YOUNG CANADIANS' EXPERIENCES WITH ELECTRONIC BULLYING

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A nationally representative sample of Canadian youth aged 12 to 18 completed an online survey assessing their experiences of online bullying and victimization, and the motivation and challenges associated with intervening. The results indicated that:

- Electronic bullying is happening a lot. In the four weeks prior to taking the survey, 42% of youth said they were electronically bullied and 60% said they witnessed others being electronically bullied.
- Boys and minorities were more likely to experience electronic bullying and to have bullied others.
- 71% of those who saw electronic bullying did something to intervene at least once.
- Neither gender nor age made a difference in willingness to intervene.
- Youths' willingness to intervene in electronic bullying depends on their relationship with the target.
 90% of youth said they would intervene if their family member were the target of electronic bullying while only 37% would intervene for someone they do not know personally.
- Youth were asked to rate 17 intervention strategies to handle electronic bullying. Most youth thought it would be helpful to comfort the target privately; tell a trusted adult; and talk about how to handle it with parents and/or friends.
- Youth were asked about the factors that would increase their likelihood of intervening in electronic bullying. They would be motivated to do something if the electronic bullying was clearly wrong or hurtful. It was also important that they knew that it would actually make a difference and that they could do so anonymously. Rewards or praise for intervening were not deemed to be important.
- Youth were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements about barriers to intervening. Most youth believed something can be done in response to electronic bullying. However, they were not fully convinced that their concerns will be taken seriously, or that adults will be helpful. They worried that intervening will make things worse for the target, or turn themselves into targets.
- Youth who had been electronically bullied in the previous four weeks were more likely than their nonbullied peers to believe there would be negative consequences for intervening.

The results are also a call to action for adults. Electronic bullying is still a significant problem and is happening to far too many youth.

- Youth need to be empowered and fully involved in preventing and intervening in electronic bullying. They require specific education on effective strategies and how to support one another in addressing electronic bullying.
- 2) Adults need to be more active in empowering youth to address this problem by removing the perceived barriers and by increasing motivation to intervene.
- 3) Creating healthy relationships and relationships that respect diversity will ensure that the rights of all youth are respected and actively supported.

INTRODUCTION

School bullying is a specific form of aggression that many children experience (Craig et al., 2015). Bullying includes any unwanted aggressive behaviour that causes harm, involves a power imbalance, and has the potential to be repeated (Gladden, Vivolo-Kantor, Hamburger, & Lumpkin, 2014). Depending on the study, it is estimated that 10-75% of youth are bullied in school (Swearer, Siebecker, Johnsen-Frerichs, & Wang, 2010). According to a national sample of Canadian youth in grades 6 to 10, about 19% of youth report being electronically bullied. By definition, bullying is a relationship problem – it is a group process that impacts peers who are not directly involved in the exchange (Salmivalli, 2010; Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001). Bullying has the potential to negatively impact countless witnesses, as peers are present for 85% of bullying incidents (Craig & Pepler, 1997). A recent US study indicated that on average bullying happens 31 times a day in elementary school. Witnessing bullying is associated with numerous difficulties, including somatic complaints, depression, anxiety, and substance use (Rivers, Poteat, Noret, & Ashurst, 2009), suggesting that bullying is harmful for all parties involved.

Research by Salmivalli and colleagues (1996) has identified four roles that bullying bystanders play – 1) assistants of youth who bully; 2) reinforcers of youth who bully, who positively reinforce the bullying behaviour by laughing or cheering; 3) outsiders, who withdraw from the bullying; and 4) defenders, who intervene and support the child being bullied. The majority of bystanders do not intervene when they witness bullying, with only 17-19% of bystanders taking the role of a defender. When peers do defend, however, they are often effective in stopping bullying (Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996). Students who are victimized also directly benefit from peer defending. They report higher self-esteem, peer acceptance, and popularity relative to their non-defended peers (Sainio et al., 2011). Given these positive outcomes associated with defending, intervention programs have been developed that encourage students to take a defender role (e.g., Cowie, 2000; Menesini, Codecasa, Benelli, & Cowie, 2003; Salmivalli, 2001; Stevens, Van Oost, & de Bourdeaudhuij, 2000).

Although bullying roles are dynamic (i.e., a child may defend in one context but not another; Huitsing, Snijders, Van Duijn, & Veenstra, 2014), numerous studies have identified consistent distinctions between youth who act as defenders and those who do not (Salmivalli, 2010). Compared to witnesses, defenders have higher levels of anti-bullying attitudes (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004), affective empathy (Caravita, Di Blasio, & Salmivalli, 2010), defending self-efficacy (Pöyhönen, Juvonen, & Salmivalli, 2012), emotional stability (Tani, Greenman, Schneider, & Fregoso, 2003), cognitive skill (Caravita et al., 2010), and report less moral disengagement (Obermann, 2011). These traits are strong predictors of future defending; for example, collective efficacy and empathy predict defending behaviour above and beyond previous defending, particularly among girls (Barchia & Bussey, 2011). Social status is also a key characteristic, as it moderates the association between both defending self-efficacy and affective empathy on defending behaviour, with higher social status youth being more likely to defend (Pöyhönen, Juvonen, & Salmivalli, 2010). Overall, defenders typically have higher social, cognitive and social resources relative to bystanders who do not intervene.

Nevertheless, the act of defending has the potential for negative consequences. Defending is positively associated with peer victimization both concurrently and over time, suggesting that youth who defend their peers put themselves at risk for peer rejection (Barchia & Bussey, 2011; Caravita et al., 2010; Pozzoli, Gini, & Vieno, 2012). Youth who defend also risk a loss of social status, with defending behaviour predicting a decrease in peer-perceived liking one year later (Meter & Card, 2015). Thus, by asserting themselves within the peer group to protect others, defenders may be putting themselves at risk. Indeed, youth commonly report not defending because of a fear of losing social influence (Stevens, Van Oost, & De Bourdeaudhuij, 2000), suggesting they may be aware of this risk. Low social status and peer

rejection can be a hefty price tag for a defender. Numerous studies show that low social status and peer rejection are associated with a number of psychosocial difficulties, including anxiety, depression, acting out, problems with peers, and academic difficulties (Cole & Carpentieri, 1990; Cole, Lochman, Terry, & Hyman, 1992; Destin, Richman, Varner, & Mandara, 2012; Fite, Wimsatt, Vitulano, Rathert, & Schwartz, 2012; Platt, Kadosh, & Lau, 2013; Rudolph & Clark, 2001; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Österman, & Kaukiainen, 1996). Defenders are faced with the psychosocial impacts of both witnessing the

"Bullying is like 1000 paper cuts eating away at your soul"

A 13-year-old girl

aggression and of deciding to intervene, suggesting they may be at heightened risk for poor psychosocial outcomes compared to their peers who do not defend. This potential cost would validate youth perceptions that defending is a risky behaviour that may have serious consequences. Despite these potential risks, defending is still encouraged among youth in many bullying prevention programs.

When peers do defend others in bullying interactions, they are highly successful. In a naturalistic observational study it was found that when peers intervene, 57% of the time the bullying interaction stopped within 10 seconds (Hawkins et al., 2001). In addition, when bystanders intervene, there is a lower prevalence of peer victimization (Salmivalli et al., 2011). Despite the efficacy of peer intervention, only 17% of children report defending others (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996).

Although there has been research on offline bullying and the role of peers, there is limited research on peer intervention for online bullying. Researchers have expressed concerns that cyberbullying and online harassment might increase negative bystander behaviours because of the physical distance and the perceived anonymity of online communication (Dempsey et al., 2009; Sticca & Perren, 2013).

There is evidence that witnesses to cyberbullying are less emotionally affected than those who witness offline bullying (Sprigg et al, 2012). Psychological mechanisms found to inhibit bystander action are also

likely at play in cyberbullying: a form of moral disengagement particular to teenagers is to minimize bullying by calling it "drama," which may lead to bullying being both justified and encouraged by witnesses (Marwick & Boyd, 2011).

To help us better understand the relationship between peer intervention and electronic bullying amongst youth, this study will examine the factors that influence the likelihood of young people intervening in online bullying scenarios; the helpfulness of different ways of intervening, and the motivation and barriers to intervening.

1. RESPONDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

800 youth participated in the survey. 644 (80.5%) completed it in English, and 156 (19.5%) completed it in French.

427 (53%) identified as female, 364 (46%) identified as male, and 9 (1%) identified as gender queer or other, or preferred not to disclose their gender.



Participants ranged in age from 12 years to 18 years. 428 (54%) were in the 16- to 18-year-old range.



Participants were selected to be representative of the geographic distribution of Canada's population. All 10 provinces were represented, as well as two of the three territories.



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Province/Territory	% of Canadian population ¹	% of current sample
Nunavut	.1	.1
Northwest Territories	.1	.1
Yukon	.1	0
British Columbia	13.1	13.1
Alberta	10.9	11.0
Saskatchewan	3.1	2.5
Manitoba	3.6	3.6
Ontario	38.4	38.8
Québec	23.6	23.9
New Brunswick	2.2	2.3
Nova Scotia	2.8	2.8
Prince Edward Island	.4	.4
Newfoundland & Labrador	1.5	1.5

Youth were asked to self-identify their race or ethnicity, if desired. Two-thirds of the sample identified as White/European-Canadian.

¹ Based on 2011 Canadian census data.



2. EXPERIENCES OF ELECTRONIC BULLYING

Respondents were asked about their experiences of being bullied electronically, bullying others electronically, or witnessing electronic bullying in the previous four weeks. Electronic bullying includes being threatened, embarrassed, gossiped about, or made to look bad online.

Forty-two percent of youth said they were electronically bullied at least once; 15% said they bullied others electronically at least once; and 60% said they witnessed others being electronically bullied at least once in the previous four weeks.



Frequency of electronic bullying experiences in the past four weeks

42% of youth experienced electronic bullying at least once in the previous four weeks. 60% of youth witnessed electronic bullying in the previous four weeks.

Boys were significantly more likely than girls to experience electronic bullying². Forty-five percent of boys and 38% of girls said they were electronically bullied in the previous four weeks. Older youth were significantly more likely than younger youth to experience electronic bullying³. Forty-seven percent of 17-to 18-year-olds said they were electronically bullied at least once in the previous four weeks, compared to 36% of 12- to 14-year-olds.



Experiences of being electronically bullied, by age and gender

 $^{2} X^{2}(1, N = 781) = 4.67, p = .034$ $^{3} X^{2}(2, N = 790) = 8.17, p = .017$ Boys were also significantly more likely than girls to say they had electronically bullied others at least once in the previous four weeks (17% of boys vs. 12% of girls)⁴. Older youth were not significantly more likely than younger youth to participate in electronically bullying others⁵.

Experiences of electronically bullying others, by age and gender



Boys were more likely than girls to experience electronic bullying in the previous four weeks. They were also more likely than girls to say they had electronically bullied others in the previous four weeks.

 4 X²(1, N = 785)= 4.75, p = .032 5 X²(1, N = 794)= 2.98, p = .226 Youth who identified as a member of a racial or ethnic minority reported higher levels of both experiencing⁶ and perpetrating⁷ electronic bullying in the previous four weeks. There were no racial differences in terms of witnessing electronic bullying⁸.



Compared to their non-bullied peers, youth who had been electronically bullied at least once (42% of the sample) were significantly more likely to electronically bully others⁹. This finding was true for both males and females, and across all age groups. While 2% of non-bullied youth said they had bullied others, 32% of bullied youth said they had bullied others at least once in the previous four weeks.



⁶ X²(1, N = 777) = 4.94, p = .03
⁷ X²(1, N = 781) = 8.97, p = .003
⁸ X²(1, N = 777) = .39, p = .58
⁹ X²(1, N = 777) = 136.45, p < .001

3. INTERVENING IN ELECTRONIC BULLYING

Youth were asked how likely they would be to intervene if they saw electronic bullying happening to someone. Over half of youth (58%) said they would do something if they saw something offensive posted online.



Likelihood of intervening (Hypothetical)

As previously mentioned, 60% of youth said they had witnessed electronic bullying in the previous four weeks. These youth answered the above question similarly to the overall sample: 43% said they were likely to intervene, and 18% said they were very likely to intervene. Consistent with these findings, when asked about what they actually did when they saw electronic bullying in the previous four weeks, the majority (71%) said they had intervened at least once.



Frequency of intervening (Actual)

Participants' willingness to intervene in electronic bullying depends on their relationship with the target. Ninety percent of youth said they would intervene if a family member was the target of electronic bullying. Eighty-nine percent would intervene if the target was a close friend, and 84% if the target was a dating partner. Sixty-two percent said they would intervene if the target was a student at their school, while only 37% would intervene for someone they do not know personally.



Likelihood of intervening when the target is...

Across the above situations, girls were just as likely as boys to intervene in electronic bullying¹⁰. Youth with a history of being electronically bullied were just as likely to intervene as youth without a history of being electronically bullied¹¹. Older kids were no more likely than younger kids to intervene in electronic bullying¹². White/European-Canadian youth were slightly more likely to intervene than youth of racial/ethnic minorities¹³.

90% of youth said they would intervene if a family member was the target of electronic bullying.

¹⁰ t(786) = -1.11, p = .27 ¹¹ t(786) = -.72, p = .46 ¹² F(2, 794) = .190, p = .83 ¹³ t(781) = -2.03, p = .04 Youth were asked what intervention strategies they thought would be helpful in handling electronic bullying. Most youth thought it would be helpful to comfort the target privately; confronting the poster or sender was not considered to be as helpful. The majority of youth thought that talking to a trusted adult, parent, or friend could be helpful.



Of the 17 different possible responses to witnessing electronic bullying, we compared the responses of youth who had experienced electronic bullying in the past four weeks with the responses of youth who had not. For 12 of the responses, there were no differences in perceived helpfulness whether youth had been targeted or not. For five of the responses (below), there were significant differences. Youth who had been the target of electronic bullying were less likely to find it helpful to talk about electronic bullying with their parents¹⁴. They were more likely to endorse documenting the electronic bullying¹⁵, as well as less productive strategies like doing nothing¹⁶, laughing at it¹⁷, or sharing it¹⁸.



¹⁴ $X_2(1, N = 788) = 7.49, p = .007$ ¹⁵ $X_2(1, N = 788) = 5.03, p = .025$ ¹⁶ $X_2(1, N = 779) = 15.70, p < .001$ ¹⁷ $X_2(1, N = 787) = 9.57, p = .002$ ¹⁸ $X_2(1, N = 786) = 6.22, p = .015$

4. MOTIVATION FOR & BARRIERS TO INTERVENING

Youth were asked about the factors that would increase their likelihood of intervening in electronic bullying. The most important factors were related to content: they would be motivated to do something if the electronic bullying was clearly wrong or hurtful. It was also important that they knew something would come out of intervening (that it would actually make a difference) and that they could do so anonymously. While others' respect for intervening was important, rewards or praise were not deemed to be important for most youth.



Being respected for intervening is important to most youth. However, they do not feel like they need concrete rewards or praise in order to intervene. Being respected for intervening was especially important for younger respondents¹⁹. Older youth may be more intrinsically motivated to intervene in electronic bullying. There were no race or gender differences²⁰.



Importance of respect for intervening in electronic bullying

Being respected for intervening is more important to younger youth than older youth.

¹⁹ $X_2(1, N = 794) = 8.36 p = .015$ ²⁰ Both p > .05 Youth were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements about barriers to intervening. Most youth believe something can be done in response to electronic bullying. However, they are not fully convinced that their concerns will be taken seriously, or that adults will be helpful. They worry that intervening will make things worse for the target, or turn themselves into targets.

I do not intervene when I see mean comments, posts, or pictures because I believe...





I do not intervene when I see mean comments,

be taken seriously, or that adults will be helpful. They worry that intervening will make things worse for the target, or turn themselves into targets. They are not always sure if it's their role to intervene.

Youth who had been electronically bullied in the previous four weeks were more likely than their nonbullied peers to believe there would be negative consequences for intervening. (There were no gender or racial differences in the responses to these questions²¹.) Youth who had been electronically bullied were more likely than their non-bullied peers to endorse the following reasons for not intervening²²:



²¹ All p > .05 ²² All p < .05

KEY MESSAGES AND IMPLICATIONS:

Electronic bullying and victimization is a public health issue. In the four weeks prior to taking the survey, 42% of youth said they were electronically bullied and 60% said they witnessed others being electronically bullied. Boys were more likely to experience electronic bullying and to have bullied others electronically. Older youth were more likely to experience electronic bullying compared to younger youth. Those youth who are victimized online are also more likely to bully online.

Given the associated consequences with perpetrating, being victimized and witnessing electronic bullying, we need to provide youth with the skills to navigate relationships online in a safe and respectful manner. Relationships online are complicated by the absence of nonverbal and emotional cues. Youth need support in relationship skills to negotiate these social interactions. This universal education and support needs to start early and be ongoing from grade school and throughout high school years.

Seventy-one percent of those who saw electronic bullying did something to intervene at least once. Neither gender nor age made a difference in willingness to intervene. Youths' willingness to intervene in electronic bullying depends on their relationship with the target: 90% of youth said they would intervene if a family member was the target of electronic bullying while only 37% would intervene for someone they do not know personally. Youth are very protective about family.

> Youth are addressing and intervening in mean comments and posts online. However, they are more likely to intervene if it is someone they have a close relationships with (e.g., family, close friend, dating partner) than if it is someone that they are not close with (e.g., a schoolmate, someone they do not know). Feeling safe and being respected is a basic human right that all individuals are entitled to. Developing empathy for others, particularly those who may be vulnerable, and the integrity to stand up for those rights for all may be a critical part of much-needed education for youth and adults.

Youth were asked to rate 17 intervention strategies to handle electronic bullying. Most youth thought it would be helpful to comfort the target privately; tell a trusted adult; and talk about how to handle it with parents and/or friends. Least helpful strategies would be to read it and do nothing, or laugh at it.

> The majority of youth perceived that relationship solutions would be helpful to address online meanness (comfort the individual privately, tell an adult, talk about it with friends or family). These are positive solutions that can make a difference. To be effective, friends and families need to have the knowledge, skills, competencies, and capacities to provide proper support. Parents and other trusted adults need education about how to effectively create a relationship climate when youth can talk about what is happening and support youth online when meanness happens. The other good news is that the majority of youth recognized

strategies that would be problematic (confronting the sender, tagging it or sharing it, laughing at it). But at the same time, there was a significant number of youth who endorsed these strategies. These results suggest that students still need some specific tools and strategies and associated education on how to effectively defend and support those who are electronically victimized. In addition to helping youth connect to adults when online meanness happens, the education needs to focus on what strategies work and discourage those strategies that make the problem more significant. A concerning result was that youth who had experienced electronic bullying were less likely to perceive that talking about how to handle it with teachers and parents would help and more likely to engage in harmful strategies such as doing nothing about it, laughing at it or sharing it. Youth who are victimized need continuing support and monitoring, long after the incident has happened. The effects of the stress of being electronically bullied are long lasting and intervention needs to ensure that there is continued support (i.e., ongoing check-ins by caring and supportive adults, increased efforts to ensure there are social opportunities for success, and monitoring of stress and anxiety) for these individuals.

Youth were asked about the factors that would increase their likelihood of intervening in electronic bullying. The most important factors were related to content: they would be motivated to do something if the electronic bullying was clearly wrong or hurtful. It was also important that they knew something would come out of intervening (that it would actually make a difference) and that they could do so anonymously. Rewards or praise for intervening were not deemed to be important for most youth.

> Youth are motivated to intervene when they view the behaviour as a moral transgression and if they believe their intervention efforts will make a difference. Together these findings highlight that a key element of prevention is to help youth identify the impact on the youth who is victimized and that the bullying behaviour is unfair or a violation of their human rights to be safe. The focus on respectful relationships to prevent bullying converges with the focus on rights-respecting relationships in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Relationships that prevent bullying are rights-respecting relationships. In rights-respecting relationships, youth are empowered to be part of the solutions. This finding also highlights that youth are motivated to intervene if they believe they can make a difference and if others will respect them. An implication for prevention and intervention efforts is to work with the peer group to develop or support the social norming of standing up for others and ensuring their right to be safe is respected. Youth need to be empowered with support and strategies and leading bullying prevention efforts.

Creating a climate that fosters respect for standing up for others will increase youth involvement and intervention. Thus, actively creating a norm of respect for standing up for others' rights will decrease bullying. It is particularly important to encourage peers to stand

up for vulnerable youth (i.e., those who have experienced prior electronic victimization) and minority youth. Few youth require rewards for intervening – they want respect.

Youth were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements about barriers to intervening. Most youth believed something can be done in response to electronic bullying. However, they were not fully convinced that their concerns will be taken seriously, or that adults will be helpful. They worried that intervening will make things worse for the target, or turn themselves into targets.

Youth are reluctant to work with adults to address electronic bullying because they perceive that adults will not be able to make things better and they do not have useful advice. These findings are concerning because they suggest that adults have to become much more effective in supporting youth in addressing this problem. Adults may require education about what are effective strategies to address electronic bullying; how to support youth who are experiencing the problem; how to monitor and follow up with youth to ensure that the electronic bullying has stopped; and how to effectively monitor youth's social interactions. In addition, schools need to develop transparent reporting systems for reporting all forms of bullying. One significant concern for youth is that if they intervene there will be a negative effect on their social status. Youth are concerned that they will become the next target and this concern is well-founded based on the research. Acknowledging this concern is critical to prevention strategies. A critical component of prevention strategies is to address the norms of the peer groups by identifying the unfairness of the behaviour and helping youth to develop a peer culture that celebrates and reinforces standing up for the rights of others to be safe and have respectful relationships. Not only do youth need to be empowered to address the problem; they also need to be immersed in a peer culture that celebrates and supports rights-respecting relationships. Adults can foster these peer group norms in their interactions and through their programmatic involvement.

 Youth who had been electronically bullied in the four weeks prior to taking the survey were more likely than their non-bullied peers to believe there would be negative consequences for intervening.

Some of the most vulnerable youth, those who had a history of being electronically victimized, were less likely than those who did not to seek relationship support from friends or adults if a bullying episode happened. They were more likely to report they deserved it, a sense of helplessness, and that it would not make a difference. This theme that the most vulnerable youth are less motivated and more self-blaming is concerning: those who require the most help or who are at risk for long-term problems associated with the electronic bullying are the least likely to seek support or believe that the support is effective. This is a significant problem that is a call for adults to have the knowledge to identify when youth are experiencing electronic bullying; to have the skills and strategies to effectively support them; to be able to change the peer norms to support the vulnerable youth; and to monitor and ensure that they are safe. It is also concerning that they feel less positive that the supports will

be helpful. In a sense this is a call for action for adults and peers to be more effective in supporting youth.

While there are many positive findings, the results are also a call to action for adults. Electronic bullying is still a significant problem and is happening to far too many youth. There are clear messages:

- Youth need to be empowered and fully involved in preventing and intervening in electronic bullying. They require specific education on effective strategies and how to support one another in addressing electronic bullying.
- 2) Adults need to be more active in empowering youth to address this issue by removing the perceived barriers and by increasing motivation to intervene. Educators also need to develop effective and transparent reporting systems for youth. Parents need to create a relationship climate where youth can report electronic bullying and parents need to continually monitor and check in with them to ensure that the problem has stopped and also to send a strong message that they are concerned and will work with them to find an effective solution.
- 3) Creating healthy relationships and relationships that respect diversity will ensure that the rights of all youth are respected and actively supported.