Heidi Vandebosch · Lelia Green *Editors*

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Introduction

Heidi Vandebosch and Lelia Green

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Part I
Cyberbullying

Research on Cyberbullying: Strengths and Limitations

Peter K. Smith

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

1 Introduction

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

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

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

2 How Has Research on Cyberbullying Developed?

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

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

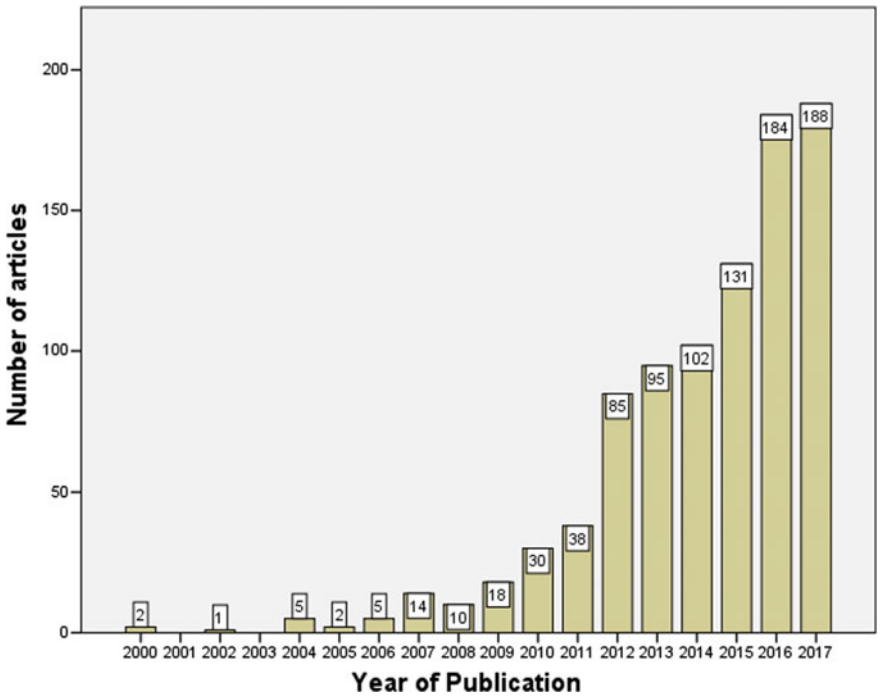

Fig. 1 Number of articles on cyberbullying, from Web of Science, by year of publication (2000–2017)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Definitional and Measurement Issues

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1 Kinds of Cyberbullying

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

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

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

3.2 Overlap with Traditional Bullying

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

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

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

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

4 Prevalence Rates

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

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

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

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

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

4.1 Age Differences

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

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

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

4.2 Cyberbullying in Higher Education and the Workplace

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

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

4.3 Gender Differences

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

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

4.4 Country Comparisons

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

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

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

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

5 Other Predictors of Involvement in Cyberbullying

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

5.1 Personality

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

sadism (enjoyment from hurting or witnessing the hurting of others) was added into regression analyses.

5.2 Theories of Cyberbullying

Some researchers have made attempts to develop theories of why some people become cyberbullying perpetrators. These tend to be variants of the General Aggression Model (Kowalski et al., 2014), linking person specific attributes (for example, trait aggression) and situation specific influences (for example, peer influences, violent media exposure) to internal states and opportunities for carrying out cyberbullying perpetration. Some also build on findings that traditional victimization can be an instigator of cyber perpetration (i.e., revenge taking advantage of anonymity; Lazuras et al., 2017). For example, Hamer, Konijn, and Keijer (2014) proposed a 'Cyclic Process' model, in which adolescent victims of (mainly traditional) bullying feel anger and frustration, they may tend to use violent media more (as a way of coping with or finding outlets for their feelings of anger), and this exposure may lead to cyberbullying (through desensitization, imitation, modelling of action scripts). Structural equation modeling of data from 13 year olds in the Netherlands supported such links. (They call the model 'cyclic' because the cyberbullying might then increase the chances of being a victim again, although this aspect was not tested in their study).

Wang, Yang, Yang, Wang, and Lei (2017) used a sample of young Mainland Chinese adults (aged 17–25) to assess how trait anger (the propensity to experience anger as an emotional state) affected cyberbullying perpetration, together with the influence of moral disengagement, and moral identity (the degree to which being a moral person is important to an individual's identity), on this. Their findings supported a model in which moral disengagement partially mediated the path from trait anger to cyberbullying, with moral identity acting as a moderator on this link.

Erreygers, Vandebosch, Vranjes, Baillien, and De Witte (2018) took a somewhat similar approach to predicting cyber victimization, in a longitudinal study with early adolescents in Flanders, Belgium. They found some support for a model in which negative experiences generally triggered negative emotions (such as anger, jealousy, anxiety), which in turn predicted cyber victimization. The link from negative experiences to negative emotions was moderated by affective style (the extent to which individuals regulated their emotions by concealing, tolerating or adjusting them).

Savage and Tokunaga (2017) examined the predictive value of three person specific aspects—social skills, trait verbal aggression, and internet self-efficacy. In a sample of college students in the USA, they found that higher trait verbal aggression clearly correlated to cyberbullying perpetration. Their other main finding was a three-way interaction: cyberbullying perpetration was reduced when high trait verbal aggressiveness was combined with high internet self-efficacy and high social skills. Possibly the latter imply better capabilities at emotion regulation.

In the area of workplace cyberbullying, Vranjes, Baillien, Vandebosch, Erreygers, and De Witte (2017) proposed an Emotion Reaction model. In this, workplace stres-

sors are seen as a prime instigator of involvement in cyberbullying, by means of the stressor leading to emotional responses (anger for perpetrators, fear or sadness for victims); but with the links moderated by emotion regulation, and also control appraisal.

These studies implicate negative emotion, and emotion regulation, to involvement in cyberbullying. In fact, poor emotion regulation has been posited as one factor which may underlie genetic influences on involvement of both bullying and victimization generally, and perhaps especially for the bully/victim category (Ball et al., 2008). This may be especially relevant for cyberbullying, given some evidence for bully and victim role overlap in cyberbullying (Lazuras et al., 2017).

6 Correlates and Effects of Involvement

Many studies have looked at the effects on victims of cyberbullying, fewer at perpetrators. Negative effects of being a victim are well-established, and may have biological as well as psychological correlates. For example, González-Cabrera et al. (2017) found that in young people aged 11 to 18, higher cortisol secretion, as well as perceived stress, was found in cyber victims and bully/victims. Cortisol secretion was less in cyber bystanders, and lowest in cyberbullies.

Most studies have been cross-sectional, such that it is more appropriate to talk of correlates than effects. A few examples are given here.

In a study of Austrian pupils aged 14–19 years, Gradinger, Strohmeier and Spiel (2009) examined depression and somatic symptoms; these were lowest in non-involved children, and progressively higher in traditional or cyber victims (about equally), those who were both traditional and cyber victims, traditional bully/victims (both bullies and victims), and those who were both traditional and cyber bully/victims.

Campbell, Spears, Slee, Butler and Kift (2012) used the Strength and Difficulties questionnaire (SDQ) as an outcome measure, with Australian pupils aged 9–19 years. Difficulties were lowest in non-involved children, and progressively higher in traditional victims, cyber victims, traditional bully/victims, cyber bully/victims, those who were both traditional and cyber victims, and those who were both traditional and cyber bully/victims.

Beckman, Hagquist, and Hellstrom (2012) found that in Swedish pupils aged 13–16 years, psychosomatic problems were lowest in non-involved children, and progressively higher in traditional victims, cyber victims, and those who were both traditional and cyber victims. A similar study by Landstedt and Persson (2014) extended these findings to depressive symptoms.

In pupils aged 13–16 years in the USA, Kowalski and Limber (2013) looked at a range of indicators, and examined perpetrators as well as victims. Both depression and suicidal ideation were lowest for non-involved pupils, and progressively higher for cyber bullies, cyber victims, and cyber bully/victims. By contrast, low grades

were lowest for non-involved, and progressively higher for cyber victims, and then cyber bullies and cyber bully/victims (about equally).

A large-scale Canadian study by Kim, Colwell, Kata, Boyle, and Georgiades (2017) of pupils in grades 6–12, distinguished physical, verbal, social and cyber victimization, in relation to emotional problems and behavioural problems. For emotional problems, social victimization had the strongest negative impact, physical the least. For behavioural problems, physical and cyber victimization had more impact than social and verbal. Being a cyber victim was more strongly associated with emotional problems for females, and behavioural problems for males.

Wolke et al. (2017) surveyed 11–16 year olds in England, and cyber victimization had similar negative effects to traditional (direct or relational) victimization, on behavioural difficulties, and self-esteem. Those victimised in multiple ways had the most difficulties. Przybylski and Bowes (2017), in a large-scale survey of English adolescents, found significant negative effects of both traditional and cyber victimization on mental well-being; but whereas traditional victimization accounted for 5.0% of the variance, cyber victimization only accounted for 0.1% of variance. However, Hamby et al. (2018) found that in a population sample in the U.S.A. (ages 12–75), digital poly-victimization contributed significant unique variance to measures of stress and well-being, after controlling for in-person (offline) victimization.

In summary, these and other studies suggest that the effects of being a cyber victim are as bad, and quite possibly worse, as for being a traditional victim. But there is some variety in findings. The Kim et al. study suggests that gender, type of (traditional) bullying, and outcome measure, may all affect this balance. A consistent finding is that being a victim of *both* traditional and cyber attacks is associated with particularly worse outcomes, as is being a bully/victim.

Cross-sectional studies have limitations for determining cause-and-effect relationships; really longitudinal studies are needed. A few have now been carried out. For example, Gámez-Guadix et al. (2013) followed a sample of Spanish adolescents aged 15 years over a six-month period. They found that being a victim of cyberbullying predicted an increase in depressive symptoms, and also that depressive symptoms predicted being an increased likelihood of being a victim of cyberbullying; suggesting a 'vicious cycle' in this respect. Badaly et al. (2013) followed a sample of US adolescents aged 15 years over a one year period, measuring what they called electronic aggression. Focussing on perpetrators, they found links with popularity in the peer group. Popularity was associated with increases in electronic aggression over time, and electronic aggression in turn increased popularity in girls (but not in boys).

6.1 Suicidal Ideation, and Suicide

Increased thoughts about suicide, and attempts at suicide, are higher in those involved in cyber as well as traditional bullying; and actual suicide can, in a much smaller number of cases, be a tragic outcome. A meta-analysis by Van Geel et al. (2014) found that being a victim of cyberbullying is significantly associated with suicidal

thoughts, and at a higher level than for the association with traditional bullying. Supportive parenting, and/or pre-existing depression, can be significant mediating factors between victimization and suicide attempts. There are many factors involved in actual suicides, and while experiences of being a (cyber)victim at school appear to contribute to cases of suicidal ideation, and in a small number of cases to actual suicide; it is likely that pre-existing depression and/or family difficulties may be present as well. This makes it difficult to say that a suicide is 'caused' by bullying, although in some cases it may have a prominent role.

7 A Need for More Qualitative Data

Most empirical studies of cyberbullying have been quantitative. Smith and Berkkun (2017) found that studies that included qualitative data (either solely qualitative, or mixed methods) made up around 7% of the total. There can be at least two strong arguments for more qualitative research.

The first relates to the earlier stages of finding out about a phenomenon. Qualitative data are likely to be most useful when some aspects of the phenomena are under-explored, and thus predetermined survey questions may miss out important aspects of what those involved in cyberbullying are experiencing. Although cyberbullying now has a substantial research history of at least 10 years, there are still disputes about definition and measurement, and in addition the phenomena are changing rapidly. More qualitative approaches can help redress this; for example Paul et al. (2012) used pupil discussions generated by quality circles to understand more about recent forms of cyberbullying, in an English secondary school.

A second reason relates also to the relative lack of longitudinal studies, and is that qualitative research can give more insight into processes. This might either be through actual longitudinal methods such as diaries; or through retrospective accounts of bully or victim experiences through time. As Thornberg (2011, p. 258) argued, "Qualitative research provides opportunities to study bullying and peer harassment as social processes, interactions and meaning-making in the everyday context of particular settings. It offers the possibility of developing a deep understanding of the culture and group processes of bullying". Thornberg was writing about bullying generally, but his arguments might apply even more strongly to cyberbullying. Narrative-type approaches could shed light on a number of process issues that are currently debated. For example, in what ways do traditional and cyber bullying involvement interweave at the individual level? What motivations do cyber bullies have? How often do traditional victims take revenge by becoming cyber bullies? How do 'careers' of cyber bullies and victims develop over time? What are the outcomes of coping strategies in the short and long term? More knowledge about these and many other aspects of cyberbullying will benefit from qualitative and narrative approaches, to complement the large body of quantitative research gathered over the last decade.

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Cyberbullying Prevention, Detection and Intervention

Heidi Vandebosch

Abstract This chapter provides an overview of how schools, actors in the online environment, and mass media have tried to tackle the cyberbullying problem thus far. It pays particular attention to the role of narratives in cyberbullying prevention, detection and intervention initiatives. It examines how stories are currently used: in school curricula on (cyber) bullying; by social media companies and users that are trying to address the problem in its natural environment; and, in campaigns, news and fictional contents about cyberbullying. Narratives are especially able to reflect the complex realities of cyberbullying in an engaging format, providing an important basis for (implicit) learning about this issue in formal and informal, offline and online contexts. Accordingly, this chapter recommends a more extensive and evidence-based use of narratives in future anti-cyberbullying initiatives.

1 Introduction

Cyberbullying is a common problem amongst young people, and may have a serious impact on their mental health (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014). To tackle this complex issue a multi-stakeholder approach is warranted, involving actors related to the school environment (e.g., students, parents and teachers), the ICT sector (e.g., Internet Service Providers, e-safety-organizations and the cyber police), and the wider community (e.g., news media, policy makers and researchers) (Vandebosch, 2014).

In this chapter we will first describe existing school-based anti-(cyber)bullying programs. School-based programs are considered crucial in preventing, detecting and solving cyberbullying, because this online form of peer aggression is often linked with offline bullying in the school context, and because schools have a general educational responsibility (e.g., with regard to social skills and digital literacy) (Vandebosch, Poels, & Deboutte, 2014), and teaching respectful interaction is an important part

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of preparing children and young people for adult society. Even so, research shows that existing school programs vary in effectiveness, and are not always adopted and maintained by schools (Cioppa, O'Neil, & Craig, 2015). As we will argue below, integrating (more) narrative components in school programs may help to increase their impact.

Secondly, we will focus on the online environment itself, as it not only provides opportunities for cyberbullying, but also opportunities to address the problem. Online platforms can design safer spaces, support the detection of online transgressive behaviour, and help their users 'on the spot'—as the cyberbullying is happening. Because Web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2007) also allows users to become producers of (mass) content, and to interact with each other, they too can be taught to play an important role (e.g., by telling their personal cyberbullying story, offering support, and providing others with advice).

Finally, we will describe the role of mass media in raising awareness about cyberbullying amongst the general audience. While media campaigns have an explicit informative or persuasive goal, news and entertainment media often focus on cyberbullying because of its societal relevance, and the potential it offers to attract audience attention. In all these media contexts, story-based approaches can play an important communicative role (Dahlstrom, 2014). Relying on media-logics may lead to an over-emphasis of extreme cyberbullying stories, however, such as those focusing on victimization and suicide, causing possible misperceptions amongst (and undesirable actions by) the audience. As a result, it is important to stimulate collaboration between media professionals and cyberbullying scholars, so that the work of each is informed by the other. Such collaborations may, for instance, result in new communicative forms such as evidence-based entertainment-education.

2 The Current State of (Whole) School Programs Addressing Cyberbullying

After a first phase of research focusing on measuring the prevalence, causes and impact of cyberbullying among children and adolescents, scholars have devoted their attention to the development and evaluation of evidence-based interventions. In schools, three types of programs have been tested for impact: (whole) school programs developed to tackle traditional bullying; (whole) school programs that have been developed to specifically address cyberbullying (and related online risks); and, integrated programs addressing both bullying and cyberbullying.

Some authors (Olweus, 2012) have emphasized the considerable overlap between traditional bullying and cyberbullying, and have described cyberbullying as a social rather than a technological problem, noting that it is also less prevalent than its traditional counterpart. They have therefore claimed that "prior to developing and systematically testing new intervention strategies, it is important to determine the effects of established anti-bullying programs on cyberbullying behaviour as well as

to investigate potential moderators of these effects" (Williford et al., 2013, p. 823). Whole school programs are often regarded as the most effective means of addressing traditional bullying (Samara & Smith, 2008). These programs view bullying as a systemic problem, requiring a systemic approach. The whole school community should be involved in the program: students, teachers and parents, as well as the wider community in which the school is situated. Whole school anti-bullying programs typically involve multiple components aimed at prevention, detection, intervention and after care. These components may focus upon the individual, the class or the entire school. For instance, actions targeting students might include class-based curriculum work to help prevent bullying, a school-wide reporting system for incidents of bullying, and peer mediation methods to address any such incidents. Two whole school anti-bullying programs that were primarily developed to tackle traditional bullying, but which have also been evaluated for their impact on cyberbullying, are the *KiVa* program (Williford et al., 2013) and the *ViSC Social Competence Programme* (Gradinger, Yanagida, Strohmeier, & Spiel, 2016).

The second (and largest) category of school programs has been specifically developed to address cyberbullying and, in some cases, other related online risks. The promotion of digital literacy plays a central role in these anti-cyberbullying programs. Examples of such programs are: *I Safe curriculum* (Chibnall, Wallace, Leicht, & Lunghofer, 2006); *HAHASO strategy* (Salvatore & Weinholz, 2006); *IHOP* (DiBasilio, 2008); *BOC and CST program* (Chi & Frydenberg, 2009); *Cybersmart* (Doyle, 2011); *ConRed* (Del Rey, Casas, & Ortega, 2012, 2016), *A Cyberbullying Intervention* (Toshack & Colmar, 2012); *WebQuest Cyberbullying* (Lee, Zi-Pei, Svanström, & Dalal, 2013); *Media Heroes* (Schultze-Krumbholz, Schultze, Zagorscak, Wölfer, & Scheithauer, 2016; Schultze-Krumbholz, Wölfer, Jäkel, Zagorscak, & Scheithauer, 2012; Wölfer et al., 2014); *Surf-Fair* (Pieschl & Urbasik, 2013); *Arizona Attorney General's Prevention Presentation* (Roberto, Eden, Savage, Ramos-Salazar, & Deiss, 2014); *the Sensibility Development Program against Cyberbullying* (Tanrıkulu, Kınay, & Arıcak, 2015); *Cyber Friendly Schools* (Cross et al., 2015), and a Greek school-based intervention (Barkoukis, Lazuras, Ourda, & Tsorbatzoudis, 2016).

It is the third approach that is often considered best, however. In this case, cyberbullying is part of an integrated whole school approach that addresses both traditional and cyberbullying, taking into account their similarities and differences. Current examples of such programs are: *No Trap!* (Palladino, Nocentini, & Menesini, 2016), and *Cyber Program 2.0* (Garaigordobil & Martínez-Valderrey, 2016). Additionally the *Quality Circle Approach*, which is ideally a component of a whole school strategy, has also been tested for its impact on both traditional and cyberbullying (Paul, Smith, & Blumberg, 2012).

There have been two recent systematic reviews of studies that have evaluated school programs' impact on cyberbullying: Cioppa et al. (2015) and Van Cleemput et al. (2014), with the latter also including a meta-analysis. These reviews have concluded that these school programs on cyberbullying, with most actually belonging to category two (above), are mostly targeted at 11–13 year olds and are usually much less extensive than traditional bullying programs. Although the programs typically

contain a curriculum, and work for children to do with peers and, to a lesser extent, information for teachers or teacher training, they do not often reflect a systematic approach. Overall, these cyberbullying programs tend to generate small but significant positive effects. The effects appear to be stronger for the reduction of cyberbullying victimization than for the reduction of cyberbullying perpetration.

Important questions still remain regarding the effectiveness of cyberbullying programs: "There is a lack of research on what works for whom and virtually nothing is known about the 'critical ingredients' or the key processes that lead to reductions in bullying and victimization", say Cioppa et al. (2015, pp. 66–67). For instance, would it be possible to enhance key components of a program to make it more effective in persuading the target group for most existing cyberbullying interventions—i.e. adolescents? According to some studies (Yeager, Fong, Lee, & Espelage, 2015), these young people are more difficult to influence via pure educational, top-down approaches than are younger students.

Moreover, the large-scale implementation of effective anti-cyberbullying programs is also described as a difficulty, considering that: (a) there is not always a legal framework that obliges schools to adopt an anti-(cyber)bullying program (Slonje, Smith, & Frisén, 2013); (b) programs require both time and a financial investment from schools, which may not always be available (Vandebosch et al., 2014; Wölfer et al., 2014); and, (c) most current cyberbullying programs do not provide many opportunities for adaptations to the specific local school context, and (d) often fail to provide enough support (e.g., manuals, trainings, and external sources) (Cioppa et al., 2015). Formulated differently, school-based limitations also imply that in many countries and circumstances, schools do not use evidence-based anti-cyberbullying programs and, even when they do, the programs may not always be implemented correctly or maintained as required over a period of time (Cross et al., 2016).

In what follows we will aim to describe why the inclusion of narrative components in anti-cyberbullying interventions might qualify as a 'critical ingredient' for both the effectiveness and implementation of anti-cyberbullying interventions. Such narrative components are valuable because: they provide engaging learning opportunities that can stimulate changes in knowledge, attitudes, and norms; they are relatively easy and cheap to use by teachers; they allow tailoring and reflection on the local school situation; and, they promote ownership by teachers, students and others in the target audience.

3 Narrative Components as 'Critical Ingredients' in School Programs Addressing Cyberbullying?

Several authors (DeSmet et al., 2016a; Tokunaga, 2010; Van Cleemput et al., 2014) have suggested that one way to improve the effectiveness of anti-cyberbullying programs for schools, is to further underpin these with behaviour change theories. Behaviour change theories such as Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1989), and the

Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991) help explain the dynamics and determinants of individual behaviour (DeSmet et al., 2016). This approach has already been successfully applied in some cyberbullying interventions by DeSmet et al. (2016), Jacobs, Völlink, Dehue and Lechner (2015), and Wölfer et al. (2014). The basic idea uniting these approaches is that it is important to know the determinants of cyberbullies' behaviour, and of bystanders' and victims' coping behaviours, as these apply to school students. Based on this evidence, the appropriate theory-based methods should be chosen to change the most relevant determinants of students' behaviour (Kok et al., 2016). These methods are then made concrete, and integrated into an intervention component. For instance, to promote positive bystander behaviours amongst adolescents, it might be important to change their attitude of moral disengagement, which is a behavioural determinant. This might be achieved by using 'scenario based information' or 'mental imagery' (both identified as behaviour change methods) in a digital game, which is a concrete component that can be integrated in a whole school anti-cyberbullying program (DeSmet et al., 2016).

As is evident from an already extensive body of research, summarized in the chapter "Narrative Health Communication", narrative communication operates as a method that can change behavioural determinants such as: knowledge, attitudes, subjective norms and self-efficacy (see for instance: Hinyard & Kreuter, 2007). Narratives are able to effect these changes in some audience members via processes of identification, transportation, and emotions. Contrary to non-narrative approaches, such as statistical information or rational arguments, narratives reach audiences that might not be motivated or able to process health messages, possibly because they are incongruent with their attitudes and behaviours, or because the information provided is too complex or not seen as relevant (see: chapter "Narrative Health Communication").

The existing anti-cyberbullying school programs seldom refer explicitly to the use of 'narrative communication' as a behaviour change method. However, a close look at the description of these programs reveals that they often use stories to address cyberbullying, with separate, targeted actions aimed at students, teachers or parents. In what follows, we will provide some examples of these narrative components, and will describe, as far as possible, the rationale behind these narratives and evaluation of their use.

Thompson, Robinson and Smith (2011) evaluated the use of an e-safety film (*Let's Fight it Together*) on cyberbullying for use by secondary schools in the U.K. This film tells the story of Joe, who is a victim of cyberbullying. The film demonstrates, via the victim's video diary, how an incident that occurred during a lesson at school escalates into cyberbullying. It also shows Joe's suffering, and the decisive actions of his mother. Based on pre- and post-film questionnaires completed by 383 students between the ages of 11–14 from three different schools, the authors concluded that the students rated the film overall as "good", with aspects such as "music" and "holding your attention" rated as very good. However, Thompson et al. (2011) did not find a significant difference between the pre- and post-film results for students' ability to provide an adequate definition of cyberbullying, and students' preferred strategies for coping with cyberbullying. According to the authors, the non-significant results might be due to a ceiling effect, where the independent variable (watching the film)

did not have an effect on the dependent variable (defining cyberbullying; coping strategies), possibly because the participants already scored highly in these areas prior to watching the film. Another possible reason for this lack of change might be that students were not further encouraged to reflect on the story and its possible relevance to their own lives.

Other anti-cyberbullying programs including narratives make a point of scheduling such follow-on activities. Examples include: Cyberprogram 2.0 (Garaigordobil & Martínez-Valderrey, 2016); the ConRed program (Del Rey, Casas, & Ortega, 2012, 2016); and the Greek intervention by Barkoukis and colleagues (2016). The latter all used real cyberbullying cases in the form of videos, news stories or case descriptions, which were consequently discussed by the audience. In Cyberprogram 2.0, for example, these real cases, which featured severe consequences, were used to: promote empathy towards victims; foster bystanders' involvement; identify positive coping strategies for bullying/cyberbullying; analyse the aggressor's behaviour, and encourage active listening and cooperation. Students were divided into small groups, with each group receiving a card that presented a cyberbullying case, such as the theft of a password and identity; dissemination of an intimate personal video; bullying after a victim's death; slandering; and distribution of a video that ridicules someone, etc. After analysing their case, each group then discussed a range of ways to deal with the situation. Subsequently, by consensus, they identified the strategy they considered most effective and constructive from the victim's perspective. Taking turns, each group then dramatized their case and the response they had chosen, after which all the situations were again discussed by the class as a whole. Students were also encouraged to identify and explore possible cases of cyberbullying that may have occurred in their own experience.

Harrison (2016), argues for a similarly active and engaged narrative-based approach in future cyberbullying programs. He emphasizes the importance of using stories with positive role models who don't cyberbully that might function as 'moral exemplars' for young people. Such stories provide a basis for further reflection by young people on their own moral character, strengths and weaknesses. This can be further reinforced, for instance through the use of personal journals in which school students record their own stories about times they have acted positively online in the face of cyberbullies. All these ideas fit with Harrison's suggestion that cyberbullying interventions should emphasize the development of "cyber-phronesis". Harrison's approach is based on the Aristotelian notion of *phronesis*: that people can develop the practical wisdom to help them make the right decisions in difficult contexts: "the ability to do the right thing, at the right time, and in the right amount whilst online" (Harrison, 2016, p. 239).

As some of the examples demonstrate, story-based components of anti-cyberbullying interventions seem appreciated by the adolescent target group. Moreover, studies such as those examining the use of movies as an awareness creating activity also indicate that teachers like narrative-based activity, and may adapt them to their local context (Camelford & Ebrahim, 2016). Teacher appreciation and student receptiveness may both support the effectiveness and adoption of anti-cyberbullying programs in school contexts. On the other hand, intuitive use of narrative elements

that ignore evidence-based research into what makes certain types of stories and activities work for certain audiences is risky when schools or individual teachers do not use formal anti-cyberbullying programs but create these interventions themselves.

4 Addressing Cyberbullying: New Learning Environments, Industry Efforts and User Empowerment

Information and communication technologies (ICT) do not only provide new possibilities for bullying, but also new opportunities for dealing with bullying. A recent systematic overview described 13 existing ICT prevention and intervention tools (Nocentini, Zambuto, & Menesini, 2015) for addressing both traditional and cyber bullying. The tools included stand-alone responses to bullying and tools that were embedded in a wider school-based program. The tools aimed at general prevention as well as targeted actions, such as supporting victims, and represented several types of technologies including serious games, virtual mobile phone buddies, and the online tailoring of websites to reduce opportunities for bullying. In all 13 examples, the tools acted as mediated learning environments with several advantages compared to traditional interventions. Children and adolescents found them attractive, and liked that they were available at a time and in a format they enjoyed. Moreover, according to their developers, the technologies allowed: the simulation of real world experience; the practicing of new skills; tailoring; personalized feedback; and confidentiality.

The Friendly ATTAC game is an example of one of the tools evaluated (DeSmet et al., 2016, 2017; Van Cleemput et al., 2016). This digital game, which is intended to be included in a whole school anti-cyberbullying program, aims to promote positive bystander behaviours by confronting young people with cyberbullying incidents within a game, and providing players with personalized feedback. Narratives play a central role in the game. The background story, for instance, is used as a motivational tool, and gets the players acquainted with the characters in the game while challenging them to fulfil their mission: to make the school 'cyberbully-free'. 'Online Pestkoppen Stoppen' (Stop Bullies Online/Stop Online Bullies), offers a second example of an ICT intervention (Jacobs et al., 2015). It uses a personalised page on a website to provide tailored advice to cyberbullying victims. For each piece of advice, the developers have integrated pictures, video-clips, comics, summaries, helpful thoughts, plans and sentences that participants can use online to combat and prevent cyberbullying.

The above-mentioned interventions refer to specific ICT tools that have been created for general prevention or targeted actions with regard to (cyber)bullying. In tandem with these, scientists, policymakers and the public have all pleaded with the big ICT industry players to take action on the platforms where cyberbullying is most likely to take place, including Social Networking Sites (SNSs) such as Facebook, Instagram and YouTube; and on mobile phone apps such as Snapchat and Whatsapp.

The industry has only partially responded to these requests, mainly through the development of self-regulatory initiatives. In Europe, for instance, SNS providers worked with the European Commission to create the *Safer Social Networking Principles for the EU* (European Commission, 2009). These principles are intended to maximize the digital opportunities enjoyed by children and young people while minimizing online risks, including cyberbullying. They refer, for instance, to the duty of SNS to raise awareness of safety education messages and acceptable use policies to young users, parents, teachers and carers in a prominent, clear and age-appropriate manner (Principle 1); the empowerment of users through the use of tools and technology (Principle 3); and easy-to-use mechanisms to report conduct or content that violates industry Terms of Service (Principle 4). In practice, some major actors like Facebook have gone on to invest in the prevention, detection and redress of cyberbullying incidents on their platform. With regard to prevention, SNSs have become involved in large-scale awareness campaigns on cyberbullying, often collaborating with other partners, such as anti-bullying, e-safety and mental health organizations. Moreover, following 'safety-by-design' practices, and the philosophy of 'nudging' (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008), SNSs have been developing their platforms in such a way that these encourage safe and positive online behaviour, by making the default setting for young users' profiles 'private', for example, or by including messages such as "say something nice" in the space for typed comments. With regard to detection, SNSs rely on monitoring and reporting systems (Van Royen, Poels, Daelemans, & Vandebosch, 2015). While the monitoring of illegal or prohibited user-generated content was previously only done by user reports, human moderators, and/or semi-automated forms of detection, technological advances now provide opportunities for automatic detection. Automatic monitoring systems use machine learning to apply text- and image-categorization, helping identify troubling content. In addition to highlighting words and emoticons that express insults, profanity, and distress, these machine learning models have some capacity to determine gender, age and aspects of the personality of the poster (Van Royen et al., 2015; Van Royen, Poels, & Vandebosch, 2016). These are contextual elements that may help to determine whether a message does indeed refer to a cyberbullying incident, and what the actual role of the poster is: victim, bully or bystander.

The creation of such automatic monitoring systems relies partly on knowledge extracted from typical cyberbullying stories, involving multiple actors and chains of actions and events. One example of the kind of knowledge involved is provided by Macbeth, Adeyema, Lieberman, and Fry's (2013) work on MTV's website, *A Thin Line*. This was used to create a database of 'natural' cyberbullying stories, which can then inform the creation of an automatic detection system. The outputs of such systems may be assessed by human moderators, who then decide whether action is necessary, and what should be done. Interventions may include removing content; blocking users; legal action; and offering support. In addition, several authors (Macbeth et al., 2013; Van Royen, Poels, Vandebosch, & Adam, 2017) have suggested that the outcomes of automatic detection systems may also be used for direct action targeting cyberbullies, supporting victims or encouraging bystanders to intervene positively. For instance, a reflective interface might encourage a cyberbully

to 'think twice' before they actually post harassing content (Van Royen et al., 2017). Victims can be offered support, by referring them to relevant on- or offline services, and by giving them concrete advice about how to deal with cyberbullying, for example through typical instructive "help messages", or through stories about other victims' successful coping (Macbeth et al., 2013). In addition to automatic monitoring systems, SNSs have also created reporting mechanisms which—at least in theory—might lead to similar follow-up actions by moderators. Facebook has also created opportunities for users to directly communicate with each other to explain why they might like someone to, for instance, remove a post. In this way the SNS wants to stimulate people to engage directly with each other to resolve their 'conflict' through mutually respectful communication.

Finally, Web 2.0 technologies have also created opportunities for bottom-up initiatives that individuals might use to address cyberbullying. Some cyberbullying victims (or their friends and families), for instance, shared their stories online (e.g., through Youtube films) to promote awareness about the issue, or to ask concrete advice from others (e.g., on the fora of online helplines).

5 Mass Media as an Information Source About Cyberbullying for the General Audience

As indicated previously, several actors have initiated social discussion about cyberbullying through large scale campaigns using both traditional and new media: television; social media; and websites. In 2009, for example, the European Commission launched an anti-cyberbullying campaign featuring a video about a young girl who was being cyberbullied, but fights back by reporting the abuse to a Social Networking Site. This video was broadcast on public and private TV channels all over Europe, and its extended version was also posted on internet sites that are popular with teenagers, such as YouTube. In addition, relevant websites published advice about how to stay safe online, including the INSAFE network of Safer Internet Centres.

While there is no identifiable overview study that analyses the typical content and impact of cyberbullying awareness campaigns, general social marketing literature suggests that narratives, for instance in the form of 'exemplars', form a popular and effective strategy for such campaigns (Uribe, Manzur, & Hidalgo, 2013). Savage, Deiss, Roberto, and Aboujaoude's (2017) experimental study tested the impact of an exemplar story in a cyberbullying intervention message. They used a realistic cyberbullying scenario in a written narrative form, illustrating the recommended responses, with reinforcement of outcomes via a concise step-by-step list of the four recommended responses. This study demonstrates that a narrative approach may indeed be fruitful. Furthermore, Savage et al.'s (2017) formative research underlines the importance of evidence-based development and testing of anti-cyberbullying campaigns. This is one way to avoid ineffective, or even counterproductive, campaigns. For instance, the 'don't retaliate' anti-cyberbullyinng campaign (The Cybersmile Foundation, n.d.), uses a video with an explicit reference to a cyberbullying

victim's suicide, and this can be dangerous when communicating with people who may have suicidal thoughts. A meta-analysis by Niederkrotenthaler, Fu, Yip, Fong, Stack, Cheng and Pirkis (2012), indicates that "reports on celebrity suicide are associated with increases in suicides" (2012, p. 4), and that there is a risk of a 'copycat' effect with media representations of suicide.

Apart from anti-cyberbullying campaigns that have an explicit informative and persuasive intent, news and even fictional media content may influence the general audience's perception of cyberbullying (Haddon & Stald, 2009). According to Dahlstrom (2014), mass media content is "already biased toward narrative formats". With regard to news, journalists tend to choose between two types of frames for their reports: thematic frames, which focus on general trends, address topics on a more abstract level, and look at external causes of social problems, representing a more rational, argumentative, and statistical approach; and episodic frames, which focus on isolated, concrete events, and look at internal causes, representing a more narrative approach (Iyengar, 1991). Content analysis of news media coverage of cyberbullying has revealed a range of different angles for presenting this topic: describing individual cases; offering research findings; and discussion of policy, action and/or interventions against cyberbullying (Vandebosch, Simulioniene, Marczak, Vermeulen, & Bonetti, 2014). These studies also indicate that media logics, such as focusing on sensationalism, and negative news, may explain the 'alarming tone' that is often used in these news reports, and the particular attention paid to cyberbullying cases that are linked with suicide (Milosevic, 2015; Young, Subramanian, Miles, Hinnant, & Andsager, 2017). This kind of news media coverage may be contributing to a 'moral panic' (Cohen, 1972), and to calls for repressive measures that focus on criminalizing cyberbullying and cyberbullies through new laws; and the use of restrictive and controlling measures by parents and schools, such as limiting youngsters' time spent online. A more 'educational', nuanced and 'trusting' approach is likely to have greater positive effect (cfr. supra) (Vandebosch et al., 2014).

(Cyber)bullying has not only received attention in the news media, but also in popular media formats. These include films such as *The Social Network*, *Cyberbully*, *The Duff*, and *Odd Girls Out*; and television series, such as *Glee*. Studies that have analysed the representation of (cyber)bullying in fictional content, reveal that there is frequently an emphasis on how technological features give a new dimension to this social phenomenon (Rosewarne, 2017). For instance, the Internet is regarded as a place where bullying can happen any time and repeatedly with an infinite audience. Consequently, cyberbullying is typically associated with exacerbated and prolonged trauma (resulting, for instance, in suicidal thoughts). Apart from re-victimization, also the flexibility of roles has been emphasized in fictional contents on cyberbullying: unlike in the real world, everyone can become a cyberbully or a cybervictim. Furthermore, cyberbullying appears to be oftentimes associated with female adolescents, both as perpetrators and victims (following the "mean girls" narrative that is often used to refer to female bullying) (Oppliger, 2013). In addition, and sometimes inspired by actual, well-known cyberbullying cases, movies and TV series such as

Law and Order: Special Victims' Unit (SVU) may pay attention to cyberbullying that is perpetrated by adults and aimed at adolescents (Scheg, 2015).

Overall, fictionalised media coverage often has a strong focus on: (a) suicide as an outcome of cyberbullying; (b) cyberbullying as the 'revenge of the nerds'; (c) girls as perpetrators and victims; and (d) adults as offenders. This is not always in line with the research findings on cyberbullying. The latter indicate that cyberbullying may indeed be a risk factor for suicide and suicidal thoughts (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010), but it is not its only cause. Moreover, in almost all cases, the consequences of being cyberbullied are less severe. With regard to the profile of bullies and victims, studies mainly emphasize the extension of offline roles to online contexts (Wegge, Vandebosch, & Eggermont, 2014), with people who are socially aggressive in face-to-face contexts continuing this behaviour in the digital realm. It is also well established that both girls and boys are involved in cyberbullying (Kowalski et al., 2014), and that adult-to-adolescent cyberbullying is comparatively rare (Sourander et al., 2010).

While popular media representations of bullying and cyberbullying are sometimes regarded as raising public awareness, there are also possible negative effects resulting from misrepresentation. For instance, when media sources highlight unproductive coping strategies, including suicidal thoughts, young viewers may learn ineffective, or even dangerous, ways of dealing with aggressive situations. A stereotypical fictional portrayal of 'popular' students cyberbullying, that might also highlight positive outcomes of such activities, may implicitly promote such behaviour (Oppliger, 2013). Collaboration between media professionals and cyberbullying experts would help avoid negative impacts and promote the positive outcomes of media attention, including fictionalised film and television coverage. Previous research on other health-related topics has demonstrated the value of an Entertainment-Education strategy based on this type of collaboration. Such an approach is able to reach large and otherwise difficult to target audiences with positive effects on important behavioural determinants such as knowledge, attitudes, and belief in self-efficacy (Moyer-Gusé, 2008).

Pedersen (2013) has explored the impact of a cyberbullying intervention of this kind. She reported on a 2010 initiative whereby the live-action teen drama *Being Victor* was broadcast in the UK, firstly online via MTV.co.uk and then via the Scottish television network STV as six longer episodes. The show aimed to raise awareness about day-to-day issues for young people, including online safety. Prior to the broadcasts the main character, Victor Dupre, started a live blog and Twitter account for communicating with the audience. In Flanders, Belgium, the children's public broadcasting channel Ketnet has also cooperated with the youth helpline (Awel) to create a fiction series, D5R, that addresses different types of problems facing young people, including cyberbullying.

6 Conclusion

Cyberbullying is often described as a complex problem that demands prevention, detection, and intervention by a wide range of actors. This chapter has provided an overview of existing initiatives that relate to schools, the online environment, and the mass media.

As is clear from this overview, most of the available scientific literature has focused on the development and testing of school-based anti-cyberbullying programs. Schools are regarded as an obvious place to deal with cyberbullying, as cyberbullying is often linked with traditional school-related bullying, and also has an impact on individual children's well-being and learning, and on the classroom and school climate. Moreover, schools are seen as important for promoting digital literacy.

A vast body of research has looked at the opportunities that the online environment provides for tackling cyberbullying. These range from digital components of anti-cyberbullying programs, such as an online game developed to complement offline activities as part of a whole school approach, to stand-alone interventions such as tailored online advice for cybervictims, to user-initiated actions including awareness raising videos posted on YouTube. Studies have also investigated 'on the spot' prevention, detection and intervention efforts of Social Networking Sites, such as reflective interfaces, reporting tools and follow-up mechanisms.

In the final paragraph of the last section, attention was paid to mass media's role in creating awareness about cyberbullying among the public at large. A number of questions arise: what types of media campaigns and accompanying websites have been launched? How have news media dealt with cyberbullying as an issue? How has cyberbullying been portrayed in fictional media content such as movies, and TV series? In this domain, research on either the media content or its impact, is scarce.

This chapter has emphasised the role of narratives in many of the prevention, detection and intervention tools used to combat cyberbullying. For instance, several whole school programs use fictional or real cyberbullying cases to inform and sensitize students, including cases shown in movies, or reported by news media. Stories also play an important role in: games aimed at cyberbullying prevention (as a motivating mechanism); automatic monitoring systems (as a basis for the development of accurate systems); and, online advice aimed at victims (in the form of successful coping stories of previous victims). Until now, however, the rationale behind, and the specific positive or negative effects of, narratives in anti-cyberbullying initiatives have often remained unclear. Given the call for more research on what elements make cyberbullying programs effective and attractive to implement, and the existing scientific insights into the persuasiveness of narrative communication, we end this chapter with a plea for further work on an evidence-based narrative approach to anti-cyberbullying interventions.

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Part II
Narratives

Narrative Research Methods, Particularly Focused upon Digital Technology Use in Everyday Life

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Abstract Narratives are an important part of how people make sense of their lives and how they find meaning in their world. Given this, increasing attention is being paid to all aspects of narratives in everyday life and to the prominence of narrative research. Areas of narrative research that currently attract attention include: collecting the narratives that people share with each other; analysis of what makes a compelling narrative; and evaluation of how to construct a good basic narrative and then make it more enticing and compelling for the target audience. All of these areas are addressed in this chapter, with most attention being paid to the kinds of narrative research methods of particular relevance to the investigation of digital technology use in everyday life. Narrative research is a qualitative methodology with a particular focus on individuals' stories. It is focused upon uncovering the meanings that people assign to objects, events and behaviours. In this chapter, an overview will be provided into narrative research methodology including (online) narrative interviewing, naturally occurring data (e.g. online stories), participatory methods and mixed methods (combining offline and online environments).

1 What Is Narrative Research?

Narrative research methods start from a qualitative approach, with a specific focus on the stories told by individuals (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007) gathering information about people's lives. They have the ability to contribute to an understanding of important aspects of the world (Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou, 2008). The central focus

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of narrative research is the search for meaning that people assign to their experiences and interactions (Patton, 2005), but it also captures stories about someone's subjective experience with reference to larger socio-cultural dynamics and discourses (Parker, 2003; Sutherland, Breen, & Lewis, 2013). Many theorists have regarded temporality and the sequencing of events by the narrative sharer to be the distinguishing feature of a narrative (Bleakley, 2005; Riessman, 2013).

Narrative research methods start with an advantage because humans are story tellers. People are hard-wired to want to understand each other's stories, and to share their own (Czarniawska, 2004). Partly because of this, many narrative research approaches include some elements of interaction between the researcher and the participant. Given this, both parties have a crucial role to play in the co-construction of the data that is gathered (Rapley, 2001). The researcher and the research subjects work together in this collaborative dialogic relationship (Moen, 2006). Ideally, researchers will be interested in participants' stories, seeking to capture them as data and retell them in compelling ways that illuminate the questions under investigation. Finding ways that encourage research participants to understand their own experiences in relation to the research is one aim of a narrative approach. The researcher needs to have a clear understanding of the context of an individual's life, and researchers need to be reflective about their own personal background (Creswell, 2007). Analysing and retelling participants' stories so that readers and listeners understand and accept the findings is an important outcome of this kind of research. The chapter that follows is an introduction to narrative research methods and a starting point for researchers who might wish to undertake narrative research themselves. It will also be useful for users of narrative research who wish to understand how such projects are conducted.

The narrative approach is closely related to the phenomenological research tradition. While they share several commonalities, narrative inquiry studies the life of a single individual, whereas phenomenological research studies the experience of several individuals in terms of the meanings they assign to, and their engagement with, a concept or a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). The key term in narrative research is 'experience'. Researchers reconstruct the individual's experience, and the narrative about that experience, to learn more about something that is personally or socially relevant (Gail, 2006). Experience is explained as having a temporal order (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). This contrasts with phenomenology where the term 'being' is central, and a phenomenon is revealed as it is in the present. Moreover, in narrative research, researcher and participant are co-participants in the research, whereas in phenomenological research the researcher is the agent and more distant from the participant (Gail, 2006). Phenomenology is concerned with shared experiences and the interpretation of stories; seeking to identify themes and patterns through the comparative analysis of more than one story.

Narratives can be 'found' in everyday contexts by asking people questions that encourage them to talk in open ways about relevant topics of interest. They might never previously have put this personal perspective into words, but can be encouraged to do so through the asking of open-ended questions (Tourangeau & Smith, 1996). Open ended questions are ones that cannot be answered by 'yes', 'no', 'maybe', or a number. They often start with a request, such as: "Tell me about a time when …"

Effectively, the best open-ended questions are asking for an individual's story; they are eliciting a personal narrative. Such narratives are grounded in someone's lived experiences and have the power to promote empathy and understanding in the person reading or listening to the narrative. This kind of narrative can have an emotional impact on the audience, possibly laying the foundation for attitudinal and behavioural change (Hinyard & Kreuter, 2007), as well as deep engagement (Kraft, 2016).

The narratives found in everyday people's view of their life experiences may echo the narratives crafted by master storytellers. Some of the strongest of these have developed particular cultural relevance, passed down the generations as myths, legends and fairy tales. Others are cutting-edge contemporary, involving YouTube videos, podcasts, or graphic novels. Analysing the stories that circulate as shared cultural property within specific contexts allows an appreciation of how their structure may share specific features. Classic narrative theory in this regard argues that there are seven story archetypes: (i) overcoming the monster; (ii) rags to riches; (iii) the quest; (iv) voyage and return; (v) comedy; (vi) tragedy; and (vii) rebirth (Booker, 2004). The seven basic starting points can be refined and combined to create an infinity of variations.

In addition to the research required to uncover found narratives, and to understand the structure of good narratives, is the work involved in crafting narratives-with-a-purpose. (See chapter "Cyberbullying Prevention, Detection and Intervention".) One of the most effective ways to communicate with large numbers of people is to find or create a narrative that catches their attention and speaks to them about something important in a new way. Such narratives often seek to engage the emotions, rather than cognition (De Graaf, Hoeken, Sanders, & Beentjes, 2009). The communication doesn't attempt to argue an audience into changing its mind, but to encourage people to think differently. For example, in 2017 a YouTube video of a starving polar bear in an iceless wilderness went viral, prompting people to think and talk differently about climate change. In this case the narrative is implied: the viewer is expected to make sense of the image for her/himself, constructing a story that explains how the bear came to be starving.

The social marketing message is one specific kind of mass communication that relies greatly upon narrative impact (Thomas, Lewis, & Westberg, 2015). Typically, social marketing is a type of advertising that encourages people to do things differently: to give up smoking; or to not drink and drive. Sometimes these advertisements rely on facts and figures to put forward a rational argument, but usually they tell a story that will be based in fact but designed to create maximum emotional impact. Thus, another kind of narrative research can involve collecting audience feedback as part of a process of crafting effective narratives (Sukalla, Shoenberger, & Bolls, 2016). In some cases, these effect studies can be done in very technical and quantitative psychometric ways using sophisticated equipment such as eye-tracking, pulse rate, and pupil dilation.

Although this chapter particularly focuses on research methods for uncovering narratives that are grounded in everyday life, the stories that people tell each other about their lives tend to conform to the great story archetypes, reflecting their cultural context. Further, narratives from everyday life are often a starting point for a

compelling constructed narrative that will speak to a wide audience. The story of a man dealing with the effects of lung cancer may well be based in truth, but one individual's story can also be an immensely effective mass media anti-smoking message (Wakefield et al., 2003).

2 What Does It Mean When Research Focuses on Digital Technology?

In the same way that there is a variety of ways of understanding narrative research, digital technologies can be investigated in different ways. One approach might examine the ways in which users engage with digital technologies in everyday life. This kind of investigation sets out to answer the: who (what kinds of users), what (technology and its impact), when (time of day, or occasion), where (is the place important), how (the infrastructure or technical requirements) and why (the motivation and intended impact) questions around people's activities with technology. This kind of research is common in usability studies and in product design and development. It is also the foundation for what is called 'the domestication' of technology. Domestication theory argues that people first select a technology to use in their daily lives (adoption); find ways to physically and spatially engage with the technology, where they put it, how they carry it (objectification); create time-based patterns around when to use it (incorporation), and create cultural and social capital from technology use that can be harnessed as part of the way in which someone communicates about themselves and what they consider to be important when interacting with the wider society (conversion) (Silverstone, Hirsch, & Morley, 1992).

Another way in which research focuses on technology is when people create narrative data through their use of technology, and the data can then be stored and analysed. A series of Facebook posts can create data; or posts to a discussion board; or images shared on Instagram. In this technology-based narrative inquiry, the technology becomes the medium through which evidence of human communication and interaction is collected. Not only can such an activity provide information about the characteristics of different technologies and apps, it can also reveal the ways in which, and the purposes for which, different people use specific technologies. Further, the two aspects of technology-focused research can be combined, with the digital data used as a prompt for in-depth investigations into people's everyday uses of technology and vice versa (Pabian et al., 2018). Narrative methods can be used to explore the ways that people use technologies (research with narratives) and to study the stories they tell each other through that use (research on narratives). These methods will now be considered in greater depth.

3 Narrative Interview Research Methods Focusing on Digital Technology Use

Narrative interviewing requires unstructured and in-depth interviews, either investigating an event in a person's life (narrative inquiry) or someone's whole life story. This method goes beyond the classical question-response schema of most interviews, rather using a type of everyday communication, namely story-telling and listening (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). This interview methodology differs from many other approaches in that "it keeps the presentation of the life story in the words of the person telling the story" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 2). Narrative data consist of a first-person narrative, with hardly any references to the interviewer.

The narrative interview starts from the viewpoint that people construct their realities through the stories they tell themselves and narrate to others. Both the interviewer and the person telling his/her story are involved in meaning-making work during the interview (a reality-constructing process), and this makes the interview both an active process, and collaborative (Atkinson, 1998). Such meanings are not crafted in a vacuum, but are the result of social experience and our shared understandings with other people. Because of this, investigations into meaning-making are deemed to fall within the conceptual framework of social constructionism (Burr, 2003). Social Constructionism argues that there are no inherent meanings. Instead, "meaning is made by human beings together; it is social. Meaning […] is fluid, volatile and always open to change through this medium of social interaction" (Burr, 2003, p. 44).

As implied by the conceptual framework of Social Constructionism, the process of constructing meaning is ongoing: it is influenced by changing information, opinions and stories. At certain stages in meaning construction and circulation there are 'dominant' meanings or understandings of events, or motives. These might be contested by minority or emerging views that circulate among people in public and private debate. One example of such a minority viewpoint is the argument that the earth is flat, or that all moon landings are hoaxes. Another field in which minority views regularly overturn the majority understanding is that of scientific theory. Thomas Kuhn's book, *The structure of scientific revolutions* (2012), charts the processes through which this happens. People construct narratives that persuade them their beliefs are justified, and then share those beliefs in the hope of persuading others. Such beliefs and narratives can be uncovered through investigation. Many everyday activities are habitual in that they are so common that they are taken for granted. Such technologies do so much, in so many ways; and connect to so many sources of information and to so many people, that investigating their everyday use can shine a light on a person's life.

Multiple techniques can be used during the narrative interview to stimulate a participant's recall and help unpack the meanings that underpin their everyday life. First, photographs and other objects associated with key memories can help people to recall key events and stories (Atkinson, 1998). Furthermore, video elicitation can be used alongside interviews or focus groups to prompt discussion, stimulate recall or provide a basis for reflection (Jewitt, 2012). Another technique is called

narrative picturing. It concerns the process of triggering memories as pictures by asking people to picture a phenomenon and then describe and narrate it to access meaningful accounts of lived experience (Stuhlmiller & Thorsen, 1997).

The record of an online exchange might be used as a means of discovering what someone believes to be cyberbullying, and the different places at which an exchange might have been interrupted to achieve a different outcome. Such a starting point can offer ways to engage with participants. Additionally, the interviewee might take the researcher on a tour of where they keep the digital technologies in their house, or the places they go to when they feel they need to get away from online aggression. These physical locales can be used as a means for talking about the broader issues to be discussed, and the ways in which participants have developed coping mechanisms. If the tour is videorecorded, this can create visual data to complement the verbal materials (Pink, 2013).

Digital technologies also can be applied to conduct interviews with tools such as VOIP (Voice Over Internet Protocol), e-mail, fora, instant messaging and chat, or immersive virtual worlds (the interviewer and research participant are represented here by avatars) (Salmons, 2009). These might be beneficial to researchers due to several practical advantages such as cost and time savings, easier handling of data (Mann & Stewart, 2000, pp. 17–25), lowered geographical barriers, and the opportunity to involve more participants from a range of geographical contexts (Rathi & Given, 2010). However, there are a few disadvantages including the lack of facial expressions and paralinguistic cues (Rathi & Given, 2010).

4 Observation of Narratives

Fieldwork can also be used as a means of studying narratives: they can be uncovered via the study of existing data, such as pre-existing online data or videos. Existing online data enable us to learn about online behaviours, as well as the impact of these, and the needs of the people involved, by looking at how they occur and are constructed in a naturalistic setting (for example, on Facebook, Twitter, blogs). Data sources include discussion fora, social networking sites (e.g. Facebook) (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Jones, Millermaier, Goya-Martinez, & Schuler, 2008), blogs (Heilferty, 2011; Hookway, 2008), or video sharing sites (e.g. Youtube) (Jewitt, 2012; Pace, 2008). The advantages offered by these data sources include their informality, which may help provide a depth of feeling that is not usually present in more formal communication (Robinson, 2001). Other benefits of the availability of data in online environments include the potential to observe new social phenomena, such as the behaviour of very large groups (e.g., Facebook users), which can include widespread geographical access for participants. Using data online has a comparatively low monetary cost and a low time investment compared to traditional forms of data collection like surveys or organizing interviews (Kraut et al., 2004). At the same time, it requires careful ethical consideration since participants might not have anticipated that their interactions would be used for research purposes (Hine, 2015). Research that takes place within

the data trails of the online environment necessarily negotiates issues around privacy and access, and the appropriateness of using data which may be publicly accessible, but which was never created or intended for the purposes to which it may be put by a researcher.

Issues of de-identification and non-identifiability are particularly important for the committees that approve the ethical conduct of much academic research; and for the journals that publish it. Online data is subject to something of a catch-22. Just because posts may be publicly accessible, it doesn't mean that they can be accessed for research, or reported in research papers. This is particularly the case with younger people who are often positioned as a vulnerable research population. Ethics committees are under an obligation to ask themselves whether the researcher might be constructed as being misleading or exploitative, for example by accessing an online community or a Facebook thread without having told everybody involved that this is going to happen. Even if the researcher wishes to be open about conducting research online, it is often unclear how a community of people who use an online forum might provide informed consent. Further, publicly-accessible posts can sometimes be searched, so key features may be revealed about the individual who posted the material if data is cited in the rich, deep way required by the evocative, qualitative research associated with narrative techniques. Such searchable features can then identify the individuals and the specific context (school, neighbourhood, etc.) within which the cited material was created. These kinds of eventualities would raise clear ethical concerns.

Private discussions that occur on password-protected sites are less searchable, so the participants are more protected, but that protection also raises ethical issues. Because the forum is restricted, the information it contains is not generally accessible and does not count as being in the public domain in the same way that open posts do. Sometimes, such sites have moderators or other managers that can be approached by a researcher to give informed consent, and it may be possible to construct an informed consent access point for the site, so that every member who logs in during the course of a research project gives specific consent for their material to be used. But that is often not practicable, and it may also be something the site would not agree to. Some researchers get general permission to access private forums and then seek specific consent from individuals to quote them verbatim. Again, this can be difficult since it relies on site managers to be diligent in forwarding emails between parties or to risk revealing personal data. Where there is a private forum, however, and where consent to use data has been obtained, the researcher may access a wealth of relevant information and compelling posts that illustrate the narratives central to their inquiry.

Sometimes, the various challenges posed by doing research online are addressed by setting up a dedicated site for the research project. This helps to create an ethically rigorous research environment within which data can be generated and collected. Such a strategy means, though, that the interactions are very different from the everyday activities that many researchers are keen to explore: particularly when it comes to analysing social aggression online. Exchanges in a constructed online space

are not equivalent to those on Facebook or Twitter. Even so, they can still give rise to online aggression (e.g. Green, 2010, pp. 152–158).

When a researcher investigates an individual's narrative as it is revealed in the context of their everyday life, the approach adopted is often an ethnographic one. "Ethnography is about telling a credible, rigorous and authentic story" says Fetterman (2010, p. 1), adding "Ethnography gives voice to people in their own local context, typically relying on verbatim quotations and a 'thick' description of events". Ethnographies used to be associated with classic anthropological fieldwork where a researcher would re-locate their own life to another space, to live alongside or with the community under investigation. Today, much ethnographic research involves researchers working in a context where they share an insider's perspective with the research participant, and this includes digital domains. The online world has specific characteristics, which can be amplified or minimised according to the behaviours and intentions of the people creating that aspect of the online world through their interactions. Because of these circumstances, research that can uncover and explain meaning in online contexts is often undertaken with the context of an online ethnography or, as some people term it, a netnography. Like offline ethnography, the methodological framework of netnography and online ethnography requires the researcher to fully immerse themselves in the community that is being investigated. This is related to narrative research methods since online or virtual ethnographies collect and present the individual's narrative as a part of the process of their everyday life.

Kozinets (2010) draws parallels between the various ways in which a classical anthropologist enters the field, and the ways that a researcher might approach work in an online community. He argues that it is important to consider (i) the entrée into the community, (ii) the gathering and analysing of the data, (iii) how to ensure trustworthiness, (iv) committing to ethical research, and (v) providing opportunities for feedback. In contrast to Kozinet's marketing focus, Hine is a sociologist and ethnographer. Her recent book (Hine, 2015) acknowledges a deep commitment to context by richly engaging with a range of case studies to illustrate the conduct of ethnographic research projects online. One of the advantages of conducting online research is that much of the data is already available in searchable, text-based form: it doesn't require additional transcribing. The challenges instead may relate to the sheer volume of information available, defining the field of research, and the important ethical issues to be faced in working with people's social communication when they may have not given explicit informed consent to do so. Hine's work is particularly valuable here since she actively engages with ethical issues, ultimately serving as the Chair of her University Ethics Committee at the University of Surrey.

In recent years, and often offered by fee-for-service specialists, super-computing capacity has enabled the creation of datasets of individual social media streams across specified areas and geographies, within specific time frames, which can then be stripped of identifying data and processed according to key words and search terms. In Australia TrISMA (Tracking Infrastructure for Social Media Analysis) has been funded by the Australian Research Council to help provide these facilities for researchers, but different countries have their own ways of making such resources available. Such services allow sophisticated analysis of huge numbers of posts and

exchanges within a de-identified context. No one social media channel can be seen as generally representative, however, and particularly not of users of other social media channels.

5 Participatory Research Methods

By applying a participatory approach, narrative research methods are taken to the next level as respondents are involved more closely in the project. Participatory research allows the researcher to position him- or herself more as an observer in the research process, while the respondent becomes an active research partner who is invited to create narratives. They may be asked to present their story through drawings, mapping, diary-keeping, photography, audio-recordings or video-documentary. When the story specifically concerns a 2–5 mins audio-visual clip combining photographs, voice-over narration, and other audio, respondents are engaging in a form of digital storytelling (Lambert, 2013). This is an arts-based research method in which research respondents create artistic stories, and it is increasingly used as an educative tool, for community development, health promotion and for research purposes (de Jager, Fogarty, Tewson, Lenette, & Boydell, 2017). This research technique is often applied in the context of marginalised groups. Participatory narrative research methods allow researchers to obtain new and more varied perspectives on participants' concerns (Gubrium & Harper, 2013), providing a better understanding of their lives and the ways in which they chose to represent themselves and their worlds, because participants choose what is discussed (Gubrium & Harper, 2013).

Photovoice or participatory photo interviewing (Burles & Thomas, 2014; Jorgenson & Sullivan, 2009) is another participatory method through which respondents can create narratives. With photovoice, respondents are involved in the research process through their use of cameras to generate images that capture what their lives are like. Afterwards, the meaning of the photographs often is explained by participants in interviews or focus groups.

Researchers might also choose to conduct a participatory narrative inquiry, derived from a blending of narrative inquiry techniques and participatory action research. This approach documents raw stories of personal experience and is guided by participants' values, beliefs, feelings, and perspectives, with the aim of helping to understand decision making (Kurtz, 2014). Respondents, in contrast to usual narrative inquiries, are expected to work with their stories, for instance as part of structured group sense-making activities to think over problems. The active participation in these approaches helps to encourage ownership of the outcomes.

6 Mixed Methods

A mixed methods approach offers added depth and richness to narrative research in digital environments, but it is both time consuming and comparatively expensive. A typical approach might be to establish the online community of interest, either by physically setting it up or by identifying it and gaining informed consent, and then follow up the online ethnography with detailed in-depth interviews with key participants. This dual engagement, online and off, respects the fact that participants are co-located in both online and offline communication environments. It allows the researcher to explore the elements of each locale that might impact upon the way the participants create their narratives, or the other activities of interest. Although it is possible to imagine scenarios where the offline research would be completed prior to the data collection, it would be generally expected that the online ethnography would be undertaken first. This is because the in-person face-to-face follow-up interviews can help provide rich, deep data to explain aspects of the online interactions that might otherwise be opaque to a researcher. In terms of exploring the narratives underlying complex behaviours, such as cyberbullying, detailed explanations are of particular importance.

Similarly, as online and offline materials can be combined to create a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts, so can qualitative and quantitative data. For online locations where a researcher has access to site metrics, like: number and characteristics of members; the range and frequency of content posted, by whom; the activities of lurkers (or 'listeners', Crawford, 2009); the time spent per website access; what time of day the site is busiest; etc., such quantitative data can add significant richness to narrative inquiry. In one example of an online community supporting people impacted by a diagnosis of breast cancer, for example, it was decided that number of 'lurkers' on the site were more than sufficient to justify its existence. The page views recorded indicated much greater engagement with the content than did the actual number of members (Witney, Green, Costello, & Bradshaw, 2012, p. 276), which made the contents and communication of the site a successful education, outreach and support activity.

For professionals working in the field of attracting and keeping visitors to a website, such as Upworthy's Editorial Director Amy O' Leary (2015), metrics can be refined further to the point where the site itself is effectively researching the impact of its narrative approach. As O'Leary says, "We are deploying seriously deep data to support storytelling in brand new ways" (O'Leary, 2015, slide 12). In doing this, O'Leary is building on the successful "attention minutes" approach that had already been publicised by Upworthy previously (O'Donovan, 2014), where CEO Eli Pariser had noted that "Pageviews can be bought, but this […] is a truer measure of whether you're delivering something meaningful and valuable" (O'Donovan, 2014). "Can you measure a good story by numbers?" asks O'Leary:

> … a couple of years ago I would have said, 'Hell no'. Storytelling was an art and data would just poison real storytellers, forcing them to create lowest common-denominator junk. Right? But I would have been wrong. You can learn serious things about storytelling

> from the right data. If you're measuring the right things, your data should feel like a […] glorious spreadsheet of applause. (Plus visual data provided: O'Leary, 2015, slide 31.)

The kinds of data used by Upworthy to drive online public engagement are positioned as a commercial-in-confidence secret, but they include readers' responses to humour. Lichterman notes that an Upworthy story on the exploitation of workers in the fast food industry has "more than 65 jokes throughout the 5,000 word story" (2015). This joke-laden 5,000 word article is close to the length of an academic book chapter. It narrativises the experiences of fast food workers so well that it achieved over 2 million unique hits in the first two weeks after it was posted.

Staffers are working to understand things such as how emotions impact how users consume stories, what motivates people to take action around content they find meaningful, and what is the best way to structure stories to take advantage of different platforms. The information Upworthy utilizes is "a little bit secret-sauce," O'Leary said, but generally she noted that Upworthy is looking for "positive quality signals from our audience" (Lichterman, 2015).

These very refined metrics are unlikely to be part of an everyday mixed method approach, but they are evidence of what can be done with the information provided by the data collected on well-constructed websites. Additional information provided by in-depth interviews with people who like or who dislike the online content, plus ethnographic field notes, can be used to create a powerful combination of data that goes some way to meeting the requirements of triangulated research (Flick, 2004).

7 Conclusion

This chapter provides some background for conducting and assessing narrative research in relation to the use of digital technologies in everyday life. It considers the nature of narratives as part of identifying the personal narrative as an object of collection. In doing this, distinctions are drawn between found narratives, circulated by people in their daily interactions; and crafted narratives created by professionals as a means of conveying important information to specific target audiences. Underpinning both of these different kinds of everyday narrative is extensive theory around how narratives are structured to appeal to their audiences. An area of contemporary interest, this has significant relevance to digital media companies.

The main body of the chapter investigates key approaches to doing narrative research including in-person methodologies (e.g. face-to-face interviewing), research in digital contexts, and mixed methods that might combine quantitative and qualitative inquiry and/or digital and face-to-face work. These are the core research methods which have particular value when conducting narrative research upon people's use of digital technologies in everyday life. Narrative research aims to capture, analyse and explain the meanings that people assign to their lives, both online and off.

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Narrative Health Communication

Hans Hoeken and Hanny den Ouden

Abstract Narrative health interventions are considered potentially more effective than rhetorical health interventions as they are more likely to attract attention, be more comprehensible and memorable, and are less likely to evoke resistance. Meta-analyses reveal significant yet modest effects of narrative interventions on people's beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behaviours. In this chapter, we will discuss the nature of narrative health interventions, the ways in which they can exert their impact, and the need to tailor these interventions to the target audience. For example, in a cyberbullying situation, narrative interventions focusing on perpetrators should tell a different story to those interventions focusing on victims. Further, neither of these targeted interventions should be the same as a communication aimed at bystanders who wish to intervene on behalf of victims.

1 Introduction

In January 2017 a leading Dutch newspaper carried the headline: "Cyberbullying, 15-year old boy committed suicide after being bullied on social media" (NRC, 10 January 2017). Once this was established as a focus of interest, the media began carrying more stories about the tragic consequences of cyberbullying. This book as a whole addresses the challenge of cyberbullying and argues for the value of narrative-based interventions to address the risks and the harms associated with this particular antisocial activity. This chapter does not so much address cyberbullying as the use of narrative methods to communicate health information with the aim of influencing beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviours. Although the chapter focusses on methods of communication, however, it uses cyberbullying examples in keeping with other chapters of the book.

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Cyberbullying is often presented as a young person's problem. Targets of cyberbullying are mostly school children and early adolescents, but they can include older adolescents and anyone who uses the internet, including senior citizens (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009). Cyberbullying takes place through texting, and via apps, or online in social media, forums, or gaming contexts where people can view, participate in, or share content. It includes sending, posting, or sharing negative, harmful, false, or mean content about someone else, and sharing personal or private information about someone else that is likely to cause embarrassment or humiliation (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014). Examples of cyberbullying are using someone's account or making false accounts in someone else's name, excluding someone from app-groups, distributing private photos or videos that involve someone else or that pretend to come from someone else, and sending threatening e-mails. Some cyberbullying is considered criminal behavior and can be prosecuted. All kinds of cyberbullying are social aggression and may result in harm to either or both the victim and the perpetrator (Vandebosch, Beirens, D'Haese, Wegge, & Pabian, 2012).

Health communication information about cyberbullying is directed at both perpetrators and victims, as well as bystanders. Bystanders are other people who witness the cyberbullying, and can include class mates, parents, teachers, or unknown online audience members. Evidence-based information about cyberbullying is an example of health communication that can be targeted to speak to specific audiences. It makes people involved aware of the issue; it makes perpetrators aware of the impacts of their bullying behavior; and, provides victims, parents and teachers with directions about preventing or dealing with the cyberbullying events. In this chapter our focus is on explaining how narrative health communication works and how narrative communication can influence people's awareness and behaviour. We will discuss how narrative communication can be used in the case of cyberbullying.

2 Narrative Versus Paradigmatic Thinking

Bruner (1986, p. 11) distinguishes between two modes of thinking, "each providing distinctive ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality", using the labels "paradigmatic thinking" and "narrative thinking" for these different modes. The paradigmatic mode of thinking aims to provide accurate descriptions and explanations of general phenomena using categorisation and logic: it helps order experience. A strong application of this mode of thought "leads to good theory, tight analysis, logical proof, sound argument, and empirical discovery guided by reasoned hypothesis" (Bruner, 1986, p. 13). The narrative mode of thinking, on the other hand, deals with the particular rather than the general, with human goals and human action, as well as the consequences of these actions. It helps people construct their understanding of reality: why things happen the way they do, and how to prevent bad things happening and make good things more likely. As such, the narrative mode of thinking leads to "good stories, gripping drama, believable (though not necessarily 'true') historical accounts" (Bruner, 1986, p. 13).

These two modes of thought result in different types of discourse when they are verbalised. Paradigmatic thought results in rhetorical discourse (or argument), whereas narrative thought gives rise to story-telling and narrative discourse. Bruner (1986, p. 11) succinctly describes the deep divide between these types of discourse: "A good story and a well-formed argument are different natural kinds". Both types of discourse are used extensively in health communication in general, and can be used in communication about cyberbullying as well. Rhetorical discourse offers arguments that aim to change the beliefs people have about the likelihood that certain actions will have certain effects. An example of such a cause and effect argument might be that: sending, posting, or sharing harmful content about someone else on the internet cannot be undone. Rhetorical discourse is also used to convince a target audience about the undesirability of certain consequences. A relevant message might be: cyberbullying can harm the online reputations of everyone involved—not just the person being bullied, but also those doing the bullying, and those that take part in it. Rhetoric can also be used to provide information for a target audience about the desirability of intervening to avoid other consequences. This might include, for example, materials for parents or teachers to help them recognize signs of a child who is being cyberbullied, or who is cyberbullying others. Finally, rhetorical discourse may focus on the beliefs that people have about the feasibility of the behaviour being promoted, for instance, raising awareness and knowledge of parents and teachers about how recognising victims and perpetrators will help to prevent cyberbullying among children.

The extent to which rhetorical discourse will lead to stable and predictable behavioural change is believed to depend on the extent to which the target audience accepts the message and the claimed impact of a changed behaviour or response. This involves the message receiver in a careful evaluation of the arguments (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), since rhetorical discourse engages cognitive faculties, rather than emotions. From this perspective, sound arguments are thus crucial to a rhetorical message's success, and indeed, people are sensitive to the extent to which arguments meet normative criteria and seem valid. (See Hoeken (2017) for a review of how arguments can play a role in health communication.)

In this chapter, however, we are focussing on narrative communication methods. This is the second type of Bruner's (1986, p. 11) discourse, resulting from and relating to narrative thinking: telling stories and engaging the listener's, reader's or viewer's emotions. Cyberbullying is often reflective of a power struggle, of individuals who might feel inside or outside a group, powerful or powerless in different circumstances. These are emotional situations, not rational ones. Consequently, a narrative approach may be more suitable for communicating about cyberbullying than a rhetorical approach. A rhetorical argument that deals with the logic of a situation may be less relevant for preventing and dealing with cyberbullying than stories about perpetrators, or victims, of cyberbullying.

As this chapter develops, we will offer and discuss evidence for narratives being able to influence people's beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behaviour. Next, we discuss the models that have been developed to explain how narratives exert their impact. Subsequently, we focus on how to identify relevant targets for narrative interventions,

depending on the characteristics of the target audience, and their willingness and readiness to change. Finally, we discuss how narratives can be tailored to address the specific targets they aim to change. But first, we will discuss what a narrative is.

3 What Is a Narrative?

Toolan (2001, p. 8) defines a narrative as "a perceived sequence of non-randomly connected events, typically involving, as the experiencing agonist, humans or quasi-humans, or other sentient beings, from whose experience we humans can 'learn'". From this definition, it follows that a narrative consists of at least two events that are (chronologically or causally) related to each other. A narrative health intervention, for instance, would include a story about a teenager who uses sunbeds to get a tan (event 1) and develops skin cancer (event 2); or a truck driver who aims to get more exercise (event 1), starts riding a bike to work (event 2), and thus gets fitter (event 3). In addition, the narrative includes an experiencing agonist (the teenager in the first example, the truck driver in the second) who provides insights into how the consequences are experienced (the teen) or how one can go about reaching one's goals (the truck driver). Thus, the audience can learn vicariously from these actions and experiences.

Bruner (1986) argues that stories simultaneously develop two related landscapes: the landscape of action, and the landscape of consciousness. The landscape of action is about goals, agents, instruments, and the consequence of using these instruments to attain these goals. The landscape of consciousness is about "what those involved in the action know, think, or feel or do not know, think, or feel" (Bruner, 1986, p. 14). Relating these two landscapes to Toolan's definition of a narrative, it appears that the landscape of narrative action is about the realm of goals, actions and their consequences, thereby sketching the events and ways in which they are related. The landscape of consciousness provides insight into what the agonist is experiencing. Although each story creates both landscapes, stories may differ in the extent to which a landscape is elaborated. For cyberbullying it may be imaginable to create stories about the actions a perpetrator performs and the consequences they have as well as to create separate stories about the psychological stress and pain a victim experiences.

The label "narrative" can be applied to a wide range of phenomena. Narratives can be told through different media—print, fotonovelas, auditory, audio-visual or in games. They can be based on facts or (partly) made up by their authors. They can be told in a long running radio or television series, single movies, books, in short stories, or via a comic strips.

4 Narrative Impact

In the twentieth century, research on persuasion focused mainly on the impact of various dimensions of rhetorical messages on attitudes (e.g., argument quality, source characteristics, images). At the end of that century, and at the start of the new one, studies were published showing that, in addition to argument, stories can be used to influence people's opinions, attitudes, and behaviour. (See, e.g., Green & Brock, 2000; Strange & Leung, 1999.) In subsequent research, it was found that the effects of stories were relatively stable over time (Appel & Richter, 2007), and did not depend on whether the narrative was presented as a true story or one that was made up (Appel & Maleckar, 2012; Green & Brock, 2000).

Since then, many studies have been conducted on the persuasive impact of narrative. In a meta-analysis, Braddock and Dillard (2016) analysed the results of 74 studies in which the persuasiveness of a narrative was compared to the effects of an equivalent non-narrative message, or a control group. They report relatively small ($0.17 < r < 0.23$), yet statistically significant, effects of narratives on people's beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behaviour. Thereby, Braddock and Dillard (2016) provide strong evidence for a narrative's potential to persuade its audience.

The models of persuasion that had been developed to explain how rhetorical communication influenced people's attitudes and behaviour were deemed incapable of explaining how stories achieve their impact. For example, in models such as the Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) it is believed that people who are highly involved in processing a rhetorical message scrutinise the arguments involved. This careful evaluation of the message content is considered time and effort consuming, and will only occur if people are sufficiently motivated to spend the time and are able to follow the logic of the argument. The ultimate outcome of the persuasion process depends in this case on the audience's take on the quality of the arguments presented in the message. In contrast, people usually find it much easier to become involved in a story than in a rhetorical text. Gerrig (1993) introduced the term "transportation" for the experience of being lost in a book; the sense that the world evoked in the narrative is more real at that point than the world in which the reader is reading this book. Green and Brock (2000, p. 701) defined transportation as "a distinct mental process, an integrative melding of attention, imagery, and feelings", that functions as the main driver of narrative persuasion. The more the audience is transported into the story world, the more likely it is to develop story-consistent beliefs and attitudes.

Several models have been developed to explain the narrative persuasion process (see, Green & Brock, 2002; Moyer-Gusé, 2008; Slater & Rouner, 2002). All models agree on the feeling of being lost in the story as an important driver of this process, and various mechanisms have been proposed to explain how this experience can yield changes in attitudes and behaviour. One explanation is that narratives are less likely to evoke resistance and counter-arguing compared to rhetorical messages. The persuasive intent of the latter is often recognised by the audience and perceived as a threat to its autonomy, leading to active counter-arguing. Narratives, on the other

hand, are less likely to be perceived as intentional efforts to influence the audience's attitudes and are therefore less likely to evoke this type of resistance. In addition, people often read or watch narratives for enjoyment. As Slater (2002) argues, actively engaging in critical thinking is detrimental to this goal.

The possibility of counter-arguing helps explain why rhetorical messages may fail, but not how narratives might succeed in changing people's attitudes. One explanation for the positive effects of narrative is that stories can evoke—or provide, or trigger—vivid depictions of certain events. These lifelike portrayals of events can influence people's estimation of the likelihood of the event occurring. As a result, people may change their beliefs about for instance the safety of flying after being exposed to a story about an air crash (Green & Brock, 2002), or feel motivated to adopt safe sex practices after processing a narrative about a person getting a sexually transmitted disease (Moyer-Gusé, 2008).

Narratives have also been hypothesized to persuade through the bond the audience develops with the story characters. This attachment to the characters is usually referred to as identification. Cohen (2001) describes identification as consisting of the ability to feel what the character feels (emotional empathy), adopting the character's point of view (cognitive empathy), internalizing the character's goal, and potentially having the sensation of becoming the character. Green and Donahue (2009, p. 247) argue that because of identification with a character, "statements made by the character or implications of events experienced by that character may carry special weight" in shifting a reader's attitude. In addition, the story character can serve as a role model providing the audience with an example of how to deal with certain situations (Hoeken & Geurts, 2005; Moyer-Gusé, 2008). The persuasive impact of a story can thus be the result of different mechanisms, and may combine several approaches in achieving its effect.

5 Narratives in Health Communication

Soon after the persuasion potential of narratives had been established, several papers were published on the use of narratives in health interventions, both in a more general sense (Hinyard & Kreuter, 2007), and also within the context of specific communication about, for example, cancer (Green, 2006; Kreuter et al., 2007). The general thrust of these articles is that narrative interventions can serve as positive ways to foster health-promoting activity because, as previously outlined, they: reduce counter-arguing; offer vivid depictions; engage the emotions; and provide characters with whom the audience can relate, and who can also serve as role models.

In addition, narrative interventions may facilitate the processing of health information. Kreuter et al. (2007) argue that narrative interventions are (1) more likely to attract the target audience's attention because stories are more fun to process than rhetorical messages, (2) easier to comprehend because people's lifelong experience in processing stories has equipped them with elaborate cognitive schemes for responding to story structures, (3) and, because of these cognitive schemes, enabling

audiences to remember story information more efficiently. The relative ease with which narratives can be comprehended and recalled, when compared to rhetorical messages, is especially important when aiming to reach a less 'health literate' audience. Health literacy refers to people having "the cognitive and social skills which determine the motivation and the ability of individuals to gain access to, understand and use information in ways which promote and maintain good health" (WHO, 1998). Lower health literacy is related to lower socio-economic status, which is often linked to lower levels of education and fewer life choices, which are also related to living a shorter life, with fewer years lived in good health. People with lower health literacy are thus the ones who could benefit most from effective health interventions. However, many health interventions do not appear to be tailored to their processing capacities and life experiences. For instance, Boeijinga, Hoeken, and Sanders (2017a) found that interventions targeting the unhealthy lifestyle of many Dutch truck drivers mainly consisted of print messages containing implicit arguments. For these interventions to be effective, truck drivers need to infer the hidden premises, identify the type of argument involved, and apply the relevant criteria to assess the argument's strength, thereby posing high demands on the truck drivers' cognitive capacities as well as assuming motivation to process the message, prior to developing a motivation to adopt changed behaviour.

A number of studies have been conducted to assess whether narrative health interventions can change people's attitudes and behaviour more effectively than rhetorical approaches. Murphy, Frank, Chatterjee, and Baezconde-Garbanati (2013), for instance, carefully compared the impact of an audio-visual narrative to a rhetorical one and found the narrative to be more effective in increasing women's knowledge of and attitudes towards cervical cancer. Moyer-Gusé and Nabi (2010) showed how watching an episode of a television series influenced adolescents' attitudes towards teen pregnancy and their intentions to have safe sex. Boeijinga et al. (2017b) found that stories about a truck driver who suffered a heart attack led other truck drivers to form more positive intentions towards exercising more. Shen, Sheer, and Li (2015) conducted a meta-analysis of 25 studies in a health communication context reporting a small, yet statistically reliable, persuasive effect of narratives. For a better understanding of how narrative health interventions exert their impact, it is important to understand what the determinants of health behaviour are.

6 Determinants of Health Behaviour

Health interventions can have various goals: they may seek to raise awareness of an issue, provide information on causes or treatment of diseases, or change attitudes and intentions in order to change health-related behaviour. The extent to which a narrative intervention is successful may depend on the extent to which the story characteristics are attuned to the specific audience targeted by the intervention. To understand how tuning can be successful, it is important to know which behavioural determinants underlie the processing of specific health interventions.

Basically, there are two types of models for explaining the main determinants of behaviour. On the one hand, there are models such as Fishbein and Yzer's (2003) integrative model of behavioural prediction. In these models, actual behaviour is said to depend on (1) the intention to perform the behaviour, (2) barriers that prevent people from putting their intention into action, and (3) the person's skills to perform the action. The individual's intention is, in turn, determined by the person's evaluation of the behaviour (his or her attitude), the extent to which a person believes that the behaviour is approved by others (the perceived norm), and the extent to which the person considers the behaviour as feasible for them to adopt (self-efficacy). Self-efficacy here refers to the notion that people see themselves as having greater or lesser control (more or less self-efficacy) in terms of how capable they are of responding effectively to specific challenges and situations (Bandura, 1997). In research using these models, changes in the intention to perform the behaviour are considered proof that the intervention has been successful. However, there is considerable evidence for the existence of a gap between the intention and the related behavioural action (Webb & Sheeran, 2006). That is, despite a campaign's success in changing intentions, the subsequent change in behaviour is often modest or absent. With respect to the relation between intention and health behaviours, people were found to act effectively upon their intentions in only 53% of cases (Sheeran, 2002). Although the intention to change may be a prerequisite for subsequent behaviour change, it is far from being sufficient to cause such change.

In contrast, a second type of model focuses on the various stages of change a person has to go through when changing behaviour. In his Health Action Process Approach (HAPA), Schwarzer (2008) distinguishes between non-intenders, who indeed need to be motivated to change their lifestyle, and intenders, who already intend to adopt a healthier lifestyle but have failed to put this intention into action. According to the HAPA-model, the lack of motivation of the non-intenders is the result of three factors: (1) the extent to which people feel at risk because of their current unhealthy lifestyle (risk perception), (2) their expectations about the outcomes of adopting the advocated behaviour (outcome expectancies), and (3) the extent to which they feel capable of carrying out the behaviours (self-efficacy). For the intenders, a different picture arises. They are already convinced of the undesirability of their current lifestyle and hold favourable expectations about the alternative behaviour but have not yet put their intention into action because they (1) fail to get started or (2) are unable to navigate obstacles.

This distinction is relevant when considering narrative interventions concerning cyberbullying since perpetrators, victims and bystanders can all include both non-intenders and intenders. Narrative interventions should make non-intenders aware of the problem of cyberbullying and the dangers it poses for both perpetrators and victims, whereas intenders should be assisted in developing strategies for avoiding, signalling or stopping cyberbullying.

Schwarzer (2008) argues that turning non-intenders into actors requires a different communication strategy compared with turning intenders into actors. Non-intenders need to be motivated to change their behaviour. That is, communication to perpetrators should aim to convince them that their health, or the health of their victims,

is at risk if they continue their current behaviour (increase risk perception), that the advocated behaviour on the whole will have positive outcomes for their victims, but also for themselves (outcome expectancies), and that the behaviour is feasible and within their capacity (self-efficacy).

Intenders, on the other hand, need help to get started in adopting specific interventions that they can put into action. This can be accomplished by urging intenders to develop concrete plans on when, where, and with whom to conduct the altered behaviour. Communication about cyberbullying directed to teachers, for example, could be focussed on instructions about how to make cyberbullying a subject of discussion in the class room, or how to handle perpetrators, and support victims. Communication directed to victims should be focussed on seeking help or support, and other effective actions and strategies to avoid, mitigate or stop the cyberbullying behaviours. This formation for implementing specific intentions is called action planning. In addition, providing intenders with strategies as to how to deal effectively with barriers to implementation may help them put intentions into action. The development of such strategies is called coping planning. Schwarzer (2008) shows that health interventions should address different determinants, depending on whether the target audience consists of intenders or non-intenders.

7 Different Targets Need Different Stories

Given any single topic, a myriad of different stories can be told. In the case of cyberbullying, a narrative intervention could focus on the experiences of a victim, but also on how a former victim succeeded in putting an end to being cyberbullied. Or the narratives could tell the story of the more (and less) successful strategies employed by bystanders who intervened on behalf of a victim, becoming 'upstanders' (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010, p. 128). They could tell the story of teachers or parents who successfully picked up signs of cyberbullying or failed to notice them. This list is by no means exhaustive; many more stories could be invented according to the narrative intention and the intended audience.

The variation among the suggested stories stems from at least two important factors: the characters involved and the events they experience. These characters are the "experiencing agonists" in Toolan's (2001) definition of a narrative. For these characters, the audience will get a fair amount of insight of their landscape of consciousness: What are their goals, what are their intentions, and how do they evaluate the situations they find themselves in? The same events can be experienced from different perspectives; they can be told from the victim's, the perpetrator's, or the bystanders' perspective.

Equally important is the landscape of action depicted in the story events. Are those events about the (undesirable) consequences of certain actions, or about the (desirable) consequences of changed behaviour? Do they address strategies about dealing with obstacles that prevent people from attaining their goals? Whether a narrative intervention will be effective is likely to depend on the match between the

story told and the desired behavioural responses. Below, we specify what appear to be plausible connections between these factors.

7.1 Targeting Risk Perceptions and Outcome Expectancies for Non-intenders

As discussed in Sect. 6, two important determinants of the intention to change one's behaviour are the perceived risk of the current behaviour and the expected outcomes of the advocated behaviour change. In both cases, the underlying structure is the same: A certain line of action may have specific consequences and these consequences are evaluated as good or bad. Successful narrative interventions are those that make people believe that a certain effect will occur as a result of their actions. Narratives may also succeed in clarifying the desirability (in the case of outcome expectancies) or the undesirability (in the case of perceived risk) of the resulting situation. For example, perpetrators who consider their behaviour to be an innocent prank and thus qualify as non-intenders, need to be convinced of the far reaching consequences that cyberbullying may have, and may need to realise that they are wrong to believe that their behaviour is innocent.

With respect to the perceived likelihood of events, the extent to which the narrative evokes a vivid image of an event could play a role in motivating behaviour change in non-intenders (Green & Brock, 2002; Kahneman, 2011, pp. 326–331). The concreteness of the depiction of the consequence, as well as the ease with which this depiction can be evoked, may influence to what extent the non-intenders consider this consequence likely to occur. Several studies have revealed such effects for non-intenders. Dillard, Fagerlin, Dal Cin, Zikmund-Fisher, and Ubel (2010) reported that a narrative message, compared to a rhetorical message, increased perceived risk for colorectal cancer. Similar findings have been obtained for risk perceptions with respect to hepatitis B (De Wit, Das, & Vet, 2008), influenza (Prati, Pietrantoni, & Zani, 2012), and sexually transmitted diseases (So & Nabi, 2013). With respect to cyberbullying, a vivid depiction of a victim's experiences may change perpetrators' ideas about their behaviour being an innocent prank.

People may also develop beliefs about events based upon the views held by the story characters with whom they identify (Green & Donahue, 2009). A number of studies have shown that when people identify with a certain character, they are more likely to adopt that character's opinions and beliefs [see, e.g., De Graaf, Hoeken, Sanders, and Beentjes (2012); Hoeken, Kolthoff, and Sanders (2016)], even when the character expresses opinions that go against the participants' interests (Hoeken & Fikkers, 2014). Identification can thus play an important role in the formation and change of beliefs. For example, identification with a victim in a story who succeeds in stopping the cyberbullying may change a victim's belief in his or her own self-efficacy.

Narratives can also play an important role in influencing the perceived desirability of an event through the emotions they evoke. Narratives can make us happy, sad, angry or content: they communicate at an emotional level. The intensity and the valence of these emotions are important: the emotional response has been proved in several studies to be the best predictor of a narrative's persuasive impact (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009; De Graaf et al., 2009). These emotions typically arise as a result of the story characters' vicissitudes (Oatley, 1999). If the cyberbullied character succeeds in stopping the actions of a perpetrator, positive feelings are evoked; if he or she fails, sadness or anger may be the result. Again, the more strongly the audience identifies with a character, the more intense these emotions become, and the stronger the impact the narrative has on the audience's opinions (Hoeken & Sinkeldam, 2014). Thus, the process of identification, and the emotions evoked by the story, may lead to a change in non-intenders' risk perceptions, and impact their outcome expectancies.

7.2 Targeting Action and Coping Planning Strategies for Intenders

For intenders, narrative health interventions should focus on the development of planning strategies that help them to put their intention into action. This requires information on how to develop implementation intentions (action planning) and/or how to deal with obstacles (coping planning). This information may also be relevant for non-intenders as well, as it can improve their perception of self-efficacy.

Narrative health interventions may be especially appropriate in helping to improve the target audience's planning strategies. Stories are often about a character who has a certain goal (e.g., to step up to help a class mate). In order to attain that goal the character has to conquer certain obstacles (e.g., how to deal with peer pressure) (Campbell, 1972). According to Bandura's (1977) social cognitive theory, people can learn relevant behaviours by observing other people's behaviour. Consequently, the character in a story can serve as a role model. Especially when the character is successful in navigating anticipated obstacles, the audience may become more confident that it will also be able to achieve this outcome. This effect on self-efficacy may be stronger when the audience identifies with the character (Moyer-Gusé, 2008).

Moyer-Gusé, Chung, and Jain (2011) provide evidence for this effect in a study on the impact of narratives on people's intention to talk about taboo topics relating to sexual health. They explain this effect by the narrative's capacity to provide a scenario on how to bring up such topics in conversation. Boeijinga et al. (2017b) found a similar effect in a narrative health intervention in which a truck driver relates how he has succeeded in including more exercise in his daily routines. Truck drivers reading or listening to this story developed more positive planning beliefs and the intention to exercise more. When a teacher suspects that cyberbullying is going on in his or her class room, and intends to do something about this, he or she could show a narrative movie about cyberbullying that makes it possible for the class to discuss

the subject. This might also provide perpetrators, bystanders and victims with useful tools to handle the problem in real life.

8 Conclusion

Meta-analyses have revealed that narrative health interventions can influence people's opinions and behaviours. The effects, however, are modest. Stronger effects may be possible if the narratives are tailored to the determinants that inhibit an audience from acting in the advocated manner. Where the audience still needs to be motivated to act, stories should focus on the likelihood that certain behaviour leads to certain consequences, and what such consequences entail. For audiences that are already motivated to change their behaviour, stories should provide role models that employ the strategies that enable people to put their intentions into action. This distinction means that audiences that do not intend to change their behaviours, should watch or read stories about victims and the impact cyberbullying has on their daily lives. Audiences that are already aware of this impact but do not know how to stop cyberbullying, or how to help someone who is being cyberbullied, should watch or read stories of characters who have succeeded in stopping the cyberbully, or helped in some interim way. In all these cases, narrative health communication about cyberbullying is likely to be more effective than an equivalent rhetorical health communication.

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Part III
Narrative Research Methods in Cyberbullying Research

Generating Personal Stories on Negative Online Peer Interactions Through a Photo-Elicitation Method

Sara Pabian and Sara Erreygers

Abstract The goal of this chapter is to evaluate the usability of photo-elicitation interviewing (PEI) to collect personal stories from adolescents about their experience of negative online peer interactions, such as cyberbullying. Within this field of research, most studies rely on quantitative data or qualitative data based on interviews and focus group discussions. In exploring the value of this alternative methodology, we first describe, based on previous research, the characteristics and use of PEI. In the second part, PEI's usefulness is explored in terms of a study with 34 participants aged between 13 and 14 years old. The advantages and disadvantages of using this method are highlighted. The chapter concludes with concrete advice for future researchers wishing to use PEI within the field of negative online peer interactions.

1 Introduction

Adolescents' personal stories of their online experiences help adults (including parents, teachers and policy makers) to understand the benefits, opportunities and risks of young people's lives online. Traditional qualitative methods such as interviews, focus groups, and diaries (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008) can be used to collect personal stories from adolescents about their online interactions. All of these methods have some drawbacks, however. For example, interview participants often have trouble accurately remembering and recounting their negative online interactions; focus groups members may experience pressure to conform to group norms about what experiences are appropriate to share, and they may feel inhibited about telling their personal stories; and, finally, diaries are often a cumbersome means

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of collecting data, relying on highly motivated diarists if they are to capture accurate information. Accordingly, it is appropriate to seek alternative means of eliciting young people's stories. Photo-elicitation interviewing (PEI) is such an alternative participatory method. PEI is a qualitative approach in which images, generated by the researcher or the participant, are used as the starting point for the interview. This methodological approach helps participants remember specific events, it can be used to explore group processes through individual interviews, and it is often experienced as fun and challenging by adolescent participants. In this chapter, we describe the use of PEI in a study with 34 Flemish adolescents that explored their offline and online peer interactions. The results of this study provide important insights into adolescents' online lives and behaviour, helping explain how these are tied into offline interactions. Further, the chapter addresses the advantages and disadvantages of this research method, and its value in cyberbullying research.

2 Definition and General Description of Photo-Elicitation Interviewing

Photo-Elicitation Interviewing (PEI), may also be called photo-interviewing, or photovoice interviewing, especially where the young people make the images used (as, for example, in Allmark, Stevenson, & Stotzer, 2017). PEI can be defined as the use of images to trigger responses and memories during a research interview (Epstein, Stevens, McKeever, & Baruchel, 2006; Harper, 2002; Hurworth, 2003; Meo, 2010). Because images are used besides words, and given that both are processed in a different way in the brain, PEI is not necessarily an interview process that elicits more information, but rather a method that may evoke different kinds of information (Harper, 2002). The majority of researchers who have used this method recognize the power of images to trigger richer conversations (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Holliday, 2000; Meo, 2010). The inclusion of images might operate as a bridge between the distant social and cultural worlds of the researcher and the participants (Epstein et al., 2006). Where participants can contribute some of the images for the research, which are then used as a trigger in the interview process, this photovoice technique within PEI offers a means of empowering participants and offering them some control over the course of the research project.

Most PEI studies use photographs, but drawings, cartoons, or any other visual image can be used too. Interviewees can originate the images, as in photovoice approaches, but they can also be made by the researcher, or by a photographer commissioned by the researcher (Hurworth, Clark, Martin, & Thomsen, 2005; Ortega-Alcázar & Dyck, 2012). Most studies that use images produced by, or on behalf of, researchers employ a theory-driven or deductive approach, whereas an inductive approach (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004) may characterize research where participants help contribute the images. In his review of the methodology, Harper (2002) describes three main uses of images in PEI research. First, images can represent

inventories of objects, people, and artifacts. Second, they can display events from the life of participants. Third, images can illustrate the social world of participants. Clark-Ibáñez (2004) notes that these are not mutually exclusive categories and images with a variety of uses can be present in a study.

3 The Use of Photo-Elicitation Interviewing

PEI has been used in a wide variety of research disciplines, such as sport studies (Curry, 1986), sociology (Bridge, 2013), health research (Radley & Taylor, 2003), education (Loeffler, 2005), developmental psychology (Cook & Hess, 2007), cultural studies (Ortega-Alcázar & Dyck, 2012), geography (Bignante, 2010), and tourism (Cederholm, 2004). It has been used with adults (Kantrowitz-Gordon & Vandermause, 2016) as well as with children (Walton & Niblett, 2013) and adolescents (Smith, Gidlow, & Steel, 2012).

The use of PEI can be justified by a number of arguments, but there are four key reasons generally put forward. First, most researchers who use the method indicate that PEI elicits appropriate data for answering some kinds of qualitative research questions. These research questions mostly aim to inform a better understanding of an event, or a person's attitudes or behaviours (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Meo, 2010). Second, for participants, the use of PEI can lead to critical reflection and seeing things in another light. It can make them understand and appreciate their own social worlds, their own behaviour, and their perceptions of themselves in a different way (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001; Willis, 1980). Third, researchers have chosen to use PEI because it can facilitate quality communication between the interviewer and the participant. Enhancing and facilitating reporting on a research enquiry might be especially desirable when the study involves a sensitive topic, and/or participants who are less willing or able to communicate. In cyberbullying, both conditions might be present. Looking at images during an interview can act as an 'ice breaker' activity, helping to create a comfortable atmosphere (Epstein et al., 2006). Fourth, researchers note that PEI can offer an opportunity to expand the contribution of research participants beyond the role an interviewee usually plays during an interview, and this may lead to greater involvement in the study and its findings (Hurworth et al., 2005; Meo, 2010). This might be especially true for research subjects who contribute the images and/or who are used to taking images and talking about them with other people. This is generally true of adolescents (Smith, Gidlow, & Steel, 2012), such as the young people engaged in this project.

4 Ethical Considerations

Fang and Ellwein (1990), and Wiles et al. (2008), are among the researchers who identify ethical issues in methodologies that use visual images drawn from real life.

Such methodologies include PEI, where the images used might be photographs. Two recurring ethical issues are the receipt of informed consent from individuals who are displayed in the images, and the possible influence of the researcher in suggesting ideas for the pictures to be taken, when the study is presented and explained to potential photovoice-engaged participants.

Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001) have focused on ethical challenges specific to conducting PEI and have translated these ethical challenges into best practice guidelines for conducting PEI. They identify the provision of a detailed consent form to participants, and reviewing it with them, as the minimum ethical starting point. The consent form should clearly explain the research procedures. If participants are asked to take images, there should be clear agreement about what should be displayed, in how many images, and when they should be taken. The consent form should also contain a section where the participant provides informed permission to participate, and explicitly allows researchers to publish some or all of the images. Second, Wang, and Redwood-Jones (2001) advise researchers to provide one or more training sessions for participants, including how to use cameras in a safe and responsible way, and the obligation upon photographers to receive permission from people they photograph. Third, also following Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001), researchers should provide written materials for participants to use when taking part in the study, namely: (a) an 'Acknowledgment and Release' consent form to collect approval from any people they photograph; (b) written materials for photographed subjects or interested individuals, such as a brochure that describes the goals of the study, how participants are selected, how the images will be used, and whom to contact for more information; and (c) a letter that participants can give to parents, teachers, and school principals (in case of adolescent participants) or to employers (in case of adult participants). That letter, for third parties, should outline the goals and duration of the study, and whether and how cameras will be used at school or work.

These best practices, along with the ethical considerations that apply to other methods that make use of visual images, were used in this research into online and offline interactions among adolescents. The study itself will be described in the next section of this chapter.

5 Illustration: A Study on Cyberbullying

5.1 Description of the Study

This study originated from an observation that research on the interconnection of online and offline aggressive social interaction has mainly focused on the co-occurrence of cyberbullying and traditional bullying (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014; Slonje, Smith, & Frisén, 2013). Researchers have, for instance, investigated whether adolescents who are involved in cyberbullying are also involved

in traditional bullying as a victim, perpetrator, and/or a bystander. Although previous studies have indicated a clear overlap between adolescents who are involved in cyberbullying and traditional bullying (Erdur-Baker, 2010; Pabian & Vandebosch, 2016), it is not clear whether and how specific aggressive interactions between two or more adolescents offline are continued online, or vice versa. It is also unclear whether and how online and offline aggression influences other online and offline peer interactions. Furthermore, little is known about how adolescents perceive the negative elements of online and offline interactions. Previous research has shown not only that adults can differ from adolescents with regard to their perception of what cyberbullying is (Marwick & boyd, 2011; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2008), but also that adolescents do not always agree on whether someone has been victimized online, or who has cyberbullied others (Wegge, Vandebosch, Eggermont, Rossem, & Walrave, 2016). In response to these many issues, this exploratory study uses PEI to address two research questions. Focusing on all the social interactions that adolescents have with their co-located contemporaries, it firstly asks how cyberbullying fits into adolescents' peer group social interactions, both online and offline. Turning to young people's personal perceptions of cyberbullying, the study asks secondly how adolescents evaluate interactions they perceive as cyberbullying, and the meanings and interpretations they assign to these experiences. As to whether the participants were using a mainstream understanding of what cyberbullying is, this determination was made by the researchers, guided by participants' stories.

5.2 Use of Photo-Elicitation Interviewing in the Cyberbullying Study

Traditional, quantitative methods (such as surveys) would not suffice as a means of addressing the research questions. Quantitative methods tend to identify associations (is there an association or not?), but do not provide in-depth insights into how social interactions are experienced and interpreted by adolescents. To gain a deeper understanding of adolescents' perceptions of cyberbullying, and the ways in which social aggression might be interwoven with other offline and online peer interactions, a qualitative inquiry was needed. Moreover, over the past few years and mirroring the rise of social media, adolescents' online peer interactions have become more visual in nature. This is illustrated by the immense popularity of image-sharing platforms, such as Instagram and Snapchat, as well as the ways in which Facebook has become more visual. To gain a better understanding of adolescents' peer interactions, it was important to take this visual aspect into account. A visual research method would be ideally suited to such a study, and PEI was swiftly identified as a relevant qualitative method that was worth investigating. An added benefit was that PEI allowed the adolescent participants to take pictures and screenshots themselves of their offline and online peer interactions. This helped engage the 34 participants for the week

of the study, allowing them to use their own images as conversation starters in the follow-up one-on-one interviews with the researchers.

5.3 Participants

The participants were 34 adolescents (50% boys), recruited from three classes in the second grade (equivalent to US grade 8), of three secondary schools in Flanders. Although this was a convenience sample, it included a range of children. One class was oriented towards occupational education, the second was on a technical education track, and the third was a general education class. The adolescents were 13–14 years old and had ethnically diverse backgrounds. This age group was selected because previous research has demonstrated that Flemish adolescents in this age group have an increased risk of being involved in (cyber)aggression and (cyber)bullying (Pabian & Vandebosch, 2016; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009). The present study used a general sample rather than a particular subsample, such as victims of cyberbullying, due to focusing upon investigating a wide array of negative peer interactions.

5.4 Procedure

This study was approved by the Ethics Committee for the Social Sciences and Humanities of the University of Antwerp and followed APA Ethical Guidelines for Research with Human Subjects. All adolescents who were willing to take part in the research provided both their own, and parental, written informed consent. An information session was organized in each class to explain the research procedure and to introduce the research team, which consisted of academic researchers and trained bachelor student researchers in their third year of Communication Studies. All but two of the participants had smartphones with camera features, and the participants who needed them were lent smartphones with the required capability. All school students involved were asked to use their phones to make at least three images per day, for one entire school week (5 days). The pictures recorded were to be either positive peer interactions, such as helping a classmate with homework; or negative peer interactions, such as cyberbullying, bullying, and other forms of negative behaviour. Both online and offline peer interactions could be captured.

Images were not provided by the researchers, the goal being to explore the different kinds of negative and positive online and offline peer interactions, problem-solving strategies, and communication styles experienced by adolescents on a daily basis. The images captured could be photographs or screenshots, and they were to illustrate the participants' judgments of what was negative, and what was positive, in peer-based interactions. Photographers were asked to send their images to the researchers each day via a private message to a specific Facebook profile; or via email if they did not have a Facebook account.

During the information session, the participants were thoroughly briefed about the ethical considerations that had to be taken into account when making pictures and screen shots. It was emphasized that they must not take pictures of others without their permission. Also, especially relating to screenshots, participants were asked to mask the names of others so that they would be invisible/unreadable in the images. These measures are important since exposing personal information about other people without permission can be perceived as a form of cyberbullying.

During the course of the image-recording week the researchers sent a motivating message to the participants every day reminding them to take pictures, and to send these through to the researchers. Twenty-eight school students followed these instructions, but six chose not to do this, even though they wished to remain in the study. A few days after the end of this week, semi-structured, audio-taped one-on-one interviews were conducted with all the participants by the research team. In these interviews the participants were asked to share their personal experiences, and to reflect on the offline and online peer interactions that they had experienced during the preceding week. A semi-structured interview guide was used to ensure that each interview addressed the research questions, and to increase comparability between the interviews. Some consistency was important since the interviews were conducted by multiple interviewers, but the semi-structured format also allowed interviewees to have some autonomy in the way that the interview progressed. The interview guide used by all the research team is included at the end of this chapter (Appendix 1).

Where possible, each interviewer used participants' own images as reminders of what had happened during the previous week, as conversation starters, and as a way to help interviewees to answer the interview questions. For those participants who had not taken and sent any pictures ($N = 6$), the interview guide was used as a standalone tool to guide the interview. In total, 297 pictures were received. A mean of about 10 pictures ($M = 9.96$) per participant who had sent pictures ($N = 28$) were received. This number was about two-thirds of the requested minimum number of pictures (which was three per day). The pictures displayed online and offline interactions with peers, such as taking selfies with friends, hanging out with friends in the offline world, having private and group conversations via WhatsApp, Snapchat, and/or Facebook, liking Instagram posts, commenting on Facebook posts, sending text messages (SMS), making phone calls (smartphone screenshots from telephone calls), playing online games, and commenting on YouTube videos. The duration of the interviews with participants, including those who had not taken any pictures, ranged from 12 to 46 min.

5.5 Data Analysis

The audio files were transcribed by the researchers and the trained student research assistants. The transcripts and the images were imported in NVivo 11. We analyzed the data within NVivo, using thematic analysis with an inductive approach (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). In a first step of the coding process, each author,

independently from the other, ascribed preliminary open codes to three randomly selected interviews. In a second step, one provisional codebook was created, based on the coding schemes of both authors. Next, the three selected interviews were recoded. After recoding, a coding comparison query showed an agreement across coders that was greater than 90%, with the Cohen's kappa coefficient of 0.74, which indicates a substantial level of agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977). The codebook was refined further and the codes applied to the remaining interviews. Where a possible additional subcategory was identified, this was first discussed thoroughly by both coders before being adopted. The coders documented all new additions to the codebook that emerged in coding the remaining interviews. The final coding scheme is represented in Appendix 2.

Interactions were categorized as bullying or cyberbullying when participants used the term explicitly, and where the stories they used as illustrations made this definition plausible. In particular, the definition of bullying and cyberbullying generally includes a time frame longer than the week of the study: "an aggressive, intentional act, carried out by a group or individual, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself" (Smith et al., 2008, p. 376). Interviewees' stories needed to include both intentionality and persistence of the aggressive behaviour for them to serve as clear examples of (cyber)bullying.

5.6 Main Results

The results of the study are summarized in the following section. A full discussion of this research has previously been published in a journal article, which provides additional information and analysis (Pabian et al., 2018).

This study explored how adolescents perceive negative online peer interactions (which might be called cyberbullying), and how cyberbullying is embedded within adolescents' everyday offline and online peer interactions. The combination of images and interviews revealed a complex web of interconnection between online and offline interactions, and ways of coping with these. The adolescents discussed multiple kinds of negative interactions, with most of these happening both offline and online. There were a few exceptions of interactions that were exclusively reported offline, such as physical aggression, and tattling; or online, including celebrity bashing, cyber-stalking, and posting or tagging unwanted pictures without the consent of people in the photograph. The social aggression was described as fights, conflicts, arguments, name calling, etcetera, and revealed a large variety of negative peer interactions ranging from more or less innocent ('just for laughs') to severe (which included bullying and physical aggression). The adolescents also described several ways to handle these interactions. For some categories of incidents they described, it seemed to be largely irrelevant whether these took place offline or online. Adolescents involved often explained how incidents that started offline continued online, and vice versa. For other incidents, the participants clearly distinguished between the offline and online interactions. For instance, some participants described how

conflicts on Facebook had been solved in person, because it was easier to read each other's non-verbal communication offline, and react appropriately. Others discussed how conflicts that had started or been exacerbated online were not continued offline. Instead, when the people involved met each other in person, they acted as if nothing had happened.

When asked specifically about their experiences with cyberbullying, only one participant, a girl, identified herself as a victim of cyberbullying. The majority of the participants stated they had never experienced or witnessed cyberbullying. However, from the interviews and visual data, it seemed clear that the participants *had* experienced many types of negative online interactions, and some of these might be called cyberbullying by outsiders. Yet the adolescents in the study seemed to take the broader context into account, and were hesitant to call interactions cyberbullying if they did not know the people well, or the relevant history of their interactions. Furthermore, participants seemed to be used to a certain level of online harshness, and had implicit rules and norms about what was acceptable in terms of how mean peers could be to each other online.

The participants disagreed about whether they behaved the same online as offline. Some said their interaction style was similar in both places, but others stated that they interacted differently with their peers depending upon whether the exchange was online or offline. Specifically, participants described how they and their peers often dared to say more in the relatively-detached online environment, than face-to-face offline. However, these school students argued that their interaction style was mostly dependent on their interaction partner, rather than on the medium through which the interaction took place.

6 Advantages and Disadvantages of Using PEI

From this experience with using PEI to study adolescents' experiences of negative online interactions, we can discern several advantages and disadvantages of the method used. A first benefit of this method is that it actively engages adolescents in the research. This is especially the case if adolescents are involved in the production of the images: they gain more responsibility and ownership of the research, and are empowered to steer the interview in the direction they think most relevant or important. For the purposes of the current study, this meant moving away from the narrow scholarly definition of cyberbullying to enlist adolescents in a co-exploration of a wider variety of negative online peer interactions.

Many research participants said they thought the research was fun, and most were keen to share their images, and tell their personal stories. The recording and sharing of images are key activities for many adolescents, and an important part of teenagers' daily lives around the world. A number of the participants said that taking pictures for the research was fun and a challenge. Others found it something of a bother, however, and for six adolescents, the request proved to be such a challenge that they did not succeed in taking a single picture that they wished to forward to the research team.

The reasons such participants gave for not taking and sharing smartphone pictures were: they forgot to send the pictures to the researchers; and, not being able to take pictures due to technical issues such as a broken camera function on the smartphone.

The images that adolescents supplied for the research provided the project with a unique look into young people's online and offline private lives, and many of the ways in which these inter-relate. These self-recorded images were taken and selected by the adolescents themselves, providing a unique perspective into their lives that reflected the adolescents' point of view. Although this may be a selective perspective, and subject to bias, it nevertheless reflected something of what adolescents wanted us to know about their peer interactions. This approach offers some element of additional agency to interviewees when compared with more traditional research methods, such as surveys. Survey methods can focus more on collecting specified data, and are less likely to offer participants an opportunity to provide personal evidence and perspectives that might then influence the research agenda.

Another advantage of PEI is that the images were useful conversation starters in the interviews. Some of the participants appeared somewhat tense and nervous when they were interviewed. Focusing upon the images they took served as an ice breaker and helped start a less formal conversation. In this research, the adolescents were consulted as experts on their own lives, helping to narrow the social distance between them and the research team. The teen participants were often happy to explain the broader context of the images they had made, by starting with the picture itself and using it as a starting point to discuss the people in it, or the relevance of the conversation lines, in screenshots of online exchanges.

The use of self-recorded images from the previous week also helped the participants with their recall of relevant experiences. The images served as memory aids, and may have decreased 'recall bias' when compared with interviews that do not use visual memory cues. At the same time, responder bias will have impacted the choice of which images to make. This sample of participants said they had experienced both negative and positive online and offline peer interactions during the week of the research. Some of these interactions were very important to them, others less so. In the research process, the images appeared helpful also in aiding recall of the less meaningful interactions, as far as that specific participant was concerned. (These interactions might well have been very meaningful for a different classmate.)

A final advantage of combining the interviews with the images that adolescents had taken was that they could provide visual examples of their interactions, and explain why the context needed to be constructed in terms of teen culture. Some of the screenshots taken revealed online interactions that seemed designed to alienate outsiders with odd, mean or rude comments. The adolescents' own explanations of these screenshots, given in their interviews, provided fuller meaning and context. Had these images been interpreted without the young people's explanations, it would have been very easy to jump to erroneous conclusions regarding the severity of the aggression, and the roles of the people involved. Adolescents draw parallels with their experiences when they witness something online that might be interpreted by others as cyberbullying, but that they understand as a joke between friends. In this way, PEI not only provided richer data than would otherwise have been collected through

interviews alone, it also allowed the researchers to deepen their understanding of adolescent culture, and their experiences on- and off-line.

Leaving aside these advantages, there are some drawbacks to the use of PEI. One important limitation is that participants always select the possible images they forward to researchers. The images forwarded are necessarily a biased and limited selection from the array of possible visual representations of participants' peer interactions during that week. This selection may have been influenced by perceived social desirability, privacy concerns, self-censorship and other motives. These biases may also be present when using other research methods. Nevertheless, researchers should be aware of the influence of such bias on what participants share. Another concern is around confidentiality. Although participants were assured of researcher confidentiality at the start of the study, some images forwarded might have implications for confidentiality and it may be worth reminding participants about this during the image collection process: for example, when reminders are sent to motivate participants to send in images.

Additionally, there were a number of practical issues that arose during the PEI data collection for this project. Some participants had little experience with taking pictures with their smartphones and struggled with taking three pictures every day. Others forgot to submit their pictures, which complicated the progress of the interviews, because they sometimes chose to show them to the researcher on their own smartphone. This semi-sharing of images also precluded the research team using these (de-identified) images in the presentation of findings.

Finally, the task of recording images from their daily lives three times per day may have been intrusive for some adolescents, especially those with less experience in taking pictures with a smartphone. The practice of this out-of-the-ordinary behaviour might have influenced adolescents' normal interaction patterns and the natural occurrence of events. Some of the images adolescents recorded may have been 'staged' rather than a snapshot of a normally-unfolding experience. The follow-up interview allowed researchers to develop a better understanding of the interaction, however. The questions asked helped the interviewers to judge the importance of the interaction and the meaning given to it by the participants.

7 Advantages and Disadvantages of the Conduct of This Project

Given that the research team consisted of trained third year bachelor students in a Communication Sciences degree, who were obliged to take part in order to receive a course credit, the interviews were conducted by a number of research students with varying commitment to the project. Although the students received training, instructions, and a semi-structured interview guide, interview styles differed. These differences may have influenced the depth and comparability of the interviews. One of the advantages of this approach, however, is that all interviews were con-

ducted soon after the data gathering period. Future research might be more robust with fewer interviewers. This might allow a more in-depth exploration of similar images/stories shown/told by multiple participants. The design used in this study lacked that 'overview' as it progressed: it was only at the point that data was being coded that the cross-referencing could be conducted. At the same time, however, interviewers must be careful not to reveal too much of what they know from previous interviewees since this can compromise confidentiality assurances. Previous research has demonstrated that the effect of the relationship between interviewer and interviewee can be bigger than the effect of the specific interview method that has been used (Bannink, 2006). Appropriately motivated interviewers are consequently an important component of quality outcomes.

In the PEI study reported here, the interviews took place in the school environment. This was a convenient location for participants and helped make the study more feasible. At the same time, as this environment has a range of rules and sanctions around peer aggression, the interview location might have influenced the social desirability of the answers. In order to diminish the impact of social desirability upon participants' statements, it might have been advisable to conduct the interviews at an alternative location, such as in a comfortable room at the research institution, or a venue chosen by the interviewee.

This project included an introductory session, in line with best practice recommendations for photovoice work. Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001) note the importance of one or multiple training sessions to inform participants regarding how to use the camera, and to address ethical issues related to taking images. The information session for participants introduced the research team and the study in an informal way that helped to create bonding and trust. It was characterized by an informal atmosphere that created a low threshold for engagement, allowing the adolescent participants to ask questions of the researchers. As part of the introduction, we decided to provide some visual examples of the kinds of images that the adolescents might take in order to make the assignment more clear. This entails a risk. As Fang and Ellwein (1990) and Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001) note, providing examples suggests certain content for the images that participants might offer. Such examples should be limited, for fear that they could influence or define the types of themes that might emerge during the study.

8 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the potential of PEI as a method for collecting personal stories from adolescents about negative online peer interactions. Based on the experience of using PEI for studying negative online interactions, such as cyberbullying, we are in a position to conclude whether PEI is a useful approach, and to offer specific advice on using PEI for this kind of research.

Although the study offered a number of benefits, including a significant role for participants, it might have been impacted by social desirability issues, by participant

bias in choice of images, and by the fact that some participants forwarded no images while others forwarded many fewer images than requested. It appears likely that a number of negative online/offline peer interactions may have happened during the data-gathering week that have not been recorded or described. A possible response to this challenge might be to combine PEI with other research methodologies, such as online ethnography. Reading/listening to people, and observing what they do online and offline, and storing/noting observed conversations, might be a valuable supplement to PEI. Such a combination of methods is likely to result in a very rich dataset, (e.g., study of Maher, 2008).

This study investigated a sample of 34 Flemish school students aged from 13 to 14 years old. It illustrated the applicability of the PEI method. The study itself provided clear insights for researchers, schools, and parents on the nature of adolescents' online and offline negative peer interactions (Pabian et al., 2018). Based on this study, the researchers were able to offer some recommendations regarding negative peer interactions and, in this chapter, some practical advice for researchers who may wish to use PEI for their own investigations.

Appendix 1 Interview Guide

1. Introduction
• Q1: What are your thoughts about the assignment? • Q2: Was it a fun activity? • Q3: Was it hard?
2. Discussing the first image[1]
• Interviewer: "Please select the first image you would like to discuss" • Q4: What is displayed on the image? • Q5: What happened? • Q6: How did you feel? • Q7: How did you react? How was the interaction managed? • Q7: What were the reactions of others? • Q8: Are there other interactions (offline and/or online) that are related to this one that happened?
[1]If the participant did not provide any images, the interviewer moved directly on to the fourth part of the interview guide.
3. Discussing the rest of the images[2]
• Interviewer: "Please select the next image you would like to discuss now" • Q4–Q8
[2]This part was repeated until all the images of the participant were discussed.
4. Discussing other specific interactions

(continued)

(continued)

• Q9: Did you have peer interactions this week that were important for you and that were not displayed by an image? • Q5–Q8 • Q10: Why did you chose not to take an image of this interaction?
5. Communication styles offline and online
• Q11: Do you interact differently with peers offline compared to online? • Q12: What do you prefer, offline communication or online communication?
6. Closing of the interview

Appendix 2 Coding Scheme

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
Offline negative interactions	Types of interactions	Physical aggression Calling each other names Conflict Irritating each other Uncooperative behaviour Exclusion Gossiping Tattling Taking advantage of someone Telling lies or spreading rumors
	Involvement in bullying	
	Managing offline conflicts	Ignoring the persons involved in the conflict Pretend nothing happened Physical Swearing Calling each other names Involve others Tell an adult Make amends Trying to find a solution together Payback (by performing the same behaviour) Walk away Standing up for someone Asking to stop Seeking support from friends or family Laugh about it
	Downplaying	

(continued)

(continued)

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
Online negative interactions	Different types	Conflicts Exclusion Celebrity bashing Calling each other names Negative comments Posting or tagging unwanted pictures Hacking Irritating each other Stalking Threatening Telling lies or spreading rumors
	Involvement in cyberbullying	
	Managing online conflicts	Ignoring the persons involved in the conflict Pretend nothing happened Calling each other names Involve others Make amends Leave the conversation Blocking Payback Standing up for someone Stop reacting Asking to stop React with humor Asking for an explanation
	Downplaying	
Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
Comparison and interconnectedness of offline and online aggression	Interaction styles online and offline	
	Preference for offline or online communication	Refraining from using digital tools
	Duration	Online Offline
	Transfer of conflicts from offline to online and vice versa	

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"Were You Cyberbullied? Let Me Help You." Studying Adolescents' Online Peer Support of Cyberbullying Victims Using Thematic Analysis of Online Support Group Fora

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Abstract Adolescents often seek and provide peer support as an effective strategy for countering cyberbullying victimization. Little is known about the actual content of such peer support, however, partly due to limitations inherent to survey, interview or focus group research. The current study examined online peer support that had been sought and provided with regard to cyberbullying. It involved thematic analysis of cyberbullying message threads, and stories of benefit and effectiveness, in two online support group fora for adolescents. Applying Tardy's (1985) social support framework, and including the social support categorisations proposed by House (1981), we found that peer support in this context involved information on coping strategies, and discussion of: (cyber)bullying as a phenomenon; the actors involved; and, the victim's specific (cyber)bullying situation. In addition, online fora members provided victims with various subtypes of emotional support. Further research is needed on the effectiveness of different types of peer support, particularly regarding the coping strategies that adolescents recommend.

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1 Introduction: Peer Support to Counter Cyberbullying and Its Negative Effects on Victims

Cyberbullying, bullying through the use of mobile phone and Internet applications, is a pervasive problem among adolescents and children. Cyberbullying victimisation of young people is associated with various harm to either or both mental and physical health (e.g. Gini & Espelage, 2014; Gunther, DeSmet, Jacobs, & De Bourdeaudhuij, 2015). When trying to eliminate cyberbullying problems, or reduce their negative impact, victims can use a range of coping strategies or "efforts to prevent or diminish threat, harm, and loss, or to reduce associated distress" (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010, p. 685). One particular coping strategy, social support-seeking, has proven to be an effective means for (cyber)bullying victims to make themselves feel better. It may also lower depressive symptoms and stimulate constructive behavioural and psychological adjustment (Machmutow, Perren, Sticca, & Alsaker, 2012; Matsunaga, 2011).

Young people who are victims of cyberbullies report that they often look for social support from peers, because they consider peers to be more effective helpers than adults (e.g. Jacobs, Goossens, Dehue, Völlink, & Lechner, 2015; Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Olafsson, 2011). Encouraging cyberbullying victims to seek peer support, and/or prompting young people to provide such support, can play an important role in cyberbullying intervention and prevention programmes. In-depth knowledge of the specific content of adolescents' peer support, as sought by cyberbullying victims and provided by peers, is currently lacking. In order to address this need for more information, we conducted an in-depth investigation into the content of adolescents' peer support with regard to cyberbullying. Knowledge of this content may prove useful in planning narrative-based interventions and in informing the development of authentic stories that help prevent cyberbullying activities.

2 Types, Content and Effectiveness of Peer Support in Cyberbullying

Traditional bullying studies (Demaray & Malecki, 2003; Matsunaga, 2010, 2011) have assessed the kinds of support offered to victims based on the established literature on social support, including use of Tardy's (1985) social support framework. In this framework, Tardy (1985) emphasises the reciprocal nature of social support networks, in which people seek, receive and/or provide social support. He used House's (1981) work on different kinds of social support in order to distinguish between emotional support, instrumental support, informational support and appraisal support (see Table 1). According to Tardy (1985), the seeking and receiving of different kinds of social support can be compared with the realm of available social support, and can also be evaluated in terms of effectiveness.

Table 1 Four types of social support as defined by House (1981)

Support type	Definition
Emotional support	Empathy, caring, love, trust, esteem, affect, concern, listening
Instrumental support	Instrumental behaviours that directly help a person in need (aid in kind, money, labour, time, modifying environment)
Informational support	Transmitting information that the person can use in coping with problems (advice, suggestions, directives, information)
Appraisal support	Transmitting information that is relevant to self-evaluation or social comparison (affirmation, feedback, social comparison)

An evaluation of the effectiveness of different kinds of social support is vital if cyberbullying interventions are to provide and promote effective strategies to support victims and prevent aggression. Two studies have examined the effectiveness of social support in mitigating negative effects on traditional bullying victims, but none appear to focus on cyberbullying. Matsunaga (2010, 2011) demonstrated that emotional support leads to a more positive reappraisal of the bullying situation, with victims seeing things in a more positive light and subsequently adjusting better to the post-bullying environment, while results for other types of social support, such as esteem, informational and network support (see Table 2), were less clear (Matsunaga, 2010, 2011). Where the social support received diverged from the victim's expectations of that support, for example receiving less social support than desired, or receiving unwanted kinds of social support, this could inhibit positive reappraisal (Matsunaga, 2011). Consequently, it is important to take victims' social support expectations into account when evaluating the effectiveness of different kinds of social support.

Regarding the evaluation of social support, Matsunaga (2011) argued that it is also important to consider the quality of the specific content of the social support provided, including the manner, style, timing and sequence with which the support is given. The support provided by advice, for example, can be evaluated according to its usefulness for the receiver's personal situation and the feasibility of actions proposed (MacGeorge, Feng, Butler, & Budarz, 2004). The quality of the content of peers' advice to cyberbullying victims is particularly important with regard to supporting effective coping strategies. High quality advice that promotes effective coping has been found to reduce cyberbullying victimisation and/or buffer its negative effects (Perren et al., 2012; Raskauskas & Huynh, 2015). However, there is limited knowledge about the effectiveness of specific coping strategies when it comes to dealing with cyberbullying. Instead, Murray-Harvey, Skrzypiec and Slee (2012) have offered an overview of productive, ambivalent and non-productive coping strategies for dealing with traditional bullying. Their work gathers together informed professionals' (researchers' and practitioners') views about the effectiveness of specific coping strategies to deal with bullying (Murray-Harvey, Skrzypiec, & Slee, 2012). Productive coping strategies included seeking support from others and making a personal effort to deal with the bullying problem, for example by: finding ways to relax; spending time with

others; and thinking of different ways to solve the problem. Wishful thinking, staying away from school and trying to ignore or avoid the problem, were generally considered to be non-productive responses to bullying. 'Relationship improvement' strategies, such as the victim trying to make friends with the bully, or improve their relationship with the bully, and 'assertive/aggressive responses', like fighting back, and sticking up for oneself were perceived as being of mixed effectiveness. These latter coping strategies were categorised as ambivalent (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012). The absence of specific information about effective coping strategies to deal with cyberbullying underpins some of the work reported here.

3 Current Study's Goal and Approach: Investigating the Content of Peer Support with Regard to Cyberbullying

This study aims to provide an in-depth investigation of the content of peer support with regard to cyberbullying, identifying victims' specific expectations of peer support, and the specific forms of support that peers provide to cyberbullying victims. To achieve these goals, we examined the discussions about cyberbullying recorded in the exchanges of two online support group fora. Studying peer support via the records of online fora offers several advantages compared to using data from surveys and focus group discussions. First, online fora allow a researcher to directly and unobtrusively observe interactions (Kozinets, 2002), instead of asking people to provide a retrospective account of these interactions. This approach generates more natural data compared to data from interviews, focus groups discussions or surveys, which are co-constructed between the researcher and the respondent. Second, this unobtrusive method is particularly advantageous to investigate vulnerable groups (Kozinets, 2002), such as cyberbullying victims, who are often difficult to reach for interviews or focus group discussions.

Although studying the content of peer support offered on online support group fora holds several advantages, this type of support also has characteristics that distinguish it from the peer support sought and provided within adolescents' face-to-face networks. Such online support group interactions could be attractive for specific groups of adolescents and for particular cyberbullying situations. Chung (2013), for example, found that people who are dissatisfied with the social support they receive from their current offline contacts reported a preference for social interactions in online support groups. Online support groups also allow people to access a large and diverse group of support-givers outside their close, face-to-face network (White & Dorman, 2001; Wright, Bell, Wright, & Bell, 2003). Operating as one of this diverse group, a forum user might more easily contact others who have the necessary expertise to provide adequate social support (Walther & Boyd, 2002). Such expertise might include the knowledge gained by being a fellow cyberbullying sufferer, or an 'expert by experience'. One noted disadvantage is that the action possibilities of

peer support providers in an anonymous, online context differ from those available to peers in a face-to-face context. On an online forum, peer support is limited to textual communication, while peers from the victims' face-to-face network can also offer non-verbal support, such as physical displays of affection, and instrumental support such as reporting the aggression to a relevant adult, or talking directly to the bully.

4 Method

For the purpose of this study, 937 cyberbullying message threads were collected from the bullying sections of two online support group fora operated by youth helpline organisations. Thematic data analysis was performed on the message threads to identify themes related to adolescents seeking and providing social support with regard to cyberbullying.

4.1 Data Collection: Sources and Ethical Considerations

The two online support group fora chosen for this investigation both focus on bullying and are operated by youth helpline organizations in Belgium (Flanders), "Awel", and The Netherlands, "De Kindertelefoon". Both online fora are freely accessible and any internet user can view the fora messages. Consent was requested and received from the organisations/online fora providers to allow the study of online fora messages about cyberbullying. Members' consent was not requested, since fora posts are visible to all internet users, and the fora only allow anonymous communication. Seeking members' consent would have required the managers of the online fora to reveal their members' identities, and would have violated the online fora's anonymity conditions. Fora managers actively check users' profiles and posts to ensure that information that might identify a forum member is removed, and posts and profiles are censored where necessary.

4.2 Sample

The online fora of the two youth helpline organisations both contained a specific section on bullying. The bullying section of "Awel" contained 449 message threads, with messages that were posted up to four years prior to the data collection, which was in 2015: thus posts were dated 2011–15. The bullying section of "De Kindertelefoon" contained 488 message threads. Information about the dates of posting was less detailed here: the oldest messages were dated as "posted more than one year ago" which, in context, meant prior to 2014.

Two researchers reviewed the same random sample of 100 threads from the bullying section of each forum, approximately 21% of the entire corpus. They scored the sample messages posted by online fora members according to two inclusion criteria: whether the messages were posted by victims of bullying and whether at least one element of communication technology was implicated in the bullying narrative, as a means of identifying cyberbullying. The researchers initially disagreed upon three messages ($\kappa = 0.98$) and they engaged in discussion to reach a consensus about the inclusion/exclusion of these items. One of the researchers then coded the rest of the corpus totalling 937 threads, according to the agreed inclusion criteria incorporating the results of the final discussion. Ultimately, 62 threads were retained, amounting to 6.6% of the entire corpus of threads within the two fora bullying sections.

All the responses from online fora members, and of the victims themselves, were collected within each thread, providing a narrative of the cyberbullying situation. Moderators' social support responses were included in the sample of relevant comments, but moderator interventions solely pertaining to the forum rules were excluded. Following this process, in addition to the 62 initial victim messages, a total of 30 moderator responses, 360 responses from other online fora members and 46 responses from the victims themselves, were collected. This amounted to a total sample of 498 messages. These messages were then subject to thematic analysis.

4.3 Analysis

For the purpose of this study, a thematic analysis was performed on the 62 initial victim messages, 360 responses of online fora members, and 46 victim responses. Tardy's (1985) social support framework was used, in tandem with the social support categorisations offered by House (1981), in order to identify kinds of peer support sought and provided on the online fora, and allowing a deeper investigation of the content of peer support. In addition, search was made for important themes within the data that could add to this theoretical framework, for instance any identifiable subtypes of initial social support types as provided by House (1981).

Coping strategies mentioned by online fora members were categorised as recommended by all members, discouraged by all members or disputed, in that they were recommended by some members, but discouraged by others. These recommendations were compared with the coping strategies that informed professionals rate as productive, non-productive or ambivalent when it comes to dealing with traditional bullying (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012).

5 Results

In the sample of 62 threads analysed, each message thread always started with a victim telling his/her story about being bullied. These narratives often intertwined

traditional bullying and cyberbullying victimisation. This finding is in line with previous research on cyberbullying, which reveals a large overlap between traditional bullying and cyberbullying (e.g. Chen, Ho, & Lwin, 2015; Cross, Lester, & Barnes, 2015). Victims' stories in the 62 threads under analysis almost always ended with a request for social support (see Sect. 5.1), after which online fora members introduced themselves as support providers (see Sect. 5.2) and/or provided specific support (see Sect. 5.3). Some victims subsequently provided feedback on the peer support offered by online fora members (see Sect. 5.4).

5.1 Victims Seeking Social Support: From General to Specific Support Requests

After they had provided their account of the (cyber)bullying incident, victims often requested social support in a general way, or asked questions related to the specific types of social support they desired. In general social support requests, victims expressed their need for help, or expressed a hope that someone might be able to help, continuing with a request for reactions from other online fora members. Generally, victims also stated that they wanted to find a solution for their problems and were consulting other online fora members to help achieve this. With this end in mind, many victims asked specific questions to obtain social support. Two types of support were particularly valued. On the one hand, informational support was requested with regard to coping strategies (see Sect. 5.1.1). On the other hand, victims sought appraisal support with regard to their specific cyberbullying situation and the actors involved (see Sect. 5.1.2).

5.1.1 Victims' Informational Support Requests

Victims wanted informational support or advice about which coping strategies (House, 1981) they could use to counter traditional bullying and/or cyberbullying. Specific forms of cyberbullying mentioned included: the receipt of hateful messages; cyberbullying with pictures; hacking in the victim's name; threats; blackmail around the posting of nude pictures; and posts to so-called 'slut-shaming' pages (see Chapter 'The Things You Didn't Do': Gender, Slut-Shaming, and the Need to Address Sexual Harassment in Narrative Resources Responding to Sexting and Cyberbullying, by Amy Dobson). Among other requests for advice, victims wondered whether it was possible to report cyberbullying to the police, or to claim compensation for emotional damage, and how they might go about taking such actions. Victims also sought advice on what coping strategies they could use to deal with specific negative consequences of, and reactions to, cyberbullying. These consequences included self-harm, feelings of being scared and insecure, and a fear of being bullied again in the future.

In addition to asking fora members to recommend coping strategies, victims also sought advice on the specific coping strategies that they thought they might use. For example, victims asked if it would be wise to respond to name-calling and threats; to retaliate in other ways, or whether talking to the bully might provide a good solution.

5.1.2 Victims' Appraisal Support Requests

Victims also sought appraisal support, in addition to requesting information. Appraisal support entails victims seeking information to help them evaluate themselves, or their situation (House, 1981). They wanted others to pass judgement on their specific (cyber)bullying situation; their behaviour in that situation; and/or on the bully's behaviour. Often victims found it hard to determine the severity of their situation, either doubting whether they were right to worry about threats, for example, or whether they were wrong not to worry when others, such as teachers, reacted as if the situation was very serious. They searched for answers as to why they had been targeted, what they had done wrong, and why the bully might have acted in that way. Sometimes they sought an attribution of guilt:

> What can I do to stop it and do you think it's me or them?

5.2 Online Fora Members Introducing Themselves as Peer Support Providers

Online fora members frequently expressed an explicit intention to help the victim, or provide advice (informational support) to the victim. Some members even expressed a desire to provide instrumental support (House, 1981), by standing up for the victim, or by trying to reveal cyberbullies' identities. Others said they wanted to establish personal contact with the victim in order to help, but this could not happen due to the rules of the fora. Neither the site nor message threads allow direct personal contact, nor do they permit personal information to be included in posts.

Some members gave information about their capacity to offer help at the same time they declared their willingness to be supportive. Many members introduced themselves as expert helpers, indicating that they: were experienced in helping victims of bullying; had the necessary ICT expertise to deal with cyberbullying; or could be considered to be 'experts by experience' because they were fellow sufferers. A good understanding of what the victim is going through can be seen as an important requirement for providing effective social support.

> I feel sorry for you. I know what it's like to be bullied, I was bullied myself.

Others, however, saw themselves as incapable of helping. These forum members might have been dealing with similar problems themselves, for example, and not yet come up with a solution they felt had worked. Some also felt insecure about the effectiveness of their attempts to offer social support.

5.3 *Online Fora Members Providing Peer Support*

Peer support provided by online fora members was categorised into emotional support, appraisal support, and informational support (House, 1981). Instrumental support that aimed to directly help the victim (House, 1981), such as talking to the bully, could not be provided by online fora members as it was impossible for them to have direct personal contact due to strict rules around anonymity.

5.3.1 Emotional Support Provided by Online Fora Members

Emotional support includes all forms of communication that aim to help the victim feeling better about: themselves; the cyberbullying situation; or, their capacity to cope. A variety of emotional support messages were contained within the data, some of which concurred with examples provided by House (1981; Table 1). These emotional support messages were categorised into five subtypes (see Table 2).

5.3.2 Appraisal Support Provided by Online Fora Members

In offering appraisal support, online fora members provided evaluations of various aspects of the cyberbullying situation and the actors involved. These perspectives helped victims self-evaluate with regard to their specific (cyber)bullying situation, and helped them compare their own social situation with that of other people in equivalent circumstances (House, 1981).

Overall, cyberbullying was evaluated as a negative phenomenon that should not occur and that needs to be stopped. Members' support was not conclusive on two specific aspects of bullying: how to judge the severity of bullying and the legal remedies for cyberbullying, particularly where the bullies are children. While most members outlined some severe consequences that might result from bullying, some members displayed moral disengagement towards cyberbullying. These members minimized the problem, for instance by defining the reported events as 'drama' or 'annoying behaviour', or by minimizing the harm of verbal cyberbullying by comparing it with what they saw as the greater harm caused by physical bullying. Furthermore, online fora members differed in their views as to whether or not cyberbullying constitutes a criminal offense that can be reported to the police and prosecuted. With regard to the nature of cyberbullying specifically, the role of communication technologies was discussed. The internet and social network sites or social platforms—in particular Facebook, Ask.fm and Dox Hotel, an online game platform that allows textual interaction between players—were considered to be negative places where a lot of cyberbullying takes place. This was especially true of Ask.fm, an anonymous Q&A social network site, which was evaluated negatively as a platform for spreading bullying or 'hate', as fora members called it.

> Ask.fm was made to help people, but now it's mainly used for hate and bullying messages.

Table 2 Subtypes of emotional support provided by online fora members, the definition of these subtypes, and sample quotes

Subtype	Definition	Example quote(s)
Affective support	Express affection towards the victim, sometimes with "virtual kisses and hugs" that serve as proxy for physical affection	"*Big hug!xx*"
Empathic support	Express (affective) empathy towards the victim or recognise the victim's negative emotions (cognitive empathy)	Affective empathy: "*…I feel all of your pain and again I felt exactly the same when I was bullied myself.*" Cognitive empathy: *"I understand you are really feeling awful about it…"*
Emotional regulation support	Encourage positive emotions and discourage negative emotions	"*…don't be sad because of these bastards, you can decide for yourself whether you are happy/angry,…*"
Esteem support	Strengthen the victim's self-image or self-esteem	"*…don't forget: you're worth it!*"
Network support	Making the victim feel part of a meaningful network and making him/her feel supported by this network. Online fora members emphasised their own connection with the victim, or a connection between the victim and a larger support network	Emphasising own connection with the victim: "*I wish you all the best, girl. I'm thinking about you!*" Emphasising connection between the victim and a larger support network: "*… You don't have to do this alone, there are plenty of people who stand by your side. Never assume that you stand alone, that's not true!*"

The two main actors in bullying exchanges, the bully and the victim, were evaluated separately and in comparison with each other in terms of the messages in the 62 cyberbullying threads. While bullies were seen as having negative personal characteristics, and being somewhat less worthy than the victim, victims' personal characteristics were positively evaluated in the sense that they were not deemed to be the reason for having been bullied. Moreover, victims' past behaviours and coping strategies were positively evaluated in response to their posts.

> Being a fan of [female singer] is your own choice, right? I don't think they should bully you with that.

Online fora members' evaluations of the actors involved in (cyber)bullying also included attributions of blame. Bullies were usually seen as the people to blame, as they deliberately try to hurt their victim. Some online fora members, however, offered explanations for the bully's behaviour that could possibly weaken the attributed blame. They explained how some bullies might act that way because they are insecure, or have issues such as a bad relationship with their parents, and seek power and status

because they want to feel better about themselves. Other forum members suggested that bullies do not know how to act properly on social network sites such as Facebook, and do not fully realise the impact of their behaviours. As such, cyberbullies were sometimes constructed as ignorant internet users that still need to learn about online social norms and conventions. Although blame was usually attributed to the bully, some fora members also allocated some blame to the victim of cyberbullying, because they chose to use certain social network sites such as Ask.fm, or did inappropriate things, like sending a sexual picture to someone. According to these victim-blaming perceptions, being on the internet and on social network sites such as Ask.fm can be tough, and if a victim cannot deal with that, then he/she should stay away. Effectively, 'if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen'.

In addition to offering appraisal support on (cyber)bullying as a phenomenon, and on the actors involved, online fora members also provided evaluations of the specific (cyber)bullying situations that victims reported. Cyberbullying threats, such as a hacking warning, were judged to be credible or not credible, and the victims' feelings were evaluated according to the perceived credibility of the threat. In some cases, members used their own experiences to evaluate the credibility of the cyberbullying threats made against the victims.

> That [online hacking threat] also happened to my brother and I… [We were talking to a boy] and all of a sudden he got angry and said he would put my Internet down for two years. Meanwhile, a year has passed, so relax.

5.3.3 Informational Support Provided by Online Fora Members

Many online fora members' responses contained informational support or advice with regard to coping strategies. Members recommended specific coping strategies, evaluated the barriers to using certain coping strategies, and provided their evaluations of the coping strategies that victims suggested. Some members used their own experience with certain coping strategies to underpin their advice. Table 3 divides online fora members' evaluations of coping strategies into three columns: recommended by members without any dissent; discouraged by all members without dissent; and disputed usefulness, representing contradictory evaluations. These responses to suggested coping strategies were then compared with the coping strategies for dealing with traditional bullying (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012) rated by informed professionals as either: productive; or, non-productive; or, of disputed usefulness.

Online fora members recommended that victims seek face-to-face support from peers and adults, strategies that informed professionals have judged to be a productive response for dealing with traditional bullying (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012). This recommendation might imply that fora members acknowledge the limitations of online peer support, through encouraging victims to value face-to-face support from credible actors, both peers and adults. At the same time, online fora have the advantage of being available around the clock, night and day, in a way that face-to-face support is not. Adding to the accepted recommendations for dealing with traditional bullies, online fora members also recommended key coping strategies specific to

Table 3 Comparison of evaluations of coping strategies by online fora members and informed professionals

Online fora members' evaluations of coping strategies to deal with (cyber)bullying	Evaluations of coping strategies to deal with traditional bullying by informed professionals (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012)			
	Productive coping strategies	Ambivalent coping strategies	Non-productive coping strategies	Not evaluated by informed professionals
Recommended coping strategies	• Seeking social (instrumental, informational, emotional) support from parents and friends • Seeking instrumental support from the police • Seeking network support (subtype of emotional support) from new friends	/	• Leaving the physical environment (e.g. school)	• Neutral reactions towards the bully • Positive reappraisal or redefinition of the bullying situation • Undertaking training to learn how to deal with bullying • Gathering information on the credibility of a cyber-threat • Blocking the bully • Removing cyberbullying messages • Taking online security prevention measures • Seeking instrumental support from website moderators • Leaving the online environment (e.g. the specific platform) • Changing (social network site) profiles

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

Online fora members' evaluations of coping strategies to deal with (cyber)bullying	Evaluations of coping strategies to deal with traditional bullying by informed professionals (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012)			
	Productive coping strategies	Ambivalent coping strategies	Non-productive coping strategies	Not evaluated by informed professionals
Disputed coping strategies	• Seeking social support from family members (other than parents), teachers, school leaders and mentors/counsellors/social workers	• Talking to the bully (e.g. about why he/she behaves that way) • Reacting assertively towards the bully (e.g. telling the bully to stop) • Reacting aggressively towards the bully (verbally)	/	• Ignoring the bully/doing nothing
Discouraged coping strategies		• Taking physical revenge	• Engaging in self-harm • Suicidal thoughts or actions	• Exposing negative feelings to the bully • Thinking you are not the only one being bullied

cyberbullying, including: blocking the bully; removing (cyber)bullying messages; and, looking for instrumental support from website moderators.

5.4 Victims Providing Feedback to Peer Supporters

Thanks to the affordances of these online fora, and as the bullying narrative unfolded, victims had the opportunity to reply to online members' responses and some provided feedback on how the recommendations had fared. Victims often offered positive feedback. They thanked online fora members for their responses, for their help, and more specifically for their advice (informational support) and their kind words (emotional support). In addition, victims' feedback contained positive evaluations of some advice as being useful, and provided evaluations of recommended coping strategies, such as looking for social support via a school counsellor, as having a positive outcome. Some victims gave negative feedback with regard to coping strategies advised by online fora members, however. Among the advised coping strategies that were negatively evaluated by victims, were: blocking the bully; changing social network site profiles; looking for instrumental support from the police or website moderators; and looking for social support from a mentor or from parents.

> We already contacted the moderators and do you believe that they will do something about it? I can really forget about that…

6 Conclusion

This study investigated the content of adolescents' social (peer) support, as sought and provided, with regard to cyberbullying. It did this by performing thematic analysis of 62 message threads on cyberbullying within the bullying sections of two online fora supported by youth helpline organisations. These two online fora, focusing on bullying, constitute safe spaces within which people who care about bullying, including 'experts by experience', can anonymously exchange stories about past and present events and support each other with regard to (cyber)bullying. Although online peer support differs from face-to-face support in specific aspects, studying the written exchanges that constitute online peer support provides rich data about adolescents' experiences with cyberbullying, and related peer support.

Thematic analysis on the content of anti-cyberbullying threads seeking and providing social support was guided by Tardy's (1985) social support framework, including social support categorisations offered by House (1981). The findings demonstrate that victims sought, and online fora members provided: appraisal support on (cyber)bullying as a phenomenon, or the actors involved; appraisal support related to the victim's specific (cyber)bullying situation; and, informational support on specific coping strategies. Coping strategies recommended by online fora members did not

always align with the views of professionals with expertise in traditional bullying (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012), or with the views of victims themselves. Clearly, additional research is needed to determine which coping strategies are effective for dealing with cyberbullying. Although emotional support was not specifically requested by victims, online fora members provided victims with various kinds of emotional support including affective; empathic; emotion regulation; esteem; and, network support. Positive feedback from victims to online fora members, evaluating their support, suggests that online peer support can be useful for helping victims cope with (cyber)bullying. This is in line with previous findings from studies into online social support for adolescents (Nicholas et al., 2009, 2012).

6.1 Theoretical and Practical Implications and Related Recommendations for Future Research

The current study used Tardy's (1985) social support framework, including the social support types defined by House (1981), in order to identify the dimensions of adolescents' social support online, as sought and provided with regard to cyberbullying. The use of this framework allowed the study to supplement previous qualitative research, mainly focused on content analysis, that investigated online support groups for young people (e.g. Giesbers, Verdonck-de Leeuw, van Zuuren, Kleverlaan, & van der Linden, 2010; Henderson, Rosser, Keogh, & Eccleston, 2012; Love et al., 2012). That previous work has generally lacked a clear conceptual framework covering all facets of social support-seeking and support-provision. Moreover, by defining five different subtypes of emotional support, the framework investigated here attempts to overcome some of the discriminatory issues of social support categories used in previous research on traditional bullying (Matsunaga, 2011). Future quantitative research is needed, nonetheless, to validate this newly generated categorisation of emotional support.

By investigating the kinds and content of peer support, sought and provided with regard to cyberbullying, we contributed to existing cyberbullying research that might tend to equate peer support with 'talking with friends' (e.g. Dehue et al., 2008; Jacobs et al., 2015; Livingstone et al., 2011). Findings from this study show that victims of cyberbullying wanted online fora members' help to evaluate their cyberbullying situation, and sought their advice on how to cope with cyberbullying and its negative effects. Although not explicitly requested, the emotional support provided was evaluated positively by victims. Cyberbullying intervention programmes can use this knowledge to provide more targeted support to victims, or more targeted advice to peers on how to support a cyberbullying victim. A large research gap remains, however. This concerns the lack of evidence on the effectiveness of specific types of peer support in reducing cyberbullying victimisation and its negative effects on the victim's well-being. With regard to peers' advice on coping strategies in particular, limited knowledge exists on how effective specific coping strategies are in helping

victims deal with cyberbullying (Perren et al., 2012; Raskauskas & Huynh, 2015). Consequently, future cyberbullying research should examine the effectiveness of peer support, and usefulness of specific coping strategies, upon reducing victimisation in cyberbullying and lessening the negative outcomes experienced in terms of the victim's well-being.

6.2 Limitations and Related Recommendations for Future Research

Although this research used an innovative approach to study the content of online peer support with regard to cyberbullying, it has some limitations that need to be recognised. The two online fora offered by the relevant youth helpline organisations were chosen based on key similarities (see Sect. 4.1), but they also differed significantly in some aspects. In one forum, moderators also served as active providers of social support: in the other forum they only regulated the discussions according to forum rules. Although moderators' social support responses were not analysed in this study, they may have affected the online fora discussions. In-depth investigation of the collected data also reveals that there are differences in language use between the fora, possibly reflecting country-specific cultural differences; and further differences in terms of the degree of interaction between members within the same thread, such as where members respond to other members' responses.

With regard to the type of data collected, it must be acknowledged that peer support provided in online support group fora differs from peer support given in face-to-face contexts (see Sect. 3). Furthermore, online support group fora are not the only venue through which adolescents seek social support online when they are being, or have been, cyberbullied. Social network sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube are among the many online platforms through which cyberbullying takes place, and through which victims can seek support. Future research might aim to investigate victims' posts about cyberbullying on a range of online sites, exploring the follow-on discussions on these social media platforms. Such work could discover whether the online social support sought and provided on these social media platforms differs from the support sought and provided in the anti-bullying online support group fora.

Finally, there were some disadvantages in collecting data from online support group fora when compared with data collection from interviews, focus groups and surveys. While the latter data collection methods allow researchers to obtain data related to specific research questions, data from online fora discussions are 'as given', and do not allow additional probing. Furthermore, as online fora communication is typically anonymous or conducted via nicknames, researchers cannot collect background information on respondents. Future research could address some of these limitations by combining analyses of online fora discussions with online interviews with cyberbullying victims, gathering any necessary background information and

asking further probing questions about, for example, their experiences with peer support in their face-to-face network.

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Designs on Narrative: A Design-Based Method to Elicit Young People's Narratives About Electronic Image-Sharing Issues and Interventions

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Abstract Young people's perspectives on their electronic image-sharing practices, its consequences and 'solutions', are needed to create effective and sustainable interventions to address negative outcomes of this behaviour, such as when images are used to facilitate cyberbullying. The aim of this chapter is to describe and reflect upon the structure and process of a qualitative design-based narrative knowledge production method piloted as part of a larger mixed-methods investigation into young people's electronic image-sharing experiences. The method: Sixty-eight Year 8/9 students in Perth, Australia, worked in groups to complete an adapted Design Thinking process, designing mobile apps that embodied their recommendations for addressing the electronic image-sharing issues they deemed most important. While the scale of the project demanded expertise in terms of structuring, training and implementation, the narrative structure innate to the Design Thinking process offered an integrated picture of electronic image-sharing problems and their related solutions from young people's perspectives.

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1 Introduction

Young people experience many positive outcomes from sharing images via mobile phones and on social network sites, such as building and maintaining relationships and increased self-confidence. Unfortunately, negative outcomes can also be experienced in the form of legal, mental, social and health-related harms (Barnes et al., in submission). One main channel through which these harms emerge is when shared images are used in acts of cyberbullying. It is important to gain a better understanding from young people's perspectives of the dynamics of electronic image-sharing (EIS), its benefits and problems, and the interventions that might effectively mitigate the harms associated with EIS. The design field, specifically Design Thinking, offers a powerful process for eliciting EIS narratives from young people. This chapter reports upon an innovative research approach derived by adapting a Design Thinking process, used in commercial and public sectors to co-design services and products, as a narrative knowledge production method for the research context. This design-based method for producing narrative-based knowledge was piloted in Phase 1 of the Cyber Savvy Study (CSS) (Telethon Kids Institute, 2016). CSS is a four-phase mixed-methods intervention-based study that investigates young people's EIS experiences and the opportunities they perceive for positive interventions that can avert or mitigate potential harm. The chapter starts with a brief literature review on EIS and its connection to cyberbullying. It goes on to characterise the social health challenges that result from cyberbullying, including those related to EIS, as wicked problems. We then provide an introduction to the Design Thinking process as a means of addressing wicked problems, followed by a discussion of the narrative features of the basic Design Thinking (DT) process: explaining how it elicits a group story from problem definition through to problem intervention. The remainder of the chapter: describes the adapted DT-based narrative knowledge production method; offers a brief summary of the findings, while noting that detailed findings will be reported in a forthcoming publication; and, concludes with a discussion of insights gleaned through piloting the research method described.

2 The Role of Electronic Image-Sharing in Cyberbullying

The Internet is integral to young people's lives as a means to keep in touch with friends, seek entertainment, share experiences, learn, have fun, build relationships and experiment with social identities (Wood, Bukowski, & Lis, 2016). Online communication through Social Networking Sites (SNS) is one of the most prevalent and frequent internet-based activities for young people internationally (Mitchell, Patrick, Heywood, Blackman, & Pitts, 2014; Tsitsika, Janikian, Schoenmakers, & Wo, 2014). Snapchat, Instagram, YouTube, Twitter and Facebook are the SNS most commonly used by children and teens (Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA), 2016; Piwek & Joinson, 2016). Online communication is shifting

from text-based communication to visual communication as demonstrated through the sharing of images and videos (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar, 2016). In Australia, for example, the sharing of online communication content in the form of photos and videos has risen from 18 to 45% between 2011 and 2015 (ACMA, 2016). SNS activity most commonly involves communications related to images of oneself and others, including posting, sharing, commenting on and tagging those images (Piwek & Joinson, 2016).

Young people produce and consume visual digital communication via SNS, interacting with family, peers, community and broader online contexts, including strangers (Wood et al., 2016). Barnes et al. (in submission) argue that the "way young people engage with digital images is influenced by a variety of concerns and goals relating to their social, emotional and developmental needs" (p. 3). They identify the following five categories of motivation for EIS: Identity and self-expression; entertainment, celebration and news; flirting, attraction and relationships; friendships, family and support; and self-esteem and social approval.

While EIS has many positive outcomes for young people, problems can arise when young people underestimate or fail to consider the potential for negative outcomes of sharing some images. Cyberbullying, risks to personal safety and legal problems are all possible outcomes of ill-considered EIS (Barnes et al., in submission). In the context of this chapter, the availability of images via SNS makes young people more vulnerable to cyberbullying (Reed et al., 2016). Broadly, cyberbullying is defined here as "an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself" (Smith et al., 2008, p. 376). While cyberbullying takes many forms, young people report non-verbal 'visual' cyberbullying as having more negative impacts upon them than other forms of cyberbullying, or traditional face-to-face bullying (Cuadrado-gordillo & Fernández-antelo, 2016; Staude-Müller, Hansen, & Voss, 2012). Cyberbullying with images may occur through the distribution of unpleasant images/videos on websites, the sharing of altered 'photo-shopped' images, phone images/videos of intimate scenes, and phone images/videos of violent scenes (Menesini, Nocentini, & Calussi, 2011). A survey of 1,277 young people revealed that the misuse of images and video material, or the visual disclosure of secrets, were particularly distressing and had the power to influence their everyday life (Staude-Müller et al., 2012).

The nature of the internet means that electronic images can spread very quickly to unintended audiences, resulting in harmful emotional, social and legal consequences for both the sender and receiver (Cooper, Quayle, Jonsson, & Svedin, 2016). Some of the consequences are loss of privacy and associated safety, damage to present and future reputation and employment opportunities, being expelled from school, criminal conviction and possible inclusion on a sexual offenders' register, social ostracism, and damage to self-esteem and mental health (Barnes et al., in submission).

Literature is limited regarding the prevalence and motivations of young people (mid-teens and younger) creating, distributing and consuming electronic images, as well as about the contextual factors influencing their behaviours and the consequences of these (Barnes et al., in submission). Studies tend to focus on sexting, which is

considered a specific image-sharing behaviour; alternatively they tend to focus on young adults (18–25) and university students (18+) (Piwek & Joinson, 2016; Reed et al., 2016), reflecting the particular ethical challenges around research with children. In order to develop and implement interventions that can effectively mitigate the potential damage caused by EIS, research with young people is needed to develop an informed understanding of the behaviour and to craft interventions. As the Telethon Kids Institute, Western Australia, notes: "[adolescents] know better than any adult what is occurring among young people their age in cyber space, and are also more able to recognise and propose what recommendations will be acceptable, feasible for and 'doable' by them" (Telethon Kids Institute, 2016, p. 6).

3 Electronic Image-Sharing: A Social Health Issue as Wicked Problem

Social health issues generally belong to a domain of problems referred to as 'wicked' problems, with wicked used in the sense of being 'tricky' and as oppositional to 'tame' (Buchanan, 1992; Harris, Brown, & Russell, 2010). Wicked problems are socially complex issues that render themselves tricky in terms of both finding common problem definitions, and in identifying and implementing agreed-upon solutions. First formalised as a concept by Rittel and Webber (1973), and subsequently refined in use by many authors, wicked problems have the following features. They: are socially complex rather than just technically complex; have multiple definitions depending on one's perspective; have many interdependencies and causes; and, have no single or objectively best solution, only better, or worse, or just good enough. Further, even when interventions are identified that might address wicked problems, they are difficult to implement effectively because they: often lead to unforeseen consequences due to social interdependencies; are unstable because the issue continues to evolve; are rarely within the responsibility or capability of any one person, community or organisation to address; and, usually require one or more stakeholders to change their behaviours (Australian Public Service Commission, 2007).

Many persistent news topics are wicked problems. These include, for example, climate change, indigenous disadvantage, and illnesses such as obesity (Australian Public Service Commission, 2007). As a social phenomenon, EIS is a wicked problem. It has multiple definitions depending on one's perspective: for example, is it the creation of images, or sharing of images without authorization from creator/subject? It has many interdependencies and causes, including a web of individual motivations, the opportunities for communication, social norms and pressures, and a range of positive and negative consequences (Barnes et al., in submission). It is an unstable problem because behaviours and technologies continue to evolve rapidly, as noted by the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA, 2016). It is not within the responsibility or capability of any one person, community or organisation to address, since it involves coordination of action across young people, parents,

schools, SNS, regulatory and legal institutions, and credible solutions all require multiple stakeholders to change their behaviours (Cross et al., 2018).

4 The Use of Design Thinking to Explore and Address Wicked Problems

The growing literature indicates that collaborative approaches are often preferred for addressing wicked problems (Conklin, 2006; Roberts, 2000), as they enable the diversity of stakeholders to collectively understand (1) problem definitions; (2) problem dynamics; and, (3) generate potential problem interventions. Collaborative investigatory processes are not expected to result in agreement on problem definition and best intervention but, rather, that "stakeholders understand each other's positions well enough to have intelligent dialogue about the different interpretations of the problem, and to exercise collective intelligence about how to solve it" (Conklin, 2006, p. 19).

Design Thinking (DT) is a set of strategies, processes and practices developed in the Design and Management fields specifically to guide collaborative group co-design with wicked problems (Johansson-Sköldberg, Woodilla, & Çetinkaya, 2013). Globally, private and public sector actors have increasingly employed DT in wicked problem-solving (Beacham & Shambaugh, 2011; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2016). The DT process is expected to (1) generate new knowledge about a problem; (2) develop tangible 'real-world' interventions; and, (3) build problem-solving capacity for participants (Liedtka, 2015).

At the simplest level, the DT approach involves facilitated, structured processes in which groups of participants, or stakeholders, are assisted in dealing with multiple stages involving activities that stimulate learning (Liedtka, 2015). The shared activities and learning help participants to define problems and co-create interventions and 'solutions'. While there are many variations, most DT processes iterate through five main sequential phases (Kueh & Thom, 2018), which typically occur over a period of weeks or months (Kimbell, 2011). The first phase is ***problem framing and contextualisation,*** which involves topic exploration, issue or problem definition, examination of problem dynamics, and scoping the problem's context. The second phase is ***intervention ideation*** in which participants develop and document ideas that might assist in providing a solution, or lessening the impact of the problem. The third phase is ***prototyping,*** which involves the creation of tangible examples or prototypes of several proposed interventions, or potential solutions, enabling experimentation and further development of the intervention. The fourth phase is ***intervention implementation,*** in which one or more promising prototypes are further developed and implemented as interventions in the real-world context; thereby enabling testing and collecting of feedback by the users concerning the proposed solution. The fifth phase is ***reframing and adapting*** the intervention after it has been in place: participants check the validity of the intervention, mark changes in thinking, identify shifts or

changes in focus, monitor changes in the context or problem, and ascertain learning progress and any remaining needs.

5 Narrative Features of the Design Thinking Process

The DT process can be characterised as one that elicits a group narrative. It constitutes "talk organized around significant or consequential experiences, with characters undertaking some action (Russell & Lucarello, 1992), within a context (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990), with implicit or explicit beginning and end points (Gergen & Gergen, 1988), and significance for the narrator and her or his audiences" (Miller-Day & Hecht, 2013, p. 2). Specifically, the narrative elicited in the DT process is talk organised around a wicked problem in which the group collectively discusses: What problems arise from what actions or behaviours? What are the underlying dynamics that cause a gap between actual and desired circumstances? What are the most pressing problems of this behaviour? What interventions might mitigate or resolve the problems? What are the most promising interventions? How can they be prototyped? And finally, which interventions actually, in practice, address the problems identified? This narrative reveals participants' mental models of cause and consequence (Kreiswirth, 2000) in relation to wicked problems and their interventions.

Depending on how it is conducted, the DT process can illuminate both individual and group narratives, consistent with key aims of narrative research. DT aims to reveal individuals' subjective experience in the context of broader socio-cultural dynamics and discourses (De Fina, 2013; Page, Harper, & Frobenius, 2013). The coincidence of revealing individual narrative construction within a context of group narrative construction, within the DT process, offers an opportunity to uncover "different and perhaps conflicting layers of meaning, bring them into constructive dialogue with each other, and to understand more about individual and social change" (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013, p. 2). Individual narratives are articulated and revised and, in turn, those revised individual narratives influence an emerging group narrative (Georgakopoulou, 2007). Structured DT processes offer a means through which to reveal both the group narratives and their process of co-construction: who produces them and how, their structure, and how they are received (accepted or contested) (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013). In this way, DT approaches offer a window into the social dynamics occurring in the real-world contexts within which social health problems arise.

6 The Design Thinking Challenge (DTC): A Design-Based Narrative Knowledge Production Method

6.1 The Context: A Qualitative Narrative Method for the Formative Phase of the Cyber Savvy Study's Aims and Structure

The Cyber Savvy Study (CSS) was a four-phase, four-year (2014–2017) mixed-methods intervention-based investigation that aimed to engage young people (Years 8/9) as co-researchers in developing interventions to help them, their families, educators, and other practitioners, to improve decision-making and minimize risks associated with EIS (Telethon Kids Institute, 2016). In Phase 1 of the CSS, a design-based narrative knowledge production method was piloted to (1) establish a strong network of end-users to participate as co-researchers throughout the research process; and, (2) expand the currently limited pool of empirical evidence regarding the nature and extent of young people's EIS behaviours, and their ideas for enhancing benefits and minimizing dangers of image-sharing. Of note, the CSS Phase 1 was formative, in terms of building knowledge, and not a means for creating interventions to test. Instead, the ideas generated in Phase 1 were used to inform interventions developed and tested in Phases 2–4 of the CSS.

The DT-based method developed for use in the CSS was 'fit to purpose' (Bold, 2012; Groundwater-Smith, Dockett, & Bottrell, 2015), meaning that it was structured to meet three key requirements. First, the method needed to structure in the elicitation of a narrative around the wicked problem of EIS. A robust understanding of the mental models illuminated by participants' narratives was intended to target potential disruption points in the problem dynamics that would offer the most effective interventions to be developed in subsequent CSS phases. Second, the method needed to substantively and actively engage young people as the end-users of the research intervention. The means of engagement needed to suit this vulnerable group's (young people aged 13–15 years) cognitive and emotional needs (Groundwater-Smith et al., 2015). Specifically, the method should: (1) involve a variety of multisensory communication modes, such as visual and spatial/physical as well as written and verbal interactions, to engage all-of-a-person and all participants: (2) involve a high level of interactivity among peers; and, (3) generally be perceived as fun by research participants (Higginbottom & Liamputtong, 2015; Ware, 2008). Finally, the method needed to enable group exploration and generate what Conklin (2006) terms the "intelligent dialogue" necessary to learn about EIS as a socially-constructed wicked health issue, enabling the formulation of more-informed intervention recommendations (Conklin, 2006).

The remainder of this chapter will focus on describing the DT process adapted for use as a means of producing narrative knowledge in the CSS Phase 1 investigation. In the research, this phase was referred to as the Design Thinking Challenge (DTC).

6.2 *The Design Thinking Challenge: Overview*

From among many DT process models, we selected a simple model known as the Double Diamond method (Technology Strategy Board & UK Design Council, 2005; UK Design Council, 2007) (Fig. 1). Each phase of the Double Diamond method is included in Fig. 1, annotated with its key objectives and with the adapted breakdown of sequenced activity for piloting in the CSS.

The Design Thinking Challenge (DTC) was used to elicit young people's narratives around their experiences of EIS, and the interventions they suggested for enhancing the benefits of, and mitigating any damage from, this behaviour. Participants' narrative responses were elicited by following the Double-Diamond process

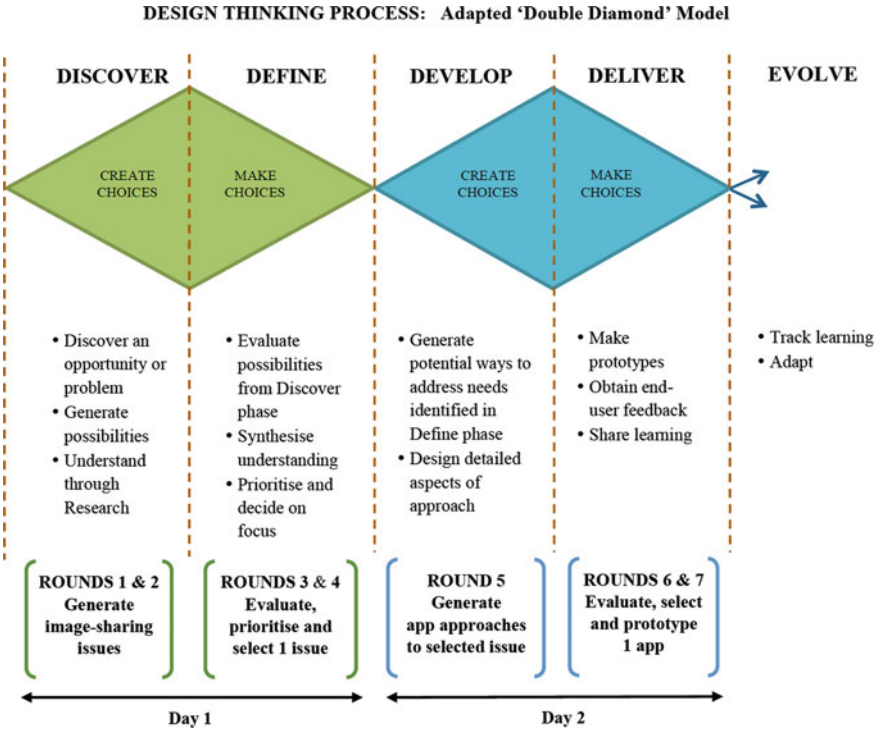

Fig. 1 The Double Diamond design process model adapted for the CSS (adapted from Technology Strategy Board & UK Design Council, 2005)

over its first four phases: EIS issues were **discovered**, clearly **defined** and prioritised, potential solutions were **developed** and selected and prototyped solutions **delivered**. (Note: The fifth phase, to **evolve** the intervention further, was not incorporated into the pilot.) In order to implement this process model with the 68 young people involved, who were working in facilitated groups, the four phases were disaggregated into seven rounds. The groups were invited and supported to explore the following questions: Round 1 and 2 asked: What benefits and problems arise from EIS? Rounds 3 and 4 investigated: What are the most pressing benefits or problems? and, What are the underlying dynamics that give rise to those benefits and problems? Round 5's focus was: What range of interventions do, or might, effectively address those benefits or problems? And, Round 6 and 7 enquired: What are the most promising interventions in theory or concept? How might those interventions be made tangible through prototyping action(s) and activities?

6.3 Design Thinking Challenge Participants and Group Composition

Sixty-eight Year 8/9 students, aged 13–15 years, participated in the DTC along with 15 chaperones from the school staff, representing the 15 Perth metropolitan area Catholic and Independent schools that consented to participate in the larger CSS (Telethon Kids Institute, 2016). The Design Thinking Challenge student participants were selected from the schools taking part based on Principals' identification of the students as having previously demonstrated interest or ability in school leadership. Twelve design groups (ten student and two staff groups) of seven to eight co-designers were composed to ensure heterogeneity in both school affiliation and gender balance.

Strong management and facilitation were required during the DTC to coordinate the many participants and integrated activities that constituted the research process. Each design group was supported with its own **facilitator** (explained below) and **observer**. The **observer** recorded their observations about how participants interacted with the design process, utilising a purpose-built observation guide on which they had been briefed. The **Master of Ceremonies** progressed the overall DTC flow and maintained the energy of the event by directing transitions between activities and time-keeping, and by facilitating Information and Energiser sessions that were interspersed between design rounds. A **judging panel**, composed of two app development professionals and two young adults, evaluated the different groups' DTC outputs. Finally, a **psychologist** was present throughout the process to address any distress participants might experience as they discussed the sensitive topic of EIS during their participation in the DTC.

The success of the DTC depended on the effectiveness of the group **facilitators**. As a consequence, significant resources were dedicated to training and supporting the people in these key roles. The DTC facilitators (n = 13), for the 12 groups, were in their 20s, and currently or previously attending a tertiary institution, or working in

the health sector, or with DT processes. All facilitators were women, despite efforts to attain a gender mix. Training involved: (1) preparatory readings on group facilitation principles, on EIS among young people, on research processes to promote youth voice, and on the DT processes, and (2) induction and instruction, over two half-day training sessions, to develop the facilitation skills most relevant to activities in each of DTC's seven stages, as detailed in the facilitators' round by round facilitation manual.

6.4 The Design Thinking Challenge Process: Round by Round

The DTC took place over a two-day Cyber Savvy Summit in Perth, Western Australia. Between the hours of 9.00 am to 3.00 pm each day on each of two successive days, 12 design groups were engaged in seven rounds (Fig. 1) of facilitated design activities. In Day 1, each group prioritised conceptual work upon one EIS issue for which, in Day 2, they created a tangible solution in the form of a paper-based prototype mobile phone/tablet application.

The objective, the activity, the output, the duration, and the key facilitator intervention techniques for each of the DTC's seven rounds are explained below. There is also a description of the Information Sessions that were interleaved between rounds, to provide 'just in time' information or skills related to EIS, to design, and to leadership; along with the energiser activities that helped to refresh, refocus and build rapport between participants.

The **Discover Phase**: This phase began with information sessions to ensure that participants had some basic understanding of what they would do during the DTC and why. **Information Session 1** (35 min) provided an introduction to DT in which students were oriented to the DTC, using video examples of young people engaged in a design process and a brief overview of the DT ideas and steps. **Information Session 2 (**10 min) introduced the concept of brainstorming and engaged students in visual activities aimed at building the capacity needed throughout the DTC process. The Discover Phase was separated into two rounds, enabling the occurrence of both individual and group-level processes. In **Round 1**, focussing on **Individual EIS Ideation** (10 min), the facilitator prompted co-designers to work as individuals, identifying and recording as many benefits and problems they could imagine that could arise from EIS, recording each idea on a separate Post-it in words, phrases or images. This brainstorming activity continued in **Round 2**, the **Group EIS Ideation** (30 min) in which co-designers were asked to share two of their individually-generated ideas with the group, which then continued by generating ideas collectively while recording the ideas, recounted and developing, on butcher's paper. Facilitators promoted divergent thinking (McCrae, 1987) to maximise their group's generation of ideas, and to prevent evaluation and judgement regarding the quality or usefulness of those ideas. Facilitators used intervention techniques to open up thinking and discussion

with regard to a range of benefits and problems from EIS, to refocus conversation on idea generation, and to move away from idea evaluation or app development, and to ensure no accidental personal disclosures were discussed.

The **Define Phase**: In preparation for Round 3, **Information Session 3, Categorisation** (10 min) engaged co-designers in an activity to develop the capacity to generate alternative schemas or themes by which items can be grouped. The Define Phase was separated into two rounds, encouraging participants to reflect upon and engage in dialogue about the EIS issues that had previously been raised to understand better the problem definition and dynamics of what constituted problem use of EIS, prior to selecting just one issue to focus on for the remainder of the DTC. Thus, in the actual **Round 3** activity, entitled **Group Evaluation of Ideas** (35 min), facilitators promoted this exploration by asking each group to propose as many alternative ways as possible of categorising Round 2's EIS issues. In particular, this group discussion revolved around how issues were similar to and different from each other. By round's end, groups had organised their ideas according to their preferred grouping schema. Facilitators guided this convergent thinking process by probing for clarification of grouping approaches and for relevance of categories. Building on Round 3 evaluation and grouping efforts, the **Round 4, Group Idea Prioritisation and Selection** activity (35 min) saw groups ultimately define just one single EIS idea, from those generated in Rounds 1–3, to focus upon in their app development activities during the remainder of the DTC. Each group engaged in discussion, drawings and voting exercises to accomplish this. Facilitators guided this convergent thinking exercise by: listening for common ground in decisions and reflecting back to the group; probing; shifting negative input; and, refocusing the task if designers moved onto idea generation for app approaches or development.

The **Develop Phase** was introduced by **Information Session 4, Communication Modes** (15 min). With this information, co-designers learned about concepts of effective presentation via the '3 Vs of communication': visual, vocal and verbal. This presentation was timed to prepare co-designers for group interaction and the development of presentations that was scheduled in Rounds 5–7. The design goal of **Round 5, Group App Ideation** (30 min), was to Develop as many approaches as possible for addressing or solving their priority EIS issue. A constraint was placed upon their potentials for intervention: students were required to address their main EIS issue in the form of a paper-based mobile application, or app, with prototypes to be constructed out of paper. While this design constraint could have taken many forms, the solution offered was narrowed to an app because of the popularity of apps among young people, and because it was an intervention form that could aid young people in decision-making across all spheres of their lives: school, home and in social circles beyond the influence of adults. Each group brainstormed the ways in which an app could be used to address their priority EIS issue, with collective discussion recorded on butcher's paper, and co-designers also encouraged to write and draw on post-its and paper to develop and communicate their ideas to each other. Facilitators encouraged this divergent thinking by: refocusing discussion if shifting towards evaluation and away from idea generation; querying to explore all

approaches to developing an app; and, dispersing side conversations as needed to support group process.

The **Deliver Phase**. This phase was split into two rounds to delineate the group selection of an app approach from the prototyping of that approach. **Round 6, Group App Idea Prioritisation and Selection** (10 min), involved discussion and voting exercises which resulted in groups selecting just one app-based solution approach for them to prototype in Round 7. Facilitators encouraged group decision-making through refocusing and voting techniques. In **Round 7, Group App Prototype Development** (50 min), groups aimed to Deliver a prototype of the app-based solution they had developed in Rounds 5 and 6. In this final DTC phase, groups had 2 objectives: (1) Make a paper-based prototype of their proposed app solution (40 min); and (2) prepare a 5-min presentation about that app for other participants in the DTC (10 min). A paper-based app is a series of pieces of paper in which each sheet frames a mock-up screen shot of the app as the user navigates from screen to screen. This round of the Challenge saw groups using multiple modes of communication to develop ideas including discussion, mind mapping of ideas, sketches of screen layouts on butchers paper, physical acting and preparations for the presentation. Students used these paper-based mock-ups for their app in their presentations to other participating groups to explain its purpose vis-à-vis EIS, and demonstrate its functionality. Facilitators guided and prompted each group to organise their time to, operationalize their paper-based app concepts, maximise participation and address dominant participant behaviour. Groups were encouraged to self-organise and collectively multi-task, allocating tasks to group members according to individual strengths, with some participants drafting series of app sketches, while others drew final app screens, and others developed the presentation.

App presentations and awards (70 min). Each group presented their paper-based app prototype to the Challenge participants and a panel of judges. The judges selected the best app in terms of (1) the fit of the app to the design issue, (2) the app concept and prototype and (3) the group app presentation. Each member of the winning design team was awarded a $200 music store gift voucher. After the presentation of the DTC awards, the Challenge ended with a range of activities encouraging student reflection and feedback. Students also offered a range of recommendations for further activities relating to EIS in the school setting. Facilitators and observers also participated in two debrief sessions just post-DTC.

DTC Data and Analysis

Data were collected in multiple forms during the DTC including:

- Video/audio recording of the overall Challenge forum
- Audio recording at each group table
- Scribed written/graphic recording of each table's discussion
- Visual artefacts for each group at each round
- Completed observation guides for each group
- Video/audio recording of final app presentations
- Photographs of highlights at each DTC round

Details of the DTC analysis and findings will be presented in full in a forthcoming publication. Due to limited space in this chapter, we can only offer a summary of the findings, focussing the discussion below on the method's advantages and disadvantages.

7 Summary of Findings

The student design groups produced ten diverse apps addressing the EIS issue deemed most important. The paper-based app prototypes and presentations demonstrated the groups' understanding of EIS issues, and their creativity in generating tangible solutions to those issues. The apps (with names such as 'Leash', 'Teen Screen', 'Moody' and 'Safemate') reflected three general categories of solutions to prioritised issues, offering assistance in (1) making real-time decisions about which images are appropriate to share, including not being unkind, sexually explicit or otherwise illegal; (2) general strategies and easy access support on how to manage online situations; and (3) how to assert control over access to and distribution of a user's information. These prototype apps employed a range of specific approaches (the 'how') to address each group's priority EIS issue (the 'what'). The following paragraph outlines the teens' ideas about how to address the three categories of challenge dealt with by their prototype apps.

To assist in determining which images are appropriate to share, app functionality might include automated screening for appropriateness, possibly by measuring the percentage of skin visible in a photo, suggestions to make an image appropriate if it is not, or proxy measures such as preventing EIS if the user is showing recognisable signs of being in a bad, or angry, mood.

To assist in determining how to manage online situations, app functionality might include a summarized list of terms and conditions of SNS apps using language by and for young people, concrete guidelines about what to do and not to do on various SNS apps, or anonymous text or voice messaging of nominated adults/teachers to report problems or request input on managing complex social situations online.

To assist in asserting control over access to and distribution of a user's personal information, the app functionality might include scan/report/alerts on image forwarding/tagging/screenshot, including geo-locational tagging, facilitating removal of unauthorised postings, and allowing better monitoring of security and privacy settings across electronic devices.

The knowledge produced through the DT process was used to develop a four-part intervention for Cyber Savvy Study Phase 2, and trialled and translated in Phases 3 and 4. The intervention included components for a whole school initiative, parents, curriculum for Year 8, and a mobile application. The mobile application—called ImageUp—drew upon the functionality of the DTC students' app prototypes. ImageUp aims to encourage young people to think twice before they post images to SNS that may be damaging to themselves or others. The user can select images to send to multiple SNS at the same time, watches a 15 second

entertaining message about EIS, is prompted to reconsider whether to send or not send, and a record is kept of images not sent, where the images sent were posted, and the likes/tweets and comments received. ImageUp, as part of the CSS intervention, has been trialled with young people and analysis of feedback is in progress. With CSS Phase 4 ending in 2017, the follow-up CSS papers will also be published after that date.

8 Insights from Piloting the Design Thinking Challenge as a Knowledge Production Method

It was complex and challenging to adapting the DT process to be a knowledge production method. The process revealed both strengths and potential liabilities—the proverbial double-edged sword. A few of these insights are discussed below.

Reflecting on the DTC as a possible narrative-based approach, fully engaging groups of young people to elicit their narratives about EIS, the method was promising. First, we observed broad and sustained participation of co-designers across all rounds. The wide range of activities and communication media (speaking, writing, drawing, making and performing) made participation accessible, engaging all of the students at some point during the DTC, and most students for much of the time. In addition, students communicated their thinking about EIS, as well as demonstrating some emotional experiences relating to EIS during their participation.

Second, the narrative properties of the DT process were confirmed. We elicited narratives as justifications for, and as embodied in, the apps; as well as observing the iterative construction of a group narrative across rounds. The intensive two-day DTC enabled the completion of one full story cycle, from problem, to problem dynamic, to solution. Also in evidence was a student-centred learning process as groups created, reflected, engaged in dialogue and, in turn, adapted their narratives and creations. In this research context, adaptation involves complex planning and execution, expertise in DT, and the implementation of facilitation principles and practices.

In planning other research built upon the processes described, DT expertise is required to compose the sequence of complimentary activities in keeping with the aims of the four DT process phases. One method change for any future use would be to expand the relative duration for prototyping, peer feedback and the preparation of presentations. This insight responds to the fast learning observed during this hands-on, multi-modal phase; and is also a result of explicit student input. A strong focus should also be placed on the selection of process constraints in a way that permits the creativity inherent in the process, while reflecting the needs of the research, in terms of clear aims coupled with resource constraints.

For this Challenge, we adapted the DT process for a research context in two key ways: Collapsing the time-frame of the four DT phases to two days from weeks, as a means of limiting the time students were absent from school; and constraining the solution media to the development of an app while identifying the ultimate aim of the DTC as a component of Phase 1 of the Cyber Savvy Study as eliciting experience, *not*

producing a design. Imagination was prioritised over feasibility considerations. The aim of eliciting students' EIS experience also informed other planning and execution decisions. The overall CSS research team resolved that outcome feasibility would become a central feature of the development of an intervention in CSS Phase 2.

Strong, design-focused facilitation skills were clearly necessary in the execution of the Challenge, particularly as a means to minimise bias through the facilitator leading the group; either actively directing discussion or selectively ignoring input. The energy and creative output of groups tended to reflect the capability of the group's facilitator. Future use of this method will expand facilitator training to include more facilitation practice and feedback prior to the DTC event. The two days of the Challenge itself proved a sufficient time frame to collect rich data on young people's experience, but achieving this end required extensive coordination of time and resources at and between the whole event level, including the MC and research staff, and at each table, including facilitators, co-designers and observers.

9 Conclusion

This chapter described a design-based narrative knowledge production method, which was termed the Design Thinking Challenge. The DTC was a data-gathering component of the Cyber Savvy Study, conducted by the Telethon Kids Institute in Western Australia. Sixty-eight Year 8/9 students worked in 10 groups within the Design Thinking Challenge to explore their understandings of the benefits and potential harms of Electronic Image-Sharing. The chapter discussed the relevance of this narrative elicitation approach to exploring Electronic Image-Sharing and consequences, including cyberbullying, and reflected on lessons from experimenting with this data-gathering approach. Further work is needed to adapt the Design Thinking process as a formal narrative-elicitation method, including addressing resource requirements, and evaluating process constraints and their effects in terms of limiting the usefulness of the study. Even so, this Design Thinking-based method offers useful pointers for the future in terms of its narrative features, and the ways in which it engaged adolescents in a prolonged consideration of the practices and implications of, and potential remedies for, negative effects of sharing personal images.

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Part IV
Narratives in Cyberbullying Interventions Aimed at Young People

Storytelling as a Liminal Space: Using a Narrative Based Participatory Approach to Tackle Cyberbullying Among Adolescents

Irene White, Mairéad Foody and James O'Higgins Norman

Abstract Cyberbullying in the adolescent years can have a devastating impact on mental health and the social and emotional development of teens. Responses to the issue have been widespread. While many whole school programmes include elements such as role modelling, few interventions appear to use a participatory approach with adolescents. This chapter considers the use of narrative based participatory approaches that capture and utilise the student voice. It is suggested that these approaches be added as creative, complementary components of whole school anti-bullying programmes. Drawing on Turner's concept of liminality and Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed model, we propose a creative process that places the adolescent voice at the centre of anti-bullying initiatives and advocate for a return to the development of more bottom-up approaches to school-based interventions. In line with United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) Articles 12 and 13, we suggest that adopting a participatory approach that invites and supports adolescents to tell their own stories is an opportunity for schools to give voice to students and to consult them in making decisions about themselves. The practice of drawing on students' own stories and personal accounts can have a cathartic and empowering effect on participants. We contend that such an approach may provide more powerful points of entry to discussions on cyberbullying, and ultimately a more transformative experience for participants, than that offered by approaches that preclude the student voice or by participatory approaches that require less creative input and less social and emotional investment.

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1 Introduction

Emerging data show that cyberbullying is an increasing concern among parents and teachers and that there is a need for new interventions to be developed to support them in educating children and young people about this issue (O'Moore & Minton, 2009; O'Higgins Norman & Connolly, 2011). Thus, many schools in Ireland and elsewhere are struggling to develop appropriate pedagogical responses to cyberbullying. In this striving, the importance of self-expression and creativity as a means of coping for young people may have been overlooked. Initiatives that promote student voice can lead to improvements in school climate, including a reduction in bullying behaviour (Voight, 2015). Adopting a narrative based participatory approach to tackling cyberbullying enables schools to offer a creative and inclusive intervention that values student perspectives and promotes student voice. It provides a platform for young people to voice their concerns and allows them to discover and recommend ways to overcome cyberbullying and deal with its negative effects.

Drama based initiatives have been linked to positive coping and emotional regulation for children and adolescents, in addition to increased empathy, social skills, empowerment and self-knowledge (Joronen, Konu, Rankin, & Astedt-Kurki, 2012; Lee, Patall, Cawthon, & Steingut, 2015; Moneta & Rousseau, 2008; Wright et al., 2006). Others have explored various drama in education approaches (Baer & Glasgow, 2008; O'Toole & Burton, 2005; Ross & Nelson, 2014) including forum theatre (Beale & Scott, 2001; Fredland, 2010; Gourd & Gourd, 2011; Johnson, 2001; Mavroudis & Bournelli, 2016) as a means of raising levels of consciousness and empowering young people to tackle bullying. Using drama to express feelings/emotions and to practice coping skills could provide a safe and applied space to act and reflect on realistic and/or difficult life events (Burton, 2010). As such, drama-based initiatives have the potential to create real change in terms of the prevention of and interventions countering cyberbullying. In this sense, drama allows for participants to get a feel for 'reality' from a range of perspectives and thus to learn empathy, problem solving and social skills (Burton, 2010), all of which are elements that have been shown to be useful in other school-based cyberbullying programmes (Ttofi & Farrington, 2010; Slonje, Smith, & Frisén, 2013). Drama approaches have been used in the public health literature targeting attitude changes to a range of health behaviours (Joronen, Rankin, & Åstedt-Kurki, 2008). Indeed, some existing anti-bullying interventions have included elements of drama (e.g., Salmivalli, Kaukiainen, & Voeten, 2005), although their unique utility in the context of cyberbullying is relatively under-researched. In addition, current drama-based initiatives have been both developed and evaluated in a relatively ad hoc manner. Well-designed research instruments and appropriate theory to build out research questions are lacking (Mavroudis & Bournelli, 2016). As such, it is difficult to give an appropriate overview of their utility, although it is worth mentioning it briefly here. The Win-Win program is an example of a drama based intervention which has been found to have positive results on bullying prevention. The programme uses drama to teach important skills relevant to bullying such as interpersonal problem solving and anger

management (see Graves, Frabutt, & Vigliano, 2007 for more details). One evaluation found the program to be effective with a sample of 11–18 year olds in the U.S.A. ($N = 2440$) where it reduced physical and relational aggression (forms of traditional bullying). The authors also reported an increase in effective communication strategies that the students use to alleviate conflict, which is something that could be considered in cyberbullying-specific cases. Another example of how drama can be used as an anti-bullying intervention is the DRACON project which was created in Sweden (Lofgren & Malm, 2005) and developed further in Australia in later years. The project merges forum theatre with process drama where students become engaged in reflective and critical discussion through participatory action (Burton & O'Toole, 2009). The programme was evaluated using action research phases of one-year duration and found to have increased awareness about bullying among the students. Interestingly it also created a context where students who had participated in the programme saw bystanders as the people likely to change a bullying situation (in comparison to it being the responsibility of teachers or the bully).

2 Adolescents, Cyberspace and Narrative as Liminal

There is growing evidence to suggest the effectiveness of arts-based interventions in supporting the personal, social and emotional development of children and young people in areas such as self-awareness, self-esteem and resilience (Coholic, 2011; Elliott, 2011), health and well-being (Atkinson & Robson, 2012; Staricoff, 2004), and self-confidence, empowerment and identity (Chandler, 1999; Howell, 2008). In addition, some recent studies highlight the potential of the creative arts to engage and enhance educational outcomes for all students but especially vulnerable youth (Leckey, 2011; Lorenzi & White, 2014; Scholes & Nagel, 2012). Cognisant of the appeal *and* effectiveness of arts-based initiatives in youth education, we consider the potential of arts-based programmes in tackling cyberbullying. We propose a narrative based intervention that focuses on tackling cyberbullying through prevention, detection, intervention and aftercare. Advocating a participatory, democratic and inclusive approach, it draws on the student voice as a means of self-expression, as a means of therapeutic dialogue, as a means of intervention and as a means of awareness raising among the school community.

Combining the narrative forms of drama and storytelling we put forward a programme aimed at exploring young people's perceptions and experiences of cyberbullying and their ideas on how to combat it. Rooted in the field of participatory arts practice, our programme adopts an artist led creative process that invites participants on an artistic journey that explores issues of immediate relevance to their shared community. Adhering to the principles and practices of the participatory arts, we use arts-based methods to facilitate young people in identifying and implementing a range of ideas and strategies to help them and others tackle cyberbullying. Fostering

positive relationships and creating an environment of mutual trust and respect that enables a meaningful exchange of ideas, therapeutic dialogue and critical reflection is an integral part of this process. Integrating individual and collective storytelling with a selection of Forum Theatre techniques adapted from Boal's (2000, 2002) Theatre of the Oppressed model, the intervention comprises a twofold process that places the student voice at its core. In the first phase of the intervention, we examine narrative as a liminal space where young people can experience *communitas*—solidarity and togetherness based on shared human experiences—through the ritual of storytelling. The second phase presents narrative as a liminal space, a space of transition and possibility, where inhabitants have the opportunity to encounter 'other', let go of previous views (Land, Rattray, & Vivian, 2014), and begin to conceive of themselves in a new light. In this regard, we posit that using role-play to prevent or tackle cyberbullying can achieve similar benefits to those derived from using role-play to prevent or tackle face-to-face bullying (Carney & Merrell, 2001; Chaux, Velasquez, Schultze-Krumbholz, & Scheithauer, 2016; Milsom & Gallo, 2006).

We consider Turner's (1964) conceptualisation of liminality, as a state of in-between-ness, to be a suitable framework for examining the three core entities of our intervention: cyberspace; adolescents; and narrative, all of which, we argue, can be viewed in liminal terms. Adopting the view that liminality is applicable to time, space and subject (Thomassen, 2009), we see liminality as a unifying concept that helps us to understand the phenomenon of cyberbullying, the challenges facing adolescents in cyberspace, and the advantages of narrative as a creative and effective intervention in tackling cyberbullying and promoting positive online behaviour. Moreover, our use of a bottom up creative response reflects Turner's notion of 'anti-structure' as liminal, in contrast to social structure (status, power, top-down authority), and his view that "the greater the powerlessness, the greater the need for positive anti-structural activities, which he styled *communitas* (positive community activities)" (Bigger, 2009, p. 210). Finally, the use of arts-based interventions in schools can, as Atkinson and Robson (2012) posit, be seen as liminal practice in that they are often artist-led outside of the curriculum initiatives that occur within the school and outside the everyday routine of the classroom where students enter a distinct time, space and set of activities designed to result in personal transformation. We begin with a brief discussion of liminality and an analysis of how it applies to cyberspace, adolescents and narrative, before turning our attention to how the participatory narrative forms of storytelling and drama can be used to co-create anti-bullying interventions with young people.

A somewhat abstract concept, the term liminal, derived from the Latin *limen* meaning 'threshold', was originally used by the anthropologist van Gennep (1908/1960) to describe the middle stage in a rite of passage that marks a milestone transition from one social status to another. It was later developed by Turner (1964) to include all in-between phases or temporary states of upheaval that involve being on a threshold or in-between one state or space and another. Turner was interested in how liminal experiences affect people in modern society, "the way in which personality was shaped by liminality, the sudden foregrounding of agency, and the sometimes dramatic tying together of thought and experience" (Thomassen, 2009, p. 14). While liminality originated in the field of anthropology, a modern-postmodern paradigm

shift has seen the concept being interpreted and applied in a wide range of fields and contexts far beyond van Gennep's original meaning and indeed Turner's later intention. Applying the concept of liminality to adolescents, cyberspace and narrative may contribute to a deeper understanding of how liminal spaces and experiences, as places of transition and possibility can protect, support and advance the development of liminal beings, those who may be perceived as in-between, as they transition from one state to another.

There are several references in the literature to support our various applications of the concept. For instance, Cousin (2006), Elmore (2009), and Land et al. (2014), all refer to adolescents as liminal beings. Neither child nor adult, they hover in the 'in-between' as they shift from one status to another, '"no longer" and simultaneously also "not yet"' (Wels, van der Waal, Spiegel, & Kamsteeg, 2011, p. 1). In Turnerian terms, they are "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (Turner, 1969, p. 95).

Cyberspace can also be considered a liminal space as it too is 'neither here nor there', 'betwixt and between': it is a hybrid of reality and virtual reality that enables users to inhabit two worlds at once and therefore experience a dual identity. This dissolution of fixed identities and the formation of hybrid identities and interchangeable roles is characteristic of Turner's concept of liminality where social structures become fluid and *becoming* takes over *being*. Others have viewed cyberspace as a liminal space which supports and enables users to form a new identity as they transition from one life stage to another, such as students *becoming* newly qualified teachers (Cook-Sather, 2006), or women *becoming* new mothers (Madge & O'Connor, 2005). The reconceptualization of cyberspace as a liminal space allows us to view it as a distinct time and place where people leave their everyday reality and enter a space to engage in activities that allow them to take on a new identity. The anonymity of online identities can cause a transformation in users' attitudes and behaviour that results in a shift in behaviour and status underscored by what Terry and Cain (2016) call online disinhibition effect. This is particularly true in the case of young people who cyberbully, who in some instances may assume a different persona and adopt a set of behaviours that differ from those they may consider acceptable elsewhere in face-to-face situations. Land et al.'s (2014) observation that the liminal space can be seen as a creative space 'where things become fluid' captures the notion that for many young people, reality and cyberspace have become fluid and the encounters and existences they experience in one sphere frequently spill into the other. It is in this context of liminality as a creative, fluid space and liminality as a threshold between two worlds that we also perceive narrative as a liminal space.

Like cyberspace, storytelling, as Curteis (2010, p. 156) notes, stimulates a dual consciousness that enables participants to experience two worlds simultaneously: "Storytelling or hearing stories told places us on a threshold between two worlds: the world of our physical sense experience and the world of the story—this phenomenon of straddling two sets of consciousness is a liminal space". This dimension of storytelling offers a powerful means of accessing and exploring inner thoughts and feelings. It offers a space where young people can examine their experience through

a fictional lens. For example, the young person who has been cyberbullied has the opportunity to express his or her experiences and feelings at a 'safe' distance from reality; the young person who cyberbullies can also explore his/her inner thoughts and feelings and perhaps discover motivations behind their behaviour; bystanders can consider their role and perhaps see new ways of reacting and responding to bullying behaviour. In line with guidelines for good practice in participatory arts in healthcare (White, 2010), it is imperative that students' well-being is protected and that the common principles and values that govern engagement with participants in participatory arts practices inform the planning, delivery and evaluation of this intervention. The use of role-play as a pedagogical approach for enhancing learning through emotional engagement while still providing a safe learning environment is well documented in the drama in education literature (Bolton, 1992; Bolton & Heathcote, 1999; Heyward, 2010). Role-play enables students to engage emotionally in the fictional world of the narrative and creates opportunities for genuine educational encounters (Courtney, 1988). Navigating the borders of fiction and reality requires considerable skill. Appropriate strategies, such as the use of clear signifiers indicating the beginning and ending of the narrative, and a clear understanding that a character's words and actions do not have any repercussions in the real-world, help create a safe space (Heyward, 2010).

Drama invites participants to engage in an imaginary world, enabling them to explore and experience an issue or event in a way that distances participants from their everyday reality. It generates "a homogeneous social state in which participants are stripped of their usual status and authority" (McLaren, 1988, p. 165), allowing them the freedom to think and act differently. This imaginary world is a liminal space where social norms are temporarily suspended, risks can be taken and alternative behaviours can be played out. Turner identifies ritual and performance as agents of liminality that open up an in-between space, a space that is in-between the present and the future, where the norms of culture can be changed and broken by the actors (Hawkins & Georgakopolous, 2010) and *communitas*, collaborative positive action inspired by the needs of the community, is achieved (Schechner, 2003). Occupying the dual role of performer and observer, students inhabit two worlds at once; simultaneously experiencing and reflecting on their own actions and the actions of others, discovering new ways of approaching a situation and finding new ways of dealing with issues that arise. The self-confidence participants gain from this experience can have a liberating effect that transforms their outlook, so when they return from the liminal to their everyday reality, they return with a fresh perspective and a new-found confidence that inspires and empowers them to change their behaviour and actions.

3 The Intervention

Research continuously shows that interventions aimed at tackling bullying must be located within a whole-school approach (O'Higgins Norman & Sullivan, 2018) and that cyberbullying among young people usually relates to off-line relationships

(Gleeson, 2014). As such then, in proposing our intervention, we are faced with a two-fold challenge. Firstly, it is unlikely that there will be a suitably qualified teacher in every school who can introduce and use forum theatre as a method of tackling cyberbullying which means that schools will have to engage external experts who can roll out a programme over a number of weeks. However, our second problem is that the use of external experts can be undermining of a whole-school approach if they are not directly connected to the rest of a school's efforts to tackle cyberbullying (Department of Education and Skills, 2013). So, in order to overcome these challenges, we recommend that if it is necessary to use an external individual to deliver the intervention, it is equally necessary to ensure that s/he works with school leaders, teachers and parents in the school to ensure that the intervention is closely related to and augments their ongoing work on cyberbullying.

3.1 Phase One: Storytelling as Voice-Giving

The narrative approach put forward here begins with a series of creative writing storytelling workshops that enables adolescents to creatively engage with the subject of cyberbullying. Through the medium of creative writing, the programme invites participants to create fictional stories of cyberbullying from various perspectives including someone who is bullied, someone who bullies, or a bystander. Each workshop begins with an artist led group activity that provides a stimulus for writing and encourages students to work individually and collaboratively in response to a group exercise. Creating a fictionalised account of a cyberbullying scenario distances participants from any real-life experiences they may have had and affords them an opportunity to express their thoughts and feelings on bullying or being bullied in an indirect way through the creation of characters and storylines. Research in the field of psychotherapy highlights the therapeutic value of creative and expressive writing as an agent for self-expression (Baikie & Wlihelm, 2005; Wright, 2002). There is also evidence to suggest that engaging with narrative has a positive influence on young people's personal development. For example, Chandler (1999) suggests that writing is an act of empowerment that enables individuals to access self, imagination and voice and can contribute to the mental, emotional, and social development of the writer. Chandler (2002) also suggests that writing in a group using a specific approach facilitates emotional catharsis, increases self-knowledge, coping strategies, and understanding and appreciation of others. Similarly, Howell (2008) argues that creative writing promotes personal and social development and offers students opportunities to develop civic awareness and responsibility through the exploration of social and moral issues. Weinstein (2010), on the other hand, identifies self-confidence, positive self-identity, community building, therapeutic benefits, and respect for peers and adults as benefits of youth spoken word poetry.

These findings are encouraging and offer hope that the use of narrative can empower and encourage adolescents to use their imagination to consider issues such as cyberbullying in a new light and from alternative viewpoints. Furthermore, given

that cyberbullying is predominantly an issue that affects young people, adolescents' perspectives on the topic may generate further potential solutions and areas for discussion, including those not previously considered by teachers or parents.

3.2 Phase Two: Forum Theatre as Voice-Giving and Awareness Raising

Augusto Boal's (2000, 2002) Theatre of the Oppressed model comprises of three forms: Image Theatre, Invisible Theatre and Forum Theatre; the latter of these is the focus of this intervention. Others (see for example, Bhukhanwala, 2014; Donovan, 2005; Gourd & Gourd, 2011; Ross & Nelson, 2014) have used Boal's model to tackle face-to-face bullying. Here, we look at how this approach can be extrapolated and used as a potential tool in the context of tackling cyberbullying among young people. Theatre of the Oppressed, as the name suggests, is greatly influenced by Boal's Brazilian counterpart Paulo Freire and his seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Boal's work is also greatly inspired by the German theatre practitioner and playwright Bertolt Brecht and his use of Epic Theatre to stimulate a thinking, enquiring response that would incite audiences to action (Brecht, 1964). Like Brecht and Freire, Boal believed that the oppressed must free themselves and that transformation can only come about when the oppressed realise their capacity to transform reality. While Freire sought to awaken critical consciousness through education, Boal chose to do so through theatre which he, like Brecht and Turner, viewed as a powerful catalyst for change that has the capacity to draw attention to the fact that alternative courses of action exist and, therefore, "to alert audiences to the contradictory, alterable course of history" (Brooker, 2006, p. 221). Keen to place this power in the hands of the oppressed, Boal brought theatre to the prisons, hospitals, schools, factories and slums of Latin America where his work saw audiences became active participants in the creation of theatre. As Jackson points out in the introduction to Boal's (2002) *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*, "It is fundamental to Boal's work that anyone can act… The dual meaning of the word 'act', to perform and to take action, is also at the heart of his work" (p. xxii). Boal insisted that everyone is "at one and the same time, actor and spectator" or what he termed *spect-actor* (2002, p. 15). It is in this liminal space between spectator and actor that new discoveries are made and transformation becomes possible.

There are various ways in which Boal's Forum Theatre model can be approached but typically it revolves around the use of re-enacted scenario-based narratives devised by a group of people examining an issue of immediate relevance to their lives. Initially when Boal devised the model, he visited oppressed communities with a troupe of professional actors who devised and performed a short play based on the shared stories and experiences of the said community. In later years, the model was adapted to accommodate participants in creating and performing their own plays and

it has since been revised and adopted by others for a variety of purposes and in a range of contexts worldwide (Hawkins & Georgakopolous, 2010).

Typically, a forum theatre session begins with participants discussing and exchanging stories of their experiences and/or others' experiences of an issue concerning their community. Working in groups, participants agree on a scenario based on one or more of the situations outlined in the stories they shared and work together to create a dramatic narrative that brings the story to life. In the case of this intervention, the scenarios can be derived from the short stories which have been written collaboratively by the group during Phase One. Using the outline of the scenario as a starting point, the participants agree on the components of the drama, decide how many characters are involved in the story, how many scenes are needed to tell the story, where and when each scene is set and who will play each part. The dialogue is improvised but as the message of the story and the purpose of each scene is clear in advance, participants usually find it relatively easy to role-play the situation. Boal stipulates that it is important that the story illustrates the oppression in action and the oppressed failing to overcome whatever obstacles are placed in his/her path. This then gives the audience an opportunity to examine the oppression and suggest possible strategies for dealing with the various instances of the oppression. After a short rehearsal, the scene(s) is performed and the audience watches the situation unfold. A brief dialogue follows. *The Joker* (Boalian term for facilitator/workshop leader) asks the audience to confirm if the story illustrates an example of oppression and if they can identify pivotal moments where they feel that a different response might change the course of action from what went before. Rather than discussing their suggestions, the audience members are asked to test out their ideas by participating in the drama. The audience then watch the performance for a second time. During the second performance audience members can intervene at any point by shouting 'STOP!'. The performers then 'freeze' and the audience member takes the place of the oppressed character. The action then resumes and the spect-actor implements his/her proposed strategy and the other performers respond in real time. Clearly the spect-actor thinks the intervention might work but until it is tested out and others respond, the outcome remains unknown. It usually becomes apparent fairly quickly whether the strategy is effective or not and it often takes numerous attempts before a successful intervention occurs. Other audience members can intervene at any stage and replace the current spect-actor in order to try out an alternative strategy. The scene is replayed several times and the action continues until a successful intervention has been identified. The Joker, familiar with effective and non-effective strategies for dealing with the issue in question, operates according to an agreed set of goals that should be achieved; and evaluates interventions based on that criteria. The Joker leads discussions on the effectiveness of each strategy and is responsible for indicating if a strategy might be considered '*magic*', a term Boal used to describe an unlikely or unrealistic response by the character in the context. It is important that the audience discusses the various strategies that were attempted; identify what each spect-actor attempted to do; debate whether or not it worked and suggest how it might be tweaked or handled differently altogether. Through questioning and dialogue, the Joker encourages the audience to identify and extrapolate the behaviour and attitude informing each intervention.

As the name suggests, Forum Theatre offers a platform for discussion but crucially it also offers a safe space—a liminal space—within the parameters of a fictionalised world where students have a voice and the opportunity to trial and test approaches and strategies that can subsequently be used to prompt action in the real world. In Boal's words, it is a 'rehearsal for reality' (2002, p. xxiv). Through participating in the drama, students imaginatively experience a social situation or issue and discover, as Heathcote (1968, p. 49) puts it, "how it feels to be in someone else's shoes". Discoveries made through the drama allow them to develop empathy, tolerance, and understanding as they view the situation from multiple perspectives and gain insights into others' actions. This liminal experience allows their understanding of reality to change causing them to reflect on previously held views. By connecting experiences in the drama with experiences in their lives, participants develop more understanding about the challenges they face and the options available to them. Engaging in drama gives students a voice and an opportunity to choose new behaviours, experiment with possible strategies and conceive of a different reality. Reflecting on this experience allows them to consider how these actions might apply in real life. The realisation that the actions they chose and the strategies they discovered in the drama can inform their choices and behaviour in real life is the first step towards awakening the critical consciousness that Brecht (1964) and Freire (1996) deemed essential for social change.

The intervention presented here brings the narrative forms of storytelling and drama together to create a liminal space that enables young people to work collaboratively and imaginatively to identify issues and find solutions that can bring about meaningful and positive change in their lives. There are a number of caveats which concern the successful implementation of the programme and increase the likelihood of a positive outcome. Chief among these is the need for a suitably qualified and experienced facilitator. An understanding and appreciation of the participatory arts and a willingness to trust in the integrity of the artistic process is a core principle of this intervention. The intervention requires a facilitator who has the skills to establish a safe, creative and playful space that supports and encourages openness, spontaneity and risk-taking. Gaining participants' confidence, trust and respect is key and it is vital that the facilitator has the capacity to build a dialogic relationship with students. It is also critical that the facilitator is familiar with productive and non-productive coping strategies to deal with cyberbullying, in order to ensure that students do not provide each other with non-productive advice.

It is further recommended that the intervention is carried out in small group settings that include a range of stakeholders from the school community. As this mix will consist of a random selection of adolescents and adults, it is most likely that participants will not have worked with each other in any capacity, least of all an artistic one. It is, therefore, essential that sessions begin with a range of warm up drama activities and creative exercises aimed at making participants comfortable with each other, and with this style of work. Boal (2002) advocates the use of games and exercises as a means of disinhibiting the spect-actors at the beginning of a Forum Theatre session. His inspiring work *Games for Actors and Non-Actors* (2002) is an excellent resource for precisely this purpose.

4 Conclusion

The narrative approach adopted here is intended as a component of a whole school anti-bullying programme. It aims to build resilience and confidence among young people, to empower them in using social media with confidence, and to help them make decisions about how to interact based on empathetic values. In this chapter it is our aim to remind stakeholders of the possible use of existing approaches that have been developed in other contexts using role-play within a whole school approach. We know from previous research that the most successful programmes to tackle bullying generally are rooted in a whole-school approach (O'Higgins Norman & Sullivan, 2018), and that role-play has been shown to be of use in a number of contexts characterised by conflict, so it is not unreasonable for us to postulate that combining these approaches to tackle cyberbullying may go some way to addressing the issue.

Cyberspace as a liminal space, narrative as a liminal experience, adolescence as a liminal period, and performance as a liminal activity, have been brought together in this chapter to examine how the interconnection of these four liminal phenomena might result in a creative, innovative intervention that is supportive, intuitive and empathetic to the transitions and transformations at play in the evolution of a young person's development as a kind, considerate user of social media. The generation of liminal spaces through arts-based initiatives enables schools to respond to negative behaviours in a positive and creative manner. In terms of a bottom up approach, the narrative based participatory approach put forward here promotes the implementation of democratic, inclusive practices that value voice, participation and engagement from all members of the school community including, crucially, those directly involved in and affected by cyberbullying.

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‘The Things You Didn’t Do’: Gender, Slut-Shaming, and the Need to Address Sexual Harassment in Narrative Resources Responding to Sexting and Cyberbullying

Amy Shields Dobson

Abstract This chapter reports on research examining young people’s understandings of gender roles in everyday digital cultures and communication technologies, and in relation to sexting practices. A cyber-safety narrative film that addresses sexting, cyberbullying, and digital citizenship was used as a springboard for focus group discussions with 24 young people in Victoria, Australia. The chapter outlines the key findings regarding how young people understood and explained common gender dynamics in relation to bullying, cyberbullying, and sexting, reflecting as they did in these discussions on both the gender relations depicted in commonly used cyber-safety narrative resources, as well as in their own social lives. The chapter describes a discussion that arose among female participants around the ‘slut’ label, concerns about the possibility for sexual rumours to be spread via digital social networks, and associated on- and offline harassment over sexual things they had not actually done. This discussion, it is argued, illustrates the way girls feel responsible for protecting themselves from the potential psychic injuries of the slut label through strict sexual self-regulation, knowing that they cannot control malevolent and frequent use of this label by peers on- and offline. Future narrative resources that seek to address sexting and cyberbullying need to more clearly identify and respond to sexual harassment and sexism as a persistent feature of young people’s digital and school cultures.

1 Introduction: Youth, Sexting and Gender

‘Sexting’ potentially refers to a wide range of media practices involving the production, exchange, and circulation of sexual texts and images via digital networks. The term is a portmanteau combining the words ‘sex’ and ‘texting’. However more recently, and in research specifically on youth digital media practices, the term has been used to refer primarily to the production and circulation of sexually sug-

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gestive, nude, or semi-nude images via mobile phones (see Dobson, 2017 for further explanation). Emerging international research suggests that sexting practices, while not ubiquitous, are common among youth, and increase with age and sexual activity (Lenhart, 2009; Green, Brady, Ólafsson, Hartley, & Lumby, 2011; Mitchell, Finkelhor, Jones, & Wolak, 2012; Drouin, Vogel, Surbey, & Stills, 2013; Campbell & Park, 2014; Mitchell, Finkelhor, Jones, & Wolak, 2014). Some US studies report that 20–30% of 14–19 year-olds have sent sexually explicit digital self-images (Temple et al., 2012; Strassberg, McKinnon, Sustaíta, & Rullo, 2013). An Australian survey of over 2000 young people from schools around the country reports similar rates of this media practice for those in years 10–12 (usually aged 15–18), and higher rates of around 50% for sexually active teens (Mitchell et al., 2014, pp. 63–64).

Much of the time, sexting goes on among young people consensually and respectfully, and some studies suggest it is most commonly practiced between young adults in committed relationships (Drouin, Vogel, Surbey, & Stills, 2013). Some qualitative research unpacks the way that young people negotiate ethics, respect and etiquette in their digital practices, including sexting practices (Albury & Byron, 2014; Albury & Crawford, 2012). When sexting practices do involve pressure, non-consensual image distribution, and related bullying, harassment and abuse, this appears to happen along typically gendered lines. Both qualitative and quantitative research on youth sexting practices show how such practices are shaped by social norms of gender and sexuality, indicating the persistence of a long-standing heterosexualised 'sexual script' (Gagnon & Simon, 1973) whereby normatively masculine boys are assumed and expected to be interested in pictures of girls' bodies, and normatively feminine girls are positioned as sexual gatekeepers (Ringrose, Gill, Livingstone, & Harvey, 2012; Walker, Sanci, & Temple-Smith, 2013; Lippman & Campbell, 2014; Dobson, 2015; Salter, 2016). While rates of participation in various sexting practices are not significantly different across gender identities, girls are significantly more likely than boys to report being asked for sexts, and having their sexts shown or sent beyond the intended recipient, while boys are more likely to report asking for sexts (Tallon, Choi, Keely, Elliott, & Maher, 2012; Temple et al., 2012; Salter, Crofts, & Lee, 2013); Strassberg et al., 2013). More boys report sending on a sexually explicit image they took of someone else, in some cases without the person's knowledge that they were taking the image (Strassberg, 2013, p. 18), and being shown explicit images not meant for them (Tallon et al., 2012).

2 'Sext Education' Narrative Resources

Narrative resources on sexting and cyberbullying aimed at young people can serve to reproduce or reinforce stereotypical and heterosexualised gender roles and relations, as they address what are seen as typically different sets of risks and responsibilities for boys and girls. As part of the research project reported on here, a range of popular English-language educational film and digital narrative resources aimed at young people addressing sexting and sexualised cyberbullying were viewed. While

a detailed description and semiotic analysis of these resources is beyond the scope of this chapter, in brief, a common gendered, heterosexualised narrative can be noted across these resources of a girl betrayed by a jilted or untrustworthy male partner, ex-partner, or love interest, who is subsequently bullied and harassed on- and offline by both male and female peers over her production of a sexual self-image. Examples of such narrative resources[1] in Australia include *Tagged*, produced by the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) as part of their Cybersmart campaign, *Megan's Story*, part of the ThinkUKnowAustralia e-safety campaign, the Victorian community-produced film *Photograph*, and the *Keep it Tame* campaign, released by the Young and Well Cooperative Research Centre. In the UK, *Exposed* is distributed by the Child Exploitation Online Protection Centre as part of UK's ThinkUKnow campaign, and the Southwest Grid for Learning has released *With Friends Like These*. In Canada, the short film *I shared a photo* has been produced by the Children of the Street Foundation. All of these resources construct teenage girls as both the main victims of sexting-related cyberbullying and harassment on- and offline, and also as the main agents responsible for preventing such by not engaging in any kind of sexual self-imaging, even when their images have been shared non-consensually. Such materials have been described as 'sext education' (Dobson & Ringrose, 2016). Dobson and Ringrose (2016) highlight the ways in which sexual double standards and gendered sets of risks are emphasised in sext education narratives in a bid to threaten teenage girls with harsh social consequences. Legal consequences are often mentioned only briefly in such resources, and they are primarily faced by boys in the narratives, despite the reality that in many jurisdictions, young people across gender and sexual identity categories may face potentially harsh legal consequences as a result of both consensual sexual image production and non-consensual image sharing (Hasinoff, 2015; Salter et al., 2013).

Concerns about the overt responsibilisation of girls in such narrative resources have been raised by researchers internationally. Albury and Crawford point to the way *Megan's Story* invokes a 'risk management model' of sexual violence prevention for girls 'in which perpetrators of abuse or violence are strangely absent' (Albury & Crawford, 2012, p. 465). Karaian (2014) identifies a dominant 'slut shaming' narrative in the Canadian *Respect Yourself* campaign website, focused on warning white middle class girls, as the subjects seen as most deserving of protection, against producing, sending or posting images of their bodies. In relation to such resources, May (2013) points out that in other kinds of sexually abusive situations, adults work hard to convince women and children they are not at fault and did not invite abuse with their behaviour, yet this is not the case in many cyber-safety campaigns. Previous research highlights adults' appropriation of girls' own stories of abuse and bullying shared on YouTube to shame and blame them, and this is evident in the short film *I shared a photo*, which was made partly in response to the suicide of Amanda Todd (Dobson, 2015). Narrative educational resources that seek to promote girls' abstinence from any kind of potentially sexualised self-representation are problematic as they shift responsibility and focus onto victims and away from the perpetrators

[1] Please see the 'sext education films list' at the end of this chapter for links to these materials.

of unethical and abusive practices across digital and real-world spaces (Powell & Henry, 2014).

3 Method and Procedures

In light of the findings about gender and youth sexting, as well as critiques of common 'sext education' narratives, this research sought to garner young people's views about gender roles in digital communication and in sexting media practices,[2] as well as their views on the kind of common gendered 'sext education' narrative described above. We conducted focus groups with 15–17 year olds in two regional Victorian high schools. The focus groups involved 24 participants across years 10 and 11. We chose the short educational film *Tagged* (discussed below) as the narrative resource used to prompt discussion of gender roles in relation to youth digital practices. *Tagged* is shown widely in schools around Australia, and both schools had a copy of the film, although most students could not remember being shown it before. With the cooperation of teachers and principals, we showed *Tagged* to Year 10 and 11 students at both schools, and a discussion followed the film screening in which we explained the topic and purpose of our research to students. We circulated information sheets for both students and their parents, detailing the research purpose and focus group procedures, as well as consent forms for parents and students. We returned to the schools the following week to conduct focus groups in allocated free study periods. Students interested in participating in focus group discussions were required to return informed consent forms signed by their parents. Before commencing focus groups we talked through the research purpose and focus group procedures again with all participants, ensuring they understood the purpose and details of the research before signing their own consent forms and commencing the discussions. Participants were assigned pseudonyms used in the discussion recordings and transcripts, as well as here. With the input of both students and teachers on group formation, the focus groups were friendship-based and largely gender segregated. The groups were conducted in private rooms on the school campus.

Discussions were based around a semi-structured questionnaire[3] and went for between 50 and 90 min. They began by asking what students remembered most from the film narrative. Participants' views were sought about the issues raised in the film of sexting, cyberbullying, and digital citizenship, the ethics of characters' actions depicted in *Tagged*, and the gender roles depicted in the film. We asked if the kinds of bullying and cyberbulling incidents depicted in the narrative of *Tagged* were things that concerned them, what issues they thought were important regarding digital ethics and citizenship, and where they learnt about both formal and informal rules and ethics regarding digital media and communication technologies. There was

[2]This research was conducted with Danielle Tyson, Mary Lou Rasmussen and Adrian Farrugia, and I am most grateful for their contributions to the project.

[3]Ringrose et al.'s (2012) study helped guide the design of the research and the questionnaire.

room for some discussion of participants' views about gender politics in their own social and digital lives. However, in the legal and ethical context of the research we took care to clarify with participants that our discussion was not focused on personal experiences of sexual image production or circulation, as disclosing these activities could potentially incriminate young people. Protocols were in place at each school that would allow participants to discuss issues or experiences troubling them privately with their schools counsellors if such issues arose for them. The research received ethics approval from Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee and from the Department of Education and Early Childhood Development.

3.1 Tagged

Tagged adopts a dramatic realist style of presentation and has won several awards for its production and content quality (ACMA, 2012). The film thus provides what we thought may be a believable narrative account of various incidents relating to techno-social life across digital and school spaces that allows the possibility, through discussion, for young people to reflect on the actions and ethics of the characters presented, and develop critical evaluations of the gendered scenarios depicted. *Tagged* is a fable of digital risk and reputation management, involving a group of girls, led by Kate, who start schoolyard 'drama' (as our participants described it) by setting up a school gossip blog and posting an image of a girl and boy embracing, Chloe and Ben, with captions implying Chloe may be cheating on her boyfriend, Jack. Jack sees the images and starts a fight in the schoolyard with Ben in response. The fight is filmed and uploaded by a boy watching onto a video sharing site. The group of girls re-post the video on their blog. The uploading of the fight footage makes the local news and a complaint is received about the footage from the parents of the boys involved. The next day at school one of the girls in the group, Raz, has a guilty conscience and tries to convince Kate to take down the blog and confess their actions to the school authorities. Kate agrees to take down the blog, but persuades Raz not to confess their involvement, threatening Raz with the exposure to her parents of drunken party photographs posted on a social media profile. Burdened by her conscience, and angry at being blackmailed by Kate, Raz confesses to Jack that it was them who posted the images of his girlfriend Chloe with Ben. In retaliation, Jack posts sexual images of Kate, still in his possession from when they used to date. A star tattoo on Kate's hip is visible in one of the images, and becomes the basis of the harassment of Kate by boys in the school hallways. Boys shout comments to Kate about 'twinkling'. Kate finds her locker covered in star graffiti. As has been noted in a more detailed analysis elsewhere (Dobson & Ringrose, 2016), Kate's star tattoo is constructed here as a shameful visual mark of her sexual desire. The star symbol is used as a background design on the Cybersmart government website, reinforcing the notion that girls are visibly and permanently 'marked' by their sexual desire.

This last sexting-related incident is depicted as the most serious and consequential of all of the events in the film. It is positioned as the dramatic culmination of the

narrative. Via a montage, the consequences unfold for all students involved: they are brought into the school office, along with the police. Only in a very brief scene do we learn that Jack is potentially facing criminal charges and registration as a sex offender. Kate is the focus of the film's climax and resolution, as she is positioned as morally culpable for the chain of events. In the final scenes she is quiet, shamefaced, and in counselling, having changed schools to escape ongoing harassment, but discovering stars drawn on her new school locker. The film provides some resolution with the possibility of a new friend for Kate in Lou, who comforts Kate, telling her 'it'll be old news soon'.

4 Findings and Analysis

The core message in this film is that using technology is about managing a set of risks and gendered social relations. While our participants reflected on this message critically to some extent, it is important to note the way the discussions were shaped by the discourse of risk that *Tagged* established. While the findings of this small qualitative study are not generalizable, the discussions provide some important insights into how these young people understood gender roles within their social lives and everyday digital cultures. In particular, their discussions highlighted how girls positioned themselves as strongly responsibilised.

Focus group transcripts were initially coded by the research team via questions in the semi-structured questionnaire, and data was grouped around the responses. Transcripts were then analysed thematically using Attride-Sterling's (2001) process for constructing thematic networks. Recurring pertinent themes across the data were generated inductively and cooperatively by the research team. In brief, after reading, re-reading, note-taking and discussion, the research team noted and compared identified 'basic themes', and then cooperatively grouped these basic themes into common 'organising themes'. Two relevant and prominently recurring organising themes were identified in several places across the transcripts. First, 'gendered roles and double standards' were prevalently discussed in these focus groups, and young people used these understandings to articulate common gender dynamics in relation to bullying, cyberbullying, and sexting, reflecting as they did so on the gender relations depicted both in commonly used cyber-safety narrative resources and also in their own social lives. Second, the 'slut label' was raised frequently. Slutiness, what it meant, how it was used, who it applied to, who it should and should not be applied to, and the kind of affect it generated for girls was prevalently discussed in the focus groups. Female focus group participants initiated a particular discussion around the label 'slut', commenting upon its frequent use by boys in schoolyards and online, and noting how it would be applied to the character Kate and her actions in *Tagged*.

4.1 Gendered Roles and Double Standards in Tagged *and Beyond*

When asked what they remembered most from the film, the research participants pointed to the sexting incident depicted at the film's end. There was agreement across the groups that the film clearly focused more on the behaviour of girls than on the boys. Participants picked up on the typically gendered styles of conflict depicted in the film. Participants in the all-female focus group summarised the events of the film as caused by a 'group of bitchy girls'. Participants in the male focus group described their impression of the gender roles in *Tagged* as follows:

> Bray: Saw that girls get really jealous easy. […] Cause trouble when they're jealous.
>
> Bill: different ways boys and girls fight, like girls fight probably more frequently but probably less violent.
>
> Bray: I think guys would rather keep things in and not let things happen like all these fights happen because when boys fight it's more they punch, when girls fight it's just verbally and they just let all their emotions out all the time.
>
> Bill: And on Facebook.
>
> Bray: Yeah Facebook. There's a lot of viciousness around girls.

Participants agreed that, as depicted in *Tagged*, the social consequences for girls of publicised sexual self-images were dire. They said this was in strong contrast to the social consequences for publicised images of boys' bodies. As one boy explained,

> Dan: […] They 're treated as two totally different things. Like girls sending or sharing inappropriate pictures, people finding out about it, that girl is totally – everyone will see her as completely demoralised, she'd got no morals, she's got no self-respect, she's a slut, she's just sending her picture out. While if a guy sends a girl inappropriate pictures, or naked pictures, just whatever, that guy's just seen as either a player, or just like a pervert. Like no one really gives it too much thought. Like […] people have told me, 'Oh this person has been Snapchatting the whole year level, sending naked pictures.' It's just like everyone doesn't give it too much thought, they're just like, 'Oh okay. He was already kind of weird anyway.' No one really cares.

Participants articulated sets of norms around masculine and feminine subjectivity as the reasons why girls' social vulnerability to the non-consensual spread of sexualised images is greater. The male group described gender norms as follows:

> Bill: I guess girls are probably seen as trying to be more innocent. Good to be innocent. Guys probably more popular the more girls they've been with.
>
> Heis: Society shows boys and girls – girls have – society shows that girls should have self-respect for themselves. That means like being clean, don't look trashy, don't be a slut, don't send photos. Guys' society shows – especially Australian guy they show rough, rugged, don't care, don't care about nothing.
>
> Monty: Lot of alcohol.
>
> Heis: Lot of alcohol. Yeah and treat em mean keep em keen. That's what most guys do.
>
> Bill: But if a girl sleeps with a lot of guys everyone's saying 'what's wrong with her'.

Girls in the female group described the underlying reasons for gendered vulnerabilities in relation to sexual digital reputation as follows:

> Isabelle: Because girls have higher — everyone has higher expectations for girls, and the guys it's just not so much.
>
> Violet: Like class.
>
> Interviewer: What do you mean?
>
> Violet: They expect like the girls feel nice and classy and elegant and stuff like that and if they do one thing that's not even that bad they're getting called a slut, but if a guy, the guy has no expectations and a guy does the same, like something really bad, he's just going to be called the coolest guy ever, which is really ridiculous.

Despite both boys' and girls' keen articulation of sexist double standards as key in producing unequal digital vulnerability and 'risk', the girls still appeared to feel deeply accountable for managing their own sexual reputations, and were thus quick to blame other girls who 'failed' to do this adequately. Gendered risk discourses were prevalent across the groups, but female participants in particular had strong views in line with the central message of *Tagged,* and other sext education narratives that position girls as to blame for their own victimisation. They appeared to accept that they are the main agents responsible for preventing their own sexual harassment and abuse. Despite participants' general agreement that Jack's behaviour in the film was clearly unethical when he shared a sexual image Kate had sent him in confidence while dating, there was consensus from girls across the groups that Kate was 'stupid' for sending the image in the first place. The girls positioned sexting as something a more savvy girl would never do. There was agreement among female participants that girls cannot and should not trust boys, no matter what the circumstances. The girls explained:

> Jordan: You think, you know, sending a naked photo's obviously going to get sent around.
>
> Violet: The friend will send it to themselves from his phone.
>
> Skye: Yes, common sense.
>
> Jordan: I find it so stupid.
>
> […]
>
> Interviewer: So what about if it's somebody you trust?
>
> Jordan: You're stupid.
>
> Violet: You can't trust anyone.

There was agreement among the girls that in the story of *Tagged* Kate 'did it to herself'; not because of her unethical behaviour towards others depicted throughout the film, but because she had sent a sexual image in confidence to a boy she was dating at the time. This degree of accountability, where girls assumed they must pre-empt and assume unethical and sometimes harassing, yet normalised, behaviour by boys, was seen as a taken-for-granted understanding of everyday behaviour. This is in a social context where, as the young women also discussed, the label 'slut' is used by boys as an oppressive form of social regulation of girls.

4.2 The Slut Label and Concern over 'The Things You Didn't Do'

When asked if the scenarios and issues depicted in *Tagged* were issues that they were concerned about, the girls all agreed that they were not. Rather, they said they were concerned about the possibility of peers starting sexual rumours about them or saying that a nude image was them, when it was not. This kind of sexually harassing behaviour, although they did not name it as such, was, they told us, of greater concern to them than was the issue of sexting that they brushed off as 'stupid'. As Violet described the situation, with agreement and nods from all others in the group,

> Violet: […] that film didn't really affect me because, [Kate sending a] nude, you did it to yourself, [Chloe] you were cheating on your boyfriend yourself you got caught out that's your problem, but the things you didn't do, other people posting about you and you not being able to say anything, or other people saying that a nude photo is you, things like that that you didn't actually do.

Above, and elsewhere in these discussions, the girls explained that with digital technological affordances, the 'slut' label could be applied 'unjustly'—that is, to girls who had not had many or even any sexual partners—in ways they could not control. Clarifying their concern about 'people posting about you and you not being able to say anything', the girls explained that people will sometimes make things up on social media, for instance, saying a girl has had sex with twenty guys, and others will join in and comment on the post 'just to be a part of it'. Violet explained:

> Violet: Online as well you can't really stand up for yourself. Say if you commented back on the status [post on Facebook] they could just delete it. They can just erase what you say and […] it seems like you have nothing to say about it because your comment won't show up.

The girls suggested that it was not unusual to be called a slut, and that they had all experienced it at some point. They commented passionately on the overuse of the term by boys, as well as the way the label can be applied to digital images taken out of context.

> Skye: It could be really hot and you just wear a bikini top because it's really hot and you just get called a slut because you're showing skin really.
>
> Jordan: If you just walk around the street and you literally just came back from the beach, if there's people down the shop they call you a slut because you're wearing a bikini, but you just were at the beach.
>
> […]
>
> Isabelle: Someone kicked a soccer ball towards me. I wasn't even around them and I just let it roll past and I got called a slut. So I was like 'okay'.

In regards to normative understandings of digital images on social media and via mobile phones in particular, the girls commented:

> Violet: Even if you've never even kissed a boy if you still sent a nude photo people are still going to call you a slut because you're showing yourself off that way.
>
> Skye: And they think that you're seeking attention.

> Jordan: It's like the fact, say if you got raped and got pregnant, you'd still be a slut even if, just for the fact that you're pregnant! Anything—I don't know! Say you were getting changed one day and someone took a photo of you and it got sent around you'd still be a slut even though you were just…
>
> Violet: In a change room.

They described this overuse of the slut label in ambivalent terms, as something both problematic and upsetting at times, but also as a somewhat empty, amusing, threat from boys in the context of its overuse, and somewhat normalised sexual harassment:

> Jennifer: I would say some girls can get pressured into sending the photo because it's not like girls will go to the guy 'Send me a photo.' But the guy could be like 'If you don't send it I can do something to you.' So they'll be like 'Shit I've got to send something or they'll…'
>
> Skye: Or they can make up something.
>
> Violet: They use words and stuff like 'I'll tell everyone that you're a slut if you don't send me a photo.' It's like, 'Well I'm pretty sure I'll be called a slut anyway if I send you a photo'. They use the word slut as a threat.

These girls were clear that they were going to be called sluts at some point either online or in the schoolground. Their conundrum was one of trying to protect themselves psychically, if not able to control their reputations in a techno-social context they understood as ultimately *beyond* their control. Their response to this conundrum, in line with the message of *Tagged* and other sext education campaigns, was to engender a high degree of personal responsibility not to do anything 'stupid' or 'slutty'—by either actually having sex or 'showing yourself off that way' through digital self-images—so that at least if/when one of them was called a slut, she could feel some sense of internal protection from emotional injury, knowing she had not done anything to 'deserve' this label. When asked how they felt about being called sluts, the girls brushed it off as something that did not bother them, as long as they felt able to clearly distance themselves from any 'real slut' behaviour:

> Jordan: I don't really care because I know that it's not true so it doesn't really offend me, but some people it really would offend because some people really would […] think 'Oh am I really a slut, what have I done?'. Whereas I just know that I'm not, so I don't really care if people think that because I know that I'm not.
>
> Interviewer: How do other people feel about being called a slut?
>
> Isabelle: I just laugh about it because I know I'm not a slut, they're all idiots anyway. (Nods of agreement and laughs from group).

Violet went on in an attempt to plainly and pragmatically summarise the rules and expectations for girls in this context:

> Violet: Don't portray yourself as a slut, don't do things slutty, and then you won't really have a problem, even though people still call you slut, it's just like you know you're not. Whereas you can't say you're not really a slut, even though you're not, if you send a photo. That's proof that you don't care about yourself, your self-image.
>
> Interviewer: Is that like when you were talking about respect before?
>
> Violet: Yes, like the — I don't know how to put it in words. They can call you a slut if you DON'T send a photo, and you know no one can have evidence of the fact that 'You're a

slut.' You can be 'Hey I'm not a slut', and then they don't have anything to say. Whereas if someone who sent out a nude photo gets called a slut then they can be 'You showed people this photo so obviously you don't care about yourself much.'

5 Conclusion: The Need to Address Sexual Harassment More Explicitly in Narrative Resources

While both boys and girls were keenly perceptive of the sexism inherent in the slut-shaming they described, through these discussions both groups also reinforced the notion that some girls 'deserve' the slut label while others are 'innocent'. In our conversations, the character of Kate in *Tagged* served the purpose for them of defining someone who could and would be labelled a slut, whether or not she had actually engaged in any sexual activity, because she had, at some point, consensually taken a sexual self-image. Participants seemed less concerned with the unethical behaviour of the group of girls led by Kate, depicted in *Tagged* as starting the chain of events in the film, than they were with the fact that Kate had taken and sent a sexual self-image to Jack in the described social context of boys' assumed/expected untrustworthiness. Participants saw it as girls' responsibility to protect themselves from harassment by abstaining from any kind of potentially sexualised self-imaging practices, and strongly agreed that for girls sexting is 'so dumb'. These young people were highly articulate about gendered double standards when it comes to sex, sexting, and digital self-representation. What appeared more difficult for them, as for adults, was developing a *critique* of sexism, rather than perceiving sexism as a natural or inevitable part of social life on- and offline; a view potentially reinforced in heterosexualised and gendered sext education narratives such as *Tagged*.

Positioning themselves as smart and savvy, female participants generally agreed that *Tagged* depicted issues that did not greatly concern them. The narrative of *Tagged* and other similar gendered narratives perhaps require girls to distance themselves from 'girls like Kate' to appear savvy to each other as well as to adults. For the female participants, *Tagged* was a story of a girl who represented herself as a slut, in contrast to their stated concerns about 'the things you didn't do'—sexualised images taken without girls' consent, or false rumours online about sexual activities or self-images. Thus, although they did not name it directly as such, the girls expressed concern with sexualised cyberbullying, sexual harassment on- and offline, and forms of abusive, unauthorised digital sexual image production and sharing. The girls' discussion of slut-shaming highlights the contradiction inherent in the message that girls and young women are responsible for preventing unethical and harassing behaviour perpetrated by others, often in this social context by boys and young men. The discussions highlighted that, in the contemporary gendered social context, girls do not need to have taken any sexualised self-images consensually to be bullied or harassed by peers over sexual rumours. They could also be bullied as a result of nude or nearly-nude images that others claimed to be of them, body-revealing images taken without consent, and other kinds of sexually harassing and abusive practices. *Tagged* was

generally understood by participants as a depiction of 'bitchy girls', sexting, and bullying. It was not generally understood as also depicting *sexual harassment*. Nor did the girls articulate their concerns about 'things you didn't do' as a concern about sexual harassment or abuse. This, it would appear, is problematic.

Future narrative resources seeking to address sexting and cyberbullying could productively be much clearer with young people about what kind of behaviour constitutes *sexual harassment and abuse*, regardless of the motivations and intentions of perpetrators, and regardless of the actions of the girl victims. Being more explicit about sexual harassment and abuse in relation to sexting and cyberbullying practices could serve to support young people navigating everyday digital cultures. We may well even question the value and usefulness of the terms 'sexting' and 'cyberbullying' in conversations about digital ethics and cyber-safety with young people. These terms may potentially confuse or obscure key issues of sexism and harassment that should be of concern to adults wishing to protect children, highlighting as they do the newer, technological elements of much bigger, long-standing gendered social problems. As Ringrose argues regarding the usefulness of 'cyberbullying', "terms such as violence, technologically facilitated violence, harassment, abuse, hate-speech, conflict, sexism, racism, homophobia" are all more useful and accurate descriptions of the problems that need to be addressed among youth online, as in broader society (Ringrose, 2017, np.).

Considering the way narrative film resources are often used in schools in brief, one-off assemblies, it could be helpful for such resources to depict possible ways for young people to name, resist, and speak back to sexism, homophobia, and cultures of normative sexual harassment. Narrative resources that focus on ethical decision making processes, especially in regards to the actions of boys and men viewing, sharing, commenting on, or non-consensually taking images of girls' bodies—and that depict the possibility of *an ethical response by young men* in peer pressured situations—could be helpful. Further, unpacking the behaviours and practices associated with the slut label may provide an opportunity to open up discussions with young people to explore both the "pleasurable and coercive dimensions" of mediated sexual communication "that troubles any straightforward conclusions" (Ringrose, Harvey, Gill, & Livingstone, 2013, p. 308). Talking to young people about slut-shaming might equip them with ways of apprehending, speaking back to, and unpacking gendered and sexual norms and harassing behaviours which are part of their encounters with each other through and around technology.

In a social context where the slut label still carries significant affective charge and 'stickiness' (Ringrose & Erikson-Barajas, 2011), the kind of stories used to caution young people about their digital and social reputation must be very carefully considered so as not to reinforce sexual shame and self-blame for the young people concerned. The key challenge for those involved in designing narrative resources addressing sexting and cyberbullying is presenting scenarios that question rather than reproduce and reinforce longstanding gendered and heterosexualised logics of sexual double standards, victim blaming, and gendered harassment that happens on- and offline.

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Narrative Understanding Technologies for Intervention Against Cyberbullying

Jamie C. Macbeth

Abstract Prevention and intervention against cyberbullying among young people is a challenging and complex problem for parents, schools, and social media providers. Cyberbullying prevention campaigns provide general advice and encouragement, but often the most moving appeals against cyberbullying are videos and messages recorded by regular people and celebrities in which they describe their own real and personal experiences with cyberbullying. In this chapter we discuss a computerised collection of real narratives about cyberbullying that were contributed by visitors to a website as part of an anti-cyberbullying campaign. The database of stories can be used as a resource for victims of cyberbullying and for the education of perpetrators by allowing visitors to search for stories relevant to their situation. The narrative collection can also be used to inform the behaviour of intelligent agents built into the software of a social media platform to detect cyberbullying and intervene against it. For these applications to be practical, the software system must be able to match stories to a query from a user or to a set of interactions between users on the social media platform. We discuss current efforts and future challenges of computer-based story matching, topic modelling, parsing, and building computing systems to apply commonsense knowledge to understand and match stories to each other, in similar ways to people.

1 Introduction

Social networks and social media have enabled us to be better connected to friends, family and community, creating novel and interesting forms of positive social interaction and learning. However, these technologies have also enabled a set of negative and harmful social behaviours; studies indicate that about half of teens and adolescents have experienced cyberbullying in some form at least once (Bazelon, 2013;

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Slonje, Smith, & Frisn, 2013). Other studies indicate how experiences of online peer harassment can contribute to depression, decreased self-worth, hopelessness, and suicidal ideation among young people (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Nixon, 2014; Sampasa-Kanyinga, Roumeliotis, & Xu, 2014).

Campaigns to prevent cyberbullying typically work to provide general education about the problem for social media users. Most social media websites have features allowing users to report abuse or flag inappropriate content. Because social media systems are entirely software-based, intelligent software systems could be built directly into the social media technology with the goals of helping users and administrators detect cyberbullying, intervening against it, and providing educational resources. For example, Instagram's new anti-bullying filter (Holson, 2018) is among a host of cyberbullying prevention technologies that face the significant limitations of lexical methods that attempt to detect harmful language by searching for particular words (e.g., Davidson, Warmsley, Macy, & Weber, 2017). To be more effective, these systems need to respond in a way that is personalised and specific to the situation at hand (Lieberman, Dinakar, & Jones, 2011; Royen, Poels, Daelemans, & Vandebosch, 2015). One way to view the complex situations that constitute cyberbullying is to say that they are narratives representing particular contexts in the experiences of social media users.

Section 2 of this chapter discusses a collection of real narratives about cyberbullying that were contributed by visitors to a website called *Over the Line*. It discusses how a narrative collection can be used to inform the behaviour of intelligent agents to intervene against cyberbullying, and how such a database of stories may act as a resource to help victims and educate perpetrators, when people find stories that are relevant to their situation. Section 3 addresses the challenges inherent in building computer systems for organising collections of stories, and discusses automatic topic modelling, technologies for parsing the language in stories, applying commonsense knowledgebases, and systems for understanding stories in depth and in ways that reflect human cognition. Section 4 concludes the chapter.

2 Narratives as a Resource for Intervention

The website *A Thin Line*[1] forms part of a cyberbullying and digital abuse prevention campaign run by MTV, an American cable and satellite television channel popular among young adults. Because the shifting and increasing capabilities of mobile devices and web technologies have made it difficult to determine potential negative consequences whenever someone sends or posts something about themselves or someone else in digital form, the goals of *A Thin Line* are to promote conversation, and empower individuals to understand, identify, and respond to digital abuse.

[1] http://athinline.org.

A special section of *A Thin Line* called *Over the Line*[2] is devoted to narratives about digital abuse submitted by users. Visitors to the site can post stories about their online experiences, read stories submitted by other users, and rate the stories as being 'under the line', 'on the line', or 'over the line'—corresponding to the behaviour in the stories being acceptable, questionable, or unacceptable. Several thousand stories have been collected and can be browsed on the site (Weinstein & Selman, 2016). Users can also leave comments about stories, see the average ratings for stories, and share stories on Twitter and Facebook. The stories may be submitted anonymously, or with the author's first name, age, or gender.

2.1 Narratives as a Resource for Social Media Users

Hearing the experiences of others can move a person to think differently, change their opinions, and take action, particularly when the story connects with the reader's experiences and beliefs. If someone is facing a difficult situation in relation to social media behaviour and trying to figure out what to do next, the right narrative allows them to carefully consider their next action in light of what they have read. This may give someone the opportunity to reflect on potential consequences, and how what they are thinking of doing might adversely affect others. There may also be opportunities for a site user to experience empathy when they learn that others are in similar situations (Davis, Randall, Ambrose, & Orand, 2015).

The collection of thousands of stories, story ratings, and comments submitted by users to *Over the Line* comprises a computerised narrative database and a significant resource for mobile app users and visitors to the website (Weinstein & Selman, 2016; Weinstein et al., 2016). But to fully benefit from this digitised narrative collection, and be inspired to use better online behaviour, visitors must be able to locate stories in the database that are relevant to the situation they face. *Over the Line* has a 'Similar Stories' button that sends the user to a page showing the original story and allows them to view one or more similar stories. It also allows the user to submit their own narrative into the system, and to search for similar stories submitted by other users.

Building the 'Similar Stories' feature into the website interface requires some system or algorithm which, given a story, finds similar stories in the database. It has motivated investigations into computer technologies that analyse the texts of stories to determine how similar one story is to another, or to organise the stories into groups based on some criteria of similarity (Dinakar et al., 2012b).

[2] http://athinline.org/overtheline.

2.2 *Narratives as a Resource for Intelligent Detection Systems*

Because web-based social media platforms are entirely computerised, they are an ideal site for automating intervention against cyberbullying. A social media platform 'knows' everything that is going on because it maintains a history of all interactions between users, including user profile information, all posts, comments, tags, 'friend' and 'follow' requests and responses to such requests. An automated cyberbullying detection agent built into the platform software can monitor all such interactions between users, along with the stored history of those users' interactions. It can search for patterns that indicate harmful behaviour with the potential of intervening automatically in real time.

Even so, cyberbullying presents significant technical challenges when designing interfaces and intelligent agents that intervene against cyberbullying. For example, Dinakar, Jones, Havasi, Lieberman, and Picard (2012a) propose artificial intelligence (AI) systems and user interfaces that encourage users to reflect on a possible harmful post they are about to send, instead of the system censoring the post completely. This limits the annoyance to users when the detection system is not 100% accurate (Royen, Poels, Vandebosch, & Adam, 2017). But it is difficult to use stored information to detect cyberbullying on social media platforms. Cyberbullying is highly contextual and highly personalised. It can use sarcasm, rhetorical devices, or figurative speech (Dinakar, Reichart, & Lieberman, 2011). Detecting a cyberbullying post not only involves the text of that post, but the context of complex sequences of interactions involving multiple user accounts, messages, and sequences of actions and events. The complexity and variety of bullying situations makes cyberbullying extremely difficult for AI systems to detect and interpret (Kontostathis, Edwards, & Leatherman, 2010).

Ideally, a story about cyberbullying will describe the events that occurred on the social media platform, representing the real experiences of being cyberbullied. Therefore a collection of stories about cyberbullying, such as that in *Over the Line*, is a source of knowledge about the patterns of communication and user activity that an AI cyberbullying detection system should look for. The detection system can analyse events, interactions, and the textual content of those interactions among users of the platform, and attempt to match them to events in a story about cyberbullying.

The ability of intelligent systems and interfaces to intervene in this way, however, hinges on the capacity of the automated system provided on a social media platform to detect a pattern in social media activity that corresponds to the activity described in a previously-analysed narrative. If the system can map the roles of characters and the story author onto the real-life activity and the history of interactions between the user of the social media platform, the real-time intervention can expose participants to different types of content depending on their role in the situation. This is equivalent in many ways to the 'Similar Stories' feature of *Over the Line*, but with the difference that data about social media activity (posts, likes, friend requests) is almost instantly being matched with a natural language story about social media activity.

3 Story Similarity Technologies

Searching for a matching story is nothing like searching through news articles or Wikipedia pages, however, where the interest is to search for well-known people, places or things based on their names. And a key-word search for a story theme based on the term for that theme may not work, since the term typically does not appear in the story. For example, most stories about revenge porn do not have the words 'revenge porn' in the text of the story.

A database search focuses instead on identfiying the kinds of situations, acts, and events that can occur. This section discusses a number of technologies that have been proposed or implemented specifically for story matching, and the identification of story similarity in stories about cyberbullying.

3.1 Topic Modeling

The *Over the Line* website currently uses a topic modelling method called Latent Dirichlet Allocation (Blei, Ng, & Jordan, 2003) to identify 'topics' in its story collection, and uses the presence of one or more topics in a story to determine its similarity to another story.

Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) represents a topic simply as a set of words. The *cluster* of topic words does not need to appear in any particular order, or even in the same phrase or sentence, they only need to appear somewhere in the story. The LDA algorithm discovers a topic definition by finding sets of words that tend to appear together in several stories. It performs a statistical analysis of the entire collection of stories, and, in the process, constructs several topic models. Because LDA only uses the texts of the stories, and doesn't require a person to annotate the texts or specify the topics beforehand, it is known as an *unsupervised machine learning* method for topic modelling.

Once the topic modelling is complete, the LDA algorithm also calculates a number representing the strength of each word cluster topic in each story, based on the presence or frequency of topic words. This allows an automated system to compare any two stories for similarity by comparing the presence and numerical strength of the topics in each story. Finally, each set of topic cluster words is presented to human raters, who determine a name for the theme represented by that particular topic.

An LDA analysis of a corpus of 5500 stories from the *Over the Line* website produced 30 topic wordclusters which are currently used by the site for similarity matching (Dinakar et al., 2012b; Lieberman, Dinakar, & Jones, 2013). Figure 1 shows an example of the topic breakdown for a story from the *Over the Line* story collection.

"Last week, I found out that my boyfriend cheated on me with a friend. He doesn't know that I know. I was very hurt and I wanted to get him back, so two days ago I slept with his older brother. I kind of feel bad, but we're even... right?"

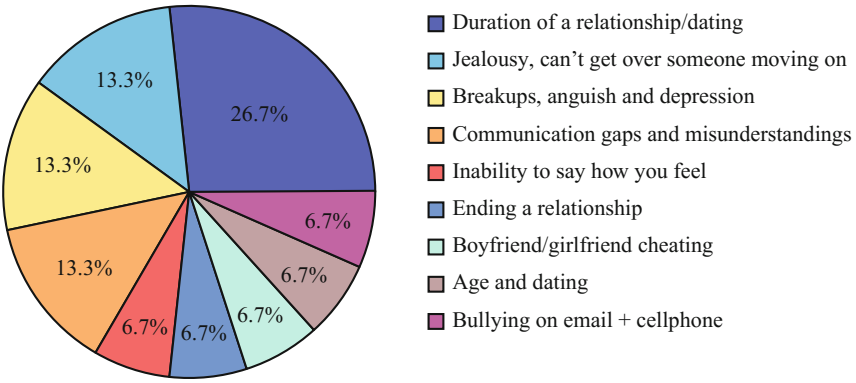

Fig. 1 A topic breakdown of an *Over the Line* story created by the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) story matching system. The highest topic match was for "Duration of a relationship/dating", even though there was no mention of the length of the relationship

3.2 Automatic Parsing

There are several drawbacks to using a topic modeling method such as LDA for story matching, as illustrated in Fig. 1.

This story contains words associated with nine different topic clusters. But words from, say, the 'Age and dating' topic cluster could combine in various ways with words from the 'Jealousy' topic cluster to mean diffierent things than are conveyed by the words in each topic cluster presented alone. In this story, the highest topic match was for a topic named 'Duration of a relationship/dating', even though there was no mention of the length of the relationship.

Because the topic models used on the *Over the Line* site are represented by clusters of words that have no grammatical or syntactic information, this approach is known as a 'bag-of-words' representation (Lieberman et al., 2013). This can make the topic modelling matching method inaccurate in cases where the same words can be rearranged to mean something very different. The next section presents an approach to story matching that achieves better automated story matching capability by integrating information about the sequence of words in the text with knowledge about grammar and English syntax.

3.2.1 The Stanford NLP Dependency Parser

Fortunately, it is possible to take syntactic contexts into account. Macbeth, Adeyema, Lieberman, and Fry (2013) describe how computer-based matching may run an

automated parsing system on a story that attaches grammatical and syntactic labels to words, phrases, and sentences in the story texts.

The system uses the Stanford Natural Language Processing system (De Marneffe, Maccartney, & Manning, 2006; Klein & Manning, 2003) which includes English natural language parsers. The parser is implemented by analysing texts that have been annotated by humans, so it is known as a *supervised machine learning* system.

In particular, the system in Macbeth et al. (2013) uses the Stanford NLP parser to identify hierarchical relationships between pairs of words in a sentence to figure out which word or phrase modifies another word or phrase. This is called a *dependency parse*, and it allows the system to identify the main verb, subject, and object of a sentence.

A story matching system scans the form of a dependency parse to pick out the key concepts of a sentence in one story for comparison with a sentence in another story. Figure 2 shows examples of dependency parses and how they might be used as the first step in a similarity matching of two brief one-sentence stories that reflect the kinds of stories in *Over the Line*. For example, the main verb of the sentence on the left, "trashed", can be easily identified and matched with the main verb of the sentence on the right, "insulted". The subject of the sentence on the left, "she", can be matched with the subject of the sentence on the right, "ex-boyfriend", and so on. This approach can successfully identify similarities between the stories.

Stories	*"She trashed me on Facebook."*				*"My ex-boyfriend insulted me on his blog."*		
Parses	type	governor	dependent		type	governor	dependent
					POSS	ex-boyfriend	my
	NSUBJ	trashed	she	⟷	NSUBJ	insulted	ex-boyfriend
	ROOT	-	trashed	⟷	ROOT	-	insulted
	DOBJ	trashed	me	⟷	DOBJ	insulted	me
					POSS	blog	his
	PREP_ON	trashed	Facebook	⟷	PREP_ON	insulted	blog

Fig. 2 Dependency parses for matching two sentences reminiscent of those in stories on *Over the Line*. Each dependency relationship consists of the dependency type, the dependent word, and the governor word. For the dependency types, 'poss' represents a possessive pronoun, 'nsubj' the nominal subject, 'dobj' the direct object, and 'prep_on' the on preposition. The main verb of each sentence is the 'root'. Each line with a double arrow represents a matching dependency relationship

3.3 Using a Commonsense Knowledge Database

Basing story similarity on a syntactic parse of the story allows the order in which words and phrases appear to be taken into account. However, determining which word in the sentence is the verb or which noun phrase is the object is only a small part of determining the meaning of a sentence. An automated story similarity system can also examine the similarities of meaning in words themselves rather than just their part-of-speech categories. A separate system called a commonsense knowledge base can calculate a similarity measure of two words based on the knowledge and facts it contains about items, objects, events, and relationships.

In the system described by Macbeth et al. (2013), a commonsense database called ConceptNet (Speer & Havasi, 2012) automatically generates a numerical similarity measure between pairs of words which were matched through the dependency parsing system. ConceptNet is a semantic representation of over a million items of commonsense statements collected from humans online through the Open Mind Common Sense (OMCS) project (Singh et al., 2002). For example ConceptNet has the concepts 'Facebook' and 'MySpace' and a 'RelatedTo' relation between them, indicating that they are related concepts. There is also an 'Is-A' relation between 'Facebook' and the concept 'Social Networking Platform', indicating that Facebook is a type of social network.

In the Fig. 2 example, a restricted set of dependency types in the grammatical structure of each sentence would be matched and tested. These queries would test the truth of the assertions "She is an ex-boyfriend" and "Trashed is an insulted". ConceptNet responds to each query with a numerical value indicating its calculation of the truth of the query. This system can then sum the values returned by ConceptNet into an overall match for the sentence. A global similarity score between stories is then calculated as the sum of the similarity scores for the individual sentences.

3.4 Story Matching by Story Understanding

The system described by Macbeth et al. (2013), which parses and tries to match words in stories, assumes that stories about the same kinds of things have similar syntax, which may not be true. Although it does consider the ordering of words, comparing word-by-word ignores the fact that words can mean something different in isolation than they do in combination. The Stanford NLP Parser + ConceptNet system does not appreciate how the subject, verb and object of a sentence fit together to represent an event in the story, and it also does not infer the unstated facts and events and actions that a human reader of a story would be likely to understand based on their commonsense knowledge. What might be helpful here is an AI story 'understander'.

Many stories about cyberbullying involve multiple story characters interacting through complex chains of actions and events. For example, a story type that appears

Revenge-1	Revenge-2
"My ex-girlfriend accused me of doing drugs and being gay and stingy, announcing her point of view in public on my Facebook wall. What would you do? Would you delete the message and let it go, or spam her Web site!!!!?"	*"I thought I loved my boyfriend and I stripped for him on Skype while on vacation, but I was wrong. We had a messy break up. I moved on, and he didn't. He was pissed, so he sent pictures of me to my sorority and got me kicked out."*

Fig. 3 Two actual stories from the *Over the Line* database. Each story is an example of an ex-girlfriend or ex-boyfriend seeking revenge after a breakup, but each uses very different sentence grammar and semantics

frequently on *Over the Line* follows the 'revenge porn' pattern, in which an ex-boyfriend or ex-girlfriend takes revenge by sending intimate pictures or messages to a public forum after a breakup. Figure 3 compares two stories contributed to *Over the Line* which follow this basic pattern.

A number of factors make automatically matching stories like this difficult, even with the tools previously discussed. Naming just a few of the challenges:

1. **Coreference**: The stories use different expressions to refer to the same entity (or kind of entity). For example, in Revenge-2 the pronoun "we" is used to refer to the story author and their boyfriend together, while "I", "me" and "he" refer to story author and the boyfriend separately. The story understanding system needs to determine which entity is referred to by each of these expressions so that it can track who or what was involved in each story event. Also, Revenge-1 uses the phrase "announcing her point of view in public on my Facebook wall", which requires the reader to understand that the "point of view" refers to the "accusation of using drugs, being gay and stingy" as being what was posted on Facebook.
2. **Inferring unstated events**: Although Revenge-1 explicitly identifies an ex-girlfriend as a story character, Revenge-2 never explicitly mentions the 'ex-boyfriend' or 'ex-girlfriend' concept. A story understander must infer from the mention of "boyfriend" and the break-up that "he" refers to an ex-boyfriend in order to see the similarity with Revenge-1. Similarly, Revenge-1 never explicitly mentions a break-up, but ending the relationship can be inferred from the term "ex-girlfriend".
3. **Plans and goals**: Knowledge of the plans and goals of both the perpetrator and the victim of a cyberbullying act are also necessary to understand the act. For example, in Revenge-2, a human reader understands that the writer had a goal of remaining in the sorority, and that the cyberbully sent pictures to members of the sorority as a plan to hurt the writer by causing a goal failure.

The successful performance of these kinds of subtasks is required to understand both stories in a way that achieves a more accurate story similarity measure. Performing these subtasks is effortless for human readers who are matching these stories, but difficult for computers to accomplish.

Story understanding systems need to be able to figure out who the actors are in the story, and they have to track the acts that people in the story perform and how those acts affect other people or things in the story. A story understanding system has to know the goals of actors and what plans the actors might have for accomplishing those goals. Story characters may perform acts that help other characters in accomplishing their goals, or that make their goals harder to achieve or completely unachievable.

This section discusses how automatic matching of complex stories about cyberbullying requires that the AI system doing the matching understands the story. It also describes the work done by an automated, computer-based story understanding system called Genesis in the matching process.

3.4.1 The Genesis Story Understander

The Genesis system aims to understand the nature of human intelligence through story understanding and composition (Williams, Lieberman, & Winston, 2017; Winston, 2011, 2014). Genesis can read an input story and extract facts from it, but it can also deduce unstated facts, infer subtexts, abstract causality, and understand relationships between characters in the story. For example, Genesis is capable of recognising the plot of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* as being an example of revenge.

Genesis understands a story by parsing it and identifying all of the characters, objects and places in the story as well as facts about them and their described characteristics. It maintains a data structure representing how story characters and objects take part in acts and events within the story and the temporal order of these acts and events. It tracks the story's human characters' locations, emotional and affective states, attitudes towards other entities and characters, and causality relationships. Genesis represents how the state of the world changes as a result of an event or act, and can infer facts about characters and objects—or that certain actions, events, and changes of state occurred in the story—because they make sense in the story context, even when they are not explicitly stated.

3.4.2 Commonsense Rules and Reflective Knowledge

Genesis achieves these aims in part by processing a set of 'commonsense' rules that it applies to understanding the input story (Fig. 4). Each commonsense rule has an antecedent and a consequent. Each rule also has one or more variables ("XX" and "YY" in Fig. 4) that represent roles that story characters and objects can assume. The antecedent represents a fact that must be true in order for the rule to apply. If the antecedent fact is true in the story, applying the rule adds the consequent fact to the set of facts that are true in the story.

antecedent	*consequent*
"If XX is YY's mother,"	"then XX is YY's parent."
"If XX is YY's father,"	"then XX is YY's parent."
"If XX is YY's parent,"	"then XX is older than YY."

Fig. 4 Genesis's commonsense rules refer to facts about the world, while allowing story characters and objects to assume roles within the rule

```
Start description of "Revenge".
        XX is an entity.
        YY is an entity.
        XX's harming YY leads to YY's harming XX.
        The end.
```

Fig. 5 An example of a reflective knowledge structure defining the abstract concept 'revenge' in the Genesis story understander

For example the first rule in Fig. 4 has "If XX is YY's mother," as an antecedent and "then XX is YY's parent" as a consequent. Genesis also understands stories by applying 'reflective knowledge' structures which are matched to the events in the story to detect patterns and to deduce causality relationships within stories. Figure 5 shows examples of a reflective knowledge structure representing revenge. As with commonsense rules, reflective knowledge structures have one or more variables that represent roles that story characters and objects can assume in the pattern. For example, the 'revenge' reflective knowledge structure recognises the pattern of one person

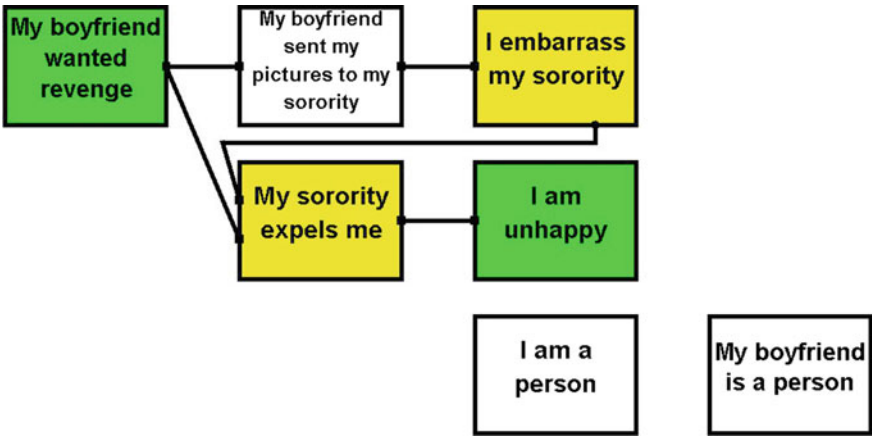

Fig. 6 An example of a Genesis causality graph based on a revenge story

harming another, and the victim of harm seeking to harm the original perpetrator in return. Genesis will match a story such as "Macbeth harmed Macduff. Macduff harmed Macbeth" to the revenge pattern, and can deduce the causality relationship that Macduff harmed Macbeth because Macbeth harmed Macduff.

When deducing causality relationships between story events, Genesis organises the events into a causality graph. Figure 6 shows a visualised example of a causality graph, highlighted to show matches between reflective knowledge structures. The events and facts matching a reflective knowledge structure are highlighted in green, while events and facts deduced only through commonsense rules are highlighted in yellow. Facts deduced directly from the text are shown in white. Causality is indicated by a black line connecting a cause to its effect.

3.4.3 Story Matching with Genesis

These mechanisms and structures of Genesis's story understanding process can be applied to story matching in a variety of ways. The simplest kind of matching would match two stories with the same reflective knowledge structure. For example, two stories that both match the revenge structure would be considered to match each other.

It is also possible to allow for 'partial' matches in which the facts of a story match not all, but only some of the elements of a reflective knowledge structure, allowing stories to match the structure strongly or weakly. This technique can be used to place each story in a collection of stories into one or more reflective knowledge structure categories, allowing a story exploration system to show the user what abstract concepts played a role in the match, as well as what structures or events in each story most closely connect it to other stories. Ideally, the advantage of a matching system based on an effective story understander is that it can take account of how events or acts in one story might change the characters' emotional states in similar ways to the acts and events in another story.

3.5 Enhancing Story Understanding Through Primitive Decomposition

Unfortunately, there are issues concerning the flexibility with which Genesis can apply its knowledge structures to stories. What if the story above read "Macbeth performed a harmful act towards Macduff" rather than "Macbeth harmed Macduff"? Genesis will not be able to apply its reflective knowledge structure for revenge, because it reads "XX harming YY", not "XX performing a harmful act towards YY". Genesis processes its knowledge structures to stories by matching their words, and the verb "harm" does not match the verb "perform".

This 'paraphrase problem', the fact that there are many different ways of saying the same thing, is a major and general challenge for all AI systems that perform natural language processing and story understanding. It is also known in linguistics by the term *linguistic variation* (Walker, 2010) which describes cases where differences in linguistic form do not correspond to any significant difference in meaning. Responding to this challenge, early AI researchers devised solutions to the problems caused by paraphrase and linguistic variation by representing meaning in non-linguistic conceptual representations. These *primitive decomposition* systems (Macbeth, 2017; Schank, 1972; Wilks & Fass, 1992) represent the semantics of natural language while avoiding grammar, syntax, and even words and phrases, in favour of the decompositions of meanings into complex combinations of primitive concepts.

As an example, one of the first demonstrations of using primitive decomposition was a system called MARGIE (Schank, Goldman, Rieger, & Riesbeck, 1975), which analysed natural language input and generated natural language output in the form of inferences and paraphrases. Figure 7 shows an example of MARGIE working in paraphrase mode. To analyse its input text, MARGIE built a representation of its meaning in a primitive decomposition system called Conceptual Dependency (Lytinen, 1992; Schank, 1972, 1975). Conceptual Dependency (CD) decomposes meanings into complex structures based on combinations of 'language-free' conceptual primitives reflecting the imagery and representations in people's minds about

Input:	Mary killed John by choking John.
Output 1:	Mary strangled John.
Output 2:	Mary choked John and he died because he could not breathe.
Output 3:	John died because he was unable to inhale some air and he was unable to inhale some air because Mary grabbed his neck.

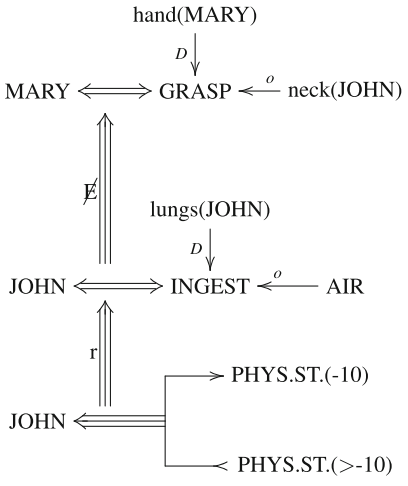

Fig. 7 Left: input and output from the MARGIE demo, taken from Schank et al. (1975). These outputs were generated from MARGIE's paraphrase mode, which generated and printed natural language paraphrases as output based on the natural language sentence given as input. The text shown is modified slightly from the original, exchanging the roles of Mary and John. Note how these sentences have very similar meanings, but are very different syntactically. Right: a Conceptual Dependency diagram example which would likely be produced by the conceptual analysis process on the input sentence "Mary killed John by choking John"

real-world acts and events, and the changes in the state of the world that result from them (Macbeth & Barionnette, 2016; Macbeth et al., 2017), see the right hand side of Fig. 7).

Rather than paraphrasing by performing syntactic transformations, or word-by-word and phrase-by-phrase substitutions on the input sentence, MARGIE generated paraphrases by mapping CD structures for a variety of word senses and syntactic structures onto the CD structure generated by the conceptual analysis of the input text to produce a set of surface realisations. MARGIE could thus paraphrase using a complex verb like "strangle" (Output 1) whose meaning and conceptual structure represents a collection of several primitive events that are not mentioned explicitly in the input text. It could also paraphrase using a "low-level description" (Output 3) that does include details about John's inability to inhale air, Mary's act of grabbing John's neck, and the causal links between those acts. Through conceptual analysis, MARGIE could analyse the same story when it was expressed in many different ways, and it could express that story in many different ways as well.

MARGIE illustrates one of the chief benefits of conceptual primitive decomposition: it creates a substrate for deep relations between concepts and varieties of language expressions that make for a more effective human-like natural language understanding, promoting the capacity to match narratives. The main challenge in using these systems, and the subject of current work, is to build an effective *conceptual analyzer* that converts natural language expressions into non-linguistic decomposed primitive representations (Birnbaum & Selfridge, 1975; Cambria, Poria, Hazarika, & Kwok, 2018; Macbeth & Grandic, 2017; Macbeth & Roberts, 2018; Riesbeck, 1975).

4 Conclusion

A database of narratives about online behaviour curated by social media users, along with their associated ratings and comments, provides an invaluable tool for an intervention against cyberbullying. A key part to this utility is the intelligent systems that facilitate exploration and navigation of the stories, both for the general public and for intervention software that runs on social media platforms. The approaches described and proposed in this chapter combine natural language processing and story understanding techniques to achieve a greater level of accuracy in matching personal stories.

Cyberbullying intervention is broad, highly personalised, and varied. It is likely to require future work that focuses on AI research that builds tools to scientifically explore the nature of human intelligence as it is applied to the understanding of narratives (Winston, 2012a, b). These systems have the potential to enhance our ability to perform good social deeds and to prevent harmful ones by providing an account of human emotional intelligence to wider arrays of society, and by inspiring individuals and organizations to combat harmful behaviours on social media and build empathy among its users.

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Part V
Narratives and Community-Level Responses

Celebrities' Experience with Cyberbullying: A Framing Analysis of Celebrity Stories in Online News Articles in Teen Magazines

Gaëlle Ouvrein, Heidi Vandebosch and Charlotte J. S. De Backer

Abstract Seeking to increase knowledge about the content and underlying messages in news articles about celebrities' experiences with cyberbullying, this chapter reports upon the results of a framing analysis. A total of $N = 106$ online articles were selected from two popular American celebrity teen magazines, *Seventeen* and *Twist* magazine. The analysis revealed 10 frames that could be classified within two themes. The first group of frames focused on celebrities' experience of cyberbullying, citing its negative consequences and pointing to the uncontrollable character of the situation. In contrast, the second group of frames defended the idea that the situation could be handled by using the 'right' coping strategies. Suggested coping strategies were found on three levels: behavioral, cognitive and social. The dominant behavioral coping frame was that of 'biting back', representing celebrities fighting back against the bully by making sassy comments, a strategy that was also largely encouraged by journalists. On a cognitive level, celebrities strongly stressed the importance of a positive stand towards the cyberbullying experience, for instance by believing in positive outcomes associated with the ways the experience was handled. Finally, on a social level, looking for help was strongly encouraged, particularly if it was available nearby. The implications of this study are discussed in terms of their potential for supporting future anti-cyberbullying prevention and intervention initiatives.

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1 Introduction

Several studies indicate that celebrities are often the object of negative online comments. Claessens and Van den Bulck (2014), for instance, point to the quite judgmental and often mean tone of readers' reactions to celebrity stories (Claessens & Van den Bulck, 2014; Thelwall, Sud, & Vis, 2012). Other studies also reveal more direct 'attacks' aimed at celebrities (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). Such direct attacks can regularly be observed on Twitter, as the platform allows direct and easy contact between the audience and celebrities (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). These practices of online attacking of celebrities are often referred to as 'celebrity bashing', a behavior that is regularly considered to be a 'normal' part of celebrities' life, and one that has minimal impact (Johansson, 2008; Ouvrein, Vandebosch, & De Backer, 2017). This is not always the case, however. Celebrity-victims often struggle with negative feelings as a result of these bashing practices, experiencing it as a form of cyberbullying (Ouvrein et al., 2017; Pyzalski, 2011; Rojek, 2001). The negativity of these experiences have motivated some celebrity-victims to take a public stand against cyberbullying, by supporting or even creating anti-bullying campaigns or organisations (e.g. Lady Gaga's 'Born this Way' foundation), or maybe just by sharing their story via their personal social media accounts, or via the (celebrity) news media. This latter type of story is the kind that interests this study.

More specifically, this chapter focuses on celebrities' experiences of cyberbullying, as described in news articles in online teen magazines. Studying these articles is especially relevant to young adults, both because cyberbullying is a common problem amongst adolescents (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014) and also because adolescents often consider celebrities to be role models (Giles & Maltby, 2004). As a result, celebrities' stories might influence the perceptions, attitudes and behaviors of adolescent cyberbullies, bystanders, and victims. Indeed, reports on celebrities' victimization experience might be especially relevant (Boon & Lomore, 2001; Resnik, Bellmore, Xu, & Zhu, 2016) for young people who have been the target of harmful online actions themselves. Earlier research has already indicated that reading the stories of fellow-sufferers can help people cope with their own problem, particularly if these stories suggest appropriate emotional, cognitive or behavioral strategies (e.g. Coulson & Knibb, 2007; Davis, Randall, Ambrose, & Orand, 2015; White & Dorman, 2001) for dealing with the situation. The question raised here, then, is: which coping strategies are mentioned in news articles about celebrities' experiences with cyberbullying and are these the 'right' coping strategies according to the research? Departing from a framing perspective, this chapter therefore looks at how (celebrity) cyberbullying victimisation is portrayed, and what solutions are suggested in popular teen magazines. It will start with an overview of what is known about news stories on cyberbullying victimisation, and how celebrities might play a role in these stories.

2 (News) Stories on Cyberbullying Victimization

Several studies have analyzed the news coverage of cyberbullying. They suggest that the amount of attention for this topic has risen over the years (Haddon & Stald, 2009; Vermeulen & Vandebosch, 2014) and that the framing is indicating a 'moral panic' approach (Ryalls, 2012; Vandebosch, Simulioniene, Marczak, Vermeulen, & Bonetti, 2013; Young, Subramanian, Miles, Hinnant, & Andsager, 2016). More specifically, an international study of newspapers (Vandebosch et al., 2013) revealed that articles with case study examples were the most prevalent media reports of cyberbullying, followed by articles focusing on policy, action or/and interventions, and research-focused articles. Of the moral panic cyberbullying case studies, those that were related to the suicide of young people (e.g., the cases of Megan Meier, Tyler Clementi, Phoebe Prince,…) received particular attention (Thom, Edwards, Nakarada-Kordic, McKenna, O'Brien, & Nairn, 2011; Vandebosch et al., 2013; Young et al., 2016). These articles often ignored the multi-causal nature of suicide, and emphasized the role of technology in generating the victims' distress (Thom et al., 2011; Vandebosch et al., 2013). Several authors (Ryalls, 2012; Thom et al., 2011) have criticized this tendency to associate cyberbullying with suicide, as it may mislead adults and policymakers about ways to address the issues raised and emphasise short term, repressive solutions. Furthermore, this type of coverage does not provide positive models about how young people might cope with cyberbullying, and this coverage is thus of limited use to young people who are themselves victims. Indeed, it might even inspire them to opt for the same negative 'solution' (Gould, Jamieson & Romer, 2003; Stack, 2005).

Stories on cyberbullying victimisation, and how youngsters try to deal with this challenge, are not only carried to the audience via news media. The online environment also offers young people the opportunity to share their experience, and to directly ask for (or offer) support and advice (Davis et al., 2015; White & Dorman, 2001). For instance, several known victims of cyberbullying have produced and posted YouTube videos (e.g., the cyberbullying video of Amanda Todd). Others have chosen to share their stories on dedicated anti-bullying websites, or online fora, or helplines. An analysis of victims' posts and bystanders' reactions carried on Flemish and Dutch online youth helplines (Bastiaensens, Vandebosch, & Poels, 2018, see chapter ""Were You Cyberbullied? Let Me Help You." Studying Adolescents' Online Peer Support of Cyberbullying Victims Using Thematic Analysis of Online Support Group Fora"), reveals that victims often ask for advice and information as kinds of social support (e.g. Why am I being bullied? What should I do?). Bystanders—who are often 'experts through experience'—offer emotional, social, appraisal, instrumental and informational support. For instance, they discourage the use of certain coping strategies (e.g. committing suicide, engaging in self-harm, and taking physical revenge), while they recommend others (e.g. seeking help from parents and friends).

Apart from (everyday) young people, (young) celebrities are also the targets of online aggression, testifying about the problem and how they are trying to deal with

it through the posts they make on their social media accounts. Kylie Jenner, for instance, discussed the problem of cyberbullying several times on her Instagram account, referring to her own experiences, and offering support to other victims (Seventeen, 2015). These actions are often magnified by news media and celebrity gossip sites that pick up these commentaries and write news articles on the topic, describing the celebrity involved as an exemplary figure, and somebody to aspire to (Morey, Eagle, Kemp, Jones, & Verne, 2011). Other celebrities have tried to tackle the problem by lending their support to campaigns, or starting their own (Panis & Van den Bulck, 2012).

Previous research indicates that people have a tendency to mimic the actions of those who are considered to be more prestigious (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001). Given their famous status, and the audience's high interest in them, celebrities are often positioned as powerful actors to address social and health-related issues, such as climate change (e.g., Boykoff & Goodman, 2009), smoking (e.g., Yoo, 2016) and cancer (e.g., Larson, Woloshin, Schwartz, & Welch, 2005). Especially during adolescence, a period characterised by the search for new role models, celebrities often set an example for their fans. In a study by Spitzberg & Cupach (2008), for instance, almost three quarters of the students surveyed indicated that they had adored at least one celebrity during adolescence (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2008). As role models, celebrities can contribute to the reflexive understanding and awareness of the young person themself, and the broader identity-construction work of adolescence (Boon & Lomore, 2001). Research further indicates that adolescents who maintain a strong identification with celebrities closely monitor their social media accounts and news stories about them (Chia & Poo, 2009), being more likely to be inspired by the lifestyle and attitude of their favorite stars (Boon & Lomore, 2001).

Given that adolescents are often involved in cyberbullying situations, it is useful to gain insight into how celebrities talk about their own cyberbullying experiences. Celebrity cyberbullying stories might provide support for victims and initiate attitudinal change among perpetrators and bystanders (Bennett, 2014). On the other hand, they could also reinforce existing attitudes of disengagement or promote maladaptive coping strategies. Whether a celebrity-linked testimonial produces a positive or negative effect in the adolescent audience depends largely on the nature of the news coverage, or the so called 'frame' within which the news article is written (Myrick, 2017). Frames "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). One study has indicated that by using frames that focus on the gains that came out of a negative health situation (i.e. a serious illness experienced by a celebrity), readers developed more hope and optimistic attitudes about people in similar situations (Myrick, 2017). In contrast, news articles that represented a loss framework created stronger feelings of fear (Myrick, 2017) and concern. In further study (Holton, Lee, & Coleman, 2014), the use of a positive frame when describing a health issue in a celebrity news story appeared to encourage readers' responsiveness, and convince some audience members to share their own personal story.

3 This Study

In order to judge the potential impact of celebrity stories, there is a need for more information about how celebrities describe their cyberbullying experiences and about the news frames used by journalists to build a news story around celebrity testimonials. Accordingly, this chapter will report on a framing analysis of news articles that discuss celebrity accounts of encounters with cyberbullying. This framing analysis offers several benefits. The method is highly flexible, allowing for a systematic and objective investigation while paying attention to the broader context of the events described (Krippendorff, 1980), which is important for the analysis of a complex problem such as cyberbullying, as the behaviour is greatly influenced by context variables (Mishna, Saini, & Solomon, 2009). Moreover, the investigation of celebrity news articles which include original celebrity quotes generates authentic data (Kozinets, 2002) from a group that is otherwise difficult to recruit for research. Using journalistic articles which include celebrity quotes also offers an opportunity to analyse the interplay between different media frames as these are reflected in the celebrity's discourse on the one hand and the frame in which the media cover the story on the other.

4 Methodology

4.1 Sample

News articles incorporating celebrity cyberbullying stories were collected on the websites of two celebrity teen magazines, *Seventeen* and *Twist* magazine. These magazines were selected based on their popularity and the availability of a search function on their websites. *Seventeen* has more than 2 million subscribers for the print version, and 9.2 million social media followers (AdSprouts, 2017a): the biggest American teen magazine offline and online. *Twist* magazine has a smaller circulation with 164,000 print subscribers and almost 3 million social media followers (AdSprouts, 2017b). Both magazines offer their readers the latest celebrity news combined with information on fashion and lifestyle choices (AdSprouts, 2017a, b). Teen girls are their most important audience demographic (AdSprouts, 2017a, b).

Three steps were taken to obtain data for the study. Firstly, following the inclusion strategy adopted by several cyberbullying meta-analyses (Kowalski et al., 2014; Van Cleemput et al., 2014), the search terms included variants of 'online bullying' (cyberbullying, cyber bullying, online bullying, Internet bullying) and variants for perpetrators and victims of online bullying (harasser, bully, victim). Secondly, only articles about celebrities were included. A celebrity was defined as "someone that stands out because they have either achieved something or because they have their status attributed to them by inheritance or by media and audiences" (Rojek, 2001). Furthermore, the celebrity definition was further restricted to entertainment

celebrities, as they most frequently function as role models for adolescents (Jorge, 2015). Both teen celebrities and adult celebrities were included, as both categories have been mentioned as 'favorite celebrities' in previous research with adolescents (Jorge, 2015). Thirdly, given a focus on authentic celebrity stories, no articles were used that concerned campaigns or other initiatives for which celebrities were paid an endorsement fee in exchange for their testimonial. This exclusion strategy follows Potter and Hepburn's (2005) advice to study topics grounded in actual experience, developed within a natural context. The final research sample consisted of 106 original articles, 56 articles from *Seventeen* (52.8%) and 50 from *Twist* magazine (47.2%). All articles were published online between January 2012 and May 2017.

4.2 Coding Process

Before starting the qualitative analysis, all articles received a unique identification (ID). Moreover, each article was given a pro forma with the title scanned, the name of the celebrity involved, the type of bullying considered (cyberbullying versus traditional bullying), and the role assigned to the celebrity in the article (as bully, victim or bystander). A framing analysis was subsequently conducted to further analyze the data.

Firstly, all articles were subject to open coding. By analysing word choice, metaphors used, examples provided, etc., the researchers were able to broadly interpret the data and form initial impressions of points of similarity and difference with other coverage. This later formed the basis for thematic analysis (Van Gorp, 2007). Given the sensationalist motivation underlying much of the American celebrity news reporting (Esser, 1999), and the importance of impression management that underpins celebrities' online public behaviour (Van den Bulck & Claessens, 2013), it was also deemed necessary to separately investigate the framing of celebrity quotes on the one hand, and journalistic framing of the article on the other. Following the approach promoted by Van Gorp (2005), additional codes were added to distinguish and then compare both types of framing. Following on from the open coding, Entman's (1993) four reasoning devices were determined for all articles classified in the same theme: problem, cause, solution and moral evaluation. Finally, frames were further investigated by clustering together news articles that used the same reasoning devices (Van Gorp, 2007). The result of this coding process were 10 frames organised in two categories: experiences of cyberbullying and coping with cyberbullying.

4.3 Results and Discussion

4.3.1 Descriptive Results

A large majority of news articles told female celebrities' cyberbullying stories. This finding is consistent with earlier research indicating that female celebrities are more often the victims of online aggression than male celebrities (Williamson, 2010). Moreover, the same celebrities (Demi Lovato, Ariana Grande, Kylie Jenner and Selena Gomez) often reappeared in different articles across the time period. These celebrities frequently took the initiative to start the discussion about cyberbullying. In almost all cases, celebrities testified about their experiences of being a victim of (cyber)bullying.

Both stories about cyberbullying, and about combinations of traditional bullying and cyberbullying were discussed. For instance, a celebrity might discuss his/her experience of traditional bullying but also offer advice about how to deal with cyberbullying. Whereas celebrity stories about traditional bullying generally referred back to the celebrity's childhood, cyberbullying testimonials particularly related to their current lives as celebrities. Apparently, online communication offers these celebrities a context for discussion of both recent and previous offline and online bullying events, confirming the interrelatedness of the online and offline world (Gross, Juvonen, & Gable, 2002). Most (cyber)bullying experiences discussed by these stars directly or indirectly concerned their physical appearance in general, and weight in particular. These are also topics that were mentioned by audience members' peer testimonials as the major reasons given for (cyber)bullying in everyday contexts (Davis et al., 2015).

The circumstances that inspired celebrities to share their personal cyberbullying stories can be classified into two categories. Firstly, these stories were often revealed in the context of something else, such as announcing a role in a new movie related to cyberbullying, or a link to a song that touches upon the topic. These kinds of 'organized' connections seem to have provided celebrities with an opportunity to share their personal stories, for instance in an interview related to the topic. The second category described completely spontaneous events in which celebrities, mostly using social media (Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat), told their story to their fan base, and then had that story picked up in a news article. Although the activities of journalists and celebrities are driven by different motives (news values versus impression management), the story frames used by journalists generally reflected the story frames underlying the celebrity quotes, leading to one overall perspective for the whole article. Following the example of existing content analyses on American celebrity news reporting (e.g., Esser, 1999), cyberbullying events were not discussed from a neutral perspective. Instead, journalists opted for words and headlines that expressed underlying feelings about the events described.

4.3.2 The Frames

Following the process of open coding, two thematic approaches for story framing became visible in the data. The first theme dealt with the experience of being cyberbullied. In these articles, celebrities talked about their feelings and their interpretations of the experience. The second theme concentrated on how to cope with cyberbullying and discussed different behavioral, cognitive and social strategies for handling these distressing experiences. An overview of the story frames can be found in Table 1.

Experience Frames

Out of Control

The most dominant frame describing the experience of cyberbullying was the '*Out of control*' frame. This frame portrays the experience of being cyberbullied as overwhelming. Several celebrities emphasised that the sheer volume of comments made it difficult or even impossible for them to control the situation.

> I've tried sticking up for myself, I've tried the whole blocking the haters thing, not reading the comments. I've tried a lot of things – Ignoring it. But it's hard when there is so much of it. (Paris Jackson, article 73)

Table 1 Overview of themes and frames in cyberbullying stories about celebrities in Seventeen and Twist magazine

Themes	Frames
Experience	Out of control (15 articles)
	The worst is yet to come (5 articles)
Coping	Behavioral coping strategies: described the victims' active and externalized responses (Davis et al., 2015)
	Biting back (38 articles) Don't bully, be happy (9 articles) Ignorance is bliss (13 articles)
	Cognitive coping strategies: focus on internal thoughts and attitudes (Davis et al., 2015)
	Just like us (17 articles) Always look on the bright side of life (12 articles) Control myself (7 articles) Bully blaming (9 articles)
	Social support coping strategies: refer in our study to strategies that include the help of others, in order to be able to help yourself.
	Help, I need somebody (10 articles)

This frame implicitly suggested that there is no effective way to deal with cyberbullying, except for accepting the situation. When a celebrity uses this frame he or she seems to position themselves as 'vulnerable', assigning fans and/or journalists a powerful role in determining the celebrity's life. As with news articles about cyberbullying among adolescents, some celebrities are willing to portray themselves as victims of technological evolution (Mascheroni, Ponte, Garmendia, Garitaonandia, & Murru, 2010). In contrast, journalists generally disapproved of online attacks upon celebrities by readers, and made judgments about those attacks.

> I've been receiving messages of a group of fans [who had found my personal phone number], they have drowned my phone in messages, keeping me awake at night, saying things you wouldn't even believe about me […] (Niall Horan, article 88)

Some celebrities also suggested that stepping away from social media might be the only solution to their situation. The overall evaluation of this frame was also negative: once someone is confronted by cyberbullying, it leads to a negative spiral where the victim has to take evasive action (Wong, 2004). Moreover, journalists often seemed to intensify celebrities' negative feelings by referring to the serious consequences that can result from experiencing cyberbullying.

The Worst Is yet to Come

The second frame used to describe the experience of cyberbullying was the '*The worst is yet to come'* frame. The underlying tone of this frame was also very negative, as there was no room for even superficial consideration of potential solutions. This frame stressed the impact of the cyberbullying experience on the celebrity involved, resulting in a 'struggle' to live a normal life. Terms like 'depression', 'dark period' and even 'suicide' were linked in this story frame to the experience of cyberbullying. Any association with suicide is highly problematic, although it is a prevalent link that has also been found in previous research on the news reporting of cyberbullying (Vandebosch et al., 2013).

> You start to believe what the bullies say: that you aren't cool enough, good enough, strong enough, or smart enough. Thoughts like that cause you to lose your will power, your drive. That's when depression and anxiety can set in and you begin to question why you should continue living a life that is pure hell. (Drew Chadwick, article 82)

Remarkably, whereas most celebrities implicitly referred to suicide by describing how they lost the motivation to go on, journalists did this in a more straightforward manner by explicitly using the word 'suicide'. This rhetorical device seems to point to a sensationalist-oriented word choice by news media professionals.

Behavioural Coping Frames

Biting Back

The most popular frame for a behavioural coping strategy was labelled '*Biting back'*. Within this story frame cyberbullying was perceived as a mean, personal attack on the

celebrity, which therefore needed a 'classy', but at the same time 'sassy' defense that would 'shut down the haters'. The suggested solution offered by this frame was to bite back, showing that you were at least as powerful as the bully. This frame was not only a common feature of celebrity quotes, but was also encouraged by journalists who celebrated these kinds of biting back comments in their stories. The celebrities' retorts were often reflected in the headlines of the article, or in suing pictures of the social media posts discussed.

> After posting a picture of herself from the Grammy Awards to her (Ariana Grande's) Instagram, one user commented "My 9-year-old sister has bigger tits than you." Ariana quickly responded with a sassy comment; "Spend a lot of time looking at your 9-year-old sister's tits?" (Journalist and Ariana Grande, article 44)

> Sometimes you have to let haters know their place, and Zendaya is queen of shutting down haters with class and sass. (journalist, article 97)

The suggestion that cyberbullying victims should react assertively towards bullies was not a typical celebrity response. Earlier research (Bastiaensens et al., 2018, see chapter ""Were You Cyberbullied? Let Me Help You." Studying Adolescents' Online Peer Support of Cyberbullying Victims Using Thematic Analysis of Online Support Group Fora") observed that this recommendation was also promoted by fora members discussing how to deal with bullying. In contrast to the overall positive evaluation of this coping strategy by journalists, fora users had mixed opinions as to its effectiveness.

Don't Bully, Be Happy

'Don't bully, be happy' was the term assigned to a secondary behavioural coping frame. Articles classified under this story frame strongly stressed the idea that participating in cyberbullying is not only a negative way of acting towards others, it's also a negative way for the bully to engage in life. The implication was that best possible reaction of victims towards the negativity heaped upon them by bullies was to have the opposite response of the one expected: namely, to show positivity. This story frame wanted victims to stand up and formulate an empowering reply. Like sassiness, this behaviour was also promoted by journalists, who proudly described celebrities' positive actions in the face of bully-driven negativity. The overall evaluation of this frame was a positive one.

> Do not respond with hate, because you might make that person feel terrible, and you feel terrible. So who wants that? Respond with positivity or just ignore it and don't let it get to you. And focus on all those positive comments. (Bethany Mota, article 96D)

Shake It off

'Shake it off' was a third possible behavioural coping frame. This frame represented the notion that cyberbullying is something annoying that can best be handled by not paying attention. The implication of this approach is that if the victim can just ignore the comments, the bully will soon become bored. In line with this viewpoint, perpetrators were often not described as 'bullies', but rather as 'trolls', emphasizing the irritating character of their activities.

> If you see bullying online, don't give it energy. Shut it down by ignoring it. Bullies have the power if you give it to them. (Maia Mitchell, article 106)

The action of ignoring bullies could be performed in a variety of different ways, according to this frame. Significant attention was paid to online behavioural strategies that supported the ability to ignore bullies, such as blocking the perpetrator and deleting their comments. This frame has sometimes been called the 'e-safety perspective', for example by Thom and colleagues (2011). These concrete strategies were mostly suggested by the celebrity in their verbatim quotes and further endorsed by journalists. In one article the journalist even explained how comments can be turned off by Instagram users.

> Even though it's hard, the best thing to do is ignore the negative comments. Use your online privacy settings to block anyone posting hurtful messages and surround yourself with people who make you feel amazing. (Kylie Jenner, article 75)

Cognitive Coping Strategies

Just Like Us

The most popular cognitive coping frame was the '*Just like us'* frame. Within this story frame being cyberbullied was described as something that could happen to anyone, famous and non-famous people alike. Different celebrities and journalists went on to refer to the fact that celebrities are human too, and are hurt by cyberbullies' comments (Ouvrein et al., 2017). By repeating this perspective in celebrity news stories, journalists and celebrities work together to improve readers' awareness of the 'human character' of celebrities.

> I am a girl, I have feelings and people think I take no S—and I'm tough, tougher than nails, but I'm a human being. (Pink, article 54)

> You have to realize every single person gets haters, whether you're a celebrity or not. It's not just you. If you have a million followers, you'll get it five thousand times a day – if you have five followers, you might get it once a week. (Vinny Guadagnino, article 68)

Celebrity bashing was partly attributed to the decreasing privacy available to celebrities, and the closer connections that 'fans' expect through access to social media channels. In turn, these expectations reflect the dramatic changes in public-private boundaries within the hypermediated environment (Beck, Aubuchon, McKenna, Ruhl, & Simmons, 2014). The role of technology was very central to this story frame, although it was constructed from a negative perspective: a pattern similar to the one observed in the media's reporting of suicide (Thom et al., 2011), and in comments about bullying contributed by non-celebrity 'everyday' people (Davis et al., 2015).

Given that so many adolescents have been confronted by cyberbullying, the best way they can respond, according to this story frame, is to support each other. This idea is sometimes expressed in the statement that bullied victims 'are not alone'.

Always Look on the Bright Side of Life

A second cognitive strategy for coping with cyberbullying is to focus on the '*Bright side of life*'. This frame recognises the high impact of cyberbullying but, instead of focusing on cyberbullying's negative consequences, celebrities and journalists using this frame highlighted positive consequences and the growth and success that came out of successfully dealing with the provocations of the bully. The underlying idea was to 'rise above' the experience of being cyberbullied. Journalists within this story frame glorified the achievements of the celebrity. Most of these articles stopped short of denying the negative feelings generated by cyberbullying, but placed them in the background.

> You can learn from these situations and you try to find the bright side […]. It teaches you in the most difficult ways possible to love yourself and to really, really appreciate the things you enjoy and the things that bring joy into your life. And I think, if anything, that could be the one great thing that comes out of it. (Ciara Bravo, article 105)

Control Myself

Whereas the 'Out of control' frame focused on the negative experience of cyberbullying, the '*Control myself'* frame provided readers with another cognitive coping strategy. This frame also tended to present cyberbullying as an overwhelming experience, but suggested that the best strategy for dealing lay in the hands of the victim. Celebrity quotes within this story frame stress that people always have a choice to use their (cognitive) power to control their response. Journalists who adopted this approach mostly took a positive stand towards it, but stopped short of giving concrete advice themselves.

> But there is always a choice: You can let Instagram or stuff on the Internet affect your day, or you can choose to not be bothered by it. (Justin Bieber, article 38)

> I know this is really hard and I know it hurts, but you have the power to change your perspective and realize that if people are trying to tear you down, that probably means you have something really special that they're threatened by. (Mae Whitman, article 104)

Blaming the Bully

'*Blaming the bully'* is a fourth cognitive coping story frame. When this frame is used, the story authors try to relocate the problem from the victim to the perpetrator, underlining the fact that people start bullying because of other problems they can't deal with, such as boredom and feeling insecure. Some celebrity quotes classified under this frame even tried to generate empathy for the perpetrator by mentioning that 'you should feel bad for them'. This frame clearly differs from the others, because the focus is on the perpetrator instead of on the victim. In this way, it has the potential to help people to see bullying from different angles.

> Remember though, it's not about you. It's about the gossiper's insecurities and boredom. While you're off trying to be a boss, they're trying to kill time and take over your mental space by wasting their day with mindless gossip. (Ashley Rickards, article 103)

Journalists adopting this frame either presented themselves as neutral or explicitly followed the idea of blaming the bully, describing why people might bully in the same straightforward way that Ashley Rickards did (above).

> Unfortunately, when bullies see someone other than themselves accomplishing big things, they have a hard time being happy for them – and instead turn to making fun of their efforts. (journalist, article 102)

This focus makes the perpetrator the centre of speculation and judgement.

Social Support Coping Strategies

Help, I Need Somebody

The last group of coping frames discussed in the articles are the social support coping frames and, in particular, the '*Help, I need somebody*' celebrity frame. Celebrity quotes within this frame aimed to convince the reader that when you look for help from your social circle, much of the negative feelings resulting from cyberbullying can be suppressed. Journalists mostly framed these quotes in a very positive and supportive way, suggesting that this help can readily be found nearby, among the victim's friends and family. The key message of this story frame is for the victim to talk to people they trust, since talking can help by itself.

> I think it's important to have a confidant, and I have a friend who I can vent to about everything. She's someone I trust, and I know she isn't going to repeat anything. She lets me vent, and then she says, "OK, we're done. Let's move on." (Demi Lovato, article 61)

Earlier research concluded that seeking social support from people close to the victim is the coping strategy most likely to be shared in the testimonials of 'everyday' internet users (Davis et al., 2015). On online fora, for instance, members provided each other with lots of emotional support (Bastiaensens et al., 2019, see chapter "'Were You Cyberbullied? Let Me Help You.' Studying Adolescents' Online Peer Support of Cyberbullying Victims Using Thematic Analysis of Online Support Group Fora"). In some cases, however, celebrities also encouraged victims to look further afield for help by, for instance, telling their story to teachers, seeking professional psychological help, or asking for help from authorities.

> The experiences were so difficult that Selena [Gomez] decided to get professional help to deal with the issue. "I've been working in therapy […] Each year, I'm becoming more who I am. I have a little more self-awareness. I feel confident and free. I'm not going to hide in my room and be depressed (Journalist and Selena Gomez, article 101)

5 Conclusion

The study reported in this chapter aimed to increase knowledge about celebrity cyberbullying narratives in online news articles. From previous research, it is clear that narratives are a powerful tool for shaping people's attitudes (Stavrositu & Kim, 2015). Given the position of celebrities as role models for adolescents, celebrities' stories about being cyberbullied, and their coping strategies for dealing with this challenge, could prove a powerful example for adolescents impacted by cyberbullying

(Giles & Maltby, 2004). To achieve a positive effect, however, it is important that inspiring celebrity stories and effective coping strategies should be shared in the media. Consequently, the authors conducted a framing analysis on stories about celebrity experiences of cyberbullying carried in online teen magazines.

The results of this framing analysis indicate that celebrities mostly talked about their negative experiences of (cyber)bullying and how they coped with these. At the same time, however, the frames within which these stories were written might not be best placed to have a positive impact on readers. A strong focus on the negative feelings associated with cyberbullying, for example, along with the dramatic consequences it can generate, combined with a focus on the 'uncontrollability' of the situation, as is described in first group of frames addressing celebrities' experiences, might resonate with adolescent victims' online experiences but it could also hinder the chance of these victims adopting adaptive coping strategies (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Although there is limited research on the effectiveness of coping strategies for cyberbullying, there is some research on the success of strategies for coping with traditional bullying (Murray-Harvey, Skrzypiec, & Slee, 2012). In that context, it has been found that 'biting back', which was the strategy most likely to be suggested, is considered to be an 'ambivalent' technique by a panel of informed professionals, as it can easily backfire (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012). Ignoring the bullies' comments appears to be a better story frame for celebrities to promote as, according to earlier research, technical solutions that effectively lead to negative comments being ignored appear to be helpful (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Smith et al., 2008). Celebrities also encouraged young people to look for social support that might create positive effects. Research indicates that victims highly appreciate support from their close social circle (Bastiaensens et al., 2019, see chapter ""Were You Cyberbullied? Let Me Help You." Studying Adolescents' Online Peer Support of Cyberbullying Victims Using Thematic Analysis of Online Support Group Fora"), and often perceive it as the most helpful approach for resolving the problem (Price & Dalgleish, 2010). Adolescents are generally quite critical about external help, however (Perren et al., 2012). A significant majority of teen victims often decide not to tell any adults about their experiences because they're afraid these will lead to a restriction of their Internet use (Juvonen & Gross, 2008). However, enlisting the help of adults has been classified as a productive strategy by the panel of informed professionals in Murray-Harvey et al.'s (2012) study. If celebrities keep promoting external help, this strategy might gradually loose its unattractive reputation.

The analysis of narratives allows a glimpse of the lived experiences of (cyber)bullying shared by celebrities, a group that is generally difficult to recruit for research purposes. The findings of this study help deliver a better understanding of the impact of (cyber)bullying on celebrities and everyday internet users. Earlier research has indicated that online aggression towards celebrities is generally thought to have a minimal impact on celebrities (Ouvrein et al., 2017). However, this study indicates that celebrities definitely experience negative consequences as a result of (cyber)bullying.

These results are also relevant for practitioners who seek to use celebrity testimonials in order to reduce the incidence and impact of cyberbullying. Although more research is required on the actual impact that celebrity testimonials have on adolescents who experience cyberbullying, this information is useful to inform further advice. These results suggest that increasing the focus on positive outcomes and encouraging victims to look for help among their close social circle might enhance the efficacy of celebrity testimonials as a preventative and intervention strategy for addressing the negative consequences of cyberbullying.

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Victim, Rival, Bully: Influencers' Narrative Cultures Around Cyberbullying

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Abstract Influencers are among the most conspicuous, crucial, and contentious stakeholders pertaining to cyberbullying. As opinion leaders for young internet users, Influencers communicate with followers through their effective digital strategies applied across a variety of potentially-integrated digital platforms. This vernacular knowledge of digital environments sits at the intersection of relatability politics, attention gaming economies, and self-branding cultures. Unlike anonymous internet trolls, Influencers are nonymous self-branded personae, deeply invested in their reputation metrics. They are also unlike everyday users on the internet, being more conditioned to cope with negativity and social aggression, or even appropriating such negativity for revenge or to further promote their brand. Consequently, Influencers practice a variety of discursive strategies around cyberbullying, including positioning the self as victim, rival, and bully. This paper discusses how Influencers develop and perform four positional narratives around cyberbullying, including: cyberbullying experienced pre-celebrity, in which they speak of digital tools as platforms for recovery and self-care; cyberbullying experienced with microcelebrity, in which they use their platforms to share coping strategies, steer and direct conversation among peers and followers, and advocate for internet safety campaigns; cyberbullying directed towards fellow Influencers, in which transient leadership on healthy internet culture and group policing emerges; and cyberbullying everyday users, in which notorious Influencers become perceived as anti-examples in local communities and new discursive spaces around internet visibility, voice, and responsibility open up in tandem with media virality. The data presented in this paper are developed from in-depth content analysis of the digital estates of a group of young Influencers in Singapore, and supported by ethnographically-informed interpretations from long-term traditional anthropological participant observation.

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1 Introduction

Many young people are pursuing celebrity on the internet as a vocation, with commercial benefits, cross-platform visibility and established marketable personas that function as highly relatable Influencers. Influencers generally begin as ordinary social media users who, through publishing highly curated content and updates about their personal lifestyles, come to accumulate followers whose viewership can be monetised for advertorials (Abidin, 2015). While the lifestyles they depict on the internet may seem glamorous (Abidin, 2014), this career is not without hardship and labour (Abidin, 2013). Now proliferate across several social media platforms, Influencers are becoming known for their innovative attention-grabbing strategies, utilizing digital formats such as selfies (Abidin, 2016) or playing with notions of shame and the taboo (Abidin, 2017b) to disseminate messages to followers.

Since their early beginnings as commercial bloggers or camgirls in the mid-2000s, Influencers have grown to populate several content genres. While popular content categories are often focused on a key topic such as fashion, food, or parenting, Influencers of the highly feminised "lifestyle" genre rely on developments in their personal lives to cultivate relatability with followers and establish their self-branding. In the absence of a commercial objective or specialisation as buffer between them and their audience, the criticisms that such feminine Influencers receive often pertain to their bodies, internet personae, and imagined private lives. Yet, considering the body positivity of these Influencers, their intentional publicness, and the flair they show for baiting attention, it may be that many people believe that such Influencers deserve the hate they get for being 'attention whores'. Given this, Influencers are particularly vulnerable to being targets and victims of cyberbullying, and they receive relatively little public sympathy for this. However, in order to preserve their public image and reassert their agency and leadership among followers who look up to them as role models, Influencers often adopt compensatory strategies to redeem themselves: soliciting public pity and support; proactively engaging in anti-bullying or healthy internet campaigns; or, retorting by cyberbullying others in the guise of call-out culture. At the confluence of relatability politics, attention gaming economies, and self-branding cultures, Influencers thus demonstrate rich and intriguing narrative cultures around cyberbullying that warrant inspection.

This case study of 6 Influencers is located in the island nation-state of Singapore, with a 2017 population of 5.6 million, including about 4 million citizens and permanent residents. It focuses on Singaporean Influencers who are all likely to know each other. The context of the socio-cultural setting operates something like a hothouse for adopting and cultivating practices, trends and rivalries. At the same time, the local microcosm serves as an exemplar for the global situation, operating as a case study with relevance to the perpetration and experience of cyberbullying elsewhere. The pervasive culture of cyberbullying among Influencers in Singapore is all the more intriguing considering the national history of intrusive state surveillance on all forms of content, including the digital.

Against the backdrop of stiff censorship laws that impact the print media, the internet in Singapore is often positioned as a more liberal space. This has been the case from the inception of the country's technological infrastructural planning, first laid out in the Intelligent Island Masterplan in 1991 (Telecoms Infotech Forum, 2007; Lim, 2001). Even now, the Singapore authorities continue to assert that the state practices a "light touch" (Koh, 2015) approach towards regulating the internet. As such, digital spaces have opened new frontiers of connectivity and dialogue between otherwise separated users that would not have been possible within the closely monitored broadcasting stations and broadsheets of the Singapore mass media. Although the internet, like other mainstream media, is not free from state policing and censorship, it is afforded freedom for more contentious expression and opinion, so long as nothing is said or done that can be prosecuted under the Sedition Act. Singaporeans are increasingly consuming alternative journalism news sites, websites belonging to opposition parties, and political blogs. These user-run avenues have also come under state control under recent licensing schemes (Reporters Without Borders, 2013). The international non-profit non-government organisation, Reporters Without Borders, promotes the freedom of the press and works to protect persecuted journalists. They report that defamation suits, prisonable sedition acts, and state censorship of traditional and digital media content is common in Singapore (Reporters Without Borders, 2017), giving the country a low ranking, at 151 out of 180, in its 2017 World Press Freedom Index (Reporters Without Borders, 2014). Political bloggers have been subjected to investigations, lawsuits, and imprisonment for their social media posts (Amnesty International, 2017) and have also received libel writs personally from the Prime Minister (Reporters Without Borders, 2014). Given this general climate of state surveillance, there is considerable self-censorship on the internet in Singapore. However, the peer surveillance and peer pressures that result in patterns of cyberbullying among Influencers on social media has not warranted state attention, despite their arguably pervasive and far reaching effects on young people's wellbeing. This paper will explore how social media Influencers and their young followers react to and promote reform around practices of cyberbullying.

2 Methodology

The data presented in this chapter is developed from in-depth content analysis of the digital estates of a group of young Influencers in Singapore, and is supported by ethnographically-informed interpretations from long-term traditional anthropological participant observation among Influencers, their management, and their followers. The case studies were chosen from a broader investigation into the activities of Influencers in Singapore (Abidin, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017b) on account of their specific relevance to the issue of cyberbullying. The ethnographic data is supported by content analysis of media reports about the state of young people's internet cultures and cyberbullying in Singapore between 2014 and 2017. More specifically, the data from Influencers' posts, response posts from their followers, newspaper

coverage around Influencers' cyberbullying controversies, and news reports on the national law pertaining to cyberbullying, were inductively coded via a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

In the first instance, open coding was used to sort textual data into general categories and linked together to form broad concepts based on their content. Examples of prominent open codes include 'lawsuits', 'campaigns', and 'community'. In the second instance, axial coding was used to disaggregate the general categories and broad concepts into more finely sorted subcategories and subthemes. Examples of prominent axial codes include: For 'lawsuits', 'reputation', 'protection', and 'harm'; for 'campaigns', 'self-brand', 'renarrativising', and 'reflections'; and for 'community', 'pity', 'support', and 'leadership'. In the final stage of selective coding, subcategories and sub-themes were ranked in a hierarchy until a core category emerged to bind all the relating subcategories together. It was at this stage where Influencers' personal narratives, whether in their social media posts or sponsored campaigns, emerged as an axial code organised around the roles of 'victim', 'rival', and 'bully', enabling identification of a linearity concerning (i) how Influencers framed cyberbullying 'pre-internet celebrity' and 'post-internet celebrity', and (ii) a demography as to how Influencers may engage in or reject cyberbullying 'towards fellows' or other Influencers, and 'towards followers'.

Unless referring to public news reports regarding prolific Influencer controversies, in which the Influencers are already known and named, in other instances pseudonyms are assigned to Influencers and the text of their posts is paraphrased to prevent traceability to their sources. Although Influencers are deliberately self-curated as public figures, and although the social media posts analysed in this post are publicly accessible on the internet, pseudonyms have been used to protect Influencers from any potential re-traumatisation or re-shaming.

3 Cyberbullying in Singapore

According to various white papers and studies from wellness agencies, Singapore reports one of the highest rates of cyberbullying in the world among child and youth internet users (familyandlife.sg, 2015; Mak 2014; Teng, 2015), in some instances resulting in self-harm (Teng, 2015; Sin, 2016) and suicide (familyandlife.sg, 2014). A 2014 survey of 3,000 secondary students (aged 13–17) and 1,900 primary school students (aged 7–12) in Singapore also found that 1 in 4 secondary school students has bullied a peer online in the past year, and 1 in 3 secondary school students and 1 in 5 primary school students have been cyberbullied (Tai, 2014). Part of this rise in online social aggression is attributed to the 'naming and shaming' culture proliferating on the digital journalism portal *STOMP,* which is managed by Singapore Press Holdings, in which citizens are encouraged—and at times rewarded via monetary incentives—to contribute to human interest stories via email, WhatsApp, and mobile phone (STOMP, 2016). Newspaper reports highlight the blurring boundaries

between "civic duty" and "cyberbullying", where public humiliation is provoked by internet users' "sense of justice" (Loke, 2015).

Despite national curricula for internet safety and wellbeing, these social trends are a reflection of how young people in Singapore are failing to perform "cyber wellness" (Ministry of Education, 2014), and "integrity" and "resilience" (Media Literacy Council, 2016), as stipulated by the pedagogical imperative of the state. Over the past five years, Singapore as a comparatively coherent island-state city has become a site for the early adoption of internet celebrity Influencers, with different audience segments increasingly catered for by specific content-providers. At the same time, the nation is particularly predisposed to enacting legislation to address social ills, and this also includes ills such as cyberbullying. These two features: early adoption of Influencers on the one hand, and a swift recourse to law on the other, make Singapore a virtual hothouse for disputes, disagreements and debates that can illuminate the same processes evident elsewhere on the internet.

In the sections that follow, brief case studies have been provided to allow consideration of two of the most prominent Influencers in the women's lifestyle genre in Singapore. These particular cases have been chosen because each Influencer had a comparable experience of cyberbullying at around the same period, but responded in distinctly different ways during the height of the controversies. In both examples Natalie and Rosslyn, who were in their late-teens, created and circulated personal narratives of their experiences with publicity and internet hate, pre- and post-celebrity as Influencers, and addressed their fellow Influencers (whether to solicit support or to chide them for being bystanders) and their followers (including fans and haters). These case studies are followed by a discussion of the use of the legal system by Influencers and notes the recent criminalisation of particular forms of online social aggression. The exemplars conclude with a consideration of the different roles that agents choose to play, and identify with, in the online performance of cyberbullying.

4 Natalie's Persuasion as a Renarrativising Device

As one of the most prolific under-21 Influencers in her cohort, Natalie is no stranger to cyberbullying having experienced it several times since she first debuted in 2011. In one particular incident in 2014, however, followers called Natalie out for (poorly) editing her photographs posted on social media. Astute users pointed out that Natalie had falsified her figure to appear slimmer in her bikini photographs, directing attention to the wavy lines and disproportionate backgrounds that were tell-tale signs for doctored images. Although the editing of photographs to enhance one's image is not uncommon among Influencers, and even everyday social media users, what began as a crowdsourced quest to interrogate all of Natalie's past images for hints of photoshopping quickly culminated in a witch-hunt against the Influencer. Threats ranged from calls to boycott her and her platforms for deceit, to calls that she should end her life for being vain.

While Natalie's immediate strategy seemed to be to ignore the comments from haters on her Instagram posts as she selectively deleted particularly hurtful comments and blocked malicious haters, in the two months that followed she published a string of posts on her blog, Facebook, and Instagram to reflect on yet another incident of being cyberbullied. In a blogpost, she sentimentally reflects on how much her life has changed since she entered the public eye as an Influencer, noting the consequent change in the social pressure and scrutiny that she experiences on a daily basis. Using a tone of deep reflexivity, she acknowledges the public hate directed towards her while asserting that she tries to only take notice of constructive comments, and then from the people who are important to her. Without directly mentioning the extent of the internet hate she was receiving from throngs of people who only know her as her Influencer persona, Natalie alludes to the fact that she filters out public commentary about her life and choices. In response, Natalie surrounds herself with friends and family who know and understand her as a person, quite apart from her Influencer persona.

Natalie's blog comments contrast significantly from the narrative presented in her Facebook and Instagram posts. These two platforms both attract much more viewer traffic, and rely more on visual images than does her text-heavy blog. On Instagram and Facebook, Natalie specifically names the internet hate that she has received as cyberbullying. She states that while her emotive responses may seem to be merely defending herself or calling out haters, the phenomenon of the spread of internet hatred demonstrates a significant shift in local internet culture among young people. She argues that they are, in fact, practising cyberbullying on a larger scale. Natalie recounts casually going through the social media posts of her predominantly young female followers, only to see extensive criticisms of their bodies as being too fat, ugly, or skinny. Through these posts, Natalie shifted from the self-reflexive and self-protective tone on her own blog to exhibiting leadership for her young followers (and haters). She encouraged them to become more resilient by exhorting them to consider the feelings of others before engaging in cyberbullying, and to learn to be kind to each other and look at themselves positively, particularly in the face of criticism.

It seems that Natalie hoped that this would change the conversation. When the internet hate towards the Influencer continued, subsiding more slowly than she would have liked over the weeks, Natalie adopted a different narrative strategy in a newer string of social media posts. This time, Natalie's words were cloaked in anger and frustration. She quotes phrases from internet haters to publicly shame them, while protecting their anonymity. She deems them merely "keyboard warriors", who are unlikely to be this brazen towards her 'in real life', and calls them out for their hurtful remarks and mean behaviour. This new approach marks a third shift in discursive strategy from: the inner self-reflexivity on her blog, where her priority had been to experience personal healing; to a call to arms for her followers on Facebook and Instagram, to be nice to each other and to themselves; to this third wave of posts, where Natalie is unabashed about the anger she feels. Her display of raw emotion, whether or not it was cathartic for her, provoked shock and perhaps served as a rude awakening for those who had been cyberbullying her. The hateful comments died down very quickly after this third set of posts. This resolution and swift dissipation of

the cyberbullies' tactics is also likely to reflect the by-then prolonged popular media coverage of the controversy around Natalie's engagement with the online bullies. The last few media reports on the situation culminated in celebrating and valorising her boldness in standing up to haters.

Following this set of experiences, and Natalie's subsequent brushes with more instances of cyberbullying, the Influencer was engaged as an advocate and spokesperson for a handful of national campaigns around internet wellness. The discursive trajectory of her narrative strategies, and her corresponding disclosures of her personal struggles and recoveries from nasty cyberbullying experiences, successfully steered and directed fruitful conversation among her peers and followers towards positive ways through which to deal with social aggression online. In other words, despite experiencing cyberbullying herself by virtue of being an Influencer, Natalie chose to renarrativise her experience. She used the very same platforms that were garnering her hate to disseminate personal anecdotes and lessons to combat poor internet behaviour in others, changing the conversation to model the building of resilience, self-protection and a more supportive social media culture.

5 Rosslyn's Retreat as a Reparation Device

Although Influencers may give the impression that the entirety of their personal lives are commodities to be mined for attention, publicity and viewership, the truth is that each Influencer is only comfortable with selectively putting their lifestyle on display. What followers may perceive as the complete divulging of an Influencer's self and lifestyle is in reality a carefully measured degree of self-disclosure, in which Influencers selectively commodify their privacy in exchange for viewership and the development of trust among their followers (Abidin, 2014). In fact, Influencers can exhibit the illusion of private disclosure so skillfully that authenticity becomes a graduated performance rather than a static fact, enacted through practices of calibrated amateurism (Abidin, 2017a). But when the facets of life that Influencers wish to guard closely become forcefully relinquished as a result of exposés, call outs or 'doxing' (Marwick & Lewis, 2017, p. 9), the privacy of Influencers is violently revoked and this can be experienced as cyberbullying.

In 2013, pseudonymous forum users and a blogger accused Rosslyn of having 'stolen' her friend's potential romantic partner. While the narrative accounts of this incident were variously catalogued on several forums, aggregate blogs, and hateful comments on Rosslyn's social media posts, the gist of the messy plotline was that Rosslyn had reportedly broken up with her boyfriend to start a relationship with a second man. He in turn had, up until that point, shown interest in Rosslyn's friend. Upset by the turn of events, Rosslyn's friend also wrote a blogpost detailing her disappointment at what had happened and (unwittingly) instigating throngs of hate mail against the Influencer.

During this period, the intensity of cyberbullying and hate comments accumulating on Rosslyn's social media platforms were so prolific that the Influencer 'went

dark' for a few days. The term 'to go dark' is industry lingo for when an Influencer actively chooses to refrain from any public activity on social media: this is especially likely to occur at the height of a controversy. While this silence may seem natural or trivial to the everyday internet user, in the realm of social media Influencers, who post updates several times a day across various platforms, and whose livelihoods depend on actively engaging with followers, this decision is highly unusual. It introduces risks in relation to maintaining one's reputation and is experienced as a compounded and exaggerated absence by Influencers and followers. A week later, Rosslyn began to resume her social media updates with an attempt at 'business as usual', choosing not to publicly acknowledge the incident apart from a cryptic blogpost that hinted at the controversy without directly addressing any rumours. (That post has since been deleted.) Although hate comments continued to stream in as Rosslyn resumed her activities, her blatant disregard towards the haters (by not acknowledging the controversy any further) and her silent treatment of them (by not responding to any of their comments) eventually lead to the cyberbullying subsiding.

Ten months later, however, Rosslyn finally penned a heartfelt blogpost to address the controversy and the cyberbullying she had experienced. Without directly recounting the event, she implies that those readers who have been following her and keeping up to date with her content will know exactly what she is referring to. She explains that she chose to remain silent at the height of the controversy to protect her loved ones. Rosslyn reflects upon her life before her internet fame and divulges that, despite Influencer commerce having become her career at the time that she was writing, she had actually stumbled into the role. She notes that she had had to learn about the sacrifices entailed with the job description as she went along. In other words, she had not been equipped to manage the extent of the cyberbullying that had overwhelmed her.

In an act of reputation reparation, the Influencer also admits that during the height of the controversy, she had become disproportionately obsessed with her fame and lifestyle, and was only able to retreat and compose herself because her family kept her grounded in reality. Acknowledging the inevitability of cyberbullying that comes with her 'job', Rosslyn comments that because her failures are constantly on display in her lifestyle narratives, she will always be vulnerable to internet hate from enthusiastic commentators. She hints at some disappointment in fellow Influencers for being mere bystanders or, worse still, having helped propagate the internet hate towards her. In closing, Rosslyn reminds readers that no one should be a judge of another person's character since we are unable to comprehend their backstory or personal circumstances. She calls upon followers to choose love over hate and expresses gratitude for having the opportunity to use her blog to voice her thoughts on her experience of cyberbullying.

Not all examples of Influencer cyberbullying end so well, however. Increasingly, people are turning to the Singaporean legal system to address the harm they feel has been done to them as a result of their experiences of social aggression online.

6 From Cyberbullying to Lawsuits

As cyberbullying becomes more pervasive in Singapore, Influencers are paving the way for the law to regulate more stringently the propagation of internet hate. In the three brief case studies to follow, each Influencer's use of new laws around (i) filing for an anti-harassment protection order, (ii) engaging in a defamation suit, and (iii) settling a damages claim, corresponds to their contentious roles as 'victim', 'rival', and 'bully' respectively.

In 2016, socialite and Instagram Influencer Jamie Chua, who boasts over 607,000 followers on Instagram at the time of writing, successfully filed for anti-harassment protection orders against 65 (mostly anonymous) internet users for making "hateful comments" and "personal attacks" against her in Instagram posts. Although she later dropped charges against 7 people, the Protection from Harassment Act disallows these users from posting "threatening, abusive or insulting words" towards Chua, and allowed her to retrieve details of the perpetrators from Instagram if future cyberbullying was to surface (Ng, 2017). The aim of this was to prevent further victimisation.

In 2008, veteran Influencers and then-commercial lifestyle bloggers Dawn Yang and Wendy Cheng (better known by her moniker 'Xiaxue') got into an internet spat. The online exchanges resulted in Yang issuing Cheng with a lawyer's letter calling for a "public apology for alleged defamatory remarks", that Cheng had supposedly made on her blog. At that time, Yang and Cheng were respectively registering 30,000 and 50,000 daily views on their blogs. Yang had initially proposed a settlement for damages, but Cheng responded by retracting her blogposts and lawyering up herself (Yong, 2008). Although the fight never eventuated into a lawsuit between them, the trope of rival Influencers resolving internet spats and wars by invoking lawyers' letters and lawsuits remains prevalent today.

In 2015, Wendy Cheng was embroiled in another internet scandal with Grace Tan (better known by her moniker 'Working With Grace'). Both have won several awards for their blogs in various agency-level and industry-level forums. In response to having received "defamatory, libellous, and abusive comments" from Cheng, Tan commented that she had become "more empathetic towards victims of cyberbullying" and attempted to rally a "SayNoToBullying" online campaign to create anti-bullying awareness. She also filed an injunction to process a Protection Order against Cheng's alleged cyberbullying of her (Liang, 2015).

Although the Protection from Harassment Act was only legislated in Singapore in 2014, and it is comparatively new legislation, its existence as a last-resort remedy against cyberbullying has gained prominence through the prolific controversies between Influencers. In a legalistic country that privileges institutional regulation over sociocultural freedoms, the Protection from Harassment Act has been invoked to protect victims of cyberbullying from false accusations, sexual harassment, and stalking. Under the act, these may be deemed to be criminal offences and a successful prosecution can result in such penalties such as fines or imprisonment (Abu Baker, 2015; Husna, 2017). Anonymous perpetrators who engage on any digital platform,

including email and online messaging, may also find themselves being prosecuted since law enforcement can be used to ascertain their identities.

7 Conclusion: Victim, Rival, Bully

The explosion of examples of online hate speech, which has gone hand in hand with the rise of the Influencers, has fuelled public debate about whether these internet celebrities are over-sensitive victims, strategic rivals, or unbridled bullies of manipulation and disinformation. The suggestion is that they may invoke the narrative of cyberbullying to garner controversy and seek support. This discussion has led to public conversations that tease out the grey areas and shifting boundaries of what constitutes internet hate. Citizens responded by using public forums and the media to discuss the blurry line between mere jokes and sexual harassment, identifying both as potential forms of cyberbullying (Husna, 2017). The Law and Home Affairs Minister at the time, K Shanmugam, concurrently used his prolifically followed Facebook platform to denounce the harassment of LGBT communities on the internet (Today, 2017), asserting that all harassment is "criminal" even if commentators feel they are merely agitatedly voicing their own opinions. In response to the increasingly punitive implications of these developments, legal experts have begun issuing user-friendly guides via popular tabloids and news media to teach the public how to identify what the law might consider to be cyberbullying and online harassment, as well as suggesting clear steps that individuals might take at each stage of the process (Premaratne, 2017).

In a softer-sell approach, Influencers have also been mobilised as ambassadors for the Media Literacy Council's Safer Internet Day campaign and a 4-month long Better Internet Campaign. Through "personal stories and experiences of cyberbullying" from Influencers and everyday internet users, through to the "perspective of bully and victim", social media users aged between 15 and 35 have been targeted as an audience for advice around building social awareness (Hio, 2017) and respectful online behaviour.

By using a personal voice that is "engaging and… controversially honest" (Abidin, 2017b, p. 502), Influencers may present themselves as "an authoritative yet approachable identity" (Johnston, 2017, p. 76), treating difficult topics with "intimacy and insight" through their personal disclosures (Abidin, 2017b, p. 504). These narrative strategies, where reactions towards cyberbullying are intricately tied into a "personal journey", in tandem with the cold hard facts of cyberbullying presented in the anti-bullying campaigns they endorse, effectively ride on Influencers' charisma to engage young audiences. By spearheading conversation and action through palatable and relatable personal confessions, Influencers are able to convert cyberbullying "attacks" into "teachable moments" (Johnston, 2017, p. 85). As such, the narrative cultures considered in this chapter exhibit "discursive tactics" or "tactics focused on communication" (Clark, 2016, p. 790) in which the "conflict of provocation can also be productive of a discursive politics" (Shaw, 2016, p. 9). Such an approach offers opportunities for a community to demonstrate their shared values, standing up against

cyberbullying, in contrast to other, lesser responses exhibited by the bystanders of cyberbullying and, ultimately, cyberbullies themselves. The search for a clear and unambiguous assignment of roles and, to some extent, of blame runs the risk of blurring the boundaries between these different discursive positions where negative communicative interactions can result in parties cycling through the different positions of victim, rival and bully.

This study uses an examination of the experiences of young, female Influencers in Singapore to illustrate a variety of ways in which social media audiences and followers act upon their positive or negative judgements of the Influencers' behaviour. In a number of cases, this has resulted in cyberbullying, as judged by both the recipient and the relevant Singapore legal authorities. The primary case study was used to explore a series of different strategies adopted by two separate Influencers to deal with or deflect the online social aggression that they were receiving. These strategies resemble some of the coping strategies that are reported in the literature on cyberbullying amongst young people (Jacobs et al., 2015; Machmutow et al., 2012); such as: withdrawing, (actively) ignoring the bullies and the bullying, using technological tools to delete messages and block aggressors, seeking social support from close friends and family members and from the larger internet community, expressing emotions, reacting assertively towards the bully, retaliating and reporting the cyberbullying to the police. They also reflect the fact that many victims do not just rely on one strategy, but indeed combine (or consecutively use) several (Macháčková et al., 2013). While taking a bold stance towards aggressors (e.g., by publicly shaming or actively ignoring them) appeared to be a successful strategy for Influencers to stop the online aggression, the question raises whether this is also an appropriate response for 'common' young people (without a large fan base) dealing with cyberbullying (that is more likely to be perpetrated by peers they also know in person, and via less public communication means). Preliminary evidence on the efficacy of coping strategies, seems to suggest that especially 'seeking social support' might be beneficial in their case (Raskauskas and Huynh, 2015).

Although these may or may not be equally appropriate as responses to everyday experiences of cyberbullying, these strategies opened up a public debate in Singapore about what constitutes cyberbullying, and what responses to it might work best. This very visible and public Singaporean debate is likely to echo and reflect equivalent discussions in other national and international contexts.

A particular feature of the Singaporean situation, however, is the likelihood that socially negative behaviour will be legislated against: this is exactly what has happened. Since 2014 it has been a crime to break the law as laid down in the Protection from Harassment Act. A resort to law is a final strategy, however, and a legal remedy runs the risk of obscuring the importance of changing the practices of online culture to prevent harm, rather than address its consequences. To apportion legal blame can also work to erase the nuances of the range of different roles that may be played in a classic case of cyberbullying with the personas of perpetrator, victim and bystander sometimes shifting as an exchange develops over time. As part of the nation-state's response to the challenge of online social aggression, Singapore has addressed this nuance through the introduction and promotion of a variety of intervention campaigns

to encourage more pro-social behavior in terms of standing up against cyberbullying: becoming a nation of 'upstanders', rather than bystanders (Wong-Lo & Bullock, 2014; DiFranzo, Taylor, Kazerooni, Wherry, & Bazarova, 2018).

Future work might compare Influencers' experiences in other sociocultural contexts with those discussed in this paper. A careful study of the impacts of Singapore's 2017 Campaign for a Better Internet, however, could offer more general benefit. That information could help build the international evidence-base regarding the development of effective strategies for making more social media bystanders into upstanders. Proactive intervention when social media users suspect that they may be witnessing an example of cyberbullying could effectively call-out the behaviour and potentially preventing its escalation. With more of the online community acting as part of the solution, rather than part of the problem, the scourge that is cyberbullying would likely become a rarer feature of online engagement.

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"Judge Me, Or Be There For Me": How Can Narratives Be Used to Encourage Action and Intervention by Parents, Schools, the Police, Policymakers, and Other Children?

Lelia Green

Abstract In 2012 Canadian teenager Amanda Todd used a YouTube video to communicate her experience of repeated harassment, bullying and cyberbullying (Todd, 2012). That video has now been viewed by over 20 million people. Amanda's persecution followed a web-based sextortion campaign by a Dutch predator, Aydin Coban, who had taken a screen shot of Amanda flashing her breasts when she was 12, following a year of his online teasing and cajoling. Although Amanda moved schools twice, and also moved cities, her tormentor pursued her repeatedly prompting Amanda's classmates to judge her, rather than him. Using flashcards to explain her own position, Amanda hit back with a compelling visual narrative. The result is one of the most widely watched child-produced videos ever made. It's also very distressing: five weeks later, Amanda took her life. This chapter considers Amanda Todd's experience of cyberbullying and stalking, and her responses to the online harassment, as a case study to explore the use of victims' narratives to encourage action and intervention by parents, schools, police, policymakers and other children.

1 Introduction

Within a year of Amanda Todd's death in 2012, her story was already being used in Australian secondary schools as an example of the dangers of cyberbullying. It served both as a warning, and as a discussion point around which practical and emotional support might be offered to help school students respond appropriately to the victimisation of a friend or classmate. Of particular relevance in this scenario is the fact that Amanda's ordeal began as online harassment by an adult cyber-predator (although Amanda originally thought he was a teenager of about the same age she was, called Tyler Boo), but the situation escalated as a result of an orchestrated

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campaign to shame Amanda in her everyday home and school contexts. It was at this stage that the cyberbullying online became translated into daily social aggression against Amanda by different sets of classmates from the different schools that she went to, in the hope of making a fresh start. Without the buy-in of Amanda's fellow school students, the cyber-predator's power would have been broken.

It later transpired that Tyler Boo was one of many names used by Aydin Coban, a predator with an extensive list of victims around the world, using a wide range of aliases. In 2017 a Dutch court sentenced Coban to 10 years, 8 months in jail: the maximum possible for the offences of which he was convicted. These charges included "fraud and blackmail via the internet relating to the online harassment of 34 girls and five men" (Woo, 2017). Essentially, Amanda was a victim of gender-based (Poole, 2014) sextortion. Coban repeatedly blackmailed Amanda, threatening to post an image of her fleetingly flashed breasts to her friends and family online then doing so (see chapter "Designs on Narrative: A Design-Based Method to Elicit Young People's Narratives About Electronic Image-Sharing Issues and Interventions" for design work around keeping control of personal images). When Coban stalked her and found her online once again, Amanda refused to comply with his demands, and instead told her mother, who informed the police. Amanda had already moved schools but Coban's harassment was unrelenting:

> U already forgot who I am? The guy who last year made you change school.
>
> Give me 3 shows and I will disappear forever. you know I won't stop until you give me those 3 shows.
>
> "Not gonna happen" Todd responds (Surbramaniam & Whelan, 2014).

In 2018, prosecutors in Canada continue to seek Coban's extradition since Amanda's case was excluded from the crimes against 39 people for which he was sentenced in the Netherlands. Canadian charges are pending in relation to Amanda's harassment and suicide.

Amanda Todd's story would not be known today, however, had she not fought back against Coban and used her considerable storytelling skills to create a compelling narrative of her experience (Todd, 2012). Throughout her ordeal, Amanda was clear that her classmates and social circle had a choice about how they might respond to the predator. Consequently, when Coban, posing as Austin Collins, used Amanda's Facebook profile to reach about 280 people in her social circle (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 22.10), sending through the image of Amanda flashing her breasts, she hit back at him with a Facebook status update:

> *I'm so sorry, everyone who got the links from austin collins. When I was 11 years old I got a message saying 'I have all your information, I will come find you if you don't flash and do this for me' so I was scared, I said, 'one time okay' so I did it. And he said if I didn't do it again he would send to all port coquitlam. I wasn't going to do it again, so then he sent it to everyone in port coquitlam. Teachers, friends family. On christmas. So I moved, I thought new start for my messup would be good, then he followed me… He stalked and found out my new school and friends and now you guys all got the link. Judge me, or be there for me. Whichever you guys want… But right now I feel like shit, I feel so sad and sick… That he's gonna do this for the rest of my life and there's nothing I can do. He made you all think he's a young boy in his teens that is going to westview when he's over 30+, he's tyler boo… He's*

a sick pedofile. The best thing I can say now is, don't send it, block him, don't click it… I really don't know what to do anymore (Surbramaniam & Whelan, 2014).

This evocative communication by Amanda to her Facebook friends and contacts underlined that the people in her social circle had a choice: they could be there for her, or they could reinforce the harassment and fulfil the predator's objectives by judging her and ostracising her. Amanda's story might have had a different ending if the people she saw everyday had chosen to support her. Intuitively, Amanda was using her narrative in the hope of effecting a positive behavioural change (Hinyard & Kreuter, 2007). Her post cited above includes a number of requests for help, as well as a mature evaluation that the response required to end the persecution was beyond the skills of a young teen: "there's nothing I can do"; "I really don't know what to do any more". Ideally, sharing her story might have resulted in the help that Amanda craved. Instead, Amanda's *My Story* (Todd, 2012) is used around the world as a prompt to help other children think through the implications of judging their peers, standing beside them, seeking help, and sharing scary and confronting experiences.

This paper seeks to address the research question: "How can a case study of Amanda Todd's narrative of her experience of cyberbullying be used to encourage action and intervention by parents, schools, the police, policymakers, and other children?" It uses qualitative research, and particularly content analysis, to achieve this end.

2 Method

The case of Amanda Todd first came to the researcher's attention when it was raised by male Australian teenagers, aged 14–16, in an August 2013 focus group that discussed risks and opportunities online: "Sometimes they [things on the internet] can be very horrible as proven recently that it has ruined people's lives, like Amanda Todd" (Australian male, 14–16 focus group, 2013 unpublished). Following up on the focus group conversations, a web search soon identified the narrative video constructed by Todd (2012), and a range of uses and commentaries that had already been associated with it, given the particular value of story-based communication (Dahlstrom, 2014). Amanda Todd's use of flashcards to narrate her story has caught the imagination of people around the world, but particularly young internet users (Hall, 2015; FBE, 2012).

The research approach adopted for this case study included the collection and curation of online materials referencing Todd, and her story. This was not intended to be a complete collection of everything available, or a representative sample. Instead, it is an opportunistic review of some of the major genres of internet video and textual content relating to Amanda Todd that was available on the web between September 2017 and March 2018 (during which time this paper was developed and written), plus original comments from the Australian male teen focus group and some cited information from text-based sites. The dataset contents were interrogated for

particular suggestions or statements that would relate to the different categories of actors identified as potentially able to use the Amanda Todd narrative to encourage action and intervention in cyberbullying. Necessarily, given the constraints of a book chapter, there has been some selection of material to illustrate the wide range of different perspectives and viewpoints expressed, structured in terms of their relevance to parents, schools, police, policymakers and other children.

The dataset analysed consists of:

1. Predominantly text-based websites
   - NoBullying.com website: "The Unforgettable Amanda Todd Story" is used as a case study (NoBullying.com, 2017)
   - Wikipedia: The suicide of Amanda Todd (Wikipedia, n.d.)
   - Various online news stories, as referenced, and others that were read but not used.
2. Predominantly video based
   - Amanda Todd: *My Story: Struggling, bullying, suicide and self-harm* (Todd, 2012) (20,211,068 views, March 2018)—genre, autobiographical flashcard (or "cue card": Hall, 2015) narrative
   - The Young Turks: *Amanda Todd: Bullied teen commits suicide* (The Young Turks, 2012) (2,523,138 views, March 2018)—genre, news/current affairs discussion show
   - The Fifth Estate: *Stalking Amanda Todd: The Man in the shadows* (The Fifth Estate, 2014) (5,753,986 views, March 2018)—genre, public service broadcasting documentary, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
   - React: *Teens react to bullying: Amanda Todd* (FBE, 2012) (39,696,836 views, March 2018)—genre, interview program.
3. Other
   Transcripts from 2013 focus group with six Australian male high school students aged 14–16 (unpublished). NB: There was a parallel focus group with girls aged 14–16, and also separate focus groups with girls, and with boys, for the 9–10 and 11–13 age groups: six focus groups in all. The boys' focus group aged 14–16 was the only one to raise Amanda Todd's story.

As can be seen from the viewing figures, the online video-based materials have attracted significant attention. Indeed, Amanda's narrative of *My story* went viral in the days after her death (10 October 2012), with over 1,600,000 hits by 13 October (CTVNews.ca, 2012). Arguably, this attention reflects the power of Todd's personal narrative as communicated via her flashcard storytelling, in combination with her tragic death. The next section of this chapter discusses these materials in terms of the potential of the Amanda Todd narrative to encourage action and intervention by a range of stakeholders (Vandebosch, 2014) involved in children's experience of cyberbullying and harassment online.

3 Narrative Story Posted by Amanda Todd: "I Have Nobody… I Need Someone"

Amanda's story as communicated through her flashcards focusses primarily on her school mates rather than her interactions with the man who stalked her. It is possible to read her *My Story* account of her three years in junior high school (aged 12–14: grades 7–9) and her few weeks in grade 10, (first year of senior high school, and the year she died) as a combined attempt to seek understanding and support, but also to make a principled protest. By making the previous, embarrassing, events in her life visible, Amanda might have hoped to draw a line under them enabling her to start afresh. Owning her past actions via *My Story* (Todd, 2012) also helped Amanda remove the future power of any subsequent blackmail/sextortion attempts. What becomes clear from the *My Story* account (Todd, 2012) is that the cyberbullying is just one element of a complex picture that includes a range of mental health challenges and some experimentation with self-destructive coping mechanisms. Like many other cyberbullying victims, she was too young to solve the problems she encountered alone, seeking professional help from counsellors and health providers. Amanda adopted a range of strategies that she hoped would help her manage the difficult circumstances in which she found herself, but in some cases these made matters worse (Transcript by Huntley, 2012: his flashcard numbers start at #3, with "Hello!", whereas these start at #1).

Flashcard 12: "Christmas break…."
Flashcard 13: "Knock at my door at 4am…"
Flashcard 14: "It was the police… my photo was sent to everyone"
Flashcard 15: "I then got really sick and got…"
Flashcard 16: "Anxiety, major depression and panic disorder"
Flashcard 17: "I then moved and got into Drugs + Alcohol…"
Flashcard 18: "My anxiety got worse… couldn't go out"

Amanda moved schools once, but her stalker followed her and circulated the picture once more:

Flashcard 22: "Cried every night, lost all my friends and respect"
Flashcard 23: "people had for me… again…"
Flashcard 24: "Then nobody liked me"
Flashcard 25: "name calling, judged…"
Flashcard 26: "I can never get that Photo back"
Flashcard 27: "It's out there forever…"
Flashcard 28: "I Started cutting…"

…

Flashcard 31: "So I moved Schools again…."

As Penney (2016, p. 710) notes in her feminist reading of interpretations of Amanda Todd's narrative, the only mistake that Amanda explicitly owns in her

My Story (Todd, 2012) is her response to the attentions of a guy that she used to know, presumably from a previous school or friendship circle. The narrative makes it unclear who approached whom first to rekindle the connection but indicates that (unsurprisingly) Todd was looking for someone who 'liked' her, perhaps presaging her later statement that "I have nobody I need someone":

Flashcard 34: "After a month later I started talking to an old guy friend."
Flashcard 35: "We back and fourth texted and he started to say he…"
Flashcard 36: "Liked me… Led me on. He had a girlfriend…"
Flashcard 37: "Then he said come over my gf's on vacation"
Flashcard 38: "So I did… huge mistake…."
Flashcard 39: "He hooked up with me…."

This led to a very explicit physical bullying incident when the girlfriend's friendship circle visited Amanda at her new school:

Flashcard 42: "His girlfriend and 15 others come including Hiself…"
Flashcard 43: "The girl and 2 others just said look around nobody likes you."
Flashcard 44: "In front of my new school (50) people…"
Flashcard 45: "A guy than yelled just punch her already"
Flashcard 46: "So she did… She threw me to the ground a punched me several times"
Flashcard 47: "Kids filmed it. I was all alone and left on the ground."
Flashcard 48: "I felt like a joke in this world… I thought nobody deserves this :/"

…

Flashcard 52: "Teachers ran over but I just went and layed in a ditch and my dad found me."
Flashcard 53: "I wanted to die so bad… When he brought me home I drank bleach…"
Flashcard 54: "It killed me inside and I thought I was gonna actually die."
Flashcard 55: "Ambulance came and brought me to the hospital and flushed me."
Flashcard 56: "After I got home all i saw was on facebook—she deserved it did you wash the mud out of your hair?—I hope shes dead."
Flashcard 57: "Nobody cared… I moved away to another city to my moms."

The clearest, unambiguous examples of cyberbullying (as opposed to sextortion, stalking and sexual harassment) started at this almost-end point in the narrative:

Flashcard 58: "another school… I didn't wanna press charges because I wanted to move on."
Flashcard 59: "6 months has gone by… people are posting pics of bleach, clorex, and ditches."
Flashcard 60: "tagging me… I was doing a lot better too… They said…"
Flashcard 61: "She should try a different bleach, I hope she dies this time and isn't so stupid."

Flashcard 62: "They said I hope she sees this and kills herself…"
Flashcard 63: "Why do I get this? I messed up but why follow me."
Flashcard 64: "I left your guys city… Im constantly crying now…"
Flashcard 65: "Everyday I think why am I still here?"
Flashcard 66: "My anxiety is horrible now… never went out this summer"
Flashcard 67: "All from my past… lifes never getting better… cant go to school"
Flashcard 68: "meet or be with people… constantly cutting. I'm really depressed"
Flashcard 69: "Im on anti depressants now and councelling and a month ago this summer"
Flashcard 70: "I overdosed… In hospital for 2 days…"
Flashcard 71: "Im stuck… whats left of me now… nothing stops"
Flashcard 72: "I have nobody… I need someone :("
Flashcard 73: "My name is Amanda Todd…." [*My Story* video ends here (Todd, 2012)]

Some commentators have noted that this is a much more complex matter than simple cyberbullying: "We're led to believe it was the 'cyberbullying' that killed her, not that she was targeted repeatedly with criminal acts while the perpetrators went unscathed" (VO, 2012). Even so, the final flashcards make clear that that casual cruelty of the posts about "bleach, clorex, and ditches" (Flashcard 59) are an important element of the continual cycle of re-victimisation, fuelling Amanda's sense that "lifes never getting better…" (Flashcard 67). Amanda's *My Story* communicates a sense of hopelessness and helplessness that might have been counteracted by a hope that "someone" (Flashcard 73) would come forward in response to her narrative. If that had happened, it might have been the case that comparatively few people in the world would know Amanda Todd's name.

Teen posts in response to a range of online videos about Amanda Todd indicate that some of the audience believe they would have acted differently from Amanda's several circles of school friends. For example, as one teen wrote (YouTube 1: feedback on Todd, 2012) "I was like 14 when I heard about this, and at the time, I adored Amanda, and I've always wished I could of been there to save her. I would of been there all the time to help her. I just hate that no one cared to help her, they just kept bullying her. She didn't deserve any of that". However, Steven Oh on *The Young Turks* drew some negative comment by suggesting that: "The reality is that every single year we have a number of teenagers taking their own lives and how many of them could we have saved? I'm sure we could have saved some. Could we have saved all? I don't know. And I guess my question is 'Was she one of those teenagers that we could not have saved?" (The Young Turks, 2012, 05.47–06.03)

Whether or not Amanda could have been saved is an unanswerable question, but for young people who live with the guilt that they might have done more to save a friend or classmate from suicide, it is worth noting that even the most heartfelt and positive interventions might not result in a happy ending. Given this, the chapter continues with an examination of the kinds of strategies suggested that might have made a positive difference in Amanda's case, and to other young people whose experiences echo hers. These strategies are divided according to the roles more available

to different stakeholders, specifically: parents; schools; police; policy-makers, and other children.

4 Potential Stakeholder Responses: Parents

Parents can sometimes find themselves in a difficult position when regulating their children's internet use, particularly in a situation like Amanda's, where she is negotiating different approaches in separate parental households following the breakdown of her parents' marriage. Her narrative makes clear that she moved between her parents' houses and that, at least at one point, they lived in different cities. The documentary evidence indicates one area in which Carol Todd, Amanda's mother, wishes that the narrative had evolved differently. Carol says of Amanda, "She asked for a webcam. And I said 'No'. That a child does not need a webcam of any kind, especially a 12-year old girl. And she, and I, probably argued the point. Right. [Interviewer: And you lost?] And I lost" (Carol Todd, The Fifth Estate, 05.02–05.25). Amanda's father, on the other hand, is not presented as having had problems with the webcam request. On the contrary, he seemed proud of his daughter's growing online skills. Some parents negotiate these different responsibilities (safety and yet support for their children's developing media skills) with recording media, such as an old smartphone, that is not connected to the internet.

The Australian focus group, in August 2013, felt that parents were not aware of the risks posed to children online: "if they [parents] were educated about it before [children used connected media] it would probably be a different situation." They argued that policy makers or other authority figures "should tell them the bad consequences that could occur if your child got an iPad with Wi-Fi capability and internet and Skype and Facebook and everything, tell them that stuff has happened, the stuff to do with Amanda Todd and everything you can access at the click of a button" (Australian male, 14–16 focus group, 2013 unpublished). This suggests that the Amanda Todd narrative, possibly in combination with the Fifth Estate documentary that sketches the story of how Amanda's parents tried to deal with the unfolding tragedy, might be part of an online education package (Moyer-Gusé, 2008) that could help parents negotiate these issues more effectively, helping children keep safe.

16-year old Rachel, in *Teens React* (FBE, 2012, 04.42–04.46) is emphatic in saying "It's another form of cyberbullying that needs to be monitored by parents. And it's the parents' fault [bangs table]." It's unclear here whether Rachel is blaming Amanda's parents, or the parents of Amanda's tormentors, but what is clear here is that some teens are emphatic that parental knowledge and involvement are key contributors to the successful resolution of cyberbullying.

The other issue raised by Amanda's narrative, however, is her mother's focus on the role of the cyber-predator (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 23.05–23.19), whereas Amanda's narrative itself focuses more on the cruelty of her classmates and school community. She is painfully prescient in her analysis of their potential responses: "judge me, or be there for me" (Surbramaniam & Whalen, 2014). It seems that Amanda moved schools

three times, including moving cities (Flashcards 17, 31, 57, 58, above). Her narrative, and the Facebook status update cited earlier (Surbramaniam & Whalen, 2014) indicate that Amanda was focusing on telling her side of the story and removing the power of the stalker, inviting her contemporaries to accept her as someone who wants that part of her life to be finished with: "*The best thing I can say now is, don't send it, block him, don't click it. I really don't know what to do anymore*…" Arguably, a focus on the role of the adult predator in beginning Amanda's descent into despair is a distraction from the bulk of her narrative that clearly indicates her understanding that the power of the predator would be removed if her classmates and school community would support her and judge him; rather than the other way around. Her parents' primary response seems to have been to move Amanda between schools and focus on trying to get the police to investigate the predator's actions. It might have been that a greater emphasis on working with Amanda's school community to manage students' responses might have been more productive, and that priority is in line with the trajectory of Amanda's personal narrative.

5 Potential Stakeholder Responses: Schools

The Amanda Todd tragedy unfolded across four schools in two cities, and as it deepened, Amanda's own behaviour became less and less healthy, starting with reactive mental health issues (Flashcards 15, 16) and moving into drugs and alcohol (Flashcard 17). These are challenging behaviours in a young teen, and it's possible that the schools didn't try hard to persuade Amanda's parents not to move her. At the same time, some commentators, looking at Amanda's story, have found reason to judge the behaviour of school administrators and find them at fault. For example Ana Kasparian, a female anchor on *The Young Turks*, says: "When it comes to bullying […] I'm tired of the administrators who don't do anything about it. Obviously, this was an ongoing situation with her. The administrators weren't doing anything about it, they were allowing it to happen and it's unacceptable. I want administrators to get fired, okay, when bullying is an ongoing thing and they don't do anything about it" (The Young Turks, 2012, 03.45–04.04). Flashcard 52 makes clear that, following the fight started by the outraged out-of-city girlfriend and her gang of supporters in Amanda's school yard, Amanda's view is that "Teachers ran over but I just went and layed in a ditch and my dad found me." Perhaps this was an opportunity for the school to have intervened in a way that made Amanda feel valued and cared about. Instead, they seem to have taken a hands-off approach: once the fight was over, Amanda presents the teachers as acting as if their work was done. The fact that she was lying in a ditch was a reason to call her father, not to intervene themselves.

As well as feeling that school authorities should be held to account, Ana Kasparian also believes that education has a role in preparing students to respond better to risks on the internet and to the impacts of those risks if they move into an actual experience of harm (Livingstone & Görzig, 2014). "Comprehensive sex education can touch on this. It can say 'Look, here are some examples of what happened to

teenage girls who decided to send these pictures of themselves through the internet, or to their boyfriends, or whatever it is. There are real consequences and we should discuss them" (Ana Kasparian, The Young Turks, 2012, 03.28–03.44). Effectively, Kasparian here is arguing for the value of a narrative intervention as part of school's sex education curriculum. At the same time, such stories also raise issues around victim-blaming and -shaming, as discussed in chapter "'The Things You Didn't Do': Gender, Slut-Shaming, and the Need to Address Sexual Harassment in Narrative Resources Responding to Sexting and Cyberbullying".

A school-based discussion in a sex education or other context is likely to raise a range of issues around cyberbullying that are usefully aired. Even though Australian students felt that their class-based discussion of Amanda Todd's video was "more of a scare tactic really. If you do this, this is what can happen. Not necessarily what will happen, but it can happen" (Australian male, 14–16 focus group, 2013 unpublished), the opportunity to see the situation from Amanda's viewpoint is valuable, as the *Teens react to bullying: Amanda Todd* (FBE, 2012) video makes clear. Allowing children and young people to work through these issues with the benefit of real stories, and other interventions described in chapter "Cyberbullying Prevention, Detection and Intervention", is an important potential contribution within a whole of school response to bullying and cyberbullying (Samara & Smith, 2008). In *Teens React*, 17-year old Rumor says "I feel like she made two little mistakes and that's not fair." (FBE, 2012, 02.56–03.00).

6 Potential Stakeholder Responses: Police

Amanda Todd doesn't mention 'police' in her narrative, except at Flashcards 13 and 14: "Knock at my door at 4 a.m.… It was the police… my photo was sent to everyone". What becomes clear from *The Fifth Estate* documentary, however, is that Amanda's mother Carol was relying upon the police to help identify the cyberstalker (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 10.30–10.38; 12.26–12.48; 17.24–17.50; 20.10–20.17; 21.35–21.45). Understandably, but perhaps unhelpfully, it would appear that Carol's focus was on identifying the sextortionist and holding him to account for his actions.

The documentary makers draw unflattering parallels between the comparative inactivity of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 10.39–10.50; 18.26–18.41; 20.18–21.18) and the Dutch police (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 25.47–25.56; 32.49–34.03) on the one hand, and the Norwegian police (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 23.20–24.38; 25.33–25.47) on the other. Although the Canadian police had been moved to alert Amanda and her family to the circulation of her photo at 4.00 a.m. in the morning, it seems that addressing her continued cyberstalking via proactive contact with Facebook did not seem to be an obvious step (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 21.07–21.18) as far as they were concerned. Similarly, even after learning from Norway that a Dutch IP (Internet protocol) address was being used to blackmail a Norwegian teen, the Dutch police excused their inactivity by saying

they had to prioritise different demands upon the police service (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 37.26–37.54).

The Canadian police say that Amanda Todd's story has changed the way they approach the victims of cyber-predators (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 38.03–38.44), and the importance assigned to these cases, but this partly seems to miss the point of Amanda's narrative of her experiences, and her own understanding of her situation. Tyler Boo, in Amanda's words, was "*a sick pedofile*" but the crucial thing as far as Amanda was concerned was the way in which her community reacted to his posts. "*The best thing I can say now is, don't send it, block him, don't click it*" she said, encouraging people to "*be there for me*" instead of judging her (Surbramaniam & Whalen, 2014). If the bullying and cyberbullying that had triggered three school changes for Amanda between Years 7 and 10 had been more of a priority for the adults in Amanda's life, then maybe the narrative would have ended differently.

7 Potential Stakeholder Responses: Policymakers

Policymakers are aware of the issues raised by predators on the internet and, especially where children are concerned, such activities are generally illegal. Regulators are increasingly calling upon social media organisations and the associated industry to work actively to support children's and teens' safe online experiences, and to shut down cyberbullying where it occurs (chapter "Narratives of Industry Responses to Cyberbullying: Perspectives on Self-regulation from and About the Industry"). In Amanda Todd's case, once Facebook had been notified that there was a problem with a predator blackmailing children they investigated, communicating their results to the Dutch police service since that was the authority where the sextortionist was operating. As *The Fifth Estate* argues (2014, 30.14–31.13):

> Months before Amanda's death, Facebook had received so many complaints about the stalker they too were trying to find him: Amanda's death would kick that investigation into overdrive […] Facebook discovered that Tyler Boo, Austin Collins and Alice Mcallister were indeed all the same person, but it was bigger than that. In fact, the stalker was using more than 90 different screen names and 86 different Facebook accounts: they were the tools of his torment. The investigators' conclusion? Facebook found that the suspect [had] targeted more than 75 individual victims from around the world, though that number is likely to grow, but finding him wouldn't be easy: 'the suspect is highly skilled in identity obfuscation'.

Industry members have an important role in supporting the effective delivery of policy objectives and in creating ways to report and resolve online harassment and abuse (see chapter "Narratives of Industry Responses to Cyberbullying: Perspectives on Self-regulation from and About the Industry" and Van Royen et al., 2015, 2017).

In Canada, and increasingly in other jurisdictions too, there are new policy-led initiatives to support young people who find themselves in similarly difficult situations. For example, the *Need Help Now* (n.d.) website is a Canadian Centre for Child Protection Inc. initiative. Their home page opens with the query 'How can we help you today?', and the headline response offered is "I need help removing a sexual

picture/video from the internet". The second is: "I need help with cyberbullying and dealing with my peers". One impact of seeing these options on the site is to underline how comparatively common these circumstances are, which may offer some reassurance in itself.

In Europe, Europol (n.d.) has a Public awareness and prevention guide around "Online sexual coercion and extortion is a crime". Europol is the Hague-based European Union organisation that supports policing and intelligence-gathering across the EU, and can also work with affiliated police organisations outside the EU. The Europol page includes an information video for teens in languages appropriate to 29 countries. Such resources support local initiatives such as the Child Helpline International network (n.d.) with affiliates in more than 180 nations. Policymakers and relevant non-government organisations are increasingly making it easier for teens who face cyberstalking or cyberbullying issues to get the help they need to deal with situations where, in Amanda Todd's words *"I really don't know what to do anymore."* As Amanda's story illustrates, however, it is important that such advice has an impact on a child's everyday experience at school and home, allowing them to feel supported.

8 Potential Stakeholder Responses: Other Children

Some young people can be very judgemental of their peers, particularly when it comes to 'slut-shaming' (Poole, 2014; and chapter "'The Things You Didn't Do': Gender, Slut-Shaming, and the Need to Address Sexual Harassment in Narrative Resources Responding to Sexting and Cyberbullying" in this collection). For example, the focus group with Australian teen boys in August 2013 included one participant who said: "So I think—say for Amanda Todd—it's not the internet's fault that that happened, it's more her responsibility. It was her fault that she didn't make the right decisions" (Australian male, 14–16 focus group, 2013 unpublished). This kind of narrative may reflect parents' warnings to their own children to take responsibility for their actions, and there may well be good reasons for parental concern. In Australia, for example, many under-18 s have been deemed guilty of child exploitation as a result of sexting practices, often with the partner's agreement and as part of a consensual relationship. Almost two-thirds of the cases involved possession (e.g. photos on a phone or computer), or production (taking photos) with 34.4% relating to the more serious activities of sharing or posting images (Hunt, 2017).

When parents try to persuade their own children to 'be responsible', they don't necessarily intend them to be judgemental of their peers. They often hope that they will be responsible themselves, but responsive and compassionate to other students who make mistakes. One particular challenge with the strategy that Amanda and her parents adopted of moving schools after the first shock of Tyler Boo's sextortion, was that peers in Amanda's new school had no sense of what she was like before she became 'troubled'. In *The Fifth Estate*, two girls in her original friendship group were asked whether they thought it was such 'a big deal' that Amanda had flashed

on camera: "Like not really" says one "Like I didn't think it would … [she trails away]" "I didn't think it was like that big" says the other friend, "I thought it was just like 'well, I'll just wait a couple of months and it'll all wear off" "It'll die down, like, you know", interjects the first friend, with a shrug (2014, 12.03–12.16).

A key function of Amanda's *My Story* (Todd, 2012) narrative was to identify the impact that other students were having on her life, and to make visible the harassment she faced from them, especially after the fight in the schoolyard, which was followed by her drinking bleach. Amanda's mother Carol highlighted this when she said that the point of her daughter's narrative was that "She wanted her story out there, especially to the people who were harassing her" (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 27.55–28.02). In the short term, the strategy worked. "Amanda's video attracted more and more attention. Other kids could relate to her struggle and sent her messages of support. She replied with […] 'It's finally nice to see people care" (The Fifth Estate, 2014, 28.10–28.29). Unfortunately the caring messages that Amanda received online were insufficient to balance the challenging realities of her daily life. This highlights that fact that there are different categories of stakeholder in terms of 'other children', with different impacts. The support of other children and young people online appears to have had less impact on Amanda than the isolation she experienced in her everyday life.

For some teens, as indicated by YouTube 1 (above), and YouTube 2 (YouTube feedback on Todd, 2012): "… because of those bullies she's dead those jerks if I was there I would step in #stepin it was so unneeded to bully her just because of a horrible mistake", Todd's narrative encourages an upstander response (Graeff, 2014) in some viewers. Even though YouTube 3 notes that "everyone cares when it's too late" (YouTube feedback on Todd, 2012), that's only true of circumstances where the chaos caused by cyberbullying follows through to tragedy. In other cases, where peers become involved in supporting the victim (Wegge et al., 2014), tragedy can be averted. Where this happens, the young person who has been bullied feels that enough people care about them for it to make a difference.

As the balance of Amanda Todd's narrative indicates, she saw the precipitating factor as being caused by the stalker, but the daily pain as being inflicted by her school communities. The flashcard narrative that she so painstakingly crafted serves as a continuing legacy to her experience and can be used as a resource to help children understand the real meaning of cyberbullying, assisting them to see value in becoming upstanders rather than bystanders (Graeff, 2014), 'being there' for friends when their friends need it most.

9 Conclusion

This chapter underlines the impact of Amanda Todd's (2012) *My Story* as a narrative intervention, calling out to other children to refuse to participate in cyberbullying. It has already been seen by tens of millions of people, many of whom view Amanda's courageous and resilient performance as a powerful message about the importance of respectful relationships and the necessity of bringing cyber blackmailers to justice

(Woo, 2017). Explaining the impact that the different forms of harassment had on her, stalking and sextortion, bullying and cyberbullying, Amanda hoped to prompt understanding, acceptance, support and protection. That aim has been realised. Although it was too late in her own case, Amanda's story and her video are increasingly the starting point for nuanced teen discussions around gender-based cyber harassment (Poole, 2014), encouraging children around the world to become part of the solution, rather than the problem.

Children's and young people's narratives have powerful impacts on peers (Hall, 2015), who can readily empathise with the story-teller's predicament. By using the internet and her own creativity, Amanda Todd drew strength from her personal tragedy to intervene powerfully in an international debate around cyberbullying, helping raise awareness and potentially save other children from the torment she had endured. The authenticity of her story has touched millions of people, interrupting and ending her tormentor's reign of terror, rescuing many of his victims from further harassment—at least 34 girls, and 5 men.

Amanda Todd's *My Story* (Todd, 2012) highlights the power of personal narratives as a means of combatting cyberbullying and harassment (see chapter "Cyberbullying Prevention, Detection and Intervention"). It recognises the tragedy of Amanda Todd, but also her determination, strength and resilience in explaining her perspective and demanding viewers' respect. Although Amanda did not live to see the full impact of her narrative upon others, its effects indicate that personal stories make a difference. Narrative interventions can save lives, and prompt peers to offer the help and support that make a crucial difference to victims. That message has been growing in volume and impact over the years since Amanda's death and is already integrated in a range of anti-bullying initiatives around the globe. It has become a powerful force informing education, regulation and protection; offering children and adolescents a path through which they might undermine cyberbullies and harassers, choosing instead to support the victims.

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Narratives of Industry Responses to Cyberbullying: Perspectives on Self-regulation from and About the Industry

Tijana Milosevic, Brian O'Neill and Elisabeth Staksrud

Abstract In this chapter, we provide an overview of narratives about online intermediaries' responses to cyberbullying from the perspectives of policy makers and the companies, as well as children and parents. Relevant self-regulatory and self-organisational efforts are discussed as well as the rationales for their adoption; including how the effectiveness of these efforts is seen from the perspectives of various stakeholders. We draw attention to the relative paucity of data on effectiveness of companies' mechanisms, particularly from the perspective of any benefits received by children as a result of these interventions and support.

1 Introduction

Following the narrative adopted for this collection as a framework with which to address cyberbullying, we examine a key theme for policy development in the area of cyber abuse and bullying on online platforms—the important role that industry plays in managing and mitigating online harm and abuse. In response to increased concern about online harms, politicians frequently argue that despite their claims that they are a 'mere conduit' for social media interactions, industry players bear a primary responsibility to address problems that arise on their platforms and that this obligation, if not done voluntarily, could and should be enforced through regulation. This 'threat' of legislation, should industry not cooperate, makes for a popular narrative in bringing about more decisive action to counteract online harm. Yet, this political position is at

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odds with what is said *about* industry by policy makers in actual policy discourse. It also contrasts significantly with how such action is viewed *within* industry deliberations. Rather than threatening the industry with legislation, the actual policy discourse rewards companies that actively participate in self-regulatory initiatives and make continuous visible efforts to improve. Furthermore, the policy discourse emphasises the actual benefits of improving the companies' anti-bullying mechanisms for the companies' business. These two competing perspectives—*of* and *in* industry—form the principal subject of this chapter and constitute two sides of an ongoing dialogue and debate about how the industry position should be best addressed within public policy. We see these perspectives as narratives (accounts or interpretations about industry responsibility and about how well the industry is performing). The perspective on threats of legislation is regularly narrated in the media coverage, especially in the aftermath of high profile cyberbullying incidents, particularly those that are related to the suicides of children. The perspective about the industry in the policy circles and within the industry itself is narrated amongst policy makers but rarely shared with the general public. A narrative approach allows greater scrutiny of the underlying assumptions presented in industry discourses concerning their response, as well as in discourses outside the industry on how companies handle cyberbullying. In the following, we present an overview of the principal arguments on both sides and maintain that a further equally important perspective, that of children themselves, has received less than adequate attention.

2 Liability and Responsibility

This chapter begins within an overview of narratives of industry responses to cyberbullying from the perspectives of the distinct stakeholders: policy makers and regulators, including e-safety experts and non-governmental organisations; from the perspective of the industry; and from children and parents. Arguably, industry encompasses various actors, such as social media companies, digital messengers and gaming apps, as well as the internet and mobile phone service providers (ISPs). Companies that offer filtering solutions and software that are designed to assist parents and caregivers to prevent their children's exposure to cyberbullying can also fall under the industry label. Our focus in this chapter, however, is less on ISPs or other supporting services, including vendors of parental controls or filtering solutions. Instead, we concentrate on those providers of platforms that can act as direct venues for cyberbullying incidents, such as social media and messenger apps. In so doing, we survey the available literature on industry self-organisation and self-regulation (see Marsden, 2012; Latzer, Just, & Saurwein, 2013; Lievens, 2016), industry reports, and relevant media coverage related to the theme of industry accountability.[1]

[1] A number of observations and citations summarised in this chapter draw from the book *Protecting Children Online? Cyberbullying Policies of Social Media Companies.* (Milosevic, 2018, MIT Press).

The narrative of industry involvement in addressing cyberbullying tends to revolve around questions of *responsibility*. Offline bullying prior to the advent of social media was predominantly confined to school environments and interpersonal relations between children. Consequently, the responsibility for addressing these incidents and preventing future ones was seen to be in the hands of schools, parents or caregivers and ultimately, in extreme cases, law enforcers (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009; Sacco, Silbaugh, Corredor, Casey, & Doherty, 2012). Yet, in online environments, the question of responsibility and adequate policy outcomes becomes significantly more complex (O'Neill & Staksrud, 2012; O'Neill, 2013). This is especially the case when bullying happens on platforms that are exempted from liability for illegal content by some international legal systems. Social media platforms and messenger apps fall under the wider label of "online intermediaries" or "third-party platforms that mediate between digital content and the humans who contribute and access this content" (DeNardis, 2014, p. 154). In as much as they are, by definition, not actively involved with the content that users choose to share on their platforms, intermediaries as common carriers or 'mere conduits' are exempt from liability for illegal content that they might host.

In the United States, for instance, Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act (CDA) exempts "interactive computer services" from liability for information "provided by another content provider." Hence "where an entity has provided a forum for online speech, that entity shall not be held liable for tortuous speech of others who may use the forum for harmful purposes" (Lipton, 2011, p. 1132; see also Communications Decency Act, 47 U.S.C., Section 230; Lipton, 2013; Citron, 2014). In the European Union, the Safe Harbor provisions of the Electronic Commerce Directive 2000/31/EC (or eCommerce Directive) provide similar protections (Gasser & Schulz, 2015; Wauters, Lievens & Valcke, 2016). Furthermore, the eCommerce Directive only contains provisions for content that is illegal and it does not specifically regulate content that can be harmful to minors. For such content, it only encourages "the creation of codes of conduct for the protection of minors and human dignity," and these are not mandatory (Wauters, Lievens & Valcke, 2016, p. 242). Nonetheless, despite the limited liability, companies engage in a number of self-regulatory initiatives or otherwise develop self-organisational structures, and policies against various forms of abuse and harassment, including cyberbullying (Lievens, 2016; Marsden, 2012; de Haan et al., 2013). These responses include the various forms of blocking and reporting (flagging) tools, as well as, in case of some companies, mechanisms for proactive handling of abusive content. Anti-bullying educational materials that companies tend to develop in collaboration with non-governmental organisations are also used to support education and prevention concerning cyberbullying (e.g. Facebook Help Center, 2016; Facebook Reporting Guide, n.d.; Twitter, 2017). The central question is whether the industry is able to provide evidence for the effectiveness of these mechanisms. Previous research, including evaluation of self-regulatory initiatives, has found that platforms are not always able to take down content that is determined to be cyberbullying quickly enough, thus leaving children without adequate remedies (Bazelon, 2013; Staksrud & Lobe, 2010; Donoso, 2011; Van Royen, Poels & Vandebosch, 2016a). Such a state of affairs may raise concerns about whether

industry self-regulation is sufficiently effective, and whether command-and-control i.e. traditional legislation (a statutory law) is needed.

Some authors suggest that the exemption of companies from liability on the grounds of being intermediaries could be re-evaluated in light of the fact that they do have a stake in online content. Not only do companies provide platforms for it, but they also capitalise on sharing, actively stirring, and monetising user interactions (van Dijck, 2013; Lipton, 2011, 2013). What can also put pressure on companies, as well as putting pressure on policy makers, are high profile cyberbullying incidents, those that are, in some way, said to have played a role in suicides, especially if the victims are children. Such cases can seize public attention and contribute to the overall narrative that companies need to do something to address the problem (Bazelon, 2013; Milosevic, 2018). For instance, when a girl died by suicide after being allegedly bullied on http://www.Ask.fm, this social media platform received a lot of negative media coverage. The final coroner's report, however, determined that this had been a case of self-cyberbullying (the girl had been sending harassing messages to herself). Nonetheless, the pressure contributed to a revamp of the company's safety policies and enforcement mechanisms, as well as its public relations approach (Davies, 2014).

Other regulatory models with respect to company responsibility and cyberbullying have emerged in the meantime. In 2016, Australia introduced a version of a social media regulator in the form of The Office of the Child Safety Commissioner, under its 'Enhancing Online Safety Act for Children' (Parliament of Australia, n.d.; Office of the Children's E-Safety Commissioner, n.d.). Although the eSafety role was expanded within the year to include all Australians, a similar provision for children is under consideration in other countries such as Ireland (Law Reform Commission, 2016). In Australia, caregivers and children can still report an online bullying case to the eSafety Commissioner. The Commissioner can then make a request to the social media platform to take the content down or else the platform risks paying a fine for every day that the content stays there.

The following narratives have been selected based on the authors' research into cyberbullying policies of social media companies. This included an analysis of social media companies' written policies as well as interviews with representatives of major social media platforms, e-safety non-governmental organisations and non-affiliated e-safety experts and policy makers (see Milosevic, 2018). We also draw from Brian O'Neill's and Elisabeth Staksrud's significant experience in participating in self-regulatory initiatives and their evaluation (ICT Coalition, n.d.; O'Neill, 2014; Staksrud & Lobe, 2010).

3 Narratives of Industry from the Perspective of Policy Makers and Regulators

There are many ways to define industry self-regulation but it can be characterised as "the creation, implementation and enforcement of rules by a group of actors, industry in particular, with minimal or no intervention by the state" (Lievens, 2016, p. 77; cf. Lievens, 2010). In the policy-making community of the European Union, by way of example, a rationale for preferring self-regulation rather than traditional regulation is that the industry knows its technology best while the same is thought to be true of parents with respect to their children (Staksrud, 2013; cf. Staksrud & Livingstone, 2009). This allows the industry a degree of latitude in creating mechanisms for addressing bullying on their platforms, as well as in providing adequate information about their services and advice to parents and caregivers. Parents can then make choices regarding their children's internet use. This approach was considered to be the preferred option to cumbersome regulation that runs the danger of stifling technological innovation. This thinking is further informed by the fear that fast-paced technological innovation will get in the way of effective regulatory enforcement (Bangemann Report, 1994; McLaughlin, 2013; cf. Svantesson, 2005; de Haan, van der Hof, Bekkers, & Pijpers, 2013). One of the key arguments for self-regulation, therefore, is that when industry actors are in agreement about a policy goal, in this case effective cyberbullying intervention, they may achieve this objective faster and in a more cost-effective manner with self-regulation than with traditional regulation (Milosevic, 2018; cf. Report of the Round Table on Advertising, 2006). Finally, there is a perception that traditional regulation can suffer from a knowledge gap, as it may not allow for a sufficient degree of buy-in from third party experts. On the other hand, self-regulatory fora are designed with such input in mind, for example consulting non-governmental organisations or scholars (de Haan, van der Hof, Bekkers, & Pijpers, 2013).

Another difficulty cited among the narratives about preferring not to regulate the industry via means of traditional regulation has been described as 'international forum shopping' (Lievens, 2010; Newman & Bach, 2004). If companies do not have offices and employees in a given location, the law may not apply to them. Consider that the previously cited Australian legislation only applies to companies that are legally established in the country (Vaas, 2014). Hence, if companies deem that a piece of legislation may bode negatively for their business activity, they may prefer to anchor their businesses in another jurisdiction and avoid it altogether.

Therefore, rather than regulating industry actions via command-and-control regulation, the European Commission has facilitated fora for Internet and Communication Technology (ICT) companies to participate in self-regulatory (and co-regulatory)[2] initiatives, such as the Safer Social Networking Principles, the CEO Coalition, the ICT Coalition and more recently, the Alliance to better protect minors online (see European Commission, 2009). The participating companies would then voluntar-

[2] We cannot afford to address the differences in self- and co-regulation here, but for more information please see (McLaughlin, 2013; Marsden, 2012; Lievens, 2010).

ily commit to abiding by the agreed-upon principles of child protection. Among these principles, and of immediate relevance for cyberbullying, are the creation of reporting tools and instituting adequate means of content review (e.g. see ICT Coalition, n.d., Principles, p. 2). The companies are also asked to submit reports on how they are implementing child protection measures. The European Commission might also choose to evaluate companies' efforts independently. This can involve testing whether and how quickly companies respond to users' reports (Staksrud & Lobe, 2010; Donoso, 2011); or, more frequently, examining companies' self-reports with regards to their efforts to develop anti-bullying policies and enforcement mechanisms (O'Neill, 2014).

The commitment to self-regulation continues, but the European Commission has raised concerns about the "inconsistency" and "ineffectiveness" of self-regulation (McLaughlin, 2013, p. 87), and some authors have questioned whether self-regulation is 'failing' young users (Lievens, 2016; Staksrud, 2013). Companies' commitment may also be put in question following negative publicity associated with high profile instances of bullying, the ensuing public outcry, and accompanying media coverage. These events may put pressure on politicians and policy makers to take action against the companies concerned (Milosevic, 2018). Nonetheless, an awareness of the complexities of designing effective traditional regulation encourages policy makers to act with caution, tending to support self-regulation (see Lievens, 2010).

There is, furthermore, another narrative that can sometimes be heard in the policy-making community (including e-safety experts and NGOs). On the one hand, the smaller and newer companies, those that enlist large numbers of users before they have acquired the necessary e-safety expertise, may be especially problematic. On the other hand, the older and larger companies that are better established and participate in self-regulatory initiatives (e.g. Facebook, Google, Twitter, YouTube) may be less of a problem (Milosevic, 2018). Some experts therefore propose that guidelines for industry best practice with regards to anti-bullying enforcement mechanisms, produced as a result of multi-stakeholder meetings, could be circulated to the venture capital firms that fund the start-ups. The goal of such action would be to encourage them to make it a requirement for start-ups to have minimum safety standards in order to obtain funding. This illustrates the narrative that policy makers try to convey to new companies, and that more established companies appear to understand, that ensuring child safety on companies' platforms is good for companies' business (Lievens, 2016; Magid, 2014).

While companies admit that there is, arguably, limited evidence concerning how well their tools are working for children (as we explain in the final section of this chapter), some e-safety experts ask if industry self-regulatory effectiveness shouldn't be regarded as a process, rather than merely as an outcome (Milosevic, 2018). From the perspective of some policy makers, it is the learning that happens in multi-stakeholder, multi-cultural, self-regulatory processes that constitutes the key benefits of this type of a system. As recounted by an e-safety expert participating in the UK Council for Child Internet Safety meetings (UKCCIS, n.d.), e-safety experts and NGOs may come into these multi-stakeholder venues with pre-conceived notions of standards of effectiveness that they would like to see implemented on the platforms.

But after hearing the companies' arguments and views, they may come to understand that some of their initial requirements may have been unrealistic. Likewise, participating companies are able to hear and understand the perspectives of independent experts and the parties are sometimes able to meet half way. According to the expert it is through this dialogue, and the learning process that takes place in such meetings, that each side re-examines its position in the light of agreed safety standards. Technological and financial feasibility are also taken into account in this process and these can be crucial to outcome effectiveness.

4 Narratives in Industry

Ensuring that social media platforms are safe, and also perceived by the public as safe, is good for social media business. Industry, particularly those more established companies that have previously participated in a number of self-regulatory initiatives (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Google-owned YouTube), increasingly appear to appreciate this point (Magid, 2014; Lievens, 2016). Some of these companies narrate that they do not see their anti-bullying strategies as corporate social responsibility or as a burden on their company's business model. Rather, they see it as part of the daily work that they do. Safety is an important aspect of how they discursively position their corporate ethos (Milosevic, 2018). Most companies have provisions in their corporate documents (either in their Terms of Service or TOS, or 'Community Guidelines/Standards/Principles' see e.g. Facebook, 2016) that abuse, harassment, and cyberbullying are forbidden on their platforms. Due to the large amounts of content shared on social media, companies can emphasise how difficult it is for them to proactively monitor what people post on their platforms in terms of its contribution to bullying. Consider, for instance, that 300 h of video is uploaded onto YouTube *per minute* (Dormehl, 2015). This volume of content is one reason why providing users with tools to block the abusive posts, or report abusive content to the company, is considered as a viable response. Once the content has been reported, the company will look into each case and decide if it violates its terms and conditions, and take it down or address the abusive user in another way, in a process known as moderation (Crawford & Gillespie, 2016). Moderation can be done by automation (e.g. bots) as well as humans, but some industry members assign particular importance to employing human moderators. Determining whether a case constitutes cyberbullying can be context-dependent and it may be difficult to handle in an automated way, necessitating a human eye. However, companies typically do not disclose the extent to which their moderation is automated (Milosevic, 2016, 2018).

Only if the content is determined to be cyberbullying, as defined by the company, and thus violating the company policy, will a company take it down (see e.g. Matias et al., 2015). However, from companies' experience, it can be difficult to determine whether a piece of reported content actually constitutes a policy violation. Consider that a photo may be reported to the company with no abusive words underneath and without any additional contextual information to suggest the post constitutes a

violation. If the photo itself has no insignia of abuse, the moderation process may not be able to determine it as a violation. Nonetheless, the user might find the photo abusive for some reason, while not being able to persuade the person posting it to take it down. This is why some of the established companies argue that users are better positioned to address some of the inter-personal problems on their platforms. These companies seek to develop tools that would actively empower users in solving these problems without further company involvement. Facebook's social reporting approach is an example of this. It was developed as part of an extensive research collaboration with scientists from Yale University and The University of California, Berkeley, as well as through Facebook in-house research (Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence, 2013; Greater Good Science Center, 2015). Social reporting allows users to use pre-prepared messages, which offer the offended party a polite way to ask the user who posted offensive content to take it down. Distressed users can also rely on pre-made messages to reach out to a third party (such as a friend or trusted adult) to let them know they're feeling bullied and that they need help.

In some of the companies' narratives, offering tools like these were constructed as a more advanced response than simple content takedowns, as content takedowns may not always solve the problem, which may persist offline or on other platforms (Compassion Research Day, 2013; Milosevic, 2016). Tools like the ones discussed are positioned to help users address the heart of the conflict. Other platforms have developed more automated tools with the logic of user empowerment, allowing a greater degree of moderation to users, rather than leaving matters in the hands of company moderators. One example is Yik Yak's[3] 'up-voting and downvoting' (a logic similar to like and dislike). Under this approach, if a piece of content was 'downvoted' by the community of users five times, it was then taken down automatically.

Companies are increasingly looking into proactive ways to handle abuse on their platforms without having to rely on user reporting first. Strategies being considered include various applications of algorithmic learning (e.g. supervised machine learning, natural language processing) or artificial intelligence-like tools (Greenberg, 2016). Some of these platforms report themselves as holding freedom of speech as one of their primary values, and hence see themselves as being in the difficult position of having to balance user safety and protection from cyberbullying on the one hand, against the need to protect freedom of speech on the other (Gillespie, 2010). They may, therefore, be reluctant to use specific forms of proactive moderation, such as the application of supervised machine learning, that would allow them to crawl their platforms for language-based indicators of bullying. For instance, if the word 'bitch' was to be such an indicator, the company might receive too many false alerts, given that the word 'bitch' is frequently used by young people in a friendly, rather than an offensive way (i.e. to mean 'friend' or 'mate') (Milosevic, 2016). Companies, nonetheless, may choose not to specify whether and what types of proactive content crawling they might be using in order to identify potentially cyberbullying

[3] Yik Yak was a popular social media platform that allowed for anonymous sharing among users who were in close physical proximity, which is why the platform was predominantly used on college campuses in the United States. The platform closed down in 2017.

content before it is reported to their moderation system. Furthermore, they might not typically specify in their policies as to which proactive enforcement mechanisms they use and how they are using them. There is a significant lack of transparency as to how bullying moderation is executed and companies' operational policies are typically not shared with the public.

A recent leak of Facebook's operational policies caused significant controversy and public debate with respect to child protection (Hopkins, 2017). The company's operational anti-bullying policies were said either not to be strict enough; or to be so specific to the point of being rigid, thus allowing bullying to slip through the cracks of the company's moderation system. For instance, among the items that caused criticism was that the company previously allowed "the sharing of footage of physical bullying of children under seven" provided that this was done without a caption (Hopkins, 2017, para 7). The company defended its policies, stressing the difficulties of having to balance safety against the freedom of expression; it also hired an additional number of moderators to address the issue (Fingas, 2017).

In line with some of the recommendations from self-regulatory initiatives, companies have been encouraged to provide appropriate information about the safe use of their services to children and caregivers. They have also been asked to provide sources of e-safety advice, for instance by linking to e-safety NGO websites. A number of companies are thus developing educational and awareness-raising advice for children and caregivers, typically housed in companies' Safety and Help Centers. The Safety and Help Centers are specially designated sections of companies' websites that contain instructions for using companies' anti-bullying tools (see e.g. Snapchat, n.d.; Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence, 2013). In offering this anti-bullying support, companies may partner with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) who provide expert, third party advice (O'Neill, 2014). Companies tend to cite these activities as evidence of their continuous efforts to address cyberbullying in an effective way.

Some companies' anti-bullying content emphasises the value of 'digital citizenship' and describes users as important actors in ensuring that the platform is safe (Jones & Mitchell, 2015). Young users are encouraged to be good digital citizens who do not engage in bullying and who also help victims when they find themselves in bystander roles. Most importantly, such narratives position responsibility for safety on the platform as not only pertaining to the platform itself and its owners, but as *shared* between the platform and its community of users, as well as with NGOs, caregivers and regulators (Milosevic, 2018). Hence the corporate documents are characterised as 'community' guidelines/standards/rules. There is a need for more research on the effectiveness of these educational materials; for instance, the extent to which parents and children are actually using them and finding them helpful (O'Neill, 2014). Another recommendation from one of the latest self-regulatory initiatives, for instance, was to ensure that these materials are also available in languages other than English.

5 Narratives from Children and Parents

Despite the extensive commentary within policy circles and in the wider public domain regarding narratives of industry-responses to cyberbullying, when it comes to the perspective of children and parents, there is limited evidence available. Only a handful of studies have inquired as to whether young users are aware of companies' anti-bullying tools or whether they find them helpful. Among those, several have raised concerns about companies' responsiveness to children's complaints. They found that teens were largely unaware of social media companies' efforts to stop bullying on their platforms, while those that had been aware of them, doubted their effectiveness (Van Royen, Poels, & Vandebosch, 2016a; Schneider, Smith, & O'Donell, 2013, p. 22). It is especially important that social media platforms give a timely response when children report cyberbullying. Negative emotions, such as shame and anger, contribute to reporting to these services and companies can play an important role in alleviating these negative emotions (Van Royen, Poels, & Vandebosch, 2016b; see also Šléglová & Cerna, 2011). Responding to the victim with a message which contains relevant advice, as well as with information on where to receive further help, has also been recommended.

One of the studies that evaluated the use of companies' mechanisms in the United States, found that parents, too, were to a great extent unaware of social media companies' efforts against cyberbullying. While they accepted responsibility for their children's safety on the sites, parents may feel they lack the capability to ensure such safety. These parents would like companies to provide more mechanisms for restricting and monitoring various behaviours of their children on these sites; but they also express a desire for companies to provide advice around digital citizenship (Schneider, Smith, & O'Donnel, 2013, p. 18). An unpublished, exploratory study in Norway conducted by the first author of this chapter, which relied on a small-scale[4] survey, found that just over half of survey respondents said they knew how to report bullying on the sites they used (almost 60%). Less than a third reported that they had done this at least once in their lives, and only 17% of those who report themselves as having been bullied informed the social media platform about their experience of online social aggression on the most recent occasion that such abuse had happened. Less than a third of respondent children said they had seen companies' Safety or Help centers, and even fewer (13%) reported that they had seen Facebook's advanced policy around social reporting.

One among the few studies to consider effectiveness examined a specific tool that some companies employ to address harassment: exposure to a reflective message. The reflective message might remind those who were about to send a harassing message about the harmful consequences for the victim; or that others would disapprove of such harassment; or that parents might see the harassing post (Van Royen, Poels, Vandebosch, & Adam, 2017). The study found that the intention to harass decreased

[4] N = 152; Age of respondents: 11–19; the school that children were sampled from was international in character and it included children from a variety of countries and cultures. English was the primary language in the school.

after the exposure to such reflective messages. These findings could be used to inform companies' future efforts. Another study inquired into perceptions of adolescents about automatic monitoring of social media platforms. Young people reported concerns about curbing freedom of expression when such tools are deployed, as well as concerns about privacy and a loss of autonomy. They did not think users should be monitored in those situations where they might be able to handle the negative incident themselves (Van Royen, Poels, & Vandebosch, 2016b).

One of the less common, large-scale examples of an attempt at providing publicly available evaluation of companies' efforts against cyberbullying resulted from collaboration between a UK-based non-governmental organisation, the NSPCC (National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children), and the telecommunications company O2 (News O2, 2016). Relying on a survey with children, as well as parents' panels, the project asks whether users are aware of major companies' reporting tools and whether they find them useful. The project then provides an opportunity to rate each platform's safety in a visually simple way for parental and children's use. While the results vary by platform from satisfactory to less satisfactory, they are also limited solely to the United Kingdom. For instance, Facebook's reporting tools were rated as more satisfactory (as indicated with a 'happy smiley') than Instagram's, Snapchat's and Kik's ('an indifferent or straight-face smiley').

Published information regarding how children conceptualise company responsibilities for helping them in bullying cases indicates that this is an issue with relevance for children's rights (Livingstone & Bulger, 2014; Livingstone, Carr & Byrne, 2015). The previously-mentioned exploratory study in Norway asked children, via survey and focus groups, whether they thought companies should take responsibility for any incidents of bullying on their platforms. While the respondents assigned a significant degree of responsibility to the companies, some of the focus group respondents perceived that there was only so much that the companies could do in the face of the pervasiveness of bullying on their sites.

6 Conclusion: Narratives in the Face of Evidence

Narratives related to industry responses to cyberbullying converge around the complex problems of responsibility, and of the effectiveness of platforms' efforts. The dominant narrative in the public discussions around cyberbullying, and particularly in the aftermath of high profile cyberbullying incidents, concludes that companies are failing to adequately address the issue on their own and that command-and-control regulation is needed. On the other hand, within policy circles and the industry, there is a greater recognition of the difficulties around implementing traditional regulation. The need to strengthen self-regulation is recognised, as well as the fact that there are nuanced differences in how well various companies address the problem. Also significant is the recognition of perceived differences between the more established companies and start-ups, for instance. While companies tend to be legally exempted from liability, they nonetheless develop a variety of mechanisms to mitigate risk.

These are sometimes the result of sustained efforts on behalf of policy makers and experts within self-regulatory initiatives, or part of self-organisational structures that could fall under the umbrella of companies' corporate social responsibility efforts. The palpable data on effectiveness of these mechanisms is, to a great degree, lacking when it comes to more established and newer companies alike. For instance, available statistics on how many bullying reports are received on a given platform per unit in time, how fast these are processed and how satisfied children and parents are with this processing, are to a great extent lacking. Nonetheless, older and more established social media companies participate in self-regulatory initiatives and police their platforms in an effort to exhibit best behaviour. They can thus be perceived by regulators as less of a problem than the start-ups whose user base may outgrow their e-safety expertise. The voices that appear to be consistently missing among the many narratives on industry efforts, are those of children. To this date, there exists a limited amount of continuous effort internationally that would ask children, across platforms, whether they find the mechanisms useful when addressing bullying problems; why or why not this may be the case; and what might be considered to be adequate measures to address cyberbullying in accordance with children's responses. Future research could rely on more robust samples (across different countries and languages) to examine the effectiveness of various reporting tools; as well as investigating the extent to which young people and their parents use the educational materials and supports that companies provide in their Safety and Help Centers.

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