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Introduction: Educational and civic-penal responses to antisocial behaviour

When a call for papers on the subject of “Educational and civic-penal responses to antisocial behaviour” was announced on the **revista española de pedagogía**’s website, the response from scholars of pedagogy of this subject, which has received little attention in the field of education, could not have been predicted. The reaction was positive, and original submissions arrived from Colombia, Spain, and Portugal, reflecting the interest and concern in offering ideas and solutions from a pedagogical perspective to the many problems which arise in our time and which jeopardise peaceful human coexistence, affecting so many innocent victims.

This monographic issue, which, obviously, can only include a small number of articles, brings together the eight works whose treatment of the proposed topic seemed most significant. It is well known that in the more advanced societies it is common practice to make integrated proposals when imposing punishments so that victims are taken into account throughout all of the legal-penal process as well as offenders so that offenders are encouraged to make personal and social changes beyond the habitual —and necessary— punitive measures. Both approaches involve increasing citizens’ participation in the way society responds to antisocial behaviour. In the first case, the victims of an offence are offered the chance to participate in all of the legal steps while also receiving the assistance necessary to feel they have been heeded and cared for —not forgotten— by the system and institutions. In the second case, offenders are offered the chance to participate in a personal and social change which involves adopting values to modify lifestyles which are damaging for others and for themselves, and it goes beyond regarding the humanisation of punishment from the narrow perspective of just improving the material conditions of time spent in young offenders’ institutions or in prison.

That said, where public participation regarding antisocial behaviour must particularly increase is in the prevention of it. And we should all feel involved in this. The group of social sciences dedicated to studying the origin and maintenance of this behaviour already has a reasonably precise knowledge of the different variables. These, firstly, tend to correlate with fixed patterns of undesirable behaviour, then with antisocial behaviour, and, finally, with offending (dysfunctional families, educational failure, early school leaving, consumption of alcohol and other drugs at an early age, untreated

childhood psychological disorders, and idleness linked to illegal activities carried out in gangs) (Bevilacqua, Hale, Barker, & Viner, 2018; Moffitt, 1993, 2018). As we have said, we are all involved, not just because, as is normal, it is held that all adults should act as educators in their immediate environment, but because the idea of prevention reaches its precise pedagogical meaning when we recognise that we cannot form a society if only the presence of adult subjects is considered. Children must be considered, but not just, as is often suggested, by letting them speak, opening up spaces for participation, and voicing their rights, but above all by protecting them as this, in point of fact, is the best form of prevention. And the best form of prevention, from an educational perspective, is to impose limits. Therefore, it is not surprising that most of the texts in this edition focus on questions relating to minors and, in particular, to problems resulting from violence, from misuse of cyberspace, from the risk factors associated with being imprisoned, and even from the frequent and premature use of lies.

We now briefly outline the articles in this issue, in the order they appear. The article by D. Reyero and F. Gil Cantero entitled “Education that limits is education that frees” comes first given its foundational character. In it they set out to show that limits, norms, and rules are fundamental in education because they form an essential part of reality and of the human condition.

The article by M. J. Bernuz and E. Fernández entitled “The pedagogy of juvenile justice: a child-friendly justice” asserts that a model of punishment for minors, which is essentially educational and, above all, responsibility oriented, is required, and that there is a need for appropriately trained professionals who can promote young people’s participation in the procedures associated with all of the legal process.

The text by M. Martins and C. Carvalho, with the title “What do teenagers lie about?”, builds on the fact that when adolescents resort to lying, it tends to be associated with risk behaviour and so understanding the situations that trigger the use of lies by adolescents can actively help prevent antisocial behaviour.

The work by I. Méndez, C. Ruiz, J. P. Martínez, and F. Cerezo, “Cyberbullying according to sociodemographic and academic characteristics among university students” establishes that observers stand out among the roles of people involved, followed by aggressors and victims, it also shows the relationship between having been the target, agent, and observer of cyberbullying. The high level observed in two variables, being female and aged under 20, is especially interesting.

The article by J. R. Agustina and I. Montiel called “Educational challenges of emerging risks in cyberspace: foundations of an appropriate strategy for preventing online child victimization”, based on analysis of the specific forms of cybervictimisation, offers guidelines

based on criminological research and on the most common victimisation processes in the settings where young people live their lives, so that they can be used for designing educational programmes intended for parents, educators, and potential victims.

The text by M. Garmendia, E. Jiménez Iglesias, and N. Larrañaga Aizpuru entitled “Bullying and cyberbullying: victimisation, harassment, and harm. The need to intervene in the educational centre” claims that it is necessary to intervene in the school environment to minimise the effect of bullying as this is the main setting where it takes place. Among other matters, it concludes that cyberbullying is strongly shaped by age, increasing in line with it, and that most bullies have previously been victims of bullying.

The contribution by A. Rosser and R. Suriá, “School adaptation and behavioural and emotional problems in minors exposed to gender violence”, concludes that behavioural and emotional problems associated with performance and school adaption issues are present in most of the young people they analysed who were in reception centres after their mothers suffered situations of gender violence.

Finally, the article by F. T. Añaños-Bedriñana, M. Melendro, and R. Raya, “Young women with protective and judicial measures and their transit towards prison”, shows the following risk factors in the women investigated: low educational levels, family members or partners who have spent time in prison, addictions—principally drugs and alcoholism—affecting them or family members, and large numbers of reports of abusive treatment when they were minors.

I would like to thank the director of the **revista española de pedagogía**, Professor José Antonio Ibáñez-Martín, for inviting me to edit this monographic issue and for sharing the desire for educators and different institutions to know how to adopt the best educational and civic-legal responses to antisocial behaviour.

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Education that limits is education that frees

La educación que limita es la que libera

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Abstract:

Today it is more common to find the concept of education linked to terms such as emancipation, autonomy, or freedom, than to norms, discipline, authority, submission or boundaries. This article sets out to show that limits, norms, rules, and even physical limitations are fundamental in education because they are an essential part of human reality and the human condition. Its main thesis is that rules not only regulate human activities from outside, but they also operate from the root of the activity itself as an expression of the peculiar rationality of human beings and their way of being in the world. The article firstly demonstrates this thesis by examining certain physical limitations that are approached educationally, and then in various other human areas, such as language, play, ecology, the Internet, and sexuality. It also shows how rules, by limiting the

possibilities for how certain actions will develop, allow us to intuit or glimpse other types of limits and other possibilities —not always better ones— for human development and its standards. From an anthropological perspective, this has led us to suggest how an individual's future possibilities expand, increase, and develop if her family, school and social settings for growth are spaces bounded by limits and norms. These allow her to feel safe enough to begin a process of critical assimilation of her received inheritance. The subject better understands reality, and the different possibilities for evaluating that reality, when the process of evaluation starts from a relatively enclosed perspective (with limits and norms) on the received tradition.

Keywords: limits, rules, authority, freedom, emancipation, tradition.

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Resumen:

En la actualidad es más común encontrar relacionado el concepto de educación con términos como emancipación, autonomía o libertad, que con las palabras normas, disciplina, autoridad, sometimiento o límite. El objetivo de este artículo es mostrar que los límites, las normas, las reglas, incluso las limitaciones físicas resultan fundamentales en la educación porque forman parte esencial de la realidad y de la condición humana. La tesis principal es que las reglas no solo ordenan o regulan desde fuera una actividad humana sino que operan desde la raíz de la misma que surge como expresión de la racionalidad peculiar del ser humano y su forma de estar en el mundo. El artículo muestra esta tesis, primero, en el modo de abordar educativamente ciertas limitaciones físicas y, luego, en diversos ámbitos humanos: el lenguaje, el juego, la ecología, el Internet y la sexualidad. El artículo muestra también que las reglas, que los límites, precisamente por acotar las

posibilidades de desarrollo de una determinada acción, nos permiten intuir, vislumbrar, a su vez, otro tipo de acotaciones, otras posibilidades, no siempre mejores, del desarrollo humano con sus correspondientes normas. Por eso hemos indicado también, desde un punto de vista más cercano a la antropología pedagógica, que las posibilidades futuras de un sujeto en su forma de estar y vivir el mundo se expanden, acrecientan y surgen si durante su crecimiento familiar, escolar y social ha vivido en un espacio acotado de límites y normas que le permiten sentirse lo suficientemente seguro para iniciar un proceso de asimilación crítica de la herencia recibida. Se entiende mucho mejor la realidad y sus diferentes posibilidades de valoración cuando se ha partido desde un punto de vista relativamente cerrado, con sus límites y normas, sobre la tradición recibida.

Descriptor: límites, reglas, autoridad, libertad, emancipación, tradición.

1. Introduction

We tend to group words and ideas according to very simple clichés, and so it is necessary to analyse them carefully to understand the element of truth they contain and the part that is no more than an uncritical expression of dominant thought. One of these clichés links education to emancipation, autonomy, and freedom, concepts which are in contrast to another set of words such as norms, discipline, authority, submission, limits (Barrio, 1999; Spaemann, 2003). Excess emphasis on this type of term instead of those on the

first list would link us to an old-fashioned, sad, hard, joyless, mechanistic, dictated, authoritarian model of education, in essence, one that is opposed to the spontaneity and creativity necessary to face a new world and unpredicted situations, as free human beings seem to be the only ones able to oppose the rule. In this cultural environment, it is hard to resist all of the proposals that break with this classical framework.

Nonetheless, in this article we will try to show how limits, norms, rules, even

physical limitations, are vital in education since they are an essential part of the reality of the human condition not an inevitable evil that must be considered. This line of thinking is, in a way, counterintuitive as from childhood we see rules as restrictions that prevent us from doing what we want, but what if we do not really know what we want? What if our desires need discipline to be truly valuable?

‘Is what I now want what I want myself to want?’ And do I have sufficiently good reasons to want what I know want? [...] whether a life goes well or badly may depend and often does depend on whether in the types of situations that I have identified someone thinks well or badly about their present, past, and future desires (MacIntyre, 2016, p. 4-5).

In education we have experience of freedom functioning on the basis of limitations. Many studies in clinical psychology show the relationship between a lack of attachment or an unstructured and inconsistent attachment and the emergence of juvenile delinquency (Hoeve et al., 2012; Hoeve, Dubas, Gerris, van der Laan, & Smeenk, 2011; Kofler-Westergren, Klopff, & Mitterauer, 2010; De Vries, Hoeve, Stams, & Asscher, 2016). Moreover, great educators, like Alain, already showed this a long time ago, opposing more romantic models that have done and continue to do so much damage to education and pedagogy:

I should now state that education should not be guided by the features of a vocation. Firstly, because preferences can matter. And also because it is always good to find out about what one does not want

to know. So we should challenge tastes, firstly and at length. This pupil only likes science; so he can cultivate history, law, literature; he needs it more than some others do... (Alain in Château, 2017, p. 378).

Some authors are also currently following this path. Sawyer, in opposition to the well-known theses that school kills creativity, claims that schooling is an essential element when developing creativity because it requires a high level of command of knowledge and school is good at fostering this learning in students (Sawyer, 2012, p. 390). Similarly, there are many examples that show the value of discipline and sustained exercise in everyday life. In a recent interview, the famous Armenian violinist Malikian said:

My father was obsessed with the violin and he made me play it almost from the day I was born. When I was 7 or 8, I wanted to play with the other children, but he didn't let me and made me stay in a room and practice for hours on end. I often remember one time when I was crying while I played because I didn't want to any more. But now I am eternally grateful to him because I am very happy being a violinist (in Iváninkova, 2018).

Although further on in the same interview, talking about his son, he contradicts himself, saying: “Children are made to play, I have tried to make him play the violin and he threw it at my head. [...] Learning has to be a game for children”. There is no doubt that something has changed between the world of his father and his world and this something is part of what we are trying to trace here.

Human development does not follow a single path. Things turned out well for the father of the violinist, but they could have turned out very badly, at the cost of his son's happiness. We are not free from making mistakes. We are never entirely sure of whether or not we are right with our choices of educational limits. That said, it nowadays seems necessary to argue again, from the particular cultural contexts we find ourselves in at present, that the very personal structure of the human being in its possibilities for development can only unfold with meaning and order if someone limits us. Of course, it is vital to know how to articulate these limits prudently and tactfully, but what we want to emphasise in this article is that, as Gomá explains referring to Goethe, "to limit oneself is to stretch oneself because the being is not fulfilled in its potential but in its action and implementing this requires it to be decided" (Gomá, 2011, p. 13).

The main thesis we will try to demonstrate in this article can be summarised as follows: rules do not just order or regulate an activity *from outside*, but instead they work from the human root of the activity itself, which develops as an expression of the unique rationality of the human being and its way of being in the world. From here, various corollaries of particular pedagogical significance appear which we will reveal. The order in which the argument is set out is as follows: first, we describe the root of the problem, which we locate in the fact that the blurring of the idea of truth destroys or relativises the idea of limits. We then consider the educational effects that are no longer achieved in hu-

man development because of how biological limits are sometimes considered. In the next section, the largest, we analyse the humanising relevance of limits in various human domains: language, play, ecology, the Internet, sexuality, and we finish with pedagogical conclusions.

2. Seeking the roots of the problem. Desire as an ontology of the human being

Are thinking and playing with words different activities? If thinking and playing with words are different activities, this must be because the former affects reality while the latter affects rules. The limitation on thinking that enables us to speak of thinking as something valuable therefore lies in how it relates to reality, and the criterion we use is the truth. What makes thinking valuable is not entertainment or showy dazzle—aspects we do seek out when playing with words—but rather its ability to adapt to and measure itself against the reality it attempts to reflect. Nevertheless, something has changed. We are now in a period where realist philosophies have lost prestige and metaphorical and sentimental games, with words which we could group under the term postmodernism, are on the rise. It is not so much that the existence of the truth is denied, but that the quest for it has, for some, become absurd and incomprehensible (Rorty, 1996), "they understand that reason is not the universal form of thinking and that only pride can induce the individual to leave the narrow story of his specific experience" (Ibáñez-Martín, 2017, p. 41).

In 1905, Chesterton published the book *Heretics* (Chesterton, 2007), which starts with the fascination which, in his own time, he felt for the word heretic. In the past, according to Chesterton, every person was interested in being in the truth, and so being orthodox. Even those declared to be heretics were heretics to others because they themselves believed that they were orthodox and that the people who called them heretics were the ones who were wrong. However, Chesterton detected in his era a change in meaning and a certain pride in being called a heretic. Heretic becomes a metaphor for what places you at the margin of the established truths accepted by everyone. The truth is no longer regarded as something permanent because truth does not exist; dominant social conventions in permanent conflict and mutation are all that does exist. The heresies of today will be the truths of tomorrow and the truths of tomorrow the heresies of the day after. As the substantive idea of truth ebbed, it left behind only the ego, the ego's *pride*, in its growing attempt to endure without brakes or limits. There is no human condition, just mutation, transformation, becoming, and the individual desire, the driving force for change, to finally subjugate reality. The wonder Chesterton showed in the early years of the twentieth century before this situation has clearly escalated: the ego, its desire and opinion, as the defining criterion for the truth. My limit: desires. And so, without limits, we see the disappearance of "the function of No, something which affects the most basic achievements that made humanisation possible. As this function disappears, the emergence of ideal instances of personali-

ty is not viable" (Villacañas, 2015, p. 104). And without exemplary lives, how can we teach?

The root of the problem, then, lies in the fact that the blurring of the constitutive force of the intellectual and committed recognition of the possibilities of what we progressively reveal as true has in turn brought with it a perception of any type of limit, of any type of denial or prohibition as an impediment to human development. And so it seems that, on occasion, a concept of education is upheld as "a process not of learning of what is human about *limits* but, precisely, for some, in a learning of what is *inhuman* about imposing limits" (Gil Cantero, 2018, p. 44; italics in original). Education erroneously comes to be seen as a process of critical learning which avoids any order of meaning that does not originate in one's own desire and, so, the calls to action that create that education involve tearing down, eliminating, and questioning any type of limit to one's own cravings. Any social or moral order is, then, experienced as an imposition which has to be resisted in order to be oneself. What is of value for education in this resistance and what in it is lies? How does limitation work in human beings?

3. Biological limitations. For a *metaphysics of effort*

The quest for the happiness of one's children is a natural movement. It is also natural for this help to include the possibility of removing or alleviating the obstacles that seem to spoil the lives of one's children. Nonetheless, there are many ex-

amples showing that difficulties and limitations have unexpected and paradoxical effects which can be dazzling. Nussbaum describes one of these cases:

My daughter was born with a perceptive-motor defect (not definitively genetic, but we believe it was) which would clearly put her beneath the threshold that demarcates the “normal functioning of the species” according to the authors. This defect is severe enough that any decent mother would have opted, *ex ante*, for a genetic “fix” (she learnt to read at the age of two and to tie her shoelaces at the age of eight). She has had to confront insults and mockery all through her life. Her idiosyncratic, dynamic, fun and totally independent personality is inseparable from these struggles. Not only would I not like, *ex post*, to have had a different daughter, but I would not even have liked to have had her “fixed”. Putting to one side maternal love (if that is possible), I just like this sort of unusual person who does not fit in, much more than I would have liked (or at least that is what I think) the head cheerleader I could have had. And with all certainty, I do not want a world where all parents “fix” their children so that nobody is unusual, and this even though we all know that life is not easy if you are unusual (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 16).

The limitation, in this case, acts as a condition of possibility for achieving a higher good or an extraordinary action which, without this limitation, could not occur and would not be needed. Let us return to the paradoxical structure of the human being. It appears *we are more and better* if we have experienced frustration — always fought against, insofar as it is possible— since, as a result, we can recognise

our limits and, based on this acceptance, one *is* more authentically. Steiner (2016, p. 12), when referring to all of the challenges his mother made him face to alleviate his physical limitations —he was born with a withered right arm— said: “It was a metaphysics of effort. It was a metaphysics of will, discipline, and especially happiness”.

Keller and Vujicic are just a few of the many examples we could give. Clearly, this does not mean that we should not try to remedy limitations, especially the most severe ones, but they do alert us to what the human being is and the effects —not always negative— limitations might have on it, in this case physical ones. Why? Because through limitations, human beings can bring into play aspects which would otherwise remain hidden and which manifest important virtues like strength in adversity or what is known in modern literature as resilience (Dunn, Uswatte, & Elliott, 2009; Quale & Schanke, 2010). There is no doubt that struggling against physical difficulties that result from illnesses or accidents is necessary and legitimate, but the attempt in a mad post-humanist rush to eliminate any physical imperfections, as all of them restrict us in some way, could leave us in a world where the virtues acquired through education are unfamiliar as we forget that any virtue is trained through exercise in the face of limitations. Without regret after bad decisions, we would struggle to learn to be prudent, without any experience of injustice, how would we learn to cultivate justice? Without difficulties to confront, how could we exercise strength? In education, the humanising value of its aim has to

be maintained and expressed in resources, and so not all methods of putting an end to what limits us are appropriate, and furthermore, “the headlong flight from imperfection contains in itself the seed of the dissatisfaction that, far from acting as a driving force, runs the risk of becoming pathological” (García-Gutiérrez, Gil Cantero, & Reyero, 2017, p. 28).

In this frenetic flight from and elimination of limits, it is now the turn of the most insurmountable limit of all: death. Nevertheless, accepting death, our definitive limit, allows us to free ourselves from the fear of it and so live in reality more fully as:

It is the awareness of death that makes life such a serious matter for each one of us, something on which we must reflect. Something mysterious and terrible, a sort of beautiful miracle for which we must fight, for which we have to make an effort and reflect. If death did not exist, there would be much to see and plenty of time to see it in, but very little to do (almost everything we do is to avoid dying) and nothing to think about (Savater, 1999, p. 8).

4. Cultural limitations. The denaturing of the human condition

For human life, it is not just important to accept physical limits; almost all human activities are linked to rules that do not just limit activity but on many occasions make activity possible, precisely because they limit it. Let us look at some significant cases to analyse their educational scope.

4.1. Language

The first of these areas, and perhaps the most paradigmatic, is language. Human languages are subject to strict rules that allow linguistic expression. Knowing these rules, whether tacitly or explicitly, is a *precondition* for complex communication. One of the typical paradoxes of human liberty is thus manifested in the possibilities of using language: rules, precisely because they constrain and restrict us, are a condition of possibility for speech. It is, therefore, worth saying this clearly, especially in teaching. The typical school tasks of a few years ago, the traditional activities of correcting essays or dictations and looking at spelling mistakes, are not absurd activities that restrict freedom of expression and creativity but rather are aimed precisely at permitting them, as for a long time now we have known that there can be no correct expression without a thorough limitation first, as shown in this remark by a primary school teacher from 1910:

The child will only be asked to express his thoughts in writing when, through notions of grammar and syntax, he has been given the means to do so as correctly as possible. Until the fourth year, the beginner will not be asked for any manifestation of personality or originality, which would just be verbosity and mimicry (In Château, 2017, p. 313).

In this case, as with the study of musical language needed to play an instrument, rules, limits, allow for the development of *new forms of expression* that do not appear in pure unworked spontaneity.

But there is something more important: these rules of language are not to be seen as accessories or interchangeable elements, as clothes for dressing a doll might be, but instead their *foundation* originates in and is guided by the human aspiration to understand reality. It is clear that the desire to understand does not free us from possible errors, as history shows. But what we want to emphasise at this moment is that using rules of language enables us to communicate, and, above all, they express our *human way of being in the world*. This is important for our educational argument; when a rule expresses an obligation or limit in a specific learning situation, this obligation or limit is not just an institutional “regulatory rule” or one of limited practical application which is consequently interchangeable in any way or even dispensable with regards to the very fact of the obligation. On the contrary, it corresponds to a *prior rational* consideration about the desirability of *something* for the development of the human being. The norm, rule, or limit in question aims to regulate this *something*, with more or less success, but the regulation sought par excellence, as Hadjadj has observed (2016, p. 40), involves recognising that we are trying to find the best way of adjusting to a “given order”, not the best way of shuffling an “available fund” at our whim, depending on the interests of whoever holds power. Therefore, keeping or breaking a promise, for example, is not merely a linguistic or expressive game. “Recognising something as a duty, an obligation or a necessity already entails recognising that we have a reason to do something that is independent of our inclinations at that moment” (Searle, 2006, pp. 102-103).

4.2. Play

Play is one of those fields which, when observed from a superficial perspective, seems to be opposed to rules and is often linked with the highest levels of creativity as it lacks limitations, especially so-called free play. So, in current pedagogical literature, we find ideas like the following:

Educational play should not be excessively rigid or predefined because this would not leave room for the imagination. However suitable a game might be, if it inhibits all initiative, as the rules are clearly defined, we turn play into a mere instrument (Jiménez & Muñoz, 2012, pp. 1103-1104).

There are several errors here similar to the ones we saw above with regards to the restrictive perspective on rules in language. First of all, the limits of play, as well as most of human activities, should not just be seen as boundaries external to them, in other words, focussing only on what we *cannot* do, but instead focussing on the expansion or internal opening that creates possibilities for acting from within the limits or rules of the game itself. Therefore, Gadamer believes that:

The rules and instructions that prescribe the implementation of the ludic space are the essence of a game... The playing space in which the game takes place is bounded by the game itself from within, and is limited much more by the order that determines the movement of the game than by that which the game collides with, in other words, by the boundaries of the free space that limit movement from the outside (Gadamer, 1977, p. 150).

Let us consider the following case. Imagine we lend a chess set to a pair of children aged 8 or 10 who do not know the rules and we ask them to play with the board and figures. They will probably entertain themselves for a good while, in their own way, but it is unlikely they will get as much from it as they would if they knew the strict rules of chess, possibilities which, in addition, would be with them for *their whole life* at any age, and wherever and with whoever they might be.

Therefore, it is not exactly true that the human imagination—that of children and that of adults—develops most fruitfully outside any limitation or rule. On the contrary, the imagination develops much better in well-regulated settings. These are the ones that let us *go to the other side*, literally, push boundaries, cross limits, change the rules, place ourselves in the margins. In any case, “the imagination considered in its suspensive function produces the break with the order of the real” (Ricoeur, 2009, p. 30). In other words, the source of imagination is always the real.

There are other interesting aspects it is worth emphasising in our educational argument. Effectively, the limitations or rules of a game can have a vital expansive effect in two directions because, on the one hand, as Huizinga notes (2007, p. 25) the player has to test “his bodily strength, his stamina, his ingenuity, his courage, his endurance and also his spiritual strengths, because, in the midst of his desire to win the game, he has to stay within the rules, of what is allowed in it”. And on the other

hand, the player “cannot abandon himself to the freedom of his own pleasure unless he transforms the objectives of his behaviour into mere tasks from the game” (Gadamer, 1977, p. 151).

What is the pedagogical scope of these reflections? Establishing as an educational norm the idea that students learning to comply with a meaningful sequence of actions—a set of rules or limits that they have not imposed and that they cannot modify to their preferences at the outset—is better at setting educational conditions for future education than an approach that seeks to eliminate, downplay or even ridicule any type of limits or rules.

4.3. Ecology

Ecology is another area where we can see the extraordinary significance for the development of human life and coexistence of the importance of limits, norms and rules in a similar way to what we have explained thus far.

The loss of direction—material and moral—in industrialised societies is accompanied by and has a feedback relationship with a worrying phenomenon of *loss of limits*, whether we are talking about ecology and biotechnology, or human reproduction and economics. Conversely, technoscience can only be reappropriated in a human social order (that is to say, tailored to the human being) *if we collectively learn to delimit, draw up and preserve the limits that are of vital importance*.

This learning refers to *qualitative limits*: we have to redefine *notions of development, progress, quality of life and the “good life”* [...].

Recognising limits means —among other things— moving from childhood to adulthood. On this we agree: on the work of *building industrial societies that are culturally and morally adult* (Riechman, 2005, pp. 46-47; italics in the original).

Two ideas can be drawn from this quote. Firstly, human beings can recognise the constrictions on our behaviour in relation to the environment. Limitations that derive from knowledge of the laws that apply to its functioning. But, having said this, it is striking how our society accepts limitations, often even unquestioningly, in this field when, as we have seen above and will see below, it rejects the concept of limits in more profoundly anthropological areas. How is it possible that the acceptance, promotion and establishment of limits in the field of ecology is seen as so obvious and necessary but not in other areas of human reality? Perhaps because only what is previously considered natural and is not subject to or dependent on culture is generally regarded as being subject to limits, hence why the concept of human nature is not accepted nowadays and so we are witnessing a process of progressive denaturing of the human condition, something which is not neutral and which influences the very development of the current environmental consciousness. However, what makes it possible to read more effectively the limits that should shape our relationship with the environment is a correct reading of human nature without falling into the conceit of environmentalism. In effect, the most radical current environmental trends, as they derive from an absolute draining of the human condition, are incapable of responding to the primacy

of human beings over other species, even going so far as to criticise any type of experimentation on animals as speciesism or justifying violence to defend animals (Llorente, 2016).

4.4. The Internet

There are many studies that show the negative effects of an absence of clear and well-maintained limits or rules, not just in childhood but in the different stages of human development (Hoeve, Dubas, Gerris, van der Laan, & Smeenk, 2011), such as a tendency towards depression, among other outcomes (Milevsky, Schlechter, Netter, & Keehn, 2007). One particular case, which has been widely studied, although there is clearly still much work to be done owing to its newness, is the effects of the Internet on the cultivation of attention, dispersing it, affecting mood, and creating dependency both in adolescence and in adult life (Pontes, Kuss, & Griffiths, 2015; Carr, 2011, 2014). The fact is that complex work and attention cannot appear without rules.

We're happiest when we're absorbed in a difficult task, a task that has clear goals and that challenges us not only to exercise our talents but to stretch them. [...] Our usually wayward attention becomes fixed on what we're doing. [...] Such states of deep absorption can be produced by all manner of effort, from laying tile to singing in a choir to racing a dirt bike. [...] More often than not, though, our discipline flags and our mind wanders when we're not on the job. [...] Disengaged from any outward focus, our attention turns inward, and we end up locked in what Emerson called the jail of self-consciousness (Carr, 2014, p. 16).

For philosophical anthropology, this is not a new phenomenon. In this vein, Pieper, speaking of different erroneous ways of looking at reality, refers to the “*evagatio mentis*”, which is highly relevant in this case and has clear effects on the person as sadness or spiritual unease.

This spiritual unease then manifests itself in the flood of idle talk, in loss of control and in the desire to “escape from the walled enclosure of the spirit, to overflow into plurality”, in inner disquiet, in instability, in the impossibility of settling in one place and deciding on one thing; specifically, in what is called insatiable “curiosity” (Pieper, 2003, p. 291).

The defects expressed by Pieper are corrected in traditional anthropology through temperance, the capacity to control desires, which undoubtedly relates both to the limits imposed by restraint and those provided by the recognition of pre-eminence among different desires.

4.5. Sexuality

The last sphere we will analyse is sexuality. In this case, as in the previous ones, but perhaps more exceptionally, questions relating to the very limits of the human condition are unveiled.

In the current stage in the theory of gender, the rejection of limits has even reached sexual identity which is spurned as an oppressive cultural construct because, faced with changing desire, it induces permanence. This is why Butler says:

But doesn't there have to be a set of norms that discriminate between those

descriptions that ought to adhere to the category of women and those that do not? The only answer to that question is a counter-question: who would set those norms, and what contestations would they produce? To establish a normative foundation for settling the question of what ought properly to be included in the description of women would be only and always to produce a new site of political contest. That foundation would settle nothing, but would of its own necessity founder on its own authoritarian ruse (Butler, 1995, p. 50-51).

Any objection to the plural and changing desire of sexual identity and its respective —or not— sexual orientation is, consequently, seen as an attack on freedom, a form of oppression. It is no longer, then, a matter of expanding or modifying the category or limits but rather of directly putting an end to them.

This is not the moment to analyse these approaches in detail, but instead, as in the previous sections, to show the humanising and educational need to think about human sexuality, identity and orientation within limits.

For a start, it is a misunderstanding of the cultural sphere to believe that as human sexuality is shaped by culture, it cannot be subject to any norms or limits, or that any norm or limit in this area is unimportant or interchangeable as it is merely arbitrary. Culture, like language, can reveal aspects of reality but it can also draw a veil over them. Therefore, it is worth considering that some cultures take the wrong paths about what we are. And this is the question we should constantly

be asking ourselves as educators: does our contemporary culture accurately unveil human sexuality or, in contrast, does it obscure relevant aspects? It is likely that today, as in any historical moment, both situations are present.

Nonetheless, it is hard to argue, in a simple strictly formal sense, that if “limits expand us” somehow in all of the areas we have analysed and many more, they do not do so in this one when, as we have argued thus far, it is an anthropological outcome of our human condition and not just a cultural requirement for coexistence. As in other areas of life, from food to physical hygiene, the proposal of ordered normalisation within limits, norms or categories that do not suppress, obviously, their multiple cultural forms of expression, clearly liberates us. On the other hand, it seems that there is a clear limit to the survival of the human species in the fact that “mutual sexual attraction between man and woman is the basis of present and future existence” (Spaemann, 2017, p. 27). Thirdly, it is also hard to think, on the basis of new ideas from gender theory, unless we accept a renewed and confused platonic dualism, that on the one hand there is personal identity —being a person, rational-animal, *homo sapiens sapiens* with all of its *inherent limitations*— and on the other hand that this very identity has a tangential, casual and marginal and non-essential relationship with being male or female (cf. Barrio, 2018). Finally, limits are not actually eliminated, but instead, for some, desire itself is the only norm that can govern us. In that case, faced with the romantic idea that desire is the most authentic

expression of our being and so to reject it is to betray ourselves, René Girard teaches us that all desire is mimetic and social and its supposed autonomy is a fiction. “We idolise liberty, we boast of our autonomy and originality in our relationships and our desire, but that is just a romantic lie; in reality we only desire what others show us and how they desire what they show us” (Barahona, 2014, p. 33).

5. Pedagogical conclusions

We recently heard this anecdote, which happened in a fourth-year Social Education class at our university. After writing a small semantic field for education on the board, the teacher asked all of the students to come up and cross out the terms they thought did not define education or impeded its comprehension and practice. The term crossed out the most was norms. In the same academic year, this time on the pedagogy degree, a teacher who had spent the term explaining the contributions to pedagogy by great educators from history, told us —and we were able to verify this— that, on the sign announcing the end of course activity in which the students were to present the pieces of work they had prepared, the students had put the title “Education without limits”. In our view, something must be happening to pedagogy and our society for this to happen in a Faculty of Education.

As we have seen, rules not only order or regulate an activity *from outside*; they also operate from the human root of the activity itself that arises as an expression of the unique rationality of the human being and its way of being in the world. We

have also shown that rules and limits, precisely by constraining the options for carrying out a given action, enable us to intuit and discern other types of limits, other possibilities—with their corresponding norms—for human development, not always better ones. Consequently, we have also indicated, now more from the perspective of pedagogical anthropology, that the future possibilities for an individual in her way of being and living in the world expand, increase, and develop if, during her family, school, and social growth, she has lived in a *space constrained by limits and norms* that allows her to feel sufficiently secure to start a process of critical assimilation of the heritage received. Reality and its different possibilities for valuation is understood much better when starting *from a perspective* that is relatively closed, with limits and norms regarding received tradition (Giussani, 2012). Educating is, then, knowing how to choose limits for the other, for those people you educate, so that they subsequently know how to assume their own ones. Limits are the only possibility for being and so delimiting proposals for good and bad, seeking clarity about what is desirable and undesirable and applying the consequences for teaching is an essential educational task. Establishing as an educational norm the idea that students learning to comply with a meaningful sequence of actions—a set of rules or limits that they have not imposed and that they cannot modify to their preferences at the outset—is better at setting educational conditions for future education than an approach that seeks to eliminate, downplay or even ridicule any type of limits or rules.

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The pedagogy of juvenile justice: a child-friendly justice *

La pedagogía de la justicia de menores: sobre una justicia adaptada a los menores

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Abstract:

This article considers the educational opportunities offered by juvenile justice interventions when a young person has committed a criminal offence. Given that the response occurs in an environment that is not child-friendly, this text identifies the elements that legitimise this justice system and make children perceive it as a fair and appropriate response to their criminal behaviour. The need for punishment which is educational and responsibility-oriented is noted, as is the need for appropriately trained professionals to promote young people's participation in the procedure and improve their legal competence, based on the fact that passing through the criminal procedure can be an experience of legal socialisation for young people

and in order for the pedagogical action of justice to be effective. Only in this way will juvenile offenders have a positive perception of the judicial experience, which offers an opportunity to improve their attitudes towards the law and the system. In short, this article comprises a reflection on the importance of the pedagogical action that juvenile justice deploys throughout the whole procedure and how its success can legitimise the intervention by a specialized criminal system and encourage young people to understand and accept its educational sense.

Keywords: juvenile justice, legitimacy, pedagogy, access to justice, participation, child friendly justice.

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Resumen:

Este artículo ahonda en las oportunidades educativas que ofrece el propio proceso judicial, cuando un joven ha cometido una infracción penal. Siendo conscientes de que la respuesta se produce en un entorno poco amigable para la adolescencia, en este texto se señalan aquellos elementos que legitiman este sistema de justicia y hacen que los menores lo puedan percibir como justo y adecuado para responder a su comportamiento delictivo. Partiendo de que el paso por el procedimiento penal puede ser una experiencia de socialización legal para los menores y precisamente para que la acción pedagógica de la justicia surta efecto, se reivindica no solo la necesidad de un castigo esencialmente educativo y responsabilizador, sino también de unos profesionales debidamente formados que promuevan la participación del

joven en el procedimiento y mejoren su competencia legal. Solo así será posible que la experiencia judicial vivida por los menores infractores sea percibida positivamente y suponga una oportunidad de aprendizaje que mejore las actitudes de aquellos hacia la ley y el sistema. En definitiva, se propone una reflexión sobre la importancia de la acción pedagógica que la justicia de menores despliega a lo largo de todo el procedimiento y de cómo su éxito logra legitimar la intervención de un sistema penal especializado y favorecer que el menor entienda y acepte su sentido educativo.

Descriptor: justicia de menores, legitimidad, pedagogía, justicia accesible, participación, justicia adaptada al menor, percepciones de justicia.

“Leading by example means that the example leads”

(Gomá, 2015, p. 574)

1. Pedagogy in the juvenile justice system or the judicial process as pedagogy

Spain's juvenile justice system is currently constituted as a specialist jurisdiction which works with children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen who commit any of the offences listed in Spain's penal code. Its specialisation derives from the type of population with which it works, a group which has some special requirements as it is in a process of maturing and social integration. From another angle, it is necessary to consider that it works with

a group with a greater capacity for learning and change. This means that juvenile justice approaches the intervention with the young person as a teaching opportunity which, to a greater or lesser extent, supports the child's development towards a prosocial adult life, avoiding recidivism and the consolidation of a criminal career or, more modestly, fostering taking responsibility for the acts committed and the damage caused, thus channelling the process of social integration. Ultimately, it is an educational opportunity which, in order to fulfil its function, must take into account the young person's situation, and to be perceived as fair, it must be proportionate to the seriousness and circumstances of the offence. Ortega and Romero (2013, p. 76) note that educational processes are

“a long process of learning... to live ethically, in other words, responsibly”.

One of the core questions in juvenile justice is how to achieve these objectives of encouraging responsibility and ensuring that the young person takes advantage of the educational opportunity. Much of the literature, both criminological and pedagogical, has focussed on the educational content of the legal measures imposed at the end of the legal process. When we speak of the legal measures, whether these involve internment or an open setting, one important matter to determine is what to teach, which elements to work on, where to focus attention and, above all, how to do so. Experts have emphasised that it is vital to encourage young people to take responsibility for the offences committed, recognise the consequences and effects of their actions on others, and, insofar as it is possible, make amends for the damage caused and/or respond through the legal measures the judge deems appropriate (Düinkel, 2014). Similarly, it has been shown that it is advisable to reduce internment to a minimum (especially in closed centres), limiting it to the most serious cases and always for the shortest possible time, precisely because of its limited educational value (Fernández-Molina, 2012) and because of the paradox of educating about how to live in society while separated from it. Consequently, juvenile justice has established a range of responses based on educational interventions with young people in their normal environment (family, school, friends, etc.), which judges choose taking into consideration the children's psychosocial situation and the

nature of the offence committed (Fernández-Molina & Bernuz, 2018). The fact is, as Ortega and Romero observe (2013, p. 75), for education to be effective, it must take into account the learner's circumstances. They state that “it is not possible to educate without knowing the situation and context in which the learner lives, or by attempting to provide a universally applicable education which disregards the learner's particular characteristics”.

Similarly, it is clear that the educational action juvenile justice aims to provide largely depends on the efforts of professionals who work with young people during the implementation of these legal measures. Their role is to give educational content to the punishment imposed by the judge and monitor the children's progress while the measures are being implemented. And this must be done taking into account the fact that the conditions for educational intervention in juvenile justice are not always ideal. Firstly, the population is a captive one which has not chosen to be there, which might have a more or less significant history of educational failure and behavioural problems, and which has no choice of whether to comply with the legal measures imposed. And, as in any other setting which aims to be educational and have medium and long-term effects, the professional has to have a certain degree of cooperation with the young person¹. And if not cooperation, then a favourable attitude, a certain motivation, and a predisposition to learn or to change are necessary, as are social conditions that support the young person in this change.

This will, in part, be achieved with a scheme for activities young people can perform which are at least minimally pleasing to them, and which, above all, are meaningful to them (Álvarez, Pintado, & San Fabián 2014, p. 170). On these lines, Weijers states (2002, p. 145) that the measures will only have an educational effect when the offender believes they are justified. And this will happen, again in part, as a result of the “dialogue” which has occurred in the various judicial channels and in which the child must participate actively. In a way, the pedagogy of juvenile punishment can also be understood as a learning methodology which is mindful of the process of teaching and of the different forms, moments, and professionals that might be involved in it. In this broader way of understanding the educational task, all of the agents involved with the juvenile throughout the legal process have a great responsibility. As Ortega said (2004), any professional relationship with the child must become an *educational situation*.

Going a step further, there has been a focus on emphasising that passing through the juvenile justice system could be a (positive or negative) experience of legal socialisation (Fagan & Tyler, 2005), one in which young people acquire knowledge of the legal and judicial systems and have their attitudes towards them shaped (Tyler & Trinkner, 2017). Indeed, children come into contact with a variety of professionals (police, legal, and social) when subjected to a legal proceeding. Each interaction is a chance to learn, and the educational role all professionals acquire obliges them to be aware of the impact of their actions on the

perceptions and attitudes the adolescent develops towards the system as a whole.

This is a perspective which relates to the regarding of professionals and their actions as educational examples. As Gomá (2015, pp. 570-571, 573) notes

if their behaviour reveals a virtue higher than mine, the example condemns me and denounces my culpability; if its merit is less than mine, its example excuses and absolves me... Anyone who is an example of what they teach will have *auctoritas*.

If the aim is for the educational and responsibility-oriented objectives of the judicial measures to go beyond the coercion used to impose them, it is, among other matters, necessary that the young people see the professionals as legitimate authorities in general and, in particular, as entitled to educate and teach. And, ultimately, that they see the juvenile justice system as fair.

In this work, we will reflect on the different educational possibilities offered by the intervention carried out through juvenile justice. We will briefly consider the importance of the purpose of the punishment and the essential requirements the system must guarantee to ensure it is educational. We will focus on defining the most relevant aspects that promote the pedagogical action of juvenile justice, especially, the fact that all professionals in the system must ensure that the young people participate actively in the process so that their opinions are taken into account in the final decisions and so that they understand the meaning of the measures finally imposed. Similarly, we will illustrate the importance of the consequenc-

es of professional and specialised treatment by the agents in the system, which is apparent when analysing young people's perceptions of their passage through the system.

2. The educational purpose of punishment in juvenile justice

Throughout its history, juvenile justice has used a range of ways to define childhood, understand its offences, and react to them. It is clear that these questions are connected and the response to juvenile delinquency and the meaning of the punishment can only be understood when seen in relation with how childhood and adolescence are understood. From this perspective, four major (more or less pure) models in juvenile justice have been identified: the welfare model, the justice model, the restorative model, and the responsibility-oriented model (among others, Fernández-Molina, 2008).

The welfare model appears with juvenile justice at the start of the 20th century, in an effort to offer a special response to a different population. It is based on the assumption that, as children are in a formative stage, they have a series of physical, psychological, emotional, and social deficiencies which are at the root of their criminal behaviour, and so juvenile justice interventions must be aimed at working on these factors to avoid possible recidivism. In this model, as children are viewed as passive subjects, decisions are taken without the need for their involvement or for their opinions to be valued and without seeking their cooperation in the educational process, which tends towards authoritarianism "for the good of the child".

The deficiencies and punitive excesses created by the zeal to intervene in young people's psycho-social circumstances, led to the need to consider primarily the offence committed when designing the response to it being raised (Gargarella, 2012). This approach has not been prevalent in juvenile justice nor has it been provided for most of the people who come before the juvenile justice system. Nonetheless, it is a retributive perspective. This is most obviously apparent when more severe punishments are demanded for young people who commit more serious offences. On these occasions, it seems to argue in simplistic terms, identifying the ability to offend with the competence to understand the offence and any damage caused. And, if it assumes that the young people understand what they have done, it also demands that measures more in accordance with the circumstances and seriousness of the offences and less attentive to their personal and psycho-social circumstances be imposed on them. This perspective, however, ignores the fact that children are in a formative process in all areas, which justifies specific intervention by specialist institutions until they are of legal age. The severity of the offence committed is not indicative of a greater maturity but, possibly the opposite, of greater vulnerability (Fernández-Molina & Bernuz, 2018).

The restorative model is based on different assumptions. It understands that the offence creates a conflict between the offender(s) and the victim(s) and their families. It assumes that the best response to this conflict is for the offender to accept responsibility for the harm caused and

make meaningful amends to the victim. It assumes that the best way to achieve these objectives is to bring the offender and the victim together in a process of dialogue so that, with the help of a facilitator, they can speak about the harm caused and discuss the best way to remedy it. This model clearly entails active participation by the child who has offended in the process of accepting responsibility and making amends for the damage through conciliation, redress, or performing services for the benefit of the community (Bernuz, 2015). In a way, it is a case of educating and “teaching in and from the other” (Ortega & Romero, 2013, p. 67), but also of satisfying the interests of the victims. All perspectives are valid when proposing a solution to the harm caused by the offence. It is understood that the victims, through these processes, regain a central role in the resolution of the conflict, at the same time as helping to understand the harm caused through the personal narration of it². This type of intervention stresses the impact of our actions on others³. It is a perspective which helps young offenders to escape from their exculpation of themselves to understand the views of the other person who has suffered the consequences of their actions.

Nonetheless, Western countries, including Spain, currently favour the responsibility-oriented model to guide juvenile punishment. This model, which is framed in the postulates of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, regards the child as a legal subject who also has protection, promotion and participation rights. Specifically, Spanish law states that a child aged between fourteen and eighteen who

has committed an offence is responsible from a criminal perspective, but it also understands that as he or she is in a formative process, the measures must have a sanctioning and educational nature. Also, to ensure that the educational objective of the measures has a longer-term impact, there is an aspiration for them to be seen as fair by the young person, making them proportional to the severity of the offence committed. It also aims to make measures more effective by adapting them to the psychosocial circumstances of the child. In any case, it also assumes that the child’s participation in the process is important from a formal and material perspective. From a formal perspective because it considers that for the process to be fair, she or he must participate in it. From a material perspective because if the child participates in the process, this will favour better understanding of the measure and more willing compliance with it. This will be considered in more detail in the next section.

3. The pedagogy of a comprehensible and participatory justice

We start from the premise that for juvenile justice to fulfil its pedagogical function, two interconnected requirements must be complied with in all contacts with young people. On the one hand, the system and its procedures must be comprehensible for adolescents, above all taking into account the fact that understanding the functioning and meaning of criminal institutions requires a degree of abstraction which often exceeds the capacities of its subjects. On the other hand, the juvenile

justice system must allow young people to participate throughout the procedure, giving them the option to state their opinions on the decisions the adults will take and which affect them directly as well as involving them in any educational action. It is clear that children will only be able to participate effectively in a juvenile justice system that is accessible to them.

3.1. The necessary accessibility of juvenile justice

One of the main problems posed by citizens' acceptance of and involvement in penal institutions in general, and the courts in particular, is the distance between those who deliver justice and those whom it affects. Therefore, the need to improve citizens' access to justice is increasingly being discussed. This lack of access is, if possible, greater when the people on the receiving end of the legal action are children and juveniles. The symbols of the administration of justice, a process with opaque aims, its technical language, and the inertia of a system designed centuries ago and which has not fully adapted to the habits and customs of 21st-century society, make the penal system a hostile space for people interacting with it. It has been noted that the staging of the legal machinery contributes to creating this image of justice as something distant. Wide, cold spaces and characters wearing black robes that make everything uniform make it hard to understand who is who and what each of them expects of the young person on trial. In addition, legal language complicates everything and is the main barrier to access, especially for young people who already have significant difficulties communicating effectively

with the adult world (Fernández-Molina, 2014, p. 625). Therefore, and especially over the last decade, the need to promote a justice adapted to childhood and adolescence (child friendly justice) on the lines proposed by the Council of Europe has frequently been emphasised⁴. In other words, it is a matter of creating a justice system that is close, participatory, and comprehensible for children.

Underlying this initiative is not only the conviction that penal justice must adapt to the new times, but also the confirmation that young people, despite the cognitive maturity they already have during adolescence, start off with certain obstacles to being legally competent, because some aspects still need to be perfected and consolidated for them to become fully adult. Academic literature from the fields of psychology and neuroscience has shown that there is a whole psycho-social dimension relating to emotional aspects concerning self-control of behaviour that are still developing at this stage in life (Steinberg, 2013).

This immaturity has two consequences for our target group. On the one hand, it makes them more prone to become involved in criminal behaviour. The fact that some parts of the brain are still not sufficiently developed causes a genuine inability to control impulses. In addition, young people tend to think essentially in the short term, they have a great sensation of invulnerability and a greater predilection to experience new sensations. This makes them perfect candidates for carrying out risky behaviour (Steinberg & Scott, 2003) which, as Larrauri notes (2015), is some-

times classified as offences. On the other hand, this immaturity means they are less able to behave appropriately during legal proceedings. Understanding the nature and scope of the justice system, the roles of its agents, the meaning of its procedures, or understanding their rights, requires a certain capacity for abstract thought and decision-making competence (Monahan, Steinberg, & Piquero, 2015). So, for example, young people who are tried must decide whether or not to exercise the right to make a statement to the police, and, when applicable, they must decide how far to go in the statement and what to share in court. In the same way, they must decide whether or not they are in agreement with the measures proposed by the prosecutor (Grisso et al., 2003). And while it might seem that children can generally understand all this involves, academic research has shown that they are less able to exercise their rights and that their thinking is less strategic than that of adults as they are worse at evaluating, comparing, and weighting different alternatives (Grisso & Schwartz, 2000) and the consequences of their actions.

Given this inability, the system must make an effort to allow young people who are tried to be able to understand the scope of the action that will affect them and to participate effectively in the process. This participation is important from two perspectives. On the one hand, for the trial to be regarded as fair, the child must be able to participate in the process and in the decision making. In other words, to stop adults from marginalising the people affected by the decisions they take, a

model of justice must be promoted which creates a sufficient climate of trust for young people to express themselves freely and offer their own perspective on what has happened. And participation cannot be promoted if a minimum of information about what the rules of the game are is not previously provided. Therefore, adults must first explain what is happening to the young people, what is going to happen, and what is expected of them. On the other hand, young people will only understand the meaning of the decisions and measures being taken if they participate, and, only when this happens will the measure have a more educational and responsibility-oriented scope than if it were imposed in a context that was incomprehensible for them.

3.2. Participation by young people in juvenile justice

As we have suggested, one of the most innovative ideas from the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) was the rejection of the idea of children as objects to be taken care of and protected, in favour of understanding that they must also be regarded as legal subjects who must have rights recognised, rights of protection and participation and have their rights promoted. Indeed, Krappmann (2010, p. 502) stated that:

The notion of participation captures an essential feature of the Convention. The Convention highlights that the child is a human being, who has the right to be respected as a unique individual with an own perspective and personal intentions by fellow human beings and also by the state, its institutions and other organizations.

In the field of juvenile justice, the Committee on the Rights of the Child has accepted that the very position that children are criminally responsible means recognising that they are “competent and able to effectively participate in the decisions’ made about infringements of the criminal law” (Kilkelly, 2008, p. 41).

The Convention has, at least, prevented decisions from being taken paternalistically for the good of the child. Instead they take into account their ‘best interest’, which requires knowing their opinion on the matter (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2013). Here, one of the main difficulties lies in knowing how to integrate appropriately the young person’s opinions and desires in a decision which the judge must take in accordance with his or her best interest. In any case, as a minimum, for the young person to feel like a participant, the judge must be able to explain the distance between his or her wishes and the reasons behind the decision finally imposed. It has rightly been noted that, in the end, it is the adults who decide when and how the young people can participate (Bernuz & Dumortier, 2018). Therefore, Cordero (2015, p. 292) suggests that it will be necessary to be vigilant to avoid excessively protected participation.

Nonetheless, and despite the difficulty, participation by young people in the procedure is possible, and to achieve this, some considerations supranational authorities have noted must be taken into account. Consequently, in General Comment 12 the Committee on the Rights of the Child (2009) stated that participation by people

involved in proceedings means that there should be a dialogue based on mutual respect in which all individuals can express their version of what happened and that what is expressed in this dialogue will decide the final outcome. Furthermore, it also insisted that for this to happen, the interactions must occur in a context that can inspire trust and it is very important that the young people perceive that the adults are willing to listen to their version of events and take it seriously. To do so, it might be necessary for the legal agents to modify their normal way of proceeding. Therefore, they should omit some formalities (language, gowns, etc.) in their behaviour, speak to children in an informal and sufficiently intimate setting (away from other professionals who work in the judicial system), so that children feel comfortable and can express themselves freely and without pressure, and they should allow children to be accompanied by their parents or appear alone if they prefer. That said, as recommendations on child friendly justice have noted, someone (preferably their lawyers) must explain to young people that the fact the judge is listening does not mean that their version of events will prevail. Likewise, when final decisions are reached, the judge must explain to the young people how their views were taken into account and what reasons led her to impose a particular measure.

Finally, as noted above, for young people to be able to participate effectively in the process, as well as the adaptations already noted, it is vital that they understand the procedure well and know what the scope of the actions that are going to

be carried out is. In this way, the children's right to information becomes a crucial aspect which the juvenile justice system must guarantee. Indeed, when children are not adequately informed, their feelings of injustice increase because they are obliged to participate in a procedure whose scope they do not understand. This feeling of injustice extends to all of the institution, to the decisions taken, and the measures imposed. The recommendations of the Council of Europe already insisted on this, as does Directive 800/2016 *on procedural safeguards for children who are suspects or accused persons in criminal proceedings* which must be transposed into Spain's legal framework before the end of 2019.

There are two crucial aspects for the information to be produced effectively and for the pedagogical action of juvenile justice to be promoted. On the one hand, the information should be adapted to the maturity and cultural level of the adolescents, and to do so it will be necessary for the legal actors to be capable of making the necessary changes in register and have materials available to facilitate young persons' understanding (Vandekerckhove & O'Brien, 2013). On the other hand, the information should be sufficiently detailed and explicit for young people to be able to take their place in the proceedings and be able to predict what will happen and what is expected of them. Consequently, it is necessary to explain at every stage of the procedure, how long it will last, what is going to happen, who will be involved, and what their role is. Young people, in order to understand and decide in the best way in the procedure, need to know what is happening, what is

going to happen in the future, what the different options presented to them are, and the consequences of each one of them.

It is important to remember that the reasons for encouraging children's participation in juvenile justice include the potential impact (direct or indirect) on preventing reoffending. It is true that the main aim of juvenile justice –preventing recidivism– involves accepting responsibility for the offences committed. Ways of achieving this range from designing measures with content that considers in greater depth the reasons and/or causes for the offence and which enable young people to comprehend what they have done and the consequences of their actions, but they are also related to young people's participation throughout the process, which allows them to “improve their self-image, expanding their personal, affective, and relational resources, boosting their self-esteem and capacity to decide in public affairs” (Caride & Varela, 2015, p. 156).

Furthermore, we have already noted that for the judicial measures to be effectively educational and responsibility-oriented and achieve their medium and long-term objectives, they require a certain degree of cooperation from the young person. More specifically, participation by young people in the process that enables them to understand better why they have reached that point and why a given legal measure is being applied, is necessary. We already said before that:

If young people participate in the decision making, are made participants in it, are listened to and kept informed, and

the decision is explained to them, they will better understand the underlying reasons, will cooperate more with institutions they perceive as more just, and their compliance with the measures will possibly have better and longer-lasting results than a measure that is imposed... This objective will only be attained in the medium and long-term if the young people feel like participants in the decisions being taken in juvenile justice proceedings (Fernández-Molina & Bernuz, 2018, p. 191).

4. The protagonists of the system

Finally, for the system's pedagogical action to be a success and to ensure that all of the desired effects are effectively achieved, it is important to refer to the actions of the agents involved in the system and the perceptions of young offenders. In recent decades, academic literature has called attention to the importance of the perception of the justice of the proceedings for anyone interacting with the legal authorities. Largely because these perceptions shape citizens' attitudes to the penal system and laws. This is especially important when we speak of young people because, this way, their judicial experience can become an experience of legal socialisation (Fagan & Tyler, 2005) enabling them to form an image of the law and the legal system and whether or not they can be regarded as legitimate. Therefore, professionals have to make the legal experience not just a learning opportunity but also an exercise in reaffirming the legitimacy of the legal institution (Tyler & Trinkner, 2017). Evidently, legal decisions imposed by institutions regarded as legitimate will be complied with more willingly.

4.1. The professionals' actions: the commitment to equity and specialisation

In accordance with the above, each agent has a decisive role in the educational function of juvenile justice. Consequently, it is necessary to start by noting which elements academic literature has identified as appropriate for ensuring the action is seen as legitimate by people who interact with the legal system (Tyler, 2006; Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). Specifically, it indicates that there are two aspects to consider: quality of decision making, and quality of treatment (Tankebe, 2013).

Firstly, the agents have to guarantee that the decisions taken throughout the procedure are equitable, in other words, the young people must see that the legal authorities have been impartial and honest when deciding on a solution or opting for a specific response, and that their prejudices or individual views have not prevailed in the final decision. This can be especially complicated in the juvenile justice system, which is by definition individualised and which takes into account not only the nature of the actions committed but also the psycho-social circumstances of the young offender. This means the same offence can be punished very differently depending on the circumstances of the case. Consequently, it is important to share the reasoning behind the decision with the young people so that they understand it. Furthermore, it will be very important for professionals to foster interpersonal justice in their interventions with young people, taking into account the opinions of all of the people involved and, especially, those of the young people who are the

object of the pedagogical action, treating them with dignity and respect. This is especially important because young people as a group are very keen to be treated like adults and for their views to be taken into consideration (Peterson-Badali, Care, & Broeking, 2007; Rap, 2013; Woolard, Harvell, & Graham, 2008). In addition, as a group they are wary of everything that comes from the adult world, which they mistrust.

Therefore, the only practical option for mutual understanding is to enable channels for effective participation and communication between young people and professionals. This will only be possible if they have been properly trained to this end. All of the supranational and national legislation concerning childhood emphasises the need for all professionals, especially legal practitioners, to have specialist training in the field of children. And not just regarding knowledge of the regulatory framework established for young offenders, but also the ability to understand the peculiarities of children, their developmental stage, their cognitive level, their psychosocial maturity, and in particular, to use tools to communicate effectively with young people that allow them to interpret what they are feeling and expressing while being attentive to whatever they transmit through verbal and non-verbal language.

4.2. Young people's perceptions of the system and its legitimacy

Ultimately, and in line with what is stated above, the juvenile justice system cannot act without taking into consideration the people who are the object of its

intervention as it would lose a major part of its educational scope. This assumes that it is necessary to make an effort to understand their perspective and find out their opinion of their judicial experience. In this sense, research performed until now reminds us that there are still many areas to improve and which require serious consideration. In fact, it shows that perceptions of the equity of proceedings are not very high (Peterson-Badali, Care, & Broeking, 2007; Sprott & Greene, 2010), especially those relating to participation (Kilkelly, 2010; Rap, 2013). Research also shows that young people with the most experience of it have the worst opinions of the justice system (Woolard, Harvell, & Graham, 2008). In Spain, recent research has emphasised that young people are not entirely satisfied with the legal experience and it has been shown that satisfaction is directly related to perceptions of the equity of the proceedings, thus confirming that these perceptions are important for the children's views of it. Consequently, many of them particularly focus on the actions of the police and, despite regarding it as impartial and honest in its decision making, they are very critical of the personal treatment they receive, which they regard as lacking in respect (Pérez, Becerra, & Aguilar, 2018). In effect, although the police does not have a specific pedagogical function, it is the most visible aspect of the penal system and therefore the part with the most important role in forming an image of the system as a whole. Young people in Spain who have interacted with the police have a more negative perception than those who have not (Baz & Fernández-Molina, 2017).

Similarly, young people who have been subject to criminal proceedings regard being listened to as very important and they especially value having their opinion taken into account (Fernández-Molina, Bermejo, & Baz, 2018). Similarly, they have a very positive view of having what is happening and why explained to them throughout the procedure (Pérez, Becerra, & Aguilar, 2018). Therefore, it appears to be important for people who work in the juvenile justice system to foster the legal competence of the young people to improve their perceptions and satisfaction (Fernández-Molina, Bermejo, & Baz, 2018; Pérez, Becerra, & Aguilar, 2018). This is especially so because we should recall that their willingness to comply with measures they regard as correct and appropriate increases as their perception of the system improves.

5. Conclusions

This work has tried to examine in greater depth the idea that the pedagogical action of juvenile justice occurs not just at the final moment after the legal action has been imposed. For a responsibility oriented juvenile justice model which distances itself from the justice and welfare models, it is important that the punishment has medium-term aims, which will only be achieved when the measure is regarded as fair by the young person. To this end, the judge must select a measure in proportion to the offence committed, although to be educational, the measure must take into account the young person's psychosocial circumstances. Furthermore, the measure will be regarded as more fair when it is imposed through a procedure that encourages procedural

and interpersonal justice and implemented by professionals who act as examples of what is being demanded of the young person. The empirical research carried out has shown that children are attentive to how justice and its professionals operate and this is one of the elements they use to classify it as right or wrong. Only when the children understand that the justice system is fair will they accept the decisions taken by its operators as trustworthy. And only in this case will they be willing to understand that they have to fulfil them, thus increasing the educational impact of the measure.

It is not easy to educate in a hostile setting like juvenile justice and, as a minimum, it requires cooperation with the young people and their families. This cooperation is achieved, among other matters, by encouraging accessible justice which makes young people feel more comfortable during the procedure and makes them want to participate and by training professionals who know how to interact appropriately with the young people, who know how to listen to them, and who understand what they want to say. In this context, the feeling of justice and of being treated with dignity and respect can also be a powerful pedagogical tool.

Notes

¹ Ortega (2004, p. 10) states that "It is not possible to educate without recognising the other (the student), without the will to accept. And neither is it possible to educate (illuminate something new) if the student does not see in the educator that she is recognised as somebody with whom there is a desire to establish an ethical relationship, and as somebody who is accepted for what she is in her entirety, not just for what she does or produces".

² As Bárcena and Melich note (2003, p. 207 and 210): "an education of the view from the victim is an education [...] which diverts the attention and the sense of the view from the space occupied by the self to the space occupied by the other [...]. It is educating from the experience of the person who endures and suffers the injustice."

³ It starts from the idea that "ethical responsibility towards others, even strangers, means that living is not a 'private' matter, but one which has inevitable repercussions while we continue to live in society. It means, in one word, that nobody can be indifferent to me" (Ortega 2004, p. 14).

⁴ On 17 November 2010 the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe developed *Guidelines on child friendly justice*.

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What do teenagers lie about?*

¿En qué mienten los adolescentes?

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Abstract:

The lie has been studied in the field of social sciences for several years and from different perspectives. Children and adults have been the most investigated and adolescents the most forgotten. The investigation of psychology and education reveals, independently of the sociocultural aspects, how recourse to lying by adolescents tends to be associated with risk behaviours. Thus, understanding the contexts that trigger its use in adolescence is actively contributing to the prevention of these behaviours. In the present study, we seek to identify what adolescents are lying about; perceive if there are differences between boys and girls regarding the contents of the lie; study the causes and consequences of this behaviour in the adolescent, the next educational community and, finally, reflect on the importance for the educator of looking

more deeply at this question. In this work a scale of contents of lies was applied to a sample of 871 Portuguese adolescents between 12 and 18 years of age (mean = 13.8, SD = 1.6). The results show that the lies of Portuguese teenagers are associated with affection, money and health. The results also suggest that the fear of punishment and the shame of admitting publicly their problems, doubts and longings end up throwing them into a whirlwind of feelings of guilt, where they condemn and reprimand themselves, ending up opting for lies, something they recognize as immoral, improper and reprehensible from the social point of view, to the detriment of the truth. The complexity and the consequences sometimes end up not justifying the lie. This work showed a reality that we live in Portugal on a cross-cutting issue for all countries and easily associated with anti-social behaviours that can be prevented with teachable and assertive educational responses.

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Keywords: adolescents, moral development, lie, gender, risk behaviours.

Resumen:

La mentira ha sido estudiada en el campo de las ciencias sociales desde hace varios años y desde diferentes perspectivas. Los niños y los adultos han sido los más investigados, mientras que los adolescentes han sido los más olvidados. La investigación desarrollada desde la psicología y la educación revela, independientemente de los aspectos socioculturales, cómo el recurso de mentir por parte de los adolescentes tiende a asociarse con comportamientos de riesgo. Por lo tanto, la comprensión de los contextos que desencadenan su uso en la adolescencia contribuye activamente a la prevención de estos comportamientos. En el presente estudio, buscamos identificar sobre qué están mintiendo los adolescentes; percibir si hay diferencias entre los niños y las niñas con respecto al contenido de la mentira; estudiar las causas y consecuencias de este comportamiento en el adolescente y, finalmente, reflexionar sobre la importancia para el educador de profundizar en esta

cuestión. En este trabajo se aplicó una escala de contenidos de mentiras a una muestra de 871 adolescentes portugueses de entre 12 y 18 años (media = 13,8, SD = 1,6). Los resultados demuestran que las mentiras de los adolescentes portugueses están asociadas con el afecto, el dinero y la salud. Los resultados también sugieren que el temor al castigo y la vergüenza de admitir públicamente sus problemas, dudas y anhelos les provoca un torbellino de sentimientos de culpabilidad, en el que terminan condenándose y reprimiéndose a sí mismos, y optando por la mentira, algo que reconocen como inmoral, impropio y reprochable desde el punto de vista social, en detrimento de la verdad. El reconocimiento de la complejidad y las consecuencias de la mentira provoca a veces que terminen por no justificarla. Este trabajo muestra la realidad que vivimos en Portugal sobre un tema transversal para todos los países y fácilmente asociado con comportamientos antisociales que se pueden prevenir mediante respuestas educativas didácticas y asertivas.

Descriptores: adolescentes, desarrollo moral, mentira, género, comportamientos de riesgo.

1. The concept of lying

Lying is a concept that has been present throughout the history of humanity. In 1977, Chisholm and Feehan defined it as a declaration about what is believed to be false and the purpose of which is to deceive or to instigate a false belief in somebody. Burgoon and Buller (1994) referred to lying as follows: “deception is defined as an intentional act in which senders knowingly transmit messages intended to foster a false belief or interpretation by the receiver” (p. 155). Lying is considered to be an intentional deception that induces the other person to believe a falsehood. For Anolli, Balconi and Ciceri (2001), the lie is an articulated and complex form of communication, associated with behavioural management in interpersonal relationships.

From the innumerable definitions that have been discussed over time in the fields of philosophy, psychology and religion, and morals throughout the world, it becomes tangible to restrict it to an action performed, in writing, orally or gesturally, by somebody who acknowledges, believes or suspects its falsity, in order to make others believe in it, thus conserving the three essential principles found in literature as necessary for the unequivocal existence of a lie: the effective transmission of some type of false information; the belief relative to the falsity of the information transmitted; and the intentionality to deceive others with the information transmitted (Siegler, 1966; Chisholm & Feehan, 1977; Coleman & Kay, 1981; Sweetser, 1987; Lee & Ross, 1997; Vivar, 2002; Martins, 2017).

Although it can be assumed that, in daily life, the lie arises as a last resort, with a view to safeguarding assets, whether tangible or intangible, considered by the perpetrator to be sufficiently worthy of the breaking of moral codes, history and anthropology have shown that the lie is an instrument of personal and social regulation, widely established in today’s societies and which has been used with skill and planning throughout history, in the most varied of personal, family, economic or social contexts and transversally in factors such as gender and age (Martins, 2009; 2017).

Various studies focusing on the relationship between the capacity to lie and the development of the cerebral cortex have revealed that, from the biological point of view, lying requires the simultaneous activation of innumerable complex cognitive functions (Byrne & Corp, 2004; Cooke, Michie, Hart, & Clark, 2005; Yang et al., 2005). It requires a superior cognitive strategy compared to those required in order to relate a true situation, since in the moments prior to the lie there is a conscious but almost automatic suppression of the truth, followed by the immediate construction of a false discourse, but which is coherent, logical and, therefore, convincing.

The determination of the exact terms that should be used, the application of the appropriate intonation for the situation to be simulated, the memorizing of a set of aspects that guarantee the present and future viability of the discourse, favour the stimulation of memory, language and reasoning. That is, of the cognitive functions necessary for taking the rapid deci-

sions required by the situation (Gombos, 2006). It is therefore said that the profile of a good liar requires intelligence (Buller and Burgoon, 1996; Feldman, Tomasian, & Coats, 1999; Byrne & Corp, 2004), since it obliges the sender of the lie to perform mental planning of considerable complexity (Anolli, Balconi & Ciceri, 2001).

Therefore, recognizing the lie as a demanding, multifunctional cognitive exercise, it becomes evident that for human beings this is a concept that evolves in consonance with their physical, biological and psychological maturity (Gomes & Chakur, 2005). Some years previously, Lee and Ross (1997) also considered it to be a progressive concept, and Manen and Levering (1996) add that it is a learned skill that develops and improves with age, as the person acquires, observes and incorporates social norms.

In the development of the concept of lying in childhood, Piaget (1932) concluded that the definition assumed at the age of around five years is much more ample than in the adult state and includes the full spectrum of false affirmations, regardless of the context, belief or intentionality of the sender. Peterson, Peterson and See-to (1983) corroborated these results, affirming that, up to the age of ten years, the human being is not able to dissociate the lie from situations not genuinely intended to deceive, such as errors, exaggerations, jokes or irony, which are not recognized.

When entering the second decade of life, the biological development of the human brain allows the maturing of the competences of communication, reasoning, mem-

ory and imagination, together with the psychological development that opens the way to moral conscience and the clarification of the notions of right and wrong. Therefore, the adolescent becomes able to evaluate and coordinate different points of view, understanding and integrating the two components of the lie —belief and intentionality— which reveals a greater maturity in the definition of the concept (Piaget, 1932).

The exercise of behavioural self-control and the growing capacity for analysis and attribution of the psychological states of others, consequences of the progressive capacity for decentration and participation of the child in society makes him capable, from the age of 10 and according to Fu, Evans, Xu and Lee (2012) of the planning and execution necessary to lie successfully.

2. The place of lying in adolescence

After the age of 10, belief and intentionality become part of the concept of lying (Piaget, 1932). The moral autonomy acquired through relationships of mutual respect with society enables the differentiation between lies and situations such as error, deceit or exaggeration, which were until then understood and judged as lies (Talwar & Lee, 2008a). Being able to consider the three premises associated with the lie, the concept sustained by the pre-adolescent is similar to the concept used by the adult in judging whether or not a lie is present (Piaget, 1932; Coleman & Kay, 1981; Lee & Ross, 1997; Bussey, 1992; Peterson, 1995), with regard to the context and the intention of the sender (Talwar & Lee, 2008a).

Thus, during adolescence, the moral and conceptual notion of the lie is now found, having a less negative idea (Bussey, 1992). Therefore, it is possible, on the one hand, to identify it more easily and, on the other, to use it in favour of the actual subject.

In this stage of intense physical and biological changes in the human being, the contents of the lie are centred essentially on the aspects of life that cause most concern to teenagers, although they depend, naturally, on the target audience sought and the reasons that motivate them (Martins, 2017).

In general, DePaulo, Kirkendol, Kashy, Wyer and Epstein (1996) suggest that matters relating to feelings and affections, as well as personal achievements, for example events and conquests (or the lack of them), that is, popularity, evaluated according to the number and type of people that they know or the events that they attend and, furthermore, their social agenda, in particular their actions and plans, are some of the main focuses of lies. In 1993, Davis referred to matters relating to school, in particular the marks obtained, and, two decades later, Chen, Chang and Wu (2012) again found the same results, adding as main focuses events that occurred in the school environment, such as faults committed and punishments, as well as the existence and completion of homework.

Knox, Zusman, McGinty and Gescheidler (2001) indicated that the contents of the lie during adolescence are related to intimate matters relating to dates and sexual activity, with vices and habits of alcohol consumption, which they often choose not to re-

veal, and also their whereabouts, lying about where they were, where they are or where they are going. Jensen, Arnett, Feldman and Cauffman (2004) mentioned other aspects such as money, this with regard to the value of the pocket money they received from their parents or regarding the profession of their parents and their salary; facts relating to their friendships, in particular the identity and number of friends that they have; and also matters specifically relating to sexual behaviour and the consumption of substances such as alcohol, tobacco and drugs (Engels, Finkenauer and Kooten, 2006).

More recently, in an article relating to honesty in virtual relationships, other aspects were suggested relating to personal details such as age and physical appearance, as well as aspects relating to money (Konecny, 2009).

In the study conducted in Portugal by Martins (2009; 2017), it was suggested that matters relative to the socioeconomic situation of teenagers, including the possessions they have, such as houses and cars, are aspects about which young people also lie. Another sphere regarding which Portuguese teenagers lie is that of sexual matters, in particular sexual activity, sexual orientation or the number and identity of sexual partners. School matters, in particular regarding marks, faults and punishments, generate lies among Portuguese teenagers. Likewise, family life, especially the quality of the relationship with their parents, and also regarding health matters, such as hygiene habits, mealtimes and hours of sleep provide the conditions that cause them to resort to lies.

We can therefore conclude that teenagers lie for different reasons: for fear, embarrassment, forgetfulness or deceit; to obtain what they would not otherwise get; to surprise or protect somebody; to avoid facing the consequences of the truth; or simply owing to the banalities of their everyday life. Lies are told in diverse situations and to different people: friends, relations, teachers, classmates, acquaintances or strangers; About us, our life, our work, our personal and professional relationships, our universe and everybody else in it. Lies are told in different ways: hiding, deceiving, pretending, omitting. The lie, therefore, forms part of our life, the way we live in society, the way we relate to others.

Despite this, lying remains culturally connected to antisocial behaviour (Che, Chang & Wu, 2012; Lee, 2000; Talwar & Lee, 2008a) although it continues to be used frequently to cover, omit or justify disruptive behaviours (Veiga, 1995). The lie has arisen in various investigations associated with the committing of delinquent practices and anti-ethical behaviours, by both youths and adults (Engels et al., 2006; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Talwar & Lee, 2008b).

In the majority of cases, with regard to many of the disruptive behaviours generally found during adolescence, in particular aggressiveness, isolation, theft, physical and verbal aggression and truancy, among others, lying, according to Caniato (2007) and Reppold (2005) results from models that are copied and appropriated throughout the youths' development, in family, school and community settings.

Therefore, teenagers lie because they observe and interact with others in diverse social contexts and, in particular, with those closest to them. As a consequence, lying is "an acquired and cultural phenomenon" (Manen & Levering, 1996, p. 181), a learned behaviour.

3. Methodology

This study used a quantitative methodology with the aim of trying to identify the contents of the lies told by teenagers in Portugal and to see whether there are differences between boys and girls with regard to such contents, to give shape to strategies for intervention in educational activities in order to contribute to the mitigation of this reality, which is seen to be an obstacle in the establishment of healthy relationships between peers and with adults, frequently also culminating in harmful consequences for the teenagers themselves.

3.1. Participants

The participants were 871 teenagers attending 48 schools, 381 boys (43.74 %) and 490 girls (56.26 %) aged between 12 and 18 years ($X = 13.8$, $SD = 1.6$). Of these, 543 pupils were in the 7th year of compulsory education (62.34 %) and 328 in the 10th year (37.66 %). All the students attend state schools and they were selected at random by means of a multi-stage process stratified at NUTS II regional level (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) for mainland Portugal —North; Centre Lisbon; Alentejo; Algarve— for the constitution of a national sample representative of the population.

For this purpose, a significant sample was calculated of the necessary number of pupils per NUTS II region to integrate the total sample, and its minimum dimension was determined taking into account the ratio "number of items / number of subjects" of 1 to 5, suggested by Pasquali (1998) and Vasconcellos and Hutz (2008). The total number of regular state schools in national mainland territory was established, drawing up a list of schools per NUTS II and Municipality. Subsequently, a random selection was made of 50 % of the municipalities in each NUTS II region, the total number of schools corresponding to these municipalities was determined and a new random selection was made to obtain barely 5 % of the schools of each one.

3.2. Instrument

The pupils responded to the Conteúdos da Mentira (Lie Contents, CntM) scale, part of the IAMA-Instrumento de Avaliação da Mentira na Adolescência (Instrument to Evaluate Lie in Adolescence) (Martins, 2017). The scale makes it possible to identify the main topics about which teenagers lie. It comprises twenty-three items, which are grouped into six categories associated with the main matters referred to in the literature as relevant for teenagers in their decision to incur in a lie: affections, money, substances, health, school, friendship.

The scale consists of four points (Never, Sometimes, Often and Always) where the subject is asked to state the frequency with which they lie in each of the situations presented under the different items.

3.3. Procedure

In any study, when instruments of this type are used, the researcher must be aware of the possibility of socially desirable responses. In a study that anticipates the assessment of the contents of lies, the risk of bias of results caused by this fact tends to increase. However, in addition to the ethical aspects that the researchers set out to respect during the administration of the scale, which includes an informed consent form for all those responsible for the education of the pupils, a set of techniques was used to control the veracity of the responses, such as the inclusion of reverse elements and, subsequently, the analysis of the internal consistency indices (Martins, 2017).

The CntM was answered by the majority of the students in an online version during classes. This version was available in the Google Drive domain. The reasons for the decision are related to matters of an ecological, economic, logistic and timing nature, not forgetting the current context of the expansion of new technologies in the school environment and the motivational aspects for pupils when they use these technologies. However, it should be pointed out that schools were also able to opt for the printed version.

4. Results and discussion

Table 1 presents the results relative to the average responses obtained from the totality of the participants in each of the six categories of the Conteúdos da Mentira (CntM) scale considered. Each of these categories responds to contents referred to in the literature as promoters of lies among teenagers.

TABLE 1. Mean responses obtained in each one of the categories of the Conteúdos da Mentira (CntM) scale.

Contents	N	Mean (M)	Standard deviation
Affections	871	1.8381	.61000
Money	871	1.5209	.63006
Substances	853	1.2138	.54705
Health	871	1.3599	.62276
School	871	1.3052	.47033
Friendship	871	1.1636	.41166

Source: Own elaboration.

An analysis of Table 1 shows that, overall, the main contents of lies mentioned by Portuguese teenagers are related to affections ($M = 1.84$, $SD = 0.61$) as suggested by DePaulo et al. (1996), Knox et al. (2001) and Jensen et al. (2004); to money ($M = 1.52$, $SD = .63$), in consonance with the studies of Jensen et al. (2004) and Martins (2009) and, lastly, to health ($M = 1.36$, $SD = .62$).

However, when gender differences are analysed with regard to the contents of the lie, it can be seen that statistically significant differences were recorded among Portuguese teenagers in the categories of affections, school and friendship. Table 2 presents the average responses obtained from the male and female participants in each of the categories considered in the Lie Contents scale.

TABLE 2. Mean responses obtained by gender in each of the categories of the Conteúdos da Mentira (CntM) scale.

Contents	Sex	N	Mean (M)	Standard deviation	Standard error of the mean
Affections	Female	490	1.8953	.61037	.02757
	Male	381	1.7646	.60237	.03086
Money	Female	490	1.4864	.58608	.02648
	Male	381	1.5652	.68070	.03487
Substances	Female	480	1.1920	.50098	.02287
	Male	373	1.2417	.60070	.03110
Health	Female	490	1.3704	.62091	.02805
	Male	381	1.3465	.62569	.03206
School	Female	490	1.2718	.44933	.02030
	Male	381	1.3482	.49330	.02527
Friendship	Female	490	1.1337	.35318	.01595
	Male	381	1.2021	.47417	.02429

Source: Own elaboration.

With regard to lies relating to affections, the results of the t-test reported the existence of statistically significant differences [$t(871) = 3.154, p = .002$], verifying that, on average, the female gender lies more on these matters ($M = 1.90, SD = .61$) compared to males ($M = 1.76, SD = .60$). The affections category includes a set of items relative to emotions, secret desires, private feelings, personal matters, courtship and friendship. These results corroborate those of Knox et al. (2001) and Martins (2009) who point to the fact that women lie more than men about aspects related to sexuality and intimacy.

With regard to lies relating to school, the results of the t-test also revealed the existence of statistically significant differences [$t(871) = -2.358, p = .019$], verifying that, on average, the male participants lie more ($M = 1.35, SD = .49$), in comparison with females ($M = 1.27, SD = .45$). This category is focused on aspects relating to faults, punishments and the marks obtained by the teenagers in formal assessments. In the school context it is considered that the results corroborate those of Martins (2009) who presented identical results for the same category.

With regard to lies relating to friendship, which includes elements alluding to the number of friends and their identity, the results of the t-test showed the existence of statistically significant differences [$t(871) = -2.354, p = .019$], verifying that, on average, the masculine gender lies more ($M = 1.20, SD = .47$) in comparison with the feminine gender ($M = 1.13, SD = .35$).

A small effect is observed, however, on the size of the mean differences found in the previous categories, affections ($d = .23$), school ($d = .17$) and friendship ($d = .17$). This evidence can be interpreted according to the conclusions of Feldman, Forrest and Happ (2002), who suggest, as does Selva (2005), that, owing to the brain differences between genders, women may have a greater physiological, biological and psychological predisposition to lie. The authors verify in their research that there are gender differences in terms of the contents of the lie, but not in terms of frequency. However, the results of this research are in consonance with the results of other investigations, where men lie with greater frequency (Long, 1941; Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1981; Eyberg & Robinson, 1983; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Gervais, Tremblay, Desmarais, Gervais, & Vitaro, 2000). We can also observe that of the three categories in which statistically significant differences were found, two of them reveal, although with minimum values, a greater incidence in the masculine gender.

It is considered that, on the one hand, the cultural differences and, on the other, the social transformations that have occurred in the period of time that separates the studies referred to above from that which is presented here, may in some way justify the differences found in this matter of frequency with regard to how lies vary according to gender. An analysis that studies this same question, but relative to the other conceptions of lying, assessed by means of the administration of the IAMA (Martins, 2017), may contribute to a better clarification of the results now found.

With regard to the money category, comprising articles relating to the management and application of one's own money, and health category, related to vices and consumption habits of substances like alcohol, tobacco and drugs (scientific documents are also included relating to eating habits), the results of the t-test did not show statistically significant differences between boys and girls [$t(871) = -1.799$, $p = .072$; $t(853) = -1.288$, $p = .198$; $t(871) = .563$, $p = .574$].

It is observed that in a study conducted in 2008 by Dreber and Johannesson, men showed a greater predisposition than women to lie about money matters, a fact that, at the level of this research, is not confirmed. Furthermore, regardless of the inexistence of statistically significant differences in the substances category, the results presented in Table 1 show that it has the lowest mean value among the categories, and this is surprising, since in the bibliographical review it arises as one of the main aspects about which teenagers lie (Knox et al., 2001; Jensen et al., 2004; Engels et al., 2006; Martins, 2009; 2017).

However, it should be pointed out that, aside from the fact of lying, the highest average value obtained, taking into account the responses given by the 871 participants in all the elements, is situated at 1.84 ($SD = .61$), corresponding to the affections category (see Table 1) which, on a 4-point scale of response options, such as that presented to the participants in the lie contents scale (Never, Sometimes, Often and Always),

means that, on average, regardless of the contents of the lie, Portuguese teenagers choose between never and sometimes, or they mention lying less in comparison with the results found in studies conducted in other countries.

They contradict the review of the literature, which suggests a higher frequency of lying specifically in the adolescent stage and which tends to lessen at the end of that stage. This may be the result of two possible tendencies: on the one hand, the different sociocultural aspects between the samples, since in Portugal the Judeo-Christian tradition is very present in family values, in which the lie may be considered a sin and therefore deserving of punishment, a fact that may vary with the cultural reality of the samples of other studies; and, on the other hand, in view of the immorality that is socially attributed to lying, the shameful effect of the "honest response" versus the "socially correct response" generated in the participant is not insignificant, especially for a teenager, who is faced with honesty regarding his/her conceptions and patterns of use of the lie, a behaviour that they socially condemn and recognize as incorrect (Ferreira, 2013). In this regard, Engels et al. (2006) point out that "Because lying is viewed as a negative behaviour, people may not be completely honest about their own lying behaviour" (p.951).

As has been stated above, the need is again recognized at this point for a deeper analysis of the other conceptions of lying in the study to be able to draw safe conclusions regarding this matter.

5. Final considerations

Often, in diverse educational contexts, the accompaniment of the psychological development of the teenager tends to be overlooked to the detriment of other aspects. At this stage of development, which the adult considers latent, considerable changes effectively occur where the teenager is confronted with themselves and with the values of their society, working proactively to build an identity that is not always accepted pacifically by the educator, parent or teacher, who receives it as an unexpected blow. The modification of the thought and action of the youth generates considerable friction within the family and at school, where attack is often used as a form of defence, teaching the teenager to stay at a safe distance. In this space which grows from silences and secrets, room is made for the conscious, voluntary and intentional lie, which is often used to cover, omit or justify actions.

Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) affirms that the lie is one of the first anti-ethical behaviours that the human being manifests and which can generate and be symptomatic of episodes of delinquency both in youth and in adult life. Furthermore, research shows that, when the socially accepted limits are crossed, the lie can enter the disruptive domain (Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Veiga, 1995; Engels et al., 2006) which is associated with anti-ethical behaviours such as, for example, skipping classes, arriving home late, stealing or consuming illegal substances, or the pathological sphere (Healy and Healy, 1915; Neiva, 1942) associated with atypical behavioural patterns such as kleptomania or bulimia. Lying

is, therefore, an undesirable behaviour that may have serious consequences and should be anticipated in a timely manner and forestalled by the educator.

However, according to the perspective of Talwar and Lee (2008b), lying in infancy should be understood before it is punished, since it represents a resource that may allow the educator to access a set of personal and moral information about the child, useful in the task of preventing the lie in their future life. Through an early understanding of the manner in which the child acquires his moral conceptions of the lie, the educator has more time and knowledge with which to develop strategies that promote the child's honesty (Lyon and Saywitz, 1999; Talwar, Lee, Bala, and Lindsay, 2004; Gomes and Chakur, 2005; Goodman et al., 2006). Thus, although it is not desirable for children to lie, the educator must work on the process of eradication of such behaviour and include much more than punishment.

Nowadays, when youngsters of an increasingly early age have the opportunity and interest in an autonomous exploitation of the world that they receive via the Internet and audiovisual media, it is vital for the educator to be capable of accompanying that speed of assimilation of knowledge and not to forget or underestimate the importance of their role, so fundamental in the value development process, with a view to the formation of a new generation that is attentive, reflexive and participative in society. It is, in short, fundamental that the central triad of the education of children and teenagers —school, family

and society— should come together and cooperate actively in a more kinaesthetic articulation, with a view to the planning and implementation of valid measures in the mitigation of the behavioural scourge of the lie in future generations.

In the Portuguese context, but also in other countries, there is an urgent need for the construction of a stronger and more participative educational community in which parents, teachers and other educators participate thoroughly in the education of teenagers, by means of meetings and encounters, more frequent and less formal, where they can establish links between them, that will privilege the School-Family-Society relationship, never forgetting their link of liaison with the teenagers. A greater effort should be made by the school with the aim of uniting with the family and working in association with the parents, in the education and personal and social development of youngsters. Specifically, some of the reasons that condition the decision of the parents / educators to become involved in the education of their children are: the representations of the parents regarding their role in the education of their children; the sense of efficiency that the parents have regarding their participation in the success of their children at school; and the requests and invitations, from the school or the children themselves, with a view to involving the parents in the different school activities. It is especially in the third reason stated that the school should intervene and proceed more actively, requesting and attracting the parents to the classroom so that, together, they can define better strategies

for education and develop in a sound and mature manner, together with the youngsters, and the set of moral and ethical notions that they practise and would like to see reproduced.

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Cyberbullying according to sociodemographic and academic characteristics among university students

Ciberacoso según características sociodemográficas y académicas en estudiantes universitarios

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Abstract:

There is evidence of the existence of both bullying and cyberbullying in the university environment. The aim of this study is to analyse the differences between cyberbullying roles (target, perpetrator, and bystander) according to sociodemographic and academic variables (sex, age, origin, level of studies, and faculty). The participants were 765 young students (72.9% women) from a university of the southeast of Spain (83.7% undergraduate degree, 15.2% Master's degree, and 1.1% other studies) from different faculties. The Questionnaire on Harassment among University Students tool was used. The results of the study determined that women, people aged under 20, undergraduate degree students, and Humanities, Social Sciences, and Health Sciences stu-

dents obtained higher values in the sub-scales evaluated. Among the roles of those involved, bystanders stood out, followed by perpetrators and victims. Regression analysis showed a relationship between being the target, perpetrator, and/or bystander of cyberbullying. The study will make it possible to focus on those sociodemographic variables that turned out to be significant as well as the relationship between the cyberbullying roles in the face of prevention and intervention programs for each of the roles. The university context must assume the importance of promoting coexistence and university welfare. The involvement of the entire educational community is also relevant.

Keywords: cybernetics, universities, university faculty, education, cyberbullying.

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Resumen:

Existe evidencia de la aparición del acoso escolar en el ámbito universitario tanto de manera presencial como a través de medios tecnológicos. El objetivo del estudio fue analizar las diferencias entre los roles del ciberacoso (objeto, agente y observador) en función de variables sociodemográficas y académicas (sexo, edad, procedencia, nivel de estudios y Facultad). Los participantes del estudio fueron 765 jóvenes estudiantes (72.9% mujeres) de una universidad del sureste español (83.7% estudios de Grado, el 15.2% de Máster y el 1.1% otros estudios) pertenecientes a diferentes Facultades (Humanidades, Ciencias Sociales y de la Educación, Ciencias de la Salud y Ciencias). El instrumento utilizado fue el Cuestionario sobre Acoso entre Estudiantes Universitarios. Los resultados del estudio determinaron que las mujeres, los menores de 20 años, los estudiantes de Grado, los estu-

diantes de Humanidades, Ciencias Sociales y Ciencias de la Salud obtuvieron valores más altos en las subescalas evaluadas. Entre los roles de los implicados destacaban los observadores seguido de agresores y de víctimas. El análisis de regresión determinó la relación entre el hecho de haber sido objeto de ciberacoso, agente de ciberacoso y observador de ciberacoso. El estudio permitirá centrarse en aquellas variables sociodemográficas que resultaron ser significativas, así como la relación entre los roles del ciberacoso de cara a programas de prevención e intervención en cada uno de sus roles. El contexto universitario debe asumir la importancia de promover la convivencia y el bienestar universitario. Asimismo, es relevante la implicación de toda la comunidad educativa.

Descriptor: cibernética, universidad, facultad universitaria, educación, ciberacoso.

1. Introduction

Problems of intimidation or harassment among peers can appear throughout the educational period (Ortega-Ruiz, 2015), mainly in cultural/ethnic, sexual minorities and minorities of other types (Llorent, Ortega-Ruiz, & Zych, 2016; Walker, 2015). Such situations are categorised by being intentional in nature and by being situations repeated over time carried out by an individual or a group against victims unable to defend themselves, with a resulting imbalance of power (Olweus, 2013).

Cyberbullying involves using ICT —Information and Communication Technologies— to harass other peers, mainly by using the Internet and mobile phones. The methods generally used are text messages, phone calls, recording and publication of attacks and humiliations, social networks, and so on (Garaigordobil, 2015), repeated over time, intentionally and with an imbalance of power (Zych, Ortega-Ruiz, & Marín-López, 2016). In general, there are three groups of roles directly involved in this issue: victim or target, perpetrator, and bystander, either directly or through cyberbullying.

Cyberbullying is often covered up (Hernández & Solano, 2007), and the concealment of the aggressor's identity facilitates impunity and increases the victim's defencelessness. Electronic attacks are spread rapidly to a great number of people who can share them in turn (Buelga, Cava, & Musitu, 2010).

The virtual world offers possibilities as well as risks, such as, for instance, Internet addiction or cyberbullying (Arnaiz, Cerezo, Giménez, & Maquilón, 2016; Del Rey, Casas, & Ortega-Ruiz, 2012; Myers & Cowie, 2017). Del Rey et al. (2012) state that overuse of new technologies is a risk that may affect students' quality of life since it generates a situation of dependence. Several studies have demonstrated that cyberbullying may have legal and highly negative psychological consequences for the students involved (Álvarez-García, Barreiro-Collazo, Núñez, & Dobarro, 2016). Ortega-Barón, Buelga, Cava, and Torralba (2017) showed that students who had been cyberbullies, either continuously or occasionally, had previously broken the rules, that is to say, they had been involved in other prescribed behaviour.

Among protective factors, it is important to highlight self-esteem as protection against occasional cyber-victimisation arising from owning a mobile phone, playing online games, and frequency of Internet use on week days. Cyber-victimisation, either continuous or occasional, is mainly found among girls and with an average age of 14 (Álvarez-García, Núñez, Dobarro, & Rodríguez, 2016). Similarly, Arnaiz et al.

(2016) affirm that family supervision is a protective factor.

The coexistence of traditional bullying and cyberbullying suggests that involvement in cyberbullying may be predicted by involvement in traditional bullying (cyber-victimisation and cyber-aggression) (Del Rey, Elípe, & Ortega-Ruiz, 2012; Yubero, Navarro, Elche, Larrañaga, & Ovejero, 2017). Save the Children's report (Sastre, 2016) on bullying and cyberbullying showed that 9.3% of students in Spain had been victims of school bullying and 6.9% victims of cyberbullying. Among the ways it manifests itself, insults were the most common form (six out of ten students had used insults and more than two out of ten had been insulted frequently), followed by other forms such as rumours, theft, threats, physical mistreatment, or exclusion. Moreover, 5.4% had suffered cyber-bullying and 3.3% had committed cyberbullying. This shows that the prevalence of cyberbullying is increasing (Álvarez-García et al., 2016; Garaigordobil, 2011, 2015).

Therefore, cyberbullying is a social problem which goes beyond the borders of the educational contexts of primary and secondary education, affecting other types of population, such as university circles, with the same devastating effects (Crosslin & Golman, 2014; García-Peña, Moncada, & Quintero, 2013; Torres-Mora, 2010; Walker, 2015).

Until recently, the risk in the university population had not been considered, as university students were ascribed a cer-

tain psychosocial maturity which would minimise relationship problems among them. It must be noted that intimidation among young university students is not only a social issue but also a problem of public health.

It follows from the above that bullying is not exclusively a phenomenon of the of the primary and secondary education context since it presents itself as a relationship problem among peers which can arise in other academic locations such as universities, and such abuse of power even appears through new technologies (cyberbullying). It is a serious problem which has negative consequences for the development of university students (Cassidy, Faucher, & Jackson, 2017; Crosslin & Golman, 2014; García-Peña et al., 2013; Walker, 2015).

In the university context, there is a series of factors that cause stress, anxiety, depressive symptoms, and other problems. One of these factors is intimidation or harassment among students (García-Peña et al., 2013). The factors which contribute to the appearance of intimidation in the university context include different academic abilities, peer-groups, and students with special needs (McDougal, 1999).

The existence of lower levels of physical aggression among university students in comparison to other educational levels has been shown, while rates of other types of hostility such as verbal abuse (taunts, insults, etc.), social exclusion through alienation, denigration, abuse in group work, categorization by physical features

and economic status, among others, are greater (Hoyos, Romero, Valega, & Molin-ares, 2009; López, 2017; Paredes, Sanabria-Ferrand, González-Quevedo, & Moreno Rehalpe, 2010; Torres-Mora, 2010; Trujillo & Romero-Acosta, 2016). Among the roles of those involved, bystanders are most apparent, followed by bullies and victims (Hoyos et al., 2009; Paredes et al., 2010; Trujillo et al., 2016). Both men and women are actors in the different types of abuse (Anguiano-Carrasco & Vigil-Collet, 2011; Faucher, Jackson, & Cassidy, 2014; Hoyos et al., 2009; Kokkinos, Antoniadou, & Markos, 2014). Specifically, men are usually more involved as victim than women, although not in all of its manifestations, while women appear as bystanders. In relation to bullies, women appeared as bullies in different ways (ignoring, disparaging, etc.) than men (name-calling, insulting, etc.) (Hoyos et al., 2009; Hoyos et al., 2012). With reference to the courses, Molero, Gázquez, Pérez-Fuentes and Soler (2014) did not find differences between the types of degrees analysed (Primary Education, Early Childhood Education, and Psychology), nor did Paredes et al. (2010) who analysed situations of bullying in faculties of medicine in Colombia. In relation to age, there is a greater presence of abuse in more forms between 17 and 20 (Hoyos et al., 2009; Hoyos et al., 2012) which seems to derive from the difficulty of establishing group dynamics and each student's participation in them.

For this reason, the aim of this study is to analyse differences because of socio-demographic and academic variables (sex,

age, origin, level of studies and faculty) among cyberbullying roles (victim of cyberbullying, perpetrator of cyberbullying, and bystander of the cyberaggression).

2. Method

2.1. Participants

The participants in the study were 765 young university students in southern Spain with ages ranging from under 20 to over 30, 72.9% of whom were women (see Table 1), 93.5% of students were of Spanish origin. In relation to the

type of studies, 83.7% were studying for an undergraduate degree, 15.2% for a Master's, and the others, other studies. The distribution by faculty was: 14% Humanities (Fine Art, Geography, History, Languages, Classical Philology, and others), 45.6% Social Sciences and Education (Law, Economics, Social Work, Education, and others), 30.2% Health Sciences (Medicine, Nursing, Psychology, Optometry, Physiotherapy, and others), and 10.2% Science (Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Computing, Engineering, and others).

TABLE 1. Distribution of participants.

Age	Men	Women
Under 20	41 (19.8%)	182 (32.8%)
20-24	125 (60.4%)	276 (49.7%)
25-29	28 (13.5%)	58 (10.5%)
30 or more	13 (6.3%)	39 (7%)

Source: Own elaboration.

2.2. Instruments

The instrument used was the Questionnaire on Harassment among University Students by Cerezo, Martín, Martínez, Méndez, and Ruiz (2016) validated by Martínez, Méndez, Ruiz and Cerezo (not published).

The instrument consists of 135 items. The first part measures socio-demographic and academic variables such as: age (under 20, between 20-24, between 25-29, 30 or more), gender (male/female), faculty

where studies were pursued (Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, Health Sciences, and Sciences), type of studies (undergraduate degree, Master's, or others), year (1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th) and country of origin (Spain or other). The instrument then uses three scales:

- a) As target of aggression.
- b) As perpetrator of aggression.
- c) As bystander of aggression.

Each of these measures direct aggression (bullying) as well as cyber aggression (cyberbullying):

Scale a) *As target of aggression*: consists of 49 items distributed between bullying (type, who, place, time, reason) and cyberbullying (type, way or means, moment, reason, informer and support), it is made up of the sub-scales direct aggression (DA) (e.g., “I have suffered physical aggression”) and target of cyberbullying (TCB) (e.g., “on occasion I have received cyberbullying through social networks”).

Scale b) *As perpetrator of aggression*: has 35 items distributed between direct aggression or harassment (type, object or direction, moment, and cause) and cyberbullying (act, path, object, and motives), and it comprises the sub-scales perpetrator of direct aggressions (PDA) (e.g., “on occasion I have verbally harassed a partner with insults, threat, etc.”) and perpetrator of cyberbullying (PCB) (e.g., “on occasion I have done cyberbullying through offensive calls”).

Scale c) *As bystander of the aggression*: consists of 45 items distributed between observation of direct aggression or harassment (type, object, moment and motives) and cyberbullying (type, route, excluded, causes, informed and help) made up of the sub-scales of bystander

of direct aggressions (BDA) (e.g., “on occasion, I have seen another student assaulted, the aggressions were physical”) and bystander of cyberbullying (BCB) (e.g., “on occasion, I have observed cyberbullying —aggression to others through mobile phones or the Internet— through calls”). These sub-scales have appropriate Cronbach’s Alpha values: as target of aggression .95; as perpetrators of aggression .94 and as bystander of the aggression .96. In this study, the sub-scales relating to cyberbullying (TCB, PCB and BCB) were selected.

2.3. Process

Participants were selected taking into account the faculty in which they were enrolled in the 2015-2016 academic year in such a way that the representativeness of each group of the 20 faculties at the University in southern Spain was guaranteed (Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, Health Sciences, and Sciences) with a confidence level of 95%. It was necessary to ask for permission and collaboration of the teachers in charge of the undergraduate degrees, Master’s, or other studies selected so the questionnaires could be administered in person or online through the course’s virtual classroom (28.48%). Administering the questionnaire took between 15 and 20 minutes. Data confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed during the completion of the instrument. The protocol was approved by the Ethics Committee for Clinical Research of the Universidad de Murcia. The

study was performed in accordance with the approved guidelines and the Declaration of Helsinki.

2.4. Data Analysis

To analyse cyberbullying roles according to socio-demographic characteristics, a mean difference was calculated (Student's *t*) for our independent samples to determine if there were differences relating to gender and origin for each of the sub-scales and Cohen's *d* (1988) was calculated for the effect size. To analyse the mean differences by level of studies, the faculty in which they were enrolled, and age (in ranges), an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used for each of the sub-scales. Comparisons with the Bonferroni Post-Hoc Test were used. In addition, the Brown-Forsythe test was used when Levene's test could not assess the equality of variances. Hierarchical regression analyses were used to contrast the predictive power of the groups of independent variables (socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, faculty, level of studies, origin) in relation to the dependent variable under study (TCB, PCB, BCB) as well as the relations between them and the "enter" method. Analyses were carried out using the SPSS v.21 program.

2.5. Results

14.4% of the students had suffered cyberbullying, 7.3% had committed cyberbullying, and 17.4% had witnessed cyberbullying.

Table 2 shows the differences by gender in the QAEU sub-scales. Student's *t*-test showed significant mean differences

in the TCB, PCB, and BCB sub-scales with higher values in women and a low effect size ($d = -.20$).

Secondly, Table 3 shows the differences by age range in the QAEU sub-scales in the one-way ANOVA test. The post hoc tests revealed that there were mean differences between students younger than 20 and students aged between 20 and 24 in the three sub-scales. In the PCB sub-scale, there were mean differences between students aged between 20 and 24 and students aged 30 or more, being higher in the latter.

Table 4 shows the differences by place of origin in the QAEU sub-scales. Student's *t*-test did not show significant mean differences in the TCB, PCB, and BCB sub-scales.

Table 5 shows the study results by level of studies. The post hoc tests showed that there were significant differences between undergraduate degree and Master's students in the three sub-scales (TCB, PCB, and BCB), the figures being lower for the latter. Likewise, in the TCB sub-scale, there were mean differences between Master's students and those enrolled in other types of training, the figures being higher for the latter.

Table 6 shows the results relating to the faculty of the course on which the students were enrolled. The post hoc tests showed that there were significant mean differences with Science students (who had lower values) and students from Humanities, Social Sciences, and Health Sciences in the

TCB, PCB, and BCB sub-scales. Moreover, in the OBC sub-scale, there were mean differences between Social Sciences and Health Sciences students, with the former being higher.

Finally, the regression analysis, using TCB as criterion and as predictor variables those relating to the sociodemographic and academic variables (age, gender, faculty, level of studies, and origin) as well as PCB and BCB explained 65.8% of the variance. The standardised Beta regression coefficient showed that, among all the predictor variables, level of studies ($Beta = -.062$; $t = -2.606$; $p = .009$), PCB ($Beta = .474$; $t = 14.458$; $p = .000$), and BCB were significant. Similarly, the regression analysis which used PCB as its criterion and as predictor variables those relating to sociode-

mographic and academic variables (age, gender, faculty, level of studies and origin) as well as TCB and BCB, explained 66.6% of the variance. The standardised Beta regression coefficient showed that, among all the predictor variables, faculty ($Beta = -.048$; $t = -2.163$; $p = .031$), TCB ($Beta = .459$; $t = 14.458$; $p = .000$), and BCB ($Beta = .409$; $t = 12.974$; $p = .000$) were significant. Also, the regression analysis with BCB as criterion and as predictor variables those relating to sociodemographic and academic variables (age, gender, faculty, level of studies, and origin) as well as TCB and PCB explained 63.6% of the variance. The standardised Beta regression coefficient showed that, among all the predictor variables, TCB ($Beta = .401$; $t = 11.615$; $p = .000$) and PCB ($Beta = .447$; $t = 12.974$; $p = .000$) were significant.

TABLE 2. Differences by gender in the QAEU sub-scales.

QAEU SUB-SCALES	GENDER		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	MEN	WOMEN		
	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>		
TCB	12.24 (14.81)	15.28 (15.62)	-2.243	.016*
PCB	5.9 (8.22)	7.6 (9.2)	-2.349	.019*
BCB	11.91 (16.08)	15.26 (17.43)	-2.501	.013*

Note: TCB = target of cyberbullying, PCB = perpetrator of cyberbullying, BCB = bystander of cyberbullying.

Source: Own elaboration.

TABLE 3. Differences by age range in the QAEU sub-scales.

QAEU SUB-SCALES	AGE		<i>p</i>
	<i>F</i>	<i>Mean differences</i>	
TCB	Brown-Forsythe $F(3;30.423) = 3.633$, $p = .013$	Under 20-20-24 years = 3.60 Under 20-25-29 years = 3.40 Under 20-30 or more = -1.35 20-24 years-25-29 years = -.20 20-24 years-30 or more = -4.95 25-29 years-30 or more = -4.75	.031* n.s. n.s. n.s. n.s. n.s.
PCB	Brown-Forsythe $F(3;280.899) = 6.856$, $p = .000$	Under 20-20-24 years = 3.06 Under 20-25-29 years = 2.12 Under 20-30 or more = -.77 20-24 years-25-29 years = -.94 20-24 years-30 or more = -3.83 25-29 years-30 or more = -2.89	.000 n.s. n.s. n.s. .019* n.s.
BCB	Brown-Forsythe $F(3;322.231) = 5.148$, $p = .002$	Under 20 years-20-24 years = 5.52 Under 20 years-25-29 years = 3.44 Under 20 years-30 or more = 1.49 20-24 years-25-29 years = -2.08 20-24 years-30 or more = -4.04 25-29 years-30 or more = -1.95	.001* n.s. n.s. n.s. n.s. n.s.

Note: TCB = target of cyberbullying, PCB = perpetrator of cyberbullying, BCB = bystander of cyberbullying.
Source: Own elaboration.

TABLE 4. Differences by place of origin in the QAEU sub-scales.

QAEU SUB-SCALES	ORIGIN		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	SPANISH	OTHERS		
	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>		
TCB	14.46 (15.42)	14.56 (16.35)	-.045	n.s.
PCB	7.17(8.92)	7.14 (9.37)	-.020	n.s.
BCB	14.20 (17)	16.84 (18.98)	-1.052	n.s.

Note: TCB = target of cyberbullying, PCB = perpetrator of cyberbullying, BCB = bystander of cyberbullying.
Source: Own elaboration.

TABLE 5. Differences by level of studies in the QAEU sub-scales.

QAEU SUB-SCALES	LEVEL OF STUDIES		
	<i>F</i>	<i>Mean differences</i>	<i>p</i>
TCB	Brown-Forsythe $F(2;24.544) = 21.645$, $p = .000$	Undergraduate-Master's = 8.37 Undergraduate-Other = -8.67 Master's-Other = -17.04	.000* n.s. .07*
PCB	Brown-Forsythe $F(2;22.451) = 9.085$, $p = .001$	Grado- Máster = 3.45 Undergraduate-Other = -2.30 Master's-Other = 5.76	.000* n.s. .07*
BCB	Brown-Forsythe $F(2;17.985) = 9.764$, $p = .001$	Master's-Other = 5.76 Undergraduate-Master's = 7.14 Undergraduate-Other = -5.80 Master's-Other = -12.93	n.s. .000* n.s. n.s.

Note: TCB = target of cyberbullying, PCB = perpetrator of cyberbullying, BCB = bystander of cyberbullying.

Source: Own elaboration.

TABLE 6. Differences by faculty in the QAEU sub-scales.

QAEU SUB-SCALES	FACULTY		
	<i>F</i>	<i>Mean differences</i>	<i>p</i>
TCB	Brown-Forsythe $F(3;508.722) = 8.240$, $p = .000$	Humn. - Soc. Sci. = 1.81 Humn. - Health Sci. = -.424 Humn. - Sci. = 8.85 Soc. Sci. - Health Sci. = -2.23 Soc. Sci. - Sci. = 7.04 Health Sci. - Sci. = 9.27	n.s. n.s. .001* n.s. .002* .000*
PCB	Brown-Forsythe $F(3;523.363) = 12.136$, $p = .000$	Humn. - Soc. Sci. = 2.1 Humn. - Health Sci. = .56 Humn. - Sci. = 6.5 Soc. Sci. - Health Sci. = -1.54 Soc. Sci. - Sci. = 4.41 Health Sci. - Sci. = 5.95	. n.s. n.s. .000* n.s. .000* .000*
BCB	Brown-Forsythe $F(3;507.807) = 10.126$, $p = .000$	Humn. - Soc. Sci. = 2.89 Humn. - Health Sci. = -1.13 Humn. - Sci. = 10.05 Soc. Sci. - Health Sci. = -4.02 Soc. Sci. - Sci. = 7.17 Health Sci. - Sci. = 11.19	n.s. n.s. .000* .031* .004* .000*

Note: TCB = target of cyberbullying, PCB = perpetrator of cyberbullying, BCB = bystander of cyberbullying.

Source: Own elaboration.

3. Discussion

University students, like people at other educational levels, are vulnerable to bullying by peers (Crosslin et al., 2014; García-Peña et al., 2013). Bystander stood out among the roles involved, followed by aggressors and victims (Hoyos et al., 2009; Paredes et al., 2010; Trujillo et al., 2016). This suggests that situations of aggression are hidden by university students and, therefore, are difficult to detect. Since students from undergraduate degrees, Master's and other courses do not usually interact with all the other students in the university environment and peer relationships are usually reduced to a peer group, situations of aggression can be identified by the closest students (Hoyos et al., 2009). The perception that intimidation is something legitimized within students' social groups means it is viewed positively (Paredes et al., 2010). Therefore, cyberbullying tends to be hidden (Hernández et al., 2007) since the passivity of the victim and bystanders entails subjection to a power that restrains the right to freedom (Torres-Mora, 2010). Cyberbullying may result in negative legal and psychological consequences for the students involved (Álvarez-García, Barreiro-Collazo, et al., 2016; Cassidy et al., 2017, Crosslin et al., 2014; Walker, 2015; Yubero et al., 2017).

In this study, men and women were actors in the different forms of abuse (Anguiano-Carrasco et al., 2011; Faucher et al., 2014; Hoyos et al., 2009; Kokkinos et al., 2014). Women obtained higher values in all of the sub-scales (as perpetrator, target, and bystander), a result that agrees with previous studies (Hoyos

et al., 2009; Hoyos et al., 2012). With reference to age, it is important to highlight that the results showed that participants aged under 20 obtained higher values in all the different sub-scales than those in the 20-24 age range. It is noteworthy that in the PCB sub-scale (perpetrator), students aged 30 or more obtained higher values than those in the 20-24 age range, something that does not happen in other age ranges. These data partially coincide with previous studies since a greater presence of intimidation surfaces at the start of studies; this appears to be due to the difficulty of group dynamics and students' participation in them (Hoyos et al., 2009; Hoyos et al., 2012). There were no mean differences in any of the sub-scales relating to the students' origins.

In relation to the level of studies in which the students were enrolled, it should be noted that undergraduate degree students obtained higher values than Master's students in the three sub-scales. On the other hand, in the TCB sub-scale (target), students enrolled in other types of education obtained higher values than Master's students. As with age, the level of studies may be connected to the fact students are starting undergraduate degree studies or different types of education, owing to the difficulty of forming group dynamics (Hoyos et al., 2009; Hoyos et al., 2012).

With regards to the faculty the studies belonged to, the results showed that students in Humanities, Social Sciences, and Health Sciences obtained higher values when compared to students in Scienc-

es in all the sub-scales. Likewise, Health Sciences students obtained higher values than Social Sciences students in the BCB sub-scale. Previous studies did not give clear proof of the existence of differences relating to faculty, which may be because they only included one or two types of faculty (Molero et al., 2014; Paredes et al., 2010; Yubero et al., 2017).

A relationship between having been the target, perpetrator, and bystander of cyberbullying was demonstrated in predicting TCB, PCB and BCB. The importance of belonging to a particular faculty must be taken into account for PCB and TCB in relation to the level of studies. Our study has allowed a wider vision of intimidation in the university context since it focused on analysing the type of faculty (Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, Health Sciences, and Sciences) as well as the level of studies (undergraduate degree, Master's, or others).

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, knowing the origin of school bullying, it is possible to contextualise it in the university community and then promote prevention and intervention programmes. It should be highlighted that these are not alarming situations, but they are worrying because of the incidents found (Hoyos et al., 2009) and the emotional impact (Walker, 2015). Preventive and intervention measures, which allow an analysis of how the issue affects the academic process and interpersonal relationships in the different educational fields, must be implemented (García-Peña et al., 2013; My-

ers & Cowie, 2017). With this objective in mind, it is necessary to promote awareness campaigns and reinforce emotional education as well as the acquisition of social skills (Sastre, 2016) and the values of coexistence (Del Rey et al., 2012), minimise tolerance towards different forms of aggression, diffusion of responsibility and so on (Hoyos et al., 2012), generate strategies to avoid aggression, and promote prosocial behaviour, empathy, and emotional control (Garaigordobil, 2015; Gómez-Ortiz, Romera-Félix, & Ortega-Ruiz, 2017; Trujillo et al., 2016). It is also necessary to educate students at all educational levels about the safe use of ICT, emphasising the moral and ethical principles against violence (Ortega-Ruiz & Zych, 2016). Del Rey, Casas, et al. (2012) highlight the important role of the educational institution in relation to technological competence, which means that this competence should be articulated alongside personal autonomy and learning to learn. Therefore, it is essential to encourage cybersocialisation with programmes such as Red (Del Rey, Casas, et al., 2012) or Ciberprogram 2.0 (Garaigordobil & Martínez-Valderrey, 2014). It is also necessary to promote students' inclusion, coexistence, and cybercoexistence (Garaigordobil, 2015; Llorent et al., 2016), even through (Álvarez-Bermejo, Belmonte-Ureña, Martos-Martínez, Barragán-Martín, & Simón-Márquez, 2016). What is more, parental supervision of Internet access is also needed as this encourages safe emotional bonds (Bernal, & Angulo, 2013; Garaigordobil, 2015). Therefore, the university community must assume the importance of promoting coexistence and well-being at university

(Cassidy et al., 2017) as well as providing legal information for the victims (Myers & Cowie, 2017). Moreover, the involvement of the whole educational community is essential.

Thinking ahead, it would be relevant to carry out longitudinal studies and include other meaningful variables such as: university students' performance and their involvement in aggressive behaviour (Mole-ro et al., 2014); analysis of whether there is bullying of teaching staff including the school and family climate (López, 2017) or by teachers on students; investigation of harassment within couple relationships (Duran & Martínez-Pecino, 2015) and in the LGBT community (Walker, 2015); analysis of its appearance along with other associated forms of violent behaviour (Ortega-Barón et al., 2017); investigation of the role of victims of bullying as it has been shown that they also exist in university contexts (Trujillo et al., 2016); investigation of teaching staff's point of view (Cassidy et al., 2017); and investigation of the role of teaching practices in preventing violence between peers (Valdés-Cuervo, Martínez-Ferrer, & Carlos-Martínez, 2018).

Among the constraints of this study, its transversal character should be noted. Moreover, we should also note the use of self-reporting methods, which may be influenced by social desirability. Finally, since the explained variance percentage is not particularly high, it would be desirable to use other assessment instruments at the same time which would allow identification of other influential variables.

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Educational challenges of emerging risks in cyberspace: foundations of an appropriate strategy for preventing online child victimisation *

Retos educativos ante los riesgos emergentes en el ciberespacio: claves para una adecuada prevención de la cibervictimización en menores

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Abstract:

In just a few years, technological changes have transformed how people interact and communicate with each other, in particular among so-called *digital adolescents*. The impact of technology on routine activities and mainstream culture has led to an increase in

young peoples' exposure to psychological and criminological risks. As a result of this new psychosocial trend, new educational challenges are appearing and it is becoming more necessary to react to these challenges on the basis of an adequate diagnosis of psychology and pedagogy relating to adolescents.

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Criminological theories and research have tried to identify risk and protection factors to understand victimisation processes in more depth and improve prevention strategies. In this context, it is necessary to develop educational programs that consider personal, familial, and situational vulnerabilities and weaknesses in order to foster resilient individuals who can successfully confront the risks inherent to cyberspace. By analysing specific forms of cybervictimisation, guidelines based on criminological research and the most frequent victimisation processes will be identified in order to improve design of educational programs focused on parents, educators and potential victims.

Keywords: cybervictimisation of minors, cyberpsychology, education in cyberspace, pedagogy of prosocial values, communicating to prevent crime, criminological theories useful for education, cyberbullying, grooming, sexting.

Resumen:

El avance tecnológico ha transformado en pocos años la forma de interactuar y comunicarse entre las personas, especialmente entre los denominados *adolescentes digitales*. Su impacto en las actividades cotidianas y en la cultura dominante ha propiciado, asimismo, un incremento en la exposición a riesgos psicológicos y criminológicos por parte de los

menores. Ante esta nueva realidad psicosocial, se plantean nuevos retos educacionales que deben partir de un adecuado diagnóstico de la psicología y pedagogía en relación con los adolescentes.

Las teorías e investigaciones criminológicas vienen tratando de identificar los factores de riesgo y de protección con la finalidad de comprender con mayor profundidad los procesos de victimización y mejorar las estrategias de prevención. En este contexto, conviene avanzar en programas educativos que tengan en cuenta las carencias y vulnerabilidades personales, familiares y situacionales de los menores, a fin de fomentar el desarrollo de personas resilientes que sepan afrontar con éxito los riesgos que se fraguan y surgen en el ciberespacio. Mediante el análisis de las concretas formas de cibervictimización se pretende señalar algunas pautas basadas en la investigación criminológica y en los procesos de victimización más frecuentes en los entornos en que se desenvuelven los menores, de modo que puedan servir en el diseño de los programas educativos dirigidos a padres, educadores y potenciales víctimas.

Descriptores: cibervictimización en menores, ciberpsicología, educación en el ciberespacio, pedagogía en valores prosociales, comunicación para la prevención del delito, teorías criminológicas aplicables en educación, *cyberbullying*, *grooming*, *sexting*.

1. The anthropology of the smartphone and criminological theories applied to adolescent cyber-victimisation

With the proliferation and spread of the use of ITCs in contemporary society, a new *relational paradigm* has established itself in personal and social interactions. The line separating the real-me from the digital-me is ever thinner and more patchy. Indeed, in people's everyday activities, and especially with so-called *digital natives*, communication is increasingly based on virtual media. Even the offline world and online reality intermingle, for example, through augmented reality. All of these changes in the physical world and its movement into cyberspace have caused major psychological, cultural, and, as will be shown below, victimological transformations.

As has been exposed in other publications, cyberspace and psychopathology are two dimensions that feed back into each other and, indeed, "a certain psychopathological symbiosis" sometimes occurs between aggressors and victims (Agustina, 2014; Gassó, Fernández-Cruz, Montiel, Martín-Fumadó, & Agustina, 2018). "What elements of cyberspace lead to this weakening of the psychological barriers that block hidden feelings and needs?" asks Suler (2004, p. 322). Alongside other positive consequences, human beings in the digital era undoubtedly show greater vulnerability. Beyond transhumanism, it is worth focussing on the anthropological changes which technological changes produce in all dimensions of the sphere of human activity: perception, knowledge, learning, communication, interaction, and, ultimately, victimisation.

Miller (2018), when referring to the new field of study dubbed *digital anthropology*, states that greater emphasis in ethnographic analyses should be placed on those forms of digital culture that have become an omnipresent reality, such as social media networks and smartphones. Developing Ortega y Gasset's (1914) original idea, it is now possible to say, with regards to personal identity, that the *I am I and my circumstances* is strongly shaped by dependence on smartphones. And while the Internet was initially celebrated as a medium with unlimited freedom, this expectation has evolved, becoming about total monitoring and vigilance as the residents of the digital panopticon communicate intensively and bare themselves by their own free will (Han, 2014).

This era of full transparency has a major impact on the anthropological, psychological, and criminological study of the human being. As Favero and Theunissen (2018) note, digital technologies are entering anthropologists' lives as a *digital logbook*, in their fieldwork and in all of their activities, shaping how they record, process, analyze, and share their findings (Sanjek & Tratner, 2015). Smartphones have, indeed, contributed to this Copernican turn as they have become an integral part of our day-to-day activities (Collins et al., 2017; Lapenta, 2011; Pink & Hjorth, 2012; Tacchi, Kitner, & Crawford, 2012): with these technologies even being implanted or embedded in the body itself, we are witnessing a progressive crossing between material bodies and mobile digital technologies (Favero, 2016; Ibrahim, 2015; Rettberg, 2014).

The reduction in the age at which people access ITCs over recent years has involved very major changes in minors' day-to-day activities in cyberspace (García, 2017). They have virtual interactions outside the home much earlier and at all times, accessing these interactions with smartphones, which have become not just a window on the world, but also a real expanded space for their victimisation (Montiel & Agustina, 2018).

Cyberspace is undoubtedly a new space for criminal opportunities (Miró, 2012) where children and young people continue to be protagonists, especially in the new forms of social cybercriminality (Miró, 2012), in other words, criminal phenomena which encompass different forms of online interpersonal victimisation, such as cyberbullying, online grooming, and unwanted sexting, which will be discussed below.

Criminological theories provide three decisive focusses in this digital era: the self-control approach (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), the routine activities approach (Cohen & Felson, 1979), and the learning theories (Akers, 1990) among others. In fact, firstly, levels of self-control in the digital era are an individual factor of the first order, which make it possible to defer immediate rewards in a technological context which encourages impulsiveness. The tendency to develop addictive behaviour (for example, relating to compulsive consumption of all sorts of goods and services, including pornography, online gambling, and others) undoubtedly weakens the individual's will and resilience. Secondly, the everyday environment matters:

environmental factors in the form of digital architectures and the design of online spaces that encourage anonymity and a lack of vigilance are factors that create opportunities for misuse, which aggressors use motivated by the limited perceived risk and effort in delinquent behaviour. Human beings' vulnerability largely depends on a lack of controls (*capable guardians* in the terms of the routine activities approach) and the ever greater amount of time young people spend connected, interacting with people they know and with strangers, unaware of the dangers that threaten them or aware of them but with a limited ability to weigh up their possible long-term consequences. Finally, learning theories can also explain how the influence of patterns of behaviour and inadequate models increases, and so negative values and messages about neutralisation of deviant behaviour emerge with great force, transforming the perceptions and values of the collective imagination and adolescent motivation.

2. Cultural criminology and digital adolescents: towards a snapshot of youth culture and strengthening digital resilience

Katz already noted in his famous *Se-
ductions of Crime* (1988) that the central issue when explaining how the decision to commit a crime arises lies in motivation and, specifically, in understanding how a "distinctive sensual dynamics" (p. 4) emerges in the individual who commits it. The true nature of the human being is emotional: attention is sentiment and the conscience is sensual. The challenge when explaining this dynamic which encourages

crime is to determine the steps in the dialectic process through which people empower the world to seduce them to commit a crime. And part of this challenge is discovered when recognising the different sequences in which this spirit of determinism is forged, sequences which are sufficiently subtle for their advances to go unnoticed (Katz, 1988).

If the key to explaining crime is emotional and aesthetic, the messages that should be sent to the *homo sentimental* to dissuade it from the pull of offending should be based on a visual language built by aesthetically underpinned prosocial values. In this sense, from cultural criminology an approach has emerged in recent times where the dimension of the image plays an increasingly central role. In effect, as Herrera notes (2014, p. 6), a new visual criminology is now appearing, with a marked iconic turn: if criminology studies crime, visual criminology would encompass the study of the modes in which the visual interacts with crime, with the two dimensions mutually shaping one another. Its essential objective is to inquire into the “modern visual aesthetic of criminality”, insofar as it is intimately connected to a specific cultural ethic.

The new adolescent culture is a *culture of the image* transformed to unforeseen extremes by the technological setting, taking shape in the *psychology of feedback*, which has resulted in new forms or derivations of psychological disorders like a new digital narcissism or *body dysmorphic disorder* (Aiken, 2016). We have moved from the *Kodak culture*

to the online image and the *Instagram culture* (Gómez, 2012), and the appearance of different labels like *selfitis* and *twitteritis* (Balakrishnan & Griffiths, 2018; Starcevic, Billieux, & Schimmenti, 2018). Users receive pleasurable input of explicit and quantifiable social approval (Sherman, Payton, Hernandez, Greenfield, & Dapretto, 2016; Sherman, Greenfield, Hernandez, & Dapretto, 2018), with unpredictable frequency and size, such as *likes*, *views*, or Google’s search indicators (Loh & Kanai, 2014), which reinforce the behaviour patterns of reward seeking and compulsive behaviour (Knapp, 1976). On the other hand, a growing number of studies have associated addictive behaviour relating to the Internet with changes in reward processing (e.g., Lin, Zhou, Dong, & Du, 2015; Yao et al., 2015), processing of emotions, executive attention, decision making, impulse control (Oliva et al., 2013), and self-control mechanisms (Brand, Young, & Laier, 2014; Greenfield, 2011). We face a *paradox of emancipation* (Silva, 2018): everything points to greater levels of emotional freedom, yet technology effervescence have produced an alarming atrophy of self-control capacities.

Perhaps the time has come to admit that the *digital native* concept is overvalued, as various authors claim (e.g., Kirschner & De Bruyckere, 2017; L’Ecuyer, 2015; Rowlans et al., Nicholas, Williams, Huntington, Fieldhouse, Gunter, & Tenopir, 2008). In this sense, Rowlans et al. (2008) recognise that while young people show great familiarity and technical agility with technology, they also depend too much on search engines and they lack the

critical and analytic skills to be able to understand the value and originality of information on the Internet. Along the same lines, Carr (2011) affirms that digital natives gravitate towards a *superficial* way of processing information, characterised by rapid displacement of attention and minimal reflection.

3. “As you sow, so shall you reap”: vulnerability, risk factors and protection, and new forms of victimisation

The effects of three social revolutions of great importance (the sexual revolution, the digital revolution, and the adolescent revolution), combined with the loss of the sense of privacy (Agustina, 2010 a; Agustina & Gómez-Durán, 2016), have had a particularly strong impact on digital minors. And so, with socio-cultural conditions conducive to overexposure to different types of risks having been created, new forms of victimisation have quickly appeared.

With this being the case, the different forms of online victimisation have adopted their own characteristics, leading to *new* forms of social criminality, such as cyberbullying, sexting, and online grooming (Miró, 2012). According to recent studies, over 50% of Spain’s adolescent population has suffered at least one of these forms of social cybercriminality (Miró & García, 2014; Montiel, Carbonell, & Pereda, 2016), which can negatively affect young people’s cognitive, neurological, and socio-affective development processes, increasing their risk of developing psychopathological dis-

orders and behavioural problems, and increasing their vulnerability to victimisation in adulthood, as shown by numerous studies into victimisation of minors and polyvictimisation (Finkelhor, 2008; Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007; Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, & Hamby, 2009; Pereda, Guilera, & Abad, 2014).

Cyberbullying between minors consists of repeated aggressive behaviour over time, intentionally carried out using electronic devices, with the aim of attacking a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014). This is a common phenomenon among young people in Spain and recent research shows that the prevalence between the ages of 12 and 18 is around 30-50% (Calvete, Orue, & Gámez-Guadix, 2016). The invisibility and anonymity of the people involved and spectators, and the disinhibitory effect of this (Suler, 2004), the distance between victim and aggressor (especially emotional), the speed of dissemination of the content and the (near) impossibility of destroying it, the size of the audience, and its omnipresent nature are some of the elements that make this phenomenon an improved and more damaging version of traditional bullying. Harassment can come simultaneously from different channels to which the victim, aggressor, and spectators are constantly connected on different devices, in diverse contexts and situations, and so there are no safe spaces, not even the victim’s own home (Kowalski et al., 2014). All of this not only promotes impulsive and disinhibited behaviour by the (ever more aggressive) perpetrators,

but also facilitates the rapid isolation of the (ever more defenceless) victim and contributes to indefinitely prolonging his or her suffering and making the victimisation chronic (Slonje, Smith, & Frisén, 2013) owing to the great difficulty of escaping and deleting the digital footprint (Montiel, 2016).

Online grooming is behaviour, generally carried out by an adult (or another minor who is significantly older than the victim) through the use of ICTs with the aim of misleading, manipulating, or deceiving a child for future online or offline sexual contact (Gámez-Guadix, Almendros, Calvete, & De Santisteban, 2018). Montiel et al. (2016), based on a sample of 3,897 young people from Spain aged between 12 and 17, observe a prevalence of 17.2%, with a higher rate of victimisation among girls. This increases to 25.6% with girls aged between 16 and 17.

Grooming in itself does not necessarily involve sexual activity, but it does comprise the courting or seduction strategy used by the aggressor to approach minors, catch their attention and interest, seduce them, establish an affective bond with them, and reduce their inhibitions to increase the chance of success when making a sexual approach, as happens in traditional child sexual abuse (Montiel et al., 2016). Nonetheless, even in this process of seduction it is possible to fall back on sexual elements to reduce young people's inhibitions (showing sexual images of other minors or of adults, sexual conversations, etc.). The technological dimension of abuse now facilitates the groomer's

process of preparation (observing and selecting victims, empowering and reinforcing their sexual interest in minors, etc.), as well as finding potential victims (concomitance of victims and settings), establishing a link, progressive sexualisation of the relationship (escalation and making the victim feel jointly responsible), and dissemination or interchange of visual evidence of the abuse (economic or social status gains in paedophile networks) (Gassó, Fernández-Cruz, Montiel, Martín-Fumadó, & Agustina, 2018).

The term *sexting* is a portmanteau of "sex" and "texting", and the different definitions used include sending, receiving, or resending or disseminating sexually explicit messages or images of the protagonists in which they appear naked, semi-naked, or in a sexually suggestive form, with this sharing being done over mobile phones, social media, or the Internet (Agustina & Montiel, 2016). In Spain, 33.5% of adolescents practice sexting. It is most frequent among older adolescents (Villacampa, 2017) and it reaches its highest level among young adults (Gámez-Guadix, Almendros, Borrajo, & Calvete, 2015). Some of the main complexities of this phenomenon revolve around the legal implications of the problem and the variety of content, behaviour, motivations, and media it includes (Drouin, Vogel, Surbey, & Stills, 2013). Also in the significant debate over where to draw the line separating behaviour connected to sexual exploration between peers which can be regarded as normative from other types that are abusive and inappropriate (Livingstone & Smith, 2014), which occur in aggressive or coer-

cive contexts or involve child pornography. Only in these cases can we speak of sexting as a form of interpersonal online violence or a social cybercrime which also could well be the prelude to other cybercrimes such as cyberbullying or online grooming (Agustina & Montiel, 2016).

Although it is important to note that the experience of these online risks does not always carry with it experience of harm (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011), over half of the victims of cyberbullying (Tsitsika et al., 2014) and at least one in three victims of unwanted online sexual experiences feels negatively affected by these experiences (Ybarra, Mitchell, & Korchmaros, 2011), especially girls, younger children, and people with psychological difficulties (Livingstone & Smith, 2014; Whittle et al., 2013). According to the review by Smith & Livingstone (2017), the predictors for the appearance of harm deriving from experiences of online victimisation primarily refer to three groups: personal factors (sensation seeking, low self-esteem, moral disengagement, and psychological difficulties), social factors (lack of parental support and social standards), and digital factors (online practices or habits, digital skills, vulnerability to the lures of certain websites and services), and the authors suggest that interventions focus on these risk groups which are more vulnerable to mental harm, strengthening their capacity for resilience and coping strategies.

We should not ignore the fact that most of the adolescents involved in any of these

forms of interpersonal online violence are also usually involved in others, giving rise to situations of *multiple online victimisation*, in the case of victims (Montiel et al., 2016), or general dysfunctional patterns of online behaviour in the case of aggressors (Montiel & Carbonell, 2016), and that it is precisely this accumulation of negative experiences and behaviours which contributes to worse psychological and emotional adjustment of the minor (Pereda, Guilera, & Abad, 2014).

Among the factors present in groups of adolescents at risk, alongside certain characteristics of the young people themselves and the virtual space, there is a significant role for having relationships with their parents which are poor, conflictive, lack cohesion, or are negligent. From criminology, the family perspective is that widely held idea that a strong family reduces the existence of crime, while a weak family contributes to it appearing to a greater degree. Sampson has argued in this respect that family life (more than poverty in itself) is the main driving force in generating or avoiding crime. The family perspective fits in well with other common criminological perspectives. A favourable family environment tends to counteract human weaknesses, keeps young people away from unfavourable situations, keeps them away from bad company, from being inactive or idle, from undesirable temptations, risks, and provocations, while at the same time encouraging self-control when it is needed. Furthermore, theories of control tell us that children often fear embarrassing their parents by getting into problems.

Family life also reduces the risk of victimisation (Agustina, 2010 b). In this sense, numerous studies identify family variables such as conflict and a lack of cohesion as predictors of cybervictimisation. For example, with regards to online grooming, Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis, Beech, & Collings (2013) note that young people who are marginalised from their families, in conflict with their parents, or who have family difficulties are vulnerable to online sexual approaches (Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2001, 2007; Wells & Mitchell, 2008; Wolak, Finkelhor, & Mitchell, 2004). Based on studies carried out with online groomers, it has been noted that they recognise young people who are looking for attention, empathy, or feedback from adults and they take advantage of these affective deficiencies (Webster et al., 2012; Santisteban & Gámez-Guadix, 2017).

With regards to cyberbullying, parental support is an important protective factor (Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2010), while a poor parent/child relationship is a predictor of online bullying (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). For their part, according to Baumgartner, Sumter, Peter, & Valkenburg (2012), adolescents who are involved in risky online sexual behaviour like sexting, are less satisfied with their lives, display higher levels of sensation seeking, come from families with less cohesion and lower levels of education, and use the Internet more to communicate, supporting the idea that adolescents who have problems in their day-to-day lives can fall back on the Internet to substitute the loss of offline gratification (Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2003).

4. The culture of control versus the culture of education: recovering the concept of virtue through the paradigm of self-control

We live in a society obsessed with control and with no tolerance for any type of risk, fixed in a prevention paradigm which does not appropriately understand that, in reality, education of the person and progressive learning in the exercise of a responsible freedom are far more decisive. Neither the state nor the modification of the social and cultural structures that encourages people to lead lifestyles where risks of victimisation are not sufficiently examined can guarantee protection of young people from the dangers of the digital era. External control mechanisms do not permeate the interior of the individual and, although the environment is decisive when shaping spaces for criminal opportunity, it is worth investing more in educating resilient people without ignoring the situational focus or modification of the socio-cultural structures mentioned above.

In this context, understanding the necessary gradualness with which the pedagogy of freedom must be implemented appears to be decisive. Prevention means, above all, education. And education in freedom should involve offering appropriate motivations for young people to see the positive and negative aspects of ITCs and choosing to opt for responsible use of technological resources. In any case, to educate it is necessary to supervise appropriately (Osgood & Anderson, 2004). There are many ways of supervising: it is not just a case of accompanying, although

the mere presence of parents and educators can undoubtedly favour more reflexive and prosocial behavioural dynamics. Some studies have analysed the efficacy of different parental mediation strategies on young people's Internet use, concluding that there is no simple and direct relationship between it and their online experiences. Therefore, merely increasing mediation does not reduce exposure to online risks (Livingstone & Helsper, 2008) and the parental control perceived by the young people only minimally reduces their online risk-taking behaviour (Valcke, De Wever, Van Keer, & Schellens, 2011).

Some authors maintain that parental control does not influence victimisation through cyberbullying (Marcum, Higgins, & Ricketts, 2010; Moore, Guntupalli, & Lee, 2010). Others, however, note that some specific parental supervision strategies can be protective factors, such as supervising time spent on the Internet and sharing of personal information (Ortega-Barón, Buelga, & Cava, 2016; Walrave & Heirman, 2011), while others, such as as monitoring pages they visit online, using filtering software, or the physical location of the computer do not work (Lee & Chae, 2007; Mesch, 2009; Navarro, Serna, Martínez, & Ruiz-Oliva, 2012). The impact of parental control depends, among other things, on how the young people use the Internet (Eynon & Malmberg, 2011) and on how much this type of technology is embedded in their lives (Steeves & Webster, 2008). In the first case, for example, the effect of parental supervision is greater on *active users* (all types of use,

especially social) than on *normative users* (communication, entertainment, and looking for information) and *peripheral users* (limited use of the Internet) than on any other type of user (Eynon & Malmberg, 2011).

Along with the presence of *capable guardians* (Hollis, Felson, & Welsh, 2013) in the surroundings of the day-to-day activities of the young people, it is necessary to construct a communicative language which is effective in the context of the prevention programmes and instruments. And this language which transmits prosocial values, in cyberspace as well, must come from the family as the individual's primary location of socialisation and from other authority figures which contribute to forming the culture of the group or the social culture. The models which are genuinely successful in adolescent culture have a fundamental weight in the configuration of the set of messages favourable or unfavourable to risk practices.

The current crisis of values that afflicts us (libertarian antisocial behaviour, moral detachment or insensitivity, high levels of interpersonal violence, a tendency towards atomising individualist egotism, lack of business ethics, among other symptoms) is a reaction to two problems which feed into each other: a dimming of the *intelligence* to know good and a weakening of the *will* to decide to practice it. In light of the first problem, a return to the concept of virtue and the challenge of making it attractive in educational, political, and social discourse should be proposed; in light

of the second problem, formulas should be proposed for re-strengthening the family structure as the ideal environment for developing the capacity for resilience and self-control. Some dominant lines of thought have placed the emphasis on a concept of *unlimited freedom* (apart from some minimal limits which, in view of the current situation, seem insufficient). Accordingly, a pedagogical model has been favoured, based on a certain self-justifying ethical emotivism. In this context, there should be a return to a positive concept of what it means to educate, which proposes purposefully returning to an emphasis on the importance of self-control as a counterweight to simply allowing oneself to be carried along by a flood of emotions, impulses, and objectives which are gratifying in the short term. The “self-control” construct is more than the contemporary translation of the Aristotelian concept of virtue.

From this perspective, we live in an anomic society where rules only fulfil an external role, of threatening or psychological coercion in the case of deviation. The lack of basic objective references in moral action and in dominant political and social discourse underlines the magnitude of the crisis of values affecting us. A certain existential pessimism stands out among the signs of disquiet of the postmodern individual, the result of a relativism of values which, *prima facie*, was going to bring us freedom and tolerance. This sensation of anguish and anxiety is certainly a paradoxical situation in the period in the history of humankind with the greatest well-being and security. The model of hap-

piness based on compulsive hedonism has only increased the existential vacuum and lack of meaning of a society which, more than ever, is feeling in the dark. Even so, starting from an objective snapshot without euphemisms, efforts should be made to build a promising setting which returns to the family, educational authorities, means of social communication, and political leaders this vital desire to make effective improvements to the conditions for development in order to create responsible citizens.

Starting from these premises, training programmes for parents and educators should be directed towards a new culture in the use of ICTs which advocates a firm commitment to self-control as a counterpoint to the disinhibitory effects described by Suler (2004), empathy and rules for education in cyberspace (*netiquette*), moderation in habits for using the Internet, recovering the sense of privacy, awareness of the negative effects of narcissistic self-referentiality, or people’s awareness of the consequences and the indelible trace of their online behaviour. At a more specific level, prevention of cyberbullying, for example, can focus on general training in empathy, modifying beliefs that support aggression, and establishing more specific guidelines for behaviour on the Internet, including actions which young people can take such as reporting abuse and collecting evidence (Smith & Livingstone, 2017). Prevention of sexting can focus on sexual-affective education and emotional self-regulation, respect for one’s own privacy and that of other people, and training about digital architecture and risks for

online privacy which explain how we lose control of anything we publish online. For its part, preventing online grooming situations can primarily be based on reinforcing parental support and family cohesion, promoting healthy affective relationships which are not coercive or asymmetrical, and developing critical thinking about the hyper-sexualisation of childhood, dismantling all of the false beliefs and fallacies that make it more likely young people will find themselves involved in abusive online relationships (Montiel, Carbonell, & Salom, 2014).

It is important to note that in cyberspace, the victim-aggressor dichotomy is becoming increasingly flexible, and it is even possible to speak of a continuum of involvement in which the figure of the aggressive-victim or the victimised-aggressor often appears (Montiel, 2016; Walrave & Heirman, 2011) as there is enough empirical evidence to support a significant overlap of roles, both online and offline (Kowalski et al., 2014; Smith, 2014). Similarly, we know that children who are vulnerable offline are also vulnerable online, in the same way that people who take risks in one field are more likely to take them in others ones as well (Livingstone & Smith, 2014). Accordingly, from a developmental victimology focus, Pereda et al. (2014) note an increased association between polyvictimisation and victimisation (physical and psychological) by carers, sexual victimisation (especially by unknown adults), and online victimisation (non-sexual cyberbullying and unwanted sexual approaches).

All of this points to the need to adopt environmental and integrated approaches which, instead of focussing on preventing specific behaviour patterns, such as cyberbullying or online grooming or on specific roles (victim or aggressor) or on microsystem levels of analysis (school or family), adopt a broader vision of online victimisation of children and adolescents in which, for many children, digital violence can be a virtually chronic condition of life rather than an isolated experience, which points to the presence of a strong structural root and indicates the existence of a serious endemic problem in current society.

In general, it is necessary to adapt prevention messages to make them suitable for adolescents, increase the degree of warning about risks, and motivate them to reconsider coming into contact with people they do not know online to offset their psychological weaknesses or shortcomings, such as loneliness or depression (Wolak et al., 2004), as well as allowing them to develop their capacity for self-regulation and self-control so they do not succumb to disinhibition, loss of control and freedom online, at the same time as strengthening protective factors that minimise the impact of risks. But to do this, it is necessary to offer them alternative more attractive and exciting spaces for development, ones that are more authentic than screens.

To prevent childhood and youth cyber-victimisation it is not enough to educate in technological skills, since, as L'Ecuyer (2018) notes, true preparation

for using technologies correctly lies in understanding context, which does not develop in a decontextualised setting like the online one, but which is acquired in the offline setting, which is the real world. Neither can it be expected that technological applications themselves will provide a solution to the problem, given that it transcends the digital architecture of cyberspace, and we can be sure that what puts minors at risk is not computers or technology per se, but rather people (Martellozzo, 2013) and we believe that, as Steve Jobs said, “what’s wrong with education cannot be fixed with technology” (Wolf, 1996).

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Bullying and cyberbullying: victimisation, harassment, and harm. The need to intervene in the educational centre

Bullying y ciberbullying: victimización, acoso y daño. Necesidad de intervenir en el entorno escolar

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Abstract:

This work focusses on cyberbullying, analysing the results of a survey administered to a representative sample of Spanish internet users aged between 9 and 16. The data show that harassment on digital devices is part of the climate of violence among pre-teenagers and teenagers, where face-to-face bullying is much higher than online bullying. Although bullying occurs in different ways, and these tend to overlap, the most frequent form is offline bullying. The prevalence of cyberbullying varies considerably by age, tending to increase as the subjects' age increases, whereas offline bullying decreases among 15-16-year-olds. The boundary between victims and perpetrators

is difficult to sketch in cyberbullying as three out of four children who admit having treated others in a hurtful or nasty way on the Internet or with mobile phones have themselves been treated in this way by others. The evidence regarding 13-14-year-olds is especially worrying as they are more involved in cyberbullying and a great many of them say they have felt very upset when victimized. The results display a need to prevent and deal with cyberbullying at school, as this is the most effective and equitable site for intervention.

Keywords: bullying, teenagers, cyberbullying, school life, Internet, mobile devices, risks.

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Resumen:

El presente trabajo analiza el *ciberbullying* a través de los resultados de una encuesta realizada a una muestra representativa de los y las menores españolas usuarias de Internet de entre 9 y 16 años. Los datos revelan que el acoso a través de las tecnologías digitales forma parte de un clima de violencia entre los preadolescente y adolescentes, entre los cuales el acoso cara a cara prevalece claramente sobre el que tiene lugar a través de medios tecnológicos. Si bien las diversas modalidades de acoso se superponen entre sí, la más frecuente es la que tiene lugar en entornos *offline*. La incidencia del *ciberbullying* está fuertemente estructurada por la edad y aumenta en función de esta. Se aprecia un intercambio de roles entre los y las menores

implicados en los episodios violentos *online*, dado que tres de cada cuatro acosadores han sido también víctimas de acoso. Resultan particularmente llamativos los datos del grupo de 13-14 años, en el que la prevalencia de la participación en el *ciberbullying* es relativamente elevada y además los y las menores reconocen haberse sentido muy disgustados por su victimización. Los resultados avalan la necesidad de intervenir desde el entorno escolar para minimizar la incidencia del acoso, ya que es el principal ámbito en el que tiene lugar, y además este es el ámbito más igualitario y efectivo.

Palabras clave: acoso, adolescentes, ciberracismo, convivencia escolar, Internet, dispositivos móviles, riesgos.

1. Introduction and state of the question

Social and institutional interest and concern about violent behaviour among school pupils has increased in recent years, as has its presence in the media (Sahuquillo, 2017). Both face-to-face bullying and the form which involves the use of ICT are subjects of analysis and concern at different levels, something which has led to a range of working definitions to describe these two phenomena.

While cyberbullying should be understood as an extension of the traditional form of bullying on virtual social networks and the Internet, some of the features of bullying —repetition, imbal-

ance of power, intent, and lack of justification— have to be redefined in the case of cyberbullying or online bullying. Repetition, for example, has been flagged as a problematic criterion, given that on occasions a single aggression using technological means can endure and perpetuate itself on the Internet, even though there was only a single action by the aggressor (Levy et al., 2012; Menesini et al., 2012; Slonje, Smith, & Frisén, 2013). Similarly, factors such as the anonymity in which the bully can hide (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008), the difficulty for the victim of stopping bullying on the Internet (Ovejero, Smith, & Yubero, 2013), and the ease with which the audience can increase in the case of cyberbullying contribute to

the victim's defencelessness and to harm being greater than in cases of traditional bullying (Estévez, Villardón, Calvete, Padilla, & Orue, 2010).

Although bullying can occur in situations outside school—in public spaces such as parks or sports centres—and the online setting transcends schools, school is the location where most of children's social relationships occur, and so it is where bullying—traditional and online—is most common and most visible.

Among the elements relating to bullying—the family setting, the cognitive characteristics of bullies and victims, and social factors—it is important to mention ones that relate to the school setting, such as academic performance, peer pressure, lack of safety and supervision in schools, lack of measures to respond to diversity, the absence of a positive school climate, and lack of knowledge and limited control of the relationships students maintain on social networks, which, as Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, & Sadek note (2010), are risk factors for cyberbullying.

There is no consensus when quantifying the prevalence of bullying and cyberbullying among school pupils in Spain. The data can, and indeed do, vary according to which tools are used to measure them, how the phenomenon is defined, and the age range considered, as Smith notes (2016). At a global level, in 2010 the WHO reported a prevalence of bullying at school which varied by country from 13% to 27% in Europe, with similar figures for 2016 (Currie et al., 2012; Inchley et al., 2016).

Regarding cyberbullying, Zych, Ortega-Ruiz, and Del Rey (2015) deduced from a review of over 60 studies that at least one in every five to seven minors are involved. At the European level, Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson (2011) found that on average 6% of the population aged between 9 and 16 believed they had been victims of cyberbullying and 3% said they had been a bully on the Internet. In the case of Spain, Garmendia, Jiménez, Casado y Mascheroni (2016) established that among Internet users aged between 9 and 16 the prevalence of online victimisation was 12% and the prevalence of bullying was 8%. Likewise, the survey carried out in 2016 by Save the Children is noteworthy thanks to the size of its sample, which included over 21,000 children and adolescents aged from 12 to 16 from Spanish public schools. This gave the result that 9.3% of those surveyed considered that they had suffered traditional bullying in the last two months, and 6.9% considered they had been victims of cyberbullying, with insults being the most frequent form of aggression (Save the Children, 2016).

Various channels are used for carrying out online aggression: harassment by telephone, recordings of physical attacks circulated by instant messaging or on sharing platforms, emails, spreading rumours and threats on social media, exclusion, etc. In this way, as the online habits of the school population and its access to different technological elements have increased and diversified, so too have forms of cyberbullying. It is worth noting that Internet use has now spread to virtually

all of the school-age population; in Spain, on average, 95% of children and adolescents aged 10 to 15 use the Internet. The use of mobile phones, in turn, is strongly shaped by age: 25% of children have a mobile phone at the age of 10; practically half do at 11, and from 14 years of age, over 90% have a device for their own use (Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE), 2017). In Europe, 97% of the population aged between 15 and 24 has virtually daily access to the Internet, with 85% doing so from a smartphone (European Commission, 2015).

School is the key area for action on bullying among children and adolescents and the need for schools to intervene in the face of this phenomenon is upheld. However, school intervention on bullying currently faces complex challenges. For example, there are situations in which more than one school is involved in a single case of cyberbullying or, as it is deemed to have happened outside of school, responsibilities are watered down and nobody acts. Nonetheless, bullying causes harm to whole communities, and so it is necessary for all parties—family and society as well as the school—to be involved (Cohen-Almagor, 2018). Work to prevent different forms of violence among the student body as a whole is fundamental to prevent any form of bullying (Save the Children, 2016).

The field of psychology has suggested that the role of schools is as a force for cooperation between different parties such as the school and family as well as society and the community. Interventions

must focus on both the aggressor and the victim and on the two of them jointly. Different types of intervention are recommended, both for conflict prevention and to improve coexistence in schools. These include primary intervention, to detect initial situations of mistreatment, and secondary intervention in the face of consolidated situations to provide therapeutic support or protection for victims, and monitor aggressors (Garaigordobil, 2011). Nonetheless, the best form of intervention proposed is to encourage harmonious coexistence in schools, stimulating social and emotional skills, cooperation, and conflict solving (Garaigordobil, 2015).

Del Rey, Estévez, and Ojeda (2018) refer to a variety of school programmes focussed on prevention or intervention in the case of cyberbullying. These programs focus on raising awareness in society and making students reflect, strengthening a critical attitude to the phenomenon and making them aware of security and the protection they should have on the Internet, and fostering good use of social media and the Internet (Del Rey, Estévez, & Ojeda, 2018).

Evidence shows that, to varying degrees, cyberbullying complements bullying at school (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009; Smith, Kwak, & Toda, 2016). The aim of this work is to analyse the relationship between bullying and cyberbullying in Spain, starting from the basis that the two phenomena overlap, to describe the frequency with which they occur in different age ranges and with different levels of

harm for their victims, and to explore the association between the roles of victim and aggressor in bullying processes, taking the school setting as the context.

1.1. Material and methods

This article analyses data obtained through a survey funded by the Spanish Ministry of the Economy and Companies, reference number CSO 2013-47304-R, which was carried out from April to June 2015. With regards to the population and sample, according to data from the Spanish National Statistics Institute, the reference population —children and adolescents aged between 9 and 16— was estimated to be 3,758,400. Similarly, the Spanish National Statistics Institute, in the press release about ICT equipment and usage at home, estimated that among children and adolescents aged between 10 and 15, use of the Internet is universal. Consequently, with a margin of error of 4.45% and a confidence level of 95.5%, it was decided to use a sample of 500 children and adolescents. The fieldwork involved surveying children and adolescents aged between 9 and 16, all of whom were Internet users, and their parents. In each family home, the parent most involved with the online activity of the child or adolescent was interviewed. In order to maximise the quality of the responses, the questionnaires were completed in the homes of the families and self-administered questionnaires were also used for the more sensitive questions asked to the children and adolescents.

The sample was stratified by region and level of urbanisation and sampling points were selected using the census

sections. After this, the addresses of the homes were selected at random using the random route process. The survey analysed Internet access and usage, the online activities of the children and adolescents, the incidence of the risks and the subjective perception of the harm caused by them, as well as communicative practices, digital skills, aspects relating to excessive use, and parental mediation.

In this article we analyse the results relating to bullying between peers considering the medium through which it occurs —online and/or offline— and the roles of the children and adolescents involved in the incidents of violence. The statistical analysis will fundamentally be descriptive as the relatively small number of children and adolescents who are victims and/or aggressors does not allow for more elaborate statistical analyses. The frequency analyses will be structured by the age of the children and adolescents as this has a direct influence on the development of digital skills, personality maturation, and possessing mobile phones. The prevalence of bullying will be analysed according to its different forms, the frequency of the roles involved for bullying and cyberbullying, the association between the two roles, and the relationship between harm and age according to type of bullying.

2. Analysis and results

2.1. Context and forms of cyberbullying

Table 1 shows how the incidence of face-to-face bullying is much higher than that for cyberbullying in any of its various forms.

TABLE 1. Percentages for forms in which children and adolescents have suffered bullying in the last 12 months by age (absolute frequencies in parentheses).

%	Age				Total
	9-10	11-12	13-14	15-16	
In person, face-to-face	27 (36)	27 (34)	27 (34)	20 (23)	25 (127)
Mobile phone calls	0	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	1 (6)
Through messages on my phone (SMS or MMS)	0	1 (1)	2 (3)	3 (3)	1 (7)
On a social network (Tuenti, Facebook, etc.)	1 (1)	4 (5)	6 (7)	8 (9)	4 (22)
On a platform (YouTube, Instagram, Flickr)	2 (3)	3 (4)	6 (7)	2 (2)	3 (16)
By instant messaging (MSN, WhatsApp, Skype)	2 (2)	4 (5)	7 (9)	9 (10)	5 (26)
In a chatroom	3 (4)	6 (7)	4 (5)	2 (2)	4 (18)
Any form of bullying through the Internet or mobile devices	8 (10)	13 (16)	14 (17)	15 (17)	12 (60)
TOTAL victims	33 (43)	32 (40)	33 (40)	28 (31)	32 (154)
Non-victims	67 (91)	68 (87)	67 (91)	72 (84)	68 (346)

Q33: If someone treated you like this, how did it happen? (Please mark as many boxes as necessary.)

Sample: all children and adolescents who use the Internet (N= 500).

Source: Own elaboration.

Twelve per cent of the children and adolescents reported having been victims of cyberbullying, although the percentage of victims of face-to-face bullying (25 %) is over twice the rate for victims involving telephones or the Internet. The data corresponding to the prevalence of each type show that the various types overlap. So, the sum of the relative weight of the victims of the various online forms is higher than the total percentage of online victims (12%). Likewise, the percentage for face-to-face victims (25 %) plus the percentage for online victims (12 %) is higher than the total percentage for victims of bullying (32%). This shows that the types of bullying overlap. For example, a particular child might be bullied face-to-face and by instant messaging and/

or in a chatroom simultaneously. In any case, the data show that cyberbullying is not the dominant model of aggression between peers. Instead, the data seem to show the contrary; face-to-face bullying is predominant with other forms added to it.

The most frequent channels through which cyberbullying occurs are instant messaging (WhatsApp, 5%), social networks (4%), and chatrooms (4%). This last category is mainly used by preadolescents. In contrast, among those aged over 13-14, online bullying mainly occurs through instant messaging (7-9%) and on social media (6-8%), while in the 13-14 age group, victimisation on sharing platforms is most noticeable (6%).

2.2. Victims and aggressors by age and type of bullying

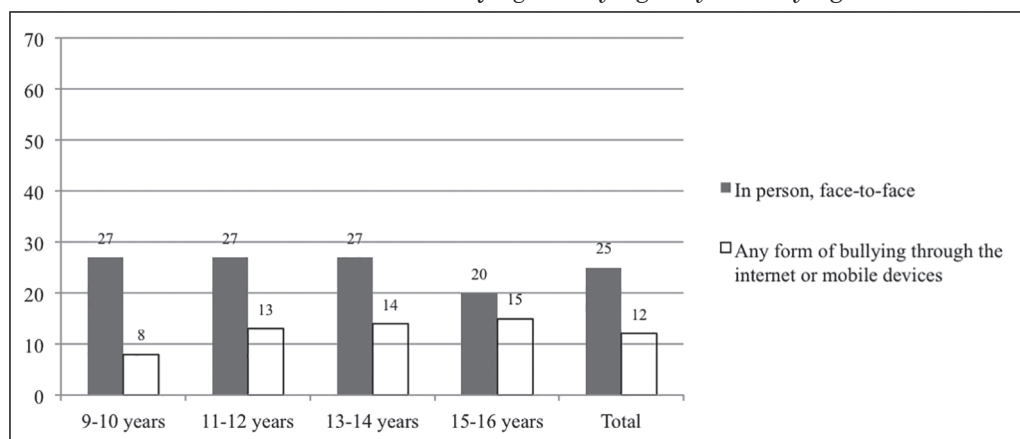
When the term bullying is used, it generally refers to the victimisation to which children and adolescents are subjected. Nonetheless, in this work we will analyse both types of violent behaviour, differentiating the two main roles of the people involved—victim and bully—depending on the two principal types of bullying.

The difference between the various age groups is striking: for those aged under 15, offline bullying clearly predominates, with around 27% in the 9 to 14 band compared with 20% in the 15 to 16 band. In contrast, the prevalence of victimisation through cyberbullying tends to increase with age, in particular from the age of 11, reaching 15% in the 15 to 16 age group. In this age group, the difference between the two types of bullying is 5%, while in

the younger age groups, it is much higher: between the ages of 11 and 14 the relative frequency of offline victimisation is double that of online victimisation and in the youngest age group it is three times higher.

In general, the prevalence of bullying—offline and online—is slightly lower than that of victimisation; however, the difference between the frequencies of the two roles is smaller in the case of cyberbullying. So much so that among young people aged 13 and 14, both frequencies are exactly the same; in this age range there are as many victims as bullies involved in cyberbullying incidents. The evidence shows that technology facilitates insults, revenge, and switching of roles between the agents involved, as was also established in the interviews and discussion groups held in previous pieces of research.

GRAPH 1. Victimization by age: *bullying v. cyberbullying*.



Q33: If someone treated you like this, how did it happen? (Please mark as many boxes as necessary.)

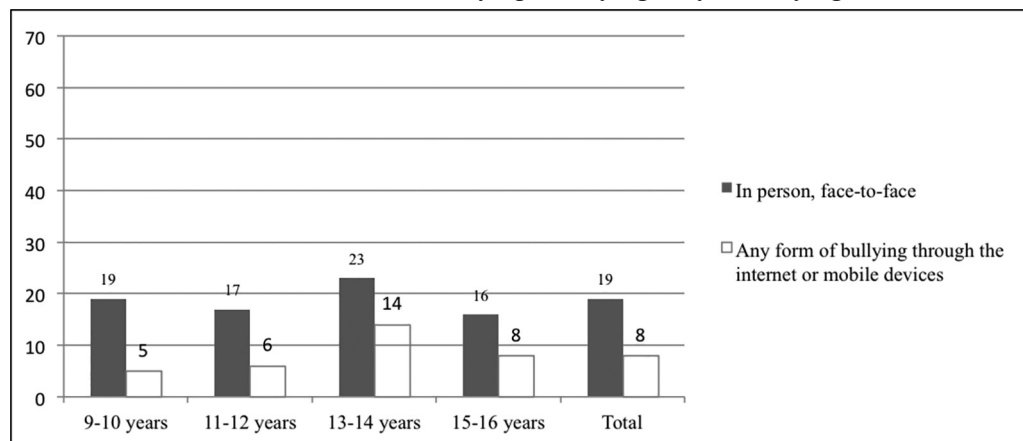
Sample: all children and adolescents who use the Internet (n = 500).

Source: Own elaboration.

In general, the percentage of bullies tends to increase with age up to 13-14 where it reaches 23% in the offline form and 14% online, while in the 15-16 age

band it falls to 16% and 8% respectively. Both types of bullying —online and offline— are most prevalent in the 13-14 age group.

GRAPH 2. Victimization by age: *bullying v. cyberbullying*.



Q34: In the last 12 months, have you treated somebody else like this? If so, how did you do it? (Please mark as many boxes as necessary.)

Sample: all children and adolescents who use the Internet (N = 500).

Source: Own elaboration.

2.3. Relationship between aggressor and victim in the online setting

Table 2 shows that there is a significant association (Chi squared = 138.5, significance = 0.000) between the roles of bully and victim in the online setting. In the total percentages the relatively low incidence of children and adolescents involved in incidents of cyberbullying tends to blur the trends. Nonetheless, participation in episodes of cyberbullying has an enormous impact on the likelihood of becoming a victim of bullying. If, on average, 12% of minors have been victimised, this datum varies considerably depending on whether they have been involved in incidents of cyberbullying as the bully. So, among those who have not bullied other children and adolescents online, the per-

centage who say they have been victims of bullying is relatively low (7%), while among the children and adolescents who have bullied people, three out of every four have also been victims of online bullying.

TABLE 2. Association between the roles of bully and victim in *cyberbullying*.

% Victims online	% Aggressors		Total
	No	Sí	
Not victims	86 (428)	2 (12)	88 (440)
Victim	6 (32)	6 (28)	12 (60)
Total	92 (460)	8 (40)	100 (500)

Q34: In the last 12 months, have you treated somebody else like this? If so, how did you do it? Online.

Q33: If someone treated you like this, how did it happen? Online.

Sample: all children and adolescents who use the Internet (n = 500).

Source: Own elaboration.

2.4. Association between harm and age by type of bullying

Another aspect to take into account when analysing bullying and cyberbullying is the harm they cause to the victims. Previous research has found that bullying —online and offline— is in general the most damaging experience of risk (Livingstone et al., 2011; Mascheroni & Cuman, 2014) compared with other potential risks such as accessing unsuitable content or contact with strangers.

Among children and adolescents who have been victims of face-to-face bullying, on average 40 % said they felt very upset, a slightly lower percentage said they felt a bit upset (38.6 %), and 21 % said they did not feel upset. The results show that the experience of harm is strongly shaped by age. Accordingly, the proportion who felt very upset increases to 47 % in the 11-12 age group. In the 13-14 age group it falls to 41 %, and in the 15-16 age group it drops notably to 22 %. The proportion of those who said they had felt a bit upset is slightly lower than those who felt very upset between the ages of 9 and 14 and in the 15-16 age group it increases because the relative weight of those who felt very upset reduces drastically. Finally, the proportion of people who were not upset is around 14 % between the ages of 9 and 12. It increases by almost 10 percentage points in the 13-14 age group, and is 39 % in the 15-16 age group. The data show that from the age of 13, the development of resilience and digital skills as well as personality maturation can contribute to young people managing situations of

conflict more effectively and being less vulnerable to the harm caused by face-to-face bullying.

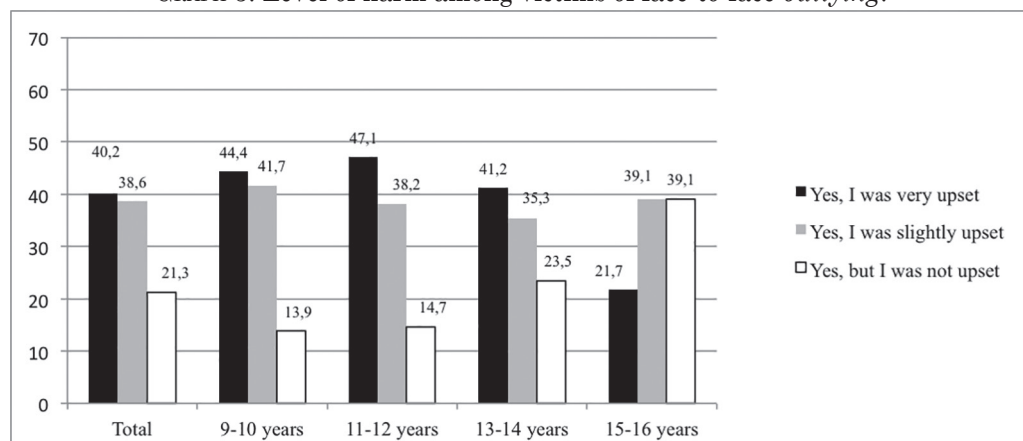
The results show that on average the proportion of children and adolescents who said they had felt very upset because of an episode of cyberbullying (45 %) is greater than the percentage who said they felt that way because of an episode of face-to-face bullying (40 %). In contrast, the percentage of children and adolescents who said they had felt a bit upset is lower in the case of cyberbullying (28 % compared with 39 %). The data show that the subjective perception of harm caused by cyberbullying is more polarised: people who report feeling very upset are relatively more numerous, but the ones who report not feeling upset are also more numerous.

Regarding age, it is worth noting that among under 12s, the percentage who felt very upset is between 40 % and 44 % compared with 30 % who say cyberbullying did not affect them. This last datum could indicate that at this early age, somewhat under one in three children is already developing resilience. Nonetheless, the data for the 13-14 age group entirely contradict this. This group's vulnerability to online victimisation is very notable: 65 % state that they felt very upset, 24 % a bit upset, and just 12 % were not upset. This age group's very high vulnerability to cyberbullying could possibly be associated with the importance these young people place on their online reputation, which would be seriously affected by incidents of online violence. In contrast, among

those aged 15 and 16, the percentage who felt very upset falls notably (29%), as also happens in the case of bullying, while the

same percentage felt a bit upset and not upset (35%).

GRAPH 3. Level of harm among victims of face-to-face *bullying*.

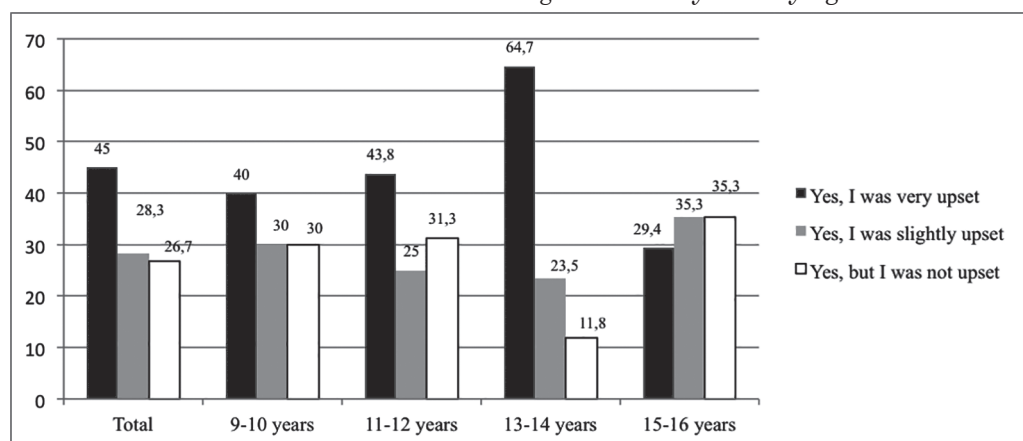


Q32: Has anyone treated you like this in the last 12 months? If so, how upset were you?

Sample: all children and adolescents who use the Internet and have been victims of face-to-face bullying (n = 127).

Source: Own elaboration.

GRAPH 4. Level of harm among victims of *cyberbullying*.



Q32: Has anyone treated you like this in the last 12 months? If so, how upset were you?

Sample: all children and adolescents who use the Internet and have been victims of cyberbullying (n = 60).

Source: Own elaboration.

3. Discussion

The evidence shows that situations of online bullying take place in a setting, in which there are many more cases of face-to-face bullying. Online bullying, or *cyberbullying* is a form of bullying, which is superimposed on other already-existing types, something which agrees with what previous research and reviews have shown (Ybarra, Boyd, Korchmaros, & Oppenheim, 2012; Zych et al., 2015; Garmendia et al., 2016). Both types of bullying display an increasing trend, and so the prevalence of bullying in general—online and offline—has doubled compared to the year 2010: 15% of children and adolescents aged between 9 and 16 (Garmendia, Garitaonandia, Martínez, & Casado, 2011) compared with 32% in 2015. This notable increase in the incidence of bullying could relate to a greater ability to identify situations of abuse and bullying by people who suffer from it and to greater social awareness of it (Garmendia et al., 2018).

Regarding the relationship between the prevalence of cyberbullying and age, while Del Rey et al. (2018) found mixed results, in our work, the differences by age group show a progression of violent online behaviour between peers: the frequency of cyberbullying increases with age unlike with face-to-face bullying (Garmendia, Garitaonandia, Martínez, & Casado-Calatayud, 2018; Barboza, 2015; Cappadocia, Craig, & Pepler, 2013; Kowalski & Limber, 2007). The number of people who suffer from cyberbullying increases as their age increases, although this bullying behaviour is carried out by fewer people. Therefore, a smaller number of aggressors

bully and victimise a larger number of students in the later years of compulsory secondary education. However, in offline bullying, the frequency increases with age but from the age of 15 there is a change in trend, with face-to-face bullying falling.

The high prevalence of bullying behaviour in the 13-14 age group is striking. This coincides with the first stage of secondary education, where supervision of pupils in schools is relatively limited while at the same time the possession of mobile phones also increases notably (INE, 2017), something often regarded as a rite of passage as young people often receive a smartphone as a present to mark their move to secondary education (Mascheroni & Cuman, 2014). In contrast, from the age of 15-16, the prevalence of face-to-face bullying falls notably, something that can be interpreted as part of the process of maturing and learning about managing emotions and the consequences of actions.

In this sense, it is important to consider that anonymity and ease of use and immediacy contribute to online insults being seen easy and free from consequences. This evidence can therefore be interpreted as a trivialisation of online violence. On many occasions, the context of the aggression is connected to young couples where, in an immature handling of a break-up, one of them distributes messages or images of the former-partner as blackmail or revenge to damage their reputation (Roca, 2015). This is consistent with the association Görzig proposes (2011) between cyberbullying, sensation seeking, and the difficulties associated with maturation. As

a conclusion in this regard, and in view of the development of cyberbullying by age group, it can be deduced that paying special attention to the first stage of secondary education, where the near-universal penetration of smartphones coincides with a lack of skill in managing social relationships, is vital for preventing and tackling situations of online bullying. On these lines, Garaigordobil claims that “if there is no preventive intervention, cyberbullying can not only not be expected to fall but instead can be expected to increase in the 12 to 18 age group” (2015, p. 1074), noting that good habits and prevention plans for cyberbullying are fundamental for learning to relate online.

There is a significant association online between the roles of bully and victim. The data do not allow us to clarify what the sequence is in the interplay between the two roles, if victimisation promotes bullying behaviour or if bullying behaviour leads to subsequent victimisation of the bullies. Nonetheless, there is ample evidence from previous research to support this connection, such as the work by Görzig (2011), which showed that around 60% of bullies had also been bullied, and the work by Lampert and Donoso, who also stated that “being a cyberbully is the best predictor of being a victim of cyberbullying” and noted that the boundaries between roles are harder to trace in cyberbullying than in face-to-face bullying (2012, p. 146).

Regarding the incidence of harm, understood as a subjective experience which can vary with each experience of bullying, the data show that the subjective percep-

tion of the harm caused by cyberbullying is more polarised than in the case of face-to-face bullying: people who report being very upset are relatively more numerous, but people who say they were not affected by it are also more numerous. Strong shaping by age is also observed: as the age of the victims increases, the proportion of severe harm falls, but this differs somewhat between face-to-face and online bullying. From the age of 13, the development of resilience and maturation can contribute to young people managing conflicts more effectively and being less vulnerable to the harm caused by conventional bullying. And yet vulnerability to cyberbullying is extraordinary in the 13-14 age range: 65% of those affected said they felt very upset, 24% somewhat upset, and just 12% did not feel upset. As noted above, this very high level of vulnerability is probably connected to the importance of the online reputation in this age group, and with the perception that aggression might have a universal reach (Ruiz, Martín, López, & Hernán, 2016), which has an impact on the particular interest in conflict prevention and management tasks among these children and adolescents.

4. Conclusions

The close association identified in our work between the roles of bully and victim indicate that the school climate is affected by situations of violence, which arise in turn are fed by episodes of aggression, and in which those children who observe, suffer and/or reproduce it also participate. All of this means that school intervention is necessary to protect victims and re-educate

cate aggressors (Save the Children, 2016), and it is also an important unifying element which is independent of each family's starting regarding, for example, digital skills (Garmendia et al., 2016). Acting in schools involves difficulties such as the school *law of silence* which leads to teachers being unable to help victims because they are not always aware of what is happening (Del Rey et al., 2018), or lack of specific training to handle this sort of situation. In this sense, it is important to detect situations of bullying, and also to have action protocols and prevention plans, taking as reference points elements that have been proven to be effective against traditional bullying (Ttofi & Farrington, 2011), as well as other specific ones given the differences detected between the two types of aggression.

The ombudsman has recommended that educational centres have increasing intervention on bullying, working with families and counsellors, and providing students with interpersonal relationship skills and communication strategies. In other words, solving issues with coexistence in a given school, without relying so much on external interventions, social services, the police, and courts (Defensor del Pueblo, 2007). In this respect, there is evidence for a reduction in the number of problems between students in schools with a plan for education in problem solving (Caballero, 2010).

But reality differs greatly from what was suggested. The cuts resulting from the financial crisis have meant that many schools can no longer have a PTSC (Spe-

cialist Community Service Teacher), a figure supporting harmonious coexistence who in theory would be the person responsible for implementing protocols or plans against bullying in schools, something which, in light of the evidence shown here, is a grave error. Consequently, it is noteworthy that "in the Spanish Law to Improve the Quality of Education's mentions of teacher training and granting resources to schools, educational quality is constantly linked to curriculum subjects, and prevention of violence is not regarded as an essential part of the desired educational quality" (Del Rey et al., 2018, p. 86). At the same time, there is still little regulatory support for tackling violence in schools and what there is only partially matches the suggestions by the ombudsman and by leading researchers on the topic in our setting, and the creation of specific legislation relating to school violence continues to be vital (Cerezo & Rubio, 2017). Overall, the contrast between the growing social interest in mistreatment between peers and the lack of political commitment to preventing it is worrying.

In this sense, the report "Los derechos de los niños y niñas en el sistema educativo en España" ("The rights of children in the Spanish educational system", Larrañaga, 2016) underlines the social acceptability of violence in some school settings, where aggressors tend to replicate patterns of violence in relationships with their peers without being aware of the harm caused to the victim. It is apparent that the school setting is very prone to permeation by violence from other settings in current society, which is characterised by individual-

ism, competitiveness, and a fast pace of life where interpersonal relationships are becoming increasingly conflictive. Recreating harmonious coexistence in schools is a challenge which should involve all agents—teachers, students, and parents—to transform the culture of mistreatment into a culture of good treatment.

It has also been shown that a friendly and supportive climate in schools has positive effects on students and reduces the likelihood of bullying, both online and face-to-face. Research shows that when young people feel connected to their schools, in an impartial, pleasant, and positive climate of trust, acknowledged involvement in all types of bullying—physical, verbal, or online—is lower (Cohen-Almagor, 2018; Cohen, Twemlow, Berkowitz, & Comer, 2015; Williams & Guerra, 2007).

Therefore, schools have a responsibility to act in the face of bullying, whether it be online or face-to-face, explaining and discussing the problem in the school and trying to explain the effects of bullying on victims. But the work of schools must take place alongside the parents to raise awareness and control the problem. Prevention programmes in schools, which offer support for students, are necessary, but parental intervention is also required (Cohen-Almagor, 2018).

And schools cannot tackle this social problem alone. The latest research into the topic suggests it is necessary to implement measures in the face of the social ills created by the Internet, and it calls for responsible cooperation between parents,

schools, governments and institutions, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the people in charge of social networks. Intimidation is a problem which affects and concerns us all, and so it must be approached in an interdisciplinary manner. Responsibility and accountability must be shared by all parties: parents, teachers, schools, NGOs and businesses, and must encompass different countries and the international community (Cohen-Almagor, 2018).

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School adaptation and behavioural and emotional problems in minors exposed to gender violence

Adaptación escolar y problemas comportamentales y emocionales en menores expuestos a violencia de género

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Abstract:

In recent years, as gender violence has become more visible in Spain, so sensitivity to the needs of children exposed to this violence has increased. However, interventions usually focus on psychosocial rehabilitation of women rather than their children. The aim of this work is to analyse the behavioural and emotional problems of a sample of children living in shelters with their mothers after having suffered gender violence. The Child Behaviour Check List (CBCL) was used to analyse the behavioural and emotional problems of 46 children aged between six and sixteen ($M = 11.15$; $SD = 2.6$) living in shelters. An *ad hoc* Likert questionnaire was also designed to gather information about these children's school adaptation. Behavioural and emotional problems were detected in most of the minors, as well

as difficulties in academic performance and school adaptation. A relationship between behavioural and emotional problems and school adjustment was also observed. These results reflect the need for greater attention to the difficulties of children exposed to gender violence and show the importance of the educational sphere for early detection and support of these difficulties.

Keywords: family violence, children, behavioural problems, school adjustment, school performance.

Resumen:

En los últimos años, debido al aumento de la visibilidad de la violencia de género en España, se está incrementando la sensibilidad

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hacia los menores que han vivido situaciones de violencia. Sin embargo, es frecuente que la intervención se centre en la rehabilitación psicosocial de las mujeres y no en los menores. El objetivo de este trabajo es profundizar en la problemática comportamental y emocional y su posible relación con el ajuste y adaptación escolar de un grupo de menores que viven en centros de acogida junto con sus madres, tras haber vivido situaciones de violencia en el hogar. A través del Child Behavior Check list (CBCL) se analizaron los problemas conductuales y emocionales de 46 niños y niñas de edades comprendidas entre 6 y 16 años ($M = 11.15$; $DT = 2.6$) que vivían en los centros de acogida. Asimismo, se diseñó un cuestionario ad hoc, formato tipo Likert para

conocer la adaptación escolar de estos menores. Se detectaron problemas conductuales y emocionales en la mayoría de los menores, así como dificultades tanto de rendimiento como en adaptación escolar. También se observó relación entre la problemática comportamental y emocional y el ajuste escolar. Estos resultados reflejan la prioridad de atender la problemática que reflejan los menores expuestos a violencia de género y de la relevancia que tiene el ámbito educativo en la detección, así como en el apoyo para superar estas dificultades.

Descriptor: violencia familiar, menores, problemas de conducta, ajuste escolar, rendimiento escolar.

1. Introduction

Over a period of several years, the phenomenon of gender violence has become a problem of major social and institutional importance, essentially because of the seriousness of its consequences and its impact (Abad i Gil, Pereda Beltran, & Guilera Ferré, 2011; Bayarri, Ezpeleta, Granero, De La Osa, & Domènech, 2011; Carrascosa, Cava, & Buelga, 2016; Mestre, Tur, & Samper, 2008; Patró & Limiñana, 2005).

Thanks to this greater awareness, different areas of society have increased intervention for victims of this violence and more resources, intervention programmes, and institutional assistance have been created to support victims of this type of violence (Anderson & Bang, 2012; Delgado-Álvarez, Sánchez, & Fernández-Dávila, 2012; Expósito, 2012; Graham-Bermann,

Howell, Lilly, & DeVoe, 2011; Sternberg, Baradaran, Abbott, Lamb, & Guterman, 2006). Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that most of the women who suffer from this blight are also mothers and their children have to experience this violence, and it has been estimated using different approaches that around 800,000 children and adolescents are affected by this situation in Spain (Unicef, 2006). According to the large-scale survey of gender violence in Spain carried out by the Spanish Ministry of Health, Social Services, and Equality (2015), 63.6% of the women who said that they had minor children and had experienced situations of violence reported that their children had been present at one or more of these violent situations. Of these children, 92.5% were aged under eighteen and 64.2% of them had also suffered this type of violence.

In this context, recent research has focussed on the effects exposure to these situations have on children and adolescents, and which consistently effect a series of behavioural or externalising disorders (dependency, hyperactivity, aggression, anti-social behaviour and substance use) and emotional or internalising ones (anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, and somatisation) (Carracedo, Fariña, & Seijo, 2017; Devaney, 2015; Foster & Brooks-Gunn, 2009; Katz, 2015; López-Soler, Alcántara-López, Castro, Sánchez-Meca, & Fernández, 2017; Wolfe, Crooks, Lee, McIntyre-Smith, & Jaffe, 2003).

Although the efforts of empirical research into the consequences of gender violence for the children of abused women have been directed towards discovering which problems directly affect the health and psychological functioning of these children and adolescents, these effects can, at the same time, lead to significant maladjustments in the school environment, the large majority of which lead to problems with academic performance, school absenteeism, lack of motivation, attention, and concentration, and antisocial behaviour from the children and adolescents who suffer from this violence (Graham-Bermann et al., 2011; Holt, Buckley, & Whelan, 2008; Huth-Bocks, Levendosky, & Semel, 2001, among others).

So, for example, the recent review by Pingley (2017) concludes that the prevalence of these cases entails a high risk of emotional and behavioural problems that will affect academic development.

Different theories have been proposed to try to explain this problem and the

causes of the significant decline in academic performance of these children and adolescents (Howell et al., 2016; Perkins & Graham-Bermann, 2012). For example, according to developmental theory, children and adolescents develop inappropriate behaviour, in particular anti-social behaviour, which limits their achievements as a result of the process of adaptation deriving from growing up in violent environments (Lynam, 1996; Moffitt & Caspi, 2001).

Agnew's General strain theory (1992), however, offers a possible explanation for the influence of domestic violence on aggressive, maladaptive, and delinquent behaviour which the child or adolescent might develop based on physiological changes caused by the response to stress which affect brain development and so affect memory and the ability to concentrate (Graham-Bermann et al., 2011; Reijneveld, Crone, Verlhust, & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2003). For their part, the precursors to a systemic family focus based on the general system theory proposed by von Bertalanffy and von Taschdjan (1976), such as Rathunde (1989) or more recently Barcelata & Álvarez (2005), claim that it is the limited support provided by the parents of these children and adolescents, absorbed in their own conflict, that causes their children's poor educational achievement.

In the works published on this topic, major differences can be observed between children and adolescents brought up in homes where there has been violence when compared with those raised in homes without violence. So, in all of these works, it is concluded that being exposed to these situations of gender violence

can negatively affect the development and cognitive functioning of these children, causing different problems, such as a reduction in their ability to concentrate, more difficulties with doing their schoolwork, and a reduction in verbal and motor skills (D'andrea, Ford, Stolbach, Spinazzola, & van der Kolk, 2012; Huth-Bocks, Levendosky, & Semel, 2001; Skivenes & Stenberg, 2015).

Along the same lines, Huth-Bocks et al. (2001) found, in their results, significantly lower scores in the sample of young people who had been exposed to gender violence than in the general population for verbal, mathematical, and motor skills, and in general, on intellectual ability tests. Similarly, Fry et al. (2018) detected poor academic achievement as well as increased school absenteeism in children and adolescents exposed to gender violence.

If the research cited above is considered, it is clear that most of these studies are of populations in other countries, and studies dedicated to this problem in Spanish child and adolescent populations are very rare. Furthermore, existing works in Spain focus on analysing the problem in general, but they rarely consider whether there are particular behavioural and emotional problems relating to school adaptation and adjustment.

Therefore, in order to contribute to the study of this situation, the aim of this work is to examine in-depth behavioural and emotional problems and their possible relations with school adaptation and adjustment with a sample of children and adolescents staying in reception centres

with their mothers as a result of situations of violence in their homes. The following specific objectives derive from this aim:

- Firstly, to examine whether the children and adolescents studied display more behavioural and emotional problems than the population of children and adolescents who do not suffer from this problem.
- Secondly, to evaluate the degree of school adaptation (social interaction and academic achievement) of the children and adolescents resident in these centres as a result of having been exposed to situations of violence in the home.
- Thirdly, to explore the possible association between behavioural and emotional problems and the degree of school adaptation, regarding both social interaction and academic achievement.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

A cross-sectional study was performed of the behaviour of the children and adolescents cared for along with their mothers in the specialist attention centres for victims of gender violence in the Spanish Autonomous Region of Valencia.

The residential comprehensive care services affiliated to the Valencian Network of Comprehensive Social Care for Victims of Violence against Women and their Children provide a series of centres where women who have been victims of gender violence can stay with their children. These centres act as a comprehen-

sive care resource in the following cases: a) whenever the situation requires it owing to the severity of the violence suffered; b) when there is no alternative accommodation resource and the women do not have sufficient financial means to cope with the abusive situation; and c) when their physical and/or mental well-being is in danger. In the Valencian Autonomous Region, residential comprehensive care services comprise: one emergency centre (Alicante), three comprehensive recovery centres (Alicante, Castellón, and Valencia), and eight supervised dwellings. According to the report released by the Sindic de Greuges (2017) on care and protection for women who have been victims of gender violence in the Autonomous Region of Valencia, women cared for alongside their children mainly enter with one (40.3%) or two children (25.8%). The mean is 1.69 children per user. The number of children varies between zero and nine, with most of the women having one or two.

Of a total of 117 children and adolescents accommodated in the centres between January 2017 and January 2018, 71 were excluded from the study because they were not in the centre for very long or because they did not fulfil the requirement of being aged six or over when the study was carried out, the age inclusion criterion stipulated in Spain by the instrument used, the CBCL (Child Behaviour Check List). In the end, the cases of 46 children and adolescents aged between six and sixteen were analysed ($M = 11.16$; $SD = 3.0$), 53% of whom were female and 47% male.

With regards to the mothers, 41.4% were of Spanish nationality and 58.6% were foreign nationals. A large majority of them had primary-level education (65.5%). Regarding the violence suffered by these women, 96.6% had suffered physical violence, 93.1% psychological violence, and 41.4% sexual violence. Table 1 shows the sociodemographic profile of the children and adolescents.

TABLE 1. Sociodemographic profile of the children and adolescents and the women.

Children and adolescents		Range	Mean; SD
	Age	6-18	11.0; 2.9
		n	%
	Sex		
	Male	22	47.8
Women (n=29)	Female	24	52.2
		Range	Mean; SD
	Age	28-49	36.5; 5.8
		n	%
	Nationality		
	Spanish	12	41.4
	Foreign	17	58.6
	Education		
	Primary	19	65.5
	Baccalaureate/Professional training	9	31
	Higher	1	3.4

Source: Own elaboration.

2.2. Instruments

- Adhoc questionnaire designed to record the children and adolescents' sociodemographic data (age, sex, and nationality).
- The *Child Behaviour Check List (CBCL)* questionnaire developed by Achenbach (1991). This is a behavioural checklist often used to study the problems of the children of victims of gender violence (Alarcón Parco, Jó, & Patricia, 2015; Alcántara et al., 2013; Mohr, Noone Lutz, Fantuzzo, & Perry, 2000). As Livia-Segovia and Ortiz-Morán (2008) note.

This instrument makes it possible to establish a taxonomic system in child psychopathology which states that the behavioural problems which appear in children and adolescents can be grouped into two main categories of disorders: (a) groups of internalised or inward-directed behaviour, and (b) externalised or outward-directed behaviour. The first group includes psychological difficulties that are directed inwards when the child's disorder relates to her inner space and her basic symptoms are associated with anxiety, depression, peer rejection and isolation, as well as withdrawal problems and psychosomatic ones. The externalised or outward-directed behaviour groups are patterns of maladaptive behaviour that develop in different situations and contexts, the central factor being that they create problems for others through aggressive and disruptive behaviour.

In this sense, the CBCL evaluates eight first-order syndromes or narrow-band syndromes (aggressive behaviour, attention problems, rule-breaking behaviour, social problems, thought problems, somatic problems, withdrawal, anxiety-depression). For its part, the factorial structure, found in original studies (Achenbach, 1991; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001) revealed three factors through exploratory factor analysis (identified as broad-band syndromes) that explain between 59% and 88% of the variability in different samples through variables such as age and sex: externalising behaviour (rule-breaking behaviour and aggressive behaviour), internalising behaviour (somatic problems, withdrawal, and anxiety-depression), and a mixed variable comprising social problems and attention problems. The mean of the scores obtained for the 113 items referring to behavioural problems on the questionnaire also makes it possible to obtain a total score for behavioural problems.

The fact that the same or similar syndromes have been found in different pieces of research and in different populations reflects appropriate psychometric properties. Consequently, the validity of the models obtained empirically for different populations and age ranges ranged between .59% and .88% of the explained variance. Similarly, the reliability (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1991; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001) for the US population in original studies is $\alpha = .78$ and $\alpha = .97$, respectively.

The Spanish scales from the Epidemiology and Diagnosis in Psychopathology of Development Research Unit of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and the Applied Psychology Service of Spain's Universidad de Educación a Distancia (2013) were used in this work. The normative sample or group comprised 1,430 children and adolescents aged between six and seventeen (50% male and 50% female) from different schools representing three provinces of Spain: Barcelona, Madrid, and Reus (Tarragona). In this sense, the factorial structure of the questionnaire was confirmed through factor analysis. Similarly, the internal consistency was good, with Cronbach's Alpha values of over .80.

- *School adjustment questionnaire for children and adolescents*: this is an *ad hoc* instrument designed to show the degree of social interaction and school performance of these children and adolescents in the educational context. Osterlind's criteria (1989) were followed when preparing it, using the following conditions to create the items: 1) they had to be understandable for the professionals in the centres, 2) they had to comprise closed-ended questions, and 3) the number of items was doubled to exclude the ones that were least appropriate to the aim of the questionnaire. This list was subjected to the Delphi consensus method with four professional experts, including psychologists and social workers. Subsequently, and after carrying out two consultation rounds, a list of ten items was ob-

tained, intended to discover problems with school interaction (five items) and academic achievement (five items) among the children and adolescents cared for in these reception centres. Finally, before giving the questionnaire to the professionals, its psychometric properties were analysed (reliability and validity). To meet the validity requirements, the content validity protocol was applied, which determines the relevance or representativeness of the items in relation to the established sample (Losada & López-Feal, 2003). For this purpose, two expert evaluators answered a dichotomous questionnaire which considered the validity or otherwise of each proposed item. The binomial distribution was applied to the results obtained for each item. After this, the internal consistency was calculated and an acceptable Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was obtained ($\alpha = .70$). Similarly, the correlations were analysed item by item to see if any of them should be eliminated. The results showed lower rates of reliability and so the ten items from the scale were kept.

2.3. Procedure

After receiving authorisation from the public body responsible for the reception centres, their directors were contacted to ask for the help of the professionals and the consent of the mothers of the children and adolescents to carry out the research. For this purpose, the confidentiality of the information received was guaranteed by encoding the files to make them anonymous.

The valuation of school adjustment was evaluated using the scale designed in the study and completed by the professionals involved in the cases in the centres and/or by the specialist staff. To analyse behavioural and emotional problems, the mothers completed the CBCL with guidance from the educators, after the objectives of the study had been explained to them and they had given their consent.

2.4. Statistical analyses

After the descriptors, frequencies, and percentages obtained in the CBCL were analysed, a comparison of means was performed with the normative population using Student's t test. To offset the effect size, the tests of statistical significance are accompanied by the corresponding calculation and interpretation of the effect size, calculated using the standardised difference between means (d) proposed by Cohen (1988).

Likewise, for the second objective, the frequencies and percentages obtained for the different items on the school interaction and adaptation scale were analysed. Before this, the answers were regrouped into three bands to facilitate the analysis: *never*, *sometimes*, and *often*.

Finally, to explore the possible association between the behavioural problems of the children and adolescents and their school interaction and adaptation, Spearman's correlation coefficient was used, as the sample distribution does not follow a normal distribution.

3. Results

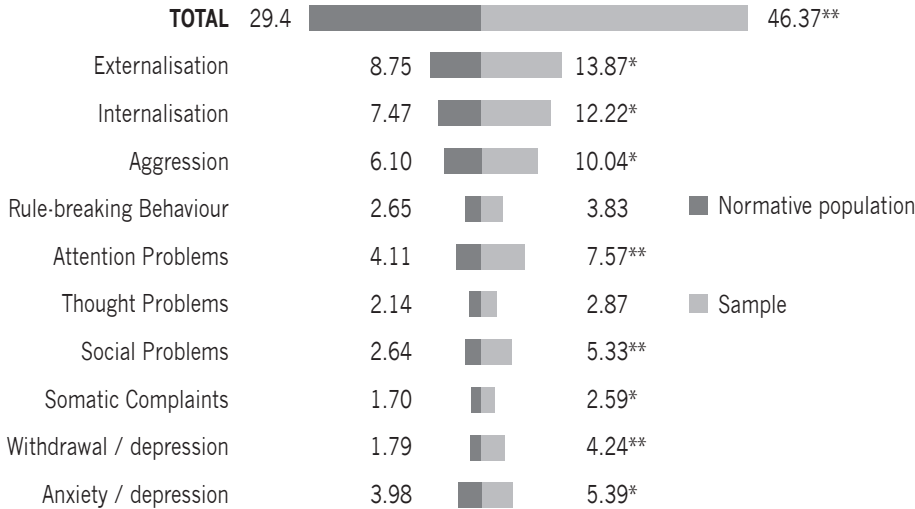
Objective one: behavioural problems of the children and adolescents.

When examining the mean scores for the sample on the CBCL scale (Graphic 1), the analyses showed statistically significant differences between the participants in this study and the normative population (Figure 1), with higher scores observed in the study sample for different types of behaviour and for "Social Problems" ($t = 2.97, p < .001, d = .87$), "Attention problems" ($t = 3.38, p < .001, d = .85$), "Anxiety" ($t = 6.65, p = .048, d = .34$), "Withdrawal" ($t = 2.46, p < .001, d = .86$), "Somatic complaints" ($t = 4.10, p = .049, d = .32$), and "Aggression" ($t = 4.10, p = .002, d = .59$). Similarly, the differences in the broad-band syndromes were statistically significant: "Externalisation" ($t = 4.42, p = .002, d = .58$) and "Internalisation" ($t = 4.15, p = .003, d = .57$), and in the total for "Behavioural problems" ($t = 4.47, p < .001, d = .65$).

The criterion established by Cohen (1988) has been followed, and so the effect sizes are regarded as small when $d < 0.20$, medium when d is between 0.2 and 0.8, and high when $d > 0.8$. In this study, a magnitude of the effect size for these differences was observed which is greater in social problems, attention problems, and in withdrawal.

Objective two: social interaction and school adjustment of the children and adolescents.

GRAPH 1. Direct mean scores for normative population and sample.



Source: Own elaboration.

In general, certain difficulties with social interaction and school problems were observed in these children and adolescents (Table 2). So, for social interaction, it was noted that 11.4% frequently displayed difficulties making friends. Similarly, these 11.4% are rejected by their peers and the majority lack friends outside the school setting (59.5%).

With regard to school problems, the participating professionals from the centres reported in their responses that the level of school adaptation was not adequate with 80% of the children and adolescents. Of them, 30.2% did not go to school willingly, 47.7% had difficulties learning, and 38.1% were not up to date with their school work.

Objective three: association between behavioural problems and degree of school adjustment.

Table 3 shows the correlations between the results from the CBCL and those obtained on the school adjustment scale in its two facets of social interaction and school problems, where the base score used for calculating the correlation is the mean obtained on the three-point scale resulting from combining the scores from the Likert scale into three values.

When examining the relationship between the social interaction scale and the behavioural syndromes of the children and adolescents, a positive relationship

TABLE 2. Percentages of social interaction and school performance problems in the children and adolescents.

Problem	Items	Never %	Some- times %	Often %
Social interaction	Struggles to make friends	77.3	11.4	11.4
	Tends to isolate self from others	70.5	27.3	2.3
	Often rejected by peers	77.3	11.4	11.4
	Has friends outside school setting	59.5	19.0	21.4
	Relates well with adults	27.9	32.6	39.5
School problem	Total social interaction scale	62.5	20.3	17.2
	Appropriate level of performance	80.00	14.00	6.00
	Goes to school willingly	47.73	25.00	27.27
	Has difficulties with basic learning	38.10	33.33	28.57
	Has homework up to date and well organised	30.23	39.53	30.23
	Argues with classmates	79.07	13.95	6.98
	Total school problem scale	55.02	25.16	19.81

Source: Own elaboration.

was observed between the item “Struggles to make friends” and social problems ($p = .018$), thought problems ($p = .034$), and attention problems ($p = .018$). This was also the case with the item “Isolates him/herself from others” and isolation ($p = .013$), between the item “Rejected by peers” and social problems ($p = .011$) and attention problems ($p = .001$). There is also a negative relationship between the item “Has friends outside school” and attention problems ($p = .035$).

Finally, when considering the relationship between the school problem scale and the behavioural syndromes, a neg-

ative association was observed between “school performance level” and attention problems ($p = .000$), disruptive behaviour ($p = .035$), and the total scale ($p = .017$). Similarly, the item “goes to school willingly” was negatively related to isolation ($p = .043$), social problems ($p = .049$), attention problems ($p = .006$), internalising syndromes ($p = .038$), and the total scale ($p = .030$). There was also a negative relationship between “has work up to date” and attention problems ($p = .001$). Finally, a positive relationship was observed between “Difficulties learning” and attention problems ($p = .016$) and disruptive behaviour ($p = .028$).

TABLE 3. Correlations between the CBCL and the school adjustment scale.

	Anx	Iso	Som	Soc	Thi	Att	Disr	Agg	Int	Ext	Tot
Social behaviour											
Struggles to make friends	.250	.099	.046	.373*	.336*	.371*	-.066	.092	.163	.053	.254
Tends to isolate self	-.048	.388*	-.190	.058	-.065	-.159	-.172	-.141	.051	-.160	-.141
Peer rejection	.012	-.189	-.017	.398*	.098	.487**	-.038	.102	-.068	.068	.169
Has friends	-.216	-.158	-.070	-.223	-.072	-.343*	-.125	-.023	-.177	-.054	-.170
Relation with adults	-.232	-.230	-.062	-.128	-.221	-.274	-.255	-.269	-.207	-.283	-.241
Academic behaviour											
Performance level	-.267	-.229	-.250	-.402*	-.217	-.610**	-.339*	-.237	-.288	-.282	-.380*
Goes to school willingly	-.278	-.326*	-.267	-.318*	-.201	-.430**	-.224	-.249	-.333*	-.258	-.349*
Difficulty learning	.036	.028	.098	.273	.019	.380*	.348*	.202	.060	.258	.219
Work up to date	-.116	-.069	-.043	-.099	-.033	-.495**	-.098	-.168	-.092	-.159	-.191
Challenges teachers	.018	-.138	-.289	.031	-.037	.192	.013	.183	-.142	.146	.048

Source: Own elaboration.

4. Discussion

This work has attempted an in-depth examination in the aspects relating to behavioural problems and their influence on integration into the school environment as well as on academic achievements of a sample of children and adolescents who have experienced situations of gender violence. Accordingly, although ample research has been published on this topic at an international level, few studies consider a Spanish population (Alcántara et al., 2013; Bayarri et al., 2011; Sanchís, 2017; Gómez & Bobadilla, 2015; López-Soler et al., 2017; Nazar, Salvatierra, Salazar, & Solís, 2018) and there are even fewer that focus on its impact in the school environment (Sepúlveda, 2006; Rosser, Suriá, & Villegas, 2015).

The results for the first objective again reflect the presence of higher rates of emotional and behavioural problems among children and adolescents who have been exposed to gender violence compared with the population of children and adolescents in general. In fact, the results display higher mean rates for all behavioural syndromes (Alcántara et al., 2013; Fernández-Molina, Del Valle, Fuentes, Bernedo, & Bravo, 2011; Holt et al. 2008, among others), something reflected in most of the narrow-band syndromes. These results are also reflected in the broad-band syndromes, in other words the internalising or emotional ones, the externalising or behavioural ones, and behavioural problems as a whole, with a medium effect size for these differences in aggressive behaviour, as well as in internalisation, externalisation, and behav-

ioural problems as a whole, and the effect size is high for the “Withdrawal”, “Social Problems”, and “Attention Problems” dimensions. These results confirm the differences with the normative population while also showing that these syndromes are primarily where the differences are detected most.

It also stands out that the problems of the children and adolescents are both externalising and internalising. This, to some extent, disagrees with what is found in other works where the presence of externalising behaviour is somewhat higher (Foster & Brooks-Gunn, 2009; Graham-Bermann et al., 2011). In this respect, it is important to note that the sample in this study is an institutionalised population, and as such, the setting of this work has greater control over externalising behaviour.

When considering the results for the second objective, the data reveal the influence of exposure to gender violence on the psychosocial development of children and adolescents and, specifically, on their school adjustment. The data show that, in over fifty per cent of cases of children and adolescents analysed, professionals report negative adjustment. In this work, the difficulties are reflected in aspects concerning social interaction, and in questions relating to educational performance, with low or relatively moderate levels of adjustment reflected in the results in most cases. Although the intensity of the correlations is medium (only exceeding 0.40 in four of the 110 correlations explored), the differences found are significant.

These results support those obtained by several authors such as Doménech and Genovés (2016) or the study by López-Soler et al. (2017), who found problems with academic performance and with establishing social relationships in children and adolescents who had been exposed to gender violence. Similarly, Westra and Martin (1981) found lower scores than the general population in tests of performance and intellectual ability tests in children aged between two and eight who had been exposed to gender violence.

Also for purposes of comparison, Fowler, Tompset, Braciszewski, Jacques Tiura, and Baltes (2009) found somewhat lower scores in the population of children and adolescents who had experienced situations of gender violence than in ones who had not experienced these situations, especially in reading and writing, language, maths, and social sciences, and also finding a high level of school absenteeism in these children and adolescents.

With the aim of explaining these difficulties, Kernic, Holt, Wolf, McKnight, Huebner, and Rivara (2002) found a higher probability of not being accepted in school owing to social or emotional problems or of school absenteeism in these children and adolescents. These results would account for the data found when examining the results from this work's third objective, as children and adolescents with more behavioural problems in general also display more performance problems and are less willing to go to school. Specifically, the correlation indexes showed

significant associations both for items referring to social interaction and for those that make up school problems, including most of the behavioural syndromes from the CBCL, especially isolation, social problems, attention problems, and disruptive behaviour.

The greater weight of behaviour problems in the school adjustment of the children and adolescents derives from the presence of attention problems. These include in the CBCL behaviour such as impulsiveness, restlessness, problems concentrating, problems sitting still, daydreaming, all of which are behaviour patterns that affect comprehension and assimilation of content, impede regularity of work, etc.

A correlation between certain aspects of school adjustment and social problems in the CBCL can also be seen. This syndrome includes childish behaviour, disturbing or annoying others, not getting on well with classmates, being clumsy, and preferring to play with younger children. This, according to the results obtained, leads to difficulties with social interaction as it means children and adolescents are rejected by their peers and struggle to make friends, which ends up affecting their performance and school refusal.

Another element to note is disruptive behaviour, which the CBCL identifies as lying or cheating, vandalism, absenteeism, etc. The results indicate that this type of behaviour also impedes the academic performance of children and adolescents.

In contrast, internalising behaviour, which, in this study is especially reflected in isolating behaviour, is associated in the children and adolescents with school refusal.

These results support those found by numerous studies that show significant differences between children and adolescents who have been exposed to these situations of violence and those who have not (Fernández-Molina et al., 2011; Huth-Bocks, et al., 2001; López-Soler et al. 2017; Patró & Limiñana, 2005). These works conclude that exposure to this type of violence can have a negative effect on the cognitive development of children and adolescents, while also causing difficulties concentrating, antisocial behaviour, problems with school work, and a notable reduction in scores for verbal and motor skills (Huth-Bocks et al., 2001; Nazar et al., 2018; Ybarra, Wilkens, & Lieberman, 2007).

The most coherent explanations that several authors base their arguments on include one that emphasises the deterioration in self-esteem resulting from children and adolescents being exposed to these violent contexts. Similarly, this exposure involves learning inappropriate strategies when interacting with other people and for solving conflicts, which have an influence on their antisocial behaviour (Devaney, 2015; Patró & Limiñana, 2005; Perkins & Graham-Bermann, 2012).

Another no less important aspect relates to the context in which these children and adolescents are immersed. In these centres attention is guided by spe-

cialist teams which focus their intervention on the mothers' psychosocial problems, with direct intervention with the children and adolescents being more limited. Consequently, although they have more difficulties with normal adaptation and socialisation than other children (Fariña, Arce, Seijo, & Novo, 2012; Pingley, 2017; Rosser et al., 2015), they actually receive less attention. In fact, while women who have been victims of abuse have a network of support resources to help them and offer them care, protection, and social reinsertion (Mestre et al., 2008), there are still few centres that offer direct attention to children as one of their objectives (Expósito, 2012; Mestre et al., 2008) and those aiming to deliver specific intervention proposals are even rarer (Exposito, 2012; Patró & Limiñana, 2005; Sepúlveda, 2006).

In conclusion, the results of this work once again reflect the vulnerability of children and adolescents who are exposed to gender violence. This study is important because it focusses on a currently little-studied topic, namely the impact of exposure to gender violence on the victims' children as well as the behavioural and emotional problems arising from this situation and how these affect the children and adolescents' social adaptation and academic success in the school setting. This endorses the growing demand from different contexts and groups for the provision of specialised care for these children and adolescents, who are also victims of gender violence and also suffer its consequences (Anderson & Bang, 2012; Delgado-Álvarez et al., 2012; Expósito, 2012;

Graham-Bermann et al., 2011). It will be hard to tackle this situation if psychological attention for minors is not guaranteed in resources for helping victims of gender violence. To do this, it must be made a priority to provide more information and guidance for action for professional in the community resources (schools, health centres, etc.) that care for these children and adolescents. In turn, these professionals must be trained to know how to handle successfully their role in the psychoeducational training of these children and adolescents.

Another important element is to insist on the availability of sufficient resources—human and material—to redirect intervention and education from the areas that intervene in gender violence to provide these young people with the specialist services they require to tailor the services to conflict resolution and the possible needs of the children and adolescents.

Nonetheless, although these results help to move research on these areas forward and can help us to focus on treatment and prevention of these difficulties, this research has certain limitations. Firstly, it is a study based on the views of the professionals in the reception centres who care for the abused women resident in these centres. Owing to the conditions of confidentiality regarding their situation, it has not been possible to compare the views of these professionals with the opinions of the children and adolescents' teachers or apply psychometric tests to support the results obtained. Likewise, the questionnaire was created *ad hoc* for the

specific study population, which prevents the results obtained from being evaluated in relative terms. Based on this study, having opinions from other sources of information, teachers and the children and adolescents themselves is considered to be vital, as is exploring psychological problems through other tests to complement the information. Regarding the sample size, we are aware of the small number of cases, which was limited by the availability of the study population. These aspects could skew the magnitude of some of the relations detected and so, they should be controlled in future research to increase the internal validity of the results.

Despite these limitations, this work suggests that the school environment could be an ideal setting for detecting the difficulties and problems faced by these children and adolescents. It also notes that focussing on training the professionals who are directly involved with them as well as raising teachers' awareness and training them for this situation about which little is still known should be a priority.

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Young women with protective and judicial measures and their transition towards prison

Mujeres jóvenes con medidas de protección y judiciales y sus tránsitos hacia la prisión

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Abstract:

The aim of this work is to analyse the influence of protective and/or judicial measures on the transit to prison of young women who have been through these situations as minors, starting by identifying risk factors associated with the process. Consequently, it provides new verified benchmarks for intervention with the population of young women in prison.

To this end, qualitative and quantitative methods are used with a sample of 599 female inmates from 42 Spanish prisons, to whom 538 surveys and 61 interviews were applied. Three subsamples were selected: protection centres

($n = 60$); foster care ($n = 36$), and judicial measures ($n = 72$). A descriptive and interpretative study was carried out using frequency analysis, contingency tables, independence tests, and measures of association.

The results show that 20.3% of young women in prison have a prior history of institutionalisation in protective measures and 13.4% with judicial measures. The main risk factors identified are: low educational levels (69.4% below secondary education), environments with family members or partners in prison (between 48% and 63.2%), addictions (drugs and alcohol), either personal or affect-

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ing family members (over 60%), and a significant relationship between young people who experienced judicial measures as minors having made reports of abuse.

In the *discussion and conclusions*, growth in criminal behaviour by young people, especially women, is evident. Regarding the group studied, the low valuation of their time in protection centres and judicial measures by the imprisoned women, the difficulty of their family and affective background, and their worryingly low levels of education are striking. These data support the bases for evaluating the early impact on processes of transit towards prison and the options for socio-educational intervention aimed at reintegration and inclusion.

Keywords: youth, women, gender, child protection, juvenile delinquency, risk factor, prison, education.

Resumen:

El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar la influencia de las medidas de protección y/o judiciales en el tránsito a prisión de las mujeres jóvenes que pasaron por esas situaciones cuando eran menores de edad, a partir de la identificación de los factores de riesgo asociados al proceso. Aportando así nuevos y contrastados elementos de referencia para la intervención con el colectivo de mujeres jóvenes en prisión.

Para ello se combinan métodos cualitativos y cuantitativos, en una muestra de 599 mujeres reclusas, a quienes se realizaron 538 encuestas y 61 entrevistas, de 42 centros penitenciarios

españoles. Se seleccionaron tres submuestras: centros de protección (n=60); acogimiento familiar (n=36) y medidas judiciales (n=72). Se realizó un estudio descriptivo e interpretativo mediante análisis de frecuencias, tablas de contingencia, contrastes de independencia y medidas de asociación.

Los resultados muestran que un 20.3% de las jóvenes en prisión han tenido historias previas de institucionalización a partir de medidas de protección y un 13.4% medidas judiciales. Los principales factores de riesgo identificados son: baja formación educativa (69.4% inferior a educación secundaria), contextos familiares y de pareja con miembros en prisión (entre 48% y 63.2%), adicciones (drogas y alcoholismo) tanto familiar como personales (más del 60%) y, relación significativa de denuncias de malos tratos por las jóvenes que tuvieron medidas judiciales cuando eran menores.

En la discusión y las conclusiones se resalta la evidencia del crecimiento delictivo de los jóvenes, especialmente mujeres. Respecto al grupo estudiado se destaca la baja valoración de las reclusas de su estancia en centros de protección y en medidas judiciales, la gravedad de los antecedentes familiares y afectivos y, la preocupación por sus bajos niveles formativos. Datos que refuerzan las bases de evaluación de la incidencia temprana en los procesos de tránsito a la prisión y las posibilidades de intervención socioeducativa orientada a la reinserción e inclusión.

Descriptores: joven, mujer, género, protección a la infancia, delincuencia juvenil, factor de riesgo, prisión, educación.

1. Introduction

The aim of this work is to analyse the impact of protection measures and/or judicial measures in the transit to prison of young women who experienced these situations as minors, by identifying the risk factors associated with this process. Identifying these risk factors provides highly relevant information for evaluating their early impact on young women's process of transit to prison and, at the same time, enables advances in options for socioeducational intervention with them, such as an educational space directed at their reinsertion and inclusion.

Imprisonment in itself has significant negative impacts for women, as in their case the burden and associated moral, family, and social sanctions owing to traditional gender roles add to the stigma of being a criminal (Durán 2009; Juliano, 2010a; Añaños-Bedriñana, 2013; Smart, 2013; Aristizábal, 2017; Almeda, 2017). As for offending by the women, conventional theories focus on individual characteristics attributed to elements such as sexuality and traditional stereotypes (Smart, 1995; Burman, Batchelor, & Brown, 2001; Belnap, 2006; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013; Almeda, 2017). Significant contributions on the subject based on a gender perspective, highlight women's position in the structure of society and their structural vulnerability, emphasising, among other elements, ones relating to the psychological masculinisation of women, increased participation by women in public affairs, the feminisation of poverty, and less bias in official responses to female

offending (Simon & Ahn-Redding, 2005; Tortosa, 2009; Juliano, 2010b; Abramowitz, 2017).

With regards to the situation of young women in prison, if they commit offences after turning 18, the valid penal code applies to them (Organic Law 10/1995, of 23 November and others¹) and they can be sentenced to alternative measures to prison or enter the normal prison system run by the justice and security agencies of the state; in these prisons they are placed in special modules exclusively for them.

Analysing prison from a gender perspective reveals the inequalities in the social context linked to each social situation and the prevailing female role in each era. In contemporary Western societies, social exclusion is one of the most common explanations for the female criminal profile (Cruells & Igareda, 2005; Juliano, 2010a; Añaños-Bedriñana, 2013; Almeda, 2003, 2017), the features and characteristics of which are analysed in this work from the perspective of risk factors.

The data presented below show the current prison population in figures. In August 2018, Spain's total prison population was 59,242. Of this population, 92.5% were men and 7.5% women (SGIP; 2018). Furthermore, 16,622 inmates were foreign (28.1% of the total), of which 92.4% were men and 7.6% women. These data are very revealing regarding the significant gender disparity in the prison population; women are a minority

of the people held in the prison system, and this is also the case for place of origin (foreigners).

In turn, if, from the same source, we identify the prison population classified as young —aged between 18 and 25— including those convicted and those on remand (see Table 2), this represents 8.4% of the total prison population, 7% of them being women and 93% men. Distinguishing by procedural position, prisoners on remand —people in prison awaiting trial— comprise 15.3% of the total prison population. Of them, 15.7% are classed as young, and 91.8% of these young prisoners are male men and 8.2% female. In the case of inmates who have been convicted, 7.1% are young, and of them, 93.5% are male and 6.5% are female. According to these data (Table 2), in the case of young people, the disparity in the ratio of men to women is broadly similar to the general prison population, with the presence of young female inmates being one percentage point higher. Overall, the proportion of young people on remand in prison is 15.7%, slightly over double the proportion of young people have been convicted (7.1%), among which women are also 1.25 percentage points above the national overall average. This reflects the fact that there are ever more young people involved in judicial-penal cases awaiting trial, as well as a slight increase in female offending and, consequently, a greater probability of growth in the prison population of young people.

According to SGIP (2018), Table 3 shows the distribution of inmates by type

of offence in accordance with the laws in force (Organic Law 10/1995, of 23 November, regarding the Penal Code and Organic Law 1/2015, of 30 March, regarding the Penal Code) with 45,208 inmates, and, in accordance with the repealed Penal Code, there are 184 additional cases (of which only eight are women). Unfortunately, these statistics do not distinguish by age range; overall, it should be noted that the most frequent offences are: firstly, “against property and the social and economic order” —including theft, fraud, etc.— representing 40.1% of convictions, with almost the same frequencies for women (40.5%) and men (40.1%); secondly, “against public health” with 18.7% of cases —which are mainly offences relating to the different circles of production, distribution, and sale of illegal substances— of which 31% correspond to women and 17.8% to men, this being the second most frequent type of offence among women; and, thirdly, at a considerable distance there are “gender violence offences” (8.9%), “homicide and its variants” (7.5%), and “offences against sexual freedom” (6.7%), mainly committed by men with women as victims.

Regarding protection measures for minors, in this work information is collected about young people in prison who have passed through institutional care or fostering processes. In Spain, protection for children is fundamentally governed by the Constitution of 1978 (sec. 39 and sec. 48) and Organic Law 1/1996, of 15 January, regarding Legal Protection for Children and Adolescents, amended by Law 26/2015, of 28 July, Modifying the System

TABLE 1. General and foreign-origin prison population in Spain.

	Total prison population		Origin: Foreigners	
	N	%	N	%
Men	54 810	92.5	15 355	92.4
Women	4432	7.5	1267	7.6
Total	59 242	100	16 622	100

Source: SGIP, 2018.

TABLE 2. Prison population on remand and convicted by age group and gender.

Age groups	Convicted			Remand		
Ages	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
18 a 20	189	11	200	311	23	334
21 a 25	3065	215	3280	968	92	1060
26 a 30	5978	427	6405	1171	113	1284
31 a 40	14 803	1194	15 997	2617	280	2897
41 a 60	19 186	1604	20 790	2755	232	2987
Over 60	2220	163	2383	278	13	291
Total	45 441	3614	49 055	8100	753	8853

Source: SGIP, August 2018.

TABLE 3. Types of offence of the general prison population in accordance with Spanish Organic Law 10/1995, of 23 November, regarding the Penal Code.

Organic Law	Men		Women		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Homicide and its variants	3376	7.5	295	8.2	3671	7.5
2. Injuries	2239	5	156	4.3	2395	4.9
3. Against freedom	563	1.2	44	1.2	607	1.2
4. Against sexual freedom	3231	7.1	43	1.2	3274	6.7
5. Against honour	3	0.01	0	0	3	0.01
6. Gender violence	4333	9.6	9	0.3	4342	8.9
7. Against family relations	173	0.4	10	0.3	183	0.4
8. Against property and the social and economic order	18119	40.1	1456	40.5	19575	40.1
9. Against public health	8023	17.8	1113	31	9136	18.7
10. Against the safety of traffic	1270	2.8	40	1.1	1310	2.7
11. Falsehoods	627	1.4	97	2.7	724	1.5
12. Against the public authorities and tax authorities	251	0.6	22	0.6	273	0.6
13. Against the justice system	745	1.6	109	3	854	1.7
14. Against public order	1591	3.5	121	3.4	1712	3.5
15. Other offences	599	1.3	69	1.9	668	1.4
16. For minor offences	32	0.1	7	0.2	39	0.08
17. No offence listed	33	0.1	4	0.1	37	0.08
Total	45208		3595		48803	

Source: SGIP, 2018.

of Protection for Children and Adolescents and Organic Law 8/2015, of 22 July, Modifying the System of Protection for Children and Adolescents. All protection measures² are decided on and implemented by the competent public institutions in each Autonomous Region, always with the “best interest of the minor” as the guiding principle, but always under the vigilance and, where appropriate, authorisation of the State Counsel’s Office (Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, 2018b).

According to Spain’s Ministry of Health, Social Services, and Equality (Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, 2018b), the data managed by the Observatory on Children in 2016 show that the percentage of minors dealt with increased by almost 3% (from 42,628 in 2015 to 43,902 in 2016). In absolute terms, fostering is the main protection measure adopted by the protection services of Spain’s Autonomous Regions and Cities. The most noticeable gender differences are found in residential care, with a clear prevalence of boys in the 11-14 and 15-17 age groups. Conversely, the 11-14 age group is predominant in the case of fostering, without significant differences between the number of boys and girls.

As for judicial measures with minors, in the event of perpetration of illegal actions covered by the Penal Code and the specific laws, they are expressly covered by Organic Law 5/2000, of 12 January, Regulating the Criminal Liability of Minors (LORPM); the Organic Law 8/2006 of 4 December

and Organic Law 8/2012 of 27 December, which amended paragraph 4 of section 2 of the LORPM regarding territorial jurisdiction. Both Spain’s Constitutional Court, in various judgments (judgments 36/1991, of 14 February and 60/1995, of 17 March), and the laws regarding minors, have produced legal principles and reasonings focussing on the adoption of measures which, fundamentally, should not be repressive, but instead preventive-specific, directed at the effective reinsertion of children and their best interests, evaluated with criteria which must fundamentally be sought in the field of non-legal sciences. Sentences are referred to as “judicial measures” and differ from those laid down in the Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Law applying to adults; they are applied to minors distinguishing between two age groups: 14-15 and 16-17 (Sec. 7, LORPM, 2000).

According to the Observatory of Childhood (Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, 2018a), the legal measures imposed and notified for young offenders aged between 14 and 21 in 2016, on the basis of Sec. 7 of the LORPM (Table 4), were: probation (45%), community service (14%), imprisonment (14%), carrying out socio-educational tasks (12%), and other measures (15%). The breakdown by gender shows 17% of measures imposed on female offenders and 83% on male offenders. In other words, for each measure imposed on a female offender, 5.03 measures are imposed on male offenders. In the case of the measures carried out, the figures are very similar, both for measures and by gender (4.86 men per woman).

TABLE 4. Measures laid down in Sec. 7 (LORPM) notified and imposed in 2016.

	Notified	%	Imposed	%
Total imprisonment	3450	14 %	4196	13 %
Probation	11166	45 %	14753	45 %
Community service	3552	14 %	4238	13 %
Carrying out socio-educational tasks	2911	12 %	3841	12 %
Other measures	3755	15 %	5523	17 %
Total	24834	100	32551	100

Source: Own elaboration, based on Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, 2018a.

These data show an important detail as they illustrate that criminal activity by young women has nearly doubled compared with the general female adult prison population. According to various studies, female adolescents have a similar pattern to the behaviour of male adolescents, with antisocial and delinquent behaviour being more frequent when people have friends who have already adopted it or when living in urban environments. However, being a young migrant or the child of migrants does not increase the risk of adopting this behaviour. On another note, evidence has been presented which suggests that drug addicts have higher offending rates than people who are not addicted to drugs (Arnosó, 2005; CGPJ, 2008; Martínez, Carabaza, & Hernández, 2008; Schulman, 2014).

2. Method

The data and analyses presented are part of the framework of the “Drug-addicted female prisoners and their social reinsertion” research project, Ref.

EDU2009-13408, developed in all of Spain, including Catalonia, the only Autonomous Region with competences in penal matters. Eleven Spanish Autonomous Regions were studied, from the total of 17, with the most representative prison populations and geographical representativeness, based on contact with 42 correctional establishments. The population of interest is women who are in prison classified as being in the second or third degree of serving their sentence. The third degree —non-residential— and women on parole are excluded, as they were not serving their sentence in prison at the time of the research.

The data were collected using two instruments (a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews) with women held in Spanish prisons between 2011 and 2012. A total of 538 valid questionnaires were returned by the women and 61 interviews were held, with a sample of 599 women, representing 17.2% of Spain’s female prison population (3,484 inmates) (SGIP, 2011).

The analysis carried out in this work focussed on the 538 questionnaires. In them, the criminal activity of the young women in prison was reviewed, and the women who had passed through different protective measures or judicial measures as minors were taken into consideration. Based on this, the following subgroups were established: women who have been in residential care in a youth protection centre, $n = 60$ (11.2%), women who were fostered by another family, $n = 36$ (6.7%), and women who had judicial measures as minors, $n = 72$ (13.4%).

This research's methodology combines qualitative and quantitative methods and analysis, including frequency tables, contingency table analysis, independence tests, and measures of association. The data were extracted using SPSS 24.0. It should be noted that in this case the sample analysed comprises a number of small groups, with the largest sample containing 72 women. This made it difficult to carry out hypothesis tests and verify the conditions for being able to apply them.

3. Results and discussion

In total, 20.3% of the women who participated in the study had some sort of protection measure as minors (in some cases, they experienced both measures: fostering and residential care). This contrasts with the high presence of risk situations, many of them serious. Specifically, 11.2% of inmates passed through residential care in youth protection centres, while a lower percentage (6.7%) were fostered. As for a record of judicial measures, 13.4%

of the inmates had this type of measure as minors. Finally, 14.9% of the inmates in the study had passed through one or more of the three measures (residential care, fostering, and/or judicial measures) as a minor.

It is especially noticeable that 55.6% (40 women) of those who had judicial measures as minors were residents in a youth protection centre. In this case, there is a significant relationship identified by the chi-squared test of independence and the necessary conditions are verified, with a p -value of $p < 0.001$. An odds ratio of $\theta = 27.81$ is obtained for the sample, which means that the probability of being in residential care compared with not being in it is 27.81 times higher for those who have had judicial measures as minors than for those who have not had them. There is a statistically significant positive association between the two variables.

Regarding the young prison inmates' perceptions of the measures they had as minors, the following was found:

11.2% (60) of the young inmates had been resident in a youth protection centre; of these, 33.3% (20) believed that the experience in the centre helped them in their life; however, around two thirds of the women surveyed stated that their experience in youth protection centres was of little or no help in their life (66.7%, 40).

Of the inmates, 6.7% (36) had been in foster care. Of these, 61.1% (22) considered that the experience helped in their life.

TABLE 5. Relationship between judicial measures and protection centres.

		Did you have judicial measures on any occasion as a minor?		Total
		Yes	No	
Have you been resident in a youth protection centre?	Yes	40 (55.6 %)	20 (4.3 %)	60
	No	32 (44.4 %)	445 (95.7 %)	477
Total		72	465	537

Source: Own elaboration.

The percentage of inmates who were fostered by families is very low and their view of this type of measure is quite positive, from which it can be concluded that fostering redirects these women and is of support for them.

Of the female inmates, 13.4% (72) had judicial measures on some occasion as a minor; only 11.3% (8) of them consider that the judicial measures were useful, and 88.8% (64) consider that this measure did not help them at all or was of little help in their life.

These data and the risk factors analysed for the whole sample (overall) and on the three situations considered are shown in Table 6.

In general, higher percentages can be seen in all of the variables analysed in the cases of women with offending problems in adolescence than with those who did not have these problems (overall data). The figures for women who have or have had family members or a partner in prison stand out (between 48.3% and 62.5%). The percentage of inmates with a level of education lower than secondary education

is somewhat greater in the three cases — residential care, foster care, and judicial measures— than the overall percentage. This is also the case for unemployment, recidivism, offences against public health and for theft or reporting abuse.

In the latter case, the chi-squared test of independence is significant ($p = 0.0085$), and the necessary conditions for applying it are confirmed. In other words, there is a significant positive association between women who have had judicial problems as minors and those who have reported cases of domestic abuse (in general, towards them). This odds ratio is $\theta = 1.83$, which indicates that the probability of having made a report of abuse is 1.83 times higher if they have had judicial measures than if they have not had them. (See Table 7).

The detailed analysis of the educational situation of the young women in different protection situations is as shown in Table 8.

The educational data are worrying in this regard, as in all cases they are below the national mean (global

TABLE 6. Risk situations in female inmates as minors.

	Overall (535)		Youth protection centre (60)		Foster care (36)		Judicial measures (72)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Percentage of young people (up to age of 25)	65	12.1	9	15	3	8.3	12	16.7
Studies below secondary level	292	54.6	33	55	25	69.4	42	58.3
Did not have work before entering prison	212	39.6	21	35	15	41.7	31	43.1
Main offence: theft	132	24.7	14	23.3	11	30.6	20	27.8
Main offence: against public health	253	47.3	36	60	17	47.2	32	44.4
Family in prison	271	50.6	37	61.7	21	58.3	45	62.5
Partner in prison	291	54.2	29	48.3	22	61.1	40	55.6
Repeat offender (not first offence)	155	29	14	23.3	12	33.3	24	33.3
Has reported domestic abuse	169	31.6	27	45	21	58.3	25	34.7

Source: Own elaboration.

TABLE 7. Relationship between judicial measures and domestic violence reports.

		Have you ever reported domestic violence?		Total
		Yes	No	
Did you have legal problems as a minor?	Yes	46	62	108
	No	121	299	420
Total		167	361	528

Source: Own elaboration.

TABLE 8. Educational level and protection and/or judicial measures.

Educational level	Whole sample		Foster care		Protection centre		Judicial measures	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No studies	39	7.2	5	13.9	10	16.7	12	16.7
Primary incomplete	83	15.4	11	30.6	10	16.7	12	16.7
Primary complete	96	17.8	7	19.4	8	13.3	9	12.5
Secondary incomplete	72	13.4	2	5.6	5	8.3	9	12.5
Secondary complete	88	16.4	2	5.6	12	20	10	13.9
Professional Training	69	12.8	5	13.9	7	11.7	8	11.1
Baccalaureate, University Orientation Course (COU)	44	8.2	3	8.3	5	8.3	8	11.1
Higher education	37	6.9	1	2.8	2	3.3	4	5.6
Others/system	10	1.8	0	0	1	1.7	0	0
Total	538		36		60		72	

Source: Own elaboration.

data); for example, 7.2 % of women in the overall sample from the same research have no education, compared with 13.9 % of the ones who have been in foster care, and 16.7 % in residential care and judicial measures, respectively, the majority only having primary education. At the other extreme, 6.9 % of the women in the overall datum have higher education compared with 2.8 % of those who were in foster care, 3.3 % of those who were in residential care, and 5.6 % in judicial measures; these figures stand out as considerably lower —except those for women with judicial measures— than those of the overall sample. Finally, the probability of having studies lower than secondary is 69.4 % for young women who had judicial or protection measures, while the percentage of women with education lower than secondary level for women without these measures is 56.6 %. In other words, the probability of having a low level of education is 1.22 times greater for women who had protection or judicial measures than for those who did not have these measures.

Regarding substance addiction or problems (see Table 9), in the overall data for the sample —in which the mean age for the women who have been in residential or foster care is similar to that of those who have not— it is very apparent that the women who have been in residential or foster care have a very significant presence (60.7 %) as well as a family background where problems with alcohol and/or other substances has been a constant (52.7 %). If the analysis focuses on the different measures, the percentages are even higher, above 60 %, especially for women who have been fostered in other families; in all cases, the consumption of alcohol and tobacco are high, over 80 % with those who had judicial measures standing out most. This could, in general, result from a social situation which tolerates these substances; nonetheless, in all cases, consumption in the last thirty days of the study is low, with a change of addictive profile having occurred in their time in prison.

As for the young female inmates who have been in residential care in a youth protection centre, 86.7 % have consumed

TABLE 9. Relation with substances.

	Overall		Protection centre		Fostering		Judicial measures	
Tobacco/alcohol use at some point in life	471	88 %	52	86.7 %	31	86.1 %	65	90.3 %
Tobacco/alcohol use at present	354	66.1 %	39	65 %	21	58.3 %	47	65.3 %
Drug use at some point in life	325	60.7 %	38	63.3 %	26	72.2 %	44	61.1 %
Drug use at present	59	11 %	8	13.3 %	5	13.9 %	10	13.9 %
Family member with drug/alcohol problems	282	52.7 %	35	58.3 %	20	55.6 %	39	54.2 %

Source: Own elaboration.

alcohol and/or tobacco at some stage in their life and 65% continue to do so at present. Furthermore, 63.3% have consumed other drugs at some stage in their life while at present only 13.3% continue to do so.

Among the young female inmates who were in foster care as minors, 86.1% have consumed alcohol and/or tobacco at some stage in their life and 58.3% continue to do so at present. Furthermore, 72.2% have consumed other drugs at some stage in their life while at present only 13.9% continue to do so.

Finally, with regards to the young female inmates who had some sort of judicial measure as minors, 90.3% of them have consumed alcohol and/or tobacco at some stage in their life and 65.3% continue to do so. In the case of drugs, 61.1% have used them and 13.9% continue to use them.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

While the young female prison population, aged 18-25, is considerably lower than the young male prison population (7% compared with 93%), the analysis of the impact of the protection measures and/or judicial measures in the transit to prison of the young women who passed through these situations as minors, along with the identification of the risk factors associated with the process, reveal a complex, difficult, and worrying situation.

Of these young women, 14.9% passed through one of the three scenarios considered—residential care, foster care, and/or judicial measures—and only those who passed through foster care positively value the measure. The young women who were in residential care and those who had judicial measures reject these situations, questioning their usefulness in their life and believe that they were of little or no help to them.

In any case, the low percentage of female inmates in this study with antecedents of protection measures (20.3%) and/or judicial measures (13.4%) suggests that no direct relationship can be established between experience of these measures as minors and being imprisoned as adults in the overall female prison population, or, in other words, minors with protection and/or judicial measures are only imprisoned as adults in certain circumstances.

This does not prevent us from taking into account that over half of young female inmates (55.6%) had already started on this path towards prison after being a resident in a protection centre and passing through judicial measures as minors. In this way, according to various pieces of research (Graña, Garrido, & González Cieza, 2007; Melendro, 2010), this datum differs largely from the estimated percentages of minors who have had protection measures and who have also passed through judicial measures, which is between 12% and 16%.

As for the different risk factors, the severity of most of them is confirmed, in contrast with the situation of other young inmates who did not have protection measures or, especially, judicial measures. For this latter group, the family and social setting for the most part represents a risk factor for offending, with family members in prison in over 58% of cases or the woman's partner in over 48% of cases. A statistically significant positive relationship is also found between women who had judicial problems as minors and those who have reported cases of domestic abuse, especially towards them. Family environments are perceived as negative and violent. These family and personal problems are described in the works of Novo-Corti, Barreiro-Gen, and Espada (2014) as creating the disconnect between female inmates and education, something corroborated in our work. Mapelli, Herrera, and Sordi (2013) state in their research that 51% of inmates reported being victims of abuse before entering prison; 37% said the aggressor was their spouse/partner and only 39% reported the attacker.

Regarding addictive behaviour or problems with substances, a very significant presence was observed, as well as a family environment where problems with alcohol and/or other substances has been a constant among its members. Nearly two thirds of the women who passed through protection measures and/or judicial measures have had or have connections with drugs, especially those who have been fostered in other families (72.2%). In all cases, consumption of alcohol and tobacco

is more than 80% of cases, being more frequent with women who have had judicial measures (90.3%). This situation is similar to, or even better than that of the other inmates in Spain, who have extremely high levels of reporting having consumed legal drugs (95.4%) and illegal ones (70.8%) at some stage in their life and who maintain high levels of consumption —75.3% for legal drugs and 20.6% for illegal drugs— during their time in prison (ESDIP, 2016).

On another note, the data on inmates' studies before entering prison are worrying. In general the results of young women who had protection and/or judicial measures are lower at all educational levels —most have no studies or only primary level studies, between 46% and 62% depending on the type of measure— than the results from the sample of young female inmates investigated who had not passed through this type of measures. They are significantly lower in the case of women without studies and in all levels below secondary education.

This is the case for all three measures, and especially with young people who have passed through foster care. Nonetheless, within these low levels of education, the women who had judicial measures reached higher levels, followed by those who have been in protection centres. These data contrast with those obtained in research by Añños-Bedriñana, Llorente, and Chávez (2016) with 60 subjects aged between 18 and 27. In it they observed that a very large majority had graduated from high school or that their last year of

studies was at the secondary level. A much lower percentage of young people only had primary studies or had unfinished courses, and only one person had no education or training. A small percentage was also studying the baccalaureate, medium level vocational training (FP1) or higher level vocational training (FP2). As Gil-Cantero (2013) notes, we can hardly speak of processes of re-education and reinsertion of people who have been deprived of their liberty if they are not offered the necessary help to improve their cultural level and a level of educational with certification of their skills.

The information gathered in this work contributes new and more detailed data on risk factors, adding to research which, until now, suggested that the causes or aetiological factors for criminal activity are not clearly defined and respond to more generic situations, such as the confluence of multiple personal, family, and socio-environmental factors, the initial disadvantages of young people, their limited resources, and the absence of a welcoming social environment which offers the support needed in the case of crisis or conflict.

As several authors have noted (Mapelli, Herrera, & Sordi, 2013; Del Pozo & Añaños-Bedriñana, 2013; García-Vita & Melendro, 2013), these young prison inmates receive special treatment in their re-education and reinsertion processes, but it is still necessary to improve the intervention processes, the attention packages that meet their basic needs in a fragmented and non-comprehensive way, as well as

the functioning of the prison system itself. On these grounds, the challenge of redirecting or changing this situation is raised. Pedagogy and social education offer some answers which can be used as the foundation for going into greater depth, given the difficult situation described, based on evidence and immersion in the environments themselves, prioritising the process of intervening not only on the effect of the risk factors detected and described in this study, but also on the basis of boosting protection factors and an approach founded on good treatment and resilience which mean that the young female inmates see an increase in their possibilities of success and social inclusion.

Notes

¹ Organic Law 2/2010, of March 3, regarding Sexual and Reproductive Health and Voluntary Termination of Pregnancy; Organic Law 5/2010, of 22 June, amending Organic Law 10/1995, of November 23; Organic Law 3/2011, of January 28, amending Organic Law 5/1985, of June 19, regarding the General Electoral System; Organic Law 1/2015, of March 30, Amending Organic Law 10/1995, of November 23, regarding the Penal Code; Law 4/2015, of April 27, regarding the Status of Victims of Crime.

² Guardianship, custody, loss of parental authority are the legal measures; adoption, fostering or residential care are essentially the type of resource that can be provided.

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Book reviews

Esteban Bara, F.

Ética del profesorado

[Ethics of teaching staff] (Juan García Gutiérrez).

García Amilburu, M., Bernal, A., & González Martín, M. R.

Antropología de la educación. La especie educable

[Anthropology of education. The educatable species] (Yaiza Sánchez Pérez).

Rose, D., & Martin, J. R.

Leer para aprender. Lectura y escritura en las áreas del currículo

[Learning to write/reading to learn: Genre knowledge and pedagogy in the Sydney School: scaffolding democracy in Literacy Classrooms] (Francisco Lorenzo Bergillos).

Buxarrais, M. R., & Vilafranca, I. (Coords.).

Una mirada femenina de la educación moral

[A feminine view of moral education] (Eric Ortega González).

Book reviews

Esteban Bara, F. (2018).

Ética del profesorado [Ethics of teaching staff].

Barcelona: Herder. 152 pp.

It is sometimes said that writing has a therapeutic dimension. This claim can also sometimes be made for music or, as in this case, reading. One of the many good things that could be said about this work is that it is a *therapeutic* book. One that rebuilds the identity and vocation of the educator, which has become so fragmented and attacked in this hyper-technological era. It is, undoubtedly, a healing and reconciling read, but not an easy one. It is not superficially written, neither does it use easy or kind words to gladden the heart of those who carry out this profession. It reminds us that education is a risk. And so a reading develops that puts in a place of safety the pedagogical vocation and hope (Day) and, above all, the identity, often fragmented, of those who dare to undertake this adventure. Because teachers also need rescuing sometimes (as Pennac told us of his experience as a pupil).

It should also be noted that this is not a book for *influencers* (or *youtubers* or *instagrammers*). Indeed, education is also a type of influence, but this book goes into other types of influence in greater depth. It is also not recommended for people with a superficial view of educational action. Nonetheless, people who take education seriously will find something of a panacea in its pages, which can restore their vocation and identity as educators.

In a time of claims for and recognition of rights, it is vital, as Esteban notes, to recognise people's right to become better than they are, especially young people (p. 31). Facilitating this right is a moral duty and is the job of all educators. And this is precisely what this work is about, analysing in depth how teachers cooperate irreplaceably with other educational agents on this task, this "endeavour of convictions" (as Ibáñez-Martín would say). As a good pedagogue, Esteban has written a very visual book on the moral nature of the teaching profession. His reflections are illustrated with examples, quotes, extracts from films, and so on (it is almost a

real transmedia narrative), which help the reader consider and contemplate the act of education in a variety of ways.

But this book does not just describe and make us look carefully at the act of education. It also calls on us to do this in a critical way, not to settle or be conformist but instead to seek excellence. The quality, quantity, and opportuneness of the questions spread throughout the text make the reader reflect and consider, obliging her to ponder different educational situations. Not to take anything for granted, as every moment and every student are unique and need an original, creative, and personal response: how do teachers who make people fall in love with things experience love? (p. 33); how can something be taught without committing to anything?; how can someone be inspired to fall in love with a subject if the teacher is not in love with it? (p. 104); why do some people feel trapped by education? (p. 22); is [education's] purpose just that people who access it obtain an external commodity called a qualification (p. 58)?; what should be done in morally plural communities like many of our educational centres? (p. 65); how can we say things that appeal and astonish, things that stir up the pupil's morality and are not easily forgotten? (p. 124).

The book has five major chapters, or five reflections. In the first chapter, education is presented as a life experience, an act that "humanises" not only the pupil but also the teacher (or the educator in general). In this first step, the author asks himself about the reason, what it is that motivates these teachers to want to influence the lives of their pupils. In the second chapter, two dif-

ferent route maps for educating are presented: two focuses which are hard to reconcile because of the prominence the first of them has now acquired. Namely, "the one that extols the autonomy and moral freedom of the pupil and neglects the fact that this pupil is also a member of a moral community" (p. 40). A community that also creates connection in terms of duties, because "in [it] alone the free and full development of his personality is possible" (the often forgotten art. 29.1, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). And as teachers we know that education, in particular, is linked to the development of this personal fulfilment.

Chapters three and four can be read as two sides of the same page. On the one hand, some of the problems, distortions, and noises that create a certain type of influence are presented. The obstacles (for the humanising mission, as this is what the chapter is called) facing those who nowadays really do want to educate (themselves). On the other hand, those tasks that teachers can undertake to counteract these depersonalising influences are also set out: "welcoming the student" (p. 109); "creating a *petit paradis*" (p. 116), a pedagogical oasis away from routine; and transmit "the best of the best" (p. 123). The final chapter, "invitations for teacher training" is perhaps, given its multiplying effect, the most important of all. As Esteban Bara notes, educating is not just a profession, hence the importance of adding a good dose of "pedagogical intangibles" (García Amilburu & García-Gutiérrez) to training which make the teacher an "artisan of education" (p. 134), and making universities and colleges places for fostering creative encounters.

Parents, grandparents, teachers at all educational levels, and other formal (and informal) educational agents will agree that the educational act has never before presented as many challenges, facets, and difficulties as it does today. Hence the need for people with this educational *experience* which the book exudes (and, why not say it, erudition too) to be able to share it. Furthermore, one of the book's successes is, precisely, its firm support for a "practical" idea of ethical education. The author presents us with a concept of engaged human fulfilment; a fulfilment intimately connected to others ("the human cannot develop other than through cooperation" as Humboldt said), with what we do, and with the virtues we are capable of using in our life project.

Ultimately, and to end this invitation to read this work by Esteban Bara, how can we fulfil this task that forms part of the humanising adventure? In these roughly 140 pages (not characters), you will find sufficient material to discern an answer.

Juan García Gutiérrez ■

García Amilburu, M. (Ed.), Bernal, A., & González Martín, M. R. (2018).

Antropología de la educación. La especie educable [Anthropology of education. The educatable species].

Madrid: Síntesis. 203 pp.

Antropología de la Educación. La especie educable [Anthropology of education. The educatable species] is the title of this book recently published by María García Amilburu, Aurora Bernal, and María del

Rosario González Martín in which they consider a topic as classical as it is current in education. The structure of the book has a clear internal and external coherence, as its four sections cover increasingly specific aspects of educational anthropology. It also offers the reader a clarifying vision of the discipline and the importance of its application in educational practice.

This work sets out its content in a simple, precise, and direct manner. To do so, the authors organise the information structuring their arguments didactically, and include tables and diagrams to facilitate the reading and comprehension of the complex ideas. It is necessary to note that, despite the abstraction of some concepts, the authors handle the information in a way that adapts the content for readers who are familiar with the discipline.

Obviously the book has a structured and illustrative framework, but it is also worth noting that there is a glossary in each chapter with basic concepts to facilitate comprehension of the text, and each chapter also contains a series of questions to encourage reflection, which are excellent didactic resources for encouraging thought about educational questions. It includes audio-visual and literary resources, as well as suggestions for developing essays, an exercise that favours the development of reflexive thinking in matters relating to human beings and how they relate to the world. Another aspect worth noting is that the authors provide a recommended reading section where they list a selection of the works used, the ones which are most illustrative in relation to the dis-

cipline. However, they also explain that all of the reference materials used for preparing the book can be found on the publisher's website, an environmentally-friendly and practical decision. The expanded bibliography features over a hundred authors and works, including classics and recent ones, which justify the topicality and the need to continue researching from disciplines such as educational anthropology.

The first part of the book provides a definition and rationale for educational anthropology. To do this, it returns to the origins of study and reflection on the human being and observes how they have evolved to the present day, enabling an understanding of the different trends in educational anthropology, whether through its objects of study or through the methods used (positive or philosophical). The book focuses on educational anthropology from a philosophical perspective as the reflection characteristic of the philosophical method is part of self-knowledge and how one relates to the world, both of which are studied by anthropology.

The second part of the book approaches what, how, and who the human being is. In the text, the human being is defined as an unfinished being which is capable of thinking but needs a specific setting and relationships with other subjects to adapt, learn, and take form as a fully social and educated being. Accordingly, education becomes an element necessary for human beings to develop their abilities and not only be what they already are but also what they can grow to be. To do so, individuals have to know themselves to organise their under-

standing and will with the aim of attaining ends that reinforce their perfectibility as human beings. Education, ultimately, involves *leading* the individual to her greatest development. This means that, when dealing with complex actions, a guide is required who becomes a companion during the process. All of this explains educability, the potential for people to be educated in the different dimensions that make up the human being, such as: the bodily and affective; the intellectual, moral, and aesthetic; and the social and transcendental.

The third part analyses the perspective of the human being as an inhabitant of the world who relates and acts in a given context. The authors raise the importance of subjects receiving a specific education so that they become conscious of their transformative power and their responsibility in the world. Accordingly, education is what enables human beings to understand where they are and, in this way, to be able to adapt to and improve the spaces they inhabit.

As for relations with otherness, the main socialising element is undoubtedly the family. The authors consider interesting perspectives in relation to the family unit and the learning, both favourable and detrimental, which takes place in it. Accordingly, they propose various forms of family relationship in which concepts such as trust and authority are analysed. They also describe friendship and community as relational contexts, which involves a process of opening up to the world where important links and civic values of coexistence and empathy are developed.

This third part also covers concepts such as: anxiety, fear, liberation, freedom, and aesthetic or religious education, elements which must be questioned constantly in education, as they guide us during the educational process. When educating, it is essential to reflect on these questions from humanistic disciplines such as educational anthropology without falling into reductionism, truisms, or banal approaches, as their influence and impact on educational practice is unpredictable and we must be capable of confronting very different situations.

The fourth and final part of the book goes further, considering how we act and know the world. Human beings experience feelings as a consequence of human actions, which makes humans' links to culture clear as it derives from their own actions. The human being as a social creature feels a need to make contact with different cultures to discover their complexity and organisation, thus making it possible to clarify the possible differences that exist, both pragmatic and conceptual. Culture is in a constant process of interaction and construction, and so it is necessary to consider the interaction between the many different cultures to evaluate the results of this diversity and its educational and community consequences.

This text is, ultimately, a necessary work for educational professionals as it positions us, from a pedagogical perspective, in the main lines of study by educational anthropology. The authors make clear the need to focus research and educational practice on questions focussed on under-

standing the human being and its way of being in and relating to the world, as the pedagogical repercussions of this are undeniable. This book invites us to reflect on the human being and offers guidelines for working on this concept in the classroom. Although defining it is difficult and has numerous influences, this book is a support which uncovers various focuses thanks to its contributions from differing perspectives. To do so, the authors develop the text from a holistic vision, as they do not just focus on the human being as a particular being, but rather try to analyse other dimensions such as family, community and axiological ones.

Yaiza Sánchez Pérez ■

Rose, D., & Martin, J. R. (2018).

Leer para aprender. Lectura y escritura en las áreas del currículo [Learning to write/reading to learn: Genre knowledge and pedagogy in the Sydney School: scaffolding democracy in Literacy Classrooms].

Madrid: Editorial Pirámide. 320 pp.

At some point in the modern European age, the concept of language in education changed drastically. While elites had been educated in a rhetorical tradition centred on command of texts, a new model took grammatical teaching as the focus of study of language. Salvador Gutiérrez Ordoñez, a member of the Royal Spanish Academy of the Language, described the move from rhetoric to grammar in his introductory speech, which he gave the expressive title *From the art of grammar to communicative competence* (2008).

From those distant beginnings, dozens of generations have suffered the rigours of grammar and, as Seneca said, feared the *grammaticus*. Students have for years faced a strange nomenclature, a set of rules that described the functioning of the linguistic system, attractive to specialists but obscure for the bulk of speakers. This tradition was followed by constructivist philosophy shaped by the principle that the development of language is born freely in the process of personal maturation from contact with language in natural settings. Traditional and constructivist models have dominated linguistic education with undeniable achievements such as universal literacy, but also obvious limitations: educational failure thanks to poor reading skills, low levels of literacy, and limited integration of student populations with different first languages. Perhaps most important of all is the unequal distribution of linguistic skills in society, as shown by the fact that the factor that most strongly predicts reading comprehension and the use of language in general is an individual's socioeconomic profile.

The work reviewed here fits into this context. *Leer para aprender* focuses on command of the written medium as a way to access content and on academic reading as a way into knowledge. If this were all the book offered, it would simply state the obvious. However, this is just the foundation on which the authors build something unprecedented in the Spanish educational setting: a full proposal for linguistic education from the initial stages of education to the secondary level, which guarantees universal academic literacy. Put this way,

the work can be seen as a panacea, the longed-for remedy for the great ills of the Western systems mentioned. For readers who are justifiably sceptical of *miracle methods*, the authors present two strong arguments. *Leer para aprender* has proven to be effective for students with difficulties in reference educational systems: for inclusion of socially-disadvantaged students in South Africa, for integration of Aboriginal students in Australia, and for students from immigrant groups who use a heritage language at home in Sweden. These are real settings where the proposal has been put to the test and has shown clear advances in reading competence and in the command of writing in general. In reality, the proposed method transcends the contextual features of the school population for a reason which is obvious to linguists: it concentrates on command of mechanisms at the sentence level and textual level which are shared by all languages, the mechanisms for linguistic consistency and cohesion. From this, the work's second argument arises; *Leer para aprender* derives from the theory of language which is undoubtedly most sensitive to the reality of education and the use of language in society: systemic functional linguistics, which is described at the start of the book.

The first chapters provide a readable account of this trend. The story is well known; in post-war Britain, Basil Bernstein described a parallel between social structure and the structure of linguistic use, treating language as the origin of social exclusion based on educational failure. This theory of language, however,

lacked a new linguistic model, one which would be developed throughout their lives by Halliday and Hasan and by the school they created, the Sydney School. Indeed the authors of this work are two leading members of this group: David Rose and Jim Martin. In effect, of all the places in the world where the new theory could appear, it had to be the antipodes of the imperial London which resisted an educational model committed to equality and social justice. Australia had large socially disadvantaged groups: the Irish Catholics who worked the land in adverse conditions, a growing multilingual population, and Aboriginal groups which sought to integrate into a model of an advanced country which saw education as the basis of prosperity.

It is in this context that the Writing Project and Write it Right projects appear, developed in poor Australian neighbourhoods, of which the first chapters of the work give a full account. These projects include a visible and highly practical pedagogy focussing on the use of texts in class and on students preparing various textual genres by presenting the different rhetorical steps or schemes that form them. In this way, over time students come to dominate written expression from its initial levels closest to speech to actual discourses, something the book constantly illustrates with real examples of students' work. The book describes students' progress, from the first poorly-articulated texts in the written medium up to, with time, command of the narrative text, selecting appropriate senses, linking ideas appropriately, and

using connectors and effective forms of discourse cohesion. As the authors summarise it: "our aim was to ensure that the linguistic nature of the students' writing became conscious so that language teaching was explicit" (Rose & Martin, 2018, p. 54).

Two ideas in this chapter enable us to understand fundamental notions in the *Leer para aprender* method. The first of these is the map of textual genres. This is a proposal for organising writing at different educational levels. In essence, the production of specific texts and genres that the students have to compose is planned. These are texts that are not organised into textual macrocategories (narrative, descriptive, or argumentative), but rather genres more specifically related to the subjects. For example, in history, texts can range from everyday stories or anecdotes to biographic narration or explanatory historical accounts.

A large part of this functionalist method is revealing what language hides, either strategically to save resources or in a calculated way to hide meanings which someone does not want to make clear, sometimes concealing them for persuasive ends and sometimes for ideological ones. This is how the chapter considers the grammatical metaphor as an expression of how academic language packages information and presents difficulties for students who are not able to uncover the coherent grammar hidden behind it.

With texts selected from school textbooks and educational books on history

and considering topics of great appeal to the reader, for example the invasion of Vietnam, the authors explain that historical discourse contains agents and events — military or political— which are encapsulated in clauses or nominal syntagms that are hard to understand. One virtue of this work, and the Sydney School in general, is that it identifies the texts' challenges for reading and learning with extraordinary precision: coherence mechanisms, syntagmatic relationships, cause-effect relationships, and nominalisations. Among the latter, for example, students would have difficulties in identifying who resists what and who occupies what in this nominalisation: "During the war, Ho led the resistance against the Japanese occupation of Vietnam". Furthermore, even with agents and people affected uncovered, immature readers will struggle to find the causes of the facts and will find it even harder to evaluate the historical event in all its complexity.

Expository prose, with its pronounced twists and turns, which the book describes, is as an obstacle to students processing senses and by extension knowledge. Therefore, and this is another premise on which the third chapter is based, educational systems need to promote an *integrated literacy*. With this concept the authors explain that literacy —this could also be called advanced literacy or academic language proficiency more in line with Cummins's CALP concept— should be integrated into all areas of the curriculum. The work shows, therefore, that all teachers teach language; it proposes a solid programme for implement-

ing it, and it identifies the difficulties in the key subjects, the sciences and history, fundamentally.

The extensive fourth chapter details the foundations of the programme in the classroom; that is, how to rewrite complex texts, jointly at first and later individually. To do this, students have to take ownership of linguistic resources. Chapter five considers this process of ownership. Students can work on particular prototypical activities: rewriting using sentence patterns, breaking down metaphors, underlining parts of the text that would normally go unnoticed, handling technical language, expanding notes. From there until they attain command of rhetorical resources for persuading. This book is packed with information and rich in authentic examples from school texts, ranging from primary-school texts (the story of *Fantastic Mr Fox*) up to the division of materials that conduct electricity in the compulsory secondary education science course (classifying exposition). As a whole, *Leer para aprender* provides a complete cycle of teaching-learning to attain command of writing and shows that reducing the skills gap between good students and students with difficulties is feasible with guided practice in class. This aspect of the book is praiseworthy, its unwavering commitment to inclusive education in periods marked by differentiated and separate education, or any type of education not committed to equity and social justice. The authors are very grateful in this regard. In this way they join authors like Felipe Zayas, who we include here as an exponent of a textual-linguistic educational tradition (see for example Zayas, 2012).

This book cannot be considered without recognising one of its advocates, Rachel Whittaker, an academic who for years has been committed to the Spanish university from her post at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. She was the instigator of this work, has provided the exact terminology in a clear and engaging translation, and has offered something which studies on education in Spain often lack: an international vision which is undoubtedly applicable to our context. The TEL4ELE project bears witness to this (<http://www.telcon2013.com/es/presentacion/>), an ambitious Comenius project including researchers and teachers from different regions of Spain who adapted the *Reading to learn* model to the national curricula and to the characteristics of Spain's educational system. Along with Rachel, Isabel García Parejo, a researcher from the Faculty of Education at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and coordinator of the Multilingualism, Literacy and Education Forum.

In summary, this book is essential for trainee teachers, necessary for sensitive teachers, and recommended for any professionals who have not crossed off their lists the old principles that give sense to education: social engagement from the classroom.

Francisco Lorenzo Bergillos ■

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Buxarrais, M. R., & Vilafranca, I. (Eds.) (2018).

Una mirada femenina de la educación moral [A feminine view of moral education].

Bilbao: Desclée De Brouwer. 233 pp.

“Le siècle prochain sera féminin, pour le meilleur ou pour le pire”, states the philosopher Julia Kristeva in the general introduction to her work *Le génie féminin* (p. 11), dedicated to Hannah Arendt. While we could judge her statement using the criteria of truth—in which case we could state that Kristeva is right given that the phrase was published in 1999 and the twenty-first century does seem to be part of the framework of the period in which women have had greatest visibility in the public sphere—we could also evaluate Kristeva's sentence in aspirational or ideal terms. In this latter scenario, the work reviewed here offers countless reflections deserving attention. Because everyone agrees that it is fair that women occupy, in historical terms and in the most contemporary terms, the central role to which they are entitled. And it is widely known that pedagogy, at least in its most basic role, has something to say about the difficult task of making what is fair into something that is desirable. Texts like Kristeva's partly contribute to this, as does, in the case that concerns us here, this edited volume with contributions by a total of 21 authors coordinated by Maria Rosa Buxarrais and Isabel Vilafranca.

Twenty-one authors with the aim of making visible discourses on moral education developed by thirteen women of very different origins, from political theorists like Hannah Arendt to evolutionary psy-

chologists like Carol Gilligan and literary figures like Astrid Lindgren (creator of the universe and fascinating adventures of *Pippi Longstocking*). Those who concentrated on moral philosophy (like Victoria Camps or Martha Nussbaum) or related philosophical topics (as in the case of Edith Stein, Virginia Held, and Judith Butler, among others) stand out as the majority. They are all thinkers with different origins and interests but, in view of their pedagogical-moral reflections, they oblige us to ask ourselves whether there is a specifically feminine moral pedagogy, as Marina Subirats notes in the prologue to the work. In other words, whether there is a difference between intellectual productions by women and men—in particularly in reflections concerning moral education developed by women—which, in some way, gives a certain family connection to the reflections done by each gender.

And the response, far from being one that can be given in a brief comment, offers us a framework in which to situate the thirteen thinkers named above. It does this by enabling us to sketch a limit, a sort of boundary between two different worldviews. On the one hand, those that develop their pedagogical reflections in the “androcentric mental universe” (p. 12)—see the cases of Stein, Zambrano, Weil, and Arendt—and which, accordingly, do not question the patriarchal framework in which their thinking occurs, focussing their thinking on aspects which, in principle, could not be categorised as specifically feminine, and on the other hand, those—like Gilligan, Benhabib, and Butler—who question this framework and emphasise

the consequences of the silencing of Diotima, which historically appeared in the view of the authors to be the result of certain masculine approaches, in terms of rejecting, undervaluing, and disregarding a way of approaching moral education which focusses all of its attention on the relational aspect of the human being. Its ultimate goal is to incorporate new forms of moral argument which, without any pretence of superiority, complement the Kantian-derived universalist perspective broadly developed by Lawrence Kohlberg and his colleagues.

One good example of pedagogical-moral reflection from inside the androcentric universe is the work of María Zambrano (1904-1991). In the account of the life and work of this thinker from Malaga given in the book, there is no place for reflecting on or questioning the values traditionally associated with masculine thinking. Not even for the countless omissions masculine thinking has frequently made of the virtues commonly linked to life and its care and maintenance. We do, however, find an apt appeal to the concept of *poetic reason* which Zambrano developed, a good outline of the direct rejection of dogmatisms which has its greatest expression in *Horizon of liberalism*, and a very timely presentation of the link Zambrano observed between civic conscience and *humanity* insofar as it is in the *polis*, in the social community to which the human being belongs, that the true human conscience is forged, in a bidirectional exercise from the civic to the human being and from the human being to the civic. It is in relation to this particular latter aspect that Zambrano's

great lesson in terms of moral education is presented. In her view, the ultimate aim of education is to develop a historical conscience which, by putting the individual in her social context, will enable her to develop a full conscience of who she is, in other words, it allows her to relate to the past in a way that transcends mere awareness of it, giving her the chance to invigorate her thinking, beliefs, and habits in order thus to transcend the past in the interest of a more human life. For this author, education means “giving language to all corners of the human soul” (p. 57).

The contrasting paradigm of an author who focusses on the careful silencing of Diotima throughout the history of thinking is very much apparent in Carol Gilligan (1936). This thinker, who was a disciple of Kohlberg, goes beyond him in calling into question the Harvard psychologist's interpretations of the results of his experimental research into the development of moral judgement. The difference between men and women when reflecting on difficult moral situations, along with the absence of women in Kohlberg's longitudinal study, led Gilligan to try to understand the specific way in which women weave the experiential and narrative text with which they confront their moral conflicts. And her approach, set out as is well-known in her famous *In a Different Voice*, offers us the possibility of reflecting on two different ways of understanding moral conflicts, as well as the paths leading to their resolution, one traditionally associated with the masculine and another with the feminine. While the former is marked by a search for universality and, therefore, entails a

greater emphasis on the formal, the latter is strongly affected by the context in which the conflict emerges, prioritising the needs, and the demands for help and responsibility that the participants might require. Attention and care will, for this psychologist, be moral principles as valid—and complementary—as justice and impartiality. And the truth is that what Carol Gilligan revealed to us—earning herself much criticism for it—is a different way of perceiving and confronting moral dilemmas which centres attention on relationships, as well as on the responsibility we have to all human beings. According to this Harvard psychologist, whatever one's gender, education will be capable of awakening two ways of understanding and confronting moral conflicts which do not make moral universalism or human rationality their only banner.

Of course, we cannot end this review without emphasising two aspects which, in my opinion, are crucial. The first is the boldness of the editors and the authors in composing a work as ambitious as it is necessary, given the invisibility of feminine pedagogical-moral thinking in pedagogical anthologies, apart from a few exceptional cases, and also in view of the androcentrism that even today afflicts academia and which means that some fine collective efforts, such as the one represented by this work, are viewed with suspicion. The second is the elegance and skill with which the authors solve the complex task of summarising the dissimilar work of thirteen necessary thinkers—although, continuing with the theme, not all of those who are necessary are here, but all of the ones here

are necessary— through an essentially structural connecting thread which gives coherence and continuity to the thinking set out, giving a fascinating sensation of development in the content, themes, and approaches exhibited.

Ultimately, this is a valuable edited work, destined to break through the walls

enclosing the academy and where the patient and attentive reader will, between the feminine outlook and the admiration for the intellectual power unfolded by the thirteen women selected, find an almost unfailing source of genuine interest and inspiration.

Eric Ortega González ■