Chapter 13
Violent Video Games and Cyberbullying: Why Education Is Better than Regulation

Sarah Genner

Contents

13.1 Introduction

Online safety for youth is a growing concern for parents, educators, and policy-makers. Legal regulation of online risks and youth protection are often well intentioned, but not effective as this chapter shows using the example of violent shooter games and cyberbullying in Switzerland. Politicians demand bans and regulations in spite of the limited success of previous youth protection laws. A closer look at Swiss public debates on the ban on "killer games" unveils that regulation concerning youth and media is very complex and influenced by political interests of certain policymakers. Research on media effects shows that risks are highly interconnected with psychological resilience. Resilient youth are less susceptible to negative effects of media violence and cyberbullying.

Sarah Genner is a senior researcher in media psychology at Zurich University of Applied Sciences and a Ph.D. Candidate at Zurich University. The title of her Ph.D. is 'ON/OFF— online connectivity behavior and regulations'.

S. Genner (✉)
Zurich University for Applied Sciences, Zurich, Switzerland
e-mail: sarah@genner.cc

The chapter summarizes research to date on violent games (which are increasingly played online) and cyberbullying, analyzes the political public debate and, finally, emphasizes why educational measures and focusing on fostering psychological resilience are more effective than legal regulation in the long run to reduce online risks.

Following shocking events, such as school shootings like 'Columbine' in 1999 in the United States or murder cases similar to Zurich-Hoengg in Switzerland in 2007,[1] journalists and experts look for explanations and politicians for solutions. Intuitive explanations are usually more quickly available than scientific evidence—especially when the general public is still perplexed and the motives of the murderers are hard to explain. After both tragic events mentioned above, violent computer games[2] were found at the killers' homes. This leads to the widespread conclusion that these games are the cause for the atrocities, or at least made significant contributions. In fact, the murder in Zurich-Hoengg and a similar case in Central Switzerland were the main reasons for Swiss politicians to put a ban of violent computer games on the political agenda.[3]

Cyberbullying is another widely discussed subject in the Swiss political debate on youth and harmful effects of digital media. This form of bullying occurs through information and communication technologies, which include the Internet and the use of mobile phones for phone calls and texting. National MPs[4] called for effective measures at the political level to preemptively proceed against cyberbullying.

The next two sections of this chapter present research results on violent video games and the corresponding legislation process. Section 13.4 summarizes research results on cyberbullying and political attempts to pass regulations. Sections 13.5 and 13.6 argues how education and fostering resilience are more advantageous than laws and regulations.

---

[1] The Columbine High School massacre was a school shooting on April 20, 1999, at Columbine High School in Colorado, USA. Parents of some of the victims filed several unsuccessful lawsuits against video game manufacturers. A Swiss army soldier killed a 16-year-old girl with an assault rifle while waiting for the bus on November 23, 2007 in Zurich-Hoengg in Switzerland.

[2] In this chapter, the terms "first-person shooter," "killer games," and "violent computer games" are used synonymously to describe computer games including virtual killing through a first-person perspective. Players experience the action through the eyes of the protagonist. Many of these games are played online in multiplayer versions. Examples of such games are e.g., *Call of Duty, Counterstrike, Battlefield, or Doom*. "Killer games" is the concept of opponents and "first-person shooter" rather the term of the proponents.

[3] Ban of "killer games" in Switzerland: www.parlament.ch/D/Suche/Seiten/geschaefte.aspx?gesch_id=20073870/Media violence and youth violence—The murderer in Ried-Muotathal: www.medialegewalt.ch/artikel_presse/analyse_toetungsdelikt_muotathal.pdf.

[4] MPs in this context refer to members of the Swiss national parliament (Federal Assembly consisting of National Council and Council of States).

13.2 Violent Computer Games

In 2012, 68 % of Swiss teens played video games on a regular basis, 70 % of which indicate having played games for which they were too young.[5] A large variety of games get played by Swiss teens. The favorite genre is first-person shooter games (e.g., Battlefield, Call of Duty), followed by the genres casual games (e.g., Angry Birds, Guitar Hero), sport games (e.g., FIFA, NHL), and action games (e.g., Grand Theft Auto, Uncharted). The shooter game Call of Duty is by far the favorite game of Swiss 12- to 19-year olds, although the age rating of Call of Duty is 18 years and above.[6] There is a gender gap in using video games. While 59 % of male teens play daily or several times a week, only 19 % of female teens do.[7] Playing first-person shooters is a particularly male activity: 50 % of male teens in Germany play violent video games versus 10 % of female teens.[8] While 79 % of Swiss teens play video games, only 52 % of 18 to 19 year olds do.[9]

In summary, a majority of teens play video games, especially males and young teens, and they prefer violent first-person shooter games to any other genre (Fig. 13.1).

In spite of heated debates, the scientific community agrees that the use of violent computer games alone will not lead to violence. In other words, the stimulus–response model clearly does not apply. The model's assumption that using violent media content automatically leads to imitation and delinquent behavior has been refuted in research on media effects, but scientists agree that the use of media violence can have negative effects under specific circumstances.[10] Explaining the effects of violent media exposure on real-life aggressive behavior is only the beginning of the scientific debate. While some researchers emphasize the only marginal influence of violent computer games on aggressive behavior, others advise against trivializing potential negative effects.

The high-risk group approach gets increasingly recognized in computer game violence research. According to this approach, for any assessment of media effects, a combination of certain social, personal, and medial factors have to be taken into account. The following factors constitute the high-risk group related to harmful media use[11]:

---

[5] These numbers are taken from the representative youth and media survey in Switzerland (JAMES—Youth, Activities, Media—Survey Switzerland) conducted by the research team at Zurich University of Applied Sciences of which the author is part. Every second year, a representative and randomized sample of 1,200 Swiss teens from 12 to 19 years fill out a 45-min questionnaire on their media use. Willemse et al. 2012, p. 42.

[6] Willemse et al. 2012, p. 45.

[7] Willemse et al. 2012, p. 16.

[8] Feierabend et al. 2012, p. 50.

[9] Willemse et al. 2012, p. 42.

[10] Kunczik and Zipfel 2006, p. 13.

[11] Steiner 2009, p. XV; Merz-Abt 2009, p. 2.

Fig. 13.1 Examples of present day first-person shooter games: Call of Duty and Counter-Strike. They can be played offline and online. Download is not necessary to play shooter games online

1. Social factors:

   - Climate of violence in the personal environment (family, peer group, everyday; experience), and view on violence in society perceived through media;
   - Tensions, conflicts, and violence within the family, parental neglect, and rejection, stressed parent–child communication;
   - Lack of interest of parents for media consumption or lack of control of media consumption;
   - Low media literacy of parents, particularly in relation to new media;
   - High or excessive media consumption of parents as well as the parents of their peers.

2. Personal factors:

   - Early use of violent media content (especially younger than age 12, before moral values are established);
   - Personality factors: trait aggressiveness (aggressive attitude), increased irritability;
   - The tendency to "sensation seeking" (strong desire for new, intense, and complex experiences);
   - Male gender;
   - High or excessive consumption: more than 2 h daily is considered to be problematic;
   - Introversion, anxiety, decreased frustration tolerance;

- Limited social skills and intellectual capacity, inability to distinguish between reality and fiction;
- Restricted repertoire of behavior, poor social problem-solving skills;
- Excessive computer game consumption, strong preference for violent games;
- Missing or weak emotional competence, low empathy, emotion regulation problems, emotional labiality;
- Values that legitimize violent behavior.

3. Media factors:

- Depiction of violence taken out of context;
- Lack of victim perspective;
- Highly realistic representation of violence;
- Availability of audio-visual media (especially in children's bedroom).

In contrast to computer game violence research, television violence research has a longstanding tradition. Researchers claim that results from it can be transferred for various reasons and that the effects of media violence in computer games are even stronger for the following reasons[12]:

- Computer games require higher activity and attention compared to pure watching;
- More intense emotional reactions due to higher identification with characters;
- Direct reward for aggressive behavior (as opposed to TV) or lack of punishment (violence often has no negative consequences for the aggressor, but is sometimes even the main goal of the game);
- Identification with the aggressor is usually preset by the game (as opposed to film and television, where identification with other characters is possible);
- Simultaneity of different parts of the learning process (observe model, encouragement, exhibit behavior), which is significant according to the concept of model learning;
- Training effects and continuity: computer games allow proper training, all sequences of a killing act can get repeated (e.g., procure and load weapons, make sacrifices, aim, pull the trigger, etc.), players can play the same game for a long time;
- Violent content: violence is pervasive in many games, the frequency of violent scenes are usually higher compared to television.

Short-term and long-term effects can be distinguished for violent video game use. According to Hartmann, the following short-term effects were measured in previous research[13]:

---

[12] Kunczik and Zipfel 2006, p. 295.
[13] Hartmann 2006, p. 89.

- Short-term increase of aggressive thoughts and aggressive emotional state of mind;
- Activity in the brain area of aggression while playing computer games;
- Overestimation of hostile intentions of others;
- Increased expectation that other people will react violently to problems and conflict and not defensively;
- Intensified self-perception of the user as aggressive person;
- Increased likelihood that aggressive behavior is exhibited;
- Short-term decrease of pro-social behavior.

In longitudinal studies, long-term effects of violent video game use have been explored. Gentile, Saleem, and Anderson and Hopf, Luber and Weiß clearly indicate a relationship between long-term use of violent games and personality changes (e.g., decrease in empathy).[14] Hopf et al. concluded in their longitudinal study that increased exposure to media violence has effects on violent behavior: "Of particular importance are the findings that playing violent electronic games is the strongest risk factor of violent criminality and both media-stimulated and real experiences of aggressive emotions associated with the motive of revenge are core risk factors of violence in school and violent criminality."[15] Although, especially for high-risk groups, statistical correlations between playing violent video games and violence have been found, these research results underestimate the personality and the social circumstances of players, and therefore the actual impact of violent computer games on aggressive behavior often gets misinterpreted. Correlation is not causality. If murderers play first-person shooter games, the reverse is not true—not every consumer of violent games will automatically become a murderer. Long-term studies[16] estimate that 5–10 % of the increase in aggression can be explained by the influence of media violence and the remaining 90–95 % by other factors, i.e., personality, social environment.[17]

In recent years, research on violent games also showed positive effects. Playing first-person shooter video games is associated with superior mental flexibility. Compared to non-players, players of such games were found to require significantly shorter reaction time while switching between complex tasks.[18]

Conclusively, negative media effects are rather weak compared to variables such as parental neglect and rejection, lack of parental involvement and control, family conflict, and family violence. High-risk adolescents under psychological pressure with an aggressive personality preferably turn to media violence. Playing

---

[14] Gentile et al. 2007 and Hopf et al. 2008.

[15] Hopf et al. 2008, p. 79.

[16] E.g., Johnson et al. 2002.

[17] Bonfadelli 2004, p. 268.

[18] Colzato et al. 2010, p. 1.

violent games may be described as a symptom of many modern real-life aggressors. However, the games' contribution to explaining real-life aggression is comparatively insignificant.

13.3 Why MPs Called for a Ban

In the name of youth protection, Swiss MPs demanded banning so-called "killer games" (opponents deliberately chose the dissuasive term). Politicians took action backed by the "association against media violence." By calling for a ban, they hoped to encourage preventive effects related to youth violence.

However, bans often have counterproductive effects as the following example shows. Since 1972, there is an index in Germany by the Federal Department for Youth and Harmful Media Content ('Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Medien'). In the 1980s, an album of the popular German music band, Die Ärzte, which included adult texts, was placed on the index. The album turned out to be very successful because of the index.[19] Although the list of banned violent games in Germany is confidential, news of games on the index spreads fast in the online gamer community and this serves as an unintended recommendation making it even more attractive.

Bans may indeed send a social signal, but they can—especially in the Internet age—by no means prevent the spreading of the games that are played online ("massively multiplayer online first-person shooters") or can be bought online. National laws often fail in a transnational network infrastructure.

Moreover, article 135 of the Swiss Penal Code is in force since 1990 after a national political debate about splatter movies. Article 135 bans "video recordings, pictures, and other objects or performances that, without having legitimate cultural or scientific value, represent cruel violence against humans or animals." Anyone who provides, shows or advertises such content "shall be punished with imprisonment up to 3 years or a fine".[20] More than 20 years of experience with this law proves its rather symbolic nature. Almost no verdicts have been passed, and the ban of the extremely violent movie "Blutgeil" in the early 1990s created a lot of national attention instead of it disappearing from the limelight. The Internet certainly did not make article 135 less challenging to enforce.

The Swiss parliament voted in favor of a nationwide ban on violent computer games for youth in 2010. Experts were against the ban, and even the government had strongly recommended to the parliament not to pass the law, claiming article 135 was sufficient and could apply to violent games, too. Still, the law was passed.

How to explain this? One explanation suggests that parliament and government have different objectives. MPs are elected by Swiss citizens. As a result, it is quite

---

[19]   Beckedahl and Lüke 2012, p. 44.

[20]   Swiss Penal Code, Article 135, depiction of violence: www.admin.ch/ch/d/sr/311_0/a135.html.

Fig. 13.2 "Association against media violence" and its founder, politician Roland Näf, during an election campaign posing with a rose instead of a gun as a pacifist James Bond (*screenshots*)

rational for them to tackle popular issues, such as youth violence, and to put forward solutions. In a public debate about youth violence, Swiss MPs raised the issue of media violence. In fact, the ban of "killer games" was born as a way of combating youth violence. The popular view, that shooter games are the cause of violent behavior in real life, helped politicians in election campaigns. The president of the "association against media violence" used "the ban of killer games" as his national election campaign issue (Fig. 13.2).

Most MPs who voted for the ban may indeed have realized that it is not an effective solution against youth violence. Nevertheless, they must have known that voting against the ban—especially in the current political climate and often one-sided media reports—could get interpreted as a vote for, or at least not a clear enough stand against, violence. This made it difficult for opponents of the ban among MPs to vote against it. The seven members of the Swiss government get elected by the parliament and not by the Swiss population. Therefore, the government could more easily accommodate the complex reasoning and recommend rejecting the ban.

13.4 Cyberbullying

Cyberbullying is a rising online safety concern as media reports on teen suicide as a consequence of online bullying increase. It can be defined as

> any behavior performed through electronic or digital media by individuals or groups that repeatedly communicates hostile or aggressive messages intended to inflict harm or discomfort on others. In cyberbullying experiences, the identity of the bully may or may not be known. Cyberbullying can occur through electronically mediated communication at school; however, cyberbullying behaviors commonly occur outside of school as well.[21]

---

[21] Tokunaga 2010, p. 278.

Youth bullying involvement can be characterized by four basic roles: (1) Bully; (2) Victim; (3) Bully-victim (actors who both bully and are victimized by others); (4) Bystander. Over time and across different contexts, youth can be involved in multiple roles.[22]

Although cyberbullying is a relatively new phenomenon, research has already produced important results. A key finding, based on data from the U.S. and Europe, is that face-to-face bullying remains the dominant mode of bullying despite the rapid uptake of technologies.[23] Although many studies present numbers to show the prevalence of cyberbullying, they can hardly be compared. As definitions of cyberbullying vary (some including the upload of pictures without asking permission as a form of cyberbullying), measured prevalence varies largely.

Numbers published in Switzerland in 2012 show that 17 % of Swiss teens have experienced bullying online (including chat and social networks, such as Facebook), 3 % reported that hurtful content about them has been spread online.[24] The Swiss EU Kids Online survey 2012 found a prevalence of 5 % of Swiss 9–16 year olds that have been bullied online.[25] Youth self-reporting is a method typically used (by reporting one's own versus other's involvement in cyberbullying). Data from EU Kids Online suggests that youth self-reporting and reporting by parents differ. Most parents in the Swiss survey were not aware that their child had been subject to cyberbullying.[26]

An Australian study found that 83 % of students, who bully other students online, also bully them offline. And 84 % of students who were bullied online were also bullied offline.[27] In most cases, online bullying co-exists with offline bullying. These results are confirmed by new findings from a large study that identifies longitudinal risk factors for cyberbullying: "Those who attack others in the real world today are more than four times as likely to do so in cyberspace a few months later."[28] The same study also confirms findings from previous studies suggesting that "adolescents who display some form of antisocial behavior in the real world are at increased risk of involvement in cyberbullying."[29]

The main differences between traditional and online bullying are:

- Bullies online usually remain anonymous (although most bullies know their victims in real life);
- Harmful content can get distributed online 24/7;
- Content may remain online for a long time;
- Physical absence and anonymity encourage non-sympathetic behavior.

---

[22] Levy et al. 2012, p. 17.

[23] Ybarra et al. 2012, p. 57.

[24] Willemse et al. 2012, p. 34.

[25] Hermida 2013, p. 14.

[26] Hermida 2013, p. 14.

[27] Cross et al. 2009.

[28] Sticca et al. 2012, p. 11.

[29] Sticca et al. 2012, p. 11.

Sticca and Perren[30] found that the perceived severity of cyberbullying varies largely: "Cyberbullying is not a priori perceived as worse than traditional bullying. Instead, bullying is perceived as worst if it is public (as opposed to private) and if anonymous (as opposed to non-anonymous)." Evidence suggests that cyberbullying can have profoundly damaging consequences for youth. In a recent study with 1,320 students from Switzerland and Australia, victims of cyberbullying reported significantly higher levels of depressive symptoms, even when controlling for the involvement in traditional bullying. This result was the same for Swiss and Australian teens, which suggests that this statistical connection is not culturally dependent.[31]

In the wake of a handful of high-profile cyberbullying incidents, some lawmakers in the United States began floating legislation to address the issue suggesting the creation of a new federal felony to punish cyberbullying including fines and jail time for violators.[32] In Switzerland, a Swiss national MP demanded the Federal Council in 2008 to prepare a report on cyberbullying that:

- Shows the prevalence of cyberbullying in Switzerland;
- Provides an overview of measures already taken at federal, cantonal, and municipal or local level;
- Compares various old and new measures; and
- Shows concrete and effective ways how cyberbullying can be prevented.[33]

The corresponding report by the Swiss Federal Council,[34] published in 2010, claimed no further legal regulation is necessary as cyberbullying can get included in existing laws in the Swiss Penal Code such as defamation ('Üble Nachrede', Article 173; 'Verleumdung,' Article 174), calling names ('Beschimpfung', Article 177), threat ('Drohung', Article 180), constraint ('Nötigung', Article 181). The report concludes that the most effective measures to prevent cyberbullying are transmission of knowledge and media literacy for children and teens, but also for parents and teachers.

MPs in Switzerland have called for a "cyberbullying officer" in 2010, but the Federal Council rejected the initiative.[35] In fall 2012, "Pro Juventute," a Swiss non-governmental youth organization, launched the first national prevention campaign on cyberbullying in Switzerland. It raises awareness for teen suicide as a cause of cyberbullying (Fig. 13.3).

---

[30] Sticca and Perren 2012, p. 10.

[31] Perren et al. 2010, p. 8.

[32] Szoka and Thierer 2009, p. 1.

[33] Schmid-Federer 2008, www.parlament.ch/d/suche/seiten/geschaefte.aspx?gesch_id=20083050.

[34] Report of the Federal Council 2010, www.ejpd.admin.ch/content/ejpd/de/home/dokumentation/info/2010/ref_2010-06-02.html.

[35] Schmid-Federer 2010, www.parlament.ch/d/suche/seiten/geschaefte.aspx?gesch_id=20103856.

Fig. 13.3 "Cyberbullying
hurts. And can lead to suicide."
Information campaign (online
and offline) for cyberbullying
prevention in Switzerland
(press photo Pro Juventute)
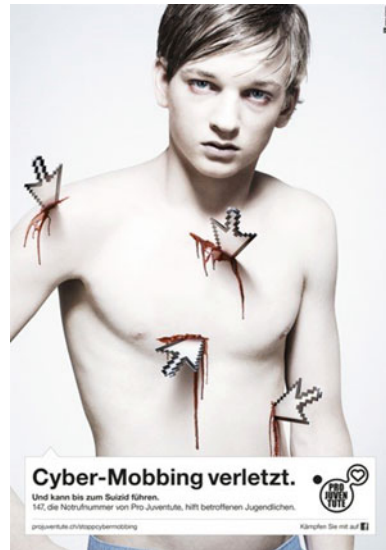
13.5 Why Education and Parenting Is Better than Legal Regulation

Although policymakers tend to create new laws for online risks, existing laws from the pre-Internet age generally apply to both online and offline. National law enforcement has become even more difficult, as companies like Facebook (which is often involved in cyberbullying cases) and video games played online escape national boundaries and legislation. Thus, effective political regulation of digital media is hardly possible and bans remain largely symbolic political acts.

Struggling to enforce the ban on "killer games," the Swiss Federal Council has initiated the program "Youth and Media" focusing on prevention and educational measures. As a national framework, the program is intended to connect existing services primarily in the field of media literacy promotion and provide information services for teachers, parents, and mental health professionals. The educational approach of "Youth and Media" is in line with reports and research publications suggesting education-based Internet safety programs as effective ways to reduce cyberbullying.[36] No report suggests criminalizing cyberbullying in additional laws, or at least any legal regulation is qualified as premature. Researchers Szoka and Thierer even take a clear stand against legal regulation of cyberbullying: "Criminalizing what is mostly child-on-child behavior will not likely solve the age-old problem of kids mistreating each other, a problem that has traditionally been dealt with through counseling and rehabilitation at the local level. Moreover, criminalization could raise thorny free speech and due process issues related to

---

[36] Szoka and Thierer 2009; Cross et al. 2009; Levy et al. 2012.

legal definitions of harassing or intimidating speech."[37] The considerable overlap of cyberbullying with traditional bullying shows that an effective way is to develop preventive activities in schools about bullying in general, including cyberbullying. This means to be clear among the school community about the school's stance on this issue, fostering a school climate in which students feel comfortable reporting cyberbullying, teaching safe Internet use, including privacy and protection, and promoting bullying bystander education. Authorities can help support antibullying activities in schools, but additional laws will certainly not help prevent cyberbullying.

Considering that the video game industry in Switzerland generates approximately double the turnover of the movie industry, it is hardly surprising that first-person shooter games can be found in many teens' homes. Luckily, an overwhelming majority of them plays without any violent behavior in real life. It is an age-old phenomenon: youth pushing limits, trying to shock parents and others of their generation in order to find their own identities and proof of masculinity. Especially, the use of first-person shooter games is a means for many youngsters to make an implicit but clear statement of an activity that their parents most probably would not engage in and do not approve of. Research shows that the use of video games decreases while teens get older. An overwhelming number of teens though play violent games that are not appropriate for their age. The self-regulation of the gaming industry with PEGI[38] ratings fails if parents do not make sure their children only play games suitable for their age. Research results show the relative insignificance of playing violent games compared to other risk factors, such as real-life violence within the family and parental neglect. A more promising approach than a legal ban is supporting and educating parents. A good example for this is the British online safety initiative "Munch Poke Ping." It provides resources on underage use of games for parents, parent education in schools, and all those working with children.[39]

13.6 Protecting Kids by Fostering Their Resilience

Parents and educators can help foster children's psychological resilience in general but also as a way to reduce negative media effects. The concept of psychological resilience does not assess risk but focuses on how individuals cope

---

[37] Szoka and Thierer 2009, p. 1.

[38] The Pan-European Game Information (PEGI) age rating system was established to help European parents make informed decisions on buying computer games. It was launched in spring 2003 and replaced a number of national age rating systems with a single system now used throughout in thirty European countries.

[39] "Munch Poke Ping"—Underage use of Games: Resources, www.carrick-davies.com/downloads/Underage_gamingHow_to_support_young_people_teachers_and_parents.pdf.

with stress and protect themselves. According to Brooks and Goldstein resilient children[40]:

- Are optimistic, have high self-esteem, are aware that they are important;
- Build on their success and maintain a constructive attitude toward mistakes, consider them challenges;
- Have a good problem-solving ability and experience;
- Focus on what they can change in their own lives and not on with what is immutable;
- Know their strengths and their weaknesses;
- Have confidence in their own abilities;
- Can set realistic and achievable goals;
- Are able to empathize with other people;
- Know effective ways to resolve conflicts;
- Have communication skills;
- Feel responsible for their actions;
- Can assess the impact of their behavior on others.

Taub and Pearrow mention internal and external protective factors associated with resilience. Internal factors are within the individual (e.g., impulse control, social problem solving, ability to form positive relationships with others). External factors include e.g., families, schools, and their ways of setting and enforcing clear boundaries, norms, and rules, and fostering encouraging supportive and caring relationships with others and possessing values of altruism and cooperation.[41] The authors "strongly believe that such programs [school-based programs targeted at violence and bullying prevention] contribute, directly or indirectly, to the reduction of factors related to violence in schools, as well as the promotion of factors related to resilience in our nation's student population."[42]

Research clearly shows that resilient teens deal much better with adversities in general and with negative media effects in particular. Resilient adolescents are embedded in a stable social environment and have active stress-coping strategies. Instead of legal regulations, it takes the attitude of parents, schools, and other educators to support and listen to children and teens and to talk to them about their joys and sorrows. Parents have to set clear boundaries in media exposure regarding time and content, respecting the age classifications of games and to actively engage with teens' experiences with and without digital media. Schools, parents, and other educators need to be empowered to teach children and adolescents traditional values and standards like respect in terms of behavior and communication. Those values are a means to prevent violence and (cyber)bullying even if parents, teachers and other educators (who did not grow up with digital media themselves) do not understand the details about online gaming and

---

[40] Brooks and Goldstein 2002.

[41] Taub and Pearrow 2013, p. 372.

[42] Taub and Pearrow 2013, p. 371.

communication. The *New York Times* wrote about the role of the Internet in the "Boston Bombings" in 2013:

> And that is why the faster, more accessible and ultramodern the Internet becomes, the more all the old-fashioned stuff matters: good judgment, respect for others who are different and basic values of right and wrong. Those you cannot download. They have to be uploaded, the old-fashioned way, by parents around the dinner table, by caring but demanding teachers at school and by responsible spiritual leaders in a church, synagogue, temple, or mosque.[43]

The challenge of the educational approach promoted by the Swiss federal program "Youth and Media"—as of any prevention and information campaign—remains to reach high-risk teens and parents. It seems vital to provide schools with enough human and financial resources in order to support youth by including anti-bullying prevention, mandatory media literacy classes, and by supporting adolescents to become responsible, respectful, and resilient adults.

References

Beckedahl M, Lüke F (2012) Die digitale Gesellschaft. Recht & Freiheit im Internet. dtv premium

Bonfadelli H (2004) Medienwirkungen II: Anwendungen in Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur. UVK UTB 2615

Brooks R, Goldstein S (2002) Raising resilient children. McGraw-Hill, New York

Colzato LS, van Leeuwen PJA, van den Wildenberg W, Hommel B (2010) DOOM'd to switch: superior cognitive flexibility in players of first person shooter games. Frontiers in cognition 1:Article 8. www.frontiersin.org/Journal/DownloadFile.ashx?pdf=1&FileId=12504&articleId=1515&Version=1&ContentTypeId=15&FileName=fpsyg_2010_00008.pdf

Cross D, Shaw T, Hearn L, Epstein M, Monks H, Lester L, Thomas L (2009) Australian covert bullying prevalence study (ACBPS). Child Health Promotion Research Centre, Edith Cowan University, Perth. www.deewr.gov.au/Schooling/NationalSafeSchools/Pages/research.aspx

Federal Council (2010) Report Schutz vor Cyberbullying. www.ejpd.admin.ch/content/ejpd/de/home/dokumentation/info/2010/ref_2010-06-02.html

Feierabend S, Karg U, Rathgeb T (2012) JIM 2012. Jugend, Information, (Multi-)Media Basisstudie zum Medienumgang 12- bis 19-jähriger in Deutschland. Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverbund Südwest. www.mpfs.de/fileadmin/JIM-pdf12/JIM2012_Endversion.pdf

Friedman TL (2013) Judgment not included. New York Times. www.nytimes.com/2013/04/28/opinion/sunday/friedman-judgment-not-included.html

Gentile DA, Saleem M, Anderson CA (2007) Public policy and the effects of media violence on children. Soc Issues Policy Rev 1:15–61

Hartmann T (2006) Gewaltspiele und Aggression. Aktuelle Forschung und Implikationen. In: Kaminski W, Lorber M (eds) Clash of realities: Computerspiele und soziale Wirklichkeit. Kopäd, pp 81–99

Hermida M (2013) EU kids online: Schweiz. Schweizer Kinder und Jugendliche im Internet: Risikoerfahrungen und Umgang mit Risiken. www.eukidsonline.ch

---

[43] Friedman 2013, www.nytimes.com/2013/04/28/opinion/sunday/friedman-judgment-not-included.html.

Hopf W, Huber G, Weiß R (2008) Media violence and youth violence. A 2-year longitudinal study. J Media Psychol 20(3):79–96

Johnson JG, Cohen P, Smailes EM, Kasen S, Brook JS (2002) Television viewing and aggressive behavior during adolescence and adulthood. Science 295:2468–2471. www.sciencemag.org/content/295/5564/2468

Kunczik M, Zipfel A (2006) Gewalt und Medien. Ein Studienhandbuch. UTB

Levy N, Cortesi S, Gasser U, Crowley E, Beaton M, Casey JA, Nolan C (2012) Bullying in a networked era: a literature review. Harvard Berkman Center Research Publication no. 2012-17. http://ssrn.com/abstract=2146877

Merz-Abt T (2009) Killerspiele und ihre Herausforderungen für Schule und Eltern. Theoretische Reflexion und medienpädagogische Handlungsempfehlungen. www.medienheft.ch/dossier/bibliothek/d09_Games_Merz-AbtThomas.pdf

Perren S, Dooley J, Shaw T, Cross D (2010) Bullying in school and cyberspace: associations with depressive symptoms in Swiss and Australian adolescents. Child Adolesc Psychiatry Mental Health 4:28. www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3003626/pdf/1753-2000-4-28.pdf

Schmid-Federer B (2008) Postulat 'Schutz vor Cyberbullying'. www.parlament.ch/d/suche/seiten/geschaefte.aspx?gesch_id=20083050

Schmid-Federer B (2010) Einsetzung eines eidgenössischen Mobbing- und Cyberbullying-Beauftragten. www.parlament.ch/d/suche/seiten/geschaefte.aspx?gesch_id=20103856

Steiner O (2009) Neue Medien und Gewalt. Beiträge zur sozialen Sicherheit. Expertenbericht 04/09 des Eidgenössischen Departements des Innern., Bern. www.bsv.admin.ch/praxis/forschung/publikationen/index.html?lang=de&bereich=4&jahr=2009

Sticca F, Perren S (2012) Is cyberbullying worse than traditionional bullying? Examining the differential roles of medium, publicity, and anonymity for the perceived severity of bullying. J Youth Adolescence. doi:10.1007/s10964-012-9867-3

Sticca F, Ruggieri S, Alsaker F, Perren S (2012) Longitudinal risk factors for cyberbullying in adolecence. J Commun Appl Soc Psychol. doi:10.1002/casp.2136

Szoka BM, Thierer AD (2009) Cyberbullying Legislation: why education is preferable to regulation. Progress & freedom foundation progress on point paper 16(12). http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1422577

Taub J, Pearrow M (2013) Resilience through violence and bullying prevention in schools. In: Goldstein S, Brooks R (eds) Handbook of resilience in children. Springer Science and Business Media, New York, pp 371–386

Tokunaga RS (2010) Following you home from school: a critical review and synthesis of literature on cyberbullying victimization. Comput Hum Behav 26(3):277–287

Willemse I, Waller G, Süss D, Genner S, Huber A (2012) JAMES 2012. Youth, activities media—survey Switzerland. Zurich University of Applied Sciences. www.psychologie.zhaw.ch/JAMES

Ybarra ML, boyd d, Korchmaros JD, Oppenheim J (2012) Defining and measuring cyberbullying within the larger context of bullying victimization. J Adolesc Health 51:53–58