THE FUTURE OF ADOLESCENT FEMALE CYBER	R-BULLYING:
ELECTRONIC MEDIA'S EFFECT	
ON AGGRESSIVE FEMALE COMMUNICATION	
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The Future of Adolescent Female Cyber Bullying 3

Abstract

Cyber bullying is a communication phenomenon in which a bully utilizes electronic

media in order to harass peers. Females favor CMC forms of bullying over more direct

face-to-face interactions because it takes advantage of social norms for displaying female

aggression. The author of this study collected examples of female cyber bullying from

popular teen social networking sites. This study discusses the reasons behind female

bullying and the five messages most commonly expressed in online bullying. After

analyzing the themes found within the examples, five specific messages emerged: (1)

exposure of confidential information or gossiping, (2) attacks on appearances, (3) attacks

on sexuality, (4) statements about disloyalty and untrustworthiness, and (5) less

frequently, threats or desire for physical violence.

Keywords: cyber-bullying, communication, relational aggression, bullying, gender,

internet

The Future of Adolescent Female Cyber Bullying: Electronic Media's Effect on Female

Aggression

Introduction

Cyber bullying is a major problem for children and teens today. According to Li, (2006), "about one in four adolescents are cyber victims and they experience various negative consequences, particularly anger and sadness" (p.160). Cyber bullying is a communication phenomenon, affecting girls directly with devastating results. "The astonishing high percent of adolescents who have experienced cyber bully tactics... suggests that cyber bullying is becoming an increasing critical problem for schools and the whole society" (Li, 2006, p. 166). Cyber bullying is a widely overlooked form of assault that is perhaps more damaging than face-to-face verbal assault due to its long lasting psychological damage and the frequent inability of victims to identify, avoid, and terminate its use (Underwood, 2003).

Unlike males, females typically display aggression through indirect means.

Females prefer cyber bullying to face-to-face aggression, and sixty percent of cyber victims are female (Li, 2006). This style of relational aggression stems from the way in which society constructs meaning about what it means to be a girl, and how girls are taught to display aggression. Relational aggression is more effective than overt aggression for females since it hinders the development of closeness and intimacy within the peer group, and this is found to be more important for girls than boys (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). The way in which girls communicate with one another directly affects

the forms that female bullying takes. As opposed to direct physical or verbal aggression often displayed by males, relational aggression involves covert and manipulative methods of bullying based on social isolation that can cause serious psychological damage to the victim (Seals & Young, 2003). Electronic media offers an avenue for relational aggression that is appealing to female aggressors and is often referred to as cyberbullying. Due to the 'hidden' nature of electronic communication, female cyber bullies display unique communication aspects (more commonly associated with male verbal aggression) that are direct, overt, and aggressive (Galen & Underwood, 1997). This study will examine the various aspects of communication found in female cyber bullying as well as attempt to answer questions about how and why females cyber bully.

By first recognizing the typical patterns of behavior for both genders in face to face situations that lead to bullying, we can compare the incongruity in behavior displayed by girls using the internet as a means of social dominance.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the phenomena of cyber-bullying between adolescent females in regards to the communication tactics used by bullies. Through the examination of the original transcripts posted by online bullies, analysis of recurring communication patterns can be performed.

This paper will begin with a section establishing a theoretical framework, next a section defining common terms, followed by an exploration of the gender socialization of boys and girls. The paper will continue with an in depth look at the interwoven aspects of verbal and nonverbal communication and its relationship to female cyber bullying.

Social Learning Theory and Communication

According to social learning theory, developed by Mischel (1966) children learn how to act through imitation and mimicry. They 'try out' different behaviors, and learn what is appropriate based on the rewards or punishments they receive for these behaviors (Wood, 2007). This theory is relevant to this paper in that it provides a basis for understanding why the genders express the same emotional behaviors differently without a biological basis. Since it is a *social* theory, it relies on socially constructed ideas about behaviors. Aggression is a behavior found throughout the animal kingdom in both sexes (Hawley, 1999). In humans, the expression of aggression is dependent upon learned rules (Cummings, Iannotti, & Zahn-Waxler, 1989). Aggression is sometimes learned from parental modeling or mimicry of television or video game violence, and is a natural response to anger (Wood, 2007). Wood contends overt, physical and verbal aggression is often encouraged (rewarded) in boys, and discouraged (punished) in girls (2007). This leads children to express aggression differently, based on socially learned gender roles. *Definition of Terms*

It is necessary to first define terms that will be important to this paper. Cyber bullying can be defined as "the use of information and communication technologies such as email, cell phone and pager text messages, instant messaging, defamatory personal Web sites, and defamatory online personal polling Web sites, to support deliberate, repeated, and hostile behavior by an individual or group, that is intended to harm others (Li, 2006, p. 1779). From this definition, it is apparent that cyber-bullying is a communication-based phenomenon incorporating negative and hateful messages while utilizing the nonverbal artifact of a computer to intimidate and harass victims. Adolescent

girls are saying and doing things online that they would not be expected to do in a face-to-face situation. This creates a rift in the current literature regarding the already enigmatic event of female aggression. Although definitions for aggression vary widely, most researchers define aggression as any behavior intended to harm others (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995).

Relational aggression and covert bullying are terms referring to the commonly female-specific style of manipulative communication-based attacks (Crick, Bigbee, & Howes, 1996). Relational aggression can be defined as "deliberately unfriendly behavior designed to hurt another person through words or other non-physical means" (Merril, 2006, p.345).

Gender Socialization

Immediately after a baby is born, adults begin to treat the child according to their biological sex (Wood, 2007). In a classic study performed by Rubin, Provenzano, & Luria (1974), parents of newborn babies were asked to describe their children within 24 hours of birth. The babies were matched for size, activity level and weight, yet parents of boys used words like "strong, hardy, big, active, and alert. Parents of equally large, active girls described their daughters with adjectives like small, dainty, quiet, and delicate" (Wood, 2007, p. 164).

Different behavioral expectations begin immediately at birth and continue throughout the lifespan. As social learning theory asserts, rewards and punishments teach children gender-based preferences for clothes, toys, behaviors, and communication that they may not naturally hold. "Although boys and girls themselves show little difference in toy preference during the preschool years, they are often encouraged to adopt gendered

preferences" through the ways in which parents decorate their rooms, what toys they purchase, and the chores they assign to them (Wood, 2007, p. 167).

In a study of nursery school aged children, sex role socialization by teachers included examples such as "the occasional positive reinforcement a boy would get when he ably defended himself against a physical attack" as well as "girls receiv[ing] more compliments on days they word dresses rather than pants" (Joffe, 1971, p. 470).

Examining the games, rituals, and roles that both males and females are exposed to will give the reader some insight into how and why cyber-bullying amongst adolescent girls has been manipulated in part by societal expectations as well as the unique communication circumstance created by technology. In regard to aggression, there is a wide range of acceptable and unacceptable behaviors determined for both genders.

Little Boys

Little boys form large playgroups organized hierarchically with memberships in multiple groups (Cummings, Iannotti, & Zahn-Waxler, 1989). The boys have the opportunity to be leaders at times, followers at others, and learn to compete based on performance and ability. Most of their games are physically based, and "their speech, finally, contains frequent use of phrases of 'toughness'"(Joffe, 1971, p. 473). "The nature of boys' games is such that a larger number of participants is required for proper play" (Lever, 1976, p.480). Team sports or "fantasy games like 'war' have to be played outdoors... boys, playing outdoors, move in larger, more open spaces and go farther away from the home which, undoubtedly, is part of their greater independence training" (Lever, 1976, p.480). "Seventy two percent of the boys compared to fifty two percent of the girls reported that their neighborhood games usually include four or more persons"

(Lever, 1976, p.480). New members are rapidly accepted into groups and the saying seems to be, "the more the merrier."

Lever (1976) also makes the distinction between 'play' and 'games.' "Play was defined as a cooperative interaction that has no explicit goal, no end point, and no winners" while "games are competitive interactions, governed by a set body of rules, and aimed at achieving an explicit, known goal" (p. 481). In Lever's study, boys reported engaging in 'games' for sixty-five percent of their activities, compared to thirty five percent for girls (Lever, 1976). Another interesting aspect of male play found by Lever was "boys could resolve their disputes more effectively [than girls]...boys were seen quarrelling all the time, but not once was a game terminated because of a quarrel, and no game was interrupted for more than seven minutes" (1976, p. 482).

Male Bullying

Overt aggression is considered more socially appropriate for boys than for girls. Research shows that "parents positively reward verbal and physical aggression in sons and positively reward interpersonal and social skills in daughters" (Wood, 2007, p. 164-165). This explains why "when attempting to inflict harm on peers (i.e., aggressing), children do so in the ways that best thwart or damage the goals that are valued by their respective gender peer groups" (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995, p. 710). For boys, valued goals include dominance, independence and anything that *isn't* female (Wood, 2007). Not surprisingly, studies on male aggression in childhood have found that male bullies tend to use direct verbal and physical attacks to bully.

Li (2006) found gender differences in bullying behavior starting as young as age three. Li contends, "males are significantly more physically victimized than females" (p.

161). Boys bully "through physical and verbal aggression... these behaviors are consistent with the types of goals that past research has shown to be important to boys ... specifically, themes of instrumentality and physical dominance" (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995, p. 710). How strong, fast, or brave you are means everything in terms of male dominance in childhood and adolescence (Lever, 1976). Shakeshaft (1995), as quoted by Li contends "Males with atypical gender related behaviors were at a much greater risk for peer assault than other young men.

Atypical masculine behaviors are socially defined, and usually target any action that is seen as 'feminine' or 'homosexual' by the peer group. This may fall in line with biological differences between the genders, with males being judged and selected by females through criteria of physical strength, ability to protect and provide, and sexual machismo (Wood, 2007). Possible examples for atypical behavior could include a disinterest in aggressive, competitive play, or a preference for dolls or dress-up games (Wood, 2007).

Little Girls

Young girls play encourages cooperation and talk. Most girls aim to 'play nice' and build intimacy through verbal and nonverbal interaction (Crick, Bigbee, & Howes, 1996). Small groups or pairs of girls are often engaged in forms of imaginative, verbal play. Games that require parts and roles give girls the opportunity to try out gender roles, as well as mimic social interaction. Girls play "occurs in private places and often involves mimicking primary human relationships instead of playing formal games" which helps to develop "delicate socio-emotional skills" (Lever, 1976, p. 484).

The girls in Lever's (1976) study claimed to feel the most discomfort within groups of four or more, medium discomfort in triads, and the most comfortable in pairs. Deep intimacy develops between pairs and small groups of young girls, with the emergence of a keen ability to decode nonverbal messages (Lever, 1976). Lever emphasizes that "most girls interviewed said they had a single 'best' friend with whom they played nearly every day. They learn to know that person and her moods so well that through non-verbal cues alone, a girl understands whether her playmate is hurt, sad, happy, bored, and so on" (Lever, 1976, p. 484). Girls' early friendships may also serve as training for later heterosexual dating relationships (Lever, 1976). "There is usually an open show of affection between these little girls – both physically in the form of handholding and verbally through "love notes" that reaffirm how special each is to the other (Lever, 1976, p. 484).

Interestingly, jealousy, possessiveness, and other traits commonly associated with dating relationships often are at the root of friendship dissolution. These gender differences are socially constructed, and say little about biological differences between the sexes. When natural, human emotions are internalized as 'inappropriate' for either gender, they do not disappear, they only manifest themselves in ways that are more 'socially appropriate.' "Because girls are discouraged from direct, overt aggression yet still feel aggressive at times, they develop other, less direct ways of expressing aggression" (Wood, 2007, p. 165).

Female Bullying

Research by Mouttapa, Valente, Gallaher, Rohrbach, and Unger (2004) indicates that in a bullying situation, there are three basic roles a female can take: bullies, victims,

and aggressive victims. Bullies are characterized by a high need to dominate others and the social skills to do so. According to Mouttapa et al., (2004), "bullies have higher peer-nominated scores on sociability and leadership relative to other students" (pg. 317), and represent seven to fifteen percent of the school-aged population. Victims are characterized by low self-esteem, quite or shy nature, and tend to be cautions and sensitive. These students make up approximately two to ten percent of the school-aged population. Lastly, aggressive victims are both bullies and receivers of aggressive acts. They represent two to ten percent of the school-aged population as well, and are characterized by peer rejection, reactivity, poor social or emotional skills, and academic difficulties (Mouttapa et al., 2004).

Bullying among females revolves around the friendship groups that emerge. Since female bullying usually arises between close friends, it is important to understand the fickle nature of female relationships.

The friendship networks of girls are very complex. They tend to morph and change dramatically, with many girls going through a series of 'best friends' throughout childhood and adolescence (Besag, 2006). Besag explains how a friendship between two girls may switch from one in which they hardly speak to anyone else, pass notes to one another, eat together, talk together and appear to be inseparable one day, and then suddenly switches day to night. The girls will have very little to do with one another, and may cling on to a brand new friend, with the same dizzying speed of intimacy development (Besag, 2006).

Since membership in a friendship dyad or group is exclusive, it is reserved for those who have proven themselves to be worthy of the trust and intimacy needed to

develop an emotional connection (Besag, 2006). "Sharing secrets binds the union together, and "telling" the secrets to outsiders is symbolic of the "break-up" (Lever, 1976, p. 484).

Female friendships are paradoxical in nature, being at once intensely intimate and still incredibly fragile.

The disappointment of losing a friend is exacerbated by the closeness of the bonds girls frequently build up in their personal relationships. This dichotomy between the closeness of the emotional bonds and the volatile nature of the relationship often leads to conflict (Besag 2006, p. 536).

Girls value the communication of intimacy and trust over ability and performance, therefore they are quick to hurt another girl with intimacy and trust when events go poorly (Duncan, 2004). Crick, Bigbee, and Howe (1996) explain that girls are more likely to use relational aggression rather than overt aggression because "relationally aggressive behaviors damage goals that are particularly important to girls" (p. 1003). Relational aggression inhibits the creation of personal relationships and intimacy with others (Crick, Bigbee, & Howe, 1996). "Consequently, relationally aggressive acts are likely to serve as effective means for gaining control or retaliating against another girl, particularly given recent evidence that girls are more distressed by these acts than boys. (Crick, Bigbee, & Howe, 1996, p.1003).

It is very hard to spot a female bully. They look the same as everyone else, perhaps they are more dominant in friendships or they may exhibit some behavioral problems, but for the most part they blend right in (Brinson, 2005). When another girl is

bullying a girl she does her best to not be seen. Utilizing covert forms of both verbal and nonverbal communication, the aggressor can manipulate her victim (Underwood, 2003).

Reasons for girls to bully other girls can range from revenge to jealousy, specific to the situation. The obvious constant variable in female bullying appears to be the covert use of communication.

Using Verbal Communication to Bully

A lot of time is spent talking out problems, fears, crushes, and intimate secrets in female friendships (Besag, 2006). Any self-revealing information can quickly become a weapon of immense psychological damage through gossip and the spreading of rumors. Does this mean that girls should not trust one another and share this information for fear of the inevitable friendship change? Of course not, girls seem to naturally need to communicate in this way, and in most cases the benefits of learning how to cooperate, share, and talk lead to an increased sense of empathy and judgment (Lever, 1976).

Most girls do not use personal information to *bully* other girls, yet at the same time most adolescent girls experience relational aggression. Since relational aggression is the aggression form of choice among females, and since anger, jealousy and hurt are natural and unavoidable emotions, it is reasonable to assume that all females will be aggressors as well as victims of relational aggression. This is due to the fact that girls frequently share confidential information with one another (Mouttapa et al., 2004). Another factor possibly contributing to female bullying involves the specific atmosphere of school. "This competitive, combative culture might be heard as an echo of the national culture of competition in education" with teachers competing with teachers, peers

competing with peers for grades, and the general fast passed nature of education (Duncan, 2004, p. 149).

Unlike the bullying of boys, most of the quarrels and conflicts among girls appear related to their friendship groups. This means that the victims are unable to escape the mesh of social relationships within which the bullies lurk. The aggressors know all about their target due to past friendly relationships (Besag, 2006 p. 537).

In face-to-face cases, female bullying usually looks like squabbles and frivolous arguments between groups of girls. Truthfully, these squabbles are much more complex than they appear, commonly involving negative verbal and nonverbal messages expressed through indirect means with the goal of social exclusion. These aggressive acts can be devastating to the self-image of the victim due to the importance of communication and the sharing of social information by females (Crick, Bigbee, & Howes, 1996).

Using Nonverbal Communication to Bully

Since communication is at the heart of female social interaction, the use of communication strategies is both natural and effective (Lever, 1976). Through the use of verbal and nonverbal communication tactics, she is able to control social interactions through social exclusion, nonverbal threats, and exposure or invention of socially destructive information. She writes a note to another girl in the group. She nonverbally threatens her victim through menacing looks and giggles. She cuts her off from the highly important resource of communication by attempting to socially isolate her victim through

'the silent treatment,' and ignoring. Nonverbal communication involves a multitude of possible intentions, functions, and forms. They can reinforce, contradict, or replace a verbal message, as well as regulate a conversation or establish a relationship (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1996). Examples relevant to female relational aggression could include smiling while she tells her friend she's 'a bitch,' which would function as contradicting a message. She may also replace a verbal message by making a disgusted face during a story her friend is telling. Nonverbal communication uses specific modes, called codes, through which messages are transmitted.

Nonverbal messages can be transmitted through vocalics such as pitch, rate and volume (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1996). Nonverbal communication (NVC) also occurs symbolically in nonverbal communication through the use of physical appearance, artifacts, environment, kinesics, haptics, proxemics, and chronemics (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1996). Physical appearance involves the natural body features as well as body adornments such as clothing, jewelry or other personal affects to send a message. A girl may have her nails done, carry an expensive purse, attempt to look 'beautiful,' etc., to send a message of importance or status. The environment in which the aggression takes place sends a nonverbal message as well. Environment involves the architecture, colors, temperature, layout of furniture etc. Kinesics covers most 'body language', which is a vital code for NVC as well as nonverbal bullying. Crossing arms, flipping hair, cocking heads, dirty looks as well as sneering or 'flipping the bird' would all be examples of kinesics cues. Haptics is the use of touch, wherein displays of dominance and superiority can be seen. Individuals with more power tend to be allowed to touch more, and are touched less often, while individuals with less power are touched more often and do not

touch others as much (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1996). Therefore, if a girl wants to use haptics to show her superiority she may freely touch her victim, such as taking things from her hands, putting her body or limbs on her victim, poking, shoving, or even slapping her. Proxemics has to do with how physically close two people are. For example, it can be intimidating for someone to invade your personal space and stand two inches away from you, face to face. Sticking an extended palm in someone's face is another example of Proxemics-based aggressive behavior. Chronemics is the use of time. An aggressive use of Chronemics would be to be purposefully late or demand more time than necessary from someone.

Elementary school bullying

In a study of the friendship bonds among a group of girls aged 10 to 12 years old, Besag (2006), found "the girls considered their friendships extremely important and nominated the breaking of a friendship as the most anxiety-provoking aspect of school life" (Besag, p. 535).

Besag (2006), monitored the girls on video and gathered personal information through questionnaires and interviews over a sixteen-month period. The girls fluctuated several times between close friendship networks of two or three, and by the end of the sixteenth month only one original dyad was still intact. A commonly reported reason for the dissolution of friendships included the presence of a third girl entering (or attempting to enter) into a dyadic relationship being perceived as a threat, which in many times was a realistic possibility. Several girls could be identified as instigators of the breakdown of friendships through the use of gossip and other communication based tactics.

The use of video to document these specific occurrences "showed the girls interacting in an unguarded manner away from adult supervision. This made it possible to watch the subtleties of both the verbal and body language of the girls including the silent provocations that frequently passed between them" (Besag, 2006).

Duncan (2004) in a study of 15-year-old girls from the U.K. reports that "the girls interviewed were unanimous in their expressed belief that friendships between girls were very important, more so than for boys" (p. 140). He contends that female friendships during elementary school "were jealously guarded, and took on some of the forms of a romantic relationship, with fidelity and exclusivity forming an important set of core values" (p. 141). He found that girls had created a specific communication term, "a gooff", to describe a girl who had betrayed her best friend by spending time with another girl. An additional term revealed to Duncan was a "friend-taker," which describes one who 'steals' a friend away from another.

Teen-Aged Bullying

Major changes in every aspect of life begin to occur around the ages of 12 to 16. Duncan (2004) found that the girls in his study held "a pronounced belief that the nature of their friendships had altered over the years, and several groups pointed to a difference between friendships in primary school and friendships in secondary school" (p. 140).

Changing schools from elementary to middle school means new friends, more challenging school work, less socialization time at school, and more competition for resources (Crick, & Grotpeter, 1995). These changes alone create tension on previous relationships leading to bullying. Priorities begin to change from wanting to spend all of

your time with the same sex, to an emerging interest in the opposite sex (Crick, & Grotpeter, 1995).

Puberty and the hormonal onslaught of physical and mental changes only compounds this often-difficult time for girls. Friendships remain small, semi-exclusive, and important but begin to incorporate boys, with social focus switching to an "imperative to be widely known in the larger school community, and outside in the neighborhood. A close, intimate, dyadic friendship might be an impediment to social mobility" (Duncan, 2004, p. 142).

Gossip emerges as a very important activity for teen-aged girls, recognized by the girls in Duncan's (2004) study as "an indulgence condemned by male authority and masculine values" (p. 142). Even so, gossip appeared to be too exciting and socially valuable to discontinue. For example, Duncan (2004) found while "recounting some incidents, the excitement of the narrators was evident in the raised tone, pace and pitch of the conversation" (p. 142). Even when the gossip was non-sensational, "they used the absence of key persons to explore emotive issues with reassurance, reparation or reconciliation" (p. 143).

Popularity was an important factor in Duncan's (2004) study, while no definition was unanimously agreed upon by the girls, "there was a general consensus that 'popular' was used to mean those girls who had the highest social status in the school, and was linked to heterosexual attractiveness" (p. 144). Further, he found that "to be known as one of *the* popular girls implied you would be brash, aggressive and involved in rumors and fights amongst girls" (p. 144). This is in direct competition with the previously discussed socialization of girls to 'play nice' and cooperate in early childhood.

Effects of Bullying

Earlier research by Duncan (1999, 2002, p. 137) found that results of bullying ended in some girls who "refused to attend schools or sought transfers to other schools due to harassment by peers. Real reasons for seeking transfers were often concealed from parents and professionals for fear of retaliation by the aggressors, or because of internalized guilt and shame".

According to the National Resource Center for Safe Schools, approximately thirty percent of American children are regularly involved in bullying and fifteen percent are severely traumatized or distressed as a result of encounters with bullies (1999). This abuse can be extremely damaging, with psychological wounds that may take years to heal. Depending on the situation, bullying can continue relentlessly until the victim changes schools or sadly commits suicide. It is often suggested that the aggressors in school shootings were victims of bullying, and their attacks stem from this form of psychological abuse (Seals & Young, 2003). The effects of bullying can have long term effects with "bullying and victimization [being] associated with negative consequences in adulthood" (Seals & Young, 2003, p. 736).

While girls are more likely than boys to report a bully (Li, 2006), there is still a great deal of reluctance to bring their stories to authorities. This can be explained in many ways. As mentioned previously, it is very difficult to spot a female bully, and since they use social exclusion instead of physical violence, it becomes very tricky to punish aggressors (Li, 2006).

Psychological or emotional abuse is harder to prove and can cause mental doubt and self-blame, leading to even greater psychological distress (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995).

Thus, if the victim *can't* prove it; and if the bully *can* deny it, then the victim can feel as if they are going crazy. Girls may internalize the pain and feel ashamed or responsible for what is happening to them (Besag, 2006). They may think, "if I lost ten pounds, they would be nice to me and like me" or "if I just had more money for new clothes, I'd be popular and they wouldn't pick on me." These tactics usually don't work. If a bully has chosen to victimize, their goal is not to cause a change in the victim, and if a victim attempts to conform to some ideal like losing weight. The bully will simply switch their plan of attack from calling her fat to calling her skinny (Besag, 2006).

Using Electronic Media to Bully

Historically, bullying primarily occurred in school during school hours, however, with the common use of computers and the internet since the 1990's, on-line bullying has become an increasing occurrence amongst adolescent girls (Li, 2005). The internet offers the perfect tool for mass, covert bullying due to its' anonymity, its' difficulty to regulate, and the removal of traditional social rules in regards to appropriate communication (Giuseppe, & Galimberti, 2003). "The nature of new technology makes it possible for cyber bullying to occur more secretly, spread more rapidly and be easily preserved" (Li, 2006, p. 161). Bullying is a major problem in schools, and it seems to be on the rise with the widespread use of the Internet.

"Cyber bullying", according to Willard (2004) as quoted by Li (2006), "can occur in various formats including flaming, harassment, cyber-stalking, denigration (put-downs), masquerade, outing and trickery and exclusion..." it can lead to stalking, death threats and suicide (Li, 2006). "Unlike face-to-face bullying, people often feel that

cyberspace is impersonal and they can therefore say whatever they want. Further, it is reported that females prefer this type of bullying" (Nelson, 2003; Li, 2006).

There are major differences between the communication used in face-to-face instances and electronic instances. In face-to-face communication, nonverbal codes are an important part of decoding messages. While all face-to-face communication involves intentional and unintentional nonverbal messages, relational aggression often relies heavily on NVC and less so on verbal statements. This leaves messages more open to interpretation, yet can be very powerful indications of intent. For example, Adrian can verbally state "I hate you" to Beth, with accompanying nonverbal cues such as: low pitch, crossed arms, greater distance from Beth, a sneer, and the act of placing her purse on the chair between the two girls in order to disallow Beth from sitting next to her. Or she may choose to display all of the aforementioned nonverbal cues without the direct verbal statement. This covertness, again, is the hallmark of relational aggression, which is the preferred style of aggression for females. The internet limits or disallows the use of many nonverbal codes such as kinesics, physical appearance, vocalics, Haptics, Proxemics, environment and artifacts. An important point to note is the development of computerspecific nonverbal codes, known as computer mediated communication, or CMC.

Since the internet is text-based, visual and auditory cues are absent, making it a *less rich* form of communication (Giuseppe, & Galimberti, 2003). The *Media Richness Model*, developed by Daft & Lengel (1986) explains how different mediums of communication vary in ambiguity, or richness. Since visual, auditory, and contextual cues are simultaneously available, face-to-face communication is the *richest* form of communication available. This richness is one reason females may prefer not to bully

face-to-face. Highly rich forms of communication are apt to be more overt, which is not an appealing characteristic for someone wishing to be indirect and covert. As ambiguity rises, so does covertness, making the internet an ideal medium for bullying by those who prefer indirect means.

Another relevant model to help better understand the complex nature of CMC is the *Reduced Social Cues Model*. According to this model, when nonverbal cues such as environment, facial expressions, status symbols, spatial behavior and proximity are absent, (as in CMC) "people become more self-oriented and less concerned with the feelings, opinions, and evaluations of others... this, in turn, is thought to lead to uninhibited and even hostile behavior, with accompanying negative perceptions of others" (Giuseppe, & Galimberti, 2003, p.55). Behind the computer monitor, "reduced evaluation anxiety on the part of low status and shy individuals may lead to more equal participation in CMC contexts" (Giuseppe, & Galimberti, 2003, p. 56). If you feel you are small, weak, unattractive, or in some other way defective, you can hide behind a computer and suddenly become equally powerful. So, bullies may seek out the internet with the intention of bullying, or according to the Reduced Social Cues Model, the nature of communication on the internet may increase bullying behavior in those who may not display the behavior in face-to-face situations.

Lastly, CMC is unique in that it employs its own unique form of language. The website www.netlingo.com claims to contain the largest list of chat acronyms and text messaging shorthand, as well as a dictionary to help discern the ever changing and growing vernacular of electronic language. Shortened phonetic spellings of words are used in place of their standard English forms in order to save time, keep messages secret

from adults, or conform to peer trends (Welby, 2007). A quick example of this language: "C U 2nite @ Debs party ILU G2G L8R." This translates to, "see you tonight at Deb's party, I love you, got to go, later." This lingo, known by many names such as netlingo, internet jargon, chat/IM/text speak, etc., can be very confusing for those not "in the know," changes and evolves constantly, and can impede parental investigation or disruption of bullying messages (Welby, 2007). Real life examples and translations are included in the data analysis chapter.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Due to the need for unaltered and authentic examples of the communication used in cyber-bullying activities, I have chosen to use purposive sampling, seeking personal documents posed online by adolescent girls, bullies and victims, as the methodology for this study. I have searched for (using the search engine google.com, as well as search toolbars found on the various sites listed below) terms such as: hate, anti, club, group, girl, bitch, slut, whore, fat, ugly, and die. I then collected examples from search results, blog entries, and other public forum posts in order to preserve the original, anonymous entries of real girls bullying other girls and in some instances the rebuttals of victims. Social networking websites that were used in this study are popular teen websites such as myspace.com, livejournal.com, facebook.com, xanga.com, and yahoo.com.

I have chosen these websites due to their mass popularity and large membership numbers. One of the websites used, myspace.com, recently surpassed google.com as the most visited website for internet users in the United States as of 2007 (Thelwall, 2007). Also a small majority of myspace.com users are females (Thelwall, 2007). A good

majority of school-aged children, given a moderate to high socioeconomic situation and unmonitored access to the Internet at home or school, have a membership to one or more of these social networking sites.

These websites allow users to create profile pages linked to other friends. These profiles allow girls to write about their interests, post pictures, songs, and videos, and write diary entries. There are many ways that girls' utilize these social networking sites for the purpose of bullying. During the researching phase, it became apparent that 'blogs,' or online diaries, are a common outlet for relational aggression. The author found it to be surprisingly easy to uncover hateful messages and examples of female cyber bullying through the search methods mentioned previously. There seemed to be little attempt to keep these messages private, with most messages uncovered without the need to 'sign in' or prove any identity on the part of the researcher. For example, on the website myspace.com, personal blogs can be made public, (viewable to all that are allowed to view said profile) private (not viewable to anyone but the author) or viewable to friends only (the viewer must have a previously approved connection with the author of the blog). Girls may choose to publicly post a hateful message, or sometimes remove the victim from their 'friends list' and allow other girls' access to the blogs containing hateful messages.

All of the aforementioned websites allow 'groups' to be formed by anyone with public or private membership. Most users form groups about celebrities, shared interests and activities, and other popular culture phenomena. Hiding amongst these generally non-harmful groups are countless groups dedicated to hating specific people. They are often adorned with unflattering or manipulated photos of the victim, a statement about

why the creator(s) feel so negatively about the person, and an attempt to get others to join. Once joined, members post to the forums. These posts ranged from mild to disturbing.

The sample included 25 documents. 9 originated from myspace.com, 6 from schoolscandals.net, 4 from facebook.com, 3 from livejournal.com, 2 from goingon.com and one from a personal website on angelfire.com. All bullies and victims allege to be school-aged females, within the age ranges of nine years old to nineteen years of age. Once discovered, all documents were screen-captured using the Macintosh application 'grab,' in order to preserve photographic evidence for later analysis.

Analysis of Research

Data Analysis

The goals of this analysis were to uncover, categorize, and synthesize communication patterns used by female cyber bullies, compare these findings with what is known about female relational aggression (non-electronic bullying), discover any possible motivation behind the cyber aggression, and answer the research question (RQ) of: What are the themes used in female cyber bullying?

After collecting examples from the aforementioned websites, I then grouped the examples according to specific communication phenomena. I was able to find several interesting patterns in the communication of bullies and victims. Although there were multiple messages presented by bullies, there were five forms of attack that were used in the documents collected, many documents contained more than one attack, or all five. These were: (1) exposure of confidential information or gossiping, (2) attacks on appearances, (3) attacks on sexuality, (4) statements about disloyalty and

untrustworthiness, and (5) threats or desire for physical violence. Other unique forms of aggression did appear less frequently and will be discussed throughout the following sections.

Gossip

Gossip can fulfill the social functions of "enhancement of group cohesion by creating stronger group identifications and by clarifying group boundaries, ...[as well as] contribution to self-esteem" (Duncan, 2004 p. 142). 15 of the documents collected for the current study contained examples of gossip or exposure of confidential information.

Gossip and rumors can involve both true and untrue statements. Gossiping is usually used for social exclusion and the construction of 'in' and 'out' groups. Figure 26. Brandy, is a running thread in which classmates hurlygirl123 and jargasr4ever93 talk about seeing her at the mall sitting on the ground, and calling her "a freak" for her behavior. Jargasr4ever93 says, "she jumped and hugged this guy and was yellin a lot...she scares me." another user, fuckgarza states "I hate that bitch shes soooo gay n if she gets in my face again I will beat her fuckin ass im not afraid that piece of shit, love the 1 n only sarah."

Attacks on Sexuality

Girls can often be heard referring to each other as prudes, lesbians, sluts, whores, and bitches these days. For the sake of this research study, these adjectives are considered sexual attacks due to either their implied association with sexual acts, or as in the example of 'bitch,' their gender-specific anti-feminine slang forms. Symbolically these words send messages of sexual incompetence, and ironically, insult the female gender as a whole. As puberty hits and sexual socialization begins, attacks on a girl's sexual

standing are crucial for the development of a normal dating experience. "In the histories of girls fleeing from bullying, there was often a sexualized element to the harassment; accusations of being a lesbian or heterosexual promiscuity were common means of attack" (Duncan, 2004 p.137).

Girls may also pick on those who develop earlier or later than normal. In example #25 Moreen, BabyGurl13 says "moreen is a lil bitch that thinks she is fine but she knows shes not she is so fake she stuffs her bra so she can look better but bitch that doesn't help her." This example happens to contain three forms of attack, (1) gossip/exposure of the either true or untrue statement about 'stuffing her bra', (2) attack on sexuality by referring to her breast size and calling her a bitch, and (3) attacks on appearance by asserting that she 'thinks she is fine but she knows shes not.' In example # 18 Loida, Janis Liu* refers to Loida as a "Stupid smelly cunt."

Boys become all-important as girls move onto adolescence. According to Duncan (2004), "within the girls' social world, the most frequently agreed point of conflict was boys", one subject was quoted as saying, 'if you aren't popular with boys you couldn't be a popular person with the girls'" (p. 145). Boys were also found to be issue that girls fought about most often, while the opposite was found for boys regarding fighting over girls in which this was a rarity (Duncan, 2004).

Sexual orientation is another important factor in sexualized bullying. This finding is consistent with Duncan's research which revealed that girls felt that "if you were a lesbian...and the currency of the community was boy-talk and boy-think, then one would have nothing to contribute to the commonweal" (Duncan, 2004, p. 148). Since communication is of the utmost importance to female bonding, most any factor that

disrupts communication will disrupt friendship formation. In the same vein, Duncan found that exceptionally quiet girls were also excluded from friendships and experienced more aggression (Duncan, 2004).

Attacks on Appearance

Appearance is very important to young girls (Duncan, 2004). Being called ugly, fat, skinny, flat or a myriad of other possible appearance deviations is an effective and painful form of bullying. Li's (2006) study confirmed that females seen as less or more attractive than others were at the highest risk for harassment" (p.161). Almost every document collected contained one or more attacks on appearance. Interesting documents included example # 17, *Jen2*, which contained a picture of Jen2 with the world 'ugly' written across it, example #15, *Jen*, also contained a picture of the victim with "It's so ugly \(\rightarrow\)" (pointing to her) "I Hate Jen", and "She's So Ugly" written around the image. *Disloyalty and Untrustworthiness*

Being able to confide information and build a relationship can be a difficult process for adolescent females, as discussed thoroughly throughout this paper. With the combination of the importance of trust and loyalty required to build a strong female friendship, along with the seemingly omnipresent back-stabbing and gossip reported by previous researchers (Duncan, 2004; Besag, 2006) et al., being labeled "a liar", "fake", "selfish", or even a "gossiper" would be severely detrimental to your ability to join female friendship networks. In example #24 Camielle, Mariam* posts, "Camiell, WE R ANGRY from ur bad words!!...I know that u will say bad thing to me now!!" followed by Nicolina* who states, "EVERYONE is the best !!" except Camielle. Camielle has been saying selfish words to everyone to YOU and ME. It's not right... Camielle you're

the BITCH!!! So who's with us? Vote:" This example demonstrates the tendency of females to attempt to exclude for social punishment by asking others to join in, and to make a distinction between 'everyone' and 'Camielle.' The main attack appears to be a problem with Camielle's ability to be nice to others.

Examples #20 and #21, Groups on Myspace, is a list of groups on myspace containing short descriptions of the group's purpose. The descriptions were written by the (female) group creators. One group is entitled, "FREYA IS AN UGLY BITCH WHO STEALS SHOES." This short example contains themes (2) attack on appearance through calling her ugly, (3) attack on sexuality by calling her a bitch, and (4) statement of disloyalty by (possibly attack (1) as well through gossip) stating she steals shoes.

Desire for physical violence

The final category, desire for physical violence, especially differentiates female face-to-face bullying from cyber-bullying. As discussed earlier, males tend to threaten and act out violence during face-to-face bullying at a much greater rate than females who tend to use relational aggression (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). Once the bullying is moved into the cyber-realm, and anonymity increases, verbal statements become more direct and threatening.

In Example #20, Groups on Myspace, one group is titled "Against the Alyssa Shandle Group" and states, "If you hate Alyssa shandle or dislike or whatever join this group because we all think she is a fat ugly bitch that should get shanked." Figure 8.

Tiff, contains an ongoing fight between users CouldntGiveAFuckLess and Rachel, in which CouldntGiveAFuckLess threatens, "believe me bitch this is a war you will not win. If you think your tuff lets fuckin handle this. I have so much back up you'll be dead in 5

days or less if you keep talking shit to me... one word of advice don't start shit with girls you don't know cause they might be fuckin psycho like me and kill your whole family without raising a finger." Another disturbing example came from Figure 10. Jen, in which user X(sic)XmaggotX states, "jen ur soo apathetic. Jus kill urself, and do everyone a favor." These examples need no clarification; these messages are direct and dangerous statements that contain varying degrees of intent to cause physical harm to the victim.

Implications and Conclusions

From this analysis, it can be concluded that when females bully face-to-face, they do so through relational aggression using primarily NVC to exclude, dominate, and express messages about the social worth of the victim. This relational aggression carries over into cyber-bullying, but with less NVC codes available through electronic media, specific patterns of messages begin to appear. The five forms of attack found throughout the documents collected were: (1) Exposure of shared information along with rumors and gossip, (2) attacks on physical appearance, (3) attacks on sexuality, (4) claims of disloyalty or untrustworthiness, and finally (5) expressed desire for physical violence. These messages were often not expressed singularly, but instead a combination of messages could be found within individual statements.

These attacks can cause severe psychological damage, and often go undetected due to a reluctance to admit to victimization, and the inability of adult authority figures to become aware of the bullying or take it seriously. The social networking sites used in this study are immensely popular websites wherein girls will post aggressive messages and form bullying groups against other girls. Since the Internet is difficult at best to monitor, and girls prefer indirect means of attack, there seems little that we can do to prevent

female cyber-bullying from occurring, but options do exist for both victims and authority figures.

Limitations

Due to the nature of sampling used in this study, (without personal contact with the participants), there is no accurate method to determine exact ages, genders, or ethnicities of participants, as well as other possibly relevant factors such as socioeconomic status and intention of messages. This suggests that the sample could be biased towards wealthier white females who have the Internet access required to cyberbully, as well as a perhaps specific type of aggressive friendship pattern in relationship to other ethnicities. For example, previous research has revealed that the typical myspace.com user is a 21 year old white female that uses the website two to three times a week for the purpose of friendship maintenance (Thelwall, 2007).

Discussion

What Can Girls do to Combat Bullying?

As Besag, (2006) notes, the difficulty in recognizing and stopping exclusion stems from the inability to 'see' what is really going on. "As friendships are a matter of choice, it is a complex issue to confront those accused of socially excluding their target" (Besag, 2006). Choosing to withhold information is rarely an option as we've discussed earlier. Communication is the currency of female relationships, therefore without a give and take of information, female friendships lack the intimacy and trust needed to develop emotionally fulfilling relationships. Instead, girls usually learn to develop this intimacy slower as they reach adolescence and adulthood in order to combat the playground scenes

of weekly best friend changes. Once bullying has begun, there are several tactics that females could use against their attacker.

Since relational aggression is covert and abstract, a good defense is to make it overt and concrete. By approaching an attacker face to face, telling them you know what they are doing and specifically stating their actions, the victim can break down and expose the media that the bully is using.

Make sure to save evidence of cyber aggression and cyber bullying by printing emails or taking screen-shots of bullying websites. Let authorities know what's going on immediately, and speak with school counselors or family psychologists about any distressing emotions.

Options for Adults

Utilizing the online dictionary www.netlingo.com or other available sources, adults should become familiar with common chat/IM phrases in order to understand what discussions their child is involved with (Welby 2007). Lisante (2005) recommends informing children that threatening messages posted online can be traced through the nine-digit ISP attached to the computer from which the message is sent. Children can then be held legally responsible, such as the case of 7th grader 'Chad' who sent a mass message about his desire to kill his ex girlfriend and ended up being sentenced to community service and a school transfer.

This is good news for informed parents of children who are being cyber bullied since many schools are now becoming more cognizant of the damage that cyber bullying causes. If you suspect your child is the victim of cyber bullying, talking is the first step to a solution. According to the Center for safe and responsible internet use, (CSRI), in a

pamphlet designed for parents of school-aged children entitled 'A parent's guide to cyber bullying and cyber threats' parents should first save the evidence through downloading and printing and then attempt to identify the cyber bully. This can be done by contacting your ISP (internet service provider), contacting an attorney, or if a crime has occurred contacting the police.

Other tactics mentioned include: telling the cyber bully to stop in a non-emotional, assertive message, ignoring or blocking the cyber bully, changing your child's screen name, email address, and avoiding the web site where he or she has been attacked, filing a complaint on the website since cyber bullying is a violation of the "terms of use" of most cell phone companies, ISPs, and websites, contacting counselors, principals, and the parents of the cyber bully.

Conclusion

Cyber bullying is a communication phenomenon in which females employ relational aggression tactics using electronic media in order to socially exclude or demote another girl from the social hierarchy. When females cyber bully, 5 thematic forms of attack are commonly used, being: gossip, attacks on appearance, attacks on sexuality, statements of disloyalty, and statements about desiring physical violence. The occurrence of cyber bullying is a recent phenomenon that affects at least twenty five percent of adolescents and teens (Li, 2006). As unmonitored access to the internet and other electronic media increases, cyber bullying will as well so it is important to be aware of the phenomena and understand how and why it occurs in order to take preventative measures as well as understand how to stop cyber bullying if it has already begun.

Appendix

Figure 1. ALICIA (from livejournal.com)

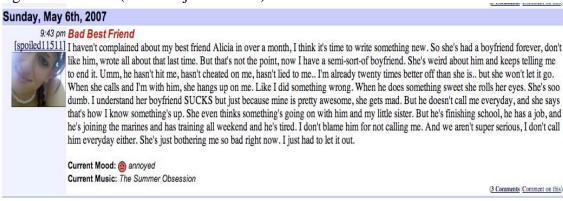


Figure 2. LILIAN (from facebook.com)



Figure 3. SARAH (from livejournal.com)

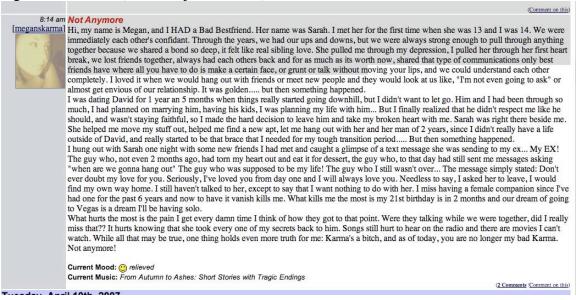


Figure 4. KAITLYN (from livejournal.com)

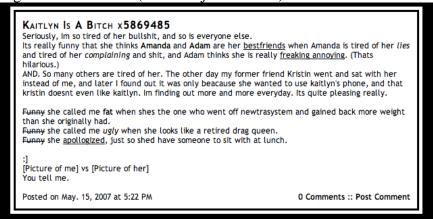


Figure 5. SAMANTHA AND STEPHANIE (from schoolscandals.net)



Figure 6. SONIA (from facebook.com)

people who hate sonia Global Information Group Info Name: people who hate sonia Type: Just for Fun - Inside Jokes she is anoying and if u call her that she will tell Description: she is bitch and a snitch Contact Info Website: anotingsonia@anoyingpeople.com Street: anoying oklahoma city, OK City: Join this Group

Figure 7. QUARTZ HILL HIGH (from schoolscandals.net)

>>	QUARTZ HILL QUARTZ HILL HIGH	Enter A Search Here Search Post Previous				
	Subject	Poster	Views	Replies	Rating	Last post ₹
M	<u>Heather Jackson</u>	rancidsmisfit PREMIUM	167	1		09/14/07 10:29 PM by nappyheadedho
P	if you're reading this	nappyheadedho PREMIUM	10	0		09/14/07 10:20 PM by nappyheadedho
.0.	Those complaining about people they don't like:	g3sas	418	4		08/11/07 10:55 AM by Skyler
	rachel cassey loves dick in her mouth	yomamasucksdick	1092	25		08/07/07 02:24 AM by snie13
.10	matt hutchison	eatyourfood	404	2		08/07/07 02:18 AM by snie13
	Columbine type attack	NicoleRocksYou PREMIUM	429	0		12/19/05 09:38 PM by NicoleRocksYou
,10	gay	publiclyincorec	397	0		08/15/05 12:59 AM by publiclyincorec
	Who knoes a guy named Ben Bock???	casper103	427	3		08/10/05 01:17 AM by ghhsgirl
.92	Deana Bush Is A Slut YOU GUYS HAVE TO READ THIS *DELETED*	roxy4lf1788	680	5		06/12/05 02:07 PM by DATRUEHUSTLER
	ugh	Homegirl63	384	1		06/09/05 02:35 PM by DATRUEHUSTLER

Figure 8. TIFF (from myspace.com)

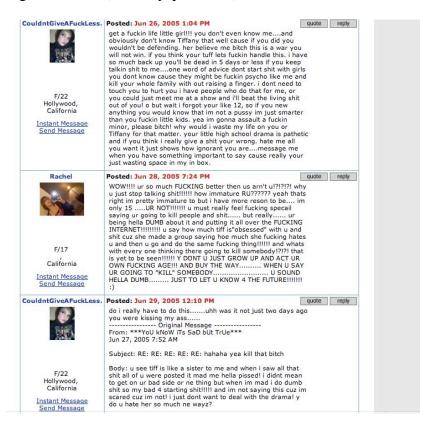


Figure 10. JEN (from myspace.com) #Google Search Groups » I Hate Jen » Topics » jen sux Post a Reply Author Post a Reply Listing 1-15 of 46 Back to Topics Posted: Jun 27, 2005 7:24 PM quote reply X(sic)XmaggotX jen ur soo apthetic, jus kill urlsef, and do everyone a favor Back to Group M/19 OLDSMAR, FLORIDA X(sic)XmaggotX Posted: Jul 6, 2005 7:03 PM quote reply ur soa pthetic that u lie saying lunchbox is ur bf when he aint, omg dnt get much more pathetic $\,$

Figure 11. KYLEE (from myspace.com)

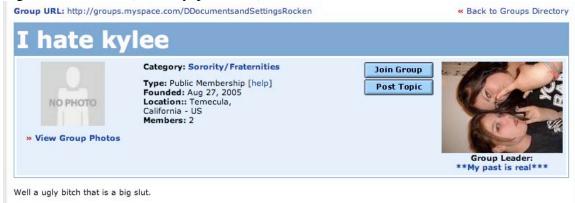


Figure 12. STEPHANIE (from angelfire.net)

The We Hate Stephanie (the big one) Hate Club ™ Teh hate, teh edge.

Are you tired of Stephanie (the big one)?

Do you want to do evil things to Stephanie (the big one)?

Does your name start with a letter in the alphabet?

If you answered yes to any of those questions THEN YOU SHOULD JOIN "The We Hate Stephanie (the big one) Hate Club ™"



Note: Membership is exclusive, only those who know how to obtain may obtain it.

The We Hate Stephanie (the big one) Hate Club TM is dedicated to hating Stephanie (the big one), We will not be held responsible for any consequences for this hating or our actions.

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Figure 13. SARA (from myspace.com)



Figure 14. *CARLY (from myspace.com)

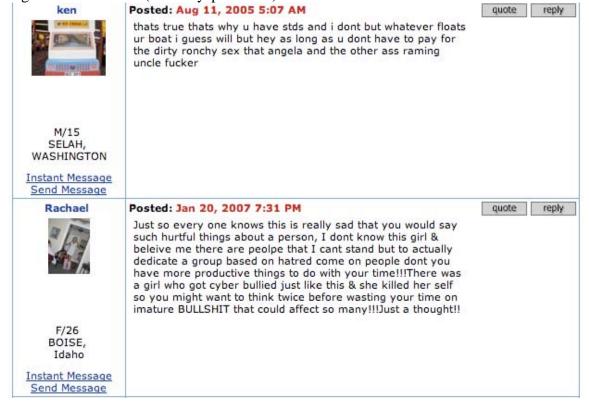


Figure 15. JEN (from myspace.com)



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Figure 16. KRISTAL (from facebook.com)



Figure 17. JENNIFER (from goingson.com)



Figure 18. LOIDA (from facebook.com)



Group URL: http://groups.myspace.com/assfat « Back to Groups Directory Category: Fashion & Style Join Group Type: Public Membership [help] Post Topic Founded: Jan 1, 2006 Location:: suck dick, California - US NO PHOTO Members: 19 » View Group Photos Group Leader: THIS IS A PETTITION I WONT BE INVITING PEOPLE AS MUCH AS THEM JOINING. ADD THIS GROUP IF YOU HATEEEE FAT CHICKS THAT ARE SLUTS! OR PRETEND THAT THERE HOTT ewwwwwwww nobody likes fat chicks!

Figure 19. FAT UGLY ASS SLUTS (from myspace.com)



IF YOU HATE FAT UGLY ASS SLUTS!!!!! (19 Members)

-

50.20 -01		Join Group	
	I Hate Jen (Public Group) jens a bitch	Founded: Jun 27, 2005 Members 38	S
	arezue is a fuckin loser wannabe she could go to hell (Public Group) all u arezu h8ters alowed shes a little fuck head	Join Group Founded: Jul 18, 2005 Members 32	0
	maddie is uglythats why guys cant get it up foundation (Public Group) ppl who are sick of an ugly bitch talkin shit on everybody and bein a bitch for no reson and startin drama	Join Group Founded: Jan 5, 2005 Members 26	
	FREYA IS AN UGLY BITCH WHO STEALS SHOES (Public Group) SELF EXPLANATORY	Join Group Founded: Jul 30, 2005 Members 24	
	Ms.Carter isa bitch/fat ass/ really ugly person (Public Group) Sadly there are some really ugly old people in this world. And speaking of which, Ms. Carter is an old ball of cow shit.	Join Group Founded: Jun 9, 2005 Members 24	
но рното	Against The Alyssa Shandle Group (Public Group) If you hate alyssa shandle or dislike or whatever join this group because we all think she is a fat ugly bitch that should get shanked	Join Group Founded: Jan 9, 2005 Members 14	
		Join Group	

Figure 21. MORE GROUPS ON MYSPACE (from myspace.com)

	Fuck Andrea (Private Group) Fuck you andrea	Join Group Founded: Jul 16, 2005 Members 25
	tucan haters (Public Group) this group is for ppl that hate tucan (brittany bonato) bc shes gay shes ugly as hell and bc shes a stupid bitch oh and bc she has a big nose	Join Group Founded: Jul 22, 2005 Members 22
	BENGAY (Private Group) the andy milonakis show	Join Group Founded: Jul 24, 2005 Members 17
	I Believe Ryan Adams Is A Fucking Homo! (Private Group) Alright, It's about time someone made a group dedicated to hating that stupid bitch.	Join Group Founded: May 18, 2005 Members 16
	this bitch is gonna die! (Public Group) we fuckin hate racine!!! that stupid bitch is gonna die!!!	Join Group Founded: Jul 13, 2005 Members 16
NO PHOTO	I HaTe JaMiE cLuB (Public Group) The I hate Jamie club is about Jamie Robb. She is a stupid bitch who thinks the world evloves around her. And she has really peachy teeth. Its sick. She thinks that everyone should like her	Join Group Founded: Aug 5, 2005 Members 14

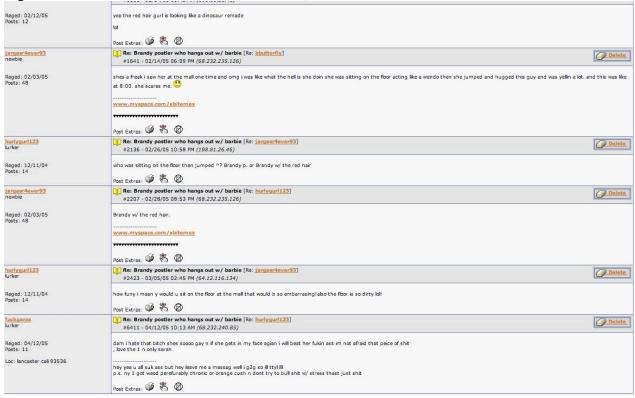
Figure 22. BIGGEST HO AT SCHOOL (from schoolscandals.net)

	#541 - 12/16/04 04:19 PM (196:61:26:46)	- 94
Reged: 12/18/04	oh wat!?!? i think her name is keiryDAMN SHES GOT SOME BIG ASS TATAS!!!	
Posts: 27	48 PM	
	Post Extras: 🍑 🐔 🙆	
MisGosipluvsKp lurker	Re: Whose the biggest hoe at school? [Re: WATSmyNAME]	
IUI Kei	#569 - 12/19/04 04:52 PM (65.31.11.180)	
Reged: 12/08/04	ashleigh sims	
Posts: 7		
	Post Extras: 🍑 👯 🔘	
ChokinMyChicken	Re: Whose the biggest hoe at school? [Re: MisGosipluvsKp]	
lurker	#609 - 12/21/04 04:46 PM (24.171.132.64)	
Reged: 12/20/04	your mom	
Posts: 5		
	Post Extras: 🍑 🐮 🚳	
wereja	Re: Whose the biggest hoe at school? [Re: ChokinMyChicken]	
lurker	#638 - 12/22/04 06:34 PM (200.52.177.12)	
D	101414 014701	
Reged: 12/22/04 Posts: 2	JOHANA BIATCH	
	Post Extras: 🏈 🐮 🙆	
cheekz	Re: Whose the biggest hoe at school? [Re: wereja]	
lurker	#639 - 12/22/04 06:44 PM (200.92.47.181)	
0 1 12/22/01	USUA VISAU SOUNDA SE TUE DECORET HOS THICKER DA ONE COTH OUT WE COOLD	
Reged: 12/22/04 Posts: 2	HELL YEAH JOHANA IS THE BIGGEST HOE IN SKOO DA ONE GOIN OUT W- OSCAR	
	Post Extras: 🍑 👯 🔘	
moufasarocks	Re: Whose the biggest hoe at school? [Re: cheekz]	
lurker	#643 - 12/22/04 09:46 PM (24.71.223.141)	
Reged: 12/22/04 Posts: 6	nah i think its neila shes such a whore	
	Post Extras: 🍑 👯 🔘	
WATSmyNAME	Re: Whose the biggest hoe at school? [Re: wereja]	
newbie	#654 - 12/23/04 01:47 PM (64.12.116.134)	
Reged: 12/18/04 Posts: 27	hey bitch!! johanna is kool!! dont talk shit about johanna!!	
	Post Extras: 🏈 👯 🙆	
notmygoodies008	Re: Whose the biggest hoe at school? [Re: WATSmyNAME]	
lurker	#835 - 01/04/05 08:54 PM (198.81.26.46)	
Reged: 01/04/05 Posts: 20	i say that mia is the biggest hoe at school	
0.00000.000	Post Extras: 🍑 👯 🔘	
	I was a second of the second o	

Figure 23. ELIZABETH (from schoolscandals.net)



Figure 23. BRANDY (from schoolscandals.net)



#1 | Flag | Reply » camiell,WE R ANGRY from ur bad words!!just get out of zanessa topix !!i know that u will say bad thing to me now!! "nesreen & rula & nora rocks!!!" JOINED: Jul 24, 2007 COMMENTS: 1202 cairo ISP Location: Minshat Al Bedawl, Egypt Sunday Sep 2 #2 | Flag | Reply » Nicolina Chelsea, NY "EVERYONE is the best !!" except Camielle. Camielle has been saying selfish words to everyone to YOU and ME. It's not right. Get off of topix Camielle. Camielle you're the BITCH!!! So who's with us? Vote: taylor Sunday Sep 2 #3 | Flag | Reply » 66 Nicolina wrote:
"EVERYONE is the best !!" except Camielle. Camielle has been saying selfish words to everyone to YOU and ME. It's not right. Get off of topix Camielle. Camielle you're the BITCH!!! So who's with us? Vote: OOO me too. can i vote????????? Nicolina Sunday Sep 2 #4 | Flag | Reply » Chelsea, NY of course you can vote. Taylor's with us Mariam. taylor Sunday Sep 2 #5 | Flag | Reply » YAY im hyper Sunday Sep 2 #6 Flag Reply » mariam OK OK, BUT I LOVE CAMIELLE!!! CANNOT DO THIS!!! LOVE HER AND I DONT HAATE

Figure 24. CAMILLE (from goingson.com)

Figure 25. MOREEN (from schoolscandals.net)



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