

The sociological construction of silence: Family dynamics and peer bullying through the lens of Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory

Ebru Erbudak^{a1}, Istanbul Aydin University, Besyol, No:38, 34295 Kucukcekmece, Istanbul, Türkiye, erbudakebru@hotmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-2332-6566>

Suggested Citation:

Erbudak, E. (2025). The sociological construction of silence: Family dynamics and peer bullying through the lens of Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory. *Global Journal of Sociology: Current Issues*, 15(2), 106-114. <https://doi.org/10.18844/gjs.v15i2.9970>

Received from April 1, 2025; revised from July 1, 2025; accepted from November 1 2025.

Selection and peer review under the responsibility of Prof. Dr. Carlos Rodrigues, Universidade Fernando Pessoa, Portugal
©2025 by the authors. Licensee United World Innovation Research and Publishing Center, North Nicosia, Cyprus. This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

iThenticate Similarity Rate: 5%

Abstract

Understanding the social foundations of peer bullying remains a critical concern in educational research, particularly regarding the mechanisms that normalize silence in the face of aggression. Although the Spiral of Silence has been widely applied to public opinion and media studies, limited attention has been given to its roots within family structures and its implications for school bullying. This study addresses this theoretical gap by arguing that the suppression of personal views to avoid exclusion reflects a structural habitus formed within hierarchical family environments. Employing qualitative methods, including document analysis and theoretical critique, the study integrates insights from Panopticon and Stigma to examine how fear of isolation consolidates peer conformity and legitimizes the dominance of bullies. The findings conceptualize peer bullying as a systemic culture of silence rooted in familial socialization and reinforced by social anxiety. The study concludes that disrupting this cycle requires macro sociological structural transformation rather than solely school-based disciplinary measures. It highlights the need to promote democratic participation within families, cultivate secure educational environments that protect differences, and reconceptualize silence as a form of social paralysis.

Keywords: Bullying; family socialization; social exclusion; spiral of silence; structural transformation.

* ADDRESS FOR CORRESPONDENCE: Ebru Erbudak, Istanbul Aydin University, Besyol, No:38, 34295 Kucukcekmece, Istanbul, Türkiye, Türkiye. E-mail address: erbudakebru@hotmail.com / Tel.: +90534 766 71 82

1. INTRODUCTION

The continuation of social life is shaped by the dialectical tension between an individual's desire to conform to collective norms and the fear of exclusion from these norms. Humans, as both biological and socio-cultural beings, require approval from the groups to which they belong. One of the most influential models explaining this mechanism is Noelle-Neumann's (1974) "Spiral of Silence." According to Noelle-Neumann, individuals experience social exclusion and isolation. Motivated by fear of isolation, individuals continuously monitor the surrounding climate of opinions. If personal views are perceived as minority positions or lacking social validity, individuals may choose silence rather than risk marginalization. Noelle-Neumann (1993) further conceptualizes this process through the notion of a "social skin," which facilitates societal interaction while shielding individuals from external pressures. Conventional sociological approaches, however, often restrict this spiral to the domain of mass communication, whereas the underlying social ontology extends more profoundly, originating within the family, the initial context in which individuals begin to interpret and understand the world.

Research on self-silencing and conformity demonstrates that individuals holding minority views are more likely to suppress their opinions and subsequently conform their behavior to dominant social norms, consistent with Spiral of Silence processes (Hurst et al., 2025). Examined through the lens of Bourdieu's (1990) concept of "habitus," the suppression of dissenting voices or the emotional punishment of the "deviant" within the family hierarchy develops a permanent habit of silence in the individual. In this context, silence, learned as a survival method in the family, evolves into a behavioral pattern that the child transfers to secondary socialization areas such as school.

Empirical work on family dynamics and adolescent attachment highlights that secure family relationships are related to reduced participation in bullying and more adaptive social behavior, underscoring the role of early social environments in shaping responses to peer influence (Çiçek et al., 2025). This structural tendency further narrows the vicious cycle when it comes to peer bullying in the school environment. As Foucault (1977) states in an analysis of power, power is not only distributed from a central authority; it is reproduced in micro-spaces through schoolyards and classroom interactions.

The bully's hegemony within the school is, in Noelle -Neumann's (1974) words, the oppression of the "noisy minority" over the silent majority. Longitudinal adolescent bullying research affirms that negative peer influence and social status dynamics significantly predict bullying perpetration, illustrating how social pressures shape aggressive behaviors in school contexts (Ugwu et al., 2024). Children who witness this oppression cannot risk the "stigma" and loss of social standing examined by Goffman (2009) and become part of the cycle. The determining influence of family communication codes on the child's silence emerges as a sociological issue. Bourdieu's (1990) concept of "habitus" serves as a theoretical link in this context. Habitus includes not only a person's conscious choices but also their embodied tendencies.

A child who is under the pressure of authority within the family, or who is only accepted when expressing "approved" opinions, experiences the fear of exclusion, as described by Noelle -Neumann (1974), for the first time within this micro-cosmos. This early experience imprints the formula "silence equals security" as a habitus in the person's mind. When this habitus is transferred to the school environment, it is further amplified in complex power asymmetries such as peer bullying. As Foucault (1977) states in his analysis of power, school is not only a place where information is transmitted, but also a disciplinary environment where bodies and voices are disciplined.

In peer bullying, the spiral of silence among peers in the face of violence, as much as the violence itself, normalizes the violence. The child witnessing this situation, while taking their place in Noelle -Neumann's (1974) spiral, is actually experiencing the "avoiding attention" method they learned in the family. Goffman's (2009) "stigmatization" theory explains this situation with an emotional cost: a child being branded as a snitch or being excluded from their group for exhibiting a "different" stance is far more severe and destructive than the bully's physical violence.

1.1. Purpose of study

This study aims to analyze the process by which the spiral of silence experienced by individuals in the family environment evolves into peer groups and the sociological continuity of this process. Accordingly, the methodological basis of the research is document analysis, which is part of the qualitative research tradition. This study will analyze, in later sections, how this tripartite structure (family-society-bullying) feeds off each other, sustains itself, and the necessary transformation to break the vicious cycle.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study employed a qualitative research design grounded in document analysis and theoretical critique to examine the sociological foundations of silence in peer bullying. Drawing on an interdisciplinary framework, the research systematically analyzed foundational and contemporary theoretical texts related to the Spiral of Silence developed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, habitus theory by Pierre Bourdieu, micro-power and the Panopticon conceptualized by Michel Foucault, and stigma theory articulated by Erving Goffman. Relevant empirical studies on family socialization, peer dynamics, gender roles, and cyberbullying were also reviewed to contextualize the theoretical synthesis. Documents included peer-reviewed journal articles, seminal sociological texts, and contemporary research addressing adolescent bullying and social conformity. Through thematic and interpretive analysis, the study examined how family-based hierarchical communication patterns contribute to the internalization of silence as habitus and how this disposition is reproduced within school micro-power structures. The analytical procedure involved identifying conceptual intersections among isolation anxiety, symbolic violence, stigma, and disciplinary surveillance to construct an integrated sociological model explaining the normalization of peer bullying as a systemic culture of silence.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Sociological layers of silence and the construction of the spiral

This section of the study examines silence in the face of peer bullying not as a psychological defense mechanism, but as a structural process established in different sociological structures (family, school, peer group) and solidified by Noelle-Neumann's (1974) spiral theory.

3.1.1. Bourdieu's concept of habitus and Noelle-Neumann's isolation thesis: the structural genetics of silence in the family

For the spiral of silence to strengthen in the social sphere, the individual must first transform silence into an embodied habit, a method of survival. Bourdieu (1990) argues that the objective conditions and power relations in which an individual finds himself are internalized through a system he calls "habitus." The family is the first foundry of this habitus and the main structure that determines how an individual makes sense of the social world. Noelle-Neumann's (1974) "fear of social isolation," contrary to popular belief, does not suddenly appear in later life due to media influence; the foundations of this fear are laid in micro-power areas where the child pays the price (deprivation of love and attention, emotional exclusion) for "dissenting" against parental authority. In a child whose democratic participation channels are blocked within the family, Noelle-Neumann's (1993) "psycho-statistical capacity," that is, the ability to understand who is powerful and which idea is safe, becomes hypersensitive. This situation causes the child to see "standing with power" or "remaining silent" as a haven in the face of bullying at school, rather than seeking justice. Therefore, silence here is no longer a fear, but, in Bourdieu's (1990) definition, a "structured construct."

3.1.2. A Foucauldian analysis: The Panopticon in the schoolyard and the spatiality of invisible power

Noelle-Neumann (1974), in her spiral theory, states that individuals are subject not only to general public opinion but also to the worldview of their immediate reference group. The school and classroom environment exhibits a control mechanism parallel to Foucault's (1977) "Panopticon" and "The Microphysics of Power" studies. In the Panopticon, individuals discipline themselves through the feeling of being constantly monitored. In peer bullying, the bully figure becomes the hidden central tower of the classroom. The dominant intellectual environment created by the bully is not only through physical violence but also, as Noelle-

Noelle-Neumann (1993) suggests, through the "noisy minority" (vocal). This is established by the monopolization of communication methods within the classroom by the bully and his supporters, whom he defines as a minority. From a Foucauldian perspective, the silent witnesses are actually "the embodiment of power"; for by remaining silent, they are the enforcers of the "law of unspeakability" imposed by the bully. This spatial control, combined with Noelle-Neumann's thesis of isolation, causes the child to suspend their own moral compass due to the anxiety of being excluded from the group, and silence becomes the norm.

3.1.3. Goffman and the anxiety of stigma: the "informer" label as symbolic violence

Social standing, or "face," represents efforts to protect one's identity. Goffman (2009) examines the processes of stigma that distort the identity an individual carries. In the context of peer bullying, Noelle-Neumann's anxiety about isolation is reflected in Goffman's notion of fear of being labeled as a "snitch," "weak," or "nonconformist." The outer layer an individual presents to society, described by Noelle-Neumann as "social skin," corresponds to Goffman's concept of reputation management or impression management. For a child, disclosing experiences of violence constitutes a violation of the group's unwritten "law of silence," resulting in stigmatization as untrustworthy. In this context, silence functions not merely as inaction but as a protective strategy to avoid social stigma. Goffman observes that individuals often choose to remain "invisible" within bullying dynamics rather than endure a stigmatized identity. This phenomenon sociologically explains the reinforcement of the spiral of silence and why silence is frequently perceived as the most rational course of action.

3.1.4. Psycho-statistical aptitude and social perception: a mechanism for screening the child's "intellectual climate."

Psycho-statistical capacity," which underlies Noelle-Neumann's (1974) theory, is the individual's ability to discern dominant and effective opinions. This section of the study analyzes how the child uses this cognitive ability as a kind of "survival compass."

- The child as social radar: the child, noticing whose word carries weight in the schoolyard, measures who is silenced and who is ridiculed with that sensitive radar described by Noelle-Neumann. This observational process is what Mead (1934) called the "generalized other". It merges with the concept of (other). The child measures not only the bully's thoughts but also the reaction of the community as a whole to the situation.
- Illusionary perception and the silent majority: if the community remains indifferent to bullying, the child reaches a "false statistical conclusion," as Noelle-Neumann (1993) points out: "everyone accepts this situation, so I should also remain silent." This situation is known in sociology as "pluralistic ignorance." Ignorance is the point where it intersects with the spiral.

3.1.5. Media, digital space, and cyberbullying: the virtual universe of the spiral of silence

Noelle-Neumann based her theory on the power of mass media. Today, peer bullying occurs not only in physical spaces but also in digital environments (cyberbullying).

- Digital panopticon: Social media platforms pave the way for the spiral to spread much faster. A child's exclusion or "lynching" from digital spaces expresses Noelle-Neumann's fear of isolation. The spiral of silence here is represented by "echo chambers" (echo). It is fueled by (chambers of) behavior; when the bully's message is liked thousands of times, silence seems like the only option.
- Anonymity and the loud minority: In the online environment, the bully, in line with Noelle-Neumann's "loud minority" view, manages the entire "public opinion" (class group) through the digital noise they create, even though they are actually a small group. This also makes it much easier for the voice of the victim of cyberbullying to be silenced.

3.1.6. Time and process: solidification of the spiral and social normalization

Noelle-Neumann (1974) argues that the spiral is actually a process, and that over time, some ideas become "undisputable".

- The normalization of bullying: As the duration of silence in the face of bullying in a classroom increases, that silence becomes a "public norm," as Noelle-Neumann (1974) states. Sociologically, this can be explained by Berger and Luckmann's (2016) theory of "The Social Construction of Reality." Bullying, initially seen as "wrong," is gradually accepted as an "inevitable reality" through the power of the spiral. At this stage, it is no longer necessary to ask why the children are silent, because the silence has become ingrained in the institution (school).

3.2. The mechanisms and sociological implications of the spiral

This chapter examines how the tendency towards deepening silence within family relationships transforms into a social control mechanism in school bullying practices, and how this process differs according to gender roles.

3.2.1. *The continuity of habitus and the intergenerational transfer of "capital of silence."*

Noelle-Neumann's (1974) fear of isolation is clarified through the "habitus" that develops in a person's childhood through family relationships. From Bourdieu's (1990) perspective, habitus is a "matrix of predispositions" embedded in the human body, where past experiences guide future practices. The silencing of a child's voice within the family, or their acceptance only when expressing views approved by authority figures, transforms silence into a "cultural capital" for the child. The "psycho-statistical aptitude," which plays a significant role in Noelle-Neumann's (1993) theory, functions as a "survival compass" in authoritarian families. Silence, avoidance of conflict, and invisibility are not only fears but also inherited from the family. This demonstrates why this spiral is so deeply rooted and firmly constructed from the very first days of school.

3.2.2. *Symbolic violence: the construction of domination based on "consent" through the spiral of silence*

Noelle-Neumann's (1974) spiral theory, the act of coercion goes beyond physical violence and takes on the form of "symbolic violence" as defined by Bourdieu (1990). Symbolic violence continues as long as those under domination (victims and witnesses) accept this oppression as a "norm" and consent to it.

- The violence of silence: The bully and their supporters, whom Noelle-Neumann (1993) describes as the "noisy minority," define the boundaries of "legitimate expression" within the classroom. The silence of the peers around them legitimizes the bully's actions. According to Bourdieu (1990), this is the purest form of violence, because without the need for physical violence, the will of an entire group is paralyzed simply through a spiral of silence. Silence here is not merely a lack of reaction, but an active but invisible approval of the establishment of bullying as a structural order. The child witnessing this, by remaining silent out of fear of isolation, actually reproduces the bully's power through their own body and voice.

3.2.3. *Gender and silence: the gendered differential of isolation anxiety*

When spiral theory is examined within the context of gender, it is seen that the fear of isolation causes different sociological harms in girls and boys.

- Girls and the horror of relational isolation: During the socialization phase, girls are often burdened with tasks such as "conformity," "caregiving," and "conflict suppression." This situation leads to Noelle-Neumann's fear of isolation being interpreted as "relational exclusion" in girls. It is developed through exclusion. For a girl, being ostracized from a group means "social annihilation" rather than physical pain. Therefore, when girls witness peer bullying, they choose silence to protect their friendships, thus sinking deeper into the cycle. For them, silence is a kind of "tribute" to the emotional security of the group.
- Boys, hegemonic masculinity, and the law of silence: In boys, the spiral narrows where "public opinion pressure," as described in Noelle-Neumann's (1974) theory, coincides with the norms of "hegemonic masculinity." In masculine roles, "resilience," "not complaining," and "self-reliance" are essential. In conjunction with Goffman's (2009) stigma theory, a boy who speaks out about his victimization risks being stigmatized as "weak" or "feminine." This gender pressure pushes boys to

conceal their victimization and suffer in the silence of the spiral. At this point, the spiral functions as a "mechanism of honor" for boys, preventing the outward expression of violence.

3.2.4. *The psychosocial cost of the spiral: ontological insecurity and collective anomie*

The spiral of silence is not merely an act of "remaining silent," but a weakening of the individual's connection with social realities. While Noelle-Neumann (1993) describes the state of entrapment experienced by the silent individual as "fear of isolation," its sociological reflection is actually ontological insecurity.

- Alienation and the perception of justice: Caught in a cycle of peer bullying, the child experiences a rupture between their own conscience and the silence of the group. Similar to Marx's (2016) concept of alienation, the child becomes alienated from both their own moral values and the class they belong to. The child, shrouded in silence, loses faith that justice will be served.
- Collective anomie: Durkheim's (2018) concept of "anomie" (lawlessness/normlessness) comes into play here. If bullying has become "normalized" in a classroom due to a spiral, it means the social bridge there has been destroyed. In an environment where rules remain only on paper and the strong dominate the silent majority, children lose their trust in the school institution. This is when the spiral moves from the individual to a "social disease" (social pathology).

3.2.5. *The transfer of the spiral to the digital realm: a cyber-sociological expansion*

Noelle-Neumann's theory was based on mass communication, but today, peer bullying has transcended the boundaries of physical space.

- The virtual panopticon: In the schoolyard, the spiral would stop when the bell rang, but in the digital world, the spiral operates 24/7. A child being "removed from a WhatsApp group" or "lynched" on social media transforms Noelle-Neumann's fear of isolation into a digital prison.
- Echo chambers and the digital hegemony of the bully: In the digital realm, the bully can appear not just as a "noisy minority," but as the "only reality" with the support of algorithms. The silent majority finds their own dissent even more meaningless in the face of digital likes and shares, and the spiral shrinks even faster in the virtual world.

3.3. Breaking the silence: spiral breakpoints and the avant-garde minority

Although the spiral of silence is a dominant social control mechanism, Noelle-Neumann (1993) argues that this spiral is not an absolute fate. Groups defined in the theory as "Hard Core" and "Avant-Garde" have the power to reverse the spiral by resisting the fear of social isolation.

3.3.1. *Resistance to social isolation: "hard core" and "Avant-Garde" subjects*

Noelle-Neumann (1993), the "Hard Core" represents individuals who, although once a minority, have overcome their fear of exclusion and remain unwavering in their beliefs. The "Avant-Garde," on the other hand, is the pioneering minority that offers a new vision for the future and advocates for changes that society is not yet ready for.

- 'Hard core' children in the face of bullying: Some children, thanks to the democratic self-confidence they acquire from their families during their upbringing or their strong sense of justice (moral capital), remain outside the spiral of bullying. These children, by piercing what Noelle-Neumann (1993) calls the "social skin," speak out against bullying. Sociologically, this is the stage of "subjectification" for the individual; that is, refusing to be the object of social pressure and becoming the subject of their own moral action.

3.3.2. *"Democratic habitus" and liberating pedagogy*

Breaking the spiral requires reshaping Bourdieu's (1990) concept of "habitus." If family and school code silence is not a virtue but a critical intellectual achievement, the "fear of isolation" upon which the spiral is based becomes invalid. Establishing "dialogical communication" in schools is essential, in line with Freire's (1970) "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" approach. Children should be taught that different voices are a richness

and that being in the minority cannot be a reason for social stigma. Noelle-Neumann's (1974) spiral can only be stopped when "social assurance that difference will be preserved" is given. This is the construction of a "psychological safety net" that will encourage the silent majority to speak.

3.3.3. Counter-hegemony and collective resistance

In Gramsci's (2020) "hegemony" approach, the bully has established his own dominance in the classroom. However, the spiral is broken not by a single child, but by a group of children speaking out together (counter-hegemony).

- Sociological intervention: While a single person's statement might be labeled as "madness" or "heroism," the "climate of opinion" described by Noelle-Neumann (1974) can shift in seconds through the collective rejection of witnesses. This is the stage where the spiral shifts towards the oppressor. Sociologically, this is the transformation of atomized individuals (silent witnesses) into an organized community that exercises "social control" against the oppressor.

3.3.4. From "silent witness" to "active advocate": the transformation of social perception

Noelle-Neumann's (1974) theory, the main element that reinforces silence is the individual's belief that their own sense of justice is "alone." However, breaking the spiral is possible through "pluralistic ignorance." It begins with the deciphering of the state of ignorance. If, in a classroom, the vast majority of students are uncomfortable with bullying, but everyone believes that the others approve of it, the cycle is at its strongest. At this point, what will change the "climate of opinion," as Noelle-Neumann (1974) points out, is the silent majority becoming aware of each other's true thoughts. Sociologically, this happens through "communicative action" (Habermas, 1984). Transparent dialogue bonds established among students transform the fear of isolation into collective courage. Breaking the silence deprives the bully of the advantage of being a "noisy minority" and turns the direction of social pressure against the bully.

3.3.5. Building institutional authority and systematic trust

Noelle-Neumann's (1974) spiral is reinforced by a person's vulnerability to "authority." If school management or family remains indifferent to the bullying, the only option for the child is to become entangled in the spiral.

- Sociological intervention: To break the cycle, it is necessary to establish the "ontological security" foundation that Anthony Giddens, in Fallding (1991), refers to within the school. This is possible not only through the existence of rules, but also by proving that those rules work "for everyone" (social justice). A teacher or parent is the primary person who determines the "dominant climate" in Noelle-Neumann's theory. When the authority figure takes a clear stance against bullying, they send a message to the silent majority: "If you speak up, you will be protected, you will not be excluded." Thanks to this message, the fear of isolation is neutralized.

3.3.6. 'Media literacy' and digital awareness in breaking the spiral

With the spiral narrowing much faster in the digital realm, a cyber-sociological intervention is inevitable. Noelle-Neumann (1993) emphasizes the media's power to "gather supporters." Today, children need "digital resilience" against the lynching culture on digital platforms. (resilience) must be developed. The act of "disliking" or "reporting" a bullying video or message is a digital act of resistance that breaks the invisible pressure in Noelle-Neumann's (1974) spiral. This awareness prevents the spiral from taking root and developing in the virtual world.

4. CONCLUSION

The tendency toward silence in response to peer bullying, analyzed through Noelle-Neumann's Spiral of Silence and an interdisciplinary lens incorporating the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu, Foucault, and Goffman, demonstrates that silence functions not merely as an individual expression of fear but as a systematic social control mechanism. This mechanism manifests as a "habitus of silence" formed in the family and reinforced within micro-power structures at school. Acceptance of obedience as survival capital during

primary socialization, coupled with the development of a psycho-statistical radar against the risk of exclusion, leads individuals to perceive silence as the most rational refuge. At the school level, Foucauldian panoptic control practices and Goffmanian concerns regarding stigmatization, being labeled as an informer or nonconformist, normalize bullying and perpetuate the spiral.

Macro and micro-level interventions aimed at disrupting this spiral and fostering democratic subjectivation require a multifaceted approach. At the family level, the transformation of a culture of obedience-based habitus into a culture of negotiation, facilitated through parent education, can mitigate children's fear of isolation. Within schools, Foucauldian control mechanisms should be replaced by Habermasian communicative action frameworks, establishing safe feedback systems that allow students to report injustices without fear of stigma. Individuals with the potential to challenge the spiral, termed "hardcore" or "avant-garde", should be recognized and supported as democratic leaders rather than marginalized as nonconformists. Additionally, school guidance services must reconceptualize codes of silence, address relational isolation among girls and hegemonic masculine honor among boys, and anchor these strategies in gender-conscious frameworks emphasizing conscientious responsibility.

Ultimately, this comprehensive transformation can convert silence from a strategy of self-protection into a form of civic consciousness, providing a sociological safeguard that individuals who dissent or differ from the norm are not excluded from the social sphere.

Conflict of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Ethical Approval: The study adheres to the ethical guidelines for conducting research.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

REFERENCES

- Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (2016). The social construction of reality. In *Social theory re-wired* (pp. 110-122). Routledge.
<https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/chapters/edit/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9781315775357-11&type=chapterpdf>
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford University Press.
[https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=YHN8uW49I7AC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=Bourdieu,+P.+\(1990\).+The+Logic+of+Practice+.+Stanford:+Stanford+University+Press+.&ots=0h_elqzm-X&sig=nJjtOr6pnEQqTBG-85FG_xFPEyE](https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=YHN8uW49I7AC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=Bourdieu,+P.+(1990).+The+Logic+of+Practice+.+Stanford:+Stanford+University+Press+.&ots=0h_elqzm-X&sig=nJjtOr6pnEQqTBG-85FG_xFPEyE)
- Çiçek, İ., Korkmaz, Z., Ünsal, F., Shalal Alanazi, Z., Gómez-Salgado, J., & Yıldırım, M. (2025). The effect of secure attachment on family relationships and peer bullying in adolescents: the mediating role of positive childhood experiences. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 16, 1700648.
<https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/psychology/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2025.1700648/full>
- Durkheim, E. (2018). The division of labor in society. In *Social stratification* (pp. 217-222). Routledge.
<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780429494642-27/division-labor-society-emile-durkheim>
- Fallding, H. (1991). "The Consequences of Modernity". By Anthony Giddens (Book Review). *Social Forces*, 70(2), 529.
<https://search.proquest.com/openview/96cc5c62892b818f3cf4b145f4ab70c3/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=1816368>
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1979), 227.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Herder and Herder. New York, 72.
- Goffman, E. (2009). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Simon and Schuster.
<https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=zuMFXuTMAqAC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=Goffman,+E.>

- Erbudak, E. (2025). The sociological construction of silence: Family dynamics and peer bullying through the lens of Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory. *Global Journal of Sociology: Current Issues*, 15(2), 106-114. <https://doi.org/10.18844/gjs.v15i2.9970>
- [+\(1963\).+Stigma+:+Notes+on+the+Management+of+Spoiled+Identity.+New+York:+Simon+%26+Schuster+.&ots=Rb1IEs3FTg&sig=TI4qXhWoXQjMXjE9sRTUnhGmX_A](#)
- Gramsci, A. (2020). Selections from the prison notebooks. In *The Applied Theatre Reader* (pp. 141-142). Routledge.
<https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/chapters/edit/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9780429355363-27&type=chapterpdf>
- Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action: Jurgen Habermas; trans. By Thomas McCarthy*. Heinemann.
- Hurst, K. F., Sintov, N. D., Hobbs, L., & Donnelly, G. E. (2025). Self-silencing predicts behavioral conformity in sustainability contexts. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 102, 102555. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0272494425000386>
- Marx, K. (2016). Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. In *Social theory re-wired* (pp. 152-158). Routledge.
<https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/chapters/edit/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9781315775357-17&type=chapterpdf>
- Mead, G. H. (1934). Mind, self, and society from the standpoint of a social behaviorist. <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1934-15037-000>
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1974). The spiral of silence: a theory of public opinion. *Journal of Communication*, 24(2), 43-51. <https://academic.oup.com/joc/article-abstract/24/2/43/4553587>
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1993). *The spiral of silence: Public opinion--Our social skin*. University of Chicago Press. [https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ECXwC4ldmRIC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Noelle+-+Neumann,+E.+\(1993\).+The+Spiral+of+Silence:+Public+Opinion+-+Our+Social+Skin.+Chicago:+University+of+Chicago+Press+.&ots=MzsBneE0U_&sig=KBM9C9vPSyCr6Z6d7YYKNyMa_xs](https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ECXwC4ldmRIC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Noelle+-+Neumann,+E.+(1993).+The+Spiral+of+Silence:+Public+Opinion+-+Our+Social+Skin.+Chicago:+University+of+Chicago+Press+.&ots=MzsBneE0U_&sig=KBM9C9vPSyCr6Z6d7YYKNyMa_xs)
- Ugwu, L. E., Ramadie, K. J., Ajele, W. K., & Idemudia, E. S. (2024). Childhood adversity and peer influence in adolescent bullying perpetration. *Scientific Reports*, 14(1), 30959. <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41598-024-81978-8>