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The Psychological Factors and Treatment of Cyberbullying

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Abstract

Although the Internet has changed the way our world operates, it has also served as a venue for cyberbullying. Cyberbullying is widespread among children and adults. Cyberbullying has a negative impact on the mental and physical health of both victims and perpetrators. At present, there are few studies on cyberbullying in China, and most of them are conducted from the perspectives of sociology, pedagogy or law. Therefore, from the perspective of psychology, this article attempts to summarize some previous studies, comment on individuals, peers, families, schools and communities, and make suggestions on how to prevent cyberbullying.

Keywords

Cyberbullying, Individual Factors, Peer Factors, Family Factors, School and Community Factors

心理学视域下的网络欺凌现象分析

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摘　要

尽管互联网改变了我们这个世界的运作方式，但它也成为了网络欺凌的场所。网络欺凌在儿童和成年人中普遍存在。网络欺凌对欺凌者和受害者的心理和身体健康都产生了负面影响。目前，我国对网络欺凌的研究较少，并且大部分以社会学、教育学或法律为主要视角进行研究。因此，本文试图从心理学的角度，综合前人的一些研究，从个人、同伴、家庭、学校和社会等多方面进行评述，并对如何防止网络欺

凌建言献策。

关键词

网络欺凌，个人因素，同辈因素，家庭因素，学校和社会因素

1. 引言

随着互联网的迅速发展及普及，它几乎覆盖了人类活动的方方面面。英国最近一份报告显示，88%的人使用互联网，而在 2011 年这一数据仅为 77%，此外，90%的年轻用户(18 岁至 24 岁)表示至少使用过一款社交媒体软件，甚至 54 岁以上的参与者中也有 69%的人使用一种以上的社交媒体软件(Ofcom, 2017)。在美国，92%的儿童和青少年每天都上网，71%的人使用一种以上的社交媒体软件(Lenhart, 2015)。根据我国第 43 次《中国互联网络发展状况统计报告》，截止 2018 年 12 月，我国网民规模达 8.29 亿，互联网普及率为 59.6%。互联网给我们提供了比以往任何时候更多的可能性。只要上网，信息、教育、娱乐和社会交往可以随时随地轻松获取。互联网就像一把双刃剑，既可以给人们带来许许多多好处，但同时也给用户带来了负面影响。比如，网络欺凌。全球的研究人员都在担心这将对互联网用户产生心理影响。

与传统欺凌类似，网络欺凌对欺凌者和受害者的心理和身体健康都会产生负面影响(Bauman et al., 2013; Tokunaga, 2010)。受害者所经历的负面影响包括更高水平的焦虑、抑郁、孤独、更强烈的自杀意念、更低的自尊水平和较差的学业成绩(Kowalski, Limber, & McCord, 2018)。总的来说，模糊的法律和信息通信技术(Information and Communication technologies, ICTs)的快速发展使得这种社会风险在很长一段时间内基本上没有被注意到(Hinduja & Patchin, 2011; Stewart & Fritsch, 2011)。但近些年，人们对网络欺凌的研究兴趣呈指数级增长(Smith & Berkkun, 2017)。许多研究人员指出，网络欺凌在儿童和成年人中普遍存在，一些研究显示，近 75%的学龄儿童至少有过一次网络欺凌的经历(Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Katzer, Fetchenhauer, & Belschak, 2009)。Kowalski 等人(2017)对美国 3600 多名成年人进行了调查，结果发现，20%的成年受访者表示，他们一生中经历的网络欺凌大多发生在成年时期。在这些受访者中，73%的人报告说欺凌者是同事或合作者。Privitera 和 Campbell (2009)发现 10.7%的澳大利亚男性受访者表示他们曾在工作场所受到网络欺凌。

目前，我国对网络欺凌的研究相对有限，并且这些研究大部分以社会学、教育学或法律为主要视角进行探讨，网络欺凌对欺凌者和受害者的心理会产生严重的负面影响，但我国学者以心理学为主要视角研究网络欺凌基本空白。因此，本文试图从心理学的角度，综合前人的一些研究，从个人、同伴、家庭、学校和社会等多方面进行评述，并对如何防止网络欺凌建言献策。

2. 网络欺凌的界定

网络欺凌是一个受许多不同因素影响的非常复杂的现象(Baldry, Farrington, & Sorrentino, 2015)。网络欺凌的命名者以及网站 www.bullying.org、www.cyberbullying.org 的创建者 Bill Belsey 将网络欺凌定义为"使用信息和通信技术，如电子邮件、手机和短信、即时消息等，故意地、重复地针对个人或群体，意

在伤害他人的敌对行为"(Belsey, 2007)。

Smith 等(2008)将网络欺凌定义为"一个群体或个人通过电子设备，反复地、长时间地对一个无法轻易为自己辩护的受害者实施的具有攻击性的、故意的行为"(第 376 页；参见 Smith, 2015)。

Hinduja 和 Patchin (2009)将网络欺凌定义为"通过使用计算机、手机或其他电子设备造成故意的和重复的伤害行为"(第 5 页)。利用信息和通讯技术，欺凌者可以将受害者的照片或带有羞辱、威胁受害者的信息发送给第三方或发送到某个公共论坛上。

美国国家犯罪预防委员会(National Crime Prevention Council)称，网络欺凌是指利用互联网、手机或其他电子设备发送或发布文字或图片意在伤害或羞辱他人的行为。

Tokunaga (2010)对网络欺凌的定义为"个人或团体通过电子或数字媒体，反复传递意在伤害他人或对他人造成不适的敌对的或攻击性信息的行为"(第 278 页)。

Langos (2012)区分了网络欺凌的直接和间接类型。直接网络欺凌指的是仅限于欺凌者和受害者的攻击行为。间接网络欺凌发生在多个媒体平台上，可以涉及比受害者和欺凌者更多的受众。

如前所述，大多数研究人员认同网络欺凌涉及使用电子通信技术来欺凌他人。但跨国比较仍然缺乏，对其定义也缺乏共识(Tokunaga, 2010; Kiriakidis & Kavoura, 2010)。一系列其他术语也被用来描述这一现象，包括：网络骚扰、网络受害、在线骚扰和电子欺凌(Beran et al., 2012; Fenaughty & Harré, 2013; Ybarra et al., 2007)。

综合前人研究，网络欺凌的定义应包含这些关键要素：1) 必须指使用信息通信技术发生这些攻击性行为，例如手机(短信/电话)或互联网(例如电子邮件、社交网站/社交媒体)；2) 存在伤害意图；3) 重复的性质；4) 明确权力失衡。网络欺凌的定义也可以进行调整，包含网络环境特有的特征，例如匿名性和公开性(Menesini et al., 2012)。

3. 与网络欺凌行为和受害有关的风险因素

社会生态模型(Socio-ecological models)是理解欺凌和网络欺凌如何产生的概念框架。它侧重于研究个体的个性特征如何与环境或系统相互作用，以促进或防止欺凌、受害和犯罪的发生(Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Espelage, 2012; Hong & Espelage, 2012)。该框架包括个人、同辈、家庭、学校和社会等因素。

3.1. 个体因素

3.1.1. 性别

对网络欺凌行为的研究中关于性别差异的研究非常多，尽管如此，研究人员对于男性和女性参与网络欺凌是否有差异仍存在分歧(Kowalski et al., 2014)。一些研究发现在网络欺凌的发生率或受害率方面，女性和男性之间没有显著的差异(Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Slonje & Smith, 2008; Smith et al., 2008; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004a)。但另一些研究报告了网络欺凌行为的性别差异。例如，Wong 等(2014)在一份来自香港的青少年样本中发现，参与某种形式的网络欺凌行为的男性多于女性。其他研究发现，男性比女性更有可能实施网络欺凌，但女性更有可能成为网络欺凌的受害者(Sourander et al., 2010)。此外，还有一些研究表明性别差异取决于网络欺凌发生的方式，例如，女性似乎比男性更容易成为电子邮件攻击的目标，而男性比女性更容易被短信欺凌(Slonje & Smith, 2008; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Smith et al., 2008)。

3.1.2. 年龄

与性别问题一样，年龄研究也发现了各种各样的结果。与传统欺凌类似，网络欺凌在青少年中非常普遍。有研究发现网络欺凌在五年级后增加，在八年级时达到顶峰(Williams & Guerra, 2007)。然而，其他研究人员认为，年龄差异取决于网络欺凌发生的方式。具体地说，Smith 等(2008)观察到，短信、图片

和即时通讯欺凌在年轻人和老年人中没有显著差异。此外，网络欺凌在成年人中也很常见(Balakrishnan, 2015)。一项研究发现，在高中时遭受网络欺凌的人在大学时也极有可能成为受害者(Zalaquett & Chatters, 2014)。Balakrishnan (2015)对马来西亚 17~30 岁的成年人进行了调查，发现 39.7%的被调查者在过去的 6 个月里曾遭受网络欺凌。另一项研究发现，在澳大利亚制造业工人联合会(AMWU)随机抽取的成员样本中，存在通过电子手段(尤其是电子邮件和电话)进行欺凌的现象(Askew et al., 2012)。

3.1.3. 心理因素

与网络欺凌相关的心理因素包括共情，自恋，自尊，抑郁以及焦虑等。Renati，Berrone 和 Zanetti (2012) 研究发现低水平的共情与更严重的网络欺凌行为相关。同样地，Brewer 和 Kerlaske (2015)发现网络欺凌行为与高中生低水平的共情显著相关。其他研究人员区分了认知共情和情感共情，并指出，认知共情水平越低，对网络欺凌行为的预测能力就越强，而情感共情则相反(Baldry et al., 2015; Del Rey, Lazuras et al., 2016)，但低情感共情仍然是一个重要的风险因素(Del Rey, Lazuras et al., 2016)。Ang 和 Goh (2010)对 396 名新加坡青少年进行的研究中发现，无论男女，认知共情水平较低的青少年在网络欺凌中的得分高于认知共情水平较高的青少年。Peterson 和 Densley (2017)在一份从小学生到大学生的关于传统欺凌和网络欺凌研究的综述中指出，低共情是传统欺凌和网络欺凌行为的一个重要风险因素。

Kowalski 等人(2014)发现自恋与网络欺凌行为有关，其核心特征是利用他人谋取私利；Chen 等(2016)表明，自恋是造成青少年网络欺凌的一个重要风险因素。此外，研究人员发现抑郁、焦虑和自尊也与网络欺凌受害者有关。Kowalski 和 Limber (2013)发现实施网络欺凌并成为其受害者的人在抑郁和焦虑方面的得分更高，在自尊方面的得分更低，这可能是那些参与网络欺凌的人学习成绩较差的原因。并且，与没有参与网络欺凌的青少年相比，网络欺凌者对学校的承诺更低，更不喜欢学校，成绩也更低(Kowalski & Limber, 2013)。一项针对捷克中学生的研究表明，与受害者和没有参与网络欺凌的学生相比，网络欺凌者的自尊水平较低(Bayraktar et al., 2015)。Chen 等(2016)也发现高自尊与网络欺凌行为负相关。

网络欺凌的经历也与不良的心理功能有关(Wong et al., 2014)。例如，Fletcher 等人(2014)发现，网络欺凌者虽然在与同龄人的社会交往中没有困难，但心理问题更多，生活质量更差。Bauman 等人(2013)将自杀与网络欺凌事件的直接后果联系起来。一项针对 10~25 岁澳大利亚年轻人的研究发现，在网络欺凌事件后，3%的受访者有自杀想法，2%的受访者有自残行为(Price & Dalgleish, 2010)。研究人员认为，人们缺乏对欺凌者自身行为的理解，以至于他们可能参与了一种网络欺凌行为，这种行为迅速升级，成为一个比他们预期更大的问题。这些人参与网络欺凌，同时也是网络受害者。与传统的欺凌者/受害者相似，这一亚群体的心理负面影响更大(Kowalski et al., 2012)。

3.1.4. 价值观

参与者对欺凌行为的道德认同和他们不仅参与网络欺凌而且也参与身体和言语欺凌之间存在正相关关系(Williams & Guerra, 2007)。Walrave 和 Heirman (2011)观察到，长期使用网络欺凌的个体倾向于将其行为对他人的影响降到最低。与其他类型的攻击行为一样，欺凌者可能会进行道德脱离行为，通过这种行为，他们将自己的攻击行为重新定义为在意图上更善意，在后果上更无害，或者是由受害者应受谴责的行为引起的(Kowalski et al., 2014)。以往关于传统欺凌的研究发现，欺凌者比受害者或没有参与欺凌的人更有可能进行道德脱离(Menesini et al., 2003)。因此，在某种程度上，个体有脱离道德的倾向，人们会认为他们更有可能实施网络欺凌。

Bauman (2010)对 Bandura (1986)的社会背景下的道德脱离进行定位扩展时，指出青年社会化的技术世界可能是一个促进道德脱离的社会环境(第 808 页)。有学者发现，道德脱离能够积极地预测网络欺凌的发生(Pornari & Wood, 2010)。高水平的道德脱离增加了参与者报告参与网络欺凌的可能性，而高水平的

敌对归因偏见增加了成为网络欺凌受害者的可能性。Almeida 等(2012)发现，道德正当性与网络欺凌行为有关，但只在 7 至 9 年级的青少年中存在。

3.2. 同伴因素

除个体因素外，同伴因素也与青少年网络欺凌受害风险相关。Twyman，Taylor 和 Comaux (2010)发现，之前遭受过同龄人伤害的儿童更有可能参与网络欺凌。有研究发现，较低的同伴支持与较高的网络欺凌受害率相关(Espelage et al., 2012; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004a)。认为自己没有同伴支持的年轻人比有同伴支持的年轻人更容易遭受网络欺凌(Fridh et al., 2015)。一项包含中学生在内的跨文化研究中发现，更大的社会孤立是网络欺凌的一个重要风险因素(Baldry et al., 2015)。总的来说，网络欺凌更有可能发生在同龄人也参与了网络欺凌的实施，这种影响从小学生到大学生都有记载(Burton, Florell, & Wygant, 2013; Hinduja & Patchin, 2007; Peterson & Densley, 2017)。

3.3. 家庭因素

与网络欺凌研究有关的家庭因素包括父母的监督和支持。虽然网络欺凌主要发生在家中，但父母往往被排斥在子女的许多网络活动之外，子女很少告诉父母他们参与了网络欺凌(Mishina, Saini, & Solomon, 2009; Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008)。因此，父母通常不知道他们的孩子参与了网络欺凌(Dehue, Bolman, & Vollink, 2008)。然而，父母对孩子的行为有很强的影响力，父母和孩子之间的紧密联系可以使青少年不参与越轨活动(Hinduja & Patchin, 2013)。大量研究表明，与不参与网络欺凌的儿童相比，作为欺凌者或受害者参与网络欺凌的儿童受到的家长监督和支持有限(Low & Espelage, 2013; Fanti, Demetriou & Hawa, 2012; Wade & Beran, 2011; Wang, Iannotti & Nansel, 2009; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004b)。一项在美国具有代表性的青少年样本研究中发现，父母的低支持与网络欺凌的实施有关(Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009)。此外，有研究发现网络欺凌受害者与他们父母的联系程度较低，父母对互联网活动的监督程度也较低(Kowalski et al., 2014; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004a)。Low 和 Espelage (2013)的一项研究也发现，父母监督程度越低，网络欺凌的比例就越高。

3.4. 学校和社会因素

虽然网络欺凌本质上是一种网络现象，但学校文化可以影响网络欺凌的严重程度和发生率(Monks et al., 2016)。较低的教师支持和缺乏明确的反网络欺凌规则的学校更容易发生网络欺凌(Baldry et al., 2015)。学生对学校安全的认知也与网络欺凌行为有关。学生在学校里感到越安全，他们就越不容易受到网络欺凌(Baldry et al., 2015; Bottino et al., 2015)。学生自身对学校的归属感也会对网络欺凌的实施产生影响。学校归属感低的人更容易受到网络欺凌(Baldry et al., 2015)，而学校归属感高的人更不容易受到网络欺凌(Chen et al., 2016)。总体而言，消极的校园氛围是从小学到大学发生网络欺凌行为的重要风险因素(Guo, 2016; Souza et al., 2017)。

对于已就业的成年人来说，工作场所的压力会导致网络欺凌的实施(Vranjes et al., 2017)。虽然目前对工作场所的不文明行为进行了大量研究，但工作场所的网络欺凌问题仍然探索较少(Giumetti et al., 2012; McCarthy, 2016)。

4. 对策

4.1. 制定相关法律政策

对儿童和青少年来说，虽然网络欺凌很少发生在校园或在校期间，但学校在防止网络欺凌方面仍扮

演着重要的角色(Paul et al., 2012)。因此，在一些国家，法律要求学校在意识到这种事件时应及时采取行动(Hinduja & Patchin, 2011)。例如，英国的《教育与检查法案》(2006)允许学校对发生在校外但影响学校生活的网络欺凌行为实施惩罚(Paul et al., 2012)。美国虽然各州的立法不尽相同，但这些立法对学校在网络欺凌方面的预防和干预都作出了明确规定(US Department of Education, 2011)。

除了学校的作用，一些研究人员认为，社会需要在预防网络欺凌方面发挥更积极的作用(Vandebosch et al., 2012)。在立法方面，情况一直在变化，具体的网络欺凌法在国际上鲜有先例。这些罪行通常属于国家刑事或网络犯罪法律。例如，在卡塔尔，《网络犯罪预防法》(2014)解释了通过技术手段进行滥用的原因。

4.2. 设置反欺凌项目

对于传统欺凌，世界范围内已经有一些成功的欺凌预防项目，如 Olweus 欺凌预防项目(Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, OBPP)和 KiVa 反欺凌项目(Salmivalli et al., 2013)。Olweus (1991)是第一个创建了一种全面的、有效的干预方法，并在世界各地的学校中得到了复制和实施。OBPP 的目标是同伴关系，减少现有的欺凌关系，防止新的欺凌发生，并在全校范围内增进同伴间的社会关系(Olweus & Limber, 2010)。鼓励家长、教师、学生和社区共同努力，降低欺凌率。该项目在过去十年中得到了广泛的研究，并证明了全球不同年龄组的校园欺凌现象有所减少(Yaakub et al., 2010; Samara & Smith, 2008)。

KiVa 反欺凌项目于 2006 年在芬兰开发。这个项目是建立在认为旁观者是欺凌行为的一个重要因素并会影响对受害者的影响的研究基础上(Salmivalli, 2010)。因此，干预的主要目标之一是针对旁观者，并增加他们干预和报告欺凌事件的责任(Garandeau et al., 2014)。几项研究表明，该项目在减少传统欺凌经历对学生的心理影响方面取得了良好的效果(Williford et al., 2012)。例如，Kärnä 等(2011)在 4000 多名完成学业的学生中发现，同龄人和自我报告的欺凌现象有所减少。

一般情况下，旁观者在目睹网络欺凌行为时很少采取行动，对于一些青少年旁观者来说，他们的态度通常是冷漠的(Huang & Chou, 2010)。网络欺凌事件的旁观者体验是非常独特的，因为他们对如何应对该事件的决定不像传统的欺凌事件那样是公开的(Wong-Lo & Bullock, 2014)。事实上，这种模糊性可能导致网络旁观者参与网络骚扰的程度甚至超过传统骚扰。Barlińska 等人(2013)发现，相比传统欺凌，网络旁观者更有可能积极参与网络欺凌。因此，采取干预策略，使这种对积极回应的冷漠态度转变，可以帮助阻止网络欺凌事件的传播，甚至在这个话题上产生一种禁忌感(Huang & Chou, 2010)。

虽然现有的网络欺凌干预项目较少，但仍有一些国家已经采取行动来满足有效的网络欺凌项目的需要。例如，在西班牙开发和评估的基于学校的项目 ConRed，已经显示出可以适度减少网络欺凌行为的发生(Del Rey, Casas, & Ortega, 2016; Ortega-Ruiz, Del Rey, & Casas, 2012)。其他项目，如意大利的 NoTrap!项目(Palladino, Nocentini, & Menesini, 2016)，西班牙的 Cyberprogram 2.0 项目都已得到实施和评估(Garaigordobil & Martínez-Valderrey, 2014)。德国一项基于学校的项目"媒体英雄"(Media Heroes)实施后，网络欺凌发生率显著降低(Menesini, Calussi, & Nocentini, 2012)。

4.3. 建立心理指导

从理论上讲，学校的反网络欺凌干预应该满足学生的个人需求，而不仅仅是让学生意识到这个问题(Jacobs et al., 2014)。一些研究人员呼吁学校心理学家在实施网络欺凌预防计划方面应发挥更大的作用。学校心理学家应负责评估学生的在线行为，以便在潜在问题发生之前识别及时它们(Diamanduros et al., 2008)。

对成年人来说，大多数反网络欺凌项目都不太适用，因为这些项目通常只针对儿童及青少年，并没

有为成年受害人提供个人化的心理支援。到目前为止，除了针对传统欺凌提供解决冲突策略外，在大学或工作环境中有关反网络欺凌的干预非常少。尽管在 Crosslin 和 Golman (2014)的一项研究中，大学参与者(占样本的 16.9%)报告说，有关网络欺凌的信息在校园里可以从心理咨询办公室或学生组织那里获得帮助。然而，这些措施并没有解决网络欺凌带来的心理影响。成年人可以通过网络心理治疗获得帮助。近年来，基于互联网的心理治疗越来越受到关注，并显示对一些患者有积极的影响(Hedman et al., 2011; Vernmark et al., 2010)。事实上，许多常见的行为疗法，如认知行为疗法(CBT)、人际心理疗法(IPT)和心理动力学心理疗法(PDT)，已经被转移到网上，患者可以通过手机和/或电子邮件与治疗师进行咨询 (Andersson et al., 2014; Dagöö et al., 2014; Johansson et al., 2012)。例如，Andersson 等(2014)对近期文献进行元分析，发现基于互联网的认知行为疗法(ICBT)对患者的正向影响与面对面的认知行为疗法相似。

5. 总结与展望

网络欺凌问题在全球范围内愈演愈烈，有关网络欺凌的研究也在不断增长，但这些研究结论仍存在局限性。一些反欺凌干预措施(包括反欺凌政策)可以产生积极的影响，但关于它们在网络欺凌中的作用，仍然存在分歧。未来的研究应着重探索网络欺凌预防计划的有效性。

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