

CYBERBULLYING: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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Abstract

Cyberbullying is the online harassment of children by children. While most cyberbullying instances happen at home, the repercussions of these acts of aggressions are often brought to the school campus. This new trend has left school systems unsure of the proper response to handling student needs while balancing legal and ethical responsibilities. The purpose of this literature review is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the current research on cyberbullying and the issues that surround it in order to develop future researchable hypotheses in the area of cyberbullying as it relates to school policy and protocol. The works of Aftab, Hinduja, Patchin, Shariff, and Willard, all prominent researchers in the study of cyberbullying, have been reviewed so that they issues related to cyberbullying can be better understood. These issues include traditional bullying, teen social networking and media use, the forms of cyberbullying, legal boundaries protecting First Amendment student rights, and policy and program implications. Most of the research indicates that the issue of cyberbullying can not truly be addressed unless it is approached both proactively and reactively.

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Introduction

Topic, Overview, and Purpose

While school systems have made great strides in creating and implementing crisis response plans and zero tolerance policies, it is important to continually scan the societal landscape to see if additional concerns should be addressed in the area of student safety (Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000). It has become increasingly evident that the Internet has brought to our campuses another threat to student safety – cyberbullying. According to a 2004 survey given by i-SAFE America, 42% of school-aged children have been bullied while online. This percentage increased drastically in a 2008 study that raised the statistic from 42% to 72% (Juvonen & Gross, 2008).

Research shows that some 93% of today's teens use the Internet. More and more this use is for online socialization with peers; not all of it is positive in nature (Lenhart, Madden, Macgill, & Smith, 2007). Daily, students across the nation are being bullied online and are bringing to school the residual effects of these personal attacks (Trolley, Hanel, & Shields, 2006; Willard, 2007). Daily, school administrators across the nation struggle with the desire to act on behalf of the victimized student, but are not sure how to respond since most acts of cyberbullying happen off campus. It is the regrettable job of administrators to balance the needs of the victim against the judicial rights of the bully; legal guidance and policy protocol from school boards and systems are limited (Anderson, 2007).

Hinduja and Patchin (2008), researchers in the field of Internet- and computer-related criminality, state that “one of the most important steps a district can take to help protect its students and protect itself from legal liability is to have a clear and

comprehensive policy regarding bullying and harassment, technology, and their intersection: cyberbullying” (p.188). School systems face huge barriers when implementing clear and comprehensive cyberbullying policy. It has become the easy track to apply current zero tolerance policies against bullying to cases of cyberbullying. Is this an effective practice? Some researchers believe it is, while others think that this reactive type of policy does not address future instances of cyberbullying. While zero tolerance policies stop those who are caught, these policies do not address educating those who are still cyberbullying. Only time and additional study will give school systems more definitive answers to this question. For now, school systems must wade through the available sources of information to develop more comprehensive and proactive actions against cyberbullying.

The purpose of this literature review is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the current research on cyberbullying and the implications of the issues that surround it in order to develop future researchable hypotheses in the area of cyberbullying as it relates to school policy.

Organization of the Review, Scope, and Library Research Plan

To successfully address the issue of cyberbullying, school systems need to have the answers to the following questions, thus these questions will outline the research topics that will be examined in this literature review. These questions were researcher developed by following the investigative patterns of Aftab (2008), Hinduja & Patchin (2005), Shariff (2008), and Willard (2003 & 2007), all leading researchers in the field of childhood cyberbullying and Internet safety issues:

1. What is cyberbullying?

2. What basic components are necessary for cyberbullying to take place?
3. How is cyberbullying different from traditional bullying?
4. Who are the stakeholders in cyberbullying; what roles do they play? should they play?
5. What are the legal issues related to cyberbullying for schools to understand?
6. What avenues and policies are school systems using to prevent/address cyberbullying?
7. What other issues/barriers play a role in policy development that effect cyberbullying policies?

Many forms of literature will be surveyed in this review. The literature on cyberbullying is relatively new – mostly within the last five years. The researcher will investigate the references attached to previous studies for possible avenues of examination. Online research will begin with key terms such as: cyberbullying, school policy, zero tolerance, Internet safety, cyberlaw, and any other terms that surface as topic critical as the research expands. Multiple online safety sites have been established by those who are key researchers in this area of interest. A thorough examination of their sites will provide key information and other leads for possible review. Additionally, recent books that have been written on the topic will be read for researcher understanding.

Interest, Rationale for the Critical Analysis and Significance

Technological advances have brought an unexpected threat to the school campus – the cyberbully. While most acts of cyberbullying occur off-campus, residual effects of bullying make their way to school. How schools should handle the cyberbully and to

what degree are questions that are not easily answered. As in any school-related issue, programs and policies must be implemented that addresses the moral, educational, and legal aspects of cyberbullying. Research in the area of cyberbullying and the implications of cyberbullying to school systems is relatively new, thus the frameworks upon which school policy should be based are still developing.

It is in the best interest of those who are developing and implementing policy and protocol to have an understanding of the themes related to cyberbullying and how they are interconnected so that more effective school programs and policy will be realized. Ultimately, this issue is critical to the safety and well-being of our nation's young people. Policy for cyberbullying is no longer an option; it is a school system necessity.

Review of the Literature about Cyberbullying

What exactly constitutes an act of cyberbullying is not always easy to define. Generally, the definition of cyberbullying depends upon the viewpoint of those who are defining it. Shariff (2008) states that “when we define a behavior, it is important to remember it as an action that takes place in a particular context, at a particular time, with various influences operating on the individuals who take the action” (p. 29). This is particularly applicable to the issue of cyberbullying. In order for any cyberbullying policy to be established and effectively implemented by school systems, members must recognize and address issues related to cyberbullying without alienating those we are trying to reach – the youth.

Cyberbullying Defined

Definitions of cyberbullying should “illustrate the forms it takes, the tools that are used to engage in it, and ways in which it is understood to differ from traditional bullying” (Shariff, 2008. p.29). Between the years of 2001 and 2003, two individuals have been credited with coining the term *cyberbullying*: Canadian school teacher, Bill Belsey (2008), who is also accredited with establishing the first online site pertaining to cyberbullying, *cyberbullying.org.*, and American Lawyer, Nancy Willard (2003). Belsey (2008) says “cyberbullying involves the use of information and communication technologies to support deliberate, repeated, and hostile behaviour by an individual or group that is intended to harm others” (¶1).

Willard (2003) originally defined cyberbullying as language that is “defamatory, constitutes bullying, harassment, or discrimination, discloses personal information, or contains offensive, vulgar or derogatory comments” (p.66). While this outlined the form

of the language, it did not define the tools that that were used for engagement or how it differs from traditional bullying. Willard (2007) has since then redefined cyberbullying as being cruel to others by sending or posting harmful material or engaging in other forms of social cruelty using the Internet or other digital technologies, such as cell phones. Young people may be the target of cyberbullying from others or may engage in such harmful behavior. Direct cyberbullying involves repeatedly sending offensive messages. More indirect forms of cyberbullying include disseminating denigrating materials or sensitive personal information or impersonating someone to cause harm (p.10).

Willard (2007) also believes that the terms *Internet* and *online* are interchangeable when speaking about cyber issues as “it is getting pretty hard to define where the Internet begins and where it ends... (I consider) these to be expansive terms that encompass all of the current and emerging information and communication technologies” (p. xii).

The conceptualization of cyberbullying as defined by Belsey and Willard has been used to guide the emergence of cyber research and policy; their definitions, ideas, and studies have been the building blocks for current research (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008, Shariff 2008, & Trolley, Hanel, & Shields, 2006). However, while their definitions are comprehensive, one component is missing that is needed for the purpose of this review – the ages of those involved. This literature review will focus on cyberbullying of school-aged children and the imperative that school systems have to respond. Therefore, to help conceptualize this literature review, the definition stated by Aftab (2006), a cybercrime, Internet privacy and cyber-abuse lawyer and creator of www.stopcyberbullying.org will be followed:

cyberbullying is when a child, preteen or teen is tormented, threatened, harassed, humiliated, embarrassed or otherwise targeted by another child, preteen or teen using the Internet, interactive and digital technologies or mobile phones. It has to have a minor on both sides, or at least have been instigated by a minor against another minor. Once adults become involved, it is plain and simple cyber-harassment or cyberstalking. Adult cyber-harassment or cyberstalking is NEVER called cyberbullying. (§ 1)

Aftab's definition establishes what the act of cyberbullying is, the tools used, and pinpoints that cyberbullying is something that is done child on child, as most state law defines minors as those who are under the age of 18 (Nolo, 2008). This is a key understanding for those who are establishing policy in the school system, and it helps to limit the scope of possibilities school cyberbullying policies need to cover.

Focus on Traditional Bullying

To fully comprehend cyberbullying, it is crucial to recognize its roots in traditional bullying. Historically, bullying has been seen as a rite of passage for kids. Many times it has been said that “kids will be kids” and instances of bullying have not been taken seriously. Most instances of school-aged bullying occur on the school campus – a place that is supposed to be safe and nurturing for students (Sampson, 2002). Instances are most likely to occur during less supervised or unsupervised times such as when students are in class transition, locker rooms, gyms, or on the bus. Instances also occur in the classroom setting while the teacher is present. Many times in instances of bullying, the teacher will dismiss the claim of the student or downplay the importance of the incident. Researchers feel that until educators understand the signs of bullying and the

full impact on the victims and those who witness these acts, this tradition will continue (Coloroso, 2003; Crother & Kilbert, 2008).

Bullying as a phenomenon was not well-researched until recent years. In the 1970s, a study in Norway was conducted about the harms of school-aged bullying by Olweus, who is commonly recognized as the pioneer in school-aged bullying research. His in-depth study of the phenomenon of school-aged bullying actually was the first of its kind (APA Online, 2008, ¶ 3). At that time, Olweus (1993) defined bullying as “when (a student) is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students” (p. 9). He went on to define *negative actions* as “when someone intentionally inflicts, or attempts to inflict, injury or discomfort upon another – basically what is implied is the definition of aggressive behavior” (p. 9).

Based upon this general understanding of bullying established by Olweus, later research in the 80s and 90s was conducted in other countries. Still, it was not until recent years, around 2001, that the prevalence of bullying was studied by American researchers. It is interesting to note that this is the same year that initial studies in cyberbullying were conducted, as well. This interest in bullying was spawned from the rash of school violence and high profile crimes that were sweeping across the news in the 1990s (Sampson, 2002). The highest profile of all of these incidents happened at Columbine High School in Columbine, Colorado.

On April 20, 1999 at Columbine High School, two teenagers killed twelve classmates, one teacher, and wounded twenty-four others before killing themselves. These young men were part of a self-named group called the *trench coat mafia*. They Nazi saluted one another at school; they built bombs within their own homes; and they

had their rooms filled with journals and school layouts. This self-created group was formed as a response to the ongoing embarrassment and aggravation (bullying) that they had received from the more popular cliques on campus. None of this was noted or addressed by school officials or the parents of the boys. The school principal stated that he was not even conscious to the fact that he had a Nazi group on campus. For over a year, they planned their retaliation against their school peers (Raywid, 2000).

How could these signs have been ignored? These two teens were alienated from their classmates, their teachers, and their surroundings and no one stepped in to assist or question their motives for their behavior. It seems that this could have been avoided if the signs had been read correctly by someone around them. Would an educational program that outlined the signs of victimization and protocol for getting help have helped those who could have made a difference – namely, the teachers, the administrators, and those who were part of the overall bullying incidents?

In 2001, Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton, and Scheidt noted that while aggression among US youth was increasing, such as the incident at Columbine, there was no obtainable national data on the pervasiveness of school-aged bullying. Looking at studies from other countries, they believed that there was a correlation between bullying, aggression, and youth crime. It was their objective “to measure the prevalence of bullying behaviors among US youth and to determine the association of bullying and being bullied with indicators of psychosocial adjustment... (p.1). They analyzed data gathered from a 1998 administration of the *World Health Organization’s Health Behaviour in School-aged Children Survey* in which 15,686 students in 6th – 10th grade were questioned. Their main objective was to look for self-reporting of

involvement in bullying and/or being bullied by others. To qualify as an act of bullying, the act of aggression had to have been intentional, repetitive, and represented an imbalance of power, “with a more powerful person or group attacking a less powerful one” (p. 2095). The following facts were garnered from their data analysis:

1. 29.95% reported moderate or frequent involvement in bullying; 13% as the bully and 10.6% as the bullied.
2. 10.6% bullied others infrequently.
3. 8.8% bullied once a week or more.
4. 8.5% experienced bullying infrequently.
5. 8.4% experienced bullying once a week or more.
6. 6th – 8th graders bullied more prevalently than 9th and 10th graders.
7. Males were more likely than females to be the bully and the bullied.
8. Those who bullied or who were bullied demonstrated poorer psychological adjustment than those who were not involved in acts of bullying.

If 29.95% reported moderate or frequent involvement in bullying, this would translate to a national estimate of 5,736,417 children, with the most severe cases of 1,634,095 students bullied with moderate frequency and 1,611,809 bullied frequently (Nansel, et al, 2001). These statistics symbolize masses of children who are not being adequately protected and approached by school systems.

Traditional Bullying: The Bully, the Bullied, and the Bystander

In her book, *The Bully, the Bullied, and the Bystander*, Coloroso (2003) builds upon the previous works of Olweus. She portrays incidents of bullying as a scene in a play that requires certain characters in order to be carried out and looks at the operation

of bullying from the perspectives of those who are directly involved in acts of bullying – the children. She set the scene by defining bullying as “conscious, willful, and deliberate hostile activities intended to harm, induce fear through the threat of further aggression, and create terror” (p.13). Coloroso states that acts of bullying always contain three elements: an imbalance of power, intent to harm, and a threat to further aggression. When the incidents are allowed to occur for too long she adds a fourth element, terror.

1. **Imbalance of Power.** Traditionally, bullies are male, bigger, stronger, and/or older than those they are victimizing. Acts of bullying can be perpetrated by one person or in more serious cases a group of like individuals who have pinpointed a victim(s) due to a common reason like race or gender.
2. **Intent to harm.** Simply stated, the bully means to hurt their victim. This pain can be physical, emotional, or verbal. The bully “expects the action to hurt, and takes pleasure in witnessing the hurt” (p.13).
3. **Threat of further aggression.** When victims are picked, they know that the attack upon their person, no matter what form it takes, will not be a one time thing. Victims are usually selected because the bully knows that they are easy targets.
4. **Terror.** The bullied know that they will be bullied again. This promotes a sense of fear that grows with each attack upon their person. They become trapped within the cycle of violence that bullying creates. This fear often causes victims to keep the incidents of bullying to themselves, as they fear more retribution from those who are bullying them.

The Bully

The bully is the key player in any incident of bullying. Research shows that bullies are typically male, at the same age or older than their victims, stronger than their victims, and generally hold some level of popularity on the school campus (Chan, 2006; Coloroso, 2003; Nansel et al., 2001). It is interesting that those who bully usually have a large group of friends and have leadership traits that others are attracted to in a group even though the bully exhibits antisocial and other aggressive behaviors towards others (Underwood, n.d.).

Bullying is usually done through physical, verbal, or emotional avenues. Physical bullying involves kicking, hitting, pushing, and other aggressive gestures. Verbal bullying, the most prevalent type of bullying, can take the form of name-calling, persistent teasing, and spreading rumors about others. Emotional bullying, the most difficult type to gauge, is the use of intimidation by gesturing, making facial expressions, or excluding someone from a group. Boys are more likely to use physical and verbal bullying, while girls are less obvious and use emotional bullying against those who they perceive as *less* than they are (Underwood, n.d.).

The patterns the bully learns to attract attention and gain recognition spiral as the bully ages. Bullies, if left unbridled, will escalate their behavior to more violent acts of aggression, increased poor academic performance, and delinquent behaviors such as drinking and criminal acts (Coloroso, 2003, & Nansel, et al., 2001). Coloroso (2003) believes that bullies portray an “air of superiority that is often a mask to cover up a deep hurt and a feeling of inadequacy” (p.21). School-aged bullies have a high tendency to

gain a criminal conviction when they reach adulthood, and often grow up to be perpetrators of domestic violence (National Education Association, 2008, ¶ 6).

It is suggested that the behaviors of bullies are learned. Most likely, bullies are not born with aggression, but learn it from the home or past experiences in which they, themselves, were at the receiving end of aggressiveness from others (Chan, 2006). Statistics show the bully is at an even higher risk than the bullied for thoughts of or acts of suicide. It is believed that this can be contributed to the other factors that make someone tend to bully others (Sampson, 2002).

The Bullied

The bullied child often has perceived flaws and it is these flaws upon which the bully preys. Unless helped by others to get out of the situation in which they have been placed, bullied children usually suffer irreparable damages due to the actions of others. Based upon the previous studies of Olweus and more current researchers in the field of bullying, Kowalski, Limber, and Agaston (2008) place children who are bullied into two character categories: passive/submissive victims and provocative victims. Passive victims are those who are most likely to be bullied. There is no one indicator, but rather a list of possible characteristics that they may fit. These children tend to be *to themselves*. They typically have few friends and are not part of the larger cliques on campus. It is obvious that they fear being hurt and are anxious because of the body and verbal expressions that they use. They are usually physically weaker and like to spend time with adults more so than they do children.

Provocative victims are those who have a specific characteristic about them that arouses the aggressiveness in the bully. Those most at-risk as provocative victims are

those who are viewed as different from the regular crowd. Obese, special needs, learning disabled, and physical handicapped children are most at risk in this category. Those who are different in sexual orientation or race from the bully are also at risk (Kowalski, et al., 2008).

The bullied child is a victim. Like most victims of crime, the bullied can experience depression, fear, and stress related to the incident (National Education Association, 2008, ¶ 4). Victims of bullying are less likely to make friends in school and more likely to experience loneliness while there (Nansel, et al., 2001). Bullying can negatively affect the victim's educational achievements, attendance, and future aspirations (Kowalski, et al., 2008). Chronic victims, about 6-10% of those who are bullied, sink into severe states of depression. To a similar degree, they begin to see themselves as devalued as those who are bullying them or watching the acts of bullying against them. The damage done to their self-esteem can have lasting effects on their adult relationships and self-image. It is not surprising then that the bullied are more likely to think about or commit acts of suicide than those who are not victims of bullying (Sampson, 2002).

So why do the bullied remain silent? As previously mentioned, historically acts of bullying have been seen as a rite of passage on school grounds and this is reinforced in our society – the stronger tell the weaker what to do. “Bullying often stems from the social inequities that adult society creates, fosters, sustains and continues to grapple with” (Shariff, 2008, p.23). Because of this societal parallel, victims have little faith in how adults will respond to their situation (Coloroso, 2003; Sampson, 2002). A host of studies have suggested additional reasons as to why the bullied remains silent: (a) Fear of

retaliation; (b) feelings of shame for being weak; (c) fear of not being believed; (d) a need to not worry their parents; (e) thoughts that nothing would change as a result of telling; (f) thoughts that involving parents and teachers will make it worse; (g) thoughts that teachers would tell or involve the bully; and (h) fear of being called a snitch (Sampson, 2002)

Most of the reasons given by the victim involve thoughts of how others will perceive him after telling about an act of bullying. The bullied child does not want to appear weak or *uncool* in front of his peers, teachers, and parents. However, research shows that the bullied child often becomes alone and anti-social in order to avoid being bullied (Nansel, et al, 2001). It seems like an unfortunate *catch 22* for the bullied. He doesn't tell to avoid being judged and ostracized by others, which is eventually what will happen to him *if* he doesn't tell.

Linking the Bully and the Bullied

The following section review is based upon the work of Chan (2006) who explored the systemic patterns in bullying using his self-created *School Life Survey (SLS)* to measure bullying and victimization. Three systemic patterns emerged from the research: serial bullying, multiple victimization, and familial patterns.

Serial bullying is based upon the premise that most of the bullying is perpetrated by a small number of bullies on a school campus. He found that most often when a child was bullied, it was linked to one specific person. Chan noted that usually the identified bully was not harassing just one child, but a group of children. In his research, 12.4% of those studied were identified as serial bullies and were responsible for 69.2% of the overall bullying at school. Girl serial bullies usually have two to four victims; boys serial

bullies have anywhere from two to fifteen. While mostly physically aggressive, serial bullies use a combination of ways to intimidate their victims. They usually have a reputation for intimidating characteristics and are easily more identifiable by school stakeholders because of this.

The second pattern to emerge from Chan's (2008) work focused on multiple victimization. "The converse of serial bullying is multiple victimization, that is, more than one perpetrator can converge on one victim" (Chan, 2008, p.361). Thirty-five percent of those who had been bullied experienced multiple victimization. Those who are multiple victimized generally have some physical, behavioral, or social-cognitive feature that attracts bullies. This substantiates Kowalski's, et al. (2008) provocative victim concept that was previously discussed. It has been suggested that those who are repeatedly victimized learn to develop coping strategies and blockade themselves from certain social situations. These strategies might be exhibited by actions of self-exclusion, always reading a book, not joining in clubs or organizations, or not talking to others in class or social situations. By doing this, they seem anti-social and, therefore, are perceived by their peers as deserving of the abuse they receive from others (Tani, Greenman, Schneider, Fregoso, 2003). Like the bully, these victimized children are usually well-known on the campus and quite often the adults know that they are not being treated well by other children (Sampson, 2002).

The third pattern in Chan's (2008) research suggests that bullies don't just happen; there is a familial pattern in this type of aggression. "When the names of bullies provided by the victims were collated, another pattern... showed that there were about half a dozen cases in each school where children in the same family... were named as

bullies by their peers” (p. 366). Children tend to mirror that which they see at home. Those who witness aggression have a tendency to be aggressive and vice-versa. The environment in which one grows and is fostered is a marker of the person one will become. “Growing up in a hostile, cold, and punitive household will not eliminate the possibility of a child becoming a decent, caring, responsible person; however, such an environment will significantly reduce the chances of it happening” (Coloroso, p. 100).

Chan’s (2008) research ties together the relationship between the bully and the bullied. Understanding the systemic patterns that build a relationship between the bully and the bullied can assist school system in recognizing the warning signs of possible victimization and help to develop proactive strategies to address, what seem to be, small but identifiable groups on one’s campus. While Chan addresses the bully and the bullied, he does not systemically judge how other individuals contribute to acts of bullying.

The Bystander

Coloroso (2003) refers to the bystander as the *supporting cast* in an act of cyberbullying. This cast can range in numbers from very small to quite extensive, depending upon the setting. How the bullying scene plays out is often decided by the bystanders and whether they take the side of the bully or the bullied. Craig and Pepler (1998) looked at the roles of bystanders in incidents of bullying. They found that 85% of bullying incidents were witnessed by bystanders. Of these cases, 81% of the incidents were reinforced by those who were there; 48% of the bystanders became active participants, and only 13% of the bystanders actually intervened. After the incident, the bystanders were often more supportative and friendly towards the bully than the bullied. When bystanders are asked why they do not intervene, four reasons are most often given:

(a) the bystander is afraid of getting hurt himself; (b) the bystanders is afraid of becoming a new target; (c) the bystander is afraid of doing something that will make it worse; and, (d) the bystander simply does not know what to do.

Craig and Pepler (1998) feel that these are more excuses than legitimate reasons. They, along with Coloroso (2003), believe that repetitive witnessing of bullying causes bystanders to become desensitized and indifferent. This indifference or apathy is reinforced because the bystander's sense of self-confidence and self-respect erodes with each act of bullying they witness. Eventually the bystander will understand the side of the bully more so than the bullied. Taking a more neutral view, Underwood (n.d.) states that "many children do not have the self-confidence or skills to stop bullying on their own and should not be expected to do so" (Slide 20). This reinforces the need for proactive programs and policies on school campuses that direct students in responding appropriately to these types of situations.

If the bystander didn't want to or could not stop the incident himself, why did not tell an adult? Their reasons for not telling mirror those of the bullied victim. Studies suggest teens feel teachers do not appropriately react when told about acts of bullying on campus, nor do they feel teachers react harshly enough when they, themselves, witness and respond to acts of bullying in their own classrooms (Sampson, 2002). This dual perception concerning adult unresponsiveness to incidents of bullying gives credence to the concern that adults/teachers, hence school systems, may not be responding appropriately to incidents of bullying.

To respond appropriately to incidents of bullying, school counselors, administrators, teachers, and other vital members of the school and school system need to

establish a school climate in which bullying is understood and addressed - a climate of respect and caring. Proactive school programs that focus on building a sense of belonging for all students, address character education, and teach conflict resolution are the answer (Perry, 1999). This seems easy enough. Aren't schools supposed to do this anyway? The barrier is that to develop and continue these programs takes time, money, and continues effort. Proactive measures are usually developed by schools after reactive measures have taken place (Daniels, 2008). This is exactly what has happened in school response to bullying.

Initially, school systems responded to the tide of school violence after the 1990s by implementing zero tolerance policies, imposing student dress codes and IDs, and initiating random metal searches of students and lockers in schools across the nation (Daniels, 2008; Perry, 1999). Within a few years, the public began to question the overuse and strictness of zero tolerance policies. Were students being harmed by the practice of the very policies that were put into place to protect them?

Current studies indicate educators still do not fully understand the impact of traditional bullying on the bully, the bullied, and those who witness these acts, nor have sufficient steps been taken to address these inadequacies. Much work needs to be done to teach educators the differences between acts of bullying and what is just seen as part of growing up. Do we too often take for granted, for example, that the popular kids will make fun of the nerdy kids? Have educators become desensitized to acts of bullying because to address all of them would be to acknowledge the problem exists (Crothers & Kolbert, 2008)? It seems that a lack of knowledge and preventative measure on the part of the school system are in the forefront for both traditional bullying and cyberbullying.

How is it expected that something as new as cyberbullying will be addressed when traditional bullying, which has been around as long as students have been in school, still has not been harnessed? Perhaps it is through their similarities, not their differences that connections will be made to address both issues.

From Traditional Bullying to Cyberbullying

In the past, students could retreat to the safety of their homes to escape incidents of bullying. Once the bell rang, they could run home and were safe until the next day. The same cannot be said for cyberbullying. The impact of cyberbullying does not stop when students pass through the school door. Cyberbullying has invaded their homes, their bedrooms, and their personal laptops and phones. Even more insidious are the incidents of cyberbullying as they can be targeted directly to the individual, wherever they are, or on the Internet where anyone can see the victim's torment (Aftab, 2008; Coloroso, 2003; Willard, 2007)

Cyberbullying, like other forms of bullying, can be detrimental to a child's performance and sense of well-being at school. This connection between home and school has opened the doors for school systems to intervene. Acts of cyberbullying can actually start with traditional bullying instances at school and then move to the Internet or vice-versa (California School Boards Association, 2007); they are usually not mutually exclusive. Like bullying, cyberbullying acts are intentional, repetitive, and meant to exclude. Shariff (2008)

would argue that the medium of cyberspace simply provides an avenue for expression of the message... the message is not different from that which is often expressed when bullying occurs in physical space (overtly or covertly)...it is

critical to understand the message, but also important to understand the medium so that it too can be used to empower learning and convey an altogether different message. (p.31)

The Internet and Teen Use: The Tools and Forms

Just as Willard (2007) took the privilege of using the term *Internet* as an “all-encompassing term to cover current and emerging information and communication technologies” (p. xii) so will the reviewer for the purpose of this research. It is not enough to just use the term without some appreciation of what it entails. What are these current and emerging technologies that are being used for cyberbullying; how are teens using them? To address these questions, it is necessary that one first understands the degree to which the Internet is used by minors and the magnitude of the Internet in their daily lives.

In her book, *Totally Wired: What Teens and Tweens Are Really Doing Online*, Goodstein (2007) describes the phase of adolescent development of teenagers today as being not much different from past generations. While time periods and settings may bring different issues, teens have always wanted “to figure out who we were apart from our families, through our friendships, boyfriends, and the music we listened to... most of us experienced the similar impulsiveness, invincibility and highs and lows otherwise known as teen angst” (p.12). Teens have constantly wanted acceptance for who they are and what they believe. Goldstein believes that the biggest distinctions by generation are the means and media through which teens have tried to gain this acceptance. These means are generally what differing generations see as generational gaps. It is interesting to note that the generational gap between today’s youth and the previous generation is

now being referred to as a *digital gap* or *digital divide* – so undeniable is the saturation of digital media (Shariff, 2008).

Goodstein (2007) refers to today's teens as *totally wired* in their daily lives. By totally wired, she describes today's teens as continually leaving one form of media to go to another to complete everyday tasks. This sentiment has been similarly expressed by other researchers in the field of teens and social media.

The Internet is the telephone, television, game console, and radio wrapped up in one for most teenagers and that means it has become a major “player” in many American families. Teens go online to chat with their friends, kill boredom, see the wider world, and follow the latest trends. Many enjoy doing all of these things at the same time during their online sessions... the Internet lets them connect with friends, expand their social networks, explore their identities, and learn new things (Lenhart, et al., 2001, ¶1).

Is it possible that too much adult attention is being given to Internet use by teens? Are adults putting too much emphasis on the impact technology is having on children's personal and social development? Recent studies indicate that the answer to both of these questions is a resounding, No.

The Tools of Teen Internet Use

In 2007, PEW Internet & American Life Project, a nonpartisan organization that supports research on the Internet and its impact on society, published a report focusing on a 2006 survey concerning teens and their use of social media. This survey administration was a repeat of similar PEW surveys that had been conducted in 2000 and 2004 (Lenhart, et al., 2007). The focus of these reports was twofold: to assess the level of use of the

Internet by teens and to assess the types of media that they were using. Using phone interviewing strategies, 754 youth between the ages of 12 and 17 and 754 of their parents were surveyed.

Table 1, Teen Internet and Communication Device Use, is based upon the PEW studies conducted in 2000 and 2006, the following researcher-created figure was fashioned to provide a visual comparison of the two studies and the noticeable changes in teen Internet and communication device use during the six years separating the studies.

Table 1: Teen Internet and Communication Device Use

Variable	PEW 2000	PEW 2006	Notes
Internet Use	73%	93%	+ 20 %
Broadband Connection at home	~8%	73%	+ 65% more teens with Internet connections at home
Cell Phone Ownership	<30%	71%	+ 40% more teens own their own phones
Wireless Internet Connection	Unknown	~70%	Wireless connections were not measurable in the first study
Daily Internet Use	42%	62%	+20% more daily use

Table 1 Source: Data obtained from the PEW Internet and American Life Studies, 2004 & 2006, Lenhart, et al., 2001 & Lenhart, et al., 2007.

It is significantly noticeable that teen use of the Internet is escalating. In just six years, the use of the Internet has increased 20% with 62% of teens going online on a daily basis. Another remarkable gauge is the huge swell in cell phone use by teens – a boost of over 40% in just six years. Teen use of cell phones includes the common functionalities of a typical cell phone: camera, video, Internet, texting, and content sharing capabilities. These types of functionalities are being used to build online social networking sites (Lenhart, et al. 2007).

In the 2004 PEW survey administration, the Internet was mostly seen as a source of information - not as a teen gathering spot. It was noted in the 2008 study that “more of them than ever are treating it (the Internet) as a venue of social interaction – a place where they can share creations, tell stories, and interact with others” (PEW, Introduction, p.i). This social networking is no different to teens than traditional social networking activities like meeting at a popular hangout or talking to friends on the phone; it is more an extension of these traditional teen activities (Goodstein, 2007).

The Forms of Teen Internet Use

So, how are teens networking online? Not only did the PEW 2006 study show the increased degree to which teens are using the Internet, but it also gave a portrait of how they are using it. The following statistics have been taken from the PEW 2006 *Summary of Findings* Page:

1. 64% of online teens ages 12-17 have participated in one or more among a wide range of content-creating activities on the Internet.
2. 39% of online teens share their own artistic creations online, such as artwork, photos, stories, or videos, up from 33% in 2004.
3. 33% create or work on webpages or blogs for others, including those for groups they belong to, friends, or school assignments, basically unchanged from 2004 (32%).
4. 28% have created their own online journal or blog, up from 19% in 2004.
5. 27% maintain their own personal webpage, up from 22% in 2004.
6. 26% remix content they find online into their own creations, up from 19% in 2004.

7. 55% of online teens ages 12-17 have created a profile on a social networking site such as Facebook or MySpace.
8. 47% of online teens have uploaded photos where others can see them, though many restrict access to the photos in some way.
9. 14% of online teens have posted videos online. (*Lenhart, et al., 2007, p. i*)

While one may look at the activities listed and think that they are similar to things done in past generations like sharing photos from a scrapbook, writing diaries (blogs, today), passing notes, and talking with friends, the media through which they are sharing these activities have changed.

Most online socialization takes place through social networking sites. Boyd (2008) studied the teen phenomenon of online social networking use, specifically *MySpace* and *Facebook*, and their implications toward teen social and psychological development. He characterized social network sites as

based around profiles, a form of individual... homepage, which offers a description of each member. In addition to text, images, and video created by the member, the social network site profile contains comments from other members and a public list of the people that one identifies as Friends within the network.

(p.123)

While these online profiles are specific to the individual that creates them, they are accessible by and *public* to all who have access to them. Consequently, things that the public may not normally know about someone are more readily accessible by more than their closest friends.

Boyd (2008) states that online social networking sites have four inherent differences from typical face-to-face interactions: (a) persistence, (b) searchability, (c) replicability, and (d) invisible audiences. Using Boyd's (2008) research, these ideas are defined with the implications of how this could lead to an unsafe situation for teens.

1. **Persistence.** Online speech is persistent in that networked communications are permanently recorded and exist even after they are no longer visible. They can be retrieved at any time. Therefore, thoughts or ideas expressed that one may want to *take back* or no longer feel are still expressed, long after the time as passed to which it applies.
2. **Searchability.** As individual identities are stored and recorded, anyone has the capabilities to search for anyone, even if they do not know the person. Searches for those who have similar tastes, friends, or profiles can open up an individual's profile to the world. This exposes the users to those who may not necessarily have the best intentions towards them.
3. **Replicability.** It is as easy as copying and pasting to move someone's words from one site to another. When this is done, it is hard to distinguish between the original from the copied text. This leaves open the possibility that someone else can use an individual's words or thoughts against them or in a way that was not originally intended.
4. **Invisible audiences.** Unlike face-to-face situations, online users can not ascertain who is *with* them in a virtual setting. Teens cannot be sure that the person they are talking to really is who they say they are. Users can not *see* who is virtually looking at them. The implications for this are the most

frightening for today's teens. They never know who is watching them and for what reason.

These unique variables to social networking have opened unknown doors through which typical teens issues are no longer typical. The things that bring status in school are often the same things that bring status online. The number of friends one has listed, using the latest slang, and doing what is important to be in the *in* crowd are still important in online networks (Kowalski, et al., 2008)

Cyberbullying: The Cyberbully, the Cyberbullied, and the Cyberbystander

“Opportunities for self-affirmation and self-expression provided by the Internet can quickly become vehicles for denigration and cyberbullying” (Kowalski, et al., 2008, p.9). “Teens are directly faced with peer pressure and the need to conform to what is seen to be cool, Worse, they are faced with it in the most public of settings possible...the choice is still there: cool or lame” (Boyd, 2008, p.133). To avoid being marked lame, teens will often adjust their personal beliefs in order to achieve social acceptance. This self-adjusting in personal beliefs brings us back to the cast members we explored in the act of traditional bullying: the bully, the bullied, and the bystander. They are now the cyberbully, the cyberbullied, and the cyberbystander. How are they self-adjusting from their traditional roles in this new venue?

The Cyberbully

Studies show that the motives for bullying someone online have remained fairly the same as traditional bullying: power and a need to dominate or subdue others. However, the profile of the bully is changing. The anonymity of being online has empowered those who may not have typically shown aggression in an open forum

(Shariff, 2008). No longer is the bully just the big, mean boy on campus. Bullies can now include those you may not usually suspect. They can be the nerdy kid in the corner, the heavy girl in PE class, the quiet kid who never speaks, and just about any other person on campus who needs or just wants to feel empowered. The Internet has “democratized” bullying (Goodstein, 2007, p. 82).

Aftab (2008) believes the key to understanding online bullies is to understand the motivation behind their actions. Through her work, she has identified five typical types of online bullies: the (a) Vengeful Angel, (b) Power Hungry, (c) Revenge of the Nerds, (d) Mean Girls, and (e) Inadvertent. While each category has its own specific profile, these profiles are not meant to stereotype the online bully by looks. These profiles are based upon characteristics in personality, not outward appearance, and provide an understanding of possible motives that could be key in helping schools respond fittingly to incidents of cyberbullying (Trolley, et al., 2006).

The Vengeful Angel. These types of online bullies target those they feel are victimizing their own person or others, and they want to get back at them. The problem initially begins somewhere else, and the vengeful angel retaliates online. The twist is Vengeful Angels do not view themselves as bullies, but as defenders of others, even though they doing to others what they do not like done to them. Generally, no one knows the identity of the Vengeful Angel except maybe a close friend or two who are aware of the whole situation (Aftab, 2008; Willard, 2007).

This type of online bully is the easiest for schools to help. Vengeful Angels needs to understand that no one should take justice into their own hands; they are not *doing good* by harming others. The old adage that *two wrongs do not make a right* fits well in

this scheme. School officials should focus on the core reasons as to why the Vengeful Angel retaliated. Once the true motives are identified, Vengeful Angels can be given alternate ways to respond. If appropriate, school officials can step in to alleviate the problems through authorized means (Trolley, et al., 2006).

The Power Hungry and Revenge of the Nerds. The Power Hungry and Revenge of the Nerds are often grouped together as their motives and responses are similar. The Power Hungry can be likened to the typical offline bully. These bullies want to feel strong, hurt others, and wield terror. It is important to them that someone else knows about their acts of bullying. They are proud of what they are doing, and if responses from others do not satisfy them, they will escalate their bullying into bigger and meaner acts. This blends with the Revenge of the Nerds, because the online Power Hungry represent those who are often bullied in a regular school setting. Offline, they are weak, small, heavy, geeks, handicapped and a host of other words used to describe those who are not recognized as cool at school. Online, they are powerful and possess greater technical strengths (Aftab, 2008).

The Power Hungry and Revenge of the Nerds are the most dangerous types of online bullies. Their bullying is personal to them, and they tend to target one victim repetitively. They get a kick out of being strong (Aftab, 2008). This makes them the hardest for school systems to discipline, and their acts of bullying are often untraceable. However, when they are caught, it can be understood that they meant to do what they did (Willard, 2007).

Mean Girls. Mean Girls bullying is usually done by a group who are looking for something to do and do not care that they may hurt others while doing it. They are trying

to entertain themselves; trying to be funny at the expense of others. They want the recognition for bullying others and want to be seen as a power online. This can be equated to typical cliques that walk the halls of school daily across the nation. They are identifiable because of who they are, what they believe in, and who they will allow to join in their group. If they get attention from others, their activities grow. If they do not, they tend to stop or find another way to gain popularity for their group (Aftab, 2008).

Because of the openness of their activities, the members of these groups are easy to identify. It is easier for schools to react appropriately when officials are aware of who they are trying to correct. Even if the incident happens off campus, the officials can respond by making other interested parties aware of the incidents that have occurred (Trolley, et al., 2006; Willard, 2007).

The Inadvertent. Inadvertents do not understand that their actions can be seen as bullying. They are usually just playing or pretending. Their words are more responses to what they receive and are not meant to hurt but to just be part of what is happening – part of the game. Because their actions are not premeditated, they are different from the Vengeful Angel who intends to get back at another. Inadvertents do not appreciate that their actions can be seen as cyberbullying and often feel bad once they realize they have hurt others (Aftab, 2008; Trolley et al., 2006).

The Cyberbullied

According to a 2004 survey given by i-SAFE America, 42% of school-aged children have been bullied while online. This percentage increased drastically in a 2008 study that raised the statistic from 42% to 72% (Juvonen & Gross, 2008). Compare these statistics to the near 20% of students who report being traditionally bullied (Nansel, et al.,

2001), and one can see that there is a dramatic increase in victimization when bullying occurs online. Most teens who are bullied online are often the same teens who are bullied offline usually resulting from the same motivations. The new addition to the online bullied are generally those who are retaliated against by empowered Vengeful Angels and Revenge of the Nerds. In either case, online victims are viewed by the bully as deserving of the treatment they are receiving (Trolley, et al., 2006; Willard, 2007).

Typically, the cyberbullied respond to the aggression in much the same fashion as traditional victims have been shown to do. Chait (2008) states that

Cyber victimization has been shown to cause poor grades, emotional spirals, poor self-esteem, repeated school absences, depression, and in some cases suicide.

These outcomes are similar to real-life bullying outcomes, except for that with cyber bullying there is often no escape. School ends at 3 p.m., while the Internet is open for business year round (¶ 7).

Because of this extension of time and space for online bullying, additional signs may exist for cybervictims. They may seem anxious and have unexplainable mood swings after online use or stop using their equipment at home all together. They are less likely to talk about their online experiences or friends, and may avoid allowing others to view their computer usage. (Shariff, 2008; Trolley, et al., 2006; Willard, 2007).

The bigger issue for the cyberbullied is trust. Face-to-face situations usually allow the victims to see the bully and those who are supporting the bully's actions. Likewise, the victims have a better chance of knowing who is on their side and can be trusted. Cybervictimization takes this away. The Internet is open to classmates and to the world, and it is hard to be completely sure of the person(s) on the other end. The anonymous

nature of cyberbullying leaves the victims paranoid and unsure of their surroundings. This self-doubt can be debilitating (Willard, 2007).

Like traditional victims, cybervictims are not likely to tell adults about the mistreatment they are receiving. Statistics show that 58% of those who are online bullied do not tell an adult – parent or others (Juvonen & Gross, 2008). This unwillingness to tell is not only due to the fact they feel adults may not respond appropriately, but because they fear their Internet usage will be taken by those who are trying to protect them. This fear turns to panic when the objects being used against them – personal photos or messages – are not something that they would want shared with adults (Coloroso, 2003).

Linking the Cyberbully and the Cyberbullied

The twist in cyberbullying is that the difference between the cyberbullied and the cyberbully is not always clear. Once the cyberbullied reacts to the cyberbully, he can no longer be called a victim, per se (Willard, 2007). The victimization can be recurring. As it progresses, those involved continually switch roles between bully and bullied. To conceptualize how one incident of aggression can grow from a small laptop to the whole school or world and back, one must know the actions through which cyberbullying naturally occurs.

Table 2, Cyberbullying Avenues, is taken from the efforts of Trolley, et al. (2006) who base their work upon the research of Willard and add their own interpretations for school systems' understanding and direction. They believe school systems must “define and recognize the severity of a threat...so that (school officials) can accurately report to outside agencies” (p.12).

Table 2: Cyberbully Avenues

Name of Avenue	Definition of Avenue	Explanation of Avenue
Flaming	Sending angry, rude or vulgar messages directed at a person or persons privately to an on-line group	Language that moves dialogue to a new level
Harassment	Repeatedly sending a person an offensive message	Consistent messaging and repeating the action – harassment
Cyberstalking	Harassment that is highly intimidating or includes threats of harm	Harassment that is more serious in nature; this is a threat of impending harm
Denigration	Sending or posting harmful, untrue or cruel statements about a person to others	This is the art of putting someone down - slander
Masquerading	Pretending to be someone else and sending or posting material that makes that person look bad or places that person in personal danger	This is a person who poses as someone else to retrieve sensitive or private information - fraud
Outing & Trickery	Sending or posting material about a person that contains sensitive, private or embarrassing information, including forwarding private messages or images; engaging in tricks to solicit embarrassing information that is then made public	This person is pretending to be a friend. It includes collecting private information and then sharing and mocking the individual
Exclusion	Actions that specifically and intentionally exclude a person from an online group, such as exclusion from an instant messaging “buddies” list	Not allowing someone to be part of a group; intentionally leaving them or and not allow them to participate in electronic communication - exclusion

Table 2 Source: Trolley, et al. (2006. p. 13).

While each behavior is described in isolation, the users of these avenues generally combine them while perpetrating acts of aggression online. No matter the avenue(s) through which the online bullying takes place, it is easy to see why someone who is victimized would be tempted to respond. The impulse to react is hard to control,

especially for children (Coloroso, 2003); thus the painful cycle begins and everyone inappropriately responding owns a part of the blame (Willard, 2007).

The Cyberbystander

The role of the bystander is one that is not often given much study in the process of cyberbullying (Coloroso, 2003). Perhaps this is because the bystander(s) in an incident of cyberbullying can never clearly be defined. The audience of an act of cyberbullying is not just those who witness the incident unfold at the time that it occurs. Bystanders can witness the act several days, months, and possibly years later as words and images often placed online can be retrieved indefinitely (Coloroso, 2003; Shariff, 2008).

Willard (2007) believes cyberbystanders play an important role in preventing acts of bullying. Research shows that the role of friends, those who have been identified online as such, is a determinant of how the victim will respond to acts of online aggression. If he is supported by his friends, and they take up for him in appropriate manners online, he is more likely to feel less victimized. Therefore, “empowering bystanders will be a key prevention strategy” in averting cyberbullying (p. 4). By teaching them how to influence the online climate and report incidents to others, cyberbystanders will have the tools to decide which role of the two bystander roles they wish to play, bystanders who are part of the problem or bystanders who are part of the solution (Trolley, et al, 2006; Willard, 2007).

Other Stakeholders in the Issue of Cyberbullying

Parents, school officials, and school boards play decisive roles in how acts of online aggression are understood and approached by all involved (Coloroso, 2003; Shariff, 2008). It is to adults that children look for guidance and support when they

experience problems. The disconnect occurs in situation's of cyberbullying because children tend to understand the medium through which these aggressive acts are occurring better than the adults that are supposed to guide them (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008) The children are more knowledgeable than those who are normally in charge (Shariff, 2008). Just as the actual acts of cyberbullying are waged to show control or power over another, so are the rules and guidelines that are set forth by the adults in a child's life. Since most equate knowledge with power, the Internet has created a power struggle between children and the adults who are responsible for setting the rules and guidelines the children must follow (Shariff, 2008).

Parents

Parents are decisive in the prevention of cyberbullying. Aggressive acts of cyberbullying are happening in their homes using communicative devices that they have typically purchased for their children. The best tactic for parents to take is the direct approach – talking about limits, expectations, and precautions can stop a lot of the issues before they begin. Remember that not all parents have children who are victims. The cyberbully has parents, too. Parents who are aware of acts of cyberbullying should take action. Contacting other adults who need to be notified and talking about how to stop the acts will make them part of the solution (Coloroso, 2003).

Teachers and School Administrators

Studies have not shown teachers and school administrators in a pleasing light for responding to bullying at school. The question has been asked, if they will not respond to acts they see, why would they respond to those they do not? This question has merit. Research shows that school officials are more likely to respond to bullying when the

incident involves physical injury. Generally their responses are to the act of aggression and do not address the reasons why it happened (Shariff, 2008). The battle wounds garnered from an act of cyberbullying will not display themselves as bruises or cuts and without understanding why someone was victimized, it is almost impossible to stop.

School Boards

School boards have a responsibility to understand the issues that are facing the students, administrators, and communities which they serve. School systems have developed policies to cover equipment and Internet use, purchased filtering systems that ban certain words or topics, and generally employ more individuals who are responsible for fixing the equipment than individuals who are responsible for teaching how to use the equipment and related application, thus hampering at-school technology use more than encouraging it (Daniels, 2008). Policies against cell phones, student email and social forum use have almost completely halted the use of these applications at school (Shariff, 2008).

While these policies have allowed school systems to stymie abuse of the Internet at school, it has also separated teens from what makes them uniquely different from previous generations. Through policy implementation, school boards have taken from students their *native tongue* and have forced them to use antiquated forms of communication and expression. Students have been stripped of their identities on the school campus in order to protect school systems from legal and other outside repercussions. These reactive school measures are passed due to “a need to appease powerful voices rather than a genuine concern for the diverse perspectives and values of

the school community... the challenge for school boards increase as they attempt to navigate competing rights and interests” (Shariff, 2008, p. 182-183).

Cyberbullying: The Law

Federal Response

At this point, no decision on a cyberbullying case has been made by the United States Supreme Court; the issue is just too new. Nonetheless, as reported by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) (2008), Congress has recognized the issue of cyberbullying through the recent updating of the *2001 Children’s Internet Protection Act* (CIPA). CIPA requires all schools who receive federal funding through E-rate, a grant program that makes affordable specific communication devices for schools who qualify, to follow set guidelines to receive funding. Initially, these guidelines focused on policies and filtering systems that limited children’s access to unsuitable content and materials (FCC, 2008).

In the summer of 2008, the requirements of the grant were modified to require receiving schools to have safety policies and technologies planned and implemented before receiving funds. Specifically, “schools and libraries must also certify that, as part of their Internet safety policy, they are educating minors about appropriate online behavior, including cyberbullying awareness and response and interacting with other individuals on social networking sites and chat rooms” (§ 3).

State Response

State response to cyberbullying across the nation has been great. Thirty-six states have anti-bullying laws dating back to 1999. According to research done by USA Today (2008), of these 36 states, 10 states have laws that specifically address cyberbullying

while numerous others are currently considering cyberbullying bills. In 2006, South Carolina passed *The Safe School Climate Act*. This act required school districts in the state “to adopt policies to *prohibit harassment, intimidation or bullying at school*. Electronic communication was included in the definition of bullying.” (USA Today, ¶ 8.) In 2007, Arkansas passed a bill that allowed school officials to intervene in acts of cyberbullying even if the acts of cyberbullying did not happen on campus. As stated in the bill, school officials have the right to act “if the electronic act is directed specifically at students or school personnel and is maliciously intended for the purpose of disrupting school, and has a high likelihood of succeeding in that purpose. (USA Today, ¶ 1) Both of these state examples are similar to bills being created across the nation. These state initiatives are models for other state response across the country.

Unfortunately, state reactions have usually been in response to great tragedy. A recent case surrounds the 2005 suicide of a Florida teen, Jeffrey Johnston. At the age of 15, Jeffery committed suicide after two years of ongoing cyberbullying by a classmate. On April 30, 2008, the Florida senate unanimously approved HB669, *the Jeffrey Johnston Stand up for All Students Act* (*i.e. Jeff's Law*, 2006). As stated on the Florida House of Representatives website (2008), the bill has been established to: (a) Prohibit bullying and harassment of any student or employee of public K-12 educational institutions, (b) require school districts to adopt policies prohibiting bullying and harassment, (c) provide immunity for school officials and restrictions with respect to defending the action and application of policy provisions, and (d) require Florida DOE approval of school district policy and school district compliance with reporting procedures as prerequisites to receiving state funds.

This law obliges school systems to address the issues of bullying on all levels, including cyberbullying. This law also grants some immunity to school officials as they address these new issues. Just as in other issues of student rights, the requirement of the school to safely guard its students has once again over ranked the school system's obligation to ensure student free speech. *Jeff's Law* will become the measuring stick for other states as they respond to this issue. It is imperative that school boards take a closer look at this case as they address policy requirements.

Louisiana's Response

In 2001, Act 230 (R.S. 17:416.15) was passed by the Louisiana Legislature. Act 230 gave rights to the school systems to operate against bullying and required school systems to develop zero tolerance policies that outlined the consequences of such acts. While the term *cyberbullying* is not specifically mentioned in the wording of Act 230, this law is often used as a basis for cyberbullying issues on school campuses. It should be noted that this law gave leeway for school administrators to address cyberbullying issues if the threats are "so severe, persistent, or pervasive that it creates an intimidating, threatening, or abusive educational environment for a student" (Damico & Toomy, 2001, p. 2). It is further stated that "any student, school employee, or school volunteer who in good faith reports an incident . . . shall be immune for a right of action for damages arising from any failure to remedy the reported incident" (p. 2).

Louisiana Attorney General Charles Foti, Jr. has become an advocate for cyberbullying prevention. Within his own department, he has created a high tech crime unit that focuses a great deal of its time on crimes against children, even when it is perpetrated by other children. His staff currently travels the state and nation advocating

for cyberbullying prevention and education (Ford, 2008). In the PowerPoint presentation she presents to school faculties, parents, and students, Monica Ford (2008), a member of Attorney General Foti's high tech crime unit, references the rights of the schools and the school administration to act upon cyberbullying using Act No. 230. She states that it is not just a right, but a legal obligation for school officials to report suspecting incidents of student harm.

Cyberlaw: Legal Considerations for School Systems

School systems and educators across the nation want to know when it is legal for school systems to discipline students for cyberbullying. Bullying is not a crime. One can not be arrested for bullying and is not defined by law. However, the factors related to bullying, such as slander, defamation of character, physical harm, harassment, threats of physical harm, are legally defined. In order for schools to react to acts of bullying, they must have proof of one or more of these underlying factors (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009; Shariff, 2008). Actions brought against school systems and educators have focused on these traditionally defined factors and applied them to the precedents set by case law.

Cyberlaw takes traditional legal concepts and laws related to constitutionally given rights and extends them to the digital domain. (Yamaguchi, 2006). Cyberlaw "means investigating at a more basic level what values free expression and the flow in information on the Internet fulfill for individuals and societies. It also involves consideration of how the harmful effects of these activities can be controlled" (p. 531). The merging of cyberlaw to school law is complicated. While school officials generally have more leniency than other public officials when dealing with school crime, state tort

immunity laws for educators do not always protect districts from being held negligent (Kirby, 2008).

In the issue of cyberbullying, school officials have been given leeway when they can prove that a student's actions have materially and substantially disrupted learning, interferes with the educational process, utilizes school-owned technology to harass, or threatens other students or infringes on their civil rights (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008). Some states have gone as far as defining these concepts as they specifically relate to bullying, thus cyberbullying. Arkansas is one such case.

In 2007, Arkansas passed Public Act 115 which defined *material and substantial disruption* as it applied to bullying. According to Act 115, "substantial disruption means without limitation that any one or more of the following occur as a result of the bullying:

1. Necessary cessation of instruction or educational activities;
2. Inability of students or educational staff to focus on learning or function as an educational unit because of a hostile environment;
3. Severe or repetitive disciplinary measures are needed in the classroom or during educational activities; or
4. Exhibition of other behaviors by students or educational staff that substantially interfere with the learning environment." (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008, p. 117)

The concept of material and substantial disruption has created a relationship between off-campus issues and school related repercussions because of them. This merging has created the *nexus* or connection that has given school systems ownership of the problem and has opened the doors for them to legally respond to off campus issues.

According to Mason (2008), there are certain questions or guiding principles that can be used when deciding upon how to react to cyber issues at school:

- 1) Did the incident happen on campus or off? If the incident happened on campus, the school has more authority to address the issue. If the issue of cyberbullying happens on campus, more than likely, the perpetrators are breaking other school rules and policies that administration can use to enforce consequences for their actions (Mason, 2008). When the incident happens off campus, it is important that a school *nexus* can be found before schools respond with disciplinary measures. If the material was redistributed using school equipment, this nexus is easy document. If not, then the schools have a harder time substantiating their actions (Willard, 2007).
- 2) Can the school place restrictions on off-campus student free speech? Precedents already set in the area of student free speech and expression can be applied to this question. Does the student speech appear sponsored by the school even if the incident happens off campus? *J.S. v. Bethlehem Area School District (2000)* found that schools can address off-campus speech “that threatens the safety of another person when they can demonstrate harm to the victim” (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008, p. 127). *J.S. v. Blue Mountain School District (2007)* expanded this right of schools to react when off-campus *online* speech disrupts school operations or interferes with the civil rights of others on campus (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008).
- 3) Does the student speech create a school climate that is not conducive to student well-being? Many precedents have been set that allow school administration to

act if there is a *substantial interference* in the educational process. *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District* is usually cited in this area as the precedent for the expression *materially and substantially disruptive* was established with this case (Mason, 2008). In *Layshock v. Hermitage School District (2006)*, a student created a non-threatening, non-obscene website about the school administration. The student was disciplined by the school, and the student brought the case to court. The school system's disciplinary measures were upheld because the student's actions required school administration to investigate, resulting in lost time, and the school had to shut down the computer system (California School Boards Association, 2007).

- 4) Were search and seizure measures followed? A search of student Internet usage history and files can be conducted as long as there is a *reasonable suspicion* that misuse has occurred. Students should have a limited expectation of privacy when on school grounds. It is, however, still questionable if school personnel have the right to read or access text message on students' PDAs. At this time, the general consensus is that this might violate wiretapping laws (Mason, 2008). *Klump v. Nazareth Area School District (2006)* found that "school administrators cannot violate students' Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable searches of their cell phones for voice-mails or text messages, unless they have clear, articulated, documentable, and reasonable suspicion that school policy has been violated" (Handuja & Patchin, 2008, p. 127).
- 5) Did the school act in a reasonable and prudent manner? This question is more concerned with the degree of response that an act of cyberbullying receives. As

in any act of school aggression, the severity of the punishment should fit the severity of the crime. School policies and procedures should be followed at all times. This is why it is vital that school system's address cyberbullying in their policies. Even if the school system does not have a legal reason to act against cyberbullying, the systems do have an ethical need to prevent such crimes against students they serve (Mason, 2008).

All of these legal issues and questions reflect to the concept of *in loco parentis* provided by tort law to school officials. It is the obligation of administrators and teachers to act as *careful and prudent* parents for students while they are at school (Shariff, 2008). As long as the officials are acting for the greater good of the school and its children, the courts generally prevail on the side of education. It is in the best interest of school systems to create protocol for education and response to cyberbullying so that they are not held liable for neglecting their roles of careful and prudent parents (Kowalski, et al, 2008).

Policy Implications

Because their motives differ, the solutions and responses to each type of cyberbullying incident have to differ too. Unfortunately, there is no "one size fits all" when cyberbullying is concerned... Experts who understand schoolyard bullying often misunderstand cyberbullying, thinking it is just another method of bullying. But the motives and the nature of cybercommunications, as well as the demographic and profile of a cyberbully differ from their offline counterpart. (Aftab, 2008)

On November 2, 2007, the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) published a public issue statement on Internet safety and its impact on school policy and response. The NASSP listed several guidelines for policy makers to follow when making policy change considerations.

The NASSP (2007) recommends that policymakers:

1. Formulate policies that reinforce a balanced approach to the use of Internet technologies and protect students and personnel from Internet crime,
2. provide funding and other resources to support ongoing professional development of school leaders and staff on Internet safety issues,
3. where appropriate, build the capacity of central office to be the clearinghouse for district wide technology issues,
4. hold Internet service providers and social networking Web sites accountable for reporting criminal behavior to the appropriate authorities,
5. reward schools that are using technology in effective and innovative ways. Solicit, showcase and recognize these best practices, and
6. remind parents to oversee their children's Internet use. (¶ 6)

In 2007, The California School Boards Association created a policy brief concerning cyberbullying that can be used as a guide. The California School Boards Association (CSBA) suggests that issues of cyberbullying are incorporated in standard school board safety policies. Since standard school safety policies already address issues of bullying and harassment, it is easier to modify existing policies than create new ones. The following policy areas to be reviewed and revised are suggested:

1. Integration of strategies to address cyberbullying in the existing school safety plan,
2. Search and Seizure polices should be revised to address online issues,
3. Student Technology policies should be adjusted to address bullying,
4. Education and Professional development of students, parents, and staff should occur,
5. Acceptable use of the district's technological resources,
6. Use of the filters to block Internet sites,
7. Supervision and monitoring policies of students' online activity while at school, and
8. Due Process and Disciplining Procedures (CSBA, p. 4).

While The California School Boards Association (2007) suggestions deal directly to policy and the types of policy that should be revised or created, the suggestions of the National Association of Secondary School Principals (2007) also include educating all school stakeholders about the issues of cyber safety.

The appendix includes a cyberbullying framework that has been created by Willard (2007). The framework includes three pieces: (a) a Cyberbullying or Cyberthreat Situation Review Process (Appendix A), (b) a School Actions and Options form (Appendix B), and (c) an Incident Report and Evaluation Form (Appendix C). These forms have been released for use by school systems and are currently being used across the nation to guide educators through the process of recording, reporting, and disciplining cases of cyberbullying.

Willard's (2007) framework provides a detailed outline of the steps that school administrators can follow when responding to acts of cyberbullying. These steps take into consideration the guidelines of the law and a school administrator's right to respond. As one progresses through the framework, guiding questions and follow-up procedures are delineated. While this is a review and response framework for incidents of cyberbullying, Willard states that this plan will best work after school systems have: (a) conducted a policy and practice review, (b) provided professional development for school stakeholders, (c) practiced parental and community outreach activities, (d) provided student education, and (e) conducted ongoing needs assessments to monitor the progress of the school plan. She condones both proactive and reactive measures to address the issue of cyberbullying.

Discussion

Summary and Interpretations

Olweus' work (1993) on traditional bullying in the late 1970's set the tone for future work in the study of school bullying. He brought to light the common occurrence of child on child aggressive behaviors at school and the detrimental affects these behaviors had on those who were involved in them. Subsequent research supported that bullying incidents at school were traditionally seen as rites of passage that allowed children to learn to adapt to the *real world* and take up for themselves (Coloroso, 2003). This was substantiated by the fact that although most instances of bullying were witnessed by others, few actually did anything to assist those who were bullied and the victims were often left to fend for themselves (Craig & Pepler, 1998).

Studies concerning traditional school bullying were not conducted in America until 2001 with the work of Nansel and colleagues, the same year that researchers began to study the emergence of a new school aggression issue, cyberbullying. Since then, these issues have been merged in the works of researchers conducting quantitative studies and meta-analyses of previous research to shed light on the commonalities and differences of these aggressive acts and how related factors influence social reactions and school policy. Belsey (2008) and Willard's conceptual frameworks (2003 & 2007) on cyberbullying and responses to cyberbullying have been guiding pieces for the subsequent work of Aftab (2006 & 2008), Hinduja & Patchin (2008), and Shariff (2008). All concur that cyberbullying acts are reflective of traditional bullying acts in that they are attempts of one group to have power over another. All also concur that the medium through which these cyberbullying acts occur – the Internet – has created a construct difference that must be recognized in order for all involved to appropriately respond.

Research advocates it is through education and awareness that true strides will be made in the deterrence of cyberbullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Kowalski, 2008; Shariff, 2008; Willard, 2007). Common reactive practices by school systems to apply disciplinary actions against those who commit acts of cyberbullying have not proven to be effective. Likewise, it is not always clear which school system disciplinary responses against these acts are permissible by law. Reactive measures taken by schools may reduce aggressive incidents from reoccurring by those who are caught, but it takes programs that instill character and cultivate healthy behaviors to affect long term changes (Perry, 1999). Teen responses to the Internet, its uses, and issues related to it will be directly affected by

the responses of the adults who are around them. If this response is constructive, educated, and positive, more teens will respond in like fashion (Kowalski, 2008).

Cyberbullying is undeniably an issue that is emerging on school campuses. While it has always been understood that school and home issues are not mutually exclusive, it is becoming more common that on-campus concerns for student safety and well-being are related to off-campus student Internet use (Shariff, 2008). Online social networks have emerged as prominent factors in the lives of the students served by school systems, and the line that separates their online actions from home and school is blurring. Due to the nature of this online aggression, it is not always easy for school officials to understand when their rights begin and those of the cyberbully and cyberbullied begin. More work is needed to develop better response frameworks for administrators and school system support. However, the judicial system will ultimately set the standards upon which these frameworks will be based and only time will tell what the legal precedents may be (Sampson, 2002).

While many names researcher names are beginning to emerge in the study of cyberbullying, most of their ideas are based upon the traditional work of Olweus and the frameworks of Willard. No studies were found that contradicted their basic thoughts in this field of study – they only substantiated and expounded upon them. Common terms and like concepts were used repetitively to address the same basic guiding questions in the literature surveyed. These same guiding questions were used to develop this literature review and, consequently, may have limited the scope of the reviewer and the breadth of information considered.

*Conclusions**Separate but Equal? Bullying and Cyberbullying*

Today's children are much more fluent at using online resources than ever before. Their understanding of cyberlanguage and cybersociety is poles apart from today's adults who were not born into a world that has evolved from a physical environment to infinite cyber space; today's youth do not see the Internet as separate from traditional socialization and interactions, but as common as face-to-face talking (Shariff, 2008). Adults view the Internet as tool to be used; teens view the Internet as an extension of themselves. These differing viewpoints have caused a division in how Internet use and the issues related to it are understood by various stakeholders (Goodstein, 2007). Possibly, this division in understanding has also created a divide between traditional bullying and cyberbullying that does not exist nor needs to be focused upon when developing overarching policies and programs to address bullying and cyberbullying.

Until the late 1990s, traditional bullying, the roots to cyberbullying, had never really been recognized as an issue that needed to be addressed on school campuses. Since then, many character education programs have been developed to instill good citizenry and middle class values, but there is no real research to gauge if they have been effective in curbing bullying behaviors at school or if the same basic premises can be applied to cyberbullying response (Coloroso, 2003; Shariff, 2008). Do these two issues, bullying and cyberbullying, need to be separated in order to be addressed? Studies show that the acts of aggression in both types are based upon the same desires: power and a need to dominate or subdue others (Shariff, 2008). Conceivably the answers to solving both types of bullying may be more alike than different.

Consider this. When students hit with their fists, it is called physical bullying. When students tease with their mouths, it is called verbal bullying. It only makes sense that when one harasses using the Internet, it is called cyberbullying. This idea is alluded to by Shariff (2008) who believes that “cyberbullying is simply a progression of traditional bullying using new means” (p. 31). Shariff’s comment brings to mind Coloroso’s (2003) analogy that incidents of traditional bullying are simply acts being played out by characters on a stage.

Instead of the scene unfolding on the school playground, the characters of cyberbullying are staged in a virtual world that has its own setting concerns and issues to be addressed. The premises of the play and the characters who unfold before the audience have not changed, but have simply adapted to their new stage. How they play out the scene depends upon the dialogue or tools that they are given to use. Are the words that they type from a keyboard really different from those that they speak from their mouths?

The reactions of bystanders to incidents of bullying have been portrayed as decisive in the overall outcome of an act of bullying (Coloroso, 2003). Though not mentioned in the role of bystander in the literature, it can be proposed that parents, school site personnel, and school boards who are responsible for the education and protection of children should be thought of as bystanders and studied as such. Simply referred to as *other stakeholders* in the literature (Shariff, 2008), these groups are aware of the problem and are not necessarily reacting appropriately to it. As the roles of bystanders are conceptualized (Coloroso, 2003; Willard, 2007) this would categorized these adult groups as *bystanders who are part of the problem*. While they know children under their care are victims of bullying, they are not reacting in suitable ways to stop the occurrence.

Parents want their children protected, but they do not want their rights violated while they are being protected. This often confuses their stakeholder role in an act of aggression. While they know the incident is occurring, they also have a need to protect their child, whether they are the bully or the bullied (Shariff, 2008). This places them in a bystander role that is not easy to define and often complicates the situation (Coloroso, 2003). Until teachers and administrators become active participants in educating students about and responding to online issues, they are acting as bystanders who are not part of the solution.

School boards have the biggest responsibility of all. They create the policies and fund the programs that teachers, administrators, students and parents are expected to follow. Perhaps it is the battle to balance the rights and interests of these varying diverse groups that is holding school boards back from deciding which bystander role they will take in this issue. While they have an obligation to provide a well-rounded educational system to their students, they also have to battle the legal and ethical issues that are attached to this obligation (Kowalski, et al., 2008; Shariff, 2008). Consequently, school-based officials will generally respond as outlined by school boards (Sampson, 2002). The bystander role taken by school boards will be mostly guided by what the judicial system will allow them to take. The bystander role taken by school officials will be the one that is dictated to them by the school system. The best scenario would be that all parties, parents, school officials, and school boards act as bystanders who are part of the solution and react to acts of cyberbullying in an appropriate manner.

Recommendations:

While social networking sites have been the topic of research, no studies were found that used these sites as vehicles for study. Studies conducted in the nature setting of the problem and those who are part of the problem will create a more conducive environment in which true responses can be acquired. Focus groups gathered from these sites or other online social forums would use already created participant samples that have self-formed based upon interests prior to researcher manipulation. Asynchronous or synchronous online interviewing protocol could be followed in order to develop studies qualitative in nature and that would give voice to those who are most affected by the issue of cyberbullying – the children. Quantitative studies could also be conducted in like fashion by distributing using surveys and questionnaires to already created listservs and forums to gather stakeholder perception data.

Further research in the systemic patterns that are related to bystander reactions to online bullying would bring to the forefront how the audiences' responses to cyberbullying influence future occurrences. To implement programs and policies that are comprehensive in nature, all school stakeholder roles and responsibilities must be considered. The old adage, *It takes a whole village to raise a child*, has never been more true, and in the realm of the Internet, the boundaries of the village are growing to encompass multitudes of individuals and personalities that have never been considered before. Familial influences, namely parents, and the response of those of those who are witnesses to acts of bullying, the bystanders, are most influential in determining how an act of aggression will result (Aftab, 2008; Willard, 2007).

Throughout the literature review, children and their safety have been placed in the center of the issue of cyberbullying. The body of literature is all written from the perspective of the adult and how adults understand the issue and what adults perceive the best practices to be in addressing cyberbullying. No research specifically addresses the viewpoints of children and how they understand traditional bullying and cyberbullying in theory. This issue is about children and their need for control. Their voice needs to be heard and their perceptions of the problem may shed a new light on adult understanding of the issue.

The research for both bullying and cyberbullying concludes that it will take proactive measures to develop character development and stakeholder education to truly direct all stakeholders in the right direction (Willard, 2007). “Preventing school violence involves comprehensive programs that forge close, trusting relationships and help young people develop a host of healthy behaviors including conflict resolution and anger management skill...focusing on the hardware of control will not resolve dilemmas involving the software of our students' hearts” (Halford, 1998, p.103).

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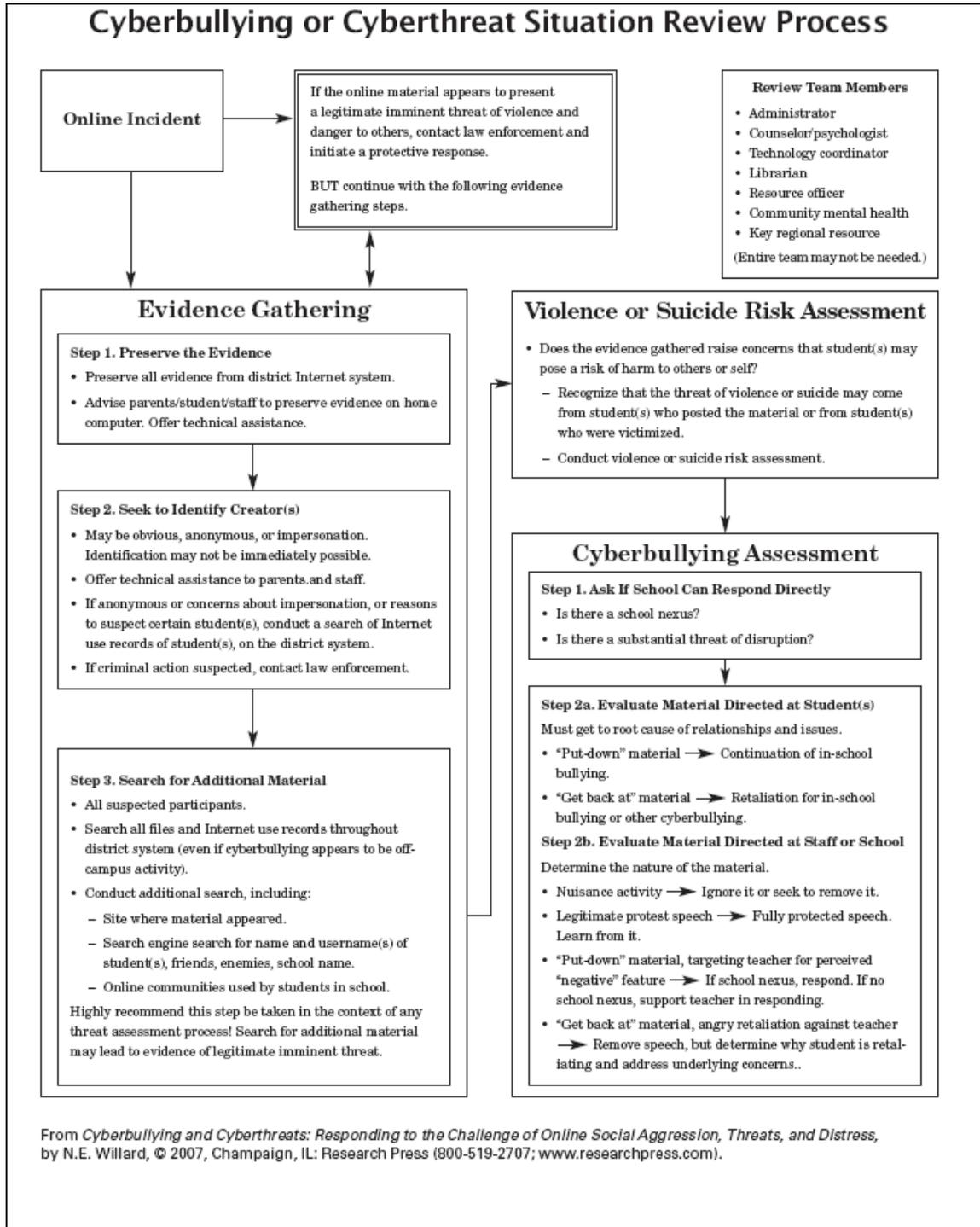
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database.

Appendix A



Appendix B

School Actions and Options

Formal Disciplinary Action

Can impose formal disciplinary response if have established a school nexus and substantial and material disruption. BUT still need to address:

- Removal of materials and potential of retaliation by student or online “buddies.”
- If “put-down” cyberbully, stop all in-school bullying. If “get back at” cyberbully, stop all in-school victimization.
- Support needs of target.

If cannot impose formal discipline, other action options still available.

Working With Parents

Child Who Is “Put-Down” Cyberbully

Assumptions

- Parents unaware, but actions are against family values.
- Initial response will be disbelief, followed by anger and humiliation.
- Parents naïve about strategies to manage Internet use.

Process

- Send downloaded material and Parent Guide to parents via certified mail.
- Request meeting following day.
- Seek parental commitment to:
 - Establish prohibitions.
 - Install and use monitoring software.
 - Limit student’s access through other venues.

Increased potential for financial liability through civil litigation is a strong leverage.

Child Who Is Target, “Get Back At” Cyberbully, or Child Who Has Posted Distressing Material

- Parent could approach school, or school could find out from other source.
- Initial response of parent will be significant concern for safety and well-being of child.
- If contacting parent about reported concern, establish preliminary plan of action for support prior to meeting with parent.
- If working with parent of “get back at” cyberbully or student who has posted distressing material:
 - Ensure material is removed.
 - Install and use monitoring software.
 - Address underlying bullying or emotional concerns.
- If working with parent of target:
 - Explain limitations on formal response, but commit to assist in other ways.
 - Help parent file a complaint with the Web site or service provider.
 - Warn to watch for retaliation.

Working with Students

Working with Student Who Is Target

Addiction

- Address concerns of addiction to harmful online community.
 - Convince target to leave community.
 - Find way to get the cyberbullying to stop within the community.

Online Bully-Proofing

- Communications are preserved so student and counselor can evaluate and determine patterns of communication that may be precipitating bullying.
- Impact of harmful communication is invisible if target does not immediately respond.
- Delay in communication can provide opportunity for target to calm down and respond with strength.

When to Ask for Help

Encourage students to tell an adult if:

- They are really upset and not sure what to do.
- The cyberbullying could be a crime.
- Any cyberbullying is or might be through the Internet or cell phone at school.
- They are being bullied by the same person at school.
- The cyberbully is anonymous.
- The cyberbully is bullying other students who may be more vulnerable.

Cyberbullying Response Options

- Target can tell cyberbully to stop.
- Target can ignore cyberbully.
- Target or advocate can:
 - File a complaint with Web site or service provider.
 - Contact cyberbully’s parents.
 - Contact an attorney.
 - Contact the police.

From *Cyberbullying and Cyberthreats: Responding to the Challenge of Online Social Aggression, Threats, and Distress*, by N.E. Willard, © 2007, Champaign, IL: Research Press (800-519-2707; www.researchpress.com).

Appendix C

Incident Report and Evaluation Form

Names of student(s) involved:

Date:

Name(s) of district staff and any community professionals involved in resolution of incident:

1. Describe incident and attach all downloaded material:
2. Describe how the identities of the creator(s) of the material were identified:
3. Did the evidence gathered raise concerns that student(s) involved posed a risk of harm to others or themselves? If, "yes" how were these concerns addressed?
4. Was a determination made that the school could impose formal discipline? Describe the rationale for this decision:
5. Describe the underlying relationships between all parties:
6. Describe the actions taken to resolve the incident:
7. What insight or issues were raised by this incident that ought to be addressed in the context of the district's ongoing efforts to address these concerns?
8. *(To school administrator)* Following any incident, send a letter to all parents involved, stating the following:

[School] is striving to respond in a highly effective manner to address concerns of cyberbullying and cyber-threats. Our objective is to resolve the incident so that our students can feel safe and secure at school and in their relationships with other students. Because you were recently involved in an incident, it would be very helpful to have your feedback on how effectively this incident was handled. The feedback you submit will be shared with the district safe schools committee. Your identity will be kept confidential.

- In general, what are your overall feelings about the school's response to this incident?
 - How does your child feel about the response to the incident?
 - Are there any continuing problems that we should be aware of?
 - What aspects of the school's response were most helpful?
 - What aspects of the school's response were least helpful?
 - Are there any ways you think we could improve on our response?
9. *(To school administrator)* Summarize the responses of parents. Pose similar questions to students, preferably in written format.

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