

Characterisstics of Bullying and Cyberbullying and the State of Affairs of Anti-Bullying Efforts in Hungary

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Abstract

Bullying and cyberbullying remains a difficult problem worldwide, including Hungary. Despite financial obstacles and a lack of human capacity, researchers and practitioners work constantly to raise awareness on the problem and to introduce effective, evidence-based programs to Hungarian schools in order to build healthy school communities where bullying and cyberbullying is not part of student's everyday life. However, a long road is ahead of devoted professionals to reach their goal, and – as UNESCO recommendation says – a whole-education approach is essential to make the road a smoother one.

Keywords: *bullying, cyberbullying, victimization, prevention, intervention*

I. Introduction

The problem of bullying in schools has long concerned a wide range of researchers and education professionals. There is extensive empirical evidence that bullying involvement as either a victim, a perpetrator or a bully-victim can have severe mental and physical health consequences, among them increased suicidal ideation and suicide attempts¹.

Therefore it is essential to use effective prevention methods and antibullying measures in schools. This paper is an attempt to give an overall picture of what we know about the problem of bullying and cyberbullying and what options do we have to tackle it in Hungarian schools.

II. Definition, Characteristics and Prevalence of Bullying

There have been several attempts to define school bullying and to approach the phenomenon in alternative ways. In 2014, the U.S. Department of Education and the Center for Disease Control and Prevention developed a *uniform research definition*, based on the original definition of Dan Olweus² that became widely accepted:

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¹ M.K. Holt, C. Bowman, A. Alexis, A. Murphy, *Bullying, Suicide, and Suicide Prevention in Education*, in Harvey Shapiro (ed.), *The Wiley Handbook on Violence in Education: Forms, Factors, and Preventions*, First Edition, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., USA, 2018, pp. 453-454.

² D. Olweus, *Iskolai zaklatás [Bullying at school]*, *Educatio* no. 4/1999, p. 717.

*"Bullying is any unwanted aggressive behavior(s) by another youth or group of youth – who are not siblings or current dating partners – that involves an observed or perceived power imbalance and is repeated multiple times or is highly likely to be repeated. Bullying may inflict harm or distress on the targeted youth including physical, psychological, social or educational harm"*³. It is very important to make a distinction between everyday conflicts and bullying. The latter must be addressed immediately and responsibly to prevent the stakeholders from long-term negative consequences.

Power imbalance and repetition are two key factors if we want to identify bullying and distinguish it from other forms of school violence. There has been some debate whether *intent* was a necessary component of bullying. Author Justin Patchin discusses this problem in his book, *Bullying Today*⁴ and disagrees with researchers Stan Davis⁵, Elisabeth Englander⁶ and Lori Ernsperger⁷ who say that unintentional harmful conduct should be called bullying as well because of its hurtfulness. According to Patchin, calling every harmful behavior between teens bullying dilutes the problem and as laws have been passed against bullying in several states in the US and in some European countries, it became especially important to precisely define it. *"Bullying is a specific and more serious form of interpersonal harm and the term needs to be reserved for behaviors that are repeated and intentional"*⁸. Several researchers, including the author of this paper, reinforce the idea that besides repetition and power imbalance, intent should distinguish bullying behavior from other forms of conflicts and harassment⁹.

In the beginning bullying was considered to be a conflict between the victim and the perpetrator, but soon it became clear that the *role of bystanders* is essential in the escalation of the bullying situation. Currently, we regard bullying as a *group-process* and a *community problem* rather than restricting it to an interpersonal conflict between two people¹⁰.

Most researchers agree that the *most vulnerable population* regarding bullying are children *between 11 and 16 years of age*, which marks the beginning and middle

³ M.R. Gladden, A.M. Vivolo-Kantor, M.E. Hamburger, C.D. Lumpkin, *Bullying Surveillance Among Youths: Uniform Definitions for Public Health and Recommended Data Elements, Version 1.0.*, Atlanta, GA National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and U.S. Department of Education, 2014, p. 7.

⁴ J.W. Patchin, S. Hinduja, *Bullying Today: Bullet points and best practices*, Thousand Oaks, California, Corwin, a Sage Company, 2016, pp. 17-18.

⁵ S. Davis, *Schools Where Everyone Belongs: Practical Strategies for Reducing Bullying*, Wayne, ME, Stop Bullying Now, 2003 cited by J.W. Patchin, S. Hinduja, *Bullying Today: Bullet Points and Best Practices*, Thousand Oaks, California, Corwin, a Sage Company, 2016, pp. 17-18.

⁶ E. Englander, *Bullying and Cyberbullying: What Every Educator Needs to Know*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard Education Press, 2013, cited by J.W. Patchin, S. Hinduja, *Bullying Today: Bullet Points and Best Practices*, Thousand Oaks, California, Corwin, a Sage Company, 2016, p. 18.

⁷ L. Ernsperger, *Recognize, respond, report: Preventing and Addressing Bullying of Students with Special Needs*, Baltimore, Brookes., 2016, cited by J.W. Patchin, S. Hinduja, *Bullying Today: Bullet Points and Best Practices*, Thousand Oaks, California, Corwin, a Sage Company, 2016, pp. 18-19.

⁸ J.W. Patchin, S. Hinduja, *cited*, p. 20.

⁹ A. Nickerson, D. Guttman, S. Van Hout, *Bullying and Cyberbullying Prevalence as a Form of Violence in Education*, in H. Shapiro (ed.), *The Wiley Handbook on Violence in Education: Forms, Factors, and Preventions*, First Edition, USA, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018, p. 331.

¹⁰ S. Boyd, *Wellbeing@School: Building a Safe and Caring School Climate that Deters Bullying*, Wellington, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2012, p. 8, <http://www.wellbeingatschool.org.nz/sites/default/files/Wellbeing-at-School-overview-paper.pdf>.

part of adolescence. In the higher grades of high school (above 16) there is a decline in the tendency of abuse¹¹. These results were reinforced by the latest HBSC study¹².

Consequences of bullying involve an increased risk of subsequent *mental, emotional, and behavioral problems* for bullying victims as well as for individuals who bully others. Persons who both bully others and are themselves bullied appear to be at greatest risk for poor psychosocial outcomes¹³. In addition, research shows that some subgroups of children are at *increased risk* of bullying involvement, especially *students with disabilities and members of the LGBTQ population*¹⁴.

In the last decade researchers and the media have become increasingly interested in the online form of bullying, known as *cyberbullying*. Cyberbullying is “*willful and repeated harm inflicted through the use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices*”¹⁵. Although it takes place on virtual platforms, many times it is closely related to face-to-face conflicts at school. Online bullying differs from traditional school bullying in several characteristics: the identity of the perpetrator can remain anonymous; the “audience” of bullying can be much larger than in the everyday settings of school bullying (a shared photo or video can spread like wildfire or become “viral”); the bullying student does not have to face the suffering and pain of the bullied one, and as a consequence these emotions cannot have an inhibitory effect¹⁶. Research shows that students who are victims of cyberbullying are less likely to notify an adult than a face-to-face bullying victim¹⁷. Even more worrying is the finding that there is a connection between face-to-face bullying victimization and late cyberbullying perpetration. That means that some students who are bullied at school can turn to bullying behavior online over the course of time¹⁸. Interestingly, students don’t think of bullying and cyberbullying as two separate forms of violence. One reason is that today’s young generation was born in the digital era, and the online world is a natural part of their life, often not distinguishable from “real life”. The other reason is that a lot of cyberbullying occurs during the day in the school parallel to traditional bullying. Although online

¹¹ P. Borbála, *Az iskolai agresszió előfordulása, intézményi percepciója* (*The incidence and institutional perception of school aggression*), in *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 60, no. 1-2, 2010, p. 131. http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00035/00139/pdf/EPA00035-uj_pedagogiai_szemle_2010_1_2.pdf.

¹² J. Inchley, D. Currie, T. Young, O. Samdal, T. Torsheim, L. Augustson, F. Mathison, A. Aleman-Diaz, M. Molcho, M. Weber, V. Barnekow (eds.), *Growing up Unequal: Gender and Socioeconomic Differences in Young People’s Health and Well-Being*, Health Behaviour In School-Aged Children (HBSC) Study: International Report from the 2013/2014 Survey, WHO, 2016, pp. 200-202.

¹³ F. Rivara, S. Le Menestrel (eds.), *Preventing Bullying Through Science, Policy, and Practice*, Washington DC, The National Academies Press, 2016, p. 158.

¹⁴ C.A. Rose, L.E. Monda-Amaya, D.L. Espelage, *Bullying Perpetration and Victimization in Special Education: A Review of the Literature*, in *Remedial and Special Education* 32, no. 2, 2011, pp. 114-130. Cited by A. Nickerson, D. Guttman, S. Van Hout, *Bullying and Cyberbullying Prevalence as a Form of Violence in Education* in H. Shapiro (ed.) *The Wiley Handbook on Violence in Education: Forms, Factors, and Preventions*, First Edition, USA, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018, p. 332.

¹⁵ S. Hinduja, J.W. Patchin, *Bullying beyond the schoolyard: preventing and responding to cyberbullying*, Second Edition, Thousand Oaks, California, Corwin, a Sage Company, 2015, p. 11.

¹⁶ Safe and Supportive School Communities Working Group, *Online bullying*, <https://bullyingnoway.gov.au/WhatsBullying/Pages/Online-bullying.aspx> [accessed on 18 August 2018].

¹⁷ A. Zhang, L. Musu-Gillette, B.A. Oudekerk, *Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2015*, NCES 2016-079/NCJ 249758, Washington, DC, National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, and Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, 2016, p. 66.

¹⁸ D.L. Espelage, M.A. Rao, R.G. Craven, *Theories of Cyberbullying*, in *Principles of Cyberbullying Research: Definitions, Measures, and Methodology*, S. Bauman, D. Cross, J. Walker (eds.), New York, Taylor and Francis, 2012, pp. 55-57.

bullying is very real and needs to be addressed, it would still be an exaggeration to say that it is causing more problems than traditional bullying. Scientific evidence shows the opposite. Modecki et al. conducted a meta-analysis of 80 articles measuring cyber and traditional bullying and found that *traditional bullying was two times more prevalent than cyberbullying*. However, the correlation between the two forms remains strong¹⁹.

Although researchers agree that bullying and cyberbullying behavior is a huge problem affecting millions of children all over the world, *definitional and measurement inconsistencies in studies make it hard to compare research results regarding prevalence*. There have been *only a few representative studies about bullying in Hungary*. The most recent was conducted by the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development at the Eszterházy Károly University in 2015. According to the results 15,2% of the children were bullied every week²⁰. These outcomes correlate with the results of the HBSC (Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children) report from 2014. HBSC surveys are WHO collaborative cross-national studies that provide information about the health and well-being of 11-, 13- and 15-year old children every 4 year, now from 44 countries²¹. The data from the 2013/14 survey shows a 14,2% bullying victimization rate and a 12,2% perpetration rate in Hungary, with every 10th child being both a victim and a bully. Some Hungarian studies²² suggest a higher rate of bullying involvement, and also the data from the HBSC study conducted in 2018 shows approximately 4% increased involvement in bullying. According to the Hungarian HBSC researchers, increased awareness and sensitivity to the problem due to anti-bullying programs might also contribute to the rise in numbers²³. The HBSC surveys also included a question about cyberbullying. Hungarian results showed that 11,7% of the children had been bullied through someone sending mean instant messages or had created a website that made fun of them and 5% suffered because someone shared unflattering pictures of them without their permission²⁴.

¹⁹ K.L. Modecki, J. Minchin, A.G. Harbaugh, N.G. Guerra, K.C. Runions, *Bullying Prevalence Across Contexts: A Meta-Analysis Measuring Cyber and Traditional Bullying*, in Journal of Adolescent Health no. 55, 2014, p. 607.

²⁰ D. Simon, B. Zerinváry, G., *Az iskolai bántalmazás megjelenése az 5-8. évfolyamos diákok körében: jelenségek és magyarázatok a normál és alternatív tantervű iskolákban (School Abuse Occurs in Grades 5-8. Among First Grade Students: Phenomena and Explanations in Normal and Alternative Curriculum Schools)*, Budapest, Oktatókutató és Fejlesztő Intézet (Educational Research and Development Institute), 2015, p. 11.

²¹ J. Inchley, D. Currie, *Growing Up Unequal: Gender and Socioeconomic Differences in Young People's Health and Well-Being. Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) Study: International report from the 2013/2014 survey*, No. 7, World Health Organization, p. 2.

²² The first Hungarian study about bullying revealed 26,1% victims, 12,87% perpetrators and 26,53% bully/victims. E. Figula *Iskolai Zaklatás – iskolai erőszak pszichológusszemmel [School Bullying – School Violence from a Psychologist's Point of View]*, Nyíregyháza, A Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Tudományos Közalapítván Kuratóriuma, 2004, p. 70.

²³ D. Várnai, *Kortársbántalmazás (bullying), internetes bántalmazás és verekedés [Bullying, Internet Abuse and Fighting]*, in A. Németh, D. Várnai (eds.), *Kamaszéletmód Magyarországon. Az Iskoláskorú gyermekek egészségmagatartása elnevezésű, az Egészségügyi Világszervezettel együttműködésben megvalósuló nemzetközi kutatás 2018. évi felméréséről készült nemzeti jelentés [Child Marriage in Hungary. National report on the 2018 survey of the international research called Health behavior of school-age children, carried out in cooperation with the World Health Organization]*, ELTE PPK – L'Harmattan Kiadó, Budapest, 2019, pp. 129-130.

²⁴ D. Várnai, E. Zsiros, *Kortársbántalmazás és verekedés [Peer abuse and fighting]*, in A. Németh, A. Költő (eds.), *Egészség és Egészségmagatartás Iskoláskorban: Az Iskoláskorú gyermekek*

There are *very large cross-national variations in levels of bullying perpetration and victimization*. According to the HBSC report from 2014 the overall prevalence of bullying victimization in Europe and Canada is around 12% for boys and 10% for girls. The prevalence of bullying perpetration is around 11% for boys and 6% for girls²⁵. There is a rapidly growing number of research studies on bullying in the United States, but according to the Committee on the Biological and Psychosocial Effects of Peer Victimization the prevalence rates vary greatly, ranging from 17,9% to 30,9% for the prevalence of bullying behavior and from 6,9% to 14,8% for the prevalence of cyberbullying²⁶.

III. Best Practices in Bullying Prevention and Intervention Generally

Decades of research and practice helped to understand the best ways to reduce bullying and cyberbullying and the preconditions of a healthy school environment.

Bullying is a group process, a social phenomenon, therefore *everyone* who is part of a given school community, including teachers, other school staff and students, *has to be part of the solution*. That is why it is essential to *train every member of the school staff and the students* about bullying, cyberbullying and practices to strengthen a positive school climate. This *whole-school approach* ensures that everybody is on the same page when a bullying situation occurs.

Increased awareness of bullying in the school community can be achieved not only through trainings, assemblies, focus days, but through student-owned plans and activities. *Involving students and taking their perspective into account* when figuring out strategies against bullying can strengthen their motivation to change the school climate for the better.

It is essential, that trainings and other solutions should always *focus on positive solutions instead of fear-based messages* in order to reduce anxiety and increase positive engagement.

Another essential element of bullying prevention is the assessment of the bullying situation in schools. *Regular yearly assessment* is the key in evaluating the effectiveness of the used antibullying methods. That said, it is important to know that in the first years, higher awareness can cause an increased number of case reports.

All prevention efforts will fail if we don't *promote positive school climate and positive social norms*, otherwise the school climate will remain toxic and abuse will always resurface. This positive approach includes non-hostile and non-punitive methods of behavior management that are consistently used.

Another important condition is to empower students (especially bystanders) and staff by helping them *build the social-emotional skills needed* to respond negatively to bullying behavior and to support students who are bullied.

A healthy community also provide *mental health support* for its members who are going through a rough time and are in need of psychological counseling.

egészségmagatartása elnevezésű, az Egészségügyi Világszervezettel együttműködésben megvalósuló nemzetközi kutatás 2014. évi felméréséről készült nemzeti jelentés [Health and Health Behavior at School Age: National report on the 2014 survey of the international research on the health behavior of school-age children, carried out in cooperation with the World Health Organization], Budapest, Nemzeti Egészségfejlesztési Intézet, 2014, p. 100.

²⁵ J. Inchley, D. Currie, *cited*, pp. 200-202.

²⁶ F. Rivara, S. Le Menestrel, *cited*, p. 59.

To handle bullying cases effectively, *establishing a school antibullying team* is a very wise step as well as *developing a school policy for bullying and cyberbullying cases*. Clear-cut information should be provided about the policy to teachers, students and parents alike. A non-punitive, professional policy helps building a safe atmosphere where everyone knows and follows the same steps when bullying occurs. The school antibullying team can also coordinate the bullying prevention work in the school. As part of the prevention work they can also organize *effective supervision in so called bullying "hot spots"* (e.g. bathrooms and the schoolyard) and give clear *information to students how they can seek help*.

Schools' efforts can be more efficient if the wider community is also on board with them. Recommendations on preventing and addressing school bullying and cyberbullying by the Scientific Committee of the UNESCO and the French Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports addresses this issue by proposing "that an effective response to bullying and cyberbullying should be described as a "whole-education approach". A whole-education approach ensures that local school initiatives recognize the importance of the interconnectedness of the school with the wider community including education, technological and societal systems, values and pressures, all of which can impact on the prevalence and type of bullying and cyberbullying that occurs in a school"²⁷.

IV. Obstacles in Bullying Prevention and Intervention in Hungarian Schools

Bullying research started in the early 2000's in Hungary and researchers as well as practitioners quickly recognized the need for evidence-based whole-school antibullying research programs. However, there is still much more to be done in order to tackle bullying and cyberbullying in Hungarian schools.

There are many obstacles that hinder the effective prevention of bullying, as a research (conducted by the author of this paper in 2017) shows²⁸. The purpose of said study was to examine the perception of Hungarian school principals regarding the prevalence of bullying, self-harm, suicide, substance abuse, eating disorders and adolescent depression in their institutions. School-based prevention efforts and methods were also surveyed. An online self-report questionnaire regarding these issues was sent to the entire population of Hungarian primary and secondary education institutes, specifically addressed to the principals. 394 responses (20%) from the entire population of Hungarian educational institutes came back, and the results show that the vast majority (82,8%) of the respondents admitted having bullying problems among their students²⁹. As for

²⁷ International Conference on School Bullying: "Recommendations by the Scientific Committee on preventing and addressing school bullying and cyberbullying." Electronic document authored by the UNESCO and France Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de la jeunesse et des sports, Accessed August, 3, 2021, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000374794>.

²⁸ G. Kulcsár, *Az iskolai zaklatás és más serdülőkori devianciák összefüggései: kérdőíves kutatás az oktatási intézmények vezetőivel [Correlations Between School Bullying and Other Adolescent Deviance: Questionnaire Research with Heads of Educational Institutions]*, in *Ügyészégi Szemle* 2, no. 2, 2017, pp. 72-89.

²⁹ Other urgent issues seem to be substance abuse, depression, eating disorders and self-harm. While a perceived relation between bullying and other disturbances was observed by the principals in some cases, the link seems to be complex. Also, schools are clearly less active in dealing with self-harm, suicide, depression and eating disorders than in preventing bullying and substance abuse.

currently employed bullying and cyberbullying prevention measures (see Figure 1 and 2) it turned out, that there is a general lack of long-term whole-school approaches and no regular assessment of the state of affairs in schools regarding violence. Another big problem is constituted by the regulation that only schools with more than 500 students can get financing to hire a school psychologist. School policy for bullying cases was put in place only in one third of the schools, and the situation is even worse regarding cyberbullying cases. This increases the risk of ad hoc reactions when violence occurs and leads to insecurity among students and staff. Schools also often only deal with behavioral aspects of youth problems and not with the underlying interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts. These findings were reinforced by telephone interviews I conducted with school psychologist from the responding schools. The interviewees added that school leaders and teachers often feel helpless and overwhelmed, because they face a lack of information, money and capacity for introducing programs that could reduce challenging and violent situations. Insufficient cooperation within the child support system including schools, families, education counselling services and family support services also worsen the situation in many communities.

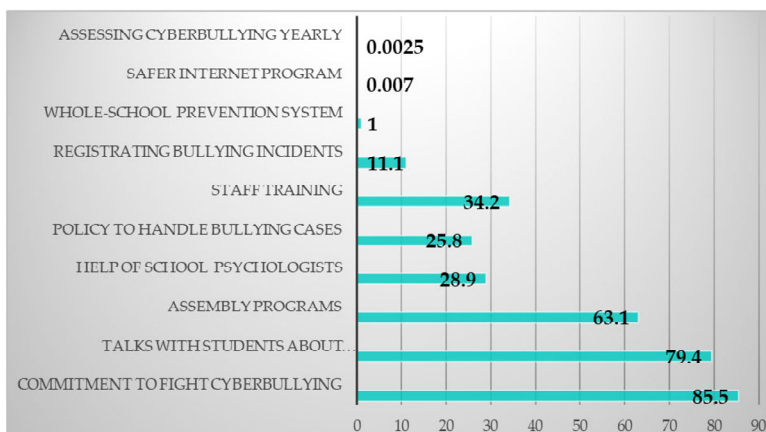


Figure 1: What does your school do to prevent bullying? – Research study with 394 schools (principals)

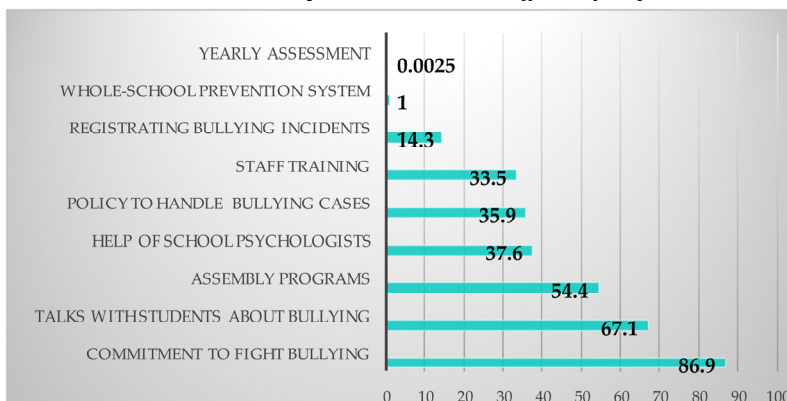


Figure 2: What does your school do to prevent cyberbullying? Research study with 394 schools (principals)

V. Antibullying Programs in Hungary

Although Hungarian researchers have emphasized the importance of bullying-prevention in schools for almost two decades, central and school-level funds remained very limited for this express purpose in the country. Therefore, internationally recognized but expensive whole-school antibullying programs couldn't be widely implemented in Hungarian schools yet. Because of this, researchers and practitioners tried to find ways to tackle bullying on their own initiative. The currently available antibullying programs and best practices available in Hungary are the following:

*The Peaceful Schools Project (Békés Iskolák Program)*³⁰ is the Hungarian version of the holistic, evidence-based antibullying program, originally called CAPSLE (Creating a Peaceful School Learning Environment) which was developed by Stuart W. Twemlow, Peter Fonagy and Frank C. Sacco³¹. It was the first program to formally apply a mentalization-based approach to the systemic problem of bullying. The main focus of CAPSLE is to enhance mentalization skills in students and teachers alike and to foster healthier power dynamics in schools by focusing more on the role of the bystanders than on that of the bully or the victim. The implementation and adaptation of the program started in 2006 in Hungary based solely on volunteer work without any financial support, albeit with the permission and help of the project developers. The Peaceful Schools Project is the only whole-school antibullying program besides the ENABLE Project that is available for all interested Hungarian schools to this date.

ENABLE (European Network Against Bullying in Learning and Leisure Environments) “aims to tackle bullying in a holistic way, helping young people exercise their fundamental rights in the home, school, class and community (i.e. peer group)”³². As their statement says: “the project aims to develop social and emotional learning skills as a means of building resilience in young people so that they can better understand and become more responsible and effective for their on- and offline social interactions”³³. The ENABLE program is available for all schools if they apply for a free training offered by their local Pedagogy Education Center.

KiVa is an evidence-based antibullying program that has been developed in the University of Turku, Finland, with funding from the Ministry of Education and Culture. *KiVa* offers a wide range of concrete tools and materials for schools to tackle bullying³⁴. Unfortunately, *KiVa* was only financed for a short amount of time as a pilot program in Hungary, but hopefully more schools can be introduced to this successful program in the future.

A new initiative is *KERIB* (Kerekasztal az Iskolai Biztonságért – Roundtable for Safety in Schools), a unique cooperation of Hungarian researchers, non-profit organizations, teachers unions and parents associations to reduce violence in schools

³⁰ Békés Iskolák Program, <http://www.bekesiskolak.hu/> [accessed on 3 August 2021].

³¹ P. Fonagy, S. Twemlow, E. Vernberg, F. Sacco, T. Little, *Creating a Peaceful School Learning Environment: The impact of an Antibullying Program on Educational Attainment in Elementary Schools in Medical science monitor: International medical journal of experimental and clinical research* 11, CR 317-25, 2005.

³² Implementing ENABLE, http://enable.eun.org/implementing_enable [accessed on 3 August 2021].

³³ ENABLE (European Network Against Bullying in Learning and Leisure Environments), https://ec.europa.eu/justice/grants/results/daphne-toolkit/content/enable-european-network-against-bullying-learning-and-leisure-environments_en [accessed on 3 August 2021].

³⁴ KiVa Program, <https://www.kivaprogram.net/> [accessed on 3 August 2021].

by disseminating knowledge about effective technics to solve conflicts peacefully and handle bullying³⁵.

There are some initiatives in Hungary to address the specific problem of cyberbullying, among them was the *TABBY* Hungary program, offering training courses to teachers and students to prevent bullying and cyberbullying as a part of a comprehensive European project³⁶. A fresh, new initiative is the *Online against online violence* ("Online az online bántalmazás ellen") training which will be offered to Hungarian teachers from 2021³⁷.

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³⁵ KERIB – Kerekasztal az iskolai biztonságért (Round Table for School Safety), <https://kerib.hu/> [accessed on 3 August 2021].

³⁶ G. Virág, K. Parti, A. Schmidt B. Néray, *TABBY in Internet – Az online bántalmazások volumenének iskolai felmérése és mentorképzés Magyarországon (2010–2014)* [TABBY in Internet – School assessment of the volume of online abuse and mentor training in Hungary (2010–2014)], *Ügyészek Lapja* 3-4 /2014, pp. 47-58.

³⁷ N. Arató, *The Role of Socio-Emotional Skills in Cyberbullying Engagement*, PhD thesis, University of Pécs, 2021, p. 33.

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