christian educational philosophy.

STEP I.   Identifying the Christian Educational Philosophy

The first and most important thing to solve the bullying problem is creating an anti-bullying culture in schools. Many studies (e.g., Rigby, 1996) reveal that bullying is reduced in schools which have an anti-bullying ethos.

The first step to create an anti-bullying school culture is to clarify its educational philosophy: the values or beliefs of the school, its academic and educational aspirations, the nature of the personal relationships it fosters, and the societal attitudes and responsibilities modeled and taught at the school.
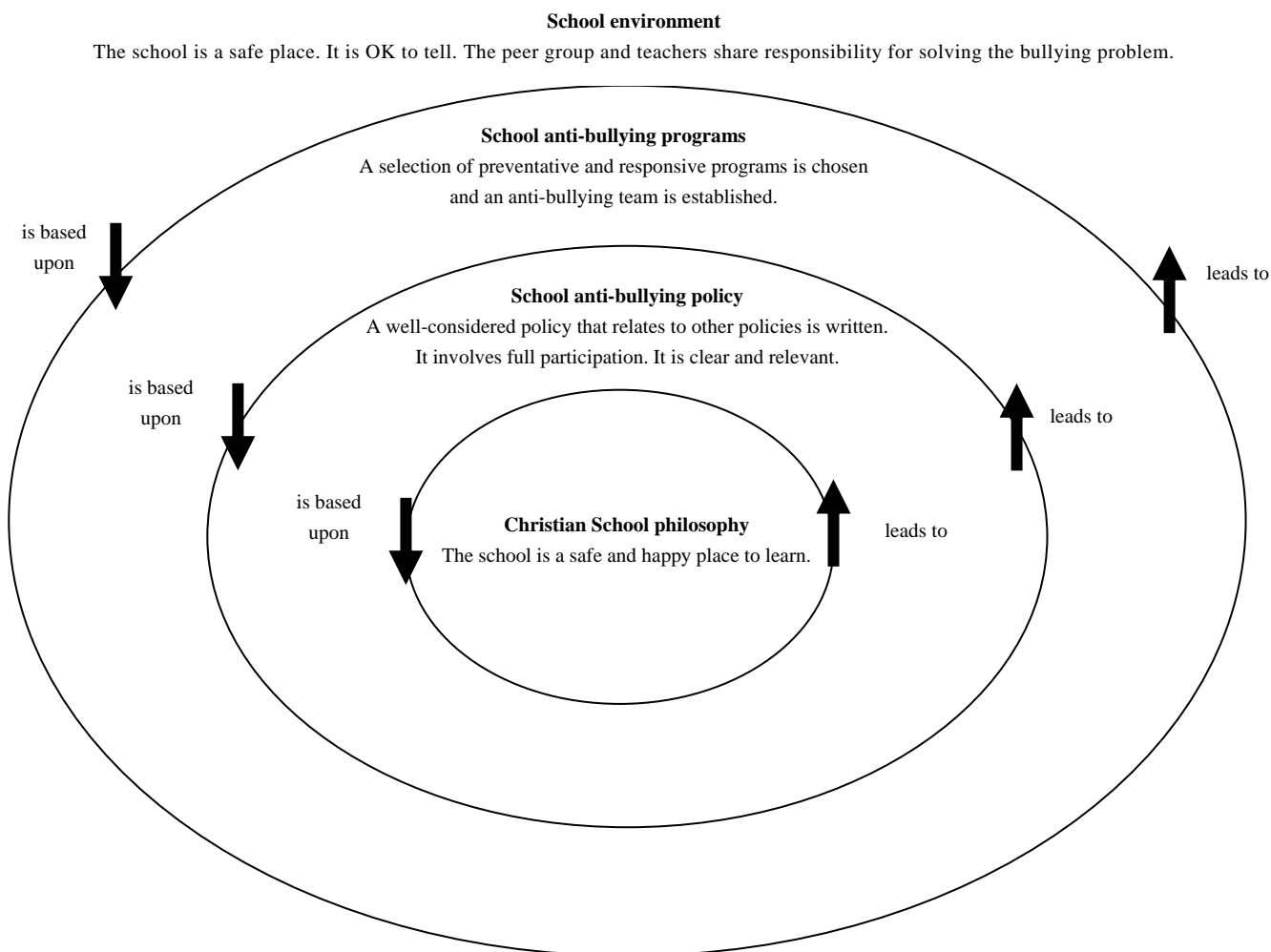

Figure 1. *Christian Educational Approach to Anti-Bullying Source: Modified from Sullivan (2000)*

Every Christian school is fortunate in having a clear educational philosophy inherent in the Gospel, embodied in the person of Jesus Christ. However, it often is implied rather than stated. Thus, it is crucial to bring important philosophical issues to the surface and to encourage debate and make the philosophy explicit (Sullivan, 2000). Many studies, for example Sheffield project, suggest that the successful schools in terms of violence including bullying are those that have a well-developed anti-bullying ethos and do not support a culture of bullying. Then, what is the school's philosophy from the Christian perspective?

Christian School Ethos: Human dignity and Whole Person Development

School ethos in a Christian educational system or a Christian educational philosophy is much clearer and better developed than that in other schools. Christian education is based on the belief of human dignity, for example, the spiritual nature of persons (Flynn, 1985). The Christian belief in the dignity of each human person finds its foundation in the Scriptures. The Biblical notion of a person is that one who has been created in the image and likeness of God.: *God created Man in the image of himself, in the image of God he created him, male and female he created them. (Genesis 1:27)* Called by name and precious in his sight, each person is loved by God with an unconditional love and called to be his son or daughter. Jesus revealed the dignity of persons in the eyes of God and gave them his commandment of love: *That is my commandment. Love one another as I have loved you. (John 15:12)*

Therefore, because the Christian schools are founded on the person of Jesus Christ and enlivened by the Gospel, Christian educators should be committed to the development of Christian schools which:

- embrace the example of Jesus and the teaching of the Gospel, especially in relation to faith, hope, love, forgiveness, justice and freedom;
- their care for those within the school community, especially those experiencing disadvantage;
- promote the dignity of the human person and the value of human life;
- encourage students to contribute to the sacredness of the human story by promoting justice, peace, harmony with creation, and service to the community.

Especially, dignity of person should be a major principle in creating a school ethos in Christian educational system. This is the belief that we, as a creature of God, are all different and we should value what makes each of us unique and special. "Unique and special" means we have to respect and accept the 'differences' of man other than myself, in terms of appearance, sex, religion, ability and so on. In other words, all the students have to learn that 'being different' is not 'being wrong'.

Christian education also aims at developing the whole person: the physical, intellectual, social, emotional, aesthetic, vocational, moral and religious nature of students. This view of education is reflected in the document, *The Christian School*:

> …The purpose of …education is the development of man from within, freeing him from that conditioning which would prevent him from becoming a fully integrated human being. The school must begin from the principle that its educational program is intentionally directed to the growth of the whole person. (paragraph 29)

Undoubtedly, school violence including bullying undermines the intrinsic dignity of the individual person and the development of the whole person. Furthermore, bullying creates an intimidating and hostile school environment, which adversely affects the work performance of individuals and diminishes the effectiveness of schools in their mission of Christian education. The Christian education system thus should clearly claim that all types of school bullying are unacceptable forms of behavior and will not be tolerated.

STEP II. Developing an Anti-bullying Policy – A Whole School Approach

The nature of this Christian educational philosophy determines the school's attitude towards bullying and general disruptive behavior. It is, as Sullivan (2000) mentioned, made explicit most clearly in the adoption of a whole school policy. It is because the most effective action on bullying, as much research has indicated, is that which is understood and supported by all parts of the school community.

School's attitude or policies towards bullying should be written, clearly mentioning that it is the responsibility of all members of the school community to respect the rights of others, to never tolerate any sort of violence and to contribute positively to the formation of harmonious relationships. In addition to the statement of the school's stand against bullying, Rigby (2000) suggests the following features: (a) a succinct definition of bullying with illustrations; (b) a declaration of the rights of individuals in the school

community to be free of bullying; (c) a statement of the responsibilities of all those who see bullying going on to seek to stop it; (d) a general description of what the school will do to deal with incidents of bullying; (e) an undertaking to evaluate the policy in the near and specified future

STEP III. *Implementing School Anti-bullying Programs*

Next step is the school develops and chooses a set of preventative and intervention strategies to implement. These programs should reflect the values and beliefs of the Christian school community and the policies of the school.

One good example is a pastoral care program, in conjunction with Peer Support Foundation, which is carried out in Catholic schools in Sydney, Australia. The Catholic Education Office in Sydney currently develops pastoral care guidelines for students in Catholic primary and secondary schools in the archdiocese of Sydney. Pastoral care aims to create a harmonious school culture based on mutual trust and respect which assists people to recognize and develop their personal capabilities. That is, it is based on a Catholic educational philosophy or vision.

STEP IV. *Safe School Environment*

As a result of having a carefully prepared and implemented policy, the school will be safe from bullying. The teaching staff and pupils will know what is happening and what action is being taken and will not be afraid either to intervene or to get help when bullying occurs. The schools now can have a culture that places a high value upon the rights and responsibilities of all its members, that all have a right to feel safe at all times, that the school is a non-violent place and that nothing is so awful that we can't talk to someone about it.

In a real sense, this kind of school climate by itself is the Christian message to most students. Also, this school environment, as many claims, is the key to good teaching and learning in the school.

Discussion

This paper is mainly concerned with seeking out an alternative approach to the challenges posed by bullying in Korea, *wang-tta*, from a Christian educational perspective. Bullying behavior in schools, as elsewhere, has emerged as one of the serious social problems in Korean society. Simply stated, *wang-tta* is any action or implied action, such as

teasing and exclusion, threats or violence, intended to cause fear and distress. The literature review in the study indicates that one in four primary and secondary students is being bullied in Korea.

Boys and girls engage in different forms of bullying. Boys are more direct, more violent and more destructive in their bullying, using physical aggression or threats. Girls favor the more indirect modes of exclusion and malicious gossip. The literature review on *wang-tta* in this paper, although not a comprehensive description of all factors related to bullying, shows that bullying is a serious problem that can give rise to serious suffering and can dramatically affect the ability of students to progress academically and socially.

Many factors are blamed for bullying behavior. What the researcher emphasizes in terms of the causes of bullying and of tackling this problematic behavior is the problem of positive attitudes towards aggression and violence in Korean society, believing that bullying is a natural process of growing up. Even school personnel may view wang-tta as a harmless right of passage that is best ignored unless verbal and psychological intimidation crosses the line into physical assault or theft.

However, the study stresses that bullying is a malign violence directed by more powerful individuals or groups against those who are less powerful. This behavior is not only non-Christian but also inhumane. Also, it is not the same thing as fighting or quarreling between people of about the same strength, which often ends in 'once-off' incidents of conflict. It is typically repeated, often enjoyed by the bully or bullies, never justified. Furthermore, this sort of behavior leads to later violence as bullies move into adulthood. As a Scandinavian study suggests, bullies were three times more likely than other children to graduate to adult crime. That is, bullying is the forerunner of adult violence.

Therefore, the researcher claims that it a good starting point would be to attempt to alter the positive attitude towards violence in Korean society in order to tackle the bullying problems in schools. Simultaneously, the author recommends that the school adopts a policy which promotes such values as respect, caring, tolerance, and responsibility for others. In other words, schools have to return to the basics of value education, for example, teaching students to respect the dignity of individuals. This involves, I believe, accepting the 'uniqueness' of others, followed by the 'difference' of others from myself. Korean schools thus need to teach that '*being different*' is not '*being wrong*'.

A comprehensive intervention plan, from the Christian educational philosophic perspective, that involves all students,

parents, and school staff is required to ensure that all students can learn in a safe and fear-free environment. For the whole school approach, the Christian school first has to clarify the school ethos or philosophy, leading to a determination as to the school's bullying policy. With the bullying policy in place, school anti-bullying programs could be developed in order to create a bullying-free school environment.

In creating the school's bullying policy, pastoral care programs as used in Catholic schools is an important example. Pastoral care aims to develop persons who are responsible and inner-directed, capable of choosing freely in conformity with their conscience (*The Catholic School*, n31), leading to persons who value other persons as well as themselves.

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