Personality and Social Psychology

Swedish pupils' suggested coping strategies if cyberbullied: Differences related to age and gender

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The aim of this study was to investigate the coping strategies that Swedish 10 and 12 year-olds (N = 694) suggested they would use if they were cyberbullied, with a special focus on whether there are differences in these strategies related to age and gender. The most commonly suggested coping strategy was telling someone, especially parents and teachers (70.5%). Surprisingly few of the pupils reported that they would tell a friend (2.6%). Differences in suggested coping strategies were found related to age and gender. Findings are discussed in relation to the Swedish sociocultural context as well as in relation to the implications for prevention strategies against cyberbullying.

Key words: Coping strategies, gender differences, age differences.

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INTRODUCTION

Cyberbullying is a form of bullying that is conducted through modern information and communication technology (Smith, 2009). Previous studies in Sweden have showed that being the victim of cyberbullying is associated with negative consequences such as psychosomatic problems (Beckman, Hagquist & Hellström, 2012) and poor body esteem (Frisén, Berne & Lunde, 2014). To address this serious problem, it is important to investigate pupils' own suggestions of what they would do to stop cyberbullying if they were cybervictims. There have been some international studies on pupils' suggestions on strategies to cope with being cyberbullied (Agatston, Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Aricak, Siyahhan, Uzunhasanoglu *et al*., 2008; Bauman, 2009; Cassidy, Jackson & Brown, 2009; Huang & Chou, 2010; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Li, 2006, 2007, 2010; Simone, Smith & Blumberg, 2012). However, no research attention so far has been given to what coping strategies pupils from Sweden suggest that they would use if they were cyberbullied. Sweden is an interesting country with regards to this, because in Sweden there is legislation against bullying and there is a widespread use of the internet among pupils. To be more specific, there is a zero tolerance policy against bullying in Swedish schools, and staff is obliged by law to actively prevent discrimination, harassment and abusive treatment (SFS, 2008, 2010). Additionally, among 25 European countries, Sweden is the country with the most frequent everyday internet usage among 9–16 year-olds (Von Feilitzen, Findahl & Dunkels, 2011).

Another question is whether or not pupils' suggestions on these matters vary between different groups such as by age and gender. It is important to develop knowledge about what strategies different groups of pupils suggest that they would use to counteract cyberbullying. Do younger and older pupils differ in their thoughts about what to do if cyberbullied? Preventive work should include different aspects for different age groups if there are differences in these groups' perceptions of the phenomenon.

Coping strategies in the Swedish socio-cultural context

To our knowledge, no Swedish studies have previously been performed on the various coping strategies that pupils suggest they would use if cyberbullied. Two studies from Sweden, however, focus solely on whether cybervictims seek help by telling about their experience of cyberbullying to someone, and if so, to whom (Slonje, 2011; Slonje & Smith, 2008). But there are several other coping strategies that cybervictims can use other than telling someone, these are presented in the next section. In contrast to the two Swedish studies previously mentioned, the present study examines the suggestions of Swedish pupils in general (both cybervictims and other pupils). Drawing on social representations theory people develop representations of various aspects of social reality and use those when interacting with each other (Augoustinos, Walker & Donaghue, 2012). Thornberg (2010, p. 32) suggests that these representations can be seen as "forms of common sense knowledge among groups of people." People are strongly influenced by these representations; they elicit feelings, thoughts, and behaviors. It is of importance to investigate Swedish pupils' suggestions of solutions to cyberbullying, to better understand their thoughts and behavior in cyberbullying situations. This knowledge is important for researchers to be able to develop effective anti-cyberbullying approaches for children and adolescents. It should also be noted that the content of the social representations vary due to difference in contextual variables such as culture, legalization, and access to internet (Augoustinos *et al*., 2012; Sarrica, 2010). The legislation against bullying and the massive use of internet among children and adolescents in Sweden might influence the suggestions Swedish pupils have of solutions to cyberbullying.

Previous research on coping strategies

Some of the suggestions for coping with cyberbullying are common across international studies. These are telling someone, ignoring the bullying, confronting the bully, and employing technical solutions, which will be described in more detail below.

Telling someone. In a systematic review of coping strategies against cyberbullying, Perren, Corcoran, Cowie *et al.* (2012) reported that the most frequently investigated coping strategy in international studies is telling someone, such as a friend, a parent, or a teacher. They also found that it is more common that pupils would consult a friend rather than a parent or a teacher. One possible explanation for this could be that pupils fear that technology would be restricted to them if they were to tell someone (Agatston *et al.*, 2007; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Li, 2010; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Smith *et al.*, 2008).

Ignoring. In a study with multiple-choice questions, Li (2010) reported that 42.5% of the pupils in general reported that they would do nothing if they were cyberbullied. Further, Smith *et al.* (2008) found that 41.3% of pupils in general thought that they would ignore it if they were cyberbullied. Additionally, in a study of cybervictims, 24.8% said that they had done nothing (Smith *et al.*, 2008). Why is doing nothing such a common response? It has been suggested that this may be partly because cybervictims fear that if they give the offender a reaction, the cyberbullying might escalate (Li, 2010). However, some pupils think that cyberbullying is not such a serious issue and that it therefore should just be ignored (Li, 2010).

Confronting. Another response from pupils in general regarding what they would do if they were cyberbullied is confronting the cyberbully; the prevalence for this suggestion varies between 3% and 36.3% across international studies (Aricak *et al.*, 2008; Bauman, 2009; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Smith *et al.*, 2008). Actually, in some of the studies pupils reported that they would go further and bully them back (Bauman, 2009; Smith *et al.*, 2008). Interestingly, when asking cybervictims, Juvonen and Gross (2008) found that as many as 48% reported that they had retaliated against the bully. Most of them had retaliated against the bully offline (60%), only 12% had retaliated online.

Technical solutions. In several studies pupils in general suggested technical solutions, such as changing one's username (8.1%; Aricak *et al.*, 2008), changing one's e-mail address or phone number (56.7%; Juvonen & Gross, 2008), or blocking messages/identities (74.9%; Smith *et al.*, 2008). When asking cybervictims, Juvonen and Gross (2008) reported that 67% had blocked someone, 33% had removed the person from their friends list on the website, and 26% had changed their usernames.

Although the findings from these international studies about suggested coping strategies against cyberbullying are of interest, no research attention has been given to what pupils in general from Sweden suggest that they would do to stop the cyberbullying situation.

Differences in coping strategies between groups of pupils

Research on offline bullying emphasizes the importance of examining the conditions under which prevention strategies work (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009; Swedish National Agency for School Education, 2011). For example, in an evaluation of some anti-bullying programs in Sweden, it was highlighted that the effectiveness of actions to prevent offline bullying was age and gender specific (Swedish National Agency for School Education, 2011). Previous international findings concerning whether coping strategies against offline and cyberbullying vary with age and gender are discussed below.

Age differences. International research on offline bullying has found that younger pupils more often than older pupils tend to cope by asking adults for help (Smith, Shu & Madsen, 2001). One possible explanation for this could be that when moving into adolescence, pupils seek independence from their parents and often turn to peers rather than adults for support (Aricak *et al.*, 2008). On the subject of coping strategies against cyberbullying, one Swedish study (Slonje, 2011) investigated if there were any age differences in who cybervictims told about being cyberbullied; but no significant differences between the ages were found in that study. Apart from this study, Stacey (2009) conducted focus groups in Australia and found that younger pupils more often than older pupils said that they involved parents and school staff. The differences between the younger and older pupils were not investigated by statistical analysis. To conclude, the Swedish and international research has been scarce concerning whether suggested coping strategies against cyberbullying vary with age. Moreover, the study from Sweden that investigated this issue focused exclusively on cybervictims and only if they told someone not the whole variety of strategies. The present study will, therefore, shed light on whether there are differences that depend on age, in the suggested coping strategies by pupils in general.

Gender differences. International research on offline bullying has showed that girls and boys tend to use different coping strategies (Smith *et al.*, 2001). Whereas boys tend to cope by fighting back, girls tend to cope by asking friends or adults for help. These findings may reflect a socialization into traditional gender roles, where girls are expected to speak more about their feelings and use less physical violence (Adams, Kuebli, Boyle & Fivush, 1995; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton & Scheidt, 2001). Similar findings have been found in the cyber context. Li (2006) showed that girls in Canada were more likely than boys to inform adults that they were being cyberbullied among 7–9th grade pupils. Gender differences were also found in another study from United States, but only adults were included in the sample (Hoff & Mitchell, 2009). More specifically, males reported that they would use more active and physically retaliatory behavior, whereas females reported that they would use more passive and verbally retaliatory behavior. Due to cultural differences, Sweden is an interesting context for the investigation whether there are any differences in the suggested coping strategies by pupils that depend on gender. Sweden is known for its high ambitions for gender equality and is classified as one of the world's most

gender equal countries (Hausmann, Tyson & Zahidi, 2013). For instance, school staff is by law obliged to promote gender equality (SFS, 2010).

Aim and research questions

The aim of this study was to investigate the coping strategies that Swedish pupils suggested they would use if they were cyberbullied, with a special focus on whether there are differences in these suggestions that are related to age and gender. The following specific questions guided our investigations: (1) What coping strategies do Swedish pupils suggest that they would use if they were cyberbullied? (2) Are there any age differences in the coping strategies suggested?; and (3) Are there any gender differences in the coping strategies suggested?

METHOD

Participants

This study was conducted during the end of 2010 and in the beginning of 2011. Public schools were randomly selected from the list of schools in the municipality of Gothenburg, Sweden, to represent different socio-economic areas in the city. In all, 21 schools were approached with a request for participant recruitment directed to the headmaster in each school. Only one of the selected schools declined to participate, and thus, another school was randomly selected in the same area. In each school, one class from each grade was randomly chosen (4th and 6th grades), and active parental consent was sought from the pupils' parents. The number of eligible pupils was 905, and as 176 declined to participate or were absent during the lesson when the study took place, the total number of pupils who participated in this study was 729 (80.6% of the total sample). Overall, 702 pupils answered the question about suggested coping strategies if cyberbullied. Out of these pupils, eight were excluded because they did not give a valid answer, for example, giving an incomprehensible answer or appearing to have misunderstood the question. Hence, 694 pupils (355 girls and 339 boys), 326 from the 4th grade (mean age: 10.1 years ± 0.37), and 368 from the 6th grade (mean age: 12.0 years ± 0.35) were included in the analysis.

Procedure

Questionnaire administration took place during regular school hours. The participants were informed that participation in the study was voluntary, and that their answers would be treated anonymously. Participants who had given their consent to participate in the study and whose parents had given their consent completed the survey. The researcher and/or research assistant were present while the participants filled out the questionnaire, offering to assist if any questions or difficulties would appear. This procedure was approved by the regional ethical review board.

Instrument

Participants were given the following oral definition of cyberbullying before filling out the questionnaire: "A person is cyberbullied when he or she repeatedly is exposed to aggressive and deliberate behaviors on the internet or through mobile phone. The person cannot defend him- or herself. It is not cyberbullying when teasing is done in a friendly and playful way."

Suggested coping strategies were examined by the open-ended question "If you were cyberbullied, what would you do to stop it?"

Analysis

A mix method approach (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010) was considered the most suitable for the present study. By use of qualitative thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) we coded the pupils' answers into themes. With quantitative analyses we were also able to measure how the answers were distributed among the participants and analyse whether there were differences in these suggestions that were related to age and gender.

When doing the thematic analysis an abductive approach was used (see Thornberg, 2011). More specifically, we used our knowledge about previous international research findings in a data sensitive manner, trying to be open and perceptive to the data, without rejecting our knowledge about previous international research.

Thematic analysis was used, as described by Braun and Clark (2006), to identify themes in participants' suggestions of coping strategies. Initially, the thematic analysis started with the dataset being searched for recurring patterns and codes. Next, selected patterns and codes were merged into larger themes to describe the content of the data. Finally, all themes and subthemes were named, and quotations from the pupils' answers were chosen to illustrate the content of the themes.

The statistics computer program SPSS version 19 (IBM, Armonk, NY) was used to produce descriptive statistics of distribution of answers concerning coping strategies. Chi-square tests were used to investigate possible differences between groups.

Additionally, to ensure reliability in the thematic analysis 30% of the interviews (randomly selected from the transcribed interviews) were re-coded. Overall inter rater percent agreement between first and second rater was 99.2%, (ranging from 92.2% to 100% for the different themes) with an average kappa of 0.960.

RESULTS

Suggested coping strategies

The answers pupils gave concerning what they would do if they were cyberbullied were coded into six themes and twelve subthemes (see Table 1).

Distribution of answers in the themes

The distribution of the pupils' answers in the different themes and subthemes is presented in Table 2. The themes that most frequently occurred in the pupils' answers were telling someone, confronting the bully, and ignoring. Some, but not very many, pupils' considered technical solutions, or reporting, or suggested they did not know.

Differences in suggested coping strategies between groups of pupils

Age differences. Chi-square tests revealed that significant age differences could be found in some of the coping strategies (See Table 2). For instance, findings showed that younger pupils more often suggested telling a parent than older pupils who more often suggested telling a friend.

Gender differences. Significant gender differences in coping strategies were identified by chi-square tests (See Table 2). For example, girls reported that they were more likely than boys to tell parents and teachers, as well as friends. Boys, on the other hand, were more likely to suggest retaliating back, in an offline-context.

Table 1. *The six themes and twelve subthemes from the question "If you were cyberbullied, what would you do to stop it?" with illustrative quotes*

Theme and Subthemes	Illustrative quotation
1. Telling someone	"I would tell my mum and dad so they could contact the person or his/her parents."
1.1. Telling a parent	"I would first tell my parents. And then I would leave the responsibility to my parents."
1.2. Telling a teacher	"I would have gone to the teacher and said who it was."
1.3. Telling a professional	"Firstly I would talk to someone who works with it."
1.4. Telling a friend	"Tell my friends and ask them to help me, be on my side and so on."
2. Reporting	"I would report them."
2.1. Reporting to the police	"I would tell my parents and try to find the one or the ones who did it, and talk to them, and if they continued I would for example talk to the police."
2.2. Reporting to the website	"If it was on Facebook I would report the person."
3. Ignoring	"I would not respond to the messages, because then they would think it's boring and stop sending messages"
3.1. Avoiding	"...turn off the computer or leave." "I would probably stop visiting that site."
3.2. Don't care	"I wouldn't care."
4. Confronting	"I would meet up with that person and tell him or her to stop."
4.1. Confronting in person	"I would try to find out who it is and ask why he or she does it."
4.1.1. Offline retaliation	"If he or she didn't stop I would hit him or her."
4.2. Confronting online	"I would write: You're bullying me now, or: I'll tell my parents."
4.2.1. Online retaliation	"I would write something mean back." "I would do the same to them."
5. Technical solutions	"Block E-mail and chat messages, avoid text messages."
6. Don't know	"I don't know." "I cannot come up with something because I can't picture myself in that situation."

DISCUSSION

The present study contributes with knowledge about the suggestions Swedish pupils have of solutions to cyberbullying. Differences in suggested coping strategies were found related to age and gender. Findings are discussed in relation to the Swedish sociocultural context as well as in relation to the implications for prevention strategies against cyberbullying.

Suggested coping strategies

In the present study a majority of the pupils reported that they would tell an adult, and a small minority of them suggested telling a friend, while other international studies have found the opposite pattern (Huang & Chou; 2010; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Smith *et al.*, 2008). Social representations theory gives an explanation for this difference in pattern, namely, the content of social representations in peer cultures might vary due to differences in contextual variables, such as culture (Augoustinos *et al.*, 2012). Certain features in the Swedish sociocultural context can be assumed to have an impact on who Swedish pupils suggest that they would turn to if being cyberbullied. Extensive work is being done against bullying in Swedish schools, and the implementation of anti-bullying programs focuses on educating parents and school staff (Swedish National Agency for School

Table 2. *Percentages and numbers of pupils who included the themes in their suggested coping strategies*

Coping strategy	Grade 4 % (n)	Grade 6 % (n)	χ^2	Girls % (n)	Boys % (n)	χ^2	Total % (n)
1. Telling someone	69.3 (226)	71.5 (263)	-	78.3 (278)	62.2 (211)	21.51***	70.5 (489)
1.1. Telling a parent	45.1 (147)	34.5 (127)	8.10**	45.6 (162)	33.0 (112)	11.51***	39.5 (274)
1.2. Telling a teacher	20.6 (67)	19.8 (73)	-	24.2 (86)	15.9 (54)	7.41**	20.2 (140)
1.3. Telling a professional	2.5 (8)	3.3 (12)	-	3.9 (14)	1.8 (6)	-	2.9 (20)
1.4. Telling a friend	0.9 (3)	4.1 (15)	6.82**	4.2 (15)	0.9 (3)	7.66**	2.6 (18)
2. Reporting	4.0 (13)	6.8 (25)	-	5.9 (21)	5.0 (17)	-	5.5 (38)
2.1. Reporting to the police	2.8 (9)	2.2 (8)	-	2.0 (7)	2.9 (10)	-	2.4 (17)
2.2. Reporting to the website	0.3 (1)	3.0 (11)	7.32**	2.3 (8)	1.2 (4)	-	1.7 (12)
3. Ignoring	15.6 (51)	17.9 (66)	-	15.8 (56)	18.0 (61)	-	16.9 (117)
3.1. Avoiding	11.7 (38)	6.8 (25)	4.95*	9.3 (33)	8.8 (30)	-	9.1 (63)
3.2. Don't care	4.3 (14)	9.0 (33)	5.98*	6.8 (24)	6.8 (23)	-	6.8 (47)
4. Confronting the bully	21.2 (69)	29.3 (108)	6.09*	25.6 (91)	25.4 (86)	-	25.5 (177)
4.1. Confronting in person	3.7 (12)	10.9 (40)	12.89***	6.2 (22)	8.8 (30)	-	7.5 (52)
4.1.1. Offline retaliation	0.6 (2)	1.1 (4)	-	0.0 (0)	1.8 (6)	6.34*	0.9 (6)
4.2. Confronting online	5.8 (19)	2.2 (8)	6.17*	3.7 (13)	4.1 (14)	-	3.9 (27)
4.2.1. Online retaliation	1.8 (6)	1.1 (4)	-	1.1 (4)	1.8 (6)	-	1.4 (10)
5. Technical solutions	6.7 (22)	6.5 (24)	-	7.3 (26)	5.9 (20)	-	6.6 (46)
6. Don't know	9.2 (30)	4.6 (17)	4.99*	6.2 (22)	7.4 (25)	-	6.8 (47)

Note: A participant's answer may have been coded into several themes.
*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.

Education, 2011). Pupils are encouraged to tell parents and school staff if they witness others who are bullied or if they are bullied themselves. Furthermore, the interaction between adolescents and adults are less formal in Sweden compared to many other western societies (www.Sweden.se). As an example of this, Swedish pupils call their teachers by first name. These aspects of Swedish society will probably exert an influence on how comfortable Swedish pupils are in turning to adults about their worries.

In this study some pupils expressed that they would tell a parent (39.5%), or both parents. Findings in this study could be interpreted as an indication that some pupils in Sweden rely on their parents for support when facing difficulties of this nature. It should be noted, however, that a majority of the pupils did not suggest that they would tell a parent. According to Friends (2013), a Swedish anti-bullying organization, about 42% of Swedish 12- to 16-year-olds wished that their parents had more knowledge about how to support them if they were victimized online. Additionally, they wished that their parents would talk more with them about how to behave in the digital world, and also believed that parents must act as good role models. Swedish adolescents want more involvement of parents regarding issues related to cyberbullying and cybersafety. It has been emphasized in an international report about guidelines for preventing cyberbullying that parents should regularly be invited to meetings at school with the purpose of increasing parents' knowledge about cyberbullying and how they can prevent it (Välimäki, Almeida, Cross *et al.*, 2012). These meetings are intended to encourage and support the parents in communicating with their children about these issues. It is especially important that parents clarify that they will not deny their children phone or online access if they are targeted online, since children might otherwise be reluctant to report being cyberbullied to their parents.

Some of the pupils in this study reported that they would tell a teacher (20.2%). Reaching out for teachers' help is even rarer in most other international studies (Perren *et al.*, 2012). Our findings could indicate that some pupils believe that there are teachers in Swedish schools who would address their disclosure of cyberbullying seriously and try to help them. When asking 18-year-old former Swedish victims of offline bullying what made the bullying stop, Frisén, Hasselblad and Holmqvist (2012) found that the intervention of school personnel was one of the most frequent answers. Since some Swedish pupils seem willing to seek help, schools management need to educate teachers and other school personnel to be able to prevent cyberbullying situations. For example, teachers need to maintain a positive climate in the classroom to create an opportunity for the pupils to report incidents of cyberbullying to them.

Surprisingly, only 2.6% of the pupils in this study reported that they would tell a friend. According to Perren *et al.* (2012) telling a friend is a common suggestion in international studies. It seems like some pupils in this study might feel that adults have more resources than friends have to help with this kind of problem. Our results point to the need for Swedish schools to help pupils develop skills that they can use to assist friends in in difficult situations.

Differences in suggested coping strategies between groups of pupils

Age differences. This study demonstrated that pupils in the 4th grade were more likely than pupils in the 6th grade to talk to parents. Furthermore, younger pupils in this study were less likely to talk to friends. One possible explanation for this could be that when moving into adolescence, pupils seek independence from their parents and often turn to peers rather than adults for support (Aricak *et al.*, 2008). These findings could be helpful when developing prevention strategies for all pupils and support for cybervictims, because they indicate that it will be more effective to encourage younger pupils to talk to their parents, and to involve friends more for the older pupils.

Gender differences. We found that girls were more likely than boys to suggest that they would tell someone if they were cyberbullied, which was also found in another study (Li, 2006). We found that girls were more likely than boys to tell parents and teachers, as well as friends. Boys were more likely to suggest that they would retaliate in an offline-context if they were cyberbullied. One possible interpretation could be that this might be a representation of socialization into traditional gender roles. According to a cognitive theory of the development of gender role schema, both girls and boys receive a number of messages about masculine behavior and feminine behavior from social forces, such as schools, peers, and the media (Mahalik, 1999). Girls are expected to speak about their thoughts and feelings; whereas boys are socialized to use physical violence in difficult situations (Adams *et al.*, 1995; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Nansel *et al.*, 2001). Given that Sweden often is classified as one of the world's most gender equal countries (Hausmann *et al.*, 2013), and that school staff are by law obliged to promote gender equality (SFS, 2010), many would be surprised over the gender differences we found. One explanation could be that even though Sweden has taken large steps toward more gender equality, traditional social expectations on girls and boys still remain influential. This finding could be an expression for the problem with the weak connection between attitudes/values and actually behavior (Augoustinos *et al.*, 2012).

These gender differences are important to consider when developing plans and programs that endorse cyberbullying interventions. This result indicates that there is a group of unidentified victims among boys since they might not report if bullied. Furthermore, since boys seems to be more prone to retaliate in person this could make it even harder for them to tell others about their victimization since they, by using that coping strategy, also may become bullies. Thus, this finding suggests that teachers need to adjust the preventative work according to gender, for example, encouraging boys to talk more about cyberbullying.

Study limitations

There are some limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, one general limitation is that this study did not control for the involvement in offline bullying or cyberbullying. However, so far no previous research attention have been given to what coping strategies pupils from Sweden suggest that they would use if they were cyberbullied.

Second, we did not investigate the coping strategies that cybervictims had actually used; only those that they and other pupils suggested could be used. Perhaps an open question that is only given at one occasion does not capture what a pupil actually would do in a cyberbullying situation. Given the scarce research about strategies of coping against cyberbullying among pupils in Sweden, it is of value to get a broader picture of pupils' own conceptualizations of solutions against cyberbullying.

CONCLUSION

The main finding of this study was that many Swedish pupils rely on adults (teachers and parents) for help and support, which is a valuable sign of trust that needs to be maintained. The results also showed that a small minority of the pupils suggested telling a friend. This finding points to the need for Swedish schools to help pupils develop skills that they can use to assist friends in in difficult situations.

Findings further showed that younger pupils more often suggested telling parents compared to older pupils who more often suggested telling a friend. These findings could be helpful when developing prevention strategies, because it indicates that it will be more effective to encourage younger pupils to talk to their parents, and to involve friends more for the older pupils.

Additionally, boys suggested coping by retaliating back, girls suggested coping by asking friends or adults for help. This might indicate that there is a group of unknown victims among boys since they might not report if bullied, which is important to bear in mind. Thus, this finding suggests that teachers might adjust the preventative work according to gender, for example, encouraging boys to talk more about cyberbullying.

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