



Youth and Cyberbullying: Another Look

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SPOTLIGHT
SERIES

Youth and Cyberbullying: ANOTHER LOOK

Alexa Hasse Sandra Cortesi Andres Lombana-Bermudez Urs Gasser



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Youth and Cyberbullying: Another Look

By Alexa Hasse, Sandra Cortesi, Andres Lombana-Bermudez, & Urs Gasser.

This spotlight presents Youth and Media's overview of recent, primarily academic literature on youth (ages 12-18) and cyberbullying and seeks to translate scholarly work for a public audience – including parents and caregivers, schools and educators, Internet companies, and governmental entities. The paper is meant to help shape these stakeholders' current and future endeavors that aim to address cyberbullying and provide practical, impactful guidance on preventing and responding to cyberbullying among young people.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents an aggregation and summary of recent, primarily academic literature on youth (12-18-year-olds) and cyberbullying. It is important to note that this spotlight is not intended to stand alone. Rather, it seeks to serve as a brief update of a rich corpus of research literature on cyberbullying and is meant as an addendum to Youth and Media's (YaM) [Bullying in a Networked Era: A Literature Review](#) authored by Levy et al. in 2012. The purpose of this spotlight is to "translate" scholarly work for a public audience, which may include parents and caregivers, schools and educators, Internet companies, and governments.

The writing of this paper was guided by three main questions:

- What is cyberbullying?
- How prevalent is it?
- How can parents and caregivers, bystanders, schools and educators, Internet companies, and governments address it?

1. Setting the Stage

Over the last several years, a number of high-profile cases of adolescent suicide presumably connected to online harassment have drawn additional attention to the complex issue of cyberbullying.¹ The word "cyberbullying" may bring to mind the name of Rehtaeh Parsons, a 17-year-old from Canada who died in 2013 after a suicide attempt that was preceded by months of cyberbullying (Arthur, 2014); or 12-year-old Mallory Grossman, who took her own life after being bullied online and offline by classmates (Taguchi, Kessel, & Riegler, 2017). One may also think of Felix Alexander, a 17-year-old from the U.K. who committed suicide in 2016 after enduring years of both online and offline bullying (Slawson, 2016). While, in some of these cases, there may not have been a direct, causal link between cyberbullying and suicide, there has been an increased interest in the research space around how and why cyberbullying victimization might play a role in young people's suicidal ideation and suicide attempts and completions (Bauman, Toomey, & Walker, 2013; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Hinduja & Patchin, 2019a; Klomek, Sourander, & Gould, 2010; LeBlanc, 2012; Van Geel, Vedder, & Tanilon, 2014).

While bullying, more broadly, is an age-old problem that has been the focus of research and intervention for several decades (Olweus, 1978, 1993, 1994; Smith, Talamelli, Cowie, Naylor, & Chauhan, 2004; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2019), bullying in an online world raises new challenges. In

¹ Throughout this paper, we refer to "cyberbullying," "online bullying," and "bullying in an online world" synonymously, and use the term "offline bullying" to indicate bullying that does not occur within the digital landscape. In terms of different roles related to online and offline bullying, we generally distinguish between the four roles of bully, victim, bully-victim, and bystander. For more information, please see *Bullying in a Networked Era: A Literature Review* (Levy et al., 2012).

our evolving digital ecosystem, a host of safety issues emerge (Balkam, 2016), with the very meaning of the word “bullying” shifting. While some forms of online bullying are similar to certain types of offline bullying, such as gossiping and social exclusion, bullying in the digital landscape can take new forms, including impersonation, hacking into others’ accounts, or spreading photos and videos online (Harvard Law School, 2016). Additionally, the notion of “repeated” harm attached to offline bullying must be reconceptualized in the digital landscape. Although posting a picture or video that harms another individual can be viewed as a one-time act, the networked nature of online spaces means that this content can often be easily saved and shared with others. Thus, while the possible harm caused by online bullying is not novel (bullying has always had the potential to cause harm, whether physical, psychological, or emotional), there are differences in terms of how public the incident might be and how the victim might experience the impact (Palfrey & Gasser, 2016).

Cyberbullying also brings new challenges around preventing and mitigating this type of online behavior. One such challenge is the limited communication between youth and adults concerning online bullying. Young people who have been cyberbullied are often reluctant to confide in adults; in nine nationally representative surveys of youth ages 12-17 from 2004 to 2015, Hinduja and Patchin found that, on average, approximately 25% of young people confided in a parent about a cyberbullying incident, and about 10% told an educator (Patchin, 2018). The low levels of communication with adults may be attributed in part to youth’s belief that adults are unfamiliar with the digital world, and young people’s fear that adults may place restrictions on their technology use (Hoff & Mitchell, 2009; Mishna, Saini, & Solomon, 2009; Stacey, 2009). More recent research, however, indicates an increase in the number of youth who report cyberbullying to a parent – with approximately 52% of young people telling a parent about an online bullying incident and 25% an educator² (Patchin, 2018). Additionally, the Pew Research Center found that 60% of teenagers feel that parents are doing an excellent or good job in addressing cyberbullying – a statistic significantly higher than positive assessments of, for instance, social media companies (33%) or elected officials (20%) (Anderson, 2019).

For the purposes of this paper, we largely focused on reviewing articles in scholarly journals, reports, and other outputs that have been published between 2013-2019, with an emphasis on work published from 2017-2019. It should be noted that much of the research around cyberbullying thus far has examined the online experiences of young people from majority groups (in many cases, white American youth and youth from Global North countries) (Espinoza & Wright, 2018). It may be helpful for future research to expand upon the existing literature around cyberbullying among, for instance, youth with a disability³ (e.g., Beckman, Hellström, & von Kobyletzki, 2019; Didden et al., 2009; Hinduja, 2016; Kowalski & Fedina, 2011; Kowalski & Toth, 2018; Rose, Swearer, &

² This data is drawn from Hinduja and Patchin’s 2016 nationally representative survey around youth and cyberbullying, with a sample of 5,707 12- to 17-year-olds (Patchin, 2018).

³ Please see part III, section 3, under “Disability,” to view one possible definition of a disability, as operationalized by Kowalski, Morgan, Drake-Lavelle, and Allison (2016).

Espelage, 2012; Wells, Mitchell, Jones, & Turner, 2019; Wright, 2018); young people who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and/or Queer (LGBTQ) (e.g., Abreu & Kenny, 2018; DeSmet et al., 2018; Duarte, Pittman, Thorsen, Cunningham, & Ranney, 2018; Elipe, de la Oliva Muñoz, & Del Rey, 2018); and youth from different racial and/or ethnic communities (e.g., Barlett & Wright, 2018; Broll, Dunlop, & Crooks, 2018; Duarte et al., 2018; Espinoza, 2018; Jones, Espelage, Valdivia, Ingram, & Merrin, 2019; Patchin, 2019b). The existing research, however, suggests that certain youth may be more at risk of experiencing online harms (Barbosa & Sozio, 2017; United Nations Children’s Fund [UNICEF], 2017) and cyberbullying compared to their peers (to learn more, please see part III, section 3).

Further research may also benefit from exploring how different aspects of youth’s identity — such as age, ethnicity, race, gender and sexual identity, religion, national origin, location, ability, skill and educational level, and/or socioeconomic status — intersect in the context of online bullying (Espinoza & Wright, 2018). In one study around intersectionality and online bullying, Stoll and Block (2015) examined how race, gender, and sexual orientation intersect to impact cyberbullying victimization among a sample of 9th through 12th grade⁴ youth. More specifically, the authors explored whether or not race moderates the extent to which victimization rates vary depending on gender and sexual orientation. The study demonstrated that there were no racial differences on the effect of youth’s sexuality and cyberbullying victimization. In terms of the impact of race on gender and online victimization, the association between gender and victimization for white youth was stronger than for non-white⁵ youth. However, overall, non-white youth were more likely to be cyberbullied than white youth (irrespective of gender). Altogether, this study suggests that race may interact with other factors, such as gender, to influence the likelihood of being bullied online. This finding helps provide a more nuanced picture of variables such as gender and race and how they may intersect in the context of cyberbullying, versus studying race or gender in isolation (Stoll & Block, 2015). As Stoll and Block point out, “If we want to develop effective interventions to help protect [underrepresented] students from cybervictimization, we have to understand how systems of oppression and privilege intersect in ways that produce injustice (Collins, 2000)” (p. 389).

Another study, with a sample of youth ages 14-18, examined the effect of intersecting identities (with a focus on disability and sexual orientation) on the association between offline victimization and suicidal ideation (King, Merrin, Espelage, Grant, & Bub, 2018). The authors found that youth identifying as LGBQ or having a disability, or as both LGBQ and having a disability, reported higher levels of offline victimization compared to their peers. Additionally, students who identified as LGBQ and as having a disability reported

4 N.B: To view kindergarten through 12th grade corresponding ages based on the U.S. educational system please see “Table 2. K-12 Grades And Approximate Corresponding Ages In U.S. Education” in Gasser, Cortesi, Malik, and Lee (2012).

5 “Non-white” was designated by a selection of one of the following responses: “Black or African American”; “Hispanic or Latino”; “Asian”; “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander”; “American Indian or Alaska Native”; or “self-identify” (Stoll & Block, 2015, p. 391).

significantly more suicidal ideation than their peers. King and colleagues (2018) note that they were unable to ascertain which, if either, identity is targeted for students with both identities. One identity, for example, may not have been linked to higher levels of suicidal ideation as it may have acted as a protective factor for these young people (e.g., youth may feel connected to peers at school with the same identity). King et al. (2018) point out that further research around youth and their complex and varied intersecting identities may be useful in shedding light on identities that may be more relevant in the context of bullying, which might help shape prevention/intervention efforts.

Looking at the broader landscape of youth and cyberbullying, we were inspired to write this addendum to YaM's *Bullying in a Networked Era: A Literature Review* (Levy et al., 2012) in response to numerous inquiries by decision-makers (i.e., international organizations, educators, government representatives) from different parts of the world. More specifically, these stakeholders asked us – as they are revising their own previously drafted policies, strategies, and guidelines around youth and cyberbullying – how the debate has evolved over the last few years, what new challenges and opportunities have emerged, and what possible new solutions and approaches exist to help stakeholders more effectively prevent and reduce online bullying. While we usually refer individuals to the book *Born Digital* by Palfrey and Gasser (2016) and to our colleagues at the Cyberbullying Research Center, The Net Safety Collaborative, Connect Safely, the Family Online Safety Institute, and EU/Global Kids Online, in addition to other organizations who do great work in this area, we hope this spotlight adds value by summarizing how the state of knowledge around cyberbullying has evolved since the 2012 literature review. Despite all the progress that has been made, the evidence base for policymaking in the context of youth's lives in the digitally connected environment is still not as extensive as it could be and so we hope that this paper may inform future work that helps to fill in this gap. We also aimed to contextualize cyberbullying within a more globally-oriented perspective, which we have embedded throughout the paper and particularly highlight within part III, sections 2 and 3, and part IV.

Overall, this spotlight seeks to explore the changing landscape of bullying while acknowledging the convergence between the online and offline world, and how a variety of stakeholders – including parents and caregivers, bystanders, schools and educators, Internet companies, and governments – can most effectively prevent and respond to this behavior. It should be noted that while this spotlight utilizes the term “cyberbullying” – common in research and academic contexts, as well as in the adult world more broadly – we acknowledge the importance of taking into account the youth perspective when conceptualizing this term, further discussed in part II, section 1.

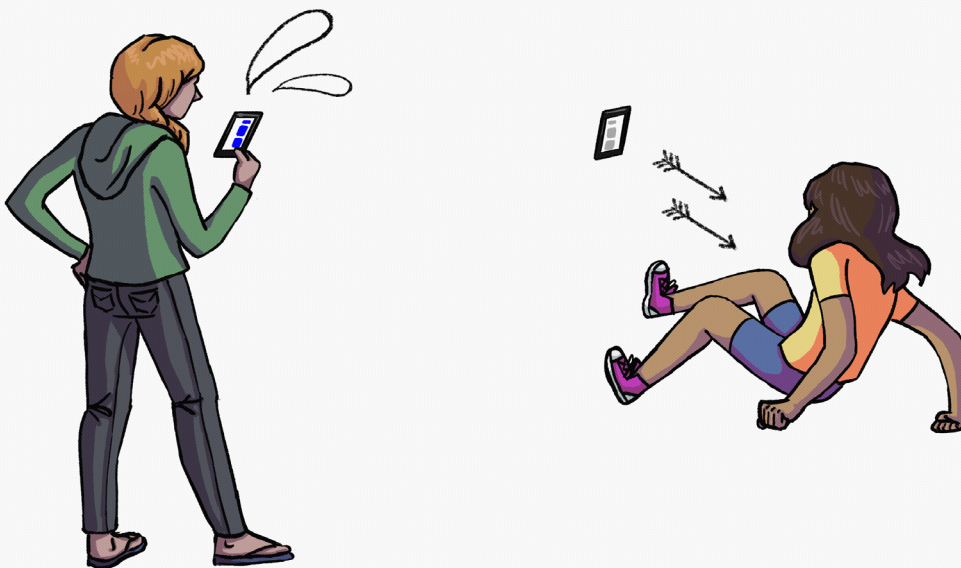
II. WHAT IS CYBERBULLYING?

1. How Is It Defined?

For the purposes of this research update, according to Dr. Hinduja and Dr. Patchin, co-directors of the Cyberbullying Research Center, cyberbullying constitutes “willful and repeated harm inflicted through the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices” (2015, p. 11). Hinduja and Patchin (2015) explain that the definition captures four key elements of this online behavior:

- Willful: Behavior must be intentional, as opposed to accidental
- Repeated: Behavior must be repeated over time, versus a single incident
- Harm: The victim must feel that harm was inflicted
- Computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices: This component distinguishes cyberbullying from offline bullying (p. 11)

The authors emphasize the importance of *repeated* behaviors over time. Indeed, they note, “Part of the reason bullying can be so emotionally or psychologically damaging is because it is repetitive” (Hinduja & Patchin, 2015, p. 6). In the context of offline bullying, for instance, the repetitive nature creates a dynamic such that victims may fear going to school each day. Online, a harmful act that can, on the surface, appear to be an isolated incident can easily create a situation that facilitates repetitive harm. Someone may, for example, post a compromising photo of a classmate online in such a manner that allows others to comment on it and share it. Hinduja and Patchin (2015) explain



that while posting the photo is a one-time act, the opportunity for others to view, save, and share the picture can generate recurring shame for the victim. Moreover, “Even if only one person actually saw the photo, the perception of the target is that everyone did” (2015, p. 12).

While definitions of bullying, more broadly (online and offline), often include the notion of a power imbalance between victim and bully (Felix, Sharkey, Green, Furlong, & Tanigawa, 2011; Olweus, 1993), Hinduja and Patchin (2015) decided not to include this element in their formal definition, as power expressed in cyberspace is somewhat nebulous. They note that “power” in offline bullying can be viewed in terms of social (e.g., status) or physical (e.g., height) differences. “Power” online, however, can be derived from simple knowledge or possession of content that can cause harm. Additionally, power may stem from certain aspects of the digital world, such as anonymity (David-Ferdon & Hertz, 2007). As such, anyone who can use technology in a manner that allows them to hurt others possesses more power, at least during the moment in question, compared to the target of his or her attack.

In a similar vein, in terms of bullying broadly, Finkelhor, Turner, and Hamby (2012) note that “power imbalance” cannot be easily operationalized, and in some instances, does not represent the defining criteria for bullying.⁶ They discuss the concept of a power imbalance in the context of Olweus’ (1996) definition of this construct – a situation in which “it is difficult for a student being bullied to defend himself or herself” (p. 6). In a literal sense, Olweus’ definition may raise the question of whether or not a student being bullied who was able to defend themselves would still constitute bullying. Additionally, as Finkelhor and colleagues (2012) point out, young people may have difficulty defending themselves for an array of reasons beyond a power imbalance, such as surprise or fatigue. Furthermore, after a harmful act is initiated, it can be challenging to determine if there was a *pre-existing* power imbalance between the parties.

As noted previously, researchers suggest that another important aspect of defining and discussing the term “cyberbullying” is framing it within the youth perspective. As Anne Collier (2018) points out, “Adults’ terms and definitions [of cyberbullying] may not be useful when talking with young people about what about their online experiences does – and doesn’t – hurt” (para. 8). Indeed, a recent study (Jeffrey & Stuart, 2019) of young people ages 14-17 and their perceptions around how online and offline bullying should be defined demonstrated that youth place a particular emphasis on several key elements. These factors include the victim’s reaction, how public the interaction is, and the nature of the relationship between bully and victim. For example, participants explained that many behaviors that would be defined as bullying would be viewed as a joke between friends if the victim and bully were friends. However, many cautioned that the line between bullying and joking behavior may be blurred and that the distinction depends on whether or not both sides engage in the interaction. If one party does not

⁶ For this and additional reasons, Finkelhor et al. (2012) propose a paradigm that focuses on “peer victimization.” To learn more, please see Finkelhor et al. (2012); Finkelhor, Shattuck, Turner, and Hamby (2016); and Turner, Finkelhor, Shattuck, Hamby, and Mitchell (2015).

reciprocate and does not like the exchange, the behavior then becomes unacceptable. Further literature similarly demonstrates the nuanced nature of close relationships and different types of digital stress youth experience (including but beyond cyberbullying) (Weinstein & Selman, 2016).

Although Hinduja and Patchin situate their research within the context of the definition of cyberbullying presented in this part II, section 1, when surveying students, they worded the definition in a way that they felt young people were more likely to relate to. Their 2014 middle school survey, for example, included the following definition of cyberbullying: “When someone repeatedly makes fun of another person online or repeatedly picks on another person through e-mail or text message or when someone posts something online about another person they don’t like” (Hinduja & Patchin, 2015, p. 74).

The Global Kids Online project – an international research initiative that explores young people’s (ages 9-17) online experiences – similarly situates the concept of online bullying in terms of the youth perspective, with a slightly different approach. In a recent survey, instead of utilizing the term “cyberbullying,” Livingstone, Stoilova, and Yu (2017) measured a broad range of “hurtful online behaviors.” Their multi-country survey asked youth about a variety of hurtful behaviors that young people experience online, including being threatened, being left out or excluded, having one’s password or personal information used by another individual, and viewing “nasty or hurtful messages” (directed at themselves or someone else) (p. 4). As the authors point out, “Policy-makers and practitioners need to be able to recognize the wide range of ways in which children can be hurt online by their peers to be able to better respond to children’s diverse needs” (p. 4). Although Hinduja and Patchin (2015) utilize the term “cyberbullying” in their research, the authors similarly note the importance of capturing distinct types of online behavior that may classify as cyberbullying, discussed further in part III, section 1 of this spotlight.

Approaching the youth perspective from another lens, Patton, Pyrooz, Decker, Frey, and Leonard (2019) explored how gang-involved youth in Chicago ages 14-24 interpreted threatening tweets on social media from a young deceased gang member. More specifically, the youth participants explained how those tweets might translate into offline violence.⁷ Patton and colleagues (2019) note that their study may help further advance the field of cyberbullying by 1) taking into account the potential physical consequences associated with social media use, 2) studying highly localized language adopted by youth currently or formerly part of a gang, and 3) examining social media through an ecological perspective. The authors frame their research around the notion of intertextuality (Ott & Walter, 2000): when groups of individuals share a common culture,

⁷ Examining gang-affiliated youth’s communication patterns over social media broadly, Patton, Eschmann, and Butler (2013) coined the term *Internet Banging* to denote the set of social media behaviors often seen among young people involved in a gang. This form of communication includes promoting gang membership and threatening rival gang members, and often links aggressive online communication to offline street violence.

they interpret texts based upon the common knowledge and norms surrounding this culture. In this instance, a relevant example would be the “code of the street” (Anderson, 2000). As Patton et al. (2019) indicate, intertextuality is a helpful lens to emphasize the importance of culture and context when analyzing communication over social media – in this case, among youth who are or have been part of a gang.

2. Challenges in Defining Cyberbullying

As previewed in part II, section 1, there are several challenges in defining cyberbullying, three of which will be highlighted in this part II, section 2.

One challenge in defining cyberbullying involves the notion of *repeated* harm. While posting a harmful photo or video online may be a one-time act, the content can continue to harm the victim with each successive view, comment, or act of redistribution (Dooley, Pyżalski, & Cross, 2009). Moreover, it can be difficult to determine exactly how many times the content has been viewed by and/or intentionally shared with others (Coffman, 2011). An additional challenge lies in another critical aspect of the definition: intent to harm. While some youth do indeed aim to hurt others, other youth may have little sense of how much harm they are inflicting. Some may upload a video or photo that they do not realize will cause pain, while others may do so out of peer pressure (Offman, 2013).

Given these two key challenges, to what extent do actual youth’s perspectives align with these concerns? Menesini and colleagues’ (2012) extensive study in this space, drawing data from focus groups of youth ages 11-17 across Estonia, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Sweden revealed that youth recognized repetition, intent, and effect on the victim as important elements in defining cyberbullying, though each aspect to varying degrees. One focus group, for example, expressed that intentionality was not as essential in operationalizing cyberbullying compared to the effect on the victim, as unintentionally harmful acts can still have a negative impact. This resonates with Jeffrey and Stuart’s (2019) finding (described in part II, section 1) that, in defining online and offline bullying, young people place a particular emphasis on several factors – one of which is the victim’s reaction.

The issue of repetition represents a far more contested component. For example, in a study of students ages 10-18, Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2008) found that simply one incident of online bullying, in conjunction with offline bullying, was viewed as enough to constitute cyberbullying. However, Corcoran, McGuckin, and Prentice (2015) emphasize the need for repetition to be included as a critical definitional component of cyberbullying as it draws attention to the distinction between cyberbullying and cyber aggression (cyber aggression does not necessitate repetition).

A third challenge stems from the word “cyberbullying” itself. As noted in the previous paragraph, Corcoran and colleagues (2015) distinguish between “cyberbullying”

and “cyber aggression.” The authors then argue that cyberbullying be termed “cyber aggression” due to several factors:

- Bullying is a type of social aggression. Accordingly, cyberbullying might be interpreted as omitting scenarios where the bully and victim are strangers. Prevention and intervention efforts that try to mitigate this form of aggression might then have a limited scope.
- The term “cyberbullying” implies behavior equivalent to that of offline bullying, which entails set criteria (i.e., intent to harm, repetition, power differential). The distinct contextual aspects of cyberspace, however, may mean that these elements may not be as easily applied to the digital world.
- The word “cyberbullying” may harbor a stigma that might explain the relatively low rates reported in qualitative and quantitative data (prevalence rates in and outside of the U.S. — with a focus on cyberbullying victimization — are discussed in part III).

In sum, when defining cyberbullying, three key challenges arise around the frequency of the bullying behavior, issues of intent, and the term “cyberbullying” itself. It should be noted that assessing purposeful repetition and intent to harm can be difficult in any environment, whether online or offline. However, “Online interactions, which may lack nuance in communication, can be particularly difficult to judge” (Englander, Donnerstein, Kowalski, Lin, & Parti, 2017, p. S149).

In addition to conducting more studies that consider young people’s perspectives on how to conceptualize cyberbullying, to explore these three issues in greater depth, future research might ask:

- Should repetition be a required element of cyberbullying? How should repetition itself be defined?
- Are those who share harmful content online just as culpable as the individual who initially posted it? Should intent to harm be a necessary component of cyberbullying? If so, how can intent to harm be more effectively assessed? Patchin and Hinduja (2015) explain that while it is difficult to determine the bully’s intent accurately, it may be helpful to note what happens *after* he or she is confronted about his or her behavior. If harmful behavior continues, particularly after being told what was done was hurtful, it is evident that the bully intended to harm the victim. They caution, however, that repetition in and of itself does not mean a specific behavior constitutes cyberbullying.
- Given the potential limitations inherent in the term “cyberbullying,” should the field use a more encompassing term, such as “cyber aggression”? Might this term remove some of the stigma associated with “cyberbullying,” or would surveys measuring the prevalence of cyberbullying still indicate relatively low reported bullying rates?

III. HOW PREVALENT IS CYBERBULLYING?

1. Within the U.S.

Given the working definition of cyberbullying listed in part II, section 1, while also acknowledging the potential limitations in operationalizing this term, how pervasive is online bullying? In the U.S., on average, since 2007, approximately 28% of youth have been a victim of cyberbullying at some point in their lives, and 16% have admitted that they have cyberbullied others (Patchin, 2019d). To view a visual representation of this data, please see Appendix A. Additionally, on average, since 2007, about 11% of youth have been bullied online in the past 30 days (prior to the administration of the survey) and 6% have bullied others online (please see Appendix B) (Patchin, 2019d).

Hinduja and Patchin obtained these statistics⁸ by conducting 11 surveys (from 2007 to 2019) with nationally representative samples totaling over 21,000 middle and high school students ages 12-17 in over 100 schools across the U.S. (Patchin, 2019d). As noted in part II, section 1, when surveying students, they reworded their definition of cyberbullying in a way that they felt would more likely resonate with youth. In terms of the reporting period, the survey assessed if youth had been cyberbullied or cyberbullied others during their lifetime, and in the previous 30 days. As they explain, “We feel that if someone has been cyberbullied at any point in their life, they are likely to remember it. Similarly, if someone faced it in the previous 30 days, they are probably pretty clear about when it happened” (Patchin & Hinduja, 2015, p. 71). Additionally, over the reporting period of the past 30 days, the survey asked respondents if they had experienced particular online acts that could classify as online bullying (refer to Appendix C for a full list of these specific behaviors).

Patchin and Hinduja (2015) stress the importance of capturing the distinct forms that cyberbullying can take. For example, in their 2014 survey, although only about 12% of middle school students indicated that they had been cyberbullied in the past 30 days, over 18% experienced behaviors online that would classify as cyberbullying (i.e., distinct behaviors listed in Appendix C). Accordingly, the researchers note that it is important to acknowledge that when one asks students if they have “been cyberbullied” and they indicate they haven’t, it may be necessary to further pursue questions around the specific types of behaviors they have experienced online to gain a more complete, nuanced understanding of their online interactions.

Finally, Hinduja and Patchin (2015) incorporated a free response section to allow youth to describe their experiences with cyberbullying in their own words. The authors elaborate,

⁸ For a detailed description of the study methodology, please see Patchin and Hinduja (2015).

We expected short, one- or two-sentence summaries of respondents' recent bullying experiences. What we received instead were rich, detailed stories about how online harassment has made their lives frustrating, miserable, and, in some cases (and in their own words) 'not worth living.' (p. 73)

Several of these anecdotes are provided in Appendix D.

How do Hinduja and Patchin's cyberbullying prevalence rates compare with those reported in the literature as a whole? To explore this, Hinduja and Patchin (2015) examined 74 peer-reviewed studies on cyberbullying prevalence. Rates across these studies ranged widely, from 2.3% to 72% for cyberbullying victimization and 1.2% to 44.1% for cyberbullying. In a different analysis of peer-reviewed studies published between 2003 to 2016 exploring online bullying and victimization rates within the U.S. (focused on youth ages 10-19), Selkie, Fales, and Moreno (2016) found similar ranges. More specifically, 3% to 72% for victimization based on 55 studies and 1% to 41% for cyberbullying others based on 32 studies. Hinduja and Patchin (2015) note, however, the averages across all studies they examined were similar to those reported in their work: approximately 21% of youth have been cyberbullied, and about 15% admit to have cyberbullied others at some point in their lifetime.

According to Hinduja and Patchin (2015), five key reasons account for the relatively wide range of online bullying and victimization rates found in the reviewed studies:

- Different studies utilized different reporting periods. Some surveys asked youth about cyberbullying experiences across their lifetime, while others focused on the previous month or year.
- The studies targeted respondents of varying ages. Studies that surveyed younger populations (i.e., youth in middle or elementary school versus high school) often reported lower rates than those administered to older youth.
- The studies employed different methodologies (e.g., participants might be asked questions through an online survey, in-class survey, or a phone interview). Research that utilized Internet-based samples, for instance, typically demonstrated higher numbers of victims and bullies as those studies are sampling individuals who are more regularly interacting with others online, and thus more likely to experience cyberbullying.
- Some of the respondents were selected at random, while others volunteered to participate in a study. Young people who have been cyberbullied were likely overrepresented in voluntary studies, as they might be more eager to share their stories.
- Studies varied in terms of how the authors defined cyberbullying. As noted previously, Patchin and Hinduja (2015) explain that, in their work, they use a specific definition of cyberbullying, and also ask respondents about experiences with various behaviors that can be characterized as cyberbullying (provided in Appendix C). To learn more about the nuances of defining and assessing cyberbullying, please see Ybarra, boyd, Korchmaros, and Oppenheim (2012).

Additionally, as Heirman et al. (2016) point out, prevalence rates may vary depending upon:

- The specific online platform(s) a study focuses on (e.g., social media platforms vs. gaming platforms).
- Whether cyberbullying is assessed directly or indirectly. As Aalsma and Brown (2008) note, explicitly asking whether or not someone has been a victim of cyberbullying might result in underreporting, as identifying as a “victim” may be emotionally challenging.

Across their review, Hinduja and Patchin emphasize that “The one number you don’t see listed in any of the charts presented is zero . . . even one child being cyberbullied or cyberbullying others is too many, and [we] imagine you agree” (2015, p. 79).

While much attention has been devoted to examining cyberbullying and its prevalence, there is little research on a related, newly emerging form of online aggression: digital self-harm. Patchin and Hinduja (2017) define digital self-harm as the “anonymous online posting, sending, or otherwise sharing of hurtful content about oneself” (p. 762). In a recent study, the authors explored the prevalence of digital self-harm among a nationally representative sample of 5,593 12- to 17-year-olds. Results indicated that approximately one in 20 youth have participated in digital self-harm. Boys were significantly more likely than girls to engage in this type of online behavior, echoing the results of a previous study that examined digital self-harm among college students (Englander, 2012). The study also demonstrated a positive correlation between digital self-harm and variables such as depression and being a victim of bullying (online and/or offline).

Motivations for participating in digital self-harm varied, although nearly half of the subjects indicated that they were seeking a response from others. A 14-year-old boy from Wisconsin, for example, explained that he “wanted to be validated that someone did actually care” and “wanted other people’s pity” (Patchin & Hinduja, 2017, p. 765). Other responses included “I wanted to see if someone was really my friend” and “I did it to see what others were saying and to see how others saw me” (p. 765). Although further research in this area may be beneficial to more fully explore the motivations behind digital self-harm, addressing the relational aspect of this online behavior might be a helpful approach for cyberbullying prevention/intervention programs.

As danah boyd (2010) explains, regardless of who the bully is, victims of cyberbullying need our help, elaborating, “Teens who are the victims of bullying, whether by a stranger, a peer, or themselves, are often in need of support, love, validation, and, most of all, healthy attention” (para. 6).

2. Beyond the U.S.

In this part III, section 2, we present online bullying prevalence rates, focusing on cyberbullying victimization, for several countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East. While it is difficult to compare cyberbullying prevalence between countries for the reasons outlined by Hinduja and Patchin (2015) and Heirman et al. (2016) in part III, section 1, the following data may still be helpful to contextualize cyberbullying on a more global scale.

Africa and the Middle East

In Africa, a nationally representative survey in Ghana of approximately 2,000 young people ages 9-17 indicated that about three in 10 youth have experienced something that has upset them when online (during their lifetime), with about two in 10 reporting they have been treated in a harmful way or in a manner they didn't like over the last year (IPSOS Ltd Ghana, 2017). In South Africa, a study of roughly 900 young people ages 9-17 found that 27.1% have "personally been bothered by something on the internet in the past year" (Phyfer, Burton, & Leoschut, 2016, p. 39). Additionally, in a study of 653 adolescent students in Nigeria, 39.8% reported that they have been a victim of cyberbullying in the last three months (Olumide, Adams, & Amodu, 2016).

In the Middle East, Tarabulus, Heiman, and Olenik-Shemesh (2015) found that in Israel, 8.9% of 458 youth ages 11-13 have been a victim of online bullying. In other parts of the Middle East, a Microsoft survey of cyberbullying prevalence among youth ages 8-17 in 25 countries or regions around the world⁹ (sampling at least 300 youth per country or region) revealed that 28%, 27%, and 26% of young people in Qatar, Egypt, and Pakistan, respectively, have been bullied online (Microsoft, 2012d, 2012b, 2012c). Another study compared cyberbullying prevalence rates between youth (ages 10, 13, and 15) in Finland and Iran (sampling 620 and 630 youth, respectively) (Jaghoory, Björkqvist, & Österman, 2015). The study demonstrated that young people in Iran were significantly more likely to be a victim of cyberbullying than youth in Finland. This result held for all six forms of cyberbullying the study measured, which ranged from being the recipient of offensive emails to being filmed offline while being bullied.

Asia

According to a study by Rao et al. (2019), drawing on a sample of 2,590 Chinese students in grades 7-10 (mean age = 14.1 years old), 44.5% participants reported being a victim of cyberbullying over the last six months. With a sample of 312 older Chinese students ages 18-25 in Hong Kong, a study by Leung, Wong, and Farver (2018) revealed that 68% have been a victim of online bullying in their lifetime. Research conducted in Japan, with a sample of 899 high school students ages 15-19, found that 22% of youth have experienced cyberbullying victimization since they entered elementary school (Udris, 2015). When students were asked how often they had been cyberbullied in the

⁹ For more information about this survey, please view the "Microsoft" subsection in part IV, section 4.

last six months, the prevalence was somewhat lower, at 6.7%. In Thailand, Sittichai and Smith (2018) found that, among a sample of 1,049 students ages 12-18, 15.1% reported being a victim of online bullying over the last several months. A study of 1,487 Malaysian youth ages 15-16 revealed that over half (52.2%) have experienced some type of online victimization during the last year (Marret & Choo, 2017). And a multi-country study of online bullying and victimization among 11- to 15-year-olds in China, Japan, and India (with sample sizes 683, 479, and 480, respectively) indicated that Indian youth reported greater victimization over the last school year ($M = 1.86$; $SD = 0.74$) compared to young people from China ($M = 1.58$; $SD = 0.72$) and Japan ($M = 1.26$; $SD = 0.41$)¹⁰ (Wright et al., 2015).

Europe

Across seven countries in Europe — Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Romania, and the U.K. — Livingstone, Mascheroni, Ólafsson, and Haddon (2014) found that on average, in 2010, 8% of youth were cyberbullied in the past year, while in 2014, 12% of young people were victims of cyberbullying. Of the seven countries, Denmark saw the largest increase in the percentage of youth who have been cyberbullied (from 12% in 2010 to 21% in 2014). To obtain these results, Livingstone and colleagues (2014) compared findings from the 2010 EU Kids Online survey and the 2014 Net Children Go Mobile survey. The EU Kids Online survey conducted interviews with approximately 1,000 youth ages 9-16 per country. The Net Children Go Mobile survey collected data from about 700 young people (of the same age range) per country, with both surveys involving in-home interviews with youth. Preliminary findings from a recent Global Kids Online study of 14,733 children ages 9-17 across four European countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Italy, and Montenegro) — as well as Chile, Ghana, the Philippines, South Africa, and Uruguay — demonstrates varying rates of youth who report being treated in a hurtful way online across countries (Livingstone, 2019). The study indicated the highest levels of being treated in a hurtful manner in Bulgaria (29%), followed by similar rates in the Philippines, South Africa, Chile, and Uruguay (23%, 22%, 20%, and 20%, respectively), and lower rates in Ghana (16%) and Montenegro (12%). The lowest rates were evidenced in Italy (10%) and Albania (6%).

Another multi-country study examined cyberbullying among young people in Germany, Greece, Iceland, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, and Spain (Athanasiou et al., 2018). Sampling youth ages 14-17 (on average, 1,700 young people per country), Athanasiou and colleagues (2018) found the highest rates of victimization in Romania and Greece, where 37.3% and 26.8% of youth, respectively, have been cyberbullied over the last year, aligning with findings from Lobe, Livingstone, Ólafsson, and Vodeb (2011); Del Rey et al. (2015); and Tsitsika et al. (2015). The high prevalence rate in Greece was closely followed by Germany (24.3%) and Poland (21.5%), with the lowest rates in the Netherlands (15.5%), Iceland (13.5%), and Spain (13.3%) (Athanasiou et al., 2018). In other parts of Europe, such as Switzerland,

¹⁰ All questionnaire items regarding online bullying and victimization were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*All of the time*) (Wright et al., 2015).

findings from a study of nearly 1,200 youth ages 12-19 indicated that approximately 23% have been cyberbullied (Suter et. al, 2018). In the U.K., a study with a sample of over 6,000 students ages 11-12 revealed that 6.4% of youth have been cyberbullied over the past three months (Bevilacqua et al., 2017). Blaya (2013) found, with a sample of 3,200 youth ages 11-16 in France, that 6% have been bullied online. And a recent study of 2,872 Czech children ages 9-17 indicated that 35% of respondents had been bothered or upset by something online over the last year (Bedrošová, Hlavová, Macháčková, Dědková, & Šmahel, 2018). Older youth (ages 15-17) and girls were more likely to report these experiences compared to boys and younger participants (ages 9-10).

Latin America

A 2012 Microsoft survey demonstrated that, in Brazil, about 36% of children ages 8-17 have been cyberbullied (Microsoft, 2012a). A more recent survey that explored children's (ages 9-17) Internet use in Brazil — ICT Kids Online Brazil 2017 — indicated that 39% of respondents, or 9.7 million children, have witnessed some form of discrimination online within the year (Brazilian Internet Steering Committee, 2018). The most common types of discrimination related to race (26%), outward appearance (16%), and same-sex attraction (14%). In a study that also looked at discrimination online, with a nationally representative sample of 1,008 9- to 17-year-olds in Costa Rica, results revealed that over 20% of youth have seen some type of online discrimination in the last year, with older youth (ages 13-17) more likely to be exposed to this type of content than younger youth (ages 9-12) (University of Costa Rica & Paniamor Foundation, 2019). The types of discrimination youth were more likely to witness also differed by age group. Among 13- to 17-year-olds, youth were most often exposed to discrimination based on age (25%), ethnicity (12.5%), and poverty (12.5%), while young people ages 9-12 were most likely to witness discrimination related to ethnicity (32.8%), physical appearance (17.8%), poverty (16.4%), and disability (16.4%). In Colombia, Mura and Diamantini (2013) found that, in a sample of 359 youth ages 13-19, 69% have been a victim of at least two incidents of cyberbullying, which ranged from being excluded within an online forum to being a victim of gossip online, over the last six months. In Mexico, Vega-López, González-Pérez, and Quintero-Vega's (2013) study of 191 youth ages 14-15 revealed that 14% have been a victim of cyberbullying over the last two months, with hurtful messages and images sent over mobile phone text messaging representing the most common form of victimization.

3. U.S. and Beyond — Different Variables

In this part III, section 3, we present statistics around cyberbullying, both in the U.S. and beyond, in relation to a number of variables, including age, disability, gender, race and ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation and gender identity. We also explore cyberbullying trends over time. As in part III, section 2, this section focuses on online victimization rates. It should be noted that for many of these variables there is often no clear consensus in terms of overall trends (e.g., whether, broadly, females or males are

more likely to be victims of cyberbullying, or if there are significant differences in terms of victimization in relation to ethnic group). In the context of cyberbullying and youth, researchers have studied the variables presented below to different degrees – with age and gender more pervasive in the literature, while disability, race and ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and gender identity, and time remain relatively underexplored. Some of the literature below, however, may serve as a helpful starting point.

Age

With respect to age, in the U.S., Hinduja and Patchin's (2015) nationally representative survey of 4,441 youth ages 12-17 indicated that, overall, older youth are more likely to be a victim of cyberbullying than younger youth (with peaks in 10th and 12th grade; ages 15 and 17). Another nationally representative survey based in the U.S., the Youth Internet Safety Survey, which collected data from youth ages 10 to 17 in 2000, 2005, and 2010 (with sample sizes of 1,501, 1,500, and 1,560, respectively), found higher incidences of "online harassment victimization,"¹¹ among 13- to 15-year-olds, versus younger (ages 10-12) and older (ages 16-17) age groups (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2013). Several global studies have also found that young people between about 13-15 years old are more likely to be cyberbullied than older or younger youth (Calmaestra, Ortega, & Mora-Merchán, 2008; Livingstone et al., 2014; Slonje & Smith, 2008). Other studies, however, have found no differences between age groups in terms of online victimization (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014; Smith et al., 2008).

Disability

Youth who have a disability are often at a higher risk of cyberbullying victimization, observed by several studies conducted within and outside the U.S. In the U.S., one study with a sample of 133 college-aged participants (mean age = 19 years old), found that students with a disability¹² were significantly more likely to be bullied online than those without a disability (Kowalski et al., 2016). In a recent study on online bullying among a sample of 231 youth and emerging adults ages 16-20 with and without a disability, youth with a disability were also significantly more likely to report being a victim of cyberbullying in their lifetime (72.9% versus 50.4%, respectively) (Kowalski & Toth, 2018). Other studies have examined cyberbullying in relation to a specific

11 "Online harassment victimization" was operationalized as "threats or other offensive behavior (not sexual solicitations) that were sent online to the youth or posted online about the youth for others to see" (Jones et al., 2013, p. 59).

12 Kowalski and colleagues (2016) define "disability" as the presence of at least one of the following:

ADHD; Anxiety Disorders (unspecified anxiety disorder, OCD, panic disorder); Learning Disorders (unspecified learning disorder, math disorder, spelling disorder, reading disorder, processing disorders, dyslexia); Physical Disabilities (unspecified physical disorder, kidney problems, Crohn's, allergies, thoracic problem, cystic fibrosis, immune deficiency, cerebral palsy, hearing impairment, muscular dystrophy, pain, diabetes, IBS, epilepsy, sickle cell anemia, metabolism); and/or Other Psychological Disorders (Asperger's, autism, stress, PTSD, sleep disorder, narcolepsy, depression, bipolar disorder). (p. 420)

disability/disabilities. In Kowalski and Fedina's (2011) study on cyberbullying among 42 participants ages 10-20 with Asperger's Syndrome and/or ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder), slightly over 21% of respondents indicated that they had been a victim of cyberbullying in the last two months.

Outside of the U.S., a study of 100 middle school students in Poland who have a mild intellectual disability indicated that 15% of these youth have been cyberbullied in the last year (Plichta, 2015). Based in the Netherlands, Didden et al.'s (2009) study of 114 youth ages 12-19 who have a developmental and/or intellectual disability revealed that 7% of youth have been cyberbullied over the Internet and 4% via text messaging. In Israel, a study of 472 young people ages 12-16 with and without ADHD demonstrated that 14.4% of youth with ADHD indicated that they had been victimized at least once during the past year, and were more likely to be a victim of online bullying compared to youth without ADHD (Heiman, Olenik-Shemesh, & Eden, 2015). And a recent study (Zhang & Livingstone, 2019) of 2,032 parents of children up to age 17 in the U.K. demonstrated that over three times as many parents of children who have a child with special educational needs (SEN), compared to parents of children without SEN, reported that their child had encountered something online in the last year that bothered them (35% versus 11%, respectively).

While, both in and beyond the U.S., there is relatively little research on cyberbullying and youth with disabilities, Jenaro et al.'s (2018) study of Chilean, Mexican, and Spanish adults with intellectual disabilities found the large majority (97.7%) felt that they were bullied because they were perceived as "different" by others. In respondents' explanations, a 20-year-old male participant from Spain elaborated, "Because they felt better and with more brains than me. They felt superior to me," while a 21-year-old female from Chile explained, "They bugged me and they laughed at me, they said 'silly . . . ugly'" (p. 269).

Gender

Within the U.S., Hinduja and Patchin (2015) note that in their analysis of 24 peer-reviewed studies around cyberbullying, rates of victimization are higher among girls: on average, 22% of girls have been cyberbullied compared to 18% of boys. Across the studies, boys also seem to be more involved in bullying others: 16% of boys have cyberbullied others, versus 12% of girls. More recently, in Hinduja and Patchin's 2019 nationally representative study of 4,972 middle and high school students, the researchers found that girls were more likely to be a victim of cyberbullying over their lifetime (38.7%) compared to boys (34.5%) (Patchin, 2019b). The study also indicated that boys were more likely to cyberbully others in their lifetime (16.1% vs. 13.4%). Additional studies within the U.S., and beyond, have echoed the finding of higher victimization rates among females (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2017; Heiman & Olenik-Shemesh, 2015; Jones et al., 2013; Kim, Kimber, Boyle, & Georgiades, 2019; Låftman, Modin, & Östberg, 2013; National Center for Education Statistics, 2019; Schneider, O'Donnell,

Stueve, & Coulter, 2012; Schultze-Krumbholz et al., 2015; Tarabulus et al., 2015; Walrave & Heirman, 2011).

However, other studies in and outside of the U.S. suggest that boys are more likely to be cyberbullied than girls (Fanti, Demetrious, & Hawa, 2012; IPSOS Ltd Ghana, 2017; Marret & Choo, 2017; Phyfer et al., 2016; Sittichai & Smith, 2018; Wong, Chan, & Cheng, 2014). While other research in the U.S. and beyond has found no gender differences in terms of cyberbullying victimization (Griezel et al., 2012; Heiman & Olenik-Shemesh, 2015; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Lazuras, Barkoukis, Ourda, & Tsorbatzoudis, 2013; Li, 2006; Mura & Diamantini, 2013; Navarro, Ruiz-Oliva, Larrañaga, & Yubero, 2015; Shin & Ahn, 2015). For example, a recent Pew Research Center survey (Anderson, 2018) found that, in a sample of 743 youth ages 13-17 in the U.S., boys and girls were equally as likely to be cyberbullied online, in the form of, for instance, physical threats or name-calling. However, girls were more likely to be a victim of certain types of online bullying, such as rumor-spreading or receiving unsolicited explicit messages.

Race and Ethnicity

In terms of online bullying and youth from various racial and ethnic communities, research suggests that victimization rates between groups vary. In the U.S., with a nationally representative sample of 7,533 youth in grades 6-10 (mean age = 14.33 years old), Hong et al. (2016) found that African American youth were more likely to report being bullied online than Hispanic and white youth. However, in a literature review of 165 studies of youth ranging in age from 10 to 18 (and study sample sizes between 370 and 2,760), Edwards, Kontosthathis, and Fisher (2016) found that African American and Hispanic youth were less likely to be a victim of cyberbullying than white and Asian young people. A different study, with 2,268 participants ages 11-16, examined cyberbullying prevalence across four major ethnic groups (white, Asian, African American, and mixed) and found no statistically significant differences in cyberbullying victimization between groups (Smith, Thompson, & Bhatti, 2012).

Beyond the U.S., a study in Spain examined cyberbullying among a sample of 2,139 ethnic-cultural majority and minority youth ages 11-19 (Llorent, Ortega-Ruiz, & Zych, 2016). The "majority" was defined as youth of Spanish nationality who did not identify as a Gypsy and as a first or second generation immigrant, while "minority" was operationalized as youth identifying as a Gypsy or first or second generation immigrant. Results revealed that when ethnic-cultural minorities were treated as one group, there were no differences in cyberbullying victimization compared to the majority group. However, when participants were separated into two different ethnic-cultural minority communities, the authors found that youth who identify as a Gypsy were more likely to be a victim of online bullying versus majority youth. A New Zealand study found that ethnic group differences in terms of online and offline bullying for nearly 2,000 youth ages 9-18 were only evidenced for specific forms of *bullying*, where Māori students indicated more text message-based victimization than other ethnic groups (Kljakovic, Hunt, & Jose, 2015). Other literature based outside of the U.S., such as a recent study in

China of 4th to 12th grade students (Ba et al., 2019), however, has found no differences in cyberbullying victimization between ethnic minority and majority groups.

Religion

Hinduja and Patchin's recent nationally representative survey of approximately 5,000 12- to 17-year-olds and bullying (online and offline) in the U.S. revealed that more Muslim youth indicated they have been a victim of online bullying than those of other faiths (Hinduja, 2019a). When exploring cyberbullying *based* on religion, the authors found that 26% of Muslim youth in the U.S. reported that they were cyberbullied in the last 30 days, as well as 15% of Hindu young people. In a survey focusing on offline bullying, the U.S.-based Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU) found, in a nationally representative sample of over 1,000 adults, that 42% of Muslim and 23% of Jewish parents indicated that at least one of their children (students in kindergarten through 12th grade) had been bullied during the last year because of their religion (Mogahed & Chouhoud, 2017). Significantly, in over a quarter of incidents involving students of Muslim faith, a school administrator or educator had bullied the child.

Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity

With respect to cyberbullying and youth who identify as LGBTQ, Abreu and Kenny (2018) recently reviewed 27 empirical studies (with study sample sizes ranging from 18 to 20,406 participants) that explored the prevalence and/or impact of cyberbullying on youth from this community. Drawing from research around the world – including Australia, Canada, Sweden, the U.K., and the U.S. – the researchers found that LGBTQ young people (ranging in age from about 11-25) are disproportionately more often victims than their cisgender and heterosexual peers. Additional studies in and outside of the U.S. echo these results (Elipe et al., 2018; Llorent et al., 2016; Mitchell, Ybarra, & Korchmaros, 2014; Schneider et al., 2012; Sinclair, Bauman, Poteat, Koenig, & Russell, 2012). For example, a study of 533 Spanish high school students ages 12 to 20 found that slightly over 20% of students who identified as non-heterosexual indicated they have been bullied online and offline – nearly two and a half times the prevalence found for heterosexual youth in the study (Elipe et al., 2018). Furthermore, it's important to note that it is often the perception by the bully that someone is “different” from their peers in some way that may determine if a person is bullied or not, rather than the victim actually identifying as LGBTQ (Navarro, 2016; Rivers, 2013; UNESCO, 2012). For example, some youth may be bullied due to the perception that they identify as LGBTQ, when in actuality the main “difference” might only be that they engage in behaviors that don't conform to stereotypical gender roles.

Time

It's quite difficult to state changes in prevalence over time given such disperse data. One study in the U.S. demonstrates a slight increase in cyberbullying rates over time. Looking at data from the three waves of the Youth Internet Safety Survey (2000, 2005, 2010), with sample sizes noted under the subsection “Age” in this part III, section 3, Jones and

colleagues (2013) found a small increase in online victimization, where each survey measured victimization over the last year (from 6% to 9% to 11%). From Hinduja and Patchin's nationally representative surveys around young people and cyberbullying, the researchers observed that there seems to be a trend of increasing 30-day cyberbullying victimization rates over the past five years (from 2014 to 2019) (Patchin, 2019d) (please see Appendix B).

Livingstone, Stoilova, and Kelly (2016) point out it is unclear if studies that demonstrate a rise in cyberbullying over time underscore an increased risk from increased Internet use, or heightened awareness, and reporting of, cyberbullying, perhaps due to more time spent online or more educational programming around Internet safety. Examining online risks broadly (including, but not limited to, cyberbullying), Livingstone and colleagues (2014) indicate that, in specific regions in Europe, various forms of risk have risen only moderately (from 2010 to 2014), while some forms have not increased at all. As noted previously (in part III, section 2, under "Europe") Livingstone et al. (2014) observed that the percentage of youth who report they have been cyberbullied has increased over 2010 to 2014 from 8% to 12%. Other types of risk, such as talking with strangers online or viewing sexual images, were, overall, more prevalent. While discussing these various forms of risk, the authors also point to the numerous opportunities afforded by new technologies: "Arguably the increase in risk is because of parallel increase in opportunities – children have greater access, especially via personalised and portable devices; they are developing more skills, and these shifts combine to lead them towards more risk" (Livingstone et al., 2014, p. 20).

IV. CYBERBULLYING PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

Given the pervasive use of technological devices among young people and the detrimental effects associated with cyberbullying (see this part IV, section 2), the following sections explore the ways parents and caregivers, bystanders, schools and educators, Internet companies, and governments are engaging in cyberbullying prevention and intervention and what we can learn from these efforts.

1. Parents and Caregivers

How can parents and caregivers most effectively respond to cyberbullying? The literature points to several key factors in this arena: increased understanding of their children's Internet use, specific parenting strategies around monitoring youth's online activities, and certain parenting styles. The literature suggests that parents and caregivers often do not fully understand the extent of their children's online activities, including young people's involvement in online bullying. Parents tend to underestimate the amount of time their children spend online (Liau, Khoo, & Ang, 2008) and the degree to which youth are implicated in cyberbullying, either as bullies or victims. In a study of 1,211 elementary and high school youth (mean age = 12.7 years old) and their parents in the Netherlands, Dehue, Bolman, and Völlink (2008) demonstrated that while 17% of youth reported that they had cyberbullied others, only 4.8% of parents indicated their child had engaged in cyberbullying. Similarly, while 22.9% of young people reported that they had been bullied online, only 11.8% of parents indicated that their child had been cyberbullied. Cassidy, Brown, and Jackson (2012) point out that this misunderstanding may be attributed to parents' unfamiliarity with specific technological tools and platforms, or parents' view of the Internet primarily in terms of practical usage (e.g., locating information), versus young people who tend to perceive it as a "lifeline to their peer group" (Keith & Martin, 2005, p. 226).



Accordingly, in working to address cyberbullying, it may be helpful for parents and caregivers to initially better understand technological tools and platforms, and their children's online activities on them. This understanding may give them a greater sense of how often their children seek social contact online, their reasons for doing so, and the type of content to be cognizant of when supervising Internet use (Elsaesser, Russell, McCauley Ohannesian, & Patton, 2017). Hinduja and Patchin (2018) suggest that parents and caregivers work *together* with their children to better understand their Internet use, engaging them in dialogue around questions such as, "What is your favorite app?," "What do you do on it?," and "What apps or websites are your friends into these days?" (para. 3).

The discrepancy between young people's activities online and parental perceptions about these activities underscores the importance of open communication between parents and caregivers and children. The literature suggests that, for instance, evaluative mediation (i.e., open dialogue around Internet use and collaborative creation of rules) is more effective than restrictive mediation (i.e., controlling and restricting youth's Internet use) in reducing online bullying and victimization (Mesch, 2009; Third, Bellerose, Diniz de Oliveira, Lala, & Theakstone, 2017). In a similar vein, research that explores various styles of parenting (i.e., the balance between parental control and warmth) demonstrates that youth with authoritarian parents (i.e., high control, low warmth) are more likely to bully others online versus youth with authoritative parents (i.e., high control and warmth) (Dehue et al., 2008; Floros et al., 2013; Makri-Botsari & Karagianni, 2014). These studies did not demonstrate any effects of parenting style on being a victim of cyberbullying. While the literature appears to suggest that parenting style may be more closely linked to cyberbullying others versus being a victim of online bullying, longitudinal studies are required to ascertain the direction of this association.

Although the majority of studies indicate that parents and caregivers who work together with their children to help them navigate online spaces are more likely to protect against cyberbullying than those who unilaterally enforce restrictions, preliminary findings seem to indicate that parental strategies that help reduce cyberbullying may differ depending on youth characteristics. Shapka and Law (2013), for instance, explored the relationship between young people's ethnic background and parental behaviors in the context of online bullying with a sample of 518 youth ages 12-17. Results indicated that controlling parental behaviors (i.e., restricting children's Internet use) were correlated with decreased engagement in cyberbullying others for East Asian youth, but not for those of European descent. This finding may reflect cultural norms and practices. East Asian parents often perceive child-rearing practices as *chiao shun*, or "training," which entails training children through guidance and monitoring their behavior, with an emphasis on obedience, while also providing parental support (Chao, 1994). In their review of the literature around parental influence on youth cyberbullying, Elsaesser et al. (2017) note there is a paucity of research that explores cross-cultural differences of parental behaviors as they relate to online bullying, and further work is needed to better understand this interplay.

2. Bystanders

As the role of the bystander represents a key piece addressed in evidence-based cyberbullying prevention/intervention programs within schools (for more information, please refer to part IV, section 3), this portion of the spotlight will present a brief overview of research on bystanders in the context of cyberbullying. Bystanders can react to incidents of both online and offline bullying in, broadly speaking, three different ways: supporting the victim (often described in the literature as being an “upstander”), assisting/reinforcing the bully, or ignoring the incident/acting as an observer (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Österman, & Kaukiainen, 1996). More recent research also points to the multifaceted nature of bystander behavior. Moxey and Bussey (2019), for instance, developed a scale that effectively distinguished two approaches youth may adopt when intervening in a cyberbullying scenario: constructive (i.e., supporting the victim while attempting to encourage the bully to stop), and aggressive (fighting back against the bully aggressively (e.g., spreading rumors about the bully)). To better understand *why* individuals respond to cyberbullying in specific ways, the literature around cyberbullying bystander behavior has primarily explored socio-demographic (e.g., age, gender) and psychological (e.g., empathy) characteristics, as well as socio-cognitive processes (e.g., group norms).

In terms of socio-demographic and psychological factors, for instance, research demonstrates that younger adolescents with higher levels of empathy tend to support the victim, versus simply observing or reinforcing the bully (Van Cleemput, Vandebosch, & Pabian, 2014). The literature indicates mixed findings on the role of gender. Some studies have found no effect of gender on supportive bystander behavior (Barlińska, Szuster, & Winiewski, 2013; Macháčková, Dedkova, Sevcikova, & Cerna, 2013), while others have demonstrated that girls are more likely to assist the victim, and boys are more likely to join in on the bullying (Bastiaensens et al., 2014).

With respect to socio-cognitive dynamics, moral reasoning emerges as a factor in influencing bystander behavior. To explore this dynamic,



Graeff (2014) interviewed 41 young people ages 10-14 about their responses to hypothetical online bullying scenarios. The study found that high levels of moral reasoning, in the form of cognitive processes such as perspective-taking and using moral absolutes, were correlated with upstander behavior. Moral reasoning was not, however, the only factor associated with upstander behavior — school affiliation and gender also impacted how youth responded to the scenarios. More specifically, those attending a middle school within a high socioeconomic school district and girls were slightly more likely to be upstanders. Context also played a role. For example, in a scenario presented to the participants in which an educator was cyberbullied by a student named Jeff, some participants noted that they were not bothered by Jeff's behavior due to norms around students complaining about educators. In this case, the participants' relationship was closer to Jeff, the bully, versus the educator, the victim. Thus, the type of relationship one has with those involved in an incident of cyberbullying may impact how one reacts.

A growing body of literature in this area echoes the importance of contextual factors in determining if/how bystanders will intervene in cyberbullying incidents (Bastiaensens et al., 2014; DeSmet et al., 2014; Patterson, Allan, & Cross, 2017). In their study of Australian youth's (ages 13-16) perceptions of bystanders' reactions to cyberbullying, Patterson and colleagues (2017) found that participants were more likely to intervene if they had an existing relationship with either party, particularly the victim. Participants also noted the importance of taking into account the severity of harm (the greater the severity, the higher the likelihood they would intervene), and that a relationship with the victim would help them more accurately understand the impact on him or her.

Similarly, DeSmet and colleagues (2014) observed that self-reported cyberbullying bystander behavior was primarily dependent on context (i.e., if the victim was a friend or acquaintance; if the circumstances were unclear, fair, or unfair). Taken together with research on psychological, socio-cognitive, and socio-demographic factors in the context of cyberbullying bystander behavior, this finding highlights the importance of approaching cyberbullying prevention/intervention efforts with a multi-layered perspective, encompassing intrapersonal and interpersonal factors.

DeSmet et al.'s (2014) study also revealed that youth had limited knowledge of the mental health impact cyberbullying might have on those involved in online bullying. This vantage point may be helpful to incorporate (or incorporate to a greater degree) in prevention/intervention programs, given the detrimental mental health effect cyberbullying may have on both bullies and victims. Research has demonstrated that young people who bully others online are at heightened risk for substance use (Lee, Hon, Resko, & Tripodi, 2017), depression and anxiety (Campbell, Slee, Spears, Butler, & Kift, 2013), suicidal behaviors (Bonanno & Hymel, 2013), and are more likely to have experienced cyberbullying victimization (Paez, 2019). Online victimization is also associated with substance use (Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004a, 2004b), social anxiety (Wigderson & Lynch, 2013), suicidal ideation and suicide

attempts (Gini & Espelage, 2014), as well as offline victimization (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004a).

Regarding cyberbullying victimization and suicidal behaviors among adolescents, a nationally representative study of 2,670 12- to 17-year-olds found that while neither offline nor online bullying were correlated with suicidal attempts, being a victim of *both* forms of bullying was associated with an “exponentially higher” likelihood of attempts to take one’s life (Hinduja & Patchin, 2019a, p. 8). Moreover, teens who indicated more severe forms of victimization were more likely to report experiencing suicidal thoughts (over three times as likely) and attempts (ranging from two times as likely in the context of cyberbullying to over 10 times as likely in the context of offline bullying), versus those who reported less severe forms of bullying.

What specific aspects of cyberbullying make this type of behavior distressing to young people? Mitchell, Ybarra, Jones, and Espelage (2016) examined this question through interviews with 1,560 youth ages 10-17, who were part of the Third Youth Internet Safety Survey (for more information about the survey, please see part III, section 3). The study indicated that specific elements of cyberbullying increased the likelihood of young people being upset, including the involvement of multiple bullies. Also noteworthy was the total number of features that constitute an incident – three or more aggravating aspects (offline contact, repetition, multiple bullies, and power imbalance) seemed to be particularly correlated with distress. As the authors note, these findings have important implications for how cyberbullying is addressed (e.g., schools might consider taking an inventory of possibly aggravating elements within a certain cyberbullying scenario), and how it is defined. For further discussion around the nuances in defining cyberbullying, please see part II of this paper.

3. Schools and Educators

When looking at school-based cyberbullying prevention/intervention programs, one might consider: 1) what are some of the most effective cyberbullying prevention/intervention programs currently being used? and 2) what are the common elements among these programs that make them successful? For the purposes of this spotlight, “effective” programs are operationalized as those that demonstrate statistically significant decreases in online bullying and/or victimization rates pre/post evaluation in the experimental vs. control group. Three such programs, based in regions around the world, will be detailed here: KiVa, ConRed, and NoTrap! All three programs aim to address both online and offline bullying. These programs, along with seven other programs, were evaluated in a systematic review of cyberbullying interventions that are either currently in practice and/or have been well-documented (Cioppa, O’Neil, & Craig, 2015).

Gaffney, Farrington, Espelage, and Ttofi (2019) note, however, that further research is

needed around the effectiveness of cyberbullying prevention/intervention programs, whether school- or non-school based. In their recent meta-analysis of cyberbullying prevention and intervention programming, only 24 evaluations were examined, in contrast to a recent meta-analysis of school-based offline bullying interventions that explored 100 studies (Gaffney, Ttofi, & Farrington, 2019). Given the comorbidity of online and offline bullying among youth – a study of over 28,000 adolescents in grades 9-12 (mean age = 15.93 years old) found that 50.3% report being a victim of both forms of bullying (Waasdorp & Bradshaw, 2015) – future research may also benefit from exploring whether school-based bullying programming should address cyberbullying and offline bullying at the same time or separately (Gaffney, Farrington, et al., 2019).

KiVa

Created and initially implemented in Finland, KiVa (short for *Kiusaamista Vastaan*, or “Against Bullying”) is an evidence-based program that works to both prevent bullying and address current cases of bullying and is targeted towards youth ages 6-16 (KiVa, n.d.-d). Towards this end, the program incorporates “universal” and “indicated” actions: universal actions (e.g., online games and lesson plans) target all students and primarily focus on preventing bullying (KiVa, n.d.-d). Indicated actions (e.g., discussions with individuals or groups of youth involved in bullying) are to be utilized when bullying incidents emerge. These are directed towards youth who have been involved in bullying as bullies or victims, and to bystanders.

The role of the bystander represents a focal point of KiVa; one of the main goals of the program is to help bystanders support victims of bullying (KiVa, n.d.-d). KiVa’s universal actions are focused on strengthening youth’s ability to empathize with and support the victim (KiVa, n.d.-d). In online games for elementary school students, youth control cartoon avatars that are placed in an array of bullying situations that might occur in school. The games act as “choose-your-own-adventure stories for bullying, allowing the kids to see what consequences might come from certain actions, all in a virtual world” (Gaines, 2016, para. 7). Indicated actions similarly have a bystander bent. When specific incidents of online and offline bullying arise, KiVa team members (two to three school staff members) hold individual and group discussions with both victims and bullies. Classroom educators identify several of the victim’s peers and encourage them to consider how they can, in the future, support their bullied peer.

In randomized controlled trials, KiVa has demonstrated effectiveness in reducing both self- and peer-reported offline bullying and victimization (Kärnä et al., 2011) and online and offline victimization (Salmivalli, Kärnä, & Poskiparta, 2011). In a study of 314 children in Finland in grades 1-9 (mean age = 11.95 years old), after KiVa was implemented, 78.2% of students who have been bullied offline indicated that the bullying had stopped, and 19.5% noted it decreased (Garandeau, Poskiparta, & Salmivalli, 2014). KiVa has also been shown to lower students’ anxiety and depression, foster positive perceptions of peer climate, and increase academic achievement and motivation (Salmivalli, Garandeau, & Veenstra, 2012; Williford et al., 2012).

Focusing specifically on cyberbullying, Williford and colleagues (2013) found reduced rates of victimization for late elementary (grades 4-6) and middle school (grades 7-9) students. Additionally, their findings indicated that KiVa's effects on cyberbullying others were conditional on age. The authors noted that the probability of indicating increased cyberbullying was significantly higher for students in the control condition, versus in the KiVa program, when the participant's age was below the sample mean of 12.87 years. This result is consistent with prior studies on the impact KiVa has on offline bullying (e.g., Kärnä et al., 2011). Given that the majority of studies evaluating KiVa have been conducted with elementary and middle school students, these findings may simply indicate the lack of research with an older sample. The results may also underscore the importance of early prevention/intervention efforts (i.e., prior to high school).

In addition to Finland, KiVa has been implemented in other countries in Europe and beyond. KiVa currently has licensed partners in countries including Chile, Estonia, Italy, New Zealand, and the U.K. (KiVa, n.d.-c). In Latin America alone, KiVa trainers are working to implement the program in schools in Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Spain (KiVa, n.d.-a). Moreover, the implementation of KiVa has resulted in reduced rates of bullying and victimization in studies conducted in countries such as Italy, the Netherlands, and the U.K. (KiVa, n.d.-b).

ConRed

ConRed (*Programa Conocer, Construir y Convivir en la Red*, or the "Knowing, Building and Living Together on the Internet Program") is an evidence-based antibullying program for middle and high school students (Ortega-Ruiz, Del Rey, & Casas, 2012). The program involves three components: 1) curriculum-based work that seeks to promote social skills, 2) sessions around safe Internet use, and 3) meetings with teams of professionals with a background in bullying prevention (Del Rey, Casas, & Ortega, 2016). Across these elements, the program focuses on intervention strategies used to combat offline bullying (Levine & Tamburrino, 2014; Ttofi & Farrington, 2011), such as promoting empathy, while also addressing factors uniquely associated with cyberbullying, such as compulsive Internet use (Casas, Del Rey, & Ortega-Ruiz, 2013).

A study evaluating the program among a sample of 893 middle and high school students ages 11-19 in Spain found that compared to the control group, the experimental group evidenced significant decreases in both online and offline bullying and victimization rates (Ortega-Ruiz et al., 2012). Ortega-Ruiz and colleagues (2012) explain that this result is reinforced by pre/post intervention changes observed in ConRed's empathy assessments, with increases in cognitive and affective empathy towards cyberbullying victims. The experimental group also demonstrated decreased cyber-dependence and perception of control over personal information on the Internet and in social networks. The authors interpreted this decrease in control as a heightened awareness of potential privacy harm, and thus, "a better-adjusted adolescent perception of the real control they have over their personal information on the Internet" (Ortega-Ruiz et al., 2012, p. 310).

A more recent evaluation of ConRed explored the impact of the program on specific roles associated with cyberbullying (victim, bully, bully-victim, and bystander) (Del Rey et al., 2016). Results indicated reductions in cyberbullying involvement for bullies, victims, and bully-victims, with effects that were particularly robust for males versus females. These differential effects may be attributed to the greater increases in affective empathy experienced by boys across the three roles of bully, victim, and bully-victim. However, both male and female *bystanders* demonstrated comparable increases in affective empathy, which may suggest that “affective empathy is not inherently different between boys and girls, but that these differences are tied to the roles in which they were found” (Del Rey et al., 2016, p. 133). Thus, the study underscores the importance of taking into account personal characteristics and contextual factors that may be associated with cyberbullying when designing prevention and intervention efforts.

NoTrap!

The third school-based cyberbullying prevention/intervention program explored in this part IV, section 3 is NoTrap! (*Noncadiamointrappola!* or, “Let’s not fall into the trap!”). The program, which is primarily geared towards high school students, holds a dual vision: acknowledging that the use of various digital technologies can heighten the risk of cyberbullying while recognizing that these technologies can be utilized to strengthen positive behavior and protect youth from the very same online risks (Palladino, Nocentini, & Menesini, 2016). The program involves both online and offline components delivered in two phases. A group of researchers leads the first part, and peer educators manage the second phase. Peer leaders undergo a series of training sessions where they learn to lead group activities offline and offer activities and support to students online. Group activities focus on building social-emotional skills and are taught from the perspective of the bystander and the victim.

Like KiVa, this program is framed around a bystander focus. More specifically, the authors take into consideration the group context in which bullying often occurs, both online and offline. They explain, “When trying to change individual cognitions, coping strategies, and values . . . the whole group should be simultaneously addressed and intervention programs should create an ethical context of responsibility that will enable students to support and defend their victimized peers” (Palladino et al., 2016, p. 195). Accordingly, as noted previously, the majority of the program’s components involve students’ peers leading group activities that center around cooperation and empathy-building.

The program was evaluated among 9th-grade students (mean age = 14.91 years old) in eight high schools in Tuscany. The experimental group showed significantly reduced rates of online and offline bullying and victimization, which remained unchanged in the control group (Palladino et al., 2016). Moreover, decreases in these behaviors were stable during a six-month follow-up. The authors note that additional studies with students from a variety of grades are needed to demonstrate the program’s efficacy further.

One must also take into account that peer leaders chose to assume this role. Thus, it may be helpful to have a better understanding of what qualities typically characterize peer leaders and how these traits might impact the effectiveness of a given program. Prior research reveals that many peer leaders have often experienced online and/or offline victimization (Zambuto, Palladino, Nocentini, & Menesini, 2019). Perhaps such experiences have motivated these students to play an active role in antibullying initiatives.

Common Features

Against the backdrop of these three antibullying programs – KiVa, ConRed, and NoTrap! – what are some common features these initiatives share that may be implemented in current or future prevention/intervention programs?

- Holistic approach
 - All three programs approach antibullying efforts holistically, to varying degrees. NoTrap!, for instance, incorporates an ecological approach, where the program addresses individual, class, school, and community levels. Individual and class levels are targeted through peer education. The school level is addressed via a training program for educators, and the community level through web-based activities supported by peer leaders. KiVa involves educators through training modules and offers parents and caregivers guides that provide information about cyberbullying, as well as advice on what they can do to prevent and respond to this type of behavior. Finally, ConRed implements a school-wide campaign that aims to promote young people’s social-emotional competencies and involves educators and parents and caregivers through training sessions that help adults monitor and reduce high-risk online behavior. A recent meta-analysis of 22 studies assessing the impact of school-based antibullying (both online and offline) programming with a parent component¹³ found a small but significant effect on decreasing both bullying and victimization (Huang et al., 2019).
 - These holistic approaches align with socio-ecological theoretical models around bullying, such as that proposed by Swearer and colleagues (2006). Using Bronfenbrenner’s bioecological model of development (1979) as a basis, Swearer et al. (2006) hold that online bullying and victimization are bidirectionally influenced by the individual’s characteristics (e.g., temperament, personality traits) and their family, peer group, school, community, and cultural contexts.
- Structured learning modules
 - All three programs feature structured learning modules.
- Focus on bystander and victim perspectives
 - All three programs emphasize the views of both the victim and bystander and stress empathy building. This general area seems to be the central focus point of

¹³ “Parent component” was defined as an activity falling into at least one of the following buckets: 1) parent workshops/training, 2) activities at home that necessitated parental involvement, 3) in-person communication, such as sharing information about school policies around bullying during parent nights, and 4) written content, including guidebooks, pamphlets, and newsletters (Huang et al., 2019)

KiVa. NoTrap! peer leaders articulate this emphasis within the context of group activities, underscoring that bullying is often a group phenomenon. Finally, from a risk-based model, ConRed incorporates empathy-building exercises and lessons that discuss the negative consequences victims of cyberbullying might face.

- In the context of offline bullying and empathy, in a survey of over 10,000 youth across more than 30 middle and high schools around the U.S., in schools where students demonstrated, on average, greater levels of empathy, young people also indicated fewer experiences of bullying and were more likely to try to stop a bullying incident (Kahn & Weissbourd, 2014). Higher levels of empathy were also associated with a stronger connection to one's school.
- Social-emotional skill development
 - Importantly, social-emotional competencies have been linked to the psychological construct of resiliency (Ahlin & Antunes, 2015; Ogunmakin & Akomolafe, 2013), which is emerging as an important protective factor in bullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2019b). Hinduja and Patchin (2017), for example, found that youth with higher levels of resiliency were less likely to indicate they have been a victim of bullying, online or offline, and, for those youth who have been bullied, resilience appeared to act as a buffer from the potential negative impacts of bullying. As the researchers point out, "This latter finding is particularly important given a majority of youth will experience some form of bullying at some point in their lifetimes" and, as such, "schools must prevent peer harassment from affecting the ability of students to feel safe and secure at school" (Hinduja & Patchin, 2017, p. 57). In addition to internal factors – social-emotional competencies such as self-efficacy and self-esteem – resiliency is associated with external factors such as adult attachment and a sense of belonging to a community (Baruth & Carroll, 2002; Werner, 2005). The whole-school approach these three programs adopt aligns with the notion of creating a positive, supportive school climate for youth, emphasizing the importance of one's social environment in the context of bullying (Vreeman & Carroll, 2007).

While the programs highlighted here primarily concentrate on the bystander and victim perspectives, other initiatives focus on the bully. These efforts often similarly incorporate social-emotional skill development (Brown, Low, Smith, & Haggerty, 2011), and/or restorative practices, which focus on mending the relationship between the victim and bully (Duncan & Brandeis, 2016). Another promising means of addressing the bully's behavior is through the application of social control theory (Hinduja, 2017). Social control theory (Hirschi, 1969) holds that individuals are less likely to engage in negative behaviors if they have high levels of 1) commitment (to specific goals), 2) attachment (i.e., strength and number of positive relationships), 3) involvement (in activities/hobbies), and 4) belief (in shared social norms and values).

Although some programs that address offline bullying implement this framework (e.g., Youth Matters (Cantone, 2015)), it may be helpful for future research to explore its application in the context of cyberbullying. The importance of both addressing the

bully's behavior and aiding victims is further underscored by data that points to the blurred lines between bullies and victims: in a nationally representative survey of 5,436 Canadian students in grades 4 to 11, findings indicated that nearly 40% of youth who have cyberbullied others have also been victims of cyberbullying (Valerie, 2014). As Hinduja (2017) points out,

We must remember that the kids we serve at school and in our communities sometimes may make poor interpersonal choices, but deep down just want to be believed in, supported, and appreciated for the good they can offer to the world. (para. 15)

Finally, Hinduja (2018) emphasizes the importance of an authoritative school climate¹⁴ in reducing rates of bullying, which is marked by high levels of both disciplinary structure (youth's perception that rules in school are reasonable and fair (Cornell, Shukla, & Konold, 2016)) and student support (young people's perception that educators and administrators treat them respectfully and want them to succeed (Konold et al., 2014)). This environment stands in contrast to an authoritarian climate, characterized by high levels of discipline but low levels of support; a permissive climate, with low levels of discipline and high support; and a neglectful climate, distinguished by low discipline and support.

Hinduja notes that while the study of school climate in relation to bullying is a newly emerging area, research thus far suggests that an authoritative school climate is associated with school engagement and academic achievement (Cornell et al., 2016), and lower levels of online bullying victimization (compared to schools with low levels of authoritativeness) (Cornell, Shukla, & Konold, 2015). Hinduja and Patchin's study of 1,500 students ages 12-17 across the U.S. reveals that both online and offline bullying occur less often in authoritative schools, compared to authoritarian, permissive, or neglectful climates (Hinduja, 2018). Students also indicated they felt safer in authoritative schools and were less likely to skip school due to online or offline bullying. Thus, in addition to the prevention and intervention factors in the school setting listed above (e.g., holistic approach, social-emotional skill development), research suggests that cultivating an authoritative school climate may be helpful in reducing online and offline bullying and promoting students' feelings of safety and school engagement.

4. Internet Companies

In what ways are Internet companies addressing cyberbullying? While companies with an online presence cannot be held accountable for the online behavior of *all* individuals, nor address every risk the digital world presents, the public rightly has an expectation

¹⁴ "School climate" may be defined as "the quality, character, social atmosphere, and 'feel' of the school, mostly exhibited by patterns of behavior and interactions among and between students and school personnel" (Hinduja, 2019b, para. 77).

that industry will help make the Internet a safer environment for all (Beauchere, 2018a). These efforts may include policies, tools (e.g., allowing users to report abuse, bullying, and harassment; filtering harmful speech by, for instance, using artificial intelligence (AI)¹⁵ to identify posts from users who have suicidal thoughts; features that restrict the users who can see comments posted on images, such as Instagram's recent "Restrict" tool (Patchin, 2019c)), as well as learning resources and programs.

Three cases provided in this section — Facebook, Google, and Microsoft — are examples of companies that have a large youth user base. While these companies have reached young people from around the world, they are U.S.-based and, as such, their actions and approaches may be shaped by that lens to a certain extent. This perspective may be reflected in, for instance, the specific populations that these companies select to evaluate their antibullying efforts, the availability of learning resources in specific languages, and/or the information contained within these materials (e.g., U.S.-centric advice in terms of how parents and caregivers might talk to youth about cyberbullying).

Facebook

Facebook's mission is to "give people the power to build community and bring the world closer together" (Zuckerberg, 2017, para. 22). The company holds that a key part of individuals' interest in sharing and connecting with others is that they feel safe doing so. Facebook has generated an array of policies, tools, resources, and programs to help promote the safety of its users, particularly the platform's youngest teenage users (Facebook Safety, 2017). In terms of policies, while Facebook encourages users to discuss matters of interest freely, the platform does not tolerate harassment or bullying and removes content that appears to be directed towards individuals to shame or degrade them intentionally (e.g., pages that identify and shame private individuals, videos or photos of physical bullying meant to shame the victim) (Facebook, n.d.-b).

Facebook has also developed a variety of tools embedded in the platform (e.g., unfriending, reporting, blocking) to help address cyberbullying and indicate that they will remove content if it violates Facebook's Community Standards (Facebook, n.d.-b). Depending on the specific violation, they may disable or "feature block" a user (i.e., block an individual from using a particular feature on Facebook, such as sending messages) (Facebook, n.d.-d). The platform also offers a "social reporting" tool — if an individual sees content on Facebook they do not like, but which does not violate the Community Standards, the user can utilize this tool to ask the poster to remove the content through a private message (Facebook, n.d.-g).

In addition to these policies and tools, Facebook has designed several resources and programs on cyberbullying prevention and intervention. In 2017, the platform

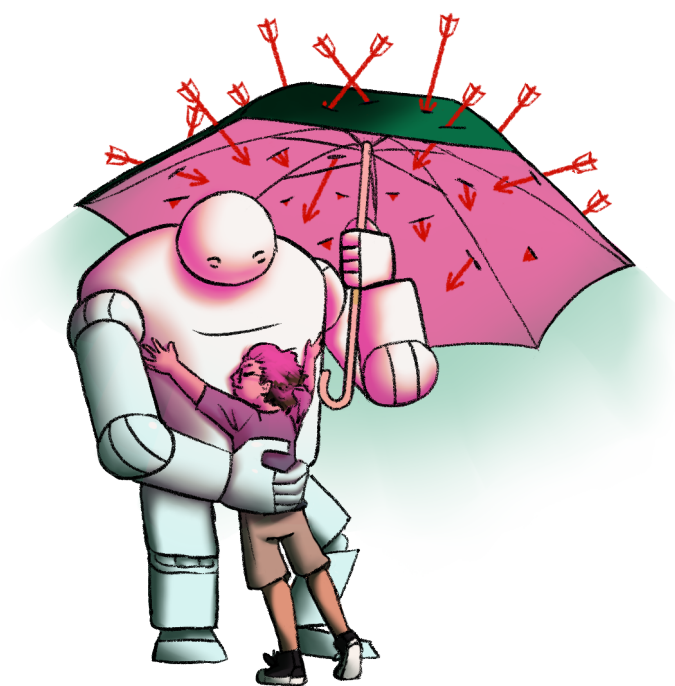
¹⁵ To learn more about the YaM team's initial learnings and exploratory questions around the ways young people may interact with and be impacted by AI technologies — across domains such as education, health and well-being, the future of work, privacy and safety, and creativity and entertainment — please see Hasse, Cortesi, Lombana-Bermudez, and Gasser (2019).

launched the “Safety Center” which offers information about Facebook’s safety tools and services, and best practices for online safety for youth, educators, and parents (Facebook, n.d.-f). The Safety Center is now available in over 50 languages, mobile friendly, and includes step-by-step videos and resources from 75 online safety partners from around the world. The Safety Center is also home to Facebook’s Digital Literacy Library (DLL), a set of lessons that help youth critically consume information online and navigate the digital world in safe and positive ways (Facebook, n.d.-c). The resources are currently drawn from Berkman Klein’s YaM team, whom have made a subset of their over 100 open access educational tools – all of which can be found on the team’s [Digital Citizenship+ \(Plus\) Resource Platform](#) – available on the DLL (Cortesi, Lombana-Bermudez, & Hasse, 2018). Several resources on the DLL developed by YaM focus specifically on cultivating positive/respectful online behavior, helping youth consider qualities that characterize “healthy” and “unhealthy” relationships, reflect on the ways technologies impact relationships, and learn how to promote upstanding among their peers.

Additionally, the Safety Center houses Facebook’s “Bullying Prevention Hub,” developed in partnership with the Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence, which acts as a resource for educators, parents, and youth seeking support related to bullying and other issues (Facebook, n.d.-a). In 2017, Facebook also launched an updated “Parents Portal,” where parents can learn some of the basics about Facebook, review tips on how to start a dialogue about online safety with their children, and access external expert resources (Facebook, n.d.-e).

In terms of programming, Facebook has developed educational campaigns and programming around cyberbullying prevention and intervention with partner

organizations around the world, such as PACER and the International Bullying Prevention Association (IBPA) in the U.S., Learning Links in India, and the YCAB Foundation (YCAB) and Sudah Dong, Komunitas Anti Bullying in Indonesia (Facebook Safety, 2017). Additionally, the social media platform continues to engage in conversations with its Safety Advisory Board, the Global Safety Network, and its Youth Advisors (professionals in the areas of online safety, media, and child development from organizations such as the Fred Rogers Center, Family Online Safety Institute, MediaSmarts, and the Center on Media and Child Health) (Facebook Safety, 2017).



Google

Google has developed an array of educational initiatives, resources, and tools to help promote online safety for youth. With respect to initiatives, in 2017 Google launched a Be Internet Awesome campaign around digital citizenship and safety, created in collaboration with organizations such as ConnectSafely, Family Online Safety Institute, and the Internet Keep Safe Coalition (Google, n.d.-a). The campaign, primarily targeted towards young people ages 8-11, features a web-based game for youth, Interland, that teaches digital safety fundamentals, as well as resources for teachers, such as a Digital Citizenship and Safety Curriculum. The curriculum, developed with the Internet Keep Safe Coalition, offers lesson plans for the campaign's five key thematic areas, one of which focuses on cyberbullying (Google & iKeepSafe, 2018). Additionally, Google has generated an online Digital Citizenship and Safety Course for educators of students of all ages, providing further support for integrating digital citizenship and safety activities in the classroom (Google for Education, n.d.).

Google also offers several programs to help engage young people directly in online safety and digital citizenship efforts. Their global Web Rangers initiative, for example, teaches youth about online safety and encourages them to design their own campaigns around positive and safe Internet use (Web Rangers, 2016). The initiative was held across Latin America in 2015 and 2016, regions such as India and South Africa in 2017 and 2018, and in previous years has been organized in countries including Israel, New Zealand, and Turkey. The company has also developed country-specific programs for youth. In the U.K., for instance, Google launched the Internet Citizens and Internet Legends programs. Internet Citizens, part of YouTube's Creators for Change program, is a set of day-long workshops for young people ages 13-18 across the U.K. that help teach youth how to express themselves creatively online while doing so in safe and positive ways (Internet Citizens, n.d.). Google's Internet Legends Tour, developed in collaboration with the organization Parent Zone, brings school-wide assemblies to elementary school students across the U.K., which aim to teach the "Legends Code," of which one of the fundamental tenets is respecting others online (Google, n.d.-b). In the U.S., Google hosts middle school assemblies across the country through their Online Safety Roadshow, which, in a similar vein, helps youth understand how to create respectful and safe online spaces (Hildreth, 2018).

Finally, in terms of tools, Google's Virtual Reality (VR) Action Lab examined how virtual reality can help encourage youth to become bullying upstanders, both offline and online (Harmony Labs, n.d.). The Action Lab, a collaboration between Google Daydream Impact, Sensorium Works, Screenwriters Colony, Institute of Play and other stakeholders, brought together middle school students, researchers, and media producers across four states in the U.S. to design three VR experiences around bullying. More specifically, the VR experiences aimed to help youth better 1) identify incidents of bullying, 2) understand their responsibility to intervene positively, and 3) choose the best course of action (VR Action Lab, 2017). Additionally, there is a curriculum for

middle school educators that consists of six lessons built around the three Action Lab-produced VR experiences.

Microsoft

Microsoft uses a four-pronged approach to foster responsible and safe technology use, with a focus on the technology itself, self-governance, partnerships, and consumer education and outreach (Beauchere, 2018a). Within Microsoft's software and services, the company embeds features (e.g., Family Safety, which permits parents and caregivers to monitor their children's Internet use) that help empower individuals to more effectively manage their online safety. The company also enforces policies against harassment on their platforms; users who abuse these regulations are subject to account termination, while more serious violations may be reported to law enforcement (Microsoft, 2013). To help educate consumers, the company's "360-degree" approach involves three components: 1) defining online risk, 2) offering resources to help both individuals and families better protect themselves online, and 3) providing support to address online harm when it does occur. In the context of online bullying, Microsoft (2013) offers educational materials for educators and parents and caregivers to help teach youth how to address cyberbullying incidents. With respect to outreach, the company frequently engages with followers and friends on social media to provide information and guidance on the resources and tools they offer around online safety (Microsoft, n.d.).

Microsoft has also conducted research on digital safety and cyberbullying specifically. To gain a sense of the global prevalence of online bullying, in 2012 Microsoft polled youth ages 8-17 in 25 countries or regions about negative behaviors online (Microsoft, 2012e). The survey was conducted both online and offline and included over 7,600 respondents, with at least 300 participants per country or region. The project shed light on how children from around the world view cyberbullying, particularly in countries that have produced very little research in this arena (e.g., Malaysia, Pakistan, Egypt). Across all countries, on average, 54% of participants indicated that they were worried they would be bullied online, 37% indicated they had been cyberbullied, and 24% revealed that they had bullied someone. The same survey demonstrated that less than three in 10 parents had discussed online bullying with their children (for country-level statistics around online bullying, please see part III, section 2).

Recently, Microsoft has adopted a more proactive approach to address cyberbullying, hate speech, and other forms of online risk through their Digital Civility campaign (Beauchere, 2018a). The campaign was launched on Safer Internet Day 2017, with the release of a global study on online safety and civility. The study, which surveyed adolescents (ages 13-17) and adults (ages 18-74) in 14 countries, used a "Digital Civility Index" to assess participants' lifetime exposure to 17 types of online risk,¹⁶ including

¹⁶ Microsoft operationalized online risks along the following four dimensions: reputational, behavioral, sexual, and personal/intrusive. For more information about these dimensions, please see Beauchere (2017).

bullying and harassment (Beauchere, 2017). Microsoft also developed a Digital Civility Challenge, which calls on individuals from around the world to pledge to live by four key principles for online interactions: treat others as you would like to be treated, pause before replying, respect differences, and stand up for yourself and others (Beauchere, 2017).

Microsoft has since conducted two similar studies. The company's 2018 Digital Civility Index surveyed adolescents and adults in 22 countries, with over 11,000 participants (Beauchere, 2018b). The study revealed 42% of teens who encountered risks online indicated they sought advice from a parent, and 28% noted they asked another adult, such as a counselor or teacher. These statistics have increased a notable 32 and 19 percentage points, respectively, compared to Microsoft's Digital Civility Index the previous year (Beauchere, 2018b). Microsoft's 2019 Digital Civility Index polled over 12,500 youth and adults in 25 countries around their exposure to 21 forms of online risk (Beauchere, 2019b). Nearly half (48%) of youth surveyed indicated that they would speak to a parent about concerns related to online activities — a 6% increase from Microsoft's 2018 Index.

In addition to Microsoft's surveys of adolescents, the company has directly involved youth in conceptualizing ways to address cyberbullying. The company's Council for Digital Good brought together 15 youth from across the U.S. to help advance digital civility (Microsoft Safer Online, 2017). The Council's work over the span of 18 months, starting in April 2017, culminated in a variety of outputs, including an open letter to U.S. policymakers around ways to promote healthy and positive relationships online, which a group of young people presented during Microsoft's inaugural Council for Digital Good in July of 2018 (Beauchere, 2018c). Looking ahead, Microsoft's Egypt division is leading the creation of an Arab Council for Digital Good as well as an African Council for Digital Good (Beauchere, 2018d).

Recently, Microsoft also joined the global campaign Power of Zero, led by the organization No Bully (Beauchere, 2019a), which aims to "help young children, and the adults who care for them, learn to use digital technology well and develop the voice, compassion and inclusivity that are the heart of digital citizenship" (Power of Zero, 2018, p. 2). Against this backdrop, the campaign is framed by the "12 Powers for Good" — Power of Zero's 12 life skills, or "powers," for children to successfully navigate both the online and offline world, including resilience, respect, inclusivity, and creativity, among others. The initiative offers early educators (the campaign is targeted towards children ages eight and under) and families with free learning materials to help young children cultivate these 12 powers and lay a strong foundation for them at an early age (Power of Zero, 2018).

Outside of the U.S.

How are companies based outside of the U.S. engaging in cyberbullying prevention/intervention efforts? In Europe, for instance, the telecommunications provider Portugal

Telecom employs a variety of policies, tools, educational materials, and programs to address online safety and cyberbullying (O'Neill, 2014). The company, which offers platforms where youth can create and share multimedia content, provides guidelines for the type of behavior allowed on their services, clearly stated consequences if community standards are violated, and reporting mechanisms for incidents of cyberbullying. With respect to education and outreach, their *Comunicar em Segurança* ("Communicating Safely") program brings cyber safety lessons to elementary school students throughout Portugal. In terms of addressing cyberbullying specifically, the company's *Não faças aos outros* ("Don't do to others [what you wouldn't want others to do to you]") initiative brought interactive plays, along with educational lectures, about online bullying to schools and theatres across the country. Multi-layered approaches to help prevent and address cyberbullying – encompassing policies, tools, and educational resources – can be seen in other Europe-based Internet companies, such as Orange Slovakia and Telecom Italia (O'Neill, 2014).

In Asia, China's social media platform WeChat similarly provides community guidelines around appropriate platform behavior, and tools and mechanisms to report cyberbullying and other forms of negative online content (Office of the eSafety Commissioner, n.d.). It does not appear, however, that WeChat engages in education and outreach around cyberbullying, or online safety more broadly – neither does Japan-based social network Line. Unlike WeChat, however, the platform does *not* offer any tools to report incidents of online bullying. To ensure the privacy of users, Line indicates that it is not permitted to view chat content and other types of user information. As the platform cannot view chat history, Line is "unable to take any action in regards to it" (Line, n.d., para. 3). Line suggests that if youth experience cyberbullying, they should discuss the incident with friends or family.

Looking Ahead: What Additional Steps Can Companies Take?

A recent study of young people in the U.S. revealed that the majority of youth (66%) believe social media companies are doing an only fair/poor job of addressing cyberbullying (Anderson, 2018). Another survey of young people (ages 11-25) in the U.K. indicated that more than 80% of youth want social media companies to more proactively mitigate online bullying (The Children's Society & YoungMinds, 2018). Further research indicates that, among youth who feel that social media has a negative impact on those their age, "bullying/rumor spreading" was cited as the main reason why (Anderson & Jiang, 2018).

Tijana Milosevic, a researcher at the Department of Media and Communication at the University of Oslo and member of the EU Kids Online research network, explores companies' role in combating cyberbullying among youth and suggests several ways that these stakeholders might strengthen their cyberbullying prevention/intervention efforts. While Milosevic's work focuses on social media companies, similar observations may also be applied to other technology platforms. Milosevic (2016) notes that these companies often view their cyberbullying policies and the mechanisms that enforce

them, such as tools that allow users to self-moderate (i.e., reporting tools), as “advanced” and “effective” as they perceive users as “empowered actors” equipped to comprehend the context behind their own conflicts (p. 5175). She points out, however, that “It is questionable to what extent users are empowered and these mechanisms effective given that companies do not publicly provide a set of standards by which they evaluate their effectiveness” (p. 5175).

Indeed, according to Milosevic (2016), only a few of the more established social media companies utilize extensive research-based approaches, and only Facebook offers statistics on the effectiveness of its policy. It should be noted that the platform’s results were based on a sample of U.S. adolescents, underscoring the need for a global perspective when carrying out evaluation efforts. Milosevic (2016) further notes that social media companies may deem these self-regulatory tools as particularly effective when viewed from a business model. Given the large amount of content shared on these platforms and the resulting cost of hiring human moderators, community self-moderation may offer the best solution from a profits perspective.

It also worth considering whether or not young people’s status as minors challenges the degree to which these mechanisms (e.g., self-reporting tools) and the responsibility they entail are suitable for these users (Milosevic, 2016; Staksrud, 2013). Companies may view such tools as empowering, aligned with the participation rights promised to children by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Livingstone, 2016; Milosevic, 2016). As Milosevic (2016) points out, “Nonetheless, this only makes a stronger case for giving children a voice in whether these advanced mechanisms are working for them” (p. 5175), suggesting that it might be beneficial for companies to explore how young people themselves view these mechanisms.¹⁷ Do youth regard them as helpful? Why or why not? The assessment of the effectiveness of these mechanisms from the youth perspective may be useful in the refinement of them and the creation of safer digital spaces.

5. Governments

Developing the appropriate legislative strategies to protect young people, while promoting youth’s rights to participation, is a complex area of responsibility in which governments have a role to play (Bulger, Burton, O’Neill, & Staksrud, 2017).

The U.S. has seen a recent wave of governmental efforts to help prevent and mitigate cyberbullying, often framed within the broader context of digital citizenship.¹⁸ Much of these efforts have come in the wake of Washington state’s bill around digital citizenship,

¹⁷ Please see Milosevic (2018) for an in-depth examination of how social media companies are working to address cyberbullying among youth.

¹⁸ To learn more about the evolving landscape of digital citizenship, please see YaM’s forthcoming paper *Youth and Digital Citizenship+ (Plus): Mapping and Discussing Important Areas of Life*, by Sandra Cortesi, Alexa Hasse, Andres Lombana-Bermudez, Sonia Kim, and Urs Gasser.

passed in 2016, which creates a support structure that helps educators incorporate digital citizenship, media literacy, and Internet safety education in public schools across the state (Media Literacy Now, 2019). Part of the initiative involves the revision of the state's kindergarten through 12th grade standards for educational technology to address specific types of online activity, including cyberbullying. The legislation has acted as a model for other states across the U.S. — the organization Media Literacy Now's digital citizenship and media literacy model bill, based on the Washington state bill, has been passed in several states, including Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Mexico, and California (Media Literacy Now, 2019). Across the U.S., a recent nationally representative survey of 1,208 kindergarten through 12th grade teachers by Common Sense Media (Vega & Robb, 2019) finds that about six out of 10 teachers have utilized a digital citizenship resource or curriculum within their classroom. Moreover, the areas most often addressed by teachers (taught by 46%) include cyberbullying, digital drama, and hate speech.¹⁹

What do governmental initiatives around cyberbullying look like in other regions of the world? In Asia, the Ministry of Education of Singapore (2018) has developed a nationwide curriculum promoting "cyber wellness" that became mandatory in 2014 for public school students ages 7-18. The framework aims to teach youth specific knowledge, values, skills, and attitudes around cyberbullying (among other safety-related Internet issues), such as awareness of the various forms online bullying can take, an understanding of social and cultural sensitivities, and social skills such as perspective-taking and conflict resolution.

In the Middle East, the United Arab Emirates' Sharjah city council launched an initiative in 2018, which is part of the Organising Committee of the Child Safety Campaign, titled "Responsible Media, Safe Child" (Alsaiani, 2019). The initiative aims to examine different forms of online abuse that youth may encounter, some of which are rarely discussed in mainstream media within the region. Additionally, it seeks to encourage further dialogue between parents and caregivers and young people about youth's online experiences and the risks they navigate online, and raise awareness among policymakers and media companies around ways to protect youth.

In Latin America, Chile's Ministry of Education (MoE) launched a digital citizenship initiative in 2016 under the Internet Segura ("Secure Internet") campaign. Internet Segura is part of the MoE's larger Enlaces ("Links") program, a national public policy that aims to provide digital infrastructure and educational resources to public schools across Chile (Blignaut, Hinostroza, Els, & Brun, 2010). The campaign's digital citizenship framework focuses on protecting youth online, addressing privacy and security concerns, as well as issues around safety, such as cyberbullying. Enlaces is building a "Digital Citizenship Network" of public, private, and civil society stakeholders that seeks to shape public

¹⁹ "Cyberbullying, digital drama, and hate speech" encompasses one of Common Sense Media's six key digital citizenship competencies. This competency aims to teach children and youth about ways to "take the active role of upstander . . . build positive, supportive online communities, and . . . cultivate empathy, compassion, and courage to combat negative interactions online" (Common Sense Media, n.d., para. 1).

policy with respect to training educators across Chile in teaching digital citizenship (Enlaces, 2017). Additionally, the Ministry of Education has released a set of educational materials around digital citizenship for children and youth from pre-elementary to high school (Enlaces, 2018).

In developing policies that aim to protect youth from the risks the digital world presents, including cyberbullying, it is helpful to involve multiple stakeholders, including parents and caregivers, educators, the private sector, government, and, importantly, young people themselves (Collier, 2019; Gasser, 2014; Gasser & Cortesi, 2017; Kleine, 2016; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2012; Palfrey, boyd, & Sacco, 2010; Third et al., 2014). Youth involvement in policy development represents an action-based process that engages young people in institutions and initiatives and provides them with a voice in the design of resources that impact their lives (World Bank, 1994). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) underscores the importance of the youth voice. As Kleine, Pearson, and Poveda (2016) point out, the Convention “calls for children to be consulted on issues that concern them. They have a right to co-determine what questions are being asked . . . and what opinions are being tested for agreement and disagreement” (p. 6). In incorporating the youth perspective in policy development, it is helpful to include young people from diverse ethnicities, socioeconomic backgrounds, and educational levels (Checkoway, 2011). Such policies may be in a better position to address how different youth attitudes, norms, and behaviors interface with various types of online skills and activities, including the ability to help prevent and/or reduce online bullying.

Including the youth voice in policymaking can both aid program development – making initiatives more aligned with youth’s experiences and needs – and provide benefits for young people themselves and the community at large (Gasser, 2014). Participation in the policymaking process can cultivate youth’s “personal development, and provides them with substantive knowledge and practical skills” (Checkoway, 2011, p. 340). Working with peers in the process, for example, offers young people the opportunity to develop social capital, an important ability for joint actions that allow individuals to accomplish goals typically beyond a single person’s reach (OECD, 2014). Additionally, youth who perceive that their experiences and perspectives are being respected develop a positive sense of identity, promoting resilience and well-being (Brady et al., 2012). At the wider community level, involving youth in the policy design process can offer indirect benefits for society, arising from, for example, the broadening of civic activity (Zeldin, Camino, & Calvert, 2007). Thus, well-designed forms of youth participation – those that “provide opportunities for young people to connect with others, engage in meaningful activities, develop skills, feel safe, secure, and valued” (Brady et al., 2012, p. 20) – have the potential to enhance policy design, youth’s personal development, and society as a whole.

V. CONCLUSION

Bullying in an online world among youth is a complex phenomenon influenced by an array of factors, including relationships with parents and caregivers, dynamics with peers, school climate, interactions with Internet companies, and the impact of governmental initiatives. As such, a multi-faceted approach may be helpful to prevent and respond to online bullying – including parents and caregivers, bystanders, schools and educators, Internet companies, and governments. Parents and caregivers who collaboratively work with their children to navigate the online world are more likely to protect youth against online bullying than those who unilaterally enforce Internet use restrictions. Further studies, however, may be useful to explore cross-cultural dynamics around parents and caregivers' influence (e.g., degree of parental monitoring) on cyberbullying.

With respect to bystanders, research demonstrates variation in bystander behavior in terms of individual characteristics and thought processes (e.g., age, gender, level of empathy), with a growing body of literature highlighting the importance of contextual factors (e.g., individual's relation to those involved in the bullying incident). These findings suggest the need to approach bystander behavior from a multi-layered lens, encompassing both intrapersonal and interpersonal dynamics. A holistic perspective may also be helpful in school-based efforts, involving youth, parents and caregivers, educators, school administrators, and the broader community. Additionally, initiatives within schools might benefit from incorporating social-emotional learning opportunities, structured educational modules, and an emphasis on the bystander and victim perspectives, with recent research indicating the promise of interventions focusing specifically on the bully's behavior (e.g., through the application of social control theory).

At a broader level, several companies with an online presence aim to address cyberbullying through a variety of policies, tools, resources, and programs. These efforts may benefit from research that explores their effectiveness and the inclusion of the youth perspective. In the governmental sphere, there has been a wave of efforts – often framed within the context of “digital citizenship” – to develop and implement school curricula that address cyberbullying. In this space, similarly, it may be helpful to evaluate the efficacy of these initiatives and incorporate the youth voice in the design and refinement of these programs.

In sum, a multi-stakeholder approach is helpful in preventing and responding to cyberbullying among youth, with an emphasis not only on young people's knowledge and behaviors in the context of online bullying, but that of others in their social surroundings – parents and caregivers, peers, educators, representatives of Internet companies, and policymakers.

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APPENDICES A-D

APPENDIX A: LIFETIME CYBERBULLYING PREVALENCE RATES AMONG ADOLESCENTS IN THE U.S. FROM 2007-2019

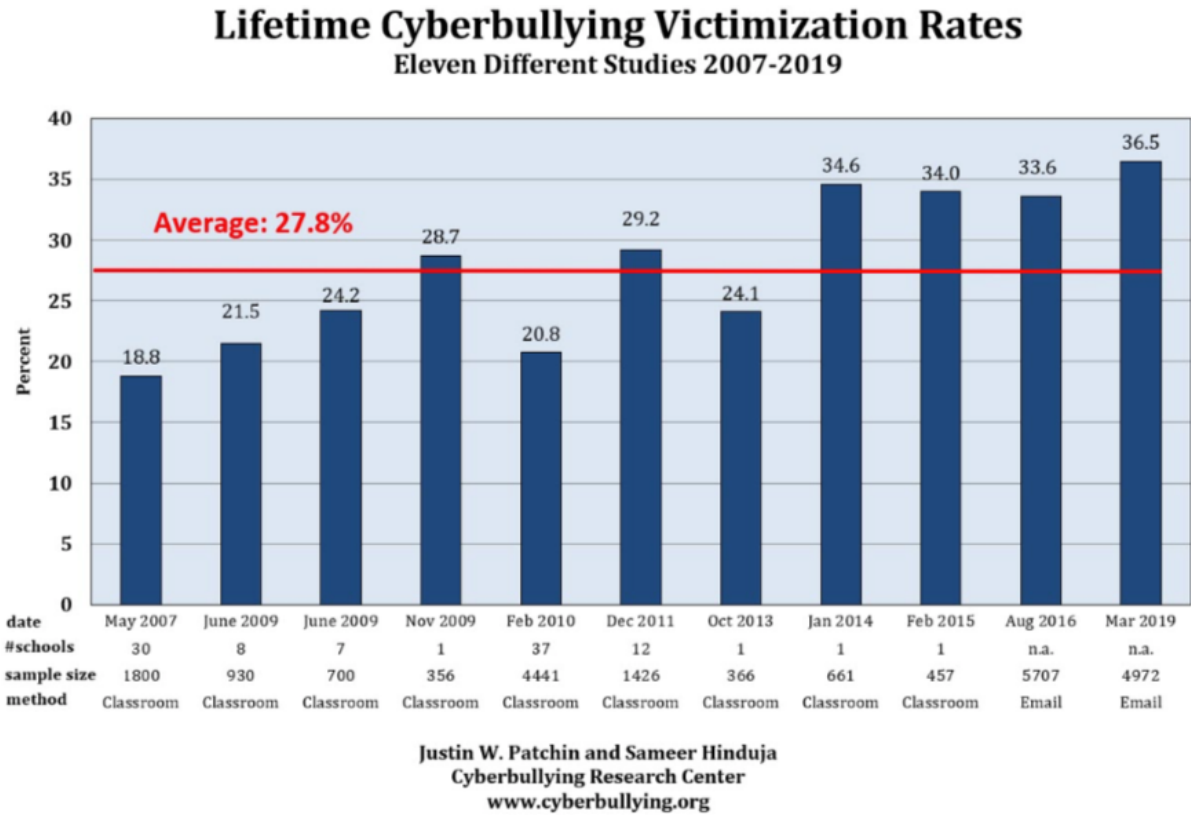
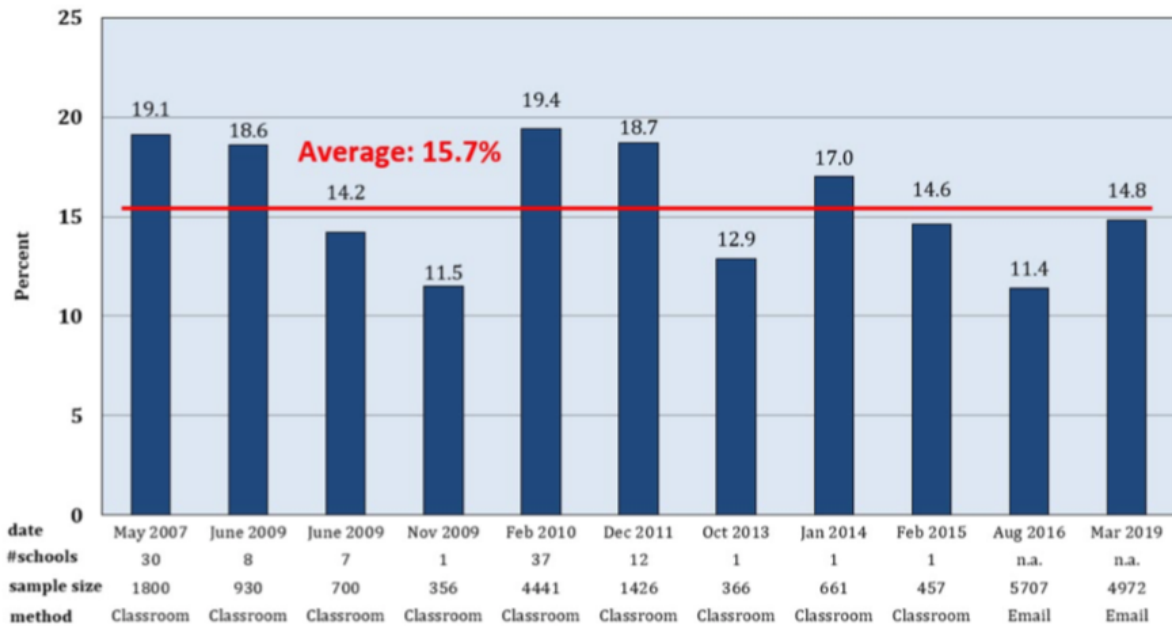


Figure 1. Lifetime cyberbullying victimization rates. Reprinted from “Summary of Our Cyberbullying Research (2007-2019),” by J. Patchin, 2019, (<https://cyberbullying.org/summary-of-our-cyberbullying-research>).

Lifetime Cyberbullying Offending Rates Eleven Different Studies 2007-2019



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Cyberbullying Research Center
www.cyberbullying.org

Figure 2. Lifetime cyberbullying offending rates. Reprinted from “Summary of Our Cyberbullying Research (2007-2019),” by J. Patchin, 2019, (<https://cyberbullying.org/summary-of-our-cyberbullying-research>).

APPENDIX B: PREVIOUS 30-DAY CYBERBULLYING PREVALENCE RATES AMONG ADOLESCENTS IN THE U.S. FROM 2007-2019

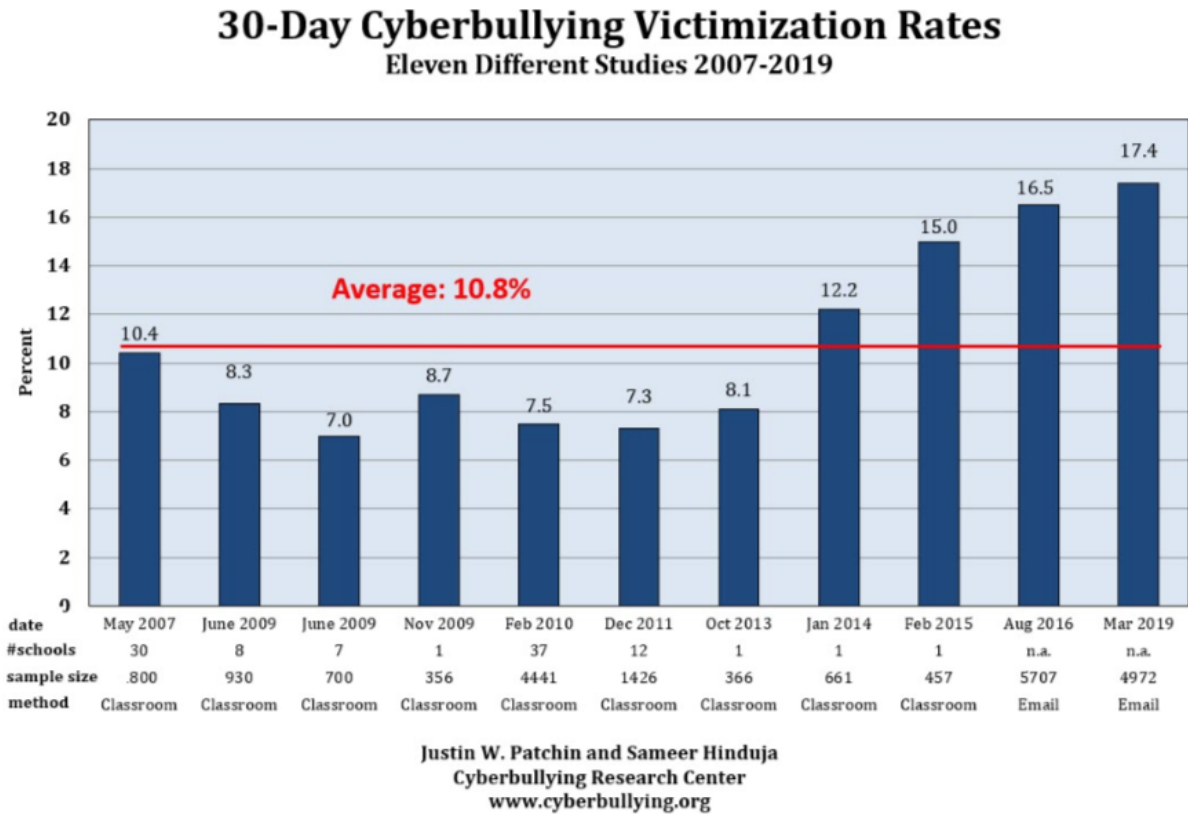
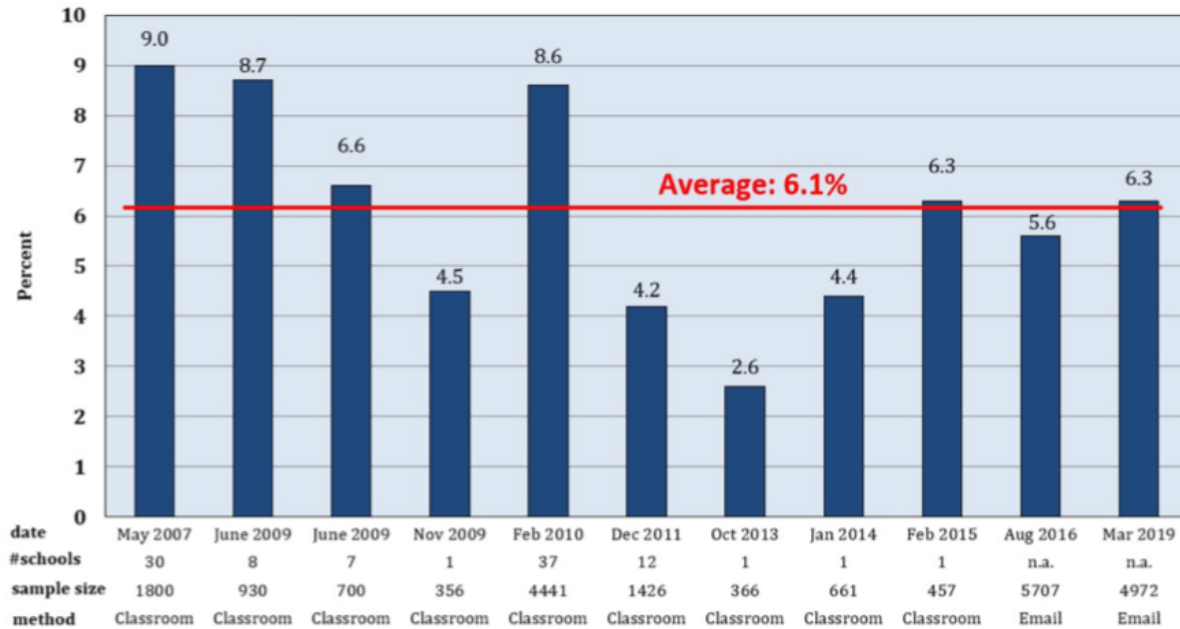


Figure 3. 30-day cyberbullying victimization rates. Reprinted from “Summary of Our Cyberbullying Research (2007-2019),” by J. Patchin, 2019, (<https://cyberbullying.org/summary-of-our-cyberbullying-research>).

30-Day Cyberbullying Offending Rates Eleven Different Studies 2007-2019



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Figure 4. 30-day cyberbullying victimization rates. Reprinted from “Summary of Our Cyberbullying Research (2007-2019),” by J. Patchin, 2019, (<https://cyberbullying.org/summary-of-our-cyberbullying-research>).

APPENDIX C: EXCERPT FROM CYBERBULLYING AND ONLINE AGGRESSION SURVEY INSTRUMENT (2014 VERSION)

Cyberbullying victimization scale

1. I have been cyberbullied.
2. Someone posted mean or hurtful comments about me online.
3. Someone posted a mean or hurtful picture online of me online.
4. Someone posted a mean or hurtful video online of me online.
5. Someone created a mean or hurtful web page about me.
6. Someone spread rumors about me online.
7. Someone threatened to hurt me through a cell phone text message.
8. Someone threatened to hurt me online.
9. Someone pretended to be me online and acted in a way that was mean or hurtful.

Figure 5. Cyberbullying victimization scale. Reprinted from "Measuring cyberbullying: Implications for research," by J. W. Patchin and S. Hinduja, 2015, *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 23, p. 72.

Cyberbullying offending scale

1. I cyberbullied others.
2. I posted mean or hurtful comments about someone online.
3. I posted a mean or hurtful picture online of someone.
4. I posted a mean or hurtful video online of someone.
5. I spread rumors about someone online.
6. I threatened to hurt someone online.
7. I threatened to hurt someone through a cell phone text message.
8. I created a mean or hurtful web page about someone.
9. I pretended to be someone else online and acted in a way that was mean or hurtful to them.

Figure 6. Cyberbullying offending scale. Reprinted from "Measuring cyberbullying: Implications for research," by J. W. Patchin and S. Hinduja, 2015, *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 23, p. 72.

APPENDIX D: YOUTH'S DESCRIPTIONS OF CYBERBULLYING EXPERIENCES

These accounts represent students' responses to the open-response section of Hinduja and Patchin's cyberbullying survey, as well as stories from focus groups and detailed one-on-one conversations with teenagers. The surveys that these responses are drawn from were administered between 2007-2015.

The specific survey question is listed as follows (Hinduja & Patchin, 2015, p. 73):

Please describe – in as much detail as possible – your most recent experience with being bullied online. Please tell us about the online activity in which you were participating, what you know about the others who were involved, how it made you feel, and what you did specifically in response.

"I posted a picture of my guy friend on Instagram for his birthday. After I got a couple of likes, I went on Twitter. Four girls there were saying hurtful things about me for posting the picture. I don't know why they felt so offended. They posted tweets calling me names. I wanted to turn my phone off, but when other people started to like and retweet those awful things I just couldn't!" - Sara, 15, New Jersey (p. 26)

"I just want to end this problem. I don't want to fight anymore with anyone. I've been trying to mind my own business but nobody seems to leave me alone. They always ask for a fight. I always try to ignore it but it's just too impossible for me to just let it go. I never fought with anyone till this year. This has been the worst year of my life. My life is falling apart and I just don't know what to do anymore" - Scarlett, 15, Virginia (p. 6)

"I feel bad for the people being bullied, it's so rude to pick on someone and they are doing it online where they have proof of what was said and can print it out and pass it around school" - Faye, 15, Wisconsin (p. 87)

"I've been bullied for 10 years of my life with a school transfer and a homeschool program. I've lost everyone including myself. I guess some of you are thinking that I should be used to it by now, but the truth is that you never get used to it. I am told to kill myself on an everyday basis online and offline. Plus the pressures of school, and social hubs, and trying to be yourself in this obscure world, it makes life so hard. I am trying to stay strong and fight through this and now that I have friends for the first time, true friends, I don't feel as alone anymore knowing that there are people in my life who actually have my back" - Chris, 14, Florida (p. 145)