The Changing World of Bullying:

Students' Opinions about how to Intervene with Cyberbullying

by

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Abstract

To date, only a small amount of cyberbullying research has investigated how youth have successfully coped with cyberbullying and how schools might begin to help youth survive the adverse effects of cyberbullying. Accordingly, this study intended to bridge this gap in research by examining the personal experiences of survivors in order to determine effective strategies to help other affected youth. This study examined coping strategies used by adolescents who have successfully overcome the adversities of cyberbullying using a bioecological framework. In keeping with this theoretical lens, the study not only interviewed cyberbullying survivors, but it also examined their school environment by interviewing school counsellors and one school administrator. These key school professionals were interviewed in order to determine out how schools are trying to assist affected youth. In order to explore the complexity of surviving this new type of bullying, this study used a grounded theory method to allow data to fully emerge from participants' perspectives. The central research questions included: (1) How do adolescents survive being a victim of cyberbullying? (2) What specific strategies do adolescents use? (3) What factors influence their coping strategies?

When exploring these research questions, patterns emerged from the data which ultimately formed the emergent model - Resiliency: Becoming Stronger. When analyzing the data, the researcher found that individuals activated coping strategies in response to the negative feelings and thoughts that cyberbullying caused. This main theme, survival strategies, is broken down into two subtypes of coping: online coping and offline coping. In addition, the model also includes three supporting themes: internal characteristics, external influences on internal feelings, and environmental factors. The first supporting theme, internal characteristics, describes an individual's personality traits or ways of being. The second supporting theme, external influences on internal feelings, describes how individuals in survivors' lives contributed to how they were feeling internally. Finally, the third supporting theme, environmental factors, describes individuals and elements in a survivor's external environments that influenced their ability to cope, in addition to their internal characteristics and feelings. These supporting themes either

positively or negatively influenced adolescents' survival strategies. The outcome of this survival process was that all of the individuals interviewed ultimately became stronger as a result of their resiliency. The results of this study have highlighted effective coping strategies that may help to inform future counselling practices. By using this research to develop counselling models, clinicians may be better equipped to help youth overcome the adversities resulting from cyberbullying. It is necessary that further research be conducted to explore these strategies in order to be able to better understand and address the adverse affects of cyberbullying.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to all of my brave participants who came forward and shared their stories; as well as, all of those individuals who have lived through and experienced the adverse affects of cyberbullying and bullying. You have taught me the true meaning of resiliency. It is my hope that the strategies that were found in this study will be able to meaningfully help all those who are currently being affected by cyberbullying.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The Problem

Statement of the Problem

Traditional bullying and relational aggression have been impacting schools since the dawn of time (Shariff, 2008); however, the proliferation of electronic communication is drastically changing the face of traditional bullying. Youth spend a considerable amount of their day communicating and interacting with electronic communication tools, "where the language has changed to net-speak, identities can be protected, personalities changed, and youth are faced with new and almost limitless liberties to interact and role-play" (Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009, p. 384). Technology can aid in nurturing healthy identity development and can provide opportunities for growth, including: social support, identity exploration, promotion of social responsibility through respectful communication, and finally, critical thinking skills (Li, 2007, p. 1778). On the other hand, technology can also facilitate youth's engagement in undesirable social offenses; for example, extending bullying beyond the school yard (Li, 2007, p. 1778). Technology is affording youth new opportunities to mock, insult, and harm peers (Li, 2007, p. 1778).

Cyberbullying is defined 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" (Sourander, Klomeck, Ikonen, Lindroos, Luntamo, Koskelainen, Ristkari, & Helenious, 2010, p.720). For instance, cyberbullies can use text messages, emails, instant messages, video messaging, pictures messaging, personal digital assistants, and computers to harass, tease, disrespect or exclude their peers and "friends" (Swartz, 2009, p. 281). No group of users is embracing virtual social networks as enthusiastically as adolescents (Betz, 2011, p. 283); and indeed, surveys on the pervasiveness of cyberbullying confirm that it is widespread among adolescents (Sourander et al., 2010, p.720). The potential for cyberbullying is growing due to the increasing popularity of technology like

networked computers and mobile phones among youth, as well as the lack of adult supervision on these mediums (Smith et al., 2008, p. 378). In fact, while youth use the Internet for many purposes, social communication with offline friends and family is the primary purpose for their Internet use (Werner, Bumpus, & Rock, 2010, p. 608). Moreover, the internet enables computer mediated communication to spread quickly and to reach a potentially limitless audience (Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 497). Thus although bullying and relational aggression have existed for a longtime, "the elusive nature of cyberbullying compounds the difficulty of identifying the harmful behavior and intervening to stop it" (Feinberg & Robey, 2009, p. 26).

Cyberbullying is garnering a lot of attention from the popular press (Dooley, Pyzalski, & Cross, 2009, p. 182); for instance, news specials like Anderson Cooper's 2010 CNN special entitled "Bullying: No Escape" have emerged. The focus of many news stories tends to be on cyberbullying cases that have resulted in suicide like Megan Meier, Ryan Halligan, Tyler Clementi, Amanda Todd, and Rehtaeh Parsons. This leads to a large gap in information regarding youth who are affected by cyberbullying, but do not commit suicide. In addition, many descriptive studies have been conducted to assess the nature and extent of cyberbullying (Tokunaga, 2010). In fact, a number of literature reviews have begun to surface in the last year in order to summarize and synthesize the available information and to put it into a more coherent whole (Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010; Tokunaga, 2010). However, while these descriptive studies on cyberbullying are increasing, only a few researchers have begun to look at intervention and prevention.

The absence of research on intervention, and in particular lack of qualitative data, has meant that many of the interventions currently being used are extensions of those that concentrate on intervening with more traditional forms of bullying (Rivers & Noret, 2010, p. 665). Many intervention programs include simple strategies like: blocking the bully, implement privacy settings, change email addresses, or telling an adult (Rivers & Noret, 2010; Perren et al., 2012). However while such actions may provide cybervictims with the ability to curtail their interactions with cyberbullies, they are merely short-term

solutions to an issue that will expand as technology develops (Rivers& Noret, 2010). In addition, Perren et al. (2012) suggest that the evidence of the effectiveness of these strategies is unclear. Furthermore, for many youth online interactions are "real" and thus the separation between virtual and 'real' world may only exist for individuals who did not grow up in the digital age of instant messaging and online communication (Rivers & Noret, 2010, p. 665). As a result, asking youth to curtail their cyber communication may not be an effective intervention strategy. Essentially, current interventions require cybervictims to learn risk management strategies rather than actually addressing the attitudes and online behavior of cyberbullies (Rivers& Noret, 2010). This gap in research needs to be addressed and thus, there is a need to look at interventions specifically for the phenomenon of cyberbullying.

Significance

Current research confirms that cyberbullying has an adverse impact on youth (Wade & Beran, 2011, p. 57; Tokunaga, 2009, p. 281; Ybarra, Diener-West,& Leaf, 2007, p. S46; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010, p. 207). More specifically, research shows that there are significant psychosocial and academic implications, as well as increased vulnerability in targeted victims (Mishna, Cook, Gadalla, Daciuk, & Soloman, 2010, p. 362). In addition, descriptive research on cyberbullying also confirms that it is more complex than traditional bullying. For example, researchers have noted that traditionally home was a place of refuge from bullying for victims, however because of advances in technology bullying has transcended the schoolyard and thus, home is no longer the safe haven it used to be (Keith & Martin, 2005, p. 225; Pronk & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2010, p. 176). Further complicating the cyberbullying phenomenon is the fact that the bully can remain anonymous (Mackay, 2012, p. 11). Thus, it is important for researchers to carefully look at this new form of bullying in order to understand how to help adolescents cope with it. Moreover, studies are also finding that rates of cyberbullying are increasing (Smith et al., 2008; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Mishna et al., 2010) which also coincides with the increase of press reports on cyberbullying (Smith et al., 2008, p. 376). "The rapid proliferation of cyberbullying and the likelihood that it will continue to be part of the bullying arsenal for the

foreseeable future makes it imperative that researchers begin to systematically investigate this phenomenon" (Bauman, 2010, p. 808).

In addition, technology is rapidly changing (Li, 2010, p. 372) and thus, cyberbullying is also changing from when it was first discovered in 2001 (Smith et al., 2008, p. 376). Newer studies are reporting that cyberbullying has diversified beyond text messages and emails; for instance, studies report the following mediums: mobile phones (bullying by phone calls and text messages), instant messaging, chat rooms, picture bullying (pictures or video clips bullying), websites (ie. posting text or images on social networking sites and Youtube or commenting on someone's status), sharing or forwarding the contents of a private communication to others, and stealing someone's online passwords (Smith et al., 2008, p. 376; Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 497). Therefore, changing technology not only impacts the way that bullies victimize their peers, but it also changes our responsibilities as educators, mentors, counsellors, and parents (Li, 2010, p.372). It adds new dimensions to our current roles; for example, educating youth on cyberbullying prevention and helping youth to positively cope with cyberbullying experiences (Li, 2010, p.372).

Finally, most cyberbullying takes place during middle school years which is often referred to as a "time of becoming" (Tokunaga, 2010). Bullying victimization during this time period can have detrimental effects to the identity formation of these youth (Diaz, Evans, & Gallagher, N.D.). It is particularly important to address cyberbullying because peer relationships during youth form the blue print for future relationships in adulthood (Armistead, Forehand, Beach & Brody 1995, p. 448). Therefore, if individuals experience excessive negative conflict and bullying in their youth, they are at-risk to continue these adverse patterns of behavior throughout their lives (Armistead et al., 1995, p. 148; Pepler et al., 2006, p. 376). Furthermore, youth often interpret things more negatively during this life stage than if they were in their adult stage of development (Keith & Martin, 2005, p. 225). For instance, Keith and Martin (2005) note that adolescence is a vulnerable developmental period, and thus comments that may be interpreted as silly by individuals at a later developmental period may be interpreted as

devastating to youth given their developmental stage (p. 225). The world of bullying is changing and thus, it behooves current and future counsellors to not only recognize cyberbullying as a serious problem facing youth, but also to respond to it by implementing changes within their counselling practices. By incorporating cyberbullying-specific interventions into their counselling practices, counsellors will be better able to help youth successfully cope and navigate this new bullying world.

Purpose of the Study/Research Questions

Closely aligned with this, the purpose of this study is to develop potential intervention strategies for victims of cyberbullying based on data collected from open interviews with adolescents. It is important to note that because this is a Master's level thesis there is a set timeline for this study and it was not possible to generate to a substantive level theory. This study builds on the existing literature by examining specific and effective coping strategies that adolescents have successfully used when dealing with cyberbullying. It also looks at what factors hinder or augment their coping strategies. Finally, this study takes into account adolescent worldviews which makes these strategies more applicable to youth than if they were ideas imposed on youth by adults. Thus, this study helps to fill in some of the aforementioned gaps in cyberbullying research.

The central research questions include:

1) How do adolescents survive being a victim of cyberbullying?
2) What specific strategies do adolescents use?
3) What factors influence their coping strategies?

Definition of Terms

Within the context of this study, the following operational definitions are used:

Cyberbullying - "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" (Sourander et al., 2010, p.720).

"*Aggressive, intentional acts"* include: harassment, denigration, outing and trickery, impersonation and masquerading, and cyberstalking.

Electronic forms of contact include, but are not limited to the following: mobile phones (phone calls, text messages, video messages, and picture messages), instant messaging (including social networking instant messaging, phone instant messaging like Blackberry Messenger, or things like MSN Instant Messenger), chat rooms, websites (ie. Youtube), social networking sites (ie. Facebook, Myspace, etc.), email, and stealing someone's online password or identity.

Repeatedly signifies the following: using multiple forms of cyberbullying to target one victim; using the same form multiple times to target one victim; posting or forwarding one thing electronically that can be accessed and viewed by many individuals; or using a combination of the above.

Victim – someone who is negatively impacted (socially, psychologically, emotionally, etc.) by the incident or behavior of the aggressor

Cyberbullying survivors - youth who have been removed from cybervictimization for a minimum of six months.

Coping strategies – "constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 141).

Resilience – "refers to the process of overcoming the negative effects of risk exposure, coping successfully with traumatic experiences, and avoiding the negative trajectories associated with risks" (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005, p. 399). Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) note that "a key requirement of resilience is the presence of both risks and promotive factors that either help bring about a positive outcome or reduce or avoid a negative outcome (p. 399)". Resilience theory is focused on strengths rather than deficits and on understanding healthy development in spite of risk exposure (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005, p. 399).

Adolescence (or youth) – in this study refers to youth or adolescents in the time period of middle school years (13 years or older) until approximately 25 years old (Kaplan, 2004).

Theoretical Framework

This section outlines the developmental factors that are central to understanding bullying and youth, as well as why it is essential to use a developmental model. It also briefly reviews some of the key developmental models that are used to understand the unique developmental period of adolescence, including: Paiget, Erikson, Holmbeck, and Bronfenbrenner. Finally, it also justifies the reasons why Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model is used as a theoretical framework for this study.

Adolescence is a unique developmental stage characterized by the transition from childhood and adulthood (Kaplan, 2004, p. 13). In Western society adolescence is often seen as a transitional period where youth learn behavioral independence, develop a more reciprocal relationship with their parents, and form their own beliefs and value systems (Pavlova, Haase, & Silbereisen, 2011, p. 361). During this transition into adulthood youth work to develop behavioral, emotional, and cognitive autonomy (Pavlova, Haase, & Silbereisen, 2011, p. 361). This changing environment suggests that in order to generate effective findings, researchers must have a basic understanding of important developmental milestones of youth; more specifically, researchers should also have an understanding of the contexts that are pertinent in shaping their functioning. Furthermore, when using a developmental perspective to understand aggression, it is important to keep in mind the developmental tasks and challenges of adolescence, especially the timeframe when youth explore their behavioral and social capacities along with the dynamics of power (Pepler et al., 2008, p. 325).

During adolescence youth endeavor to learn more about their individual identities, and one way they do this is by exploring their social roles which may include pursuing status among their peer groups (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 313). Such status seeking behavior may motivate aggressive behavior, especially during the transitional time periods like from elementary to middle school (Hong& Espelage, 2012, p. 313). Furthermore, researchers have noted that "physical, verbal and indirect aggression are

developmentally sequenced and linked to advances in language and perspective-taking abilities" (Pepler et al., 2006, p. 377). When considering the above developmental factors, it is not difficult to see how some researchers have concluded that the forms of bullying used within adolescence may change based on developmental transformations occurring during puberty (Pepler et al., 2006, p. 377). As a result, when studying adolescents, it is important for researchers to keep their unique developmental trajectory in mind.

Furthermore, a wide-range of developmental research shows that adolescents are often more sensitive to rejection during this time period and thus when faced with rejection they suffer heightened psychological consequences (Masten et al., 2009, 143).In particular, Erikson's model of psychosocial development informs researchers that youth are often very concerned with how they appear to other individuals (Manning, 1988, p. 98). Elkind's imaginary audience also supports this, positing that adolescents imagine that others are as obsessed with their behavior and appearance as they are (Elkind, 1967, p. 1030). Additionally youth have a propensity to interpret things more negatively during this developmental period compared to later stages of development (Masten et al., 2009, 143). Thus, being a cyberbullying victim during adolescence has the potential to amplify the impact of the bullying experience (Masten et al., 2009, 143). Moreover, youth are often reluctant to disclose that they have been cyberbullied to caregivers or adults (Li, 2007; Li, 2006; Li, 2010). According to Erikson's theory, adolescence is a time period of developing autonomy characterized by increased independence and responsibility (Manning, 1988, p. 97).As a result, the reason why youth try and deal with bullying themselves is likely a product of their developmental stage (Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 502; Li, 2010, p. 380). Therefore, it seems increasing apparent that using adolescent developmental theories as a theoretical lens for this study is essential for developing meaningful interventions for youth.

While social relationships are important in all life stages, the link between relationships with peers and developmental trajectories becomes central in adolescence (Crosnoe & McNeely, 2008, S72; Masten et al., 2009, 143). This occurs because one of the key developmental tasks of adolescence is

individuating from parents; as a result, the importance of peers and peer-group membership becomes even more significant in adolescence than when compared to childhood or adulthood (Crosnoe & McNeely, 2008, S72; Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 375). Thus, adolescents typically desire to spend an increasing amount of time with their peers; consequently, youth begin to decrease the time spent with their family during this time period (Kaplan, 2004). Therefore, if youth are cyberbullied during this timeframe, it is likely that it will be interpreted as more devastating than if they were to occur at either a younger or older developmental period that did not place so much emphasis on friendship and peers. Furthermore, Erikson's theory also states that in their search for their identity, youth often begin to form "cliques, and crowds and can be remarkably clannish and cruel in their exclusion of those who are different" (Manning, 1988, p. 99). Thus it seems that bullying and victimization may be a byproduct of youth striving to belong to groups.

Other researchers have focused on environmental factors. For instance, literature focusing on aggression and family context has supported an association between aggressive behavior in adolescence and the following: "lack of family cohesion, inadequate parental supervision, family violence, hostile discipline techniques, and poor modeling of problem solving skills" (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 376). In addition, several researchers have also found that parenting styles and family environment can influence bullying (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 376). Complicated individual characteristics combined with other environmental factors like familial characteristics, school climate, and peer influences illustrate the complex etiological influences on bullying behaviors (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 376). This has been supported by Bronfenbrenner's developmental theory which describes development as the sustained and complex interaction with one's environment (Lewthwaite, 2011, p. 9). Holmbeck's Biopsychosocial Model also supports this stating that developmental changes are influenced by many variables including interpersonal contexts, demographic, and intrapersonal variables (Holmbeck, 2002, p. 411). These variables influence the key developmental outcomes of adolescence, including: psychosocial adjustment (Holmbeck, 2002, p. 411).Therefore, these factors should be

considered when integrating developmental perspectives into bullying research. For instance, it is not only important to look at individuals, but also their environment and contextual factors (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 379; Craig, Pepler & Atlas, 2000, p. 23; Hong, & Espelage, 2012, p. 318). By taking into consideration the developmental framework and context of youth, researchers can make more meaningful hypotheses that are more reflective of adolescents' everyday lives.

Finally, Armistead et al. (1995) note that the critical role of peer relationships in the development of skills that are necessary for interpersonal competence in young adulthood (p. 448). For example, research has also begun to demonstrate that bullying is a relationship problem, because it often occurs within the context of relationships (Pepler et al., 2006, p. 382; Pepler, Jiang, Craig, & Connolly, 2008, p. 325). As a result, there is a concern that the use of power and aggression will generalize to other forms of relationship aggression in later stages of life (Pepler et al., 2006, p. 382; Pepler & Craig, 2011, p. 389). In addition adolescents and their peer groups tend to be more autonomous and under less supervision which may result in parents having less influence on their identity formation during this time period (Kaplan, 2004, p. 180). Relationships with peers in adolescence form a blueprint for future relationships and thus, there is a possibility that adolescents who were either victims or aggressors of cyberbullying will be adversely affected in their adult interpersonal skills (Pepler et al., 2008, p. 333; Craig & Pepler, 2007, p. 88). Thus, without taking into account the specific dynamics of adolescence, researchers are missing key contextual factors that have the potential to adversely affect their research results and the effectiveness of their outcomes. For instance, Pepler et al. (2008) note that intervention programs should incorporate developmental considerations including youth's behaviors, social cognitions, and social problem-solving skills (p. 335). In addition, they should also look at contextual factors, concentrating on factors like strained relationships with parents and risky relationships with peers with are typical in adolescence (Pepler et al., 2008, p. 335). Given that this research project looks at coping through adolescents' perspectives, there is a strong rationale for using a developmental framework; as a result, this paper uses a developmental framework in order to ground the findings.

By using a developmental framework to inform this research study the researcher possesses a greater understanding of how adolescents determine, shape, and apply their coping strategies. For instance, Espelage and Swearer (2003) state that it is important to consider adolescents' developmental trajectory and individual characteristics (such as age, sex, ethnicity, race, etc.) when developing prevention and intervention plans (p. 373).This study contributes to the literature on meaningful intervention programs because the coping strategies are derived from youth themselves taking into account their developmental timeframe. In addition, researchers have also noted that a significant number of studies have neglected to integrate social context (including peer relationships and social behaviors) into the analysis of bullying behavior (Espelage, Holt, & Henkel, 2003, p. 205). By using a developmental framework in the analysis of data, this study helps to fill in this gap in bullying literature.

There are many influential developmental researchers can choose. Four influential developmental theories are: Paiget's Cognitive Developmental Theory, Erikson's Psychosocial Model, Holmbeck's Biopsychosocial Model, and Bronfrenbrenner's Bioecological Model. The first influential model, Jean Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Changes, is one of the oldest and most valued developmental theories in educational settings (Kaplan, 2004, p. 100). According to Piaget, development encompasses both changes and reorganization of the way people deal and interact with their environment (Kaplan, 2004, p. 34). Development is defined by four principal factors: maturation (genetic factors influencing development); social transmission (formal learning); experience (person's unique interactions with their environment); and equilibrium (how people change their ideas and behavior) (Kaplan, 2004, p. 34). During adolescence, youth strive to find a balance between what they know and what they are experiencing (Kaplan, 2004, p. 34). When adolescents are faced with new situations that require a different type of analysis than they are familiar with, they go into a stage of disequilibrium (Kaplan, 2004, p. 34). This leads to a change in both their thinking and their behavior (Kaplan, 2004, p. 34). Piaget believed cognition developed in four stages: the sensorimotor or sensorial experience stage; the preoperational stage; the concrete operational stage where individuals develop the skills to be able to

think logically about concrete events, and finally the formal operational stage where which abstract reasoning develops (Torres, Olivares, Rodriguez, Vaamonde, & Berrios, 2007, p. 376). In the beginning of each new cognitive stage, Piaget believed that the individual's developing abilities become sources of egocentric errors, or a differentiation failure between the subjective and the objective (Galanaki, 2012, p. 457: Elkind, 1967, p. 1025). Thus, at each stage the individual begins to incorporate new experiences into their worldview by using a new and unique process of egocentric assimilation (Galanaki, 2012, p. 457; Elkind, 1967, p. 1025).

The formal operational stage develops within adolescence, usually starting around the age of 11 (Torres et al., 2007, p. 376). During adolescence, youth develop the ability to understand and use abstractions; for example, turning concepts of beliefs, intelligence, and faith into definitions of their religious domination (Kaplan, 2004, p. 34; Elkind, 1967, p. 1029). It is important to note that not everyone is able to reach the fourth stage, and some individuals do not mature according to Piaget's suggested timeframes (Torres et al., 2007, p. 376). According to Piaget's theory, an adolescent who has reached the fourth stage of development should be able to complete the following: probabilistic reasoning, problem reasoning, combinatorial reasoning, and relationship reasoning (Torres et al., 2007, p. 376). Thus an adolescent during this stage not only develops the ability to be able to think about what is possible but also to think about their own thoughts and the thoughts of others (Galanaki, 2012, p. 457).However, Piaget posited that in an attempt to adjust the environment to their ego, adolescents will fail to distinguish between their own cognitive constructions and those of others (Galanaki, 2012, p. 457; Elkind, 1967, p. 1025). More specifically, while adolescents can take into account the thoughts of others, they do not distinguish between the objects that are the focus of their own concerns and objects that are the focus of other individuals' concerns (Elkind, 1967, p. 1029). David Elkind has elaborated on Piaget's theory of adolescent egocentrism by considering both the cognitive changes and the pubertal changes of adolescence (Galanaki, 2012, p. 457). In addition to the previously discussed cognitive aspects, Elkind (1967) posits that the physical metamorphosis adolescents are experiencing also

contributes to their egocentrism. According to his theory, adolescents assume that others are just as obsessed or preoccupied as they are with their behavior and appearance (Elkind, 1967, p. 1030). This belief system comprises Elkind's concept of "adolescent egocentrism" (Elkind, 1967, p. 1030). Elkind (1967) described two consequences of egocentrism (p. 1030). First, when involved in social situations, adolescents anticipate other people's reactions to them (Elkind, 1967, p. 1030). This first manifestation is referred to as the "imaginary audience" (Elkind, 1967, p. 1030). Adolescents often assume that others are as critical or admiring of them as they are of themselves (Elkind, 1967, p. 1030). This notion helps to explain some of the stereotypical traits of the adolescent developmental time period, including the following: self-consciousness, a need for privacy, and the reluctance to reveal themselves to others (Elkind, 1967, p. 1030). Elkind (1967) stated that the second consequence of egocentrism is the "personal fable" wherein adolescents over differentiate their feelings(p. 1031). More specifically, the adolescent comes to regard themselves and their feelings as something special or unique (Elkind, 1967, p. 1031). This belief in their personal uniqueness transforms into a conviction that they are immune from death and thus, they can take risks (Elkind, 1967, p. 1031). Like the imaginary audience, this notion helps to explain some of the stereotypical traits of the adolescent developmental time period, including the following: risk taking behaviors, exhibitionism, and keeping a diary (Galanaki, 2012, p. 457).

While Piaget's model is influential to the field of psychology, his model focused on the stages of cognitive development and biological maturation, and he failed to consider the effect that social settings and culture may have on cognitive development (Kaplan, 2004). Social settings and culture are highly influential in an adolescent's development especially when we consider the developmental goals of adolescence, such as autonomy, identity, intimacy, and psychosocial adjustment (Holmbeck, 2002, p. 409). Furthermore, Pepler et al. (2008) note that children's environment and the quality of their salient social relationships, like relationships with family and peer groups, require attention as well. Thus while Piaget's model adequately addresses individual characteristics, it lacks an adequate consideration of the

social contextual piece that is necessary for a developmental analysis. Furthermore, some researchers challenge Elkind's concept of the imaginary audience (Bell & Bromnick, 2003, p. 205). For example, in a grounded theory study, Bell and Bromnick (2003) found that adolescents worry about what others think of them because there are real personal (like self-esteem) and social (like popularity and approval) consequences (p. 215). The youth in this study identified a pressure to live up to social and behavioral standards, because they feared the consequences of not living up to these standards, including being the victim of: bullying, ridiculing and name calling (Bell & Bromnick, 2003, p. 215). Because this is only the finding of one study, the data cannot be generalized to include all adolescents, however, it is nonetheless concerning because this current study looks specifically at bullying victimization and bullying survivors.

A second influential theory is Erikson's Psychosocial Stages of Change Model. Erikson's model is based on Freud's clinical breakthrough into the origins of life (Erikson, 1987, p. 595). However, Erikson emphasized a "search for identity" in lieu of previous researchers' emphasis on the importance of biological factors or Freud's emphasis sexual motivation (Kaplan, 2004, p. 32). The main emphasis of Erikson's model is on the development of human potential; specifically "SPIELRAUM, the expanding radius of interplay necessary for them" (Erikson, 1987, p. 596). Erikson posited that each individual goes through eight stages of change: infancy, early childhood, play age, school age, adolescence, young adulthood, adulthood, and old age (Kaplan, 2004, p. 32). Each stage presents a social and emotional crisis and the individual's developmental growth depends on how they manage each crisis (Kaplan, 2004; Manning, 1988; Erikson, 1987). These crises do not only indicate possible sources of "maldevelopment", but they may also indicate what Erikson calls the "forbidding inner shell" (Erikson, 1987, p. 596). The forbidding inner shell may prevent individuals from becoming aware of their potential (Erikson, 1987, p. 596). It is assumed that no individual can exist without learning or experiencing each of these terms (Erikson, 1987, p. 596). For instance, in regards to the stage of "autonomy verses shame and self-doubt", Erikson (1987) states that "no human can exist among others

without learning to be ashamed or to doubt but that ratio of development should be in favor of a sense of autonomy" (p. 596).

The psychosocial crisis of adolescence is identity versus role confusion. In order to reach adulthood, the adolescence must achieve 'ego identity' (Erikson, 1980, p. 109). Identity encompasses a link between sameness in oneself, or selfsameness, and the constant sharing of some essential character with others (Erikson, 1980, p. 109). Thus it includes a conscious sense of one's identity, the continuity of their personal character, ego synthesis, and the maintenance of inner solidarity within a group setting (Erikson, 1980, p. 109). In this stage adolescents are striving to form a coherent and autonomous identity by answering questions such as: Who am I? Where do I belong? Erikson considered this stage of development to be central for identity formation and thus symbolizing the beginning of the end of childhood (Manning, 1988, p. 98). Youth face a number of physical and social changes during this time period which necessitates further insight into one's identity often resulting in the development of a new sense of "self" (Manning, 1988, p. 99). Thus, Erikson (as cited in Manning, 1988, p. 98) stated that youth in this developmental stage are undergoing a "physiological revolution" and they often reinvestigate previously resolved issues.

One primary concern of this psychosocial stage is the search for role identity (Manning, 1988, p. 99). Erikson (1987) states that the integration of identity is "the accrued confidence that the inner sameness and continuity over the past years of development are matched by the sameness and continuity in one's meaning for others" (p. 605).Erikson (1987) believed that the particular strength that youth seek is fidelity, or the opportunity to reach their full personal potential within a context that permits them to be true to both themselves and significant others (p. 605). In doing so, individuals in this stage often struggle with reconciling how other's perceive them verses how they perceive themselves (Manning, 1988, p. 99). Furthermore, in their search for their identity, adolescents in this stage of life often begin to "adopt idols, ideas, heroes, cliques, and crowds and can be remarkably clannish and cruel in their exclusion of those who are different" (Manning, 1988, p. 99). For instance, adolescents may help each

other to overcome the feeling of insecurity by forming cliques as well as stereotyping themselves, their ideals and their enemies (Erikson, 1987, p. 606).

Research has determined that the constructs of identity and role confusion (including their defining characteristics) are empirically supported (Meacham & Santilli, 1982, p. 1461). In addition, there has been substantial research measuring their stability over time, as well as their relationships with other developmental constructs (Meacham & Santilli, 1982, p. 1461). However, one difficulty of Erikson's model is that fact that there lacks a specification of the inter-stage or between stage relationships; for example, do individuals always have to be in crisis? Can you progress to the next stage if you don't successfully resolve a prior stage? (Meacham & Santilli, 1982, p. 1461). Furthermore, another major disadvantage of Erikson's theory is that it fails to take into account the full context of adolescents' environments; instead it focuses almost solely on the individual (Kaplan, 2004, p. 39).

A third influential theory is the Biopsychosocial Model of Development. This theory takes into account biological, psychological and social changes that occur during the adolescent developmental phase (Williams et al., 2002). Accordingly, this model proposes that salient biological and social changes take place during adolescence which in turn impacts the psychosocial development of adolescence (Pepler et al., 2006, p. 377). These changes are influenced by interpersonal contexts, including: family, peers, friends, school, and work (Holmbeck, 2002, p. 411). Furthermore, demographic and intrapersonal variables moderate these factors; for instance, gender, ethnicity, family structure, individual response to developmental change, etc. (Holmbeck, 2002, p. 411). All of these variables influence the key developmental outcomes of adolescence, including: achievement, autonomy, identity, intimacy, psychosocial adjustment, and sexuality (Holmbeck, 2002, p. 411). Previous researchers have used the Biopsychosocial Model to inform the theoretical foundation of their bullying research (Pepler et al., 2006, p. 377). For example, Pepler et al. (2006) hypothesized, based on this model, that the pubertal changes in adolescence impact the emergence of sexual harassment as a form of aggression, as well as the emergence of bullying in romantic relationships (p. 377).

Finally a fourth influential theory is Bronfenbrenner's bioecological approach. Bronfenbrenner's approach draws on the work of the Kurt Lewin, particularly his conception of the environment and the dynamic relationship between individuals and situations (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 515). Bronfenbrenner (1977) posited that understanding human development requires "examination of multi-person system of interactions not limited to a single setting and must take into account aspects of the environment beyond the immediate situation containing the subject" (p. 514). Thus, Bronfenbrenner's theoretical framework hypothesizes that individuals' lives are enmeshed simultaneously in many different ecological environments (Kaplan, 2004, p. 39). He conceptualized the ecological environment topologically as layers of nested structures, each enclosed within the next (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 514)(Please see appendix one for a diagram).While this model has been used extensively in bullying research, it is also important to note that it also has been criticized for being too complex because it is difficult to consider all of the environmental elements when conducting research (Kaplan, 2004, p. 42).

Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) stated that there were four defining properties of the bioecological model, including: (1) Process, (2) Person, (3) Context, and (4) Time. The first of these properties, process, is the core of the model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 795). This construct includes the interactions between the individual and the environment, called proximal processes (Bronfenbrenner& Morris, 2006). These processes operate over time and are thought to be the primary mechanisms that produce human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The amount that the processes influence development vary based on the following: "the characteristics of the developing Person, of the immediate and remote environmental Contexts, and the Time periods, in which the proximal processes take place" (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 795). The second property, Person, is influential in shaping future development based on its capacity to affect the direction and the power of proximal processes through an individual's life course (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). There are three types of person characteristics (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The first, disposition characteristics, can activate proximal processes in specific developmental domains as

well as continue to sustain their operation(Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).The second characteristic, called resources, encompasses the ability, experience, knowledge and skill that are required for effective functioning of proximal processes at a given stage of development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Finally, demand characteristics attract or discourage reactions from the social environment which either fosters or disrupts the operation of proximal processes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). "The differentiation of these three forms leads to their combination in patterns of Person structure that can further account for differences in the direction and power of resultant proximal processes and their developmental effects" (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 796). It is also important to note the characteristics of the person actually appear twice in the model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). First, they appear as one of the four elements that influence the form, power, content and direction of the proximal processes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Secondly, they occur as part of the developmental outcomes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). As a result, the characteristics of the person function both as an indirect producer and as a product of development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

In addition, the bioecological model proposes that there are five layers in an individual's environment, including the following: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). These five layers make up the third defining property of the model – context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The fact that the layers are systematically linked to one another emphasizes the importance of looking beyond the current environment and appreciating the relationships between systems (Kaplan, 2004, pp. 41-42).It is important to highlight this because researchers have argued that environments can play a role in acquiring and maintaining aggression (Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000, p. 326). Furthermore, when applying this theoretical model to study bullying, Hong & Espelage (2012) stated that:

> The theory contends that bullying victims and perpetrators are part of the complex, interrelated system levels that place them at the centre and move out from the centre to the various systems that shape the individual – that is micro, meso, exo, macro, and chronosystem levels. (p. 313).

Hong & Espelage (2012) posit that the majority of direct influences on bullying behavior are contained with Microsystem, or the first layer of the model. This includes individuals or groups that are within the immediate settings where youth interact; for example, home, school, parents, and siblings(Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 315). Bronfenbrenner's next structure, the mesosystem, focuses on the interrelationships among two or more microsystems in which the person actively participates (Kaplan, 2004; Hong & Espelage, 2012). Hong and Espelage (2012) caution that although family and peer are the primary contexts where developmental growth occurs, school and teachers should not be ignored as relevant mesosystem contexts. The third level, exosystem, takes into account environmental elements beyond the immediate system containing the individual; for example, extended family, legal service, neighbors, mass media (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Kaplan, 2004). In this level, the interactions occur between two or more settings; however, the individual is only in one of those settings (Hong & Espelage, 2012). Thus, within this system, an individual's developmental trajectory is influenced by events occurring in settings wherein they are not present (Hong & Espelage, 2012). When considering bullying, an example of relevant exosystems factors would be exposure to things like media violence and neighborhood environmental factors (Hong, & Espelage, 2012). While these examples may not directly "contain" youth, they have the potential to adversely influence how adolescents interact with their peers in school (Hong, & Espelage, 2012, p. 317).

The macrosystem level, or fourth layer, is composed of the ideology or belief systems inherent in social institutions; for example, cultural beliefs, opportunity structures, and hazards (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Kaplan, 2004). These systems ultimately shape the conditions and processes that occur in the microsystem; consequently, they have been referred to as a "cultural blueprint" (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 317). Within the context of bullying, two macrosystem contexts have been identified as important factors influencing bullying: cultural norms and beliefs, and religion (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 317). Finally, the last context layer, the chronosystem level, factors in the timing of life course events or historical period (Kaplan, 2004). More specifically, it considers how consistency or change the

affect the individual (like historical and life events) and the environment (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 317). Researchers have found that life event changes, like divorce, can cause negative outcomes, for example peer aggression (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 318).

The fourth and final property of the bioecological model is Time (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Time has a prominent place in three successive layers of the context micro-, meso-, and –macro- (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Microtime describes the continuity as opposed to the discontinuity of the ongoing proximal process; on the other hand, Mesotime refers to the timing of these episodes throughout longer time intervals like days and weeks (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Finally, macrotime focuses on the broader context of the changing expectations and events in the society through and how they affect and are affected by processes and outcomes of human development over the life course (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Lastly, it is also important to note that Bronfenbrenner emphasized two propositions that help understand the model. The first is that human development takes place through processes of enduring, complex, and reciprocal (or bidirectional) interactions between organisms, objects, and symbols in one's environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 798). Thus an individual must engage in an activity in order for development to occur (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Furthermore, to be effective that interaction must also occur both on a regular basis and over an extended period of time (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). In addition, effective proximal processes are bidirectional and they may occur during interactions with people, objects or symbols(Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The second proposition states that "the form, power, content, and direction of the proximal processes effecting development vary systematically as a joint function of the characteristics of the developing person, the environment, the nature of the developmental outcomes, and the social continuities and changes occurring over the life course of the individual" (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 798). These two propositions are theoretically interdependent (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).Research designs that permit their simultaneous investigation are called the "Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) model" (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

While there are many influential developmental frameworks, as highlighted above, this study uses Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) to inform its research outcomes. This model is preferred because of its unique holistic look at adolescent development. It attempts to understand individuals' development through the lens of their environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For instance, it not only considers an individuals' own role in their development, but also the following: interpersonal relationships, direct interactions with immediate surroundings, interactions with culture or other developmental influences, and finally societal and cultural ideologies and laws that restrict an individual environmental influences (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). As a result, the bioecological theory uses a broader scope than many of the other influential developmental models. For example, Piaget focuses on cognitive development while Erikson who focuses on identity development through a social lens. Additionally, although the Biopsychosocial Model has a holistic framework like the Bioecological Model, it would not be a good fit for this cyberbullying study. This is because this study is not collecting biological or genetic data from participants and this would be necessary in order to use this model to its fullest potential.

In addition, studies confirm that bullying is a complex interaction and studies should consider the influence of the various systems on student's behavior (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 379). Furthermore, researchers assert that when developing intervention programs for bullying that all levels of social ecology should be factored in; for example, the individual study whether a bully, victim or bully-victim, the school, the family, and the community" (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 377). Thus when choosing a model for this thesis, the researcher choose a theory that is inclusive of the adolescent's whole environment (Kaplan, 2004, p. 28).The bioecological model of development incorporates the complex interaction of these environmental systems (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). This research study helps to give adolescents a voice regarding what they know about effective coping strategies for their generation. The primary developmental changes that occur in adolescence do not operate in isolation from the context of an adolescent's world (Myrick, 2003, p. 34). "People both affect

and are affected by the multiple layers in their environment" (Kaplan, 2004, p. 39). As a result, incorporating the context of an adolescent's world, including the ecological systems that influence and inhibit bullying, is essential for this study (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 312).

Furthermore, Espelage and Swearer (2003) also stated that: "Bullying is an ecological framework that is established and perpetrated over time as a result of the complex interplay between inter- and intra-individual variables. Individual characteristics are considered jointly influenced by a variety of ecological contexts including peers, families, schools, and community factors (p. 372). Therefore, Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model which incorporates each individual's unique situation as well as their ecological environment consisting of interconnected structures is a good fit for this study (Lewthwaite, 2011, p. 9).Likewise, other researchers also emphasize the importance of considering the complex ecological systems (including the broader social context) in which bullying and victimization occur especially when developing prevention and intervention plans (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 372; Craig, Pepler & Atlas, 2000, p. 23). Finally, the bioecological model has been extensively used in bullying research (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Espelage, Bosworth & Simon, 2000; Espelage, Holt & Henkel, 2003), and thus is a good fit for this study. It addition to defining the theoretical framework, it is also important to note how this study is potentially limited.

Delimitations of the Study

This study focuses on cyberbullying survivors, rather than youth who are still being victimized. There are two main reasons for bounding this study. The first is the risk of re-traumatizing youth who are not far enough removed from their cyberbullying experiences. The second reason is that youth may have more insight into their coping strategies once they are removed from their cyberbullying experiences and have had time to process their experiences. Closely related to this, this study is also bounded to those youth who at the time of the study are currently experiencing minimal psychological, social or emotional difficulties. It is important to emphasize that this study focuses on youth's self-determined coping strategies that enabled them to effectively survive their cyberbullying experiences.

Thus research participants should not still be experiencing the adverse effects caused by cybervictimization, such as depression, social anxiety, etc. In addition, to avoid the risk of re-traumatizing participants, it is important that participants are not experiencing significant adverse effects related to bullying. In order to research how youth survive, it is important for youth to be able to share parts of their cyberbullying experiences in order to contextualize their coping strategies, thus it is important that participants are experiencing minimal psychological, social or emotional difficulties.

Finally, all participants within the study are required to be 18 years of age or older. This is because many youth who are cyberbullied often choose not to tell their parents about their bullying experiences; many youth prefer to try and work it out themselves. Therefore, if this study would have interviewed youth in their teenage years, it may have result in participants having to disclose their cyberbullying experiences to their parents in order to get consent to participate in the study. Thus, by requiring participants to be over 18, they are allowed to consent to the study on their own, rather than forcing them to reveal their participation to others, such as their parents or guardians. This stipulation hopefully protected both the privacy and confidentiality of participants. Furthermore, as mentioned above, it helps circumvent the possibility of re-traumatizing victims because youth are further removed from their bullying experiences and have had time to heal and reflect.

Summary

Today's rapidly advancing technology can facilitate relationship building by opening up new avenues for social networking; however, it can also open up new avenues for bullying (Mishna, Saini & Soloman, 2009). Recent studies have determined that youth perceive cyber-bullying to be worse than school-yard bullying (Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009; Mishna, Saini & Soloman, 2009; Monks et al., 2012). Most of the research to date has focused on describing the phenomenon of cyberbullying, such as: the prevalence, frequency and negative outcomes (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 277; Low & Espelage, 2012, p. 2), and thus, a gap that needs to be addressed is how youth survive cyberbullying. Furthermore,

current cyber-bullying strategies will not disappear, but will only advance; therefore, the need to develop intervention strategies is more important than ever.

The primary purpose of this research study is to present a grounded theory of adolescents' survival techniques in order to aid counsellors to develop strategies to circumvent the adverse affects of cyber-bullying. This study focuses on how adolescents survive cyberbullying, what strategies they use, and what factors influence their coping strategies. Grounded theory is used for this study because of its ability to allow participants' perspectives to emerge, and its ability to fully explore the complexity of this phenomenon. Furthermore, by using a bioecological model of development as a theoretical framework, this study also has a developmental focus taking into account the specific dynamics of adolescence.

This chapter has provided readers with: a statement of the problem, the significance of the study, the purpose of the study, the key terms and definitions, a sensitizing framework, and the delimitations of the study. The next two chapters will provide the readers with background information on cyberbullying and more specific details about how this study will be conducted. Advancing technology will continue to be a part of our lives, and thus, it seems implicit that cyberbullying is also here to stay; as a result, more research needs to be done to understand not just the effects of cyber-bullying, but how adolescents cope and survive.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

Cyberbullying has begun to garner a lot of negative media attention over the last few years, with an increasing number of teens reporting psychological and health problems as the result of being bullied online (Tokunaga, 2010; Patchin, 2011). This chapter highlights recent research on cyberbullying, as well as research in cognate areas. The cognate areas covered in this literature review include: aggressive behavior in adolescence, bullying, Internet usage among youth, and computer-mediated communication

versus face-to-face communication. Aggressive behavior and bullying are directly correlated with cyberbullying behavior and thus by reviewing these areas of literature it will further inform readers on the topic of cyberbullying. In addition, the cognate areas of Internet usage among youth and computer mediated communication will help to inform readers about communication trends in youth and how this new form of bullying was created.

This literature review also synthesizes current research on cyberbullying into what is known and unknown. It will discuss the following areas of research on cyberbullying: definitions, methods, duration, characteristics, age and gender, prevalence, bystander behavior, disturbances and effects, and proposed prevention and intervention strategies. By highlighting the previously mentioned areas of cyberbullying research, it is hoped that readers will garner a clearer understanding of what cyberbullying is, how it affects youth, and how researchers have proposed to deal with cyberbullying thus far. This will also help to inform the research results of this study. This chapter also identifies areas of controversy and research gaps within the literature in order to help readers understand the limitations of the presented research and to formulate questions that need further research. Finally, it looks at what contributions this study will make to the existing research on cyberbullying.

Aggressive Behavior in Adolescence

Prior to cyberbullying there was bullying. Bullying among children is a very old phenomenon, but it was not until the early 1970's that is was the subject of academic research, (Shariff, 2008, p. 10). This is because historically bullying was considered a normal part of childhood rather than a problem that needed attention (Shariff, 2008, p. 10; Lamb, Pepler, & Craig, 2009, p. 356). A well-known turning point was in 1982 when three 14-year-old boys committed suicide in Norway as a result severe harassment from their peers (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 365). After these events, the Norway Ministry of Education launched a national campaign against bullying wherein all primary and secondary schools were required to implement prevention programs (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 365). Indeed, stakeholders, researchers, and the community across various countries are now beginning to recognize

that violence within schools, in particular bullying and peer harassment, is a serious problem (Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010, p. 332; Shariff, 2008, p. 11; Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 365; Pepler & Craig, 2011, p. 389). This is likely because researchers have determined that peer harassment is the most common form of violence that youth deal with (Raskauskas, 2005, p. 94; Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2004, p, 209).

Traditionally, peer victimization was defined as "being repeatedly exposed to negative actions from one or more peers" (Raskauskas, 2010b, p.523). However, there is much debate on how bullying should be defined (Carbone-Lopez et al., 2010, p. 333; Mishna, 2012, p.14). In fact, Espelage and Swearer (2003) stated that the most difficult facet of prevention programming is agreeing on the definition of bullying (p. 368). Many researchers have attempted to develop a comprehensive and concise definition (Carbone-Lopez et al., 2010, p. 333; Mishna, 2012, p.14). The majority of researchers seem to agree that bullying refers to:

> a form of aggression that can be direct or indirect and includes physical, verbal, or psychological and relational acts, that is intentional and occurs in a relationship characterized by power imbalance, and is repeated over time. (Mishna, 2012, p. 14)

Research shows that bullying may be the most prevalent form of school violence (Moore, Huebner & Hills, 2012). Researchers have identified that there are many forms of bullying or aggression (Sawyer et al., 2011, p. 1795). One categorization of bullying that is well-known is active and reactive aggression (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 368). For instance, instrumental aggression or proactive aggression has been defined as behavior that is used by aggressors to achieve their immediate goals for example, hitting a peer to get their money (Lopez, et al., 2008, p. 434; Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 368).In contrast, reactive aggression is directed at the victim only when an aversive event elicits anger or frustration in the bully (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 368). Other researchers have also identified the category of overt aggression which involves behavior that is direct and manifest violence like pushing or hitting (Lopez, Perez, Ochoa, & Ruiz, 2008, p. 434). Mishna (2008) also states that overt aggression can

be verbal like name calling (p. 14). Indeed, most research on peer victimization has found that students report experiencing teasing, being picked on, or having rumors spread about them more often than direct physical aggression (Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010, p. 333). Graham, Bellmore, & Juvonen (2003) also support this, and state that the majority of peer harassment is covert, with incidents occurring in "unowned" (and unseen) school spaces where adult supervision is limited (p. 119).

Indirect aggression has also been called relational aggression or social aggression. Relational aggression encompasses both physical and verbal actions; however, "it is qualified by the psychological components of active exclusion and manipulation of relationships" (Raskauskas, 2010b, p.524). Psychological aggression like social exclusion and gossiping can be harder to distinguish than more overt forms of relational aggression (Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2004, p. 211).These covert acts are also more ambiguous and easily deniable (Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2004, p. 211). A common example of relational aggression includes when peers (in most cases "friends") use their existing relationship as a way to control or hurt them (Raskauskas, 2010b, p.524). Because peer relationships are central to the developmental stage of youth, relational aggression is often "described as the most harmful form of peer victimization because it deprives students of these important social relationships and experiences" (Raskauskas, 2010b, p.524).

Research is demonstrating that peer victimization is prevalent in schools; however, it should be noted that it is difficult to determine the exact prevalence rates due to the variation of definitions and measurements used across bullying studies (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 367; Konishi et al., 2009, p. 83). This problem is particularly salient when researchers conduct comparative research across different groups of individuals (Konishi et al., 2009, p. 90). As a result, the following data should be interpreted with caution. The World Health Organization surveyed school-aged children across 35 countries and found that Canada ranked26th and 27th on measures of bullying and victimization, respectively (Craig & Pepler, 2007, p. 87). Canada's ranking has fluctuated over the years, but it is normally in the middle or

poorer range (Pepler & Craig, 2011, p. 390). More alarmingly, one longitudinal study found that there was an increase on most bullying measures in Canada (Molcho et al., 2009, p. 232).

Furthermore research studies have also studied the prevalence of different types of bullying. In a research study examining different forms of bullying in eight countries, researchers found that 12-15% of youth across all the countries used relational aggression or physical violence to bully (Kuntsche et al., 2006, p. 911).A second noteworthy finding from this study was that Estonia, Canada, and the United States had the highest rates for different forms of bullying, whereas Macedonia and Portugal had the lowest rates (Kuntsche et al., 2006, p. 911). Additionally, Raskauskas (2010b) found that 20.9 percent of students sampled were victims of physical aggression, 38.4 percents were victims of verbal aggression, and 16.3% were victims of relational aggression (p. 530). Moreover, approximately 20 percent of students were bullied on the way to and from school (p. 530). In a study specifically examining bullying on the school bus, Raskauskas (2005) found that 49 percent of bullying incidents were physical, 36 percent were verbal, 38 percent were psychological (or exclusion), and 21 percent of bullying incidents involved more than one type of bullying (p. 100).Furthermore, a study surveying children living in New Zealand found that 63 percent of children had directly experienced physical violence, while two-thirds had witnessed violence directed at other children (Carroll-Lind, Chapman, & Raskauskas, 2011, p. 9). When children were asked to describe their experiences with violence, the majority reported bullying, including name calling, feeling ganged up on, being excluded on the playground, and being gossiped about or targeted by rumors (Carroll-Lind et al., 2011, p. 11).

It is also important to note the social context in which bullying occurs. First there seems to be a relationship between peer victimization and friendship (Mishna, Cook, Gadalla, Daciuk, & Soloman, 2010; p. 372). Researchers have found that students not only knew their bullying perpetrator, but that students often bullied or were bullied by someone that they considered to be a "friend" (Mishna et al., 2010, p. 372; Craig et al., 2007, p. 469). Therefore, it's possible that aggressive children use information disclosed in confidence within their "friendships" to bully their friends (Mishna, Cook, Gadalla, Daciuk,

and Solomon, 2010, P. 372). Closely related to this, peers are often present during bullying incidents as bystanders (Raskauskas, 2005, p.96; Espelage, Holt, & Henkle, 2003, p. 205; Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 371).For instance, Craig and Pepler (2000) observed that peers were involved in some capacity in 79 percent of bullying episodes on the playground and 85 percent of episodes in the classrooms (p.29).Bystander behavior is significant because it seems as though the presence of peers combined with a lack of peer intervention seems to reinforce bullies' aggressive behavior (Craig, Pepler, &Atlas, 2000, p. 31). Finally, research is demonstrating that individuals tend to socialize within peer groups that share similarities like behaviors, sex, and race (known as homophily) (Espelageet al., 2003). These similarities are particularly salient among social groups involved in delinquent and aggressive behavior (Espelage et al., 2003). For instance, in their study on the effects of peer context in bullying, Espelage et al. (2003) found that individuals within peer groups had self-reported significantly similar bullying and fighting behaviors (p. 216).Furthermore, in an earlier study, Espelage et al. (2000) found that students who reported negative peer influences were more likely to bully their peers (p. 330). Therefore, it appears that social context, including peers, plays a significant role in bullying behavior and peer aggression (Espelage et al., 2003).

Finally, it is important to note that peer harassment often goes undetected because students are reluctant to talk about getting picked on at school (Graham et al., 2003; Raskauskas, 2005). This creates a serious problem for school officials because peer aggression can have adverse affects on youth which then may go unaddressed by school professionals. This also has important implications on the effects of peer aggression on students.

Affects of Peer Aggression

Research has shown that bullying victimization is related to a number of negative consequences including behavioral affects, psychological and emotional affects, psychosocial health, and physical health (Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010, p. 334; Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000, p. 326; Lamb et al., 2009, p. 357). When compared to perpetrators, the targets of peer aggression face an

increased number of mental health challenges; in particular, they tend to experience difficulties with social and emotional adjustment (Graham et al., 2003, p. 118; Lamb et al., 2009, p. 357). Research has found an association between bullying and the following outcomes: psychological distress, low self-esteem or self-appraisal, depression, anxiety, avoidance behavior, school absenteeism, poor social adjustment, health challenges including physical and somatic symptoms, and behavioral problems like using illegal drugs (Carbone-Lopez et al., 2010; Graham, Bellmore, & Juvonen, 2003; Raskauskas, 2010b; Espelage & Swearer, 2003). Bauman, Toomey, and Walker (2013) also highlighted that victimization is a significant predictor of depression in males and females (p. 345). Furthermore, they also found a significant direct association between victimization and suicide attempts for females, as well as a significant indirect connection for both females and males (Bauman et al., 2013. P. 345). In addition, studies have also found that victims tend to have higher levels of self-blame, and often attribute the cause of bullying incidents to something that they did (Raskauskas, 2010b, p.532; Graham et al., 2003, p. 130). Furthermore, victims who experience multiple types of bullying report significantly higher depressive symptoms and lower levels of self-esteem (Raskauskas, 2010b, pp.531-532). It is also important to note that research has also shown that bully-victims have higher rates of depression than bullies (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Lamb et al., 2009;Perren et al., 2010). Additionally, bully-victims are also at the highest risk for suicidal ideation (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 373; Lamb et al., 2009, p. 357).

In a study on self-identified victims of bullying, peer-identified victims, and true victims of bullying (both self-identified and peer-identified), Graham et al. (2003) found that patterns of adjustment were directly related to the types of victims (p. 119). For instance, self-identified victims experienced similar levels of loneliness, anxiety, and low levels of self-esteem as 'true' victims; however, they were not more rejected by peers than non-victims (Graham et al., 2003, p. 119). On the other hand, peer-identified victims were rejected at the same level that true victims were, but their opinions of themselves were not any more negative than non-victims (Graham et al., 2003, p. 119).

These findings suggest that self-views about victimization might be more predictive of psychological maladjustment, whereas peer views might be more predictive of social maladjustment (Graham et al., 2003, p. 119). Finally, research is also showing that being a bystander can cause emotional distress. Witnessing both emotional violence and physical violence against others had more of an impact on children than their own direct experiences with physical and emotional violence (Carroll-Lind, Chapman & Raskauskas, 2011, p. 13).

Characteristics of Bullies and Victims

Researchers have begun to study the characteristics of both bullies and victims. Bhat (2008) found the following about bullies: they tend to perceive other's actions as more hostile, react quicker and with anger, use force sooner, hold inflexible beliefs, view image as a way to get power over others, and finally, they use aggressive actions to protect their image (p. 56). Bullies also typically use verbal threats and physical actions to control others and tend to have little empathy for the problems of victims (Bhat, 2008, p. 56). Furthermore, aggressive youth show a strong need for social recognition; for instance, "they would like to be considered powerful, socially accepted, different, and rebellious by their classmates" (Lopez et al., 2008, p. 434). Moreover, research has linked a desire for popularity, leadership and power to disruptive behavior (Lopez et al., 2008, p. 434).Studies have demonstrated that that males tend to exhibit higher levels of aggression than females (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000; Pepler et al., 2006). Furthermore, researchers have also found that boys are more likely to perpetrate physical bullying than females (Raskauskas, 2005; Espelage et al., 2000; Craig, Pepler, & Blais, 2007; Richard, Schneider, & Mallet, 2012). On the other hand, research shows that females report being the victim of verbal bullying more often (Craig et al., 2007; Richard et al., 2012). It has been hypothesized that this is because bullying and fighting are a means of establishing dominance and thus can enhance a male student's status within their peer groups (Espelage et al., 2003). In contrast with this, however, research has also found that social reputation is a stronger predictor for female aggressors than for male aggressors (Lopez et al., 2008, p. 436).

Researchers have also demonstrated links between several environmental contexts and bullying behavior. For instance, aggressive adolescents show negative attitudes toward the law, institutional authorities such as the police, and also school administrators and teachers (Lopez et al., 2008, p. 434). Studies have also found a robust correlation between neighborhood concerns and bullying behavior (Espelage, 2000, p. 331). Lack of connection to school has also been identified as being negatively related to bullying behavior (Raskauskas, Gregory, Harvey, Rifshana, & Evans, 2010; Richard et al., 2012). Furthermore, school security, the quality of student-teacher relationships, and mean academic achievement were also directly connected to the number of bullying incidents in schools (Richard et al., 2012). Closely related to school safety, Espelage and Swearer (2003) noted that 71% of U.S. school shooters had been the target of bullying (p. 367).Furthermore, studies have also found that a negative family-environment, which may include elevated levels of family conflict, poor communication patterns with parents and a decreased amounts of parental support adversely impact the development of social skills (Lopez et al., 2008, p. 435; Pepler et al., 2008, p. 334). For instance, this may result in a difficulty with identifying non-aggressive solutions to interpersonal problems, difficulty with social skills, or difficulty experiencing empathy for others (Lopez et al., 2008, p. 435). Thus it may increase the risk that youth bully (Lopez et al., 2008, p. 435; Pepler et al., 2008, p. 334). Similarly, in a study examining the social context of bullying behavior, Espelage et al. (2000) found that youth who were more frequently punished using corporal methods as well as those who spent less time with adults were more likely to bully their peers (p. 330). In contrast, youth who spent time with adults who advocated nonviolent strategies to manage conflict had significantly lower rates of bullying behavior (Espelage et al., 2000, p. 331). Finally, also closely related to family-life, research on television watching and youth has also confirmed that frequent television viewing is related to individuals acting and reacting in verbally aggressive ways; for instance, they are more likely to engage in verbal bullying (Kuntsche et al., 2006, p. 913).

In additions studies have also identified a number of factors that are related to bullying victimization. First, the best predictor of adolescent victimization is being victimized in early childhood (Raskauskas, 2010b, p.525). Research has shown that these early victimized youth tend to remain victims regardless of changes in teachers, classmates, and schools (Raskauskas, 2010b, p.525).Additionally, student-teacher relationships are also a significant predictor of peer victimization; typically, students who reported higher levels of peer victimization felt less supported by teachers (Raskauskas, Gregory, Harvey, Rifshana, & Evans, 2010, p.8). Research has also linked greater social and academic anxiety, higher academic performance, impulsivity, and friendship conflict with victimization (Richard et al., 2012, p. 276). Moreover, Wang et al. (2010) found that positive parental behaviors, including support, act as a protective factor for adolescents from bullying victimization. Sawyer et al. (2011) also noted that parent's definition and conceptualization of bullying influences both if and how they respond or intervene. Lastly, studies have also shown gender-based differences related to the types of bullying victimization. Males are more often the targets of direct forms of bullying and are less often the targets of psychological bullying; on the other hand research has found that females are more likely to experience indirect forms of bullying and are also more likely to be repeat victims (Raskauskas, 2005; Carbone-Lopez et al., 2010).

As a final point of interest, research has also demonstrated that bullying behavior can be dynamic with students' involvement in bullying ranging on a continuum (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 370). As a result, students can be engaged as victims, bullies, bully-victims and bystanders; as a result, students can have different bullying profiles (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 370-371). Closely related to this, is that fact that research is demonstrating that bullying is typically a group phenomenon (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 371).

This section has demonstrated to readers that the majority of bullying is psychological (Shariff, 2008, p. 28). Cyberbullying is often hypothesized to be another form of psychological bullying (Li, 2006). In addition, other researchers have asserted that cyberbullying has evolved out of traditional

schoolyard bullying (McQuade, Colt, &Meyer, 2009). Thus, in our modern society, bullying can flow between physical and cyberspace (Shariff, 2008, p. 28). The next part of this literature review focuses specifically on cyberbullying.

Historical Development of the Recognition of Cyberbullying in Society

Awareness of cyberbullying appears to originate around 2001 (Smith, Mahdavi, Caravalho, Fisher, Russell, &Tippett, 2008, p. 376). However, published research on cyberbullying only began later with articles published in 2004 (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 280). One of the first well known studies conducted specifically on cyberbullying or Internet harassment was completed by Ybarra and Mitchell in 2004. Ybarra and Mitchell's study used the Youth Internet Safety Survey (YISS) conducted by Finkelhor, Mitchell, and Wolak in 2000 as a baseline for their study and expanded on their work. YISS, conducted by the National Center of Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC),was commissioned by the U.S. Department of Justice, Washington D.C. (Hanewald, 2009, p. 13). While it did not directly research cyberbullying as it has come to be known now, YISS was "the first scientific study of unwanted sexual material, solicitation and harassment online" (Hanewald, 2009, p. 13).Following this, in 2005 the Journal of Adolescent Health devoted an entire issue to "the emerging health problem" of cyberbullying (Cesaroni, Downing, & Alvi, 2012). More recently, cyberbullying research has emerged from the following fields: education, psychology, health sciences, media/communications, and computer and media technology (Cesarino et al., 2012).

The tragic suicides of several teens have caused cyberbullying to be heavily represented in the media (Patchin & Hinduja, 2012; Patchin, 2011). Cyberbullying's prevalence in the media seems to be a catalyst for both public awareness and research in the area of cyberbullying (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 277; Hinduja & Patchin, 2009, p. 44). The story of 13-year-old Megan Meirer brought notoriety to the subject of cyberbullying after she committed suicide in 2006 following an ongoing harassment campaign through the trendy social networking site, MySpace (Tokunaga, 2010; Swearer, Espelage, & Napolitano, 2009).In addition, "Tyler Clementi's death in September 2010 brought national and international attention to the issue of cyberbullying and the struggles facing LGBT youth" (Suicide of Tyler Clementi, 2012).Additionally, Clementi's death generated an outpouring of support from several high

profile members of the mass media. For example, Ellen Degeneres spoke out about the issue of cyberbullying and bullying on her daily talk show entitled Ellen, calling bullying an "epidemic" (Liqtimi, 2010). In addition, Neil Patrick Harris also spoke out about bullying on MTV News and encouraged youth to "stay strong and stick in there, trust [him] and everyone else when they say; it gets better" (Liqtimi, 2010). Furthermore, "Its prominence was recently highlighted at the White Conference on Bullying (2011) hosted by President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama" (Betz, 2011, p.283).Finally, the suicide of a BC teenager, Amanda Todd, in October 2012 seems to have brought more attention to adverse effects of the cyberbullying(Paul, 2012, p. A13). Amanda Todd's death triggered an outpouring of grief from hundreds of individuals triggered by their own memories of bullying (Paul, 2012, p. A13).In addition, Todd's death seems to also be triggering support for both legal actions against bullies, as well as prevention of cyberbullying (Raban, 2012, p. A7). "It has taken extreme cases in which bullying appeared to be a factor for this phenomenon to stop hovering and to truly enter public consciousness" (Mishna, 2012, p. 4). The recognition bullying as a serious issue has led to the accumulation of a large body of research (Mishna, Cook, Gagalla, Daciuk, &Soloman, 2010, p. 363).

Due to the limited existence of the Internet, cyberbullying is still a relatively new phenomenon (Hanewald, 2009, p. 12). As a result, many scholarly articles explore the legal aspects of cyberbullying including the prevention and intervention of cyberbullying through policing, regulating, and prosecuting cyber crimes and criminals (Hanewald, 2009, p. 12). Other articles have taken a technological focus, for example prevention and detection software (Hanewald, 2009, p. 12). In addition, other authors have taken an educational perspective, including "practical guidance, individual or multiple case studies, anecdotal observations, opinion and/or position papers and engagement with current and future policy direction on cyberbullying" (Hanewald, 2009, p. 12). Finally, the remaining empirical research has focused on "peer-to-peer cyberbullying of middle schoolers or adolescents" (Hanewald, 2009, p. 13). Most of the research on peer-to-peer has been focused on determining the prevalence of victimization (Campbell, Slee, Spears, Butler, & Kift, 2013).Despite the disparity in the research topics covered, the main finding across research has been that there is an increase in frequency and escalation of severity in cyberbullying (Hanewald, 2009, p. 13). Finally, it should also be noted that cyberbullying research has

been to expand in the past five years which has helped to advance the current level of knowledge on this newer form of bullying (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 577).

American Research and Influence on the Development of Cyberbullying Research

Research findings on cyberbullying have been emerging primarily from English speaking countries (Hanewald, 2009, p. 12).Much of the early research conducted on cyberbullying comes from the USA (Smith, 2009, p. 180).The Internet Report, the National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children, I-Safe America, and the National Crime Prevention Council all conducted studies on Internet harassment between 2000 and 2007 (Hanewald, 2009, p. 13).

Patchin and Hinduja are arguably two of the most well-known U.S. researchers on cyberbullying. They continuously contribute to the knowledgebase on cyberbullying and adolescent use and mis-use of technology (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012, para. 1). Patchin and Hinduja have published three books, over 12 journal articles, numerous podcasts, and various information sheets on cyberbullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012). They also have a website dedicated to being a clearing house of information on cyberbullying (www.cyberbullying.us). Hinduja and Patchin first began to explore cyberbullying in 2003 with an online pilot study (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009, p. 45). Their first three studies used an online survey that asked adolescents if they had ever experienced online aggression of knew of others who had (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009, p. 45). It surveyed whether youth had experienced the aggression themselves or if they knew of friends who had experienced online aggression. Because of limitations with their online methodology, they have also begun to study data offline (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009, p. 46). In 2007, Patchin and Hinduja conducted a large scale project involving approximately 2000 middle school students from one of the largest school districts in the United States (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009, p. 46).

The majority of the early research from the USA focused on describing cyberbullying. For example, Juvonen and Gross (2008) used an online survey to examine "the overlap among targets of and the similarities between online and in-school bullying and to test other common assumptions about cyberbullying" (p. 496). However, there have been a few studies that deviated from this common

descriptive focus. One study from the US used a longitudinal research study to explore cyberbullying. Werner, Bumpus, and Rock (2010) conducted a study on the predictors of adolescent involvement in Internet aggression. Tokunaga (2010) also conducted a meta-synthesis of cyberbullying research. Additionally, American researchers have also begun to produce books on preventing and intervening with cyberbullying; for example: Kowalski, Limber and Agatson have published two books on cyberbullying prevention and intervention, while Sheri Bauman wrote a book specifically for counsellors to help inform their work with cyberbullied youth.

While cyberbullying research has produced varying statistics, research has found a few consistent finding. First, cyberbullying research has concluded that a "meaningful proportion of adolescents have been cyberbullied or have cyberbullied others at some point in their lifetime" (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012, p. 15). Research has shown that the most popular medium for cyberbullying in US and Canada was the Internet (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2012, p. 90). Finally, when cross-comparing findings, cyberbullying appears to be more prominent in North America than in Europe, Asia, and Australia (please refer to appendix three for a listing of cyberbullying studies).

In addition, as a result of the increased awareness and research on cyberbullying, individual states are increasingly moving towards taking a legal stand on cyberbullying by implementing anti-bullying laws. For example in 2009 Duncan found that thirty-three states require or recommend that school districts implement anti-bullying programs. However, by 2012 that number had risen to include the following: 49 states require schools have policies on bullying, 49 states have anti-bullying laws, 12 states have criminal sanctions for bullying and finally, 43 states have school sanctions for bullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012, p.1). To date, America is a major contributor to research on cyberbullying (Dooley, Cross, Hearn, & Treyvaid, 2009, p. 68).

Canadian Research and Influence on the Development of Cyberbullying Research

The term "cyberbullying" is most often recognized as originating with Canadian Bill Belsey (Spears, Slee, Owens, & Johnson, 2009, p. 190).Overall, Canadian research findings have been fairly

consistent with American findings. Qing Li is one of most published Canadian researchers on cyberbullying. Li has published one book as of 2012, as well as ten journal articles on cyberbullying. Li published one of the first Canadian studies on cyberbullying: Gender and CMC: A Review on Conflict and Harassment in 2005 (Hanewald, 2009, p. 13). Another Canadian researcher, Faye Mishna, has also produced many significant studies on cyberbullying. Mishna's first study on cyberbullying: *Ongoing and online - Children and youth's perceptions of cyber bullying* is one of a very small amount of qualitative research studies to date. Finally, Shaheen Shariff is another Canadian Researcher. Shariff's research on cyberbullying takes a legal focus. Shariff looks at the legal considerations of cyberbullying that impact educational policy and practice (Shariff, 2008). She has published two books on cyberbullying. Her latest book takes into consideration stakeholders' responsibilities, while her first book focused on solutions for schools.

There have not been as many researchers in Canada exploring cyberbullying as in the USA, UK and Australia. However, the Government of Nova Scotia recently commissioned a study of bullying and cyberbullying which has provided Canadian's with culture-specific data on bullying and cyberbullying. For example, "the President of Bullying.org (Bill Belsey) indicated that there are 252,000 cases of bullying per month in Canadian high schools" (Mackay, 2012, p. 4). In addition, Mackay (2012) determined that: "85% of Canadians feel that bullying and violence are very serious problems; with Canadian teachers ranking cyberbullying as their issue of highest concern" (p. 10). In addition to Canadian research, international studies also make a huge contribution to the literature on cyberbullying.

International Research and Influence on the Development of Cyberbullying Research

While the frequency of cyberbullying has been shown to be directly connected to the availability of technology in a particular culture, among developed cultures cyberbullying has not been found to be culture specific (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2012; Dooley et al., 2009).In fact, research has determined that cyberbullying is not just a North American phenomenon (MacKay, 2012, p. 4; Shariff, 2008, p. 41; Yilmaz, 2011).Studies on cyberbullying have emerged from all corners of the world,

including: Britain, Australia, England, Japan, Finland, Korea, Italy, London, Belgium, Taiwan, Turkey, Germany, Greece, Singapore, Serbia, Sweden, and the Czech Republic (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2008; Yilmaz, 2011).Studies that have been conducted internationally have concluded that "cyberbullying has increasingly become an issue in most, if not all, developed countries (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2012, p. 90).

To date, much of the international research on cyberbullying has been conducted in the UK (Dooley et al., 2009, p. 68). Based on my research to date, Peter Smith appears quite frequently in literature reviews on cyberbullying. Smith has published multiple journal articles on bullying including three specifically on cyberbullying, as well as seven book sections on bullying. In addition, Smith conducted on of the first studies on cyberbullying in the U.K. in 2006 (Hanewald, 2009, p. 13). One unique study that emerged from the UK is Rivers and Noret's (2010) five year study of text and email bullying. Based on my research to date, Rivers and Noret is the only peer-reviewed publication that has used a five-year longitudinal design to study cyberbullying.

Australia is also conducting significant research on cyberbullying (Dooley et. al, 2009, p. 9).The Australian government commissioned the Child Health and Promotion Research Centre in conjunctions with Edith Cowen University to conduct a comprehensive review of the existing Australian and International cyber safety research. This review found that several prevalence studies have been conducted in Australia; for example, "Cross and colleagues examined covert bullying (including cyberbullying) in approximately 7500 primary and secondary students from all over Australia" (Dooley et. al, 2009, p. 65). In addition, the review of existing cyber-safety research found that: "whereas rates of up to 50 percent of being cyberbullied have been reported among young people in the US and Europe, prevalence rates in Australia are much lower (less than 10%)" (Dooley et. al, 2009, p. 12).Furthermore, similar to the U.K., Cyberbullying research has found that the most popular method of cyberbullying in Australia was the cellular phone (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatston, 2012, p. 90).

Research is also being conducted steadily throughout most of Europe. Please see appendix three for the prevalence rates. Some literature reviews have also begun to come out of Europe; for example, Kirakias and Kavoura (2010) and Dooley, Pyzalski & Cross (2009). These literature reviews are providing some clarity regarding what research has consistently found about cyberbullying and what gaps in research still exist.

Lastly, research is emerging from many other international countries. Researchers in Turkey have begun to study the prevalence of cyberbullying. Erdur-Baker (2010) found that 32% of students sampled were both cybervictims and traditional victims; while 26% of students were both cyberbullies and traditional bullies (p. 115). Additionally, Akbulut, Sahin, and Eristi (2010) found that 56% of participants had experienced at least one instance of cyberbullying victimization (p. 198). Researchers have also explored cyberbullying in Singapore. They found that 14% of students surveyed were bullied by text messaging while 13% were bullied on the Internet through the use of instant messenger applications (Shariff, 2008, p. 55). Cyberbullying is also present in Japan. Although researching cyberbullying in Japan seems to disclose very little information, there are documented cases of cyberbullying that are similar to cases that have been reported in Western media (Shariff, 2008, p. 50). Although research on cyberbullying is just beginning in Japan, researchers have found that 80% of bullying is carried out by a peer group rather than individuals, and it usually happens in close friendships (Shariff, 2008, p. 51). Similarly to Japan, there are few statistics available on the prevalence of cyberbullying in China; however, there are case studies that are available which document that cyberbullying does exist (Shariff, 2008, p. 44). Finally, while there are no formal studies of cyberbullying, research has shown that cyberbullying is a concern in South Korea. In fact, the South Korean Government has "implemented a law to prevent Internet misuse and all of Korea's police stations have a cyber-terror unit to help with the problem" (Shariff, 2008, p. 54).

Methodology Used to Study Cyberbullying

Studies on cyberbullying have used many different research methods to find data on frequency of cyberbullying, the methods of cyberbullying, and the effects of cyberbullying (Kowalski et al., 2012, p. 2012). Most of the research on cyberbullying to date focuses on school-aged children and teens, as this seems to be the period of time where cyberbullying is most prevalent (Low & Espelage, 2012, p. 2). In addition, research currently focuses on descriptive information about cyberbullying (Tokunaga, 2010; Low & Espelage, 2012). As a result, much of the research to date seems to be conducted without a baseline theory, meaning that research hypotheses in cyberbullying studies do not seem to be based on a specific theory (Tokunaga, 2010; Low & Espelage, 2012). Instead, many studies to date look at the following: prevalence, methods used, duration and frequency, gender and age differences, bully and victim characteristics, the effects or negative outcomes, and finally, the link to traditional bullying (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 277). This type of information is typical during the early formative stages of research (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 277). Furthermore, because cyberbullying is a newly recognized form of bullying, studies have relied on cross-sectional designs which limit the ability of researchers to make causal links (Low & Espelage, 2012, p. 7). Moreover, most studies have involved samples that are made up of predominately white participants which also limits the ability to generalize the data (Low & Espelage, 2012, p. 7). Additionally, many studies have used a narrow number predictive factors for cyberbullying which adversely impacts the researcher's ability to have a realistic assessment of risk and protective factors (Low & Espelage, 2012, p. 2). Finally, only a few researchers have compared and contrasted among other forms of bullying, resulting in scholars having to compare findings across varied data sets measured in different constructs (Low & Espelage, 2012, p. 2).

The majority of cyberbullying research, including both North American studies and international studies, has relied on surveys (Kowalski et al., 2012, p. 90). There are three main ways surveys have been used in cyberbullying research, including: anonymous paper and pencil surveys (ex. Kowalski & Limber, 2007); online surveys (ex. Patchin & Hinduja, 2008); and finally, via the telephone (ex. Ybarra, et al., 2006) (Kowalski et al., 2012, p. 90). Most researchers choose surveys because they are "easy to

administer and they can be completed by a large number of people in a relatively short period of time" (Kowalski et al., 2012, p. 90). In addition, recreating cyberbullying within a laboratory setting poses many difficulties including ethical approval (Kowalski et al., 2012, p. 90). This is especially true for researchers who are working with minors (Kowalski et al., 2012, p. 90). A second research method that has been used repeatedly to study cyberbullying is the use of focus groups, for example Mishna et al., 2009 (Kowalski et al., 2012, p. 90).

It is difficult to make general statements about cyberbullying research findings because the study methods vary so widely (von Marees & Petermann, 2012). Studies vary based on: "the type of informant assessed (e.g. victims, peers, teachers), the definition and instrument on which assessment is based, the age group investigated, gender of the participants, and rate of internet and mobile phone use" (von Marees & Petermann, 2012, p. 469). In addition, there are some concerns related to the research methodology used in cyberbullying studies with definition and measurement issues being also highlighted as two of the most salient concerns (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009; Patchin, 2011; Pieschl, Porsch, Kahl, & Klockenbusch, 2013).In regards to research methods, many cyberbullying studies use self-report questionnaires (or ipsative measures) (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230). Self-report measures ask study participants to answer questions on their own without interference from the interviewer (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230). They may potentially lead to biased results because teens may not report accurate data about something that is socially undesirable; for example, being the victim of bullying or being the perpetrator of bullying (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230; Pepler et al., 2008, p. 335). Furthermore, researchers have paid inadequate attention to psychometric issues in bullying research (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230). One reason outcomes vary may be because some studies use single item measures while others use multiple item measures to determine the extent of cyberbullying (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230). Many researchers argue that multiple item scales give a more valid and accurate measurement as compared to single item scales which are usually more economical and quicker to process (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230). However, not all of the items measured in multiple item scales are of equal severity: some cyberbullying behaviors may happen "more regularly without being perceived as bullying, while others may have very long-lasting effects even though they occur only occasionally" (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230). In addition, there are

also cultural variants across the international studies which may cause some studies to report lower prevalence rates. In the past, Sweden and England have reported the lowest rates of bullying among middle school teens, and although this statistic refers to traditional bullying, it is entirely possible that their bullying prevention and intervention efforts are also affecting cyberbullying behavior (Slonje & Smith, 2008, p. 148). Moreover, definitions can also be understood differently by different populations (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009; Menesini, 2012). Additionally, there may also be misunderstandings in interpretation of definitions (p. 547). Furthermore, not all surveys provide participants with a definition of cyberbullying, thus allowing participants to interpret the meaning themselves (Cesaroni, 2012). This is noteworthy because individuals may differ in opinions regarding what they consider to be cyberbullying and their opinions may differ from researchers (Cesaroni, 2012).

Another difference across studies is the time length for which cyberbullying is measured (Olweus, 2012); for instance, studies ask the following of students: have you ever been cyberbullied, have you been cyberbullied within the last year, the last term, or the last 2 to 3 months, etc. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, sampling differences, including the populations and methods studied, and the lack of a cohesive definition of cyberbullying have resulted in varying rates of prevalence (Menesini, 2012). In addition, the existing cyberbullying literature has largely been conducted with small sample sizes (Raskauskas & Stotlz, 2007; Li, 2007; Mishna et. al, 2010, p.363); or, samples that were fairly homogenous, especially concerning the ethnicity of participants (Mishna et. al, 2010, p.363).Furthermore, sampling strategies also vary; for example, some targeted several popular teen websites (Patchin & Hinduja) while others are part of larger bullying initiatives (Williams & Guerra) (Cesarino et al., 2012). Additionally, others only recruited volunteers (Cesarino et al., 2012). These strategies limit generalizability because they are based on self-selected populations and may possibility bias the research on cyberbullying (Cesarino et al., 2012). Therefore, researchers have begun to underscore the importance of finding a more standardized definition with identical or similar criteria for classification (including similar measurement properties like length of reference period and response alternatives for questionnaire) in order to produce comparable findings (Olweus, 2012; Pieschl et al., 2013).

Another methodological weakness has been a failure to take into account advances in technology (Rivers & Noret, 2010, p. 649). For instance, often while a study is being conducted a rapid series of developments occur in online and cell phone media; for example, the rapid rise in popularity for Facebook or online gaming like World of Warcraft (Rivers & Noret, 2010, p. 649). Market demand for mobile phone purchases and internet connectivity can also play a role in the rates of cyberbullying, as well as teen's access to such media (Rivers & Noret, 2010, p. 649). Furthermore, the accelerated evolution of new technologies often makes previous classifications obsolete; as a result, the definition of cyberbullying needs to be continually revisited (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230; Spears, Slee, Owens, & Johnson, 2009, p. 190; Rivers & Noret, 2010, p. 646). Closely related to this, some researchers have opted to measure specific mediums through which cyberbullying can occur, while other studies measure every medium (Patchin & Hunduja, 2012, p. 14; Rivers & Noret, 2010, p. 468).

These challenges have resulted in difficulties comparing research outcomes due to the fact that the research methodologies often vary significantly across studies; as a result, it is difficult to give an accurate picture of the pervasiveness of cyberbullying and how it is truly affecting our youth (Tokunaga, 2010). More reliable, valid, and generalizable data are necessary (Patchin, 2011). Despite the varying outcomes, descriptive studies have been steadily increasing as cyberbullying begins to gain more media attention. This has resulted in a large body of research to report on. As of 2012, there have been approximately 42 articles published in peer-reviewed journals (Patchin & Hinduja, 2012, p. 13). Considerably more research continues to be published on cyberbullying regularly (Kowalski, Limber, & Agatson, 2012, p. 103). Despite the above features of research on cyberbullying to date, research can conclude that cyberbullying is an increasing problem (Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010; von Marees & Petermann, 2012; Low & Espelage, 2012; Paterson, 2011). One factor that is contributing to the rise in cyberbullying is the availability of the internet to youth.

Internet usage among youth

The emergence of the phenomenon of cyberbullying is generally attributed to the rapid increase of information and communication technology among children and youth (Cassidy, Faucher, &Jackson, 2013, p. 576). Thus, given the revolutionary increase in Internet use, many studies to date have focused

on adolescent's and children's patterns of Internet usage. Moreover, today's youth are a unique population of social media users, because they are the first generation to have grown up in a society where communication technology is an integral part of daily life; for instance, cell phones and other portable communication devices (Ipads) are used daily if not multiple times per day (Ahn, 2011; Raskauskas, 2010; Popovic-Citic, Djuric, & Cvetkovic, 2011). As a result, research on social media has been intertwined with cyberbullying research since the beginning phases of research on this new form of bullying (Tokunaga, 2010). Based on my research, studies have typically explored youth's frequency of electronic media usage, the types of media that they use, and what they are doing online. Cassidy, Jackson, and Brown (2009) (British Columbia) found that 98% of students use the internet at home with 64% reporting daily internet use. Furthermore, among teens that go online daily 34% use the internet multiple times a day and 27% use the internet once a day (Cassidy et al., 2009, p. 386). In addition, 99% of students had a computer in their home, as well as 58% of students in grades 6 through 9 have their own cell phone with 40% of them using their phone at school (Cassidy et al., 2009, p. 386).

The Pew Internet and American Life Project found that most youth use the Internet as a venue for social interaction like communicating with friends and family and for entertainment; for example, youth use blogging and social networking to update friends on their lives and vice versa (Lenhart et al., 2007, p. 2; Jones & Fox, 2009, p. 3; Blais, Craig, Pepler, &Connolly, 2008, p. 522). Likewise, Ahn (2011) also supports this, stating that: "Teenagers are among the most prolific users of social network sites (SNS)" (p. 1435). Social networking sites allow users to keep 'a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system' (Murthy, 2012). More importantly, research has also found that parents underestimate children's use of social networking sites (Holladay, 2011). This is significant because parents may be unaware that their child is engaging in cyberbullying behavior; for example, 37% of teens admit to making fun of students online while only 18% of their parents believe their child would do this (Holladay, 2011). In addition, Youth between the ages of 12-32 who use the Internet are more likely than older users to write their own blogs and read others' blogs, as well as to use and create

profiles on social networking sites (Jones & Fox, 2009, p. 3). Youth are also significantly more likely than older generations to use instant messaging (Jones & Fox, 2009, p. 3). In addition, emerging studies are also finding that adolescents spend a considerable amount of their day interacting through social media (Ahn, 2011, p. 1435). Murthy (2012) states that social media allows for self presentation, with status updates becoming a meaningful part of youth's identities. Other researchers have found similar patterns of technology use; for example, Juvonen and Gross (2008) found that more than half of the adolescents surveyed use profile sites, blogs, text messaging, chat rooms, and message boards (p. 500). In addition, they found that both 15- to 17-year-olds and females are more likely to be regular users of cell phones, profile sites, emails and blogs (Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 500). Finally, new research is also finding that the age at which youth use the Internet and other communication technology is becoming 'younger and younger' (Mishna, Saini,& Soloman, 2009, p. 1227). In order to help describe the fact that teens use multiple methods of computer mediated technology, the Pew Internet Survey has created a new term: "multi-channel teens". "Multi-channel teens are super communicators who will use any tool at their disposal, but cell phones, instant messaging applications, and social networking channels rank higher in the panoply of their communications choices when compared with landline and face-to-face communication outside of school" (Lenhart et al., 2007, p. 5).

Researchers have also been studying how youth use social networking sites (SNS). SNS provide youth with a "platform for developing their personal and social identities" (Ahn, 2011, p. 1438). Current finding have shown that youth disclose a multitude of personal information on their social networking profiles; however, they also proactively use the privacy features of the site to manage who has access to that information (Ahn, 2011, p. 1439). In a similar vein, research is also showing that peer's online behaviors affect the safety behaviors of their friends (Ahn, 2011, p. 1440). For example, students are more likely to have a private profile if their friends also had one (Ahn, 2011, p. 1440). On the other hand, research has also shown that youth are uninformed regarding cyber-space in that they believe that

the Internet is personal, and that the flow of information is controllable (MacKay, 2012, p. 12). Finally, one important finding that Ahn (2011) highlighted is that:

> the lines between virtual and real world is increasingly blurred for youth today: for today's youth, media technologies are an important social variable, and physical and virtual worlds are psychologically connected; consequently, the virtual world serves as a playing ground for developing issues from the physical world (p. 1444).

Research on youth's internet usage patterns has implications for cyberbullying research. First, the impact of Internet-based activities has emerged as an important facet of adolescent life given the increasing importance of relationships in adolescence, especially best friends and romantic partners, (Blais et al., 2008, p. 522). Second, the popularity of electronic communication and social media among youth creates a new and optimal environment for cyberbullying (Betz, 2011, p. 283). In addition, criminality online has become more prevalent (Marcum, Higgins, Freiburger, & Ricketts, 2013). Furthermore, changing technology and its ability to be used outside of the home is also impacting how parents monitor computer usage and online behaviors (Spears, Slee, Owens, & Johnson, 2009, p. 190). New research has also shown that Internet use, especially the use of chat rooms and instant messaging, can be addictive and risky particularly if teens imprudently divulge private information, indulge in inappropriate behaviors, and encourage contact with strangers (Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011, p. 284). For instance, in of their sample British Columbian students, Cassidy et al. (2009) found the following: 52% of youth pretend to be older online, 19% admit to taking on a different physical appearance, and 23% pretend to be a different gender (p. 390). They also found that 33% of youth admitted to taking on different personalities online, or taking another person's identity and 23% admitted to participating in things that they normally would not do in the real world (Cassidy et al., 2009, p. 390). These findings put youth at risk for cyberbullying, cyberstalking and Internet harassment. In order to understand how cyberbullying came about, it is important to understand how this new trend of computer mediated communication (CMC) affects our communication styles and patterns.

Computer-Mediated Communication versus Face-to-Face Communication

The advent of computer-mediated communication (CMC) and its penetration into society, culture, and personal lives (as evidenced by the above statistics) generates many questions about the impact it has on our personal relationships (Tidwell & Walther, 2002, p. 317). One question that emerges is how this new communication context differs from earlier forms of communication, such as face-to-face communication (FTF). Researchers have found that there are important structural differences between CMC and FTF which contribute to differences in how senders and receivers communicate in both groups. For instance,Beebe, Beebe, Redmond, and Geerinck (2008) note that one of the key differences is that the communicators can remain anonymous (p. 14); thus, communicators may not always know precisely who they are communicating with online. Researchers have also identified that CMC lacks many of the cues that are inherent in FTF interactions; including: auditory cues embedded in spoken language and visibly observable social cues like nonverbal gestures and signs of status (Ho & McLeod, 2008, p. 191). More specifically, paralinguistic behavior, gaze and postural movement, which are known to be important regulators of intimacy, are missing in online communication settings (Parks & Roberts, 1998, p. 520). These missing cues are thought to be essential to developing intimate relationships because they provide context, signals, and synchronicity to the individuals communicating (Lewandowski, Rosenberg, Parks, & Siegel, 2011). In addition, nonverbal cues can also supplement verbal cues by providing emotional calibration to verbal content which reduces ambiguity (Lewandowski et al., 2011). Therefore, some researchers have proposed that the lack of nonverbal cues diminishes the ability of CMC users to cultivate interpersonal relationships and in particular, their ability to encourage impression formation and management (Walther, 2007, p. 2539). Given the above findings, it is not surprising that researchers have concluded that FTF communication has the highest quantity of cues available in interpersonal interactions and thus, has the highest social presence or media richness among communication methods (Lewandowski et al., 2011, p. 1808; Ho & McLeod, 2008, p. 191).

On the other hand, some researchers have argued that interpersonal relationships can still be effectively developed using CMC. These researchers posit that due to the lack of nonverbal cues, CMC communicators rely on language, content cues, and sometimes anonymity (Walther, 2007, p. 2539; Ho & McLeod, 2008, p. 191). For example, online communicators rely on words and graphics to carry non-verbal messages (Beebe et al., 2008, p. 333). Beebe et al. (2008) note that: "There are some basic things that users do to add emotion to their messages, including: CAPITALIZING THE MESSAGE, making the letters **bold**, and inserting face graphics, or emoticons like smiley faces ☺ or frowning faces with glasses 8-(" (p. 333). In addition, online communicators may also write out accompanying interpretations because of the lack of nonverbal cues online (Beebe et al., 2008, p. 333). Walther (2007) also highlighted some other differences. First, CMC is editable, "the amount of time one can spend constructing and refining a message prior to its utterance, with less social awkwardness also differs from FTF, allowing the user almost unlimited time for editing and composing" (Walther, 2007, p. 2541). In addition, CMC senders also create and receive messages away from their communication partner (Walther, 2007). This allows communicators to keep involuntary cues hidden; for example, senders do not have to display unconscious behaviors or nonverbal prompts to their communication partners (Walther, 2007). Additionally, Walther (2007) reported that another difference is that CMC allows senders and receivers to reallocate their cognitive resources from scanning environmental cues and nonverbal management to message composition. As a result, energies that are usually reserved for these FTF communication tasks can be refocused to CMC's singular expressive medium. This results in a heightened level of awareness and attention in composing and receiving messages (Walther, 2007, p. 2541).Therefore, based on the above information, it is clear that CMC and FTF differ. In addition to looking at how these communication forms differ, it is also important to understand how CMC impacts relationship formation and maintenance.

CMC and its Impact on Relationship Formation and Maintenance

Potential Benefits of CMC

When specifically looking at how interpersonal relationships develop using CMC in adolescence, one study noted that adolescents felt that they were able to be true to their 'real' identity when communicating on the Internet verses when they are communicating FTF (Blais et al., 2008, p. 523). This may be due to the limited availability of social cues online (Blais et al., 2008, p. 523). In addition, one of the developmental goals of adolescence is discovering one's identity (Kaplan, 2004, p. 180). It is possible that when using online communication adolescents are better able to experiment with their identity and social strategies than when they communicate FTF (Blais et al., 2008, p. 523). Furthermore, an increased emphasis on peer relationships is another key characteristic of the developmental period of adolescence (Masten et al., 2009, 143). Technology has afforded youth the opportunity to have several private conversations at once thus increasing their ability to communicate with multiple close friends and fulfilling the function of their close relationships (Blais et al., 2008, p. 523).

Challenges of CMC

The proliferation of CMC has generated a number of benefits for online communicators; however, researchers have also expressed some concern regarding some emerging challenges. For example, Beebe et al. (2008) identified two challenges: the ease of deception and aggression in online environments. In a survey of college students, researchers found that: "40 percent had lied on the Internet: 15 percent about their age, 8 percent about their weight, 6 percent about appearance, 6 percent about marital status, and 3 percent about their gender" (Beebe et al., 2008, p. 335). Online deception can be a problem for interpersonal relationships because, as noted above, CMC lacks nonverbal cues which can help the receiver to detect lying behaviour. A second challenge identified is emergence of new types of aggressive actions that occurs online (Schiffrin, Edelman, Falkenstern, & Stewart, 2010, p. 355).

"Early researchers were concerned that the anonymity afforded on the Internet would lead to deindividuation, which would result in negative consequences such as aggressive interactions" (Schiffrin et al., 2010, p. 355). Furthermore, online environments afford the perpetrator with the opportunity to remain anonymous which can heighten the negative impact on the victim (Beebe et al., 2008, p. 335). In fact, the concerns of those early researchers have begun to come true with the advent of cyberharassment; thus, one unfortunate byproduct of electronic communication is cyberbullying (Moore et al., 2012).

In addition, the audience range of one's status updates or online communication may not be in congruence with one's assumed or intended range (Murthy, 2012, p. 1068). Users may not always be cognizant that their "Tweets" or online updates have the potential to travel further at a rather quick rate; for example contacts may 'retweet' messages or copy and paste users' updates (Murthy, 2012, p. 1069).

Van den Eijnden, Gert-Jan, Ad, Renske, and Rutger (2008) noted that another negative aspect of online communication is the risk for developing an Internet addiction or dependence. Van den Eijnden et al. (2008) studied online communication, compulsive internet use, and well-being among adolescents. They found that frequent online communication was positively related to compulsive internet use in adolescents (Van den Eijnden, 2008). It is important to note that this finding was significant only for the instant messenger (IM) and chatting functions, and not for asynchronous forms of communication, like email (Van den Eijnden, 2008). In addition, a positive relationship was also found between IM use and feelings of depression (Van den Eijnden, 2008). These results show that excessive use of IM may be a risk factor for psychological well-being among adolescents. It is important to note, that although they found that frequent use of online communication applications may increase the risk of depression and compulsive internet use, they found no indication that increased feelings of loneliness occurred in the sample (Van den Eijnden, 2008, p. 663). Researchers have also noted that although online interactions (like Facebook) can produce positive relational outcomes it is unlikely that it does so for every user (Ledbetter, Mazer, DeGroot, Meyer, Mao, & Swafford, 2011, p. 29). For example, social anxiety offline

can foster patterns of online interpersonal communication that produce deleterious psychosocial and relational outcomes (Ledbetter et al., 2011, p. 29). This section has highlighted that CMC poses some new challenges for our youth, including cyberbullying and online deception; however, it also highlights that it is important to take into account the individual user and how these challenges may impact them.

Changes to Communication Patterns

Another question that researchers have brought forth is how these new communication tools impact our interpersonal relationships, including how individuals adapt to the previously identified restrictions of this new medium (Heinemann, 2011; Tidwell & Walther, 2002; Blais et al., 2008). Some researchers suggest that technology users adapt to their communication context by relying on alternative methods to accomplish their needs (Tidwell & Walther, 2002, p. 318). One theory that has emerged to explain how individuals adapt is social information processing theory (SIPT). SIPT "argues that without nonverbal cues, communicators adapt to their relational behaviors to remaining cues available in CMC, such as content and linguistic strategies, as well as chronemic and typographical cues" (Tidwell & Walther, 2002, p. 319). SIPT asserts that online communicators are equally as motivated as FTF communicators to maintain and establish interpersonal relationships (Heinemann, 2011, p. 183); as a result, communicators are able to adapt to their environment. In order to satisfy their communication needs, CMC users employ a variety of strategies, such as: varied timing, style, and content. CMC users also become skilled at interpreting text-based cues (Tidwell & Walther, 2002, p. 320).

In addition, another concept that is embedded in SIPT is the hyperpersonal perspective. This secondary theory posits "that online communicators have the opportunity to be selective in how they present themselves by taking time to carefully choose what to disclose and what to withhold from their communication partners" (Heinemann, 2011, p. 184). Tidwell & Walther (2002) state that because CMC has an absence of nonverbal cues and the ability to edit, users may engage in selective self-presentation and partner idealization, and thus this may lead to a more intimate level of communication than is present in FTF (pp. 319-320). Furthermore, CMC users may form idealized impressions about their

partners by generalizing and magnifying any positive qualities (Heinemann, 2011, p. 186). Alternatively, CMC users may also magnify and generalize negative qualities of their CMC partner (Heinemann, 2011). In addition, because CMC users cannot see their communication partners, they may be more relaxed and less guarded about how they present themselves online (Heinemann, 2011). Moreover, online communicators can also be less empathetic with their communication partners, because they cannot see their communication partners or their non-verbal reactions (Heinemann, 2011). Another factor that contributes to the unique environment online is the potential for anonymity. Anonymity permits communicators to engage in "highly strategic impression formation and allows them to bring out the sides of their personalities that they would not typically disclose in real life" (Heinemann, 2011, p. 185).

As evidenced by the popularity of SNSs, another way that people have integrated CMC into their lives is by communicating online with social contacts that they have offline (Blais et al., 2008). Therefore, CMC may be viewed as a way to supplement FTF interactions. Researchers have just begun to explore this new phenomenon. When studying whether different Internet-based activities had different impacts on close social relationships in adolescence, Blais et al. (2008) found that using the Internet to communicate with known social contacts (ie. instant messaging) increased the quality of the relationships (p. 531). More specifically, adolescents reported "increased commitment, intimacy and companionship and trust and communication" (Blais et al., 2008, p. 532). Conversely, Blais et al. (2008) also found that using the Internet to communicate with strangers reduced the quality of relationships with adolescent's romantic partners and with their best friends (p. 531). Adolescents reported "increased alienation and conflict and decreased intimacy and companionship" (Blais et al., 2008, p. 532). In another study, Ledbetter et al. (2011) studied the motivations of self-disclosure and social connection as distinct yet related predictors of Facebook use within specific relationships. They found that SNSs are facilitating the creation of social networks, and that users are creating social "supernets" with more interpersonal connections than in FTF settings (Ledbetter et al., 2011). This study also noted that most

Facebook friendships exist between individuals who already know each other offline, rather than those who meet online (Ledbetter et al., 2011, p. 45). This study found that Facebook communication facilitated users in the process of building social capital (Ledbetter et al., 2011). However, these online forums can turn negative if SNS users negatively exploit their social connections and use their Facebook accounts to deliberately bully and target other individuals (Ledbetter et al., 2011). Another theory that has been used to conceptualize how individuals disclose information on their SNS is signaling theory. "Signaling theory examines how one's self-presentation in SNS develops identity and trust with others (Ahn, 2011, p. 1437)". For example, some researchers have found that youth perceive it as "cool" when you have a lot of friends on a SNS, however, if you have too many friends it is also frowned upon (Ahn, 2011, p. 1437). Similarly, "warranting theory suggests that human beings do in fact judge others based on cues in SNS profiles" (Ahn, 2011, p. 1437). For example, positive and negative comments posted on a Facebook wall greatly influence whether a person is seen as attractive by others (Ahn, 2011, p. 1437). Therefore, although Facebook and other SNSs can provide benefits in our lives, it is important to remember that with these benefits come new challenges. We will now take a closer look at cyberbullying, its definition, and its impact on youth.

Definition of Cyberbullying

As noted above one of the biggest difficulties with cyberbullying research is that researchers use different definitions of cyberbullying, with definitions often varying both conceptually and operationally (Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010; Raskauskas, 2010; Cesaroni et al., 2012). As a result, the definition of cyberbullying has been a source of contention among many researchers. Given the difficulty of researchers in agreeing on one definition of cyberbullying, this section will try to give readers a brief overview of how researchers conceptualize cyberbullying.

Menesini (2012) found that in early studies on cyberbullying researchers often used their own definitions of cyberbullying (p. 545). Because of the complex classification of the construct of cyberbullying, its operationalization is quite difficult (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230). As a result,

some researchers use broad definitions of cyberbullying which may include any experience with online harassment, while others focus only on specific experiences (Patchin & Hinduja, 2012, p. 14). Furthermore, some researchers have not specified the behaviors and media that define cyberbullying, and instead have opted to provide examples to assist participants when completing the various survey instruments (ie. Li 2006, 2007; Kowalski and Limber, 2007).Other researchers have used a top-down approach and based their definitions of cyberbullying on definitions of traditional bullying (Tokunaga, 2010; Menesini, 2012). Olweus's (1993) appears to have the greatest acceptance among researchers (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 578). Olweus (1993) defined traditional bullying as *being exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students, and having difficulty defending themselves*. Finally, although most researchers agree that cyberbullying includes repetition, in reporting their findings many researchers have included both single and multiple incidents in their - (Dooley, Pyzalski & Cross, 2009; Tokunaga, 2010). The lack of a consistent definition poses the following difficulties: first, it affects how research participants will respond to the measurement items; secondly, reliable and valid measures of cyberbullying cannot be effectively developed without a majority consensus from researchers (Tokunaga, 2010). Therefore it is clear that a consistent definition is important to cyberbullying research.

This study will use the following definition: "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" (Sourander et al., 2010, p.720). While there are many definitions of cyberbullying (for a comprehensive list of definitions please refer to appendix two), this definition was chosen because it includes all of the essential elements that have been found to be important among many researchers (for an overview of cyberbullying terms and characteristics please refer to appendix four.). In a review of literature, Lee (2004) (cited in Akbulut, Sahin and Eristi, 2010, p. 192) asserts that among the varying definitions of cyberbullying six key concepts were common in the majority of definitions: intent, hurt, repetition, duration, power conflict, and provocation. In addition, the above definition is based on Olweus's bullying definition which has been used for more than a decade and has been tested for its reliability and validity. Furthermore, this definition also includes one very important aspect of cyberbullying that Patchin and Hinduja have neglected to mention in their definition (please

see appendix two) which is the fact that cyberbullying can also be perpetrated by a group of individuals. Finally, the above definition also includes a power imbalance which is an essential construct of traditional bullying that is also present in online bullying. An imbalance of power online can be related to many things, such as: a higher social standing, an advanced technological ability, a higher rank in a virtual community, an inability to escape the bullying, an inability to have cyberbullying removed from a website, or finally, the anonymity of the bully which can create an illusion of an imbalance of power. In addition to understanding the definition, it is also important to understand how individuals enact cyberbullying.

Methods of Cyberbullying

Research has also focused on the modalities that bullies use to carry out cyberbullying (Monks, Robinson, & Worlidge, 2012). As the above definition implies, there are different types of cyberbullying and these types of cyberbullying vary based on the specific medium or application that is used (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; von Marees & Petermann, 2012; Cassidy et al., 2013). Researchers have identified that there are both indirect and direct forms of cyberbullying which is similar to that traditional bullying (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Chibbaro, 2007; von Marees & Petermann, 2012). Direct cyberbullying is when the victim is directly involved in the cyberbullying incident, while indirect cyberbullying usually takes place without the (immediate) awareness of the victim (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009, p. 1352). Examples of direct forms include: name-calling; harassing others; sending threats (physical threats or emotional); sending a virus-infected file to someone; email bombing someone; sending lewd photos or threatening obscene pictures; and finally, excluding someone from an online group (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009, p. 1352; Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 499; Betz, 2011, p.283; Sourander et al., 2010, p. 721; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010, p. 208; Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 615; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004, p. 1308). In contrast, examples of indirect forms include: forwarding entrusted information that is designed to harm or discredit the victim; forwarding or posting private pictures or videos; password theft; spreading false rumors; posting

derogatory comments about someone on a website; creating websites ridiculing others; creating rating websites; and finally, participating in an online defamatory polling station (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009, p. 1352; Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 499; Betz, 2011, p. 283; Sourander et al., 2010, p. 721; Hinduja & Patchin, 2010, p. 208; Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 615; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004, p. 1308; Willard, 2004, p. 2).

Willard (2004) summarized the above behaviors into seven distinct categories. The seven categories include: flaming (angry, rude, or vulgar messages directed at someone) ; harassment (repeatedly sending offensive messages) ; cyberstalking (a specific form of harassment that includes threats or intimidation); denigration (sending or posting damaging or untrue statements about someone) ; masquerading (pretending to be someone else while sending material that makes that person seem bad); outing and trickery (sending material about a person that contains sensitive, private, or embarrassing information); and finally, exclusion (intentionally excluding a person from an online group) (p. 2). Popovic-Citic et al.(2011) surveyed the frequency of these behaviors in Serbian youth and found that victims most often experience denigration and harassment, while bullies most often use harassment, denigration, and outing. Pieschl et al. (2013) also supported this finding stating that denigration and harassment are the most common (p. 243).

Research has revealed that certain forms of cyberbullying and the specific media used to conduct the cyberbullying behavior occur more often than others; however, like most of the cyberbullying literature, these results are varied. Based on the literature, results depend on the population studied (including ages), the year of the study, the definition used in the study, technological changes, and finally, accessibility and media promotion of current technology. A significant amount of research has shown that victims and bullies report that cyberbullying most often occurs through instant messaging (Kowalski & Limber, 2007, p. S25; Sourander et al. 2010, p. 723; Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 500; von Marees & Petermann, 2012; Monks et al., 2012; Zhou et al., 2013; Yilmaz, 2011 (found for

females participants only)). Alternatively, O'Brien and Moules (2013) found that cyberbullying occurs most often through SNS and text messaging (p. 58). Stacey (2009) also found that cyberbullying occurs most often SNS and synchronous chat sites. In addition, Price and Dalgleish (2010) found that cyberbullying most often occurs through the use of email, online chat rooms, SNS, and cell phones, respectively (p. 54). More specifically, when analyzing the dataset by age, they found that SNS became the most popular form of cyberbullying for victims 13 and older (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, p. 55). Furthermore, for youth aged 10 to 12 chatrooms followed by email are the most popular methods (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, p. 55). Another noteworthy finding is that many youth experience cyberbullying through multiple mediums; for example, 40.9% of victims and 55% of bullies had been assaulted or assaulted others through multiple mediums (Li, 2007, p. 1784).

Researchers have also studied the frequency of the different forms of cyberbullying. Juvonen & Gross (2008) found that the most prevalent forms of cyberbullying were name-calling or insults, followed by password theft (p. 500). Similarly, other researchers found that name calling, being the target of rumors, being picked on, and being disrespected by others, respectively were the most common forms (Sourander et al., 2010, p. 724; Patchin & Hinduja, 2010[b]). Additionally, Price and Dalgleish (2010) found that name calling was the most popular form of bullying followed by abusive comments and rumor spreading. They found that females report being victimized by rumor spreading more often than males (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, p. 55). Patchin and Hinduja (2010[c]) also found that students who cyberbully most often report posting "something online about another person to make others laugh" (p. 738). As well, Cassidy et al. (2009) found that one quarter reported that someone had used their online identity and pretended to be them, and thus tarnished their reputation. Yilmaz (2011) also supports this finding. In addition to understanding the method and type of cyberbullying used, another important component of the definition of cyberbullying is its repeated nature.

Duration of Cyberbullying

Only a few studies have specifically looked at the duration of cyberbullying. Of the two studies that specifically inquired about the duration of cyberbullying, Smith et al. (2008) found that respondents reported that cyberbullying typically lasted for one or two weeks (56.5%), followed by one month (18.8%), six months (5.8%), a year (8.7%), and lastly, several years (10.1%) (p. 381). In addition, Ybarra et al. (2007) found that of the students affected by cyberbullying, 50% were harassed more than once, while 32% were chronically harassed (more than three times per year). Therefore, it seems that most victims of cyberbullying fall into the repeated category.

Characteristics of Cyberbullying

Link with Traditional Bullying

Research shows that cyberbullying and traditional bullying are similar in nature (Swearer et al., 2009; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; von Marees & Petermann, 2012). Furthermore, Olweus (2012[a]) states the two forms of bullying can be considered under the same conceptual umbrella or as the same class of behavior (p. 565). Menesini (2012) also supports this stating that "cyberbullying should be considered under the more general definition of bullying" (p. 546). Thus it is apparent that there are some clear similarities between the two forms of bullying. For starters, they are related given that in both types of bullying individuals exhibit behaviors that are intended to psychologically agitate another person (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004; Menesini, 2012). Patchin and Hinduja (2010) also note that cyberbullying is similar in practice to psychological, relational, and indirect forms of traditional bullying (p. 615). Similarly, Raskauskas (2010) stated that: like relational and verbal modes of bullying, cyberbully also often includes forms of relational aggression such as: spreading gossip like rumors and secrets, and facilitating exclusion (p. 75).

Additionally, cyberbullying also tends to be a group phenomenon rather than a dyadic one (Bauman, 2010, p.321). Also similar to traditional bullying, more than half of the victims of

cyberbullying reported that they were harassed more than once by the same individual (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004, p. 1311). Furthermore like traditional bullying, the roles of aggression, perpetration and victimization are not static and youth tend to assume bullying multiple roles (Swearer et al., 2009; Ybarra, 2004; Sevcikova & Smahel, 2009; Erdur-Baker, 2010). For example, in their study of German students, Schultze-Krumbholz and Scheithauer (2009) found that 58.3% of cyberbullies also reported being cybervictims (p. 225).

In addition to their similarities, research suggests a pattern of continuity between adolescents' social worlds in school and online and thus revealing a connection or overlap between the two forms of bullying (Erdur-Baker, 2010; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004; Ybarra et al., 2007; Li, 2007; Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2007; Williams & Guerra, 2007; Sourander et al., 2010; Werner et al., 2010; Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009; von Marees & Petermann, 2012; Ortega et al., 2012; Perren et al., 2010; Kowalski, Morgan, & Limber, 2012; Monks et al., 2012; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Zhou et al., 2013; Cappadocia, Craig, & Pepler, 2013; Olweus, 2012; Cassidy et al., 2013; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). For instance, Li (2007) found that one third of seventh graders were bullied both at school and online. Cappadocia et al. (2013) found that traditional victims ware four times more likely than their peers to report also being cyberbullied (p. 186). In addition, Kowalski et al. (2012) found that youth that are involved in cyberbullying as a bully-victim are more likely to be involved in traditional bullying as victims (66%) and bullies (68%); however, youth who are involved in traditional bullying as a bully-victim are less likely to be involved in cyberbullying as a victim (36%) and a bully (24%). The connection between cyberbullying and bullying is not surprising given that it is consistent with statistics that report most students have Internet access at home and that the majority of electronic communication takes place within school-based peer networks (Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 497). Thus, it seems as though cyberbullying may not function as a separate risky environment, but rather as an extension of the school grounds (Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 497; Rivers & Noret, 2010, p. 663).

Additional research also supports this hypothesis. Studies report that social bullying at school continues online with the retention of bully and victim roles (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Raskauskas, 2010; Smith et al., 2008; Monks et al., 2012; Casas et al., 2013). As a result, studies have found that there is also a connection between being a traditional aggressor and an online aggressor (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009, 1365; Smith et al., 2008, p. 380; Jovonen & Gross, 2008; Werner, et al., 2010; Monks et al., 2012; Cappadocia et al., 2013). For instance, Juvonen and Gross (2008) state that repeated traditional bullying experiences increase the likelihood of cyberbullying almost sevenfold, while Werner et al. (2010) state it increased the likelihood in their study by tenfold. This finding implies that the internet offers a tool for youth who are already aggressive to continue their aggression online with more anonymity and in potentially more damaging ways (Werner et al., 2010, p. 615). On the other hand, researchers have also found that the Internet provides a mechanism for traditional victims to aggress their bullies (Brown, 2006; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Li, 2007). The aforementioned shift from victim to bully is sometimes referred to as "revenge of the nerds", where 'tech-savvy' traditional victims obtain revenge on their bullies by using electronic means (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009, p. 1355). For instance, Juvonen and Gross (2008) affirm that 48% of school-based victims in their sample report retaliating against their aggressors either through cyberbullying (12%) or through both cyber and in-school bullying (48%) (p. 502). This suggests that cyberbullying, according to some studies, is typically precipitated by an incident that occurs during school hours and then is carried over into online forums after school hours (Cassidy et al., 2009; p. 391). Finally is also important to note that some researchers believe that cyberbullying is parallel to the phenomenon of relational aggression (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 578). Relational aggression, previously addressed in the peer aggression section, is a newer category of bullying that was added to the bullying behavior arsenal in the 1990s (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 578).

Separation between Cyberbullying and Traditional Bullying

Although both types of bullying are related, cyberbullying is characteristically different (Betz, 2011; Ortega et al., 2012). Teenagers also agree with researchers stating that: "cyberbullying is very different from face-to-face bullying" (Cassidy et al., 2009, p.397). In addition some studies find that youth interpret cyberbullying as worse than traditional bullying (O'Brien & Moules, 2013, p. 58). Scholars cite differences between the two types of bullying, including the following: the intent, the repetition, the anonymity, the imbalance of power, and the amount of access to the victim (ie. technology-based interactions can occur at any time and place) (von Marees & Petermann, 2012).

First, the indirect nature of cyberbullying can make it difficult to measure the intent of the bullying act (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009, p.230). Secondly, repetition in cyberbullying is especially difficult to operationalize, because there can be perceptual differences between the perpetrator and victim in terms of how many incidences occur and the consequences of those incidents (Dooley, Pyzalski, & Cross, 2009; Cassidy et al., 2013). For instance, electronic messages and images can be distributed quickly to a wide audience, and thus there is the potential to reach a large mass of people (Slonje & Smith, 2008; von Marees & Petermann, 2012). As a result, some researchers assert that although cyberbullying may only be one single act, it can be circulated widely reaching millions of people; as a result, it not only fits the criteria of repetition but it also fits the imbalance of power criterion (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009; Dooley, Pyzalski, & Cross, 2009; von Marees & Petermann, 2012). For example a 15-year old boy in Quebec unintentionally became a celebrity when his peers posted a film he made of himself emulating a Star War's scene (Snider & Borel, 2004, p.76). The post resulted in millions being able to view his two minute video, and it reportedly caused the victim to feel both humiliated and violated (Snider & Borel, 2004, p.76). Moreover, "online communications have a permanence and inseparability that are very difficult to erase" (Shariff, 2008, p. 34). It can be very difficult for defamatory material posted online or emailed to others to others to be removed; once it is posted millions of people can download it and save it (Shariff, 2008, p. 34). However, it also worth

noting that other researchers have suggested that one benefit of online bullying is that it affords victims a variety of coping tools that are not available offline (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, p. 52). For example, Juvonen and Gross (2008) note that victims can block suspected or known bullies, change their screen name, and restrict their friends lists and thus, attempt to avoid receiving cyberbullying messages.

Olweus (2012[a]) notes that there are also differences in both the context of the bullying as well as the "bystander" roles between bullying and cyberbullying (p. 566). In regards to the context of cyberbullying, researchers have determined that the dimensions and type of media used have significant effects on the victims' experiences; thus, demonstrating that the online medium chosen by the bully is central to the concept of cyberbullying (Olweus, 2012[a]). Finally, it is difficult to determine the concept of "imbalance of power" in the cyber context (von Marees & Petermann, 2012; Cassidy et al., 2013). In face-to-face bullying this is usually determined by physical or psychological strength or power (Olweus, 1993); however, this is more difficult to determine for cyberbullying (von Marees & Petermann, 2012). Some researchers propose that the imbalance of power in cyberbullying is present in one's technological expertise or one's social status online (Li, 2006). For instance some researchers state that the nature of technology magnifies the potential for harm (Paterson, 2011).Other researchers have posited that part of what makes cyberbullying so distressing to victims is that the identity of the perpetrator is often unknown or can be hard to detect (Bauman, 2010; Paterson, 2011; Cassidy et al., 2013). For instance, Kowalski and Limber (2007) found that almost half (48%) did not know who had electronically bullied them while Yilmaz (2011) found that 57% of students are cyberbullied by strangers. The inability to identify their bully can embellish the threatening and intimidating nature of the bullying and the victim may experience increased levels of helplessness (Betz, 2001; von Marees & Petermann, 2012). Moreover, other researchers have stated that the anonymity offered in online bullying is compounded by the fact that aggressors cannot see their target's emotional reaction to their attacks which potentially results in a lack of empathy for the target (Slonje & Smith, 2008; von Marees & Petermann, 2012; Cassidy et al., 2013). Without direct feedback there may be fewer opportunities for remorse or fewer

opportunities for bystander intervention (Sourander et al., 2010, p. 721). In addition, Patchin and Hinduja (2010) hypothesize that it seems much easier to be malicious through a form of digital harassment because there is great physical distance between the victim and perpetrator, and thus, personal and social norms and rules are deemed to be less relevant (p. 615). Furthermore, some researchers have begun to specifically study this aspect of cyberbullying. For instance, Pieschl et al. (2013) found that one specific facet of the power imbalance in cyberbullying is namely related to perceived popularity (p. 250).

The above information highlights that although cyberbullying and traditional bullying are related, they are also distinct methods of bullying that differ in implementation, methods, and intent. In addition to being related to traditional bullying, cyberbullying is also related to youth's online behavior.

Cyberbullying and Online Behavior

Behavior patterns online can predict the chance that adolescents will become cyberbullying victims. Many studies report that heavy internet use significantly increases the likelihood of repeated cyberbullying behavior (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Walrave & Heirman, 2011; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Li, 2007; Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011; Werner, Bumpus, & Rock, 2010; Akbulut, Sahin & Eristi. 2010; Walrave & Heirman, 2011; Smith, 2008; Yilmaz, 2011; Zhou et al., 2013; Navarro et al., 2013). For example, Vandebosch and Van Cleemput (2009) note that youth who are more dependent on the Internet have a higher likelihood of becoming a victim of cyberbullying (p. 1366). Erdur-Baker's (2010) research with Turkish adolescents also revealed this pattern; however, it also exposed some differences based on the gender of the internet users (p. 122). They found that frequent internet usage by females was a better predictor of cyberbullying and victimization, while risky internet use was a better predictor for males (Erdur-Baker, 2010, p. 122). Additionally, Casas, Del Rey, & Ortega-Ruiz (2013) found that youth who are addicted to the internet are more likely to cyberbully others (p. 582).

Other researchers also support the finding that risky online behavior is a predictor of online victimization (Bauman, 2010; Bauman & Pero, 2010; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011; Navarro et al., 2013). Risky online activities may include: sharing passwords, using multiple screen names and passwords, frequent updating of online profiles, disclosure of private information, "daring to say more", and finally, uploading pictures online (Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011; Bauman, 2010; Mishna et al., 2010; Casas et al., 2013; Navarro et al., 2013). These online behaviors can be risky because they can attract unsolicited contacts and aggressive behavior (Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011, p. 287). Researchers have also found that using online forums to make new friends can also be a risk factor for victimization (Navarro et al., 2013). In addition, researchers also found that adolescents who use SNS to flirt are at a significantly increased risk for being bullied online (Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011, p. 287). Frequent use of a particular online forum is another pattern that studies have found to predict cybervictimization (Akbulut et al., 2010, p. 198). Also supporting this, Sourander et al. (2010) found that cybervictimization usually occurs in only 1 or 2 online locations (p. 723). This statistic implies that youth who frequently use the same one or two online forums are at an increased risk for cyberbullying. Studies also show that youth who view themselves as capable web users are at an increased risk for becoming perpetrators or victims of cyberbullying (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004, p. 1308; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009, p. 1364). Some researchers have also found that using the internet away from adults' watchful eyes is often associated with a higher risk of becoming either a cyberbully or a cybervictim (Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011, p. 287; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009, p. 1368). Likewise, studies have found that teens who are less involved in extracurricular activities are at an increased risk of being bullied (Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011, p. 287). In addition to finding internet usage patterns, studies have also shown a victim-perpetrator relationship.

Cyberbullying and the Victim-Perpetrator Relationship

Researchers have found that the most robust predictor of cyberbullying are victimization and perpetration (Bauman, 2010; Walrave & Heirman, 2011; Sevcikova & Smahel, 2009; Werner et al.,

2010; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput; 2009; Perren et al., 2010; France et al., 2013; Bauman et al., 2013; Pieschl et al., 2013; Bauman & Pero, 2010; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). For instance, Werner et al. (2010) found that teens who are victims of cyberbullying were 16 times more likely than non-victimized teens to report engaging in aggression (p. 615). In addition, Walrave and Heirman (2011) found that cyberbullies are six times more likely to be victimized (p. 67).

A second connection that studies have found is that victims are often targeted by peers from school or by people that they know in conventional environments (Sourander et al., 2010; Bauman, 2010; Li, 2007; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Smith et al., 2008; Zhou et al., 2013). For example, Li (2007) found that 31.8% of cybervictims were bullied by their school mates, 11.4% by people outside their schools and 15.9% by multiple sources (p. 1783). In addition, a study conducted in the Czech Republic found that 41% of adolescents (12-19 years) reported that they knew their aggressor(s) in person, compared to only 19% of young adults (20-26 years) and 27% of older adults (27 and over) (Sevcikova & Smahel, 2009, p. 227). This statistic not only supports the related figures above, but also demonstrates that online aggressive acts likely differ contextually between adolescents and adults. Thus, we can speculate that virtual environments and the real world are more often intertwined for adolescents in comparison to adults (Sevcikova & Smahel, 2009, p. 227).). Similarly, Kowalski and Limber (2007) also found that perpetrators electronically bullied other students at school most frequently, followed by friends and then strangers (p. S26). A study conducted in Sweden also revealed that 57% of cyberbullies and victims were in the same school, and only 10% were outside of school (Slonje & Smith, 2008, p. 152). In addition, Smith et al. (2008) found that 20.7% of cyberbullies were in the same class as their victims, 28% were in the same year but a different class, 6.1% were from higher years, and 2.4% from different years (p. 327). Finally, it is also important to note that Kowalski and Limber (2007) found that around 12% of victims and 16% of bully/victims had been bullied by a sibling (p. S26).

Additionally, Werner, Bumpus, and Rock (2010) (cited in Wolak et al., 2007) found that harassment by peers known to the victim was likely to involve someone sending or posting messages for others to see (similar to gossip), whereas harassment by online contacts only was more likely to involve direct exchanges between the aggressor and the victim. Closely related, Ybarra and Mitchell (2004) found that 84% of cyberbullies frequently embarrassed or harassed people that they knew in conventional environments (p.1311). In addition to the victim-perpetrator relationship, age and gender also play a role in cyberbullying behavior.

Cyberbullying and the Environment

Cyberbullying is also related to adolescent's environment. For instance, Casas et al., (2013) found that school climate predicts cyberbullying and cybervictimization behavior; for instance, awareness of a safety problem, positive or negative peer interactions, and finally, consistency and clarity of rules and teacher support.

In addition, researchers have recently begun to specifically explore risk factors for victimized youth. For instance, one study found the following statistically significant relationships between youth's environment and cybervictimization: student ethnicity, grade level, SES, parent marital status, and self-reported grades (Moore et al., 2012, p. 443). Additionally, Moore et al. (2012) found that students who do not live with both biological parents are more prone to cybervictimization. Furthermore research is also demonstrating that victims often report lower rates of restrictive internet use, evaluative (like the creation of rules about both time spent online or personal information that can be revealed online), and co-using strategies than non-victims (Navarro et l., 2013, p. 737). Also of interest, Cappadocia et al. (2013) found that youth with higher levels of depression are at an increased risk for victimization, along with youth in transitional years (like grade 9) (p. 185).

Furthermore, researchers have also begun to study risk factors for cyberbullying perpetration. In a study on general strain theory, Patchin and Hinduja (2010[c]) found that youth who report experiencing strain or anger and frustration due to a gap between their aspirations and expectations in their life (ie. a

recent break up) are more likely to participate in cyberbullying (p. 739). Campbell et al. (2013) also support this finding that youth with higher rates of stress, anxiety, and depression are at a higher risk of perpetrating cyberbullying behavior. Moreover, one Canadian longitudinal study found that students who report higher levels of drinking were more likely to be involved in cyberbullying (Cappadocia et al., 2013). Researchers have also found that fewer prosocial behaviors emerged as a contextual risk factor for cyberbullying (Cappadocia et al., 2013; Campbell et al. 2013). More specifically, students who report fewer prosocial behaviors are 50% more likely to cyberbullying others (Cappadocia et al., 2013, p. 185). Similarly, youth who report lower levels of self-control are also more likely to be cyberbullying perpetrators (Marcum et al., 2013). Campbell et al. (2013) also found that youth with conduct problems, increased hyperactivity, peer-relationship problems, and emotional difficulties are also at an increased risk to bully. Furthermore, Lazaras et al. (2013) found that cyberbullying intentions tend to be driven by descriptive norms; for instance, cyberbullying aggressors perceived cyberbullying to be more common in specific groups of classmates (p. 886). In addition, aggressors also view themselves as similar to other perpetrators and they believe that they cannot resist supporting cyberbullying when faced with normative and situational pressures.

Hinduja & Patchin (2013) also studied social influences on cyberbullying. They found that students who have friends who have participated in cyberbullying are significantly more likely to report cyberbullying themselves (p. 716). Closely related to this, Marcum et al. (2013) found that youth who have been victimized are more likely to cyberbully others. Additionally, females with a higher number of friends who use social networking are at an increased risk to perpetrate cyberbullying behavior than females with fewer friends that use social networking (Marcum et al., 2013). Furthermore, males who spend more time on SNS are at an increased risk to bully (Marcum et al., 2013). Additionally, Zhou et al. (2013) found that lower academic achievement is a risk factor for cyberbullying perpetration (p. 636). Finally, students who state that their schools or parents are likely to take cyberbullying seriously are significantly less likely to have cyberbullied others (Hinduja & Patchin, 2013, p. 716).

The Role of Age and Gender in Cyberbullying Victimization

Age and Cyberbullying

Cyberbullying is not restricted by age and it may emerge at any time including the workplace (Tokunaga, 2010). In a meta-synthesis study, Tokunaga (2010) summarized that a great deal of research on cyberbullying fails to demonstrate an association between age and cyberbullying victimization (p. 280). For instance, many studies found no statistically significant age effects, interactions or grade differences (Smith et. al, 2008; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Werner, Bumpus, & Rock, 2010; Bauman, 2010; Monks et al., 2012; Hinduja & Patchin, 2013; Wigderson & Lynch, 2013). Furthermore, during a focus groups component of their study, Smith et al. (2008) determined that most students thought that no age difference occurred in cyberbullying (p. 380).Again it is important to highlight, that differences in research findings may be attributable to definitional and methodological inconsistencies across cyberbullying studies (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009; Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010)(please see both the Methodology Used to Study Cyberbullying and the Definition of Cyberbullying sections).

However, while some studies state that there is no age difference in cyberbullying behaviors; other studies find that age is a significant predictor of cyberbullying. For example, some research shows a decrease in cyberbullying behavior with age (Slonje & Smith, 2008; Sevcikova & Smahel, 2009). It is important to note that these studies typically compare adolescents to adults and thus merely indicate that cyberbullying is a more frequent problem among youth. For example, a study from the Czech Republic that interviewed 2215 respondents between the ages of 12 and 88 found that adolescents (12 to 19 years old) and young adults (20 to 26) were more often involved as victims of cyberbullying than older respondents, with adolescents being the most heavily involved (Sevcikova & Smahel, 2009, p. 227). On the other hand, some studies find older youth are more likely to be involved in cyberbullying (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Bauman, 2010; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004; Raskauskas, 2010; Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010; Perren et al., 2010; Bauman et al., 2013). For instance, some studies found that cyberbullies and bully-victims are more likely to be in high school (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004, p.

1313; Ybarra et al., 2007, p. S45). In addition, Kiriakidis & Kavoura (2010) found that younger youth typically engaged in more traditional bullying, while older youth more frequently used cyberbullying (p. 88). These findings imply that there is a possibility that the power dynamics of cyberbullying may be different and more appealing to older youth (Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010, p. 88). Finally, while Monks et al. (2012) did not find significant age differences in cyberbullying, they did find that older youth report significantly more types of cyberbullying modalities.

Despite the varying findings about the relationship between age and cyberbullying, a significant minority of studies show that cyberbullying is most prevalent during the middle school years (Tokunaga, 2010; Cassidy et al., 2009; Wang, Iannotti, Luk, & Nansel, 2010; Rivers & Noret, 2010;Wade & Beran, 2011; Sakellariou et al., 2012; Patchin& Hinduja, 2010[c]; Campbell et al., 2013; Price & Delgleish, 2010; Stacey, 2009). For example, Cassidy et al. (2009) found that age 14 continually came up as being a key age for cyberbullying and victimization (p. 391). Also Rivers and Noret (2010) and Wade and Beran (2011) both found that grade 7's were considerably more involved in cyberbullying than students in the other grades. Similarly, von Marees and Petermann (2012) reported that involvement in cyberbullying seems to increase over the age range from 10 to 16. As a result of these findings, Tokunaga (2010) hypothesized that the discrepant findings on age may be "attributed to a curvilinear relationship between age and frequency of victimization" (p. 280). Tokunaga (2010) found that studies that indicated no age differences typically have larger age ranges than studies that demonstrate age differences, and therefore, it is likely that cyberbullying is most prevalent during middle school years(p. 280). If this hypothesis is true, then the data would be consistent with previous bullying research that states that bullying peaks during the middle school years (Swearer et al., 2009). Students in this age period often rely on forms of relational aggression, including cyberbullying, to "assert power, establish new relationships, and gain and maintain social dominance" (Wade & Beran, 2011, p. 56).

Gender and Cyberbullying

In a similar pattern to the research findings on age, findings on gender differences in cyberbullying victimization are also inconsistent (Tokunaga, 2010; Topcu & Erdur-Barker, 2012; Cesarino et al., 2012). This is in contrast with research on traditional bullying which consistently finds that males are significantly more likely to be involved in bullying (Swearer et al., 2009). One difficulty that may be contributing to the lack of understanding of gendered issues in cyberbullying is the fact that cyberbullying is often anonymous with a large minority of victims who do not know or who are unsure about the identity of their aggressor (Rivers & Noret, 2010; Bauman & Pero, 2010). It is also possible that this definitional and methodological inconsistencies across cyberbullying research studies have contributed this finding (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009; Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010) (please see both the Methodology Used to Study Cyberbullying and the Definition of Cyberbullying sections). Other researchers have also suggested that studies need to pay closer attention to the location and context of the technology in order to better understand gender differences (Cesarino et al., 2012). Additionally researchers have also suggested that contextual differences and similarities between online and offline behavior may also shed light on gender differences (Cesarino et al., 2012). Despite the difficulties with studying cyberbullying, researchers have identified some trends with regard to gender. Some studies have found no significant sex differences (Werner, Bumpus, & Rock, 2010; Bauman, 2010; Li, 2006; Mishna et al., 2010; Monks et al., 2012; Wigderson & Lynch, 2013); while other studies have found statistically significant gender relationships between cyberbullying perpetration and victimization.

A small number of studies report that boys have a higher likelihood of experiencing cyberbullying (Erdur-Baker, 2010; Akbulut, Sahin & Eristi, 2010; Li, 2006; Popovic-Citic et al., 2011; Yilmaz, 2011; Bauman et al., 2013: Zhou et al., 2013; Campbell et al., 2013). For example, Erdur-Baker (2010), in his study of Turkish adolescents found that males are more likely to engage in cyberbullying behavior either as a victim or bully (p. 121). In addition, Akbulut, Sahin & Eristi (2010) also found that males were more likely to be victims than females.

On the other hand, a significant number of studies report that females are disproportionately represented among victims (Tokunaga, 2010; Sourander et al., 2010; Li, 2007; Sourander et al., 2010; Walrave & Heirman, 2011; Ybarra et al., 2007; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Smith et al., 2008; Craig et al., 2007; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Rivers & Noret, 2010; Wade & Beran, 2011; Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2010; Low & Espelage, 2012; Cassidy et al., 2012; Moore et al., 2012; Kowalski et al., 2012; Fenaughty & Harre, 2013; France et al., 2013; Cappadocia, Craig, & Pepler, 2013; O'Brien & Moules, 2013; Marcum et al., 2013; Navarro et al., 2013; Price & Dalgleish, 2010; Vollink, Bolman, Dehue, & Jacobs, 2013). For example, Kowalski & Limber (2007) found that girls were over-represented among victims and bully/victims; more specifically, 15% of girls and 7% of boys were victims only and 10% of girls and 4% of boys were bully/victims (p. S25). As a second example, Rivers and Noret (2010) also found that females were significantly more likely to be involved in cyberbullying behavior with the gender differences growing over the five year study; for example, in the last year female rates of involvement increased from 18.8% to 20.8%, while male rates decreased from 13.8% to 10.3% (p. 655). Thus, the emergence of cyberbullying has come with the realization that females may be more involved as victims and perpetrators than previously thought (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 580).

Wade and Beran (2011) hypothesized that females are more often the victims of cyberbullying because the verbal and relational nature of cyberbullying fits closely with female socialization processes (p. 55). For instance, girls are often raised to foster empathic connections with others in their social interactions (Wade & Beran, 2011, p. 55). One outcome is that interdependence is often emphasized in social roles and thus, identity for females often encompasses their ability to maintain and create connections with others (Wade & Beran, 2011, p. 55). This emphasis on relationships may act as a mediator for overt aggressive behavior, because social norms seem to dictate that girls are restricted from expressing their aggressive feelings directly (Wade & Beran, 2011, p. 55). As an alternative, perhaps females manage their anger and hurt by using more covert methods like relational aggression or cyberbullying (Wade & Beran, 2011, p. 55). As noted previously, however, the findings on gender

involvement in cyberbullying have been mixed, and as a result it is difficult at this point in time to make a conclusion regarding which gender is more involved in cyberbullying.

Prevalence of Cyberbullying

Reporting accurate rates of cyberbullying is difficult because the methods used to obtain this data often vary in sample sizes, research designs, and methods (Betz, 2011; von Marees & Petermann, 2012). For instance, Menesini (2012) states that prevalence rates are usually higher if the sample is selected online verses offline (p. 548).(Please refer to methods used to study cyberbullying sections for more information). Despite that fact that studies show inconsistent rates of cyberbullying (Patchin, 2011), some research shows that the prevalence of cyberbullying is rising globally and it is likely that it will continue to rise due to the increasing availability of electronic devices (Bauman, 2010; von Marees & Petermann, 2012). For instance, Cassidy et al. (2009) reported that three quarters of students surveyed state that cyberbullying is more of a problem now than it was a year ago (p. 397). Alternatively, other researchers have found that cyberbullying rates have remained relatively stable since approximately 2006 (Olweus, 2012). On average, cyberbullying affects approximately 20% to 40% of youth (Tokunaga, 2010; Paterson, 2011).(Please see appendix two for a more comprehensive listing of the studies that surveyed prevalence). For example, the following studies fall into this grouping: Wade and Beran (2011) - 21.9%; Li (2006) - 25%; Sengupta and Chaudhuri (2011) – 25%, Raskauskas (2010) - 23%; Moore et al. (2012) – 20%; Popovic-Citic et al. (2011) – 20%, Monks et al. (2012) – 20%, Kowalski and Limber (2013) – 21%, Patchin and Hinduja, (2010[c]) – 21%; O'Brien and Moules (2013) – 19.7%;Navarro et al. (2013) – 24.6%; and finally, Fenaughty and Harre (2013) – 33%.Additionally, of note is Hinduja and Patchin's (2010) study that found that the frequency of individual cyberbullying behaviors ranged from 5.7% to 18.3% for victimization depending on what form of bullying was being used; for example receiving an upsetting email from someone you know (18.3 % of victims), or posting something about someone to make others laugh (23.1% of offenders) (p. 214).

Although the majority of studies show that about 20% of youth are affected by cyberbullying, some studies have found significantly lower rates of cyberbullying (Bauman, 2010; Sourander et al., 2010; Smith et al., 2008; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Ybarra &Mitchell, 2004; Ortega et al., 20012; Sakellariou, Carroll, & Houghton, 2012; Olweus, 2012; Campbell et al., 2013). For instance, Bauman (2010) in a study conducted in a poor rural community found that 4% were cybervictims, and 5% were cyberbully-victims (p. 820). Similarly, Sourander et al. (2010) found that 4.8% of their participants were cybervictims and 5.4% were cyberbully-victims (p. 722).

On the other hand, other studies have also found significantly higher rates (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Akbulut et al., 2010; Mishna et al., 2010; Walker, Sockman, & Koehn, 2011; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2009; Cassidy et al., 2012; Zhou et al., 2013; Pieschl et al., 2013; Wigderson & Lynch, 2013). Juvonen and Gross (2008) reported that 72% of youth had experienced at least one incident of cyberbullying within a one-year time period (p. 500). In addition, one research study that specifically looked at cyberbullying in university found that 54% of students in university knew someone being cyberbullied, as well, 30% of students also indicated that they had experienced "undesirable and obsessive communication" from others online (Walker, Sockman, & Koehn, 2011, p. 34). Finally, Vandebosch & Van Cleemput (2009) found that when participants in a Belgium study were asked directly if they were involved in cyberbullying 11.1% reported that they had been a victim, however, when surveying the students to see if they had been involved in 'potentially offensive practices' (POP), 61.9% said they had been victims (p. 1361). Examples of POP include: insults or threats, deception, spreading gossip, breaking into someone's computer and changing their password, disseminating private information, forwarding a confidential email, etc. It is important to note, however, that Olweus (2012) hypothesized that one of the reasons that researchers find such high rates of cyberbullying is because they study it in isolation from traditional bullying as well they also neglect to provide students with an age-appropriate definition of bullying (p. 525).

Bystander Behavior

As briefly noted above, Bauman (2010) states that bullying tends to be a group a phenomenon, rather than a dyadic one; for example, 88% of bullying is witnessed by peers (p. 321). Accordingly, Li (2010) determined that 28% of students had witnessed cyberbullying once or twice, 15% had seen it a few times, and finally 15% reported seeing it almost every day (p. 379). In addition, Mishna et al. (2009) found that cyberbullying often occurs in the presence of cyber witnesses or is communicated to others by the aggressor or witness (p. 1225). O'Brien and Moules (2013) also support these findings. Bystanders are often reluctant to become advocates because they fear that they will be the next victim or be known as a "snitch" (Bauman, 2010, p. 321). Therefore, it is not surprising that Li (2010) found that when students witnessed cyberbullying about 14% choose to join in, 13% actually cheered the cyberbully on, and over 25% choose to leave the online environment without saying anything (Li, 2010, p. 379). In addition, 9% reported that they objected to others, but not directly to the cyberbully (Li, 2010, p. 380). Moreover, an astonishing fifty percent of cybervictims reported than no one tried to help them (Li, 2010, p. 379). Closely related to this, Agatston et al. (2007) found that students were uncertain about how to be helpful when responding to witnessing cruel online behavior (p. S60). Bystander behavior has significant implications in getting victims the help they need.

Reporting Cyberbullying

One significant problem connected to cyberbullying is the fact that students are often reluctant to report being the victim of cyberbullying and to being a witness of cyberbullying (Li, 2007; Li, 2006; Li, 2010; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Smith at al., 2008; Mishna et al., 2009; Mishna, 2012; Agatston et al., 2007; Cassidy et al. 2009; Bauman, 2010; Mishna et al., 2010; Smith et al., 2008; Paterson, 2011; Yilmaz, 2011; Bauman & Pero, 2010; Cassidy et al., 2013; Lazaras, Barkoukis, Ourda, & Tsorbatzoudis, 2013). For instance, Li (2010) found that less that 10% of witnesses reported the incident to someone who could help the victim (p. 380). In a similar vein, Juvonen and Gross (2008) found that 90% of youth reported not telling adults about cyberbullying incidents (p. 502). In addition, two

researchers conducting focus groups found that students are unlikely to tell their parents or other adults at the school about experiences of cyberbullying (Mishna et al., 2009, p. 1226; Agatston et al., 2007, p. S60). Encouragingly, however, O'Brien & Moules (2013) did find that over half of the 20% of cyberbullied youth in their study sought support from friends or family (p. 61).

Many researchers have inquired why youth are so hesitant to report cyberbullying experiences. Li's (2010) study best summarized the majority of research findings to date. Li (2010) asked 269 students if they would report the incident to a school administrator, counsellor, or teacher if they were cyberbullied. The reasons that students gave for not reporting cyberbullying were the following:

> 17% felt that the school staff would not understand or believe them; close to one half did not think that the school would or could do anything to stop it; nearly 18% thought that they could get themselves into to trouble because either they might be at fault or for no reason; 28% felt that it could exacerbate the problem; more than one fifth of the students thought others would make fun of them. (Li, 2010, p. 380)

Additionally, the majority of researchers have determined that many students were afraid to tell their parents for fear that they would restrict their internet access (Li, 2010, p. 380; Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 502; Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009; Agatston et al., 2007, p. S60; Mishna et al., 2009, p. 1226). It is also important to note that youth also reported a desire to learn to deal with it themselves (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Li, 2010). Finally, the sexual component in "sexting" may make some youth hesitant to report their involvement because they may be embarrassed or fear that adults may be offended or angered by the information (Paterson, 2011). The small number of youth who report cyberbullying to adults is disconcerting because cyberbullying can be very difficult for adults to detect; especially because adults are not typically there when cyberbullying occurs (Juvonen & Gross, 2008). Furthermore, Slonje and Smith (2008) found that students felt that cyberbullying was less likely to be noticed by adults than traditional bullying (p. 152). As a result of students' tendencies to keep quiet

about cyberbullying, adults have a difficult time identifying when cyberbullying occurs which has serious implications for the affects of cyberbullying on youth.

Disturbances associated with Cyberbullying

The impact of cyberbullying has been evaluated less by researchers than the effects of traditional bullying (Ortega et al., 2012; Li, 2010). Cyberbullying is associated with a myriad of adverse problems for both bullies and victims, with the effects being much greater for victims and bully-victims (Tokunaga, 2010; Kowalski & Limber, 2013). Some cyberbullying behaviors are more harmful than others, and thus, cyberbullying often results in a continuum of affects for the victim (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Pieschl et al., 2013). The level of distress is often determined by the length, the severity, the level of harassment, and the frequency of the cyberbullying behavior (Tokunaga, 2010; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004; Ortega et al., 2012). For instance, studies have shown that picture and video cyberbullying have a more adverse impact on youth than other types of cyberbullying (Smith et al. 2008; Pieschl et al., 2013). On the other hand, chatroom bullying is perceived to have a low impact (Smith et al. 2008, p.381).In addition, Pieschl et al. (2013) also found that harassment is more devastating than outing. Furthermore, research also shows that the more types of victimization an adolescent experiences, the more likely they are to report physical and psychological distress (Wang, Iannotti, Luk, & Nansel, 2010; Fenaughty & Harre, 2013). This finding was especially relevant for females who reported higher levels distress than males (Wang et al., 2010; Fenaughty & Harre, 2013; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Pieschl et al., 2013; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). Researchers have also found that impact and consequences vary based on moderating factors like social acceptance, social integration, social acceptance, perceived control and threat, levels of self-esteem, effectiveness of coping strategies, and the individual role (exclusively a victim rather than a bully-victim) (von Marees & Petermann, 2012; Ortega et al., 2012). Finally, researchers have also found that cyberbullying has a greater impact on victims when the bully is popular verses unpopular (Pieschl et al., 2013, p. 246). Therefore, cyberbullying disturbances vary from more trivial levels of distress to serious psychosocial and life problems (Tokunaga, 2010, p.281).

Researchers have used two ways of evaluating the effects of cyberbullying (Ortega et al., 2012). The first compares the impact of cyberbullying with that of traditional bullying and often asks students directly which form is more damaging (Ortega et al., 2012). The second method analyzes the correlates of cyberbullying behavior (Ortega et al., 2012). For instance, one study surveyed which forms of cyberbullying are the most distressing and found that the receipt of mean, nasty, and hurtful comments is the most distressing, followed by rumor spreading, threats of physical violence, and social isolation (Fenaughty & Harre, 2013, p. 809). In a meta-analysis of studies, Tokunaga (2010) found that most studies typically defined the negative effects that correlate with victimization in two different ways: in terms of academic performance and the development of psychosocial problems and affective disorders (p. 281). The effects of cyberbullying can influence all aspects of the victim's life including their academic performance, psychological health and future relationships.

Academic

Victims of cyberbullying often experience academic problems (Tokunaga, 2010; Spears et al., 2009; Wigderson & Lynch, 2013; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). For example, Cassidy et al. (2009) found that cyberbullying messages affect a victim's ability to concentrate on schoolwork (p. 389). Students also experience decreases in their grades (Tokunaga, 2010; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; O'Brien & Moules, 2013; Wigderson & Lynch, 2013; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). Some youth also experience an increase in absences and truancy (Tokunaga, 2010; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). In addition, youth often feel that the school is no longer safe (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 281). For instance, research found that cybervictims report that they have been scared for their safety (Sourander et al., 2010; Monks et al., 2012). Spears et al. (2009) also found that the fear of going to school has a significant effect on some youth, so much so that some students left school, moved towns, and moved houses (p. 194).

Psychological Effects

Cyberbullying also affects victims' psychological well-being. A qualitative research study conducted in Australia summarized many of the psychological effects of cyberbullying, finding that cyberbullying induced the following: strong negative feelings and emotions like fear, anxiety, depression and loneliness, and increased aggression (Spears et al., 2009, p. 194). In addition, Spears et al. (2009) found that the students' personal stories revealed many emotional affects such as pain, suffering, anger, and vulnerability (p. 194). Similarly, Pieschl et al. (2013) also found that students most often experienced anger followed by sorrow, despair and tiredness (p. 245). In addition, Price and Dalgleish (2010) found that their study participants reported the following emotional impacts: annoyance (72%), anger (52%), sadness (75%), extreme sadness (54%), frustration (58%), embarrassment (48%), fear (48%), and terrified (29%) (pp. 55-56).

Other researchers have also highlighted that fact that cyberbullying is related to depression (Tokunaga, 2010; Wang et al., 2010; Raskauskas, 2010; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Bauman et al., 2013; O'Brien & Moules, 2013; Wigderson & Lynch, 2013; Cassidy et al., 2013). For instance, one study reported significantly increased levels of depressive symptoms for cyberbullying victims, even when controlling for their involvement in traditional bullying (Perren et al., 2010).One European cross-national study surveying Italy, Spain and England found that victims of mobile phone and internet bullying reported feeling angry, upset, and worried (Ortega et al., 2012). Furthermore other researchers also support the finding that cybervictimization is related to increased in anxiety (Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Wigderson & Lynch, 2013; Cassidy et al., 2013).

Additionally, research also suggests that there may be accumulative effect of cyberbullying which may impact the level of adversity that youth experience; for instance, if youth experience multiple cyberbullying incidents it may impact the level of depressive symptoms (Raskauskas, 2010; Fenaughty & Harre, 2013; Olweus, 2012). Similarly, this is also true if youth experience multiple types of bullying (Ybarra et al., 2007;Wanget al., 2010;Raskauskas, 2010). For example, Raskauskas (2010) found that

victims who had experienced both text and traditional bullying had significantly higher levels of depressive symptoms than youth who were bullied using only one medium (p. 89).On the other hand, it should be noted that Pieschl et al. (2013) found that youth who are repeatedly confronted with negative cyberbullying become desensitized (p. 247). When using cyber incident vignettes to study cybervictimization, Pieschl et al. (2013) found that confrontation with a second cyber event is not as distressing as the first.

Researchers have also found that cyberbullying affects other aspects of students' emotional well-being (Wigderson & Lynch, 2013).For instance approximately 30 percent of cybervictims reported being very upset (Sakellariou et al., 2012). Additionally, some researchers have compared the resulting state to that of someone experiencing post-traumatic stress disorder (Paterson, 2011). Other researchers have found that victims experience psychosomatic symptoms like headaches, stomach aches, and sleep disorders (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 581). Still others have found that cyberbullying impacts victim's "global life satisfaction and satisfaction with family, friends, living environment, self, and school" (Moore et al., 2012, p. 444). Additionally, other researchers found that cyberbullying impacts students' sense of selves; for example, students experience embarrassment and humiliation, damage to their perceived reputation, and rejection by their peers (Spears et al., 2009, p. 194). O'Brien and Moules (2013) found that approximately 20% of youth report that cyberbullying affected both their confidence and self-esteem (p. 60). Price and Dalgleish (2010) also support this finding; however, they found much higher rates with 78% of youth reporting that cyberbullying affected their self-confidence and 70% reporting it affected their self-esteem (p. 55). Similarly researchers have also found victims and bullies of cyberbullying have considerably lower self-esteem than those who have not been involved in cyberbullying behavior, with victims being the most adversely affected (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 618; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Olwues, 2012; Wigderson & Lynch, 2013; Cassidy et al., 2013).Previous research has revealed that low self-esteem can be related to poor scholastic achievement, truancy, health related concerns, and criminal behavior (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 618). In addition,

many researchers have also found that cyberbullying caused a significant increase in students' levels of distress (Ybarra et al., 2007, p. S45; Bauman, 2010, p. 827; Juvonen & Gross, 2008, p. 501).

Finally, it is also important to note that research studies have established a link connecting cyberbullying, suicidal ideation and suicide (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Cassidy et al., 2013; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). O'Brien & Moules (2013) report that many of the students they surveyed report that cyberbullying "can push people over the edge" (p. 58). For example, Hinduja and Patchin's (2010) found that 20% of respondents who were involved in both traditional and cyberbullying were seriously thinking about suicide and 19% reported attempting suicide (p. 214). Furthermore, they found that being a victim of cyberbullying was a stronger predictor of suicidal ideation and behaviors than being a perpetrator (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010, p. 214). In addition, Bauman et al. (2013) found a significant indirect connection (with depression as the mediator) between victimization and suicide attempts (p. 346). Bauman et al. (2013) hypothesize that this may be because females score higher on measures of imaginary audience, an expression of egocentrism (p. 346). Thus, because cyberbullying may be considered an attempt to publicly humiliate the victim or damage her social status, "the self-focus of the imaginary audience may magnify the belief that the entire social world in which the target interacts is aware of her humiliation, contributing to the development of depression" (Bauman et al., 2013, p. 346). Additionally, there have been numerous high-profile new stories that involve "adolescents taking their own lives because of being harassed and mistreated over the internet, a phenomenon recently termed *cyberbullicide* – suicide indirectly or directly influenced by experiences with online aggression" (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010, p. 207).

Psychosocial

Finally, cyberbullying can also adversely affect youth's psychosocial development. Swearer et al. (2009) states that cyberbullying behaviour can be related to a multitude of psychosocial problems including: "substance use, involvement in offline victimization and perpetration of relational, physical, and sexual aggression; delinquent peers; a heightened anger disposition; and poor emotional bond with

caregivers" (p.113). This is also supported by Ybarra et al. (2007) and Cassidy et al. (2013) who also report elevated externalizing behaviors in cyberbullied youth, including the following: alcohol use, drug use, smoking, aggressive behavior, deviant behavior and finally, delinquency (including: shoplifting, property damage, and increased likelihood of carrying a weapon to school). Ybarra et al. (2007) also found cybervictimization to be related to less effective parental monitoring and a poorer emotional bond with their caregiver (p. S49). Price and Dalgleish (2010) also found that cybervictims reported that their relationships with their families were adversely affected (p. 55). Moreover, Cassidy et al. (2009) found that some cybervictims felt that the cyberbullying affected their ability to makes friends at school. Price and Dalgleish (2010) also support this finding. Closely related to this, studies also find that students have difficulty trusting other people (Raskauskas, 2010; Paterson, 2011). In addition, Feinberg and Robey (2009) also supported this stating that because cyberbullying is often anonymous it can cause victims to be hyper-vigilant about examining their social environment in order to avoid hurtful encounters (p. 29). Finally, O'Brien and Moules (2013) found that affected youth stopped socializing outside of school (p. 60).

In summary, little empirical research has been used to determine the antecedents and consequences of cyberbullying (Moore et al., 2012). In fact, the research conducted to assess the effects of cyberbullying has mostly relied on correlational methods rather than standardized measures, and thus, it is important to keep in mind the above effects of cyberbullying must be interpreted with caution (Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010, p. 87). However, despite the fact that most cyberbullying research rely on correlational data, the majority of studies conclude that cyberbullying victims are especially likely to face serious challenges on multiple fronts, such as: mental health, school work, behavioral and social challenges. Furthermore, longitudinal studies have shown that traditional bullying causes many adverse affects, and cyberbullying has been shown to be both similar and related to bullying (Tokunaga, 2010). Finally, when we consider that fact that cyberbullying has many unique features relative to bullying, including: anonymity, large audience, altered balance of power, and the absence of time constraints, it

is not surprising that researchers have predicted that cyberbullying has the potential to magnify the level of harm victims experience (Bauman, 2010, p. 805). Therefore, it is essential that researchers garner a better understanding of how they can help victims to cope with the adverse affects of cyberbullying.

Recommendations for interventions

Because there has been limited research on the impact of cyberbullying, it has been difficult for professionals to create prevention and intervention strategies (Cesaroni et al., 2012; Price & Delgleish, 2010). While there is a small body of work that is beginning to cumulate regarding adolescents' coping strategies for cyberbullying (e.g., Agatson, Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Hinduja & Patchin, 2007; Kowalski, Limber & Agatston, 2008; Slojne & Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2008; Cassidy et al., 2009; Price & Dalgleish, 2010; and finally, Parris, Varjas, Meyers, & Cutts, 2012), the evidence base for this research is limited (Cassidy et al., 2013; Perren et al., 2012; von Marees & Petermann, 2012; Parris, Varjas, Meyers, & Cutts, 2012). As a result, many researchers have relied on bullying research to inform their work (Tokunaga, 2010). While adapting strategies that have been proven successful in the intervention and prevention of traditional bullying may be a good place to begin, it is imperative that researchers and counsellors also begin to develop new forms of intervention and prevention for cyberbullying. Rapid changes in technology, the ability of the cyberbully to hide or disguise their identity, the potential for an infinitely large audience and the ability to target the victim at any time of day makes cyberbullying more complex to prevent or intervene with than traditional bullying (Sourander et al., 2010 p. 727). As a result, cyberbullying policies require greater specificity in order to adequately deal with the problem (Kowalski et al., 2008). Thus, it seems that Researchers, educators, and other concerned professionals have recently begun to develop a host of strategies to intervene with and to prevent cyberbullying (Parris et al., 2012). These are discussed next.

Building Awareness

One of the more practical prevention strategies emphasized by researchers are educational campaigns which are designed to increase awareness among adults (Smith et al., 2008; Juvonen &Gross,

2008; Bhat, 2008; Chibbaro, 2007; Cassidy, Brown, & Jackson, 2012; Paterson, 2011; Morales, 2011; Cassidy et al., 2013). Older generations are not as aware of the multitude of problems that can occur through mobile phones and the Internet (Smith et al., 2008; Cassidy et al., 2012). Educational campaigns are also targeting teachers, school administrators, and school counsellors in order to increase awareness and knowledge of how to respond to cyberbullying in school (Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010; Bhat. 2008; Navarro et al., 2013). This is an important strategy because Cassidy et al. (2012) found that although teachers were concerned about increasing cyberbullying behavior, only half of the respondents could identify intervention strategies.

Secondly, another popular prevention tactic is promoting the awareness and use of Internet Safety Guidelines (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009). Current guidelines, for example the Media Awareness Network, recommend that parents become involved in their child's Internet use and monitor their children's Internet behavior to ensure safe and appropriate online navigation (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004, pg. 1315; Swartz, 2009, p.281; Holladay, 2011; Hinduja & Patchin, 2013; Navarro et al., 2013). For example, parents can create family internet use agreements with their children to openly communicate a list of expectations that facilitate appropriate Internet use. In fact, Navarro et al. (2013) demonstrate that youth in grades 5 & 6 whose parents create online use rules actually have lower rates of victimization (p. 740). In addition, Navarro et al. (2013) also found that using parental internet software (like checking and supervision software) reduces rates of victimization. However, although these strategies will likely work with younger children, the creation of "third generation Internet phones mean that computers no longer reside only in the home, but are in the pockets of young people, challenging how parents monitor usage and impact" (Spears, Slee, Owens, & Johnson, 2009, p. 190).

School Policies and Curriculum

Individuating from one's family or adult support systems and developing a sense of autonomy are common developmental characteristics among adolescents (Kaplan, 2004). As a result, it is not shocking that many studies found that students felt it was necessary to learn to deal with cyberbullying

themselves (Li, 2010; Juvonen & Gross, 2008). Although students wish to establish their own sense of identity and independence, this does not mean that adults cannot attempt to give students the tools that they need to combat cyberbullying on their own (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 1820). If schools develop and implement a cyberbullying unit that is a part of their regular curriculum, it is possible that students may use the information and skills they learn and apply it in their own lives without feeling as though they are relying on adults to solve their problems (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010; Cassidy et al., 2012; Cassidy et al., 2013).

Classroom activities can include: "literature, audiovisual materials, videos, drama/roleplays, music, debates, workshops, puppets and dolls (for early years), and group work" (Thompson, Tippet, &Smith, 2009, p. 91). Cassidy et al. (2013) also suggests that beyond educating students about cyberbullying, curriculums should also focus on "empowering students in terms of digital literacy, technological skills, critical thinking, netiquette, e-safety, assessing their own online risks, measures to protect themselves, their reputation, and their privacy online" (p. 587).Research has found that adolescents respond to direct warnings about posting inappropriate content on their SNS profiles; as a result, adults should continue using this prevention measure (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 1820).These curricular efforts can help to raise awareness and improve technical skills, but they can also serve to develop empathy, self-esteem and assertiveness (Thompson, Tippet, &Smith, 2009; Cassidy et al., 2013). These strategies may be effective in helping students cope with cyberbullying. For instance, Cassidy et al. (2009) found that 18 percent of students felt that developing programs to teach students about the effects of cyberbullying was an important prevention mechanism (Cassidy et al., 2009, p. 395). As a result, it is clear given the above findings that solutions to cyberbullying including school curriculum should encompasses both digital citizenship and new media literacy (Cassidy et al., 2013).

Research also shows that students identified school culture as a contributing factor of cyberbullying behavior (Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009; Cassidy et al., 2013). For instance, 66% of students reported that if school was a friendlier environment there would be less cyberbullying whereas

58% of students reported that they would be less likely to cyberbully if they were treated equally at school (Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009). These statistics suggest that schools need to get involved in creating a positive school culture; for instance, developing a school culture that is more respectful, inclusive and caring (Cassidy, Jackson, & Brown, 2009, p. 400). In addition, policies should be created that warn students about the consequences of cyberbullying and give schools the right to discipline those who take part in cyberbullying (Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010; Chibbaro, 2007; Hinduja & Patchin, 2013).

Related to developing a positive school climate, researchers have also suggested that schools also promote positive uses of ICT (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 588). Rather than just banning cell phone use to combat cyberbullying (which has been shown to be less effective than researchers initially hypothesized), schools should promote a "socio-constructivist learning environment" (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 588). For instance, Cassidy et al. (2013) recommends the following: "class websites where students and teachers are both users and producers; enabling online exchanges and collaboration on learning activities with other classes, schools, families; and the use of forums, wikis, and blogs" (p. 588).

There are also a number of intervention programs that are currently being used by schools and that are being advertised in the media. One particular strategy is known as the "Stop, Block and Tell" strategy (Swartz, 2009; Media Awareness Network, n.d). In this strategy, youth are encouraged to do the following: stop what they are doing and take a moment to calm down before retaliating or responding in an inappropriate manner; block communication from that sender and limit all online contact to an approved list of friends; and finally, report the incident to an adult (Swartz, 2009, p. 282). Students surveyed seemed to be aware of these recommended strategies(Smith et al., 2008, p.381; Juvonen & Gross, 2008). For instance, Patchin and Hinduja (2010) found that adolescents are increasingly restricting access to their SNS profiles and they are also revealing personal information on public profiles less regularly(p. 1820). Thus, it appears that youth are familiar with many tactics for preventing and intervening with cyberbullying and even engage in some of the recommended strategies. However,

while some of these strategies are effective, it is unknown if youth indeed rely on these tactics (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Perren et al., 2012). In fact, some studies found suggested cyberbullying interventions to be underutilized by teens (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Smith et al., 2008). For example, although victims have the option of deleting their social network or email account and turning off the device, most youth consider these options to be a punishment (Bauman, 2010, p. 805). Furthermore, even if students block a cyberbully, unrelenting bullies may set up new account or change their screen name in order to circumvent those blocks (Bauman, 2010, p. 805).Therefore, although these are worthy recommendations, research suggests that additional measures are necessary (Ybarra &Mitchell, 2004; Smith et al., 2008; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Swartz, 2009). Therefore, in addition to building awareness and promoting safety strategies, researchers have also come up with several strategies for prevention and intervention.

Prevention and Intervention Websites

There are a number of websites that have emerged to help prevent and intervene with adolescent cyberbullying (Ahlfors, 2010). The Internet is a logical method for providing prevention and intervention strategies to youth, especially given the amount of time that youth spend online and their propensity to keep bullying incidents to themselves (Ahlfors, 2010, p. 516). The websites that are available vary in the quality of information offered, the accuracy of information, the target audience, the information delivery methods, and the information presented on cyberbullying. Ahlfors (2010) reviewed 17 cyberbullying websites. The majority of the websites have been created by professionals using empirically validated knowledge (Ahlfors, 2010, p. 520). One example of this is the Cyberbully Research Centre created by Patchin and Hinduja which posts current information and news regarding cyberbullying (Morales, 2011). Additionally, some sites recommend a cyberbullying curriculum to help educators facilitate conversations on cyberbullying; for instance, Cybersmart! (Morales, 2011). Other websites are dedicated to helping youth; for example, some websites offer guidance for bystanders and

others include Internet safety tips (Ahlfors, 2010). Moreover, others offer animated games that youth can play (Morales, 2011).

However, Ahlfors (2010) found that most websites target parents and caregivers rather than adolescents (p. 519). This is concerning because research shows that adolescents often do not tell their parents about their experiences with cyberbullying and thus, parents are typically not aware (Ahlfors, 2010). In addition, many cyberbullying websites have space for individuals to write about their experiences with bullying (Ahlfors, 2010). Again this is concerning because forums like these may open up additional opportunities for cyberbullies with harm being done before the moderator is able to remove the content (Ahlfors, 2010). Finally, although prevention tips can be valuable to youth who may be targeted by cyberbullies, it is also possible that cyberbullies can use this information to become more effective at avoiding detection (Ahlfors, 2010, p. 521).

Increase in empathy

Building awareness of empathy and teaching empathy to youth can be both a preventative measure and a form of intervention (Willard, 2004; Bhat, 2008; Cassidy et al., 2012; Topcu & Erdur-Baker, 2012). Research is showing that youth who cyberbully demonstrate a lack of awareness regarding the harshness and impact of their behavior (Campbell et al., 2013). For instance, cyberbullies' scores on their perception of the harshness and impact of their behavior are lower than the cybervictim's scores (Campbell et al., 2013). Thus, empathy training can be used as a form of prevention in school. For example, researchers have suggested that educational strategies can be used to both teach and reinforce students' predictive empathy skills (Willard, 2004, p. 5). One example of this may be to provide youth with practice scenarios where they are required to consider alternative perspectives of individuals whom they cannot see thus opening students' minds to new perspectives and ways of thinking (Willard, 2004, p. 5).

In addition, in a study designed to examine the relationship between affective empathy, cognitive empathy, and gender on cyberbullying among adolescents, Ang and Goh (2010) reported that:

when youth had low levels of affective empathy, boys and girls who also had low levels of cognitive empathy had higher scores of cyberbullying than youth with low affective empathy and higher cognitive empathy (p. 387). They also found this pattern among boys with high levels of affective empathy (Ang & Goh, 2010, p. 387). In contrast, however, Ang and Goh (2010) found that for girls both higher and lower levels of cognitive empathy resulted in similar levels of cyberbullying (p. 387). Furthermore, Topcu and Erdur-Barker (2012) also found that empathy is a significant mediator of gender and bullying. Thus, one intervention strategy counsellors and schools should consider is empathy training, possibly with an emphasis on cognitive empathy for boys and affective empathy for girls (Ang & Goh, 2010; Topcu & Erdur-Barker, 2012).

Empowering bystanders

As stated before, cyberbullying is frequently a group phenomenon with bystanders often witnessing, passively encouraging or actively encouraging cyberbullying amongst their peers (Bauman, 2010). Furthermore, it is more likely that youth will disclose their cyberbullying experiences to their close friends than to significant adults in their life (Li, 2006). Therefore, one prevention approach might be to inform and educate bystanders and friends (Li, 2006; Paterson, 2011). Another effective prevention mechanism may be to empower bystanders to become part of the solution (Willard, 2004; Li, 2006; Fenaughty & Harre, 2013). If we can educate all students on cyberbullying including strategies for intervention and empower bystanders to create an environment of peer support, then hopefully we can change social norms and potentially end the bullying cycle (Li, 2006).

Additionally, research has also suggested that bystanders could also benefit from empathy training (Cassidy et al., 2013). This is because if bystanders understand the suffering that victims undergo they may be more inclined to intervene (Cassidy et al., 2013). Moreover, they should also be taught positive bystander behavior (Cassidy et al., 2013). Finally, since cyberbullying is more commonly a group phenomenon rather than a dyadic one, the solution to the problem ought to have a group focus. For instance, finding an intervention that pays attention to the social context of bullying

may positively affect the outcome (Bauman, 2010). Bauman (2010) references Sue Young's (1998) group intervention approach to bullying as a good starting point. Young's group is designed to help build empathy for the victim, as well as to brainstorm possible positive solutions to the problem (Bauman, 2010). This intervention method involves weekly meetings with all of the members involved in the bullying experience, as well as a few friends of the victim or students who the victim would like to have as friends (Bauman, 2010). The purpose of the group, to help the victim with their concern or unhappiness, is explained to the student participants (Bauman, 2010).

Building Social Networks

Similar to building awareness among peers and bystanders, peer support also acts as both a preventative measure, as well as an intervention strategy (Thompson et al., 2009; Paterson, 2011). For instance, youth who are socially well-adjusted tend to have better coping skills and thus, may be better equipped to ignore or rebut cyberbullying (Feinberg & Robey, 2009, p. 29). Furthermore, social support is the one coping strategy that has been shown to have the best indicators of success among youth (Perren et al., 2012; Cassidy et al., 2013).

Peer support tends to encourage a supportive environment where youth are willing to help one another (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 618).This factor may be particularly important in the adolescent developmental period where peer perceptions often play a large part in dictating self-worth and self-esteem (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 618). Researchers have also found that friends and peers play a strong role in influencing each others' emotional, behavioral, and affective development (Li, 2010, p. 382). As a result, they may play a role in helping the victim with the following: decreasing anxiety, increasing protection, and providing coping strategies (Li, 2010, p. 382). Finally, Li (2010) highlights that previous research has shown that victims often lack social networks that could help protect them from being re-victimized, and thus, friends and peers can act as important protective factors (p. 377).

Social support can include both emotional and instrumental support for affected youth (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 585). One suggestion incorporating this research may be to have discussion groups to

support students who are victims (Cunningham et al., 2010, p. 331). It is hypothesized that by bringing the victims together they can receive support from each other and comfort in knowing that others have experienced the same thing (Cunningham et al., 2010). Additionally, other researchers have suggested that empowering support networks, bystanders, and peers may create the greatest opportunities for success (Cassidy et al., 2013, p. 586).

Increasing Self-esteem

As noted previously self-esteem is often a factor involved in cyberbullying, and thus could potentially be a part of the solution (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010). It may be possible to offset the adverse effects of cyberbullying or prevent future cyberbullying by working to develop high self-esteem in students (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 618; Chibbaro, 2007, p. 67). In addition, students state that there is "no quick fix" for cyberbullying, and that in the long-term students with better self-esteem are less likely to cyberbully or to become victims of cyberbullying (Cassidy et al., 2009, p. 396). One way toincorporate these findings into an intervention strategy may be to help build self-esteem may be to establish peer support groups (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p. 618).

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT)

CBT highlights that individual's emotions and beliefs are linked to behavior, and thus, how we behaveis related to our attitude (France et al., 2013). Researchers have also suggested that a cognitive behavioral approach to intervention may be especially effective for helping youth to cope with cyberbullying (Bauman, 2010; Patchin & Hinduja, 2010; Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010; France et al., 2013). Bauman (2010) suggested that various cognitive processes influence and affect youths' emotional and behavioral responses to cyberbullying, and therefore, a cognitive behavioral approach to prevention and intervention may hold promise (p. 829). Additionally, developing adaptive behavior and attitudes will aid with cyberbullying prevention (France et al., 2013). Patchin & Hinduja (2010) also affirmed this idea based on information from an Australian-based study that found that: "MySpace is primarily driven by three factors: peer pressure, the way that the website interface has been designed

(because fields and checkboxes are there to collect such information), and signaling (individuals' desires to self-present in a certain ways)" (p. 1820). Therefore, cognitive restructuring and social norming strategies may help adolescents to reassess their beliefs about online privacy and cause them to think about what personal information they are revealing online and whether it could come back to harm them (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010, p 1820). Finally, modifying normative beliefs about the acceptability of cyberbullying through cognitive restructuring and behavior modification may be an important strategy for schools to consider (Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010, p. 89).

A Public Health Approach to Bullying

Another suggested strategy is a public health approach. Anthony, Wessler, and Sebian (2010) stated that: it may be possible to intervene carefully at an individual level, but it will only be effective if it is applied cautiously; furthermore, it only represents one component of a comprehensive approach to this underestimated crisis (p. 113). Instead Anthony et al. (2010) recommend that the impact of bullying demands "a coherent, integrated, and comprehensive public health approach following several guiding principles" (p. 114). The public health approach to bullying intervention encompasses four guiding principles for implementing this approach.

First, population level research is necessary to provide appropriate data (Anthony et al., 2010, p. 114). Furthermore, it is also necessary to derive effective intervention strategies that are applicable to each individual population (Anthony et al., 2010, p. 114). Secondly, the public health approach should endeavor to create an environment that is supportive of optimal mental health as well as resiliency (Anthony et al., 2010, p. 114). This second guideline takes a preventative focus by highlighting the importance of identifying youth who are at risk for bullying. In addition Anthony et al. (2010) also advocate for early intervention with bullying coupled with community wide support. The third guideline recommends that prevention and promotion are balanced which includes extending strategies to the community as a whole (Anthony et al., 2010). For instance, building skills to reduce and prevent bullying using in-school activities, while also educating communities about early parenting behaviors

(Anthony et al., 2010). Finally, the public health approach requires the synchronization of a broad range of systems and sectors in order to make policies and programs that protect youth (Anthony et al., 2010, p. 114).For example, it is necessary to coordinate the following systems: developing effective awareness campaigns at the public level coupled with parent-teacher-administrator awareness; careful integration of legal enforcement; creating school policies; getting relevant businesses involved (ie. Facebook and MySpace) (Anthony et al., 2010).

Legal Solutions

Between 2006 and 2010, 34 states passed legislation aimed at reducing cyberbullying (some including criminal sanctions) (Cesarino et al., 2012). However, the legal system in the US has struggled to balance the First Amendment (Freedom of Speech) against the negative side of technology (Holladay, 2011). Researchers like Patchin and Hinduja, Parry Aftab, and Shaheen Shariff have proposed legal guidelines for schools and educators to follow. US based researchers, Hinduja and Patchin (2011) reviewed several legal cases involving cyberbullying and created the following guidelines outlining when educators should intervene:

> US courts are generally oriented toward supporting First Amendment rights of free expression. Certain expressions, however, are not protected and allow intervention and discipline, including those that:
>
> -substantially or materially disrupt learning
>
> -interfere with the educational process or school discipline
>
> -use school-owned technology to harass; or
>
> - threaten other students or infringes on their civil rights. (p. 76)

Hinduja and Patchin (2011) also recommend that schools reinforce their disciplinary efforts with detailed policies regarding acceptable behaviors. Also supporting this, France et al. (2013) found that both brief and extended perpetrators reported that they would not have engaged in cyberbullying if they had known it was against the law or a violation of rules (p. 2148). This finding suggests that prevention

and intervention programs need to make cyberbullies aware of the rules and laws related to cyberbullying (France et al., 2013).

Student Generated Solutions

Cassidy et al. (2009) found that 60% of students believe that the solutions to cyberbullying lie with the students (pp. 397-398). Students know more the following: "peers who bully, the conditions under which bullying occurs, students who are victimized, and the response of their peers to prevention programs" (Cunningham, Cunningham, Ratcliffe, & Vaillancourt, 2010, p. 322). Thus youth need to be included in solutions to cyberbullying because they may be able to provide a unique perspective on the components of programs that may work (Cunningham, Cunningham, Ratcliffe, & Vaillancourt, 2010; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004; Monks et al., 2012).

Only a few studies to date have specifically surveyed youth's opinions about cyberbullying intervention and prevention (e.g. Cassidy et al., 2009; Kowalski et al., 2008). In a 2009 survey conducted by Cassidy et al., middle school students (ages 11-15) were given ten solutions to cyberbullying and were asked to rank the options according to their first, second, and third choice. The three solutions most often selected as their first choice were the following: setting up anonymous phone-in lines (19%); developing programs to teach students about cyberbullying and its effects (18%); and punishing students who participate in cyberbullying (11%). Furthermore, when Cassidy et al. (2009) added all top three choices together, the students ranked these three solutions as their first choice: setting up anonymous phone-in lines; developing programs to teach students about cyberbullying and its effects; and finally, creating positive self-esteem in students. In addition, Kowalski et al. (2008) found that students recommended that parents do utilize the following strategies: setting age appropriate limits on the use of technology; banning specific websites; monitoring their child's internet use or technological activities; sharing evidence with the schools; and finally, not blaming or punishing the victim of cyberbullying by restricting their technology use.

It is also noteworthy that two studies have also specifically looked at how youth cope with cyberbullying (eg. Parris et al., 2012; Price & Dalgleish, 2010).The first study, Price & Dalgleish (2010), used an online data collection method to survey Australian youth about their coping strategies. Price & Dalgleish (2010) used a mixed method study. When analyzing their quantitative data they found that youth used two types of strategies: online and offline strategies (Please see appendix ten for a detailed table of their findings).Youth report that the most effective offline strategy is "telling"; for instance, youth reported telling friends, parents, teachers, principals, Kids Help Phone, other adults, and siblings about their cyberbullying experiences (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, p. 57).Youth cited "Staying offline" as the second most effective strategy (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, p. 57). Price and Dalgleish (2010) also found "blocking" to be both the most effective and frequently used online coping strategy (p. 57). When analyzing their qualitative data, they found that cyberbullied youth recommend the following coping strategies: speaking out, ignoring, avoiding, being positive and retaliating (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, pp. 56-57).

Additionally, Parris et al. (2012) also studied Australian students' perceptions and interpretations of how to cope with cyberbullying. It is important to note that their data sample included both victims and non-victims. They found that youth reported three types of coping: reactive coping, preventive coping, and finally some students believed that there was no way to prevent cyberbullying (Parris et al., 2012, p. 291). Reactive coping is defined as "attempts to respond to cyberbullying after it had occurred and included ways to end the cyberbullying or attempts to lessen negative consequences" (Parris et al., 2012, p. 292). The strategies included the following: avoidance or evading the cyberbully or the situation (N.B. this included online safety strategies like blocking); acceptance or accepting that cyberbullying is part of life; justification or evaluating the cyberbullying to determine the reasons why it should not bother them (eg. turning it into a joke); and finally, seeking social support or approaching another person to obtain advice or action (Parris et al., 2012, pp. 291-294). On the other hand, preventative coping is defined as: "coping mechanisms that may decrease the likelihood of being

cyberbullied" (Parris et al., 2012, p. 294). These coping mechanisms included talking in person to avoid miscommunications and increased security and awareness (eg. cybersafety) (Parris et al., 2012, p. 291). Please see appendix eleven for a diagram of their model. Finally, Parris et al. (2012) found that the interviewed students were more likely to report using avoidance strategies, like blocking, than other coping mechanisms (p. 298).

Resiliency and Coping in Youth

In the 1970's, a group of ground-breaking psychologists and psychiatrists, including: Anthony, Garmezy, Murphy, Rutter, and Wener and Smith, began to draw attention to the phenomenon of resiliency (Masten, 2001, p. 227). Resiliency can be defined as: "the process of overcoming the negative effects of risk exposure, coping successfully with traumatic experiences, and avoiding the negative trajectories associated with risk" (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005, p. 399). These pioneers of resiliency advocated that "research on children who developed well in the context of risk or adversity held the potential to inform theories of etiology in psychopathology and to learn what makes a difference in the lives of children at risk that could guide intervention and policy" (Masten, 2001, p. 227). As a result, researchers have begun to identify many models of resiliency, including the following: compensatory, protective, challenge, variable-focused, and person-focused (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Masten, 2001).

The recognition of resiliency in youth has begun to overturn many of the negative assumptions and deficit-focused models (Masten, 2001, p. 227). In fact the four decades of research on resiliency underscore's the central themes of the positive psychology movement; most notably, Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi's research on positive psychology (Masten, 2001, p. 235). As a result, the promotion of resiliency has become a worthwhile goal and many clinical prevention and intervention programs document the associated positive outcomes, including:"physical health, health behaviors, educational performance, and employability, earnings, and crime reduction" (Shochet, Hoge, & Wurl, 2009, p.

23).Researchers have also emphasized that resiliency should also be incorporated into cyberbullying interventions strategies (O'Brien & Moules, 2013).

There seem to be two promising findings in resiliency literature. First, protective factors carry more weight than risk factors (Shochet, Hoge, & Wurl, 2009, p. 23). Research steadily shows that in spite of the type of risk people are exposed to, internal and external protective factors play a role in mitigating that risk (Shochet, Hoge, & Wurl, 2009, p. 23). Second, resilience seems to be a more common phenomenon than previously anticipated (Masten, 2001, p. 227). As a result, intervention programs should place an emphasis on strengths, rather than deficits (Shochet, Hoge, & Wurl, 2009, p. 23). Intervention programs should also try to build resources and assets for youth rather than relying on risk amelioration (Shochet, Hoge, & Wurl, 2009, p. 23). Additionally, Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) also support this, stating that promotive factors can be either assets or resources that help youth circumvent the negative effects of risks (p. 399). Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) define assets as "positive factors that reside within the individual, such as competence, coping skills, self-efficacy"; while they define resources as:"positive factors that help youth overcome risk, but they are external to the individual" (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005, p. 399). More specifically related to bullying and cyberbullying, Mishna (2012) states that: several protective factors have been linked to decreased victimization, including: assertiveness, social skills, and traits such as agreeableness and friendliness (p. 36).

In addition, closely related to resiliency is coping. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) define coping strategies as: "constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (p. 141). In 1984 Lazarus and Folkman proposed the transactional model which describes coping as the relationship between the stressor and an individual's resources. They theorized that when individuals are faced with a life stressor or a potential threat that they conduct a primary and secondary appraisal (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). When using cyberbullying as an example, the primary appraisal stage would involve

assessing a situation like a text message to determine if it is in fact a threat (or cyberbullying in this case) (Parris et al., 2012, p. 286). If an individual determines that it is in fact a threat, a secondary appraisal would take place and the individual would access their coping resources (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Once an individual is faced with a stressor like cyberbullying, they engage in either problem-focused or emotion-focused coping. Problem focused coping would entail the student solving the problem (cyberbullying) and preventing it from occurring in the future; for instance, a victim may stand up directly to the cyberbully or ask a parent or teacher to help intervene (Parris et al, 2012). Finally, emotion-focused coping entails addressing the emotional consequences of victimization and it may involve an emotional release; for example, a cybervictim may change the way that they perceive a situation or they may vent to their friends (Parris et al., 2012).

Studies on coping seem to emerge around the same time as the work on resiliency. Researchers have found that constitutional factors, such as heredity or age-related physiological changes, act as contributors to coping (Gintner, West, & Zarski, 1989, pp. 295-296). In addition, learned or acquired factors have also been investigated (Gintner et al., 1989, p. 296). Folkman and Lazarus (1984) proposed that the efficacy of coping behaviors is directly related to the situation at hand. For example, when the situation is controllable coping strategies are more effective when they are directed at modifying a specific stressor (problem-focused coping) (Gintner et al., 1989, p. 297). In contrast, when the situation is uncontrollable coping may be more effective when it is aimed at decreasing internal arousal (emotion-focused coping) (Gintner et al., 1989, p. 297). In addition, self-initiated coping behaviors (studied by Meichenbaum) have been associated with reduced anxiety and depression; for example, problem solving, coping self-statements can help mitigate depressive and anxious symptoms (Gintner et al., 1989, p. 297). Finally, Rosenbaum's learned resourcefulness also emerged as a key theoretical outlook on coping (Gintner et al., 1989, p. 296). Gintner et al.(1989) state that: Rosenbaum suggested that individuals who are able to respond more favorably to negative situations possess a rich supply of these self-control behaviors termed "learned resourcefulness" (p. 296).

Two studies to date have looked specifically at the relationship between coping resources and cyberbullying. As previously highlighted, Parris et al. (2012) used a qualitative research methodology to examine what strategies adolescents use to cope with cyberbullying. They found three primary coping strategies: reactive coping, preventive coping, and no way to prevent cyberbullying (Parris et al., 2012, p. 291). Based on their findings, they proposed an adaptation of Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) transactional model(described earlier) in order to illustrate how the stages of appraisal apply to cyberbullying (Parris et al., 2012, p. 298). They theorized that in addition to emotion and problem focused coping, cyberbullying victims also use approach and avoidance strategies (Parris et al., 2012, p. 298). They hypothesize that following the receipt of electronic communication a student will appraise the situation to determine if there was a threat present in the communication (cyberbullying) (Parris et al., 2012, p. 298). If the individual determines that it was indeed cyberbullying, they will then use secondary appraisals to assess their response to the stressor (Parris et al., 2012, p. 298). Based on their determination of their own resources they will apply one of the four coping strategies identified by the research (eg. acceptance, avoidance, justification or social support) (Parris et al., 2012, p. 298). This same idea can be applied to the prevention coping model; however, the primary appraisal will assess the need to prevent future cyberbullying attacks (Parris et al., 2012, p. 298). During the secondary appraisal, if the individual concludes that nothing can be done, they will have accepted the belief that there is no way to prevent cyberbullying (Parris et al., 2012, p. 298). However, if they believe that they can take action they will then employ either of the two hypothesized coping strategies (eg. talking in person or increasing security and awareness) (Parris et al., 2012, p. 299). Please see appendix twelve for a diagram of their hypothesized model. It should be noted that some of the strategies that Parris et al. (2012) found do not neatly fit in Lazarus & Folkman's model. For example, avoidance strategies may be described as either emotion-focused or problem-focused (Parris et al., 2012, p. 299).

In addition, a second study, Vollink, Bolman, Dehue, and Jacobs (2013), also looked at adolescents' coping strategies using Lazarus's coping framework; however, they focused on secondary

appraisals only. Vollink et al. (2013) used a quantitative study to determine the relationship between coping strategies used to manage everyday stressors and those used to deal with cyberbullying (Vollink et al., 2013). They found that cyberbullying victims, bully-victims and not involved youth(ages 11-12) differed in the coping strategies that they used to manage daily stressors. Moreover, they discovered that children who are cyberbullying bully-victims typically respond to stress by expressing emotion and they only occasionally use palliative coping, like thinking about other things (Vollink et al., 2013). The implication of this finding is that bully-victims react aggressively to stressful situations including cyberbullying. In addition, they found that cyberbully victims had the highest levels of depressive coping, meaning that they tended to internalize their difficulties (Vollink et al., 2013). More specifically, they found that the use of three coping strategies: coping through emotional expression, avoidance coping and depressive coping, led to the use of depressive coping to deal with cyberbullying (Vollink et al., 2013). These depressive coping strategies led to feelings of worthless and powerless. It is possible that cyberbullying victims perceive bullying as something that cannot be changed; thus, they frequently engage in emotion-focused coping strategies (Vollink et al., 2013). Vollink et al. (2013) note that traditional bullying studies also show that "internalizing and coping passively (e.g. through behavioral withdrawal, mental withdrawal, denial, avoidance, acquiescence and self-blame) is generally ineffective" (p. 20). As a result, although it may help to alleviate bullying for a short-period of time, it will not solve the problem, and thus, victims remain susceptible to future bullying attacks (Vollink et al., 2013).

Furthermore, they also found no differences in the use of problem-focused strategies (ie. social support and confrontation) between victims, bully-victims and individuals who were not involved in bullying (Vollink et al., 2013). They proposed that this was likely indicative of the fact younger youth do not talk about their feelings or negative experiences (Vollink et al., 2013). Finally, it is important to note that Vollink et al. (2013) stated that their current findings were supported by a previous study Bolman, Eppingbroek, and Völlink (2012) which found that cyberbullying victims that engage in

emotion-focused coping were more likely to experience health complaints and depression. On the other hand, the use of problem-focused coping was not found to be linked to depression or to health complaints (Vollink et al., 2013). (N.B. Bolman, Eppingbroek, and Völlink (2012)'s study has not yet been published; as such, there is no primary source).

Gaps in Current Cyberbullying Research

The above literature review on cyberbullying has highlighted that most research to date has focused on describing the phenomenon of cyberbullying which is typical of the beginning stage of research (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 284). As previously discussed, there are some concerns related to the research methodology used in many of the descriptive cyberbullying studies, with definition and measurement issues being the two main concerns (Menesini & Nocentini, 2009; Menesini, 2012). These discrepancies (which were described in detail above) have resulted in fragmented research findings (Cesaroni et al., 2012). One example of this is that studies differ in their reported rates of cyberbullying. Juvoven and Gross (2008) reported that as many as 72% of 12-17 year olds have experienced cyberbullying at least once in their life; on the other hand, Sourander et al. (2010) found in their study that 4.8% were cyberbully victims and 5.4% were both cyberbullies and cybervictims. These inconsistent findings have created gaps in research, because it is difficult to compare cyberbullying studies to one another. For example, it is difficult to tell if the prevalence of cyberbullying varies because of the definition used in the study or because of other factors, such as demographical information or the country of the population studied. Thus, research must work to operationalize the term cyberbullying and then incorporate this robust definition in future studies (Cesarino et al., 2012).

In addition, much of the research to date seems to be conducted without a baseline theory, meaning that research hypotheses in cyberbullying studies do not seem to be based on a specific theory (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 284). While this is typical for research on a new phenomenon, there is a paucity of research that attempts to formulate theories (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 284). Theory building can help to create cohesiveness within the numerous research studies that already exists by creating order within the

key cyberbullying variables (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 284). Therefore, it appears that another gap in research is identifying key variables in cyberbullying that will make it easier to compare research findings. Additionally, internet technology is continuously changing and new forms of cyberbullying constantly evolve (von Marees & Petermann, 2012, p. 469). As a result, research on cyberbullying typically becomes out of date quickly (Mishna et al., 2009, p. 1227). Based on my research, this is evidenced by cyberbullying researchers adapting their definition of cyberbullying to include new mediums of cyberbullying. Furthermore, the internet's growth has also influenced rates of cyberbullying. For example, in a longitudinal study, Rivers and Noret's (2009) found that receiving malicious emails and text messages were significantly related to the pattern of household internet connectivity.

As previously highlighted, most of the existing studies on cyberbullying are quantitative. While quantitative research can provide specific statistical details about a phenomenon, it does not provide a rich description of the phenomenon like qualitative research does (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative research can be effective in helping researchers gain insight into the problem (Creswell, 2007). When researching cyberbullying, only a few studies were found that specifically looked at youths' perceptions of cyberbullying (Cassidy et al., 2009; Spears et al., 2009). Furthermore, Spears et al. (2009) also notes this gap in literature, stating: "what is not evident from the prevalence studies is the human dimension of this impact: the relationship cost of the experiences, emotions, and feelings associated with covert bullying and cyberbullying" (pg. 190). Mishna et al. (2009) also supports this stating that future research needs to obtain the perspectives of those directly involved in cyberbullying (p. 1227).

Another major gap in cyberbullying research thus far is that researchers seem to have overlooked the need to research cyberbullying-specific prevention and intervention programs (von Marees & Petermann, 2012; France, Danesh & Jirard, 2013). Cyberbullying is a complex phenomenon (Tokunaga, 2010). The ability of the cyberbully to hide or disguise their identity, the potential for an infinitely large audience and the ability to target the victim at any time of day makes cyberbullying more complex to prevent or intervene with than traditional bullying (Sourander et al., 2010 p. 727). Thus,

while adapting successful prevention and intervention strategies that are used for traditional bullying may be a good place to begin; it is imperative that researchers and counsellors also begin to develop new strategies specifically for cyberbullying (Hanewald, 2009, p. 15). Only a small number of scholars and researchers have proposed prevention programs based on their knowledge of cyberbullying, such as the Media Awareness Network and Patchin and Hinudja's Cyberbullying Research Centre. However, these programs have been developed by adults, and for the most part have been adapted from anti-bullying literature or from bullying prevention literature. Furthermore, the suggested prevention strategies have yet tobe empirically validated. Thus, prevention needs to be more fully researched; in particular, future research should look to incorporate youth's knowledge on the subject into their prevention studies (Mishna et al., 2007). Finally, research studies looking at effective intervention strategies to help youth survive cyberbullying are rare (Parris et al., 2012). While there have been a few studies that have used a qualitative research methodology to example student's perceptions of cyberbullying (eg. Agatston et al., (2007); Mishna et al.(2009); Spears, Slee, Owens and Johnson(2009); and finally, Stacey (2009)), coping strategies or interventions were not the primary focus of these studies. Two studies have specifically looked at the coping experiences of cyberbullied youth: Price and Dalgleish (2010)and Parris et al. (2012). Price and Dalgleish (2010) used a mixed methods online survey, while Parris et al. (2012) used a semi-structured interview process. However, while coping was the primary focus of both studies, Parris et al. (2012) included both victims and non-victims in their sample and Price and Dalgleish (2010)'s method was limited to likert scales and short answers. As a result, my literature review has revealed that most of the strategies suggested by researchers are based on findings from descriptive studies with researchers hypothesizing what may be effective based on their interpretation of the findings.

Thus, there seems to be three large gaps in research. First, qualitative research on cyberbullying is necessary to gain a better understanding of youth and cyberbullying. Secondly, there is a need to study cyberbullying interventions. Finally, there is a need to study youth's perceptions about effective

cyberbullying interventions; especially from youth who have lived through and survived cyberbullying. This study hopes to address some of these gaps in cyberbullying research.

Contribution this study will make to the literature

Adolescents' frequent and intense involvement in the cyber-world and the increasing growth of cyberbullying signal an urgent call to researchers and scholars for prevention and intervention strategies to protect children and youth (Mishna et al. 2009, p. 1227). While the research findings vary regarding descriptive statistics on cyberbullying, they consistently show that cyberbullying adversely affects youth's physical and psychological well-being (Tokunaga, 2010). Therefore, although prevention would be ideal, there is a need to research methods intervention strategies at both an institutional level and on an individual level. This current study looks at an individual level of coping for victimized youth. By helping youth to effectively cope with cyberbullying it is hoped that it will help to offset some of the adverse outcomes of cyberbullying, such as suicide, depression and social anxiety (Tokunaga, 2010).

In addition, as previously identified, one gap in cyberbullying research is that most of the studies have been quantitative and thus, have not richly described the phenomenon of cyberbullying (Tokunaga, 2010). As a result, this study helps to fill the gap in cyberbullying research by adding to the depth and breadth of the current quantitative research (Spears et al., 2009, p. 189). Furthermore, the studies using qualitative research methods have typically used focus groups (Parris et al, 2012, p. 288). On the other hand this study will be using individual interviews. Individual interviews provide participants with an opportunity to disclose personal stories and opinions that they may not feel comfortable sharing in a group setting (Parris et al, 2012, p. 288). Furthermore, this study adds to what is known about the human dimension of cyberbullying (Spears et al., 2009, p. 189). By using a qualitative research methodology to study cyberbullying, youths' subjective voices will emerge to help inform current theories on intervention strategies (Spears et al., 2009, p. 189; Parris et al., 2012). One of the main advantages of grounded theory is that "it explains what is actually happening in real life rather than describing what

should be going on which is especially important to consider when studying cyberbullying" (McCallin, 2003, p. 203).

In summary, this study will fill the gaps in the current research on cyberbullying by adding to the literature in the following ways. First it will add to what is known about effective interventions to help youth cope with cyberbullying. In addition, it will also add to the growing body of research by using a qualitative research method to illuminate the human dimension of cyberbullying including survivors' voices on cyberbullying. Finally, by describing how some youth are effectively coping, it is hoped that this study will help to mitigate the adverse affects of cyberbullying on affected youth.

Summary

Adolescence is a time of becoming: it is a time of creating and developing individual identities (Kaplan, 2004). Furthermore, an essential factor in one's identity formation is one's relationships with others, including peers (Kaplan, 2004). Today's technology can facilitate relationship building, because it opens up new avenues for social networking; however, it also opens up new anonymous and seemingly untraceable possibilities for bullying (Li, 2006). Cyberbullying is "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" (Sourander et al., 2010, p.720). Cyberbullying can have detrimental effects on adolescents who are already currently undergoing the difficult process of identity development (Tokunaga, 2010). Most of the current research on cyberbullying has focused on describing the phenomenon (Tokunaga, 2010). Thus, a gap that needs to be addressed is how youth survive cyberbullying. In order to help youth successfully cope with this new form of bullying, counsellors need to incorporate meaningful and relevant strategies into their intervention practices. Closely aligned with this, this study fills this gap in research by focusing on how adolescents survive cyberbullying, what strategies they use, and what factors influence their coping strategies. Throughout this section, I have described the phenomenon of cyberbullying by presenting an overview of current research. This chapter has provided readers with an overview of the cognate research topics including

aggression in adolescence, internet usage patterns and computer mediated communication; as well as an overview of cyberbullying research including descriptive information, the affects of cyberbullying on youth, and proposed prevention and intervention strategies.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

As previously highlighted, current research on cyberbullying has not fully explored how to intervene with cyberbullying or looked at the human dimensions of surviving cyberbullying(Tokunaga, 2010, p. 277). In addition, the majority of research is quantitative rather than qualitative (Tokunaga, 2010). In order to understand what is occurring in school contexts, there is a need to hear personal experiences and knowledge directly from individuals who have lived it. This study used grounded theory, to allow youth's perspectives to fully emerge in order to explore the complexity of surviving this new type of bullying. This chapter will cover why grounded theory was chosen as the methodological framework to explore surviving cyberbullying. It will also provide readers with an overview of grounded theory, including: an overview of the three different versions of grounded theory and an explanation of how sampling, data collection and data analysis are carried out in grounded theory. In addition, it will explore the sensitizing framework, symbolic interactionism, which was used to inform this grounded theory-study. The overview of grounded theory that will be presented in this section will help to make readers aware of the intricacies of grounded theory research methodology and how grounded theory fits with this study. Having an understanding of grounded theory will also help readers to understand both the research design and the findings of this study. The second half of this chapter will outline the research design of this study, including the following: sampling, inclusion, criteria and recruitment, data collection methods, data analysis, study limitations, reliability and validity, and finally, ethical considerations.

Grounded Theory Method

Rationale for Using Grounded Theory in this Study

To date, the research on cyberbullying focuses on understanding this new bullying phenomenon (Tokunaga, 2010, p. 277). Quantitative methods using statistics and calculations have typically been used to study cyberbullying (Mishna, Saini & Soloman 2009; Smith & Slonje, 2008). Quantitative methods are the most effective when there is prior information on a topic (Weingand, 1993, p. 18). On the other hand, qualitative methods can illuminate the underlying meaning behind statistical relationships, aid in the development of interventions, and help to clarify intervention-specific outcomes (Forman, Creswell, Damschroder, Kowalsi, & Krein, 2008, p. 764). Unlike quantitative research, qualitative uses open-ended methods including semi-structured interviews and participant observation to collect data (Forman et al., 2008, p. 764). When analyzing data, researchers refrain from using statistical techniques, and instead provide descriptive and informative themes derived directly from participant data which provides readers with practical insights into applied research (Forman et al., 2008, p. 764). Moreover, in contrast with quantitative deductive process that relies on numerical or categorical response, qualitative research forms theories and hypotheses inductively by analyzing observations, cross comparing data, and identifying recurrent themes and patterns (Forman et al., 2008, p. 767).

One specific qualitative method, grounded theory, is particularly useful when there is a lack of previous knowledge about a topic (McCann & Clark 2003a, p. 7). Based on my research, although there are a lot of research studies describing cyberbullying, only a small amount have explored effective prevention and intervention mechanisms for cyberbullying. Moreover, research supports that grounded theory can be a useful method for aiding researchers in developing intervention techniques (McCann & Clark, 2003a). For instance, McCann and Clark (2003a) state: "The epistemological underpinnings of grounded theory make it valuable for the study of psychology, and in particular the study of coping behaviors and counselling to facilitate coping which is an interpersonal process between counsellors and

clients" (p. 7). As a result, by using grounded theory, counsellors may be better able to generate intervention strategies to help mitigate the adverse affects of cyberbullying.

Furthermore, since previous research on cyberbully tends to be quantitative, we have less knowledge obtained directly from teens' perspectives regarding how to most effectively cope with cyberbullying (Mishna et al., 2009; Smith & Slonje, 2008; Cunningham et al., 2010). Moreover, there is a lack of contextualized information from youth that is influenced by both their generation and everyday life (Mishna et al., 2009; Smith & Slonje, 2008). Students are the only ones who have lived though experiences with cyberbullying to this point in history, and thus, they will be privy to contextual factors that an external researcher may not be aware of (Mishna et al., 2009; Cunningham et al., 2010). Bell and Bromnick (2003) also support stating that professionals can be more effective when they understand the world from youth's point of view (p. 208). A benefit of using grounded theory research is that it allows for the representation of reality through the eyes of participants, including viewing the meaning and experiences of participants within the context of their full environment (Bell & Bromnick, 2003, p. 208). Additionally, one of its central goals is to create a new theory that is directly related to the reality of individuals and thus also related to their feelings (Bell & Bromnick, 2003, p. 208). Thus, using grounded theory to directly explore the youth's experiences of cyberbullying survivors will not only help to fill this gap in research, but it will also help to make intervention strategies more meaningful based on their coping strategies.

Qualitative research has the capability to examine research participants within a full social context, and this informed process can help researchers to develop a three-dimensional model of behaviors and interactions (Weingand, 1993, p. 18). Qualitative research also helps researchers to uncover salient discourses or nuances that may not be visible in large quantitative studies (Mishna et al., 2009, p. 1223). Furthermore, one of grounded theory's major strengths is that it results in an interactive, subjective voice of participants which can lead to rich thick description (Spears et al., 2009, p. 194).Therefore, it allows the researcher to get closer to the participants and data in order to develop a

meaningful theory grounded in research. Finally, "Grounded theory is an interpretative research methodology that is useful to generate research-based knowledge about the behavioral patterns that shape social processes as people interact in groups" (McCallin, 2003, p. 203). As previously highlighted in the literature review, cyberbullying often occurs within social groups and the bullying is sometimes conducted by a group of individuals rather than just one individual (Bauman, 2010). Thus, based on the above information, grounded theory seems to adequately fit the goals of this research project.

Sensitizing Framework

Grounded theory is based on the theoretical underpinnings of symbolic interactionism which helps to make it a valuable method when studying psychology, and in particular the study of coping behaviors and counselling to facilitate effective recovery (McCann & Clark 2003a, p. 7). Symbolic interactionism seeks to elicit an understanding the way meaning is derived in social situations (McCann & Clark 2003a, p. 7). This relates well with the fundamental nature of grounded theory which seeks to understand common circumstances, experiences, perceptions, thoughts and behaviors among individuals within a group (McCann & Clark 2003a, p. 7). Thus, it can be seen that the epistemological underpinnings of grounded theory are derived from symbolic interactionism which posits that meaning is created by "the processes of interactions between people's social roles and behaviors" (McCann & Clark 2003a, p. 7).

Symbolic interactionism is a branch of interpretivism which is influenced by John Dewey, Charles Cooley, Robert Parks, Florian Znaniecki, George Mead, Herbert Blumer, and Everett Hughes (McCann & Clark 2003a, p. 7; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). It operates on the assumption that "human experience is mediated by interpretation" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 27). Furthermore, how individuals ascribe meaning to and interpret their experiences are essential and fundamental to what their experience is (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 27). Individuals actively engage in creating meaning in their lives, and thus, they do not operate on pre-determined assumptions, but rather they act as interpreters of meaning in their world (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 27).

Blumer (1969) states that symbolic interactionism rests on three basic premises: human beings behave or interact with objects, people and situations based on personally ascribed meanings; the meaning one ascribes to things is based on one's social interactions with others; and finally, these meanings are modified through an interpretative process. Symbolic interactionism differs from other dominant theoretical underpinnings in that it asserts that meaning is derived from the process of interacting and thus, meanings are grounded in social processes. Therefore, symbolic interactionism posits that meaning is a social product. However, while there is shared meaning, this meaning is always subject to negotiation because it can be influenced by people who see it differently (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 28). Symbolic interactionism asserts that while rules, regulations and norms exist, they are only important if an individual takes them into account when creating meaning in their world (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 27). Thus, as previously highlighted, symbolic interactionism seeks to find out how this meaning is developed. Closely aligned with the purpose of symbolic interactionism, this study hopes to use a grounded theory methodology to find out how adolescents derive meaning from their coping experiences. An overview of grounded theory will be discussed next.

Overview of Grounded Theory

Glasser (2002) defines grounded theory as "the generation of emergent conceptualizations into integrated patterns which are denoted by categories and their properties" (p. 2). The data that is collected in a grounded theory study is different from that used in an empirical design study (Weingand, 1993, p. 22). In grounded theory, individuals' perspectives are collected, reported and integrated (Weingand, 1993). Direct quotations are likely to be included in the research report (Weingand, 1993). Furthermore, grounded theory is a unique form of research with its data "grounded" in the specific situation under analysis (Creswell, 2007). In grounded theory, the researcher moves beyond the description of a subject to generate a theory (Creswell, 2007, p. 63). Grounded theory research does not begin with a research hypothesis instead the hypothesis is the end result of the research because it emerges during the data

collection process; thus, it grounds the developing theory in the data itself (Weingand, 1993, p. 19). Furthermore, Glaser (2002) notes that:

> through conceptualization, grounded theory is a general method that cuts across research methods (experiment, survey, content analysis, and all qualitative methods) and uses all data resulting there from. Because of conceptualization, grounded theory transcends all descriptive methods and their associated problems, especially what is an accurate fact, what is an interpretation, and how is the data constructed (pp. 2-3).

The key concept of grounded theory is that the theory is generated from the data itself and consequently the researcher generates a theory of the process directly from research participants who have experienced the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2007). The theory emerges from the data by using many rigorous steps including the constant comparative process of grounded theory (Glaser, 2002, p. 2). Grounded theorists must achieve one of the following outcomes: "to enable prediction or explanation of behavior; to be useful in theoretical advance or practical applications; to provide a perspective on behavior; to guide and provide a style for research on particular areas of behavior" (Weingand, 1993, p. 21). To achieve these aforementioned outcomes, grounded theory must be structured enough to provide a framework for conceptual analysis while also being flexible enough to allow categories and hypotheses to emerge (Weingand, 1993).

Grounded theory was developed in the field of sociology by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967 (Creswell, 2007, p.63). Creswell (2007) notes that "Glaser and Strauss felt that the theories used in research were often inappropriate and ill-suited for participants under study" (p.63). They felt that theories should be "grounded" from the research data, rather than "a priori" as in most sociological research orientations (Creswell, 2007). Their initial research led to two books: *Awareness of Dying* (Glaser & Strauss, 1965) and *Time for Dying* (Glaser & Strauss, 1968), as well as a book on the methodology entitled *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) (McCann & Clark

2003a, p. 7). Despite initially collaborating to create grounded theory, Glasser and Strauss ultimately disagreed on both the meaning and procedures of the unique research method (Creswell, 2007, p. 63). As a result, two models of grounded theory emerged from their work together: the classical version of grounded theory (Glaser) and Strauss and Corbin's newer model (1990, 1988) (McCallin, 2003, p. 205).

At a quick glance these two versions of grounded theory appear similar. Both versions of grounded theory apply the following concepts when generating theory: coding, constant comparison, questions, theoretical sampling, and memos (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 550). In addition, both adhere to the same basic research process which includes: "gather the data, code, compare, categorize, theoretically sample, develop a core category, and generate a theory" (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 550). It is only upon closer inspection that the difference between these two models can be seen. The difference, it is not the languages used or the general processes, but rather, it is their methodological assumptions and how the researcher engages with the data (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 550).

At the core of the grounded theory debate between Glaser and Strauss is the data analysis process, and more specifically the procedures used in data analysis (Walker & Myrick, 2006; Cooney, 2010). Glaser remained more faithful to the original version of data analysis, while Strauss (with Juliet Corbin) reformulated the original version (Cooney, 2010, p. 19; Walker & Myrick 2006). Glaser and Strauss disagree regarding whether verification is an outcome of grounded theory analysis or not (Cooney, 2010; Heath & Cowley, 2004). "Strauss indicated that induction, deduction and verification are 'absolutely essential'; whereas, Glaser maintained that grounded theory is inductive only" (Cooney, 2010, p. 20). Furthermore, Glaser has a less structured approach to data analysis with only two types of coding identified: substantive and theoretical. However, when using Strauss's systematic and analytic process, the investigator endeavors to methodically develop a theory that explains process, action or interaction through the use of open, axial, and selective coding (Creswell, 2007, p. 64). Please see appendix seven for a comparison chart.

More recently, a third model was put forward by Charmaz (2006) which is called *constructivist grounded theory*. Charmaz supports a social constructivist framework for grounded theory that includes "emphasizing diverse local worlds, multiple realities, and the complexities of particular worlds, views, and actions" (Creswell, 2007, p. 65). Charmaz's grounded theory uses the researcher's worldview to learn about the experience within entrenched and concealed situations, networks and relationships (Creswell, 2007, p. 65). Furthermore, it "places more emphasis on the views, values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions, and ideologies of individuals than on the methods of research" (Creswell, 2007, p. 65). Charmaz describes the approach as interpretive with flexible guidelines (Creswell, 2007, p. 65).

Because grounded theory is a distinct method of qualitative research, it is important to highlight some of its idiosyncrasies. First, as previously mentioned, the researcher begins the study with a general focus rather than a specific hypothesis (McCallin, 2003, p. 205). In grounded theory, researchers still clearly define the purpose of the research and support this with some general literature, however, the problem may not always be clear (McCallin, 2003, p. 205). Thus, in the beginning phases of research literature should only be used as a means to acquire general knowledge about the topic and to stimulate ideas and questions (McCallin, 2003, p. 205). Therefore, although the literature review has a place in grounded theory, it must be "general enough so as not to pre-empt the nature of grounded theory" (McCallin, 2003). The critical research issue must remain open so that the researcher is neutral before beginning the data collection process (McCallin, 2003). As a result, the researcher relies on the participants to identify issues that are different from the existing knowledge (McCallin, 2003). Thus, the researcher tries to be as unbiased as possible in order to fully understand the context and point of view of the people involved (McCallin, 2003, p. 205). In the later stages of the analysis process, literature can be re-integrated in the process as another source of data or as a perspective to compare and contrast with to contribute to the clarification of the research focus (McCallin, 2003, p. 205).

In addition, grounded theory attempts to discover the behaviors and patterns of a particular group of people within a specific context (McCallin, 2003, p. 205). Thus grounded theory research is

often an exploratory process where the variables will emerge from the data. Next, these variables must be incorporated into the substantive theory developed by the researcher (McCallin, 2003, p. 205). It is important to note that when conducting a small scale study, it adequate for the researcher to describe some of the underlying social processes that are shaping interaction and behavior (McCallin, 2003, p. 205). Thus, when conducting a smaller research project the goal is not to get to full theory development, but rather, it is to get to conceptualization (McCallin, 2003, p. 204). Conceptualization can be achieved in smaller studies by using a constant comparative process. In doing so, the researcher must engage in both rigorous examination and continuous refinement of the data during the analysis process (McCallin, 2003, p. 204). The researcher compares and contrasts the data and then uses this as a basis to figure out where they should go next when asking questions and clarifying emerging theoretical concepts (McCallin, 2003, p. 204).

Another unique characteristic of grounded theory is that participants cannot be predicted at the beginning of the research study (McCallin, 2003, p. 204). A core principal of grounded theory is the theoretical sampling method which means that the sampling evolves throughout the research process (McCallin, 2003). This is in line with grounded theory's constant comparative method where data is compared and contrasted with other data. Throughout this process, the analyst decides where to move next in order to clarify different dimensions of emerging concepts (McCallin, 2003). Finally, it's important to allow concepts and hypotheses to emerge on their own (Weingand, 1993, p. 21). Data should not be forced into a pre-fit conception (Weingand, 1993, p. 22). There are four essential criteria in the emerging categories; including: fit, work, relevance, and modifiability (Creswell, 2007). It is important to remember that data collection and analysis occur simultaneously in grounded theory (Creswell, 2007). Thus, the researcher goes back and forth from data collection and analysis in order to develop and then refine categories (Creswell, 2007). The data collection process only stops when the saturation of categories occurs (Creswell, 2007). This will be defined in more detail below.

Sampling, Data Collection, and Analysis in Grounded Theory

Psychologists are often familiar with quantitative research which is conducted in a linear model (McCallin, 2003). In contrast, grounded theory has a very different approach to sample size, data collection, and data analyses. This section will provide a brief overview of grounded theory methodology.

In grounded theory the research questions are broad, and they often change as the study progresses (Creswell, 2007; McCallin, 2003). "Strauss and Corbin (1998) advise researchers to keep the question general, flexible and open, asking what is happening here; while, Glasser (1996) recommends that researchers ask what the main concern is and how that concern is continually resolved or managed" (McCallin, 2003, p. 206). Keeping the research questions flexible allows the researcher to work with the data to determine a theory that is grounded in participants' experiences (McCallin, 2003). Similarly, the methodology may also evolve during the study and this can pose difficulties when writing a comprehensive research plan (Creswell, 2007, p. 190). However because the research must begin somewhere, researchers start where they can for example by "describing preliminary ideas about the sample, the setting and the data collection procedures" (Creswell, 2007, p. 190).

Given that grounded theory requires a flexible research plan, the sample size and the sample characteristics that are initially proposed in the research plan may also evolve as the data is being collected (Creswell, 2007). The researcher usually picks the beginning sample population based on the research question; however as the study progresses, the data and the gaps in the research will determine further sample populations and the characteristics of the participants (Creswell, 2007). As a result, once the researcher explores the initial research issues, "the researcher then returns to the participants and asks them more detailed questions" (Creswell, 2007, p. 67). Examples of questions might include: "What was central to the process? (the core phenomenon); what influenced or caused this phenomenon (causal conditions); what strategies were employed during the process (strategies); what effect occurred (consequences)" (Creswell, 2007, p. 67). The sample size is determined by theoretical saturation which

occurs when adding new data no longer brings new information or insight to the data analysis process (Creswell, 2007). When theoretical saturation occurs the researcher terminates the data collection process (Creswell, 2007).

In grounded theory data can be collected through formal structured interviews, observations, audiovisual materials, documents, or a combination of those; however researchers typically use interviews as their prime source of data collection (Creswell, 2007, p. 66). The purpose of data collection is to saturate the emerging theoretical model (Creswell, 2007, p. 67). Another unique feature of grounded theory is that data collection and analysis occur simultaneously, with data analysis directing data collection (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This process is referred to as discriminate sampling, where researchers try to determine if the theory will hold true when further data is collected from new participants that are similar to those initially interviewed (Creswell, 2007, p. 68). The purpose of grounded theory analysis is to discover a theory with the following specific components: a central phenomenon, casual conditions, strategies, conditions, context, and consequences (Creswell, 2007, p. 68). These specific components emerge from the data using a constant comparative process or when each piece of information is compared against other pieces of information (Creswell, 2007).

The primary method of analysis in grounded theory is a continuous coding process that includes three phases: open, axial, and selective (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Data analysis begins with open coding where the data is examined line by line so that the researcher can examine the properties and dimensions of the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The purpose of open coding is to categorize the information, and define actions or events within data (Creswell, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). During open coding, the researcher attempts to identify, name, categorize, and describe the phenomena found in the interview transcripts. The next phase of analysis is axial coding which tries to relate codes, including categories and properties, to one another other. During this process, the researcher creates new ways of assembling the data (Creswell, 2007, p. 67). The goal of axial coding is to make conceptual connections between categories and its subcategories using a combination of inductive and deductive thinking (Strauss

&Corbin, 1998). Creswell (2007) states that throughout axial coding the researcher identifies the following:

> A ***central phenomenon*** (i.e., a central category about the phenomenon), explores ***causal conditions*** (i.e., categories of conditions the influence the phenomenon), ***specifies strategies*** (i.e., the actions or interactions that result from the central phenomenon), identifies the ***context*** and ***intervening conditions*** (i.e., the narrow and broad conditions that influence the strategies), and delineates the ***consequences*** (i.e., the outcomes of the strategies) for this phenomenon. (p. 67)

In the third and final phase of coding, selective coding, the researcher attempts to write a "story line" integrating the categories in the axial coding process (Creswell, 2007, p.67). Additionally, the researcher may also present a conditional hypothesis that predicts the relationships (Creswell, 2007, p.67). Strauss and Corbin (1998) explain that during selective coding concepts and sub-concepts are further defined by using an integrative process where the core category is selected and then systematically related to all the other categories. This systematic procedure serves to validate the relationships among the core categories and sub-categories by exploring for both confirming and disconfirming examples, and then collecting further data in order to refine the current categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). When coding is finished the researcher may create a conditional matrix that seeks to highlight and clarify the conditions (ie. social and economic) influencing the central phenomenon (Creswell, 2007, p. 67).

Throughout data analysis, the emerging codes and categories will be continually sorted, compared and contrasted until no new codes or categories can be produced (saturation) and until all of the data have been incorporated into the core categories of the model (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). During the analysis, the investigator will also write both analytic and self-reflective memos to enrich the analytical process and to confirm the emerging model. The result of this process is can be a substantive-level theory which is a "low-level theory that is applicable to immediate situations and which has evolved out of the phenomenon in which it was situated in" (Creswell, 207, p. 240). In order to develop

the substantive level theory, it requires the following four properties. First the theory should fit closely with the real life context in which it will be used (Weingand, 1993, p. 24). Thus, it should refrain from reflecting the researcher's values and ideals and instead, it should closely represent the data (Weingand, 1993, p. 24). Second, it must be comprehensible to the people who will use the theoretical model (Weingand, 1993, p. 24). Third, it should be general enough that it can be applied to diverse situations within the area (Weingand, 1993, p. 24). Finally, the theory should allow users to have a certain level of control over the structure and development of daily situations as they alter throughout time (Weingand, 1993, p. 24). In order to support the substantive-level theory, the investigator may draw in references or data from existing literature in order to show outside support for the model. In addition, "segments of actual data in the form of vignettes and quotes provide useful explanatory material" (Creswell, 2007, p. 190). This form of data aids the reader in determining if the theory is grounded in the data (Creswell, 2007, p. 190). Again, it should be highlighted that this was a master's level thesis. As a result, the researcher was not able to collect the amount of data necessary to fully saturate the categories and themes to the level required to derive a substantive level theory. However, the data collected did saturate enough to develop an initial proposition which will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

Summary

This section has given the reader a brief overview of why grounded theory was chosen for this study. In addition it has also provided an overview of symbolic interactionism, the sensitizing framework for grounded theory. Finally, it gave readers an overview of what grounded theory is and a brief summary of how data is collected and analyzed. The next section will provide a more detailed look into the study and how it will be conducted.

Research Design

Methods and Procedures

General Method

As previously noted (please see page 101), this thesis adds to the growing body of literature, by exploring the perspectives of cyberbullying survivors to provide an in-depth view of how young adults effectively cope with the adverse effects of cyberbullying. Given the lack of both quantitative and qualitative research exploring prevention and intervention for cyberbullying, grounded theory is deemed to be an appropriate framework to allow participants' perspectives to emerge.

While both the classical version and the constructivist approach have many merits, the systematic and analytic procedures of Strauss and Corbin's model make it the more popular approach (McCallin, 2003, p. 205; Creswell, 2007, p. 66).Strauss and Corbin's approach is often used by beginning researchers because Strauss and Corbin provide a clear, explicit framework that is helpful in guiding new researchers (McCallin, 2003, p. 205; Creswell, 2007, p. 66; Cooney, 2010, p. 22). As a result, because this researcher is new to grounded theory, this study used Strauss and Corbin's model of grounded theory. Furthermore, Strauss and Corbin's model pays attention to the broader environmental and contextual factors, or macro conditions that influence the phenomenon being studied (Cooney, 2010, p. 23). This was an important factor for this study because the bioecological model of development was used as a theoretical framework and it also takes into consideration environmental and contextual factors. Thus it appears that these two models are compatible. Finally, Strauss and Corbin's model aims to construct a theory that is relevant and able to guide action and practice (Cooney, 2010, p. 23). More specifically, Strauss and Corbin's model of grounded theory strives to construct a theory that not only fits the contextual situation, but also helps to create understanding and guidelines in action and practice (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Again, this is also compatible with this study, since this study also

strived to construct a theory that encompassed both knowledge and guidelines for practice while also being grounded in the context of adolescence.

In this study, young adults were individually interviewed about their knowledge and experiences in surviving cyberbullying; in particular, their coping strategies were the focus of this research. When analyzing these interviews using open, axial, and selective coding, a greater understanding of how youth survive cyberbullying emerged. Furthermore, I supplemented these findings by individually interviewing a group of school counsellors who had experience counselling cyberbullied youth. It should be noted that the researcher originally intended to interview the counsellors in a focus group format where group members would discuss their theories and perceptions of how youth survive cyberbullying. However, due to difficulty recruiting participants and coordinating schedules, as well as feedback from participants about time constraints, the format of the data collection was changed to individual interviews.

There were three phases to this study. The researcher started by individually interviewing cyberbullying survivors with data being coded immediately after each interview. After, the researcher collected some data from cyberbullying survivors (approximately three to four participant interviews); the researcher then began to collect data from the school counsellors, thus moving into the second phase of data collection. By beginning data collection with interviews with cyberbullying survivors, the coded data helped to inform the interviews with school counsellors and make subsequent interviews more meaningful. Upon the completion of each of the individual interviews, the data was analyzed using open, axial, and selective coding of data. Following that, during the third phase of this research study, the researcher continued with the constant comparison method of grounded theory by collecting new data and concurrently analyzing data as it came in, until saturation occurred. This final phase included further interviews with both cyberbullying survivors and school counsellors. Finally, a theory was postulated from the data and hypotheses were then generated and subsequently tested (Spears et al., 2009, p. 191). The specific research design of this study will be outlined below in greater detail. (Please

note that the research questions and purpose of the study can be found in the Introduction Chapter on page 9.)

Sampling, Inclusion Criteria, and Recruitment Procedures

Cyberbullying Survivors

Approval was attained from the University of Manitoba Ethics Review Board prior to starting recruitment of the research participants. Young adults over the age of 18 who self-identify as victims of cyberbullying were recruited to participate. Again it is important to highlight that this study was bounded. This study focused on cyberbullying survivors, rather than youth who were still being victimized at the time of the study. There were two main reasons for this. First there was a risk that youth who were not far enough removed from their cyberbullying experiences may be retraumatized. Secondly, youth may have more insight into their coping strategies when they have had time to process their experiences. As a result, the recruitment flier (please see appendix fifteen) and informative letter highlighted this study parameter and provided a definition of cyberbullying in order to screen out any participants who are currently still being cyberbullied.

Closely related to this, this study was also bound to survivors who at the time of the study were currently experiencing minimal psychological, social or emotional difficulties. This is because this research study aspired to determine which coping strategies led to effective outcomes in surviving cyberbullying. Therefore, prior to beginning the interview participants were asked how they knew that they were in a safe enough place in their lives that they were able to talk about their cyberbullying experiences. This study provision was implemented to make sure that individuals being interviewed were able to share their stories without being retraumatized. Finally, all participants within the study were be required to be 18 years of age or older. By requiring participants to be over 18, they were allowed to consent to the study on their own, rather than forcing them to reveal their participation to others, like their parents or guardians. Therefore, while these requirements limited

this study it served to protect participants from being retraumatized and to protect their privacy and confidentiality. Grounded theory design requires that samples be theory driven as part of the iterative process of the research design, and thus, theoretical sampling was used to recruit participants for this study (Marshall, 1996, p. 523).

In grounded theory, participants should be selected based on their ability to contribute to the development of the theory; in particular, their contribution to building open and axial codes when developing the theory (Creswell, 2007, p.128). "Theoretical sampling necessitates building interpretative theories from the emerging data and selecting a new sample to examine and elaborate on this theory" (Marshall, 1996, p.523). In this study, recruitment began by selecting a homogeneous sample of individuals (ie. young adults who have experienced and survived cyberbullied) (Creswell, 2007, p. 128). Once the theory began to emerge from the data, the researcher started to include a more diverse set of participants making the sample more heterogeneous (ie. school counsellors or support staff who have used different interventions to help youth who have experienced cyberbullying) (Creswell, 2007, p. 128). The rationale for interviewing both young adults and school counsellors was to validate or disprove the conditions that uphold the model including contextual and intervening conditions (Creswell, 2007, p.128).

Eleven cyberbullying survivors were recruited over the course of the study. Cyberbullying victims tend to be a more concealed population (see literature review). In addition, it is possible that victims were reluctant to come forward because of the stigma attached to being a victim of bullying. Thus, one challenge that the researcher faced was a difficulty recruiting participants. In fact, the researcher was not very successful recruiting participants initially. During the first three month of recruitment only two participants volunteered for the study. Consequently, in order to encourage more participants, the study requirements were changed to include a 30 minute interview rather than the original 60 minute interview. Additionally, the researcher also added a small honorarium for

cyberbullying survivors. As a result of these changes to the study requirements, the researcher was able to recruit nine more participants and actually had to turn away a few individuals.

The final number of interviewees depended on two things. First, it depended on the number of young adults who came forward as willing to participate in this study. Secondly, the final number of interviewees depended on when theoretical saturation occurred. Saturation occurs when relationships in the data have been verified, conceptual categories are rich and integrated, categorical gaps are filled, and no new categories or themes emerge from the data; in other words, adding new data brings no new insights or information (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Participants were recruited from university school populations in Manitoba through the use of the following: campus advertisements (University of Manitoba, Red River College, and University of Winnipeg);posters placed at mental health agencies (posters were placed at the University of Manitoba Student Counselling Centre, Red River College Student Centre, the Women's Health Clinic, Klinic, Mood Disorders Association of Manitoba, Macdonald Youth Service, Mental Health Education Resource Centre, etc.); posters placed at local stores, gyms, and coffee houses; radio station website advertisements and blogs, and by word of mouth (please see appendix fifteen for a sample flier). In addition, participants were encouraged to refer their friends to the study (snowball techniques). Participants were informed about the purpose of the study, the study parameters, the risks and benefits and their ethical rights through in introductory letter which was followed up by a discussion and consent forms at the time of the interview (please see appendix thirteen).

School Counsellors

Again, approval was attained from the University of Manitoba Ethics Review Board prior to starting recruitment of the research participants. Once approval was obtained, school counsellors who had counselled cyberbullied youth either individually or in groups were recruited to participate. In a similar manner to the previous sample of young adults, theoretical sampling was used to recruit participants for interviews. When selecting participants, individuals with diverse experience were

chosen to participate. It should also be known that snowball sampling techniques were also used due to the difficulty in recruiting participants. Snowball sampling is a technique that is used to help gather participants by identifying an initial subject who then identifies names of others who may also want to participate in the research project and so on (Creswell, 2007). This strategy has often been used to overcome problems associated with identifying research participants (Creswell, 2007).

In addition to difficulties recruiting cyberbullying survivors, a similar problem recruiting school counsellors also occurred. Due to time constraints at the school, counsellors had difficulty committing time during their day to help out with the research study. Furthermore, two difficulties also arose when trying to organize the focus groups. First, it was difficult to recruit an adequate number of participants to host a focus group. Second, it was difficult to coordinate a date and time that was amenable to all group members. In addition to the above problems, the researcher also received feedback from some counsellors that it would be best if the researcher came to their individual schools during lunch hour or spares to host individual interviews. As a result, the researcher made changes to the original study plan. The researcher decided to host 30 minute individual interviews with participants rather than a 1.5 hour focus group. The same questions that were proposed for the focus group were used during individual interviews.

In the end, six school counsellors and one school administrator were volunteered to participate in individual interviews. Participants were recruited from local middle and high school populations in Manitoba through campus advertisements (University of Manitoba), email feeds (including graduate student email lists), and referrals from other school counsellors that had either participated in the study or have heard about the study (snowball techniques) (please see appendix fifteen for a recruitment flier). Participants were informed about the purpose of the study (to determine what strategies youth use to effectively cope with cyberbullying), the study parameters, the risks and benefits and their ethical rights through in introductory letter which was followed up by a discussion and consent forms at the time of the interview (please see appendix fourteen).

Data Collection

Cyberbullying Survivors

The data was collected through individual interviews. Each participant had one interview lasting approximately 30 minutes (the average length was 31 minutes). It should be noted that the researcher originally intended the interviews to be approximately one hour; however because of difficulty recruiting participants the length was changed to 30 minutes. As a result, only the first two interviews used the longer version and the remaining nine interviews used the abridged version (please see appendix thirteen). Interviews began with introductions about the researcher, the definition of cyberbullying, the purpose of the study, and the how the collected data would be used. Prior to beginning the interview, the interviewer also reviewed informed consent and ethical guidelines with the participants. Participants were asked to sign the informed consent document which will also highlighted the following: the purpose of the study, their rights as participants, as well as any risks and benefits attached to the study. Participants were also asked if they would commit to reviewing their interview transcript once it was completed. This allowed participants to add or delete content that they felt did not adequately convey their intended message, as well as to make sure their confidentiality was protected. Participants were also asked if they wanted to receive a copy of the study's preliminary findings. This was included as a study provision so that participants could inform the researcher if the findings matched their experiences or not. This process is called member checking or informant feedback and was used to help validate the study's accuracy and credibility (Creswell, 2007). Member checking provides participants with an opportunity to give valuable feedback to the researcher about any errors in interpretation that may have occurred (Creswell, 2007).

A semi-structured interview guide was developed (please see appendix thirteen). In keeping with grounded theory's constant comparative method, the semi-structured interview had enough structure to ensure that essential topic areas were covered, but still allowed for flexibility so that the researcher could pursue any unexpected yet relevant information (Creswell, 2007). In addition, because data

collection and analysis occurred simultaneously, the researcher revised the interviewing template to ensure that the next interview included questions based on previous participants' responses, as well as the emerging codes and themes. As a result, the interview guide was updated upon the completion of each interview, before the next interview. Thus, the later participants were asked about the emerging themes. For example: do you feel that having a sense of identity or self-confidence is helpful in coping with cyberbullying. Was this part of your Journey? Another example of a question that was added was: did you ever experience the feeling that the cyberbullying wasn't really about you but rather it was about the bully themselves? Was this part of your coping experience?

The longer version of the interviews began with "ice breaker" questions; for example, can you tell me a little bit about yourself? Or, what do you like to do for fun? (Please see appendix thirteen) The purpose of these questions was to help the participants begin to feel comfortable with the researcher, and to help them become accustomed to the interview process. Furthermore, it also allowed the researcher to have an opportunity to get to know the participants better before looking at the essential data. When transcribing these questions the researcher was very careful to remove any identifying information in order to ensure that the participant's identity will not be revealed and thus break confidentiality. However, when the interview was shortened as way of attracting more participants, the researcher removed most of these questions to help shorten the interview because she did not want to omit any of the research questions that were essential to contributing to the emerging theory.

The semi-structured interview questions were developed based on gaps in cyberbullying research and based on similar studies conducted on the bullying phenomenon. Throughout the interview, participants were asked how they survived their cyberbullying experience, as well as, examples of their coping strategies. When conducting interviews, the researcher remained flexible and followed the participant's lead which encouraged discussion. The researcher also asked clarifying questions in order to obtain a better understanding of the participants' viewpoints when necessary; for example: what does that mean to you or how do you define that word? In addition, the researcher also asked probing

questions to get a better understanding of how cyberbullying victims survived; for instance, can you tell me more about that? Why do you think that this decreases the negative effects of cyberbullying?

In keeping with the grounded theory process, while collecting data concurrent periods of coding and reflection were systematically incorporated to move the research forward (Weingand, 1993, p. 22). Thus, upon the completion of each interview, prior to the next interview, the interview was transcribed and data was analyzed and coded using the process of open, axial and selective coding. This back and forth activity enabled the researcher to engage in an analytical process focusing on the implicit coding and categorization, as well as on the emerging substantive theory (Weingand, 1993, p. 22). Thus, the researcher cultivated the theoretical framework throughout the process of collection and analysis of qualitative data (Weingand, 1993, p. 23). Moreover, this allowed for verification of the hypothesis which was embedded in the process, thus, enhancing the validity and reliability of the study (Weingand, 1993, p. 23). It should be noted that at two points during the data collection process two interviews were conducted on the same day. In this case, the researcher did not have time to transcribe and analyze the data in between interviews. When this occurred, the research relied on researcher memos to help reflect on the new data collected. Prior to the second interview the researcher still updated the interview questions to reflect any new emerging data.

It is also important to note that when collecting the data the research kept the sensitizing framework in mind. For instance, the fact that bullying victims and perpetrators are part of a complex, interrelated system that includes micro, meso, exo, macro and chronosystem levels. As previously noted, researchers have determined that the majority of direct influences on bullying behavior are contained within the microsystem (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 315). As a result the researcher examined individuals or groups within youth's immediate environment, such as: home, school, parents, and siblings (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 315). For instance the researcher asked participant's about key influential individuals that helped adolescents cope. In addition the researcher also explored the interrelationships among the microsystems in which the youth actively participated in (Kaplan, 2004;

Hong & Espelage, 2012). This included family, peer, school and teachers; for instance, the researcher specifically explored the school environment. Additionally, the researcher also tried to incorporate environmental elements beyond the immediate system containing the individual; for example for example, extended family, legal service, neighbors, mass media (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Kaplan, 2004). For instance, the researcher explored how the laws impacted youth's coping strategies and if any legal actions were taken against the perpetrators. Additionally, the researcher also tried to be mindful of youth's ideology or belief systems; for example, how youth's cultural norms and religious beliefs affected their coping strategies (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Kaplan, 2004). Finally, the researcher also tried to consider factors in the timing of life course events or historical period (Kaplan, 2004). For example, were there any life event changes, like divorce or a parent's death that impacted adolescent's ability to cope?

Finally, in order to enhance the data collection and analysis process, the researcher also engaged in memoing. In grounded theory, "The theory emerges with help from the process of memoing, a process in which the researcher writes down ideas about the evolving theory throughout the process of open, axial and selective coding" (Creswell, 2007, p. 67). When creating memos, the researcher wrote notes about the research process that explored the following: hunches, preliminary hypotheses and emerging ideas. The researcher also elaborated on ideas about the data, the coded categories, and ultimately the formation of evolving theory. In essence, the researcher was searching for broader explanations that were at work. Both analytic and self-reflective memos were used for the following: to record and enhance the analytic process; to make unspoken thoughts explicit; and, to further develop the data corpus (Morrow & Smith, 1995, p. 3). Analytic memos consisted of inquiries, thoughts, and hypotheses about the data and emerging theory, while self reflective memos consisted of personal reactions to participants' narratives (Morrow & Smith, 1995, p. 3). Both types of memos were included in the data for analysis. Please refer to appendix five for a chart describing how the memos were recorded.

School Counsellors

School counsellor data was collected in a similar manner to the cyberbullying survivors. Each participant had one interview lasting approximately 30 minutes (the average length was 32 minutes). As previously noted, the researcher originally intended to use focus groups; however because of difficulty recruiting participants, as well as counsellor feedback the method was changed to an individual interview. Six school counsellor and one school administrator were interviewed. Interviews began with introductions about the researcher, the definition of cyberbullying, purpose of the study, and the how the collected data will be used (please see appendix fourteen). Prior to beginning the interview participants were asked to sign the informed consent document. During this time, the ethical guidelines were reviewed and participants and the researcher discussed the purpose of the study. Finally Participants were also asked if they wanted to receive a copy of the study's preliminary findings. Again, this was included as a study provision so that participants could inform the researcher if the findings matched their experiences or not.

Like the cyberbullying survivor interviews, a semi-structured interview guide was developed. A set of five open-ended questions were strategically designed to help determine how counsellors helped cyberbully survivors successfully cope with their experiences. It also sought information regarding effective strategies that counsellors observed survivors implementing. The researcher used open-ended questions to allow the flexibility to explore any unanticipated topics. Please see appendix fourteen for a list of interview questions. As previously highlighted, in keeping with grounded theory 's constant comparative method, upon the completion of each individual interview, prior to the next interview, data was analyzed and coded using the process of open, axial and selective coding. The researcher revised the interview guide in between each interview to ensure that questions based on previous participants' responses and the emerging codes and themes were added. For example, one emerging theme was that schools seemed to promote prevention as a school strategy rather than intervention. As a result, participants were asked to reflect on this. Additionally, counsellors were also asked to reflect on the

topic of resiliency and how they felt that this played into the coping strategies of youth. Finally, as previously noted (see above), in order to enhance the data collection and analysis process, the researcher also engaged in memoing.

Data Analysis

Grounded theory methodology has a detailed process for data analysis (Crewsell, 2007, p. 160). "Grounded theory provides a procedure for developing categories of information (open coding), interconnecting the categories (axial coding), building a story that connects the categories (selective coding), and ending with a discursive set of theoretical propositions" (Creswell, 2007, p. 160). As previously highlighted, the continuous process of simultaneously collecting and analyzing data is an essential component of helping the researcher to get closer to the data (Weingand, 1993, p. 24).Therefore, in order for a theory to emerge from the data an inductive analysis process was conducted using a constant comparative method (Mishna, Saini & Soloman 2009, p. 1225). This involved reading and examining the data comprehensively in order to discover the meaning that was embedded within it (Spears et al., 2009, p. 191). When examining the data, the researcher reviewed and analyzed the interview transcripts, as well as any field notes and memos. The researcher also used the three stages of coding to highlight any key ideas, concepts, and issues (Spears et al., 2009, p. 191). From there, the researcher determined a level of agreement among the codes across the research (Spears et al., 2009, p. 191).Furthermore, throughout this process the researcher continued to collect new data.

The first level of analysis, open coding, encompasses a line-by-line review of transcripts. Here the researcher examined the data "for salient categories of information supported by the text" (Creswell, 2007, p. 160). When transcribing the interviews, 2.5 inch right-hand margins were used so that the first level codes could be documented in the margins on the transcripts (Creswell, 2007). These codes consisted of any segments of the interview text that could stand as an independent piece of datum or a "data bit" (Creswell, 2007). They included also in vivo codes, or codes that are written in the participant's language (Mishna, Saini & Soloman 2009, p. 1225). As a result, the interview transcripts

were broken down into primary analytic codes or categories (Spears et al., 2009, p. 191). It is important to note that the data bits can be coded into more than one code (Creswell, 2007). Using the constant comparative approach, the researcher tried to saturate the analytic codes by continuing to review the data collected, in addition to collecting new data (Creswell, 2007, p. 160). This process continued until no new codes could be obtained or the data bits that were obtained did not further provide insight into the categories (Creswell, 2007). Overall, the goal of open coding was to reduce the database into a small set of themes or categories that characterized the coping and survival process that adolescents used when they were cyberbullied (Creswell, 2007, p.160). Once the interviews were been broken down into a myriad of data bits, the researcher cut the interview transcripts into pieces (or strips of paper) that comprised each one of the coded categories. This helped with the next phase of coding.

Once the initial set of categories emerged from the raw data through the open coding process, the researcher identified one category that appeared to be a central concept throughout the majority of the data. This central phenomenon was extensively discussed throughout all of the participant interviews and was central to the process of coping for adolescents. Once the central category was identified, the researcher returned to the data analysis process (which included simultaneously collecting new data) to help both understand and uncover the categories that related to the central phenomenon. This process is called axial coding and is the second phase of coding. Here the researcher provided a better understanding of the specific categories that related to or explained the central phenomenon. The researcher looked for the following: "causal conditions that influenced the central phenomenon, strategies for addressing the phenomenon, context and intervening conditions that shaped the strategies and the consequences of undertaking the strategies" (Creswell, 2007, p. 161). Axial coding shifts the focus of the coding process from the initial coded categories towards organizing ideas and identifying concepts (Spears et al., 2009, p. 191). In order to facilitate this second phase of coding, the data bits that had been cut into strips of paper were compared with one another. Similar pieces of data were clustered

together to form categories of data, as well as the conditions that gave rise to them. The focus was on finding the connection between the data bits.

Once it was identified how the ideas and codes were related to the central phenomenon, the information identified from this coding phase was organized into a figure or a coding paradigm. The figure portrayed a theoretical model of the interrelated coded data that was under study, and thus, a theory could be generated (Creswell, 2007, p. 161). "From this theory the inquirer generated hypotheses or statements that connected the categories in the coding paradigm" (Crewsell, 2007, p. 161). This detailed process is the third and final phase of coding (selective coding) (Creswell, 2007, p. 161). This final phase was abstract and the goal was to determine what the previously coded data was saying about the processes involved in coping. Here core categories were identified and selected based on their central significance to the theory and their interaction with other categories. This final phase included seeking examples that illustrated themes and making comparisons and contrasts (Spears et al., 2009, p. 191). Since the initial codes had been condensed to capture the major ideas across the data, broad themes began to emerge at this stage (Spears et al., 2009, p. 191). As a result, previous data that were seemingly unrelated to the central phenomenon emerged as being relevant or essential to the central phenomenon.

Throughout the data analysis process, "codes and categories were sorted, compared, and contrasted until all the data were accounted for in the core categories of the grounded theory paradigm model, and no new codes or categories could be produced, i.e. saturation" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In addition, additional interviews were conducted to help resolve coding discrepancies (Weingand, 1993; Mishna, Saini,& Soloman 2009). This type of sampling is referred to as "discriminate sampling" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Here the researcher asked more focused (and usually fewer) questions. This occurred towards the end of data collection, and as a result the latter interviews became shorter. The data collection and analysis ceased when the researcher was certain that following conditions were meet:

> the conceptual framework formed a systematic theory, the theory made a reasonably accurate statement of the topic studied, the theory was presented in a form that was possible for others to use when studying a similar area, and the results could be published with confidence. (Weingand, 1993, p. 24)

Finally, when writing up the data, the results were presented in a way that tried to vividly describe the survival process that youth undertook. The use of interview quotations, as well analytic and sensitizing language were used to help the reader become so engaged in the written description that a feeling of vicarious participation occurred which augmented the reader's confidence in the credibility of the research (Weingand, 1993, p. 23). It is also important to note how the researcher incorporated trustworthiness into the findings.

Potential Study Limitations

By considering the potential study limitations in advance, it is hoped that any potential limitations can be mitigated or eliminated with planning. First, there is a lack of prior research on this study area. Because cyberbullying is a newer phenomenon few research studies, if any, have researched prevention and intervention. As a result this research study will have a broader focus and will work to develop a theory from the ground up. In addition, because this is a master's level thesis, time is a constraint; as a result, there will be a smaller than usual sample size. This smaller sample will make generalizability difficult, and thus, further studies will need to elaborate on the potential findings of this study (Spears et al., 2009, p. 195). Additionally, quantitative studies may be necessary to determine how widespread these views are. Again, because time is limited, longitudinal effects will not be a focus of this study. As a result, any theory that develops from this study will need to be tested using a longitudinal research method.

Self-reported data is also a potential limitation of this study. Self-reported data is bounded by the fact it is one individual's experience which can rarely be independently verified. In addition, the self-reported data is also inherently biased. For example, individuals may not accurately remember how they

survived or coped with their cyberbullying experiences. They may selectively recall past events, or they may confuse the order of the events. In addition, attributing positive outcomes to one's own agency and negative outcomes to external forces may also occur when participants self-report. They may also embellish some events as more significant than others. Social expectations also need to be considered because some participants may give responses that they perceive are desired, rather than responses that fit their experiences (Spears et al., 2009, p. 195). This may be especially true for those participants who value external validation (Spears et al., 2009, p. 195). Finally, it is also important to consider researcher bias. When conducting qualitative research, there is the potential that the interview process and data analysis may be influenced by the researcher's belief systems, prior knowledge, and hypotheses (Spears, et al., 2009, p. 195). As a result of these potential limitations it is important to consider how the researcher will help to ensure reliability and validity of both data collection and analysis in this study.

Reliability and Validity of Data

It is essential to ensure the trustworthiness of any research findings. Because qualitative research differs from quantitative research, it is important to recognize that the same methods for determining reliability and validity in quantitative methods cannot be forced onto the qualitative paradigm. Morse, Barett, Mayan, Olson, and Spiers (2002) suggest that adopting new criteria to ensure rigor in qualitative research is necessary. Morse et al. (2002) cite Guba and Lincoln's seminal work in the 1980's as an adequate guideline for evaluating rigor in qualitative research. Guba and Lincoln "substituted reliability and validity with the parallel concept of "trustworthiness," containing four aspects: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability" (as cited in Morse et al., 2002, p. 14). Credibility occurs when the findings of qualitative research are plausible or realistic from the point of view of the research participant (Chioncel, Van Der Veen, Wildemeersch, & Jarvis, 2003, p. 500). Transferability refers to the extent to which the results of the study can be generalized to other contexts (Chioncel et al., 2003, p. 500). Dependability is related to replicability which means that that the research must assert control over changes that occur in the research context (Chioncel et al., 2003, p. 500). Finally,

confirmability refers to whether the study findings can be confirmed by other research (Chioncel et al., 2003, p. 500). Morse et al. (2002), recommend one small change to Guba and Lincoln's trustworthiness criteria, they suggested that these four aspects be built into the study rather than using them as an evaluative component at the end of the research project when it is too late to correct any problems.

While trustworthiness in qualitative research is important, Sandelowksi (1993) also reminds researchers that it is important not to make their research so rigorous that it loses its meaning or suffers from "rigor mortis". Thus, Sandelowski (1993) advocates that researchers should use a balanced approach to rigor that still allows them the creative freedom to anguish over the data, but does not force the researcher to obsess over the data and thus, ultimately force the data to fit a specific model.

Therefore, it is clear that rigor and trustworthiness are an essential part of quality research. As a result, the researcher strove to build trustworthiness into this research in order to minimize potential study limitations. (Please also see appendix six which describes how the researcher created trustworthiness in individual interviews.) This study applied Creswell (2007) three methods of ensuring trustworthiness - triangulation, member checking, and external audit.

Triangulation involves the convergence of data with other sources or crosschecking across multiple sources (Spears et al., 2009, p. 192). This study included a diverse sample of cyberbullying survivors. It included a mix of male and female participants, as well as varied cultural backgrounds like Chinese, German, Indian, and Nigerian. In addition, the research sample also represented the LGBTT community. Data collection also included interviews with school counsellors and administrators. The purpose of collected data from school staff was to bring survivor data together with other sources. Thus, school counsellors were interviewed on their observations of effective coping strategies. Finally, as described in depth above, the researcher also engaged in a memoing process that helped to triangulate the research data. These three methods of data collection helped to offset the challenges that come with self-reported data. By having multiple sources of data, participants' strategies could be crosschecked and confirmed.

Secondly, member checking was used in this study. Member checking involved having participants check the accuracy of researcher's interpretations (Creswell, 2007). This was done in two ways. First cyberbullying survivors were asked to review their interview transcript to make sure that the message that they were trying to get across was properly portrayed. They were also given the opportunity to add to their interview data by letting the researcher know of any new insights that had occurred since their interview. During the consent form process, the researcher explained this to the study participants. Participants were either mailed or emailed (as determined by their preference) a copy of their interview transcript. It should be noted that not all participants responded to researcher after receiving their transcript; however, those who did respond all approved of their transcripts. Secondly, cyberbullying survivors and school counsellors were also given the opportunity to review the preliminary findings and to discuss them with the researcher if they had any new ideas, questions or concerns. This occurred in a similar manner to the interview transcript process detailed above; except participants were given the option to decline this process (ethics required that all interview transcripts be reviewed by participants). As a result, three participants requested not to be sent the findings. Unfortunately, not many individuals responded to the summary of findings that was distributed, but those that did shared that the findings accurately described their experiences. Thus, member checking helped to reduce the possibility of researcher bias by having the research participants audit any interpretations to see if they matched their individual experiences.

Furthermore, in order to ensure trustworthiness, the researcher will used rich, thick description to highlight the research findings. Again, this helped to reduce research bias, because it used language that corresponded with participant's stories. As a result, this helped to prevent data extrapolation that was imbued with the researcher's personal belief systems.

Thirdly, the researcher also included an external audit as a way of ensuring trustworthiness. A fellow student outside the study reviewed a small sample of the interview transcripts and analyzed the data to see if they got similar results. It is important to note that because of difficulty locating a

volunteer to help with this, the fellow student who reviewed the data was a medical resident who had completed their psychiatry rotation and had experience in qualitative research. The auditor reviewed the five transcripts (two school counsellor interviews and two cyberbullying survivors) and engaged in preliminary coding with the data. Because of the inability to engage in theoretical sampling and saturation (using only a small sample of data prohibited this), it should be noted that audit process did differ from the grounded theory protocol. Furthermore, because of time limitations, the auditor did not engage in selective coding.

The auditor's open coding findings did not substantially differ from the researcher's. This was likely because of grounded theory's use of in-vivo coding (using participant's language). Any differences were primarily wording. For instance, the following quote: "to try to show them the good side of being a freak" (P4) was coded by the researcher as: "Strategy = positive rethinking" and the auditor as "strategy = seeing the positive side". However, some of the categories did differ slightly. For instance, the auditor found the following categories: stand up for yourself, get it off your mind, cognitive reframing, talking about it, prevention of cyberbullying in schools, social support, family life, emotional support for cybervictims, and access to outside resources. While these categories differ from categories proposed in the emergent model, they do not drastically deviate from the researcher's findings. For instance, even though survivors' internal characteristics were not reflected, the auditor's categories highlighted coping and external factors. Furthermore, it is likely that the differences can be attributed to the number interviews analyzed (4 verses 18) and the length of time each individual had to engage in the constant comparison process. Furthermore, some interviews were richer in data than others and may also have contributed to the difference in findings. Thus, although the results slightly differed, the feedback provided the researcher with confidence that their interpretations were realistic and not biased.

Furthermore, in orderto support the emergent model, the investigator drew from references or existing literature in order to show outside support for the model which also served to increase the

reliability and validity of the findings(Creswell, 2007, p. 190).(Please see the comparison of findings with literature section). Furthermore, it should be noted that after the emergent model was developed, the investigator incorporated research on resiliency and coping in adolescence into the literature review (please see resiliency and coping section of the literature review).

Finally, the researcher also engaged in bracketing or epoche. Bracketing helped to mitigate the potential harmful effects of unacknowledged preconceptions related to research and it allowed the researcher to increase rigor in the qualitative study (Tufford & Newman, 2012, p. 81). In addition, bracketing also helped to facilitate the ability of the researcher to attain a deeper level of reflection throughout the study; for example, the inception of the research idea, designing the study, analyzing the data, and writing the report (Tufford & Newman, 2012, p. 81). Although this technique is typically used in phenomenological studies, it can be a helpful in all forms of qualitative research. Bracketing was not just a one-time occurrence at the beginning of the study, but rather, it was a multi-layered process that continued throughout the entire research procedure (Tufford & Newman, 2012, p. 84).There were two forms of researcher engagement that warranted bracketing (Fischer, 2009, p. 583). First the researcher's engagement with data, and second their engagement in the evolving findings (Fischer, 2009, p. 583). (Please see the researcher's reflexivity section in chapter five for a summary).

The first form is fairly well-known in the research community (Fischer, 2009, p. 583). It is where the researcher identifies and temporary sets aside their assumptions (Fischer, 2009, p. 583). Glaser also advocates for "developing an awareness of preconceptions at the start of the researcher endeavor" (Tufford & Newman, 2012, p. 85). It is important to note that the researcher's perspective can never fully be ruled out (Fischer, 2009, p. 584). Rather, "bracketing is intended to help the researcher examine their own perspectives, and occasionally even shift their stance" (Fischer, 2009, p. 584). As a result, this researcher engaged in a reflective process prior to beginning the research.

The second form of engagement is "the hermeneutic revisiting of data and one's evolving comprehension of it in light of a revised understanding of any aspects of the topic" (Fischer, 2009, p.

583). This second form of engagement is often forgotten or ignored by researchers (Fischer, 2009, p. 584). The ongoing reflection of the researcher's engagement with data is often referred to as reflexivity. Throughout this study, this second type of bracketing was addressed through the use of researcher memos. By engaging in memos, the researcher examined and reflected on her engagement with the data (Tufford & Newman, 2012, p. 86). Research states that: "Memos can take the form of theoretical notes which explicate the cognitive process of conducting research, methodological notes that explicate the procedural aspects of research, and observational comments that allow the researcher to explore feelings about the research endeavor" (Tufford & Newman, 2012, p. 86). (Please refer to page 89 and appendix six for more details).In addition to considering how this study ensured the reliability and validity of the data collected, it is also important to consider how this study upheld the ethical principles of research.

Ethical Considerations

In working with cyberbullying survivors in particular, there were several important ethical considerations that needed to be addressed. Prior to addressing these highlighted considerations, it is important to note that according to the tri-counsel policy standards for research with human participants, this study population is not deemed to be vulnerable. However, from a counselling standpoint, it is important to note that the cyberbullying survivors have been through a traumatic life experience. Therefore, it is important to consider the following ethical considerations: consent, privacy and confidentiality, re- traumatization through participation, and my knowledge and skills as a counsellor.

Consent is a fundamental principal of respect that needs to be honored in any study. However, it becomes especially significant when the individuals who were interviewed have had stories, personal information or rumors used against them in an attempt to hurt them on a public forum. Consent must be free and voluntary, informed, and ongoing. This means the following: participants freely consented without any coercion; they made their decision to participate based on an understanding of the purpose of the research and its foreseeable risks and benefits; they were given the opportunity to seek clarification; and if new information arose, participants were informed; and finally, participants were

free to withdraw at anytime. It was also important to highlight that participants had the right to refrain from answering any questions that they felt uncomfortable answering, and that they had the right to leave the study at any time without penalty. In addition, during the research process it was important to maintain an awareness of power dynamics between the researcher and the participant.

Privacy and confidentiality were also important ethical considerations. This is especially true for cyberbullying survivors because they likely had both their privacy and confidentiality breached through their cyberbullying experiences. First, all participants within the study were required to be 18 years of age or older. This was because many youth who are cyberbullied often choose not to tell their parents about their bullying experiences (Li, 2010). Thus, by requiring participants to be over 18, they were allowed to consent to the study on their own, and thus they did not have to obtain their parent's consent. Furthermore, participants were also asked to choose a place where they feel comfortable for the research interview (provided that it is also safe for the researcher and the interview can be audio recorded there). Additionally, all research participants were assigned a pseudonym to help protect their identity. Any identifying information (both direct and indirect) in the interview transcripts were removed or changed to help to protect the confidentiality of the research participants. Consent forms were also kept separate from individual interview transcripts. Audio files and interview transcripts were password protected and encrypted. Furthermore, the interview transcripts, the consent form, and the audio recording were all kept in a secure locked cabinet. Upon the successful completion of this thesis defense, audio files, consent forms and research transcripts will be deleted, shredded, and destroyed. Finally, participants were all forewarned about the limits of confidentiality including: any disclosure of child (or vulnerable persons in care) welfare concerns, any threat of harm to self that may place the participant's life at risk, and any threat of harm to another individual.

There was also a small risk that participants may be re-traumatized by re-telling their story. As a result, it was the researcher's responsibility to minimize this risk. In order to mitigate the risk of re-traumatization, several ethical considerations were built into this study. First, prior to beginning data

collection, this study received approval from the Research Ethics Board. In addition, participants were also required to be at least six months removed from their cyberbullying experiences. This helped to circumvent the possibility of re-traumatizing participants because they were further removed from their bullying experiences and had had time to heal and reflect. Study recruitment materials also clearly stated that study participants were not eligible to participant for their own safety if they had recently experienced cyberbullying (within the last six months) or were currently experiencing cyberbullying at the time of the interview. In addition, prior to beginning data collection, study participants were asked to reflect on how they knew that they were in a safe space (emotionally) that they were able to talk about their cyberbullying experiences without becoming emotionally distressed. Finally, given my training as a counsellor, I was able to monitor nonverbal behavior (including facial expressions, tone of voice, etc.) to see if the research participant was showing any signs of distress. This did not occur during the research study; however, I was prepared to stop the interview if necessary.

While my training as a counsellor was helpful in identifying signs of distress, it was also important to note that providing counselling during the interview process can potentially cause the following: blurred boundaries, role confusion, and participants eliciting more information than they intended. Therefore, while I used my counselling knowledge to identify signs of distress, it was necessary for me to keep my researcher and counselling roles separate during the data collection phase of this study.

Summary

This section has described in detail how this study was conducted. Using a grounded theory methodology, data was collected from young adults who have survived cyberbullying. This data was triangulated interviews from school counsellors (and one school administrator) who have worked with affected youth. The goal of this study was to create a theoretical framework outlining how youth can effectively cope with cyberbullying. This added to the growing body of cyberbullying research by helping to address the gap in literature on interventions for affected youth.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation and Analysis

Introduction

As previously highlighted, very little research on cyberbullying has investigated how youth have successfully coped with cyberbullying and how schools might begin to help youth survive the adverse effects of cyberbullying (Cassidy et al., 2013; Parris et al., 2012). Thus, it would be beneficial to examine the personal experiences of survivors to determine a balanced and effective way of helping youth cope (Parris et al., 2012). For instance, Price and Dalgleish (2010) state that they believe that researchers need to "qualitatively explore the current coping strategies used by young people – what they are, reasons for their efficacy (or lack of), and how inadequacies can be overcome" (p. 59). This study intends to begin to address this gap. It examined specific coping strategies that adolescents have successfully used when dealing with cyberbullying. In particular, this study looked at what factors hindered or augmented youth's coping strategies. Furthermore, this study not only focused on the cyberbullying survivor but also their environment. As result, the researcher also interviewed school counsellors (and one school administrator) to find out how schools are trying to assist the coping process of adolescents. In order to explore the complexity of surviving this new type of bullying, this study used grounded theory to allow the data to fully emerge from participant's perspectives. The central research questions included: (1) How do adolescents survive being a victim of cyberbullying? (2) What specific strategies do adolescents use? (3) What factors influence their coping strategies?

The following chapter discusses the findings of this study. It will start by reviewing how the emergent theory or the initial proposition emerged from the data. Accordingly, it will first describe the analysis process in detail. In addition, this chapter will also include a description of the research participants, as well as a comprehensive description of the emergent theory and its supporting data that was found by the researcher. Prior to looking at the data, it is important to have a clearer understanding of the study participants.

Description of Participants

Cyberbullying Survivors

Most participants heard about the study from fliers posted across the many different post-secondary school campuses throughout Winnipeg, Manitoba. However, some heard about the study through fliers posted at counselling resource centers and around the community, or through snowball techniques. Surprisingly, no research participants responded from online recruitment methods such as campus social media feeds, email, and internet promotion on things like Twitter, SNS, or local radio station websites.

A description of the eleven cyberbullying survivors who volunteered for this study will be relatively limited for two specific reasons. First, specific demographic and socioeconomic information was not requested from participants as an act of respect for participants' personal information. Second, this information was not collected in order to increase the preservation of confidentiality. Some demographic information was revealed throughout the interview process by a handful of participants. The majority of participants ranged from approximately 19 to 26 years of age, however, one participant was in their 40s. All but one participant were currently pursuing post-secondary education, such as: trades programs, diplomas, bachelor degrees, or graduate education. In addition, the research sample also represented both the LGBTT and developmental disabilities communities. Participants were fairly equally distributed across gender with five participants identifying as males and six as females. Finally, many participants were Canadian; however, some were studying in Canada from abroad; for example, individuals were from: Western Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and South East Asia. In addition, others were second generation Canadians who were influenced by their parent's cultural norms.

Finally, it is also important to note that each cyberbullying survivor had a very unique experience with cyberbullying. In order to preserve anonymity as well as to respect participant's privacy, detailed reasons of why participants were cyberbullied will not be discussed, instead a very

broad summary is provided. For example, one participant started out as the cyberbully and then became the cybervictim. Similarly, another participant was cyberbullied first and then became a cyberbully and then was cyberbullied again. These two stories are indicative of the bully-victim cycle that often occurs in both traditional bullying and cyberbullying. It is also important to note that most survivors reported being bullied for multiple reasons. In addition, at the time of the study, one study participant was still unclear as to why they were cyberbullied. Individuals were bullied because of their personal appearance (3), their athletic talents (2), participation in extracurricular activities (2), online profile, online presence or online activities including gaming (6), preexisting health or wellbeing conditions (3),cultural background (1), sexual identity(1) and/or level of intelligence (3). (N.B. the numbers in brackets signify the number of participants who reported experiencing cyberbullying because of these reasons). Participants also reported that cyberbullying occurred via text message or phone call (3), email computer virus (1), email (3), SNS (10), online chatrooms or gaming rooms (3), comments on blogs (1), and finally, defacing a picture and posting it on a website (2). Seven survivors experienced cyberbullying through more than one medium which is why the above numbers add up to more than eleven. In addition, it is important to note that one participant was not cyberbullied. As discussed earlier, their data was kept in the analysis process because they were able to prevent their experiences with traditional bullying from going online by limiting their online presence and their technology use.

School Counsellors

Again, a description of the six counsellors and one school administrator who volunteered for this study will be relatively limited in order to increase the protection of their confidentiality. Most participants heard about the study through graduate student email feeds or word of mouth promotion from the researcher and the researcher's family, friends, or colleagues. Some participants were recruited using referrals from previous participants (snowball techniques). All participants worked in Manitoba schools; however two participants were not currently working at schools at the time of this study. These two participants were speaking from recent (within the two last years) experiences. All of the

participants had either completed or were currently pursuing education at the graduate level. Four of the participants had over ten years of experience working in schools, while the remaining three had approximately five years of experience. Finally, only two males volunteered for this study, thus, most participants were female. It is possible that this is because more females than males work in the school guidance department; however, it may be that the researcher's recruitment strategy drew more interest from female rather than male participants.

Analysis

Although the detailed description of the data analysis procedure was previously described in Chapter Three, the researcher felt that it would be beneficial to look at how this process unfolded for this particular study. As a result, the primary purpose of this section will be to describe how the initial proposition or emergent theory was developed during the data analysis process.

Prior to discussing coding, the order of the interviews among the two groups of participants should be noted. The interviews took place as follows: two cyberbullying survivor interviews followed by three counsellor interviews, six survivors, one school administrator, three counsellors, and finally, three survivors. While the data was coded after each interview using the constant comparative method, it was helpful that participants came in batches of survivors and counselors. In addition, both groups talked about both prevention and intervention, survivors focused on coping strategies while counsellors focused on preventative or proactive strategies. Moreover, both sets of participants had a different set of interview questions that needed to be updated after each interview. Thus, it was beneficial that the participants came in batches because it helped the researcher stay immersed in the data in a meaningful way. In addition, alternating from survivors to counsellors helped in creating a balanced theory.

Furthermore, it is also important to note that grounded theory requires that data analysis direct data collection. As a result, each individual interview should be coded and analyzed prior to the next interview. This is so that the researcher can refine the interview questions in order to focus on the emergent categories. During this research study, this was not always possible. Three cyberbullying

survivor interviews took place on the same day. In addition, two counsellor interviews also took place on the same day. In these two events it was impossible to transcribe the data and code it in between interviews. As a result, the researcher had to rely on researcher memos to continue the grounded theory process. In between the interviews, the researcher would identify hypotheses based the new data collected and then refine the next interview based on these emerging hunches. In addition, the constant comparative process was also still upheld when coding and analyzing the data. Accordingly, the data collection method only deviated slightly from the proposed method; however, it is still important for readers to note this fact.

When developing the emergent theory, the researcher analyzed the data according to the three phases proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1998): open, axial, and selective.(N.B. a diagram of the coding process is provided in appendix sixteen). In order to illustrate how the developing theory emerged from the data, the three phases of coding will be described in detail with examples.

In keeping with grounded theory protocol, open coding the data begin after the first interview was carried out and transcribed (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). First, the researcher created copies of the transcripts with two and a half inch right hand margins in order to facilitate the recording codes in the margins. Next, an initial review of the transcript was completed in order to get an overall sense of the data. Finally, the researcher engaged in open coding, also known as line-by-line coding. During this phase, any segment of the participant's data that could serve as an independent 'data bit' was assigned a code (Creswell, 2007). The purpose of open coding was to identify, name, and describe the phenomenon under study (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). As a result, the researcher labeled as many codes, categories, and properties as emerged from the data. Data bits were originally coded with a word or phrase that would summarize the data, with the researcher often using the participants' words (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). For example, the phrase: "you know you have to be who you are" was coded as 'knowing yourself'. Similarly, the phrase: "You know and it actually goes back to what a friend of mine said a couple of

years ago. She said it's not about you, it's about them" was also coded as 'rethinking things: it's not about me, it's about them'.

In addition, meaningful data ranged in size from one word to an entire paragraph. For example, the phrase "just try to block them" was given the code of'blocking = online safety strategy'. In contrast, some data bits were much longer, such as the following:

> That would be 100 percent my mother. Ever since I was a kid she always made me feel that I can open up and tell her anything I need to tell her with no judgment, no fighting, no arguing, and 100 percent honesty, because not only did she give me the environment to be honest in, she gave me honesty back and if she hadn't been my mother and/or if I had been in different circumstances I don't think that I would have survived to this day. Ummm… bullying was pretty big in my life, and even though cyberbullying was not all of it, it definitely had a huge impact on my life and I didn't really have a lot of friends so if I hadn't have had my mom it would have been a tough time. (C2)

This quote was given the preliminary code of "mom as support system = central to coping process". Moreover, it is also important to note that some data bits were actually labeled with more than one code. This was in keeping with the coding process of grounded theory which asserts that each piece of data be assigned as many codes that fit (Creswell, 2007).For example, one participant shared the following:

> Oh for sure. For sure. And I was not really trying to rub it in their faces more like I wanna prove that this is who I am and that its going to really help me in the future and so I really pushed my academics. I really pushed my music. (P10)

This quote was broken down into three codes: "future goals", "knowing yourself" and "Don't want to let them win". Similarly, another participant shared: "and my mom was very supportive of that… of empowering myself… umm... and creating a voice and eventually by the end of high school it had died down quite a bit". This quote was assigned two codes, including: "mom as support system = central to coping process" and "self-help taking control". Thus, throughout the open coding process each

piece of relevant information, such as: incidents, thoughts, ideas and events, were given a code. A list of sample list of preliminary open codes for one participant can be seen in appendix seventeen. Throughout the open coding process, the researcher generated 540 codes.

As soon as the first two interviews were coded using the open coding, the second coding phase began, called axial coding. A fundamental aspect of the axial coding process is the inclusion of the constant comparison method that is central to grounded theory. This process required that each previously coded data bit be compared with other coded data bits. Furthermore, the context and meaning of these data pieces were also compared and contrasted. At this point, codes that were originally labeled using the participant's language that were referring to the same thing were amalgamated and collapsed. For example, in-vivo codes created using open coding, such as: 'strategy = bully back', 'strategy = walk away', and 'cutting them from my life', were amalgamated and collapsed into one code called 'standing up'. As a result, the researcher also began to cluster similar pieces of data together. Furthermore, the researcher also began to formulate more concrete categories from the constant comparative process. This was done by grouping codes together that described a similar overarching idea. Essentially, codes that had similar properties were grouped together. For instance, quotes that discussed self-esteem and self-knowledge were grouped together in a category called "sense-of-self". Additionally, as a second example, data that talked about "bouncing back", "inner strength", "don't want to let them win" and "looking into the future" were grouped into a category called "choosing to be a survivor". At the beginning of the open and axial coding phases there were 62 categories and 540 codes, however, after the constant comparative process was incorporated and continuously used, the analysis process ended with 14 categories of codes and 52 codes.

As the grounded theory protocol prescribes, during the axial phase, data that was coded was "pulled apart" and "brought back together" in new ways. By taking excerpts from the transcripts, labeling them,and grouping similar pieces together new meaning began to take form from the data. It is important to remember that by using open coding the meaning is never lost even though it is removed

from its context. Furthermore, once more interviews were conducted and transcribed, they were added to as new data into the coding process. Thus, new data was fit within these codes and categories. If the data did not work together, then codes and categories were reexamined and refined. Alternatively, new categories of data also emerged from this process. It should also be noted that interviews were being modified at this point to reflect the emerging theory that was developing. Thus, data collection was tailored to the data analysis process.

The following is an example of a category formation. Originally the following codes: 'knowing who I am', 'autonomy', 'self-esteem', 'self-love' and 'having your whit's about you' were all grouped together under the category entitled 'identity'. As the data was further analyzed using the constant comparative method, the researcher realized that self love and self esteem were actually referring to similar data and thus they were collapsed together as one code. Furthermore, when reviewing the context of the quote: "having your whits about you" it was determined that this quote was actually also referring knowing who you are. Consequently, this piece of data fit nicely into the 'knowing who I am' code (this code was later renamed self-knowledge). Furthermore, throughout the analysis process, the code autonomy (acting for oneself) was moved out of this category and into the self-empowerment category. Finally, when reviewing data, the researcher found that the title of the original category - identity did not quite fit the data. It was not that the participants just knew who they were; it was that they knew who they were and also had a sense of pride in themselves. Accordingly, the category title was changed to 'having a sense-of-self'. As a result, the properties of this category were defined as an individuals' collection of beliefs about who they are as a person derived from their ability to be self-awareness and self-loving. In the end, this category encompassed to two codes: an individual's self-knowledge and self-esteem. The code self-esteem referred to a survivor's self-love or feeling good about who they are; whereas, self-knowledge referred to a survivor's sense-of-self or knowing who they are as an individual. These two codes had a reciprocal influence on one another. When survivors had a sense

of who they were as a person (self-knowledge) they were able to feel good about themselves (self-esteem), and vice versa.

Finally, a very central part of the axial coding phase is the development of what is referred to as the 'paradigm model' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This was previously discussed in chapter three. During axial coding, the researcher attempts to uncover the following: the central phenomenon, the causal conditions, the contexts, the intervening conditions, and the consequences (Creswell, 2007).By creating a paradigm model, the researcher is able to think systematically about the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Furthermore, this researcher was able to derive a basis for their theory; for instance, the model explained the relationships between the categories which helped lead to a better understanding of the central phenomenon and thus, the emergent model. (Please see appendix nine for the model).

In the paradigm model, *causal conditions* described the events that lead to the occurrence of the central phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this study, the casual conditions that emerged were the cyberbullying event(s) and the resulting reactions or adversity that the survivor faced. The *central phenomenon* is defined as the concept that holds all of the data together (Creswell, 2007). All of the data analyzed in this study helped to describe adolescent's coping processes, thus, the central phenomenon was activated coping strategies. As the definition states, the context includes the conditions under which the phenomenon takes place (Creswell, 2007). The *context* in this study was environmental factors. For instance, youth coped within their individual environments and thus, their coping strategies were impacted by their environment. For example, if families were not supportive or schools were not helpful, some youth used self initiated coping strategies (or self-help). Furthermore, the context is also said to affect the action strategies of the model (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). For instance, youth's environment impacted their internal characteristics through factors like role modeling or environmental influences affecting how they felt. The fourth piece of the model, *intervening conditions*, describes things that also impact the action strategy of the model by constraining or facilitating it (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Environmental influences on internal feelings emerged from the data as the intervening

condition which impacted the action strategies. The *action strategies* refer to the ways in which the central phenomenon is carried out or responded to under certain conditions (Creswell, 2007).In this study, the internal characteristics of the survivor influenced how youth coped with their experiences. Finally, the final component of the model, *consequences*, simply refers to the outcomes of the central phenomenon. In this case it was the fact that adolescents were resilient and thus, became stronger.

Once the paradigm model was created, the third phase of coding began, called selective coding. This process was similar to axial coding in that it also incorporated on the constant comparison process; however, it was a more abstract and selective process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The goal of this level of coding was to review the categories that emerged and begin to find patterns within this data in order to formulate a hypothesis or theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Here the researcher formalized the central phenomenon, survival strategies, and its three supporting themes – internal characteristics, external influences on internal feelings, and environmental factors. These themes contributed to the outcome of resiliency and becoming stronger. Thus, a story line was created from the data that explained how adolescents became resilient by activating their survival skills. Furthermore, this phase also focused on making the data parsimonious, thus categories and codes were further amalgamated and refined in order to make sure no redundancies were present. For instance, there were many different coping skills that youth employed. These were originally categorized based on their type of strategy such as: extracurricular activities, emotional healing, and standing up; however, this led to many categories of coping data and the result was not parsimonious. Consequently, the categories were collapsed into two: "online strategies" and "offline strategies" under the main theme of "survival strategies". Once codes began to saturate and no new codes and categories were appearing the data collection process was terminated. Thus, it was through the use of open, axial and selective coding, that the researcher was able to develop an initial proposition or emerging theory called the resiliency: becoming stronger model.

As a final point, it is important to note that it was not possible to generate to a substantive level theory for this research study. While the data saturated enough to create an initial proposal, the

researcher did not feel that that data was saturated enough to warrant a substantive level theory. Because this was a master's level thesis, time limitations prohibited the researcher from continuing to collect data. In order to reach the level of data saturation that would be necessary to create a substantive level theory, the researcher felt that interviewing a minimum of ten more cyberbullying survivors and ten more school counsellors would have been required. For instance, Creswell (2007) recommends that grounded theory studies have 20-30 participants in order to reach full data saturation. Thus, because of time constraints and study volunteers, it was not possible to reach a substantive level theory. As a result, the researcher will present the emergent theoretical model that was developed from the data rather than a substantive level theory.

Emergent Theoretical Model: Resiliency: Overcoming and Becoming Stronger

This study intended to explore cyberbullying survival strategies from the perspective of youth and their counsellors. More specifically, the research was designed to discover: adolescents' methods of survival, their specific coping strategies, and factors that impacted this process. As the interviews and analysis progressed, the second and third question gained more focus from the researcher because they seemed to ultimately answer the first research question. Specifically, coping strategies emerged as the central phenomenon and the factors that impacted coping were a supporting theme. Thus, in the end, the second and third question gained the most attention and focus from the researcher. When exploring the second research question, the researcher often sought more information from the participant about their particular strategies by using probing questions, such as: why was this particular strategy effective for you? Or, what was it about this strategy that made it so effective? Furthermore, the researcher also tried to ascertain which strategy was the most effective or central for participants. Again, when exploring the third research question the researcher used probing questions like why and what. For instance, why was this factor central to your survival process and what made it so central? Alternatively, when the factor actually blocked the coping process the research strove to find how the survivor navigated around this.

By exploring the above research questions, many common patterns emerged. From these patterns a model, Resiliency: Becoming Stronger, was developed. (Please see appendix nine for the model and appendix eighteen for a table of categories and codes). The researcher found one main theme or central phenomenon, activating coping strategies, as well as three supporting themes - internal characteristics, external influences on internal feelings and environmental factors. These supporting themes contributed to individuals' coping abilities. Prior to discussing the model itself, however, it is important to also highlight survivors' reactions to cyberbullying. A description of the effects of cyberbullying provides a useful backdrop to the model because it provides readers with the causal conditions for survival and coping.

Affects of Cyberbullying on Survivors

When asked to reflect back to their experiences with cyberbullying, survivors listed a myriad of effects. As previously emphasized, each survivor's experiences with cyberbullying were notably different; consequently, each participant had a slightly different description of how cyberbullying had impacted them. Some participants discussed feelings of sadness. These feelings of sadness were labeled differently by individuals according to how they conceptualized it, including: hurt, pain, sadness, upset, loss, and intense feelings. For instance, one participant stated: "Yeah. So I felt sad in that time because I think I lost a good friend" (P11). Additionally, some youth spoke about feeling isolated or lonely. For example one survivor stated: "for the first time, I kind of felt a little bit isolated because I couldn't take part in any (name of activity) in the school for quite a long time… So I was kind of feeling a little bit lonely and upset… stuff like that" (P4). In contrast, other survivors talked about feelings of helplessness or powerlessness; for instance, one survivor reported: "You are so powerless and a lot of the time… I never really knew when it would end" (P2). Other individual spoke about feeling shock, anger and frustration, such as participant six who stated they felt: "anger, agitation and frustration" (P6). As well, some participants reported not wanting to go to school (P10).

In addition, others reported feeling stressed, with one survivor stating that "it was really stressful" (P7). Still others spoke about how it negatively impacted their ability to trust other people (P2, P5, P10) with some participants questioning who would have done this or why they would have done this (P7, P8, P1). Finally, it is also noteworthy that some participants reported that their feelings changed throughout their process of healing. For instance, participant two reported the following:

> Ohhh. Ummm. At first it was hurt...and it was a lot of pain and ummm… a lot of trust had gone out the window. Faith in people in general had kind of gone out the window. And then later on when I got older it became anger. Because I couldn't do anything I couldn't make them stop, I couldn't get them to leave me alone….. And then it became (as I matured)- it really became sadness for them… not so much about me anymore, because it just made me sad that that's what they got up every day and decided to do and that that's the person that they have chosen to be….

In sum, participants experienced a range of negative emotions and behavioral reactions to their cyberbullying experiences. These negative effects of cyberbullying impacted the quality of life at the time of their bullying experiences. As a result, survivors engaged in many different strategies in order to overcome these negative feelings and behaviors.

Central Phenomenon or Main Theme: Activating Survival Strategies

Despite the negative context of survivor's bullying experiences, the central phenomenon that emerged from the data was the survival (coping) strategies that youth activated in response to these negative effects. This main theme is broken down into two subtypes of coping (or categories): online coping and offline coping. Online coping is defined as strategies that youth engaged in online to intervene with, stop, and prevent cyberbullying from happening again. On the other hand, offline coping is defined as strategies that participants engaged in offline in order to solve, minimize, or tolerate the effects of cyberbullying. Most participants tried a number of strategies throughout their survival process and all of them engaged in both types of coping at one point or another.

Online Coping Strategies

All of the survivors interviewed utilized online coping strategies. The online strategies that youth used were practical coping methods that allowed survivors to prevent and intervene with cyberbullying. Prior to discussing the specific strategies they used, it is important to highlight that one youth who was bullied at school was able to prevent their bullying experience from transferring into the online realm. For example, when they were asked if any of the bullying they experienced began to trickle online at all they responded:

> No. The good thing is that I wasn't adding anyone into my account. So like for example, them I wasn't adding any of them…. Well actually, I was being told to do that by the teacher, the one I told you about. She was the one who told me about all that stuff and I was kind of trying to find ways to reduce my contact with them. So. Yep. (P4)

Through talking and listening to this individual's story, this teacher not only normalized this youth's experiences, but they also helped build a foundation of understanding and knowledge about cyberbullying. Thus, because this individual was both informed and empowered they were able apply these strategies and prevent cyberbullying from occurring. This particular youth's experience highlights how effective online coping strategies can be. Not only can youth make use of them to intervene with cyberbullying or to prevent cyberbullying from reoccurring, but youth can actually use these strategies to prevent cyberbullying from occurring in the first place. Thus, it is imperative that counsellors, teachers, and school administration promote the use of cybersafety strategies, particularly with those who are affected by traditional forms of bullying as well.

During our interviews, survivors reported using four different types of online strategies: online safety strategies, the 'stop, block and tell' strategy, changing contact information, and shutting off technology. Survivors reported that they censored their online presence by limiting who has access to their online material. These strategies were grouped together as online safety strategies. Some participants spoke specifically about their bullies, with one participant stating that they "denied them

access to me" (P2). Conversely, other participants spoke in a more general sense about controlling who they accepted as a friend; for example, "I put my profile on private" (P5) or "be as careful as you can. Ummm… don't just be friends with anybody" (P7). Other youth spoke about only using Facebook with their close group of friends; for instance, one participant stated that:"[they] only go on Facebook if it's to talk to someone like [they] know" (P5). Finally, one student spoke about having their mother supervising them on Facebook, stating: "She even made an account on Facebook and makes me as a friend" (P3).

A second strategy that survivors reported using was their own version of the "stop, block and tell" strategy that has been made popular by the cyberbullying prevention literature. Youth in this study reported blocking or deleting the bully and sometimes reporting them to the site manager. For instance, some youth spoke about blocking individuals on Facebook who have bullied them (P1, P3, P6, P7, P9, & P10). More specifically, one participant stated: "Uhh… just try to block them. Just don't go view their Facebook. Put them on your restricted list" (P3). Other individuals spoke about both blocking and reporting bullies; for example, they reported that they coped with cyberbullying "By deleting or reporting them. Well its plain and simple you know. They shouldn't be allowed to get away with that" (P1). Finally, one counsellor spoke about how one of the individuals that they worked with reported that they found it helpful not to respond to the cyberbully. C1 stated: "it helped to not post. She admitted that" (C1). This strategy is similar to the 'stop' in the 'stop, block, and tell'. If participants do not engage in the cyberbullying material, it is useful in helping them remove themselves from the cyberbullying, as well as it is useful in preventing future cyberbullying. Additionally, this strategy was often promoted by school counsellors and will be discussed in more detail later in the environmental factors section.

A third strategy that interviewees reported was changing their contact information such as their phone number or email. This strategy was particularly useful when the cyberbullying was occurring through text and picture messages and email/gaming accounts. One participant stated: "Actually at one

point I just changed my number. I changed my number because my number was connected to my account" (P5). Another participant shared that even after the cyberbullying incident was deleted from the website they continued to receive harassing phone calls and as a result, they had to change their number. That shared that:"I was continuing to receive these calls and messages so I just changed my number that was basically it… that was all I needed to do… [then it stopped]" (P7).

Finally, a fourth strategy that survivors shared was shutting off technology. Some participants spoke about turning off certain aspects of technology all together. For example, one interviewee shared the following: "I told my parents about him and they told me to just take off the computer for a while" (P3). Another participant stated that: "Sometimes I would just avoid the internet all together" (P5). However, other survivors spoke about turning off a specific website or SNS. For instance, "for a while I just had to stop blogging... so that stopped [the cyberbullying] a bit…" (P8). In addition, one participant was being bullied through an online gaming website and they decided to shut that website off (P11). Furthermore, a different survivor reported: "I eliminated myself completely from all the social networking sites and I stayed off until like second year university" (P10). Thus, they deleted it for a specific period of time. Alternatively, one student completely eliminated social networking from their life. They shared:

> Yeah, people become consumed by Facebook so it… really once I got rid of Facebook it was… ah… I cut the cord and that was it. I never see it again kind of thing and I am living(name of place) and lots of students are like "you know awe I should be studying but I'm on Facebook"… it's like try not doing it for two days and see what happens?! Right? Yeah. I would just say removing yourself from it is definitely a good way to get rid of it. (P9)

The online strategies discussed above were used by survivors primarily to stop the cyberbullying from continuing and to prevent future cyberbullying incidents. Essentially, participants used them as a method of solving their cyberbullying problem. In addition to using online strategies, participants also spoke about using offline strategies as coping mechanisms.

Offline Coping Strategies

In comparison to the more pragmatic online strategies, offline strategies seemed to be less systematic and more intuitive. Offline coping was used to minimize or tolerate the effects of cyberbullying. More specifically, they helped survivors manage feelings, thoughts and behaviors that occurred as a result of their cyberbullying experiences. The following coping mechanisms were reported by interviewees: talking about it, being able to separate online life from the real world, building self-esteem, reframing the way I think, healthy outlets (laughter, music, extracurricular activities, exercise, studying, volunteering, reading, TV, meditation and mindfulness practice, and journaling), changing environments, standing up, and lastly, ignoring.

The first strategy, talking about their experiences, was a central method of survival for some participants. For instance, one participant shared the following: "I mean communication again talking...is so important to surviving and coming out on top" (P1). Some survivors spoke about talking as a way to vent their sadness, anger or frustration; for example, "I vented a lot in a way… verbally..." (P2). Other survivors also supported this; for instance, one individual shared: "It was an outlet to talk to people about it. To talk to my friends about it. Or get the burden off your chest. Cause that's what it is when bad things are happening and nobody knows...… and it becomes a burden" (P7). Similarly, other youth spoke about talking as a way to move past their negative feelings. Participant five shared: "Also just talking… um… yeah just being able to talk about it because umm... my (family members) didn't seem to understand what I was going through because they never really got into (social media) like me.. so I guess it's just that being able to talk… and feel understood". Likewise, another survivor stated:

> And talking. Even though I may not have ummm...been talking to anyone in particular… I had a lot of umm… internet friends. And even though I never met them they still provided a way to vent and a lot of them were older than me so they could give me some form of… umm… vindication. (P2)

Moreover, others saw talking about things as a way to collect their own thoughts about the situation. One individual shared: "Sooo… and um… I think you should open your mind to communicate with your friends and parents or brothers or sisters because I don't know how to describe it but after that you will realize your… ahhh… thoughts" (P11).

As well as 'talking as a way of coping', interviewees also spoke about separating their online and offline lives as a method of coping. For instance, some participants did not view cyberbullying as being as negative as traditional bullying because it occurred online rather than face-to-face. It is possible that this mindset allowed them to be more resilient than others when coping with the negative effects of cyberbullying. For instance, one participant shared the following about their perceptions of cyberbullying:

> But you are studying cyberbullying right? And with the computer… its… you don't actually have that person in front of you telling you these things. You have them over the computer texting and words don't hurt…but they do sometimes of course… laughs…. but you don't have that I didn't have that feeling that it was imminent danger you know? As if I would talk to someone face to face. And so I didn't really make it… how do you say it? Reality? (P6).

Participant six also shared similar a viewpoint, stating: "I think that the best thing about this cyberbullying is that it is online and it doesn't physically exist… well maybe in some cases it does, it could harm you…". On the other hand, other individuals used this mindset as a way of helping to refocus their lives. For instance, one individual stated that it was helpful to: "just focus more on like real life stuff… like focusing more on like yeah because before I used to be… like it felt like real life in the computer. And so I'm trying to do things like looking outwards, doing more face-to-face, real people" (P5). Similarly, another participant also shared the following about coping with and overcoming cyberbullying: "I don't know how well this message will be communicated but you know… to come back to the real world. You know. And also this phase will be over too. Umm… don't bust your head over it" (P7). Additionally, P9 also shared a similar viewpoint stating: "I would say priorities… uhh

there's an assignment due next week I shouldn't be on Facebook looking at this, I should be doing school work. Or yeah some... another pressing issue in my life or something else I could be doing". Thus, it seems like for some survivors focusing on the 'real' world around them, such as: their friends, their everyday life, and their school work, was a method of coping with adverse experiences in their online life. Finally, in addition to survivors, school counsellors also noted this separation. For example, one counsellor stated that deleting a cyberbully off of your Facebook account could be a very different and difficult process for youth than for adults.

> Well it's a big thing. You know when you are younger it's like saying that you are not friends anymore. As an adult we know that all the people on our Facebook are not our friends… like… some of them are our friends and other acquaintances and others are just people you know. (C3)

At a later point in the interview, this counsellor also shared: "but students don't really have a handle on that language either. If somebody is your friend on Facebook and they say something or remove you it can be quite damaging because you consider all of those people your friends? They haven't got that separation" (C3). Consequently, the data shows that youth benefit from being able to separate these two parts of their lives.

Moreover, some survivors also spoke about building up their self-esteem as a way of coping with the negative feelings that cyberbullying caused. Cyberbullies often used name calling, insults, and put-downs as a way of attacking their victims; however, when survivors were able to feel good about themselves these negative comments did not seem to have as powerful an effect on them. This was demonstrated when one participant was asked about why they felt that counselling was so effective, and they responded: "You know don't feel bad about yourself and [the counsellor] put a lot of positive reinforcements. They said you are really skilled in these areas focus on these areas that you are really good at and don't focus on these areas" (P10). Furthermore, when asked about which strategy was most helpful in coping with cyberbullying, another participant responded: "for the cyberbullying… I guess it would probably be raising my self-esteem and self-worth. And not umm… comparing myself to other

people because that was a huge thing... Always trying to compare yourself to other people and ummm… So yeah just raising your self-esteem" (P5). In addition, raising self-esteem levels also helped survivors to feel good about themselves. One survivor recommended that individuals affected by cyberbullying should: "Get involved in something where you feel good about yourself. Do some activity where you are feeling good about yourself" (P1). Another survivor recommended that individuals "… Focus on your strengths" (P10). Finally, participant 5 suggested the following:

> And even though there are people who may get you down, at the end of the day like eliminate those negative people from your life. umm.. don't associate with them because that is only going to bring you down further and just surround yourself with positive people and positive energy and do whatever you can to make yourself feel positive about yourself. (P5)

Thus, building one's self-esteem was a positive survival strategy that many youth engaged in. Youth accomplished this in many different ways, including: through internal resources (how you feel about yourself) or external resources (finding things in your life that are positive or that you are good at) or changing your social circle to feel good about yourself.

An additional strategy that survivors spoke about was "reframing the way [they] think". This strategy described how when participants changed the way they thought they were also able to change their feelings or their behaviors in response to cyberbullying incidents. A good example of this was when one participant stated that: "You can't change someone else you can only change yourself or your thoughts about things and the situation" (P6). When participants were able to do this they were able to be more resilient and overcome the negative effects of cyberbullying. For instance, one survivor talked about how this coping strategy made them a stronger individual. "Yes reframing things and looking for the positives in things…. And it just kind of made me a stronger person" (P5). Furthermore, some participants stated that it helped to view the situation in a different light. For instance, one survivor shared:

> you know instead of fighting fire with fire… fight fire with kindness or water… and so I had tried every method known to man and I figured you know what else do I have to loose and I got nothing left. I am not going to let them take high school from me… so I said I will take a different approach to it. (P1)

In this context the interviewee is talking about changing the way they approached the situation. This person decided that instead of getting sad or mad or instead of fighting back that they would try to treat the bully with kindness or empathy. In a similar manner but different context, another youth also decided to change the way that they approached their bullying situation. This participant was being called a "freak" by their bullies and instead of hiding or being embarrassed they decided that they would embrace the word and show others what the benefits of being a "freak" were. For example they shared:

> try to accept what they are calling me and try to show them the good side of being a "freak"…… And I think it was a talent show and she [the teacher] was like maybe we can show the something that they don't know about… something from your home country that they don't know about… so on that day I think I played drums. And then did some drama stuff. And most people were like that's good… that's good. And so I gained a little bit of interaction with them… (P4)

As a result of reframing the 'insult' that their bullies were calling them, this youth was able to gain some respect from their peers and classmates which acted as a buffer from the bullies. Furthermore, by reframing the way they thought about the word 'freak', this survivor was actually able to increase their self-esteem (see previous coping strategy). For instance, they shared:

> The outcome actually…. If someone calls me a freak right now...actually I feel like I have something special that they are liking. So I feel like they are kind of saying 'you are too good in this'. It's kind of like a positive reinforcement, it kind of makes me want to look for something else so that they can be channeling their anger into. (P4)

Another student talked about reframing as the lens in which you view the cyberbullying attack. They stated:

> yeah well there's… let's say you have something written. There is a bad comment about you - you think. And you feel bad about it. And another person reads it and they are a little bit more positive minded and they think about it in a different way. They think about it as if it's a joke or something and if you take everything as positively as you can then there is no negativity…. I believe. You can respond but you can respond in a positive way. In the most positive way and how will they feel if they get… they will feel bad about themselves if the bully umm... if I think about it if they were to say something good about me I would say.. oh… why do it? There is no reason why? And just yeah… just take everything positive and respond positive and it will make two people happy. (P6)

This survivor believed that individuals have the power to view choose how they view a situation and because of this power, they were able to reframe their cyberbullying experiences. Similarly, another survivor spoke about reframing the situation in terms of "it could have been worse" (P7).

In addition, other survivors choose to focus on reframing how they distributed their time or their attention. One participant spoke about "a general refocusing of [their] time basically" (P9). In this process, they cut SNS from their lives and focused on school work and face-to-face interactions. Another participant spoke about how they refocused their attention, stating: "I felt better because I changed my attention. I focused on studying I just felt better and I used the social network to communicate with my other [close] friends" (P11). In addition, a different survivor spoke about how they changed their focus to: "people who appreciate those things about me and not people who don't" (P10). Still others began to "focus on the positive things that [they] wanted from the world" (P6), while some began to "associate with nice people" (P5). Moreover, participant 5 also shared that: "I heard this thing before you diagnose yourself with low self esteem or depression just make sure you are not surrounded by like [mean individuals]… so like that helps a lot. Just staying away from the negative

people" (P5). Finally one individual spoke about how other individuals may need to seek help from professionals in order to change their thought patterns. They shared: "Some people just focus on their thoughts and can't change them for some reason and some people need to be helped to see the way" (P6). This method of coping was also highlighted by the school counsellors in their interviews and it will be discussed in more detail later. As a result, the way the youth think about their experiences can help them to be more resilient and overcome cyberbullying.

Another strategy that survivors reported was effective was participating in was healthy outlets or activities. Some participants viewed these outlets as methods of distractions (P4), while others viewed them as a place to let go of their negative emotions (P6). Alternatively, others viewed them as a chance to feel positive about themselves (P1), while some viewed them as a place and time where they could feel accepted by other individuals (P10). Whatever their reasons for utilizing these healthy outlets, engaging in these strategies helped survivors overcome the negative effects of cyberbullying. For example, one survivor stated:

> The reason I survived is because there were coping mechanisms in place already but you know I am going to like (name of activity) if I hadn't have done that then I probably would have done something stupid. Some people do stupid things, especially when they get bullied right. They feel like they have to end their life or whatever. So … I think that if I wouldn't have made it through that way… if I wouldn't have made it through counselling or whatever [examples previously gave the interviewer - school, studying and continually educating myself] I probably would have done something stupid. (P1)

Survivors participated in many different outlets, including: meditation and mindfulness, journaling, laughter, music, extracurricular activities, exercise, studying, volunteering, or distractions (like TV or reading).

Survivors spoke positively about using mindfulness and meditation as a way of letting their negative thoughts and feelings go. For example, one interviewee shared the following: "uhh…

(laughs)… well I was into meditation right and so my meditation was really helping me focus my thoughts on the things that I want instead of the things that I don't want" (P6). Here the participant was describing how they focused on creating space in their life for new positive things while letting go of negative past experiences (like cyberbullying). Moreover, they also spoke about a time when they became so agitated by their cyberbully that they had to look up meditation as a way to calm down.

> Yeah. There was yeah... but it became so bad at one point that I was home reading and I, you know, I got so mad at one point because a couple of words just reminded me of a couple of responses that I had just received and uh… R:And so at that point what did you do to calm yourself down? P: I started looking up things to relax myself. My [family member] was really into or is really into meditation and I started doing that and started calming my breathing. (P6)

Another participant also spoke about how meditation allows them "to clear their mind and just try to get in touch with your higher self" (P5).Finally, one participant stated that while they did not use meditation at the time they would have benefited from using it because it can help individuals who are really stressed (P7). Participants also reported using journaling as a healthy outlet. Journaling was similar to talking about their experiences. For instance, interviewees stated that they used journaling to "Write how [they] felt, what people did and how [those actions] made [them] feel' (P2). Some individuals spoke about journaling as a way to let their experiences go or to move past them, such as: "Ummm… a lot of it too was just trying to in a sense move past the situation as best I could mentally" (P10). On the other hand, others talked about journaling as a way to vent their feelings. For example, one individual stated "I sub blogged… a way of writing my frustrations" (Subblogging is a way of blogging anonymously and can be considered a form of journaling) (P9).

Laughter was also discussed by interviewees as an outlet or method of coping. For example, one participant discussed how they and their best friend used to "laugh off" their cyberbullying experiences together (P6). Another participant spoke about laughing as a way of changing the way they feel: "I love making my friends laugh especially when I know that they have had a bad day. It's just infectious and

even if I have had a bad day and I make somebody else laugh or somebody makes me laugh… it changes my whole mood" (P2). Also similar to healthy outlet of laughter was listening to music. Participants used this as an outlet to help them cope with their bullying experiences. For example, one individual stated: "And listening to music. I think that listening to music is also a good way to cope. uhhh… I think I can in that time when I listened to music I can imagine the things. I can follow the music internally… maybe the music is about war and I can picture war, maybe the music is about laugh so I will remember my girlfriends… so its ah…" (P11). Additionally, a different participant also spoke about continuing their musical passions even though they were bullied about them. This individual felt that music was a healthy outlet for their feelings and thoughts, as well as an activity that made them happy. They shared:"And then other strategies…I just… music. I am really into music so that was a huge thing for me which that was a huge thing and I still stayed into the music program and I was partly bullied because of that (part removed for confidentiality reasons)... And so like I just pursued those passions and made myself in a healthy outlet" (P10).

Other survivors spoke about extracurricular activities as being a healthy outlet. For instance, participant 4 stated: "what I would tell them… like if... depending on their financial situation… if they are able to afford to join extracurricular activities like maybe rowing or cycling or sports activities, volleyball, hockey, or soccer…". Likewise, P11, P6 & P9 also spoke about playing team sports. Others spoke about getting involved to feel like they were part of 'something' (P1). In a similar vein, some participants spoke about exercising as a healthy outlet. Some survivors talked about trying to be being more active (P3, P6, P10) and signing up for gym memberships (P5). Alternatively, some individuals spoke about volunteering as a healthy outlet (P3 and P5), while others spoke about trying to distract themselves (P11 and P9). For example, participant nine stated that: "I spent a lot more time at home…. watching a lot more TV". Finally, other participants spoke about focusing their energy on studying (P1, P3, P4, P6, P8, P9, & P11). For example, "so I just took a bunch of courses and my time was just devoted to studying and catching up" (P8). Additionally, participant nine stated that they coped by:

"…focusing on other things… ummm... focusing on school – school obviously if school is busy then I can have a strong focus for school and ignore all of that… umm". Therefore, as the above data has shown, healthy outlets are beneficial to youth coping with cyberbullying. Survivors all used a combination of healthy outlets in order to help themselves overcome the negative effects of cyberbullying.

In addition to using healthy outlets as a coping mechanism, some survivors spoke about changing their environment. For example one individual stated:

> umm… I think the really big thing is just umm… going and asking and looking…and seeing where can I get help and how can I make the situation into something that's not negative. Is it removal from the situation is it? Do I need to switch schools? Do I need to find a different group of friends? And really manage it that way. How do I remove all of this negativity? What is making me feel bad about myself and bad inside and try to remove that as best you can.(P10)

This strategy can be considered similar to turning off technology or a specific SNS. Some survivors talked about this strategy as helping them to dissociate from negative people or negative memories. More specifically, some felt that their environment impacted their current level of happiness. For example, one participant shared the following: "I don't know I guess just realizing that…. I also was living with this person at the time and they really didn't want me going out with people that much… so I guess I just turned to the internet and [that person] was actually really like kind of emotionally abusive and I recently moved out and I live with very supportive people now" (P5). In this quote, this survivor is talking about how changing environments not only facilitated receiving more emotional support, but it also helped them to be happier and more in control over their life. Similarly, some interviewees transferred schools (P2, P3, P10, &P11). For instance, participant 11 stated: "You know why I wanted to switch high schools… because in the first schools I had… I just had really bad classmates… So it was a bad influence on my studies so I choose to switch high schools. I think it was a good choice". Additionally, one individual changed classes (P10) because they found themselves just not wanting to

go to school. They stated: "I found that [name of class] where I was in and that's where a lot of the trigger started so I removed myself from that environment and then I just got some supports in that sense to make myself in a safe environment so I changed classes and I restructured that way…". Alternatively, one individual stated that they went on away for the summer months which helped them cope (P9). Some participants spoke about moving and changing environments as a way to get new experiences (P9 &P10) while others spoke about trying to remove negatives from their lives (P5 & P11).

Alternatively, some students spoke about standing up for themselves. For example, P2 shared: "I finally told them enough is enough". Furthermore, other individuals spoke out about bullying back as a method of standing up for themselves. One individual who was a long-term victim of cyberbullying spoke about how it got to the point where they could not take it anymore, sharing that:

> I said you have two options either you deal with [them] or I am going to become a Neanderthal and you won't like that and neither will [their] parents. And then they kind of smartened up and listened. They were like oh we will get [them] to write you an apology… and I said you know you have to stop this before it happens. You know [they] can't write a simple apology for nine years of my life. Like I want it back. (p2)

Another survivor stated that it was pure anger that motivated their retaliation.

> Yeah. It was just pure anger again… with stupid insulting comments I tried. I guess it's obviously not going to work but… Yeah. Or so that they would feel bad... I guess. I didn't really… you know when you are in a certain situation and you got your pen stuck and you try to get it out the same way you did it in the first place and you do it forty times and you just get so agitated. You know… instead of trying to slow down and finding a different way of coping I just did the same thing… (p6)

Similarly, participant 9 also stated that one strategy is to bully back: "ahhh…. One way would obviously be to insult them back. Like if someone is going to hit you, you hit them back… ah…". Finally, one

individual also spoke about their experience with bullying their perpetrator back. They spoke about how their circumstance made them feel like they had no other choice.

> Yeah I did a similarly bad thing… umm… first I asked if it was [them] and [they] just refused. But then I did the same thing… I created an account with [their] pictures and phone numbers and I actually gave [their] home phone… I mean I kind of took it to a level worse than [their] level… and then you know [they] just came up to me and said that they were receiving phone calls at [their] home number and people were talking to [their] mom and dad and so you know [they] apologized and we worked it out and we deleted those accounts. (P7)

In slightly different context, other survivors talked about standing up for themselves as walking away or cutting those individuals from your life. For instance, participant 1 had a strict response, stating things like: "If you are bullying me, you are gone" or "If they are bullying you, you should lose them". Other participants also employed this strategy. For example, one individual said: "I also stayed away from those other people that bullied me too" (P3). As a second example, participant 9 shared: "I just felt I needed to remove myself from the situation and to remove them from my life".

In a similar vein, other survivors spoke about ignoring their bullies as a method of coping. Some individuals simply stated that they "just tried to forget it" (P3). For example, one survivor shared that "it wasn't doing any good, it would just bring more stress and pressure and whatever else [they] don't need in [their] life" (P9). On the other hand, others actively ignored their bullies. One individual shared:"you know and the last little while all I do is ignore them, and I'm like I don't know you" (P1). Participant 5 also stated something very similar: "ummm… yeah I just um… well after a while I just stopped talking to them". Additionally, one individual shared that they were trying to: "Basically ignore it to the point that [their bully] doesn't care anymore… especially like if [they] have come to terms with it or when [they] came to terms with things and it was like well you guys are still saying stuff but it's not going to bother [them] because that's basically beyond the point now…" (P9).

As demonstrated above, participants engaged in a number of strategies that aided them in coping with their cyberbullying experiences. As a result of using offline and online coping strategies, participants became more resilient and were able to overcome their cyberbullying adversities. Which survival strategies survivors activated (the central phenomenon) were influenced by the three supporting themes - internal characteristics, internal feelings, and environmental factors. Internal characteristics and internal feelings positively influenced coping by affecting the amount of coping strategies survivors had to use, as well as the effort that they put into using their survival strategies. The more that these two themes were present in survivors' lives, the more survivors effectively coped. In addition to these two themes, environmental factors also influenced youth's use of survival strategies. Environmental factors can negatively or positively affect youth's ability to cope. For example, if the school lacked prevention or intervention strategies then students would have to rely more on themselves and their own strategies. As a second example, the lack of cyberbullying laws negatively impacts the school environment which then negatively influences survivors' coping strategies. In addition, not only does the environment impact survival strategies, it also impacts the internal and external attributes of youth. For instance, a lack of social support in a youth's life could adversely affect their ability to feel understood. Additionally, as a second example, an adolescent's upbringing can impact their sense of selves or their identity. As a result, these three themes are central in supporting youth's activated survival strategies and thus, they will be discussed in more detail next.

Supporting Theme: Internal Characteristics

The first supporting theme, internal characteristics, describes an individual's personality traits or ways of acting or being. Four categories comprise this theme: sense-of-self, choosing to be a survivor, empowerment, and being able to make sense of the experience. Each of these categories positively influenced survivors' coping strategies. For example, participant five shared that when they had self-esteem and self-knowledge they were better able to disregard their cyberbully's harsh words. Each of these categories will be discussed in more detail next.

Sense-of-self

The category, sense-of-self, refers to an individual's collection of beliefs about who they are as a person and was derived from self-awareness and self-love. This category encompasses two codes: self-knowledge and self-esteem. The code self-esteem refers to feeling good about who you are (self-love); whereas, self-knowledge refers to knowing who you are as an individual (sense of identity). These two codes have a reciprocal influence on one another. When survivors have a good sense of who they are as a person they were able to feel good about themselves, and vice versa. Furthermore, when survivors experienced self-knowledge and self-esteem they were better able to engage in coping strategies, such as: reframing the way [they] think, standing up to the bully, ignoring the bully, turning off technology, and applying online safety strategies. By using these coping strategies, youth were able to overcome their struggles with cyberbullying adversity.

The first code, self-knowledge, refers to one's ability to discover who they are. For example, participant 2 stated: "and then when I got to high school I finally discovered or started to discover who I was as a person…". Another participant described it as: "I am comfortable in my own skin with who I am and who I have chosen to be" (P1). When participants were able to have self-knowledge it positively affected their ability to cope. For instance, this code emerged from the very first interview when the researcher and the participant spoke about having that a sense of identity.

> I am wondering… maybe the difference could be that you have a sense of who you are? P: Right. That sense of identity. R: A sense of who you are. P: I do, I do. Yes! R: I am wondering and I am not sure here, but I am just wondering if for you part of your coping process was that you were secure in yourself? P: Right! Absolutely. (P1)

Additionally, other participants referred to how their sense-of-self impacted their coping faculties. For instance, one participant referred to their sense of identity as being beneficial in standing up to the bully. They stated: "I had decided who I wanted to be and who at the end of the day I had had chosen to be and

I wasn't going to let anyone change it" (P2). At a later point in the interview, they also acknowledged that it helped them establish a barrier that made them able to ignore the bullying. They stated:

> but it was important was that I spent a lot of time alone with myself. And it gave me time to think, to reflect on things…. And work on who I was at the end of the day. My mom had always taught me umm… that think of who you want to be in 5-10 years or where you want to be and to me… when I would sit down in my own thoughts... even though they were jumbled and probably very childish it gave me a chance to find a sense-of-self…. And when I established that sense-of-self it was kind of like I put up a wall or a barrier and no one was getting in unless I let them. (P2)

Furthermore, a second participant stated that their self-knowledge also helped them cope, sharing:

> ummm yes I think that plays a major role in it because it gives you first of all the courage to stand down and try to think why what if these people had that same opportunity you had to understand exactly what was going on… so it kind of makes things a little bit clearer it gives you a stand. There is a certain breaking point compared to someone who doesn't feel like he has a sense of identity. It can hurt but not that deep because you still have other groups to rely on… because for myself I know that at school certain people don't like me but if I go to my (name of club) I have a group of friends. So you feel like you still belong and you are proud of that group you belong to. Yeah but for people who don't have that I would try to encourage them to do something that will help them do something that will boast that sense of identity… if you don't have that sense of identity well then it wouldn't hurt every time… I would say it's like if you lost someone in an earthquake… and every time you hear about an earthquake you still feel that loss if you understand that these types of things happen for a reason and that everyone has their own big D's… big difficulties then you realize that some things happen for a reason. (P4)

Furthermore, another survivor also spoke about the benefits of self-knowledge for their coping. They stated " like if someone is posting bad things about you and you yourself know that they are not true

you, won't believe them… and you have to have a strong or truly believe in yourself…. and just know yourself. If you are comfortable with yourself then it won't bother you are much" (P5). Here this participant is asserting that self-knowledge is power. Thus, when someone cyberbullies you, if it doesn't fit your definition of yourself you can dismiss it or reframe it as not important. As well, another participant spoke about staying true to their passions even though they were bullied about them. They shared that being true to who they are was healing in itself (P10). Finally, even though some participants did not specifically speak about how their identity impacted their coping, they did maintain that it was an essential factor for surviving cyberbullying. When asked about what advice they would give others who had lived through the same thing, one participant emphasized that: "you know you have to be who you are" (p10). Another participant said: "yeah I would say just you know its… here's a thing I say… know your whit's about yourself. Know who you truly are. Don't listen to what anyone else has to say because they don't know the real you" (P5). While another interviewee stated that it is important to: "stay true to yourself and do the things you like" (P6).

The second code, self-esteem or feeling good about yourself, was described by participants as the following: "making me feel good about myself" (p1); "Just happy being [you], that is an important concept" (P5); and "celebrate yourself, know that you are really important, that you do matter to people" (P10). In addition, at a later point in the interview, participant 10 also described self-esteem as the following: "I found that I am really skilled in certain areas and I wanted to celebrate that. Umm… and I think just knowing that I am good enough to be happy and to be with other people and to be in a positive environment… that really helped". Another example of self-esteem was when participant 2 disclosed: "I wouldn't change who I was. I just kept being me. (Pause) and still am… you know. I still have some friends that will poke fun of some of my quarks and my likes… and you know what… I don't really care if you don't like it. I like it. I live in my own skin, I live my life...".

Survivors shared that there were many benefits to having self-esteem. One participant spoke about being able to ignore or reframe the negative effects of cyberbullying: "If you are comfortable with

yourself then it won't bother you as much" (P5). Similarly, participant 10 also spoke about this, stating: "Learning to be your own best friend. That is a huge thing. Cause like if you love yourself it won't matter what other people say. It's… but that's easier said than done. It takes a lot of work. Ummm… learning to do stuff like that [is central]". Moreover, at a later point in the interview, participant 5 also said that having self-esteem enables survivors to stand up for themselves or to ignore their cyberbully. They disclosed: "Yeah. Yeah it did. I mean you can't let people walk all over you and stuff. Yeah just um… you know like I always used to… I always wanted to fit in… but you know you have to be who you are" (P5).One survivor also spoke about self-esteem as a way of reframing the way you look at things and also as a way of encouraging empowerment and standing up. For example: "If you walk in with 100 percent you shouldn't be getting 50, you should be getting 150. If you are with a group of people that don't make you feel better than you did before than you are with the wrong group of people" (P2). Furthermore, another participant also spoke about it as a way of gaining empowerment: "I guess it was more just I wanna move past this event and try to re-own it or re-claim it in a way that I can celebrate who I am" (P10). At a later point in the interview they also shared: "Yeah exactly and focusing on what kind of… what makes you feel best about yourself. Like academics has always been a really strong point of mine so focusing on that even though I was teased for being kind of a nerd in a sense for being always into band and my grades. Focus that and also on people who appreciate that about me and not people who don't" (P10).This particular example shows how this survivor reframed the situation in a way to allow them not only to be empowered but also to overcome any negative feelings associated with it. In a similar but different vein, one school counsellor also spoke about this as a way of deterring cyberbullying. They stated: "She is just happy with who she is and she is just kind of… and when you do that, it's not fun for the person that is trying to victimize you anymore. So they generally go… ahhh… this sucks" (C1). Finally, other participants recommended this as a strategy to others who have lived through the same experiences. For instance, one participant said: "I think that most important is to believe in yourself you must have enough confidence in yourself to face the things because life is just

like this. Life is difficult. You will meet a lot or things just like this. You must ahh… overcome them" (P11). In addition, counsellors also spoke about having self-esteem as a way to prevent or intervene with cyberbullying. For instance, one individual said: "not accepting friends just because you want to like… trying to learn there is a whole other self-esteem realm… like how many friends do you have? well I don't need to be friends with people that aren't truly my friends…" (C3). Alternatively, another individual stated that when counselling affected youth they try to help them build "enough self-esteem to believe in [themselves] that [they] make positive choices in friendships" (C6). As the above information has shown, having self-esteem is a valuable resource to survivors because it allows them to build other positive internal characteristics or feelings, and to engage in meaningful coping strategies.

Choosing to be a Survivor

The second category that emerged as part of the internal characteristics theme is choosing to be a survivor. This category summarizes the mind frame of survivors. When faced with adversity, participants in this study continued on with their lives despite the negative impact that cyberbullying caused. They did this by: possessing inner strength, bouncing back, having the attitude "don't want to let them win", and "looking into the future". Again, like the previous category, these codes had a reciprocal influence on one another. For example, when survivors had 'inner strength' they were able to 'bounce back' or 'look into the future'. Alternatively, when survivors had the mind frame of "don't want to let them win" they were able to 'bounce back', gain more 'inner strength', or 'look into the future'. By possessing these inner qualities youth were able to increase their use of effective survival strategies, as well as overcome and survive cyberbullying.

The first code that comprises this category is inner strength. This internal characteristic can be likened to resilience. Essentially, this code demonstrates survivors' abilities to overcome adverse situations. During their interviews survivors shared that having this internal characteristic is beneficial. For example, one participant shared that:

> I have been kind of a strong person in dealing with these kind of things and am kind of independent to deal with problems but if… it was otherwise… if it was somebody… umm… I don't want to say a weak person but somebody who couldn't have dealt with it the way I did… umm… yeah I would say… I don't know how you could help that person. You know… except for telling them to take it lightly… well not **really** lightly. (P7)

Similarly, another survivor also stated:

> I think it was because I'm already like a strong person… I'm not very… Yeah I was always a strong independent type person… so… that that kind of stuff like it was hard at first but… and I tried to make sure that it wasn't bringing me down. I tried to make sure that my grades wouldn't be affected because I wanted to do bigger and better things… I'm not going to pity my way through. (p8)

Additionally, one counsellor also described their client as strong, sharing: "I don't know if it's home or what but for some reason she is very strong. She is a strong willed girl she just doesn't seem to… I mean she gets it" (C1). Another example of inner strength was when participant 7 shared that: "Nothing like that had ever happened to me I was just a peaceful person. No I didn't know how or couldn't have imagined how I would have dealt with such a situation… until it happened" (P7). In addition, another participant spoke about how individuals need to "have enough self-confidence to overcome situations like these" (P11).

Survivors shared that there were many benefits of possessing inner strength. For example, one participant shared that they were able to ignore or overlook the cyberbullying: "Ummm... Yeah. Exactly trying to be a better person or trying to stay above it" (P9).At a later point in the interview they also shared that they were able to ignore it by reframing it: "it's not going to bother me because that's basically beyond the point now" (P9). Additionally, one survivor talked about building healthy outlets in their life, sharing:

> I also find that not so much inspiration in healing, but inspiration in being a better person is that even if you are hurting on the inside and you smile umm… it can change a whole other person's attitude and when you walk into a room smiling someone will smile back and that alone is an amazing feeling knowing that you don't' even know this person and they are willing to smile at you. (P2)

Moreover, one survivor spoke about loving themselves enough not to flash someone online. They disclosed: "no I wouldn't do something like that. I mean I would think twice about it you know" (P1). As a final example, one participant spoke about using their inner strength to help reframe the importance of the cyberbullying attack in their lives: "just trying to in a sense move past the situation as best [they] could mentally" (P10). All of these coping strategies were a consequence of survivors being mentally strong individuals. Thus, inner strength allowed participants to engage in healthy coping strategies.

'Bouncing back' is the second code that emerged from the data as part of this category. 'Bouncing back' describes survivors' actions or behaviors after being affected by cyberbullying. Essentially, this code described how participants in this study resumed their 'normal' state of being seemingly effortlessly after experiencing cyberbullying. (Please note the following: the definition of 'normal' is individualized and pertains to how each individual was previously living their life and the word 'effortlessly' does not mean to undermine the experiences and struggles of cyberbullying survivors, but rather it speaks to the resiliency of these survivors.)Survivors expressed this code many times throughout their interviews. For example, when asked how they coped following their cyberbullying experiences participant one shared: "I just felt that I needed to deal with the situation". Similarly, participant five shared that they just tried to move on with their life, stating shared: "And I guess ummmm. Just getting over it…" (P5). Additionally, participant eight shared the following: "and after a couple hours of withdrawal you just pick yourself up". Moreover, at a later point in the interview they also shared: "And just like get through it you know… umm… it gets better" (P8). Participant six described their survival experience as:"yeah and I… kept on doing my thing and I put on a different

email" (P6). Later in the interview they also stated: "I just tried to not think about it as much anymore… and… You've got to let it go. And move on to other things because life is too short" (P6). By having the ability to 'bounce back' or rebound from their adverse experiences, participants were able to activate coping strategies like engaging in mindfulness (P5 & P6) and reframing their thinking (P4 & P9). Furthermore, they also begin moving on with their lives(P8) and focus on living in the present moment(P5). As previously noted for other codes, this code also demonstrates participants' resiliency in overcoming cyberbullying.

The third code included in this category is: "Don't want to let them win". This code is written in the participant's language: "So in the end I didn't really want them to win if that makes sense. I didn't want them to say that they are going to take all of this over me because that's not fair to me either" (P10). 'Don't want to let them win' included any data that demonstrated that the participant had the mentality of a fighter. More specifically, the individual did not give into the cyberbully and instead, opted to fight back by continuing to live their life and not changing anything about themselves. For example, participant one shared: "how I survived was just not giving into to the bullies or whatever… and just get on with... like I already had a life before the bullies came along so I just needed to get into more and or to create more of a life for me which I have done" (P1). Similarly, participant 2 stated the following: "I never… I made it my goal to never cry in front of them and to them it was like they were unsuccessful and they couldn't understand why I wouldn't… or I wouldn't change who I was. I just kept being me. (Pause)and still am… you know". At a later point in the interview, they also stated: "ummm… surviving for me was not backing down. That was huge. Because if I gave up they won…." (P2). Furthermore, participant 6 also shared that part of their reason for not blocking their cyberbullies was because they felt like if they blocked them it was like they had given up and the cyberbully had won. Finally, participant eight also discussed this at different times throughout their interview. One example was when they shared the following reflection:

> Well I can't think of any alternative? That was the other thing? What was I going to do? Dwell about it? Let it affect my life? Let myself like turmoil into this abyss of unhappiness? That's what they want! And I'm not giving them what they want. That was another thing! I didn't want to give them what they want. I wasn't going to give them the satisfaction of knowing that I was defeated. I wasn't going to let them have the satisfaction of know that what they were saying to me and about me was actually working? (P8)

As a result of having this mentality, participants interviewed during this study were able to overcome the negative effects of cyberbullying. In addition, they also engaged in coping strategies like ignoring the cyberbully (like P1), standing up (like P2), building their self-esteem (like P10), reframing the way they think (like P2), blocking (in some cases like P1), or turning of technology even if it was just for a while (like P8).

The final code included in this category was looking into the future. This code encompassed any data that was both future-oriented and self-improving. Many of the participants spoke about future goals and aspirations. For example, participant ten spoke about how they pursued specific interests for the future even though they were being bullied because of them.

> … it's going to really help me in the future and so I really pushed my academics. I really pushed my music and in the end I felt a lot better about it and I was actually being really true to who I am. You know? So that was really healing I think too? So yeah. (P10)

By setting goals this participant was also able to build their self-esteem and reframe the message that they were internalizing. In a similar vein, participant eight shared:

> and I know that it feels like really petty but a lot of it is also knowing that I finished my degree. I'm in a master's program. Most of these [people] that were mean to me either dropped out of school, or they are they may be finally just got into a faculty or maybe they are still like taking GPA boosters or stuff like that and they're going to be in school for another 3-4 years… well I'm going to be done my masters by then! And I'm content with my life now. (P8)

At a later point in the interview they also stated: "cause like it kinda actually gave me almost a motivation to be better than them… I know it sounds bad but… I wanted to be better than them. I wanted to get a degree while you guys are being petty and get my life straight while you guys are like…" (P8). Here this participant is demonstrating that by setting goals for themselves they wanted to survive. Furthermore, they actually used their negative feelings about their attackers as motivation to become stronger by engaging in healthy outlets like studying and reading. Along the same lines, participant one stated that: "We each need to make our own choices… I want to go to school". Here this participant was talking about making positive changes in their life by pursuing further education. Participant five also spoke about a very similar thing. They shared: "yeah and umm… I'm trying to just get more umm like just get more of what I want and just try to get my life in line more…R: like trying to get your life in alignment with your goals? P: yeah. Exactly!!" (P5).As a result, this individual is 'looking to the future' for ways that they can improve their life. Another participant also stated that their most important coping strategy was studying. They said: "most important… I think was studying because I'm a student and my work is studying. So when I focused on studying it was meaningful. It was better than others, because others (referring to coping strategies) was just like killing my time. But I can improve my scores by studying"(P11). Consequently, by keeping a future-orientation survivors were able to work through and cope with their negative emotions and thoughts.

As the above information has shown, when survivors possessed 'inner strength', 'bouncing back', the attitude of "don't want to let them win", or when they 'look to the future', they were able to effectively use many different survival strategies, and ultimately they became stronger.

Empowerment

The third category that emerged from the data was empowerment. This category described data that demonstrated an individual's shift from their initial (negative) reactions into one of standing up for themselves or taking control of the situation. This category included three codes: self help: taking control, assertiveness and moment of change (this code pertained to long-term survivors only). When

participants were able to possess these qualities or enact these behaviors they were more active in using coping strategies and they engaged in more effective strategies.

The first code in this category is self-help: taking control. This code described the following: participants' behaviors or actions of engaging in self-help (literally meaning helping themselves), taking control of the situation by asking others for things they need, or finally, activating resources for themselves. For example, participant two spoke about their journey as: "empowering myself… umm... and creating a voice and eventually by the end of high school it had died down quite a bit". Participant one also spoke about how they activated their own self-help strategies. For example, when asked about how they dealt with their cyberbullying experiences, P1 shared that they "dealt with the situation myself". Participant six also shared this outlook, stating: "I usually tried to cope with everything by myself". Furthermore, at a later point in the interview they shared that "we have the power to say and choose how we see a situation" (P6). This survivor actively reframed their negative thoughts while also engaging in meditation. As a result, they took control of the situation using their own resources. On the other hand, participant five dealt with the situation by activating helpful resources. "Ah… I actually I did start attending self-help groups for a bit and umm… they have really helped me" (p5). Furthermore, they also started to focus their goals in life in order to have more positive results. "yeah and umm… I'm trying to just get more umm like just get more of what I want and just try to get my life in line more…" (P5). Participant ten also took a similar approach in that they activated resources as well:

> umm… I think the really big thing is just umm..going and asking and looking on campus and seeing where can I get help and how can I make the situation into something that's not negative. Is it removal from the situation is it? Do I need to switch schools? Do I need to find a different group of friends? And really manage it that way. How do I remove all of this negativity? What is making me feel bad about myself and bad inside and try to remove that as best you can. (P10)

In addition, however, they also activated internal resources by trying "to even get healthier myself not because of what they were saying, just physically trying to feel healthier and mentally healthier for

myself. Ummm… and that's kind of how I started to heal initially" (P10). Finally, participant nine chose to deal with the situation on their own, while also being a role model to others. They stated: "Be a leader for other people as well. Yeah like if it's a group of people you can say like yeah I'm not caring about this so I don't think that you guys should too" (P9). As a result, whether it was activating internal resources or activating external resources for their own use, survivors benefited from these actions because they were able to cope with the effect of cyberbullying better.

The second code included in this category is moment of change. This code was found only in interviews where the cyberbullying lasted longer than a year. It described a feeling of "really not wanting to feel like this anymore" which resulted in participants making changes. These changes referred to things like: taking a stand for themselves, getting outside help, or just changing the way they thought about things. For example, participant two spoke about it in this context: "but that never really did much until I hit that point where you just can't take it anymore and I freaked out. I can be a pretty loud person when I want to be and it kind of got them thinking and it became less one once they realized what I was capable of…" (P2). At a later point, they also shared: "And I had just hit a breaking point and so I just… I did what I needed to do to make them go away. And for a time it did" (P2). Participant five also experienced a moment of change. They shared: "Yeah. Just getting sick and tired of feeling this way. And umm yeah I just wanted to get on with my life…" (P5). Finally, participant ten also spoke about this phenomenon:

> uhhh. I couldn't do it anymore. Like I was depressed I was anxious and I didn't want to go to school anymore and at some point so I was just I was at the breaking point where I just needed help. Ummm… and then I guess some people don't seek help and it kinda becomes too late so… ah my family had noticed that I just really needed some guidance and they were there and then for the healing process… I guess it was more just I wanna move past this event and try to re own it or re claim it in a way that I can celebrate who I am. (P10)

When participants had this moment of change, they were able to change their way of being, and as a result enact positive coping strategies that ultimately led to them becoming stronger.

The final code included in this category was assertiveness, or the quality of being self-confident and asking to get their needs met. This code described an internal characteristic that survivors either possessed naturally or worked to build. When survivors were assertive they were able to ask for what they needed and stand up for their rights in a non-aggressive and non-confrontational manner. This led to increased coping strategies as well as an increase in other positive internal characteristics like self-esteem, self-knowledge, inner strength, self-help, and 'don't want to let them win'. Participants spoke about 'assertiveness' in different ways. For example: "I mean you can't let people walk all over you and stuff. Yeah just um… you know like I always used to… I always wanted to fit in… but you know you have to be who you are" (P5). Similarly, participant two shared that "not backing down" was very helpful to them in their survival process. Participant eight spoke about assertiveness in a different manner. They shared that they wrote a blog entry on cyberbullying saying that "[bullies] think that [they're] being cool cyberbullying people but really [they're] just a coward hiding behind an anonymous user…". As a result of their self-expression, the cyberbullying stopped temporarily. Additionally, participant ten spoke a lot about assertiveness, sharing that others living through the same things should not "be afraid to ask for help" (P10). They also shared that by the end of their healing process they were able to change their way of responding to the world: "I feel like I'm changed now and I can actually stand up for myself now where I couldn't really before as much" (P10). Finally, school counsellors also spoke about building assertiveness skills as a way of preventing or intervening with cyberbullying. This will be discussed in the environmental factors section. As a result of being assertive, survivors were able to state their needs and express themselves, as well as to activate coping strategies like changing their environments by asking for what they needed. As the above information has shown, when survivors experienced a moment of change, activated self-help strategies and exhibited or gained assertiveness, they were able to effectively use many different survival strategies.

Being able to make Sense of the Experience

The last category in the internal characteristics theme is 'being able to make sense of the experience'. This category reflects the need of survivors to have an understanding of why things happened or making sense of the experience in their lives. This occurred in three different ways: finding the reasons or the meaning behind it; empathy for the bully: understanding their side of things; and finally, knowing that 'it's not about me, it's about them. When survivors were able to make sense of their experiences they were able to become stronger; such as, they supplemented their developed positive internal characteristics (or feelings) or they actively engaged in meaningful coping strategies.

The first code described by participants was 'finding the reasons: the meaning behind it'. This code described how survivors interpreted the meaning of their experience within their lives. For instance, participant two shared:

> there is always room to grow and change and take from every situation even if it is negative… make a positive… and I think that helped me a lot growing up. You know stopping and realizing that the experience behind every tear there is something to be taught. And there is always something to learn and I am better and stronger and happier because of this….and then I ummm… in my high school years I made some of the closest friends I will ever have and they definitely got me through a lot in high school… and I will probably be friends with them until I am old and grey and crotchety (laughs)… but… umm… when I had real true honest friends I… umm… it was almost like a sense of relief had come over me cause there were good people in the world who weren't evil and malicious and that definitely gave me a sense of confidence… (P2)

This quote shows how this survivor sought to make sense of their story. Part of their healing process was reframing this negative event into a positive one. For instance, they were not only able to find the reasons behind things, they also realized that they are 'better and stronger and happier' as a result of working through it. In addition, not only did they make new friends (external influences on internal

feelings), they also gained confidence (assertiveness).Moreover, at a later point in the interview, they also stated:

> everything happens for a reason…. You miss a bus for a reason. You are late for work for a reason… you are never not where you aren't suppose to be… so that was definitely like a really big lesson that I learned as a kid that everything…. And I guess that's one of the reasons that I kind of changed my path. I have been through so much and instead of throwing it on the back burner that I can do something really awesome with it… and you know realize that kids out there aren't alone and they have someone to talk to. (P2)

In this quote they are speaking about how they changed their goals (looking to the future) so that they can pursue a helping profession to help youth who have also experienced cyberbullying and bullying. As well, participant four also spoke about how they made sense of their experience.

> Yep. Yep. Because I can say that some people like depending on the family that they are coming from… okay well some people, the social life between their parents kind of effects how they react to other people, so they are trying to look for a way to channel their anger. So if you don't know that person you can kind of be judging them but ahh… it's not really [their] fault. So [they] want someone to release all of the anger on. But when I understand about that, especially the principle of family and how everyone treats each other in the family… not everyone is lucky to be in a good family. So. I realized that some people so what they do not because they like it but because the situation forced them to do it. (P4)

As this quote demonstrates, part of this survivor's healing process was making sense of why their bully acted the way they did. At a later point they also stated: "I would say it's like if you lost someone in an earthquake… and every time you hear about an earthquake you still feel that loss if you understand that these types of things happen for a reason and that everyone has their own big D's… big difficulties then you realize that some things happen for a reason" (P4). By reframing the situation, this individual was able to make the bullying experience about the bully and not about them (it's not about me, it's about

them). Furthermore, they also shared that: "you first of all take information and try to analyze it yourself. And once you understand it, it makes things… it makes the picture clear. Because you cannot agree with something like you don't understand" (P4). Thus, by having an understanding of the situation, the survivor was able to regain some of the power that is taken away from cyberbully victims. Having knowledge or understanding was a way of empowering survivors. Participant 5 also spoke about how they made meaning out their experience.

> Like everything happens for a reason and ummm… just knowing that this happened for a reason and maybe like it wasn't what I was meant to do and like now that I look back on it… the people that I was talking to weren't really nice people anyway so it kind of did work out for the better. Now I have nothing to do with those people like so... now I know who my real friends are. (P5)

In this quote, this participant not only found meaning in their experiences, they also reframed things in a positive light which allow them to maintain and gain self-confidence and self-esteem. Participant seven also spoke about finding meaning, sharing: "when you go through difficulties or challenges like this you know once you are done it really tells you a lot about yourself… So I kind of see that as a learning experience…. It may have negative effects, but it's still valuable learning" (P7). This quote exemplifies how this participant not only made sense of their experience but they also gained self-knowledge which allowed them to have a better sense-of-self. Finally, participant one also spoke about needing to make sense of why individuals bully.

> Yeah… like… understanding why someone would make that comment right? It's not just like oh I want to fight you because you said that comment and it's like oh well why would you say that to me? It's like what made you say something like that? What makes you want to openly bash me on the internet? Right? So that other people can see. (P1)

This quote speaks to how they did not experience anger or sadness as a result of being cyberbullied, but rather, they wondered why or needed answers. At a later point in the interview, P1 also shared that:

> The other thing that gets me is that like: "Why do you want to bully someone? Just because I am different than you? You know, and it actually goes back to what a friend of mine said a couple of years ago. She said "it's not about you it's about them". So you know if somebody says you should get your hair done this way you know or you are a real freak then **they** should look in the mirror. They shouldn't bully someone. (P1)

In a similar manner to participant four, this survivor understood that the bullying was not really about them, but rather it was about their bully. Thus, as the above data has shown, when participants made sense of their experiences, they were also able to gain other positive internal characteristics or feelings and engage in effective coping strategies like reframing.

The second code in this category is empathy for the bully: understanding their side of things. Part of making sense of the experience for some survivors was being able to understand the bully's side of things. For instance, participant two shared:

> Ummm… and I also umm… I people watch a lot. I watch people's body language and their interactions with other people and… ummm… I see people. I have interacted with people that don't have what I have… and I think that's where the sadness came in… especially for people that bullied me… that they didn't have the love and the compassion that I had at home. And I think that's where a lot of their anger came from and they needed to vent. And so I can honestly say that ummm… seeing other people and their situations and finding out why they do what they do umm… inspires me not only to help myself but to share and make other people aware and inspire other people to be better. (P2)

This particular example demonstrated how codes within a category are related. Part of this survivor's experience was finding the reasons behind why individuals bully which them resulted in them experiencing empathy for the bully. This quote also demonstrates how this survivor did not just cope with their negative experience, instead, they became stronger. Participant four also spoke about having empathy for their bullies. They also shared the following:

> ummm…for example if someone says… calls you a freak. So try to look at how [they] came up with describing you as a freak. So try to analyze on [their] perspective what makes [them] first of all react like that. So by analyzing that, most of the time I can realize most of the people who call me that they had struggles in math or science or stuff like that and I came quickly to realize that it's not their fault. Especially labs. Some of the labs – most people don't like labs especially in high school. (P4)

Furthermore, at another point, they also shared: "I tried to understand these students and I realized that [they]were kind of suffering from [their] parents splitting up at a very young age and that kind of thing" (P4). These two quotes show how this individual tried to see things through the eyes of their bullies in order to make sense of their experience. Sometimes the source of their bullying experiences came from frustrations about not being able to understand complicated school subjects and at other times it was about their family life. By making sense of the experience through the eyes of their bullies, survivors were able to let go of some of the negative feelings associated with their bullying experiences. For instance, one individual shared that: "It helps to help you forgive people and to understand how people deal with their situations" (P4). Similarly, participant five also spoke about understanding how the cyberbully may feel. For example, they said: "… like try to have sympathy for them… like they must be hurting if they are doing that. Like for me to do that… well those people must have thought that I did something to them… just having sympathy. Like maybe compassion if you can (pause…) compassion for them" (P5). In addition, one counsellor also spoke about how their client also tried to understand how their cyberbullies felt: "they stated you know they are not happy and they… so that I am just the person that they decide to say this to" (C1). In this quote the counsellor is talking about how their client understood that their cyberbullies were unhappy, and because of this they ended up being the target of their unhappiness. As a result of survivors having an understanding of things from the bullies' perspectives, they were better able to engage in coping strategies, like reframing (P2, P4 & P5), ignoring (P5), and talking about it (P2). As well as, they also were able to enhance other internal characteristics

like finding the reasons, "it's not about you, it's about them" (P2), self-esteem (P5) and inner strength (P4).

The final code included in this category is "it's not about me, it's about them". Again, this code came directly from a participant's interview - "You know and it actually goes back to what a friend of mine said a couple of years ago. She said 'it's not about you, it's about them'" (P1). This code describes data that demonstrated how survivors made sense of their experience by understanding that in the end the bullying was not really about them. Thus, sometimes the cyberbullying that they experienced was a way for their bullies to vent about their own lives. This is vividly illustrated in a quote by participant six:

> Yes. There are some people who don't realize how it can affect other people. Some people have troubles with that reframing and if they get bullied on a daily basis they have problems with this and umm... but ummm… They have to realize that the internet is just a medium for some people to vent anger or umm… and that everything that has been said is not really about them but yeah… its more about the person that talks – it's their issues that they have to deal with instead of the other way around. (P6)

Many participants shared that part of their survival experience was adopting the frame of mind that the cyberbullying really wasn't about them. For example, participant two shared: "…. and I find that the individuals that bullied me… it wasn't so much because I was weird or overweight or whatever. It was because they were jealous" (P2). Participant eleven also felt very similar - "Yeah. I think that [they're] jealous" (P11). Furthermore, participant nine shared that they felt that part of their survivor experience was "just about realizing that it is really not about you in the end" (P9). Similarly, participant five also shared that those who have lived through the same things should: "…just don't take it personally like if you know you didn't do anything wrong try not to take it personally…" (P5). Counsellors also supported this viewpoint. For instance, C5 shared that when working with cyberbullied youth they try to:"teach that child that bullies do it for their own reasons which helps them to realize it's not about me it's about them having problems". As result, when survivors are able to making sense of the experience

through realizing that the bullying isn't necessarily about them, they are able to enhance or maintain their sense-of-self, including their self-knowledge and self-esteem. Consequently, they may be more inclined to engage in additional positive coping strategies.

As the data has shown sense-of-self, choosing to be a survivor, empowerment, and being able to make sense of the experience are all inter-related categories in the theme of internal characteristics. This theme is also influenced by the second supporting theme: external influences on internal feelings.

Supporting Theme: External Influences on Internal Feelings

The second supporting theme, external influences on internal feelings, describes how individuals in survivor's lives contributed to how they were feeling internally. Two categories are included in this theme: feeling accepted and feeling understood. These two categories had a reciprocal influence on each another. For instance, when individuals have a sense-of-belonging it is likely that they will be able to talk and feel understood. Additionally, when individuals are validated it is also likely that they will feel a sense-of-belonging. Thus, although each of these categories is distinct, they influence each other. Furthermore, each of these categories positively influenced survivors' coping strategies and their internal characteristics. When survivors felt accepted, they were able to increase their self-esteem and self-knowledge. For example, one survivor stated the following about making a new group of friends: "it definitely gave me a sense of confidence… you know knowing that I wasn't the weird loner that nobody wanted to be friends with… ummm…" (P2).Finally, as a second example, when survivors felt understood they were able to engage in additional coping strategies like continuing to talk about it; for instance, participant two also shared that if cyberbullied "you should continue to talk about it to whoever would listen".

Feeling Accepted

The first category included in this theme is feeling accepted. This category described participants' feelings of inclusion. It included two codes: sense-of-belonging and feeling like you are not

alone. This category contributed to survivors' abilities to become stronger through enhancing their coping strategies and reinforcing their internal characteristics and feelings.

The first code included in this category is sense of belonging. This code encompassed participant data that described being a part of a group or a friendship that led to a feeling of acceptance. For instance, participant two spoke about finding individuals who appreciated them. They shared:

> Another thing for healing would be… meeting people who really appreciate who I was as a person regardless of how weird or loud or strange I was. They just liked being around me… and that didn't happen until high school. It took a long time, but it would. (P2)

Additionally, this survivor also spoke about the many benefits of having a sense of belonging. First they stated: "when you find that one person you just feel like you are going to be okay. Because you still have that one person at the end of the day you are not totally alone" (P2). Moreover, there was also the benefit of knowing that there may be other individuals who are nice - "it was almost like a sense of relief had come over me cause there were good people in the world who weren't evil and malicious" (P2). Finally, finding a group of friends also allowed them to:"build a sense of confidence… you know knowing that I wasn't the weird loner that nobody wanted to be friends with… ummm…" (P2). Similarly, participant eight also found a new group of friends in their healing process:

> And I started meeting people that were like in the same boat as me. So out of circle of friends, well not friends, circle of people that I knew just expanding to new social networks... groups of friends… and now I just have a totally different group of friends. (P8)

This participant's quote demonstrates how finding new friends can help build one's sense-of-belonging (feeling like they are 'in the same boat') which then facilitated feelings of acceptance. Participant 4 also spoke about this, sharing: "because for myself I know that at school certain people don't like me but if I go to my [sport's] club I have a group of friends. So you feel like you still belong and you are proud of that group you belong to" (P4). Here there was a feeling of pride that accompanied their sense-of-

belonging, which consequently allowed them to also build their self-esteem. Additionally, participant ten shared:

> oh huge yeah. Because the idea of having people who are you know similar to you and like you… and you know high school is tough I think for anyone and I think just being able to be accepted especially if you are a kid who doesn't really who is not super outgoing and just being able to have a place or a space where you are comfortable with your friends. Doesn't matter how many friends you have just a place where you can connect. (P10)

This quotation highlights the benefits of having friends where you can be your 'true-self' and also feel accepted. Feeling a sense-of-belonging was important in survivors' healing processes because it allowed them to feel accepted. Once survivors felt accepted, they were able to enhance other internal characteristics like their self-esteem and sense-of-self.

The second code that emerged is 'feeling like you are not alone'. This code described when participants recognized that their feelings and/or experiences were universal. Essentially, it described a feeling of universality. Universality refers to a counselling phenomenon where individuals recognize that others share similar feelings or that one's problems are not unique (Yalom, 2005). Participant five vividly defined this code stating: "the self-help groups they were basically groups where you shared your experiences like you shared your… just like umm reaching out to people and hearing people with the same experiences just made you feel like you are not alone and stuff" (P5). Furthermore, they also shared: "Yeah so it's just really nice. And you know you can just share your experience too and they are completely supportive of everybody else and they understand like it's like… you are not alone there are people going through the same thing… and umm…" (P5). This quote described the feeling of 'not being alone'; essentially, the feeling that other people could understand their experiences and relate to their adversities. Participant six also described this: "My friend who was with me the whole time… He was right by my side. And you know... when someone said something about me he would engage that person and vice versa…" (P6). Furthermore, they also described how this feeling facilitated their ability to cope

or reframe their thought: "I guess that's another reason why I didn't feel… why I could change my thoughts so quickly because I had someone. It wasn't just me against the world" (P6). Participant nine also discussed the benefits of not feeling alone.

> I'd say seeing it with others… so again the social support. Yeah like if it's you yourself it's a little bit different right? But if it's everyone else then everyone else can also be like "oh I saw this too… this is how I feel…" Then you get all separate opinions rather than just your own. (P9)

This survivor shared that being able to talk about their experiences with others helped them to cope. Furthermore, the individuals that they talked to were able to understand how they were feeling because they were also affected by cyberbullying, and thus they felt understood. This particular example highlights the connection between the two codes in this category – feeling accepted and feeling understood.

Additionally, participant ten also spoke about their experiences with feeling not alone. They shared that it was central to their survival – "just not feeling like you are the only one. Feeling like other people have gone through it and survived". Furthermore, they also shared that they benefited from this feeling of acceptance.

> Cause I felt a lot of guilt and I felt a lot of… kind of… like I was the only one I guess too. Like I was a kid who was a little over weight and like I had asthma and whenever we would go running I would have to stop halfway through… and they made me feel accepted…. to really foster the idea that I wasn't alone and really making me feel good about myself. (P10)

Thus, not only did this survivor experience the sense that they were not alone they were also able to building their self-esteem. As this data demonstrates, when participants felt not alone, they were able feel accepted as well as to build internal characteristics and coping mechanisms.

Feeling Understood

The second category grouped in this theme is feeling understood. This category of data encompassed those moments when others endorsed survivor's feelings and thoughts as making sense. Basically, other individuals were able to empathize with their feelings, thoughts, and actions. Participants experienced this in three ways - talking and feeling heard, validation or normalization, and receiving guidance.

The first code in this category is talking and feeling heard. This code described participants' experiences with sharing their story and feeling sincerely heard. Participant two spoke about this a lot throughout their interview. For example, they shared the following advice to others dealing with the same situation – "find someone to talk to because when you find someone that will understand or give you advice and have you back… you can conquer the world like that…" (P2). They also spoke about the benefits of talking and feeling heard, sharing: "It's the human reaction and I mean communication again talking… is so important to surviving and coming out on top. And then when you have that one person they will tell you… they will reinforce your sense-of-self and so that becomes your barrier" (P2). This quote demonstrates how having a sense-of-self can help survivors to increase their use of coping strategies, such as: ignoring the cyberbullying, blocking them, turning off their technology, or standing up for themselves. In addition, participant five also shared their experience with telling their story, stating: "And you know you can just share your experience too and they are completely supportive of everybody else and they understand…" (P5). In this quote they are sharing their experience with attending a psychotherapy group. Alternatively, participant ten spoke about their desire for a support group sharing that: "having a support group on campus or at school if there was a group of students who wanted to just talk about it or like after school programs where you can feel accepted. We didn't have that and that's something that I wish we did" (P10). In this quote this survivor is sharing their wish for more programs for youth affected by cyberbullying. Other participants also shared a similar outlook. For instance, participant nine stated that the following would be helpful to others: "I would definitely say having someone to talk to or even having a central person to understand some of the conflict" (P9).

Correspondingly, participant ten shared something similar: "Talk to your friends. Umm… talk to people who you think understand you. Definitely go to a counsellor if you have one". Thus, participants not only benefited from this experience personally, but they also recommended it to others. As a result, it is clear that telling your story and feeling understood is a central component to surviving cyberbullying.

Validation or normalization is another way that participants reported feeling understood. This code included two very similar concepts validation and normalization. Validation referred to experiences where survivors' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors were acknowledged and accepted by another individual. On the other hand, normalization referred to experiences where survivors' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors were accepted as being common to others who have also lived through the same thing. When survivors felt validated or normalized by other's they felt understood. For example, participant two spoke about this, stating: "what's the word I am looking for… vindication for the way that I felt and for the way that I reacted because I always thought that I would over react or read into things differently. But in the end I wasn't… they validated my feelings…." (P2). They also shared that feeling validated was a central part of their survival experience -"And being told that my feelings were my feelings no matter what was a huge part" (P2). Moreover, this survivor also shared some of the benefits of feeling validated and normalized, disclosing that: "when someone vindicates how you feel… you just feel like you are going to be okay… and it gives you that sense-of-self" (P2). Thus, for this survivor feeling validated resulted in helping them to build their internal characteristics. Participant four also reported that feeling normalized was part of their healing experience. They stated:

> And she was also struggling with weight issues. She had a little bit of extra pounds and stuff like that. She was also preparing a wedding for her daughter… those kinds of discussions, interactions, her telling me about her problems and having my own problem. Well I can kind of see that everyone has something….. Cause it was putting in perspective that everybody has their own issues and while they might be different… everyone has things that they go through in life. (P4)

Here this participant was sharing that feeling normalized was a way of healing; for instance, just knowing that other individuals have their own struggles allowed them to feel comforted. Additionally, during the interview, participant five also shared that feeling normalized and validated was an important part of their survival process. The discussion went as follows:

R: and what about mom? What was her role in that?

P: I guess cause she's known me ever since I was small and she understands anything basically… because a lot of the times I think that what I'm thinking is silly or something??

R: self doubt?

P: Yeah. Exactly.

R: She kind of validates that for you? Normalizes it?

P: Yeah. (P5)

Finally, school counsellors also spoke about normalizing experiences for the youth that they worked with. C2 shared that they feel that an important part of the healing process for teen is:"knowing that they are not alone…. Even though they may think they are…" (C2). Meanwhile, C4 also shared that allowing students to share their stories with others is an important strategy. They said: "It's personal to them, it's important to them… and they are so happy to find out that they are not a freak show. There are other people who have the same thing to say…" (C4). Consequently, feeling normalized and validated was an important part of survivors' experiences.

The final code included in this category is receiving guidance. Survivors often spoke about advice or guidance that friends, family, or counsellors provided them with. For example, participant one spoke about a 'wise person' that counselled them to remove the bullies from their life. Similarly, participant two spoke about their 'internet friends', sharing that: "even though I never met them they still provided a way to vent and a lot of them were older than me so they could give me some form of… umm guidance" (P2). Additionally, participant eight spoke about meeting new friends who helped provide them with knowledge. They shared the following:

> P: yeah. Especially like people that are older and you know they are more… well you know when you are in first year of university education you don't know anything right? So people who knew everything and people who… (long pause). (P8)

Participant five also shared this sentiment, stating that they sometimes preferred the company of older individuals.

> That's so true. Even like um… becoming friends with older people that really made it yeah cause like just you know looking at them as role models and like a lot of people – younger people are just always on their cell phones and like the internet and they are always messaging people. (P5)

In this quote, this participant was referring to how they changed their perspective regarding the importance of technology in their lives; in fact, they even 'turned off technology' for a while. At a later point in the interview, they also spoke about how their younger siblings were role models for them.

> yeah well… my siblings are believe it or not younger than me… I'm __ years old actually. And they are not very sociable - they don't really… they are not really into that. And even though they are younger they have been really big role models for me… they are like "I don't care about that!" they don't care about being in the in-crowd or anything like that. They aren't really worried about that… and they just enjoy things. They are perfectly happy. Yeah they have been… like I should be a role model to them… but they are really a role model to me. They have actually helped me a lot. (P5)

This quote demonstrates how family members can help to model different ways of thinking and behaving. As a result of this, this survivor was able to reframe their thoughts as well as their behavior. In a similar vein, participant eleven also spoke about how his sibling was a role model to them, stating: "maybe it is from my [sibling]. One of my [siblings] suffers from a lost lover and when [they] broke up with [their][romantic partner], [they] just did things like me - like communicated with [their] friends and focused on studying and practiced [their] cooking" (P11). In this quote this participant was speaking

about how they modeled their coping strategies after their siblings. As a result of incorporating these strategies, they were able to engage in effective coping strategies. As a final example, participant four also shared their experiences with receiving guidance, stating that:

> About understanding why people behave like that… it is the bible study group I have that… I don't know if you have ever heard of (name of religious group) but those are the ones that helped me… They are the ones who helped me out a lot with understanding. (P4)

This excerpt demonstrated how this participant learned to empathize or understand their bullies' experiences. Thus, they were able to make sense of their experience as a result of learning from their mentors.

As the data has shown, feeling accepted and understood are both interconnected categories in the 'external influences on internal feelings' theme. Furthermore, when youth felt accepted or understood they were able to engage in effective survival strategies, as well as build important internal characteristics. Both of these were essential in the process of becoming stronger.

Supporting Theme: Environmental Factors

The third and final supporting theme, environmental factors, describes individuals and things in survivors' external environments that influence their ability to cope, in addition to their internal characteristics and feelings. This theme is comprised of six categories, including: support systems, school prevention, school intervention, upbringing, societal influences and emotional maturity. Again, as in the previous themes, these categories all influenced each other. For instance, lack of cyberbullying laws (societal influences) influenced the school's ability to intervene with cyberbullying. Furthermore, survivors' support systems also effected schools' prevention and intervention strategies. For instance, if parents are actively monitoring their children's internet use, it makes prevention and intervention more effective. More importantly, however, these categories of data had both direct and indirect influences on survivors' abilities to cope and their internal characteristics and feelings. For instance, the emotional maturity of survivors directly impacted their survival strategies such as their wiliness to block

cyberbullies or limit access to their SNS profiles. Additionally, schools' prevention and intervention programs also positively or negatively influenced how a survivor was coping. For example, participant two did not receive help from their school and struggled to deal with the cyberbullying themselves; whereas, participant ten received a lot of help from their school including the suspension of their cyberbullies and they shared that this facilitated their coping process. As a final example, support systems could directly influence whether or not youth felt accepted and understood. Thus, environmental factors had both an indirect and direct impact on an individual's ability to cope with the adverse effects of cyberbullying. These categories will be discussed in more detail next.

Support Systems

The first category to emerge from the data is support systems. It is listed first because every survivor spoke about its importance in their healing process. This category included data that described participants' supportive resources in their lives. Supportive resources often impacted survivors positively by helping to instill feelings of being cared for by another person. These supportive resources took different forms such as: emotional support like nonjudgmental listening, empathy, encouragement or nurturing; assistance like being an advocate; and informational support like advice or psycho-education. This category of data was subdivided into different groups of social support based on the individuals' relationships or roles in the survivor's life. Four codes emerged from the data: family, (mothers),friends, teachers, and counsellors.

The first code survivors discussed is family support. For example, participant two shared that family support was central to their survival experience. "Being told that no matter what happened that I would always be loved and cared for even if at the end of the day I was meant to have no friends and only my family… umm.. I would be okay" (P2). Additionally, participant ten spoke about their family as being "central to healing", stating that: "My family was also a huge support network during that time" (P10). In addition to family, some survivors spoke specifically about their mothers. This emerged as the second code in this category. Participant two in particular shared that their mother's support was a core

factors in their survival and coping process. Throughout the interview they spoke fourteen times about their mother's involvement in their coping process. One of the most poignant quotes was the following:

> Ever since I was a kid she always made me feel that I can open up and tell her anything I need to tell her with no judgment, no fighting, no arguing and 100 percent honesty because not only did she give me the environment to be honest in, she gave me honesty back and I can honestly say that if she hadn't been my mother and or I had been in different circumstances I don't think that I would have survived to this day. (P2)

In addition, participant five also spoke about their mother's support, stating: "My mom she was helpful… she understands anything basically…" (P5). Thus, for some survivors their family's social support or their mother's support was a central factor in their survival process.

Moreover, every survivor interviewed also spoke about their friends as a support system. Some examples of this code in the data are as follows. Participant two shared that: "I have friends that love me and that want to be around me'. In addition, participant ten also shared that their friends were central to their healing process:

> ummmm…. Oh the support networks around me so definitely family and friends. Umm… the group of friends that I had had they all held academics and music really central to them too so that group of people that I was with really were pivotal to me. Ummm… the area that I was getting bullied… unfortunately they weren't in that area so they could be that stand up or that back up for me either and they didn't really see how bad it was after school or you know before school. Ummm… but definitely those people at school who were a strong support network. (P10)

Furthermore, participant eight also shared their experiences, stating:

> I had a couple of friends that I would talk to and they were very supportive of the situation and they were very supportive of like "oh they're stupid or they're they don't know what they are

> talking about" and they would just be with me so that they wouldn't have to be alone because I was scared to be alone. (P8)

In addition, participant eleven also shared that their friend was central in healing process, stating:

> but I think my friend helped me the most. Because I always call [them] to talk about what happened and how I lost a good friend… So I think that friend helped me a lot. And [they] also told me how to solve this problem, such as I should forget things and focus my attention on studying and [they] also told me that I could join him and his other friends. (P11)

As a final example, school counsellors also spoke about how the youth they worked with relied on their friends for support. "She said the thing that helped her the most was knowing that ahh… all her friends were there for her" (C2). Thus, as the above data has shown, friends were a really essential environmental component in individuals' lives that helped them survive.

The third code that emerged was teacher support. Two survivors spoke about how teachers were influential in supporting them. Participant four shared that their teacher actually helped them to avoid cyberbullying by educating and supporting them to limit access to their SNS profile and their cell phone number. They also stated that their teacher was essential in helping them cope with their bullying experiences. In addition, participant ten also spoke about a teacher who advocated for them to their school administrators and helped them switch classes so they weren't confronted with their bullies face-to-face every day.

The last code that emerged as part of this category was counselling support. Five participants spoke about this. Three survivors reported that the support from their counsellors was central in their healing process. For instance, participant one shared that their counsellor was "the number one person" who influenced their healing process and they recommended that other youth who were affected by cyberbullying "seek counselling". Participant five also positively about their counselling experience sharing that their counsellor also "connected [them] with all these other resources" which were

beneficial to their healing process. Finally, participant ten shared that their high school counsellor was pivotal in their healing process.

> I would say my high school counsellor for sure was really helpful, because he was the advocate to help me get removed from situations and to really foster the idea that I wasn't alone and really making me feel good about myself and better about the situation. so… I would say that he was the most pivotal person for healing for sure. (P10)

Thus, these three individuals valued the support of their counsellors in their survival process. On the other hand, two participants spoke about their lack of access to counselling. For example, participant seven shared that:

> Actually I didn't have a school counsellor back where I was studying. This was in another country and we didn't have a school counsellor there. I wish there had been one… maybe the school counsellor would have given a better advice or he may have seen the person I was suspecting cyberbullied me… yeah. I could have been… I could have felt more… like not as helpless… (P7)

Participant eleven also shared that they wish that they had access to counselling, stating the following:

> Yeah I think it is. I think that second point is… I think the school should set up an advisor where some people can help students get off, take off it. (N.B. they are referring to getting the cyberbullying material off the Internet) And you know I have teachers who major in psychology. So I think… uh… and they can help if the students get into trouble in the… just like me… get into trouble with cyberbullying. Cause the teacher can help them… take off… this thing. I forget the word… help them through it. (P11)

These two youth shared that they felt that counselling would have been beneficial to have in their environment. Moreover, their ability to cope with cyberbullying was impacted by their lack of access to counselling. Therefore, counselling support was an essential environmental element in survivors' lives. As the data above demonstrates, it is clear that social support from families (moms), friends, teachers

and counsellors was pivotal in helping survivors overcome the negative effects of cyberbullying. In addition to social support, the school environment also impacted individual's ability to cope.

School Environment: Prevention

The second category that emerged from the data is school environment: prevention. This category included data that described schools' efforts to stop cyberbullying from occurring or their employed prevention strategies. For instance, one counsellor shared that their school uses: "a lot of preventative stuff..... Obviously it's more useful, because ahh once they are cyberbullied it is just a whole different animal" (C2). Additionally, another participant shared that: "really it's all about catching something before it happens…" (C4). How active schools were with their prevention strategies directly impacted youth. For instance, if schools were not active with prevention strategies adolescents had to learn how to deal with cyberbullying on their own or they had to advocate for themselves to their school's administration. Furthermore, without prevention strategies being implemented by schools, individuals will likely continue to cyberbully others. Participant two discussed how prevention is essential to preventing the perpetration of cyberbullying, stating: "Because I feel like when you try to intervene at a young age they kind of… it knocks some sense into them. Cause I feel like once you are an adult its already breed into your personality and it's part of who you are… and at that point there is nothing stopping you unless you know something catastrophic happens to you" (P2). On the other hand, if schools promote prevention strategies youth may benefit by implementing these strategies and thus, circumvent the possibility that they will become a victim. For example, participant four was able to prevent cyberbullying from occurring in their life by engaging in online safety strategies. They were advised to do this by a teacher who used psychoeducation strategies to inform them about how best to limit their bully's access to them. For instance, the following conversation occurred in our interview:

> P: The good thing is that I wasn't adding anyone into my account. So like for example, them I wasn't adding any of them.

R: So you took sort of preventative steps?

P: Yeah. Well actually, I was being told to do that.

R:Ohhh and who was telling you to do that?

P: The teacher, the one I told you about. She was the one who told me about all that stuff and I was kind of trying to find ways to reduce my contact with them. So. Yeah. (P4)

Thus, a school's prevention efforts can both positively and negatively impact a survivor's coping process. Prevention strategies took many different forms, and thus each type of strategy was coded individually. They included the following: proactive strategies, psychoeducation: knowledge translation strategies, increasing awareness, creating a culture of openness, and divisional policies.

The first code included in this category is increasing awareness. This code included strategies that were aimed at increasing awareness about cyberbullying. This strategy was both proactive in the sense that its goal was to achieve awareness, as well as preventative in that the knowledge supplied to individuals taught them how to stop cyberbullying from occurring. Schools created awareness campaigns aimed at educating students, staff (teachers and administration), and parents or the community. Many counsellors spoke about the importance of increasing awareness. For example, counsellor three shared that: "understanding, awareness, umm… you don't know until you know. So umm... students definitely need to be informed and I guess as a counsellor myself… being aware" (C3).Additionally, they also shared that "providing awareness was huge in terms of [strategies for] teachers and parenting" (C3). Furthermore, one school administrator spoke about how when they learned that cyberbullying was occurring in their school they "made sure that staff was aware and incorporated that into the kinds of culture building that would happen in the classroom contracts" (C4). In addition, they stated:

Umm… whole class and whole school is what I think you need to say there. It's that there need to be systemic kinds of supports - so where you can work with the whole class as a community

> and the whole school as a community. I think is where you make the biggest difference. And that includes parents, and all staff.(C4)

In this quote, this participant is speaking about how awareness strategies must extend beyond just informing students; instead, awareness campaigns should include the whole community. Because awareness was essential in preventing cyberbullying, schools implemented strategies to begin increasing awareness. For example, C4 shared that they promoted cyberbullying awareness in their school newsletter by doing the following:

> We ran for a two-year period a monthly newsletter feature about cyberbullying. What is it? Its waaaay more prevalent than you think and we are telling you this because children are telling us… so you know don't think that it's not happening in your home. And then we would publish the names of websites that we had reviewed and websites that our IT department was telling that were good things to share. And we kept that up for a whole two years. (C4)

Additionally, they also shared that they let their parent counsel know about the emerging issue of cyberbullying: "we always let them know what the features of their community are. What's going on and we needed them to know you know that this is going on in our community and that we are, you know, to the degree that students bring this to us" (C4).

Finally, participants noted that there are many benefits to increasing awareness. First, counsellors noted that cyberbullying is perpetuated when youth do not understand the consequences. For example, counsellor two shared: "and they love it without knowing… they think it's funny and without realizing how it… well you know now they have a hundred people thinking that they are funny now, but they don't realize they wouldn't want to be on the receiving end of that right" (C2). Thus, when schools increase awareness of cyberbullying they are able to help prevent its occurrence by helping youth to understand what the effects on other students (their victims) are. Furthermore, when youth are aware of cyberbullying they are able to come forward and seek help. Counsellor five discussed this stating that:

> It's that awareness… I know that's bullying. I know that as a bystander I have some power. And as for cyberbullying too… this cyberbullying component like I have more girls than boys but kids come to me with their Iphones or whatever and showed me stuff that kids have said online because they are aware. That wouldn't have happened if they had not have had those kinds of talks… (C5)

Consequently, increasing awareness is an effective prevention strategy that schools have implemented.

The second code that emerged from the data isproactive strategies. This code described strategies that schools implemented in order to achieve a more responsive, friendly school environment including more compassionate citizens. The goal of these efforts was ultimately to prevent cyberbullying from occurring by implementing strategies that would change how individuals interacted with each other. For example, one individual succinctly summarized these efforts, stating: "… your goodwill is done ahead of time like by setting a tone or by creating an inviting environment…" (C4). Counsellors engaged in many proactive strategies. For example, one individual shared that their school consistently uses different themed programs to do the following: "practice positive friendship making, how to stand up, and be there for others" (C5). They shared that during their campaign this year, Cool to Be Kind, they did the following:

> We have every child in our school has a pink shirt and they tie-dyed their own pink shirt and every assembly, every family group that we have we wear our pink shirt and those pink shirts represent that we are saying that it is ok to be unique… because and they all know the story about the boy who was in Newfoundland who wore the pink and was teased and so that was impetus. We did things like colored our pinkies blue so that we could say who is that singer… anyway she did this and it was her campaign and we did a pinkie swear that we would stand up against bullying and every classroom did a pledge that they signed and shared. They did a song about it. So we have done lots proactively as a school. (C5)

In addition to the above program, this counsellor also spoke about how their school also implemented

assertiveness training with full classes we have another program called the "be cool program", stating:

> We used that program in classrooms and what you do in classroom is you watch the video tapes of strategies and then we practice them as a class… and we just keep going and practicing and they have to come up and be assertive rather than aggressive. It's super hard for kids not to be aggressive. (C5)

Furthermore, another counsellor also shared that they use proactive strategies in their school in order to "appeal to [the bully's] sense of dignity for the other person and their sense of humanity and we work from that…" (C6). Additionally, counsellor four shared that they: "absolutely are going to, you know, make sure that students feel safe and comfortable and that we will draw attention to [cyberbullying] and that we will hold students accountable and we will supervise and monitor ummm… the degree to which this impacts their relationships at school" (C4). In this quote, this individual is speaking about how they are implementing proactive strategies in their school in order to help students feel safe.

There are many benefits to implementing proactive strategies like the ones mentioned above. For instance, they make it easier to prevent cyberbullying because students are educated about cyberbullying and when they have the language for it they are able to talk about it with counsellors, teachers, school administrators, and parents if necessary (C1, C4, C5, & C6). Additionally, C5 also shared that: "I think those proactive strategies are helpful to kids so that they can be better citizens I really do. Like and they are aware". Thus, the data has shown that proactive strategies are an integral part of school prevention work. In addition to proactive strategies, schools also engage in psychoeducation - knowledge translation strategies.

The third code that emerged is psychoeducation: knowledge translation. This code included data that described schools' prevention strategies that were aimed at increasing knowledge and understanding cyberbullying. This code included basic information about what cyberbullying is and how to recognize it, as well as information about how to prevent cyberbullying or cybersafety education. For example, counsellor one shared that: "We have also done some psychoeducation. We have looked at those cyber

kits brochures/handouts too and ways to discourage it from happening…".Counsellors also shared some examples of psychoeducation that they used in their schools. One interviewee stated that they help educate youth: "What to do when people are inappropriate on the Internet and really just supplying them with scenarios and information and just some role playing… just keeping them aware of what's out there"(C4). Furthermore, they also shared that their division began to teach a cyberbullying curriculum as part of their health program at school, in addition to purchasing resources on sexual orientation and diversity for their libraries. They shared that this was because of the following:

> the data that we had received about cyberbullying from our IT staff was that cyberbullying or 80 percent of it was being targeted at kids with sexual differences let's just say or diversities and largely at boys like lots of hits, lots of really nasty stuff on boys who were having issues and things of that sort. Maybe they were gay maybe they weren't. It was really a matter… that wasn't even the point the matter was that we had data that was suggesting that 80 percent of cyberbullying was targeted at sexual diversity and that sort of bullying and our superintendent just you know, it was a real issue for him. He really thought that it was something that absolutely had to be dealt with. (C4)

In addition, counsellor five shared that they "do direct teaching about cyberbullying - about what it is. How it happens… and…. it's not tattling it's reporting". Furthermore, they also spoke about how they use 'the Kids in the Know Program' as a curriculum to teach youth about cyberbullying. As well, another counsellor also spoke about the psychoeducation that they implemented in their school, sharing that they are active in the following:

> Educating [youth] how as to how to be safe. Internet safety is huge.So don't share your password with the new boyfriend… right… because grade 7 and 8… like I know a month sounds like eternity but its… you know a month later… you may… well more than likely won't still be seeing that person. Also be careful what you put on there. Not sharing personal information. Not having 1000 friends on Facebook. (C2)

Counsellor three also talked about limiting friends on Facebook. They stated: "so really helping them to become aware of what it means to add a friend who you don't know, umm what it means to post personal info…" (C3). In addition, some schools also had guest speakers on cyberbullying like the Winnipeg Police. One counsellor shared that the Winnipeg Police help them with their psychoeducational strategies, sharing that:

> [they] have one that comes in that sort of does the in-school helping with policing but we also have another who comes in and does internet safety workshops, we have had assemblies on internet safety, and things going in our newsletter, so we really are trying to sort of plug the internet safety things as being pretty important. (C7)

Consequently, teaching youth about internet safety practices was a big part of school's psychoeducation strategies.

Furthermore, the knowledge translation component of this code described data where counsellors and educators helped youth understand technology and how to properly use it to prevent cyberbullying. For instance, counsellor three shared:

> I just try to give them more understanding of how it works so… you know… they at least stop and consider things. Hopefully… I would say that that's the best... like I mean I think the more understanding that they have… so I think that prevention would be good if it's giving information about how to use the internet appropriately and properly. (C3)

Additionally, they also shared the following example of knowledge translation:

> It's the same thing like if you… like one of the things that I guess I have told students in the past…. Which may or may not be the best method, but they relate to it… is I say you know like if you wouldn't write somebody a letter saying it… you didn't want them to have proof in their hands… then don't write it on the Internet. Just like the piece of paper that person can have it, bring it to somebody else, show it to them, or you know what have you…. Like it's there forever even if you press delete.(C3)

Here the counsellor is trying to instill the point that online posts are more permanent than youth think. Additionally, counsellor one also had a similar point of view. They shared:

> Also educating the girls about that role of antagonizing others… because she considers name calling standing up for herself… but in reality of you call anyone (insert bad name) they will probably not take to it well and they will probably retaliate. So using psychoeducation about how you can so easily write your feelings rather than say it face-to-face and help her to recognize… like before you type it think about could I tell this to her face and if you feel like they would beat you up over that then chances are that if you put it on Facebook they will likely beat you up over that… so you know think about it. (C1)

Finally, counsellors also spoke about the benefits of using psychoeducational strategies. They shared that Internet safety is a central strategy for schools. For example, individuals stated that: "Internet safety prevention is the first and foremost strategy" (C7) and "Internet safety is the most helpful strategy" (C1). Furthermore, counsellor two also shared that:

> I think just being in the classroom talking to the kids… like taking the proactive approach is the most… I mean once it's out there, it is out there. And then there is not a whole heck of a lot that we can do about it right? But being proactive I think helps at least a little bit I would like to think. (P2)

Moreover, survivors also spoke about this strategy, stating: "so I think that psychoeducation would be a really good way to go because then they might understand what kids go through and then they would be able to approach it better" (P2). Thus, the benefits of psychoeducation were noted by both counsellors and survivors as an effective strategy.

The next code found in the prevention category is creating a culture of openness. This code refers to strategies geared towards making bullying and cyberbullying a non-taboo topic; essentially, helping students to feel comfortable talking about cyberbullying. For example one interviewee shared that "a lot of the prevention strategy that you did was sort of from the ground up… we made these kids

more comfortable in being able to come and talk about it. Just because you are opening that conversation, you are unlocking all of those taboo subjects" (C4). Another counsellor referred to this as being "proactive so that you can be reactive if necessary…" (C5). In this quote this counsellor is talking about how they try to open communication channels with students so that they will feel more comfortable coming forward if they need help. Some counsellors facilitated this by being aware of what was going on in their community of students. For example, one counsellor shared the following:

> one of the things that is so effective about it is that I have "my finger on pulse" of the kids who are at risk ummm because then I kind of know I have a good relationship with them and then I know what is going on in their lives because they are sharing it with me. So then I say 'hey you know what I hear that there is a problem we need to talk' they are willing to come and talk to me (C5).

Additionally, this individual also shared that they try and build trust with their student body so that students are more willing to come to them for help. As a result of their efforts students, they shared that:

> They trust me enough to know that A) I am not going to just blurt it out to everybody because you have to be really sensitive about how you handle it and that they trust that I will find a strategy to keep them… keep face for them but also to deal with it in a way that the other person doesn't just you know tease them more and come back at them. So that been really good. (C5)

Similarly, another counsellor also shared this view point stating that their strategy is the following:

> okay well again, trying to be out and about in the school community. Trying to do as much as I can… ahhh… again and I have been here ten years. Kids get to know that I'm somebody that they can talk to and when we talk at the beginning of the year when they come in grade seven we will see all of them by the time they come out to grade nine. So we try and make sure that those doors are open and that they know that they can come and talk. (C6)

When counsellors were able to facilitate a culture of openness, students were more willing to share their difficulties with them. Furthermore, this strategy was also discussed by survivors as being important.

One survivor shared the following experience: "Like if you are getting bullied, bullying was a taboo subject and if you were bullied it was kinda like 'ohhh she's that person'. You know?"(P10). In this quote this survivor is talking about how when they were younger bullying and cyberbullying were taboo topics and as a result, students did not feel comfortable coming forward and sharing their difficulties with others. This had a negative impact on their ability to cope. This is important to note, because by creating a culture of openness students will be more likely to talk about their difficulties both with staff and their peers. This may result in improving students' coping processes; for example, affected individuals may feel less isolated, more accepted or more understood.

In addition, this code also referred to increasing awareness of divisional and school policies in faculty and students; for example, helping students to become aware of the repercussions of cyberbullying another individual. One interviewee shared that they were trying to "create a culture of openness so you have it in place when things go bad… because things always go bad eventually. So you have something in place you don't have to start with a negative" (C4). They also stated that: "we absolutely are going to you know make sure that students feel safe and comfortable and that we will draw attention to it and that we will hold students accountable and we will supervise and monitor ummm… the degree to which this impacts their relationships at school" (C4). Furthermore, counsellors also spoke about the benefits of creating a culture of openness. For instance, one counsellor shared that:

> I believe that our children have become more empowered in doing that. And certainly understanding what their rights are in telling anyone… adults or anyone really that, you know, I don't like what you are doing. It makes me feel uncomfortable. And the other thing that I like about... that I've noticed in the last three years or so is that the kids will come and tell me and they will come and tell all of us. They will tell anybody, and they'll tell the adult and then they'll tell the adult and tell the adult until they get customer satisfaction. Like they don't stop. It's a good thing.(C4)

Additionally, counsellor five also stated that "part of the problem for children is not knowing what to do or who to go to, they don't want to tattle tale, they don't want to get into trouble, they don't want it to get worse… and so it is very difficult for them to come forward" (C5). However, as a result of their efforts to create a culture of openness, they have facilitated student's ability to come forward and talk about things. "We have a really good relationship lots of kids and I so then kids have tended to come to me… so I feel good about that" (C5). Consequently, it is clear that creating a culture of openness benefits students and counsellors.

The final code included in this category was school and divisional policies. This code referred to data that described how school and divisional policies contributed to prevention of cyberbullying. For example, counsellor six shared that:

> our division has been really good with that and again we have the acceptable use policy on our computers and again when things are violated in that way and there's not really ah any kind of access unless kids find backdoors… (C6)

Similarly, another counsellor also shared that:

> One thing we also have at our school is we have a no cellphone, no Ipod policy so no electronic devices that could be used for the internet are allowed in the building. And that limits… because that was something that our new administration helped put in last year and prior to that is that something would go on at lunch and people would film it with their phones and by the time the students were in the office and we were dealing with the problem it already had this many posts on Facebook and this many likes… and so the problem escalated so much more rapidly. So we limited the ability for our students to participate in online activity during school hours. And obviously the school has divisional filters that prevents them from getting on those sites. (C6)

As a final example of divisional policies, counsellor six also shared that "we have the ability to cease and detain devices and actually have the ability from our division to remove those images (C6). As a result, divisional policies can contribute to the prevention of cyberbullying by restraining students from

being able to cyberbully in school and deterring them from cyberbullying out of school. As the above data has shown, a school's prevention strategies can affect cyberbullying victims' survival strategies by either facilitating their healing or impairing it. Furthermore, as will be discussed, school interventions can also act in a similar manner.

School Environment: Interventions

The next category that emerged from the data is school environment: intervention. This category included data that described schools' intervention strategies; essentially, support services that schools designed to help youth survive cyberbullying. These services included strategies to help positively change an individual's behavior, cognitions, or emotional state. Schools implemented many different intervention strategies including the following: gathering evidence; looking at prevention again; emotional support; reframing negative ideas; creating channels of social support; facilitating effective communication; activating involvement from parents, administration and police; and finally, direct interventions involving the bully. These strategies were implemented by schools to help activate resources for youth or to facilitate effective coping. The more active schools were in implementing intervention strategies, the better youth were able to cope with cyberbullying. As an example, participant ten shared that their school was quite active in helping them. For instance, the following discussion occurred:

> P: and then the cyberbullying also stopped because the girls were also asked to be suspended from the school because of all of the things that had happened during that time. Ummm…
>
> R: So part… so it sounds to me like your school was actively involved in helping you
>
> P: they were actively involved in helping, and I wasn't the only person who was being bullied by these people… so it was an issue that caught them with quite a few students and they needed to be resolved sooner rather than later so they were removed from the situation. (P10)

In this survivor's experience, their school was active in helping them to remove the bullies from their environment. Furthermore, they also spoke about their guidance counsellor and a teacher who were both very active in helping them. On the other hand, some youth reported that they experienced a lack of help from their schools. Participant two spoke about going to their administration many times before receiving help. For instance, when asked if there was anything that they needed from their school to help them with their coping process, they shared: "Ummm… I wish they would have been more active. You know… it… I could you know scream and rant and rave and it's like nothing would ever really cut it" (P2). Additionally, some students did not have access to counselling services (P11 & P7). As a result, these students had to find and implement their own coping strategies. Thus, schools intervention strategies could either positively impact youth's coping processes or hinder it.

The first strategy that emerged from the data is 'gathering evidence'. This code included schools' endeavors to help youth collect proof of the cyberbullying behavior. During their interviews, school counsellors often spoke about their involvement in helping youth to collect evidence. For instance, one participant shared that they: "get the devices, print information and have the victim gather and bring to the team whatever it is that they can that was on the Internet. Encouraging them to print things and pictures and whatever… and ultimately there is a path and process" (C4). Additionally, another counsellor shared that getting as much information as possible was their first line of action. For example, they said:

> My first process is to make sure that I get as much information as possible from the child and the people that I think are involved, and if it is cyberbullying then I find a way to get the information right offline because I need to talk to parents about it, its' important I think that we have that information. (C5)

Counsellors would often share this information with their administration to keep them informed of what was happening. Additionally, sometimes administration was notified so that they could contact the parents of the children involved. For instance, one counsellor shared the following:

> Generally what we have done is printed pages to record what has happened and then we go to administration. And administration contacts the parents' of all of the students and umm…. The parents are encouraged to monitor… if they haven't been monitoring on Facebook. Some parents have taken accounts away or they limit the time frame that students are allowed to be on Facebook… so they actually take the cord that is needed for the computer to work… so they actually take it at night so that their children can't cyberbully at night… cause that is one other thing that we have noticed is that the cyberbullying goes on after 11 pm at night. (C2)

Thus, in addition to gathering information so that counsellors can be more informed helpers, this quote demonstrates that this intervention strategy can also be helpful in preventing future cyberbullying attacks.

The next code that emerged from the data was 'looking at prevention again'. This strategy described counsellors' efforts to revisit prevention or proactive strategies in order to help youth circumvent the possibility of further cyberbullying attacks. For example, counsellor three shared that they: "look back at prevention. Is it smart to take this person off your Facebook list? You know like what do you believe at this point now that it has happened a second time? You know where do we go? And kind of… putting it into their hands" (C3). Furthermore, counsellor five also shared that they engaged in proactive strategies:

> I will spend time with them once a week working on proactive strategies that they can practice that will help them to be not… not let the bully bully them kind of thing. Coping strategies. What can I do to be bully free. And so I have read books like the "how to handle bullies" and we practice. We role play those strategies. What am I going to do? (C5)

In addition, counsellors also stressed that not responding to the cyberbully was an effective method of prevention (C1, C2, C3, & C7). For example, counsellor one shared: "Another thing that we have just talked to the student about is just not responding back. Umm. Just like leave it (laughs) instead of feeding into it. Because what happens sometimes is other people will start getting involved…" (C1).

Additionally, one counsellor also shared their student told them that a very helpful strategy that they employed was to not respond back (C2). Furthermore, another counsellor also supported this, stating: "you know I think the blocking strategy is a good one that kids would identify with" (C7). Thus, highlighting prevention strategies again was a supportive strategy that schools used to help intervene with cyberbullying.

A third intervention strategy was emotional support. This code encompassed data involving counselling strategies that were used to help affected youth process their feelings about their experiences, as well as strategies that were used to help normalize the feelings that they experienced. The name of the code was taken from counsellor three's interview when they stated that they "try to give [affected youth] emotional support" (C3). All of counsellors reported engaging in this strategy. For example, one counsellor described this process as "helping students cope with these sort of the emotional, these emotions and the feelings that they experience from being bullied, from what's said on the internet and the more public shaming that happens with cyberbullying" (C7). Alternatively, counsellor three spoke about it in the following manner: "Like what feelings is it causing for them and I guess getting to the bottom of that. Like what… what is that causing for them? Umm… how is that affecting their lives" (C3). Additionally, counsellor five also shared that they "do a whole lot on their feelings…… That's more of a giving myself permission to just share how I really felt and they need to do some healing on that. That's the healing side of it right" (C5). In order help survivors process their feelings, counsellors used many different intervention strategies. Some spoke about using the "usual listening" (C4) and the fact that it helps them "just knowing that they have someone to talk to" (C1). As well, counsellor six spoke about using "personalized counselling… Rogerian. And again, when I look at that and just trying to work with the kids and be there and work though their issues that they are having" (C6).Alternatively, others used things like bibliotherapy. For example, counsellor five shared:

> I have a bunch of great little stories I will read on what it felt like to be cyberbullied by a child and then they identify with that and then they get to express and write their own feelings and own story about how they felt. So that's another side of it. (C5)

On the other hand, others spoke about journaling or art therapy; such as, counsellor one who stated: "I have them journal. Also ones who can't really write well or don't want to write… I have given them sketch books with water colors or pencil crayons so that they can draw out how they are feeling and express themselves" (C1). Additionally, this counsellor also shared they try to coach youth not to look at the cyberbullying, because "it is just reinforcing the negative messages and feelings that they may already feel about themselves" (C1). Finally, one counsellor also spoke about giving youth information on crisis lines, stating:

> Yeah, so resources that they can use or reach out to when word got around Because Friday night, Saturday night there is going to be no one... if they get some bad thoughts… it can be pretty brutal some of the cyberbullying… so just letting them know that there is someone to talk to. (C2)

Consequently, as the above data has shown, counsellors were active in helping youth feel emotionally supported.

Furthermore, another intervention strategy that schools used was reframing negative ideas. This code included data that involved counsellors trying to help youth reassess and change the way that they think and feel about their cyberbullying experiences. For instance, counsellor one shared that they used CBT with some of the youth that they worked with. They shared:

> And then as far as strategies…. A lot of it is just giving them coping skills for the feelings that they have for themselves that are reaffirmed by what the bullying is saying about them. For example you're ugly or you are a b*****…. Or you are stupid. That's reaffirming what the student already believes about themselves so I have done some like CBT kind of stuff with them. So I have one kid who was told that [they] were ugly in elementary because [they] stood

> up for this kid that got bullied and then they started bullying [them]… and then umm…. Every morning [they] write I am beautiful on [their] hand so you can't see (like right on the thumb and pointer finger) but [they] can see it and so whenever [they] have negative thoughts [they] look at it and thinks "that's not true that's something I came to believe is true because kids told me that". (C1)

Counsellor five also spoke about helping youth to reframe negative thoughts. They shared that they tried to: "help that child understand that they have lots of strengths… so you know if they feel bad about themselves as a victim…. Like they did it to me because I'm stupid or lousy…" (C5). Furthermore, it is also important to highlight that youth also spoke about schools helping them to reframe their thoughts. For example, participant four spoke about how their teacher helped them to reframe the term "freak". In addition, participant ten shared that it really helped them to know that the bullying was not their fault and that they did have strengths. Thus, this strategy was effective in both survivors' and counsellors' viewpoints.

A fifth code that emerged from the data was 'creating channels of support'. This code included data describing how counsellors helped connect cyberbullied youth with support systems. Essentially, as counsellor six described it: "Just building supports for that student" (C6). Counsellors did this in many ways, the first of which was to connect them with supports in their peer group. For example, one counsellor shared: "I work with the child and I connect them up with friends. So I have a meeting in here and we make sure that they feel safe with their friends and we have a plan and things they know they can do at recess" (C5). Additionally, another counsellor shared the following:

> when its anonymous it's a little bit tougher and what we try and do is we try and work on other individuals that we know that can help support that individual in their class as well. You know just saying… not saying that they are being bullied like this individual… like let's say ok Courtney's ahh Courtney's having a rough time right now and I am just wondering if there is

> anything that you can do to help her out and again just building supports for that student not coming out and saying that they are being bullied. Being very general. (C6)

This counsellor also shared that the goal of this strategy is to help youth who "get isolated…. and get them hooked up into social groups" (C6). In addition, counsellors also spoke about being an advocate for students with the staff as well (C6, C5, & C2). For example, counsellor two shared: "I think it's helpful just to know that we are aware of it as adults that they trust. That we aren't oblivious to it and that we are trying to deal with it and umm… I think that's huge" (C2). Finally, counsellors also spoke about running support groups for students (C1, C3, C5, C7). These groups helped youth to build socialization skills.

> Yes. Then the other thing… that I do as a school we choose small groups of girls or boys… and sometimes both and those small groups I see them every week and those are kids that I know that are at risk. Children that I know who are definitely going to have issues and things are going to blow up in their face out there. And if I am seeing them once a week in their at risk group – well we don't call it that… in their friendship group them I am helping them deal with those conflicts, issues, potential bullying situations once a week. So we also play games and have fun, but we also talk through any issues and then I teach them stuff about anger management, assertiveness, stress management all of that stuff so that's the other way I go at working with the kids who we see as at risk. (C5)

As a final example, counsellor two also spoke about their social skills groups. They shared that they discuss the role of antagonizing others, as well as psychoeducation about writing things on Facebook (C1).Thus, one intervention that counsellors implemented was helping affected youth to create social supports.

In addition, counsellors also implemented strategies in order to facilitate effective communication. This code included data that described strategies that were intended to help youth improve their communication with their peers. Many of the counsellors interviewed discussed how they

believed that the root of cyberbullying was miscommunication between youth. For instance, one counsellor shared that: "and that's how it is… you can say something extremely innocent by email… you know that… and ah you know it just doesn't translate always perfectly even as an adult and as a teenager when you don't have that understanding either… things kind of tend to go off the tracks very quickly" (C3). Additionally, counsellor seven also shared their viewpoint, stating: "that's another thing that I think bears a certain amount of importance in all of this… is that there is a real breakdown in communication with our students" (C7). As a final example, one counsellor shared that: "the only trouble is that usually what we find is that yes they said that but that… let me show you what they said to me first…." (C4). As a result, counsellors devised strategies to help youth improve their communication with one another. One counsellor shared that they help students to figure out how they can get their needs met in a productive way rather than cyberbullying the other person. They shared the following:

> and then I go back and say what is it that you want from this person? Well I want that person to stop…. So I say… I get what you want, your needs are important, your intention is important, but the way you are getting your needs met is going to hurt you. How can we do it in a helpful way… so she shared it with me, and I said okay write it down and I shared that with the other girl. (C5)

Alternatively, another counsellor tried to get all of the individuals involved to have a discussion. They stated:

> it is not always as easy as getting all of the parties involved BUT as much as possible sitting and trying to talk things out because generally the route is some misunderstanding… so I find that real face-to-face conversation… so the solution to cyberbullying is to stop being on the internet and start talking to each other. (C7)

In addition to the counsellors, some survivors actually spoke about how cyberbullying could be the result of a misunderstanding. For example, participant four shared: "You need to be open minded.

Everything that someone says – don't take their words out of context" (P4). Consequently, facilitating effective communication is an important strategy that counsellors can implement to help intervene with cyberbullying and to help prevent future attacks.

The seventh code that emerged from the data was activating involvement from parents, administration, and the police. This code encompassed data describing strategies that involved activating resources for affected youth. By activating resources in a student's life, schools can help youth to more effectively cope with cyberbullying. First, counsellors spoke about involving parents and families as a helpful strategy (C1, C2, C3, C5, C6, & C7). For example, one counsellor shared that: "we try and do the best that we can and also work with the parents and be a bridge to home and again that free flow of information back and forth is also beneficial" (C6). Counsellors shared that this strategy was effective, with one counsellor sharing that: "parental involvement is probably the most effective… in my opinion anyway.…" (C1). Counsellors felt that this strategy was effective for many different reasons. One counsellor stated that:

> I feel like with the parental involvement it prevents the bullies from being able to go ahead and do their thing. And it also forces the child that is being bullied to umm… it prevents them from like you know why look at it if you know it will be hurtful?? If their parent is able to intervene… because teenagers don't have that the ability to stop themselves from doing things… (C1)

In a similar viewpoint, counsellor three stated: "when working with youth, it's hard to tell them to you know limit their time… so often times I will (given that they are under 18) that's a discussion that I will have with the parents to limit their time on the internet" (C3). Alternatively, another counsellor shared that they get parents and families involved so that youth have some support at home (C2). As a final example, one individual shared that involving parents was helpful because of the following:

> Schools do not have the authority to shut down Facebook. I don't have the passwords to do any of that, so it's really a challenge and so that's where working with parents needs to be

> involved… so ultimately it is the parents who need to come up with the interventions and they have to set the boundaries and the rules with internet safety and security. (C7)

Moreover, youth also spoke about how this strategy was essential "I definitely feel like when it comes to bullying parents need to be involved. Because a lot of the times they are very ignorant to what is goes on but I feel like especially with cyberbullying parents need to get involved. Because they are allowing that access" (P2).

Secondly, counsellors also spoke about getting their administration involved (C1, C5, C6 & C7). For instance, counsellor five shared the following:

> so if I know that there is a serious thing going on I go right to my principal and she and I put a strategy together that usually involves confronting that child. We have enough data and we are talking about the bullying now. And we bring those parents in and we confront that issue head on with a clear message this is not acceptable (C5).

Counsellors stated that they involved administration in order to make it a whole school approach to helping the student. Finally, sometimes counsellors also activated police as a resource to help youth. One of the main reasons for this was because sometimes the cyberbullying was outside of their realm. For example, one counsellor shared that: "the big part of it is now that has gone beyond the realms of our mandate and who we service. And again it's taking place with parents and other students and then that becomes a realm for police and other organizations" (C7). In addition, sometimes the police must be involved because of threats to safety or because counsellors need help removing online material. For example, counsellor six shared: "police had to be called in and police had to deal with some of the threats and some of the other things that were going on… and again we are making a safe environment for the school" (C6). As the data has shown, schools try and activate resources in youth's lives to help them cope with cyberbullying. Sometimes this involved telling parents to activate their support and supervision. At other times it involved telling administration so that counsellors could gain their support

in intervening. Finally, sometimes activating resources meant involving the police to help control the situation.

The final code that emerged in the school intervention category was direct intervention involving the cyberbully. This code included intervention strategies that were aimed at confronting or punishing the cyberbully. When schools were active in helping to intervene with the cyberbullying directly, it facilitated survivors' coping abilities. For example, one survivor spoke positively about their experiences sharing that their cyberbullying stopped as a consequence of the school suspending their bullies (P10). However, most youth reported that they needed more help from their schools. For example, participant two shared: "I wish they would have been more active. You know… it… I could you know scream and rant and rave and it's like nothing would ever really cut it". In a similar viewpoint, another participant shared that: "schools could have done something instead of just saying oh just ignore them, ignore all of them" (P3). As a final example, one survivor shared that they wished that they would have received help in taking down the cyberbullying material: "I think the school should set up an advisor where some people can help students get off, take off it (cyberbullying material)" (P11). Furthermore, when schools did not actively help youth, it negatively impacted their coping abilities. One student stated that: "… and I think that if the authorities (schools) involved has been more involved and more understanding and caring… that things would have worked out a lot better. I would have probably made it out a little less damaged than I am now" (P2). Thus, schools' interventions directly impacted youth's ability to cope with cyberbullying.

Societal Influences

The next category that emerged from the data was societal influences. This category incorporated data that described how cyberbullied youth were affected by their social environment and the general public. Two codes emerged from the data that were included in this category – social awareness and the Canadian legal system. These codes indirectly and directly impacted youth's ability cope. First, if society was ignorant about cyberbullying then social resources were impacted; for

example, communities lacked social norms that help deter cyberbullying. Additionally, laws also affected how youth could cope. For instance, the lack of Canadian laws on cyberbullying affected how schools were allowed to intervene which impacted youth's coping mechanisms. Thus, as well be discussed in more detail, society influenced youths' survival strategies.

The first code, social awareness, describes society and community awareness of cyberbullying. Both counsellors and survivors spoke about how social awareness impacted their strategies. For instance one counsellor shared the following:

> you need parents and laws to be accountable so that you then as a school then can follow society's guidelines… because you can't please everybody… and where the real damage is… it's the kids that are at the whim of whatever their home says which conflicts with whatever their friends home says which then makes it all the more challenging…. so again we need some kind of leadership and societal rules around this and the reality is that… (C7)

Additionally, survivors also spoke about the need for social awareness. One survivor shared that there was a need for more social awareness; in particular, that society needs to be more aware of the negatives related to social media so that it is not imposed on individuals (P5). Moreover, another survivor shared that we need "more awareness about bullying. I think that definitely during that time I think that Nexopia was just kind of hitting the brink so if there was more awareness of what cyberbullying is it would have helped me" (P10). Thus, both counsellors and survivors were both impacted by society's level of awareness for cyberbullying.

The second code that emerged from the data is Canada's Legal System. This code described data that referred to the effects of laws or policies on cyberbullying intervention. Most counsellors and survivors discussed how the lack of laws adversely impacted their ability to intervene with cyberbullying. Many survivors spoke about their frustration with the lack of laws or legal intervention on cyberbullying. For instance, participant one shared that the internet "is not policed enough. They figure no one can track them down or whatever. They are fee to do whatever they want and I think the

same thing is true on social media" (P1). Thus, this individual advocated that: "there should be things in place to help individuals affected by cyberbullying" (P1). Similarly, participant three also spoke about how the police and government could have been more involved in helping youth dealing with cyberbullying.

Counsellors also spoke about the lack of government laws. For instance, counsellor three shared: "And there aren't really policies or you know…. The thing is our law is way behind our technology. And that makes it really difficult as well because there are really no harassment laws with Facebook and computers and the internet and you know all that kind of stuff". At a later point in the interview they also shared: "I think our law needs to step up and… kinda of take a bigger role in this…. cause I mean really... ummm… Like I mean prevention is good and discussing it with students is good but they are going to do what they are going to do" (C3). Furthermore, counsellors also spoke about how the lack of government laws impacted their ability to help students affected by cyberbullying. For instance, one counsellor shared the following:

> But yeah, the big problem with interventions is that again the school is being asked to deal with something that they have no authority over… so and it's you… you can't we don't have the ability to trace IP addresses and none of this is actually happening IN THE SCHOOL which creates a whole other conundrum because is it something that we really should be dealing with at the school level… I mean if you get in a fight at the mall on the weekend… you don't come in and report that to the principal… mom and dad need to deal with that… mall security needs to deal with that… but there is no one policing the internet and these students do need help. (C7)

Furthermore, another counsellor supported this viewpoint, stating that:

> I mean having the laws in place to then follow through with what we have not been able to support for the schools and parenting, and etc. etc. then those laws need to be in place. And those laws have not caught up with our technology yet… so that is one of the main issues…There's no repercussions for it so you know, I think that students need to see that there

> is umm… repercussions to certain actions and I mean unfortunately, you know we are not all at that age internally motivated we are somewhat externally motivated so they need to know that if you do this, this is what could happen. And if you make the choice to do this you know then you could be breaking the law. But right now there are no laws.….(C3)

Therefore, it is clear that the legal system impacts the school's ability to help affected youth because in some incidences, they do not have the legal authority to intervene. This in turn affects the support that cyberbullying victims receive. As a result, societal influences play a role in youth's coping strategies.

Upbringing

The next category that emerged from the data is upbringing. This category encompassed data describing family's influences on youth's feelings, thoughts and behaviors. Two codes emerged from the data: home environment and religious (spiritual) beliefs. These factors impacted youth's coping strategies. For instance, home environment affected youth's level of social support. For example, some youth spoke about not being able to report cyberbullying to their parents for fear that they would overreact (C4, C11, C7, C6, C9, &C10). Alternatively, some youth spoke about how their spiritual or religious beliefs positively affected their coping strategies. For instance, participant four shared that their bible studies helped them to reframe their negative thoughts.

The first code, home environment, included data that described an individual's living conditions or circumstances. This included their physical conditions such as their community, family's level of income and health. The physical living conditions of youth impacted their ability to cope. For instance, one counsellor spoke about the challenge of helping youth who live in difficult environments. They shared:

> The other challenge that we face in our school is that we also then sometimes have like aunts or cousins or parents involved and there is gang activity in our school… well not tons but just enough that sometimes it's just families who don't get along but other times it is neighborhood gang related stuff is the genesis of it… (C7)

Furthermore, they shared: "I think that one of the challenges is that I work in a neighborhood where there are some families that have really strong family skills, really great support systems… but there are also families that are really struggling with things like substance abuse" (C7). These two examples demonstrate how youth's physical environment can affect their coping abilities such as their access to social support. In addition, this code also included youth's psychological wellbeing and how it's affected by their home environment, such as: parents' influences on individual's mental health. One counsellor spoke in detail about a parent's ability to influence their children's psychological wellbeing. For instance, they stated: "You know a lot of stuff to do with parents as well, like if they don't have stable parents or you know…. And that sort of thing but also like they are huge when people are saying things like on the internet… it just seems to spiral"(C3). Additionally, they also spoke about parents role in modeling behavior for their children, stating: "If you have a mother who is on Facebook arguing with auntie and this person and that person… then I mean of course you are going to think that that interaction is normal… so it depends who is modeling that as well…." (C3). Similarly, they also shared the following questions related to a family's involvement in youth's online lives:

> How have you been socialized? Who have you been raised by? Do you have a parent who has explained to you how to use email or how to use facebook… or does your parent not have the knowledge? Umm… there are so many factors involved. Like do you have a parent who is working nights… let's say and so who is not around to monitor any internet usage right? Because I mean really like the internet there is nothing… you make a Facebook account and nobody tells you how to use it, what the rules are, how to be tactful… (C3)

These quotes demonstrate how families influence how youth think, behave, and feel. Furthermore, the above examples of data also support this category by demonstrating how youth are affected by their upbringing. When youth have a healthy home environment their ability to cope is enhanced; however, when youth have do not experience a healthy home environment their coping is impaired.

Another part of youth's upbringing was their religious or spiritual beliefs. These belief systems made up the second code included in this category. In general, youth's religious or spiritual beliefs positively impacted their coping skills. For instance, one survivor shared that getting involved in spirituality and stuff made a big difference in their survival process (P5). Likewise, a second survivor also stated that faith and religion help their survival process (P4). Moreover, they also shared how their faith helped them to develop their sense of identity which contributed to their coping skills (P4). As a final example, they also identified the following benefits of their faith:

> Cause the bible studies helped me… gives you just insight, understanding and what is the right thing to do. Well there is a lot of "right" stuff to do, but is it morally right to do? So understanding between doing the right thing and is it morally right to do it, kind of gave me an appreciation of exactly what to do, and on how to cope. (P4)

Consequently, like home environment, youth's religious or spiritual beliefs affected their ability to cope.

Emotional Maturity

The final category that emerged from the data was emotional maturity. This category described youth's emotional and mental resources. Their resources impacted their ability to respond to their environment in a developmentally appropriate manner. This category of data included two codes: developmental stage and 'it just took time'. Youth's development stage affected their emotional maturity which then impacted their coping skills. Additionally, time also affected youth's emotional maturity usually increasing it. The more emotionally mature youth were, the easier coping became.

The first code, developmental stage, referred to data describing youth's physical and psychological maturity level which impacted their ability to cope with cyberbullying. For example, one counsellor shared their perception on the impact of their age on their coping skills, stating: "They are young and they don't have the emotional maturity, they might know what they need to do but they might just be too emotional at that… that… moment to you know really make a smart decision" (C3).

As an example, some counsellors spoke about youth's inability to inhibit behaviors. Counsellor one stated:

> And it also forces the child that is being bullied to umm… it prevents them from like you know why look at it if you know it will be hurtful?? If their parent is able to intervene… because teenagers don't have that the ability to stop themselves from doing things…yes the inhibition. If the parent is there to be their inhibition then that is helpful. (C1)

A second counsellor also spoke about the developmental limits of adolescence, sharing: "when working with youth and that sort of thing I mean it's hard to tell them to you know limit their time… so often times I will (given that they are usually under 18) that's a discussion that I will have with the parents to limit their time on the internet" (C3). Furthermore, this individual also stated the following:

> It's up to you to block to the person and if you don't have the emotional maturity to remove somebody and you just keep arguing with them which is what you know somebody in high school would do it… it is going to keep going you know. So I mean you can make suggestions to that student but what they choose to do when they are at home and you know everybody and their dog is on Facebook or the computer or whatever then I mean it's really tough because there is nothing in place to support changing that well it's a big thing… You know when you are younger it's like saying that you are not friends anymore. As an adult we know that all the people on our Facebook are not our friends… like you… some of them are our friends and other acquaintances and others are just people you know. (C3)

Thus, as this quote shows, youth's developmental level impacted their internet safety strategies like their willingness to block peers or limit access to their profile. As a final example, one counsellor shared that youth have to be at a point in their lives where they are ready to implement the changes necessary. They said: "A student has be at a point where they are ready to put it into practice and you know what is the pattern that they have done for years and years and it's hard for them to break the pattern. So they need constant maintenance or reminders if they start to forget. You have check in with them to see how they

are doing" (C1). As the above data has shown, the developmental stage of youth impacted their coping strategies.

The last code in this category is "it just took time". This code included data referring to the chronological passage of time and its effects on emotional maturity. Essentially, insight came with age. Youth spoke about how time impacted their ability to cope (P2, P4, P8,& P10). For example, youth shared the following quotes: "well it took time for me to understand and build that" (P4); "So that was something that came with time... that understanding" (P2); "But yeah there's that… umm… a lot of it was just time" (P8). These quotes demonstrate with time youth were able to develop insight into things that helped to positively impact their coping strategies. For example, one youth spoke about how their age impacted their perception or their way of thinking. They shared:

> Ummm. I also kind of… as I got older and I realized… that having friends wasn't… you know… wasn't the be all and end all to being a person and I denied them access to me. I stopped caring… and I can honestly say that umm when I hit my teens I stopped caring what other people had to say.(P2)

As a second example, participant two also shared that time alone allowed them to reflect on their identity. As a result it is clear that time impacted youth's emotional maturity which in turn affected their ability to cope.

Outcome: Becoming Stronger

As the above data has described, when affected by cyberbullying, the individuals that were interviewed described their survival process as dealing with the adversity through the use of online and offline coping strategies. Moreover, these strategies were influenced by their internal characteristics and feelings, as well as by their environment. The outcome of this survival process was that all of the youth interviewed ultimately became stronger as a result of their resiliency. For instance, when confronted with the adversity of cyberbullying, these individuals activated coping strategies by using their internal skills and strengths. Furthermore, they were not only able to overcome the negative effects of

cyberbullying, but they also reported becoming stronger because of it. For example, one participant shared the following two experiences:

> There is always something to learn and I am better and stronger and happier because of this….and then I ummm… in my high school years I made some of the closest friends I will ever have… I have real, true, honest friends. (P1)
>
> And I guess that's one of the reasons why I changed my path. I have been through so much and instead of throwing it on the back burner (participant pause) I can do something really awesome with it… so then I can take my life and my experiences and make something better with it you know. (P1)

In the first quote, the participant is talking about how their bullying experience led them to make positive life-long friendships within a different social group. While in the second quote, the participant is talking about changing career paths in order to help youth who are struggling with cyberbullying and bullying in their lives. These two quotes demonstrate how this participant has not only survived the adverse experiences of cyberbullying, but has also become stronger because of it.

Similarly, another survivor also spoke about how they became stronger as a result of their coping process. The following excerpt was taken from their transcript:

> Ummm… like mindfulness. I have a lot of anxiety and ummm and I always have had really bad anxiety issues and I don't know if that made me prone to getting bullied… like people take advantage of that I know and umm… I guess just being mindful and actually meditating. I really enjoy meditating. It just clears my mind and just trying to get in touch with your higher self and I guess just changing your thinking. Like everything happens for a reason and ummm… just knowing that this happened for a reason and maybe like it wasn't what I was meant to do and like now that I look back on it… the people that I was talking to weren't really nice people

> anyway so it kind of did work out for the better. Now I have nothing to do with those people like so... now I know who my real friends are. So.
>
> R: so it sounds like for you this was reframing some things and possibly looking for the positives within this. So realizing that some people weren't really that nice and that maybe those people weren't individuals that you wanted to be associating with.
>
> P: yeah…. Yeah… exactly. And it just kind of made me like a stronger person. (P5)

In this quote, participant five is reflecting back on their coping experience and how it made them a stronger individual. Participant ten also spoke about their coping process and how it helped to build their self-esteem and ultimately their sense-of-self. They said: "I guess it was more just I wanna move past this event and try to re-own it or re-claim it in a way that I can celebrate who I am" (P10). Furthermore, participant seven also shared a similar sentiment. They spoke about how their survival experience was an opportunity for valuable learning. For example, they shared: "Yeah. That's ummm… when you go through difficulties or challenges like this you know once you are done it really tells you a lot about yourself… Yeah. So I kind of see that as a learning experience…. It may have negative effects, but it's still valuable learning" (P7). As a final example of becoming stronger, participant six shared how shortly after their cyberbullying experience they began to change as a person. They shared the following:

> Yeah I wanted to share everything with the world then. I was in a completely different state of mind because it changed everything about me at the time. I started living healthier… yeah it was actually a good time and it was just shortly after that when everything came together again and I started to be more accepting of people… it was really me if I think about it or it wasn't them that I was a mad at. It was me myself. And then I didn't really feel anymore anger then. I was just relaxed… (laughs). P6

This quote demonstrates how participant six became stronger as a person as a result of their coping experience. As the above data demonstrates, the survivors that were interviewed for this study not only

managed to effectively cope with their cyberbullying experiences, but they also became stronger because of their journey. As a result, the emergent model that was described above was named resiliency: becoming stronger.

Differences Noted between Participants

When analyzing the participant interviews, there were not many major differences across participant data. However, some differences were noted between participants. First, each participant had their own unique experience with cyberbullying; for instance, some were long-term victims, others experienced only one incident, some started out as cyberbullies and ended up as cybervictims, and finally, others started out as cybervictims and became cyberbullies. This is important to note because survivors' experiences with cyberbullying incidents affected how they coped. For instance, the level of severity of the cyberbullying experience was a factor that affected youth's coping strategies; in particular, this was essentially true if youth experienced chronic cyberbullying or if they experienced cyberbullying simultaneously with traditional bullying. When youth experienced long-term bullying, their recovery process was usually longer than those who experienced shorter-term incidents. For example, participant two spoke about not fully recovering from their bullying until the end of high school. On the other hand, participant six shared that their recovery process was fairly quick, for example, they stated: "mmmhmm. Yeah. So that's why for me it was a quick change". In this quote, the quick change the participant is referring to is their ability to change their feelings, thoughts and behaviors.

Furthermore, another factor that affected participants coping process was whether or not they knew who was cyberbullying them. For example, participant seven's experience involved an anonymous cyberbullying, they shared:

> and ummm... yeah and then there was no way to find out who might have done that or you know how to… there was no way to stop that. You don't really get those options. There was no way… So that part is really frustrating. It's like you are being chased by a ghost or something… (P7)

These participants' experiences differed from the other individuals because they also had to cope with the fact that they did not know who or why they were being attacked. For example, participant nine shared their difficulties with this:

> They were personal attacks. Like they knew who you were but they wouldn't reveal themselves. And like it was just really hard. I couldn't really social network. Whenever I went out with friends… it was just awkward because I knew like one of these people here may be one of my attackers. So I wasn't very comfortable going out. (P9)

Thus, participants who with this experience also had to cope with additional factors which made their path to recovery slightly different from those who knew their attackers. Another difference between participant's experiences was whether or not they knew their cyberbully. For example, some individual's were bullied by people outside of their school while others were bullied by individuals in their immediate social circles. Again, this affected an individual's coping process. For example, if survivors were cyberbullied by someone from their school, one coping strategies these youth could use was changing their environment or switching schools. If cyberbullies were from other schools, youth often blocked them or turned off technology in order to cope with the situation.

Another difference between participants' experiences was whether or not they started off as a cyberbully. For instance, one individual started off as a cyberbully and then was cyberbullied themselves. As a result, their coping process was also somewhat different from the other participants. For instance, one method of coping for them was to stand up to their bullies and bully them back. They shared the following during their interview:

> R: so what I am hearing is that you tried to bully back a little bit so that they would back down.
>
> P: Yeah. Or so that they would feel bad… I guess. I didn't really… you know when you are in a certain situation and you got your pen stuck and you try to get it out the same way you did it in the first place and you do it forty times and you just get so agitated. You know… instead of trying to slow down and finding a different way of coping… (P6)

In this quote, this participant is sharing how this strategy was not very effective for them. While this strategy was used by two other participants who were not originally cyberbullies, it was used most often by the one participant who was originally a cyberbully. Furthermore, the other two individuals who used this strategy shared that they used it because they were backed into a corner and could not think of any other way to resolve the situation. Thus, participant's personal experience with cyberbullying affected how they coped with the situation.

Additionally, as the model highlights, coping or survival strategies were essential to each participant's journey of survival. However, the findings also suggested that each survivor used a slightly different approach to coping with cyberbullying. For example, some participants preferred to share their story with others (P2) while others preferred to engage in healthy outlets like sports and extracurricular activities (P6). Thus, each individual varied in which strategies they emphasized in their life. Survivors' strategies varied depending on their internal characteristics and feelings. For instance, survivors who "bounced back" typically engaged in thought reframing strategies. Alternatively, survivors with a more defined sense of assertiveness were more likely to engage in standing up for themselves. In addition, survivors' external environments also influenced their coping strategies. For instance, some survivors, like participant ten, had strong group of supportive friends in their lives, while others like participant two and eight had to build this resource. Furthermore, some participants like participant ten, attended schools that were active in helping them intervene with their cyberbullies; on the other hand, others, like participant two, did not have active schools and they had to advocated for themselves. As a final example, some participants did not have access to counselling services whereas others did.

Furthermore, participants' cultural backgrounds also differed. Cultural backgrounds influenced survivors' internal characteristics, as well as their home environments (or upbringing) which directly and indirectly impacted their coping. For instance, survivors who were not from Canada tended to rely less on their parents for support so as not to worry or to anger them (P4, P6, P8, & P11). This impacted their coping strategies because it affected what type of social support survivors sought. Additionally,

culture also impacted things like participants' value systems which in turn impacted their internal characteristics and their applied coping strategies. For instance, if religion was emphasized because of cultural background this was seen in participants' coping strategies. One example of this was participant four who spoke about their bible studies helping them to reframe negative thoughts. As well, it should also be noted that some of the survivors that were interviewed were cyberbullied in their home countries (not in Canada), and thus, which country participants were cyberbullied in also differed. One of the major differences that this resulted in was access to counselling. As previously highlighted, individuals who were cyberbullied outside of Canada typically did not have access to counselling resources. This impacted their coping strategies for instance, individuals would have to be more independent in coping with their cyberbullying experiences when they did not have access to counselling. However, despite there being some cultural differences between participants, the results of these findings cannot be generalized due to the small sample size. Moreover, it is hard to tease out cultural differences from identity idiosyncrasies based on the small sample size.

Finally, the last difference that was noted across participants was whether or not viewed their online world as separate form their offline world. Participants who had this separation seemed to be able to recover quicker. For instance, participant six shared the following:

> You are studying cyberbullying right? And with the computer… its… you don't actually have that person in front of you telling you these things. You have them over the computer texting and words don't hurt (but they do sometimes of course… laughs) but you don't have that I didn't have that feeling that it was imminent danger you know? As if I would talk to someone face to face. And so I didn't really make it… how do you say it? Reality? Yeah. So that's why for me it was a quick change. (P6)

Thus, this mentality affected individuals coping processes. In conclusion, there were not major differences across participant data; however small differences did affect the way that individuals coped with their cyberbullying experiences as well as the length of time that they engaged in coping strategies.

Summary

This section has described the findings of this study in detail. Using a grounded theory methodology, data was analyzed from young adults who have survived cyberbullying. This data was supplemented with interviews from school counsellors to create a robust look at coping. The goal of this study was to create an emergent model outlining how youth effectively cope with cyberbullying. When analyzing the data, the researcher found one central phenomenon – coping strategies. This was supported by three central themes: internal characteristics, internal feelings and environmental factors.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Summary of Results

Introduction

The following chapter discusses the findings from the eleven cyberbullying survivor interviews and the seven school counsellor interviews in further detail. It will do this by first looking at how the emergent model related to the original research questions. Next, this chapter will look at the connections between the current findings and those of the most relevant literature reviewed in Chapter Two, as well as Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model. This will be followed by an exploration of the strengths and limitations of this study, as well as the implications of these findings for both practice and future research. Finally, the chapter will end with a small section that highlights the researcher's reflections (and reflectivity) of their findings.

Emergent Theoretical Model in relation to the Research Questions

The overall aim of this study was to explore cyberbullying survival strategies from the perspective of youth and their counsellors. More specifically, the research was designed to discover: (1) how adolescents survive being a victim of cyberbullying, (2) what specific strategies adolescents use, and finally, (3) what factors influence their coping strategies. The research methods employed in collecting and analyzing the data allowed the researcher to explore these questions in depth. The

systematic process that was applied to the data analysis revealed a story of coping with cyberbullying in individual settings. This was presented within and across themes, highlighting a range of coping strategies that were pertinent to both cyberbullying survivors and to the school professionals that help to youth cope with cyberbullying. These findings will now be presented in relation to the initial research questions.

Research Question 1: How do adolescents survive being a victim of cyberbullying?

The results of the study highlighted that cyberbullying survivors use a variety of strategies to overcome the adverse effects of cyberbullying. At the core of their strategy is coping. Survivors used two different types of coping: online and offline. Online coping included the following strategies: online safety; the 'stop, block, &tell' strategy; changing their contact information; and finally, shutting off technology in their lives. Offline coping was the second type of coping that adolescents engaged in and this included various strategies, such as: changing environments; talking about it; being able to separate the online world from real world; building self-esteem; reframing the way they think; standing up for themselves; ignoring their cyberbullies; and finally, engaging in healthy outlets like journaling and using mindfulness.

Adolescent's coping strategies were also influenced by internal characteristics and internal feelings. Internal characteristics were personality traits that youth possessed or developed during their coping process. The internal characteristics that emerged from the data were as follows: sense-of-self, or possessing self-knowledge and self-esteem; choosing to be a survivor, including possessing inner strength, bouncing back, not wanting to let the cyberbully win, and looking into their future; empowerment, which comprised of taking control of the situation and helping themselves, being assertive and experiencing a moment of change for long-term survivors; and finally, being able to make sense of the experience, including finding the reasons or the meaning behind the cyberbullying, experiencing empathy for the bully and understanding their side of things, and knowing that it is really about their bully and not about them. These characteristics had a direct influence on how well youth

coped. For example, when youth felt assertive they were able stand up to their cyberbully or to use the 'stop, block and tell' strategy. Alternatively, when youth had a sense-of-self they were able to ignore cyberbullying, stand up for themselves, or reframe their negative thoughts. As a final example, when youth choose to be a survivor they often did things like change environments, engage in healthy outlets, ignore the cyberbully, or stand up for themselves.

Internal feelings also influenced adolescents coping strategies. The findings highlighted that external individuals in adolescents' lives facilitated the following feelings: acceptance and understanding. When individuals in survivors' lives facilitated the feeling that they belonged or that they were not alone they not alone, survivors felt accepted. Additionally, survivors felt understood when the following happened: they were able to talk to support systems and feel heard, support systems validated/normalized their experiences, or support systems gave them guidance. When survivors felt accepted or understood they were able to continue to build positive internal characteristics, such as: self-esteem, assertiveness, inner strength, or making sense of the experience by realizing that the cyberbullying is not really about them, but rather it's about their bully. Furthermore, when survivors felt accepted or understood, they were also more inclined to continue using coping strategies like talking and sharing their story or engaging in healthy outlets like sports teams.

Moreover, survivor's coping strategies were also affected by external factors such as: support systems (family, friends, teachers, and counsellors), their school environment including prevention and intervention, their upbringing (family life and religion), societal influences (legal system/Government and social awareness), and their emotional maturity (developmental stage and time). Adolescents' external environments operated as both a threat and a protection to their wellbeing. For example, if a survivor's school would not help intervene with their cyberbully, it made their coping process more difficult. Alternatively faith or spirituality seemed to add a protective layer in survivors' lives by helping them to cope. As a final example, the more prevention work schools accomplished the better prepared they were to help youth intervene with cyberbullying, if necessary.

Additionally, it is important to note that the data also highlighted that many survivors noted that there were factors in their external environment that were missing. For example, many survivors noted that society is in need of laws against cyberbullying. In addition, some survivors also spoke about a need for society in general to be more aware of cyberbullying. Others spoke about needing more their schools, such as a way of reporting cyberbullying anonymously to their administration. Some survivors also shared that they needed more involvement help from their school administration. Furthermore, some survivors stated that they wished that their school would have focused more on prevention so that cyberbullies may have a better idea about of how their actions impact their victims. In addition to survivors, school counsellors also spoke about their need for changes within youth's environment. They shared that they also needed help from government with intervention. Many counsellors spoke about how laws were necessary in order for them to be able to do their jobs better. In addition, some counsellors spoke about needing help from survivors' families. They shared that when parents are actively involved in prevention and intervention it helps the survivor to cope. Alternatively, other counsellors also spoke about how home life impacts the survivor's ability to cope. For example, if parents' role model improper internet use it can be hard to intervene and teach youth proper internet etiquette.

Finally, the findings also highlight that youth who effectively cope with cyberbullying are resilient and able to overcome the adverse effects of cyberbullying on their lives. In addition, youth were not only able to overcome the adverse effects, but they actually became stronger individuals as a result of their coping process. For instance, some of them starting living healthier as a result of their experiences like eating healthier, exercising, and meditating. Additionally, others choose to focus on their studies so that they could attain their future goals, while some decided go back to school or changed their career paths.

Research Question 2: What specific strategies do adolescents use?

When responding to cyberbullying, adolescents engaged in a number of different coping strategies. As previously highlighted above, these coping strategies were divided into two categories – online and offline strategies. Online strategies included online safety strategies, the 'stop, block and tell' strategy, changing their contact information, and shutting off technology. First, online safety strategies included things like setting your online profile to private, only adding specific individuals to your account, and deleting individuals who you are not close with. The second strategy, 'stop, block and tell', included ignoring or not engaging in the cyberbullying, blocking and reporting cyberbullies to the website administrators. Additionally, changing contact information simply meant that survivors would change their phone number or email to prevent future cyberbullying attacks. Finally, shutting off technology included closing SNS profiles, deleting email accounts, putting cell phones on silent, and not using the internet for a while.

Youth also engaged in many different offline strategies. First, some changed their environment. This meant moving, changing schools and class sections, and making new social groups. By changing environments survivors were able to gain control over some of the cyberbullying. Secondly, youth also told their story to others as a way of coping. Some youth found this to be cathartic while others gained insight by sharing their story. Furthermore, some youth received empathy or advice in return. Additionally, some survivors were able to separate their online and offline world. Some youth felt that online bullying was less stressful in traditional or in person bullying and this helped them to cope with their cyberbullying experiences in a quicker manner. For example, some individuals were able to reframe the way that they perceived their cyberbully attacks. Other survivors tried to build their self-esteem and the way that they felt about themselves so that the cyberbullying would not affect them as negatively. A fifth coping strategy that survivors used was reframing the way that they thought about things. This strategy encompassed changing the way they thought about things in order to also change their feelings and behavior. Furthermore, other survivors stood up to their cyberbully. Some stood up by choosing not to let the cyberbullying get to them or by cutting the bullies out of their lives; whereas,

others confronted their attackers or cyberbullied them back. A seventh strategy survivors employed was ignoring their cyberbully. To some this meant not engaging in the cyberbullying attacks or forgetting it and to others it meant changing their physical whereabouts so that they did not have to see their attackers in person. Finally, youth also engaged in healthy outlets as a way of coping. These included: laughter, meditation and mindfulness, music, extracurricular activities, exercise, studying, volunteering, reading, TV watching and journaling. Youth used these outlets as a distraction, a way to meet new friends, or a way to feel better about themselves.

However, the findings also suggested that each survivor took an individualized approach to coping with cyberbullying. Thus, each individual varied in which strategies they emphasized in their life. Their strategies differed depending on their internal characteristics and feelings of acceptance and understanding. For instance, survivors who had a sense-of-self (self-esteem and self-knowledge) were able to reframe their negative thoughts and ignore their cyberbullies by blocking them or turning off their technology more readily than the survivors who did not have as defined a sense-of-self. Alternatively, survivors with a more defined sense of assertiveness were able to stand up for themselves to their cyberbullies while those with a less defined sense of assertiveness tended to ignore their cyberbullies. In addition, survivors' external environments also influenced their coping strategies. For instance, some survivors, like participants two and ten, had strong support systems and others like participant one had to build this resource in their life by attending counselling.

Research Question 3: What factors influence their coping strategies?

As previously highlighted in the above two answers, the findings showed that youth's environment, internal characteristics and internal feelings influenced their ability to cope. Again, as previously discussed, these three factors either inhibited or facilitated youth's ability to cope. For example, youth were better able to cope when they had support systems that listened, advocated for them, opened up access to additional resources, and facilitated feelings of acceptance and understanding. On the other hand, if schools had inadequate resources for cyberbullying prevention and intervention,

then survivors were left to devise their own intervention strategies which slowed down their healing process.

When reviewing the above data on cyberbullying survival, it is clear that the results of this study met the overall aim of this study providing meaningful answers to the research questions. These answers were presented to readers using the four themes that emerged from the data. In addition to addressing how this study answered the research questions, it is also important to address the theoretical lens that was used to help develop the research proposal.

Emergent Theoretical Model in relation to Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model

It is important to highlight that grounded theory methodology required that the researcher develop the emergent theory from the ground up (Strauss & Corbin,1998). Thus, when analyzing the data, in order to adhere to the grounded theory research process, the researcher was required to set aside the theoretical lens, or the bioecological model. However, once the data was analyzed and the theory emerged, the emergent model was once again compared to the bioecological model. Bronfenbrenner & Morris (2006) proposed that there were four defining properties of the bioecological model, including: (1) Process, (2) Person, (3) Context, and (4) Time. These will be discussed in relation to the resiliency: becoming stronger model.

The first of these properties, process, was the core of Bronfenbrenner's model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 795). This construct includes the interactions between the individual and the environment, called proximal processes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). These processes were thought to be the primary mechanisms that produce human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The resiliency model also posited that an individual's survival processes was not only affected by their coping strategies (the core phenomenon) but it was also affected by their environment. Thus, like Bronfenbrenner, this model proposed that an individual's coping strategies were affected by their interactions with their environment, such as: their social supports, their school environment, and their

upbringing. Furthermore, this study also found that an individual's coping process had specific environmental influences that were central to their experience; such as the following: peers, family (upbringing), teachers, school administration and the characteristics of the school (the school culture, school policies, and the school's community or neighborhood). This finding was parallel to other bullying studies that used an ecological framework(Swearer & Doll, 2001; Hong & Espelage, 2012).

Additionally, more remote environmental influences (like social awareness and the legal system or laws) also impacted coping strategies. For example, depending on the laws in place at the time, some schools had a more difficult time intervening with cyberbullying. Furthermore, in addition to environmental interactions, a survivor's coping strategies were also the result of their internal characteristics (choosing to be a survivor, sense-of-self, empowerment, and being able to make sense of the experience). Once more, this is also parallel to Bronfenbrenner's theory which postulated that an individual's behaviors were the consequences of their own traits as well as their interactions with their environment (Lee, 2011, p.1666). Finally, according to the resiliency model, an individual's survival process was influenced by time period that their cyberbullying took place. For instance, the time period affected the following: laws that were in place to help youth; school and society's awareness of cyberbullying; internet site's policies and procedures; the length of survivor's healing process; and finally, youth's emotional maturity including their developmental level. In summary, like Bronfenbrenner's model, a survivor's coping process was influenced by the following: their personal characteristics, their immediate environmental contexts, their remote environmental contexts, and the time period in which the proximal processes take place (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Furthermore, in accordance with Bronfenbrenner, a survivor's healing process was influenced by their personal characteristics (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). In Bronfenbrenner's model, this was the second property called Person, which was influential in shaping future development based on its capacity to affect the direction and the power of proximal processes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Survivors possessed demand, resource and force characteristics that influenced their coping strategies.

First, survivor's demand characteristics influenced their survival process like their age or gender (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For instance, survivors' ages influenced their coping strategies; in particular, their emotional maturity affected their ability engage in online strategies like blocking bullies, not engaging with their cyberbully's actions, and limiting access to their profiles. In addition, survivor's resource characteristics like their experiences, level of intelligence, and skills were helpful influencing their coping strategies (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For example, participant ten was a band student and used music as part of their coping strategy. Furthermore, survivor's material resources like their education and responsive caregivers influenced their coping process (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For instance, the more supportive parents were in helping youth (like participant two), the better their coping experiences were. Finally force characteristics like motivation, persistence and temperament also affected youth's coping process (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For instance, survivors who "don't want to let them win" were motivated to continue to use coping strategies to survive. Furthermore, like Bronfenbrenner & Morris (2006), these characteristics not only influenced the individual's coping strategies, but they were also an outcome of their coping strategies. For example, when survivors made new friends their sense-of-self increased.

The third defining property of the bioecological model is context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Bronfenbrenner & Morris (2006) proposed that there are five layers in an individual's environment, including the following: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The resiliency model also posited that individuals' coping strategies were influenced by their environment. Environmental factors impacted youth's coping process. Moreover, an individual's immediate environment tended to have a more powerful influence on their coping strategies than those that are more distant to them. Thus, the closer the environmental influences were to the individual, the more powerful and direct their influences are on that individual's coping skills and internal characteristics. This is parallel to Hong & Espelage's (2012) finding that the majority of direct influences on bullying behavior are contained with Microsystem, or the first layer of

Bronfenbrenner's model. Swearer& Doll (2001) also supported this finding. This includes individuals or groups that are within the immediate settings where youth interact; for example, home, school, parents, and siblings (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 315). Thus, the shared interaction between the survivor and the contexts of family, peers, teachers, school administration, school policies, and the physical setting of the school were central to the resiliency model.

In addition, the resiliency model also found that context influenced survivors' coping strategies. In the microsystem, the resiliency model found that social support, or positive interactions with family, teachers, counsellors, and friends, was very influential in helping survivors' coping strategies. All of the survivors mentioned social support as being influential in their survival experience, with most of them speaking about it multiple times throughout their interview. Furthermore, as a result of social support and interpersonal relationships, youth felt accepted and understood which positively impacted their coping strategy. Lee (2011) noted that Bronfenbrenner also believed that the most important concept for microsystem was individuals experience within interpersonal relationships because it was these experiences that influenced children's development (p. 1667). Moreover, counsellors also spoke about home environments influencing survivors coping strategies. For example, if parents were not actively involved in their children's online lives, they were not able to help prevent cyberbullying as effectively as those who were.

In addition, a second aspect of the social environment that was essential to the resiliency model was youth's experience within the school environment including the school's climate. This included the strategies that schools have put in place to prevent and intervene with cyberbullying; for example, school's awareness of cyberbullying or school's cyberbullying policies and regulations. These factors influenced survivor's coping strategies. For instance, if schools were not actively involved in assisting youth who were cyberbullied then youth had a more difficult time coping (like participant two). Again, Lee (2011) also supported this finding stating that the school climate was one of the most important social environments that influence bullying behaviors (p. 1667).

Bronfenbrenner's next structure, the mesosystem, focuses on the interrelationships among two or more microsystems in which the person actively participates (Kaplan, 2004; Hong & Espelage, 2012). Examples of this context were found in the resiliency model in the school environment - interventions category, including the following: facilitating effective communication, activating channels of social support, activating involvement from parents, administration, and police, and direct intervention with the cyberbully. When counsellors (microsystem) interacted with peers, teachers, administration and parents (microsystems) in order to help survivors they created a mesosystem.

The third level of Bronfenbrenner's context, exosystem, takes into account environmental elements beyond the immediate system containing the individual; for example for example, extended family, legal service, neighbors, mass media (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Kaplan, 2004;Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Thus, the exosystem refers to social settings that can influence the survivor, but the survivor does not necessarily participate in them (Lee, 2011, p. 1669). When considering the resiliency model, examples of relevant exosystems factors were found in the societal influences category of data, including: social awareness and the Canadian Legal System. For example, laws affected how schools could intervene with cyberbullying which in turn affected how counsellors could help survivors. In addition, social awareness also impacted survivor's strategies. For instance, the more aware society was about cyberbullying, the more likely parents were to monitor internet usage (preventing cyberbullying) or the less likely parents would be to condone cyberbullying behavior.

The macrosystem level, or fourth layer of Bronfenbrenner's model, comprised the ideology or belief systems that were inherent in social institutions (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Kaplan, 2004).When considering the resiliency model, religion and spiritual beliefs were one macrosystem that participant's identified. For example, participant four often spoke about how their bible studies helped them cope. The second macrosystem identified by participants was their home environment; specifically, the cultural norms and beliefs of the survivor's families. This finding was supported by Hong & Espelage (2012) who also used an ecological model to study bullying and found that two macrosystem contexts

were identified as important factors influencing bullying: cultural norms and beliefs, and religion (Hong, & Espelage, 2012, p. 317).

Finally, the last context layer in Bronfenbrenner's model, the chronosystem level, discussed the timing of life course events or historical period (Kaplan, 2004). More specifically, it considers how consistency or change the affect the individual (like historical and life events) and the environment (Hong & Espelage, 2012, p. 317). Participants in this study did not directly speak about how this context influenced their coping strategies. However, some participants, such as participant four, did speak about how their cyberbullying experiences were caused by life changes in their bully's lives like divorce. This was discussed in the empathy for the bully code. Survivors' abilities to empathize with this directly influenced their coping strategies. As a result, this context indirectly affected survivors' coping experiences.

The fourth and final property of the bioecological model is Time (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). As previously described above, Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) stated that Time has a prominent place in three successive layers of the context micro, meso, and macro. Microtime describes the continuity as opposed to the discontinuity of the ongoing proximal process; on the other hand, Mesotime refers to the timing of these episodes throughout longer time intervals like days and weeks (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Finally, macrotime focuses on the broader context of the changing expectations and events in the society and how they affect and are affected by processes and outcomes of human development over the life course (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Time was not as prominent in the resiliency model; however, it did still emerge from the data as a relevant contributor to survivors' coping strategies. First, over time survivors were able to gain more resources and insight into their coping processes with time (mesotime). Secondly, the timing of when the cyberbullying transpired for each survivor was also relevant (chronotime). For example, how recent was their experience. This was relevant because when the cyberbullying took place a few years ago, participants had a harder time getting cyberbullying material removed and reporting cyberbullying incidents (P1 & P7).

As the above data has shown, the data that emerged from this grounded theory study could be applied to Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model. In addition, there were also some similarities to Bronfenbrenner's findings, as well as the findings of other bullying researchers who have used an ecological framework to study bullying. It should be noted, however, that the categories that emerged from the analysis of the data often contained overlapping contexts and factors. Thus, they did not always fit neatly into Bronfenbrenner's model. As a result, the environmental factors were not depicted in the resiliency model as being from different contexts. Furthermore, the survivor's behaviors were the centre of the resiliency model, and their personal characteristics and feelings (influenced by their support systems) were seen as secondary factors contributing to survivor's behavior. Although there are differences between these to two models, the findings of this study have highlighted that coping strategies were not just the product of an individual. Instead, they were the product of an individual as well as their interaction with their environment. Thus, it was important to consider the multiple ecologies contained within survivors' lives when studying their coping behavior. Furthermore, this finding was supported by other researchers who have also studied bullying and cyberbullying behaviors using Bronfenbrenner's models (Lee, 2011; Swearer & Doll, 2001; Hong & Espelage, 2012; Hong & Eamon, 2009). In addition, other findings of this study were also supported by previous research on cyberbullying.

Comparison of the Emergent Theory with Current Literature

The above model states that when faced with the adversity of cyberbullying, survivors use a variety of strategies to overcome the negative effects. At the center of their strategy is coping. Survivors used two different types of coping: online and offline. These coping strategies were influenced by their internal characteristics and feelings. Furthermore, their external environment also influenced not only their internal characteristics and feelings, but also their ability to engage in coping strategies. When reviewing the literature on cyberbullying (and bullying), coping and resiliency, the researcher found that many of the findings highlighted in this study were supported by previous research. Consequently, this

study contributed in a meaningful way to cyberbullying research. The following section will briefly discuss the results of this study in relation to previous findings.

Prior to doing so, however, it is important to highlight that the current study was unique from previous cyberbullying research. At the time of completion, this was the first study to use a grounded theory methodology to study coping and cyberbullying. Prior to this, only one other study used a qualitative methodology (ethnography) to conduct in-depth interviews with cyberbullying survivors (Parris et al., 2012). Instead, previous researchers using qualitative methods to study cyberbullying used focus groups (Agatston et al., 2007; Mishna et al., 2009; Spears et al, 2009; Stacey, 2009). Alternatively, other researchers used online written surveys to collect qualitative data on coping (Price & Dalgleish, 2010). Furthermore, this study was also the first to include individual interviews with both school counsellors and survivors. Finally, this study was also the first to use Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model as the theoretical framework. Previous research studying coping strategies of cyberbullied youth used Lazarus and Folkman's Transactional Model of coping (Parris et al., 2012; Vollink et al., 2013). Keeping this in mind, this study will now be compared with other research studies to determine similarities and differences.

Coping Strategies and Survivors

To date only a small number of studies have specifically focusing on coping with cyberbullying, and of those only a few have interviewed or surveyed youth directly. The first study to look specifically at coping and cyberbullying was Stacey's (2009) research on student perspectives of cybersafe learning environments. Stacey's findings were similar to the findings highlighted by cyberbullying survivors in the current study. For instance, Stacey (2009) found that some youth aged 10-13 spoke about dealing with the problem alone while others spoke about talking to friends, siblings, parents and teachers about it. These findings mirror what was found in the current cyberbullying survivor study. For instance, some individuals also reported the use of self-help strategies (in empowerment category) while others spoke about talking about their experiences to whoever was willing to listen. Stacey (2009) also found that all

of the interviewees considered internet education for parents and students to be the most helpful strategy. This strategy was also noted in the current survivor study; however it was recognized more by school counsellors than affected youth.

In addition, Stacey (2009) also found that when students did not know their cyberbully, simple remedies like deleting the cyberbully were used; however, when the harassment occurred by someone that they knew, youth recommended personal confrontation. Furthermore, some individuals sought technological solutions like blocking and tracing while others pursued the development of a mediating peer group to help reduce and remove cyberbullying (Stacey, 2009). Students age 16-17 also viewed technological solutions as helpful (like the email shutting down quickly if a computer was not being used) (Stacey, 2009). Likewise, survivors in the current study also spoke about standing up to the cyberbully which was similar to the recommended strategy of personal confrontation. Moreover, survivors spoke about using online strategies to combat cyberbullying, like blocking and deleting. Although in contrast to Stacey's (2009) study, survivors did not note whether or not they used these strategies because cyberbullies were anonymous or known. Survivors did, however, note that the situation was harder to cope with if their bully was anonymous. Also in contrast to the current study, Stacey (2009) found that students aged 13-16 did not want better policing and punishment of offenders. Moreover, older students (16-17) did not feel that it was necessary to involve parents or the school unless it was an exceptional circumstance (Stacey, 2009). In contrast, in the current study youth felt that both the legal system and schools needed to help facilitate the policing and punishment of offenders. In addition, some survivors (although not all) spoke about involving their parents and their schools.

A second study on coping with cyberbullying was found in the literature. Price and Dalgleish (2010) studied the experiences, impacts, and coping strategies of Australian youth. They found that one benefit of cyberspace is that it affords youth a wide variety of coping strategies that are not available offline (Price & Dalgleish, 2010). For instance, cyberbullying victims can block suspected bullies, restrict their friend lists and change their avatar in order to avoid future cyberbullying attacks (Price &

Dalgleish, 2010). In particular, Price and Dalgleish (2010) found that blocking techniques were not only highly used, but they were also ranked as being very effective by youth. This finding was also highlighted in the current study which found that survivors noted using both online and offline coping strategies. Furthermore, both survivors and counsellors spoke about the effectiveness of the blocking strategy which is highlighted in the 'stop, block, and tell' code. In a similar vein, Price and Dalgleish (2010) also found effective offline strategies. For instance, youth report that the most effective offline strategy is "telling"; for instance, youth reported telling friends, parents, teachers, principals, Kids Help Phone, other adults, and siblings about their cyberbullying experiences (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, p. 57). This finding was also noted by the current study with youth stating that talking about their cyberbullying experiences was a helpful coping process. Moreover, youth in the current study all reported that social support was helpful.

Furthermore, Price and Dalgleish (2010) cited that "Staying offline" was the second most effective strategy (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, p. 57). Again, this finding was highlighted by the current study's participants who reported "shutting of technology" as one of the strategies that they engaged in; however, it was not necessarily listed as the 'second most effective strategy'. Finally, when analyzing their qualitative data, Price and Dalgleish (2010) also found that cyberbullied youth recommend the following coping strategies: speaking out, ignoring, avoiding, being positive and retaliating (Price & Dalgleish, 2010, pp. 56-57). Again, these strategies were also highlighted in the current study which found that youth cope by talking about it, ignoring it, reframing the way they think, and standing up.

Parris et al. (2012) also studied Australian students' perceptions and interpretations of how to cope with cyberbullying. They found that youth reported three types of coping: reactive coping, preventive coping, and finally some students believed that there was no way to prevent cyberbullying (Parris et al., 2012, p. 291). Reactive coping was defined as "attempts to respond to cyberbullying after it had occurred and included ways to end the cyberbullying or attempts to lessen negative consequences" (Parris et al., 2012, p. 292). The strategies included the following: avoidance or evading

the cyberbully or the situation (N.B. this included online safety strategies like blocking); acceptance or accepting that cyberbullying is part of life; justification or evaluating the cyberbullying to determine the reasons why it should not bother them (eg. turning it into a joke); and finally, seeking social support or approaching another person to obtain advice or action (Parris et al., 2012, pp. 291-294). These findings are in line with the current study which also found that survivors coped by ignoring the cyberbully. This strategy encompassed both online safety strategies like blocking and turning off technology, as well as offline strategies like changing environments and ignoring their cyberbully in everyday life. Furthermore, justification and evaluating also occurred in the current study. Specifically, it was highlighted in the following two coping strategies: 'reframing the way I think' and 'being able to separate online world from the real world'. Finally, seeking social support ('support systems' and 'talking about it')and obtaining guidance and advice were also sought out by cyberbullying survivors in the current study. These strategies were mainly highlighted in the supporting themes of: individual characteristics, external influences on internal feelings, and their environmental factors.

The second coping strategy found by Parris et al. (2012), preventative coping, was defined as: "coping mechanisms that may decrease the likelihood of being cyberbullied" (Parris et al., 2012, p. 294). These coping mechanisms included talking in person to avoid miscommunications and increased security and awareness (eg. cybersafety) (Parris et al., 2012, p. 291). Likewise, these two strategies were also highlighted in the current study. Increased security and awareness were found in both the online safety category and the school environment: prevention category. Furthermore, schools and survivors also highlighted the need to speak in person when they engaged in 'facilitating effective communication strategies', 'standing up', and 'direct intervention strategies'.

A fourth study that reviewed youth's cyberbullying coping strategies was Pieschl, Porsch, Kahl, and Klockenbusch (2013)'s findings on the relevant dimensions of cyberbullying. They found that the majority of students employed coping strategies that were classified as: "confrontation (seek active problem solving contact with perpetrator), followed by social (seek support from adults and peers) and

technical coping (notify ISP, change account settings, block), and depreciation (devalue the incident, such as it's only a joke)" (Pieschl et al., 2013, p. 249). In addition, students also shared that they less frequently engaged in: "helpless (does not know what to do), passive (ignore the incident), aggressive (online retaliation), and rationalization (seek an explanation) coping strategies" (Pieschl et al., 2013, p. 249). As previously noted, these findings are parallel to the current study that found that survivors engage in online strategies, ignoring, standing up, and reframing the way I think. Furthermore, it was also determined that facilitating effective communication, having support systems, and being able to make sense of the experience were also important aspects of survivors experiences.

The last study to look at youth experiences with cyberbullying and coping was Vollink, Bolman, Dehue, & Jacobs (2013)'s study which examined the coping strategies of victims, bully-victims, and non-involved children. More specifically, they look at how each of these groups coped with cyberbullying (Vollink et al., 2013). They discovered that children who are cyberbullying bully-victims typically respond to stress by expressing emotion and they only occasionally use palliative coping, like thinking about other things (Vollink et al., 2013). In addition, they found that cyberbully victims had the highest levels of depressive coping, meaning that they tended to internalize their difficulties (Vollink et al., 2013). More specifically, they found that the use of three coping strategies: coping through emotional expression, avoidance coping and depressive coping, led to the use of depressive coping to deal with cyberbullying (Vollink et al., 2013). These depressive coping strategies led to feelings of worthless and powerless. It is possible that cyberbullying victims perceive bullying as something that cannot be changed; thus, they frequently engage in emotion-focused coping strategies (Vollink et al., 2013). Furthermore, they also found no differences in the use of problem-focused strategies (ie. social support and confrontation) between victims, bully-victims and individuals who were not involved in bullying (Vollink et al., 2013). They proposed that this was likely indicative of the fact younger youth do not talk about their feelings or negative experiences (Vollink et al., 2013). While the current study found that some individuals spoke about expressing their feelings in counselling settings and with

parents, these strategies were not considered to be maladaptive. Furthermore, survivors also sometimes engaged in avoidance strategies like blocking their bully and ignoring the cyberbullying. However, again, these strategies were not considered to be maladaptive or depressive. Thus, Vollink et al.'s conclusions are in contrast with the current study's findings. It is possible that because of the fact that the current study surveyed cyberbullying survivors that these depressive coping strategies were not found. Furthermore, it is also possible that because the theoretical frameworks used differed between these two studies (Lazarus vs. Bronfenbrenner) that these differences in coping strategies were found.

In addition to the above studies, one study reviewed the current literature on cyberbullying and highlighted policies and practice for cyberbullying. Cassidy, Faucher, and Jackson (2013) found that the literature highlighted two types of strategies. First, it described passive strategies such as ignoring, doing nothing, and avoiding the website. Secondly, active strategies were also described, such as: confronting the bully, retaliating, telling them to stop, or threatening to tell on them (Cassidy et al., 2013). Again, as previously discussed above, both of these strategies were highlighted in the current study's findings. Furthermore, Cassidy et al. (2013) also found that social support (both emotional and instrumental) was the coping strategy with the best indicator of success. The current study also supported this finding, with all interviewees reporting that social support was a key factor in their survival process. Moreover, counsellors also spoke about facilitating both 'emotional support' and 'channels of social support' for youth. However, Cassidy et al. (2013) reminded readers, that previous research also demonstrated that when seeking help, students needed to perceive that the adult was trustworthy and could offer resources. This was acknowledged in the current study by the school counsellors who noted that importance of 'creating a culture of openness'.

In addition, Cassidy et al. (2013) also pointed out the fact an overwhelming amount of the research discusses the need for education. For instance, the need for a cyberbullying curriculum that not only defines cyberbullying and teaches cybersafety skills, but that also empowers students to use their learned knowledge and skills (Cassidy et al., 2013). Secondly, the literature also talks about the need for

educators, psychological service providers, and parents to be knowledgeable about cyberbullying (Cassidy et al., 2013). Furthermore, there is also a need for parental online supervision like age-appropriate limits and online monitoring. Thus the current literature on cyberbullying stresses prevention as a key strategy (Cassidy et al., 2013). Yet again, this was also emphasized in the current study. Both survivors and counsellors spoke about the need for school prevention. This was highlighted in the school environment: prevention category which discussed proactive strategies, psychoeducation, increasing awareness, and creating a culture of openness. Moreover, the school environment intervention strategies also included 'looking at prevention again', as well as activating involvement from parents. Finally, Cassidy et al. (2013) also highlighted the need for effective policies and practices and law reform. These findings also supported the current study which found both of these to be important aspects of survivors' environments. They were discussed in school prevention, school intervention and societal influences categories.

Coping Strategies and School Counsellors

Related to Cassidy et al.'s findings and also addressed in the current study, the role of psychological service providers in intervening with and preventing cyberbullying is also an important facet of cyberbullying survivor's healing process. A few researchers have specifically studied this, finding similar results to Cassidy et al.'s literature review. Firstly, Chibbaro (2007) reviewed the role of school counsellors in the prevention and intervention of cyberbullying. Chibbaro (2007) found that schools policies, awareness campaigns and school counseling interventions have all been recommended as central strategies. For instance, each school must possess clear policies regarding cyberbullying, especially including the resulting sanctions (loss of comp privileges, detentions, suspension, and expulsion) (Chibbaro, 2007). Additionally, awareness was also a necessary not only for students but also for school personnel and parents (Chibbaro, 2007). Awareness campaigns should include training and education for school personnel about the nature of cyberbullying, its effects, and how to respond (including reporting options) (Chibbaro, 2007). Furthermore, parents should also be informed because

they may be unaware of their child's online behavior (Chibarro, 2007). Furthermore, they need to know that they have a legal obligation to monitor their child's online activities. Finally, schools and parents need to collaborate regarding the collection of cyberbullying evidence (Chibarro, 2007). These strategies were also highlight in the current study in the school environment categories (prevention and intervention).

Secondly, Diamanduros, Downs, and Jenkins (2008) studied that role of school psychologists in prevention and intervention. They stated that school psychologists need to help promote cyberbullying awareness through the use of things like workshops, online training, informational brochures and pamphlets, and lesson plans on cyberbullying (Diamanduros et al., 2008). For example, resource pamphlets are valuable sources of information for teachers, administrators, and counsellors, and they can be easily distributed to students and parents (Diamanduros et al., 2008). In addition, parental involvement is also a central aspect of awareness and is critical to successful programs and the resolution of concerning issues involving students (Diamanduros et al., 2008). Diamanduros et al. (2008) stated that the first response to cyberbullying should be to have a thoughtful and detailed prevention plan. Moreover, "Specific components of prevention should include: right for students to feel safe at school and home, definition of cyberbullying, how cyberbullying occurs, prevalence of cyberbullying, prevalence of cyberbullying, impact that cyberbullying has on the victim and the cyberbullying, legal ramifications of cyberbullying, need to take a stand against cyberbullying, need to keep personal information private, internet safety and etiquette, and the need to be respectful of others online" (p. 698). As well, school policies and knowledge of legal standards are also important elements. Finally, Daimanduros et al. (2008) also state that school psychologists should create meaningful intervention plans, including the following:

> Save the evidence; conduct a threat assessment; assess response options and determine appropriate responses; identify the perpetrator which may involve obtaining the assistance of technical services; support the victim and offer counseling and technical assistance if needed;

> direct student's parents to outside resources, such as legal assistance or law enforcement; provide guidance on how to remove or stop the cyberbullying; seek to use informal resolution strategies, such as contacting the parents of the perpetrator or offering counselling or mediation in the school, and seek to determine the underlying cause of the cyberbullying situation. (p. 699-700)

As previously noted above, strategies similar to those outlined above were also found in the current study; especially, in the environmental factors theme.

Coping Strategies and Bullying Survivors

Since only a few research studies have looked at cyberbullying and coping, the researcher also reviewed literature on coping with bullying to see how it compared to the current study's findings. In a study on how youth coped with bullying, Craig, Pepler, and Blais (2007) found that approximately half of their participants reported that they tried to ignore bullying; in fact, this was the most frequently endorsed strategy. Moreover, this strategy increased as age increased, and thus, older youth reported more frequent usage of passive avoidance strategies, like ignoring and not doing anything (Craig et al., 2007). This finding supports the current study which also found that youth used 'ignoring' in order to cope with cyberbullying. In addition, it is possible that this strategy was reported more frequently because the participants in this study were also older (in their early twenties); thus, it is possible that future researchers studying younger populations may not find this to be a central coping strategy. Furthermore, Craig et al. (2007) also found that females were more likely to ask for help or to tell others about the bullying incident to stop the bullying, while boys often used physical aggression, humor or revenge to stop the bullying (Craig et al., 2007). While the current cyberbullying study did not find any significant gender differences in coping, survivors did highlight that talking about the incident was a helpful coping strategy. In addition, some individuals reported using laughter as a coping mechanism, as well as standing up to the bully. Lastly, Craig et al. (2007) also reported that participants were more motivated to take action when the bullying escalated or when it was a constant presence in their lives.

This finding was comparable to the current study's 'moment of change' code which described situations where long-term cyberbullying victims experienced a moment of change when they felt empowered to do something to change their current situation.

Smith, Talamelli, Coiwe, Naylor, and Chauhan (2004) also studied how victims cope with bullying, focusing on non-victims, escaped victims, new victims and continuing victims. In their short-term longitudinal study, they found that "escaped victims" (individuals who are now bully-free but were previously bullied) used a number of successful strategies to overcome bullying like talking about it with someone and making an effort to find new friends (Smith et al., 2004). As a result, they found that these individuals were less likely than "continuing victims" to engage in self-blame for being bullied (Smith et al., 2004). Furthermore, Smith et al. (2004) also found that high-quality friendships acted a buffer between bullying behavior and externalizing problems; thus it was considered to be a protective factor. These findings also support the current study. As previously highlighted survivors spoke about talking about their experiences as an effective coping strategy. In addition, some survivors also spoke about creating new friendships as a method of coping. This was highlighted in codes like healthy outlets (extracurricular activities and sports), as well as the codes sense of belonging and feeling like you are not alone.

In a third study on coping with bullying, Murray-Harvey, Skrzypiec and Slee (2012) focused on the effectiveness of specific strategies used to cope with bullying. They studied both independent professional's and youth's opinions of effective coping strategies, in addition to the frequency with which youth used these strategies. The only strategy that Murray-Harvey et al. (2012) found that both youth and professionals agreed upon was "stick up for myself". This strategy was used frequently by youth and was viewed as "somewhat effective" by professionals. This strategy was also found in the current study; however, youth framed it as "standing up for themselves".

In addition, Murray-Harvey et al. (2012) also found that although professionals viewed strategies referred to as "productive – other focus" as being very effective, youth reported 'never using'

or using these strategies 'very little'. For instance, youth reported 'never using' the following strategies: talking to the school or school professions, using the peer support program and using the school's anti-harassment procedures. Furthermore, youth reported using the following two strategies "very little": asking a teacher for help and talking to parents about bullying as helpful. In contrast, the current study on cyberbullying survivors found that youth often talked about their experiences with others. In addition, some survivors requested that schools build peer support programs and anti-harassment in order to help others affected by cyberbullying. It is possible, that because youth in this study were reflecting on their past experiences that their opinions differ from those who are currently in the midst of experiencing bullying. In addition, the youth interviewed in the current study were also older than the individuals Murray-Harvey (2012) surveyed. It is possible that this also affected the difference between their answers.

Furthermore, strategies that were more commonly used by students ('productive – self focused'), were ranked by professionals as only 'somewhat effective'. These strategies included things like: "'try to be cheerful despite the bullying', 'find a way to relax', 'find others to spend time with', 'keep fit and healthy so the bullying doesn't get me down too much' and 'think of different ways I could solve the problem'" (Murray-Harvey et al., 2012, p. 131). Again, this finding somewhat differs from what was found in this study. The survivors in the current study also reported that engaging in the above strategies (healthy outlets like laughing, using mindfulness/meditation to relax, engaging in exercise, finding extracurricular activities (and new friends), & reframing) were effective. This was in contrast to the Murray-Harvey's (2012) surveyed professionals who reported that these strategies were only somewhat effective. It is possible that professionals who are further removed from bullying may have differing opinions from youth as to what is effective for coping. Furthermore, it may be that generations differ in their opinions of what is effective for coping.

In a fourth study on bullying in Japan and the United Kingdom, Kanetsuna, Smith, & Morita (2006) found that youth reported the following nine strategies:

> *Seek help* - ''tell teachers, parents and friends about it'', ''ask others for help''; *take direct action against bullies* - ''fight back'', ''argue back'', ''tell bullies to stop it'', ''ask bullies why they do it''; *avoidance* - ''run away, walk away, get away, or move away from the bullies'', ''stay away from the bullies'', ''move to another school''; *passive behaviour* - ''do nothing about it'', ''leave it as it is'', ''let bullies push them around'', ''do what bullies tell them to do''; *ignoring* - ''ignore what bullies say'', ''try to act as if it does not affect or bother them at all''; *reflect on yourself* - ''reflect on yourself for faults'', ''try to improve yourself''; *try to make new friends* - making new or different friends; *deny it* - ''make it clear by telling everyone that the rumor is not true''; and finally, *other* – any strategy not fitting into the above list. (p. 575)

It is important to note that the usage of the above strategies varied based on the type of bullying youth experienced (Kanetsuna et al., 2006). For example, "avoiding the bullies was proposed only for physical bullying. Ignoring was proposed only for verbal bullying. Doing nothing was proposed only for social exclusion and rumor spreading. Denying it was only suggested for rumour spreading; and reflecting on yourself, or trying to make new friends, only for social exclusion" (Kanetsuna et al., 2006, p. 578). Again, these findings are similar to the current study on cyberbullying survivors. All of the above noted strategies were found in the current study; for example: seeking help behavior was found in 'self-help-taking control'; taking direct action against the bullies was highlighted in 'assertiveness' and 'standing up'; avoidance, passive, and ignoring behaviors were found in 'changing environments' and 'ignoring'; making new friends was found in 'sense of belonging', 'feeling like you are not alone', and 'healthy outlets'; and finally, reflect on yourself was similar to the codes of 'reframing the way I think' and 'building self-esteem'. "Deny it" was not noted as a strategy in the current study, however, it is possible that if there were more interviews with survivors that this strategy may have turned up.

Finally, it should be noted that one study on cyberbullying sought parents' opinions about coping with bullying as part of a larger study on parent's perceptions on bullying. Sawyer et al. (2011) found that some parents enrolled their child in activities like self-defense or tried to expand the child's

social network for example by enrolling them in group sports such as soccer. A secondary benefit of these activities was that they also helped to increase self-esteem (Sawyer et al., 2011). These strategies were also noted by youth in the current study who reported engaging in healthy outlets which helped to increase self-esteem and create new friendships. In addition, "many of the parents described trying to give their child assurances as a way to improve their self-esteem; for example, they stated: 'you are okay', 'you are smart', 'you are bright', 'you are fun', 'you are a good friend to people that you are friends with', and 'I love you no matter what'" (Sawyer et al., 2011, p. 1799). This strategy is similar to the categories of feeling accepted and understood noted in the current study; in particular talking about it and feeling heard. Furthermore, this was also a highlighted strategy in school environment intervention, specifically the code emotional support. Finally, Sawyer et al. (2011) also found that some parents focused on teaching their children pro-social behaviors which included advising them about how to be 'strong' and to be 'yourself'. These strategies were similar to survivor's internal characters of choosing to be a survivor and sense-of-self. Based on the above cyberbullying and bullying literature reviewed, the findings in this current study confirm and add to the previous literature on both bullying and cyberbullying.

Resiliency

In addition to the research highlighted above, the researcher also felt that it was important to review literature on resiliency and cyberbullying. The researcher did not find any articles focusing on resiliency and cyberbullying, however, some researchers have examined resiliency and bullying. One noteworthy study by Donnon and Hammond (2007) examined development strengths that contributed to an individual's ability overcome bullying. In their literature review they summarized three main areas of focus: (1) personal attributes; (2) family characteristics; and (3) other external support systems (Donnon & Hammond, 2007). More specifically, in their literature review they found that resiliency was demonstrated by individuals who possesses a number of factors in the following two areas: "(1) intrinsic strengths or personality characteristics of the individual, such as: empathy, self-esteem, and self-

efficacy, and (2) extrinsic strengths or interpersonal settings or environments, such as: supportive family, positive peer influence, and caring school and community environments" (Donnon & Hammond, 2007, p. 451). As a result, they used an assessment of developmental strengths to survey what contributed to resiliency in bullied youth (Donnon & Hammond, 2007). They looked at the following developmental strengths:

> cultural sensitivity, including: cultural awareness, acceptance of other's beliefs and possessing their own spiritual beliefs; self control or the personal restraint of substance abuse and resistance skills (ability to say no); empowerment or the ability to feel in control of their environment; self-concept, including: planning for the future, self-efficacy, and self-esteem; social sensitivity, consisting of: empathy and caring for others as well as a belief that social justice and equity is important; parental support and expectations, including: a caring family, family communication, adult role models, family support, parental involvement in school, and parental expectations of youth; peer relationships, comprising of: positive peer relationships and influences, community cohesiveness, community values and neighborhood boundaries and relationships with trusted adults; school commitment to learning or the completion of school work, trying their best, and engagement in school; and finally, school culture, including: school boundaries, bond to school, caring climate, and high expectations for students to do well. (Donnon & Hammond, 2007, pp. 452-453)

When exploring the above strengths, Donnon and Hammond (2007) found that the more strengths an individual possessed, the higher their resiliency level and the lower their risk. "Based on the findings, it can be inferred that youth are in a more favorable position to develop better resiliency profiles if they are provided with an opportunity to have as many strengths as possible" (Donnon & Hammond, 2007, p. 465).

The current study found that survivors possessed many of the same internal strengths that Donnon and Hammond (2007) noted. In particular, survivors reported that the following internal

characteristics were necessary: sense-of-self, including self-esteem; choosing to be a survivor, including setting future goals; empowerment such as being assertive and taking control of their situation (self-help); and finally, being able to make sense of the experience, including experiencing empathy for the bully. Moreover, youth in the current study also shared that environmental factors were also influential in their coping process. Many of the factors listed were similar to the extrinsic strengths Donnon and Hammon (2007) highlighted. For example, the survivors in the current study noted that social support including caring parents and peers were important. They also shared that their upbringing and in participant their home environment and spiritual beliefs were central to their coping experiences. Finally, the survivors in the current study also noted that their school environment was an integral part of their coping process, including, both prevention and intervention work. As a result, Donnon and Hammon's study not only helps to support the fact that internal and extrinsic characteristics are an important part of coping with cyberbullying experiences, but it also supports the finding that that the youth interviewed in this study were not only survivors but they were also resilient.

Strengths and Limitations of this Study

This study explored the phenomenon of cyberbullying through the eyes of youth; in particular, it explored youth's perceptions regarding how they have survived cyberbullying. It has provided a number of interesting and valuable insights into cyberbullying survival. While the themes identified from this study seem to be parallel the findings in the literature, there are a limited number of studies that have focused on this particular aspect of the phenomenon of cyberbullying. Thus, one limitation of this study is that it is difficult to cross-compare these findings with others in order to confirm the accuracy of the proposed model of coping.

Furthermore, the sample size for this research study was small, consisting of eleven cyberbullying survivors and seven counsellors. This limitation was noted from the beginning as this was a master's level thesis. If the study population had been larger, it would have allowed for a greater breadth of information including a wider variety of participant backgrounds, experiences, and coping

strategies, and thus, it would have allowed for a greater generalizability of findings. In addition, the participants in this study were self-selected, and thus, they opted into the research. Again this potentially limits generalizability of the findings because it may be that the individuals who opted to participate in studies may possess similar qualities, such as increased resiliency or similar coping strategies. Similarly, the counsellors who opted to participate may be more aware of cyberbullying or more skilled in helping youth cope with cyberbullying, hence their willingness to participate. Furthermore, because of recruitment strategies used by the researcher, the majority of the participants were post-secondary students. This particular population of research subjects also limits the generalizability of the findings. Furthermore, socioeconomic status of the participants was not determined. Finally, in addition the method of data collection used in this study, self-reported data, is inherently biased because it focuses on the individual's experience (Spears et al., 2009). As previously noted in the potential study limitations section, individuals may not accurately remember how they survived or coped with their cyberbullying experiences. This is especially true for those who were recalling their experiences of cyberbullying from earlier years (Price & Dalgleish, 2010). For instance, they may selectively or inaccurately recall past events, or they may confuse the order or importance of events. Moreover, this study was also a retrospective study. Participants examined their previous experiences either personally coping with cyberbullying or helping others cope with cyberbullying. This may lead to recall bias (previously highlighted above). In addition, it is also possible that because participants were commenting on past experiences that they may also possess a distorted evaluation of information or information bias.

As previously highlighted in the methodology chapter, one strength of this study was that it included a fairly diverse sample of cyberbullying survivors who differed in both age and ethnicity. Participants were from diverse cultural backgrounds like Chinese, Pilipino, German, Indian, Canadian, and Nigerian. In addition, the research sample also represented both the LGBTT and developmental disabilities communities. As well, it also included a near equal mix of male and female participants. Furthermore, data was collected from school counsellors and administrators in order to bring survivor

data together with other sources to create a more robust theory. School counsellors (administrators) were interviewed on their observations of effective coping strategies. While high school students and middle school students did not participate directly in this study, it was hoped that their voices would be represented by the counsellors and administrators interviewed.

In addition, another strength of this study was the fact that member checking was used. This was done in two ways. Cyberbullying survivors were asked to review their interview transcripts. Next, cyberbullying survivors and school counsellors were also both given the opportunity to review the preliminary findings and to discuss them with the researcher. Member checking helped to reduce the possibility of researcher bias by having the research participants audit any interpretations to see if they matched their individual experiences. Finally, the study also included an external audit as a way of ensuring trustworthiness. A fellow peer outside the study reviewed a small sample of the interview transcripts and analyzed the data to see if they got similar results. The feedback provided the researcher with confidence that their interpretations were accurate. In summary, this current study was able to offer some insight into youth's coping strategies that previous research has not been able to offer. Data about how different individuals cope has implications for both prevention and intervention strategies for schools (Parris et al., 2012, p. 303).

Implications of Findings for Practice (Intervention and Prevention)

The above findings imply some serious considerations for counsellors who work with youth affected by cyberbullying. First, as the findings highlight, helping youth to apply coping strategies in their life is an essential part of the survival process. Thus, counsellors should try to help youth facilitate effective coping skills as part of their intervention strategy. As previously noted, survivors differed in their preferences for coping strategies. However, based on the results of the this study, counsellors may want to explore the following strategies: helping youth change their environment, if necessary; helping youth to share their story; helping youth separate their online life from offline life; helping build their self-esteem; helping them reframe their thinking; helping them ignore their cyberbullies; helping them

stand up to their cyberbullies; helping them engage in healthy outlets like journaling and mindfulness/meditation; teaching them online safety strategies and blocking/reporting and facilitating their use, helping them change their contact information if necessary; and finally, advising them to turn off their technology, if necessary. One counselling paradigm that may be particularly useful in facilitating some of these coping strategies is cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT). Using CBT counsellors would be able to help youth reframe their thinking which would also help them to change their feelings and behaviors. In particular, CBT could be used to help clients improve their self-esteem and assertiveness. Furthermore, mindfulness is also part of the CBT paradigm and this may be an effective strategy in helping youth cope with their feelings and thoughts, as well as a good way to reduce symptoms of depression and anxiety. Additionally, Humanistic Therapy may also assist with helping youth; for example, it may be helpful to use when trying to help youth share their story. It is possible that when using this type of therapy, that a counsellor may be able to help youth experience acceptance and understanding (part of the internal feelings theme) which may help youth to effectively cope with their experience. Furthermore, counsellors may need to act as an advocate on behalf of youth. For example, counsellors may need to help affected youth change classes, like in the case of participant five, which may facilitate coping. Additionally, counsellors may need to advocate to the school administration or parents on behalf of youth to help them have cyberbullying material removed from the Internet. Finally, based on youth's preferred coping strategies, psychoeducation may also be a necessary intervention strategy in order to help youth not only mitigate the current cyberbullying attacks, but also prevent future ones.

Furthermore, the findings highlight that it may also be helpful for counsellors to help build positive internal characteristics. First, counsellors may want to help youth to find their sense-of-self. For example, exploring youth's identity may be a good place to begin, such as: who am I in this experience? what have I gained or lost? who do I want to be? How can I facilitate that? Additionally, facilitating empowerment and survival characteristics may also be beneficial. For instance, assertiveness training or

communication skills may be helpful. Counsellors may also want to help youth find internal strengths to focus on. Finally, helping youth to process what this experience means to them may also aid their healing process.

In addition, the findings also suggest that having self-esteem and assertiveness building workshops may be effective strategies for both prevention and intervention. For instance, self-esteem may be a protective factor that could help youth reframe their experience, stand up for themselves, or possibly seek help from a peer or an adult. In addition, assertiveness training may also help youth to stick up for themselves. Additionally, it may also prevent future bullying attacks because it may improve communication among peers by helping individuals to get their needs properly met. Alternatively, it may also prevent cyberbullying by helping bystanders have the courage to intervene or request help on behalf of the victim. Moreover, empathy training may be another good strategy for schools to use because it may also act as both a prevention and intervention strategy. For instance, having empathy for the cyberbully, may allow the cybersurvivor to reframe the experience as not being about them. Additionally, it may act as a prevention strategy for cyberbullies by appealing to their sense of dignity for the other person and their sense of humanity.

Finally, the findings also imply that group counselling may be an effective strategy. Group counselling can help youth to share their stories with one another and thus, it may allow for a cathartic experience to occur. Furthermore, being in a group setting may help youth to feel supported by others as well as feel a sense of belonging. It may also help youth to feel like they are not alone, both in their experiences with cyberbullying and in experiences with their resultant feelings, thoughts, and behaviors. Furthermore, they may also be validated and normalized by other participants. Finally, youth may also share coping strategies with one another and they may learn new ideas or new strategies to test out. Thus, this study proposed many new ideas that other counsellors may want to try or other researchers may want study further. Furthermore, as will be discussed next, there are also many other implications that researchers may want to study further.

Implications of Findings for Future Research

One thing that was clearly identified by youth throughout this study was the impact of cyberbullying on their lives. Some youth reported sleep disturbances, avoidance of school or classes, an inability to trust peers, feeling alone or isolated, feeling upset or angry, feelings of sadness and two students talked about contemplating suicide. These findings are indicative of how important it is for researchers to continue to explore effective ways of helping youth cope with cyberbullying. While this study has identified strategies that youth have found to be effective for coping with cyberbullying, more research is needed to see if these findings can be replicated among other populations of youth. For instance, researchers may want to summarize the findings of this study and create a quantitative research design that may be able to survey a larger and thus more generalizable population of survivors. Alternatively, researchers may want to repeat this study with a larger group of participants or more varied group of participants (eg. Rural, urban, and suburban populations or diverse student populations like youth with developmental disabilities). Furthermore, researchers may want to directly interview middle school or high school populations because youth may have different interpretations of coping when they are less removed from their cyberbullying experiences.

Additionally, future researchers may want to have more in-depth interviews by using either longer interview times or multiple interviews with each individual. This may allow for deeper reflection from participants, as well as more opportunities for member checking. Moreover, longer interviews may also allow researchers to examine coping strategies in more detail to see what it is about these strategies that makes them so effective for survival. Furthermore, it may be useful to follow, longitudinally, a different group of cyberbullying survivors, to determine who does well and who does not to assess whether any key processes were missed in this study. Finally, this study focused on what strategies were effective in helping youth cope with cyberbullying. Alternatively, future researchers may want to explore strategies that were unhelpful for youth.

Reflection and Reflexivity

In qualitative research methods it is customary for researchers to provide a brief description of their personal experiences with designing and carrying out the research study. This may include a personal account of their experiences and any lessons that they may have learned. Furthermore, as a part of this researcher's efforts to ensure reliability and validity it was proposed that the researcher would engage in personal and reflexive memoing while collecting, analyzing, and writing up the findings. As well, the researcher was also to disclose any interests, goals and background to the readers. As a result, the small reflection below was compiled from some of memoing reflections that the researcher compiled throughout this study.

This research topic came about when I was deciding what type of counselling group I wanted to facilitate during my group practicum experience. I wanted something that I could be passionate about facilitating. Like a lot of teenagers, I too experienced bullying. Although my experiences may not have been as traumatic as some of those that I encountered when researching this topic, it was something that profoundly affected the person I am today. As a result, it is not surprising that when I began to brainstorm ideas for counselling groups (for my practicum) that bullying came up as an idea. That idea just sort of seemed to stick with me as I began this journey into finishing my masters. When I begin to research bullying intervention strategies for my potential group, I came across the topic of cyberbullying. Cyberbullying was something that I had only heard of in passing through listening to other peers talk about what was going on in their schools. When reading about it, my initial reaction was that cyberbullying was a something completely different from bullying. To me, it seemed more intense, more invasive and possibly more traumatic. Furthermore, on top of my initial reactions, studies were showing that it was quite prevalent among middle school years. As a result, I felt that this was something that really deserved some attention in schools. When trying to create an intervention plan for my counselling group, it became glaringly obvious that there was no research on how to intervene with this new type of bullying. This is when the full conception for my study culminated - schools need to

have something in place so that students can feel supported. As a result, my main goal in undertaking this research was to be able to help youth find meaningful ways to cope with this new phenomenon. In particular, I wanted strategies that were really rooted in ideas from their generation, not strategies that adults imposed on youth because they thought "they were best".

Therefore, when looking at my personal background and interests in this study, it is important to note both my personal experience with bullying growing up, as well as my experience in working with youth who have been cyberbullied. First, because I could relate to some of the stories of the youth I interviewed, at times I had to make sure that I was interpreting the experiences of the youth in this study and not my own experiences. Furthermore, as a result of my personal experiences, at times data collection and analysis was intense. I felt anger and sadness when hearing the personal stories of my participants; particularly because of the in justness of the system that they were up against and partially because a lot of these individuals had to pave the way for others. At times, I was also deeply moved by the courage, bravery and inner strength of these participants. When reviewing the data during analysis it was not hard to see why resiliency jumped out as the outcome of my model. Furthermore, when meeting with each of these individuals their resilience seemed almost palpable within minutes of conducting our interviews. This was also something that clearly came through the other counsellors interviews. For example, one counsellor stated:

> … I don't think that she is really active in sports… ummm… I am not sure. I don't know if it is… if she… I don't know if its home or what but for some reason she is very strong. She is a strong willed girl she just doesn't seem to… I mean she gets it. She is just happy with who she is and she is just kinda of… well when you do that, it is not fun for the person that is trying to victimize you anymore. So they generally go… ahhh… this sucks

In addition, it is also important to note my experience working with cyberbully survivors. As part of my group practicum, I ran two intervention groups for middle school cyberbullying victims. In addition, cyberbullying, and in particular cybersafety, also came up as a topic during individual

counselling sessions with another group of youth that I was working with at the time. Furthermore, I also worked with a few young adults (university students) who were coping with cyberbullying in my senior practicum. As a result, part of my data collection and analysis included researcher memos based on my experiences working with youth. When working with these youth I discovered specific strategies to be essential to their coping processes, or I suppose I should say they were my own hypotheses of strategies that I found to be effective when implementing counselling techniques. I have noted them here in addition to some of my reflections. They included the following: increasing self-esteem - sometimes we used CBT and reframing here (in groups it was also effective to have members give meaningful, positive feedback to each other at the end of the process);increasing assertiveness skills – it's okay stand up for yourself, to get help, and to ignore; figuring out how to their get needs met through communication strategies; being able to talk about their experiences and process their emotions – this one was particularly important; feeling understood both cognitively and emotionally- empathy was a central piece of our work together; finding friends that they could trust (and sort of testing out this process with me as someone that they could consult), finding a group where they could belong (ideally this was part of my group process), and anxiety and depression management strategies (usually used CBT-based strategies which also included mindfulness). In addition, when working with younger youth in particular- interim coping strategies to help distract them when they couldn't meet with me and cybersafety strategies were essential (sometimes I even logged on to facebook with them and showed them how to safely block people and how to limit their profile access). Finally, one of the people that I worked with was being cyberbullied anonymously. For this individual, a central part of their healing process was trying to figure out who this person may be. It is interesting to note that one of the study participants also experienced a very similar story and that this was also part of their healing story.

Therefore, it is important to note that during my research process, one difficulty that I faced was keeping my knowledge of what intervention strategies had been effective for the youth that I had worked with at bay when I analyzed the data. Particularly, because I had sought feedback from my

counselling group participants as to what was effective for them during our time together. As a result, in order to achieve this and not to bias my study, I decided to record my ideas and feedback as research hypotheses in my memoing process. I then tried to set them aside (bracketing) until I had formed my preliminary theory. At this point, I then reviewed my initial hypotheses in connection with my data to see if they fit with findings. Furthermore, another thing that helped me was time. As I became further removed from my group's experience it was easy to forget the feedback that students had given me. Additionally, because my participant's stories were all very different from my previous clients' stories it made it easier to put any preconceived notions aside. Finally, grounded theory's data analysis process also helped me to ensure rigor and trust during my analysis phase. This is because in order to be true to grounded theory, I used the language of my participants when developing codes, categories of codes or themes. Thus, although a lot of these strategies seemed to emerge from the data as I analyzed it, this was not evident at first. The words participants used were different; more specifically, their ideas were framed differently. As a result, it was not until I had all of my categories of data analyzed and my theories formulated that I began to see the resemblance to my own hypotheses.

In closing, I would like to say how honored I was to have had the experience to share in these individuals' stories of cyberbullying survival. Throughout the data collection, I often reflected on the inner strength of these individuals, including how brave they were to share their stories. They each created their own mechanisms of coping that were effective for them. In some instances, I experienced admiration for their ability to seemingly instinctually know what they needed to do in order to survive their experiences. There was no other word that I could think of that would better fit their survival processes than resilience. Each of them created strategies in their life, positive coping mechanisms, like assets or resources, that allowed them to not only survive this experience but also to grow stronger as a person. It is my hope that the time that they devoted to helping me in this research study, will also be valuable in helping other youth.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the findings of this study in relation to both current literature and the research questions guiding this study. It has also explored the strengths and limitations of this study and implications of the finding on both practice and future research.

In summary, the results of this study have highlighted the importance of exploring youth's voices when examining the phenomenon of cyberbullying. Cyberbullying, in comparison to bullying, is still a relatively new phenomenon and more research needs to be conducted to fully understand its nature. To date, much research has focused on describing cyberbullying (Tokunaga, 2010); however, there is still much more that needs to be understood about this complex form of bullying. In particular, more research is needed that focuses on how to prevent and intervene with cyberbullying (Parris et al., 2012; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). This study intended to begin to bridge this gap in literature. The use of qualitative methods (grounded theory) has enabled an exploration of the experiences and perceptions of youth who have survived cyberbullying, as well as the perceptions of counsellors who have assisted youth affected by cyberbullying. The results of this study have highlighted a hypothesized model of how some youth cope with cyberbullying. It is necessary that further research be conducted to explore of these strategies in order to be able to better understand and address the adverse affects of cyberbullying.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Bronfenbrenner's Adolescent Development Framework

Permission to publish developmental framework not obtained. Please contact the author for more information.

(Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Kaplan, 2004)

Appendix Two: Selected List of Cyberbullying Studies

Author(s), Year, Title	Country of Study	Definition of Cyberbullying	Percentage of Victims	Percentage of Cyberbullies	Percentage of Bully-victims	Age of cyberbullying	Gender of Cyberbullies and Cybervictims
Akbulut, Y., Sahin, Y.L, & Eristi, B. (2010). Cyberbullying Victimization among Turkish Online Social Utility Members.	Turkey	This study focused on cyberbullying victimization because the authors felt that respondents would provide more reliable responses.	56% of participants experienced at least one instance of victimization.	N/A	N/A	Found no significant relationship of age to cyberbullying victimization.	Males were more likely to be victims than females.
Ang, R., & Goh, D. (2010). Cyberbullying Among Adolescents: The Role of Affective and Cognitive Empathy, and Gender. *Child Psychiatry Human Development*, 41, 387-397. doi: 10.1007/s10578-010-0176-3	Singapore	Cyberbullying refers to the willful use of the Internet as a technological medium through which harm or discomfort is intentionally and repeatedly inflicted, targeting a specific person or group of persons. This study also used a 9-item cyberbullying questionnaire, including: broadcasting, online actions targeting another person, and deception.	N/A	The percentages of boys and girls involved in cyberbullying were 23.6% and 15.1% respectively. 19.9% of boys were infrequent cyberbullies and 3.7% were frequent. 14.2% of girls were infrequent bullies and 0.9% were classified as frequent.	N/A	N/A	Males were more involved as cyberbullies than females.
Bauman, S. (2010). Cyberbullying in a Rural Intermediate School: An Exploratory Study	Southwestern United States	Students were asked whether they engaged in specific behaviors (ie.	4%	3%	5%	No grade differences were found for	

		forwarded an email without permission, sent an embarrassing photo, received a mean text, etc.). The term cyberbullying was not used until the end. At that point it was defined as:				cybervictimization, but cyberbullying did have a significant difference by grade and showed a pattern of increasing scores by grade with the fifth graders having significantly lower cyberbullying scores than each of the other grades.	
Cassidy, W., Jackson, M., & Brown, K. (2009). Sticks and Stones Can Break My Bones, But How Can Pixels Hurt Me?: Students' Experiences with Cyber-Bullying. *School Psychology International*, 30 (4), 383-402. doi: 10.1177/0143034309106948	Canada	Provided students with 18 examples of cyberbullying practices, and asked them to identify whether they had experienced any of these since the start of the school year: never, occasionally, often.	One third of students were cyberbullied	25% year olds cyberbullied other	N/A	N/A	N/A
Dooley, J., Pyzalski, J. & Cross, D. (2009) Cyberbullying Versus Face-to-Face Bullying A Theoretical and Conceptual Review	Poland	Cyberbullying comprises a set of aggressive behaviors that are enacted via electronic media.	Literature Review	Literature Review	Literature Review	Literature Review	
Erdur-Baker, O. (2010). Cyberbullying and its correlation to traditional bullying, gender and frequent risky usage of internet-mediated communication tools. *New Media & Society*. 12(1), 109-125.	Turkey	Cyberbullying is defined as hurtful and intended communication activity using any form of technological device such as the internet or	Found that 32% of participants were victims of BOTH traditional and cyberbullying.	Found that 26% of participants reported being bullies in BOTH traditional and	N/A	N/A	Male students demonstrated higher levels of cyber-victimization and cyberbullying

doi: 10.1177/1461444809341260		mobile phones.		cyberbullying environments.			than female students.
Juvoven, J., & Gross, E.F. (2008). Extending the School Grounds? Bullying Experiences in Cyberspace. *The Journal of School Health*, 78, 496-505.	United States	Broadly defined cyberbullying as the use of the Internet or digital communication devices to insult or threaten someone. However, when administering their online survey, in order to minimize self-selection bias, they did not refer to bullying or cyberbullying in their questionnaire. Instead they used the term "mean things" and defined it as anything that someone does that upsets of offends someone else, including name-calling, threats, sending embarrassing/private pictures, and sharing private information without permission.	85% of youth reported experiencing at least one incident of online bullying and one incident of schoolyard bullying. 41% reported 1-3 incidents in the past year, 13% reported 4-6 incidents, and 19% reported 7 or more incidents.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Kiriakidis, S., Kavoura, A. (2010). Cyberbullying: A Review of Literature on Harassment Through the Internet and Other Electronic Means		Cyberbullying is the exposure, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other individuals, and we can define a negative action as when someone intentionally	Literature Review	Literature Review	Literature Review	Literature Review	

		inflicts or attempts to inflict, injury, or discomfort upon another through the medium of electronic text.					
Kowalski, R. M., & Limber, S. P. (2007). Electronic Bullying Among Middle School Students. *Journal of Adolescent Health.* 41, S22-S30. doi: 10.1016/j.jadohealth.2007.08.017	Southeastern and northwestern United States	Used the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire.	11% were victims.	4% were bullies	7% were bully-victims.	6th graders were less likely to be involved in bullying than 7's and 8's.	Girls were over-represented among victims and bully-victims. 15% of girls and 7% of boys were victims only; 10% of girls and 4% of boys were bully-victims; and, 5% of boys and 4% of girls were bullies.
Li, Q. (2006). Cyberbullying in Schools: A Research of Gender Differences. *School Psychology International*, 27(2), 157-170. doi: 10.1177/0143034306064547	Canada	Cyberbullied is when one is bullied via email, chat room, and cell phones. (Uses Bill Belsey's definition in the article).	One in four students had been cyberbullied.	17% of students had cyberbullied someone.	N/A	N/A N/A	Males were more likely to be bullies and cyberbullies than their female counterparts. 22% of males and 12% of females were cyberbullies. However, 25% of males and 25.6% of females were cyberbullied.
Li, Q. (2007). New bottle but old wine: A research of cyberbullying	Canada	Cyberbullied is when one is bullied via email,	Over one quarter of the	Almost 15% had	Cyberbullies are more likely to be		Almost 60% of the cyber victims

in schools.		chat room, and cell phones. (Uses Bill Belsey's definition in the article).	participants have been cyberbullied	cyberbullied others	cyberbully victims themselves than those who do not cyberbully.		are females, while over 52% of the cyberbullies are males.
Low, S., & Espelage, D. (2012). Differentiating cyber bullying perpetration from non-physical bullying: commonalities across race, individual, and family predictors. *Psychology of Violence*. 3(1), 39-52. doi: 10.1037/a0030308	USA	Cyberbullying is defined as the "intentional and overt act of aggression toward another person online" and extended to other forms of technology such as text messaging. (Uses Ybarra and Mitchell's (2004) definition)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Females had higher levels of cyberbullying but males had higher levels of nonphysical bullying (verbal and relational).
Mishna, F., Saini, M., & Soloman, S. (2009). Ongoing and online: Children and youth's perceptions of cyber bullying. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 31(12), 1222-1228. doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2009.05.004	Canada	This study was a qualitative research study that explored youth's perspectives on cyberbullying. The youth in this study defined cyberbullying as a form of bullying which they compared to 'traditional' bullying. One participant also coined the term "non-stop bullying".	Most students expressed concern about the frequency and considered cyberbullying to be a serious problem that could cause damage.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mishna, F., Cook, C., Gadalla, T. Daciuk, J., & Soloman, S. (2010). Cyberbullying Behaviors Among Middle and High School Students. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 80(3), 362-374	Canada	To gain a more comprehensive understanding of online behavior, the questionnaire involved a series of questions	49.5% students said that they had been bullied online in the last 3 months	33.7% had cyberbullied others online.	N/A	Overall found that all age groups were cyberbullied. However, the cyberbullying behaviors or acts	Older girls were more likely to be cyberbullied than older boys. However, the sample overall

		about perpetrating or being the victim of various behaviors, without explicitly defining cyberbullying.	27% had been called names, 22% had rumors spread about them, 18% had someone pretend to be them, 11% were threatened, 10% received unwelcome sexual photos, 9% were asked to do something sexual online, and 7% had private photos distributed. .			differed by age.	had no gender differences.
Patchin, J. & Hinduja, S. (2010). Cyberbullying and Self-Esteem. *Journal of School Health*, 80(12), 615-621.	United States	Willful and repeated harm inflicted through the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices.	Just under 30% of participants had experienced one or more of the 9 types of cyberbullying 2 or more times in the previous 30 days.	22% of respondents admitted to participating in one or more of the 5 behaviors at least 2 or more times in the previous 30 days.	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hinduja, S. & Patchin, J.W. (2010). Bullying, Cyberbullying, and Suicide. *Archives of Suicide*	United States	Willful and repeated harm inflicted through	Prevalence rates for	Prevalence rates for	N/A	N/A	N/A

***Research*, 14(3), 206-221. doi: 10.1080.13811118.2010.494133**		the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices.	individual behaviors ranged from 5.7% to 18.3% for victimization	individual behaviors ranged from 9.1% to 23.1% for offending			
Rivers, I., & Noret, N. (2011). 'I h8 u': findings from a five-year study of text and email bullying. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36(4), 643-671. doi: 10.1080/01411920903071918.	North of England	This study focused solely on the receipt of nasty or threatening text and email messages. They provided students with a definition of bullying comparable to that used by Olweus (1993) and Smith et al. (2008).	13% of pupils received one or more nasty messages or threatening text or mail messages a term in 2002 rising to 16.4% in 2004 before gradually beginning to decline in 2005-6.	N/A	N/A	The results indicated that there was a significant association between age and cybervictims for the sample, with more grade 7's (8.3%) being victimized than grade 8's (5.7%).	Girls were significantly more likely to receive nasty/threatening texts and emails at least once per term more frequently than boys, but frequent victimization (once a week or more) was the same for both boys and girls.
Schultze-Krumbholz, A. & Scheithauer, H. (2009). Social-Behavioral Correlates of Cyberbullying in a German Student Sample. *Journal of Psychology*, 217(4), 224-226. doi: 10.1027/0044-3409.217.4.224	German	Students were provided with the definition of bullying from the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire (2000) before answering questions on bullying and cyberbullying.	15.5% have been victims of cyberbullying, 14.1% were victimized regularly (at least two or three times a month) in the Internet, 5.6% by mobile phone, and 4.2% by email. Some	A total of 16.9% identified themselves as cyberbullies, 15.5% by the Internet, 8.5% by mobile phone, and 5.6% by email.	58.3% of cyberbullies also reported being cybervictims.	N/A	N/A

			students were victimized in more than one way.				
Sevcikova, A. & Smahel, D. (2009). Online Harassment and Cyberbullying in the Czech Republic. *Journal of Psychology*, 217(4), 227-229. doi: 10.1027/0044-3409.217.4.227	Czech Republic	An overt, intention act of aggression toward another person online is regarded as the manifestation of online harassment. The term cyberbullying requires that there be a repetitive pattern of offensive behavior and a power imbalance, originating from anonymity.	10.1% across all ages (12-88 years old) were targets of online harassment.	0.9% across all ages (12-88 years old) perpetrated online harassment.	Most aggressors have also been targets. 4.8% across all ages (12-88 years old) were both victims and perpetrators.	Adolescents (12-19 years old) and young adults (20-26) were more often targets of aggressive behavior compared to older respondents.	N/A
Slonje, R. & Smith, P. (2008). Cyberbullying: Another Main Type of Bullying? *Scandinavian Journal of Social Psychology, 49, 147-154.* doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9450.2007.00611.x	Sweden	Used the standard definition of bullying taken from Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire and mentioned cyberbullying as bullying through text message, email, mobile phone calls, or picture/video clip.	11.7% were victims	10.3% were bullies	N/A	Cyberbullying rates were muchlower in students in sixth form college than in the compulsory school age.	Found no differences in bullying and victimization between genders.
Smith, P.K, Mahdavi, J., Carvalho, M., Fisher, S., Russell, S., & Tippet, N. (2008). Cyberbullying: its nature and impact in secondary school pupils. *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 49(4), 376-385. doi: 10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01846.x	London, England	Cyberbullying is 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 himself or herself.	In study one, 6.6% were cyberbullied often and were cyberbullied 15.6% once or twice. In the focus groups, most	In study two, 6.5% had cyberbullied others in the last week or month, 2.8% this term, 1.8% the last school year, and 1.4% over	N/A	In study one, no significant age effects or interactions were found. In study two, older pupils were more likely to have ever cyberbullied others.	In study one, girls were more likely to be victims overall and to be cyberbullied. In focus groups, pupils generally thought that girls would be more

			pupils suggested that a high percentage of students would have experienced cyberbullying, the consensus ranging from 67-100% in different groups. In study two, 5.3% had been cyberbullied in the last week or month, 5.1% this term, 3.7% last school year, and 3.1% over a year ago.	a year ago.			involved in cyberbullying than boys. In study two, no significant gender difference was found.
Sourander, A., Klomek, A., Ikonen, M., Lineroos, J., Luntamo, T., Koskelainen, M., Ristkari, T. & Helenius, H. (2010). Psychosocial Risk Factors Associated with Cyberbullying Among Adolescents: A Population-Based Study. *Arch Gen Psychiatry*, 67(7), 720-728.	Finland	Used a questionnaire based on Hinduja and Patchin, the definition of cyberbullying was as follows: "cyberbullying is when someone repeatedly makes fun of another person online or repeatedly picks on another person through email or text message or when someone posts	4.8% were victims of cyberbullying.	7.4% were cyberbullies.	5.4% were bully-victims. Only girls who were victims at school or outside school tended to be both cyebrvictims and cyberbully-victims.	N/A	N/A

		something online about another person that they don't like."					
Spears, S., Slee, P., Owens, L., & Johnson, B. (2009). Behind the Scenes and Screens: Insights into the Human Dimension of Covert and Cyberbullying. *Journal of Psychology*, 217(4), 189-196. doi: 10.1027/0044-3409.217.4.189	Australia	This study attempted to address the lack of information on the human impact of cyberbullying by gathering narratives from school communities on cyberbullying. Students in the study described cyberbullying as: "looked different, being variously reported as texting, emails shut down quickly, faceless, hate pages, hidden gangs, anonymous, instant, premeditated, and manimpulated and altered images". They found that "Wilson's definition (2005, cited in SHariff, 2008), defining peer-to-peer cyberbullying as comprising covert, psychological bullying conveyed through electronic media, resonates with the descriptors found in their study on human impact".	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tokunaga, R.S. (2009). Following	United States	Cyberbullying is any	Literature	Literature	Literature	Literature Review	Literature

you home from school: A critical review and synthesis of research on cyberbullying victimization		behavior performed through electronic or digital media by individuals or groups that repeatedly communicates hostile or aggressive messages intended to inflict harm or discomfort on others. Additionally, the following addendum may be included with the definition of cyberbullying to clarify what is meant by cyberbullying. In cyberbullying experiences, the identity of the bully may or may not be known. Cyberbullying can occur through electronically mediated communication at school; however, cyberbullying behaviors commonly occur outside of school as well.	Review	Review	Review		Review
Vandebosch, H. & Van Cleemput (2009). Cyberbullying among youngsters: profiles of bullies and victims.	Belgium	This study used both indirect and direct measurements of cyberbullying. For indirect, they asked respondents about their experiences with 12	When asked directly - 11.1% were victims of cyberbullying. When asked	When asked directly - 18% had been perpetrators of cyberbullying.	Found a strong relationship between being a cyberbully and being a victim of cyberbullying.	Cyberbullying increased with age.	Boys tried out different cyerbullying behaviors more often than girls. However, girls were more often

		potentially offensive internet and mobile phone practices. Respondents were also asked how often they had bullied someone or been bullied by someone through the internet or mobile phone.	indirectly – 61.9% had been victims.	When asked indirectly – 52.5% had been perpetrators.			the victims of these practices.
Walrave, M. &Heirman, W. (2011). Cyberbullying: Predicting Victimization and Perpetration. *Children and Society*, 25, 59-72. doi: 10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00260.x	Belgium	Adolescents were questioned explicitly about their involvement in cyberbullying, as well as implicitly about their experience with specific types of cyberbullying-related behavior. Cyberbullying was simply defined as bullying over the Internet or mobile phone. Five types of bullying were asked about implicitly, including: sending unwanted tests or emails, excluding others online, uploading embarrassing images without notice or consent, breaking into email or MSN account and sending messages to the contacts, and finally, breaking into	Explicit: 34.2% Implicit: 108.9% (including all 5 types)	Explicit: 21.2% Implicit: 66% (including all 5 types)	Found a strong relationship between being a cyberbully and being a victim of cyberbullying	N/A	Girls are more likely to become victims of cyberbullying, whereas boys are more inclined to engage in electronic bullying.

		email or MSN account and changing the password.					
Ybarra, M. L., & Mitchell, K. J. (2004). Online aggressor/targets, aggressors and targets: a comparison of associated youth characteristics. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. 45(7) ,1308-1316. doi: 10.1111/j.1469-7610.2004.00382.x	United States	Internet harassment is an overt, intentional act of aggression towards another person online. Actions can take the form of purposeful harassment or embarrassment of someone else, or making rude or nasty comments towards someone online.	4% of the sample were victims	12% of the sample were bullies	3% of the sample were bully-victims	N/A	N/A
Ybarra, M.L., Diener-West, M., Leaf, P. J. (2007). Examiningthe Overlap in Internet harassment and School Bullying: Implications for School Intervention. *Journal of Adolescent Health*.41, S42-S50.doi: 10.1016/j.jadohealth.2007.09.004	United States	This study used the term Internet harassment which is defined as: "an overt, intentional act of aggression towards another person online". Internet harassment can take the form of comments directed at youth, or information or pictures posted online for others to see with the intent to harass or embarrass youth.	35% of youth reported being targeted by at least one of the three forms of Internet harassment queried. 8% reported frequent harassment (i.e. being targeted monthly or more often).	N/A	N/A	Cyberbullying targets tended to be older.	Cyberbullying targets were less likely to be male.
Wade, A. & Beran, T. (2011). Cyberbullying: The New Era of Bullying. *Canadian Journal of School Psychology*, 26 (1), 44-61. doi: 10.1177/0829573510396318	Canada	This study asked participants about specific experiences with cyberbullying. For example, has anyone	21.9% of students reported at least one form of	29.7% reported being the perpetrators of	N/A	Grade 7 students were more likely than students from other grades to experience and	Girls were significantly more likely to have experienced the

		ever called you names or made you feel bad online?	cyberbullying behavior that was perpetrated against them within the past three months.	cyberbullying within the past 3 months.		perpetrate various forms of bullying.	following: called names or made to feel bad, have rumors spread, have someone pretend to be them, and to have been solicited to engage in sexual activities. In terms in of perpetrating acts of cyberbullying, there were no significant differences between boys and girls for any forms of this behavior.
Werner, N., Bumpus, M., & Rock, D. (2010). Involvement in Internet Aggression During Early Adolescence. *Journal of Youth, Adolescence,* 39, 607-619.	United States	This study used the term Internet aggression and Internet victimization. Students experiences with aggression were measured based on four items (use the Internet to threaten or embarrass someone, tell others to block instant messages from someone you don't like or are mad at, use the Internet to pay a joke or annoy someone you were mad at, and finally, make rude or	17% of youth surveyed from grades 6-8 were cyberbullied.	18% of youth surveyed from grades 6-8 were cyberbullies.	9.5% were both cyberbullies and victims. Youth who reported being the target of cyberbullying were 16 times more likely than non-victims to report engaging in aggression. themselves.	Did not find any significant age differences.	Did not find any significant gender differences.

	nasty comments about someone else online).

Appendix Three: Comparing Children's Online Opportunities and Risks across Europe

Permission to publish developmental framework not obtained. Please see: http://www.communications.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/119416/ECU_Review_of_existing_Australian_and_international_cyber-safety_research.pdf for a copy of this table (page 69).

Appendix Four: Hanewald (2009)'s Concept Map – An Overview of Cyberbullying Terms and Characteristics

Permission to publish developmental framework not obtained.
Please see Hanewald (2009) for a copy of this concept map (page 11).

Herring distinguished four separate categories: harassment, degradation, cyber stalking, and a hybrid form labeled online contact/offline harm (Hanewald, 2009, p. 11). Willard devised seven categories of bullying; including: flaming, online harassment, cyberstalking, denigration, masquerade, outing, and exclusion (Hanewald, 2009, p. 11). While some labels are identical to Herring's, the characteristics are varied (Hanewald, 2009, p. 11). Kowalski, Limber and Agatson used similar categories to and behavior descriptors as Willard (Hanewald, 2009, p. 11). Finally, Barak focused on sexual harassment in cyber space, identifying three sub-categories: harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion (Hanewald, 2009, p. 11).

Appendix Five: Chart Outlining how Memoing will be Implemented

Research Timeframe	Date of Memo	Personal and professional meanings of the topic to the researcher.	Expectations for research findings or preliminary hypotheses	Emerging hypothesis	Emerging ideas	Elaborating on ideas about the data, the coded categories, and ultimately the formation of evolving theory	The perspectives and experiences of both groups of participants.	The perspectives and experiences of those who will be implementing the research findings	The audience for whom the research will be intended.
Project Conceptualization - cognitive and emotional awareness about how this project came to be. For example, my interest in the topic.									
Before and during the design process (Including formulating the research questions)									
During the implementation process (Data Collection)									
While conducting the analysis									

During the write up									
In the course of dissemination									
While applying the findings to practice, and other research projects.									

This same chart will be used for both analytic and reflective memos. One chart will be used for each.

Appendix Six: Cyberbullying Survivors/School Counsellors Reliability Chart

Credibility (believability to participants)	Transferability (Generalizability)	Dependability (Replicability)	Confirmability (Can the findings be confirmed by others)	Internal Reliability	External Reliability
All cyberbullying survivors will be asked if they would like to see their interview transcript once it is completed. This will allow participants to add or delete content that they feel does not adequately convey their intended message.	When recruiting participants, the researcher will try their best to recruit a diverse sample of cyberbullying survivors and school counsellors.	Clearly outline the research plan in the proposal so that it can be replicated by others (Chioncel, 2003, p. 503).	In order to support the substantive-level theory, the researcher will draw in references or data from existing literature in order to show outside support for the model.	The research questions outlined for this study will be used to guide the creation of the interview guide or questions. Using a interview guide will help to induce key points for discussion with individuals being interviewed which will increase the theoretical internal reliability (Chioncel, 2003, p. 503).	An external audit will take place whether a fellow graduate student will review a small sample of the interview transcripts and analyze the data to see if they get similar results.
Cyberbullying survivors and school counsellors will have an opportunity to review the preliminary findings.	Triangulation of data with the two sets of individual interviews (counsellors and survivors) and the researcher's memoing will help to increase generalizability.	The research questions outlined for this study will be used to guide the interview questions for both groups of participants. Having pre-defined questions will aid in making this study replicable		Structure will be implemented into the individual interview by using a semi-structured interview guide that will be developed prior to interviewing the cyberbullying survivors and school counsellors. (Please see appendix six)	The researcher will draw in references or data from existing literature in order to show outside support for the model.

		(Chioncel, 2003, p. 503).			
Direct quotations will be used to increase credibility for participants.		The researcher will engage in bracketing prior to conducting the study in order to set aside any hypotheses, personal experiences, or any initial impressions. This will help to decrease researcher bias.		Memoing will be used by the researcher to make sure that they have an ongoing record of the developing theory, connections between ideas, hypotheses and reflections.	
All individual interviews will recorded and subsequently transcribed to ensure that no details are missed (factual accuracy), and to ensure that the researcher can ground the data using participant's language (Chioncel, 2003, p. 503).		The external audit will also help to ensure that if others conducted the same study, the findings would be similar.			

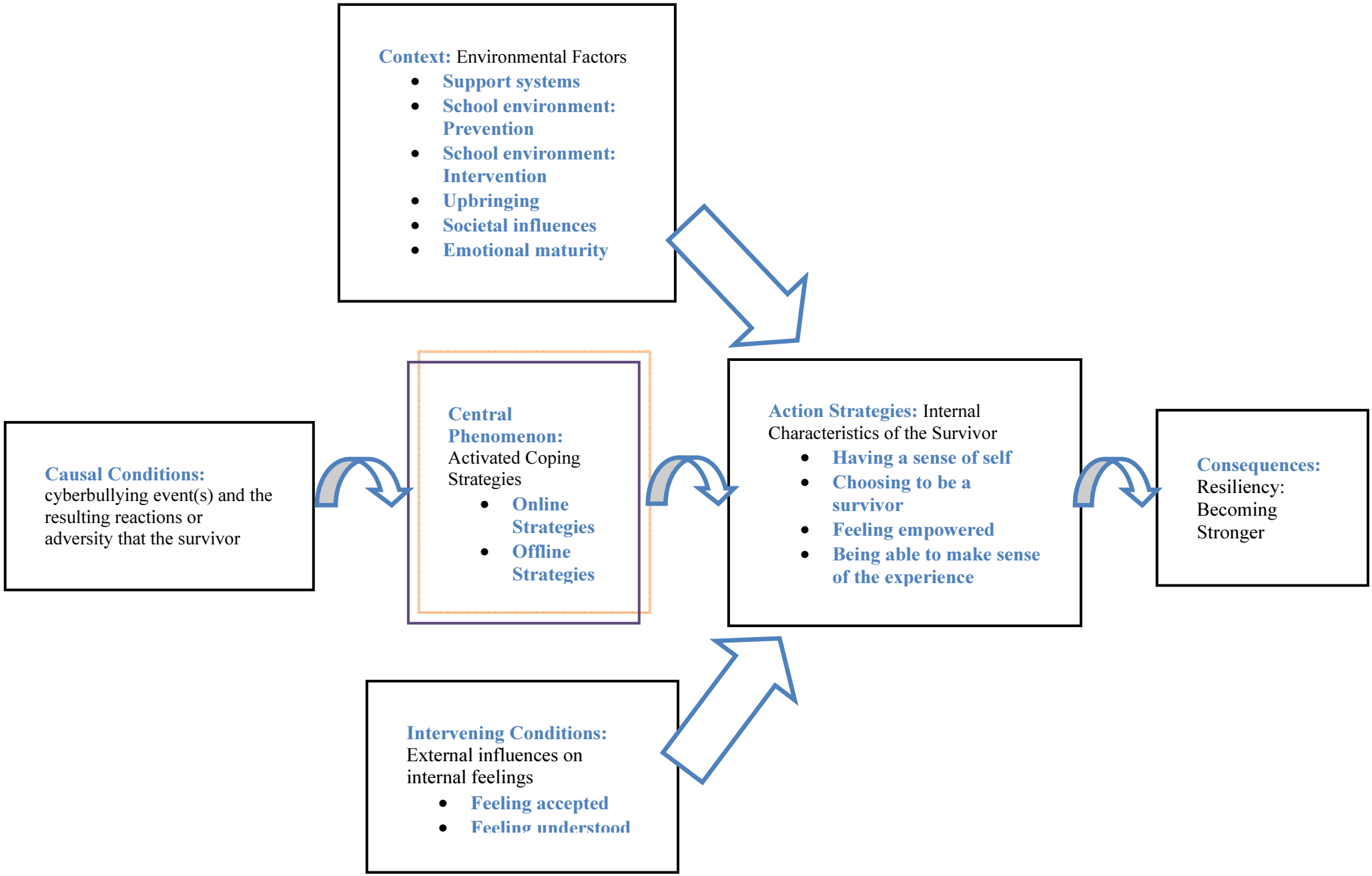
Field notes will be used to highlight non-verbal behavior that took place during the individual interviews.					

Appendix Seven: Glaser and Strauss Comparison

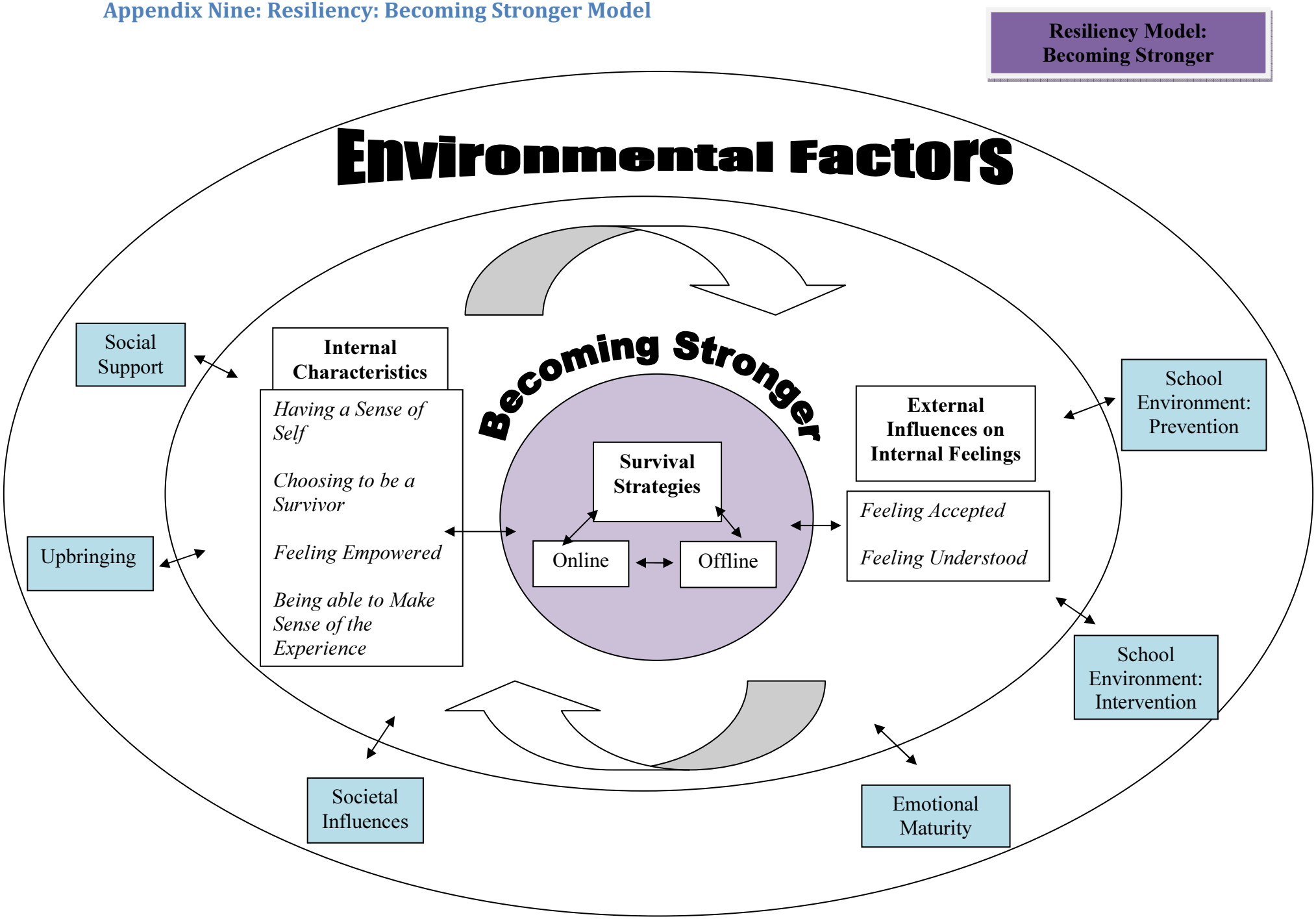
Criteria	Glaser	Strauss and Corbin
Overall Model	Closely adheres to the classical version of grounded theory (Cooney, 2010).	Has been modified several times (Cooney, 2010).
Literature review	Prior understandings should be based on the general problem area and the researcher should read a very wide variety to alert or sensitize themselves to a wide range of possibilities (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 143). "More focused reading only occurs when emergent theory is sufficiently developed to allow the literature to be used as additional data" (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 143).	"The use of self and literature are early influences in developing a grounded theory study."While diffuse understandings provide sensitivity, both specific understandings from past experience and literature may be used to stimulate theoretical sensitivity and generate hypotheses" (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 143).
Data Analysis Process	Induction is the key process. The researcher moves from the data to empirical generalization and on to theory(Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 143)	Induction, deduction and Verification are essential (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 143).
Coding	Two types of coding: substantive and theoretical (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 550)	Three types of coding: open, axial and selective (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 550)
Initial coding	*Substantive coding* - Data dependent and concerned with producing categories and their properties. (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 146; Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 550)	*Open coding* - Use of analytic technique (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 146)
Intermediate Phase	*Continuous with previous phase* Comparisons, with focus on data, become more abstract, categories refitted, emerging	*Axial coding* - Reduction and clustering of categories (paradigm model) (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 146)

	frameworks (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 146)	
Final Development	*Theoretical coding* – Refitting and refinement of categories which integrate around the emerging core. (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 146)	*Selective coding* - Detailed development of categories, selection of core, integration of categories. (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 146)
Theoretical Sensitivity	Attained through immersion in the data, line by line, comparison, memo by memo, and code by code (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 552).	Attained by using specific analytic tools, including: questioning, analysis of a word, phrase, or sentence; the flip-flop technique; making close-in and far-out comparisons and waving the red flag (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 553).
Conditional Matrix	Does not use the conditional matrix. Glasser has stated that "this matrix imposes a too detailed and preconceived way of viewing the data" (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 557).	An extension of the coding paradigm which focuses solely on the conditions and consequences related to the phenomenon under study (Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 557)
Theory	Parsimony, scope, and modifiability (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 146)	Detail dense process, fully described (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 146)
Theory Building	Every study is aimed at theory building (Cooney, 2010)	Not every study must be aimed at building theory. Some researchers may use grounded theory techniques to produce useful descriptions (Cooney, 2010).

Appendix Eight: Paradigm Model



Appendix Nine: Resiliency: Becoming Stronger Model



Appendix Ten: Price and Dalgleish (2010)'s Participants Use of Coping Strategies and their Perceived Effectiveness

Permission to publish developmental framework not obtained.
Please refer to Price & Dalgleish (2010) to see their table of participants' use of coping strategies (p. 56).

Appendix Eleven: Parris et al. (2012)'s Coping Hierarchy Model

Permission to publish developmental framework not obtained.
Please refer to Parris et al. (2012) to see their coping hierarchy model (p. 291).

Appendix Twelve: Parris et al. (2012)'s Transactional Model Adaptive for Coping

Permission to publish developmental framework not obtained.
Please refer to Parris et al. (2012) to see their transactional model adaptive for coping (p. 299-300).

Appendix Thirteen: Survivor Interview Guide

This interview guide is intended to act as a "guide" when conducting interviews; however, flexibility on behalf of the researcher is essential in conducting grounded theory. As a result, the interviewer will be open to research participants guiding the interview process into other related areas regarding coping and surviving cyberbullying. Furthermore, this interview guide will be updated regularly after each interview to include new questions about the emerging categories and themes. Again, the initial ice breaker questions will not be transcribed or analyzed.

Opening Script

The following script will be used at the beginning of the interview:

My name is Courtney Andrysiak and I am a graduate student in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. I am currently working on a thesis research project which is the final requirement needed for the completion of my Masters of Education in the specialty of guidance and counselling. My faculty advisor is Dr. Priya Mani. The purpose of this project is to gather data regarding the specific coping strategies that adolescents have successfully used when dealing with cyberbullying. It also will look at what factors hinder or augment their coping strategies. Cyberbullying is ***"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" (Sourander, et al., 2010, p.720).*** The end goal of this research is to develop a potential intervention plan for victims of cyberbullying based on data collected from open interviews with adolescents. The data from this interview will be used to inform the theory of coping strategies that will hopefully develop over the course of this thesis project. I am looking for volunteers to participate in my project which would involve taking part in a 60 minute interview as well as the option to commit to reading and revising your personal interview transcript (approximately 45 minutes). In addition, participants can also request to review a copy of the preliminary findings. There is no obligation to take part in this research. No one outside of the project will know who was involved as I will use pseudonyms for the interviewees as well as remove any identifying information from the interview transcripts. If you decided to continue with this interview, you do not have to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with. You can also stop the interview at any point without question or penalty. Finally, if at any point during the interview you have questions about either the research project or your rights as a research participant you can address these questions with the interviewer. Thank you.

Research Instruments - Interview Questions

1. I am wondering if you can tell me a little bit about yourself. Are you a student? Do you currently work? What are your future aspirations? What are your favorite pastimes?

2. I am wondering if you can tell me a little bit about where you are from. Your family? Do you have any brothers and sisters? Partners? Pets?

3. I am wondering if you can tell me a little bit about the role of social networking (like Facebook and Twitter) and communication using technology (like cell phones, ipads, and computers) in your life.

4. This study is looking at how individuals survived their cyberbullying experiences. I am wondering if you can tell me a little bit about how you know that you are in a safe place now.

    a. What does safe mean to you?
    b. What resources/strengths do you have that you feel you could access if you feel like you no longer feel safe?

5. Can you tell me a little bit about your experiences with cyberbullying? What was the process? How did it unfold?

6. What did you do to (how did you) make the bully stop?

7. What were your reactions to cyberbullying? How were you affected?

8. A) What strategies did you use to "survive" or cope?

   B) How did you begin to heal?

9. How were you inspired to do that?

10. A) What was central to this process of surviving

    B) What was central to healing?

11. Was there any one particular person or group of people who helped you to survive and heal?

12. Was there anything that you needed from your school to help you in this process?

13. What could have improved your coping process?

14. What suggestions would you have for others who are currently going through the same thing that you experienced?

15. We have talked about many different things today, I wonder if there is anything that you would like to share? Maybe something that you feel you did not get a chance to talk about, or perhaps, that you feel would be pertinent to understanding how you survived or healed?

Research Instruments - Interview Questions

Amended Cyberbullying Survivor Interview Questions (shorter interview form)

1. I am wondering if you can tell me a little bit about the role of social networking (like Facebook and Twitter) and communication using technology (like cell phones, ipads, and computers) in your life.

2. This study is looking at how individuals survived their cyberbullying experiences. I am wondering if you can tell me a little bit about how you know that you are in a safe place now.

    a. What does safe mean to you?
    b. What resources/strengths do you have that you feel you could access if you feel like you no longer feel safe?

3. Can you tell me a little bit about your experiences with cyberbullying? What was the process? How did it unfold?

4. What did you do to (how did you) make the bully stop?

5. A) What strategies did you use to "survive" or cope?

    B) How did you begin to heal?

6. How were you inspired to do that?

7. A) What was central to this process of surviving

    B) What was central to healing?

8. Was there any one particular person or group of people who helped you to survive and heal?

9. Was there anything that you needed from your school to help you in this process?

10. What suggestions would you have for others who are currently going through the same thing that you experienced?

Appendix Fourteen: School Counsellor and School Administrator Interviews

Opening Script

The following script will be used at the beginning of the interview:

My name is Courtney Andrysiak and I am a graduate student in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. I am currently working on a thesis research project which is the final requirement needed for the completion of my Masters of Education in the specialty of guidance and counselling. My faculty advisor is Dr. Priya Mani. The purpose of this project is to gather data regarding the specific coping strategies that adolescents have successfully used when dealing with cyberbullying and it will also look at what factors hinder or augment their coping strategies. Cyberbullying is *"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" (Sourander, et al., 2010, p.720).* The end goal of this research is to develop a potential intervention plan for victims of cyberbullying based on data collected from open interviews with adolescents. The data from this interview will be used to inform the theory of coping strategies that will hopefully develop over the course of this thesis project. By interviewing school counsellors and administrators, it is hoped that their experiences helping youth successfully cope with cyberbullying will correspond with youth's opinions of how they survived. As a result, this interview will be used to triangulate the data obtained in the individual interviews with youth. I am looking for volunteers to participate in my project which would involve taking part in a 30 minute interview. There is no obligation to take part in this research and no one outside of the project (and focus group) will know who was involved as I will use pseudonyms for the interviewees as well as remove any identifying information from the interview transcripts. If you decided to continue with this interview, you do not have to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with. You can also leave the interview at any point without question or penalty. Finally, if at any point during the interview you have questions about either the research project or your rights as a research participant you can address these questions with the interviewer. Thank you.

Research Instruments - Interview Questions

1. What have been your experiences with helping students cope with cyberbullying?
2. What strategies and interventions have you used when working with youth who have been cyberbullied?
3. What strategies do you feel have been the most effective in helping youth cope with cyberbullying?
4. In what ways do you feel these strategies were helpful to youth?
5. In discussions regarding cyberbullying with students who may or may have been affected by cyberbullying, have students identified any strategies that they feel may help others overcome the adverse affects of cyberbullying?
6. Are there any strategies that you would **not** recommend using with youth or have you found any strategies that were really not helpful?

Appendix Fifteen: Recruitment Fliers

The Changing World of Bullying: Students' Opinions about how to Intervene with Cyberbullying

Research Study on Cyberbullying Looking for Participants

Are you a school counsellor or school psychologist who has worked with youth who have been cyberbullied?

Cyberbullying is "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" (Sounrander, et al., 2010, p. 720).

You are invited to take part in a study aimed at better understanding how individuals cope with and survive cyberbullying experiences. The goal of this study is to help implement intervention plans in schools for youth affected by cyberbullying.

- You will be asked to take part an individual interview lasting approximately 30 minutes in length, at a convenient location.
- You will be given the opportunity to review and provide feedback on the researcher's preliminary interpretations, if you so choose.

This study is part of the requirements for the completion of a Master's Thesis in Education in the Specialty of Guidance and Counselling.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer to participate, please contact:

Courtney Andrysiak, B.Comm (Hons), M.Ed. (Candidate)

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The Changing World of Bullying: Students' Opinions about how to Intervene with Cyberbullying

Research Study on Cyberbullying Looking for Participants

Have you been Cyberbullied or Bullied Online (and are NOT currently still experiencing cyberbullying)?
Are you 18 years or over?

Cyberbullying is "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" (Sourander, et al., 2010, p. 720).

You are invited to take part in a study aimed at better understanding how individuals cope with and survive cyberbullying experiences. The goal of this study is to help implement intervention plans in schools for youth affected by cyberbullying.

- You will be asked to take part in a confidential interview lasting approximately 30 minutes in length, at a convenient location chosen by you.
- You will also be asked to review and provide feedback (if necessary) on your interview transcript (approximately 30 minutes).
- You will be given the option to review and provide feedback on the researcher's preliminary interpretations, if you so choose.

Participants will receive a small honorarium.

This study is part of the requirements for the completion of a Master's Thesis in Education in the Specialty of Counselling.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer to participate, please contact:
Courtney Andrysiak, B.Comm (Hons), M.Ed. (Candidate)

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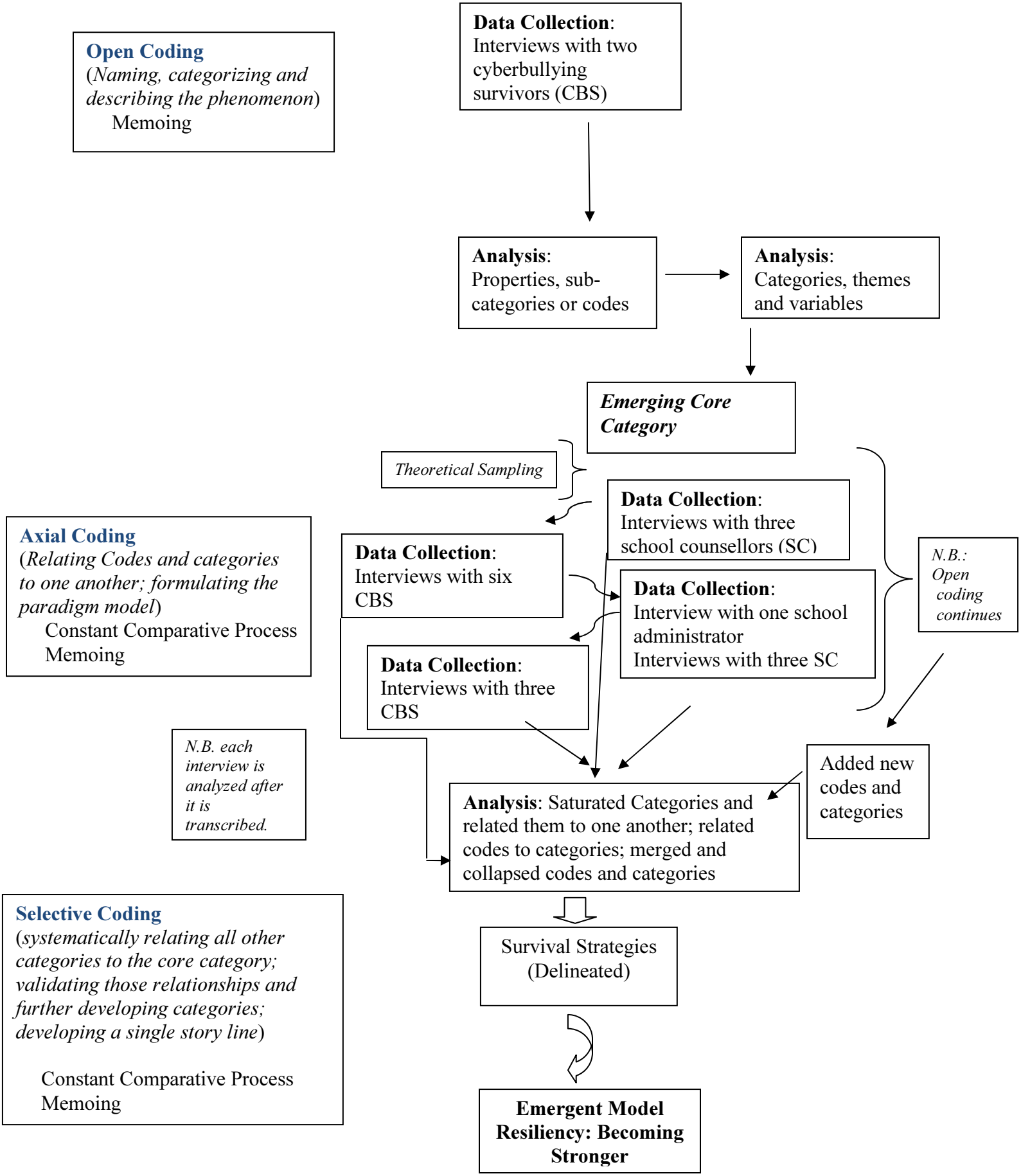
Appendix Sixteen: Model Describing the Coding Process



Appendix Seventeen: Sample Table of Open Coding that Emerged from Participant Two's Data

Participant Two	Code repeated:	Researcher's notes
Mom as a support system	6	
Bully victim cycle		
mom as intervention help	2	
consequence of bullying = feeling powerless		
start at school and go online		
felt like there was no end		
trust as an issue = effect of bullying		who can I trust??
told my story over and over		talking about it
stood up for myself		retaliated back
enough is enough		moment of change had to do something?
transfer school = strategy		
told principals		seeking help
told counsellors		
told doctor		
told mom		
school didn't help	2	
need help from bully's parents		
parents need to be involved		
Consequences of cyberbullying = trust		
Consequences of cyberbullying = sadness		
Consequences of cyberbullying = anger		
Consequences of cyberbullying = helplessness		
coping = journaling		
coping = telling my story		
with age came with insight		
identity as protection from it affecting me	3	
time = coping strategy because it faded with time		
empathy for bully		
standing up for myself		
moment of change		
empowering myself		
mom encouraged empowerment		upbringing!
possessing courage		Result of upbringing!
room to grow and change from situations		
there is a meaning behind this	2	Finding the meaning in this??
made new friends		
learned what friendship means		finding the benefits in this
new friends helped me cope		Done through building confidence
other people's lives inspire me to be a better person		

smiling to feel good		
bullied back = strategy to get bullying to stop		
it wasn't about me it was about them		
they don’t have what I have	2	Self confidence bully's envy
can't let them win	2	
I like who I am		Self-esteem!
not backing down		like not letting them win
talking to people older than me		
feeling vindicated		normalization
feeling validated	2	
having time to myself to reflect on things		
future planning		who do you want to be in 5-10years
finding myself = helped me cope		
closing myself off to the bullies		like avoiding bullies
finding people who appreciated me for me		sense of belonging?
knowing someone else cared		
early intervention would be helpful		
finding the humor in things as a way to cope		
friends helped me cope		
school as more active = would have helped		
finding closure		
psychoeducation is a good place for schools to start		
authorities as more involved		
looking to the future and not the past		future orientation
talk about it	2	
find someone to support you		
if they were your real friend they wouldn’t hurt you		like p 1 - drop them
experiencing unconditional love		
sense of self as a coping strategy		
number of codes	69	

Appendix Eighteen: Table of Categories and Codes

Core Theme or Central Phenomenon		
Theme	**Category**	**Codes**
SURVIVAL STRATEGIES	Offline Strategies	Changing environments Talking about it Being able to separate online world from real world Building self-esteem Reframing the way I think Standing up Ignoring Healthy outlets (laughter, meditation and mindfulness, music, extracurricular activities, exercise, studying, volunteering, reading, TV, journaling)
	Online Strategies	Online safety 'stop, block, tell' Changing my contact information Shutting off technology

Supporting Themes		
Theme	**Category**	**Codes**
Internal Characteristics	Sense of self	Self-esteem Self-knowledge
	Choosing to be a survivor	Inner strength Bouncing Back Don't want to let them win Looking into the Future
	Empowerment	Self-help – taking control Assertiveness Moment of change (for long-term survivors)
	Being able to make sense of the experience	Finding the reasons: the meaning behind it Empathy for the bully: understanding their side of things It's not about me, it's about them
External Influences on Internal Feelings	Feeling accepted	Sense of belonging Feeling like you're not alone
	Feeling Understood	Talking and feeling heard Validation/Normalization Receiving guidance
	Support systems	Family Friends Teacher Counselling

Environmental Factors	School Environment: Prevention	Proactive strategies Psychoeducation: knowledge translation Increasing awareness Creating a culture of openness Divisional policies
	School Environment: Intervention	Gathering evidence Looking at prevention again Emotional Support Reframing negative ideas Creating channels of social support Facilitating effective communication Activating involvement from parents, administration, and police Direct interventions involving the bully
	Upbringing	Home environment Religion or spiritual beliefs
	Societal influences	Social awareness The Canadian Legal System
	Emotional Maturity	"it just took time" Developmental stage