

Prosiding Fakultas Ilmu Pendidikan
Universitas Negeri Jakarta
Homepage: https://journal.unj.ac.id/unj/index.php/semnas-ps
Vol. 4 No. 1, Bulan 2026, halaman: 119-135
E-ISSN: xxxx-xxxx

Guidance and Counseling Interventions to Strengthen Resilience in Bullying Victims: A Review

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Riwayat Artikel

Submited: 21-11-2026
Accepted: 22-11-2026
Published: 22-11-2026

Abstrak

Bullying merupakan permasalahan berulang di sekolah yang berdampak psikologis jangka panjang bagi korban. Pendekatan anti-bullying konvensional sering tidak konsisten hasilnya, sehingga penguatan resiliensi korban menjadi pendekatan alternatif yang relevan bagi bimbingan dan konseling berbasis bukti di Indonesia. Penelitian ini mengkaji sistematis intervensi peningkatan resiliensi korban bullying melalui Systematic Literature Review mengikuti pedoman PRISMA 2020 dengan sintesis naratif. Pencarian dilakukan pada database Scopus menggunakan kata kunci (bullying OR "peer victimization") AND resilience untuk artikel 2016–2026 melalui platform Watase Uake, menghasilkan lima artikel yang memenuhi kriteria. Hasil sintesis menunjukkan intervensi yang mengombinasikan aktivitas fisik dengan psikoedukasi (karate, multilateral teaching) paling konsisten meningkatkan resiliensi dan self-efficacy dengan effect size sedang-besar. Intervensi growth mindset daring, educational video game, dan program keterampilan sosial memberikan dampak lebih terbatas dan bervariasi. Efektivitas intervensi dipengaruhi karakteristik program, intensitas, dan modalitas, sehingga intervensi multimodal dan berkelanjutan berpotensi besar diimplementasikan sebagai praktik bimbingan dan konseling berbasis bukti di sekolah Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Bimbingan dan Konseling; Bullying; Korban Bullying; Resiliensi; Systematic Literature Review

Abstract

Bullying remains a persistent problem in school settings with long-term psychological consequences for victims. Since conventional anti-bullying approaches often produce inconsistent outcomes, resilience enhancement has become a relevant alternative for evidence-based guidance and counseling practices in Indonesia. This study systematically examined interventions to enhance resilience among bullying victims through a Systematic Literature Review conducted in accordance with the PRISMA 2020 guidelines using a narrative synthesis approach. A literature search was conducted in the Scopus database using the search string (bullying OR "peer victimization") AND resilience for articles published between 2016 and 2026, processed through the Watase Uake platform, yielding five eligible studies. Findings indicate that interventions integrating physical activity with psychoeducation, such as karate programs and multilateral teaching, consistently improved resilience and self-efficacy with moderate-to-large effect sizes. Brief online growth-mindset interventions, educational video games, and social-skills-based programs produced more limited and mixed effects. Overall, intervention effectiveness was influenced by program characteristics, implementation intensity, and delivery modality, suggesting that multimodal and sustained interventions have greater potential for implementation as evidence-based guidance and counseling practices in Indonesian schools.

Prosiding ***Fakultas Ilmu Pendidikan-Universitas Negeri Jakarta*** *diterbitkan oleh Fakultas Ilmu Pendidikan, Universitas Negeri Jakarta*



Keywords: *Bullying; Bullying Victims; Guidance and Counseling; Resilience; Systematic Literature Review.*

INTRODUCTION

Bullying is a repeated aggressive behavior that occurs within relationships characterized by a power imbalance between the perpetrator and the victim (Olweus, 2013). This phenomenon has become one of the major concerns in education as well as a global public health issue (UNESCO, 2023). Globally, approximately 30.5% of adolescents have experienced bullying, and more than 30% of students worldwide are reported to have been victimized, with negative consequences for academic achievement as well as physical and mental health (Biswas et al., 2020; UNESCO, 2023). In addition, cases of cyberbullying have also increased in recent years (WHO Regional Office for Europe, 2024). Numerous studies have revealed that bullying victims are at higher risk of experiencing anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation and behavior that can persist into adulthood (Geel et al., 2014; Haile et al., 2024; Holt et al., 2015; Lereya et al., 2015; Takizawa et al., 2014; Wolke et al., 2013).

In Indonesia, PISA 2022 reported that 25% of female students and 30% of male students experienced bullying at least a few times a month, a rate higher than the OECD average (OECD, 2023). Consistent with this, the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) recorded 3,800 cases of bullying in 2023, while data from the Indonesian National Police Information Center (Pusiknas Bareskrim Polri) showed that cases of violence against children in educational settings more than doubled in 2024 (Al Ansori, 2025; GoodStats, 2025; Polri, 2025). Bullying victims in Indonesia also face a substantially higher risk of mental health disorders (aOR = 3.55; 95% CI: 1.47–8.59) (Erskine et al., 2025), consistent with the psychosocial vulnerability of adolescents (Blakemore, 2019; Thapar, 2022) and findings of lower self-confidence and increased depressive symptoms among victims (Sufiyah & Hajar, 2026). Furthermore, research within the guidance and counseling field affirms that understanding the factors underlying bullying is an essential foundation for designing effective interventions, including the strengthening of victims' resilience (Nurfarhanah et al., 2019).

Given the limitations of approaches that focus solely on stopping bullying behavior, strengthening victims' resilience is increasingly regarded as a promising intervention strategy. Resilience, defined as the capacity to adapt positively in the face of adversity, has been shown to be a protective factor that moderates or mediates the impact of bullying victimization on psychological outcomes across various countries (Dewi et al., 2023; T. J. Lin et al., 2022; Mariyati et al., 2024; Martín-Pérez et al., 2022; Robson et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2024). Strengthening resilience contributes to improved psychological well-being, self-efficacy, and social adjustment among victims, making it a relevant focus of intervention within guidance and counseling. Although various counseling interventions in Indonesia have adopted this approach (Anshori, 2024; Irawan & Hamzah, 2024; Maryati & Puspitasari, 2025; Putri, 2020), the synthesis of evidence on their effectiveness within counseling services continues to be developed internationally.

Various interventions have been developed to enhance resilience among bullying victims. Physical activity programs combined with psychoeducation have proven effective in improving resilience and self-efficacy, with moderate-to-large effect sizes (Greco, 2021; Greco et al., 2019). In contrast, a single-session online growth-mindset intervention showed only a moderate effect on the relationship between online victimization and social anxiety and online aggression (Calvete et al., 2022). Meanwhile, the Monite educational video game produced improvements in several domains with a small effect size (Revuelta Dominguez et al., 2023), and social-skills-based programs yielded mixed results—improving social skills while also being followed by an increase in victimization scores (Bain & Lunde, 2022). These findings illustrate the diversity of resilience-

intervention approaches for bullying victims that have developed internationally and form the state of the art underlying this systematic review.

Most anti-bullying research and programs continue to focus on perpetrators and on improving school climate (Merrell et al., 2008; Olweus, 2010; Ttofi & Farrington, 2011; Vreeman & Carroll, 2007), while studies on strengthening victims' resilience, particularly within the context of guidance and counseling, remain limited. The heterogeneity of intervention designs, measurement instruments, populations, and outcomes across existing studies highlights the need for a systematic synthesis to identify patterns of intervention effectiveness. Therefore, this study aims to conduct a Systematic Literature Review of interventions for strengthening resilience among bullying victims by examining intervention characteristics, instruments used, program effectiveness, and their implications for developing evidence-based guidance and counseling services, including within the Indonesian context.

METHOD

This section describes the research design, search strategy, inclusion and exclusion criteria, study selection process, and study quality assessment used in this systematic review

Research Design

This study employed a **Systematic** Literature Review (SLR) design following the PRISMA 2020 (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta Analyses) guidelines. A narrative synthesis approach was used due to the heterogeneity of research designs, measurement instruments, and sample characteristics across the identified studies. Narrative synthesis was selected because it allows findings from various research designs, including randomized controlled trials (RCTs) and quasi experimental studies, to be integrated without requiring the statistical homogeneity needed for quantitative meta analysis.

Search Strategy

The process of searching, screening, and managing the literature in this study was conducted using the Watase Uake application (https://wataseuake.web.id), an online research collaboration platform that provides a Systematic Literature Review feature based on the PRISMA 2020 guidelines (Page & Others, 2021), The platform also supports the SPAR-4-SLR (Paul et al., 2021) and ROSES reporting frameworks. The use of the SPAR-4-SLR framework to strengthen the transparency of the selection process is consistent with the approach used in previous systematic literature reviews (Hariningsih et al., 2024; Riedel et al., 2021).

The search was conducted through the Identification menu using the keywords (bullying OR "peer victimization") AND resilience in the Scopus database and yielded 157 records. The search was limited to publications from 2016 to 2026. The system automatically screened the publications based on the specified publication years, journal quartile rankings from Q1 to Q4, and abstract availability through the Screened, Retrieval, and Report menus. The PRISMA flow diagram shown in Figure 1 was therefore generated directly by the system based on the processed data.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

The inclusion and exclusion criteria used in the study selection process are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Component	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Population (P)	School-age students or adolescents (6–18 years) who experienced bullying or cyberbullying as victims, former victims, or target groups of resilience-enhancement programs/interventions.	Adults, workers, older adults, non-school clinical patients, non-human subjects, or populations unrelated to bullying or cyberbullying.

Component	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Intervention (I)	Guidance and counseling interventions, psychological therapy, or school-based programs aimed at enhancing resilience to bullying or cyberbullying.	No intervention or program was evaluated.
Comparison (C)	Control group, pre-intervention condition (pretest), or another comparison group appropriate to the study design.	No relevant comparator (where required by the study design).
Outcome (O)	Resilience measured or discussed as a primary or secondary outcome.	Resilience not measured or not discussed.
Study Criteria	RCT, quasi-experimental, pre-post, mixed-methods, or qualitative designs; peer-reviewed journal articles; full text available; published 2016–2026; written in English or Indonesian.	Purely observational studies (cross-sectional, cohort, case-control), editorials, letters to the editor, conference papers, book chapters, theses/dissertations, articles without full text, published before 2016, or in languages other than English and Indonesian.

Study Selection Process

The study selection process was carried out using the Watase Uake application with reference to the PRISMA 2020 guidelines (Page & Others, 2021), as shown in Figure 1. The literature search in the Scopus database using the Boolean search string (bullying OR "peer victimization") AND resilience yielded 157 records. No duplicate articles were found at the identification stage (n = 0). The system then automatically excluded 15 articles outside the publication-year range (2016–2026), 2 articles that did not meet the Scopus Q1–Q4 journal criteria, and 2 articles without abstracts, leaving 138 articles that proceeded to the screening stage.

Based on title and abstract screening, 132 articles were excluded for not meeting the inclusion criteria, leaving 6 articles that proceeded to the full-text retrieval stage. Five articles were successfully obtained in full text, while 1 article could not be accessed (report not retrieved). All articles that were successfully retrieved met the inclusion criteria (reports excluded = 0), resulting in 5 studies being designated for synthesis in this Systematic Literature Review. The study selection flow diagram in Figure 1 was automatically generated by the Watase Uake application in accordance with the PRISMA 2020 guidelines.

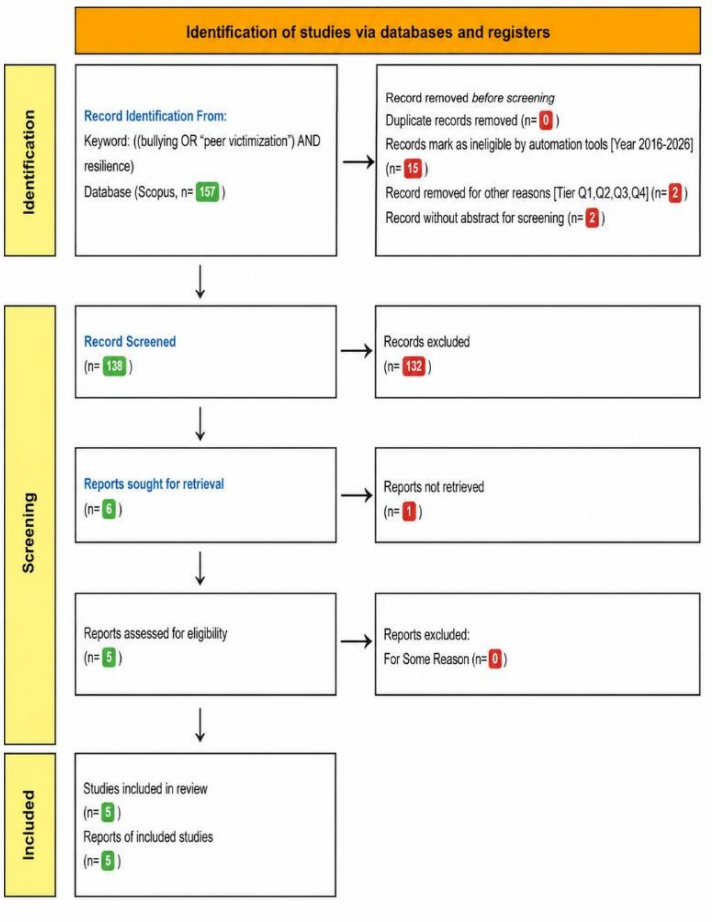

Figure 1. PRISMA Flow Diagram

Study Quality Assessment

Methodological quality assessment of the five studies included in this review was conducted using the Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool (MMAT), 2018 version. MMAT was selected because it accommodates quality appraisal across various types of quantitative research designs, including RCTs and non-randomized quasi-experimental studies, both of which were found in the selected set of studies. The appraisal was carried out by first identifying each study's design category, then applying the five appraisal criteria corresponding to that design category—criteria 2.1 to 2.5 for RCT designs and criteria 3.1 to 3.5 for non-randomized designs. Each criterion was rated as Yes, No, or Cannot Tell. In accordance with the instrument developers' official guidance, no single summary score was calculated, as the five criteria within each design category are considered to carry equal weight, and combining them into a single score could conceal methodological weaknesses specific to a given study. The results of the criterion-by-criterion appraisal are presented in Table 3a for RCT-designed studies and Table 3b for non-randomized studies..

RESULTS

Studi Study Characteristics

The characteristics of the five studies included in this review are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Study Characteristics

No	Author and Year	Country	Research Design	Sample / Intervention Focus	Resilience Instrument	Main Findings
1	Greco, Cataldi, & Fischetti (2019)	Italy	RCT	100 students aged 14-16 years (50 karate experimental, 50 wait-list control). 12-week Shotokan karate intervention (90 min/week) + psychoeducation.	CYRM-28; SEQ-C	Significant Time × Group interaction across all resilience scales & self-efficacy ($p<0.05$); moderate-to-large effect size ($d=0.58–1.16$); control group declined.
2	Greco (2021)	Italy	RCT	60 male students aged 14-16 years (30 experimental, 30 wait-list control). 12-week multilateral teaching (90 min, 2×/week).	CYRM-28; SEQ-C	Significant Time × Group interaction on total resilience & subscales ($p<0.05$); $d=0.61–1.27$; self-efficacy $d=0.82$; control group declined.
3	Calvete, Orue, Echezarraga, Cortazar, & Fernandez-Gonzalez (2022)	Spain	Double-blind RCT	856 students aged 11-17 years (459 intervention, 397 control). Single-session online growth mindset (40-45 minutes).	Proxy: reduction of predictive association with online peer victimization	Significant moderation of the association between victimization and social anxiety & online aggression ($p<0.05$); not significant for depression, eating problems, NSSI.

No	Author and Year	Country	Research Design	Sample / Intervention Focus	Resilience Instrument	Main Findings
4	Revuelta Dominguez, Guerra-Antequera, Antequera-Barroso, & Pedrera-Rodriguez (2023)	Spain	Quasi-experimental	92 grade 5-6 elementary students (44 experimental, 48 control). Monite video game, 3 days.	SENA (problems with peers, at school, family)	Significant pretest–posttest differences across all three domains ($p<0.05$); small effect size ($d=0.288$).
5	Bain & Lunde (2022)	United States	One-group quasi-experimental	72 students (social skills); 67 students (bullying), aged 8-13 years. 15-session resilience program (25-45 minutes).	SSIS SEL; PIPSQ	Social skills increased significantly ($p=0.04$); bullying unchanged ($p=0.43$); victimization increased significantly ($p=0.04$).

Study Quality Assessment Results

The criterion-by-criterion MMAT quality assessment results for the three RCT-designed studies are presented in Table 3a.

Table 3a. Quality Assessment of RCT-Designed Studies (MMAT Category 2 Criteria)

Author and Year	2.1 Appropriate randomization	2.2 Baseline comparability	2.3 Completeness of outcome data	2.4 Outcome assessor blinding	2.5 Intervention adherence
Greco, Cataldi, & Fischetti (2019)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Cannot tell	Cannot tell
Greco (2021)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Cannot tell	Yes
Calvete, Orue, Echezarraga, Cortazar, & Fernandez-Gonzalez (2022)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The criterion-by-criterion MMAT quality assessment results for the two non-randomized or quasi-experimental studies are presented in Table 3b.

Table 3b. Quality Assessment of Non-Randomized / Quasi-Experimental Studies (MMAT Category 3 Criteria)

Author and Year	3.1 Sample representativeness	3.2 Measurement appropriateness	3.3 Completeness of outcome data	3.4 Confounder control	3.5 Intervention delivery fidelity
Revuelta Dominguez, Guerra-Antequera, Antequera-Barroso, & Pedrera-Rodriguez (2023)	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Bain & Lunde (2022)	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

The three RCT-designed studies (Calvete et al., 2022; Greco, 2021; Greco et al., 2019) generally demonstrated methodological strength in terms of randomization and baseline group comparability, but varied in outcome-assessor blinding and monitoring of participants' adherence to the intervention. In contrast, the two non-randomized studies (Bain & Lunde, 2022; Revuelta Dominguez et al., 2023) showed more consistent limitations, particularly regarding sample representativeness due to the use of convenience sampling and confounder control, given that both studies employed non-equivalent control groups or, in one case, no control group at all.

Thematic Synthesis Results

Based on the characteristics of the interventions used, the five reviewed studies can be grouped into four main themes: physical-activity-and-psychoeducation-based interventions, brief online growth-mindset psychological interventions, digital-media or educational-video-game-based interventions, and social-skills-development-based resilience programs.

The first theme, physical-activity-and-psychoeducation-based interventions, is represented by two studies from Greco and colleagues: the Shotokan karate program Greco et al., (2019) and the multilateral teaching program Greco, (2021) Both studies employed an RCT design and used the same measurement instruments, namely the CYRM-28 for resilience and the SEQ-C for self-efficacy. Both interventions showed significant Time × Group interactions across all resilience subscales, including individual capacities and resources, relationships with primary caregivers, contextual factors, and overall resilience. The effect sizes ranged from moderate to large. A similar pattern was observed for self-efficacy. Participants in the experimental groups showed significant improvements, whereas those in the wait-list control groups tended to show a decline in scores over the same period.

The second theme, brief growth-mindset-based psychological interventions, is represented by the study of Calvete et al., (2022) which tested a single-session online intervention lasting approximately 40 to 45 minutes with a large sample (n = 856). Unlike the two previous studies, resilience in this study was not measured directly using a standardized resilience instrument, but was instead operationalized through the reduction of the predictive association between online peer victimization and various behavioral and emotional problems. The results showed that the intervention significantly moderated the association between online victimization and social anxiety and online aggressive behavior, and increased defending attitudes

toward victims, but showed no significant effect on depressive symptoms, eating problems, or non-suicidal self-injury.

The third theme, digital-media-based interventions, is represented by the study of Revuelta Dominguez et al., (2023) which tested the use of the Monite educational video game among elementary school students. This study used a quasi-experimental design with a relatively short intervention duration of three days. The results showed significant pretest–posttest differences in the variables of problems with peers, problems at school, and family problems, although with a small effect size.

The fourth theme, social-skills-based resilience programs, is represented by the study of Bain & Lunde, (2022) which tested a 15-session program using a social and emotional learning approach. This study showed a different pattern of findings compared to the other studies: a significant improvement in social skills, but without a significant change in bullying scores, and even a significant increase in victimization scores following the program.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this systematic review indicate that the effectiveness of interventions for strengthening resilience among bullying victims is highly dependent on the type, intensity, and delivery modality of the intervention (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011). Interventions combining structured physical activity with psychoeducational components, as demonstrated in the karate and multilateral teaching studies by Greco and colleagues, consistently produced improvements in resilience and self-efficacy with large effect sizes (Greco, 2021; Greco et al., 2019). This consistency is likely related to the relatively long intervention duration of 12 weeks, as well as the use of identical measurement instruments across both studies, which allows for a more valid comparison of findings. From a theoretical perspective, structured physical training combined with psychoeducation is thought to strengthen self-regulation capacity, a component that has been meta-analytically shown to consistently predict positive developmental outcomes in children and adolescents, including the adaptive capacities underlying resilience (Robson et al., 2020) and to function as a protective factor against mental health disorders among victims (Lin, 2022; Sufiyah & Hajar, 2026).

In contrast, the brief online growth mindset intervention developed by Calvete and colleagues showed more limited effects. Although the study included a larger sample than the other four studies, its intervention lasted only 40 to 45 minutes in a single session. This short duration may have limited its effects on more complex emotional and behavioral outcomes such as depression and eating problems. These findings suggest that brief interventions may be cost effective and easier to implement in schools but may be less suitable for problems that require sustained changes in mindset and behavior. The findings are also consistent with the literature on personal mindset and the belief that personal characteristics can be developed to support students' resilience in response to social pressure (Yeager & Dweck, 2012), However, the limited exposure in the Calvete et al., (2022) study may have reduced the transfer of intervention effects to deeper psychological outcomes.

The Monite educational-video-game-based intervention showed positive results but with a small effect size, most likely related to the very short intervention duration of only three days and the limited sample size. This study also did not measure resilience directly, but instead used proxies in the form of exogenous variables such as problems with peers, problems at school, and family problems, so interpretation of its specific impact on the resilience construct must be made with caution. This finding should also be interpreted within the context of the shifting social interactions of today's adolescents, which increasingly take place in digital spaces (Boyd, 2014), game-based media may therefore represent a relevant psychoeducational channel, but appears to require a more adequate exposure duration for its impact to become more substantial (Best, 2014).

The most noteworthy finding for discussion is that of Bain & Lunde, (2022), Their social skills based resilience program improved participants' social skills but did not reduce bullying

behavior. Instead, victimization scores increased after the intervention. The authors proposed several possible explanations. One explanation was a sensitization effect in which participants became more aware of bullying experiences and were therefore more likely to report victimization at posttest. Another possibility was that perpetrators initially attempted to provoke emotional reactions from victims who had begun applying their newly acquired skills before eventually targeting other students. This finding is consistent with the ecological perspective on bullying, which suggests that bullying is influenced by interacting social systems at the individual, peer, and school levels. Individual level interventions may therefore be insufficient when they are not accompanied by changes in peer dynamics and the broader school environment (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Riggs et al., 2011).

This finding offers an important note for guidance and counseling practice: programs that focus solely on improving social skills, without accompanying changes within the broader school system, may not be sufficient to reduce the incidence of bullying or victimization. This note is consistent with evidence from large-scale meta-analyses of anti-bullying programs, which show that program effectiveness tends to be higher when whole-school components and a positive school climate are integrated (Langford et al., 2014; Ttofi & Farrington, 2011), including the active role of bystanders in classroom group dynamics (Salmivalli, 2011) and school climate in general as a foundation for the success of anti-bullying programs (Thapa et al., 2013).

The findings of this systematic review are also relevant for discussion within the context of guidance and counseling research and practice in Indonesia, particularly in relation to the sub-themes of individual and community resilience and evidence-based policy, research, and practice. Various guidance and counseling studies in Indonesia have developed approaches that are conceptually consistent with the psychoeducation and individual-resource-strengthening themes found in the five main studies, such as strength-based group counseling to improve academic resilience among junior high school students (Basri & Setiawati, 2026), group counseling using cognitive restructuring techniques for academic resilience among senior high school students (Farid & Undiarti, 2026), reality-based group counseling for the resilience of students from broken-home families (Febrianti & Hariastuti, 2026), a systematic review on the effectiveness of person-centered counseling for resilience (Estiningdyah et al., 2026), a literature review on acceptance and commitment therapy for adolescent anxiety and resilience (Hakim et al., 2026), and positive-psychology workshops with peer support for strengthening adolescent resilience (Pertiwi et al., 2026). Character-strength-based positive intervention approaches have also been developed within the field of guidance and counseling in Indonesia, for example through the Real-Life Story counseling model as a positive-psychology-based intervention for strengthening student character (Nurfarhanah & Cusinia, 2025) and as a strategy for exploring character strengths among university students (Nurfarhanah et al., 2022), both of which are conceptually consistent with the psychoeducation and psychological-resource-strengthening themes found in the five main studies reviewed here.

This diversity of approaches strengthens the argument that the success of resilience interventions, as found in the five main studies reviewed here, depends heavily on the fit between the type and context of the program and the characteristics of the target population, rather than on any single generic intervention model. In addition, strengthening guidance and counseling services by integrating local wisdom is an important consideration within Indonesia's multicultural context, as such contextual approaches have the potential to enhance the relevance and acceptance of resilience programs among students (Sari & Budiyanto, 2026), consistent with the importance of multicultural education in fostering prosocial behavior among students in heterogeneous communities as a foundation for a supportive school climate (Firman & Nurfarhanah, 2025). Strengthening a school culture that supports student disciplinary character (Nasution et al., 2025) is also an important contextual factor, given that the findings of this review confirm that intervention at the individual level alone may be inadequate without broader support from the school system and culture. The successful implementation of such programs also requires strengthening the competence and ethics of school counselors as service providers

(Adela et al., 2025). Accordingly, the development of evidence-based guidance and counseling policy and practice in Indonesia needs to consider both the international evidence presented in this review and the distinctive local context, so that resilience interventions for bullying victims can be implemented in a more targeted manner.

Overall, the five reviewed studies suggest that approaches integrating structured physical activity with psychoeducation appear to yield the most consistent and convincing results in enhancing bullying victims' resilience, while brief psychological, digital-based, and purely social-skills-based approaches show more varied and, in one case, even contradictory results. For guidance and counseling practice in schools, these findings indicate the importance of considering the duration, intensity, and combination of intervention components, rather than relying on a single type of approach.

In terms of methodological quality, as shown in Tables 3a and 3b, the studies by Greco, (2021) and Calvete et al., (2022) demonstrated the most complete fulfillment of MMAT criteria among the five studies, allowing their findings to be considered with a relatively higher degree of confidence. In contrast, the study by (Bain & Lunde, 2022) showed a number of significant methodological limitations, particularly the complete absence of a comparison control group (a one-group pretest-posttest design) and the absence of data on procedural integrity, i.e., the fidelity of intervention delivery to the plan. This combination of limitations calls for caution in interpreting the increase in victimization scores found in that study, as the increase may have been influenced by factors other than the intervention itself, such as a sensitization effect related to the measurement instrument or participant maturation, rather than purely reflecting a genuine negative effect of the resilience program being tested.

This review has several limitations that should be considered when interpreting the findings. First, only five studies met the inclusion criteria, which limits the generalizability of the findings. Second, considerable heterogeneity was found in the resilience measurement instruments used across the studies. Some studies used standardized instruments such as the CYRM-28, whereas others used indirect measures, making direct comparisons difficult. Third, the MMAT based methodological quality assessment was conducted by a single reviewer using information reported in the published manuscripts. Several criteria that were not explicitly reported by the original authors, such as outcome assessor blinding and participant adherence, were therefore classified as Cannot Tell. Ideally, methodological quality assessment in an SLR should involve at least two independent reviewers and inter rater agreement should be assessed. This procedure was not conducted in the present review.

CONCLUSION

This systematic review identified five studies evaluating various forms of interventions for strengthening resilience among bullying victims, including physical-activity-and-psychoeducation-based interventions, brief growth-mindset-based psychological interventions, educational-video-game-based interventions, and social-skills-based resilience programs. Interventions combining structured physical activity with psychoeducation showed the most consistent results in improving resilience and self-efficacy. In contrast, resilience programs based solely on social skills showed findings that warrant critical scrutiny, as they were accompanied by an increase in victimization scores despite improvements in participants' social skills. These findings confirm that the effectiveness of resilience interventions against bullying is contextual and depends on the design, duration, and components of the program used, so that guidance and counseling practitioners need to consider specific empirical evidence before adopting an intervention model into school-based services. Further research with a larger number of studies, more uniform resilience measurement instruments, and methodological quality appraisal involving two independent reviewers using the official MMAT instrument is still greatly needed to strengthen the evidence base in this field.

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