ADOLESCENTS' POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES WITH COMMUNICATION

TECHNOLOGY AND HOW ADULTS CAN SUPPORT ADOLESCENTS WHO

EXPERIENCE CYBER BULLYING

JEREMY DANIEL DOUCETTE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN PSYCHOLOGY

YORK UNIVERSITY

TORONTO, ONTARIO

AUGUST, 2015

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to increase understanding of: (1) how adolescents use communication technology to develop friendships; (2) how experiencing cyber bullying harms adolescents; (3) helpful and unhelpful ways adults respond to cyber bullying; and (4) how parents or guardians, teachers, and principals can provide needed support to adolescents who experience cyber bullying. Through their participation in interviews when they were in grade 10 (n=17) and again when they were in grade 12 (n=6), adolescents: discussed how they use communication technology to develop their friendships; shared how experiencing cyber bullying has harmed them and/or their peers; explained why they would or would not seek support from adults after experiencing cyber bullying; and provided insights into how adults can provide needed support to adolescents who experience cyber bullying. Implications for how parents or guardians, teachers, and principals can provide needed and wanted support to adolescents in their care who experience cyber bullying are discussed.

Keywords: cyber bullying; cyberbullying; electronic bullying; adolescence; high school students; violence prevention; friendships; mental health; support; parenting; interviews; communication technology; social media

Acknowledgements

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Adolescents' Positive and Negative Experiences with Communication Technology and how Adults can Support Adolescents who Experience Cyber Bullying

Within Canada and throughout the world, communication technology and social media (or cyber technology) have become integrated into most aspects of adolescents' daily lives (Ahmedani, Harold, Fitton, & Gibson, 2011; Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadalla, & Daciuk, 2012). Adolescents' interactions through communication technology and social media are largely positive as these technologies help adolescents begin, develop, and maintain friendships (Brito, 2012; Collins & Steinberg, 2006). Despite the healthy interactions most adolescents share with one another through communication technology, connected adolescents can become targets of harmful cyber (or electronic) bullying (Hamburger, Basile, & Vivolo, 2011). To buffer potential harmful cyber bullying experiences, adolescents require support in cyber bullying prevention and intervention from adults within their homes and schools (Craig, Pepler, & Cummings, 2013; Espelage & Rue, 2013); however, adults might not meet adolescents' needs if they do not recognize what these are (Sabella, Patchin, & Hinduja, 2013). It is imperative adolescents be given opportunities to share their stories and insights if adults are to better understand adolescents' experiences and provide needed support to adolescents who experience cyber bullying (Cross, Lester, Barnes, Cardoso, & Hadwen, 2015).

To enhance understanding of how parents, guardians, teachers, and principals can support adolescents who experience cyber bullying, this study will explore: (1) the importance of communication technology and social media to adolescents' friendships; (2) the forms of harm cyber bullied adolescents experience; (3) helpful and unhelpful ways adults respond to cyber bullying; and (4) adolescents' insights on what parents, teachers, and principals can do to provide

needed support. This study will provide adolescents with opportunities to share, in their own words, how they want and need adults to support them through cyber bullying.

Studying Cyber Bullying from a Systemic-Ecological Framework

Bronfenbrenner (1977) recognized that people's development and behaviours must be understood within the context of their environments. Individuals are greatly influenced by people in their homes, schools, neighborhoods, and society. To demonstrate this understanding, Bronfenbrenner developed the Systemic-Ecological Framework, depicting how *social systems* interact with each other and the individual. For the purpose of this study, the Systemic-Ecological Framework will be applied to the typical Canadian adolescent. The social systems that influence the adolescent include: (1) the *micro-system*— others with whom the adolescent has regular and immediate interactions including peers, family members, and teachers; (2) the *meso-system*—interactions between those within the micro-system; (3) the *exo-system*—groups of people that interact with the adolescent including families, schools, and neighbourhoods; and (4) the *macro-system*—the values and attitudes of a society that impact an adolescent indirectly. Encompassing and influencing all of these systems is the *chrono-system* which acts as a dimension of time that affects the adolescent externally (such as when an adolescent transitions from elementary or junior high school to high school) and internally (such as when an adolescent experiences puberty) (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Epstein & Kazmierczak, 2006; Espelage, Rao, & Craven, 2013; Sameroff, 2010). When directly applying this framework to cyber bullying, it has been proposed that communication technology and social media are functions of a *chrono-system* as their widespread use depends upon when they are popular. Alternatively, communication technology and social media could be considered a *techno or cyber-subsystem*, not part of any one system or a separate system, but a system that

influences all systems, groups, and individuals (Espelage, et al., 2013). Some authors have

chosen to adopt Bronfenbrenner's model and add a techno or cyber-subsystem, highlighting the

major influence cyber technology has on each system and the individual (Johnson, 2010;

Johnson & Puplampu, 2008; Martin, 2013; Martin & Alaggia, 2013; Martin & Stuart, 2011). A

depiction of the ecological techno-subsystem (Johnson & Puplampu, 2008) in relation to the

other systems is presented in Figure 1.
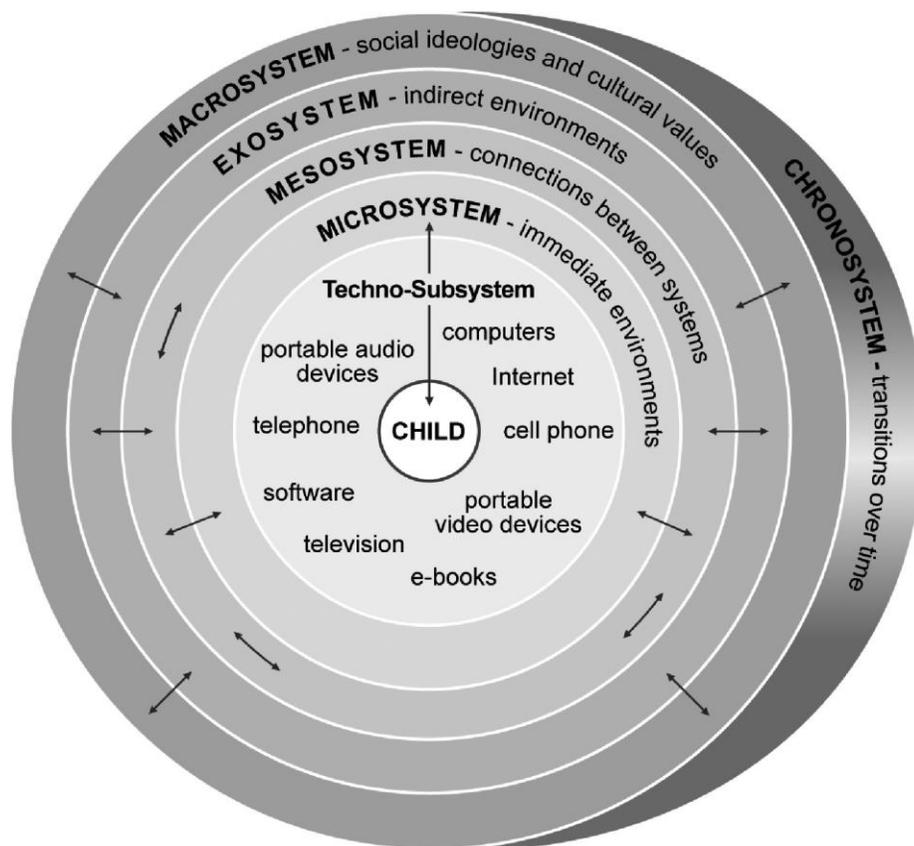
Figure 1. The ecological techno-subsystem (Johnson & Puplampu, 2008)

A systemic-ecological framework provides a conceptual foundation for cyber bullying

research designed to inform prevention and intervention efforts. Cyber bullying impacts and is

impacted by adolescents' relationships with peers, parents or guardians, teachers, and principals,

as well as social climates within schools, neighbourhoods, and cultural and societal conditions

(Espelage et al., 2013). For example, bullying, like other forms of violence, can be motivated by the biases and prejudices to which adolescents are exposed within their social environments (Dessel, 2010; Greene, 2006; Mishna, et al., 2009; Owens, Shute, & Slee, 2005). This project is motivated by the understanding that preventing bullying is the responsibility of entire communities and society as a whole. All adults are responsible for promoting healthy relationships, acting non-violently, and creating safe environments within which young people can feel supported and experience healthy development (Craig, Pepler, & Cummings, 2013).

Adolescents' Widespread Use of Communication Technology

Communication technology and social media have expanded adolescents' social worlds in ways never experienced before. Approximately 98% of Canadian adolescents access the internet and other forms of communication technology on a daily basis (Mishna et al., 2012). A national study conducted with 5,436 Canadian students from grades 4 to 11 (MediaSmarts, 2014) revealed that approximately 85% of students in grade 11 own their own cell phone (MediaSmarts, 2014). The pervasive ownership of cell phones may underlie the finding that text messaging is becoming the preferred mode of communication among adolescents (Mishna, et al., 2012; Sabella, Patchin, & Hinduja, 2013). Most cell phones produced today are capable of connecting to the internet (Rideout, 2012). Adolescents' use of cell phones to connect to the internet, often without adult supervision, increases from grades 9 to 11 (MediaSmarts, 2014).

Once connected to the internet, adolescents can communicate with each other through instant messages (IM), online games, email, and social networking sites (Evans, 2012; Li, 2006; Rideout, 2012; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012; Wong-Lo, Bullock, & Gable, 2011). Most Canadian adolescents visit social networking sites daily (Mishna et al., 2012). According to MediaSmarts (2014), Canadian students in grades 7 to 11 are highly connected to social media:

82% have a Facebook account, 47% have a Twitter account, 42% have an Instagram account, 27% have a Tumblr account, and 13% have a Pinterest account. Of the grade 11 students in this sample, 95% revealed having a Facebook account. These data indicate the pervasiveness of social networking and highlight Canadian adolescents' deep involvement with communication technology as a means of socialization. The following section provides a review of how adolescents use communication technology to meet their developmental needs in initiating, developing and maintaining friendships. This is followed by a definition of *cyber bullying* and recognition of harm that can be experienced by adolescents who are cyber bullied.

Adolescents' Friendships in a Digital World

Immediate access to cyber technology consistently affords adolescents opportunities for social interaction. As children progress into adolescence, they spend less time interacting with family members and an increasing amount of time interacting with friends. Many of the relational roles once filled by family members, particularly parents, become occupied by friends (Fitton, et al, 2013). Beginning and maintaining friendships is extremely important to adolescent well-being (Brito, 2012; Collins & Steinberg, 2006). Through their friendships, adolescents develop communication and emotion regulation skills, establish positions within groups, share experiences, have fun, and seek emotional support through various challenges. These functions contribute to identity formation and increasing autonomy from parents (Brito, 2012; Davis, 2012; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012).

Communication technology often encourages socialization (Fitton, et al., 2013; Mishna, Cook, Gadalla, Daciuk, & Solomon, 2010). Interacting through electronic means, such as social networking sites, can help adolescents initiate friendships with peers whom they might not already know well from their schools, clubs, teams, or neighborhoods (Brito, 2012; Fitton, et al.,

2013; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012). Through the internet, adolescents can casually invite each other to play games or engage in light and enjoyable conversation, easing social anxiety or nervousness. Many adolescents prefer to initiate friendships with peers through electronic means rather than in person because they can engage in conversation at a slow pace, taking time to pause and ponder what they intend to express (Brito, 2012; Fitton, et al., 2013).

Communication technology also helps adolescents develop intimacy within their established friendships (Mishna, et al., 2010). Adolescents can keep in contact with each other throughout the day, no matter how far the physical distance between them. This consistent connection, even if light or casual in nature, can help young people feel included and cared for (Davis, 2012; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012). As children progress through adolescence, they become more inclined to engage in serious conversation, offer advice, and exchange intimate self-disclosures (Brito, 2012; Davis, 2012). Communication technology can help make self-disclosure more comfortable and likely to occur, encouraging the establishment of strong bonds between friends (Britto, 2012). Adolescents most often use communication technology and social media responsibly and pro-socially, but sometimes technology is used to hurt through acts of cyber (or electronic) bullying (Hamburger, Basile, & Vivolo, 2011; Sabella, Patchin, & Hinduja, 2013).

What is Cyber Bullying?

Although cyber bullying is a relatively new phenomenon, traditional face-to-face bullying is not. In trying to conceptualize cyber bullying, researchers have debated how cyberbullying is similar to and distinct from traditional forms of bullying (Ang & Goh, 2010; Sabella, et al., 2013). Ang and Goh (2010) argued that for a behaviour to be considered *bullying*, whether through traditional or electronic means, it must be intentionally perpetrated, targeted

towards a specific person or group of people, and repeated over time. It is also commonly understood that bullying involves a power imbalance between the person bullying and the person being bullied, and psychological harm is experienced by the targeted individual (Grigg, 2010; Tokunaga, 2010). It has been posited that for an act to be considered *cyber* bullying, it must encompass all of these criteria and be perpetrated through communication technology (Sabella, et al., 2013). Cyber bullying must be understood in relation to traditional forms of bullying but it is also important to recognize the unique characteristics and implications of cyber bullying that might challenge how bullying is conceptualized. For example, an adolescent may post a single hurtful comment on a peer's social media page but the comment will likely be observable for an extended period of time, and can be viewed, liked (through Facebook), retweeted (through Twitter), or commented on by many others using their electronic devices (Langos, 2012). Consequently, constructs such as *repetition* may have to be conceptualized differently when discussing cyberbullying as compared to face-to-face bullying.

Rates of Cyberbullying Victimization among Adolescents

Discrepancies in how cyberbullying is defined have impacted researchers' abilities to compare findings across studies, and have contributed to variations in findings on the nature and rates of cyberbullying perpetration and victimization (Espelage, et al., 2013; Langos, 2012; Sabella, et al., 2013; Tokunaga, 2010). On the one hand, Evans (2012) suggested that a relatively small proportion of adolescents are bullied electronically, but the number of adolescents affected could be increasing. On the other hand, a study by Doucette (2013) with over 17,000 high school students in Ontario, Canada identified that between 24.8% and 33.9% of participants had personally experienced cyber bullying (including and limited to) receiving a threatening or aggressive message, having a rumour spread about them online, having a private message of

theirs forwarded to someone else, or having someone post inappropriate comments, pictures, or videos of them online at least once in the past school year. These prevalence rates are consistent with a meta-synthesis published in 2010 indicating that cyberbullying victimization rates generally fall between 20 and 40% of school-aged youth (Tokunaga, 2010).

How Experiencing Cyber Bullying Harms Adolescents

Regular access to communication technology and social media make adolescents susceptible to experiencing cyber bullying at almost any place and time. Some adolescents face relentless bullying through electronic means (Mishna, Saini, & Solomon, 2009). Harmful images, videos, or texts can be easily made public and shared with a staggering number of people within a targeted adolescent's school, neighborhood, and beyond (Sukuki, Asaga, Sourander, Hoven, & Mandell, 2012). Bystanders to cyber bullying have the (often immediate) ability to exacerbate the violence through their technological devices if they choose to do so. Cyber bullying can easily and quickly become volatile (Langos, 2012).

Cyber bullying can impact adolescents in various domains of their lives. Many adolescents who are bullied electronically are also bullied through traditional means when at school (Tokunaga, 2010). For these students, the destructive experiences of being bullied by peers across systems and time can lead to significant levels of harm. Even if adolescents who are cyber bullied are not bullied in school, the pain experienced through being cyber bullied can have major repercussions on a student's academic and social development. Adolescents who are bullied may feel inclined to skip classes to avoid peers who have hurt them or they may bring weapons to school in an attempt feel secure (Tokunaga, 2010). Understanding where adolescents are bullied, the means by which they are bullied, and how it affects them in the different places

they live, may help adults to better understand the types of supports adolescents require and who has a responsibility to provide such supports.

Experiencing cyber bullying can harm adolescents emotionally, mentally, and physically. Adolescents who experience cyber bullying may start to feel negatively about themselves and others, developing a sense of hopelessness or worthlessness which can severely impact their self-esteem and relationships. Adolescents who are cyber bullied might struggle with feelings of sadness, anger, fear, depression, anxiety, and/or other forms of mental and emotional distress (Bottino, Bottino, Regina, Correia, & Ribeiro, 2015; Mishna, et al., 2009; Tokunaga, 2010; Wong-Lo et al., 2011). Young people who are cyber bullied may face risk of further mental and physical harm as experiencing cyber bullying has been found to be associated with substance use, physically violent behaviour, unsafe sexual behaviour, and suicidal behaviour (Litwiller & Brausch, 2013). Although the vast majority of adolescents who experience cyber bullying do not attempt or complete suicide, some cyber bullied adolescents who have experienced unbearable pain have taken their own lives (Katz, 2014; Litwiller & Brausch, 2013; Sabella et al., 2013). Personal experiences with and perceptions of harm related to cyber bullying victimization will be further explored with the participants in this study. Appreciating the toll experiencing cyber bullying can take on adolescents' health and wellbeing helps to illuminate the imperativeness of adult support in cyber bullying prevention and intervention.

Barriers to Adolescents Seeking and Receiving Support from Adults

Most adolescents who experience bullying (of any kind) do not seek support from parents, teachers, or other adults in their homes or schools (Li, 2010). In a study with Canadian adolescents (in grades 7 through 12), Li (2010) revealed that situations involving cyber bullying often do not get better for youth after adults are turned to for support. Rather, seeking adult

support often results in situations remaining the same and sometimes results in situations becoming worse for adolescents. Young people who do not receive support from the adults they turn to for support may conclude that there is no point to seeking support from adults.

Seeking help for *cyber* bullying from adults may be especially difficult for adolescents because the forms of communication technology available to adolescents today are vastly different from what adults had access to when they were in high school (Mishna et al., 2012). Furthermore, how adolescents engage with and experience communication technology is qualitatively different from how adults engage with and experience the same technologies (Brito, 2012). When adolescents are cyber bullied and experience harm, they may be unlikely to seek help from adults because, based on their past experiences, adults do not understand cyber bullying or appreciate the importance of communication technology and social media in their friendships. Adolescents might worry that if they tell an adult about cyber bullying, the adult will under react and fail to provide support or overreact, potentially worsening the situation (Pandori, 2013; Sabella, Patchin, & Hinduja, 2013).

Many adolescents believe adults in their schools would not put forth effort into helping them if they experienced cyber bullying (Li, 2006; Li, 2010; Pandori, 2013). Adolescents who do not expect to receive help from adults are not likely to seek help from adults (Cornell & Unnever, 2004; Li, 2010). Li (2010) found that 40% of Canadian students in grades 7 through 12 ($n = 216$) who reported incidents of cyber bullying to adults within their schools did not receive adequate support, while 80% of students expressed that, if cyber bullied, they would not seek help from an adult in their school. The participants revealed that they would not seek support from adults in schools because adults are not willing or prepared to help stop cyber bullying. Participants also revealed that telling an adult could make their overall situation worse. In telling

adults about cyber bullying, adolescents risk retaliation by the person who was bullying or punishment by adults. Twenty-three percent of the participants indicated that they needed to learn to deal with cyber bullying by themselves and 44% of participants indicated that cyber bullying is not a major issue and should be ignored.

Numerous tragic cases have been featured in the news of adolescents who completed suicide after experiencing cyber bullying (Banerjee, 2013; McEachern, 2013; Purdy, 2013). There is concern within the research community that extensive media coverage of such cases has influenced adults, particularly parents, to believe that teens who are cyber bullied are at great risk of suicidal ideation, or suicide attempt or completion (Sabella, et al., 2013). Extensive exposure to these stories may influence parents to try to prevent cyber bullying in their adolescents' lives through methods that may ultimately create more social problems than they solve. For example, if parents discover their adolescents are being bullied electronically, they may take away their adolescents' electronic devices. This approach could disconnect adolescents from friends who could provide valuable support in a time of need. Similarly, if teachers or principals learn that cyber bullying is an issue within their schools, they may ban the use of devices such as cell phones on school property (Agatston, Kowalski, & Limber, 2007a; Pandori, 2013; Sabella, et al., 2013; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012). Removing technological devices that are instrumental in connecting adolescents to their friends is not a realistic or productive way to help adolescents resolve social conflicts. Limiting adolescents' technology use reduces their autonomy and limits their roles as active participants in problem solving processes. It is important that adolescents are active participants in problem solving so that they may develop the skills and knowledge required to help them interact positively and responsibly within their expanding social environments. If adults address the cyber bullying problem in a way that makes adolescents feel

they did something wrong, adolescents may be less likely to seek support from adults if they experience bullying in the future (Sabella, et al., 2013; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012). It is paramount that parents, teachers, and principals provide adolescents with the support they want and need (Sabella, et al., 2013).

How Adults can Support Adolescents who have Experienced Cyber Bullying

Adolescents who are victimized through bullying are at risk of experiencing harm (Tokunaga, 2010) and require support from the adults in their homes and schools (Craig & Pepler, 2007; Sabella et al., 2013). Yet, adolescents who experience cyber bullying and seek support from adults often do not receive the support they need (Li, 2010). Youth have expressed the desire to collaborate with adults in cyber bullying prevention and intervention efforts (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010), but youth who participate in research studies are seldom asked for their insights into how adults can prevent or stop bullying (of any kind) (Hasselblad & Holmqvist, 2012). Researchers who *have* gathered young people's insights into addressing the bullying problem have revealed several ways in which parents, guardians, teachers, and principals can support adolescents who experience bullying (Blumenfeld, & Cooper, 2010; Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker, 2006; Frisén, Hasselblad, & Holmqvist, 2012; Frisén, Holmqvist, & Oscarsson, 2008; Puhl, 2013; Stacey, 2009; Waseem, Boutin-Foster, Robbins, Gonzalez, Vargas, & Peterson, 2014).

Through their participation in research studies, youth have revealed ways in which parents can provide needed support to their youth if cyber bullying is experienced (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010; Frisén, Holmqvist, & Oscarsson, 2008). In a study by Blumenfeld and Cooper (2010) with 444 young people in the US (ages 11 to 22), on helpful responses to cyber bullying, participants recommended parents supervise their children's engagement with communication

technology and teach their children how to show respect for others. Youth (ages 13 to 16) who participated in Frisén and colleagues' (2008) study on helpful responses to bullying suggested parents teach their youth how to constructively respond to bullying if it happens. According to youth (ages 14-18) (Puhl, 2013), support from parents in coping with bullying victimization is wanted and needed by youth who experience bullying. Young people in Eastern Canada have suggested adults in their homes and schools help them resolve social conflicts by: showing understanding and care; seeing them as individuals and focussing on their strengths; and offering support without blame or punishment (Pepler & Milton, 2013).

The results of a large-scale study with 18,834 students (ages 12-18) in the US reveal that regular family dinners are beneficial to child and adolescent mental health and can buffer the harmful effects associated with experiencing cyber bullying. Elgar and colleagues (2014) suggest that regular contact with family provides adolescents with opportunities to communicate their problems and seek guidance, while parents are provided with opportunities to listen and offer support.

Within the context of caring relationships, parents or guardians, teachers, and principals can provide education to adolescents to help them prevent and constructively address cyber bullying (Elgar et al., 2014; Pepler & Milton, 2013; Rubin-Vaughan, Pepler, Brown, & Craig, 2011). LGBT and allied youth ($n = 444$) who participated in Blumenfeld's and Cooper's (2010) cyber bullying study discussed the fundamental role of education in preventing and responding to cyber bullying. Participants suggested education be widely delivered through: active discussion sessions for teens; information printed in school agendas; school assemblies; youth led discussion groups; and parent information sessions. Participants encouraged the dissemination of education focussed on: safe technology use; tolerance and prejudice; and the

harm that can be experienced by adolescents who have been bullied *and* adolescents who have bullied. Youth (ages 10 to 17) who participated in focus groups on cyber bullying in Australia (Stacey, 2009), stressed the need for parents and teachers to become educated on the benefits associated with technology so they would not hold exclusively negative views towards communication technology and social media.

Youth have stressed that adults in schools must intervene in bullying situations that are brought to their attention (Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker, 2006; Frisén, Hasselblad, & Holmqvist, 2012; Puhl, 2013; Waseem et al., 2014). In a qualitative study with children and adolescents (ages 8 to 17), participants suggested adults vigilantly watch for bullying and use their power to stop bullying when it happens (Waseem et al., 2014). Within Ontario, Bill 14 (2012) requires all teachers, staff members, volunteers, and principals in schools to act if they become aware of a bullying incident in their school. Teachers who become aware of bullying incidents in their school must report them to their principal. Principals must promptly investigate all bullying incidents, then carry out further duties as outlined in the Bill (MacLeod, 2012).

In order to prevent bullying from continuing, youth have recommended parents and teachers discipline youth who have bullied others (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010; Frisén, Holmqvist, & Oscarsson, 2008; Puhl, 2013; Waseem et al., 2014). Some youth suggest that those who bully face punitive measures such as school suspension (Waseem et al., 2014) but others promote discipline focussed on education (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010; Frisén, Holmqvist, & Oscarsson, 2008; Waseem et al., 2014). Youth have recommended adults educate those who bully on the harmful impacts of bullying (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010) and promote empathy for those who experience bullying (Waseem et al., 2014). Eleven police officers interviewed for a study on cyber bullying in Ontario expressed that youth who cyber bully should be educated, not

punished. The police officers stressed that cyber bullying can be prevented by teaching young people how to have healthy relationships with one another (Broll, 2014). Restorative approaches to conflict resolution can be used to resolve conflicts, repair harm, reduce the likelihood of harm reoccurring, and move forward as a community (Morrison & Vaandering, 2012; Thompson & Smith, 2011). Restorative approaches such as problem-solving circles and restorative discussions have been found to be effective in resolving bullying conflicts in high schools (Thompson & Smith, 2011).

Adolescents who have experienced cyber bullying have expressed a need for continued support from adults after bullying is experienced (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010; Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker, 2006). Youth have suggested that schools can support adolescents by connecting them with adults they can turn to for support (Crothers, Kolbert & Barker, 2006). Youth who have experienced harmful cyber bullying may benefit from receiving mental health support from counsellors within their schools (Nordahl, Beran, & Dittrick, 2013).

This Study's Objective

Through a thematic analysis of interviews conducted with adolescents, first when they were in grade 10 and again approximately two years later when they were in grade 12, this study is designed to address five research questions: (1) How do communication technology and social media help adolescent in initiating and strengthening friendships?; (2) What harm is experienced by adolescents who are cyber bullied?; (3) How have adolescents experienced helpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?; (4) How have adolescents experienced unhelpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?; and (5) What do adolescents believe the adults within their homes and schools need to know and do (or not do) to support them if they experience cyber bullying?

Methods

Participants

This study comprises a secondary analysis of data collected as part of a larger study, *Motivations for Cyber Bullying: A Longitudinal and Multi-Perspective Inquiry* conducted by researchers and community partners in a large metropolitan city in Southern Ontario (Mishna, 2012). Using a stratified random sampling strategy, a sample of 19 schools was drawn from a large school board within the city. Neighbourhood-level census data on income and education levels, ratio of households receiving social assistance, and ratio of single parent families, were used to stratify schools into three categories: low need, medium need, and high need. The stratification of this sample helped to ensure representation of ethnocultural and socioeconomic diversity within the study. In the third year of the study, participants were recruited from 10 additional schools to follow more students' transition from elementary school to secondary school. All students in grades 4, 7, and 10 from the 29 schools were invited to participate in the larger study. Twenty to 30 students in each grade were then invited to participate in interviews. This study is informed by the thematic analysis of interviews with 17 students when they were in grade 10 (in 2012 and 2013) and six of the same 17 students approximately two years later when they were in grade 12 (in 2014 and 2015). Of these 17 adolescents, nine were male and eight were female. Of the six participants who participated in interviews at time 2, two were male and four were female. The drop in number of participants from time 1 to time 2 is due to time constraints placed the graduate students to conduct and transcribe the interviews, as opposed to a substantial drop-out rate. Twenty-three interview transcripts in total were analyzed to address the research questions of this study.

Procedure

Ethics approval for the initial study was obtained from the University of Toronto Research Ethics Board and the External Research Review Committee at the partnering school board. Ethics approval for this secondary analysis was obtained from the York University Ethics Review Board. Parental or guardian consent (Appendix A) and participant assent (Appendix B) was obtained for each of the adolescents before the interviews were conducted. In-person interviews were conducted with 17 participants when they were in grade 10, and again with six of the 17 same participants approximately two years later when they were in grade 12. The initial interviews were conducted in-person at the participants' schools and the follow up interviews were conducted over the phone. All interviews were conducted by graduate students of social work or psychology from the University of Toronto and ran for approximately one hour. Each interview was guided by a qualitative interview guide (Appendix B). The interviewers ensured the participants knew why they were participating in the study and had a chance to ask any questions for clarification before beginning. A $10.00 gift card was offered to all of the adolescents who participated in this study.

Dr. Faye Mishna's research team transcribed the interviews, deleting all identifiers in the process. All audio recordings were destroyed after the interviews were transcribed. The transcripts were initially stored by Dr. Mishna then shared via a password-protected email so I could proceed with the secondary analysis. All interview transcripts were safely stored on a password-protected computer accessible only to myself. All transcripts will be destroyed upon completion of this project.

Measures

      Scale completed in initial study. The Bullying Impact Scale was administered to assess adolescents' experiences with cyber bullying. Respondents were first asked to read the following description of bullying: "There are lots of ways to hurt someone. A person who bullies wants to hurt the other person. A person who bullies does it because they can. They may be older, stronger, bigger, or have other students on their side." Respondents were then given the following examples of bullying: (1) Physical (e.g., hitting, kicking, or spitting); (2) Verbal (e.g., name-calling, mocking, humiliating, or hurtful teasing); (3) Social (e.g., leaving someone out, gossiping, or spreading rumors); (4) Electronic (e.g., on Facebook MSN, email, or text messaging); (5) Racial (e.g., saying hurtful things about someone whose skin is a different colour); (6) Sexual (e.g., kissing, hugging, grabbing, pinching, and saying something sexual), and; (7) Sexual preference (e.g., teasing someone for being gay whether they are or not). Respondents then indicated on a Likert scale (ranging from "no" to "several times a week") how often they had experienced each form of bullying within the past month. A similar question was also administered to assess how often respondents had bullied others within the past month (Beran, Stanton, Hetherington, Mishna, & Shariff, 2012; Mishna, 2012). The responses to this survey will not be analyzed as part of this secondary analysis; however, all adolescents who went on to participate in interviews completed this survey.

      Interviews. The interview questions were informed by the literature on cyber bullying and developed by Dr. Faye Mishna and colleagues (2012). Twenty-four interview questions (Appendix C) were developed as part of the larger initial study. The responses to 13 of these 24 questions have been deemed relevant to the five research questions of this study. The 13

interview questions are organized by the research question they inform and are presented in

Table 1.

Table 1. Interview Questions Organized by Research Question

Research Question	Interview Questions
1. How do communication technology and social media help adolescents in initiating and strengthening friendships?	I. Can you tell me about your use of cyber technology—for example, cell phones, emails, internet, social networking, games, You Tube? II. What are some of the positive things that you have experienced in your use of cyber technology? III. How would you feel if you weren't able to use any form of cyber technology?
2. What harm is experienced by adolescents who are cyber bullied?	I. What are some of the negative things that you have experienced in your use of cyber technology? II. Can you tell me about any cyber bullying experience in your life—for example, have you ever seen it happen, has it happened to you, or have you done it to others? III. Does the technology make it easier to cyber bully or do you think the person who wants to cyber bully will do it anyway, no matter how?
3. How have adolescents experienced helpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?	I. Have your parents or teachers ever asked you about cyber bullying? If so, what did you say? II. Has anyone talked to you about cyber bullying? How to deal with it, or what to do if it happens? If yes—who and what did they tell you? Was it helpful? If no, do you wish someone had talked to you? III. How much do you think your parents/caregivers know about cyber bullying? What about your teachers? IV. Did you tell anyone about your experience with cyber bullying? If yes, who? If no, why not? V. What stops young people from getting help?
4. How have adolescents experienced unhelpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?	I. Have your parents or teachers ever asked you about cyber bullying? If so, what did you say? II. Has anyone talked to you about cyber bullying? How to deal with it, or what to do if it happens? If yes—who and what did they tell you? Was it helpful? If no, do you wish someone had talked to you?

	III. How much do you think your parents/caregivers know about cyber bullying? What about your teachers? IV. Did you tell anyone about your experience with cyber bullying? If yes, who? If no, why not? V. What stops young people from getting help?
5. What do adolescents believe the adults within their homes and schools need to know and do (or not do) to support them if they experience cyber bullying?	I. What kind of information would you like to have? II. Who do you think is responsible for helping young people deal with cyber bullying? III. What do you think would help these young people [who have been cyber bullied]?

Analyses

A thematic analysis was conducted to identify themes that reflected perceptions, experiences, and insights shared among the adolescents who participated in interviews. Braun and Clarke (2006) discussed how themes work to capture participants' responses and inform research questions within qualitative studies. There are no strict rules as to how many references must be made to similar perceptions, experiences, and insights in order to justify the development of themes. Within this study, themes were created when two or more participants shared comparable perceptions, experiences, or insights that informed one or more of this study's five research questions. This strategy reflects an inductive approach to thematic analysis, where themes are identified when quotes relate to each other (as opposed to when quotes relate back to previous research findings) (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I also worked to take a semantic approach to this thematic analysis, where themes were identified through exploring the surface meaning of what participants stated (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Each transcript was read then re-read before coding. The transcripts were coded in the program NVivo, and through thought webs, tables, and notes in the program Microsoft Word. A

primary theme was identified when two or more participants provided statements that informed one or more of the five research questions. Secondary themes were often identified within primary themes, and tertiary themes were sometimes identified within secondary themes. All themes had to meet internal consistency in that the quotes included under each theme had to share a similar point, message, or meaning. Quotes that could not be paired with at least one other quote on these grounds were removed from the analysis.

If a quote did not reflect key messages quotes, it would be transferred to a different theme (if appropriate) or removed from the analysis altogether. The names of themes were continuously adjusted to reflect the quotes they represented.

The 17 grade 10 transcripts (from time 1) were coded together and independently of the grade 12 transcripts (from time 2). The six grade 12 transcripts were then coded together and independently of the grade 10 transcripts. To compare the findings between the grade 10 and the grade 12 transcripts, primary themes were organized by research question and compared between time 1 and time 2. Themes that were identical or fundamentally similar were deemed *shared* between time 1 and time 2. Themes that were not identified in both time 1 and time 2 were considered to be exclusive to either time 1 or time 2.

Results: Time 1 (Interviews with Grade 10 Students)

The thematic analysis of transcripts from interviews conducted with 17 participants when they were in grade 10 led to the identification of primary, secondary, and tertiary themes. These themes are organized by the research questions they inform and are presented in Table 2. Themes are then elaborated upon, with select quotes presented from the participants that represent the perceptions, experiences, and insights of the adolescents who participated in the interviews.

Table 2. Time 1 Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Themes Organized by Research Question

Research Question	Primary Theme	Secondary Theme	Tertiary Theme
1. How do communication technology and social media help adolescents in initiating and strengthening friendships?	I. Communication technology and social media are important to adolescents' friendships	i. Communication technology and social media are often used to communicate or socialize with friends	
		ii. New friendships can be developed through communication technology and social media	
		iii. Communication technology and social media help adolescents maintain their friendships	
2. What harm is experienced by adolescents who are cyber bullied?	I. Experiencing cyber bullying is generally harmful to adolescents	i. Experiencing cyber bullying is harmful to adolescents' emotional and mental wellbeing	a. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to mental or emotional harm
			b. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to feelings of sadness or depression
			c. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to feeling hopeless, powerless, or isolated
			d. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to feeling badly about oneself
		ii. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to harmful coping strategies	

		iii. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, or completion
	II. Adolescents who were personally cyber bullied experienced harm	i. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling hurt or upset
		ii. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling badly about oneself
		iii. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling scared
		iv. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling worried, concerned, or anxious
		v. Experiencing cyber bullying led to further conflict
3. How have adolescents experienced helpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?	I. Reasons adolescents would seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying	i. Adults who demonstrate caring and empathy, are trustworthy, and easy to talk to may be told about cyber bullying
		ii. Adults in school who demonstrate experience with communication technology and social media or cyber bullying may be able to provide help
		iii. Adults should be told about cyber bullying that is serious or could become serious
	II. Adults were involved and helpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention	i. Parents demonstrated caring and empathy
		ii. Adults in school demonstrated knowledge or provided education around communication technology, social media, and cyber bullying
		iii. Adult support in school was consistent
4. How have adolescents experienced unhelpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?	I. Reasons adolescents would not seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying	i. Adolescents who experience cyber bullying do not want anyone else to know because they feel ashamed, embarrassed, or fear being judged

		ii. Adults will fail to understand the problem and provide help	a. Adults who do not understand communication technology and social media will not understand the cyber bullying problem
			b. Adults will minimize the problem and fail to provide help
		iii. Telling adults could make adolescents' situations worse	a. Adolescents risk being seen as cowardly by others if they tell an adult about experiencing cyber bullying
			b. Adolescents risk retaliation by the person bullying if they tell an adult they have been bullied
			c. Telling an adult about bullying could turn the situation into a big deal
			d. Adolescents risk facing negative consequences from adults if they tell them about the cyber bullying situation
		iv. Adolescents do not feel close enough to adults to talk to them about their cyber bullying experiences	
		v. Help from adults is not needed	a. It is an individual's responsibility to deal with his or her own problems
			b. The cyber bullying is not viewed as a serious problem by the adolescents who experience it
		vi. Nothing can be done to stop the cyber bullying from happening	
	II. Adults were involved but unhelpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention	i. Adult support was not considered consistent or meaningful	
		ii. Adults in school did not demonstrate caring or empathy	
		iii. Parents failed to provide help when they attempted to address the problem without	

		collaborating with their adolescent in problem solving	
5. What do adolescents believe the adults within their homes and schools need to know and do (or not do) to support them if they experience cyber bullying?	I. Suggestions for how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying	i. Parents can develop strong connections with their adolescents	
		ii. Empathically listen to and talk with adolescents who experience cyber bullying	
		iii. Provide adolescents with education on cyber bullying	
		iv. Teachers and principals can intervene if cyber bullying occurs	
		v. Perpetrating cyber bullying results in disciplinary action carried out by adults	
		vi. Connect adolescents to confidential mental health supports if needed	
		vii. Ensure adolescents have a network of peers who they can turn to for support	

How Communication Technology and Social Media Help Adolescents Initiate and Strengthen Friendships

The interview transcripts were coded to answer the first research question, *how do communication technology and social media help adolescents in initiating and strengthening friendships?* It became clear through the participants' responses that communication technology and social media are important to adolescents' friendships. The themes and subthemes that address this question are elaborated upon below.

I. Communication technology and social media are important to adolescents' friendships. The participants revealed that communication technology and social media are

important to adolescents' friendships because they are used to: (1) communicate or socialize with friends; (2) develop new friendships; and (3) maintain existing friendships.

i. Communication technology and social media are often used to communicate or socialize with friends. Six participants discussed how communication technology and social media are often used to communicate or socialize with friends. The participants discussed socializing by talking (or corresponding) with their friends, playing online games, and sharing media such as pictures. One participant stated, "I talk to my friends a lot… texting or over Facebook." Another participant said, "For me, after school, [cyber technology offers] a way for me to chat with friends… just communicate with friends pretty much."

ii. New friendships can be developed through communication technology and social media. Through communication technology and social media, adolescents can connect with peers with whom they are not yet friends. Four participants discussed how new friendships can be developed through communication technology and social media. One participant revealed how participation in online gaming presents opportunities to begin new friendships:

> … All my friends had just gone from Grade 6 to 7 and switched to different schools, so I didn't have any friends at that school. And, [one person] was the only one [I knew], and I wanted to become close with him… So, I bought an Xbox so we could play together [online].

iii. Communication technology and social media help adolescents maintain their friendships. In addition to aiding adolescents in beginning friendships, communication technology and social media help adolescents maintain their friendships. Four participants shared how technology has helped them to stay connected with friends, regardless of the physical distance between them. One participant said, "I mostly use [Facebook] to catch up with my cousins who live far away or my friends who aren't really here." A participant who left friends

behind when she moved to Canada shared, "I always talk a lot with my friends from Brazil because I'm from Brazil. So [cyber technology provides]… an easy way to communicate with them."

Harm Experienced by Adolescents who are Cyber Bullied

The interviews were coded to answer the second research question, *what harm is experienced by adolescents who are cyber bullied?* Participants discussed how experiencing cyber bullying is harmful to adolescents in general and some shared examples of harm they personally endured when they were cyber bullied.

I. Experiencing cyber bullying is generally harmful to adolescents. Participants discussed the harm they perceive that other adolescents experience during (and after) they are cyber bullied. Based on their perceptions of what friends, family members, peers, and strangers have endured, participants discussed how experiencing cyber bullying is generally harmful to adolescents. It was expressed that cyber bullying is harmful because it can lead to: (1) harm to emotional and mental wellbeing; (2) harmful coping strategies; and (3) suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, or suicide completion.

i. Experiencing cyber bullying is harmful to adolescents' emotional and mental wellbeing. Nine participants identified ways in which experiencing cyber bullying is harmful to adolescents' emotional and mental wellbeing. Further exploration revealed that harm to emotional and mental wellbeing includes: (1) mental or emotional harm; (2) feeling of sad or depressed; (3) feeling hopeless, powerless, or isolated; and (4) feeling badly about oneself.

a. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to mental or emotional harm. Four participants discussed how experiencing cyber bullying can lead to mental or emotional harm. Mental or

emotional harm was often contrasted with the physical harm one might endure if bullied in person. One participant illustrated, "… [If you experience] cyber bullying… you're being hurt mentally, because you're not actually seeing the person or touching the person physically, but you can feel his harassment..."

   b. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to feelings of sadness or depression. Three participants discussed how experiencing cyber bullying can lead to feelings of sadness or depression. One participant explained, "… The person who got bullied might feel sad and bad… or be really depressed." Another participant who witnessed a friend struggle after being cyber bullied stated, "… [My friend was cyber bullied] at the end of this year near exams so he was really depressed."

   c. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to feeling hopeless, powerless, or isolated. Three participants discussed how experiencing cyber bullying can lead to feeling hopeless, powerless, or isolated. These feelings may contribute to seeing the cyber bullying problem as unfixable. One participant shared, "…When you're going through bullying, you feel powerless, like you can't do anything about it." Cyber bullying can involve situations where many people attack one person through social media. When asked about the differences between cyber and in-person bullying, one participant shared, "… I feel like the feeling of loneliness is bigger if you're being cyber bullied because… you could feel like it's… thousands of people against you compared to being bullied face-to-face."

   d. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to feeling badly about oneself. Two participants stressed how being targeted through cyber bullying can make adolescents feel badly about themselves. A participant expressed:

[Cyber bullying] just doesn't feel good, like, it makes you feel bad about yourself. And then if you can't stand up for yourself then you're just sitting back and taking it, like, you feel dumb kind of because there is nothing else to say… and then you think about it and then it feels true.

ii. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to harmful coping strategies. Adolescents who are cyber bullied and experience mental or emotional harm might engage in physically harmful behaviours in an attempt to cope with pain. Two participants discussed the harmful coping strategies of using drugs and non-suicidal self-harming, specifically. One participant asserted, "Often [bullying] ends up causing… any type of self-harm so if someone's being harmed or feeling badly about themselves, it should be an issue."

iii. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to suicidal ideation, suicide attempt or suicide completion. Five participants recognized that experiencing cyber bullying can lead to suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, or suicide completion. This outcome was viewed as seriously problematic by the participants. One participant stated, "… If someone is being cyber bullied to the point where they're, like, thinking about suicidal thoughts… that's a serious issue."

II. Adolescents who were personally cyber bullied experienced harm. Six participants shared their own experiences of being cyber bullied and discussed the harm they felt after being targeted. For these adolescents, being cyber bullied led to: (1) feeling hurt or upset; (2) feeling badly about themselves; (3) feeling scared; (4) feeling worried, concerned, or anxious; or (5) further conflict.

i. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling hurt or upset. Two participants shared how experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling hurt or upset. These feelings remained for one person at the time of their interview but not for the other. This first participant shared, "[My former boyfriend] called me a little bit of names and stuff like that... He said he was sorry after… it did

hurt still… I didn't really get over that, like I can't really get over that." The second participant

who was cyber bullied explained how she was upset at first but feeling upset did not last:

> I think the first two times they actually bullied me I felt upset obviously, but then after thinking [about] it clearly, I was just, like, this is dumb. This is a game [we were playing online]. You're supposed to have fun. That's the point of games so I didn't take that personally. It's just upsetting at the moment but then I overcame it.

ii. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling badly about oneself. Two participants

revealed how being cyber bullied led to feeling badly about themselves. One participant shared,

"[Being bullied] was just really frustrating and, like, it sucked. I felt really bad and I was just like

really insecure about everything." Another shared, "I did kind of feel bad [about myself when

bullied], because [I felt], oh, I'm so skinny… oh, damn…"

iii. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling scared. Two participants disclosed that

experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling scared. One participant shared, "I was scared…

because I'm smart, so [peers] would call me a nerd. I was scared about that. I don't know why."

iv. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling worried, concerned or anxious. Two

participants shared how experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling worried, concerned, or

anxious. One participant expressed concern over what might happen if he was to again encounter

the peer who bullied him:

> I'm still kind of concerned, if I'll ever go back to Israel, what will happen but, I'm hoping [the person who bullied me] grew up a bit, especially mentally, and that his anger or, I don't know, whatever feeling he had, I hope it passed.

v. Experiencing cyber bullying led to further conflict. Two participants discussed how

experiencing cyber bullying led to further conflict. One participant shared that she bullied in

response to being bullied: "I'm still stressing over [the conflict], but I was a bully because that

person was pissing me off." The second participant discussed having to face a confrontational

parent of the peer who cyber bullied her: "… My mom went to talk to my neighbour [who is the mom of the girl who was cyber bullying me]. It got worse because the girl's mom, my neighbour, she got mad. So it started getting worse."

How Adolescents have Experienced Helpful Responses to Cyber Bullying by Adults

The interviews were coded to answer the third research question, *how have adolescents experienced helpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?* Participants provided reasons to seek support from adults when cyber bullying is experienced and shared personal stories of when they experienced cyber bullying then sought and received help from adults.

I. Reasons adolescents would seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying. Eight participants provided reasons why they or other adolescents would seek support from an adult if experiencing cyber bullying. Adolescents expressed that, if cyber bullied, they would seek support from adults: (1) who demonstrate caring, empathy, trustworthiness, and are easy to talk to; (2) who demonstrate experience with communication technology, social media, or cyber bullying; or (3) if the cyber bullying situation is serious or could become serious.

i. Adults who demonstrate caring and empathy, are trustworthy, and easy to talk to may be told about cyber bullying. Five participants discussed an openness to seek support from adults who are easy to talk to and demonstrate caring, empathy, and trustworthiness. Most of the adults who fit this description were the participants' parents, but two participants expressed an openness to seek support from their teachers if they experienced cyber bullying. One participant described feeling able to turn to her mom for support if problems arise:

> I can talk to my mom about any problems I'm having… because I can trust her, I know if I say, 'oh, I got robbed by somebody, oh, this person scared me, I don't want you telling

the police, I just want you to help me,' she will. She'll listen to me and she'll be like, 'don't worry, okay, I understand that.'

Another participant shared that he could turn to his teachers for support with the expectation that they would care and try to help:

> [I would] probably [go to] one of my class teachers [if I experienced cyber bullying], any of my class teachers, because I know them personally. I meet them every day, so they'll be like, 'okay, we know this person, we should help them out.'

ii. Adults in school who demonstrate experience with communication technology and social media or cyber bullying may be able to provide help. Parents may be the group of adults most expected to provide care and emotional support to their adolescents; however, three participants shared their understanding that teachers and other adults in their schools may be better equipped to provide support through cyber bullying situations given the complexities of the cyber bullying problem. Three participants suggested adults within their schools who demonstrate experience with communication technology and social media or cyber bullying may be able to provide help. One participant stated:

> … [Teachers] probably have seen… cases of cyber bullying, so they know how to deal with it and then it's easier to reach out to them too because they know how to help you. Maybe your parents don't, but then teachers can help you.

iii. Adults should be told about cyber bullying that is serious or could become serious. Four participants asserted that adolescents should tell adults about bullying situations that are serious or could become serious. Participants suggested cyber bullying situations are serious when: (1) cyber bullying continues over time; (2) cyber bullying involves many people; (3) the targeted person experiences suicidal ideation; or (4) a resolution will not be reached without adult support. One participant asserted that telling an adult can make bullying stop before it escalates:

… If the person is just constantly picking on you and doing stuff then you should probably tell an adult... because you don't want anything else to get worse and if you tell an adult there is more of a chance it will stop before anything bad happens.

II. Adults were involved and helpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention.

Speaking from personal experience, participants described when adults in their lives contributed to preventing cyber bullying or provided needed support for them after cyber bullying was experienced. Participants revealed that their parents helped when they demonstrated caring and empathy, and adults in their schools helped when they provided education and consistent support around cyber bullying.

i. Parents demonstrated caring and empathy. Four participants who experienced cyber bullying discussed how they felt helped when their parents demonstrated caring and empathy for them. One participant shared how he received support from his mom when he came to her after experiencing bullying:

I told my mom [when I was bullied] and my mom was… on it… because when you're sad… your mom kind of realizes it and then she asked me what was wrong… She helped me feel better and she talked to me…

ii. Adults in school demonstrated knowledge or provided education around communication technology, social media, and cyber bullying. Four participants shared how adults in their schools were helpful when they demonstrated knowledge or provided education around communication technology, social media, and cyber bullying. One participant stated, "I feel like the staff [at my school] do have an understanding of social networks and how cyber bullying happens… Yeah, [I would] definitely [feel comfortable approaching a member of the staff]."

iii. Adult support in school was consistent. Often in conjunction with demonstrating knowledge or providing education, three participants suggested adults in their schools were

helpful when their support was consistent. When discussing consistency, participants focussed on regularly being exposed to bullying presentations, assemblies, or awareness events. One participant discussed the value in annual assemblies and Pink Day:

> … At the school, I think every year we have an annual bullying assembly… And just recently, we had Pink Day… I think it shows bullies the impact of actually bullying someone… Perhaps it could make them see what they're actually doing to someone… how bad it actually is and… it would allow them to stop, to think about what they're doing and actually stop doing it.

How Adolescents have Experienced Unhelpful Responses to Cyber Bullying by Adults

The interviews were coded to answer the fourth research question, *how have adolescents experienced unhelpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?* Based on their understanding of what other adolescents experience, as well as personal experiences with adults in their homes and schools, participants identified unhelpful responses to cyber bullying.

I. Reasons adolescents would not seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying. Participants discussed several reasons adolescents do not tell adults when they experience cyber bullying. Participants revealed that adolescents would not seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying because: (1) they do not want anyone else to know about their experiences because they feel ashamed, embarrassed, or fear being judged; (2) adults will fail to understand the problem and provide help; (3) telling adults could make adolescents' situations worse; (4) adolescents do not feel close enough to adults to talk to them about their cyber bullying experiences; (5) help from adults is not needed; and (6) nothing can be done to stop the cyber bullying from happening.

i. Adolescents who experience cyber bullying do not want anyone else to know because they feel ashamed, embarrassed, or fear being judged. Responses by nine participants reveal

that a major barrier to seeking help is feeling shame or embarrassment, or fearing judgement.

One participants stated, "Judgement [stops people from getting help if they are bullied]... what

other people will think. Not knowing if they're actually doing something wrong." Another

participant explained that youth might not seek help for cyber bullying because they are

embarrassed and worry others will view them negatively or call them names:

> Over cyber bullying, I think people don't get help because they're embarrassed, they
> don't want to admit that they've been getting picked on over Facebook and they don't
> want to show that it's getting to them on the inside. Because people are calling them a
> loser and all that, so they don't want to go be like, 'oh, it's really getting to me,' because
> then they feel whoever they tell is going to look at them and be like, 'wow, you're a
> loser.' But that's not the case, but that's just because so many people have been giving
> them this image, they think everybody is going to give them this image, no matter what,
> and that's why they're afraid to go get help...

ii. Adults will fail to understand the problem and provide help. Participants revealed that

adolescents do not seek support from adults who they expect will fail to understand their

problem and fail to provide help. It was discussed that adults fail to provide help when they do

not understand cyber technology or minimize adolescents' problems.

a. Adults who do not understand communication technology and social media will not

understand the cyber bullying problem. Two participants explained that adults who do not

understand communication technology and social media will not understand the cyber bullying

problem and will be unable to provide needed support. One participant explained:

> … If you're being cyber bullied [on Twitter] and you tell someone who isn't aware of,
> like on Twitter for example, if you tell someone who doesn't even know what Twitter is
> or doesn't know how badly it is… they may think… 'oh, it's just a picture.'… Like it's
> not that serious when actually it is.

b. Adults will minimize the problem and fail to provide help. Lack of understanding may

contribute to adults downplaying the cyber bullying problem adolescents disclose to them. Six

participants discussed how the fear or expectation that adults will minimize their problem and

fail to provide help deters adolescents from seeking help when they experience cyber bullying. One participant explained that some adults might think cyber bullying is 'stupid,' but this position can bring further hurt to adolescents who have experienced cyber bullying:

> … When you're bullied, at the time when people say that [bullying is stupid] it makes you feel stupid. It probably would make you more hurt [if your parents said cyber bullying was stupid] for them calling you stupid for getting upset. I don't think my family would have a good sense of how to deal with this problem…

Another participant expressed that there is no point in opening up to an adult if they are not going to provide help:

> I think maybe people don't feel like talking about [being cyber bullied]… because it won't stop the bullier. So if I was being bullied right now, you might just go and do something but you might not. So what is the point of me opening up and telling everything that has been going on, if you're not going to do anything about it?

iii. Telling an adult could make the adolescent's situation worse. Participants discussed how telling adults about cyber bullying situations could make life seem worse as opposed to better. This worry or expectation keeps adolescents from seeking help when they experience cyber bullying as seeking help might not be worth the risks of: (1) being seen as cowardly by others; (2) retaliation by the person bullying; (3) the situation turning into a big deal; and (4) facing negative consequences from adults.

a. Adolescents risk being seen as cowardly by others if they tell an adult about experiencing cyber bullying. Three participants explained that adolescents do not tell adults they are experiencing cyber bullying because telling would be seen as cowardly by others. This risk prevented one participant from seeking support when she was cyber bullied. She shared, "There was this thing where [you're called a] tattletale, snitch, kind of thing [if you tell an adult that you're being bullied]. So, I also didn't [tell an adult] because of that."

b. Adolescents risk retaliation by the person bullying if they tell an adult they have been cyber bullied. Beyond being viewed as cowardly, four participants revealed that adolescents risk retaliation by the person bullying them if they tell an adult. Retaliation generally takes the form of more bullying as one participant described, "Threats made by the bully [might keep someone from asking for help]. 'You will be punished more if you bring someone [into] this problem.'"

c. Telling an adult about bullying could turn the situation into a big deal. Six participants discussed the concern that telling adults about cyber bullying may lead adults to make the situation a bigger deal than it needs to be. One participant explained that adolescents who are cyber bullied might not want to seek help from their parents out of fear parents will hastily involve other adults, and peers will become privy to the situation:

> Some people are afraid to go tell their parents [they're being cyber bullied]… because [their parents might say], 'oh, well, let's go tell the police right now,' and that's what they wanted to avoid, and that's why they don't want to tell. Or, 'oh, let's go get help with the school social worker if you're being cyber bullied,' they're like, 'no, because I don't want my friends, like I don't want people at school seeing this, I just want it to stop.'

d. Adolescents risk facing negative consequences from adults if they tell them about their cyber bullying experiences. Two participants discussed how adolescents risk facing negative consequences from adults if adults are told about cyber bullying experiences. Adults might develop a negative perspective towards the adolescent seeking support or tell the adolescent not to go on social networks anymore. Such responses to cyber bullying may leave adolescents feeling punished as opposed to supported. One participant suggested that if an adolescent was cyber bullied after taking a photo that should not have been taken, seeking help might only lead to getting into trouble, not receiving support:

> I think that when it comes to cyber bullying, mainly why someone wouldn't tell is because they're afraid of getting in trouble. If it's because it was a picture, that maybe

they should never have taken in the first place, I feel like people are scared to tell somebody because they feel like they're going to get in trouble because they took the picture.

Another participant illuminated that youth might not seek help from parents after being cyber bullied because parents might assume adolescents were bullied because they did something wrong:

I think maybe [people who are cyber bullied] think their parents will think they did something bad or something, because usually you don't have other people attacking you unless you did something bad to them. So, they think their parents are going to take their anger out on them instead of the person who did it.

iv. Adolescents do not feel close enough to adults to talk to them about their cyber bullying experiences. Adolescents who experience cyber bullying may want support but do not feel comfortable sharing their experiences with adults who do not know them well. Three participants explained that adolescents will not talk about their cyber bullying experiences to adults with whom they do not feel close. When discussing seeking help from teachers, one participant said, "I don't really speak to my teachers very much so I'm not sure if I really have a close relationship to one of my teachers, so I probably wouldn't seek help from them." Another participant who recognized that not all young people have close relationships with their parents stated, "A lot of kids don't have their parents around all the time. Their parents are really busy with work or they don't get along with their parents and they feel that they can't talk to them."

v. Help from adults is not needed. Participants revealed that adolescents might not seek support from adults because adult support is not considered needed. The participants discussed how young people might not seek support from adults after experiencing cyber bullying because it is an individual's responsibility to deal with his or her own problems and the cyber bullying experienced is not viewed as a serious problem.

a. It is an individual's responsibility to deal with his or her own problems. Adolescents might not tell adults about their cyber bullying experiences based on how they perceive themselves and their situation (as opposed to how others might view them or their situation). Six participants considered adolescents might not seek support due to the belief that it is an individual's responsibility to deal with his or her own problems. One participant reflected on how he felt it was his responsibility to solve his problems when he experienced cyber bullying because his parents had other problems to worry about:

> … I didn't want other people to handle my problems because… it's my problem, why would my parents have to do it for me… I was pretty sure they were busy with other problems, other than their son being bullied, and pretty sure I was thinking that they didn't want another problem with their son...

Another participant proposed that young people want to solve their own problems without parental involvement:

> … The thought of parents getting involved and being, 'leave my son alone,'… you don't want to be there... because, if you're a guy, you want to feel tough. And, if you have your parents fighting your battles for you, that doesn't feel good. For a girl… I don't know specifically, but probably the same thing. Girls still deal with things, just verbally. They don't want their parents dealing with their stuff, either.

b. The cyber bullying is not viewed as a serious problem by the adolescents who experience it. An adolescent might not seek support from adults when cyber bullying occurs because, as five participants explained, non-serious cyber bullying situations do not require adult intervention. When asked if she sought help after experiencing cyber bullying, one participant responded, "No [I didn't tell an adult about being bullied], it wasn't so bad. I just ignored [the people bullying me]." Another participant suggested that young people do not seek help when they think bullying will not continue, "[People who are bullied] just think [the bullying] will be over soon so they don't tell [adults], but it doesn't stop. They just believe that it's going to end soon so they don't tend to tell adults."

vi. Nothing can be done to stop the cyber bullying from happening. Lastly, three

participants proposed that adolescents who are cyber bullied do not seek support from adults

because they believe nothing can be done to stop the cyber bullying from happening. One

participant who experienced cyber bullying shared his thought that telling an adult would not

help:

> I was thinking that [telling an adult] will not do anything about it… What can they do to a person that just sends a message? They will not put him in jail for something like that… So, I didn't know what… they [could] do about it…

II. Adults were involved but unhelpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention.

Themes were developed based on seven participants' stories of when adults in their lives were

involved but unhelpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention. In many cases, adults

intended to be helpful but failed to provide meaningful support, however, participants also

described examples of when adults demonstrated apathy towards them and their experiences.

Participants reported that telling adults about cyber bullying was not helpful when: (1) adult

support was not consistent or meaningful; (2) adults did not demonstrate caring; and (3) parents

tried to solve the problem without collaborating with their adolescents in problem solving.

i. Adult support was not considered consistent or meaningful. Three participants

discussed instances when they received cyber bullying-related support that was not consistent or

meaningful. These situations involved adult speakers coming to the adolescents' schools to

present on cyber bullying. One participant recalled a bullying presentation she and her peers

attended but did not learn from when they were in grade 6:

> At school in Grade 6, there was one presentation where our principal invited someone to come in and talk to us about cyber bullying, but we were in Grade 6 so our attention span was like a goldfish. We didn't pay attention to the presentation. We basically talked

through the whole presentation so none of us took that seriously. I don't think anyone learned anything from that.

ii. Adults in schools did not demonstrate caring or empathy. Four participants who experienced cyber bullying discussed seeking support from adults in their schools, but were left feeling unsupported when the adults did not demonstrate caring or empathy. One participant who sought help from teachers after experiencing bullying shared, "Even the teachers would get sick of me telling [them I was bullied] all the time, but yeah. So, I just would rather not." Another participant discussed a situation where she was not supported by her school principal after she experienced bullying:

> … My mom went to talk to the school [to see] what they could do about [the bullying I was experiencing]. But the thing is, it was three girls [who bullied me] and one was my neighbour and the other two were, like, the popular ones. The school's principal was personal friends with one of the moms, the popular girl's mom. So it didn't really help because she wouldn't do anything.

iii. Parents failed to provide help when they attempted to address the problem without collaborating with their adolescent in problem solving. Two participants shared their experiences of turning to their parents for support but then being left out of problem solving. This experience left adolescents feeling more discouraged after they turned to their parents for help. One adolescent regretted seeking help from her mom after experiencing bullying by her boyfriend:

> [I should have kept being cyber bullied a secret] because I think it would have been less embarrassing for me… [and] for [my boyfriend who bullied me] too, but because I told my mom [about being bullied by him] and I didn't really think that she would say anything because it was just between me and her, but then when she… [confronted him]… it made me feel bad for saying it to my mom because it was kind of between me and him… I felt bad afterwards that I told her but… I needed to tell her.

What Adolescents Believe Adults can do to Support Adolescents who Experience Cyber Bullying

The interviews were coded to answer the fifth research question, *what do adolescents believe adults within their homes and schools need to know and do (or not do) to support adolescents who experience cyber bullying?* Coding led to the development of suggestions for how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying.

I. Suggestions for how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying. Fourteen participants contributed ideas (leading to the formation of seven themes) of how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying. Collectively, these suggestions capture adolescents' understanding that many adults should play roles in cyber bullying prevention and intervention. To support adolescents who experience cyber bullying, participants suggested: (1) parents develop strong connections with their adolescents; (2) adults empathically listen to adolescents; (3) adults provide education on cyber bullying; (4) teachers and principals intervene if cyber bullying occurs; (5) perpetrating cyber bullying results in disciplinary action by adults; (6) confidential supports be made available to adolescents who are cyber bullied; and (7) adults ensure adolescents have a network of peers who they can turn to for support.

i. Parents can develop strong connections with their adolescents. Three participants stressed the importance of how parents relate to their adolescents when they suggested parents develop strong connections with their adolescents. With strong relationships with parents in place, adolescents can feel comfortable seeking support from their parents if they experience cyber bullying. One participant recommended:

> … Parents and people close to [adolescents], I feel like you really need to know your child. You really need to know what's going on in their lives. You need to know how

confident they are. I feel like little things like that could honestly help a victim. And same for a bully, I feel like in a lot of cases it could be because they're not, I don't know, they don't feel loved or something. I feel like parents and people close to them honestly need to know their child and need to make sure that everything is okay. I feel like that's the number one problem is like the bully and the victim… I just feel like their parents are probably one of the biggest people who should be helping them in those kinds of situations.

Another participant stated:

I think the parents should… be more friendly with [their] kid[s]… Discipline them, but at the same time get into their interests, be a part of them, be young, enjoy them, enjoy what they're doing, and just click with them more, so when these things happen they trust you more and they can come talk to you.

ii. Empathically listen to and talk with adolescents who experience cyber bullying.

Continuing to highlight the importance of how adults in homes and schools relate to adolescents, five participants stressed that adults should listen empathically and talk with adolescents who experience cyber bullying. One participant stressed, "I think parents should be responsible, teachers, any sort of adult should be responsible for the wellbeing of youth and children and stuff like mental issues, like, problems associated with them. They need someone to speak to."

iii. Provide adolescents with education on cyber bullying. Two participants discussed

the importance of accessible and relevant education on cyber bullying prevention and intervention. Participants proposed that adults have a responsibility to provide children and adolescents with education on cyber bullying. Education and information can prevent people from bullying others or keep people who have bullied from bullying in the future. One participant urged adults to start talking with children about cyber bullying when they are in elementary school:

[Adults] should go to elementary school, tell how cyber bullying is bad, and tell them they should not do it. They should have a talk with everyone in elementary school because it's hard to be stopped when you go into high school… It's better to tell them when they're younger.

iv. Teachers and principals can intervene if cyber bullying occurs. Five participants stressed that teachers and principals must intervene if cyber bullying occurs. When adults in schools intervene, further bullying can be prevented. One participant discussed how some teachers at her school became involved when they witness bullying but other teachers did not:

> I think if the teacher sees [bullying at] school they should get involved… I know a lot of teachers… don't want to get involved. They just walk by and pretend they don't see it. But then there are teachers that are like, 'leave them alone, go to the office,' like they do deal with it.

Another participant asserted, "… The principal should be aware about what your students do. They're basically your kids; this is your job to keep this school under control so you should do your job [by helping students who are bullied]."

v. Perpetrating cyber bullying results in disciplinary action carried out by adults. Intervening is an important step adults can take to support adolescents who experience cyber bullying. Yet, intervening may not be adequate in preventing cyber bullying from happening in the future. Seven participants asserted that perpetrating cyber bullying should result in disciplinary action carried out by adults. Some forms of discipline recommended by the participants were punitive in nature, while others were nurturing and instructive. One participant proposed, "[The person bullying] should be punished. They should be expelled. No, not expelled, but they should be separated from the targets a bit so they won't have anything to target." Another participant suggested that talking to a person who bullied might help them not to bully in the future, "… Perhaps talking to an adult about [bullying would help the person who is bullying]… Why they feel that way… Why someone feels like bullying someone."

vi. Connect adolescents to confidential mental health supports if needed. Participants acknowledged that not all adolescents feel comfortable talking with their parents or teachers

about experiencing cyber bullying. Adolescents who require support may benefit from speaking with a counsellor who can ensure that what is shared with her or him will remain confidential (within certain limits). Four participants recommended that confidential supports, including guidance counsellors and Kids Help Phone, be made available to adolescents who experience cyber bullying. One participant said, "Maybe [youth who feel they can't talk with their parents about bullying]… can come and talk to a guidance counsellor." Another participant suggested, "I think things like Kids Help Phone… can help… people [who are bullied]. These are helpful to them, because they can reach out and ask for help and these people can help them."

vii. Ensure adolescents have a network of peers who they can turn to for support. Lastly, two participants suggested adults ensure adolescents have a network of peers who they can turn to for support if cyber bullying occurs. This network may take the form of partnered buddies or clubs. One participant recommended school clubs can help students who experience cyber bullying:

> Probably after-school clubs [could help people who are cyber bullied]. Like a club where you could just talk about your own personal issues with other people that have their own personal issues so that you could kind of connect and discuss your issues.

Results: Time 2 (Interviews with Grade 12 Students)

The thematic analysis of interview transcripts from interviews with a subset of six of the participants when they were in grade 12 (approximately two years after they participated in interviews when they were in grade 10) led to the identification of primary, secondary, and tertiary themes. These themes are organized by the research questions they inform and are presented in Table 3. Themes are then elaborated upon, with select quotes from the grade 12 students that represent the perceptions, experiences, and insights of the older adolescents who participated in the interviews.

Table 3. Time 2 Primary and Secondary Themes Organized by Research Question

Research Question	Primary Theme	Secondary Theme	Tertiary Theme
1. How do communication technology and social media help adolescents in initiating and strengthening friendships?	I. Communication technology and social media are important to adolescents' friendships	i. Communication technology and social media are often used to communicate or socialize with friends	
		ii. Adolescents can share what they are doing and find out what their friends are doing through communication technology and social media	
		iii. Communication technology and social media helps with getting to know people better	
		iv. Communication technology and social media help adolescents maintain connections with their friends	
2. What harm is experienced by adolescents who are cyber bullied?	I. Experiencing cyber bullying is generally harmful to adolescents	i. Experiencing cyber bullying is harmful to adolescents' emotional and mental wellbeing	
		ii. Young women who are cyber bullied online are shamed and disrespected by others	

		iii. Experiencing cyber bullying leaves people feeling powerless, hopeless, isolated, or lonely	
		iv. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, or suicide completion	
	II. Adolescents who were personally cyber bullied experienced harm	i. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling stress and anxiety	
3. How have adolescents experienced helpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?	I. Reasons adolescents would seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying	i. Adolescents would seek adult support because bullying is not right and adults should be turned to for support whenever bullying happens	
		ii. Adults should be told about cyber bullying that is serious or could become serious	
		iii. Adolescents can turn to adults who are easy to talk to and have a close relationship with them	
		iv. Adolescents expect that talking to an adult will help	
	II. Adults were involved and helpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention	i. Adults were easy to talk to, supportive, or helped build confidence	
		ii. Adults discussed bullying and what to do or not do if bullying is experienced	
		iii. Clubs, groups, or campaigns to address bullying have been or will be established in schools	
4. How have adolescents experienced unhelpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?	I. Reasons adolescents would not seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying	i. Adolescents believe nothing or no one will help	a. Adolescents do not have an adult to turn to for support
			b. It is not expected that telling an adult will fix the problem

			c. Adolescents who are cyber bullied feel powerless, isolated, embarrassed, or shame
		ii. Telling an adult could make an adolescent's situations worse	a. Telling an adult about bullying could turn the situation into a big deal
			b. Adolescents risk being seen as cowardly by others if they tell an adult about experiencing cyber bullying
			c. Adolescents risk retaliation by the person bullying if they tell an adult they have been bullied
			d. Parents who are told about cyber bullying experiences might become angry or upset with their adolescent
		iii. Cyber bullying that is not seen as a big deal does not need to be reported to adults	
	II. Adults were involved but unhelpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention	i. Education on bullying was not considered relevant or meaningful	
		ii. Adults' approaches to problem solving were unhelpful and led to more problems	
5. What do adolescents believe the adults within their homes and schools need to know and do (or not do) to support them if they experience cyber bullying?	I. Suggestions for how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying	i. Talk about and provide education on cyber bullying and safe internet use	
		ii. Ensure support is clearly and readily available to adolescents	
		iii. Form caring relationships with adolescents	
		iv. Connect adolescents to confidential mental health supports if needed	

How Communication Technology and Social Media Help Adolescents Initiate and

Strengthen Friendships

The interview transcripts were coded to answer the first research question, *How do communication technology and social media help adolescents in initiating and strengthening friendships?* It became clear through the participants' responses that communication technology and social media are important to adolescents' friendships.

I. Communication technology and social media are important to adolescents' friendships. The participants revealed that communication technology and social media are important to adolescents' friendships because they: (1) are used to communicate or socialize with friends; (2) help adolescents share what they are doing and find out what their friends are doing; (3) help with getting to know people better; and (4) help adolescents maintain connections with their friends.

i. Communication technology and social media are often used to communicate or socialize with friends. All six participants discussed using communication technology and social media to communicate or socialize with friends. Cyber technology can facilitate socializing with friends outside of school. One participant said, "I opened… a Facebook account for like talking to friends outside of school."

ii. Adolescents can share what they are doing and find out what their friends are doing through communication technology and social media. When not physically together, adolescents can use communication technology and social media to share what they are doing or find out what their friends are doing. Two participants discussed how they use cyber technology to share what they are doing or find out what is happening with friends. One participant stated, "[I use Snapchat]… to show [my friends] what I'm doing or where I am."

iii. Communication technology and social media help with getting to know people better. Two participants revealed how cyber technology helps with getting to know people better. One participant shared, "I learn more things about people [through cyber technology]. For example, their interests or places they went to and maybe, like, music that they like."

iv. Communication technology and social media help adolescents maintain connections with their friends. All six participants discussed using communication technology and social media to keep connected with friends regardless of the physical distance between them. Many participants discussed leaving friends behind when they moved to Ontario, but being able to maintain the friendships they developed in other places. One participant who moved to Canada from Brazil shared how she maintains contact with friends she is unable to spend time with in person:

> I am from Brazil, so I have a lot of friends there and it's easier for us to communicate, like texting or skyping or something like that instead of, like, sending out letters. So, that's what I use [cyber technology] for basically.

Another participant revealed how he uses communication technology and social media to keep in contact with friends both in Canada and Korea:

> I go on Facebook or YouTube at least once a day just so that I keep in contact with my friends, whether they're in Korea or whether they're in Canada… I usually use my cell phone to text my friends or call my friends or call my parents and my brother.

Harm Experienced by Adolescents who are Cyber Bullied

The interviews were coded to answer the second research question, *What harm is experienced over time by adolescents who are cyber bullied?* Participants discussed how experiencing cyber bullying is harmful to adolescents in general and two people shared examples of harm they personally endured when they were cyber bullied.

I. Experiencing cyber bullying is generally harmful to adolescents. Participants discussed the harm they perceive other adolescents experience during (and after) they are cyber bullied. Through their perceptions of what friends, family members, peers, and strangers have endured, participants made clear that experiencing cyber bullying is generally harmful to adolescents. Participants expressed that people who are cyber bullied can experience: (1) harm to emotional and mental wellbeing; (2) shame and disrespect; (3) feeling powerless, hopeless, isolated, or lonely; and (4) suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, or suicide completion.

i. Experiencing cyber bullying is harmful to adolescents' emotional and mental wellbeing. Four participants discussed how experiencing cyber bullying can be harmful to adolescents' emotional and mental wellbeing. One participant stated, "I think bullying is detrimental for mental health and maybe physical health too most likely, and I don't think people should go through it." Another participant discussed how sharing private photos through social media destroys people's self-esteem:

> I see [sharing a private photo of someone else] as bullying because… it destroys someone's self-esteem. With things like that, it's a level of trust that is broken once something like that gets exposed onto the internet. Also it is so easy for a picture like that to travel all over the internet. On Twitter there are retweets. It is crazy that in 10 minutes a picture can get retweeted over and over and over again to the point that it's at 100 retweets. You don't know these 100 people who have seen this picture of you. That would definitely, I feel, destroy one's self-esteem.

ii. Young women who are cyber bullied online are shamed and disrespected by others. Two female participants indicated that young women who have their private images posted online by intimate partners are shamed and disrespected by their partners and many other people. One participant discussed a sexist double standard where young men are praised but young women are shamed if photos of them engaging in sexual activity are posted online:

If a guy posts a picture of him hooking up with a girl per se, the most comments that he will get is like, oh, great, you scored, or something like that. But, if a girl does the same, a lot of times she is shamed, she's called bad names. And, I think that's very unfair… [it is sexist].

iii. Experiencing cyber bullying leaves people feeling powerless, hopeless, isolated, or lonely. Three participants revealed that experiencing cyber bullying can leave people feeling powerless, hopeless, isolated, or lonely. Experiencing bullying online may be especially isolating as many people can participate in bullying one person. Adolescents who are targeted may feel that they are powerless and their situation is hopeless, especially when adults do not work to stop the bullying. One participant expressed, "I think [cyber bullying] makes anyone feel just powerless, because even though they are being the victim and they are going through something that is so unfair, nothing that people do will actually stop it."

iv. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, or suicide completion. Three participants discussed how experiencing cyber bullying can lead to suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, or suicide completion. One participant stated, "I've heard incidents where a bullied person commits suicide. They can also commit suicide after being cyber bullied, so I guess it's very serious."

II. Adolescents who were personally cyber bullied experienced harm. Two participants discussed the harm they experienced after being cyber bullied. Both participants discussed experiencing stress and anxiety. Other forms of harm were discussed but not held in common between the two participants so additional themes were not developed.

i. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling stress and anxiety.

Two participants shared how experiencing bullying led to feeling stress and anxiety. One participant described the stress that came with being cyber bullied by her boyfriend:

[The cyber bullying] would drive me crazy because I don't know what would happen when I went home. I don't know what would be on my account, I don't know what would be missing. I wouldn't know if I could go back on. I don't know what he would say to the other people, like my friends that I have on Facebook, my family. I don't know what he was doing on my account. I don't know what other people were seeing, that he was posting on his account about me. So, it was really stressful.

The second participant shared how experiencing bullying led to experiencing depression and anxiety:

I think for me what bullying has done to my mental health is that I've become a more depressive person. I have some anxiety issues that right now are fine, but for an extensive period of time it was very, very bad for me and it had a great impact.

How Adolescents Experienced Helpful Responses to Cyber Bullying by Adults

The interviews were coded to answer the third research question, *how have adolescents experienced helpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?* Participants provided reasons to tell adults when cyber bullying is experienced and shared personal stories of when they were cyber bullied then sought and received help from an adult.

I. Reasons adolescents would seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying. Five participants provided reasons they or other adolescents would seek support from an adult if experiencing cyber bullying. Participants revealed that they or other adolescents would seek support from adults because: (1) bullying is not right and adults should be turned to for support; (2) adults should be told about bullying that is serious or could become serious; (3) adolescents can turn to adults who are easy to talk to and have a close relationship with them; and; (4) adolescents expect talking to an adult will help.

i. Adolescents would seek adult support because bullying is not right and adults should be turned to for support whenever bullying happens. Two participants discussed how adults should be turned to for support whenever bullying happens because bullying is not right, it is not

okay to experience cyber bullying. One participant shared how she would stand up for her beliefs and come forward if she experienced bullying:

> I think I would go forward [If I was bullied] and I would most likely fight for what I believe... I believe that people have the freedom of choice of doing anything with their bodies and with themselves and with others as long as it's consensual. So, if I had done something and it was consensual and it was good, I don't understand why people would be shaming me for that. So, I would probably come forward and be like, 'okay, you guys, stop, because that's nonsensical.'

ii. Adults should be told about cyber bullying that is serious or could become serious.

Three participants encouraged seeking adult support in situations involving cyber bullying that are serious or could become serious. Two participants suggested the more serious the situation, the more likely they would seek support from an adult. One participant said, "… I would think if the matter is severe, like something severe, I would get over that barrier [of shame] in order to seek help." Alternatively, another participant expressed that she would seek adult support in any bullying situation because all bullying is serious:

> [I decided to talk to an adult about my friend being bullied] because there was a guy in our school that committed suicide and people were saying that he did so because of bullying. And, that was such a shock to me that it was like, okay, if I don't do something right now, maybe my friend will be next and I will feel guilty for the rest of my life. So, that's why I came forward. And, I think there's no such thing as a little bullying. If it's bullying, it's serious and it will affect you afterwards. So, any bullying I would basically come forward with it.

iii. Adolescents can turn to adults who are easy to talk to and have a close relationship with them. Four participants revealed that they would seek help from adults who are easy to talk to and have a close relationship with them. When asked who she would turn to if she needed help, one participant said, "… my aunt… because we're really tight. I talk to her about a lot of stuff…" Another participant said, "I'm very [close] with my teacher so I'll feel comfortable talking to him about [bullying]."

iv. Adolescents expect that talking to an adult will help. Four participants considered seeking help from adults in situations where adults could likely provide help in some way. One participant suggested she would first turn to friends if in need of support, but would seek help from adults if her friends were unable to help:

> The first people I would probably turn to are my friends, and depending on if what they say is not helping, then I guess they'd probably say I'd have to get some other help. They'd say, 'you should talk to someone older,' and then probably I'd do that.

Another participant expressed how simply talking with an adult can help young people feel better when faced with a tough situation:

> I do feel regardless of the situation, regardless even if you've had a really bad day, just talking about [your problem can help]. You'd be surprised how much better you feel just talking about it, regardless if it's going to help or not. You may not be sure 100% if when I tell my principal if the problem will actually get dealt with, but just talking about it literally takes the weight off your shoulders.

II. Adults were involved and helpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention.

Five participants provided personal examples of when adults were involved and helpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention. The participants revealed they felt supported when: (1) adults were easy to talk to, supportive, or helped build confidence; (2) adults discussed bullying and what to do or not do if bullying is experienced; and (3) clubs, groups, or campaigns were or will be established in schools.

i. Adults were easy to talk to, supportive, or helped build confidence. Two participants shared how they felt supported by adults when they were easy to talk to, supportive, or helped build confidence. One participant discussed the help she received from her parents in building her self-confidence back up after she experienced bullying:

> [My parents] helped me to realize that I don't deserve to be treated badly, that I don't have to put up with people treating me poorly or saying things to me that I don't want to

hear. I can walk away, I can tell them to stop. They gave me confidence to be able to stand up for myself.

ii. Adults discussed bullying and what to do or not do if bullying is experienced. Two participants revealed they felt supported when adults discussed bullying and what to do or not do if bullying is experienced. This support was provided to the participants by parents and teachers. One participant recalled, "[My parents told me] I should talk about it if I get bullied or have trouble at school… I have someone to rely on and talk to." Another participant discussed her teacher's response to bullying experienced by students and teachers at her school:

> My teacher was very upset about [cyber bullying in my school]… So, we had a talk in class about it, where he just told us what was happening… but he just talked to us about it and the importance of not contributing and not helping and not posting those things.

iii. Clubs, groups, or campaigns to address bullying have been or will be carried out in schools. Three participants discussed the value of clubs, groups, or campaigns to address bullying in their schools. One participant stated, "I think our school is pretty safe because of Gay-Straight Alliance." Another student discussed the importance of providing information on bullying to students within their schools:

> I think [Pink Day is] a good way of informing the public. What I like about it especially is that they bring it to the schools… The kids in the school, that's your audience, and that's who you're trying to direct this message to so I think it's really smart that they bring this into the schools, they show kids examples, and that they give kids information inside the school.

How Adolescents have Experienced Unhelpful Responses to Cyber Bullying by Adults

The interviews were coded to answer the fourth research question, *how have adolescents experienced unhelpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?* Based on their understanding of what other adolescents experience as well as personal experiences with adults in their homes and schools, the participants addressed unhelpful responses to cyber bullying.

I. Reasons adolescents would not seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying. All six participants discussed reasons adolescents do not tell adults when they experience cyber bullying. Participants revealed that adolescents do not seek support after experiencing cyber bullying based on the beliefs that: (1) nothing or no one will help; (2) telling adults could make adolescents' situations worse; and (3) help is not needed when cyber bullying is not a big deal.

i. Adolescents believe nothing or no one will help. Participants discussed how adolescents do not seek support from adults when they believe nothing or no one will help them. Participants might believe that nothing or no one will help because they: (1) do not have an adult to whom to turn for support; (2) do not expect adults to be able to fix the problem; or (3) feel powerless, isolated, or embarrassed.

a. Adolescents do not have an adult to turn to for support. All six participants proposed that adolescents do not seek support from adults when they experience cyber bullying because they cannot identify an adult to whom to turn for support. Not knowing where to turn keeps young people from receiving the help they need. One participant stated, "Some people [who are cyber bullied] want help but they don't know where to get the help." Another participant discussed how not all young people have a strong support system:

> [Young people might not seek support when they're experiencing cyber bullying because...] I can't say for every kid that they have a strong support system… Whoever they're going to tell may not even listen, so I feel that could also play into why not as many kids are reporting it.

b. It is not expected that telling an adult will fix the problem. Three participants revealed that adolescents who are cyber bullied may not seek support from adults because they do not expect adults to help with or fix their problem. One participant proposed that it is not helpful to

tell a principal about bullying when it is up to the person bullying to change how he or she

behaves:

> … The only person in actual control of their actions are the bullies, and if they're not
> willing to stop, then there's no actual reason for talking to a principal or anything like
> that unless the principal suspends the kids or expels them. But, on the short term thing it
> doesn't seem very helpful.

Another participant revealed, "I feel if parents, teachers, or whoever cannot show you how

they're going to fix the situation, then you don't see the point in [telling an adult]."

c. Adolescents who are cyber bullied feel powerless, isolated, embarrassed or shame.

Five participants suggested that adolescents who experience cyber bullying may feel powerless,

isolated, embarrassed, or shame. Feeling powerless, isolated, embarrassed, or shame may keep

young people from seeking support when needed. One participant discussed how adolescents

who experience cyber bullying may feel repressed and uncomfortable talking about their

experiences:

> I feel that because those kids were repressed for such a long period of time or even if it
> wasn't a long period of time, for whatever time they would go through bullying, because
> they were so repressed, I don't think they feel the need or even consider the idea of
> coming forward and talking about it. So, I think the resources are there, but it's just a
> matter of making the person comfortable to using them.

Another participant stated, "I think that [people who are cyber bullied don't seek help because

they are] just afraid that… they could be judged, especially if it's something embarrassing that

they're being bullied about, like posting a photo."

ii. Telling adults could make the adolescent's situation worse. Participants suggested

that adolescents might not seek help because telling an adult could lead to their situation

becoming worse. Adolescents may not seek help from adults when they experience bullying

because they risk: (1) turning the situation into a big deal; (2) being seen as cowardly by others;

(3) retaliation by the person who bullied them; or (4) parents becoming angry or upset with them.

a. Telling an adult about bullying could turn the situation into a big deal. Two

participants acknowledged that the risk of turning the bullying situation into a big deal deters

adolescents from seeking support from adults. One participant explained that telling an authority

figure could lead to many people hearing about the situation:

> I feel definitely [young people who are bullied don't seek help from adults] because they
> don't want it to be a big deal just because once you go and tell someone, an authoritative
> figure, a lot of people are going to hear of this. In the opinion of a lot of people, they may
> feel it's something that's small. It's not that big of a deal, and once you tell someone of
> authority, they're going to be, 'wow, they really made just a big situation of this.'

b. Adolescents risk being seen as cowardly by others if they tell an adult about

experiencing cyber bullying. Two participants discussed how reporting cyber bullying to an adult

can lead to being seen as cowardly by others. One participant revealed how adolescents who seek

support from an adult might lose respect from and be called names by peers for not handling the

situation themselves:

> I personally think that with teenagers and I guess kids a bit younger, I feel they refrain
> from telling older people, people of authority, just because they don't want to be seen as a
> snitch, a tattletale, or whatever. I feel kids would rather just... They want to be the bigger
> person. They want to be known as someone who could handle their own situation rather
> than run off and tell someone. I feel a lot of teenagers, they feel I'm going to be seen as a
> snitch if I go and tell the teacher or whatever so I may as well just take it up into my own
> hands.

c. Adolescents risk retaliation by the person bullying if they tell an adult they have been

bullied. Two participants recognized that adolescents who are bullied then seek support risk

facing retaliation by the person or people who bullied them. One participant suggested the

continuation of bullying may indicate failure on an adult's part to make a positive difference in

the situation:

[People who tell adults about cyber bullying] might get bullied more by other people who can bully them. Maybe whoever they went to wasn't really helping with the situation, and then the bullying has gotten worse because they found out that they went to someone.

d. Parents who are told about cyber bullying experiences might become angry or upset

with their adolescent. Two participants revealed that adolescents might not tell their parents

about their cyber bullying situation because doing so could cause their parents to become angry

or upset with them. One participant discussed the worry that her parents would be mad at her for

dating someone who had bullied her:

> So, telling my parents… while [my boyfriend and I] were still dating, I was worried because they would be mad that I'm putting up with it… I was never really afraid to go to my friends, because I knew that they would just be supportive and they would do everything they can. They wouldn't really get mad.

Another participant shared that she would be reluctant to seek help from her parents if she was

bullied after making a regretful decision:

> But if it was something where now I decided to send a picture to someone and it backfired on me, in a situation like that I would be more reluctant to telling my parents… because I know that it was a bad decision on my part, and I know that although they're going to be upset that I'm being cyber bullied, they're also going to be upset with me for making that decision.

iii. Cyber bullying that is not seen as a big deal does not need to be reported to adults.

Three participants proposed that bullying which is not a big or serious deal does not need to be

reported to adults. One participant shared, "I didn't really do anything about [being bullied]

because I just felt it wasn't important and that I should just not talk about it and not think about

it, just leave it behind." Another participant predicted that he would ignore cyber bullying if he

was targeted:

> I don't take things seriously. Even if I would get cyber bullied on the internet, I'll not take it to my heart. I'll do that most of the times. I would just try to ignore it and take my mind off of it.

II. Adults were involved but unhelpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention.

Speaking from their personal experiences, participants reflected on when adults were involved but unhelpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention. Participants discussed how adults were unhelpful when education on bullying was not relevant or meaningful and adults' approaches to problem solving were unhelpful and led to more problems for adolescents.

i. Education on bullying was not considered relevant or meaningful. Two participants discussed receiving unhelpful education and guidance by adults in their schools on what to do if they experienced bullying. One participant revealed that teachers' instructions to seek adult support were not specific enough to adolescents' individual experiences and needs:

> [Teachers have told us…] 'talk to your teachers [if you are bullied], talk to any adults that are close to you.' That's what they usually say… They don't talk about it very specifically, so I don't think it was that helpful. People who get bullied won't want to talk about it in front of everyone, so that's not that helpful.

ii. Adults' approaches to problem solving were unhelpful and led to more problems.

Two participants discussed instances when they sought support from adults after experiencing cyber bullying but felt worse when adults took unhelpful approaches to problem solving. One participant shared how disclosing her bullying experiences to her mother led to arguments and tension between them:

> At home, we would get into arguments and stuff, because my mom would come up and she'd see my crying. And, I'd tell her what happened, and then she'd be like, 'well, this is stupid, why are you putting… up with it?' And, I would just argue with her back. So, it created a lot of tension at home…

The second participant discussed how seeking support from her principal after being bullied led to the bullying becoming worse:

> ... After I came forward with [being bullied], [the people bullying me] got very annoyed by the fact that I told the principal and they could get in trouble for it. And then I guess in an attempt to scare me more, it got worse.

What Adolescents Believe Adults can do to Support Adolescents who Experience Cyber Bullying

The interviews were coded to answer the fifth research question, *what do adolescents believe the adults within their homes and schools need to know and do (or not do) to support them if they experience cyber bullying?* Coding led to the development of suggestions for how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying.

I. Suggestions for how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying. Four participants shared insights for how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying. Collectively, these insights capture the adolescents' understanding that many adults should play a part in cyber bullying prevention and intervention. Participants suggested adults: (1) talk about and provide education on cyber bullying and safe internet use; (2) ensure support is clearly and readily available to adolescents; (3) form caring relationships with adolescents; and (4) connect adolescents to confidential mental health supports if needed.

i. Talk about and provide education on cyber bullying and safe internet use. Three participants discussed the importance of adults providing education to children and adolescents on cyber bullying, how cyber bullying hurts people, and safe internet use. Participants proposed that children and adolescents receive education on these topics both in school and at home. One participant discussed the value in educating young children and adolescents on smart social media use and the harm people who are bullied experience:

> I feel just educating teenagers, and educating young children who are going to be teenagers, who are going to be using social media more. Just educating them about what are smart decisions, and what are not smart decisions. Educating them about how mean things can hurt someone and how it can impact their life. I feel through education a lot can be changed as well, especially if you focus on the younger generation who are coming to be the older generation. I feel that is also a way to help the situation.

ii. Ensure support is clearly and readily available to adolescents. Three participants

recognized that many young people who are cyber bullied require support but do not know

where to turn for support. This issue could be addressed by ensuring support is clearly and

readily available to adolescents who experience bullying. One participant urged that help should

be accessible to young people who seek it:

> I think emphasizing in the fact that there is help available and you can arrange it very
> easily. I think that's important. I think if you got cyber bullied and it's hard and you want
> to seek… help, I think lots of help should be very available. I don't think you want to
> struggle to find that help. Yeah, it needs to be very readily available.

iii. Form caring relationships with adolescents. Two participants discussed the value in

adults forming caring relationships with adolescents. With these relationships pre-established,

adolescents will know whom to turn to if they experience cyber bullying. One participant

suggested families support adolescents by providing comfort, warmth, and love:

> I think just the families [being] there for just comfort and like a warm circle, I would say
> that would help too. Not necessarily talking about the issue but just being there and being
> supportive. I don't think it's really necessary to talk about the issue, maybe the family
> can show that people love you and they're still there and they'll make you feel better
> even though you didn't even mention to them that you were cyber bullied.

Another participant discussed how forming relationships with young people provides them with

support systems they can turn to if ever they experience cyber bullying:

> Just having a really good support system [would help young people who are cyber
> bullied], and that will make someone feel comfortable enough to go and talk to someone
> else about it. I know there are some teachers that are really great, and I would feel totally
> comfortable talking to them, but I wouldn't feel as comfortable going to a principal or a
> vice-principal about it. I think having good relationships with your friends also helps with
> it as well, and with your parents. That definitely helps deal with things, too.

iv. Connect adolescents to confidential mental health supports if needed. Three

participants discussed the importance of connecting adolescents to confidential mental health

supports if needed. One participant proposed that these forms of support can provide adolescents

with opportunities to talk with an adult and receive feedback on how they can effectively better

their situation:

> Maybe at school, if you're too shy to talk to someone or nervous about it, or don't feel comfortable doing it, maybe having an anonymous way of telling someone your situation, and then being able to have feedback about what they can do.

Supporting the person who bullied could help him or her refrain from bullying in the future. One

participant discussed the value in connecting youth who bully to confidential mental health

support services:

> I think definitely people who bully need help, and I feel ways that could help would be counselling or taking therapy. I feel it's a problem that they probably have to deal with so they have that to stop. Counselling and therapy are really the dominant ways of help that I feel bulliers should seek.

Results: Time 1 and Time 2 Comparison

In the final analysis, themes identified from the time 1 interviews (when the participants were in grade 10) were compared against the themes identified from the time 2 interviews (when six participants were interviewed again in grade 12). Themes were considered to be shared between time 1 and time 2 when they were identical or when they focussed on similar constructs or ideas. Themes exclusive to either time 1 or time 2 were also identified. Themes shared in time 1 and time 2 as well as themes exclusive to time 1 or time 2 are organized by the research question they inform and are presented in Table 4. Although differences have been identified, it is likely fewer differences would have been identified had more adolescents participated in interviews when they were in grade 12.

Table 4. Comparison of Themes Found in Time 1 and Time 2 by Research Question

Research Question	Primary Themes Shared in Time 1 and Time 2	Secondary Themes Shared in Time 1 and 2	Secondary Themes Exclusive to Time 1	Secondary Themes Exclusive to Time 2
1. How do communication technology and social media help adolescents in initiating and strengthening friendships?	I. Communication technology and social media are important to adolescents' friendships	i. Communication technology and social media are often used to communicate or socialize with friends (T1 and T2)		i. Adolescents can share what they are doing and find out what their friends are doing through communication technology and social media
		ii. New friendships can be developed through communication technology (T1) and communication technology and social media help with getting to know people better (T2)		
		iii. Communication technology and social media help adolescents to		

		maintain their friendships (T1) and communication technology and social media help adolescents maintain connections with their friends (T2)		
2. What harm is experienced by adolescents who are cyber bullied?	I. Experiencing cyber bullying is generally harmful to adolescents	i. Experiencing cyber bullying is harmful to adolescents' emotional and mental wellbeing (T1 and T2)	i. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to harmful coping strategies	i. Young women who are cyber bullied online are shamed and disrespected by others
		ii. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to feeling hopeless, powerless, or isolated (T1 tertiary theme) and experiencing cyber bullying leaves people feeling powerless, hopeless, isolated, or lonely (T2)		
		iii. Experiencing cyber bullying can lead to suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, or suicide completion (T1 and T2)		
	II. Adolescents who were personally cyber bullied experienced harm	i. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling worried, concerned, or anxious (T1) and experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling stress and anxiety (T2)	i. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling hurt or upset	
			ii. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling badly about oneself	
			iii. Experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling scared	
			v. Experiencing cyber bullying led to further conflict	

3. How have adolescents experienced helpful responses to cyber bullying by adults within their homes and schools?	I. Reasons adolescents would seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying	i. Adults who demonstrate caring and empathy, are trustworthy, and easy to talk to may be told about cyber bullying (T1) and adolescents can turn to adults who are easy to talk to and have a close relationships with them (T2)	i. Adults in school who demonstrate experience with communication technology and social media or cyber bullying may be able to provide help	i. Adolescents would seek adult support because bullying is not right and adults should be turned to for support whenever bullying happens
		ii. Adults should be told about cyber bullying that is serious or could become serious (T1 and T2)		ii. It is expected that talking to an adult will help
	II. Adults were involved and helpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention	i. Parents demonstrated caring and empathy (T1) and adults were easy to talk to, supportive, or helped build confidence (T2)		
		ii. Adults in school demonstrated knowledge or provided education around communication technology, social media, and cyber bullying (T1) and adults discussed bullying and what to do or not do if bullying is experienced (T2)		
		iii. Adult support in school was consistent (T1) and clubs, groups, or campaigns to address bullying have been or will be established in schools (T2)		
4. How have adolescents experienced unhelpful responses to cyber bullying by adults	I. Reasons adolescents would not seek adult support if they were experiencing cyber bullying	i. Adolescents who experience cyber bullying do not want anyone else to know because they feel ashamed,		

within their homes and schools?		embarrassed, or fear being judged (T1) and adolescents believe nothing or no one will help (T2)	
		ii. Adults will fail to understand the problem and provide help (T1) and adolescents believe nothing or no one will help (T2)	
		iii. Telling an adult could make an adolescent's situation worse (T1 and T2)	
		iv. Adolescents do not feel close enough to adults to talk to them about their cyber bullying experiences (T1) and adolescents believe nothing or no one will help (T2)	
		v. Help from adults is not needed (T1) and cyber bullying that is not seen as a big deal does not need to be reported to adults (T2)	
		vi. Nothing can be done to stop the cyber bullying from happening (T1) and adolescents believe nothing or no one will help (T2)	
	II. Adults were involved but unhelpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention	i. Adult support was not considered consistent or meaningful (T1) and education on bullying was not considered relevant or meaningful (T2)	i. Adults did not demonstrate caring or empathy
		ii. Parents failed to provide help when they attempted to	

		address the problem without collaborating with their adolescent in problem solving (T1) and adults' approaches to problem solving were unhelpful and led to more problems (T2)	
5. What do adolescents believe the adults within their homes and schools need to know and do (or not do) to support them if they experience cyber bullying?	I. Suggestions for how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying	i. Parents can develop strong connections with their adolescents (T1) and form caring relationships with adolescents (T2)	i. Teachers and principals can intervene if cyber bullying occurs
		ii. Empathically listen to and talk with adolescents who experience cyber bullying (T1) and ensure support is clearly and readily available to adolescents (T2)	ii. Perpetrating cyber bullying results in disciplinary action carried out by adults
		iii. Provide adolescents with education on cyber bullying (T1) and talk about and provide education on cyber bullying and safe internet use (T2)	iii. Ensure adolescents have a network of peers who they can turn to for support
		iv. Connect adolescents to confidential mental health supports if needed (T1 and T2)	

Themes Shared in Time 1 and Time 2

All primary themes and most secondary themes were shared between time 1 and time 2. Participants at time 1 and time 2 revealed that communication technology and social media are

important to adolescents' friendships because these platforms: (1) are often used to communicate or socialize with friends; (2) help with getting to know people better and making new friends; and (3) help adolescents to maintain connected friendships.

At time 1 and time 2, participants expressed that experiencing cyber bullying is generally harmful to adolescents because experiencing cyber bullying can lead to: (1) harm to emotional and mental wellbeing; (2) feeling hopeless, powerless, isolated, or lonely; and (3) suicidal ideation, suicide attempt, or suicide completion. Participants also shared how personally experiencing cyber bullying led to experiencing harm. One form of harm discussed in both time 1 and 2 was feeling, worry, concern, stress, or anxiety.

At time 1 and time 2, participants revealed that adolescents would seek support from adults who demonstrate caring and are easy to talk to, or if the cyber bullying situation is serious or could become serious. Participants also discussed experiences when adults were involved and helpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention. Participants at time 1 and time 2 revealed that they felt helped when: (1) adults were supportive, empathic, and easy to talk to; (2) adults provided relevant education around bullying; and (3) adult support was consistent, often leading to the development of clubs, groups, or campaigns to address bullying.

At time 1 and time 2, participants revealed that adolescents would not seek support from adults when they are cyber bullied because: (1) adolescents feel embarrassed, ashamed, or fear being judged; (2) adolescents do not expect adults to understand the problem and provide needed help; (3) telling an adult could make the situation worse; (4) adolescents do not feel close enough to adults to talk to them about cyber bullying; (5) help from adults is not needed; and (6) adolescents believe nothing or no one can help in their hopeless situation. Participants also shared experiences of when adults were involved but unhelpful in cyber bullying prevention or

intervention. Participants in time 1 and time 2 revealed that adults were unhelpful when support or education was not consistent, relevant, or meaningful, and problem solving was carried out without adolescents' input, leading to more problems for adolescents.

At time 1 and time 2, participants suggested adults help adolescents who experience cyber bullying by: (1) forming caring relationships with adolescents; (2) ensuring support is made available to adolescents and talking with them when they need support; (3) providing education on cyber bullying and safe internet use; and (4) connecting adolescents to confidential mental health supports if needed.

Themes Exclusive to Time 1 (Grade 10 Students)

Ten secondary themes were identified exclusively for the interviews with the participants when they were in grade 10. When discussing the harm adolescents who are cyber bullied experience, participants in grade 10 revealed that experiencing cyber bullying can lead to harmful coping strategies. When asked about their own cyber bullying experiences, six participants' stories contributed to the identification of four secondary themes exclusive to time 1. It is likely fewer differences would have been identified had more grade 12 participants discussed experiencing cyber bullying. When in grade 10, the participants shared that experiencing cyber bullying led to: (1) feeling hurt or upset; (2) feeling badly about oneself; (3) feeling scared; and (4) further conflict.

When providing reasons adolescents would seek support after experiencing cyber bullying, participants in grade 10 only mentioned that adults in school who demonstrate experience with cyber technology or cyber bullying may be able to provide help.

When sharing personal examples of when adults were involved but unhelpful in cyber bullying prevention or intervention, participants in grade 10 only revealed that adults were not helpful when they failed to demonstrate caring or empathy.

Participants in grade 10 offered three insights for how adults can help adolescents who experience cyber bullying that were not again discussed when the participants were in grade 12. The participants recommended: (1) teachers and principals intervene if cyber bullying occurs; (2) perpetrating cyber bullying results in disciplinary action; and (3) adults ensure adolescents have a network of peers they can turn to for support.

Themes Exclusive to Time 2 (Grade 12 Students)

Four secondary themes were identified exclusively for the interviews with participants when they were in grade 12. When discussing the benefits of communication technology and social media to adolescents' friendships, only grade 12 participants revealed that friends can find out what each other is doing through communication technology and social media.

When discussing the harm adolescents who experience cyber bullying can endure, participants at time 2 highlighted how young women who are cyber bullied online are shamed and disrespected by others.

In exploring reasons adolescents who experience cyber bullying would seek adult support, participants in grade 12 proposed that adolescents would seek support from adults because bullying is not right and adults should be turned to for support whenever bullying happens and adolescents expect talking to adults will help.

Discussion

Purpose and Summary of Major Findings

The purpose of this study was to explore: (1) how communication technology and social media help adolescents in initiating and strengthening friendships; (2) the harm adolescents who are cyber bullied can experience; (3) how adolescents have experienced helpful and unhelpful responses to cyber bullying by adults; and (4) how adults can provide needed support to adolescents who experience cyber bullying. A thematic analysis of adolescents' shared experiences, perceptions, and insights furthered understanding of the importance of communication technology to adolescents' friendships (Brito, 2012; Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Mishna et al., 2010), the harmful impacts of cyber bullying (Bottino et al., 2015; Mishna, et al., 2009; Tokunaga, 2010), and how adults closest to adolescents can provide needed support to adolescents who experience cyber bullying (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010; Stacey; 2009). These findings and their implications will be further explored within the preceding sections of this discussion.

The Importance of Communication Technology and Social Media to Adolescents' Friendships

The participants discussed using communication technology and social media to begin new friendships, communicate and socialize with existing friends, and maintain connections with existing friends regardless of the physical distance between them. These findings reflect the benefits of communication technology and social media to adolescents' friendships revealed in past studies (Brito, 2012; Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Davis, 2012; Fitton, et al., 2013; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012).

Comparable to findings by Britto (2012) and Fitton and colleagues (2013), participants discussed using communication technology to nonchalantly initiate light conversation and invite peers to play online games. The participants discussed primarily using communication technology to socialize and communicate with existing friends. Such commonplace interactions among friends may contribute to adolescents' identity formation and increasing autonomy (Brito, 2012; Davis, 2012; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012). As in Brito's (2012) and Davis' (2012) research with youth, the adolescents in this study shared how remaining connected to friends, regardless of the physical distance between them, has helped them to seek, access, and offer support when needed. In both grades 10 and 12, participants who moved to Ontario, Canada from another place shared how communication technology has helped them to maintain relationships with friends throughout the world.

Harm Experienced by Adolescents who are Cyber Bullied

Through sharing their personal experiences and perceptions of other adolescents' experiences, participants revealed many ways in which adolescents who had been cyber bullied experienced harm. A number of forms of harm addressed in the literature were discussed by the participants, including feeling sad, depressed, afraid, anxious, hopeless, worthless, and having less or hurt self-esteem (Bottino, Bottino, Regina, Correia, & Ribeiro, 2015; Mishna, et al., 2009; Tokunaga, 2010; Wong-Lo et al., 2011). Consistent with the forms of harm identified in the literature (Litwiller & Brausch, 2013), participants in grade 10 discussed how experiencing cyber bullying can lead to harmful coping strategies, and participants in both grades 10 and 12 discussed how experiencing cyber bullying can lead to suicidal ideation, suicide attempts, or suicide completion. These perspectives may have been influenced by highly publicized cases of Canadian adolescents who completed suicide after experiencing cyber bullying, including

Amanda Todd, whose death in 2012 was discussed by one participant (in early 2013) when she was in grade 10 (Stanbrook, 2014).

Comparing the personal harm described by participants when they were in grade 10 with the harm described by participants when they were in grade 12, I found that only one form of harm was held in common: experiencing cyber bullying led to feeling worried, concerned, or anxious. My inability to identify further themes in common was likely due to the differences in sample size, as 17 adolescents participated in interviews when they were in grade 10 and only six of the same 17 adolescents participated in interviews when they were in grade 12. Nevertheless, it is clear that, in both grade 10 and grade 12, adolescents who have been cyber bullied have experienced harm.

Two female participants in grade 12 discussed how shame and disrespect are often experienced by young women if their male dating partners or ex-partners share private photos of them online. This form of harm was not discussed by these (or other) participants when they were in grade 10. Many variables may have contributed to identifying this theme in grade 12 but not grade 10. Youth are more likely to be in dating relationships when they are older (Connolly & Johnson, 1996), and may be more likely to experience this form of bullying themselves or observe this form of bullying happening to their same age peers. Additionally, youth may be better able to recognize injustices experienced by others as they grow older (Bondü & Elsner, 2014; Kohlberg & Hersh, 1977). Alternatively, this form of cyber bullying may be increasing as ownership of devices capable of capturing and sharing images on social media increases (MediaSmarts, 2014). In a study with 1008 adolescents, Dick and colleagues (2014) revealed that 32.6% ($n = 249$) of females have been asked by their dating partners to send nude or seminude pictures of themselves within the past three months.

Helpful and Unhelpful Ways Adults Respond to Cyber Bullying and Insights into why Adolescents Do or Do Not Seek Support from Adults

Many adolescents who experience cyber bullying want support from adults who are close to them (Spears, Taddeo, Daly, Stretton, & Karklins, 2015). When asked to whom they would turn for support if they experienced cyber bullying, participants expressed a willingness to approaching adults who were expected to provide support. Adults who had provided consistent and needed support in the past were described by the participants as being helpful. These adults were often described as caring, empathic, and strong listeners. Participants revealed that past experiences with supportive adults encouraged them to seek further support from the same adults when needed.

The participants shared that they often did not receive the support they required from the adults closest to them when faced with cyber bullying. The participants revealed that they did not expect most adults, especially within their schools, to help them if they experienced cyber bullying. The participants' expectations are similar to those of other high school students who shared that they would not expect teachers at their schools to put forth effort into helping them if they experienced cyber bullying (Agatston, Kowalski, & Limber, 2007a; Li, 2006; Li, 2010; Pandori, 2013). As adolescents have in previous studies (Cornell & Unnever, 2004; Li, 2010), these adolescents revealed that they would not seek support from adults who were not expected to provide support.

As discussed by Li (2010), seeking adult support for cyber bullying situations often results in situations remaining the same or sometimes becoming worse. Participants in the present study revealed that when adults do not provide adolescents with the support they need, they not only risk being unhelpful, but risk making life harder for the adolescents. Participants

revealed that adolescents might not tell adults about their cyber bullying experiences because: (1) adults could turn cyber bullying situations into a bigger deal by telling others about it; (2) peers who find out that an adolescent told adults might view the adolescent as a coward or a snitch; (3) the person who bullied might be punished by adults and then retaliate against the cyber bullied adolescent by bullying more; and (4) adolescents could face negative consequences from adults after telling them about being cyber bullied. As discussed by these participants and adolescents in past studies (Agatston, Kowalski, & Limber, 2007b; Broll, 2014; Sabella, et al., 2013; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012; Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010) adolescents who feel punished for telling adults about their cyber bullying experiences may be less inclined to seek support in the future.

Participants expressed an openness to seeking support from adults who were educated on and had experience with communication technology, social media, and cyber bullying. In contrast, participants also described situations in which the support or education they received was not relevant, meaningful, or consistent. The participants' concerns reflected those addressed by Sabella and colleagues (2013): adults who lack understanding of cyber technology and the realities of cyber bullying are not likely to provide needed support to adolescents who are cyber bullied because they do not understand the cyber bullying problem.

How Adults can Support Adolescents who Experience Cyber Bullying

Although barriers prevent young people from seeking support from adults, the participants expressed an openness and need for adults to support them through their cyber bullying experiences. The participants revealed many ways in which parents, teachers, and principals can provide needed support to adolescents who experience cyber bullying. Some participants also suggested how other adults, including guidance counsellors, Kids Help Phone

counsellors, adults in charge of social networking websites, and community members can provide support to young people who experience cyber bullying. Although the focus of this paper is on how parents, teachers, and principals can support adolescents, these adults might support their adolescents by connecting them with other supportive adults if needed. When asked whom he thought was responsible for helping young people deal with cyber bullying, one participant said, "Everyone, I think. Everyone could help a little bit." This statement reflects one of PREVNet's (the Promoting Relationships and Eliminating Violence Network's) key scientific messages: promoting relationships and eliminating violence are everybody's responsibility (Craig & Pepler, 2007).

The participants stressed the importance of having relationships with caring and empathic adults who are easy to talk to. One participant proposed that with a "really good support system established," adolescents will know who to turn to for support if they experience cyber bullying. Participants revealed that parents can support their children and adolescents by spending time with them, building up their self-esteem, and showing care and support. Similar insights have been revealed by adolescents in the past (Pepler & Milton, 2013; Puhl, 2013).

Participants recommended that adults provide children and adolescents with education on cyber bullying, the harm cyber bullying can lead to, and online safety. Participants suggested that providing relevant education to young people can help prevent cyber bullying or stop cyber bullying if it happens. The need for relevant education was also identified by youth in a Blumenfeld's and Cooper's (2010) study who shared their insights on how education could be shared among children, adolescents, and adults.

When in grade 10, participants recommended that teachers and principals intervene in cyber bullying situations that come to their attention. This need has been stressed by youth in

previous studies as well (Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker, 2006; Frisén, Hasselblad, & Holmqvist, 2012; Puhl, 2013; Waseem et al., 2014). When the participants were in grade 12, they did not discuss this need, which may imply that the passing of Bill 14 (2012) in Ontario has encouraged adults to intervene when they see bullying happening (MacLeod, 2012). Increasing autonomy may have also played a role in adolescents wanting adults to intervene in bullying when they were in grade 10 but not when they were in grade 12 (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Caution needs to be used to interpret these findings because the greater number of participants in grade 10 ($n = 17$) compared to a lower number of participants in grade 12 ($n = 6$) increased the likelihood themes would be identified when the participants were in grade 10 but not grade 12.

Similar to findings in past studies (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010; Frisén, Holmqvist, & Oscarsson, 2008; Puhl, 2013; Waseem et al., 2014), participants suggested that adults should discipline young people who have bullied to prevent them from bullying further. Some youth, such as those in the study by Waseem and colleagues (2014), encouraged adults to punish young people who have bullied. In contrast, other youth suggested that adults support and educate youth who have engaged in cyberbullying (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010). Youth in the present study indicated that both adolescents who have bullied and those who have been bullied could benefit from having someone to talk to. As one participant in grade 12 proposed, "counselling and therapy are really the dominant ways of help that I feel young people who have bullied should seek."

Participants in both grades 10 and 12 stressed the importance of connecting adolescents who have experienced cyber bullying to confidential mental health supports if needed. As discussed by the youth in both this study and Crothers and colleagues' (2006) study, although adolescents may not feel comfortable turning to adults when bullying is experienced, they still

require support from adults. The participants stressed that adolescents who have experienced cyber bullying can benefit from confidential mental health supports, including guidance counsellors, social workers, and Kids Help Phone. Participants also expressed the value in connecting adolescents to other adolescents. Principals and teachers can help their students feel supported in schools by establishing gay-straight alliances, groups that have been shown to improve school climate and reduce cyber bullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2012; Snapp, Burdge, Licona, Moody, & Russell, 2015). Participants stressed that young people must be consistently supported by their parents, teachers, and principals. Establishing secure networks, mental health supports, and peer support groups within schools can demonstrate to adolescents that they are supported and cared for within their schools (Craig, Pepler, & Cummings, 2013).

Implications for How Parents, Teachers, and Principals can Support Adolescents who Experience Cyber Bullying

The participants' shared experiences, perceptions, and insights across all five research questions have clear implications for how parents or guardians, teachers, and principals can support adolescents who experience cyber bullying. These implications are based on an appreciation for how communication technology helps develop adolescents' friendships (Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012), an understanding of the harm adolescents who are cyber bullied can experience (Mishna et al., 2009; Tokunaga, 2010), and recognition of the ways in which adolescents want adults to support them through cyber bullying experiences (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010; Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker, 2006; Frisén, Hasselblad, & Holmqvist, 2012; Frisén, Holmqvist, & Oscarsson, 2008; Puhl, 2013; Stacey, 2009; Waseem et al., 2014). Adolescent participants in this and other studies have revealed that parents, teachers and principals can support adolescents who experience cyber bullying by: (1) developing supportive

and caring relationships with adolescents (Pepler & Milton, 2013); (2) collaborating with adolescents in problem solving (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010); (3) providing relevant education to children and adolescents (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010); (4) putting a stop to bullying (Frisén, Hasselblad, & Holmqvist, 2012); and (5) providing consistent support in schools and connecting adolescents to mental health supports (Crothers, Kolbert & Barker, 2006).

Developing supportive and caring relationships with adolescents. Parents, teachers, and principals can support adolescents by developing supportive and caring relationships with them (Elgar et al., 2014; Pepler & Milton, 2013). With supportive relationships established before cyber bullying is experienced, adolescents will know to whom they can turn if they experience bullying and require support from an adult. Within these relationships, adults must consistently demonstrate empathy and caring. It is important that adults not judge adolescents' actions that may have led to cyber bullying occurring, such as sharing private photos. Instead, adults can provide support by demonstrating empathy and carefully listening to adolescents who seek support (Pepler & Milton, 2013). Through listening, adults may come to better understand communication technology and social media and how to best support adolescents through their connected social problems (Stacey, 2009).

Collaborating with adolescents in problem solving. Developing supportive and caring relationships with adolescents may present opportunities for collaboration in problem solving (Elgar et al., 2014). Adolescents who experience cyber bullying may want to collaborate in problem solving with adults, but will not want adults to try to solve their problems for them (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010). Adults who try to solve adolescents' problems without their input risk exacerbating adolescents' cyber bullying problems (Broll, 2014; Li, 2010). By demonstrating caring, empathy, non-judgement, and careful listening, adults can work

productively with adolescents to address bullying and prevent further bullying from occurring (Pepler & Milton, 2013).

Providing relevant education to children and adolescents. The adolescents who participated in this study expressed a need for education on bullying, relationships, and technology safety that is relevant to them. Providing education that is relevant and meaningful to children and adolescents can help them use communication technology and social media safely (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010). Children and adolescents may benefit from education on safe technology use, healthy relationships, and the harm cyber bullying can lead to (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010). Education within the context of caring relationships can be a collaborative process between adults and adolescents. Adolescents can be encouraged to share their insights, knowledge, and experiences with adults, and adults can provide education that builds upon what adolescents already know (Elgar et al., 2014; Pepler & Milton, 2013; Rubin-Vaughan, Pepler, Brown, & Craig, 2011).

Putting a stop to bullying. Adults who find out about bullying must make an effort to stop bullying from continuing (Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker, 2006; Frisén, Hasselblad, & Holmqvist, 2012; MacLeod, 2012; Puhl, 2013; Waseem et al., 2014). Furthermore, adolescents who have bullied require support and education from adults to help them refrain from bullying and act pro-socially (Blumenfeld & Cooper, 2010; Broll, 2014; Frisén, Holmqvist, & Oscarsson, 2008; Puhl, 2013; Waseem et al., 2014).

Providing consistent support in schools and connecting adolescents to mental health supports. Adolescents must feel supported by the adults in their homes and schools (Craig & Pepler, 2007; Sabella et al., 2013). Teachers and principals can help their students feel supported by talking about important issues, and establishing club and groups (such as a Gay-Straight

Alliance) that promote safety, respect, wellbeing, and healthy relationships (Snapp et al., 2015).

Adults can also provide consistent support by connecting adolescents to mental health supports if

needed (Nordahl, Beran, & Dittrick, 2013). Both adolescents who have been bullied and who

have bullied may benefit from receiving mental health support (Craig & Pepler, 2007; Nordahl,

Beran, & Dittrick, 2013).

Implications for Future Research

Participants discussed ways in which they use technology to communicate and socialize

with friends. Researchers might consider ways to explore how socialization through technology

may help adolescents feel supported, develop autonomy, develop intimacy, and develop their

identities (Brito, 2012; Davis, 2012; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2012).

Adolescents who experience cyber bullying can experience different forms of harm

(Bottino, Bottino, Regina, Correia, & Ribeiro, 2015; Mishna, et al., 2009; Tokunaga, 2010;

Wong-Lo et al., 2011). In the future, researchers might explore how different forms of harm

influence the likelihood of seeking support from adults and the forms of support that are wanted.

For example, adolescents who are cyber bullied and then feel embarrassed might want to receive

support from counsellors who would ensure adolescents' shared experiences remain confidential

with certain limits. Alternatively, adolescents who are cyber bullied and then feel sad might want

to seek comfort from their parents. Researchers might consider how experiencing harm (such as

depression, anxiety, or hurt self-esteem) holds young people back from sharing their experiences

and seeking support from caring adults. A better understanding of the links between specific

forms of harm experienced following cyber bullying and specific supportive responses may help

adults provide support that is most relevant to the needs of adolescents who experience cyber

bullying.

Insights into how adults can support adolescents who experience cyber bullying that were shared by the participants in this study resemble the insights shared by youth in previous studies (Blumenfeld, & Cooper, 2010; Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker, 2006; Frisén, Hasselblad, & Holmqvist, 2012; Frisén, Holmqvist, & Oscarsson, 2008; Puhl, 2013; Stacey, 2009; Waseem, Boutin-Foster, Robbins, Gonzalez, Vargas, & Peterson, 2014). Researchers who hope to build upon the insights gained in this and previous studies might strive to develop a clearer understanding of what forms of support are relevant, effective, and meaningful to youth at different ages. It is likely that specific needs for relevant education on technology will change as technology changes, however, foundational education on healthy relationships, empathy, and how cyber bullying harms young people, might encourage adolescents to use communication technology safely and responsibly so they can engage in healthy relationships in a time of inevitable technological advances.

Cyber bullying behaviours within the context of dating relationships is struggle many adolescents experience (Dick et al., 2014). As discussed by young women who participated in this study, young women who have intimate photos of themselves shared by their dating partners or ex-partners face widespread shaming and disrespect. This is an issue that warrants focus in future research on cyber bullying and adolescents' relationships.

This study addressed barriers that prevent young people from seeking support from the adults in the homes and schools when cyber bullying is experienced. In future studies, researchers might ask parents, teachers, and principals about the challenges they have encountered in attempting to provide support to youth who have been cyber bullied. Revealing the challenges that youth have shared may encourage dialogue around how adults and youth can work together to solve cyber bullying problems.

Youth want to work with adults to solve cyber bullying problems (Blumenfeld, & Cooper, 2010). By sharing their experiences and insights through interviews, the adolescents who participated in this study have enhanced my appreciation for adolescents' connected experiences and how adults can support adolescents who experience cyber bullying. In future research, incorporating adolescent participation in each phase of the research process may help to inform the development of the research questions and methods to ensure that issues most relevant to adolescents are addressed. Collaborating with adolescents in research study conceptualization, data collection, data analysis, and research implementation, may help to ensure that relevant needs are addressed and adolescents are included in all stages of cyber bullying problem solving.

Limitations

This study was part of a larger study of which I was not initially a part. Participating in all of the stages of the research project may have provided me with more opportunities to shape the questions and gain insights into the issues that concerned me about youths' involvement in social media. Because the data were collected before I was involved, I did not meet any of the participants or facilitate any of the interviews that were conducted. Personally conducting the interviews, as opposed to coding only the transcripts, may have led to opportunities to read affect in the participants' voices, faces, and body language, and to probe for further information relevant to my research questions when relevant.

The reduced sample size between time 1 (with 17 participants) and time 2 (with six participants) limited the identification of themes at time 2, which restricted opportunities for further exploration of similarities and differences in themes when the participants were in grades 10 and 12, respectively. Exploring differences and similarities over time was challenging given

this study's qualitative research design. It was impossible to distinguish whether or not changes from grade 10 to grade 12 were due to developmental changes, historical changes, or other unaccounted for variables. Questions concerning the links between variables that could not be addressed due to the qualitative design of this study may be further addressed in future research studies.

From the time interviews were conducted to when this paper was written, commonly used forms of technology have advanced and the number of social networking sites used by adolescents have increased. Consequently, adolescents' use of and experiences with technology are constantly changing. Despite the continuous shift in how communication technology is used and experienced, the major findings in this study, derived from adolescents' shared experiences, perceptions, and insights, resemble findings in numerous previous studies (Blumenfeld, & Cooper, 2010; Bottino et al., 2015; Crothers, Kolbert, & Barker, 2006; Frisén, Hasselblad, & Holmqvist, 2012; Frisén, Holmqvist, & Oscarsson, 2008; MediaSmarts, 2014; Puhl, 2013; Stacey, 2009; Waseem, Boutin-Foster, Robbins, Gonzalez, Vargas, & Peterson, 2014).

Conclusion

Highly connected adolescents use communication technology and social media to begin, develop, and maintain friendships. Connected adolescents may also experience cyber bullying which can be harmful to their mental, emotional, and physical wellbeing. Adolescents require support from the adults closest to them so they can use technology safely, engage in healthy relationships through technology, and solve cyber bullying problems when they arise. Parents or guardians, teachers, and principals can support adolescents who experience cyber bullying by developing supportive relationships with them, collaborating in problem solving, providing and being receptive to relevant education, putting a stop to bullying when it happens, and providing

continuous support in schools, which may include connecting young people to mental health

supports if needed.

References

Agatston, P. W., Kowalski, R. M., & Limber, S. P. (2007). Students' perspectives on cyber

    bullying. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *41*(6), S59-S60.

Agatston, P. W., Kowalski, R. M., & Limber, S. P. (2007). Electronic bullying among middle

    school students. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *41*, 522-530.

Ahmedani, B. K., Harold, R. D., Fitton, V. A., & Gibson, E. D. S. (2011). What adolescents can

    tell US: Technology and the future of social work education. *Social Work*

    Education, 30(7), 830-846.

Ang, R. P., & Goh, D. H. (2010). Cyberbullying among adolescents: The role of affective and

    cognitive empathy, and gender. *Child Psychiatry and Human Development*, *41*, 387-397.

Bandura, A. (2002). Selective moral disengagement in the exercise of moral agency. *Journal of*

    Moral Education, *31*, 101-119.

Banerjee, S. (2013). Rehtaeh Parsons' father says daughter wanted to go to the media before her

    death. National Post, Retrieved on November 14, 2013 from

    http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/10/04/rehtaeh-parsons-father-says-daughter-wanted-

    to-go-to-the-media-before-her-death/

Beran, T., Stanton, L., Hetherington, R., Mishna, F., & Shariff, S. (2012). Development of the

    bullying and health experiences scale. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, *1*(2): e 13.

Bondü, R. & Elsner, B. (2014). Justice sensitivity in childhood and adolescence. *Social*

    Development, *24*(2), 420-441.

Bottino, S. M. B., Bottino, C. M. C., Regina, C. G., Correia, A. V. L., & Ribeiro, W. S. (2015). Cyberbullying and adolescent mental health: systematic review. *Cadernos de Saúde Pública*, *31*(3), 463-475.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101.

Brito, P. Q. (2012). Teen conceptualization of digital technologies. *New Media & Society, 14*(3), 513-532.

Broll, R. (2014). Policing cyber bullying: How parents, educators, and law enforcement respond to digital harassment. The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies, University of Western Ontario. Retrieved from http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3541&context=etd

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, *32*, 513-531.

Cairns, R. B., & Cairns, B. D. (1991). Social cognition and social networks: A developmental perspective. In D. Pepler & K. Rubin (Eds.), *The development and treatment of childhood aggression* (pp. 249-278). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cassidy, W., Faucher, C., & Jackson, M. (2013). Cyberbullying among youth: A comprehensive review of current international research and implications and application to policy and practice. *Social Psychology International*, *34*(6), 575-612.

Collins, W. A., & Steinberg, L. (2006). Adolescent development in interpersonal context. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Series Eds.) & N. Eisenberg (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of child*

psychology: Vol. 3. Social, emotional, and personality development (6th ed., pp. 1003-

Age 15 Follow-up 37 1067). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley

Connolly, J. A. & Johnson, A. M (1996) Adolescents romantic relationships and the structure

and quality of their close interpersonal ties. *Personal Relationships*, *3*, 185-195.

Cornell, D.G., & Unnever, J.D. (2004). Middle school victims of bullying: Who reports being

bullied? *Aggressive Behaviour*, *30*(5), 373-388.

Craig, W., & Pepler, D. (2007). Understanding bullying: From research to practice. *The

Canadian Psychological Association*, *48*(2), 86-93.

Craig, W., Pepler, D., & Cummings, J. (2013). *Bullying prevention: What parents need to

know*. Tucson, AZ: Quickfind Books.

Cross, D., Lester, L., Barnes, A., Cardoso, P., & Hadwen, K. (2015). If it's about me, why do it

without me? Genuine student engagement in school cyberbullying education. *The

International Journal of Emotional Education*, *7*(1): 35-51.

Davis, K. (2012). Friendship 2.0: Adolescents' experiences of belonging and self-disclosure

online. *Journal of Adolescence*, *35*(6): 1527-1536.

Dessel, A. (2010). Prejudice in schools: Promotion of an inclusive culture and climate.

Education and Urban Society, 42(4), 407-429.

Dick, R. N., McCauley, H. L., Jones, K. A., Tancredi, D. J., Goldstein, S., Blackburn, S.,

Monasterio, E., James, L., Silverman, J. G., Miller, E. (2014). Cyber dating abuse among

teens using school-based health centers. *PEDIATRICS*, *134*(6), e1560-e1567.

Doucette, J. D. (2013). Gender differences in perceptions of cyberbullying: A proposal for the next step in qualitative research with adolescents. *Queen's University Graduate Students in Education Symposium, 6*, 66-80.

Doucette, J. D. (2013). Gender and grade differences in how high school students experience and perceive cyberbullying. The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies, University of Western Ontario. Retrieved from http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2529&context=etd

Elgar, F. J., Napoletano, A., Saul, G., Dirks, M. A., Craig, W., Poteat, V. P., Holt, M., Koenig, B. W. (2014). Cyberbullying victimization and mental health in adolescents and the moderating role of family dinners. *JAMA Pediatr.168*(11), 1015-1022.

Espelage, D. L., Rao, M. A., Craven, R. G. (2013). Theories of cyberbullying. In S. Bauman, D. Cross, & J. Walker (Eds.), *Principles of cyberbullying research* (49-67). New York, NY: Routledge.

Espelage, D. L., & Rue, D. L. (2013). *Examining predictors of bullying and sexual violence perpetration among middle school female students* (pp. 25-45). Springer Science + Business Media, New York, NY.

Evans, P. (2012). Review of cyberbullying prevention and response: Expert perspectives. *Emotional & Behavioural Difficulties, 17*(3-4), 449-449.

Fitton, V. A., Ahmedani, B. K., Harold, R. D., & Shifflet, E. D. (2013). The role of technology on young adolescent development: Implications for policy, research and practice. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal, 30*(5), 399-413.

Frisén, A., Hasselblad, T., & Holmqvist, K. (2012). What actually makes bullying stop? Reports from former victims. *Journal of Adolescence*, *35*(4), 981-990.

Germain, C. B., & Bloom, M. (1999). *Human behavior in the social environment: An ecological view* (2nd ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Greene, M. B. (2006). Bullying in schools: a plea for a measure of human rights. *Journal of Social Issues, 62*(1), 63-79.

Grigg, D. (2010). Cyber-Aggression: Definition and concept of cyberbullying. *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, *20*(2), 143-156.

Hamburger, M., Basile, K., & Vivolo, A. (2011). *Measuring bullying victimization, perpetration, and bystander experiences: A compendium of assessment tools.* Atlanta, GA: Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control.

Hinduja, S., & Patchin, J. W. (2012). *School climate 2.0: Preventing cyberbullying and sexting one classroom at a time*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.

Johnson G. M. (2010). Internet use and child development: the techno-microsystem. *Australian Journal of Educational & Developmental Psychology*, *10*, 32-43.

Johnson G. M., Puplampu K. P. (2008). Internet use during childhood and the ecological techno-subsystem. *Canadian Journal of Learning and Technology*, *34*(1), 19-28.

Katz, R. J. (2014). Gendered bullying and cyberbullying: Assessing Ontario's new legislation. Faculty of Gradate and Postdoctoral Studies, University of Ottawa. Retrieved from https://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/handle/10393/31777

Kiesler, S., Siegel, J., & McGuire, T. W. (1984). Social psychological aspects of computer-mediated communication. *American Psychologist, 39*(10), 1123-1134.

Kohlberg, L. & Hersh, R. (1977). Moral development: A review of the theory. *Theory Into Practice*, *16*(2), 53-59.

Langos, C. (2012). Cyberbullying: The challenge to define. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, *15*(6), 285-289.

Lerner, R., Almerigi, J., Theokas, C., & Lerner, J. (2005). Positive youth development: A view of the issues. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, *25*(1), 10-16.

Li, Q. (2006). Cyberbullying in schools: A research of gender differences. *School Psychology International*, *27*, 157-170.

Li, Q. (2010). Cyberbullying in high schools: A study of students' behaviours and beliefs about this new phenomenon. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment, & Trauma*, *19*(4), 372-392.

Litwiller, B. J., & Brausch, A. M. (2013). Cyber bullying and physical bullying in adolescent suicide: The role of violent behavior and substance use. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 42*(5), 675-684.

Martin J. (2013). *Out of focus: exploring practitioners' understanding of child sexual abuse images on the Internet*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario.

Martin J., Alaggia R. (2013). Sexual abuse images in cyberspace: expanding the ecology of the child. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, *22*(4), 398-415.

Martin J, Stuart C. (2008). Working with cyberspace in the life-space. *Relational Child and Youth Care Practice*, *24*(1-2), 55-66.

MacLeod, L. (2012). *Bill 14, Anti-Bullying Act, 2012*. Retrieved from Legislative Assembly of Ontario website:

http://www.ontla.on.ca/web/bills/bills_detail.do?locale=en&BillID=2550

McEachern, T. School board 'looking for answers' after suicide of 13-year-old Regina girl Savhanah Turcotte. National Post. Retrieved on November 14, 2013 from

http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/10/28/school-board-looking-for-answers-after-suicide-of-13-year-old-regina-girl-savhanah-turcotte/

Mishna, F. (2012). Motivation for cyber bullying: a longitudinal and multi-perspective inquiry. Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Retrieved from

http://www.outil.ost.uqam.ca/CRSH/Detail.aspx?Cle=111513&Langue=2.

Mishna, F., Cook, C., Gadalla, T., Daciuk, J., & Solomon, S. (2010). Cyber bullying behaviours among middle and high school students. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *80*(3), 362-374.

Mishna, F., Khoury-Kassabri, M., Gadalla, T., & Daciuk, J. (2012). Risk factors for involvement in cyber bullying: Victims, bullies and bully–victims. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *34*(1), 63-70.

Mishna, F., McLuckie, & Saini, M. (2009). Real world dangers in an online reality. A qualitative study examining online relationships and cyber abuse. *Social Work Research*, *33*(2), 107-118.

Mishna, F., Saini, M., & Solomon, S. (2009). Ongoing and online: Children and youth's

perceptions of cyber bullying. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *31*, 1222-1228.

Morrison, B.E. & Vaandering, D. (2012) Restorative justice: Pedagogy, praxis, and discipline.

Journal of School Violence, *11*(2), 138-155.

Nordahl, J., Beran, T., & Dittrick, C. J. (2013). Psychological impact of cyber-bullying:

Implications for school counsellors. *Canadian Journal of Counselling and*

Psychotherapy, 47(3), 383-402.

Pandori, J. K. (2013). Adolescents' perceptions of victims and perpetrators of cyberbullying.

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies, University of Western Ontario.

Retrieved from http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2536&context=etd

Parke, R. D. (2004). The society for research in child development at 70: Progress and promise.

Child Development, *75*(1), 1-24.

Pepler, D. & Milton, P. (2013). *External Review of the Halifax Regional School Board's Support*

of Rehtaeh Parsons: Final Report. Province of Nova Scotia. Retrieved from

http://www.ednet.ns.ca/files/reports/External%20Review%20of%20HRSB%20Final.pdf

Purdy, C. (2013). Todd Loik, 15, committed suicide because students hounded him with 'nasty'

messages, mother says. *National Post*. Retrieved on November 14, 2013 from

http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/09/25/todd-loik/

Rideout, V. (2012). Social media, social life: How teens view their digital lives. *Common*

Sense Media. Retrieved from http://vjrconsulting.com/storage/socialmediasociallife-

final-061812.pdf

Rubin-Vaughan, A., Pepler, D., Brown, S., & Craig, W. (2011). Quest for the golden rule: An

    effective social skills promotion and bullying prevention program. *Computers &*

    Education, 56(1), 166-175. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2010.08.009

Sabella, R. (2012). How school counselors can help. In J. W. Patchin, & S. Hinduja (Eds.),

    Cyberbullying prevention and response: Expert perspectives (pp. 72–92). New York,

    NY: Routledge

Sabella, R. A., Patchin, J. W., & Hinduja, S. (2013). Cyberbullying myths and

    realities. *Computers in Human Behavior, 29*(6), 2703-2711.

Sameroff, A (2010). A unified theory of development: A dialectic integration of nature and

    nurture. *Child Development*, *81*(1), 6-22.

Snapp, S. D., Burdge, H., Licona, A. C., Moody, R. L., & Russell, S. T. (2015). Students'

    perspectives on LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 48*(2),

    249-265. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2015.1025614

Spears, B. A., Taddeo, C. M., Daly, A. L., Stretton, A., Karklins, L. T. (2015). Cyberbullying,

    help-seeking and mental health in young Australians: implications for public health.

    International Journal of Public Health, *60*(2), 219-226.

Stanbrook, M. B. (2014). Stopping cyberbullying requires a combined societal effort. *Canadian*

    Medical Association Journal, *186*(7), 483.

Steeves, V. (2014). *Young Canadians in a wired world, Phase III: Life online*. Ottawa:

    MediaSmarts.

Steinberg, L. & Silverberg, S. B. (1986). The vicissitudes of autonomy in early adolescence. *Child Developments*, 57(4), 841-851.

Subrahmanyam, K., & Smahel, D. (2012). *Digital youth: The role of media in development.* Springer, New York, NY.

Suzuki, K., Asaga, R., Sourander, A., Hoven, C., Mandell, D. (2011). Cyberbullying and adolescent mental health. *International Journal of Adolescent Medicine and Health*, *24*(1), 27-35.

Thompson, F., & Smith, P. K. (2011). The use and effectiveness of anti-bullying strategies in schools. *Research Brief DFE-RR098*.

Tokunaga, R. S. (2010). Following you home from school: A critical review and synthesis of research on cyberbullying victimization. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *26*, 277-287

Vaillancourt, T., McDougall, P., Hymel, S., Krygsman, A., Miller, J., Stiver, J., & Davis, C. (2008). Bullying: Are researchers and children/youth talking about the same thing? *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 32*(6), 486-495.

Vaillancourt, T., Trinh, V., McDougall, P., Duku, E., Cunningham, L., Cunningham, C., Hymel, S., & Short, K. (2010). Optimizing population screening of bullying in school-aged children. *Journal of School Violence, 9*, 233-250.

Vandebosch, H. & Van Cleemput, K. (2008). Defining cyberbullying: A qualitative research into the perceptions of youngsters. *CyberPsychology & Behaviour, 11*(4), 499-503.

Wong-Lo, M., Bullock, L. M., & Gable, R. A. (2011). Cyber bullying: Practices to face digital

aggression. *Emotional & Behavioural Difficulties*, *16*(3), 317-325.

Appendix A: Information and Consent Form

Information & Consent Form: Child & Parent/Guardian

Research Project:
Motivations for Cyber Bullying: A Longitudinal and Multi-Perspective Inquiry

Investigators:
Dr. Faye Mishna, Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto
Dr. Wendy Craig, Psychology, Queen's University
Dr. Tanya Beran, Community Health Sciences, University of Calgary
Dr. Debra Pepler, Psychology, York University
Dr. Judy Wiener, Human Development & Applied Psychology, OISE/UT
David Johnston, Professional Support Services, TDSB

Funding Agency: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)

This information & consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information. If you have any concerns about the way in which the study is being conducted, you can speak to someone who is not involved in the study at all, but who can advise you on your rights as a participant.

Dear Sir or Madam:

We are writing to ask for your help. The University of Toronto, Queen's University, the University of Calgary, York University, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT) and the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) are conducting a research study about cyber bullying.

STUDY INFORMATION

What is the purpose of the study?
The majority of Canadian youth have access to the Internet and related communication technologies, giving young people unprecedented opportunity to communicate with others both in and out of their existing social networks. Although there may be benefits that result from these electronically based communications, there may also be significant risks. One such risk is that of cyber bullying as children spend more time online than ever before. Involvement in cyber bullying as the bully or the bullied can be hurtful, over and above those of traditional bullying, to children and teens. Cyber bullying is now recognized as a serious societal concern. This study has five goals: 1) explore how youth in grades 4, 7, and 10 experience and understand cyber bullying; 2) explore how parents and teachers understand cyber bullying; 3) explore how youth

think about the motivations for cyber bullying; 4) document how often cyber bullying occurs and shifting roles over time and; 5) identify factors that protect or increase a child's or teen's likeliness of involvement in cyber bullying.

When and where will the study take place?
This study will take place in about 15 primary and secondary Toronto District School Board schools and will last for three years. Grades 4, 7, and 10 students will be invited to participate. Your child's school has been selected and has agreed to participate in this project. Collection of data for this project will take place in person at the school and over the phone.

What will happen during this study?
There are two parts to this study. Part 1 involves a series of questionnaires for students and their parents and teachers to complete, at three separate time-points across years 1, 2 and 3. Teachers will complete their questionnaires one time during the first year only. Part 2 consists of interviews for some of the students and their parents and teachers who participated in part 1 of the study. If these students and parents agree, they will complete 1 in-person interview in the first year of the study and a follow-up telephone interview in the third year of the study. Teachers will complete one in-person interview in the first year of the study.

What will my child do?
Should you allow your child to participate, they will take be asked to complete a series of questionnaires asking about them, their use of cyber technology, their behaviors, their experiences with cyber bullying, their self-esteem, and their social supports. This should take about one hour and they will do this three separate times, once every year for the three years of this study. After the first set of questionnaires, your child may then be identified as having significant experiences with cyber bullying and may be asked to take part in an in-person interview during the first year of the study and a follow-up phone interview in the third year of this study.

What will I do?
As part of the study, we will want to compare the perspectives of parents with those of their children and their children's teacher. You will be asked to fill out a demographic form, a cyber technology use form, and a checklist about the behavior of your child. You may also be asked to take part in two interviews (in years 1 and 3) about cyber bullying should your child be selected for this interview portion of the study.

What will my child's teacher do?
As part of this study we will want to compare the perspectives of teachers with those of parents and students. If you allow us, your child's teacher will be asked to fill out a checklist about the behavior of your child. They may also be asked to take part in an interview about cyber bullying should your child be selected and you and your child agree to participate in the interview portion of this study. The teacher's involvement in the study will only be during the first year.

What are the risks and benefits of the study?
There are few risks involved in this study. There are no physical risks. You may find that this study upsets either you or your child due to the nature of some of the questions. You or your child can discuss any concerns with Faye Mishna or one of the research assistants. They will help your child and you figure out how to get help and if you wish, connect you with a teacher,

guidance counsellor or social worker at the school. In addition, if a child tells us that an adult has hurt them physically or emotionally, if anybody has touched them in a way that has made them feel uncomfortable, or if we think that someone is not taking care of them, we will have to tell Children's Aid Society. The benefits of the study are that you and your child and your child's teacher will be given the opportunity to help us understand cyber bullying more. Although there are no direct benefits for you, by participating in this study you will be helping us to further understand cyber bullying and future prevention and intervention strategies for students involved in cyber bullying.

Is the study voluntary and confidential?
The decision to participate or not is voluntary and will be kept completely confidential. You can withdraw at any time without consequence. If you withdraw your child from the study, your child will continue to receive quality education from the Toronto District School Board. All the information collected will be strictly confidential. Your child's teacher and the vice-principal/principal will know which children participate in the study, but they will not know what answers children give. The names of participants will not be used at any stage of the research. Each participant will be identified by a number code to ensure privacy. All information will be kept on a secure computer and access to the computer will be secured by use of specific passwords known only to the research team. Completed questionnaires, interview schedules, and transcriptions will be stored in a secure, locked cabinet at the Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto. No information will be released or printed that would disclose any personal identity. All data will be destroyed (shredded or deleted) 5 years after the publication of research results.

Results of the Study:
The results of the study will be made available to participating schools in the form of a research report and by presentations. If you would like to receive a copy of the research report, or if you have any questions about your child's participation, please contact Faye Mishna.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

I, _____, understand that the University of Toronto, Queen's University, the University of Calgary, York University, OISE/UT and the TDSB are conducting a research study about cyber bullying, as explained to me by a member of the research team. I understand that my child will fill out a series of questionnaires, taking about one hour and that this will occur three times over the three years of the study. I understand that I will complete a demographic form, a cyber technology usage form, and a checklist about the behaviour of my child. I understand that my child and I may also be asked to participate in an in-person interview during the first year of this study and a follow-up interview over the phone during the third year of this study. I understand that my child's teacher will be asked to complete a checklist regarding my child's behaviour.

I have been made aware of the potential risks and benefits associated with my own and my child's participation in this study. Any questions I have asked about the study have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that my own and my child's participation is completely voluntary and that my decision either to allow my child to participate or not will be kept

completely confidential. I further understand that I can withdraw myself or my child from the study at any time without explanation.

I understand that information collected for this study is strictly confidential and that all data will be stored securely. I have been assured that no information will be released or printed that would disclose either my identity or my child's unless required by law. All data will be destroyed (shredded or deleted) 5 years after the publication of research results.

I, _____, hereby consent to participate.
　　　　　(please print your first and last name)

I hereby consent for my child, _____, to participate.
　　　　　　　　　　　　(please print child's first and last name)

_____　　　　_____
Name of Parent　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Signature of Parent

_____
Home phone # of where child lives

_____
Child's date of birth

_____　　　　_____
Person who obtained consent　　　　　　　　　　Signature

_____
Date

If you have any questions about this study please contact:

Faye Mishna, Ph.D., R.S.W.
Professor & Dean
Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work
University of Toronto

<div align="center">**Appendix B: Study Information Sheet/Assent**</div>

<u>Study Information Sheet/Assent: Students in Grades 4, 7 & 10</u>

Research Project: "*Motivations for Cyber Bullying: A Longitudinal and Multi-Perspective Inquiry*"

Child's name:

_____

We are doing a study about Cyber Bullying. We would like your help.

WHY ARE WE DOING THIS STUDY?
Young people today use technology more than ever before and they often use it to stay in touch with friends, family and other people. Even though there can be many good things that come from this kind of communication there can also be dangers or risks for kids and teens. One of these risks is cyber bullying. Being involved in cyber bullying as the bully or the bullied can be hurtful to kids or teens. In this study we want to learn more about what cyber bullying is, how often it happens, and how it happens so that we can help stop it and help kids who are affected by cyber bullying.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN DURING THIS STUDY?
If you take part in this study, you will be asked to fill out five or six sets of questions in the first year of this study and again in the second and third year of this study. These will take about an hour to fill out. You might also be asked to take part in two interviews either in person or over the phone so that you can tell us how you feel about cyber bullying. The interviews will last about an hour. One will be done in the first year of this study and the second will be done in the third year of this study.

ARE THERE GOOD AND BAD THINGS ABOUT THIS STUDY?
The good thing is that you will help us learn more about cyber bullying so that we can help stop it or help kids who are involved in cyber bullying. You may become upset if you are in this study because of some of the questions. If you feel upset in any way, please tell one of the researchers. They will talk with you and make sure that you get help. If you tell us that an adult has hurt you physically or emotionally, if anybody has touched you in a way that has made you feel uncomfortable, or if we think that someone is not taking care of you, we will have to tell Children's Aid.

WHO WILL KNOW ABOUT WHAT I DID IN THE STUDY?
Your teacher and vice-principal/principal will know that you are in the study. But only the researchers will know what you tell us. We will not tell anyone. We will not put your name on the questionnaires or on the interviews. We will use a number instead. After the study is finished, we will destroy all information that we collect, including the questionnaires, interview transcripts and digital recordings.

CAN I DECIDE IF I WANT TO BE IN THE STUDY?
It is up to you if you want to be in the study. You can stop being in the study at any time. Just tell your parent or guardian that you do not want to take part.

WHO DO I SPEAK TO IF I HAVE QUESTIONS OR CONCERNS?
If you have any questions, at any time, you can speak to Faye Mishna using the telephone number or email address below. You can also speak to any of the researchers. Your parent or guardian will be reading about this study. They will be able to answer any of your questions.

Yours sincerely

Faye Mishna, Principal Investigator

ASSENT

I was present when (name of child) _____ read this form and

gave his/her verbal assent. I read the form aloud, made sure that (name of child)

_____ understood the form and asked him/her if he or she

had any questions.

_____
Name of person who obtained assent

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Faye Mishna, Ph.D., R.S.W.
Professor & Dean
Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work
University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario M5S IV4

Appendix C: Qualitative Interview Guide

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE - <mark>STUDENTS</mark>

BEFORE YOU START THE INTERVIEW
- make sure the participant is clear about what to expect and has the opportunity to ask any questions
- ensure the assent form is signed before you start recording
- clearly state your name (the interviewer), ID number of the student, date, time and location at the start of recording

TIPS
- Get their full story – get the facts in as much detail as possible (not hypothetical)
- Familiarize yourself with the probes (but don't ask them unless necessary)
- For any negative cyber experience – ask if they considered that cyber bullying OR not (why and why not)
- Take notes if you need to (about your interpretation) and then type them out and email to Payal

---

BROAD AREAS FOR INTERVIEW
- Start with these five broad headings. ONLY USE the detailed list of questions in the subsequent section if you need to.

1. **Cyber world context -** get the student to tell you anything they want to, about their use of cyber technology e.g. games, cell phones, Facebook, emails, the Wii, chat rooms, etc. Start with the positive interactions and experiences AND then ask about the negative interactions and experiences. Follow their story- chase the details of what they are telling you.

2. **Bullying/Cyber Bullying context -** ask the student about their understanding of bullying and cyber bullying. Ask about any experiences of cyber bullying incidents as a target/witness/perpetrator. For any negative experience find out if they saw that as cyber bullying or not (why). Find out what actually happened and the consequences. **Ask if it's ok to share their experiences with parents/teachers**
   Cyber bullying definition: We define cyber bullying as: the use of electronic technology [e.g. emails, cell phones, social networking sites, online games] with the aim to hurt an individual [e.g. threaten, harass, embarrass, exclude]. Cyber bullying can take place through text messages, emails, online posts on blogs/social networking sites, photos, hacking into accounts etc. It can occur between strangers, acquaintances, friends, family members etc.

3. **Motivations -** find out why they think young people engage in cyber bullying. Do they think it is easy? If so, what makes it easy to do? Is it the technology / is it that young people do not think about their actions? Get their perspective.

4. **<u>Ask about difference between cyber bullying and face to face bullying</u>.** Is there a difference - if so, what is it? If not - why not?

5. **<u>Getting help</u> –**who would they go to for help? Ask about the barriers to getting help and what some of the solutions might be.

Questions on cyber interactions

1. Can you tell me about YOUR use of cyber technology -e.g., cell phones, emails, internet, social networking, games, you tube?
    Probe: How often do you use it? What do you use it for e.g. homework, online games, music, chatting, etc.?

2. What are some of the positive things that you have experienced in your use of cyber technology?

3. What are some of the negative things that you have experienced in your use of cyber technology? Probe: For negative cyber experience – ask if they considered that cyber bullying OR not & why/why not.

4. How would you feel if you weren't able to use any form of cyber technology? **Probe:** get a sense of how important technology is in their life.

5. Do you think about how you act online? E.g., do you stop to think before you post comments on other people's pages, or put your personal photos online?

Questions on bullying and cyber bullying

6. What do you think bullying is?

7. Do you think bullying is a normal part of growing up? Why?

8. What do you think cyber bullying is?
    Probe: After their answer, give definition: We define cyber bullying as the use of electronic technology [e.g. emails, cell phones, social networking sites, online games] with the aim to hurt an individual [e.g. threaten, harass, embarrass, exclude]. Cyber bullying can take place through text messages, emails, online posts on blogs/social networking sites, photos, hacking into accounts etc. It can occur between strangers, acquaintances, friends, family members etc.

9. Can you tell me about any cyber bullying experience in your life – for example have you ever seen it happen, has it happened to you or have you done it to others? (It can be 1, 2 or all 3 of these). - ASK 1 AT A TIME
    Probe: Identify clearly whether the participant is talking as a target, witness, or perpetrator (or combination). Your aim is to get a full picture of why, how, when, and

where this happened and what might have helped. Ask if friends were involved i.e. doing or witnessing the cyber bullying – did it affect the friendship?

10. Did you tell anyone about your experience with cyber bullying? If yes, who? If no, why not?
Probe 1: Was it helpful or not helpful to talk about it? What was helpful/not helpful about it? If participant says they didn't tell
anyone because they didn't want to make a big deal about it – ask for details (e.g., why do they consider it a big deal? What do they
think would happen if they told etc.)
Probe 2: <u>Even if participant has no experience with cyber bullying</u>, say that we are interested in learning why some kids talk to other people about cyber bullying while other kids don't talk – ask for student's thoughts on this. Also ask the following and BE SURE TO PROBE FOR DETAILS: Do you think some children and teenagers don't tell anyone about their cyber bullying experiences because they don't want to make a "big deal"? (Try not to accept a yes/no answer and move on).

11. Do you think cyber bullying is a problem? If yes, how big and why? If no, why not?

Motivations

12. What do you think kids get cyber bullied about? **Probe:** possible prompts (to be used only as last resort): appearance, race, gender, (dis)ability, school work etc.

13. Why do you think children and teens cyber bully each other? **Probe:** What are the motivations? Power? Technology makes it easy?
If the issue of power and control is not mentioned, ask "Do you think it has anything to do with feeling powerful or being in control?

14. Do you think cyber bullying happens more between friends, people you know OR strangers? Why?

15. Why do you think some kids get cyber bullied and other kids don't?

Difference between cyber bullying and face to face bullying

16. Do you think that being cyber bullied is different from being bullied face to face? Probe: Why? How? Do you think one is more serious? Which one? Why? If not considered different – find out why they think that. Find out if one is easier to do or deal with.

17. Does it feel different to say "mean" or "rude" things over texts or emails compared to doing it in person? If so, what's different about it? **Probe with the following only if it's not specifically mentioned by participant** - Is it easier or is it more difficult?

Getting help

18. What stops young people [target and perpetrator] from getting help?

19. What do you think would help these young people [target and perpetrator]?

20. Who do you think is responsible for helping young people deal with cyber bullying?

21. How much do you think your parents/caregivers know about cyber bullying? What about your teachers?

22. Does the technology make it easier to cyber bully OR do you think the person who wants to cyber bully will do it anyway, no matter   how?

23. Has anyone talked to you about cyber bullying? How to deal with it, or what to do if it happens? If yes – who and what did they tell you? Was it helpful? If no, do you wish someone had talked to you? What kind of information would you like to have?

24. Thinking about cyber bullying in general, is there anything else you think is important that I haven't asked you about?