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Introduction

Heidi Vandebosch and Lelia Green

Abstract Humans are storytellers. Via stories, they share their own experiences and learn from the experiences of others. Particularly for young people, cyberbullying may be one of the more negative, and possibly life altering, experiences they will be confronted with. This introductory chapter argues for the use of narrative approaches in research and interventions on cyberbullying. Narrative research methods have the potential to generate more in-depth insights into this complex problem in the hope of improving the efficacy of prevention, detection and intervention efforts. This chapter also seeks to clarify the manner in which the contributions to this book come together to offer innovative, multi-disciplinary, multi-cultural and complementary insights into the topic.

Cyberbullying is a common phenomenon amongst young people and may have a serious impact on their mental health. The problem has attracted the attention of the scientific community since the start of the 21st century. Scholars from different fields—i.e. developmental and health psychology, communication science, criminology, …—have been conducting research on the prevalence of cyberbullying, the profiles of bullies, victims and bystanders, and the determinants of their behaviors, as well as the impact of their involvement in cyberbullying. After a first phase of problem-oriented research, scholars have been increasingly paying attention to the development, implementation and evaluation of evidence-based interventions. This often happens in cooperation with relevant societal stakeholders such as educators, social networking sites, the police, internet literacy organisations, health professionals, policy makers and so on.

This edited book focuses on *young people*, and explores how *research* and *interventions* on cyberbullying can be enriched by narrative approaches. Although bul-

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lying in all its forms can be found in almost every age group, the investigation of cyberbullying predominantly comprises an investigation of *young people*'s use of digital information and communication technologies. This is the group of people who have come of age alongside the spread and uptake of Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Snapchat and the other platforms that children and teens use to build community: creating ingroups and outgroups. As Robbins and Kruger argue (2005, p. 32) "The greater strength of ingroup projection can contribute to ingroup favoritism, perceptions of ingroup homogeneity, and cooperation with ingroup members". This has potential negative consequences, including bullying and other kinds of social aggression, for those people identified as outgroup.

Narrative methods are a type of qualitative research methods that allow researchers to investigate people's sense making and stories of their (often times) complex social realities. In this way, they provide an in-depth insight into how events are perceived to relate and build upon each other in cause and consequence terms, and the roles of different actors. A number of data collection methods can be used in narrative research, with interview-based narrative research the most common (Riessman, 2006). Other approaches involve the use of participatory narrative research such as digital storytelling (Willox, Harper, & Edge, 2013), or the observation and analysis of naturalistic data, e.g. narratives that develop on the internet (Robinson, 2001). In the case of cyberbullying, narrative methods are able to capture the lived experiences of young people. They provide a more in-depth view of the phenomenon than, for instance, surveys. By telling their stories, young people are also able to voice their concerns and to act as co-researchers. In this way, they can challenge scholars' (adult) perspectives. Furthermore, this act of producing a narrative might help children and adolescents to reflect on ethical behaviors (Cajete, Eder & Holyan, 2010) and to cope with adverse life experiences such as (cyber)bullying (Pennebaker & Seagal, 1999).

The basic premise of *narrative interventions* or *narrative health communication* is that people can learn from and be persuaded by stories. Stories are engaging, personal, realistic and relevant. They provide role models and show us the positive and negative outcomes of behaviors. In the case of cyberbullying, they might teach us that cyberbullying has a negative impact on victims and could result in legal action or other types of punishments; that bystanders can make a difference by reacting in an appropriate way, and that victims can successfully cope with their situation.

Narrative methods and narrative interventions are also logically connected to each other as the personal cyberbullying stories uncovered via narrative methods may provide the basis for successful narrative interventions. They both also imply ethical challenges. For instance, collecting, analyzing and reporting on a sensitive topic such as cyberbullying amongst young people requires cautionary measures, especially when dealing with victims. As is the case in many Entertainment-Education formats, when using narratives to inform or persuade young people, the transparency of the communicator's intentions might raise ethical questions about what is more important: society's prerogative to promote pro-social behavior via communication techniques that are able to reach and persuade people, or people's right to know the intent of the communicator, which may cause a reaction against the message, hindering the positive effects of the narratives.

The first part of this book provides a state-of-the art overview of cyberbullying research and interventions. In the chapter "Research on Cyberbullying: Strengths and Limitations", Peter K. Smith describes what cyberbullying is, how it has been investigated throughout the years, and what the main findings of these studies are. From this overview it is clear that the majority of the studies were quantitative in nature (mostly cross-sectional or longitudinal surveys), and revealed important (statistical) information about the prevalence, predictors and outcomes of cyberbullying. The number of qualitative studies (focus groups, in-depth-interviews …), on the other hand, is relatively scarce. The latter have proven to be beneficial for the exploration of the phenomenon and the further explanation of quantitative findings. The chapter ends with a plea to further stimulate qualitative narrative research with regard to cyberbullying, as it may help to adequately capture young people's sense making of their experiences in their most natural form. In the chapter "Cyberbullying Prevention, Detection and Intervention", Heidi Vandebosch departs from a multi-stakeholder approach. She looks at the ways cyberbullying is currently being addressed in schools, in the online context and by the mass media. She argues that the efficacy and adoption of current whole school programs against (cyber)bullying might be improved by the integration of more narrative approaches, as these are often appreciated by young people, as well as by teachers. In the online context, stories on cyberbullying might provide automatic detection systems essential information about patterns of events and actors that are typical for cyberbullying, so that they can detect "true" instances of this type of online aggression. Moreover, user generated content, such as victims' stories regarding what happened to them, might be successful in providing concrete coping advice to other victims. Finally, news and entertainment media play an important role in creating general awareness about cyberbullying. Therefore it is important that they represent cyberbullying and its consequences in an accurate way (e.g., by not emphasizing the link between cyberbullying victimization and suicide).

In the second part of this book, narrative methods and narrative interventions are being described. Lelia Green, Kathleen Van Royen and Anne Vermeulen argue that narrative methods can be helpful in studying online risks for youngsters as they enable them to explore their perceptions and experiences, thought processes, and emotional states through their eyes. They also illustrate how the online context might provide additional opportunities for conducting narrative research. They then elaborate on different types of narrative research methods: those relying on online interviews (using elicitation techniques), those relying on naturalistic online data, and those relying on participatory approaches (drawing, mapping, keeping diaries, …). In the chapter "Narrative Health Communication", Hans Hoeken and Hanny den Ouden explain that narrative health interventions might be more effective than rhetorical health interventions as they are more likely to attract attention, are more comprehensible and memorable, and are less likely to evoke resistance. They furthermore underline the need for tailoring the narrative to the target audience. In the case of cyberbullying, for instance, stories aiming to change behavioural determinants and behaviours of perpetrators, bystanders and victims should take a different approach.

In the third part of this book, different studies that used a narrative-based research method to explore cyberbullying are presented. Sara Pabian and Sara

Erreygers' chapter explains the benefits, and potential pitfalls, of using photo-elicitation techniques for interviewing adolescents about their daily positive and negative online interactions with peers. In the chapter "'Were You Cyberbullied? Let Me Help You.' Studying Adolescents' Online Peer Support of Cyberbullying Victims Using Thematic Analysis of Online Support Group Fora", Sara Bastiaensens, Katrien Van Cleemput, Heidi Vandebosch, Karolien Poels, Ann DeSmet and Ilse De Bourdeaudhuij report the results of an analysis of naturalistic narratives on cyberbullying victimization on online helpline fora for young people. More in particular, they investigated victims' coping requests on these online fora, as well as the coping advice offered by other fora members. The chapter "Designs on Narrative: A Design-Based Method to Elicit Young People's Narratives About Electronic Image-Sharing Issues and Interventions", by Dianne V. Hawk, Patricia Cardoso, Donna Cross and Joelie Mandzufas, illustrates how design based methods can be used to explore young people's individual and collective narratives about electronic image sharing (EIM) issues and interventions. This chapter clearly illustrates how narrative data can be gathered through an extensive collaboration between researchers and participants.

The fourth part of this book focuses on "Narratives in Cyberbullying Interventions Aimed at Young People". Irene White, Mairéad Foody and James O'Higgins Norman's chapter pleas for bottom-up approaches that allow students to voice their experiences in school-based anti-(cyber)bullying interventions. Creative processes (i.e. writing workshops and forum theatre) play a crucial role in this. More in particular, they provide a powerful entry for discussions and may lead to a transformative experience. In the chapter "'The Things You Didn't Do': Gender, Slut-Shaming, and the Need to Address Sexual Harassment in Narrative Resources Responding to Sexting and Cyberbullying", Amy Shields Dobson describes the cyber safety film Tagged, and young people's reactions to the main characters and events as expressed in focus groups. She then argues that the narrative resources that are currently being used in schools to educate young people on sexting and sexualised cyberbullying, may reinforce longstanding gendered and heterosexualised logics of sexual double standards, victim blaming, and gendered harassment that happens on- and offline. In the chapter "Narrative Understanding Technologies for Intervention Against Cyberbullying" of part IV, Jamie C. Macbeth describes how a collection of cyberbullying stories that were posted by visitors to a website of an anti-cyberbullying campaign, such as MTV's website The Thin Line, may, be used as a resource for coping advice by other victims and as a basis for the stepwise development of intelligent agents that can be built into the software of social media platforms to detect cyberbullying and intervene against it.

The final part of this book, 'Narrative and community-level responses', consists of four chapters. What these chapters have in common is that they look at narratives that were created or retold by mass communicators, such as journalists, traditional celebrities and bloggers, regarding cyberbullying experiences, how to cope with them as a victim, and how to address them as a society (i.e. what should policymakers or the industry do?). In the chapter "Celebrities' Experience with Cyberbullying: A Framing Analysis of Celebrity Stories in Online News Articles in Teen Magazines" for instance, Gaelle Ouvrein,

Heidi Vandebosch and Charlotte De Backer, describe the content and the underlying messages in news articles about 'traditional' celebrities' experiences with cyberbullying as victims, based on a framing analysis of online articles from two popular American celebrity teen magazines: *Seventeen* and *Twist* magazine. Crystal Abidin, on the other hand, focuses on a new type of celebrity in the chapter "Victim, Rival, Bully: Influencers' Narrative Cultures Around Cyberbullying". Her etnography-based research reveals that "Influencers"—who gained (micro)celebrity status through their online presence on different types of platforms (e.g., Instagram, Facebook, weblogs, …)—practice a variety of discursive strategies around cyberbullying, including positioning the self as victim, rival, and bully. In the chapter ""Judge Me, Or Be There For Me": How Can Narratives be Used to Encourage Action and Intervention by Parents, Schools, the Police, Policymakers, and Other Children?", Lelia Green departs from a highly mediatized case of cyberbullying: the Amanda Todd case. She argues that Amanda Todd's story about cyberbullying, told by Todd in a personal Youtube video and eventually by the news media after her tragic death, can be used to encourage action and intervention by parents, schools, the police, policymakers, and other children. In the final chapter of this book "Narratives of Industry Responses to Cyberbullying: Perspectives on Self-regulation from and About the Industry", Tijana Milosevic, Brian O'Neill and Elisabeth Staksrud provide an overview of narratives about online intermediaries' responses to cyberbullying from the perspectives of policy makers, the companies, as well as children and parents.

In summary, this collection represents diverse ways in which narrative methods are used to develop a qualitative understanding of what happens in cyberbullying and to create effective cyberbullying interventions. It focuses on young people because these are the core victims, bystanders and perpetrators of this digital behavior. Some of these case studies involve upper Primary (or Elementary) students who may be pre-adolescent, some relate to (early, middle or late) adolescents, and some to young adults. However, the principles behind the accounts of narrative research and interventions are applicable across the age range, even if they need some refinement to take into account the comparative developmental status of the research participants or the target group of the intervention. In the same way that a skilled story teller will adapt their tale according to those who are listening, so a researcher can also adapt the bare bones of a narrative approach to cyberbullying according to the specific age group or context to be investigated.

The cultural contexts of cyberbullying are varied, and this is reflected in the range of stories covered, from celebrity Influencers in Singapore to a young Canadian victim of a Dutch predator used as a case study about cyberbullying in Australia. Authors are similarly informed by a variety of cultural contexts. These perspectives enrich the collection since ingroups, outgroups, bullying and social aggression, like storytelling itself, appear to be part of the human condition. Not all the case study examples offered will have equal applicability to all situations. Some will resonate more than others, reflecting both the age of the young people to be researched or the design of the intervention to be crafted. Like a good narrative, however, each of these chapters has been chosen and developed to convey an important kernel of information

about the use of narrative methods in research and interventions in cyberbullying. Sensitive use of the information contained in this book will make a difference to the lived experiences of young people around the world, online and offline.

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Part I
Cyberbullying

Research on Cyberbullying: Strengths and Limitations

Peter K. Smith

Abstract Cyberbullying has built on a previous research tradition in school bullying, but with inputs from other disciplines. There has been a decade of a rapidly increasing number of research studies. This has been a global phenomenon, with an initial impetus from North America but by now an even greater volume from Europe. By continent, only South America and Africa have so far lagged behind in this global development. Cyberbullying has both similarities to and differences from traditional bullying. There is still continuing debate about issues of measurement and definition, which the changing technological scene only exacerbates. Many studies have reported prevalence rates, but these vary hugely, depending on methodologies employed. Considerable work has focussed on age and gender differences, and other predictors of involvement. Another common focus of studies has been on correlates of cyberbullying involvement and negative outcomes, often found to be as much or more than for traditional bullying. The great majority of empirical studies have been quantitative, and cross-sectional. There is a need for more longitudinal studies, and also more qualitative and mixed methods approaches.

1 Introduction

Bauman (2011) has discussed the origins of the term cyberbullying. Despite a few earlier uses of this, or similar terms such as internet harassment (Ybarra, 2004), Bill Belsey brought it into clear focus. He was moderating a website on general bullying prevention and, in 2003, as young people were starting to describe being bullied online, he created a website at www.cyberbullying.ca. His website is still operational at the time of writing, and claims to have the world's first definition of cyberbullying.

The term cyberbullying suggests a relationship to bullying generally. Cyberbullying can be seen as a new, additional form of bullying, online (Slonje & Smith,

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2008; Wolke, Lee, & Guy, 2017). However, many researchers contrast it with offline or traditional bullying, or in-person bullying (Hamby et al., 2018), or in-real-life (IRL) bullying (Landstedt & Persson, 2014). Some similarities and differences will be explored in this chapter. In addition, it is worth noting that research on traditional bullying has mostly come from developmental psychologists, and some sociologists. Cyberbullying has attracted more attention from disciplines such as media and communications, information technology, and legal studies.

2 How Has Research on Cyberbullying Developed?

Research on cyberbullying has increased massively during this century. Figure 1 shows the number of articles on cyberbullying, up to 2017. It uses the Web of Science database with the following searches: cyber* and bully*; cyber* and victim*; electronic bullying; internet bullying; and online harassment.

Analyses of the type and content of this kind of research was pioneered by Zych, Ortega-Ruiz, and del Rey (2015). They used the Web of Science database and exam-

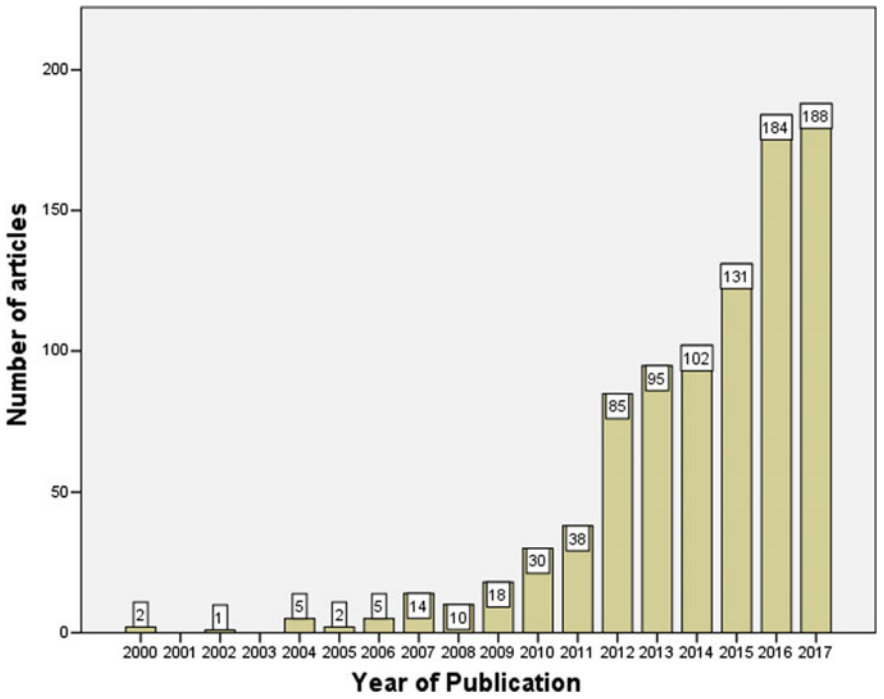

Fig. 1 Number of articles on cyberbullying, from Web of Science, by year of publication (2000–2017)

ined the content of publications on school bullying and cyberbullying from 1978 to 2013. Due to the great number of articles, they took the ten most cited articles in each year (or all, if less than ten), resulting in 309 articles; 233 on traditional bullying and 76 on cyberbullying.

Zych et al. found the earliest articles on cyberbullying in 2003, with just 4 articles before 2006. They divided their analysis of cyberbullying articles into two periods: 2006–2010, and 2011–2013. Of 42 articles sampled in the 2006–2010 period, 28 were on the nature and dynamics of cyberbullying, and 14 were on related variables. Of 30 articles from 2011–2013, this switched around with 11 on nature and dynamics, 17 on related variables, and 2 on minorities. None of their cyberbullying articles were scored in a prevention and intervention category.

Zych et al. also counted the number of authors for each cyberbullying article. Comparing the same two time periods, the mean number of authors increased from 2.74 to 2.87. The percentage of articles with international collaboration (two or more country affiliations in the authors) increased from 14 to 20%. The US, followed by Canada and the UK, provided the most articles.

The work of Zych et al. provided a valuable sketch of how research on bullying, including cyberbullying, has developed. However, they only examined the ten most cited articles each year, and these are only a small fraction of the total. They also only included articles on school-age bullying; but cyberbullying especially is more permeable to age distinctions (Pyzalski, 2012).

Smith and Berkkun (2017) used a similar approach to focus on cyberbullying, using the search that produced Fig. 1 (but at that time, up to 2015; Fig. 1 here is an extension of their original Fig. 1 to include 2016 and 2017). They examined the abstracts of all journal articles in English, rather than just the most highly cited ones, and included lifespan studies as well as those on school-age participants. They started the search from 1990, but did not find any eligible articles before 2000. They then searched the period from 2000 up to 2015 on a yearly basis, obtaining a total of 538 eligible Abstracts over the 16 years, an average of 33.6 per year.

Figure 1 suggests three phases: from 2000 to 2006, a small trickle of articles (range 0–5 per year); from 2007 to 2011, a substantial but still modest number of articles (range 14–38 per year); and from 2012 on, a very large number of articles (range 85–131 per year by 2015; and up to 188 by 2017). Since 2009 the trend has been steadily upwards. For purposes of later analyses of time trends, Smith and Berkkun made 3 groupings of year periods: (1) from 2000 to 2011 (n = 125); 2012–2013 (n = 180); and 2014–2015 (n = 233).

The overall mean number of authors was 3.11 authors per article, with an increase over time from 2.66 for 2000–2011, to 3.00 for 2012–2013, and 3.42 for 2014–2015. The national affiliation of lead authors by continent was North America (n = 197), Europe (including Israel) (n = 190), Asia (including Turkey) (n = 106), Australasia (n = 40), and Other (Africa and South America) (n = 5). North American contributions predominated in the first time period, but with an equally or more substantial contribution from Europe since 2012. Contributions from Asia have been increasing markedly, and there has been a steady contribution from Australasia.

Of the 538 articles, 29 (5%) had authors from more than one country within a continent; of these most, 24, were within Europe. Another 36 (7%) had authors from more than one continent; 27 of these involved North America, 20 Europe, 14 Australasia and 13 Asia.

Smith and Berkkun (2017) then distinguished types of articles. The great majority (454 or 84%) provided original empirical data. Others were classified as opinion pieces (45), narrative reviews (33) or meta-analyses (6). The 454 empirical articles were then classified according to the content, using 17 categories (an article was scored for all categories which were evident from the abstract). In order of frequency, the categories were: Other predictors of involvement (i.e. beyond age, gender, country, minority group) 57%, Outcomes of involvement 46%, Prevalence rates 38%, Gender differences 36%, Peer groups, Social dynamics, Bystanders 20%, Age differences 16%, Parents 12%, Resources and interventions 9%, Coping strategies 8%, Definitional or measurement issues 7%, Qualitative data 7%, Teachers 6%, Minority groups 6%, Longitudinal data 5%, Cross-national comparisons 3%, Siblings 2%, and Legal issues 2%.

The earliest articles came from the USA (as noted by Zych et al., 2015), and indeed North America predominated in the early years of cyberbullying research. This contrasts with research on traditional bullying, which originated in Scandinavia in the 1980s (with a separate tradition on *ijime* in Japan) (Smith, 2014). Traditional bullying research became active in many European countries from the early 1990s, but in North America some years later. North American work initially referred to peer victimization and harassment (see the edited collection by Juvonen & Graham, 2001), but the bullying concept soon came to be widely used, and Espelage and Swearer (2004) were able to provide an important collection of research in American schools. Interestingly, cyberbullying does not appear in the index of these two edited volumes, although it no doubt existed (Bauman, 2011). But soon after this, the first relevant publications on cyberbullying were appearing.

Although North American research provided the main initial contribution in the cyberbullying area, the volume of research in Europe has grown more rapidly, and has overtaken North America in the 2012–2015 period. One factor here is likely to be sources of funding through the EU Framework programs. Programs such as DAPHNE (on child and family safety issues) generally require that several different European countries collaborate, and Europe has provided the majority of cross-national (but within-continent) articles, and the highest number of authors per article (3.54, compared to 2.97 in North America). The COST IS0801 Action on Cyberbullying, which ran from 2008 to 2012, brought together 28 European countries in networking activities, and led to many publications (see Smith & Steffgen, 2013).

Research in Asian countries has also been significant, and increasing rapidly. Research in Australasia has been at a steady rate, modestly increasing, and sizeable given the population of the countries involved. However, to date, research from Central or South America, and Africa, has been very limited.

The rapid rise in research publications has paralleled the rapid rise in penetration of ICT amongst the population generally and especially young people. Surveys such as Kaiser Foundation (www.kff.org) and Pew (www.pewinternet.org) in the USA

and Ofcom in the UK (www.ofcom.org.uk) have demonstrated how availability and use of mobile phones and computers has increased dramatically this century, with a rapid increase in smart phone use since around 2011. Although *Computers in Human Behavior* started in 1985, newer journals, such as *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* (1998–), *New Media & Society* (1999–), and *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace* (2006–) would have facilitated the growth in English-language publications. There have also been many special issues of mainstream journals devoted partly or wholly to cyberbullying (e.g. *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling* 20(2), 2010*; Emotional & Behavioural Difficulties* 17(3–4), 2012*; European Journal of Developmental Psychology* 9(2), 2012*; International Journal of Environmental Protection and Public Health* 3(1), 2018; *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 23(1), 2013; *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 48(8), 2017; *Journal of Information Systems Education* 25(1), 2014; *School Psychology International* 34(6), 2013*; Societies* 5(2), 2015, *Zeitschrift fur Psychology/Journal of Psychology* 217(4), 2009).

What has all this research output told us, and what have been its strengths and limitations? The remainder of this chapter considers this under a number of topic headings. Prevention and intervention issues are not covered, since they are reviewed in chapter "Cyberbullying Prevention, Detection and Intervention".

3 Definitional and Measurement Issues

There is general agreement that aggression can be defined as an action that has the intent to cause harm; correspondingly, cyber-aggression would mean an action that intends to cause harm, using mobile phones or the internet. Bullying, however, is generally agreed to be a subset of aggression, with two additional criteria: repetition, and imbalance of power (Olweus, 1993). Thus a definition of bullying is repeated aggressive acts against someone who cannot easily defend themselves, or 'a systematic abuse of power'. Correspondingly, cyberbullying can be defined as "an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using mobile phones or the internet, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself" (Smith et al., 2008).

This kind of definition follows on from a tradition of work on offline or traditional bullying, comprising physical and verbal bullying, systematic social exclusion, and rumour spreading. Cyberbullying, sometimes called electronic or online bullying, is then bullying involving mobile phones, or the internet. However, cyberbullying differs from traditional bullying in a number of respects (Smith, 2014). It depends on at least some degree of technological expertise. It is primarily indirect rather than face-to-face, so there is some "invisibility" of those doing the bullying; correspondingly, the perpetrator does not usually see the victim's reaction, at least in the short term; and the variety of bystander roles is more complex. The breadth of the potential audience is increased. Also, it is difficult to escape from. These differences are

relevant for considering how we define cyberbullying, why perpetrators might be motivated to do it, the effects it may have on victims, and how we best intervene.

There is continuing debate about how appropriate it is to carry over the definition of traditional bullying to cyberbullying. One criterion for traditional bullying is repetition: but a single online perpetrator act may be viewed or passed on many times by others, and this could often be foreseen by the perpetrator—so it might be legitimate to count a single perpetrator act as cyberbullying. A second criterion is imbalance of power: the usual signs of this for traditional bullying—physical strength, social status, or number of bullies—do not so obviously apply for cyberbullying, especially if the perpetrator withholds their identity. However, anonymity in itself may indicate an imbalance of power—the perpetrator knows the victim, but not vice versa; and if there is not anonymity and the victim does know who the perpetrator is, then the traditional criteria may still be relevant.

Empirical data on criteria used by young people was provided in a six-country cross-national study by Menesini et al. (2012, 2013). They gave 11–17 year olds a range of scenarios, to judge whether they were cyberbullying, or not. Imbalance of power was found overall to be the most important criterion; this was followed by the intentionality of the act, and anonymity of the perpetrator (as a substitute for imbalance of power). Repetition was a less important criterion, as was the public or private nature of the context.

Some researchers use more general terms such as cyber victimization (Law, Shapka, & Olson, 2010) or online harassment (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010). Vandebosch and van Cleemput (2009) used the term POP (potentially offensive internet and mobile phone practices). Hamby et al. (2018) refer to digital victimization. Definitional issues are still debated, with some researchers preferring to use the concept of cyber-aggression more generally; see Bauman, Underwood, and Card (2013) and Smith et al. (2013) for different views on this. However, much research continues to use the term cyberbullying, as indicated in the major review by Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, and Lattanner (2014).

Measurement issues also remain unresolved. For traditional bullying, although there are many instruments available, the Olweus Bully/Victim questionnaire has held some position as a widely recognized and used instrument, also adapted for some large cross-national surveys such *Health Behaviour in School-age Children* (HBSC) (Currie et al., 2012). This is not the case for cyberbullying. There is a plethora of instruments, often used in just one or two studies, and many with shortcomings. Systematic reviews of 44 cyberbullying instruments by Berne et al. (2013) and Frisén et al. (2013) found that many did not give adequate definitions (for example, only 13/44 mentioned imbalance of power) and few reported their reliability or validity. Reference periods and cutoff points varied. Similar findings were reported in a review by Vivolo-Kantor, Martell, Holland, and Westby (2014). Since these publications, a number of new instruments have come out, such as the European Cyberbullying Intervention Project Questionnaire (del Rey et al., 2015). However, no single instrument yet has widespread acceptance.

3.1 Kinds of Cyberbullying

What constitutes cyberbullying can be very varied. For example, an early survey from 2007 (Cross et al., 2011) assessed the following types of cyber victimization: Sent threatening emails; Sent nasty messages on the Internet (MSN); Sent nasty text messages or prank calls to my mobile phone; Used my screen name or passwords, pretending to be me to hurt someone else; Sent my private emails, messages, pictures or videos to others; Posted mean or nasty comments or pictures on websites about me; Sent mean or nasty messages or pictures about me to others' mobile phones; Deliberately ignored or left out of things over the Internet.

The more recent digital victimization scale of Hamby et al. (2018) has 11 items giving more broad coverage: Things that caused problems or hurt you online; Tricked into giving personal information; Information or money stolen by hacking; Upset by ads or offers that seem to have your personal information; Upset by the amount of information needed to share to get apps or programs; Someone pretending to be you online; Used your log-in without permission; Said mean things about you online; Forwarded embarrassing text messages or pictures; Tracked your location online; Told lies or spread rumours about you online; Kept you out of online groups or group messages.

Cyberbullying very often involves peers, often classmates at school. But it can of course be much wider. In a Polish sample, Pyzalski (2012) distinguished different kinds of victims attacked by 15-year olds. In descending order of frequency, these were: People known only from the Internet; Young people known offline (from school, site of living) but not close friends; Close friends; Random persons/totally unknown; Former girlfriend/boyfriend; Not individuals but groups (e.g. fans of a certain band or football team); Celebrities, e.g. actors, singers; The homeless, alcoholics, etc.; Teachers; and Other known adults.

3.2 Overlap with Traditional Bullying

A very well-established finding is a high degree of overlap in roles between traditional and cyber bullying. In a meta-analysis, Modecki, Minchin, Harbaugh, Guerra, and Runions (2014) found a mean correlation of $r = 0.47$ between traditional and cyber bullying perpetration, and $r = 0.40$ between being a traditional and cyber victim. Lazuras et al. (2017), in a sample of Greek students aged 14–15 years, found evidence for both what they call trans-contextual effects (traditional bullies more likely to be cyber bullies, traditional victims more likely to be cyber victims), and role overlap (crossover of roles, here specifically that victims of traditional victimization were more likely to be cyberbullies).

3.3 *Historical Factors Are Important, Especially for Cyberbullying Research*

Historical factors are not unimportant in considering traditional bullying, for example changes in definition to include not only physical and verbal, but also relational and indirect kinds of aggression. However, such changes have been few. In contrast, changes are much more important and rapid in cyberbullying; in particular, changes in technologies (such as the advent of smart phones), and the popularity of technologies (for example from texts to instant messaging to social networking sites).

An example of how such historical changes challenge researchers is the attempt of Rivers and Noret (2010) to provide longitudinal data on cyberbullying in England. They surveyed over 11,000 pupils from 2002 to 2005, using the question: '*How often have you received any nasty or threatening text messages or emails?'*. At the time this was an adequate question, but now this only captures a fraction of all cyberbullying; the question can be changed, but then there is not comparability with the earlier surveys. As another example, Genta et al. (2012) reported data from 2007 to 2009 in which they asked separately about mobile phone and internet forms of cyberbullying—but now, smart phones having access to the internet have confused this distinction.

4 Prevalence Rates

Prevalence rates vary hugely (Kowalski et al., 2014; Modecki et al., 2014), even when limiting studies to self-reports of peer cyber bullying/victimization (the most common source). Relatively low rates are reported in some studies. For example Olweus (2012), for the period 2007 to 2010, quoted cyber victim rates of around 4–5% for 8–19 year olds in the U.S.A., and of around 3–4% for 9–17 year olds in Norway.

In response to the Olweus (2012) article, Hinduja and Patchin (2012, p. 541) stated that "Olweus' findings that 4.1–5.0% of youth have been cyberbullied and 2.5–3.2% of youth have cyberbullied others are simply out of line with the weight of the available evidence".

They pointed out that their own studies suggested 20% of 11–18 year olds had been a victim of cyberbullying; and in a review of 35 published articles, they found on average 24% of pupils had been cyberbullied and 17% had cyberbullied others.

Reasons for this variation include the nature and age of the sample, the date of survey administration, whether a definition is given and what it covers, what emphasis there is on particular media or types of cyberbullying, what time reference period is used for occurrences and what frequency cut-off is used for reporting. While it might be tempting to ascribe differences in prevalence rates to sample differences, in fact definition, time reference period, and frequency cutoff, are probably the most important. Higher figures are obtained when the definition of cyberbullying is left

broad or undefined, when a long time reference period or even 'ever' is enquired about, and if being cyber bullied 'just once or twice' is counted. If you ask if someone has ever experienced a cyber-attack of some kind, at least once, you will get a high figure; if you ask if someone has repeatedly experienced cyberbullying over the last term, you will get a lower figure. Overall, it appears that occasional or one-off occurrences may be reported by over 20% of young people, but serious or recent or repeated incidents are typically reported by only around 5%, less than for traditional bullying.

4.1 Age Differences

Cyberbullying is a phenomenon that spans age ranges. Ševčíková and Šmahel (2009) gave prevalence figures in the Czech Republic from 12 to 88 years, with a peak for both aggressors and victims in adolescence. The early adolescent peak was confirmed by Kowalski et al. (2014), and Tokunaga (2010) suggested a peak of involvement around 15 years, slightly later than for traditional bullying, perhaps because of some greater element of opportunity and skills for older children in using mobile phones and the internet.

However cyberbullying has also been reported in children down to 8 years (Monks, Ortega, Robinson, & Worlidge, 2009). The increasing penetration of ICT to younger ages is likely to mean that age differences in cyberbullying will change in parallel with this.

McLoughlin, Lagopoulos, and Hermens (2018) suggest that the recent developments in the neuroscience of adolescence show a heightened susceptibility to problems affecting emotional regulation, greater sensitivity to peer rejection, and a propensity to greater risk-taking, especially in early adolescence. This period might be one of greater vulnerability to involvement in cyberbullying. Such experiences might in turn affect the adolescent brain, as has been found to be the case for traditional bullying (Vaillancourt, Hymel, & McDougall, 2013).

4.2 Cyberbullying in Higher Education and the Workplace

Although much research has focused on school-age pupils, a number of studies have examined cyberbullying in colleges and other higher education institutions. A range of international studies is provided in Cassidy, Faucher and Jackson (2018).

There has been a tradition of research on workplace bullying, related but somewhat separate from the work on school bullying. Farley, Coyne, and D'Cruz (2018) discuss the field of workplace cyberbullying, covering aspects of definition, types of behaviors, roles, prevalence, impact, and interventions.

4.3 Gender Differences

For traditional bullying, the great majority of studies find boys more involved in perpetration, and little gender difference for victims. For cyberbullying there is much variation, with some studies finding that girls are more involved in cyber than traditional bullying. This might be because girls bullying typically involves reputation damage rather than physical strength, and so more suited to cyberbullying, especially now that so much cyberbullying is via social networking sites, which girls are more interested in (Whittaker & Kowalski, 2015). But age appears to be an important interacting variable. Barlett and Coyne (2014) examined 122 gender effect sizes from 109 research articles, for cyberbullying perpetration. Overall, they found boys rates exceeding girls; but this varied by age. Up to early adolescence, girls exceeded boys in cyberbullying perpetration, but by later adolescence, boys exceeded girls.

Smith et al. (in press) examined gender differences in bullying and victimization from large cross-national data bases. Three main findings emerged regarding cyber victimization, available from two such data bases, *Health Behaviour in School-age Children* (HBSC), and *EU Kids Online* (EUKO). Firstly, compared to traditional bullying, there was relatively greater involvement of females as cyber victims. Secondly, there was variation by survey; HBSC found more male than female cyber victims overall, but EUKO found more female than male cyber victims. Thirdly, the HBSC data provided a breakdown by age: Males were more often victims at 11 years, and again at 15 years, but females more often cyber victims at 13 years. The authors suggest that this might be related to earlier puberty in females, and their earlier interest in social networking.

4.4 Country Comparisons

Both HBSC and EUKO provide self-reported rates of cyber victimization across a large number of countries. Although HBSC surveys have been going since 1993, only the most recent survey of 2013/2014 included two questions on cyber victimization (Inchley et al., 2016), with data from 42 countries mainly from Europe and North America. This reported findings on whether someone sent mean instant messages, wall-postings, emails and text messages or created a website that made fun of them (Inchley et al., 2016), on the basis of being a victim at least two to three times a month. For 11 year olds, the mean value was 3.5%; for 13 year olds, 3.5%; and 15 year olds, 3%. There were large country differences. Several countries, such as Greece and Armenia, have low rates of 1 or 2% at each age. Others, such as Russian Federation, Greenland, and Lithuania (the top three at each age group) report rates of around 9, 8 and 6% at the three age levels.

EUKO provided data from 2010 for 25 European countries on cyberbullying perpetration and cyber victimization (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011). It was found that the majority of bullying reported was face-to-face, but

taking any time over the past 12 months, 6% said they had experienced this on the internet, and 3% by mobile phone calls or messages. Both these percentages showed a steady rise with age, from 9 to 16 years. Taking part in bullying others by the internet averaged 3% and by mobile phones 2%. Across the entire sample of European countries, being a victim of cyberbullying via the internet, although averaging 6%, varied by country. The range was from 2% in Italy up to 14% in Estonia.

Cross-national comparisons are difficult to carry out in a reliable and valid way, due to many issues around equivalence of constructs, bias, and language used in translation (Guillaume & Funder, 2016). Smith et al. (2018) found rather little agreement between HBSC and EUKO over which countries were high or low in cyber victimization rates; they discuss possible reasons for the discrepancies, as well as factors which may help explain those country differences that are substantiated.

5 Other Predictors of Involvement in Cyberbullying

The majority of young people do not get involved in cyberbullying, at least as perpetrators or victims. Looking especially at perpetrating cyberbullying, some predictors replicated in several studies include involvement in other antisocial behaviours; time spent with ICT, and more advanced Internet skills; family factors such as greater caregiver-child conflict, lower parental support of adolescents, lack of communication with parents, and very restrictive supervision; peer group factors, such as injunctive norms, i.e. what you expect your peers to do or approve of; lack of empathy, and moral disengagement; and violent media exposure (Kowalski et al., 2014; Smith, 2015).

5.1 Personality

Several recent studies have focused on the Dark Triad personality traits. The Dark Triad comprises Machiavellianism (cold manipulative behavior), Narcissism (sense of entitlement and superiority), and Psychopathy (impulsive, thrill-seeking, low empathy, low anxiety). These can be measured at subclinical levels. Gibb and Devereux (2014) assessed these in college students in the U.S.A., and found cyberbullying perpetration was predicted by being a cybervictim, and by psychopathy. Pabian, De Backer, and Vandebosch (2015) assessed adolescents aged 14–18 years using Facebook, in Flanders, Belgium. Facebook cyber-aggression was predicted by Facebook Intensity, and psychopathy. Goodboy and Martin (2015), again with college students in the U.S.A., also found psychopathy predicted cyberbullying perpetration. However, Van Geel, Vedder, and Tanilon (2017), working with 16–21 year olds in the Netherlands, found psychopathy, and to a lesser extent narcissism, predicted cyberbullying, but that these links became only marginally significant when