

Prevalence and Impact of Cyberbullying in a Sample of Indonesian Junior High School Students.

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ABSTRACT

In recent years cyberbullying has become widespread throughout junior high schools around the world, resulting in high numbers of adolescents affected by cybervictimization. Cybervictimization is associated with negative psychological health outcomes. The objective of the present study was to examine the impact and prevalence of cybervictimization in a sample of junior high school students in Jogjakarta, Indonesia. A total of 102 seventh grade students were involved in the study: 72 (70.6%) boys and 30 (29.4%) girls. The majority (80%) of the students in this study reported experiencing cybervictimization occasionally to almost every day. The results suggest a positive relationship between cybervictimization and level of students' psychological distress. General recommendations for anti cyberbullying programmes are discussed.

Keywords: cyberbullying, cybervictimization, psychological distress, junior high school students

INTRODUCTION

The number of people using the Internet in Indonesia is growing considerably from year to year. In 2010, the number of Internet users in major Indonesian cities rose from 30-35% to 40-45%, reaching a total of 55 million Internet users by 2011 (MarkPlus, 2011). Ease of access to the internet in this country has increased with widespread availability of smartphone and other web-enabled technology (Weiss, 2014). A large proportion of Internet users in Indonesia (50-80%) are young people from 15-30 years of age (MarkPlus, 2011) with a considerable proportion of this age group using the Internet for social networking. Social media platforms such as Twitter (Hamayotsu, 2013) and Facebook (Abbott, 2013: Yulianti & Tung, 2013) have become the most popular means of online communication in Indonesia (Galih & Ngazis, 2012). It is estimated that 30 million people in Indonesia have a Twitter account (Semiocast, 2013) and up to 51 million have a Facebook account (The Global Review.com, 2013). With advancements in technology, people are now constantly connected to the online world and have access to social media 24 hours a day (Sticca, Ruggieri, Alsaker, & Perren, 2013).

Use of internet and social media is associated with both benefits and consequences. Positive benefits include access to information (Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2011), access to teaching and learning resources (Louge, 2006), and increased levels of social support (Amichai-Hamburger & Hayat, 2011). Sense of community and social connectedness are valued in Indonesian culture; therefore, use of social media applications such as Twitter and Facebook is popular (Nugroho, 2011). Such online communities can provide space for people to discuss issues that might otherwise be associated with stereotyping in Indonesia (see Nugroho et al., 2012, for discussion). Although use of the internet and social media platforms is associated with clear benefits for Indonesian communities, the ubiquity of internet and social media has also been associated with considerable negative implications. This includes unwanted exposure to sexual material (Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak, 2000), cybercrime (Tokunaga, 2010), cyberstalking (Sheridan & Grant, 2007) and cyberbullying (Langos, 2012). Cyberbullying is a form of harassment and humiliation associated with significant psychosocial problems (Bastiaensens et al., 2014; Dehue, 2013; Ouytsel, Walrave, & Vandebosch, 2014). This includes increased social anxiety (Juvonen & Gross, 2008), low self-esteem and depression (Campbell, Slee, Spears, Butler, & Kift, 2013). This form of bullying typically occurs through mobile phone and online social networking websites (Dooley, Pyzalski, & Cross, 2009; Juvonen, & Gross, 2008; Vandebosch, & Van Cleemput, 2008). While traditional highschool bullying is associated with abuse that occurs during school hours (Besley, 2009), cyberbullying can occur long after school has ended (Griezel, Craven, Yeung, & Finger, 2008). Issues concerning traditional bullying have been discussed extensively in the literature; however, cyberbullying is a rapidly developing phenomenon that past generations who grew up without constant digital access have not yet experienced (Samodra & Mariani, 2013). The harmful impact of cyberbullying is a growing area of concern amongst parents, teachers and researchers (Navarro, Serna, Martinez, & Ruiz-Oliva, 2013). In order to support young people in Indonesia who are exposed to cyberbullying, it is important to examine the frequency and impact of such events on this population.



Definition and Types of Cyberbullying

Cyberbullying has been defined as behavior that is repetitive, aggressive, hurtful and intended to cause harm by creating power imbalance (Dehue, 2013; Langos, 2012; Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2008). "Direct" cyberbullying occurs privately, for example when the perpetrator messages the victim directly via private message, such as short message service (SMS) message or email (Langos, 2012). "Indirect" cyberbullying, is where the perpetrator enlists the help of others to abuse the victim (Sleglova & Cerna, 2011; Snakenborg, Van Acker, & Gable, 2011). This includes the dissemination of material about the victim online for the purposes of defamation (Willard, 2007). It is the possibility of an infinite online audience which can amplify the level of humiliation experienced during cyberbullying over traditional bullying (Bauman & Newman, 2013).

The literature reports numerous subtypes of cyberbullying (Willard, 2004) including: (a) 'Flaming' which is posting angry, rude or vulgar content about someone through an online group, email or other electronic means. (b) 'Online harrasment', where offensive messages are sent repetitively over email, social media or other electronic means. (c) 'Cyberstalking' which is online harassment including threats, intimidation or messaging repeatedly with the intention to stalk the victim. (d) 'Denigration' (put-downs) which is where hurtful or vicious statements about the victim are messaged or posted online. (e) 'Masqueradinge' is pretending to be someone else and sending or posting material that makes the victim look bad. (f) 'Outing' is sending or posting material about the victim that contains sensitive, private or embarrassing information. (g) 'Exclusion' occurs when one person is singled out of an online group.

Characteristics and Frequency of Cyberbullying

Teenagers experience cyberbullying through various mediums. Li (2005) surveyed 177 Canadian teenagers and found that 22.7% of students experienced cyberbullying through email, 36.4% through chatroom and 40.9% through multiple sources. Li (2007) later found that out of 133 teenagers, 21.8% of respondents experienced cyberbullying through email, 30.8% through chatrooms and approximately 13% via mobile phones. One third (30.9%) experienced cyberbullying through other media or a combination of communication technology mediums (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Yahoo Windows Messenger). The same study also found that 20.4% of participants carried out cyberbullying via email, 27.8% through chatrooms, 5.6% via mobile phones, and 39.4% did through other media or mixed (SMS, Facebook).

The frequency of experiencing cyberbullying appears to fluctuate according to the literature. One study by Li (2007) reported a high incidence rate in their sample, with 54.9% experiencing cyberbullying approximately 4 times, 20.3% experiencing this 4-10 times, and 21.1% of them experiencing cyberbullying more than 10 times. In the same study, the frequency of committing the abuse was also high with 20.7% of participants admitting to committing cyberbullying more than 10 times, 43.% doing it 4-10 times and 30.5% doing it less than 4 times (Li, 2007). Further research by Beran and Li (2007) found inconsistent frequencies, with more teenagers being bullied 'a few times' in school alone (19%) or both in school and online (7%), rather than online alone (1%).

Psychosocial Impact of Cyberbullying

Cyberbullying can have a deep, long lasting impact on victims. Several studies report that cyberbullying victims are predisposed to experiencing wider mental health problems, drug abuse and suicidal ideation (Goebert et al., 2011; Gradinger et al., 2011). Bauman (2009) found that of 221 adolescents, participants who had experienced cyberbullying exhibited increased emotional distress and likelihood of acting out. Other studies have shown that teenagers who were victims of cyberbullying showed decreased concentration, absenteeism and poor academic achievement (Beran & Li, 2007). On the other hand, the literature reports that all forms of bullying (not just cyberbullying) have the potential for harm amongst adolescents. Gradinger, et al. (2011) found that the victims of both bullying and cyberbullying show poor adjustment, aggression, depression and other somatic symptoms compared with students who had not experienced either forms of bullying. Therefore, while bullying and cyberbullying are carried out via different mediums, there are noted similarities in the responses experienced by victims

Many studies have identified an association between cyberbullying and emotional, social and academic difficulties (Beran & Li, 2006; Li, 2007; Patchin & Hinduja, 2010). Factors that have been used in the past to predict incidences of cyberbullying and victimisation include age, gender, intention of internet usage (Li, 2007; Slonje & Smith, 2008). Frequency of online use has also been identified as a risk factor for experiencing cyberbullying (Sticca et al., 2013). Past research has found a positive association between cybervictimisation and bullying in highschools (Beran & Li, 2006; Li, 2007; Slonje & Smith, 2008).



Previous Research in Asia on Cyberbullying

The prevalence of cyberbullying in adolescents is difficult to report due to varying measures and definitions applied on this concept (Dehue, 2013; Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Roberto, Eden, Savage, Ramos-Salazar, & Deiss, 2014; Tokunaga, 2010). Incidences of teenage cyberbullying have been examined extensively in past research overseas (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Riebel, Jager, & Fischer, 2009;). Few studies have examined the impact of cyberbullying among young people in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, the number of children and adolescents who experience cybervictimization is reported to be high. Ipsos (2011) surveyed 18,687 parents in 24 countries including Indonesia, and found one in ten parents reported that their children had been victims of abuse through online media. Indonesian parents in the sample were aware that cyberbullying was an ongoing phenomenon (91%), they felt that it required special attention from parents and schools alike (89%) and they knew of a child in their own community who had experienced cyberbullying (53%). Minimal research has since been conducted in Indonesia regarding the impact of cyberbullying on teenagers in this country.

Yulianti (2015) found in her study high prevalences rates of bullying and cyberbullying among Indonesian adolescents. Her study also found no significant difference between public and private schools in terms of the incidence rates of cyberbullying. In terms of frequencies of being cyberbullied and cyberbullying others. Based on UNICEF and Indonesia Ministry of Communication study among 400 adolescents (10-19 age) in 17 province found 58% of them did not understand about cyberbullying (UNICEF, 2014). The present study will focus on these issues within a sample of teenagers in Jogjakarta, Indonesia.

Research Objectives

The purpose of the current study was to explore the nature of cyberbullying in a sample of Indonesian teenagers. To our knowledge, there has been no published research on the impact of cyberbullying in Indonesia despite there being considerable Internet usage across the adolescent population. It is anticipated that the findings of this study will be helpful for those involved with designing prevention programmes, in addition to policy makers, schools and parents. The following research questions were developed to guide the study:

- 1. How frequently does cyberbullying occur in a sample of Indonesian adolescents?
- 2. What strategies are employed to deal with cyberbully attacks?
- 3. What psychological impact does cyberbullying have on teenagers?
- 4. Is there a relationship between the kinds of activities that teenagers conduct on the internet and the likelihood of being cyberbullied?

The primary aims of the study were to: A) examine occurrences of cyberbullying in an Indonesian sample, B) document the methods used to commit cyberbullying, and C) learn more about the coping strategies used by teenagers. Secondary objectives were to explore the psychological impact of cyberbullying on teenagers. The third was to examine the relationship of intended use of online activity with the frequency of cyberbullying incidence.

METHOD

Questionnaire

A questionnaire was developed for the purposes of this study after adapting items from previous research (Bauman, 2009; Kwan & Skoric, 2013; Li, 2005;). A pilot study was conducted to test the validity and reliability of questionnaire before being used to collect data. The consistency internal tests of reliability were carried out using Cronbach alpha, and content validity was assessed using professional judgment. Two external experts in the field of psychology were involved in checking items in the questionnaire.

The questionnaire contained general questions on the frequency of cyberbullying; i.e., "Have you ever experienced cyberbullying?" Response options included: never, once or twice, several times, often, almost every day. Questions measured the type of media used by bully, such as "What kind of online media was used by bully to harrass you?" (Response options included: email, phone call, text, Facebook, and video), who perpetrated the abuse, and how they responded after being bullied, i.e., "What did you do when you experienced cyber victimization? (Response options included: ignored it, fight back, told the teacher, told the parent, told the police, and told a friend).

The questionnaire also contained a cyberbullying victimization scale which contained several items that measure the frequency of cyber victimization experienced by the participants ("I have received nasty messages on my social networking account (Facebook, twitter), mobile phone and email". "I have received insults on my social network account (Facebook, Twitter), mobile phone and email". "I have received unwanted sexual



suggestions/ sexually explicit pictures on my social network account (Facebook, Twitter), mobile phone and email"). Response options comprised of a four-point scale, from e.g., "I have not been bullied" (scored 1), "only once or twice" (2), "two or three times a month" (3), and more than three times a month" (4).

The final section of the questionnaire was adapted from Beran and Li (2007). It contained psychological distress scale which had several items to indicate the severity of burden experienced by participants (*if you have experienced cyberbullying, how it make you stress? I feel sad, angry, anxious, fear, cry, difficult to concentrate, miss the school, got low grade, and blame my self)*. The psychological distress measure had a four-point response scale, from e.g. "not stress at all" (scored 1), "little bit stress" (2), "quite made me stress" (3), and "very stressful" (4). Table 1 presents the results of reliability, the mean and standard deviation of the scale of this study.

Table 1. Reliability of Questionnaires

Variable	α	M	SD
Cyberbullying Victimization	0.810	14.86	4.80
Psychological Distress	0.863	18.50	3.56

Participants

A total of 102 seventh grade students were recruited into this study from a private school in Jogjakarta, Indonesia. 70.6% (72) of the sample were boys and 29.4% (30) were girls. 19.6 % (20) of the students in the sample were aged 12 years, and 75.5 % (77) were 13 years. All participants was agree to involved in the study without coercion or incentive.

A total of 46.1 % (47) of participants owned one computer device (*laptop or desktop computer*), while the remaining 53.9% (55) owned more than one computer device. Based on demographic questions regarding socioeconomic status, results indicate that students were from a mix of upper (35, 34.3 %) (*have a own home, car, and other*), middle (30, 29.4%) (*have a home, motorcylce, not a car*), and lower (37, 36.3 %) (*have no home, car, and motorcylce*) socio economic status. 33 % (34) of the participants reported using the Internet on average for 1 hour each day, 43% (44) of participants using the Internet an average of 2 hours, and 23% (24) of participants using the Internet an average of 3 hours. Regarding the purpose that participants use the Internet for, as many as 29% (30) of participants use it for academic work, 40% (41) for online social networking (Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp), 23% (24) for playing online games. Table 2 below describes the respondents' demographic characteristics.

Table 2. Respondents' Demographic Data (N=102)

Variable	Content	Frequency	%	
Gender	Male	72	70.6%	
	Female	30	29.4%	
Age	12 years old	20	19.6%	
	13 years old	77	75.5%	
Number of computers	1	47	46.1%	
at home (desktop or laptop computer)	more than 1	55	53.9%	
Time spent				
-	1 hours	34	33.3%	
	2 hours	44	43.2%	
	More 3 hours	24	23.5%	

Data Analysis

Quantitative data analysis was performed for the purposes of this study. Descriptive analysis, pearson correlation, ANOVA and MANOVA were applied to acheive the aims of the study. SPSS version 18 was used in the quantitative data analysis



RESULTS

Overall frequency data

Out of 102 junior high school students, results indicate that 14.28% (14) of the sample had never experienced cybervictimization, 25.5% (26) experienced it occasionally (*one or twice*), 20.6% (21) experienced it some of the time (*twice or three times*) and 27.5% (28) experienced it often (*four or five times*). The remaining 12.7% (13) of participants experienced cybervictimization almost every day (*more than five times*). Approximately 80% of the sample had experienced cybervictimization from occasionally to almost every day. In this sample, a total of 19.6% (20) had never experienced bullying in school, 10.8% (11) experienced occasional bullying, 29.4.9% (30) of participants experienced bullying several times and 27.5% (28) of participants experienced bullying often. The remaining 12.7% (13) of participants experienced bullying almost every day.

Gender, age, psychological distress, and cyberbullying victimization

There were no significant differences of gender in cyberbullying victimization. Boys and girls had equally experienced cybervictimization (F $_{(1,100)} = 2.418$, p > .05). Age had no significant association with cybervictimization (F $_{(1,100)} = 1.784$, p > .05). There were no significant differences in psychological distress among boys and girls in the sample (F $_{(1,100)} = 3.195$, p > .05).

Gender and cyberbullying act

There were significant differences in cyberbullying acts amongst boys and girls. Boys (mean= 1.3) committed slightly more cyberbullying acts than girls (mean = 1.1) (F $_{(1, 100)}$ = 5.556, p < .05, eta square = .053). This result suggests that gender has a determinant effect on cyberbullying acts in this sample.

Type of cyberbully's media used

There were no significant differences in psychological distress levels related to the type of cyberbullying media used (e.g., Facebook, phonecall, SMS) to commit cyberbullying abuse (F $_{(1,14)}$ = 1.013, p > .05). This indicates that all media used by cyberbullies has significant impact on victims. Out of 102 students, 14 (14.28%) participants had never experienced cyberbullying. Many participants experienced cyberbullying on Facebook (28, 27.5%), Twitter (13, 12.7%) and SMS (13, 12.7%). The rest of the participants experienced cyberbullying via phonecall, Twitter, Youtube and Facebook (34, 33.6%).

Type of cyberbullying act

There were no significant differences in psychological distress levels related to the type of cyberbullying act (e.g., name calling, threat, etc) experienced by participants ($F_{(1, 12)} = 1.387$, p > .05). All types of cyberbullying acts had equal impact on those who reported experiencing it. The majority of participants had experienced name calling harassment (46, 45.1%). 12.7% (13) had experienced name calling and denigration (defamation) acts, while 5.9% (6) had only experienced denigration. 4.9% (5) of participants had experienced name calling, denigration and threats and 3.9% (4) of participants had experienced name calling and abusive threats. The remainder of participants (14, 13.7%) had experienced multiple types of cyberbullying act such as name calling, exposure to unwanted sexual materials, denigration, disclosure of personal information and threats.

Who does the cyberbullying?

53.9% (55) of participants in the sample did not know who committed cyberbullying against them. 11.8% (12) noted that the bully was their friend in class, 6.9% (7) reported that the bully was their former best friend, 9.8% (10) said that the bully was someone in their school, and 3.9% (4) of the participants said that the bully was someone from another school.

What did you do when you are cyberbullied?

Regarding what action was taken when the participants experienced cyberbullying, 48% (49) ignored the behaviour, 31.4% (32) fought back against the bully, 7.8% (8) told a teachers/school administrator, 6.9% (7) said that they tell their parent about it, and 5.9% (6) told a friend about what happened to them.

Psychological distress, cyberbullying and bullying victimization

Participants who never experienced cyberbullying had lower psychological distress levels compared with participants who often experienced cybervictimization ($F_{(4)} = 46.31$, p < .001, eta square = .656). Results indicate that 65.6% of the variance in psychological distress was attributed to experience of cybervictimisation?

The present study also found significant difference in the levels of psychological distress between participants who experienced traditional bullying in schools with participants who have never experienced bullying ($F_{(4)}$ = 123.883, p < .001, eta square = .836). Results also indicate that 65.6% of the variance in psychological distress was attributed to experience of bullying?



The results suggest that there is a positive relationship between cybervictimization with the level of participants' psychological distress. The more often students experience cybervictimization, the higher levels of psychological distress experienced by them (r = .288, p < .05). The study also found a significant positive relationship between cyberbullying victimization with bullying victimization (r = .727, p < .01). Therefore, becoming a bullying victim is linked with an increased likelihood of also experiencing cyber victimization.

Online activity and cyberbullying

In this sample, 30 (29.4 %) participants indicated using the Internet to do homework, while 40.2 % (41) of the participants use the Internet more for social media activities such as facebook or twitter, while 23.5 % (24) participants are using the Internet to play games online. Participants who used the Internet for the purpose of online social networking (Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Yahoo Messenger), and for online gaming, were more likely to experience cybervictimization than participants who used the Internet for academic tasks ($F_{(2)} = 101.22$, p < .001, eta square = .672). This suggests that Facebook and other online social networking is a gateway for cyberbullying.

DISCUSSION

The findings from the present study suggest that cyberbullying has become a problem, not only in the Western world, but also in developing country like Indonesia. Results indicate that 80% of participants in this study had frequently experienced cyberbullying and that cyberbullying is considered a stressful life event.

Past research has attributed experiences of cybervictimization with frequency of internet use (e.g., Smith et al., 2008: Sticca et al., 2013); however, our results show no evidence that the frequency Internet use (e.g., time spent online daily) was related to incidences of cybervictimization. Rather, the type of Internet use and online behaviour was more significant in the experience of cybervictimization. Participants who interact through online social media experience more cyberbullying incidences than those who use the Internet for academic tasks (e.g., homework). This finding is consistent with past research on cyberbullying (Kwan & Soric, 2013; Snell & Englander, 2010; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004b), where students who used chatroom and other social media platforms were more likely to experience cyberbullying than those who did not. Though access to socialising on the internet provides benefits to users, parents and educators who allow internet access to highschool students may wish to consider the increased risk for cyberbullying via this medium.

Results suggest that boys were more likely to commit cyberbullying than girls. This finding supports past studies (Doane et al., 2013; Li, 2005; Li, 2007; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Wong, Chan, & Cheng, 2014), which report boys being involved in more cyberbullying acts, but contradicts Smith et al., (2008) who found that girls were more likely to be cyberbullies. Further research may offer enhanced insight into why these gender differences exist. Bullying prevention programmes may be more effective if certain elements are targeted according to gender (Kowalski, Morgan & Limber, 2012). There were also no significant differences regarding the *experience* of cyberbullying victimization between boys and girls. The present study found that both boys and girls equally experience psychosocial consequences as a result of cyber victimization, which is is consistent with past research (e.g., Beran & Li, 2007; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Li, 2006).

Many participants in our sample (53.9%) did not know the identity of their cyberbully, which is consistent with past research (Bauman, 2010; Li, 2005). The anonymity of cyberbullying means the perpetrator can hide their identity when using online media, allowing them to act without fear of getting caught (von Marees & Petermann, 2012). It is unlikely that bully prevention programmes will be able to address user anonymity; however, they can teach skills to highschool students about responding to potential cyberbullies. In the present study, the majority of participants (48%) took no action when they were cyberbullied, and 32 (31.4%) of participants reported that they retaliated when it happened to them. Approximately 7% told a parent when they experienced cyberbullying, while 6% reported that they would tell a friend. This finding is lower than previously published reports where up to 12% of students would tell an adult at school and 9% would tell a parent (Bauman, 2010). These phenomena was happened because the Javanese culture "tatakrama" "ungah-unguh" influence how parent communicate to their children. The majority parents in Javanese society apply more close communication style with their children. They seldom use two-way communication with their children. These parenting style makes majority children in Javanese society reluctant to share their feeling with their parent. The children also afraid to make their parent worry regarding what problem they experienced. Other explanation, that the faith a child places in an adult (e.g., teacher) rbeing able to successfully deal with the bullying is significant in whether they will ask for help or not (Elledge et al., 2013). This may explain why some of the children in our study did not report their experiences of cyberbullying. Additionally, students may not inform an adult following abuse because they don't want their media devices restricted.



The literature points to an overlap between traditional bullying and cyberbullying (Kowalski & Limber, 2013; Perren & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2012; Sticca et al., 2013: Wong, Chan, & Cheng, 2014), which was also identified in this study. Past research has highlighted a complex relationship between cyberbullying and cybervicitimisation, meaning that someone who experiences cybervictimisation is more likely to commit cyberbullying as well (von Marees & Petermann, 2012). Ybarra and Mitchell (2004b) suggest that someone who is bullied in the schoolyard may use the internet to assert dominance over others, which could partially explain this relationship. The cycle of bully-victim is an important consideration for developing more hollistic intervention programmes in the future (Li, 2005).

The current study has several limitations. First, there needs to be further exploration of cyberbullying in Indonesia by having a more representative sample. In addition to having a larger sample size, participants from different regions of Indonesia (e.g., rural and urban) would have improved the generalizability of study findings. It should also be noted that our sample contained a higher proportion of boys than girls, which may have impacted on the relationships between variables observed in the results. Finally, as has been suggested in other research regarding cyberbullying and adolescent samples (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004a: Kowalski et al., 2012: Sticca et al., 2013: Menesini et al., 2011: Kowalski & Limber, 2013), the use of longitudinal research would be beneficial in establishing predictors and outcomes associated with cyberbullying.

This study adds to the field of cyberbullying by providing data on the frequency and impact in a sample of Indonesian teenagers. Results indicate that cyberbullying was associated with psychological distress amongst the teenagers in our sample. Evidence based bullying prevention programs offer some promise in reducing incidences of cyberbullying in the future. More research is needed to effectively design a successful, targeted prevention program suitable for highschool aged boys and girls. In conducting prevention program, present study suggests to look at gender and type of media online. Related to gender, boys should become the primary target to resolve in prevention program, while facebook should also being take care as the dominant media where young people experienced cyberbullying victimization.

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