

The Role of Communication Storytelling Networks in Bullying: A Comparison Between U.S. and Korean Adolescents

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This study examines the role of storytelling networks in adolescents' coping with bullying in the United States and South Korea. A survey of 504 U.S. and 302 Korean adolescents found that storytelling networks were important precursors to supportive communication, which developed self-efficacy and life satisfaction. For both U.S. and Korean adolescents, interpersonal networks and media connectedness were significant predictors for social support and evaluation of support, whereas connection to community organizations did not positively predict social support. Adolescents are likely to discuss bullying personally and receive support from media exposure in terms of information or coping strategies. They do not consider disclosing bullying to community organizations to seek support. The results revealed similarities between the two cultures in dealing with bullying. This study suggests that the government and local social organizations provide adolescents with communication channels to increase opportunities for adolescents to receive support.

Keywords: bullying, communication infrastructure, storytelling networks, social support, evaluation of support, self-efficacy, life satisfaction

Bullying is a global social phenomenon regardless of cultural, ethnic, or geographical differences. In particular, adolescent bullying has received attention by many caregivers, educators, and researchers, because it can seriously interfere with adolescents' social and emotional development as well as with school performance (American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 2011). According to the U.S.

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Department of Health and Human Services (2012), one in five adolescents is bullied or cyberbullied at some point in his or her life. In the case of South Korea, one in four middle and high school students experiences bullying (Kim, 2013).

Adolescents experience bullying in minor or severe forms. In severe forms of bullying, adolescents are verbally or nonverbally threatened or harmed, leaving victims helpless, anxious, and depressed. Minor bullying can be called hurtful teasing (Mills & Carwile, 2009). Hurtful teasing includes gossiping, unusual phrasing, and obvious exaggeration, rude signs, purposely alienating one from the group, and graffiti. In addition, adolescents are cyberbullied in the forms of texting, e-mails, and photos. These forms of bullying can occur in adolescents' daily communication, and any adolescent can experience them.

To understand the phenomenon of bullying, researchers have focused on various topics on bullying communication. Those studies include bullying prevention in the workplace (e.g., Cowan, 2012; Namie & Lutgen-Sandvik, 2010), influence of verbal or nonverbal bullying on victims (e.g., Farrell, 2013), post-bullying adaptation (e.g., Matsunaga, 2010), communication between bullies and the bullied (e.g., Murphy & Faulkner, 2011), and cyberbullying (e.g., Erdur-Baker, 2010).

Researchers, however, have paid relatively less attention to the communicative process in post-bullying. Bullied adolescents can use various communication storytelling networks—one-on-one interactions, communication with family, group interaction, and media exposure—to overcome bullying (Easton & Aberman, 2008). Nonetheless, little is known about how these adolescents share experiences, garner support, and receive assistance via these communication practices. Ascertaining the uses and consequences of communication storytelling networks can help determine the effectiveness of communication in coping with bullying.

The research goals of this study are twofold. First, we examine what role communication storytelling networks play in facilitating support and self-efficacy, which result in life satisfaction. Second, potential differences are examined on bullying communication between two countries, the United States and Korea. There are two reasons for the selection of these two countries. First, bullying is the same serious social problem among adolescents in both countries. Second, the communication culture is known to differ between the two countries (Hofstede, 2003). The method of communicating bullying in the two cultures may exhibit unique ways of dealing with bullying accordingly. Therefore, a model that tests the storytelling networks can offer relevant solutions for the two countries.

Communication Storytelling Networks for Bullying

Communication infrastructure theory (CIT) is a well-established communication theory that explains the role of communication storytelling networks in conflicts and resolution such as bullying. The CIT states that communication practices of community members at individual or collective levels facilitate productive actions for a common purpose in the community (Ball-Rokeach, Kim, & Matei, 2001). The CIT has also been used to examine the influence of communication storytelling networks on civic engagement. Recent research has expanded the CIT to examine the influence of storytelling networks on various social

outcomes. For example, active storytelling networks among members reduced health disparities in a community (Wilkin, 2013). This means that active storytelling offers solutions to the problems that the community confronts.

A communication infrastructure is defined as storytelling networks set in a communication action context where members in a community build communication storytelling networks to facilitate constructive outcomes. A communication storytelling network refers to the network of everyday conversations and community stories that people, media, and supportive organizations instigate, discuss, and disseminate (Kim & Ball-Rokeach, 2006).

The CIT explains that communication participants build connections to a viable storytelling network to expect a successful interpersonal engagement. This connectedness in a communication action context is an initiator of taking action. As individuals in a community discuss issues with one another, they develop a sense of belongingness to the community. To do this, they must be exposed to communication opportunities, which allow for the construction and sharing of stories for support or solutions.

The CIT uses three key storytelling agents as elements for subsequent communication engagement. The first storyteller consists of interpersonal communication agents such as family and friends (Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998). Exchanging stories in conversations and informal gatherings can offer adolescents chances to discuss personal experiences such as bullying. The second storyteller comprises organizations that members utilize for various purposes (Kim & Ball-Rokeach, 2006). Involvement with community clubs has been related to subsequent action for a cause. For example, members can use community organizations (e.g., churches) or clubs (e.g., study groups, sports clubs) as channels through which to gain relational intimacy (Putnam, 2000).

The third storytelling network is the media to which community members are exposed. Through electronic and print media, members use stories they learn from the media as communication and networking resources. Research has found that the media meet audiences' social utility motivations, with which members share the information for subsequent action (Shah, McLeod, & Yoon, 2001). This functionality of the media facilitates members' behavioral involvement with community issues (Jeffres, Dobos, & Lee, 1988; Stamm & Guest, 1991). In the mobile communication era, the CIT must include mobile connectedness as a storyteller. Individuals use the mobile phone for varying issues they face (e.g., Moyse, 2011).

In this process, bullied adolescents can *initiate* the discussion of bullying experiences by implementing interpersonal neighborhood storytelling (INS), connection to community organizations (CCO), and media connectedness (MC). The adolescents can discuss bullying in storytelling networks, which include family, friends, community clubs, and media channels (Boulton & Underwood, 1992). Researchers claim that such bullying discourse through communicative interactions fosters supportive communication (Rigby, 2003; Sahu & Rath, 2003). As a result, the affected adolescents can obtain support from others and improve their ability to cope with bullying. In this sense, the CIT can be used to predict subsequent communication as a result of discussing bullying.

This study posits that individuals use the storytelling networks beyond neighborhood networks to seek support and solutions. Therefore, the CIT is expanded from civic engagement to social consequences as a result of active communication in storytelling networks. Engagement in neighborhood storytelling at the micro-level, connections to the community at the meso-level, and mass media and mobile access at the macro-level are contributors to supportive communication. Ball-Rokeach et al. (2001), in the original CIT, set the media as a meso-level agent, because local media were used for community issue access and engagement. In this study, however, the media are set as a macro-level agent, because bullying is a social issue. Moreover, individuals can access bullying communication through news on the visual media, print media, the Internet, or social media at the global level rather than at the local level.

Social Support for Bullying

Supportive communication may develop when adolescents interact with important others through storytelling networks (Hunter & Boyle, 2004). The interaction is performed in direct and indirect forms of support. The process of the interaction generally follows several steps until the interaction leads to an outcome. According to the appraisal theory of social support, support from the interaction first fosters the individual's appraisals. Then, if the individual judges that the appraisal is worthy, the support extends confidence by subsequent interaction, which alleviates mental and physical distress (Barbee, Rowatt, & Cunningham, 1998; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Matsunaga, 2010). As such, the appraisal process after the interaction in storytelling networks is a key to successful action (Burlleson & MacGeorge, 2002).

Specifically, the appraisal theory of social support assumes that varying types of support can induce recipients' perceived evaluation. Perceived evaluation of support is defined as an individual's perception of the support received or presumed through interactions with important others (Goldsmith, McDermott, & Alexander, 2000). Xu and Burlleson (2001) defined three types of support to account for their influences on appraisal and healthy life consequences: emotional, informational, and tangible. Emotional support is defined as "expressions of love, empathy, and concern" (Cutrona, 1996, p. 4). Informational support is defined as the provision of advice, appraisals, and facts that can heal the concern. Tangible support refers to the provision of materials, such as goods or activities. These types of support can be developed through the implementation of communication storytelling networks.

Previous research suggests that perceived support can alleviate stress, because the supportive interaction helps develop healing (e.g., Burlleson & MacGeorge, 2002). Bullied adolescents communicate either explicitly or implicitly to facilitate constructive coping (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Hence, it is possible to posit that social support drawn from active communication in storytelling networks may contribute to subsequent benefits, including self-efficacy and life satisfaction.

Social Support, Self-Efficacy, and Life Satisfaction

The appraisal theory of social support further suggests that when the support received through personal or online interactions is effective, it increases perceived self-efficacy—the can-do attitude—in coping (Feng & Hyun, 2012). Bandura (1997) notes that adolescents' self-efficacy is developed through vicarious experiences and supportive communication. Important others such as caregivers and advisors

provide adolescents with observational models and influence the development of self-efficacy. When important others encourage adolescents' capability, adolescents are more likely to avoid self-doubt and exercise greater efforts to overcome difficulties.

Previous research has suggested that high self-efficacy is associated with better physical condition, better recovery from health problems, and optimistic thinking (Karademas, 2006). Similarly, those who perceive that the support is helpful for their coping with bullying have exhibited a willingness to discuss their problems more thoroughly (Matsunaga, 2010). Adolescents who have endured bullying interpret the support as an encouragement that builds psychological confidence. The confident feeling of subsequent behavior leads to positive health outcomes such as life satisfaction (Burlison & Gilstrap, 2002; Ye, 2010).

Cross-Cultural Characteristics in Communication Between the United States and Korea

Cultures respond differently to communicative complications, including bullying (Matsunaga, 2010). The United States has been viewed as a country that explicitly accepts active discussion among individuals to scrutinize and resolve a conflict (Hofstede, 2003; Ralston et al., 1993). In a collectivist culture such as Korea, however, individuals often experience difficulty standing apart from the group (Cho, Mallinckrodt, & Yune, 2010). In other words, Koreans are more likely implicit than Americans in disclosing personal concerns. Moreover, face negotiation theory explains cultural differences in dealing with problems or conflicts (Ting-Toomey, 2005).

In collectivistic cultures, people choose conflict styles of avoiding, whereas people from individualistic cultures adopt conflict styles of dominating. Koreans may eschew direct communication of bullying to keep mutual face in group. U.S. adolescents may not hesitate to communicate bullying directly, because they tend to keep self-face.

This difference can be explained further by comparing and contrasting high- and low-context cultures, where Korea is representative of the former, and United States is representative of the latter. Communication styles in high-context cultures are identified as indirect, ambiguous, reserved, and understated (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Hall, 1976). By contrast, communication in low-context cultures is direct, precise, dramatic, and open and based on feelings (Würtz, 2005). These differences are reflected in the United States and Korea. Americans involve their family and friends in communication more than Koreans for evaluation and problem solving (Jin & Oh, 2010). Koreans experience higher levels of shame and apprehension than Americans in communication involving self-disclosure (Merkin, 2009).

At the same time, adolescents of both countries live in a similar media environment. They communicate with family, friends, and others both online and off-line. Mobile communication is a fabric of their daily lives. As such, this study assumes that the degree to which adolescents communicate about bullying may present unique characteristics in the two cultures. Testing a conceptual model drawn from the theories may reveal the communication process in dealing with bullying in the two countries.

Research Hypotheses

The CIT reflects that the traits of storytelling networks—including personal conversations, club involvement, and the media about bullying experience—can be initiators of supportive communication and subsequent action (Kim & Ball-Rokeach, 2006). Research supports that storytelling networks lead to the experience of supportive communication (Mortenson, Burleson, Feng, & Liu, 2009). For example, storytelling networks are a precursor to taking communication action for local issues (Heath, Bradshaw, & Lee, 2002) and resolving community health issues (Wilkin, 2013). Bodie et al. (2011) found that a discussion of problem confrontations in an acquaintance network influenced motivations to solve the problems among community members. Given this evidence, the CIT can be expanded and applied to the bullying communication context in the United States and Korea. The current study examines how communication storytelling networks at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels are used to discuss bullying, a social issue, to anticipate expected outcomes. Therefore, the following hypothesis is put forth for the two countries.

H1: (a) Interpersonal neighborhood storytelling, (b) connection to community organizations, and (c) media connectedness will positively predict social support of bullying experience in the United States and Korea.

The appraisal theory of social support states that supportive interactions with communication counterparts about a subject generate an evaluative appraisal of the interactions (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Xu & Burleson, 2001). Burleson and Goldsmith (1998) found that bullied adolescents discussed their experience in detail when they positively appraised the support they received. As discussed, positively appraised support led to self-efficacy and life satisfaction (Feng & Hyun, 2012). Hence, another set of hypotheses is:

H2: Social support will positively predict perceived evaluation of support in the United States and Korea.

H3: Perceived evaluation of support will positively predict self-efficacy of subsequent discussion of bullying in the United States and Korea.

H4: Self-efficacy of subsequent discussion of bullying will positively predict life satisfaction in the United States and Korea.

A hypothesized model of the relationships is displayed in Figure 1.

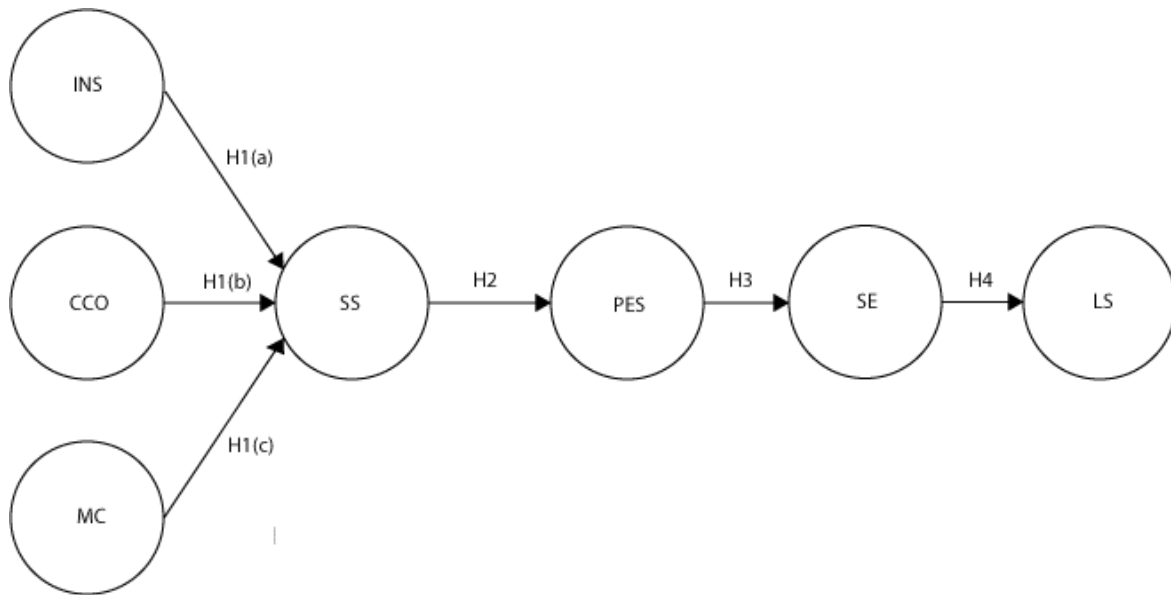


Figure 1. Hypothesized model of variables.

Note. INS = interpersonal neighborhood storytelling. CCO = connection to community organizations. MC = media connectedness. SS = social support. PES = perceived evaluation of support. SE = self-efficacy. LS = life satisfaction.

Method

Adolescents between the ages of 11 and 16 from the United States and Korea were selected for this study. The age range was selected to match the school ages of the two countries. In addition, the age range was selected because incidences of bullying occur most commonly worldwide in middle and high schools (Wessler & De Andrade, 2006). U.S. students typically attend middle school between the ages of 11 and 14 (11: early entrance, 12: 6th grade, 13: 7th grade, and 14: 8th grade). Korean students between the ages of 13 and 16 typically are middle school students (13: early entrance, 14: 1st grade, 15: 2nd grade, and 16: 3rd grade). Therefore, for the U.S. sample, freshman and sophomore students in high school (15: 9th grade, 16: 10th grade) were included to match the age range of the Korean sample in addition to middle school students. Institutional review board (IRB) approval was obtained from the two countries prior to survey administration. The translation of the questionnaire from English to Korean was verified by an IRB-certified translator. Students were given the meaning and scope of bullying at the beginning of the survey for a better understanding. Bullying (*dda-dol-lim* in Korean) was identically described as “the experience of minor or severe bullying, including gossiping, rude words and signs, name calling, purposely isolating from the group, and verbal or physical threats.”

The U.S. sample was garnered from three middle schools and one high school in the city of Lafayette, Louisiana. The list of schools was obtained from the school district's websites. The survey was conducted between September and December 2012. The survey administrator selected schools from the east, the west, the south, and the north regions. The division is based on the regions' socioeconomic status. The south and east regions presented higher income and education levels than the north and west regions (City-Data, 2014). For the equal opportunity of selecting schools in terms of socioeconomic status, such regional division was implemented. Based on the division, one school from each region was randomly selected.

After receiving permission from the principal or superintendent, a trained administrator visited the schools and conducted the survey with the assistance of schoolteachers. The schoolteachers passed out the survey packets to students (200 copies per school). Students were asked to take the survey home for parental consent and return it to the school after completion. In this voluntary survey with several follow-up reminders, a total of 800 surveys were distributed and 542 surveys were returned, representing a 67.65% response rate. After eliminating incomplete questionnaires, 504 responses were analyzable.

The Korean sample was obtained from three middle schools in the Seoul metropolitan areas. The survey was conducted between September and December 2012. From the list of middle schools provided by the Korea Foundation for the Promotion of Private Schools (2012), one school from the east, the west, and the north was randomly chosen. In the case of Seoul, the east regions are more economically affordable and highly educated than the north and west regions (Kim & Choi, 2012).

A survey administrator visited the schools with the principal's or superintendent's permission to conduct the survey. The administrator was allowed to enter the classrooms and distribute questionnaires. Four classes were randomly selected in each grade for the survey. Thirty questionnaires for each class were distributed. The survey was collected directly on-site because, in Korea, schools could provide consent on behalf of parents. Students were asked to participate in a paper-based survey to respond to their current or past bullying experience. A total of 350 questionnaires were distributed and collected (120 for 1st and 2nd grade, 110 for 3rd grade). After eliminating incomplete questionnaires, 302 analyzable responses were obtained. Therefore, a response rate for the Korean sample was unnecessary in this data collection method.

Survey Measurement

Storytelling Networks. The storytelling networks scales assessed the degree to which adolescents used interpersonal networks, community organizations, and the media to communicate bullying (Kim & Ball-Rokeach, 2006). Interpersonal neighborhood storytelling (INS) measured discussion of bullying experience with important people, including (a) best friends, (b) father, (c) mother, (d) siblings, (e) classmates, (f) teachers, and (g) others. Connection to community organizations (CCO) assessed how often the victims discussed bullying in (a) sports or recreational clubs; (b) cultural, ethnic, or religious clubs; (c) neighborhood clubs; (d) political or education clubs; and (e) other (e.g., online community). Media connectedness (MC) measured adolescents' exposure to news on the media about bullying. Adolescents answered how often they were exposed and paid attention to (a) TV news, (b) newspaper

news, (c) radio news, (d) magazines news, (e) Internet news, and (f) smart-phone news. All three variables used the same response options, ranging from 1 to 10 (from 1 = *never* to 10 = *all the time*) (see Table 1).

To establish each instrument's dimensionality of the samples, this study first conducted exploratory factor analysis (EFA). In an EFA with principal components extraction and oblique rotation, the U.S. sample yielded three components as conceptualized (INS: eigenvalue = 1.29, variance explained = 8.59%, component coefficient range = .68-.86, Cronbach's α = .74; CCO: eigenvalue = 5.75, variance explained = 38.33%, component coefficient range = .62-.86, Cronbach's α = .86; MC: eigenvalue = 2.49, variance explained = 16.64%, component coefficient range = .73-.87, Cronbach's α = .89). The items of classmates (.23_{KOR} and .18_{US}), teachers (.19_{KOR} and .27_{US}), and others (.11_{KOR} and .04_{US}) were excluded from the INS construct due to their low coefficients in both samples.

An EFA of the Korean sample produced three variables, but two items caused conceptual conflicts (sports and political clubs). Removing these two items produced an acceptable model (INS: eigenvalue = 3.11, variance explained = 23.86%, component coefficient range = .65-.88, Cronbach's α = .84; CCO: eigenvalue = 1.15, variance explained = 8.90%, component coefficient range = .59-.82, Cronbach's α = .65; MC: eigenvalue = 4.81, variance explained = 37.01%, component coefficient range = .87-.91, Cronbach's α = .93).

As a confirmation process of the dimensions, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was implemented. Because each sample produced different component dimensions, two separate CFAs were conducted. The model is accepted when general indicators of the model fit from the sample are within an acceptable range, including goodness of fit index (GFI) > 0.90, comparative fit index (CFI) > 0.90, and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) < 0.10 in large samples over 300 respondents (Bollen, 1989). The results of CFA for the U.S. sample showed that the model fit properly at the acceptable level at the first attempt ($\chi^2 = 180.74$, $df = 84$, GFI = 0.95, CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.04). Convergent validity was tested to measure the solidarity of dimensions. Convergent validity was verified by checking factor coefficients over .50, construct reliability (CR) over .70, and average variance extracted (AVE) over .50 (Dimitrov, 2003).¹ The calculations yielded acceptable values of AVEs and CRs and confirmed that the

¹ Average variance extracted is intended to determine convergence among items representing a construct. It is calculated as follows:

$$\text{AVE} = \frac{\text{Sum of standardized loading square}}{\text{Sum of standardized loading square} + \text{Measurement error}}$$

$$\text{Measurement error} = 1 - (\text{Standardized loading})^2$$

Construct reliability (CR) measures the consistency of construct validity indicator.

$$\text{CR} = \frac{\text{Square of total standardized loading}}{\text{Square of total standardized loading} + \text{Measurement error}}$$

scales possessed convergent validity. Further, this study tested discriminant validity (DV) for independence of each dimension (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).² The DV values were larger than the squared correlation coefficients, indicating that the scales had discriminant validity.

A CFA of the Korean sample found that the initial model fit marginally ($\chi^2 = 224.16$, $df = 62$, GFI = 0.90, CFI = 0.92, RMSEA = 0.09). To improve the model, modification indices were checked and several residuals were unrestricted. As a result, an acceptable model was yielded ($\chi^2 = 98.46$, $df = 57$, GFI = 0.95, CFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.05). Despite one item (cultural organization) with a factor coefficient below .50, the AVEs and CRs were at the acceptable level for convergent validity. Discriminant validity was also confirmed through a calculation (see Table 1)

Social Support and Perceived Evaluation of Support. The social support (SS) scale was defined as to what degree the adolescents received emotional, informational, and tangible support after discussing their bullying experiences (Xu & Burleson, 2001) (see Table 1). With response options ranging from 1 to 10 (from 1 = *did not receive at all* to 10 = *received a great deal*), emotional support items included (a) telling you that he/she loves you and feels close to you, (b) expressing understanding of a situation that is bothering you or discussing a similar situation that he/she experienced before, and (c) comforting you by showing some physical affection (e.g., hugs, hand holding, shoulder patting).

Informational support items encompassed (a) giving you advice about what to do, (b) analyzing a situation with you and telling you about available choices and options, and (c) informing you of how to do something that you don't know how to do. Tangible support items fitting the current study are (a) joining you in some activity to alleviate stress, (b) expressing willingness to help you when you are in need of help, and (c) offering to help you do something that needs to be done.

Perceived evaluation of support (PES) was operationally defined as the degree to which respondents accepted an interaction as a supportive communication for bullying experience discussion (Matsunaga, 2010) (see Table 1). Respondents were asked whether the emotional, informative, and tangible communication of support was perceived supportive. The response options ranged from 1 to 10 (from 1 = *not at all supportive* to 10 = *very supportive*). The questions include how supportive important others' (a) listening, (b) advice, and (c) care about the bullying experience was.

An EFA for the U.S. sample yielded two dimensions: social support and perceived evaluation of support (SS: eigenvalue = 7.77, variance explained = 64.45%, component coefficient range = .55-.90, Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$, PES: eigenvalue = 1.04, variance explained = 8.72%, component coefficient range = .88-.91, Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$) (see Table 1). A CFA test of the two dimensions was unsatisfactory at the initial level ($\chi^2 = 432.99$, $df = 53$, GFI = 0.87, CFI = 0.92, RMSEA = 0.11). After unrestricted the error terms of several items following modification indices, the model finally fit ($\chi^2 = 143.74$, $df = 47$, GFI =

² Discriminant validity = the square root of AVE. If the square root value is larger than r square of each item, then it is considered to have discriminant validity.

0.95, CFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.06). AVEs, CRs, and DVs for the social support scale also turned out valid in the calculations.

The results of EFA for the Korean sample also yielded two dimensions (SS: eigenvalue = 9.11, variance explained = 75.91%, component coefficient range = .82-.96, Cronbach's α = .98; PES: eigenvalue = 1.27, variance explained = 10.60%, component coefficient range = .88-.98, Cronbach's α = .95). An initial CFA was unacceptable and needed model improvement ($\chi^2 = 638.09$, $df = 53$, GFI = 0.71, CFI = 0.89, RMSEA = 0.19). After unrestricting residuals, the final model turned out to be fitting ($\chi^2 = 154.24$, $df = 45$, GFI = 0.92, CFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.09). The calculation of convergent validity and discriminant validity revealed that the scale was conceptually valid.

Self-Efficacy. The self-efficacy (SE) scale measured whether adolescents had the ability to self-control the discussion of their bullying experience to others (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1981) (see Table 1). The response options ranged from 1 to 10. The items are: (a) For me, to tell my bullying experience to somebody at another time after my first discussion was (from 1 = *very difficult* to 10 = *very easy*); (b) I have control over my ability to tell my bullying experience to somebody at another time after my first telling; (c) I believe I have all the things I need to tell my bullying experience to somebody at another time after my first telling; and (d) If I want to, I can tell my bullying experience to somebody at another time after my first telling (b, c, d: from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 10 = *strongly agree*).

An EFA of the U.S. sample showed that the items constructed unidimensionality (eigenvalue = 2.68, variance explained = 67.01%, component coefficient range = .55-.90, Cronbach's α = .83). A CFA met the requirement of a fitting model at an initial attempt ($\chi^2 = 0.86$, $df = 2$, GFI = 0.99, CFI = 0.99, RMSEA = .00). Although the CFA coefficient of one item (easy to tell) was below .50 (.41), the overall AVE and CR values verified convergent validity of the scale. A DV test was not necessary due to its unidimensionality.

An EFA of the Korean sample yielded one dimension with the four items (eigenvalue = 3.47, variance explained = 86.18%, component coefficient range = .90-.96, Cronbach's α = .95). The result of CFA revealed that the model, at first attempt, was not fitting due to a high RMSEA ($\chi^2 = 14.69$, $df = 2$, GFI = 0.97, CFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 1.24). A series of testing following the suggestions by the modification indices produced an acceptable model ($\chi^2 = 1.01$, $df = 0$, GFI = 1.00, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.08). The AVE and CR values demonstrated convergent validity of the measure.

Life Satisfaction. This study used the life satisfaction (LS) scale following previous research on bullying (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The items, with response options ranging from 1 to 10 (from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 10 = *strongly agree*), include: (a) In most ways, my current life is close to my ideal; b) The conditions of my life are excellent; c) I am satisfied with my life now; d) So far, I have gotten important things I want in life; and e) If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing (see Table 1).

In the test of EFA, the U.S. sample generated a single dimension of the scale (eigenvalue = 3.64, variance explained = 72.81%, component coefficient range = .78-.90, Cronbach's α = .90). The U.S.

sample yielded a fitting model at an initial test in CFA ($\chi^2 = 19.66$, $df = 5$, GFI = 0.98, CFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.06). Convergent validity was confirmed through calculation.

An EFA of the Korean sample discovered unidimensionality of the measure (eigenvalue = 4.27, variance explained = 85.45%, component coefficient range = .88–.95, Cronbach's $\alpha = .95$). A test of CFA revealed that an initial model needed improvement ($\chi^2 = 84.69$, $df = 5$, GFI = 0.90, CFI = 0.95, RMSEA = 0.23). Another model after unrestricting residuals produced a fitting model ($\chi^2 = 9.10$, $df = 4$, GFI = 0.98, CFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.06). The validity calculation showed that the life satisfaction scale of the Korean sample had convergent validity.

Table 1. Sample Descriptive Statistics, Confirmatory Factor Analysis, and Validity Test Results.

| | United States (<i>N</i> = 504) | | | | | Korea (<i>N</i> = 302) | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|---------|------------|-----------|----------------------------|-----------|---------|------------|-----------|
| | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | β | <i>AVE</i> | <i>CR</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | β | <i>AVE</i> | <i>CR</i> |
| INS | 2.56 | 1.79 | | .69 | .81 | 1.37 | 1.02 | | .73 | .85 |
| Friends | 2.99 | 2.59 | .54 | | | 1.44 | 1.25 | .78 | | |
| Father | 2.13 | 2.16 | .68 | | | 1.30 | 1.08 | .86 | | |
| Mother | 3.00 | 2.70 | .72 | | | 1.49 | 1.46 | .75 | | |
| Siblings | 2.14 | 2.04 | .66 | | | 1.28 | 1.24 | .72 | | |
| Classmates | 2.18 | 2.06 | — | | | 1.38 | 1.17 | — | | |
| Teachers | 1.95 | 2.03 | — | | | 1.20 | 0.92 | — | | |
| Others | 1.97 | 1.88 | — | | | 1.23 | 0.98 | — | | |
| CCO | 1.63 | 1.33 | | .73 | .86 | 1.08 | 0.40 | | .63 | .75 |
| Sports or leisure | 1.74 | 1.70 | .83 | | | 1.05 | 0.36 | — | | |
| Cultural | 1.71 | 1.81 | .77 | | | 1.07 | 0.45 | .43 | | |
| Neighborhood | 1.53 | 1.61 | .74 | | | 1.07 | 0.47 | .95 | | |
| Political | 1.55 | 1.60 | .73 | | | 1.04 | 0.27 | — | | |
| Other | 1.62 | 1.58 | .61 | | | 1.11 | 0.64 | .57 | | |
| MC | 3.51 | 2.15 | | .74 | .87 | 3.77 | 2.31 | | .75 | .85 |
| TV | 4.29 | 2.67 | .73 | | | 4.62 | 2.63 | .75 | | |
| Newspapers | 2.76 | 2.39 | .80 | | | 3.75 | 2.71 | .87 | | |
| Radio | 3.20 | 2.47 | .85 | | | 3.11 | 2.59 | .87 | | |
| Magazine | 3.09 | 2.57 | .75 | | | 3.48 | 2.67 | .88 | | |
| Internet | 4.35 | 2.98 | .72 | | | 4.23 | 2.85 | .86 | | |
| Smart phone | 3.42 | 2.88 | .65 | | | 3.46 | 2.79 | .71 | | |
| SS | 4.92 | 2.67 | | .73 | .84 | 2.47 | 2.32 | | .84 | .92 |
| Feel close | 5.13 | 3.42 | .73 | | | 2.93 | 2.79 | .86 | | |
| Discuss situation | 4.92 | 3.19 | .79 | | | 2.58 | 2.53 | .89 | | |
| Show affection | 5.03 | 3.31 | .78 | | | 2.46 | 2.53 | .91 | | |
| Give advice | 5.63 | 3.33 | .86 | | | 2.64 | 2.68 | .97 | | |
| Analyze | 4.70 | 3.14 | .83 | | | 2.54 | 2.60 | .96 | | |
| Inform | 5.59 | 3.19 | .79 | | | 2.46 | 2.50 | .96 | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| Join activity | 3.89 | 3.12 | .62 | | | 2.18 | 2.36 | .78 | | |
| Willing to help | 5.27 | 3.34 | .82 | | | 2.31 | 2.47 | .86 | | |
| Offer help | 5.16 | 3.36 | .77 | | | 2.16 | 2.25 | .82 | | |
| PES | 6.08 | 3.09 | | .88 | .94 | 3.56 | 3.14 | | .90 | .96 |
| Listening | 5.92 | 3.28 | .90 | | | 3.66 | 3.41 | .91 | | |
| Advice | 5.98 | 3.17 | .91 | | | 3.51 | 3.17 | .98 | | |
| Care | 6.37 | 3.35 | .92 | | | 3.50 | 3.47 | .92 | | |
| SE | 6.03 | 2.58 | | .71 | .80 | 3.92 | 2.99 | | .80 | .89 |
| Easy to tell | 5.57 | 3.13 | .41 | | | 3.83 | 3.16 | .83 | | |
| Control | 6.29 | 3.22 | .80 | | | 4.26 | 3.38 | .92 | | |
| Belief | 5.96 | 3.21 | .90 | | | 3.93 | 3.18 | .97 | | |
| Want to tell | 6.35 | 3.18 | .86 | | | 3.66 | 3.12 | .90 | | |
| LS | 6.46 | 2.63 | | .75 | .86 | 6.12 | 2.91 | | .89 | .96 |
| Close to ideal | 6.29 | 3.06 | .71 | | | 6.38 | 3.14 | .91 | | |
| Excellent | 6.59 | 2.98 | .88 | | | 6.57 | 3.09 | .95 | | |
| Satisfied | 6.91 | 3.11 | .89 | | | 6.47 | 3.16 | .96 | | |
| Got what I want | 6.91 | 2.97 | .85 | | | 5.74 | 3.10 | .86 | | |
| Change nothing | 5.64 | 3.32 | .71 | | | 5.46 | 3.24 | .80 | | |

Note. β = factor coefficients. AVE = average variance extracted. CR = construct reliability. INS = interpersonal neighborhood storytelling. CCO = connection to community organizations. MC = media connectedness. SS = social support. PES = perceived evaluation of support. SE = self-efficacy. LS = life satisfaction. Response options range from 1 to 10.

Findings

Sample Characteristics

An analysis of demographics demonstrated that the U.S. sample included more females than males (the U.S. = 36.3% male and 63.7% female; Korea = 52% male and 48% female). The age range was similar in both the U.S. and Korean samples ($M_{US} = 14.22$, $SD_{US} = 1.79$; $M_{KOR} = 15.36$, $SD_{KOR} = 0.88$). This study also asked adolescents to describe bullying experience as victims through electronic communication channels. They were asked, "Have you been bullied through" (a) mobile phone calling? ($M_{US} = 2.63$, $SD_{US} = 2.43$; $M_{KOR} = 1.30$, $SD_{KOR} = 1.20$), (b) mobile phone texting? ($M_{US} = 3.05$, $SD_{US} = 2.66$; $M_{KOR} = 1.39$, $SD_{KOR} = 1.29$), and (c) social network sites? ($M_{US} = 3.15$, $SD_{US} = 2.89$; $M_{KOR} = 1.22$, $SD_{KOR} = 1.10$). Response options ranged from 1 to 10 (from 1 = *never* to 10 = *all the time*). The results indicate that U.S. adolescents are bullied more than Korean adolescents via these channels.

Overall media use in the two countries shows that U.S. adolescents are more active media users than Koreans: TV ($M_{US} = 6.41$, $SD_{US} = 2.81$; $M_{KOR} = 5.28$, $SD_{KOR} = 2.80$), radio ($M_{US} = 5.73$, $SD_{US} = 3.18$; $M_{KOR} = 2.20$, $SD_{KOR} = 1.93$), newspaper ($M_{US} = 2.82$, $SD_{US} = 2.48$; $M_{KOR} = 2.59$, $SD_{KOR} = 2.20$), magazine ($M_{US} = 4.11$, $SD_{US} = 2.97$; $M_{KOR} = 2.03$, $SD_{KOR} = 1.91$), Internet ($M_{US} = 7.60$, $SD_{US} = 2.91$; $M_{KOR} = 6.29$, $SD_{KOR} = 2.81$), smartphone calling ($M_{US} = 6.58$, $SD_{US} = 3.20$; $M_{KOR} = 4.70$, $SD_{KOR} = 3.06$), smart-phone

texting ($M_{US} = 7.58$, $SD_{US} = 3.19$; $M_{KOR} = 5.44$, $SD_{KOR} = 3.31$), and social media ($M_{US} = 6.97$, $SD_{US} = 3.38$; $M_{KOR} = 4.11$, $SD_{KOR} = 3.30$). The response options ranged from 1 to 10 (from 1 = *never* to 10 = *all the time*).

Hypotheses Testing

The research hypotheses were tested using structural equation modeling (SEM) in AMOS with maximum likelihood procedures. Before the SEM, bivariate correlation analyses were conducted to determine whether the constructs exhibited the potential to be an acceptable model in SEM (see Tables 2 and 3). The results demonstrated that the relationships of latent variables hypothesized in the model were statistically significant.

Table 2. Bivariate Correlations Between Testing Variables in the U.S. Sample.

| | INS | CCO | MC | SS | PES | EF | LS |
|-----|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----|
| INS | 1 | | | | | | |
| CCO | .51*** | 1 | | | | | |
| MC | .34*** | .36*** | 1 | | | | |
| SS | .37*** | .19*** | .31*** | 1 | | | |
| PES | .31*** | .06 | .21*** | .73*** | 1 | | |
| EF | .08 | -.02 | .14** | .27*** | .34*** | 1 | |
| LS | -.06 | -.10* | .09* | .16*** | .21*** | .50*** | 1 |

Note. INS = interpersonal neighborhood storytelling. CCO = connection to community organizations. MC = media connectedness. SS = social support. PES = perceived evaluation of support. SE = self-efficacy. LS = life satisfaction.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 3. Bivariate Correlations Between Testing Variables in the Korean Sample.

| | INS | CCO | MC | SS | PES | EF | LS |
|-----|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----|
| INS | 1 | | | | | | |
| CCO | .47*** | 1 | | | | | |
| MC | .15*** | .19** | 1 | | | | |
| SS | .30*** | .11* | .26*** | 1 | | | |
| PES | .23*** | .10 | .24*** | .67*** | 1 | | |
| EF | .10 | .03 | .22** | .38*** | .54*** | 1 | |
| LS | -.01 | -.07 | .14* | .11* | .21*** | .32*** | 1 |

Note. INS = interpersonal neighborhood storytelling. CCO = connection to community organizations. MC = media connectedness. SS = social support. PES = perceived evaluation of support. SE = self-efficacy. LS = life satisfaction.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

The first structural equation modeling for the U.S. sample yielded an unacceptable fit, with suggestions by modification indices for possible improvement ($\chi^2 = 1705.78$, $df = 588$, $GFI = 0.83$, $CFI = 0.90$, $RMSEA = 0.06$). Some residuals, including interpersonal neighborhood storytelling (INS), connection to community organizations (CCO), and social support (SS), were unrestricted. Finally, an acceptable fit was produced ($\chi^2 = 894.18$, $df = 563$, $p < .001$, $GFI = 0.92$, $CFI = 0.97$, $RMSEA = 0.03$) (see Figure 2).

H1(a) tested the relationship between interpersonal neighborhood storytelling (INS) and social support (SS). The relationship in the U.S. sample was significant ($\gamma = .48$, $p < .001$). Therefore, H1(a) was supported. H1(b) looked at the relationship between connection to community organizations (CCO) and social support (SS). The relationship was negatively significant, thereby rejecting the hypothesis ($\gamma = -.18$, $p < .01$). H1(c) predicted the influence of media connectedness (MC) on social support (SS). The SEM found a significant relationship between them in the U.S. sample ($\gamma = .19$, $p < .001$). Hence, H1(c) received support.

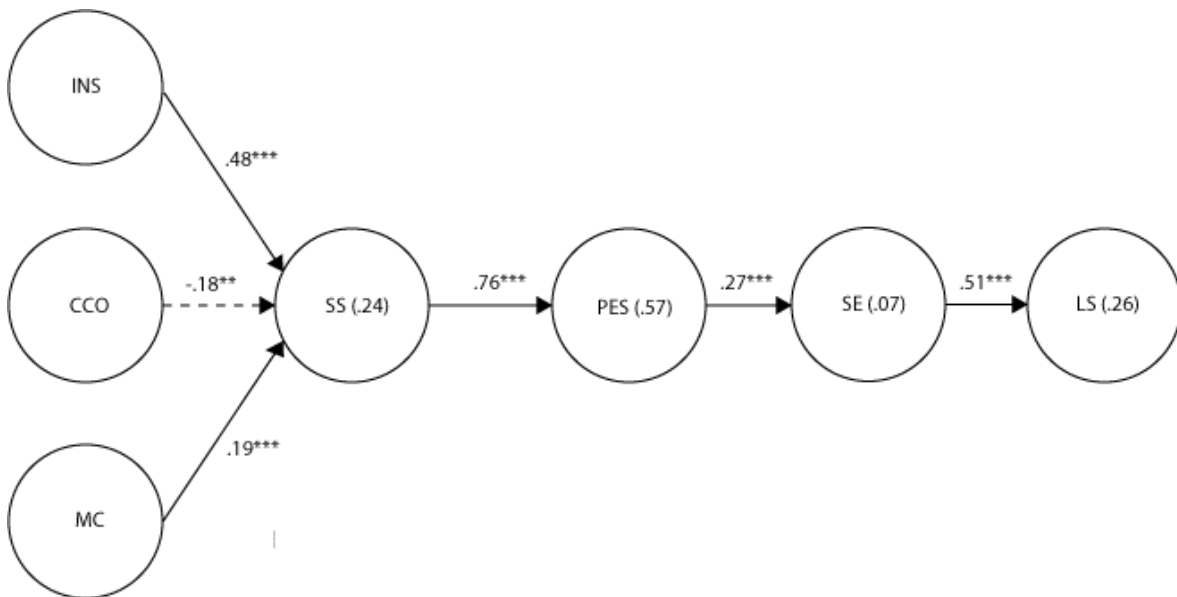


Figure 2. Results of Structural Equation Modeling for the U.S. sample.

Note. INS = interpersonal neighborhood storytelling. CCO = connection to community organizations. MC = media connectedness. SS = social support. PES = perceived evaluation of support. SE = self-efficacy. LS = life satisfaction. Values in parentheses are squared multiple correlations. The solid line indicates a positive relationship. The dotted line indicates a negative relationship.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$.

H2 predicted the relationship between social support (SS) and perceived evaluation of support (PES). A significant relationship was found in the U.S. sample, supporting the hypothesis ($\beta = .76, p < .001$). H3 looked at the influence of perceived evaluation of support (PES) on self-efficacy (SE). A positive relationship was found in the U.S. sample ($\beta = .27, p < .001$), thus supporting H3. H4 predicted the relationship between self-efficacy (SE) and life satisfaction (LS). The result showed that the relationship was significant in the U.S. sample ($\beta = .51, p < .001$). As a result, H4 received full support.

The SEM of the Korean sample was conducted to examine relationships among the exogenous and endogenous variables hypothesized. An initial model yielded an unacceptable fit with suggestions by modification indices ($\chi^2 = 1853.45, df = 521, GFI = 0.73, CFI = 0.88, RMSEA = 0.09$). Some residuals of all latent variables were suggested to be unrestricted for model improvement. As a result, a fitting model was produced ($\chi^2 = 834.43, df = 489, p < .001, GFI = 0.90, CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.04$) (see Figure 3).

H1(a) predicted how interpersonal neighborhood storytelling (INS) and social support (SS) were related. The relationship in the Korean sample was significant ($\gamma = .31, p < .001$). Therefore, H1(a) was supported. H1(b) examined the association between connection to community organizations (CCO) and social support (SS). The relationship was negative and nonsignificant, which rejected the hypothesis ($\gamma = -.05, ns$). H1(c) looked at the influence of media connectedness (MC) on social support (SS). The SEM found a significant association between them in the Korean sample ($\gamma = .24, p < .001$). Given the result, H1(c) was supported.

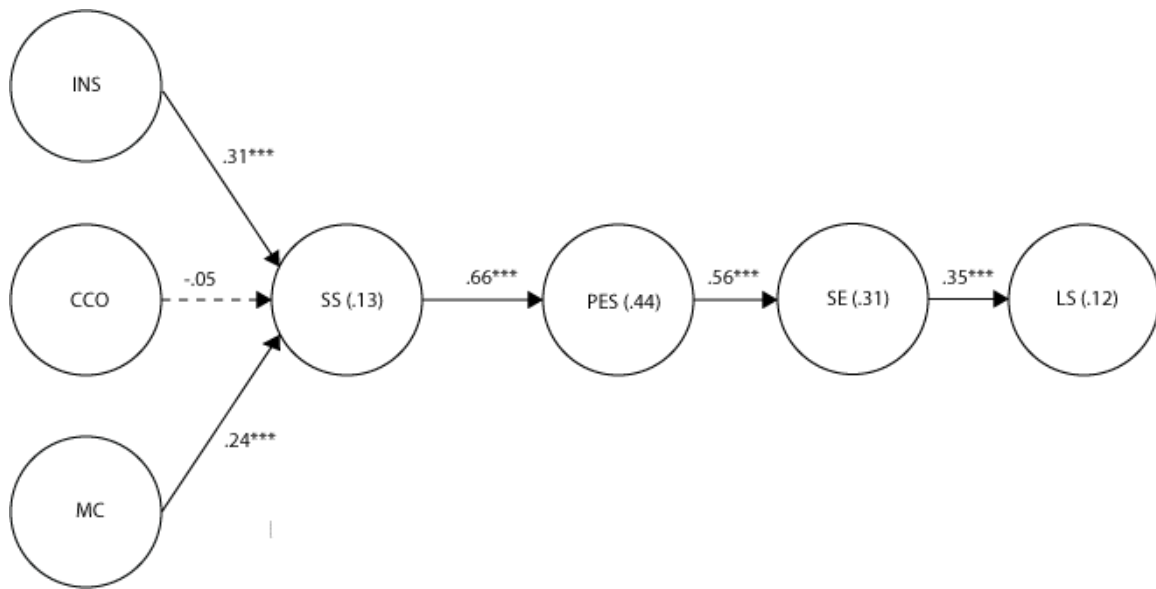


Figure 3. Results of Structural Equation Modeling for the Korean sample.

Note. INS = interpersonal neighborhood storytelling. CCO = connection to community organizations. MC = media connectedness. SS = social support. PES = perceived evaluation of support. SE = self-efficacy. LS = life satisfaction. Values in parentheses are squared multiple correlations.

The solid line indicates a positive relationship. The dotted line indicates a negative relationship.

*** $p < .001$.

H2 predicted the relationship between social support (SS) and perceived evaluation of support (PES). A significant relationship was found in the Korean sample, supporting the hypothesis ($\beta = .66, p < .001$). H3 predicted the influence of perceived evaluation of support (PES) on self-efficacy (SE). A positive relationship was found ($\beta = .56, p < .001$), supporting H3. H4 examined the relationship between self-efficacy (SE) and life satisfaction (LS). The result demonstrated that the relationship was significant in the Korean sample ($\beta = .35, p < .001$). Hence, H4 for the Korean sample received full support.

In summary, interpersonal neighborhood storytelling (INS) and media connectedness (MC) regarding bullying communication were positively related to social support (SS) in both samples. Connection to community organizations (CCO) was not related to social support (SS) in either the U.S. or Korean samples. Among the U.S. and Korean adolescents who received social support (SS) about bullying, those who positively evaluated the support developed self-efficacy (SE) and life satisfaction (LS).

Discussion

This study was designed to examine the role of storytelling networks in bullying communication among adolescents in two countries. In addition, this study attempted to discover differences in how U.S. and Korean students handled bullying. The study results revealed that communication storytelling networks, with the exception of connection to community organizations, were important initiators of bullying communication by the bullied adolescents. Active connection with friends, family, and the media to seek help played a significant role in igniting social support and evaluation of support, which fostered self-efficacy and life satisfaction. These results suggest that in the United States and Korea alike, storytelling networks at the micro-level rather than at the meso-level facilitate bullying communication. At the macro-level, the news media such as TV, newspapers, and radio played an important role in support of bullying communication in both samples. The disclosure or connection to the Internet or mobile media for bullying news at the macro-level reflects the trait of privacy in bullying communication. Given the main-subordinate relationship between bullies and the bullied, the latter tends to choose personal or mediated communication routes rather than open and public channels (Garbarino & deLara, 2002). They may also get news about bullying through social media in news feeds.

As the analyses show, interpersonal neighborhood storytelling and media connectedness are significant predictors for social support in both samples. Adolescents who initiate communication about bullying through personal channels receive such support from those from whom they seek help (Rigby, 2003; Sahu & Rath, 2003). Adolescents are likely to discuss bullying personally and receive support from media exposure in terms of information or coping strategies. They do not consider disclosing bullying to community organizations at the meso-level. Therefore, adolescents are likely to choose micro- and macro- rather than meso-level agents to elicit support.

In both samples, the model depicted the same pattern of bullying communication in seeking support, evaluation of support, self-efficacy, and life satisfaction. The results clearly suggest that bullying communication across the two cultures is identical overall. In other words, bullying communication among adolescents seems to be interpreted similarly in both cultures. Regarding bullying communication, distinctions on high- and low-context cultures appear to play a minimal role.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

The constructs of communication storytelling networks were substantially similar between the two countries. Both the U.S. and Korean adolescents are not likely dependent on teachers or classmates to discuss such a personal as well as social issue. Only one difference was found in connection to community organizations (CCO) items. The omission of sports and political club items from the storytelling networks scale for Korean adolescents is possibly attributed to their different living environment. Korean adolescents traditionally face more pressure than U.S. students to focus on school grades and college entrance requirements; hence, they likely devote less time to sports, social, or political clubs.

Other than this minor difference, the hypothesized model significantly explained the relationships. Future research can emphasize the role of storytelling networks in different types of supportive communication (e.g., Heath et al., 2002). Such an attempt can serve as a way to account for communicative solutions for other issues such as suicidal thoughts, depression, or addiction. The model can also be applied to different countries (e.g., in Europe, South America, Africa, and Asia) in addition to the United States and Korea.

Since both the U.S. and Korean adolescents avoid community channels to receive support, the findings suggest that the government and local social organizations provide supportive communication channels to increase the number of bullying communication means. Bullying prevention campaigns, public investigation on bullying, and establishment of legal acts about bullying at the meso-level are called for. Doing so could encourage both U.S. and Korean adolescents to seek support through multiple communication channels.

Limitations and Suggestions

The current study includes several empirical and methodological limitations. This cross-sectional survey calls for a retest of the relationships for study generalizability, because the samples do not fully represent adolescents of the two countries. They were selected based on geographic differences. Further, the 33% of nonrespondents in the U.S. sample may generate a nonresponse bias. The nonrespondents may be more serious victims than the respondents, or they may be bullies. To resolve this bias, surveys from a larger population across the nation through a systematic sampling method could better determine how the demographics and responses are similar to or different from the current samples.

This study did not include communication action agents in its examination. Such agents as race, ethnicity, and residential stability are other factors that may determine bullying communication. Research shows that Asian Americans and Asian descendants living in the United States and England are frequent

bullying victims (Eslea & Mukhtar, 2000). Future research can apply this storytelling networks model to a specific case of bullying to offer solutions in a cultural or communication action context. Additionally, gender differences across cultures can provide important clues to solutions of bullying, because males and females often experience different types of bullying behaviors (Erdur-Baker, 2010). For example, future research can investigate verbal or physical bullying means used by gender in different cultures.

In conclusion, the current research suggests that adolescents' active communication with important others and the news media to seek help may foster support for bullying. Thus, social responsibility from the community and the government is necessary to reduce bullying among adolescents.

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