

# Spinning Our Wheels: Improving Our Ability to Respond to Bullying and Cyberbullying

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## KEYWORDS

• Abuse • Bullying • Cyberbullying • School response

Bullying and aggression in schools today has reached epidemic proportions.<sup>1</sup> Although always in existence, bullying behaviors have increased in frequency and in severity in the past few decades.<sup>2</sup> Abusive bullying behaviors begin in elementary school, peak during middle school, and begin to subside as children progress through their high school years.<sup>3</sup> Nationwide statistics suggest that somewhere between 1 in 6 and 1 in 4 students are frequently bullied at school.<sup>1</sup> The 2005 Youth Risk Behavior Survey in Massachusetts found that 24% of teenagers reported being bullied at schools in the year before the survey. A study of 21,000 Massachusetts schoolchildren between October 2010 and February 2011 found that about one fourth of middle- and high-schoolers reported being physically bullied, and more than double that number reported being taunted or called a name (**Fig. 1**).<sup>4</sup>

The problem does not seem to be improving. In that a 2007 survey, 54% of Massachusetts schools indicated that bullying has become more of a problem “in the last few years.”<sup>5</sup> Another study found that most children who were bullied were victimized for 6 months or longer (Mullin-Rindler N. Findings from the Massachusetts Bullying Prevention Initiative. Unpublished manuscript; 2003). The US Department of Education has found that bullying increased 5% between 1999 and 2001<sup>6</sup> and the National Education Association has suggested that bullying is a serious problem in US schools.<sup>7</sup>

Bullying behaviors are associated with catastrophic violence. In the 2004–2005 school year, 24 school deaths in the United States were the result of shootings,<sup>8</sup> and the most common reason students bring weapons to school is protection against bullies.<sup>9</sup> We now know that the school shooters of the 1990s often reported being the chronic victims of bullies.<sup>3</sup> In the 1990s, a string of copycat shootings in suburban and

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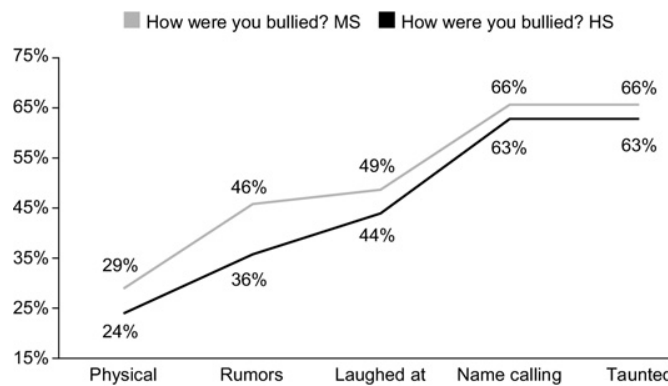


Fig. 1. How were you bullied?

rural school districts caused enormous alarm and dismay and, although more recent attacks have been averted, vigilance and fear remain high.<sup>10</sup>

### WHAT IS BULLYING?

Bullying is the physical and or psychological abuse, perpetuated by 1 powerful child upon another, with the intention to harm or dominate. Typically, bullying is repetitive, intentional, and involves an imbalance of power.<sup>11</sup> Bullies enjoy social power and therefore seek out situations where they can dominate others. Bullying can be either direct, such as physical or verbal aggression, or indirect, such as insults, threats, name calling, spreading rumors, or encouraging exclusion from a peer group.<sup>2</sup>

It is unfortunate that adults often consider bullying an inevitable and even normal part of childhood. This belief undoubtedly stems from memories of the qualitative bullying of past generations, which was much less frequent, less supported by children's peers, conducted by socially ostracized children, and never, of course, online. Little wonder that adults today frequently ask why "such a fuss" is made over bullying—which is, as they recall it, an unpleasant but infrequent childhood behavior. One result of this attitude is that adults sometimes fail to intervene—resulting in the victim feeling powerless and hopeless in a situation that is torturous in nature.<sup>12</sup> If children feel powerless in situations that adults perceive yet dismiss, how much more powerless must they feel when they are victimized in a way that adults cannot even begin to comprehend?

### ***Bullying Today is Different from Bullying in Previous Generations***

Bullies today are popular and socially successful in a way that they have not been in past generations.<sup>13</sup> The popularity of bullies is without a doubt a significant change, but it pales in comparison to the significance of the dawn of the age of cyber immersion. *Cyber immersion* refers to the utilization of cyber technology and the Internet as a central, rather than as an adjunct, element of daily life.<sup>14</sup> The generational shift from *cyber utilization* (using the Internet as a convenience and an adjunct to real life) to *cyber immersion* (using the Internet as a primary or central method of communication, commerce, relationships, and recreation) is a generational shift that has not seen its equal since the Sexual Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s or the turn-of-the-century immigration into the United States. Then, as now, the older generation lacks a basic understanding of how the younger generation is thinking, feeling, and acting. This ignorance adds an additional layer of obstacles to the work that adults must do to combat childhood abusiveness or bullying.

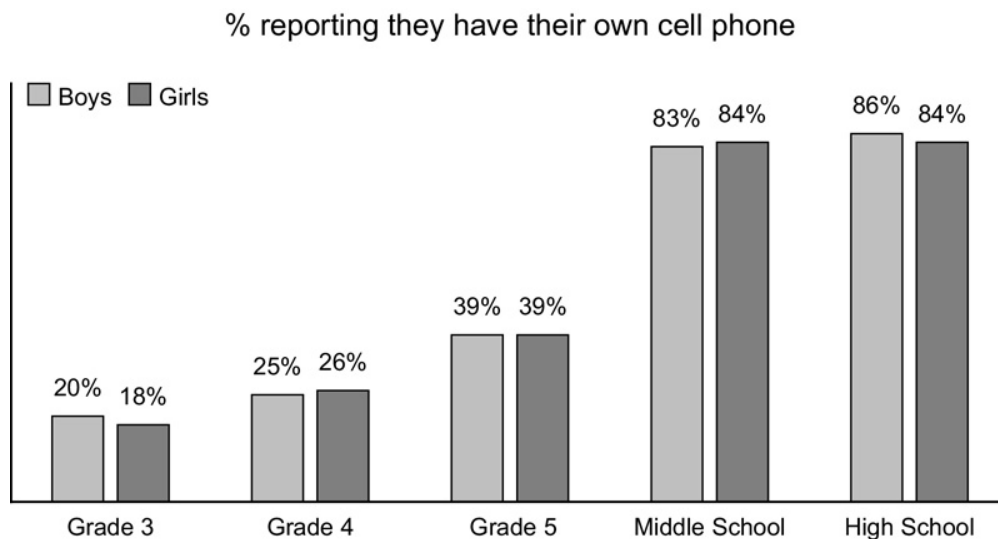


Fig. 2. Access to computers and mobile devices begins early.

### ***What Do We Need to Know About Cyberbullying and Online Behaviors between Children?***

*Cyberbullying* has emerged as 1 result of the increasingly online social life in which modern teens and children engage. Teens reported having received threatening messages, having had private e-mails or messages forwarded without their consent; having had an embarrassing picture of themselves posted online without their consent; or having had rumors spread about them online.<sup>15</sup> Because online teenage life is ever-present among First-World teenagers, cyberbullying may become—or may even already be—the dominant form of bullying behavior among children. Access to computers and mobile devices begins young; about 19% of third graders “own” cell phones (Fig. 2) and more than 90% of third graders play online games in a study in Massachusetts.<sup>4</sup>

Is cyberbullying more common than schoolyard bullying? A recent telephone study of 886 US Internet users age 12 to 17 (conducted October to November 2006) found that one third (32%) of all teenagers who use the Internet say they have been targeted for cyberbullying online.<sup>15</sup> Another 2006 survey of 18- and 19-year-old college freshman found that 40% reported having been “harassed, bullied, stalked, or threatened via instant messaging.”<sup>16</sup> One fifth (20%) of the respondents in that study also admitted being a cyberbully themselves. Over two thirds (73%) had seen an insulting, threatening, or degrading profile on a social networking website such as MySpace. A follow-up MARC survey in 2007 of undergraduate students found that 24% admitted to cyberbullying and that, again, 40% admitted to being victimized online. A 2006 poll of 1000 children conducted by *Fight Crime: Invest in Kids*, found cyberbullying frequencies of about 33%, similar to those found by Pew and MARC.<sup>15</sup> These numbers suggest that cyberbullying (with about 35%–40% admitting victimization) may be more common than traditional bullying (with about 20%–24% admitting victimization).

In another survey,<sup>5</sup> most cyberbullying perpetrators attributed their online bullying to either anger (65%) or “a joke” (35%) with “revenge” and “no reason” being distant third choices. More than two thirds of students knew a friend who had been victimized online and almost one fourth (24%) characterized cyberbullying as either prevalent or very prevalent in their high school. Even if cyberbullying is more prevalent than in-person bullying, the focus of cyberbullying seems to be similar to the focus of

bullying: The most common foci for cyberbullies were someone's appearance and/or who they dated or befriended.

Cyberbullying seems to evoke bullying behaviors among some adolescents who otherwise might not bully. Only 13% of the college students in MARC's 2007 study (above) expressed the opinion that most cyberbullies "would bully no matter what"; instead, they saw bullying online as an opportunistic crime ("easier because you do not see the person" [69%], or done because "you can do it anonymously" [65%]). More than two thirds of the respondents (72%) characterized cyberbullies as predominantly female—a stark contrast to the traditional view that males predominant in aggression.<sup>16</sup> Females seem to use cyberbullying predominately for revenge, whereas boys used it mostly "as a joke." These data suggest that different approaches may need to be tried with boys and girls regarding cyberbullying, and that it "attracts" more female offenders than traditional bullying ever did. Clearly, cyberbullying throws a wider net than traditional "in-person" aggression, and more and different types of offenders should be expected to emerge.

### *How Do We Measure Who is a Bully and Who is Not?*

Many theoreticians have offered typologies of bullies (Fig. 3). The following typology has been utilized<sup>17</sup> in response to the advent of cyberbullying and the resulting comparisons that now occur between schoolyard (traditional) bullying and cyberbullying. Traditional psychological theory might hold that the vehicle is of less importance than the intent; that is, if one wants to be a bully, then one finds a vehicle (schoolyard or cyber)—and if a vehicle is unavailable another will be used (eg, if one cannot bully

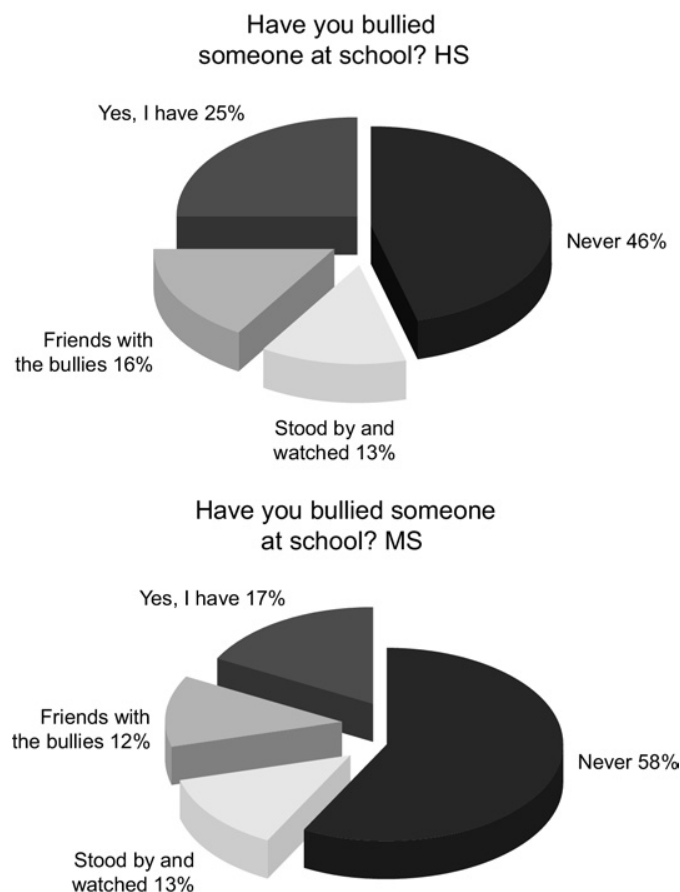


Fig. 3. Types of bullying behavior.

online then one bullies in person). The motivation is paramount. Other psychological theories emphasize the opportunistic situation more (ie, that some types of bullying only occur when the situation permits or encourages them), and these theories seem to “fit” better with cyberbullying, because many cyberbullies do not choose in-person bullying if the cyber route is denied.<sup>16</sup>

It is notable that some experts have already identified patterns of differences between children who only bully online and children who bully in person or both in person and online.<sup>18</sup> In working with schools, MARC finds it useful to identify 5 types of bullies.

### ***Bullies***

These children are “traditional” schoolyard bullies. Their motivation is to dominate over their victims, increase their own social status, and instill fear in potential victims. Their modus operandi is to abuse their victims, either physically or (more commonly) psychologically/verbally. As a group, they tend to have high self-esteem and a marked tendency to perceive themselves as under attack in a hostile environment.<sup>19</sup> Their academic achievement may be moderate to poor, and aggression is their preferred tool for domination. They rely on peer support or lack of intervention to continue their activities. Limit-setting is the adult response which operates best to reduce this type of bullying behavior.<sup>2</sup>

### ***Eggers***

“Eggers” (referred to by Olweus as “henchmen” or “followers”) are so called because their main function is to egg on bullies. These children are a primary support system for schoolyard bullies. Eggers often have poor self-esteem and poor social skills. They befriend and assist bullies because they fear being victimized and because by doing so they gain a high-status, socially powerful friend. Unlike bullies, they do not see their own bullying behaviors as a justified response to a hostile world; they accurately perceive that their behaviors are harmful and unacceptable, but they tend to minimize their own involvement or minimize the impact of their own behaviors. Although some eggers are consistently friendly with a bully, a subtype are floaters. Floaters are not regular friends of bullies, but who may egg on or help bullies during specific bullying situations because they fear being victimized themselves, or because they see it as socially desirable to help out popular bullies. They may “float” in and out of helping bullies; in some situations, they may be a silent bystander, whereas in others, they may actively assist the bully (eg, by laughing at a victim). Like all eggers, they minimize the damage their behavior causes and try to avoid self-confrontation regarding their own role in bullying. Floaters may be “unintentional cyberbullies” as well (see below).

### ***All-around bullies***

All-around bullies are schoolyard bullies who are widening their bullying activities into the electronic realm (ie, cyberbullying). Their motivation and modus operandi are the same as bullies; they simply regard the electronic realm as a new arena of opportunity to continue their abusive activities.

### ***Only-cyberbullies***

Only-cyberbullies are children who would not engage in schoolyard bullying, but do engage in cyberbullying because they have a set of beliefs or attitudes that support cyberbullying specifically. For example, only-cyberbullies might not bully in person because they are powerless socially or invested in school and academics, yet they are willing to bully online because they believe that cyberbullying is without risk, because

adults are seen as simply not being part of the virtual world. The only-cyberbully could be a victim of an in-person bully at school, who attacks his tormenter online, where he can do so relatively safely.

### ***Unintentional cyberbullies***

These children also cyberbully because of a set of beliefs or attitudes, but they seem to do so without the intent to actively bully that characterizes only-cyberbullies. One common attitude in this group is that the Internet “does not count” or “is not real” and so what happens there does not particularly hurt anybody or carry any risks. Because of their limited ability to apply their own victimization experiences, children may believe these myths even when they themselves have been hurt online. Alternatively, some unintentional cyberbullies may truly be intending to joke but their writing does not convey their tone accurately, and their words are taken seriously even though they were not always intended to be taken that way. We know that many adults are overconfident that their writing accurately reflects its intended emotional tone,<sup>20</sup> and it is reasonable to assume that children make similarly poor judgments.

### ***How Might Some of Our Current Responses be Exacerbating the Problems of Bullying and Cyberbullying?***

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Educators in the United States today are encouraged to utilize mediation techniques in addressing student conflicts, particularly at the high school and middle school levels. Some teachers are incorporating conflict resolution and mediation and negotiation techniques into standard curriculum.<sup>21</sup> Research has generally found a high level of satisfaction with Peer Mediation programs in school-based settings.<sup>22</sup> Programs that include teacher training have often emphasized the role that teachers can take in using mediation and negotiation between children who are in conflict.<sup>23</sup> There has been a definitive trend toward training students and teachers to use mediation as the best method to resolve conflict in schools.<sup>24</sup>

The very real success of this trend, in general, discourages critical evaluation of the effectiveness of mediation and negotiation in different types of conflicts among students. However, researchers have discovered that several factors significantly inhibit the use of mediation in schools.<sup>25</sup> One such factor seems to be conflicts that involve bullying.

Mediation and negotiation generally assume that the 2 children in conflict possess relatively equal power, but bullying episodes are defined by their imbalance of power.<sup>11</sup> Theberge and Karan<sup>25(p5)</sup> note that “power imbalances inhibit the use of mediation.” This power imbalance renders mediation and negotiation often inappropriate for both the bully and the target.

Many experts in this field have asserted that mediation is not the ideal approach to resolve a bullying situation<sup>26</sup> because a bully may be adept at being charming or lying during a mediation.<sup>27</sup> Rather than being candid and upfront, bullies may work hard outside of the mediation to attain their goal of dominance over the target.<sup>27</sup>

From the victim’s point of view, their fear of retribution may make it impossible for them to participate fully, because mediation and negotiation require both parties to assert their own needs and to be frank about their problems with the other party’s behavior. A useful analogy is the case of spousal abuse. Would we require a victim of domestic violence to report openly on a violent individual while still living with him or her? There is a general understanding that a victim who refuses to testify is behaving out of fear of retribution, not out of indifference to her condition. Similarly, requiring targets of bullies to “rat out” a bully in a mediation session while continuing to “live”



with the bully on a daily basis in the same school is probably an unreasonable request. Part of the teacher training in the Massachusetts Aggression Reduction Center (MARC) (Elizabeth K. Englander. Coping with aggression and bullying as a teacher [personal communication, Massachusetts Aggression Reduction Center, Bridgewater State College, Bridgewater, MA, 2004]). involves raising awareness about why victims of bullies may dismiss, minimally participate, or refuse to participate in mediation; they are not indifferent to their situation, but rather, targets may resist negotiations because they fear retribution and revenge too vividly.

Mediation and negotiation also do not help the child with stable aggressive tendencies—that is, such an approach does not help a bully, but rather, may compound their problems. Children who are stably aggressive have a marked tendency to regard themselves as either victims or as responding appropriately to nakedly hostile threats.<sup>28</sup> This “aggressor-as-victim” style is the direct result of a cognitive tendency to misinterpret ambiguous events as hostile attacks.<sup>28,29</sup> Thus, rather than suffering from poor self-esteem, bullies tend to regard themselves as reacting appropriately.<sup>30</sup> They see mediation and negotiation as appeasement and tend not to take it seriously (Elizabeth K. Englander. Coping with aggression and bullying as a teacher [personal communication, Massachusetts Aggression Reduction Center, Bridgewater State College, Bridgewater, MA, 2004]). The corrective goal should be, therefore, not to validate the bully’s perceptions but rather to challenge the validity of their responses. Jane Bluestein’s work<sup>31</sup> on “emotional intelligence” suggests that bullies may use emotional information to facilitate their hypersensitivity to hostile cues in the environment, but that such tendencies can be “untaught.”

In summary, mediation may be inappropriate for a few reasons. First, it relies on candor and a willingness to acknowledge the other party’s point of view—something generally lacking in bullies (but not always; see below). Also, it often seeks to emphasize to each party the validity of the other point of view, when work on biased misperceptions and emotional intelligence suggests that bullies need to understand the biases inherent in their own points of view, rather than to have them validated. Although many educators have long approached conflict in children through the use of mediation and negotiation, discipline through limit setting may be the only effective means of encouraging children to cease bullying others. Although aggressive children may (in part) behave that way because of past exposure to inconsistent discipline, research suggests that firm limit setting is the primary means of changing aggressive behavior toward peers.<sup>32</sup>

One final, but important, caveat on using mediation and negotiation between bullies and targets. Some children who participate in bullying behaviors do so not as a primary instigator but as an “egger-on” or tangential support system for the bully himself. These children may be very responsive to both discipline and mediation, at least during elementary school years. They typically underestimate the destructiveness of their own behaviors, even when they themselves have been bullied (Elizabeth K. Englander. Coping with aggression and bullying as a teacher [personal communication, Massachusetts Aggression Reduction Center, Bridgewater State College, Bridgewater, MA, 2004]). If a school is able to identify a child as an “egger” rather than as a full-fledged bully, negotiations, mediations, or apologies may be effective during the elementary school years.

Responding to cyberbullying can be tricky as well. Unlike traditional bullying, cyberbullying frequently takes place off campus, most typically in the child’s home. The fact that cyberbullying takes place predominantly off campus means that the behavior potentially falls into a different legal category. Whereas behavior that takes

<b>Table 1</b>	
<b>Action steps to take in cyberbullying cases</b>	
Have an educational discussion with the cyberbully and with cyber-bystanders.	It may be important to point out that this discussion is not discipline; it is educational, about the dangers of cyberbullying and the fact that everyone is now aware of the situation. If relevant, discuss future legal problems the child may incur if they continue with these behaviors. You can involve an School Resource Officer (SRO) or other police officer in the discussion, and the child's parents, if possible.
Immediately inform cyberbullies and cyber-bystanders about the consequences for bullying or cyberbullying in school.	If the cyberbully or cyber-bystanders engage in any bullying or cyberbullying in school, follow through on consequences immediately.
Be sure that a victim has a Safety and Comfort Plan.	This should include a Safe Person in school—someone who the child likes and can go to, and the child's teachers must be told that this child has the freedom to go see their Safe Person at any time. Initially, do not be concerned if a victim seems to exploit their Safe Person as a way to avoid schoolwork. Focus instead on the child's sense of safety and comfort. Eventually, when the situation seems to be resolved, you can address a child who exploits the situation (if necessary).
Inform all relevant adults	Inform teachers, coaches, counselors, and bus drivers about the situation between the 2 children. Ensure that they are aware of the potential for bullying and that they keep a very sharp eye open.
Have a plan for less structured areas, such as buses and lunchroom.	The victim should never be left to hope that they find a safe seat.
Follow-up with parents, especially parents of victims.	Do not wait for them to call you; call them to let them know that these actions are being taken.

place on the school campus is clearly under the jurisdiction of educators, behavior that takes place at home is usually viewed as being under the jurisdiction of parents.

However, even if a school decides that cyberbullying is not within the school's jurisdiction, there are still important steps (**Table 1**) that all schools can make to help cope with and resolve cyberbullying incidents.

### ***How is the MARC Different from Other Centers and How Can Its Model be Replicated Elsewhere?***

In the fall of 2004, I began a year as the first Presidential Fellow at Bridgewater State College in Bridgewater, Massachusetts. That year was utilized to set up the MARC and launch its model programs to the Massachusetts K to 12 educational community.



The approach of the Center is somewhat different from that of most other experts and centers in the field of bullying prevention. First, the center is an academic center, with a salaried faculty member as its director. It brings services to K to 12 education at either no cost or a very low cost to schools. This has removed the necessity of charging high fees from a field of expertise that previously was largely defined by the marketplace. In addition, MARC utilizes the resources of an academic institution in a very efficient manner. Services from the center are provided by faculty members, graduate students, and trained undergraduates. The undergraduates in the center are particularly valuable as high-status role-model peers in helping teenagers in local high schools form and promote their own bullying prevention work in their own schools.

When MARC goes into a school, we focus not only on services but on assistance with the implementation of services.<sup>33</sup> While assisting schools with implementation, we work intensively with administrators, classroom teachers, support staff, students, and parent and community groups. We have found that it is critical to address both bullying and cyberbullying; to only address traditional bullying is, in effect, to miss half the lesson. Several issues demand a particular focus when doing cyberbullying and bullying prevention work in K to 12 schools.

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#### ***Be Up-to-Date Regarding Information Technology and Its Misuses***

This is not a reference to traditional knowledge about computers; knowing how to use Excel or Google is not enough. What are the problems that are currently referenced on security blogs? What trends in cyber behavior are currently seen? What kinds of cyberbullying are kids engaging in? It is not enough to know that kids can send each other nasty e-mails.

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#### ***Understand that Cyberbullying and Bullying are Different but Not Separate***

For the cyber immersion generation, cyberbullying and bullying are integral and cannot be separated. If it happens in person, it will likely spill over into online life—and vice versa. Yet the causes of these 2 types of bullying are different. Despite that, the coexistence of these 2 worlds needs to be understood and expected.

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#### ***Understand that the Role of Technology is Not Going Away***

Using a “just turn it off” argument will only accomplish 1 result: Students will be certain that adults do not understand how they live and how they work. The cyber world is here to stay. Preparing children to live online may seem like a waste of time, unless you consider the alternative.

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#### ***Education About Cyberbullying is an Important Part of Internet Safety***

Many schools see Internet safety as a separate issue from cyberbullying, but children are much more likely to be cyberbullied than they are to be stalked or approached online by a threatening adult.<sup>34</sup>

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#### ***We Must Begin Talking with Children About Cyberlife and How It Fits in with “Real” Life***

The only safety mechanism that children will ultimately retain is the one between their ears. Yet most parents and most schools do not discuss Internet safety and cyberbullying with children. As cited, 1 study found that a mere 8% of schools in the United States have any education for children about Internet safety or bullying, even though experts agree that education in this area is the key to safety.<sup>35</sup>

### ***Encouraging Reporting is Job One***

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Although many educators are very good at encouraging reporting, this is an issue where there is always room for improvement. It is through these connections between students and adults where targets will be best able to cope with bullying and where bullies themselves may learn about their own culpability in a safe environment.<sup>a</sup>

During its first several years, outcome data have identified several elements as the most important aspects of the MARC program.

#### ***Element 1: Acknowledge that educators are overwhelmed, cannot know everything, and offer them help with implementation and assistance***

There is no real substitute for an in-depth knowledge of the realities of teaching today. Factors such as low pay, tenure, the pressures of standardized testing, and increased class size may seem unrelated to bullying, but in fact they are quite important. Increasing the pressure on teachers to be up to date in their fields decreases the time they have to gain expertise in new fields (such as cyberbullying). Acknowledging these realities renders classroom teachers and support staff more willing and ready to acquire new skills and be more receptive to the source of new information. In-service trainings, where expertise is brought to the school to train its faculty, must be responsive to the taxed and overwhelmed state of mind most educators bring to the training. Asking these professionals, for example, to explore their own personal feelings publicly may be well-intentioned, but often seem to be interpreted as a waste of time; no one is really receptive to enforced psychotherapy under the guise of education. In contrast, emphasizing very practical and concrete steps that teachers can take away and implement immediately can actively encourage their acceptance of effective interventions.

Cyberbullying education for faculty needs to focus on the 6 issues noted. The goal is not just to make sure that faculty have a sense of “what is happening out there,” but also to raise their awareness about the difference between their use of the Internet and their students’. Such awareness is truly the first step to understanding and discussions with children.

Because bullying and cyberbullying are so enmeshed, we rarely address 1 issue without addressing the other. Concrete response skills are an important element in changing the culture of a school: What should a teacher do when encountering, for example, a student who seems to be the victim of bullying, but insists that it is just “fooling around”? These are the kinds of concrete issues, in addition to online problems, that need to be addressed for schoolteachers and staff in schools today. Space limitations here prevent a complete review of the issues and examples we use, but our website has more information (available at: [www.MARCCenter.org](http://www.MARCCenter.org)).

#### ***Element 2: Use of the academic/teaching model rather than the marketplace model***

An academic center reduces and scales costs, removes the profit motive by utilizing a salaried professor as a director, utilizes existing resources very effectively (such as students, computer and physical infrastructure, high-quality levels of knowledge and expertise), and establishes, for the schools seeking services, a dependable source of qualified professionals. Using academic experts is no panacea and their knowledge

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<sup>a</sup>Encouraging reporting by children should be a high priority for every single principal in elementary, middle, junior, or high schools. In every single school shooting studied by the Secret Service (2002)<sup>36</sup>, other children knew about the shooting before the actual event but did not report it to adults. It is no exaggeration to state that encouraging reporting—especially in middle, junior, and high schools—can literally save lives.

about children's aggression and bullying may not always be as high quality as desired, but academia generally represents a more dependable source of expertise than that offered by the public marketplace.

***Element 3: Research-informed practice***

What works with bullies? What types of adult responses actually reduce their abusive behaviors? What do we know about the difference between different types of bullies (eg, "bullies" versus "only-cyberbullies"). Research on traditional bullying abounds, although paucity characterizes the body of research on cyberbullying. Nevertheless, informed practices are best practices and it is important to keep in touch with the difference between anecdotal and experimental evidence—however compelling anecdotal evidence in the field may be.

***Element 4: Distinction between bullying and conflict***

The final research element is the recognition that bullying and conflict are not the same. Bullying, unlike conflict, is defined by a power differential: A bully is very powerful, whereas a victim has little or no social power in the situation.<sup>37</sup> This power differential means that, unlike equal power conflicts, the bully has little or no incentive to "settle" the conflict; rather, he or she may be invested in its continuation.<sup>38</sup> This is an important reason to avoid mediating bullying conflicts, because successful mediation requires both parties to have some motivation to end the conflict in question.<sup>38</sup>

***Element 5: Produce innovative programming that addresses persistent obstacles***

First, adults need to become much more aware of the difference between the generations—the cyber utilization versus the cyber immersion generations. Second, the most up-to-date issues emerging in cyberspace should be reviewed. Third, adults need guidance on beginning conversations with children about cyberbullying and cybersafety. The second issue renders long-term research difficult regarding outcomes, because no cyberbullying program can or should remain static for 3 or more years—the field itself evolves much more rapidly and our curricula is updated monthly to reflect that. (This is not an argument that outcomes research should not occur; it is merely an acknowledgement of the difficulty faced in this area.)

***Element 6: Address school climate***

This means that everyone—faculty, administration, students, and parents—must get involved. Students, especially adolescent students, need to be proactive partners, not passive recipients of adult-led programs. Adults need to be sensitized to the issue of cyberbullying, to the reality of the school day, to the limitations schools face, and to their own responsibilities at home and in the community. It is easy to list these issues and very difficult to achieve them. Despite the obvious implication of current statistics, we have encountered a staggering number of educators who deny the existence of any cyberbullying in "their" schools entirely. Parents, similarly, are often completely unaware of what their child is doing online (and sometimes in person) and, in any case, engaging their interest and attendance is a struggle. Innovative methods need to be found. We have experimented with morning presentations, evening presentations, parent/child discussion homework assignments, and local cable access TV and generally find that each method reaches a different subset of the community. This probably means that multiple efforts must be made at every school, but the future growth of the Internet may be 1 good avenue for communication.

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