

CYBERBULLYING REPORT 2025

BIO

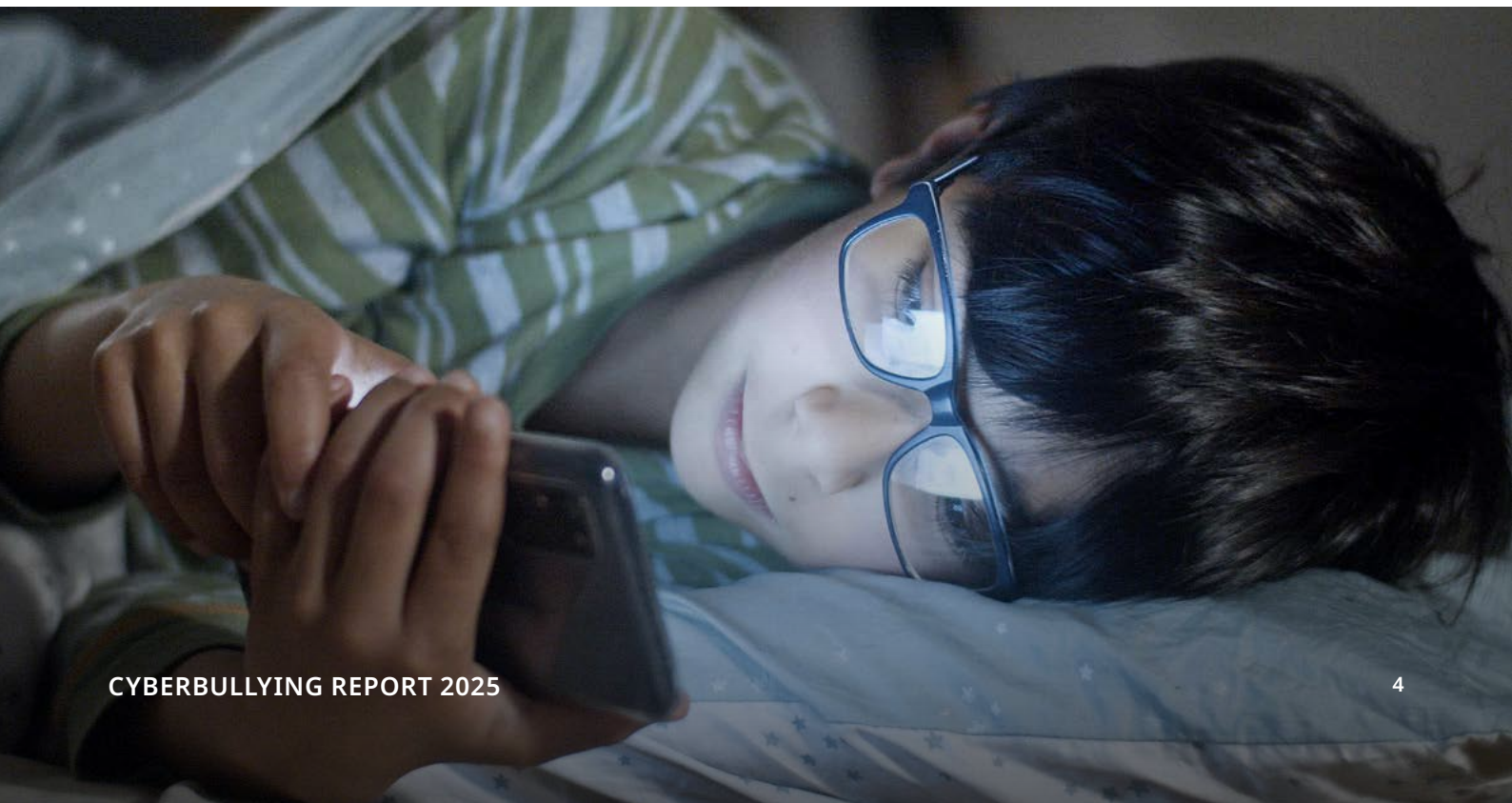
Nerida Brand is a RISCS Associate Fellow based at the University of Exeter. Her research aims to prepare children and adolescents for today's rapidly evolving cyber landscape, equipping them to safely navigate its unparalleled opportunities while fostering an informed understanding of risk.



KEY FINDINGS

- Cyberbullying is perceived globally as a high priority digital risk to children, affecting about 10-14% of children and adolescents. However, it is less prevalent than traditional bullying and most research suggests rates are increasing only slowly.
- Cyberbullying is widely viewed as an extension of traditional bullying; however, there is no universal definition of cyberbullying. This lack of consensus hinders efforts to identify and evaluate viable solutions for addressing the challenges posed by cyberbullying.
- Empirical studies vary considerably in respect to methodologies, designs, terminology used, and measurement criteria. Prevalence rates of cyberbullying victimisation and perpetration vary significantly according to the typical age of respondents, the frequency criterion, and the recall period used.
- The variability across studies could be mitigated if research and policy circles establish and agree on a universal definition of cyberbullying. Agreement on the specific characteristics of cyberbullying will enable researchers to ascertain its global scale and facilitate comparisons across studies. It will also support researchers to devise policy and prevention initiatives and measure their effectiveness, addressing the scarcity of research evaluating school-based anti-bullying programmes.
- Widespread inconsistent messaging around intent suggests that the experience of harm is a defining feature of cyberbullying and the primary concern for schools tasked with implementing education policy. Children and young people (CYP) often classify cyberbullying by the perceived offensiveness of the content and the emotional and behavioural impact on the victim.
- Cyberbullying research needs to foreground the perspectives, lived experiences and evolving social practices of CYP. This will ensure that their voices are reflected in policy development, implementation, and evaluation.
- A generally agreed definition of cyberbullying - formed in consultation with CYP - will facilitate discussion between educators and young people around acceptable online practices and consequences for harmful behaviours and peer-to-peer aggression.
- CYP want to be involved in finding ways to promote positive behaviour online and rate peer-led initiatives as highly effective in targeting cyberbullying.

- Online bullying behaviours generally begin face-to-face before migrating online. Studies suggest 63-93% of cyberbullied children and adolescents have also experienced traditional bullying. This interrelationship makes it difficult to measure the negative effects that are unique to cyberbullying victimisation and more longitudinal studies are needed to explore the specific impact on CYP.
- There is to date a very incomplete picture of how cyberbullying is different from traditional bullying and how bullying behaviours take shape on different platforms. Studies have produced mixed results when comparing impacts such as self-esteem, depression, and suicidal ideation.
- Anti-cyberbullying prevention strategies are likely to be most effective when they include approaches to tackle traditional bullying and address its root causes. The similar dynamics to bullying in offline and online contexts indicate the advantages of integrated anti-bullying programmes that focus on online and offline risks and dynamics simultaneously.
- CYP often report a lack of confidence in the ability of their teachers to handle cyberbullying complaints, and only one in three teachers feel equipped to stop cyberbullying amongst students. Regular staff training is essential in schools, and government guidance to schools should be more comprehensive and evidence-led.
- Further research is needed to develop new tools and guidelines to help understand and combat cyberbullying.

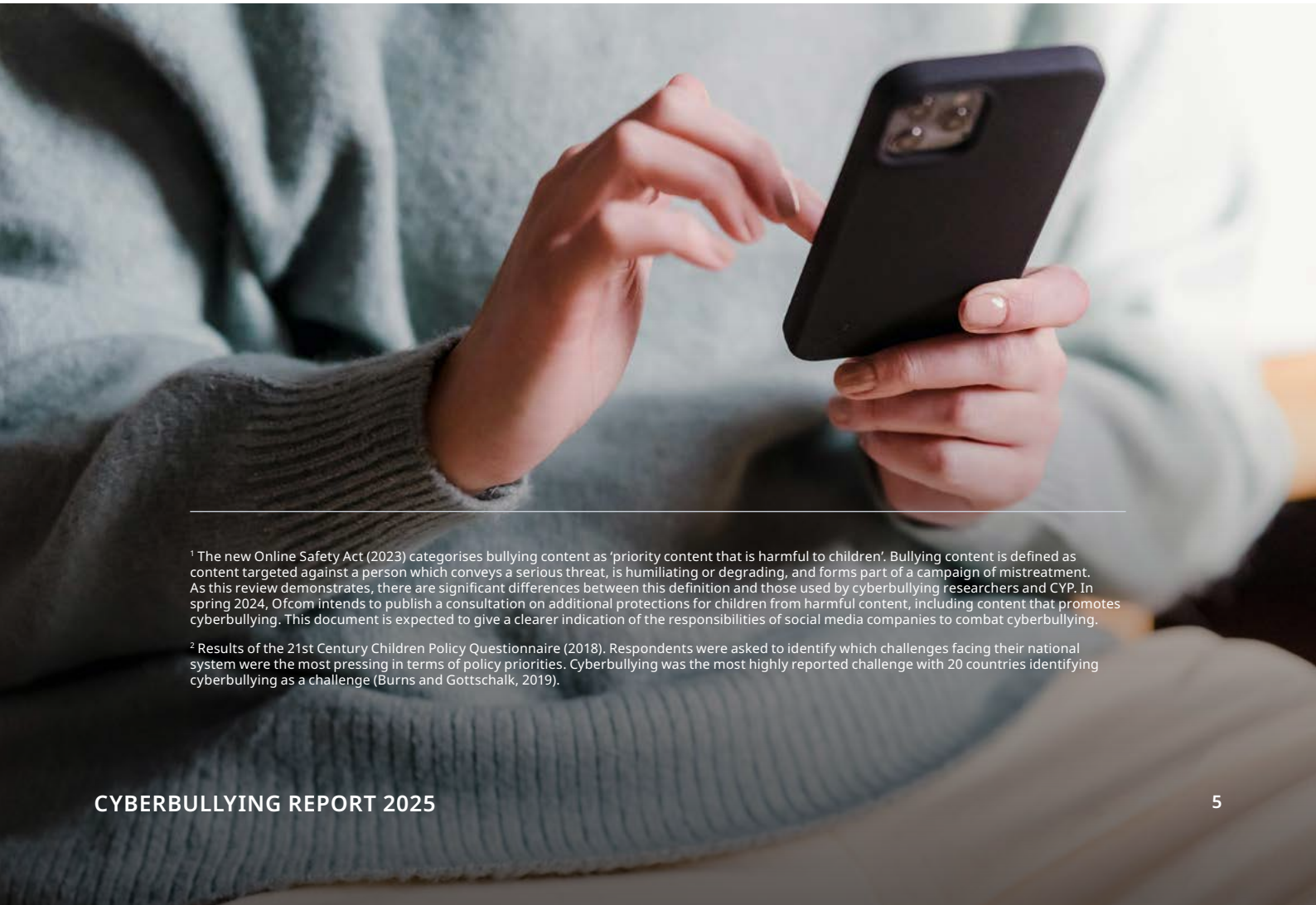


CYBERBULLYING

Cyberbullying is perceived globally as a high priority digital risk to children¹, with 15 of 24 OECD member countries identifying it as one of the most pressing challenges facing their education system². The HBSC cross-national survey suggests that over 1 in 10 adolescents report being cyberbullied at least once in the past couple of months (Inchley et al., 2020) and the EU Kids Online report suggests 14% of children report being cyberbullied at least every month (5%) or a few times in the past year (9%) (Smahel et al., 2020). However, traditional

bullying remains more prevalent, and most studies show only small increases in cases of cyberbullying (Livingstone, Stoilova and Kelly, 2016; Jadambaa et al., 2019; Gottschalk, 2022).

The increasing visibility of cyberbullying incidents may be largely the result of increased engagement and proficiency with technology, public awareness of cyberbullying as a risk and growing willingness to report (Livingstone, Stoilova and Kelly, 2016).



¹ The new Online Safety Act (2023) categorises bullying content as 'priority content that is harmful to children'. Bullying content is defined as content targeted against a person which conveys a serious threat, is humiliating or degrading, and forms part of a campaign of mistreatment. As this review demonstrates, there are significant differences between this definition and those used by cyberbullying researchers and CYP. In spring 2024, Ofcom intends to publish a consultation on additional protections for children from harmful content, including content that promotes cyberbullying. This document is expected to give a clearer indication of the responsibilities of social media companies to combat cyberbullying.

² Results of the 21st Century Children Policy Questionnaire (2018). Respondents were asked to identify which challenges facing their national system were the most pressing in terms of policy priorities. Cyberbullying was the most highly reported challenge with 20 countries identifying cyberbullying as a challenge (Burns and Gottschalk, 2019).



While a considerable volume of research on cyberbullying exists, there is no general consensus as to its definition. Cyberbullying is widely viewed as an extension of traditional bullying and is sometimes defined as bullying or wilful harm inflicted via electronic forms of communication (Olweus, 2012; Hinduja and Patchin, 2015).

Definitions typically include three features of traditional bullying: an intent to cause harm, an imbalance of power and repetition. However, there is considerable debate as to whether the features of traditional bullying adequately capture the defining characteristics of cyberbullying. This lack of consensus hinders efforts to identify and evaluate viable solutions for addressing the challenges posed by cyberbullying.

The importance of the imbalance of power in an online context remains highly contested but is thought to be created through anonymity, superior technological skills, size of social group following and the asynchronicity of contact (Smith, del Barrio and Tokunaga, 2013). Similarly, it remains debatable whether repetition is a relevant criterion for online bullying as repeated perpetration may be superfluous in a digital context. A single post or image can be shared and engaged with by participants other than the initial perpetrator and do not rely on the 'repetition' of the initial offence. Therefore, while the primary characteristics of traditional bullying can be applied to cyberbullying, they manifest in different ways and need to be interpreted more broadly to ensure relevance in an online context³.

³ Olweus and Limber argue that repetition may need to be understood by the number of individuals reached with a hurtful message or image and the length of time it remains in cyberspace.



THE CHALLENGES TO DEFINING AND IMPLEMENTING MEASURES FOR CYBERBULLYING

Researchers have highlighted the challenges in defining cyberbullying and developing a measure that fully accounts for all three criteria (Patchin and Hinduja, 2015). Intent, for instance, can often only be established from the perspective of the perpetrator. Cyberbullying researchers often measure prevalence through a catalogue of behaviours considered to constitute acts of cyberbullying. However, measuring prevalence based on behaviours rather than definitions runs the risk of studies being less directly comparable or under or over-estimating prevalence, often by integrating other forms of online harassment. One 2009 study found that 18% of 12–18-year-olds admitted to having been actively or passively involved in cyberbullying, while 52.5% admitted to engaging in behaviours commonly associated with cyberbullying (Vandebosch and Cleemput, 2009).

Empirical studies also demonstrate significant variation in respect to

methodologies, designs, terminology used, and measurement criteria (Olweus and Limber, 2018; Gottschalk, 2022).

Rates of cyberbullying victimisation and perpetration vary considerably according to the recall period over which cyberbullying was reported, such as the past month, academic year, or lifetime⁴.

In a scoping review of 42 studies examining cyberbullying occurrence within the last year, reported victimisation rates ranged from 1.0 to 61.1%, and perpetration rates ranged from 3 to 39% (Brochado, Soares and Fraga, 2016). However, among 49 studies assessing cyberbullying prevalence within the last six months, reported prevalence varied from 1.6% to 56.9% and perpetration varied from 1.9% to 79.3% (Brochado, Soares and Fraga, 2016).

⁴For instance, the 10-to 15-year-olds' Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) derives its estimates from 'at least one type of online bullying behaviour' in the previous 12 months (ONS, 2020). In interviews with children and parents on their media use and attitudes, Ofcom (2022) asked children if 'someone had been nasty or hurtful to them at some point', which the report refers to as 'bullying'. However, in another UK study, a cyberbullying victim is defined as someone targeted by bullying behaviours four or more times within the last six months (Wolke, Lee and Guy, 2017).

Estimates of cyberbullying prevalence also vary according to the typical age of respondents (ages 11-16, 13-25 etc.) and the frequency criterion (once ever, at least twice monthly etc). This makes meta-analyses and comparisons across studies unreliable and further contributes to significant variation in reported prevalence rates across individual studies. This variability reflects the acute challenges in defining cyberbullying in a way that it is measurable, and which accurately represents the evolving risks faced by children.

The lack of a universally agreed definition of cyberbullying often translates into inconsistent messaging regarding anti-bullying measures.

Anti-bullying organisations adhere to common definitions of cyberbullying, characterising it as an intentional or deliberate act. However, the classroom resources they endorse suggest that bullying can be accidental and typically focus on reducing the risk of *perceived*

cyberbullying⁵. For instance, the theme of Anti-Bullying week for 2023 – a national initiative from the Anti-bullying Alliance – was ‘Make a Noise about Bullying’. Classroom resources were targeted towards bystanders and potential perpetrators, with the primary objective to educate children on the difference between bullying and banter. The suggested lessons focus on preventing unintended harm arising from miscommunication and prioritise the harm perceived by the target over any harm *intended* by the perpetrator.

Inconsistent messaging regarding intent is similarly prevalent in school anti-bullying policies within the UK⁶.

This suggests that the experience of harm is a defining feature of cyberbullying and the primary concern for schools tasked with implementing education policy. It indicates the limitations of defining cyberbullying through intent and consequently a gap between current research and practice.

⁵ Childnet defines cyberbullying as ‘any behaviour that uses technology and devices to deliberately target or upset someone’, but later claims ‘some bullying can be unintentional but this does not make it okay’.

⁶ A brief survey of online secondary school bullying policies brings up hundreds of results in London alone that refer to ‘unintentional’ cyberbullying. For example, the City of London Bullying Policy defines bullying as intentional but later say it can be banter that hurts the victim with no harm intended (City of London, 2023).



GAP BETWEEN RESEARCH AND EXPERIENCES OF CHILDREN

The components of intentionality, repetition and power imbalance often don't coincide with how children and adolescents perceive cyberbullying. While repetition and harmful intentions are frequently considered clear indicators of cyberbullying, children and young people (CYP) often view cyberbullying as either intentional or unintentional. Focus groups with CYP have found that participants classified cyberbullying by the perceived offensiveness of the content and the emotional and behavioural impact on the victim (Nocentini et. al., 2010; Baldasare et al., 2012)⁷. Similarly, focus groups with university students revealed that the recipient's interpretation of a message was perceived as the determining factor in classifying an act as cyberbullying, taking precedence over the sender's intention (Baldasare et al., 2012).

This could be attributed to the ease with which intent to cause harm can be

misconstrued online due to the absence of non-verbal and verbal clues, as well as the lack of social-emotional cues. This ambiguity means that children and adolescents are often uncertain whether harm is intended, impeding their ability to recognise, challenge or withdraw from aggressive online behaviours (Patterson, Allan and Cross, 2016).

Participants also expressed the potential for some cyberbullying interactions to occur between friends, thus complicating the significance of an unequal power relationship.

Not only do young people struggle to define cyberbullying, but they are less likely to recognise it as such (Young Minds and the Children's Society, 2018). CYP groups are more likely to minimise hostile interactions online as 'drama' and often recognise only the most extreme cases (Marwick and Boyd 2014; Gottschalk,

⁷These results echo the findings of an earlier study on traditional bullying, which found that when pupils are asked to define bullying, only 1.7% include the criterion of intentionality, 6% refer to the repetition of the aggressive behaviour, 26% point to inequality of power, while nearly all (92%) highlight the negative actions directed towards victims (Vaillancourt et al., 2008).

2022). Recent figures from the Office for National Statistics suggests that more than half of children aged 10 to 15 years who experienced at least one type of online bullying behaviour (according to ONS definitions) would not themselves describe these behaviours as bullying (ONS, 2020).

Perceptions of cyberbullying are influenced by peer norms, school climate and previous exposure to cyberbullying incidents. 75% of CYP with no experience of cyberbullying considered the encouraging of bullying behaviours to be itself a form of cyberbullying, but only 16% of

CYP who had directly experienced such bullying agreed (Young Minds and the Children's Society, 2018). Similarly, CYP with no experience of cyberbullying were nearly twelve times more likely to identify the filming and sharing of videos depicting emotional or physical abuse to be cyberbullying than those who had actual experience of cyberbullying (Young Minds and the Children's Society, 2018). This significant disparity suggests that exposure to cyberbullying normalises harmful behaviours, impairing the ability to recognise them and seek help.



RESEARCH GAPS AND FURTHER RESEARCH: NEED FOR A UNIVERSAL DEFINITION

The substantial variation in estimates regarding the current prevalence of cyberbullying further emphasises the importance of a generally agreed-upon definition. This is in line with the OECD recommendation that research and policy circles establish and agree on a standard definition of cyberbullying (Gottschalk, 2022).

Clearly defining the parameters of cyberbullying is important to ensure cyberbullying does not become a catch-all term for all negative interactions online (Smith, del Barrio and Tokunaga, 2013; Canty, 2016).

Some researchers suggest it is becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate between cyberbullying and other forms of online aggression (Livingstone, 2016). To facilitate comparison across studies, it is

important to differentiate between online bullying and other harmful peer-to-peer behaviours such as cyberaggression, cyberharassment, threat, outing or trolling using digital devices and platforms.

Agreement on the specific characteristics of cyberbullying will support researchers to devise policy and prevention initiatives and measure their effectiveness. There is a significant lack of research monitoring the efficacy of school-based anti-bullying programmes aimed at preventing or reducing perpetration. Education policy recommendations need to build in stakeholder voice by providing local insights on which intervention and programme initiatives are most successful and for whom. A universal definition of cyberbullying will also allow researchers to ascertain the global scale of the problem and support cross-national comparisons. It will also facilitate international agreements and research, such as the European strategy for a Better Internet for Kids and EU Kids Online.



CYBERBULLYING RESEARCH NEEDS TO BE CHILD-CENTRED

A consensus as to the definition of cyberbullying will facilitate discussion between educators and young people around acceptable online practices and consequences for peer-to-peer aggression. Researchers and young people often disagree on what comprises ordinary behaviour online and what constitutes a harmful interaction. This only reiterates the importance of adopting a child-centred approach that foregrounds the perspectives and social practices of CYP. Placing the lived experiences and needs of young people at the heart of cyberbullying research will ensure that their voices are reflected in policy development, implementation, and evaluation.

Studies have shown positive results when children are partnered with as co-designers of prevention and intervention programmes (Askorab and Vitak, 2016). Numerous studies have identified that CYP want to be involved in finding ways to promote positive behaviour online and rate peer-led initiatives as highly effective in targeting cyberbullying (Children’s Commissioner for Wales, 2019). This finding needs to be reflected in advice to the education sector. DfE advice (2017) on preventing and tackling bullying indicates that successful schools involve pupils who understand the roles they can play in bullying prevention. However, the

guidance does not reflect the desires of young people to be involved in the design, implementation, and evaluation processes of the school’s anti-bullying approach⁸.

Child-centred and child-led research is particularly important as cyberbullying is an evolving problem occurring on online channels and platforms experiencing rapid growth and involving actors of increasing digital literacy.

As online engagement increases, exposure to cyber risk in all forms also increases. Research demonstrates the challenges of studying a moving target and building on an evidence base that quickly becomes outdated (Burns and Gottschalk, 2019). Although cyberbullying is increasingly linked to social media, recent studies often formulate hypotheses and support their findings using data generated when mainstream social media platforms were in their infancy or user numbers were low. This highlights the importance of ongoing research conducted alongside CYP to develop measures of cyberbullying that reflect its evolving characteristics⁹. With increasing opportunities for user engagement and content creation online, there is rich potential for peer aggression to manifest into new forms not yet measured by behaviour-based empirical studies.

⁸This is also absent from the most recent DfE guidance on Keeping children safe in education: Statutory guidance for schools and colleges (2023).

⁹According to the Ipsos global survey for 2018, 69% of parents who knew a child who experienced cyberbullying claimed the bullying occurred through social networks (Newall, 2018).

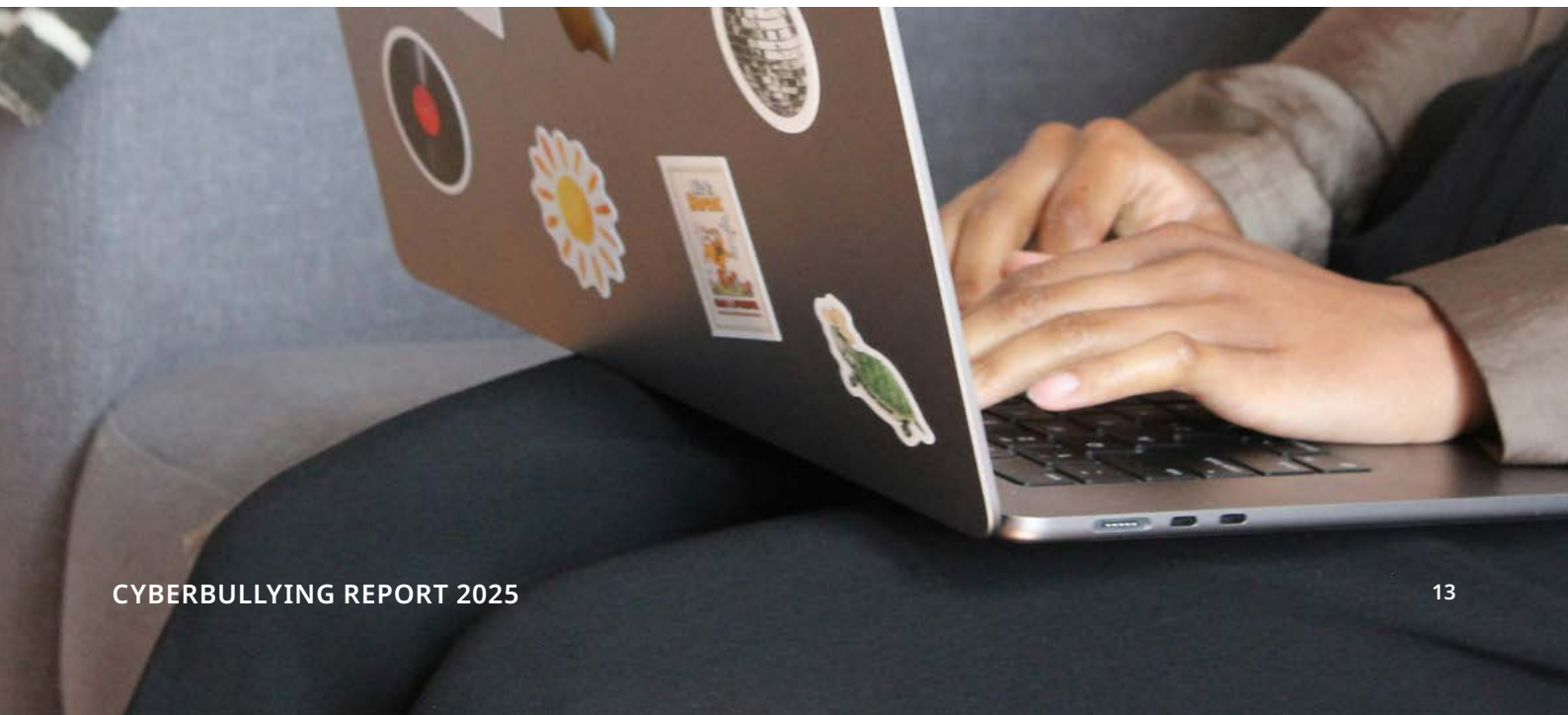
RELATIONSHIP WITH TRADITIONAL BULLYING REQUIRES FURTHER RESEARCH

Studies have shown that online bullying behaviours generally begin face to face before migrating online (Wolke, Lee and Guy, 2017; Children’s Commissioner for Wales, 2019).

One study of 2745 UK secondary school pupils aged 11-16 found that 29% reported being bullied, but only 4% of victims had been bullied online only (Wolke, Lee and Guy, 2017).

Similarly, a larger study of 28,104 students in the US found that 23% reported being bullied in at least one way, with 4.6% having experienced cyberbullying only (Waasdorp and Bradshaw, 2015). One recent meta-analysis reported that 63% of cyberbullied children and youth ages 8 to 20 had also experienced traditional bullying (Li et al., 2022), while other studies put this figure as high as 85% (Juvonen and Gross, 2008) and 93% of cyberbullied adolescents (Olweus, 2012; Hase et al., 2015).

This interrelationship makes it difficult to measure the negative effects that are unique to cyberbullying victimisation and more longitudinal studies are needed to explore the specific impact on CYP. There is to date a very incomplete picture of how cyberbullying is different from traditional bullying and how bullying behaviours take shape on different platforms. Studies have produced mixed results when comparing impacts such as self-esteem, depression, and suicidal ideation. After controlling for both traditional bullying and cyberbullying, Hase et al. (2015) found that traditional bullying was associated with negative psychological outcomes, while cyberbullying did not predict negative mental health outcomes. Other studies suggest that the psychological and academic outcomes of cyberbullying are comparable to other forms of traditional bullying such as direct and relational bullying (Kowalski and Limber, 2013;





Wolke, Lee and Guy, 2017). One 2013 study found a strong correlation between cyber-victimisation and depression, while traditional victimisation had a stronger correlation with anxiety and health problems (Kowalski and Limber, 2013).

Other researchers have suggested cyberbullying is more harmful than traditional bullying and leads to higher levels of anxiety, depression, psychological distress, and suicidality. A recent meta-analysis found a greater risk of suicidal ideation, suicide attempts and self-harm with cyberbullying victimisation than with traditional bullying (Li et al., 2022). Likewise, in a study conducted in 2018, it was discovered that the likelihood of engaging in self-harm was at least twofold higher in cases of traditional bullying victimisation, while instances of cyberbullying victimisation were associated with a minimum threefold increase in the odds of self-harm (Heerde and Hemphill, 2018)¹⁰.

Many studies have found that negative effects such as behavioural difficulties, suicidal ideation, depression, and low self-esteem are compounded and substantially increased when victims are bullied through multiple means (Cross et al., 2015; Wolke, Lee and Guy, 2017; Li et al, 2022).

One study found that adolescents who experienced both traditional bullying and cyberbullying were more than 11 times as likely to attempt suicide than those who had not been bullied (Hinduja and Patchin, 2019). However, more research is necessary, as it has also been suggested that the addition of cyberbullying does not significantly impact self-esteem in adolescents already subjected to traditional bullying (Olweus, 2012).

¹⁰ The researchers noted the dearth of literature examining the link between cyberbullying perpetration and self-harm in adolescents (Heerde and Hemphill, 2018).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Evidence suggests that anti-cyberbullying intervention and prevention strategies are likely to be most effective when they include approaches to prevent and tackle traditional bullying and address its root causes (Wolke, Lee and Guy, 2017). For instance, promoting digital citizenship, encouraging respectful and tolerant online behaviour, and fostering online resilience can be part of a broader strategy that involves cultivating a school climate that is hostile to bullying in all forms (Jones and Mitchell, 2016; Rosen, 2017; Burns and Gottschalk, 2019). In a recent review of youth internet safety programmes, Finkelhor and colleagues recommended that bullying prevention programmes are adapted to encompass online bullying, emphasising the need for integrated programmes that focus on offline and online risks and dynamics simultaneously (Finkelhor et al., 2021). This is partly due to the similar dynamics to bullying in both offline and online contexts and the scarcity of evidence on the efficacy of online safety programmes.

School-based anti-cyberbullying lessons should also address the relational complexities that result when the perpetrator and victim belong to the same social sphere. In a global survey by Ipsos, Great Britain reported the highest incidences of cyberbullying by classmates (74%) and the lowest numbers of cyberbullying from either an unknown young person (17%) or unknown adult

(12%) (Newall, 2018). Online coping strategies (such as reporting harmful content and blocking specific users) should be provided in conjunction with offline strategies for promoting positive peer relationships and the development of social and emotional skills.

Recommended coping strategies are most effective when grounded in the social dynamics and concerns of young people.

Studies suggest that CYP often know which coping mechanisms are recommended and feel comfortable using reporting and blocking functions on strangers and anonymous aggressors (Children's Commissioner for Wales, 2019). However, with known contacts children are less likely to use these and other active coping mechanisms because they 'want[] to know what was being said about them' (Gill, Monk and Day, 2022, p. 29). Widely reported socio-emotional barriers to recommended behaviours should therefore be addressed.

Research suggests that the lack of established rules, authority figures, and online and offline consequences for abusive behaviour online can discourage CYP from assuming personal responsibility. The OECD recommends schools introduce online ethics

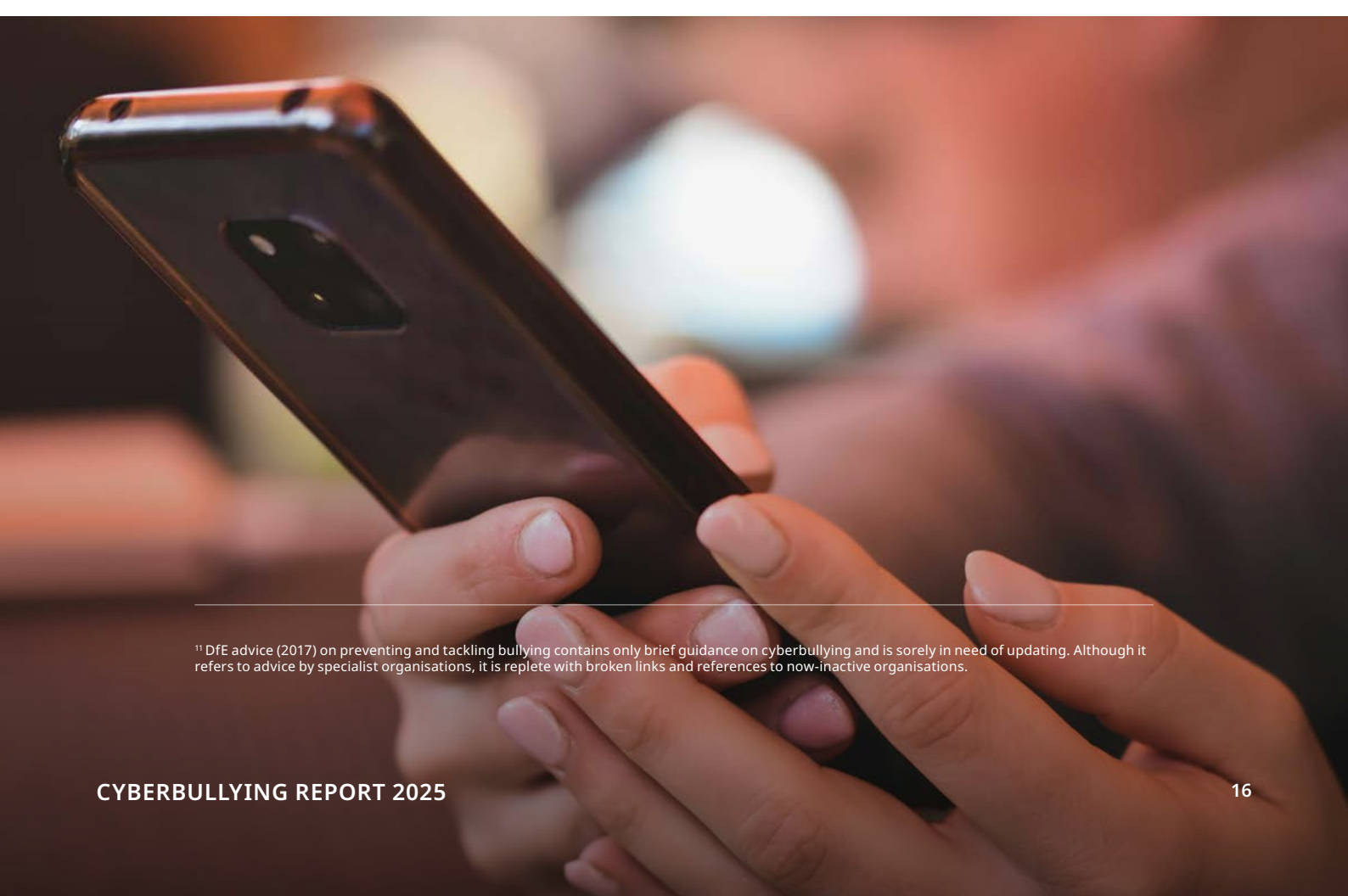
training into the curriculum (Burns and Gottschalk, 2019). There is a growing evidence base to suggest that teaching ethical behaviour online can encourage young people to engage responsibly with their peers and build supportive communities online.

Guidance provided to schools on cyberbullying must provide clear advice on how face-to-face and online bullying work together and encourage schools to offer regular training to staff¹¹.

As cyberbullying extends bullying behind closed doors into young peoples' homes, teachers are often unsure where their responsibility ends. A 2021 survey of

4336 secondary school teachers in the UK found only one in three felt equipped to stop cyberbullying amongst students (Casebourne and Early Intervention Foundation, 2021). This lack of confidence is not unnoticed by CYP who report that teachers have insufficient knowledge of the platforms they use, the experiences they face and deal with cyberbullying complaints in inadequate and unsatisfactory ways (Children's Commissioner for Wales, 2019).

Further research, co-produced with and for CYP groups, is needed to develop new tools and guidelines for teachers, parents, carers, and friends to better understand and help tackle cyberbullying.



¹¹ DfE advice (2017) on preventing and tackling bullying contains only brief guidance on cyberbullying and is sorely in need of updating. Although it refers to advice by specialist organisations, it is replete with broken links and references to now-inactive organisations.

REFERENCES

- Alipan, A., Skues, J., Theiler, S., and Wise, L. (2015). Defining Cyberbullying: A Multiple Perspectives Approach.** *Studies in Health Technology and Informatics*, 219, pp.9-13.
- Anti-bullying Alliance, 2023, Anti-bullying Week 2023: Secondary School Pack, Make a Noise about Bullying.** [Online]. Available at <https://anti-bullyingalliance.org.uk/anti-bullying-week/school-resources/secondary-school-pack> (Accessed: 20 October 2023).
- Askorab, Z., and Vitak, J. (2016). Designing cyberbullying mitigation and prevention solutions through participatory design with teenagers.** *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1145/2858036.2858548>
- Baldasare, A, Bauman, S, Goldman, L and Robie, A. (2012), Cyberbullying? Voices of college students.** in **L Wankel and C Wankel (eds), Misbehavior Online in Higher Education.** Cutting-Edge Technologies in Higher Education, vol. 5, pp. 127-155. [Online]. Available at: [https://doi.org/10.1108/S2044-9968\(2012\)0000005010](https://doi.org/10.1108/S2044-9968(2012)0000005010)
- Brochado, S., Soares, S., and Fraga, S. (2017) A scoping review on studies of cyberbullying prevalence among adolescents,** *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 18(5), pp. 523-531, [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838016641668>
- Burns, T. and Gottschalk, F., eds. (2019) Educating 21st Century Children: Emotional Well-being in the Digital Age,** Educational Research and Innovation: OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/b7f33425-en>
- Canty, J. (2016). Children, Social Media and the Trouble with “Bullying”: A Child-Centred Investigation of Definitions.** Thesis. University of Otago.
- Casebourne, J. and Early Intervention Foundation. (2021). Only one in three teachers feel equipped to help stop cyberbullying.** [Online]. Available at: <https://www.eif.org.uk/press-release/only-one-in-three-teachers-feel-equipped-to-help-stop-cyberbullying>
- Childnet. No date. Help and advice: Online Bullying.** [Online]. Available at: <https://www.childnet.com/help-and-advice/online-bullying-11-18-year-olds/> (Accessed 23 November 2023).
- Children’s Commissioner for Wales. (2019). ‘Don’t worry, I’m here for you’: Children and young people’s experiences of cyberbullying in Wales.** Swansea. Available at: <https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/id/eprint/33007>
- City of London School. (2023). City of London School Anti-Bullying Policy.** [Online]. Available at: <https://www.cityoflondonschool.org.uk/about/policy-repository> (Accessed: 20 September 2023).

Cross, D., Lester, L., & Barnes, A. (2015). A longitudinal study of the social and emotional predictors and consequences of cyber and traditional bullying victimisation. *International journal of public health*, 60(2), pp.207–217. [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00038-015-0655-1>

Dredge, R., Gleeson, J., and de la Piedad Garcia, X. (2014). Cyberbullying in social networking sites: An adolescent victim's perspective, *Computers in Human Behavior* 36, pp. 13-20. [Online]. Available at: doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2014.03.026

Department for Education (2023). *Keeping children safe in education 2023: Statutory guidance for schools and colleges.* [Online]. Available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/behaviour-in-schools--2/further-guidance-and-resources-for-supporting-behaviour-in-schools>. (Accessed 10 November 2023).

Department for Education (2017). *Preventing and tackling bullying.* [Online]. Available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/preventing-and-tackling-bullying>. (Accessed 13 October 2023).

Finkelhor, D., Walsh, K., Jones, L., Mitchell, K., and Collier, A. (2021). Youth Internet Safety Education: Aligning Programs With the Evidence Base. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 22(5), 1233-1247. [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838020916257>

Gill, V., Monk, L., and Day, L., (April 2022). Qualitative research project to investigate the impact of online harms on children. *Ecorys.* [Online]. Available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/online-harms-research-publications-december-2022> (Accessed 10 November 2023).

Gottschalk, Francesca, *Cyberbullying: An Overview of research and policy in OECD Countries*, 2022. [Online]. Available at: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/f60b492b-en>

Hase C.N., Goldberg, S.B., Smith, D., Stuck, A. and Campaign, J. (2015) Impacts of traditional bullying and cyberbullying on the mental health of middle school and high school students. *Psychology in the Schools*, 52(6), pp.607–617. [Online]. Available at: [doi:10.1002/pits.21841](https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.21841)

Heerde, J.A., and Hemphill, S.A., (2019). Are Bullying Perpetration and Victimization Associated with Adolescent Deliberate Self-Harm? A Meta-Analysis, *Archives of Suicide Research*, 23:3, pp.353-381, [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13811118.2018.1472690>

Hinduja, S., and Patchin, J.W. (2015). Bullying beyond the schoolyard: Preventing and responding to Cyberbullying, (2nd Ed). Thousand Oaks, California: Corwin.

Hinduja, Sameer and Patchin, Justin W. (2019) Connecting Adolescent Suicide to the Severity of Bullying and Cyberbullying, *Journal of School Violence*, 18:3, pp.333-346, [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2018.1492417>

Husky, M. M., Delbastay, E., Bitfoi, A., Carta, M. G., Goelitz, D., Koç, C., Lesinskiene, S., Mihova, Z., Otten, R., and Kovess-Masfety, V. (2020). Bullying involvement and self-reported mental health in elementary school children across Europe. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 107, [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2020.104601>

Inchley, J., Currie, D., Budisavljević, S., Torsheim, T., Jåstad, A., Cosma, A., Kelly, C., Arnarsson, Á., Barnekow, V. and Weber, M. (2020), *Spotlight on adolescent health and well-being. Findings from the 2017/2018 Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) survey in Europe and Canada*. International report. Volume 1. Key findings., WHO Regional Office for Europe, Copenhagen.

Jadambaa, A. et al. (2019), Prevalence of traditional bullying and cyberbullying among children and adolescents in Australia: A systematic review and meta-analysis, *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 53/9, pp. 878-888. [Online]. Available at: doi.org/10.1177/0004867419846393

Jones, L. M., and Mitchell, K. J. (2016). Defining and measuring youth digital citizenship. *New Media & Society*, 18(9), 2063-2079. [Online]. Available at: doi.org/10.1177/1461444815577797

Jose, P.E., Kljakovic, M., Scheib, E.L. and Notter, O. (2012). The joint development of traditional bullying and victimization with cyber bullying and victimization in adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 22 (2), pp. 301-309. [Online]. Available at: [doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2011.00764](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2011.00764)

Juvonen J, Gross EF. Extending the school grounds?—Bullying experiences in cyberspace. *J Sch Health*. 2008;78(9):496-505. [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1561.2008.00335.x>

Kowalski, R.M. and Limber, S.P. (2013). Psychological, physical, and academic correlates of cyberbullying and traditional bullying. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 53 (1) pp.:S13-S20. [Online]. Available at: [doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2012.09.018](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2012.09.018)

Li, C., Wang, P., Martin-Moratinos, M., Bella-Fernández, M. and Blasco-Fontecilla, H. (2022). Traditional bullying and cyberbullying in the digital age and its associated mental health problems in children and adolescents: a meta-analysis. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*. [Online]. Available at: doi.org/10.1007/s00787-022-02128-x

Livingstone, S., Stoilova, M. and Kelly, A. (2016). Cyberbullying: incidence, trends and consequences, in *Ending the Torment: Tackling Bullying from the Schoolyard to Cyberspace*, United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children, New York, USA. [Online]. Available at: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/68079/>

Marwick, A. E. and boyd, d. (2014) Networked privacy: How teenagers negotiate context in social media. *New Media & Society*, 16 (7), pp. 1051-1067. [Online]. Available at: doi.org/10.1177/1461444814543995

Modecki, K. L., Minchin, J., Harbaugh, A. G., Guerra, N. G., and Runions, K. C. (2014). Bullying prevalence across contexts: A meta-analysis measuring cyber and traditional bullying. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 55, pp.602-611. [Online]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2014.06.007>

Newall, M. (2018). Cyberbullying: A Global Advisor Survey. *Ipsos Public Affairs*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ipsos.com/en/global-views-cyberbullying>. (Accessed 12 December 2023).

Nocentini, A., Calmaestra, J., Schultze-Krumbholz, A., Scheithauer, H., Ortega, R., and Menesini, E. (2010). Cyberbullying: Labels, behaviours and definition in three European countries. *Journal of Psychologists and Counsellors in Schools*, 20, pp. 129-142. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1375/ajgc.20.2.129>

OECD (2021). Beyond Academic Learning: First Results from the Survey of Social and Emotional Skills, OECD Publishing, [Online]. Available at: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/92a11084-en>

Ofcom. (2022). Children and parents: media use and attitudes report 2022. Available at: <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/research-and-data/media-literacy-research/childrens/children-and-parents-media-use-and-attitudes-report-2022>

Office for National Statistics (2020). Online bullying in England and Wales: year ending March 2020, [Online]. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/onlinebullyinginenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2020>

Olweus, D. (2012), "Cyberbullying: An overrated phenomenon?", *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 9/5, pp. 520-538, Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405629.2012.682358>

Olweus D. and Limber S P. (2018). Some problems with cyberbullying research. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 19, pp. 139-143. Available at doi: 10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.04.012.

UK Parliament. (2023). Online Safety Act 2023. [Online]. Available at: <https://bills.parliament.uk/bills/3137> (Accessed 25 November 2023).

Patchin, J.W., and Hinduja, S., (2015). Measuring cyberbullying: Implications for research, *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2015.05.013>

Patterson, L. J., Allan, A., and Cross, D. (2016). Adolescent bystanders' perspectives of aggression in the online versus school environments, *Journal of Adolescence*, 49. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2016.02.003>

Rosen, R. (2017). Ordinary magic for the digital age: understanding children's digital resilience. *Parentzone*. [Online]. Available at https://parentzone.org.uk/sites/default/files/2021-12/PZ_Ordinary_Magic_Digital_Age_2017_0.pdf

Salmivalli, C., Sainio, M., and Hodges, E. V. (2013). *Electronic victimization: correlates, antecedents, and consequences among elementary and middle school students.* *Journal of clinical child and adolescent psychology*, 42(4), 442–453. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15374416.2012.759228>

Smahel, D., MacHackova, H., Mascheroni, G., Dedkova, L., Staksrud, E., Olafsson, K., Livingstone, S., and Hasebrink, U. (2020). *EU Kids Online 2020: survey results from 19 countries.* EU Kids Online, The London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.21953/lse.47fdeqj01ofo>

Smith, P. K., del Barrio, C., and Tokunaga, R. S. (2013). **Definitions of bullying and cyberbullying: How useful are the terms?** In S. Bauman, D. Cross, and J. Walker (Eds.), *Principles of cyberbullying research: Definitions, measures, and methodology*, pp. 26–40. Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Vaillancourt, T., McDougall, P., Hymel, S., Krygsman, A., Miller, J., Stiver, K., Davis, C. (2008). **Bullying: Are researchers and children/youth talking about the same thing?** *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 32(6): pp.486–495. Available at: doi: 10.1177/0165025408095553.

Vandebosch, H., and Van Cleemput, K. (2009). **Cyberbullying among youngsters: profiles of bullies and victims.** *New Media & Society*, 11(8), pp.1349-1371. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809341263>

Waasdorp, T. E., & Bradshaw, C. P. (2015). **The overlap between cyberbullying and traditional bullying.** *The Journal of adolescent health: official publication of the Society for Adolescent Medicine*, 56(5), pp. 483–488. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2014.12.002>

Wolke, D., Lee, K. and Guy, A. (2017). **Cyberbullying: a storm in a teacup?** *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 26 (8), pp.899–908. Available at: doi:10.1007/s00787-017-0954-6.

Young Minds (2018). *Safety Net: Cyberbullying's impact on young people's mental health Inquiry report*, s.l.: The Children's Society.