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SELF-CONTROL AND BULLYING AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS: THE MEDIATING ROLE OF PEER SUPPORT

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Abstract

Bullying remains a frequent problem in schools, partly because teachers and students lack understanding of how to deal with it. Self-control is one psychological factor that plays a role in bullying, while social factors such as peer support also influence adolescent behavior because adolescents spend much of their time with peers. This quantitative study examines the effect of self-control on bullying behavior, with peer support as a mediating variable, among students of SMA Setia Budi Perbaungan, North Sumatra. Of the 292 students in the population, 280 completed a screening questionnaire distributed via Google Forms, and 84 students identified as perpetrators of bullying formed the analytic sample. Self-control was measured with the Self-Control Scale, bullying behavior with the Bullying and Cyberbullying Scale for Adolescents, and peer support with the Peer Social Support Scale; the data were analyzed with path analysis in JASP 0.19.3.0. Self-control had no significant direct effect on bullying behavior ($\beta = -0.062$, $p = 0.557$). Peer support had a significant negative effect on bullying behavior ($\beta = -0.357$, $p < 0.001$), and self-control had a significant positive effect on peer support ($\beta = 0.292$, $p = 0.003$). The indirect effect of self-control on bullying behavior through peer support was significant ($\beta = -0.104$, $p = 0.026$), indicating that self-control is related to bullying only indirectly, through peer support.
Keywords: *Bullying Behavior, Self-Control, Peer Support, Adolescents.*

Abstrak

*Perundungan (*bullying*) masih sering terjadi di sekolah, antara lain karena guru dan siswa kurang memahami cara menanganinya. Kontrol diri merupakan salah satu faktor psikologis yang berperan dalam perundungan, sedangkan faktor sosial seperti dukungan teman sebaya juga memengaruhi perilaku remaja karena remaja menghabiskan banyak waktu bersama teman sebayanya. Penelitian kuantitatif ini menguji pengaruh kontrol diri terhadap perilaku perundungan dengan dukungan teman sebaya sebagai variabel mediasi pada siswa SMA Setia Budi Perbaungan, Sumatera Utara. Dari 292 siswa dalam populasi, 280 siswa mengisi kuesioner skrining yang disebarkan melalui Google Forms, dan 84 siswa yang teridentifikasi sebagai pelaku perundungan menjadi sampel analisis. Kontrol diri diukur dengan* Self-Control Scale*, perilaku perundungan dengan* Bullying and Cyberbullying Scale for Adolescents*, dan dukungan teman sebaya dengan* Peer Social Support Scale*; data dianalisis dengan analisis jalur menggunakan JASP 0.19.3.0. Kontrol diri tidak berpengaruh langsung secara signifikan terhadap perilaku perundungan ($\beta = -0{,}062$, $p = 0{,}557$). Dukungan teman sebaya berpengaruh negatif secara signifikan terhadap perilaku perundungan ($\beta = -0{,}357$, $p < 0{,}001$), dan kontrol diri berpengaruh positif secara signifikan terhadap dukungan teman sebaya ($\beta = 0{,}292$, $p = 0{,}003$). Pengaruh tidak langsung kontrol diri terhadap perilaku perundungan melalui dukungan teman sebaya signifikan ($\beta = -0{,}104$, $p = 0{,}026$), yang menunjukkan bahwa kontrol diri berkaitan dengan perundungan hanya secara tidak langsung, yaitu melalui dukungan teman sebaya.*
Kata Kunci: *Perilaku Perundungan, Kontrol Diri, Dukungan Teman Sebaya, Remaja.*

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INTRODUCTION

Bullying is aggressive behavior carried out deliberately and repeatedly by an individual or group with greater power against someone perceived as weaker. Olweus defines bullying as repeated aggressive behavior intended to harm or cause discomfort to a victim who is in a position of imbalanced power,[1] and it may take physical, verbal, social, or cyber forms. Rigby likewise describes bullying as a desire to hurt someone, expressed through negative actions by a more powerful individual or group against a weaker one, carried out repeatedly and causing physical or emotional suffering; it includes not only physical violence but also mockery, insults, social exclusion, and threats.[2]

Bullying in schools remains a serious problem in education. Schools, which should be safe and comfortable places for students to learn and grow, often become sites of violence between students, ranging from mockery, insults, and exclusion from friendship groups to threats and physical violence. Bullying among adolescents often arises from imbalances of strength between perpetrator and victim, whether physical, social, or numerical, and students who are perceived as different, weak, or unable to defend themselves are frequent targets. UNESCO reports that many students in various countries experience bullying at school, both directly and through social media, making bullying a global phenomenon that requires serious attention.[3]

Interviews with the guidance and counseling (BK) teacher at SMA Setia Budi Perbaungan revealed that several cases of bullying had occurred at the school: according to BK records, cases involved 4.16 percent of students in 2023, 3.49 percent in 2024, and 2.51 percent up to October 2025. Incidents included students mocking classmates as "stupid" or likening them to an extraterrestrial ("ET"), cases that reached the BK office. Some incidents arose from students' inability to control themselves while joking, so that offended students also became emotional and fights ensued, even though the school regularly educates students not to bully their peers.[4]

Self-control is one psychological factor thought to play a role in bullying. Baumeister describes self-control as the ability to regulate thoughts, emotions, and behavior so as to restrain

[1] Dan Olweus, "Annotation: Bullying at School: Basic Facts and Effects of a School Based Intervention Program," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 35, no. 7 (1994), https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.1994.tb01229.x.

[2] Ken Rigby, *Bullying in Schools and What to Do about It* (Rev. ed. Camberwell, Victoria: ACER Press, 2007).

[3] UNESCO, *Behind the Numbers: Ending School Violence and Bullying* (Paris: UNESCO, 2019).

[4] Guidance and counseling (BK) teacher, SMA Setia Budi Perbaungan, interview by the authors, 2025.

impulses and align actions with standards or long-term goals;[5] individuals with low self-control tend to have difficulty restraining aggressive impulses, are easily provoked, and are more likely to engage in negative acts such as bullying. According to Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime, individuals with low self-control are more impulsive, aggressive, and prone to deviant behavior, including violence; they even claim that low self-control is the primary cause of crime and delinquency.[6] High self-control, by contrast, predicts better adjustment and interpersonal success.[7] De Ridder et al. distinguish two main aspects of self-control: inhibition, the ability to restrain impulses, desires, and behavior that conflict with norms or goals, and initiation, the ability to start and sustain positive behavior that supports long-term goals.[8] Prastyaa and Astuti found a negative relationship between self-control and bullying among students,[9] and Ningrum and Astuti likewise reported that higher self-control was associated with lower bullying.[10]

Besides self-control, the social environment plays an important role in adolescent behavior, and peers are among its most influential elements. Adolescents tend to spend more time with peers than with family, so peer support can influence their attitudes, behavior, and decisions. Papalia, Olds, and Feldman note that involvement with peers is an important source of emotional support during the transition of adolescence, providing affection, sympathy, understanding, moral guidance, a place to experiment, and a setting for gaining autonomy from parents.[11] If an adolescent's peer group behaves aggressively or condones bullying, the adolescent may imitate it to gain acceptance; conversely, peer groups that show mutual respect and empathy and reject bullying discourage it. Some students bully not out of personal desire but to gain recognition, status, or acceptance, while peers who provide positive support can protect against bullying by fostering empathy, tolerance, and mutual respect.

[5] Roy F. Baumeister, "Self-Control: The Moral Muscle," *The Psychologist* 25, no. 2 (2012).

[6] Michael R. Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi, *A General Theory of Crime* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).

[7] June P. Tangney, Roy F. Baumeister, and Angie Luzio Boone, "High Self-Control Predicts Good Adjustment, Less Pathology, Better Grades, and Interpersonal Success," *Journal of Personality* 72, no. 2 (2004), https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-3506.2004.00263.x.

[8] Denise T. D. de Ridder et al., "Taking Stock of Self-Control: A Meta-Analysis of How Trait Self-Control Relates to a Wide Range of Behaviors," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 16, no. 1 (2012), https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868311418749.

[9] Fauzan Afif Prastyaa and Kamsih Astuti, "Mengapa Perilaku Bullying pada Siswa Dapat Dipengaruhi oleh Kontrol Diri?," *PUBLIK: Publikasi Layanan Bimbingan dan Konseling Islam* 1, no. 2 (2022), https://doi.org/10.47945/publik.v1i2.728.

[10] Indri Kesuma Ningrum and Kamsih Astuti, "Kontrol Diri dan Konformitas Teman Sebaya dengan Perilaku Bullying pada Siswi," *Jurnal Psikologi* 19, no. 1 (2023).

[11] Diane E. Papalia, Sally Wendkos Olds, and Ruth Duskin Feldman, *Human Development* (11th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2009).

Social support from peers is assistance from close others that provides comfort, attention, and help when facing stress or difficulty,[12] and peer support can be understood as a process of giving and receiving help grounded in mutual respect and shared responsibility.[13] Sarafino identifies five aspects of social support: emotional support (empathy, attention, and care), esteem support (positive recognition and encouragement), instrumental support (direct, tangible help), informational support (advice and information), and network support (a sense of belonging to a group).[14] Irfah, Salawali, and Lambana found a significant negative relationship between peers' role and bullying among adolescents,[15] and Ariyanah and Fahmawati showed that self-control and peer support significantly shape students' behavior at school.[16]

Previous studies have generally examined self-control and peer factors as separate predictors of bullying. Little is known about how the two operate together, and in particular whether peer support carries the effect of self-control on bullying among students who have actually engaged in bullying. This study therefore examines the effect of self-control on bullying behavior among students of SMA Setia Budi Perbaungan, with peer support as a mediating variable. It is expected to contribute to educational psychology and to provide a basis for schools in designing prevention and intervention efforts against bullying.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study used a quantitative approach, which emphasizes the statistical analysis of numerical data to determine the significance of relationships between variables.[17] Bullying screening was used as an initial identification of students' roles in bullying, namely as perpetrators, victims, bully–victims, or neither, based on Olweus's concept of bullying as repeated aggressive behavior involving an imbalance of power.[18] The screening instrument covered physical, verbal, social/relational, and cyber bullying (Table 1). Items 1–8 identified behavior as a perpetrator and items 9–16 identified experiences as a victim, and respondents were categorized according to the criteria in Table 2.

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[12] Sheldon Cohen and Thomas Ashby Wills, "Stress, Social Support, and the Buffering Hypothesis," *Psychological Bulletin* 98, no. 2 (1985), https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.98.2.310.

[13] Shery Mead, David Hilton, and Laurie Curtis, "Peer Support: A Theoretical Perspective," *Psychiatric Rehabilitation Journal* 25, no. 2 (2001), https://doi.org/10.1037/h0095032.

[14] Edward P. Sarafino, *Health Psychology: Biopsychosocial Interactions* (3rd ed. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998).

[15] Auli Irfah, Siti Hajar Salawali, and Fahri M. Lambana, "Hubungan Dukungan Keluarga dan Peran Teman Sebaya terhadap Perilaku Bullying pada Remaja Sekolah Menengah Pertama," *Jurnal Kolaboratif Sains* 8, no. 1 (2025), https://doi.org/10.56338/jks.v8i1.7055.

[16] Silvi Indah Ariyanah and Zaki Nur Fahmawati, "Pengaruh Kontrol Diri dan Dukungan Teman Sebaya terhadap Perilaku Membolos Siswa Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan (SMK)," *G-Couns: Jurnal Bimbingan dan Konseling* 8, no. 2 (2024), https://doi.org/10.31316/gcouns.v8i2.5252.

[17] Saifuddin Azwar, *Metode Penelitian Psikologi* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2022).

[18] Olweus, "Bullying at School."

Table 1**.** Aspects of the Bullying Screening Instrument

Aspect	Indicators	Perpetrator Items	Victim Items	Number of Items
Physical bullying	Hitting, pushing, damaging belongings	1, 2	9, 10	4
Verbal bullying	Mocking, insulting, giving offensive nicknames	3, 4	11, 12	4
Social/relational bullying	Excluding, spreading gossip	5, 6	13, 14	4
Cyberbullying	Insulting or humiliating via social media	7, 8	15, 16	4
Total		8	8	16

Source: Research instrument.

Table 2**.** Interpretation of the Bullying Screening Results

Category	Criterion
Perpetrator	Perpetrator score ≥ 3 and victim score ≤ 2
Victim	Victim score ≥ 3 and perpetrator score ≤ 2
Bully–victim	Perpetrator score ≥ 3 and victim score ≥ 3
Neither	Perpetrator score ≤ 2 and victim score ≤ 2

Source: Research instrument.

The independent variable was self-control, defined as the ability to regulate and control thoughts, emotions, and behavior so as to restrain impulses and act in accordance with goals and prevailing norms. It was measured with a 10-item Self-Control Scale based on the inhibition and initiation dimensions of de Ridder et al.,[19] using the Indonesian adaptation by Arifin and Milla (Table 3).[20]

Table 3**.** Dimensions of the Self-Control Scale

Dimension	Indicator	Favorable Items	Unfavorable Items	Number of Items
Inhibition	Controlling impulses and impulsive behavior	1, 2, 3	4, 5	5
Initiation	Starting and sustaining positive behavior	6, 7, 8	9, 10	5
Total		6	4	10

Source: Research instrument.

The dependent variable was bullying behavior, defined as aggressive acts carried out deliberately and repeatedly to hurt or pressure others perceived as weaker, whether physically, verbally, socially, or through digital media. It was measured with the Bullying and Cyberbullying

[19] De Ridder et al., "Taking Stock of Self-Control."

[20] Haykal Hafizul Arifin and Mirra Noor Milla, "Adaptasi dan Properti Psikometrik Skala Kontrol Diri Ringkas Versi Indonesia," *Jurnal Psikologi Sosial* 18, no. 2 (2020), https://doi.org/10.7454/jps.2020.18.

Scale for Adolescents (BCS-A) developed by Garaigordobil,[21] as adapted into Indonesian by Santhoso, Marvianto, and Purwanto (Table 4).[22]

Table 4. Aspects of the Bullying and Cyberbullying Scale for Adolescents (BCS-A)

Aspect	Indicator	Favorable Items	Unfavorable Items	Number of Items
Physical bullying	Physically aggressive acts toward peers, such as hitting, kicking, or pushing	1, 2, 3	4	4
Verbal bullying	Insulting, mocking, giving offensive nicknames, or humiliating peers with words	5, 6, 7	8	4
Social/relational bullying	Excluding peers from the group, spreading gossip, or damaging social relationships	9, 10, 11	12	4
Cyberbullying	Intimidation through social media or online messages, or spreading hurtful content	13, 14, 15	16	4
Total		12	4	16

Source: Research instrument.

Peer support served as the mediating variable, defined as an individual's perception of the help, attention, and involvement received from peers in various social and academic situations. It was measured with a 25-item Peer Social Support Scale (PSS), with reference to Brown, Clasen, and Eicher,[23] using the adaptation by Nahruddin et al. (Table 5).[24]

Table 5. Aspects of the Peer Social Support Scale (PSS)

Aspect	Indicator	Favorable Items	Unfavorable Items	Number of Items
Emotional support	Attention, empathy, and care from peers	1, 2, 3, 4	5	5
Esteem support	Praise, motivation, and recognition from peers	6, 7, 8, 9	10	5
Instrumental support	Concrete help or action	11, 12, 13, 14	15	5
Informational support	Advice, guidance, or information from peers	16, 17, 18, 19	20	5
Network support	Sense of togetherness and involvement in the group	21, 22, 23, 24	25	5
Total		20	5	25

[21] Maite Garaigordobil, "Cyberbullying in Adolescents and Youth in the Basque Country: Changes with Age," *Anales de Psicología* 31, no. 3 (2015), https://doi.org/10.6018/analesps.31.3.179151.

[22] Fauzan Heru Santhoso, Ramadhan Dwi Marvianto, and Budi Purwanto, "An Adaptation and Validation of the Indonesian Version of the Bullying and Cyberbullying Scale for Adolescents," *Gadjah Mada Journal of Psychology* 9, no. 1 (2023), https://doi.org/10.22146/gamajop.70527.

[23] B. Bradford Brown, Donna Rae Clasen, and Sue Ann Eicher, "Perceptions of Peer Pressure, Peer Conformity Dispositions, and Self-Reported Behavior among Adolescents," *Developmental Psychology* 22, no. 4 (1986), https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.22.4.521.

[24] Lukman Ansari Nahruddin et al., "Development of a Psychological Measuring Tool: Peer Social Support Scale (PSSS)," in *PSISULA: Prosiding Berkala Psikologi*, vol. 6 (2024).

The population comprised 292 students of SMA Setia Budi Perbaungan, North Sumatra. All students were invited to complete the screening questionnaire via Google Forms, and the analytic sample consisted of those identified as perpetrators of bullying.[25] The data were analyzed with path analysis in JASP 0.19.3.0.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Data were collected from 280 respondents, who were then classified on the basis of the bullying screening, adapted from the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire. Respondents were categorized as perpetrators if they answered "yes" to three or more perpetrator items, a criterion used to identify individuals who tend to bully their peers. Eighty-four respondents were identified as perpetrators of bullying; their characteristics are shown in Table 6.

Table 6**.** Characteristics of the Bullying Perpetrators (n = 84)

Variable	Category	n	%
Sex	Male	29	34.5
	Female	55	65.5
Age	≤ 16 years	24	28.6
	17 years	33	39.3
	≥ 18 years	27	32.1
Birth order	Youngest	27	32.1
	Eldest	26	31.0
	Middle	27	32.1
	Only child	4	4.8

Source: Research data.

The descriptive analysis showed that self-control had a mean of 2.93 on a 1–4 scale (moderate category), bullying behavior a mean of 1.68 (low category), and peer support a mean of 3.06 (high category). The path coefficients between the variables are presented in Table 7 and the indirect effect in Table 8.

Table 7**.** Path Coefficients between Variables

Path	Std. Estimate	Std. Error	z	p	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper
Peer support → Bullying	−0.357	0.099	−3.603	<0.001	−0.552	−0.163
Self-control → Bullying	−0.062	0.105	−0.587	0.557	−0.268	0.145
Self-control → Peer support	0.292	0.100	2.921	0.003	0.096	0.487

Source: Research data (path analysis in JASP 0.19.3.0).

[25] Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2018).

Table 8. Indirect Effect of Self-Control on Bullying through Peer Support

Path	Std. Estimate	Std. Error	z	p	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper
Self-control → Peer support → Bullying	−0.104	0.047	−2.225	0.026	−0.196	−0.012

Source: Research data (path analysis in JASP 0.19.3.0).

Discussion

The Direct Effect of Self-Control on Bullying

Self-control had no significant direct effect on bullying behavior (standardized estimate = −0.062, z = −0.587, p = 0.557), so the level of students' self-control did not directly determine their tendency to bully in this model. Descriptively, self-control was in the moderate category (mean 2.93) and bullying in the low category (mean 1.68). Theoretically, self-control enables individuals to regulate impulses, emotions, and behavior in line with social norms; Baumeister argues that it prevents actions that harm others,[26] and Tangney, Baumeister, and Boone show that high self-control is associated with emotional regulation and the avoidance of deviant behavior.[27] This finding is not consistent with Ningrum and Astuti, who reported a negative correlation between self-control and bullying ($r = -0.622$, $p < 0.01$), with self-control accounting for 38.7 percent of the variance in bullying.[28] One possible explanation is that the analytic sample consisted only of students already identified as perpetrators, which restricts the range of bullying scores and may weaken the direct association; another is that the effect of self-control is transmitted through peer relationships, as the indirect effect below suggests.

The Effect of Peer Support on Bullying

Peer support had a significant negative effect on bullying behavior (standardized estimate = −0.357, z = −3.603, $p < 0.001$): the higher the support provided by peers, the lower students' tendency to bully. Peer support was in the high category (mean 3.06), suggesting that students generally received good support from their peers. Santrock notes that peers play an important role in adolescents' social development by providing security, social acceptance, and opportunities to develop positive social behavior,[29] and Sarafino and Smith explain that peer social support provides emotional reinforcement, information, and a sense of belonging that help individuals manage stress and emotions more adaptively.[30] With positive and supportive peer relationships, students are more likely to display prosocial rather than aggressive behavior. This finding is

[26] Baumeister, "Self-Control."
[27] Tangney, Baumeister, and Boone, "High Self-Control."
[28] Ningrum and Astuti, "Kontrol Diri dan Konformitas Teman Sebaya."
[29] John W. Santrock, *Educational Psychology* (6th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2018).
[30] Edward P. Sarafino and Timothy W. Smith, *Health Psychology: Biopsychosocial Interactions* (7th ed. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2011).

consistent with Nihayati, Agustin, and Qona'ah, who found a significant, though weak, negative relationship between peer support and bullying among adolescents.[31]

The Effect of Self-Control on Peer Support

Self-control had a significant positive effect on peer support (standardized estimate = 0.292, z = 2.921, p = 0.003): students with higher self-control received more support from peers. Students who are able to control themselves tend to adjust their behavior in social settings, making them more readily accepted by peers and more likely to receive support from their group. Individuals with high self-control are able to regulate emotions, restrain negative impulses, and consider the consequences of their behavior, which makes their social interactions more adaptive and prosocial and improves the quality of their peer relationships.[32] Ormrod likewise explains that adolescents who control their behavior well are more easily accepted in friendship groups because they tend to be cooperative, respectful, and able to maintain positive relationships.[33] This finding is in line with Widiarta and Indrawati, who found that self-control and peer social support jointly play a role in university students' academic behavior.[34]

The Indirect Effect of Self-Control on Bullying through Peer Support

The indirect effect of self-control on bullying through peer support was significant (standardized estimate = −0.104, z = −2.225, p = 0.026; 95% CI −0.196 to −0.012). Because the direct effect was not significant, this pattern indicates that peer support fully mediates the relationship between self-control and bullying in this sample: self-control is associated with bullying not directly but through the peer relationships it fosters. The better students' self-control, the better the social relationships they build with peers, and these relationships in turn reduce their tendency to bully. Self-control functions as a regulatory mechanism that helps individuals restrain negative impulses and direct their behavior toward more adaptive actions,[35] while peers are an important source of social support for adolescents, offering a place to share experiences, gain acceptance, and receive emotional help.[36] Bandura's social cognitive perspective further explains that behavior is shaped by social interaction and the surrounding environment, so that when peer

[31] Hanik Endang Nihayati, Yuliani Agustin, and Arina Qona'ah, "Hubungan Dukungan Teman Sebaya dengan Perilaku Bullying pada Remaja," *Journal of Health Science* 1, no. 2 (2025), https://doi.org/10.63425/ljhs.v1i2.39.

[32] Baumeister, "Self-Control."

[33] Jeanne Ellis Ormrod, *Educational Psychology: Developing Learners* (7th ed. Boston: Pearson, 2012).

[34] Tri Singgih Dewi Marella Widiarta and Komang Rahayu Indrawati, "Peran Kontrol Diri dan Dukungan Sosial Teman Sebaya terhadap Prokrastinasi Akademik pada Mahasiswa Tingkat Akhir di Universitas Udayana," *Nusantara: Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* 12, no. 6 (2025).

[35] Baumeister, "Self-Control."

[36] Ormrod, *Educational Psychology*.

environments provide positive support, adolescents tend to display more prosocial behavior and avoid aggression such as bullying.[37]

CONCLUSION

Among students of SMA Setia Budi Perbaungan identified as perpetrators of bullying, self-control had no significant direct effect on bullying behavior ($\beta = -0.062$, $p = 0.557$), whereas peer support had a significant negative effect on bullying ($\beta = -0.357$, $p < 0.001$) and self-control had a significant positive effect on peer support ($\beta = 0.292$, $p = 0.003$). The indirect effect of self-control on bullying through peer support was significant ($\beta = -0.104$, $p = 0.026$), indicating that peer support mediates the relationship: students with better self-control build better relationships with peers, which in turn reduces their tendency to bully. Schools should therefore strengthen not only students' self-control but also positive peer support systems in their bullying prevention programs. Because the analysis was limited to 84 perpetrators in a single school and used cross-sectional data, future studies should include the full student population, use longitudinal designs, and test alternative models.

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