BULLYING IN A MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT

The Influences of Race, Immigrant Status, and School Climate

on the Incidence of Bullying in Canadian Children and Adolescents

by

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ABSTRACT

Strong group affiliations based on race have been found in children at a very young age (Aboud, 1988) and may lead to a higher risk of involvement in bullying for certain racial groups. Little research, however, has addressed the relationship among bullying, race, and immigrant status in a Canadian sample. As well, few studies have directly examined racial bullying and victimization. Thus, the two studies in the current project aim to examine race and immigrant status as individual risk factors for bullying involvement, while also examining the individual- and school-level factors associated with racial bullying. In Chapter Two, an empirical examination of the relationship among race, immigrant status, and bullying and victimization in adolescence reveals that racial minority adolescents experience racial bullying. Immigrant status, however, does not appear to predict victimization, but it may be a risk factor for bullying others. In Chapter Three, a multilevel investigation of racial bullying and victimization at the individual and school levels indicates that African-Canadian students are at risk of engaging in both racial bullying and victimization, and that being male is also associated with participation in this type of bullying. At the school level, school climate is not found to account for the differences in racial bullying and victimization across schools, but increased school support is associated with decreased racial bullying in schools with more teacher diversity. Together, the results of the current research clarify the roles of race and immigrant status in bullying and victimization, but these results also raise important concerns and further questions regarding possible interventions in schools for students who engage in racial bullying and racial victimization.

CO-AUTHORSHIP

I assumed primary responsibility for the conceptualization, design, and execution of the research reported in this thesis. My supervisor, Dr. Wendy Craig, assisted in all aspects of this thesis and in the preparation of the manuscripts and appears as co-author on both manuscripts.

The research reported in Chapter Two was based on longitudinal data from collaborative projects in which Drs. Debra Pepler and Jennifer Connolly of York University were co-investigators with Dr. Wendy Craig. Therefore, Drs. Pepler and Connolly are listed as co-authors on this manuscript.

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CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

Bullying is a serious social problem in children and adolescents and its long-term effects have been studied extensively (Garandeau & Cillessen, 2006; Houbre, Tarquinio, Thuillier, & Hergott, 2006; Jacobsen & Bauman, 2007; Pepler, Craig, & O'Connell, 1999; Scheithauer, Hayer, Peterman & Jugert, 2006). This behavior has not, however, been well researched in a multicultural context in Canada. Specifically, the influence of race on bullying and the incidence of racial bullying have not been well investigated in this country. As well, the literature has outlined the social and cultural difficulties faced by immigrant youth (Yeh et al., 2003), but it has not evaluated their increased risk of experiencing bullying compared to their peers. The impact of the school environment on racial bullying and victimization has also not been examined in Canada, despite the potential influence of this social context on racial bullying behavior (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). The current thesis, consisting of two studies, attempts to clarify the role of race and immigrant status in bullying and victimization, while also exploring the influence of the school environment on racial bullying and victimization in Canadian school-aged children.

Canada currently has over five million citizens who are members of visible racial minority groups, and who represent over 16% of the population (Statistics Canada, 2008). As well, one in five Canadian citizens was born outside Canada. Thus, immigrants represent 20% of the current population, with 95% of these citizens residing in urban areas (Statistics Canada, 2009). This demographic information indicates that school children in urban areas across the country are regularly socializing and interacting with

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students from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds. Although these experiences are positive for many children, they may also lead to bullying among different racial groups. Countries such as The Netherlands, the United States, Austria, and Greece have directly studied multiracial and immigrant issues as part of their investigations of bullying in schools (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008; Spriggs et al., 2007; Strohmeier, Spiel, & Gradinger, 2008; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). Canadian bullying researchers, however, are lagging behind despite the differences in racial minority groups found in Canada compared to other countries, and the lack of studies examining racial bullying itself.

Developmental theories describing racial in-group formation have also revealed reasons why racial minority children may be at risk of bullying and should be included in studies of this behavior. Specifically, the development of group affiliations based on race in children has been conceptualized using the theory of in-group bias, described by Tajfel and Turner (1979) as a theory of intergroup conflict. This theory states that in-groups form when individuals perceive themselves as belonging to the same social category and when they are able to compare and distinguish themselves from out-groups (Tajfel & Turner). In-group biases based on race have been consistently observed in very young children (Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin, & Maass, 2007) and may occur due to children's inability to see any similarities between themselves and someone of another race (Piaget & Weil, 1951). Aboud (1988) posited that this early racial bias might lead to hostility and prejudice between groups of different racial backgrounds. These biases may also change during development from childhood to early and late adolescence. Ethnic identity research indicates that these biases may weaken with age as younger children show more ethnic pride and out-group bias, whereas older adolescents

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show more integration and ethnic identity exploration (Marks et al., 2006). Bullying

behaviors may, in fact, mirror these racial group biases throughout development, leading

to increased bullying of racial minority youth in elementary school children and

decreased bullying of these youth in high school children. These developmental studies in

racial minority and immigrant youth are important to establish the developmental course

of these biases in order to plan appropriate prevention and intervention programs.

Race has, in fact, been identified in the literature as a risk factor for bullying

involvement. In the United States, children and adolescents from a variety of racial

groups, such as African-American and Hispanic-American, have all been found to be at

an increased risk of being bullied compared to their peers of European descent (Peskin,

Tortolero, & Markham, 2006; Spriggs et al., 2007). Many limitations exist in this

literature, including a lack of examinations of different types of bullying (e.g., social,

physical) in racial minority groups, no longitudinal studies, and a lack of consideration of

racial bullying specifically. Immigrant youth are also absent from most bullying studies,

despite American research demonstrating their experiences with social isolation,

stereotyping, and discrimination (Yeh et al., 2003). One Canadian study of immigrant

youth by McKenney and colleagues (2006), however, did report that second-generation

immigrant youth are at risk for racial victimization, highlighting the importance of

including multiracial and immigrant populations in the study of bullying in Canada.

To gain further insight into an understudied behavior such as racial bullying,

however, the broader context must be examined in addition to individual characteristics

such as race. Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological theory outlines the importance of

broader environments in shaping individual development. His ecological systems theory

conceptualized development as occurring within the context of numerous environmental systems. Of particular interest to the bullying literature is the microsystem, described by Bronfenbrenner as the immediate environment in which an individual lives. This system includes a child's most direct social learning environments, including the school environment, where most bullying occurs. By examining bullying as an individual behavior, and within the microsystem in which it occurs, the contextual influences on this social behavior can be better understood. Lerner's (1986) developmental contextualism framework also underlined the importance of viewing development in relation to different levels of organization. (e.g., peer groups, school system, natural and built physical surroundings). Thus, Lerner (1996) felt that a dynamic systems perspective of development that included a relational unit of analysis was essential. By this, Lerner meant that variables associated with a particular level of organization are always related to variables at another level of organization and should be conceptualized and studied in a multilevel manner. Taken together, these theoretical perspectives highlight the importance of considering not only the individual variables that may contribute to behavior such as racial bullying, but also to examine the social context in which this behavior occurs.

In the bullying literature, the school environment has been repeatedly identified as the primary social context in which bullying occurs (Olweus, 1993; Whitney, Nabuzoka, & Smith, 1992). School climate can be defined as the beliefs, attitudes, and values that impact the interactions of students and teachers within their school environment (Emmons, Comer, & Haynes, 1996). Studies have taken an ecological perspective on bullying and demonstrated that changes in school environments, especially changes in

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school climate, can affect the occurrence of individual behavior such as bullying (Kuperminc, Leadbeater, & Blatt, 2001; Verkuyten and Thijs, 2002; Wilson, 2004). For example, Ma (2002) found that students who reported a good disciplinary climate at school also reported less bullying involvement. In addition to the climate provided in schools, the social relationships of racial minority students can also be affected by the racial diversity of those around them. In the United States, Jackson and colleagues (2006) highlighted this point by reporting that African-American children received more favorable peer nominations if they were more numerous in their classroom and if their teacher was also African-American (Jackson, Barth, Powell, & Lochman, 2006). Similarly, Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) found that ethnic minority children in The Netherlands reported more incidences of racism when they were a numerical minority within their classroom. Children reported fewer incidences of racial bullying, however, when they felt that they could tell their teacher and that their teacher would help them with the situation. Both of these studies clearly demonstrate the impact that both diversity and a supportive school environment can have on peer relationships and racial victimization. They also highlight the importance of including these contextual aspects in the study of individual behaviors such as racial bullying. These cross-level effects outlined above (e.g., between the individual and the school) are common in the social sciences and have been recently addressed methodologically with a statistical method known as hierarchical linear modeling (HLM; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). This technique allows for the proper evaluation of nested data and permits researchers to examine the influences of both individual- and school-level variables on individual behavior. To date, HLM has not often been used to study bullying, but it was utilized in

the current thesis as a unique opportunity to better understand racial bullying and the school context in which it occurs.

The particular goals of this thesis are to address the gaps in the current bullying literature by examining race and immigrant status as individual risk factors for bullying longitudinally in a Canadian population. In addition, the current thesis aims to apply an ecological perspective to the study of racial bullying and victimization by using multilevel modeling to determine both the individual- and school-level variables that impact this behavior.

The first manuscript in this thesis is an empirical investigation of different types of bullying in a Canadian sample, with a particular focus on the influence of race and immigrant status on bullying and victimization. The research questions addressed in the first manuscript are as follows:

1) What are the relationships among race, immigrant status, bullying, and victimization in a Canadian sample?

2) Do these relationships change with different types of bullying and victimization?

3) Do these relationships differ between early and late adolescents?

The second manuscript in this thesis is a multilevel examination of racial bullying and victimization in a national Canadian sample of school-aged children. Individual characteristics as well as school characteristics are examined in order to better understand the potential influences on this specific type of bullying. The particular research questions addressed in the second manuscript are as follows:

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1) What specific individual-level factors predict racial bullying and racial victimization in a Canadian sample of school-aged children?

2) What specific school-level factors predict racial bullying and racial victimization in a Canadian sample of school-aged children?

3) Do schools vary on racial bullying and racial victimization and how much of this variance is accounted for by individual- and school-level factors?

Due to the lack of studies of Canadian racial minorities in the bullying literature, the current thesis is unique in its potential to inform current research. First, these studies will inform current theories about in-group biases based on race and how they may manifest in adolescence. As well, the inclusion of a variety of racial minority groups in the current studies may help identify potential at-risk groups in Canada that may not have been previously identified. Finally, identifying the school characteristics that impact racial bullying in schools could help Canadian schools better reduce the incidence of this behavior in their schools. Thus, by addressing the above research questions, the current thesis aims to fill the gaps in the current bullying literature and provide a better understanding of bullying in a multicultural context for Canadian children.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INFLUENCES OF RACE AND IMMIGRANT STATUS ON BULLYING AND

VICTIMIZATION IN EARLY AND LATE ADOLESCENCE

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Abstract

Recent studies have indicated that being a racial minority and being an immigrant may result in an increased risk of involvement in bullying. The influences of race and immigrant status have not, however, been studied in a Canadian sample and the incidence of racial bullying specifically has also not been addressed in this country. This study examined the relationships among race, immigrant status, and different types of bullying in two groups of Canadian students from a large metropolitan area. The sample included 463 elementary school students from grades 5 to 7 who completed a bullying questionnaire in the fall and spring of their school year. The sample also included 366 high school students from grades 10 to 12 who completed a bullying questionnaire one year apart. Results indicated that racial minority groups experienced racial victimization in elementary school, and Asian-Canadian students were identified as the most at risk group for racial victimization. Immigrant status was generally not related to bullying or victimization, but some interactions indicated an increased risk in bullying others, especially in those immigrant youth who were in the 'Other' racial group. In addition, more bullying involvement was found in elementary school students than high schools students, and racial bullying was related to racial bullying, racial victimization, and other types of victimization over time.

The Influences of Race and Immigrant Status on Bullying and Victimization in Early and

Late Adolescence

Bullying is defined as a relationship problem in which children who bully learn to

use power to intimidate and control others, whereas children who are repeatedly

victimized become increasingly powerless in the relationship (Pepler, Craig, &

O'Connell, 1999). Bullying has been associated with serious short- and long-term

consequences (Houbre, Tarquinio, Thuillier, & Hergott, 2006) and can take many forms

including physical (Scheithauer, Hayer, Peterman & Jugert, 2006), verbal (Jacobsen &

Bauman, 2007), and social (Garandeau & Cillessen, 2006). Only recently, however, have

the influence of ethnicity and the incidence of racial bullying and victimization been

investigated. Recent studies have found that visible racial minority children may be at a

higher risk for bullying and victimization than children of European descent (Hanish &

Guerra, 2000; Spriggs et al., 2007). Little research, however, has examined the risk

associated with specific types of bullying in racial groups. As well, despite research

outlining the social and cultural difficulties faced by immigrant youth (Mesch, Turjeman,

& Fishman, 2008; Sabatier & Berry, 2008; Yeh et al., 2003), the extent of their increased

risk of being victimized or bullying their peers at different ages is rarely examined. The

aim of the current study was to examine the influence of race and immigrant status on the

involvement in different types of bullying and victimization in early and late adolescence.

The increased vulnerability of minority racial groups and of immigrant youth to

bullying may be conceptualized using the theory of in-group bias. This theory is used to

describe the racial discrimination and prejudice displayed by children towards children of

different racial groups. The theory of in-group bias states that members of the in-group

are favored and perceived as superior, whereas members of the out-group are perceived as potentially threatening and inferior (Brewer, 1999). Group affiliations based on race are thought to provide the basis for in-group and out-group membership, which can lead to hostility between members of different racial groups based on these affiliations (Aboud, 1988). The process of in-group formation can begin at a very young age. For example, children of European descent as young as 3 and 6 years old display strong pro-European and anti-African attitudes on standardized measures of prejudice (Doyle & Aboud, 1995). When rating out-group members, children aged 7 to 10 years old rated individuals of a different ethnicity as more different than when rating out-group members of the same ethnicity (Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin, & Maass, 2007). Besides being easily identifiable, certain racial groups may be targeted as an out-group because of children's racial attitudes learned from their parents (White & Gleitzman, 2006) or stereotypic attitudes held by children towards a racial group (Slone, Tarrasch, & Hallis, 2006). Although these biases can begin at an early age, they can continue throughout development and may place minority groups at a higher risk for bullying involvement with their peers.

In fact, studies suggest that adolescents in certain minority racial groups may be at an increased risk of involvement in specific bullying behaviors as a result of this in-group bias. Peskin, Tortolero, and Markham (2006) found that African-American students of low socioeconomic status are at a higher risk of involvement in bullying and victimization than are Hispanic-American students, with a peak in this behavior found in Grade 9. As well, specific types of bullying, such as teasing and upsetting others for fun, was most prevalent in African-American and Hispanic-American youth. African-

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American adolescent boys who represent a minority in their school have also been identified as the most overtly aggressive and the most likely to physically fight with others at school (McLaughlin, Hilt, & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2007; Peskin, 2006), whereas Spriggs and colleagues (2007) found that Hispanic-American students reported more victimization than did their African-American peers. Racial minority out-groups may also be at a higher risk of victimization at different developmental periods. Ethnic identity research states that younger children show more ethnic pride and out-group bias, whereas older adolescents show more integration and ethnic identity exploration prior to forming a strong ethnic identity (Marks et al., 2006). Thus, students in elementary school may bully racial minority youth more due to feelings of ethnic pride. High school students who are more open in their exploration of ethnic identity may, however, show less of these out-group bullying behaviors. Findings regarding the developmental changes in risk for bullying and victimization in racial minority youth have been inconsistent across studies (Hanish & Guerra, 2000; Mouttapa et al., 2004; Putallaz, et al., 2007) and have not been investigated in a multiracial Canadian sample. To better inform prevention and intervention at the elementary and high school level, the current study aimed to determine if being a member of a Canadian minority racial group is related to specific types of bullying and victimization and if this pattern differs at different developmental stages.

Immigrant adolescents are another understudied minority group in Canada who may represent an out-group and may be at a higher risk for bullying involvement. Currently, 20% of the Canadian population was born in another country, including 19% of children under the age of 15 (Statistics Canada, 2006). The recognition of immigrant youth as an identifiable out-group has been described in studies outlining the cultural

adjustment issues faced by many immigrant adolescents. For example, immigrant youth in the United States have been found to experience social isolation due to a lack of proficiency in the English language (Yeh et al., 2003). This lack of English-language proficiency may not only place immigrant children at a higher risk of social bullying by peers, but may also prevent them from defending themselves verbally, leading to aggressive behavior or physical bullying (Dawson & Williams, 2008). Immigrant youth may also face verbal and social bullying in the form of stereotyping and discrimination (Mesch et al., 2008). Being part of a visible racial minority may also place some immigrant youth at an increased risk of bullying compared to their majority peers. Social exclusion may be aggravated when an immigrant youth is a visible minority and is trying to adjust to a new cultural environment. For example, Asian-American immigrant youth who demonstrate traditional Asian cultural values such as humility and emotional self-control (Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 2001) may be targeted by bullying both because they are a visible minority and because of their cultural differences. As a result, racial victimization may also be more prevalent in immigrant youth. Indeed, McKenney and colleagues (2006) recently found that second-generation immigrant youth in Canada were at a higher risk for racial victimization, but they did not examine other types of bullying or victimization. Thus, immigrant adolescents may be at a particularly high risk for bullying involvement, but studies examining their risk for specific types of bullying and how this risk interacts with ethnicity have not been completed to date.

The process of ethnic identity formation may also influence the incidence of bullying and victimization at different developmental periods. The formation of cultural identity similar to that of ethnic identity may also occur in older immigrant adolescents

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and younger immigrant adolescents may be less open to other cultural groups. This pattern may lead to increased out-group identification in younger samples and, as a result, more bullying of immigrant youth at a younger age than in adolescence. In fact, the developmental pattern for the discrimination and involvement in bullying behaviors of immigrant adolescents is unclear due to a paucity of research in this area. Those studies examining this population of youth have often combined samples of early and late adolescents (McKenney et al., 2006; Motti-Stefanini et al., 2008; Sabatier & Berry, 2008; Yeh et al., 2003). The current study aims to fill in these gaps in research by exploring whether bullying and victimization towards Canadian immigrant youth differ between early and late adolescence, as these behaviors may be influenced by developmental changes.

In the current study we had two main objectives: 1) To examine the relationship among race, bullying, and victimization in a Canadian sample and compare this relationship between early and mid-adolescents. We hypothesized that race would be related to bullying and victimization across both age groups, with minority racial groups being more likely to report different types of bullying and victimization than European students. 2) To investigate the relationship among immigrant status, bullying, and victimization in a Canadian sample and compare this relationship between early and mid-adolescents. We hypothesized that immigrant status will be related to bullying and victimization across both age groups, with a stronger relationship between different types of victimization for immigrant students and non-immigrant students.

Methods

Design

Analyses in the current study were based on data drawn from a longitudinal study

entitled *The Adolescent Relationship Study* (Connolly, Craig, & Pepler, 2003). Data were

collected from two cohorts of children and youth (elementary and high school) from

seven schools within a large metropolitan area. Parental consent was obtained from

children under the age of 18, and all participants also provided their own consent. Data

from the current elementary school sample were collected at the beginning of the school

year and again six months later. Data from the current high school sample were collected

at the beginning of the school year and one year later. Specific statistical comparisons of

both age groups were not completed due to this difference in time between observations.

Participants

Elementary School Sample. Participants in the elementary sample were 463

children (male = 216, female = 247). Of these, 116 were in Grade 5, 158 were in Grade 6,

and 189 were in Grade 7. Children ranged in age from 9 to 13, with a mean age of 11.2

(SD = 0.9). The majority of this sample was European-Canadian (74%), 13% were Asian-

Canadian, 4% were African-Canadian, and 9% were of other ethnicities grouped in the

category 'Other' (i.e. Native-Canadian, Mixed, self-identified as 'Other'). In total, the

majority was born in Canada (84%). The majority of participants (78.6%) lived with both

natural parents, and 12.5% lived with their mother only. Socioeconomic status (SES) was

calculated independently for mothers and fathers as follows: parents' jobs were coded

using the 1981 Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in Canada (Blishen, Carroll, &

Moore, 1987). The mean index codes for mothers and fathers were then translated into a

National Occupational Classification code (NOC code; Human Resource and Development Canada, 2009), which provided a representative occupation title and its associated hourly wage. The NOC codes represented an average hourly wage of $15.78/hour for fathers and $14.16 for mothers. These wages are slightly lower than the national average hourly wage ($18.07; Statistics Canada, 2006). There were no significant differences between excluded participants and included participants on grade, race, and most of the bullying outcome variables. More boys than girls were excluded from the final sample ($\chi^2 = 6.3$; $p < .05$), and excluded participants reported significantly more general victimization ($Z = -2.2$; $p < .05$), physical bullying ($Z = -2.5$; $p < .05$), physical victimization ($Z = -2.1$; $p < .05$), and racial victimization ($Z = -2.6$; $p < .05$).

High School Sample. Participants in the high school sample were 366 adolescents (male = 136, female = 230), ranging in age from 15-18, with a mean of 16.0 ($SD = 0.9$). Students in this sample were in grade 10 ($n = 157$), grade 11 ($n = 152$), and grade 12 ($n = 57$). Like the elementary sample, the majority of the high school students was European-Canadian (77%), whereas 18% were Asian-Canadian, 4% were African-Canadian, and 3% were 'Other' (i.e., Latin-Canadian, self-identified as 'Other'). Most students in the high school sample were born in Canada (82%). The majority of students in the high school sample lived with both their natural parents (76.2%) or with their mother only (11.7%). Parental education data but not SES data were collected for the high school sample. These data indicated that most mothers had graduated university (31%) or received a post-graduate or professional degree (24%). Similarly, most fathers had graduated university (34%) or received a post-graduate or professional degree (31%). There were no significant differences between excluded participants and included

participants on the outcome measures and immigrant status. Excluded participants included more Grade 12 students ($\chi^2 = 25.1$; $p < .01$), fewer girls ($\chi^2 = 25.1$; $p < .01$), and fewer European students ($\chi^2 = 9.51$; $p < .05$) than included participants.

Measures

    Demographics. The *Focus on You* questionnaire (Connolly & Konarski, 1994) was administered to gather demographic information including: age, sex, grade, race, immigrant status, whether parents were born in Canada, and language spoken at home. Immigrant status was operationalized based on generational and language status. Participants received one point for generational status, for a maximum of three points, for each of the following: if they were not born in Canada, if their mother was not born in Canada, and if their father was not born in Canada. For language status, participants received one point if they reported speaking English and another language at home, or if they reported speaking little or no English at home. No point was given for language status if participants reported speaking only English at home. Generational status and language status were then combined to provide a final immigrant status score, which ranged from 0 to 4. In the elementary school sample, the mean immigrant status was 1.3 ($SD = 1.3$). In the high school sample, the mean immigrant status was 1.42 ($SD = 1.39$).

    Bullying and Victimization – Elementary School Sample. An abbreviated version of the *Bullying and Victimization Student Questionnaire* (Olweus, 1989) was used to measure participants' involvement in bullying behavior. This self-report questionnaire included 14 questions asking respondents to identify how many times they had participated in, or been victimized by, specific bullying behaviors. Participants responded to each question on an 11-point scale that ranged from '*0 times*' to '*more than 9 times*.'

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General bullying scores were the mean of student answers on five aggression items (e.g., "How many times have you teased someone?"; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .70, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .78). General victimization scores were the mean of student answers on five victimization items (e.g., "How many times were you teased by someone?"; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .71, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .80). Physical bullying scores were the mean of student answers on two physical bullying items (e.g., "How many times have you punched, beaten or choked another child?; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .54, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .73). Physical victimization scores were the mean of student answers on two physical victimization items (e.g., "How many times were you punched, beaten or choked by another child?"; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .57, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .66). Social/verbal bullying scores were the mean of student answers on four social/verbal bullying items (e.g., "How many times have you teased someone?"; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .56, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .75). Social/verbal victimization scores were the mean of student answers on four social/verbal victimization items (e.g., "How many times were you teased by someone?"; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .54, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .72). Racial bullying and victimization scores were student answers on one racial bullying/victimization item ("How many times have you bullied/been bullied about your race since the beginning of the school year?").

Bullying and Victimization – High School Sample. For the high school sample, an abbreviated version of the *Bullying and Victimization Student Questionnaire* (Olweus, 1989) was also used to measure participants' involvement in bullying behavior. In the high school version, this self-report questionnaire included 12 questions asking respondents to identify how often they had been involved in bullying behaviors in the

past six months. Participants responded to each question on a 5-point scale (0 = "*never*"; 4 = "*always*"). General bullying scores were the mean of student answers on eight aggression items (Time 1 Cronbach's α = .85, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .87). General victimization scores were the mean of student answers on eight victimization items (Time 1 Cronbach's α = .86, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .87). Physical bullying scores were the mean of student answers on five physical bullying items (e.g., slapping, kicking or biting another person; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .86, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .87). Physical victimization scores were the mean of student answers on two physical victimization items (e.g., slapping, kicking, or biting done to you; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .86, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .87). Social bullying scores were the mean of student answers on three social bullying items (e.g., telling rumors or mean lies to make a person unpopular; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .77, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .75). Social victimization scores were the mean of student answers on three social/verbal victimization items (e.g., rumors or mean lies being told about you to make you unpopular; Time 1 Cronbach's α = .76, Time 2 Cronbach's α = .77). Racial bullying questions were not included on the high school questionnaire, therefore, racial bullying could not be examined in this sample.

Results

The prevalence of bullying and victimization in the two samples by racial group can be found in Table 1. Z-scores for proportions with a Bonferroni correction were used to compare the proportion of students involved in bullying and victimization between each racial group. In the elementary school sample, a higher proportion of African-Canadian students were involved in physical bullying at Time 1 than both European-Canadian ($z = -3.62, p < .001$) and Asian-Canadian students ($z = -4.02; p < .001$). In

addition, a greater proportion of African-Canadian students ($z = -4.00, p < .001$) were racially victimized at Time 1 compared to European-Canadian students, whereas more Asian-Canadian students ($z = -3.75, p < .001$), African-Canadian students ($z = -4.14, p < .001$), and students in the 'Other' racial group ($z = -4.15, p < .001$) were racially victimized than European-Canadian students at Time 2. The most notable difference between racial groups was that visible minority racial groups in elementary school reported significantly more racial victimization than did European-Canadian students. In the high school sample, the proportion of students who bullied and were victimized in each racial group did not significantly differ although a higher proportion of students in the 'Other' racial group were involved in social bullying at Time 2 than African-Canadian students ($z = -3.82; p < .001$). Z-scores for proportions also indicated that there were significantly more adolescents in the 'Other' racial group with immigrant status scores greater than zero in both the elementary school ($z = -2.02; p < .05$) and high school samples ($z = -2.34; p < .05$).

The correlations of the variables of interest for the elementary and high school sample can be found in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. In the elementary school sample, immigrant status was significantly related with physical victimization at Time 2. As well, the different types of bullying and victimization were generally significantly positively related to each other. The exception to this finding was that racial bullying and victimization at Times 1 and 2 were not related to the other forms of bullying at both time points. In the high school sample, immigrant status was significantly related to social victimization at Time 1, and all forms of bullying and victimization were significantly related to one another.

A series of multiple regressions were conducted in both the elementary school and high school samples. For each sample, a different regression was conducted with each type of bullying and victimization at Time 2 included as the outcome variable. Grade, sex, race, immigrant status, bullying and victimization at Time 1, and their interactions were included as predictors in each model. Simultaneous regressions were conducted such that variables and interactions that did not significantly contribute to the overall accuracy of a model were removed. The final regression results for the bullying and victimization analyses can be found in Tables 4 to 7. Simple slopes analyses were used to interpret all significant interactions (Aiken & West, 1991).

General Bullying

The overall model for predicting general bullying was significant for both elementary school, $R^2 = .29$; $F(14,448) = 12.80$, $p < .001$, and high school, $R^2 = .49$; $F(7,358) = 15.76$, $p < .001$. In elementary school, grade was a significant predictor of general bullying, with increasing general bullying in higher grades. A significant effect was also found for general bullying and victimization at Time 1. Also in the elementary school sample, the interaction between race and immigrant status was significant; $t(1,462) = 2.69$, $p < .01$. This means that compared to European-Canadian students, students from 'Other' racial groups of increasing immigrant status had increased general bullying at Time 2. In high school, however, the only significant effect was that general bullying at Time 1 was a significant predictor of general bullying at Time 2.

Physical Bullying

The overall model for predicting physical bullying at Time 2 was also significant in elementary school, $R^2 = .25$; $F(12,450) = 12.80$, $p < .001$, and high school, $R^2 = .22$;

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$F(10,355) = 10.00, p < .001$. In the elementary school sample, sex was a significant predictor, with more boys engaging in physical bullying at Time 2 than girls did. Significant effects were also found for both physical bullying at Time 1 and physical victimization at Time 1. In addition, a significant interaction between immigrant status and physical bullying at Time 1 was found ($t(1,462) = 3.61, p < .001$), indicating that physical bullying at Time 1 positively predicted physical bullying at Time 2 with increased immigrant status scores. This finding was not expected given our prediction that students with higher immigrant status scores would report more victimization, rather than report engaging in more bullying. Significant interactions were also found in the elementary sample between physical bullying at Time 1 and each of the three racial minority racial groups: Asian-Canadians ($t(1,462) = -3.21, p < .01$), African-Canadians ($t(1,462) = -3.39, p < .01$, and the 'Other' racial group ($t(1,462) = -2.95, p < .01$). These interactions indicated that all three groups had a weaker relationship between physical bullying at Time 1 and physical bullying at Time 2 compared to European-Canadian students.

Some similar main effects were found in the high school sample including sex and physical bullying at Time 1 predicting physical bullying at Time 2. However, grade was the only other significant effect in this sample, with decreased physical bullying with increasing grade. Unlike the elementary school sample, no interactions were significant in this sample.

Social Bullying

The overall model for predicting social bullying at Time 2 was significant for both the elementary school students, $R^2 = .27; F(11,451) = 15.50, p < .001$, and the high

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school students, $R^2 = .26$; $F(7,357) = 17.50$, $p < .001$. For the elementary school students, significant effects were found for both social bullying and social victimization at Time 1. As with general bullying, a significant interaction was found between race and immigrant status ($t(1,462) = 2.12$, $p < .05$). Compared to European-Canadian students, students from 'Other' racial groups of increasing immigrant status had increased levels of social bullying at Time 2. In the high school sample, social bullying and victimization at Time 1 were the only significant effects.

Racial Bullying - Elementary School

The overall model for racial bullying at Time 2 was significant, $R^2 = .10$; $F(8,454) = 6.10$, $p < .001$. As expected, increased racial bullying at Time 1 predicted increased racial bullying at Time 2. In addition, a significant interaction was found between immigrant status and racial bullying at Time 1 ($t(1,462) = -2.71$, $p < .01$). Simple slopes analyses indicated that the relationship between racial bullying at Time 1 and racial bullying at Time 2 was weaker with increasing immigrant status; hence, the relationship was stronger for non-immigrant children. This was expected as immigrant children were predicted to report less bullying involvement and more victimization than non-immigrant children.

General Victimization

The overall model for general victimization was significant for both the elementary school sample, $R^2 = .38$; $F(10,452) = 28.20$, $p < .001$, and the high school sample, $R^2 = .25$; $F(7,358) = 16.70$, $p < .001$. In elementary school, sex was a significant predictor of general victimization, with boys reporting more general victimization at Time 2 than girls. Increased general victimization at Time 1 also significantly predicted

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increased general victimization at Time 2 in elementary school students. In the high school sample, however, general bullying and victimization were the only significant effects.

Physical Victimization

The overall model for physical victimization at Time 2 was significant in elementary school, $R^2 = .30$; $F(10,452) = 19.20$, $p < .001$, and high school, $R^2 = .23$; $F(11,354) = 9.30$, $p < .001$. Similar effects were found for the elementary and high school samples. As found with general victimization, sex was a significant predictor of physical victimization at Time 2 in the elementary school sample, with more boys than girls reporting physical victimization. Increased physical victimization at Time 1 also predicted increased physical victimization at Time 2 for the elementary school students. Like the elementary school students, high school boys reported increased physical victimization at Time 2, and physical victimization at Time 1 also positively predicted physical victimization at Time 2 in high school. In addition, being in a higher grade predicted lower levels of physical victimization at Time 2 for the high school students.

Social Victimization

The overall regression model for social victimization at Time 2 was significant in elementary school, $R^2 = .36$; $F(11,451) = 23.40$, $p < .001$, and high school, $R^2 = .24$; $F(7,357) = 16.10$, $p < .001$. In the elementary school sample, social victimization at Time 1 significantly and positively predicted social victimization at Time 2. As well, contrary to our predictions, students from 'Other' racial groups reported significantly decreased social victimization at Time 2 compared to European-Canadian students. A significant interaction was also found between immigrant status and social victimization at Time 1

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($t(1,462) = -2.15$, $p < .05$). Simple slopes analyses revealed a stronger relationship between social victimization at Time 1 and Time 2 for students with lower immigrant status scores, which was also contrary to our hypotheses. Unlike the elementary school sample, both social bullying and social victimization were significant effects in the high school sample. No interactions were found in this sample.

Racial Victimization – Elementary School

As expected, race was a strong predictor of racial victimization at Time 2. Belonging to a minority racial group predicted increased racial victimization at Time 2 than for European-Canadian students. The strongest relationship was found between Asian-Canadian students and racial victimization at Time 2. Significant interactions were also found between each racial group and racial victimization at Time 1: Asian-Canadians ($t(1,462) = 11.60$, $p < .001$), African-Canadians ($t(1,462) = 3.17$, $p < .01$), and the 'Other' racial group ($t(1,462) = 2.48$, $p < .05$). Belonging to a racial group other than European-Canadian indicated a stronger relationship between racial victimization at Time 1 and Time 2 than for European-Canadian students. The relationship was strongest for Asian-Canadian students, followed by African-Canadian, then those in 'Other' racial groups.

Discussion

The purpose of the current study was to examine the relationship among specific types of bullying and victimization, race, and immigrant status in a Canadian sample and to determine if these relationships differed between early and late adolescence. For elementary school students, findings revealed that being in a racial minority group was strongly related to racial victimization in elementary school. As well, Asian-Canadian

elementary school students were the most consistently racially victimized over time. Racial bullying in elementary school also consistently predicted both racial bullying and racial victimization over time. Immigrant status was associated with increased physical bullying over time and was also associated with increased general and social bullying over time in early adolescents in 'Other' racial groups. A developmental pattern also emerged indicating that bullying and victimization were more prevalent in elementary school than in high school.

Racial bullying in elementary school appeared to be a unique type of bullying, as it was not related to general, physical, or social bullying, but it was related to all three of these types of victimization. As well, those who engaged in this type of bullying did so consistently over time, indicating a relationship between increases in racial bullying and victimization. This finding indicates that peers may reciprocate the aggressive styles of interactions of those who racially bully by victimizing these individuals. In addition, there seems to be continuity between racially bullying others and being racially victimized. Thus, by marginalizing others as out-group members, those who racially bully are in turn being marginalized as a racial out-group themselves. This pattern of behavior is concerning because those who become perpetrators and who are also victimized by bullying are most at risk for negative psychosocial outcomes (Haynie et al., 2001). In addition, the salient out-group features of racial bullying and victimization may place these "bully/victims" at an even higher risk for long-term negative consequences. Identifying and supporting those who engage in racial bullying is important to prevent these youth from continuing to marginalize others over time and to prevent them from becoming high risk racial bully/victims.

In terms of at-risk groups, minority racial groups in this sample were at a higher risk for racial victimization than their European-Canadian peers, but they did not appear to be at a higher risk for other types of bullying and victimization. This specificity in bullying involvement supports our hypothesis of an in-group bias based on race by indicating that peers specifically marginalize racial minority groups based on overt racial in-group preferences. The finding that European-Canadian students racially bullied others was expected, as they are the majority racial in-group, but Asian-Canadian students were also found to be perpetrators of racial bullying over time. In the current sample, Asian-Canadian students represented the second largest racial group and also represent 7% of the general Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2008). The fact that both of these groups engaged in racial bullying may imply that both groups attempt to assert their social dominance by marginalizing others based on racial in-group affiliations. Due to their own status as a large racial minority out-group, however, Asian-Canadian students may be seen as a particularly threatening racial out-group and in turn be targeted and victimized by others (Brewer, 1999). Indeed, African-American students represent the second largest minority group in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2009) and have also been found to both bully others and be bullied themselves (McLaughlin, Hilt, & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2007; Peskin, 2006). Further investigations are needed to explore the influence of racial minority group size on engagement in racial bullying and victimization in Canada.

Overall, immigrant status was related only to physical bullying in that an increase in physical bullying over time was found for those with higher immigrant status scores. Although English-language proficiency was not directly measured, higher immigrant

status scores may be related to lower English-language proficiency. For example, Dawson and Williams (2008) reported more externalizing behaviors in Latino-American children with lower English-language proficiency. Thus, a reduced ability to properly express themselves verbally may have increased the likelihood of aggressive behavior in the immigrant students in the current sample. Yeh and colleaugues (2008) stressed the importance of communication in the adjustment process and for positive social interaction between immigrant youth and their peers. Lower English-language proficiency may also account for the observed interaction between immigrant status and social victimization in the current study as higher immigrant status scores were related to lower reported social victimization. Perhaps immigrant students with a limited understanding of English do not perceive that they are being socially victimized due to the subtle verbal nature of this type of victimization. Future research should explore the impact of English-language proficiency on levels of reported victimization in Canadian immigrant adolescents.

Early adolescent immigrants in the 'Other' racial groups may also represent an at-risk group compared to their European peers with regards to general and social bullying. The fact that 'Other' racial groups were overrepresented in participants with higher immigrant status scores may account for this finding. As well, it is difficult to interpret these findings as this group represents a heterogeneous racial group encompassing early adolescents who did not identify with any of the larger minority groups. However, this lack of identification with a large racial group, combined with being an immigrant, may result in the perception of all other racial groups as being out-groups and may result in increased bullying behaviors. In addition, these marginalized students may have difficulty

forming a strong ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989, 1993), leading to further isolation and hostility towards others. Engagement in bullying behaviors may indeed represent a coping response for these students who do not feel they belong to a specific racial group.

The development of ethnic identity may also help explain the differential patterns of results in the elementary and high school samples. Students in the high school sample showed a lower prevalence of bullying, with less variability in these behaviors than the elementary school sample, and all results relating race or immigrant status to bullying and victimization were found in the elementary school sample only. The literature states that prior to fully forming their ethnic identity, older adolescents engage in more identity exploration than younger adolescents, thereby potentially reducing the racial in-group-out-group bias (Phinney, 1993). As well, research has found an increase in positive social desirability (i.e., greater desire to interact with children who are from a different racial group) with development. Specifically, older adolescents are more likely than younger children to interact with adolescents of other racial groups. In fact, younger racial minority children tend to show stronger ethnic pride and hence an in-group bias, whereas older adolescents tend to have more social integration (Marks et al., 2006). Future research should further explore ethnic integration in older adolescence and examine the mechanisms of social interaction between majority and minority youth as they mature to test this hypothesis as it relates to bullying and victimization in the school environment.

This study had a number of limitations that may affect the generalizability of the results. Some of the scales used in the current study had low reliability at certain time points. And hence may have affected the strength of the relationships found. It should be noted, however, that even the scales with relatively low reliability were still highly

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correlated with similar scales at other time points, indicating that the underlying concepts of these scales were similar. As well, the racial bullying and victimization scales had one question. Future research should increase the number of questions in these scales to increase reliability of this concept. In addition, questions related to racial bullying and victimization were not included in the high school sample questionnaires and thus more research is required on racial bullying in high school. Finally, only information on generational and language status was collected in the current study regarding immigrant status. No information was gathered about how long they had been in the country or what their level of English proficiency was currently. Future research should explore this type of information in order to better understand the other variables that may impact bullying behavior in immigrant adolescent populations.

The present study adds to the current bullying literature by examining the relationship among race and immigrant status and different types of bullying and victimization during late childhood and early adolescence. This study demonstrated that in a predominantly European-Canadian sample, racial bullying was related to later racial bullying and victimization among elementary school children and that racial minority adolescents, especially Asian-Canadians, are at increased risk to be racially victimized. These findings bring attention to the long-term risks of engaging in racial bullying, to the discrimination that minority youth face at school, and to the importance of specifically addressing racial bullying in school bullying intervention programs. As well, further examination of this type of behavior should be completed in order to understand the social mechanisms (e.g., ethnic identity formation, out-group bias) that fuel this type of discrimination and to address this problem at the school level. The current study also

revealed that adolescents who are immigrants and part of a smaller racial group might be at an increased risk of engaging in bullying behaviors. Special attention should be paid to these students in future research so that their experience as an out-group can be better understood. More research on marginalized youth such as these will also help schools become better equipped to support such students and lessen the social burden of bullying and victimization of minority youth at school.

Table 2.1.Elementary and high school bullying and victimization prevalence by percent of racial group.

Racial Group (ES/HS)	General				Physical				Social				Racial	
	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1		Time 2		Time 1		Time 2		Time 1	Time 2
	ES (%)	HS (%)	ES (%)	HS (%)	ES (%)	HS (%)	ES (%)	HS (%)	ES (%)	HS (%)	ES (%)	HS (%)	ES (%)	ES (%)
Bullying														
European (n = 344/280)	22	3	24	2	13	3	18	1	24	11	40	5	4	3
Asian (n = 60/64)	22	2	27	3	10	2	10	0	27	11	35	8	2	2
African (n = 19/13)	53	0	32	0	47[a,b]	0	16	0	42	8	47	0	0	0
Other (n = 40/9)	28	11	18	0	13	0	10	0	28	22	40	22[c]	0	0
Victimization														
European (n = 344/280)	38	3	31	1	28	1	29	1	41	10	55	6	3	1
Asian (n = 60/64)	32	3	32	5	27	3	28	3	35	11	45	13	10[a]	10[a]
African (n = 19/13)	47	8	11	0	42	8	21	0	63	8	47	0	21[a]	16[a]
Other (n = 40/9)	35	0	15	0	15	0	20	0	40	0	48	11	13	13[a]

Note. ES = Elementary School; HS = High School. a = significantly different from European; b = significantly different from Asian; c = significantly different African (all *p* < .001).

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Table 2.2. Correlations among study variables – Elementary school sample.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Immigrant Status	-	-.06	-.008	-.07	-.10	-.07	-.02	.02	.09	-.06	-.08	-.06	-.10*	-.05	-.08	-.02	.09
2. General Bullying T1		-	.64**	.74**	.60**	.94**	.55**	.23**	.21**	.49**	.35**	.36**	.40**	.50**	.37**	.06	.17**
3. General Victimization T1			-	.56**	.82**	.56**	.92**	.23**	.26**	.39**	.60**	.32**	.51**	.42**	.60**	.16**	.17**
4. Physical Bullying T1				-	.67**	.48**	.39**	.15**	.08	.36**	.31**	.38**	.37**	.31**	.24**	-.01	.09
5. Physical Victimization T1					-	.45**	.54**	.22**	.20**	.37**	.50**	.40**	.52**	.35**	.43**	.13**	.14**
6. Social Bullying T1						-	.54**	.24**	.23*	.46**	.31**	.27**	.33**	.49**	.36**	.08	.18**
7. Social Victimization T1							-	.20**	.24**	.33**	.54**	.20**	.40**	.39**	.58**	.15**	.15**
8. Racial Bullying T1								-	.55**	.03	.05	.19**	.17**	.08	.08	.27**	.24**
9. Racial Victimization T1									-	.02	.09	.09*	.18**	.07	.10*	.17**	.51**
10. General Bullying T2										-	.57**	.66**	.53**	.89**	.52**	.09	.07
11. General Victimization T2											-	.46**	.75**	.51**	.88**	.18**	.17**
12. Physical Bullying T2												-	.68**	.52**	.39**	.11*	.06
13. Physical Victimization T2													-	.50**	.63**	.26**	.21**
14. Social Bullying T2														-	.58**	.18**	.11*
15. Social Victimization T2															-	.22**	.15**
16. Racial Bullying T2																-	.07
17. Racial Victimization T2																	-

Note. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2.
*p < .05, 2-tailed; **p < .01, 2-tailed.

Table 2.3. Correlations among study variables – High school sample.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Immigrant Status	-												
2. General Bullying T1	-.08	-											
3. General Victimization T1	-.09	.71**	-										
4. Physical Bullying T1	-.08	.84**	.72**	-									
5. Physical Victimization T1	-.05	.64**	.86**	.83**	-								
6. Social Bullying T1	-.07	.84**	.47**	.42**	.25**	-							
7. Social Victimization T1	-.10*	.58**	.88**	.43**	.50**	.56**	-						
8. General Bullying T2	-.01	.47**	.37**	.36**	.27**	.44**	.37**	-					
9. General Victimization T2	-.09	.44**	.46**	.37**	.37**	.37**	.43**	.88**	-				
10. Physical Bullying T2	-.04	.43**	.37**	.43**	.35**	.29**	.30**	.89**	.81**	-			
11. Physical Victimization T2	-.07	.40**	.42**	.41**	.42**	.25**	.31**	.84**	.88**	.92**	-		
12. Social Bullying T2	.03	.39**	.27**	.18**	.11*	.48**	.35**	.86**	.72**	.52**	.53**	-	
13. Social Victimization T2	-.08	.38**	.39**	.23**	.23**	.40**	.45**	.70**	.88**	.50**	.55**	.73**	-

Note. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2.
*$p < .05$, 2-tailed; **$p < .01$, 2-tailed.

Table 2.4. Elementary school multiple regressions of bullying over time.

Variables	General Bullying T2			Physical Bullying T2			Social Bullying T2			Racial Bullying T2		
	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE
Grade T1	.09*	.08	.04	.07	.08	.05	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sex	-.07	-.10	.07	-.12**	-.25	.09	-.04	-.13	.12	-.08	-.03	.02
Asian	-.06	-.13	.15	-.08	-.25	.09	-.04	-.16	.29	-.03	-.01	.03
African	-.03	-.11	.29	-.06	-.30	.24	-.03	-.22	.51	-.03	-.02	.04
Other	-.05	-.14	.12	-.06	-.20	.15	-.04	-.20	.23	-.04	-.02	.03
Immigrant Status	-.10	-.06	.03	.01	.01	.04	-.04	-.04	.06	.004	0	.007
Bullying T1	.44***	.49	.07	.42***	.61	.10	.40***	.86	.10	.23***	.14	.03
Victimization T1	.11*	.10	.05	.20**	.21	.06	.16**	.32	.09	.04	.02	.02
Grade X Sex	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IS X Bullying T1	-	-	-	.18***	.21	.06	-	-	-	-.13**	-.07	.02
Bullying T1 X Asian	-.03	-.09	.13	-.17**	-.65	.20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bullying T1 X African	-.04	-.12	.17	-.18**	-.70	.21	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bullying T1 X Other	-.03	-.10	.17	-.13**	-.56	.20	-	-	-	-	-	-
IS X Asian	.05	.06	.09	-	-	-	-.001	-.003	.18	-	-	-
IS X African	.01	.02	.18	-	-	-	-.03	-.12	.34	-	-	-
IS X Other	.14**	.25	.09	-	-	-	.10*	.34	.16	-	-	-
R² (adjusted)		.26			.23			.26			.08	

Note. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2. ; IS = Immigrant Status; - = variable not included in final model.
*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table 2.5. Elementary school multiple regressions of victimization over time.

Variables	General Victimization T2			Physical Victimization T2			Social Victimization T2			Racial Victimization T2		
	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE
Grade T1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sex	-.10*	-.17	.07	-.16***	-.39	.11	-.03	-.10	.12	-.04	-.02	.02
Asian	.02	.04	.16	.02	.06	.16	-.04	-.20	.29	.32***	.26	.04
African	-.02	-.07	.29	.01	.09	.27	-.02	-.17	.52	.17***	.24	.06
Other	-.07	-.21	.13	-.02	-.08	.18	-.10*	-.56	.23	.21***	.20	.05
Immigrant Status	-.06	-.04	.04	-.07	-.06	.04	-.05	-.06	.06	.04	.01	.01
Bullying T1	-.04	-.05	.06	.05	.08	.10	.09	.20	.11	.15**	.16	.05
Victimization T1	.60***	.62	.05	.41***	.51	.07	.53***	1.12	.10	.06	.04	.05
IS X Victimization T1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.08*	-.13	.06	.11	.05	.03
Victimization T1 X Asian	-	-	-	.05	.18	.15	-	-	-	.43***	.53	.07
Victimization T1 X African	-	-	-	.02	.12	.23	-	-	-	.24***	.48	.10
Victimization T1 X Other	-	-	-	-.02	-.12	.21	-	-	-	.12*	.22	.09
IS X Asian	.02	.03	.10	-	-	-	.04	.10	.18	-	-	-
IS X African	-.04	-.10	.19	-	-	-	-.05	-.26	.34	-	-	-
IS X Other	.08	.17	.09	-	-	-	.08	.29	.16	-	-	-
Adjusted R²		.37			.28			.35			.41	

Note. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2. ; IS = Immigrant Status; - = variable not included in final model.

p < .05; **p* < .01; ***p* < .001.

Table 2.6. High school multiple regressions of bullying over time.

Variables	General Bullying T2			Physical Bullying T2			Social Bullying T2		
	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE
Grade T1	-	-	-	-.18*	-.07	.03	-	-	-
Sex	-.07	-.04	.03	-.12*	-.07	.03	-.01	-.004	.04
Asian	.03	.02	.04	-.03	-.02	.04	.09	.09	.05
African	-.06	-.09	.07	-.05	-.07	.07	-.05	-.11	.10
Other	.02	.03	.08	-.01	-.02	.08	.05	.13	.12
Immigrant Status	.03	.01	.01	.03	.01	.01	.03	.01	.02
Bullying T1	.40***	.39	.06	.47***	.46	.09	.41***	.36	.05
Victimization T1	.08	.08	.06	-.05	-.05	.09	.13*	.12	.05
Grade X Sex	-	-	-	.14	.06	.04	-	-	-
IS X Bullying T1	-	-	-	.09	.07	.04	-	-	-
Bullying T1 X Asian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bullying T1 X African	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bullying T1 X Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IS X Asian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IS X African	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IS X Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
R² (adjusted)	.22			.20			.24		

Note. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2. ; IS = Immigrant Status; - = variable not included in final model.
*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table 2.7. High school multiple regressions of victimization over time.

Variables	General Victimization T2			Physical Victimization T2			Social Victimization T2		
	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE
Grade T1	-	-	-	-.09*	-.03	.02	-	-	-
Sex	-.06	-.03	.03	-.12*	-.06	.03	-.004	-.003	.04
Asian	.02	.02	.04	-.02	-.01	.04	.05	.05	.05
African	-.05	-.07	.07	-.02	-.03	.07	-.04	-.09	.10
Other	-.01	-.01	.08	-.02	-.03	.08	.004	.01	.12
Immigrant Status	-.04	-.01	.01	-.03	-.01	.01	-.05	-.02	.02
Bullying T1	.22**	.22	.06	.12	.12	.08	.22***	.20	.05
Victimization T1	.30***	.28	.06	.33**	.33	.10	.32***	.28	.05
IS X Victimization T1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Victimization T1 X Asian	-	-	-	-.05	-.08	.10	-	-	-
Victimization T1 X African	-	-	-	-.09	-.32	.19	-	-	-
Victimization T1 X Other	-	-	-	.02	.25	.50	-	-	-
IS X Asian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IS X African	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IS X Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adjusted R²	.23			.20			.23		

Note. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2. ; IS = Immigrant Status; - = variable not included in final model.
*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

CHAPTER THREE

RACIAL BULLYING AND VICTIMIZATION IN CANADIAN SCHOOL-AGED

CHILDREN: INDIVIDUAL AND SCHOOL LEVEL EFFECTS

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Abstract

Numerous individual factors, including race, have been identified to date that may

place children at risk for bullying involvement. The importance of the school's

environment on bullying behaviors has also been highlighted, as the majority of

bullying occurs at school. The variables associated with racial bullying and

victimization, however, have rarely been specifically examined. The purpose of the

current study, therefore, was to determine which individual- and school-level factors

are associated with racial bullying and victimization. Canadian records from the

2001/2002 Health Behaviors in School-Aged Children Survey (HBSC) were used for

the current analyses. Participants included 3,684 students and their principals from

116 schools from across the country. Results indicated that racial bullying and racial

victimization were more strongly related to individual factors such as race and sex

than school-level factors. African-Canadian students were found to engage in racial

bullying as well as report being racially victimized. In addition, school climate did

not account for observed differences between schools on racial bullying and

victimization, but racial bullying appeared to decrease in supportive schools with

higher teacher diversity.

Racial bullying and victimization in Canadian school-aged children:

Individual and school level effects

Bullying is a serious relationship problem in which children use power through frequent acts of aggression to intimidate and control others, and make others feel powerless in their relationships (Pepler, Craig, & O'Connell, 1999). Research in this area has outlined the severe mental health consequences associated with both bullying others and being victimized by bullying (Houbre, Tarquinio, Thuillier, & Hergott, 2006). To date, numerous individual factors have been identified that can place children and adolescents at risk for involvement in bullying behaviors including gender, age, low self-esteem, and social anxiety (Egan & Perry, 1998; Ma, 2002; Slee, 1994). Race has also been identified as an individual risk factor for bullying involvement (Peskin, Tortolero, & Markham, 2006; Spriggs et al., 2007), providing evidence for an in-group bias based on race in children (Aboud, 1988; Larochette, Craig, Pepler, & Connolly, submitted). Focus in the bullying literature has slowly turned to the examination of bullying within a broader ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1977), including the study of bullying within the school context. Studies reveal that school characteristics can impact rates of bullying and victimization (Ma, 2002), but little research has examined the impact of school climate on specific forms of bullying, such as racial bullying, in a Canadian context. The aim of the current study was to explore what factors influence racial bullying and victimization both at the individual and school levels.

Race may be an individual risk factor for bullying and victimization based on the theory of in-group bias. This theory states that individuals form in-groups based on shared characteristics, and those who are not included in the in-group are considered

members of the out-group. Out-group members are perceived as threatening and dissimilar to members of the in-group, and these both groups can be formed on the basis of race (Doyle & Aboud, 1995). Racial prejudice and hostile behavior between racial groups both can manifest as a result of these strong group affiliations (Aboud, 1988). Strong affiliations with in-group members based on race begin at a young age. European children demonstrate a strong pro-European/anti-African bias as young as 3 years old (Katz & Kofkin, 1997), and minority children also express preference for their racial group after the age of 7 (Clark & Clark, 1947). Children of European descent aged 7 to 10 years old also rated out-group members of a different ethnicity as more different than out-group members of the same ethnicity (Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin, & Maass, 2007). Racial majority children may also develop in-group biases based on race as a function of their parents' racial attitudes (White & Gleitzman, 2006), stereotypic beliefs held towards a racial minority group (Slone, Tarrasch, & Hallis, 2006), or by lack of exposure to racial minority groups (Kowalski, 1998). Racial prejudices held by children and adolescents can, however, develop into aggressive behavior towards peers of different racial groups in the form of bullying.

Evidence from current research suggests an increased risk of bullying involvement in certain racial minority groups as a result of this in-group bias based on race. Recently, Spriggs and colleagues (2007) found that Hispanic-American students were more frequently victimized by bullying than their African-American or European-American peers. Hanish and Guerra (2000) also identified Hispanic-American students as most at risk of being victimized by their peers in a predominantly African-American and Hispanic-American school. Socioeconomic status has also been found to influence

bullying involvement in racial minority youth. For example, Peskin, Tortolero, and Markham (2006) found that African-American students of low socioeconomic status were at a higher risk of involvement in bullying and victimization than were Hispanic-American students. Furthermore, sex may also play a role in the bullying involvement of minority youth as McLaughlin and colleagues (2007) identified African-American adolescent boys who represent a minority group in their school as the most overtly aggressive and the most likely to physically fight with others at school. Studies from different regions differ in their findings regarding at-risk racial minority groups. One British study, for example, identified children of Asian descent as being at a higher risk of being racially bullied (Eslea & Mukhtar, 2000). Like general bullying, peer racial discrimination can have serious long-term consequences. Brody and colleagues (2006) found that more perceived discrimination in African-American adolescents was associated with the development of conduct problems and depressive symptoms five years later. The first study in this thesis indicated that Asian-Canadian students might be at risk for bullying involvement in Canada due to racial in-group biases. Little is known, however, about what other individual factors may lead to racial bullying and racial victimization in Canadian students. The current study aims to determine which individual characteristics (sex, age, SES, race) are associated with racial bullying and racial victimization in a large Canadian sample of school-aged children.

It is not enough, however, to explore individual risk factors such as race in bullying and victimization in isolation. Current research has increasingly acknowledged that bullying must be examined from a broader ecological perspective. Ecological systems theory, as posited by Bronfenbrenner (1977), emphasizes the development of

individual behavior within a number of interconnected social environments known as the

microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, and the macrosystem. The microsystem,

the immediate environment in which a child lives, has been the subject of extensive

research as this theoretical system includes the child's parents, peer groups, and school,

and is where the child's most direct social learning occurs. Lerner's (1986)

developmental contextualism framework also emphasizes multiple levels of organization

in human life ranging from the biological level (e.g., genes), the social relational level

(e.g., peer groups), the sociocultural level (e.g., school system), and physical ecologies

(e.g., natural and built physical surroundings). Lerner (1996) postulated that a systems

perspective of behavior and development should be adopted such that variables

associated with one level of organization are studied in relation to variables associated

with another level of organization to capture their interconnected nature. Only by

examining human behavior at multiple levels could the dimensions of a given variable be

properly analyzed.

Researchers have embraced this ecological perspective by studying bullying

involvement within the broader context of the school, as the majority of individual

bullying behaviors occur within this complex social system (Olweus, 1993). School

climate, for instance, is defined as the values, beliefs, and attitudes that impact the

relationships between students, teachers, and administrators at school (Emmons, Comer,

& Haynes, 1996) and plays an important role in moderating the behaviors and

interactions of its students (Kuperminc et al., 1997). For example, students who reported

good disciplinary climates at their schools also reported less bullying (Ma, 2002), and

students who reported poor perceptions of their school climate were more likely to

engage in bullying and delinquent behavior (Kuperminc, Leadbeater, & Blatt, 2001).

Wilson (2004) specifically studied students' feelings of school connectedness and found

that a feeling of having a strong relationship with teachers and other students predicted

less frequent involvement in bullying and victimization. Aspects of school climate are

particularly useful to examine with respect to bullying because they represent features

that schools can control and improve upon, thus having practical implications for change.

The school context, including student and teacher diversity, can set the stage for

the formation of specific in-groups and out-groups, resulting in vulnerabilities to bullying

and prejudice for certain racial minority children. For example, Verkuyten and Thijs

(2002) investigated the classroom-level factors affecting racial victimization in children

of different ethnic backgrounds in The Netherlands. They found that ethnic minority

children reported more incidences of racism when they were a numerical minority within

their classroom. This study also revealed that fewer children reported incidences of racial

bullying when they felt that they could tell their teacher and that the teacher would help

them. In addition, levels of racial diversity within schools can impact peer victimization,

with ethnically integrated schools providing a higher risk of victimization for European-

American children in one elementary school sample (Hanish & Guerra, 2000). Compared

to European-American children, African-American children also received more favorable

peer nominations as a function of an increased representation within their classroom and

the race of their teacher (Jackson, Barth, Powell, & Lochman, 2006). This finding

highlights the importance of the social impact of both student diversity and teacher

diversity within a school, and their potential impact on racial group relations. In addition,

Spriggs et al. (2007) also found that school satisfaction was related to bullying for

African-American and Hispanic-American students and that feeling unsafe at school was related to victimization for European-American students in an ethnically diverse school. Racial mixing and racial fairness are also strongly related to student integration attitudes and behaviors (Walberg & Genova, 1983). Lawrence (2005) found that teachers' perceptions of antiracist classroom programs were more optimistic when they also reported a positive school climate, highlighting the importance of school climate in supporting such initiatives. Currently, limited research has examined the influence of specific aspects of school climate, such as school cohesion, school safety, and school satisfaction, which may have a significant impact on the social interactions of students and, hence, the level of racial bullying and victimization found within a school. As well, no Canadian studies have examined the impact of student and teacher diversity within schools on reports of racial bullying. The present study aims to combine the examination of individual factors and school climate factors to better understand racial bullying and racial victimization within a school context.

The current study had three primary objectives. 1) To determine if specific individual-level factors (sex, age, SES, race) predict racial bullying and racial victimization in a nationally representative Canadian sample of adolescents. At the individual level, we hypothesized that being male, younger, of lower socioeconomic status, and a racial minority would predict higher levels of both racial bullying and racial victimization. 2) To determine if specific school-level factors (diversity, school climate) predict racial bullying and racial victimization. We hypothesized that higher levels of student and teacher diversity and more positive ratings of school climate would predict less racial bullying and racial victimization. 3) To determine if schools vary on racial

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bullying and racial victimization and how much of this variance is accounted for by individual and school-level factors. We hypothesized that schools would vary on reports of racial bullying and victimization and that the individual and school level factors named above would predict the majority of this variance.

<div align="center">Methods</div>

Study Design

The current study was based on Canadian records from the World Health Organization's 2001/2002 *Health Behavior in School-Aged Children Survey* (HBSC). The HBSC is a cross-national research collaboration initiated in 1982 with the aim of identifying factors that influence youth health and social behaviors. The 2001/2002 HBSC survey involved the administration of cross-sectional surveys in 36 different countries to children aged 11-15 years old and their school principals (Currie et al., 2001). The international protocol involved the selection of classes within schools by using a weighted probability technique to ensure that students were equally likely to be included and that the sample was representative by regional geography and key demographic features (community size, school size, etc.). Selected students and principals were administered an anonymous paper questionnaire in their classroom and school setting, respectively, that included questions about a variety of topics. For students, questionnaire items asked about demographic characteristics, social behaviors, and reports of school climate, whereas principal questionnaire items addressed school-wide demographic characteristics and the availability of certain school programs.

Participants

Participants were selected from an original sample of 7,235 Canadian students and 170 principals from their schools. Due to missing data from students and principals on variables of interest, 3,551 students were excluded, resulting in a final sample of 3,684 students and 116 principals. The final sample consisted of students from grades 6-10. Of these students, 56% were female, and students were evenly represented across grades, with 25.9% in Grade 6, 20.8% in Grade 7, 19% in Grade 8, 18% in Grade 9, and 16.2% in Grade 10. Students were predominantly European-Canadian (90.1%), but racial minorities were also represented in the sample, with 1.6% identifying as African-Canadian, 2.7% as East Asian-Canadian (e.g., Chinese, Japanese), 2% as Native-Canadian, 1.8% as South Asian-Canadian (e.g., Filipino), and 1.8% as South East Asian-Canadian (e.g., Indian). Principals reported that their schools ranged in size from 118 students to 1528 students, with a mean school size of 517 students ($SD = 335.9$). Principals reported on average that 14.4% of students in their schools were visible minorities ($SD = 21.4$), and that 19.8% were from disadvantaged families ($SD = 17.0$).

Measures

Dependent Variables

 Racial bullying and victimization. Reported experiences of racial bullying and victimization were measured using two items with 5-point Likert-type scales. For racial victimization, students were asked how often they had been bullied because of their race or color in the past couple of months (1 = *I have not been bullied in this way in the past couple of months*; to 5 = *Several times a week*). For racial bullying, students were asked

how often they had bullied other students because of their race or color in the past couple of months.

Independent Variables

Independent variables were separated into two levels for the current analysis. Level-1 independent variables represented the individual-level variables and were based on responses from students regarding individual characteristics. Level-2 independent variables represented the school-level variables and were based on principals' responses and school aggregates of students' responses regarding school characteristics.

Individual-Level Variables

Demographics and bullying

The demographic variables that were entered at Level-1 were sex, grade, socioeconomic status, and race. Sex was dummy coded as male = 0 and female = 1, and grade was included as a continuous variable from 6-10. Race was also dummy coded, with European-Canadian as the reference group. Socioeconomic status was computed based on the four-item Family Affluence Scale (FAS; Currie et al., 1997) developed for the HBSC survey. The scale is a sum of four items about a variety of indicators of family wealth: "Does your family own a car, van, or truck?" (No = 0, Yes = 1); "Do you have your own bedroom for yourself?" (No = 0, Yes = 1); "During the past 12 months, how many times did you travel away on holiday with your family?" (Not at all = 1, Once = 2, Twice = 3, More than twice = 4); and, "How many computers does your family own?" (None = 1, One = 2, Two = 3, More than two = 4). A summed score ranging from 0-2 is considered low, 3-5 is considered medium, and 6-9 is considered high. In the current sample, 3.2% had low scores, 39.7% had medium scores, and 57.2% had high scores.

General bullying and general victimization were also entered as control variables at Level-1 because these behaviors are closely related to racial victimization and bullying, respectively, and they often co-occur. As well, general bullying and victimization were entered into the models as control variables to control for children who were both bullying others and being victimized. General bullying and victimization were each measured with one item asking students how often they had taken part in bullying, or how often they had been bullied, in the past couple of months. Students answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *I haven't bullied/been bullied in the past couple of months*; to 5 = *Several times a week*). *School-Level Variables*

School diversity. School diversity was measured using two items on the principal questionnaire. Student diversity within schools was measured with one item asking principals what percentage of the students in their school were visible minorities. Teacher diversity within schools was measured with one item asking principals how many teachers in their school were visible minorities. This number was converted to a percentage by dividing by the total number of teachers in the school, as reported by the principals.

School climate. Specific aspects of school climate were measured with 13 items on the student questionnaire comprising three different subscales. A Principal Axis Factor Analysis of the items was conducted and all factor loadings were above .54. The school safety subscale was comprised of the average of four items asking students how safe and fair their school is (α = .82; e.g., I feel safe at this school). The school support subscale was comprised of the average of five items asking students how much they feel they receive help and support at their school (α = .84; e.g., Our teachers treat us fairly). The

school peer cohesion subscale was comprised of the average of four items asking students how much peer support and cohesion they feel at their school (α = .78; e.g., Most of the students in my class are kind and helpful).

<div align="center">Results</div>

Data Analyses

To determine if the prevalence of racial bullying and victimization varied according to school-level context, multi-level regressions were conducted using Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) software designed by Raudenbush, Bryk, and Congdon (HLM Version 6.06; 2008). Students (Level-1) were nested within schools (Level-2) with the following Level-1 predictors: sex, SES, grade, and race. Grade was centered on the grand mean for all schools. General bullying was entered as a control variable at Level-1 for racial victimization as the outcome, and general victimization was also entered as a control variable at Level-1 when racial bullying was the outcome variable. At Level-2, aggregate scores on the school climate subscales for each school and student and teacher diversity were added as predictors, centered on the grand mean for all schools. Outcomes were student reports of racial bullying and racial victimization.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for all continuous Level-1 and Level-2 variables were calculated and are outlined in Table 1. As can be seen in Table 1, the means for racial and general bullying and victimization were relatively low overall. In this sample, 3.5% of students reported racially bullying others, and 4.4% of students reported being racially victimized. General bullying and victimization were more prevalent in this sample, with 42.5% and 38% of students reporting involvement in these behaviors, respectively.

Aggressive behaviors such as racial bullying are normally infrequent, and the current sample is representative of the general pattern of responses seen in the bullying literature.

Correlations among all continuous Level-1 and Level-2 variables were also calculated and are outlined in Table 2. At the individual level, SES was not strongly correlated with racial or general bullying and victimization, contrary to stated hypotheses. Grade was weakly correlated with these variables, indicating no significant differences in these behaviors at different ages. As expected, racial bullying and victimization were weakly but significantly correlated with both general bullying and victimization, indicating that students who engaged in racial bullying behaviors tended to engage in general bullying behaviors. At Level-2, student and teacher diversity were strongly positively correlated with one another and student diversity was related to student reports of a safe and fair school. Teacher diversity was not significantly correlated to any of the school climate variables. It was hypothesized, however, that these variables would interact to predict racial bullying and victimization; therefore, the interactions of each school climate variable and teacher diversity were included in the multilevel models. All school climate variables were strongly positively correlated, indicating that students who reported high scores on one school climate variable tended to report high scores on the other school climate variables as well.

Multilevel Models

Multilevel models using HLM were constructed to test if specific aspects of school climate accounted for individuals' reports of racial bullying and racial victimization over and above their own individual demographic characteristics and levels of general bullying and victimization. First, a fully unconditional model was constructed

to determine the proportion of variance in these outcome measures that could be accounted for by both within- and between-school differences. Second, a model including just the Level-1 predictors was constructed to determine the proportion of additional variance accounted for by only within-school differences. Finally, a model including both Level-1 and Level-2 predictors as well as Level-2 interactions among teacher diversity and school climate variables was constructed to determine the proportion of variance that was accounted for by both individual and school variables combined. The results presented for each analysis represent the final model after eliminating non-significant interactions.

Racial Bullying

The results for the models constructed at each level with racial bullying as an outcome are presented in Table 3. The variance components of the null model indicated that 1.5% of the variance for racial bullying can be accounted for by variance across schools and that 98.5% by variance within schools. Although the majority of the variance could be accounted for by variance within schools, significant variation across schools remained to be explained ($\chi^2 = 172.09$, $p < .01$).

The Level-1 model, which includes the individual-level variables only, revealed a number of significant predictors of racial bullying. Specifically, being male, being older, being African-Canadian, and experiencing general victimization were all significantly associated with increased racial bullying. The addition of the Level-1 predictors into the model accounted for an additional 2.7% of the individual variance among students. The finding that being male was a significant predictor of racial bullying was consistent with our stated hypotheses, but being older was contrary to our stated hypotheses. The fact that

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being African-Canadian was a significant predictor of racial bullying was also not an expected finding and was not in line with findings from the first study in this thesis.

The addition of the Level-2 variables into the model did not appear to add to the model a great deal. The addition of the school-level variables in the model accounted for an additional 0.7% of the variance observed between schools. With the addition of these variables, being older was no longer significantly associated with racial bullying at Level-1. Contrary to our stated hypotheses, at the school level, student diversity, teacher diversity, and all three school climate variables were not significantly associated with racial bullying. An interaction between teacher diversity and school support was significantly associated with racial bullying ($t(1,115) = -3.32$, $p < .01$). Simple slopes analyses were conducted to investigate the nature of the interaction between teacher diversity and school support (Aiken & West, 1991). Results revealed that increased school support was negatively related to racial bullying, and that this relationship was stronger with higher levels of teacher diversity. Thus, schools with more racially diverse teachers and a more supportive school climate showed less racial bullying.

Racial Victimization

The results for the models constructed for racial victimization as an outcome are presented in Table 4. The variance components of the null model indicated that 2.9% of the variance for racial victimization could be accounted for by variance across schools, but that 97.1% of the variance could be accounted for by variance within schools. Thus, more variance was accounted for across schools than within compared to racial bullying, and significant variation across schools also remained to be explained ($\chi^2 = 243.72$, $p < .001$).

When the individual-level variables were added to the Level-1 model, a number of variables were significantly related to racial victimization. Reports of increased general bullying were positively associated with increased racial victimization, and race was also significantly positively associated with racial victimization for students who were African-Canadian, East Asian-Canadian, Native-Canadian, and South East Asian-Canadian. Sex, grade, and SES were not significantly associated with racial victimization, contrary to our hypotheses. The addition of the Level-1 variables into the model accounted for an additional 3% of the individual variance within schools.

Contrary to our hypotheses, the addition of the Level-2 variables into the racial victimization model did not reveal any variables at the school level that were significantly associated with racial victimization. As well, with the addition of the Level-2 variables, many of the effects of the race variables at the individual level were no longer significant, except for African-Canadian students. Being male and individual reports of general bullying were both significantly associated with racial victimization in this final model.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to determine which individual- and school-level factors predicted racial bullying and racial victimization in a national sample of Canadian school-aged children. The current results suggest that racial bullying and racial victimization are better predicted by individual-level factors, such as race and sex, than by school-level factors. Indeed, African-Canadian students engaged in more racial bullying and victimization than European-Canadian students did, and boys also engaged in racial bullying and victimization more than girls. In addition, school climate did not

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appear to account for differences in these bullying behaviors across schools. More school support, however, decreased racial bullying to a greater degree when there was higher teacher diversity, but this effect was not found for racial victimization.

According to the current results, reported rates of racial bullying and racial victimization are more strongly related to individual characteristics, such as sex and race, than school characteristics. For both racial bullying and racial victimization, male students were more likely to report engaging in these behaviors than were female students. This finding is in line with the general bullying literature in that boys are more likely to engage in bullying than girls (Whitney & Smith, 1993). Research would suggest that in-group preferences based on race develop in both girls and boys (Aboud, 1988); however, this type of bullying may be too aggressive and overt for girls to engage in, as girls tend to engage in more relational forms of aggression (Kuppens et al., 2008; see Lafferty, 2007). Perhaps girls express their race-based in-group preferences in other forms that are less overt than racial bullying, such as excluding certain people because of their race. Future research should further explore whether school-aged female students engage in social racial bullying more than do male students or whether this group affiliation based on race is simply not as salient in girls.

Race was also an individual predictor of racial bullying and victimization in the current sample. The fact that African-Canadian students reported involvement in both of these behaviors may indicate reciprocal in-group biases, meaning that African-Canadian students are not only being victimized because of their race, but they are also forming their own in-groups and victimizing other racial out-groups at the same time (Clark & Clark, 1947). The African-Canadian population is among the largest visible minority

groups in Canada, representing more than 2% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2001). Thus, African-Canadian students may be targeted as a racial out-group because they are seen as a threat to the European-Canadian racial majority. At the same time, this relatively large visible minority group may also be trying to assert their dominance by engaging in racial bullying themselves. We can only speculate, however, who or by whom this group of students is being racially bullied. Perhaps African-Canadian students are bullying racial minority as well as racial majority students. Future research should further examine the group mechanisms of racial bullying and victimization longitudinally to determine between which groups these behaviors are occurring and the developmental sequence of these behaviors over time.

Racial bullying and racial victimization did not differ greatly across schools. Hence, most of the differences found in the schools included in this study were found between individuals within schools rather than between schools. Thus, changes in school characteristics may have little impact on school rates of racial bullying and racial victimization. This finding is similar to other general bullying and school context multilevel models in which most of the variability in bullying behaviors could be accounted for by individual variance (Ma, 2002). Changes in the school environment may not easily affect deep-seated in-group biases based on race when individual factors such as being a racial minority or being male are present. More variability in racial victimization exists across schools, however, that was not accounted for by individual factors than for racial bullying. Consequently, changes in school characteristics may have greater potential to have some impact on school rates of racial victimization than for racial bullying.

Despite the fact that racial victimization differed across schools, the school climate factors that were examined did not account for this difference. The literature on racial prejudice in schools indicates that observed differences across schools may be due to classroom contextual factors. Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) examined the classroom-level effects of racism in The Netherlands and found that minority children reported more racist bullying when they were the minority in their classroom. This study also found that classroom effects accounted for less than 7 percent of the variance in racial bullying. Jackson and colleagues (2006) also reported less than 10% variance at the classroom level for the sociometric nominations of African-American students, but they found that African-American students received more favorable nominations when they were the majority in their classroom. Perhaps the in-group processes related to race and racial bullying and victimization are more influenced by the classroom or peer microsystem, rather than being influenced by the greater school context. In addition to classroom context, other school characteristics may account for the reports of racial victimization not accounted for by individual factors. Other school-related variables that were not examined, such as school size, may be accounting for some of the variability in racial bullying and racial victimization observed across schools. Smaller schools might have more interactions between the same students from different racial in-groups, thus increasing opportunities for racial bullying and victimization to occur. Continued research in this area should further examine school context features aside from school climate to determine what school characteristics can protect against racial bullying and victimization at the school level. This type of research might help schools understand if

there are aspects of their school they can alter to help lessen racial bullying and racial victimization when it is occurring in their schools.

One promising finding was the significant interaction between school support and teacher diversity that was observed at the school level for racial bullying. The implication is that more school support decreases racial bullying to a greater degree with higher teacher diversity. When looking at the items included in the measurement of school support, many items refer to teachers directly supporting students (e.g., "Our teachers treat us fairly;" "My teachers are interested in me as a person."). This sense of support appears to come from a perception that teachers are not only supportive within the school environment but are also accepting of the students as people. This climate may be related to the incidence of racial bullying by making students feel less inclined to use aggression in their interactions with their peers when they feel supported and cared for by their teacher. Previous research has stated that incidences of racism diminish when teachers react to these incidents (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), and that racial minority children receive higher sociometric ratings when the teacher was also a racial minority (Jackon et al., 2006). The fact that increased teacher diversity increases this relationship may indicate that the feeling of belonging to an in-group that includes the teacher and not feeling the need to bully others based on this characteristic. European-Canadian majority students may also feel it is inappropriate to bully others based on this racial in-group bias if their teacher is also a member of a racial out-group. The broader implications of this finding are that schools who are witnessing racial bullying could ensure that the diversity of their teachers is representative of the diversity of their student body in order to help make students feel more supported and less inclined to bully others based on race.

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This study had some limitations that may have affected the generalizability of the results. First, the current study was cross-sectional in nature, meaning that no conclusions on the directionality of the relationships between variables can be made. Longitudinal research in this area needs to be completed to determine if racial victimization occurs prior to racial bullying and if school-level variables precede incidences of racial bullying. Despite this fact, however, the current study shed some light on the relationships of racial bullying behaviors with both individual- and school-level variables in a large Canadian sample. Second, due to missing data from a number of principals and students, the current sample did not include the entire representative sample of Canadian children collected as part of the 2001/2002 HBSC survey. Because approximately half of the sample was lost due to missing data on variables of interest, the current sample cannot be said to be fully representative of Canadian school-aged children. Certain students who chose not to answer questions regarding race or principals choosing not to answer questions about student diversity may represent schools in Canada with more diversity who may actually be experiencing problems with racial bullying and victimization. Despite this limitation, however, the current study represents a large sample of Canadian children from over 100 schools and provides valuable information about the state of these behaviors in schools across the country.

Finally, the current study was entirely based on self-report measures of behavior and school characteristics. Students may not have been honest in their reports of engagement in racial bullying and victimization due to the sensitive nature of this topic, meaning that the current study may be an underestimate of current rates of these behaviors. Principals may also have been biased in their reports of student and teacher

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diversity and may have overestimated the levels of diversity in these schools. Despite these possible biases, the currents study is based on a large enough sample to that self-report bias would not affect the results to any significant extent.

The current study demonstrated the largely individual nature of racial bullying and victimization and concluded that specific aspects of school climate may not have a significant effect on rates of this type of bullying. The interaction between school support and teacher diversity for racial bullying does, however, demonstrate the importance of taking an ecological perspective in studying these bullying behaviors. By examining the school environment in which students interact with one another, a better understanding of the importance of both a supportive environment and the exposure of students to teachers of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds in reducing racial bullying behavior can be gained. Nonetheless, much more work in this area is needed in order to determine other school or classroom contextual factors that may be accounting for differences in racial bullying and victimization across schools. By further exploring these other factors, a greater understanding of those actions schools can take to help diminish racial bullying and racial victimization can be determined and implemented.

Table 3.1. Descriptive Statistics for Level-1 and Level-2 Variables.

	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Level-1 Variables (N = 3684)				
Grade	7.78	1.42	6	10
SES (Family Affluence Scale)	5.73	1.67	0	9
Racial Bullying	1.06	.39	1	5
Racial Victimization	1.10	.52	1	5
General Bullying	1.62	.91	1	5
General Victimization	1.67	1.10	1	5
Level-2 Variables (N = 116)				
Student Diversity	14.44	21.43	0	90
Teacher Diversity	2.73	5.17	0	32
Safe School	3.57	.37	2.78	4.81
School Support	3.78	.31	3.00	4.75
School Cohesion	3.72	.27	2.94	4.53

Table 3.2. Correlations for Level-1 and Level-2 Variables.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Level-1 Variables						
1.Grade	-					
2. SES (Family Affluence Scale)	-.06**	-				
3. Racial Bullying	.03	.02	-			
4. Racial Victimization	-.04*	.01	.25**	-		
5. General Bullying	.03	.05**	.33**	.13**	-	
6. General Victimization	-.09**	-.02	.10**	.30**	.18**	-

	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	
Level-2 Variables						
7. Student Diversity	-					
8. Teacher Diversity	.56**	-				
9. Safe School	.20*	.09	-			
10. School Support	.15	.07	.71**	-		
11. School Cohesion	.10	-.01	.59**	.53**	-	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 3.3. HLM models for Racial Bullying.

	Null Model	Level-1 Model Standardized Coefficients (SE)	Level-2 Model Standardized Coefficients (SE)
Individual Variables			
Sex		-.08 (.01)***	-.08 (.01)***
Grade		.01 (.00)**	.01 (.00)
SES (FAS)		.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
African		.25 (.11)*	.25 (.11)*
East Asian		.09 (.05)	.08 (.05)
Native		.05 (.06)	.05 (.06)
South Asian		.02 (.06)	.01 (.06)
South East Asian		.11 (.06)	.11 (.06)
General Victimization		.04 (.01)***	.04 (.01)***
School Variables			
Student Diversity			.00 (.00)
Teacher Diversity			.00 (.00)
Safe School			-.03 (.04)
School Support			-.03 (.04)
School Cohesion			.04 (.04)
School Support X Teacher Diversity			-.01 (.00)*
Variance			
Between Schools (Tau)	.00227 (1.5%)	.00172	.00128
Between Students (Sigma squared)	.14676 (98.5%)	0.14286	0.14293
Total Variance	.14903 (100%)		

Table 3.4. HLM models for Racial Victimization.

	Null Model	Level-1 Model Standardized Coefficient (SE)	Level-2 Model Coefficient (SE)
Individual Variables			
Sex		-.01 (.02)	-.08 (.01)***
Grade		-.01 (.01)	.01 (.00)
SES (FAS)		.00 (.01)	.00 (.00)
African		.35 (.15)*	.25 (.11)*
East Asian		.21 (.11)*	.08 (.05)
Native		.30 (.14)*	.05 (.06)
South Asian		.13 (.10)	.01 (.06)
South East Asian		.24 (.1)*	.11 (.06)
General Bullying		.07 (.02)***	.04 (.01)***
School Variables			
Student Diversity			.00 (.00)
Teacher Diversity			.00 (.00)
Safe School			.08 (.06)
School Support			-.01 (.07)
School Cohesion			-.11 (.08)
Variance			
Between Schools (Tau)	.00784 (2.9%)	.00603	.00662
Between Students (Sigma squared)	.26297 (97.1%)	.25503	.25463
Total Variance	.27081 (100%)		

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CHAPTER FOUR

General Discussion

The examination of bullying in a multicultural context in Canada has been lacking in recent years. The two studies in this thesis were designed to fill this gap in research by exploring race and immigrant status as potential risk factors for bullying in Canadian adolescents. As well, the current studies further examined how these risk factors change throughout adolescence and investigated racial bullying and victimization specifically in a Canadian school context. The findings of the current thesis have led to a number of conclusions about these particular risk factors and bullying behaviors in Canada while also raising several important questions for future exploration.

First, the current thesis provides evidence for an in-group bias based on race in Canadian youth, as indicated in both studies by the increased rates of racial victimization over time in racial minority groups compared to their European-Canadian peers. This finding not only supports the existence of group affiliations based on race that have been described in very young children (Katz & Kofkin, 1997; Nesdale, Griffiths, Durkin, & Maass, 2007), but also provides evidence that this bias persists into early adolescence and results in inter-group conflict. In addition, the observed developmental trajectory of bullying in the first study is consistent with the theoretical development of ethnic identity. This theory states that younger children display more ethnic pride and are less likely to interact with those of different racial backgrounds, whereas older adolescents are more open to ethnic identity exploration with different racial groups (Marks et al., 2006). In fact, the results of this study demonstrate that race was related only to specific bullying behaviors in elementary school and not in high school. High school students were not

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engaging in aggression towards racial minority groups as frequently as students in elementary school. The important implication of both of these findings is that intervention and cultural education aimed at preventing this behavior should begin at younger ages when ethnic group affiliation may be a more salient issue. Positive integration of younger children from different racial and cultural backgrounds may reduce the effect of ethnic differentiation in the form of in-group and out-group biases and encourage children to focus on the similarities they may have with those of other racial groups rather than focusing on them as out-group members.

The fact that immigrant status was generally not associated with victimization may be indicative of the salience of being a racial minority for in-group formation. The more subtle cultural differences of immigrant adolescents may not be as immediately recognizable to their school peers. Thus, these cultural differences may play a lesser role in determining in-groups than the more obvious physical characteristics associated with being a visible minority. This conclusion is somewhat tentative, however, given that no interaction was found between race and immigrant status that would indicate that immigrant youth who were also racial minorities were being victimized more frequently. Immigrant youth did seem, however, to be at an increased risk of engaging in bullying others over time, especially immigrant youth from 'Other' racial groups. Although this finding could be due to more immigrant youth belonging to 'Other' racial groups than non-immigrant youth, these youth may also represent smaller minority groups who do have difficulties forming their own racial in-groups and thus may not feel a sense of belonging to any group. As a result, these youth may cope with their social isolation by interacting with their peers in an aggressive manner (Dawson & Williams, 2008; Yeh et

al., 2003). This aggressive behavior may also be exacerbated by difficulties with English proficiency. Regardless, these findings are an indication to schools that immigrant youth likely need more support in their social transitions to school and be provided with programs to help them interact with others in a positive manner if they feel alone and unaccepted.

The results of this thesis also imply that specific racial minority groups, namely larger minority groups in Canada, may be most at risk of involvement in racial bullying behavior. Both Asian-Canadian and African-Canadian students were identified as the two groups that were most at risk of racial victimization in elementary school, and these two represent the largest minority groups in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). Similar findings have been reported in American studies. African-American students have been identified as being more at risk of bullying others and being victimized themselves (McLaughlin, Hilt, & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2007; Peskin 2006) and also represent the second-largest visible minority group in the United States (United States Census Bureau, 2006). The fact that both of these visible minority groups appeared to be more targeted by racial victimization may have some interesting theoretical implications regarding inter-group conflict based on race. Perhaps these two groups are specifically targeted because the European-Canadian majority sees them as a more threatening out-group because they are more numerous than smaller racial minority groups. At the same time, these groups may also be targeted more often simply because they are more numerous; hence, there are more opportunities for their be victimization. Future research should determine the processes that lead larger minority groups to be racially victimized more often to further

inform theory and to guide the implementation of practical interventions in these at-risk groups.

Another important implication stemming from this finding is the potentially serious mental health consequences that these targeted racial minority youth may face. Little is currently known about the short- and long-term effects of being racially victimized at school. Previous studies of racial discrimination in youth of African descent have indicated, however, that this type of discrimination is associated with the development of conduct problems and depression five years later (Brody et al., 2006). African- and Asian-Canadian students may face similar consequences as a result of being racially victimized, and this type of victimization may also affect their healthy development of ethnic self-esteem and ethnic identity. In addition, the second study in this thesis indicated that African-Canadian youth were most likely to not only be racially victimized, but also to racially bully others. This finding is concerning because it implies that African-Canadian youth may be at risk of becoming racial bully/victims. The research on bully/victims is clear in its indication that both bullying others and being victimized is associated with particularly serious psychological consequences including depressive symptoms and poor school functioning (Haynie et al., 2001). Being a racial bully/victim may also result in serious mental health and social consequences due to the inherently aggressive and marginalizing nature of this behavior. In sum, Asian-Canadian and African-Canadian youth seem to be high-risk groups with regards to racial bullying and victimization. More research is needed to understand why these groups are being targeted, what can be done to prevent this from occurring, and how to support those children who also engage in this behavior themselves.

Finally, one of the most interesting findings of the current thesis was that the school environment, as measured by specific aspects of school climate, does not account for observed differences in racial bullying and victimization across schools. Results from the second study, indicate that this type of bullying is more strongly associated with individual characteristics such as sex and race. The use of multilevel modeling to examine racial bullying and victimization from an ecological perspective, however, was still useful in the current thesis. Namely, this statistical technique revealed that some differences between schools in racial bullying and racial victimization were not fully accounted for by the individual characteristics of their students. Thus, other variables are accounting for these differences between schools that were not measured in this thesis. Perhaps classroom contextual variables such as having a visible minority teacher may have more impact on this behavior in younger children than the larger school environment (Jackson, Barth, Powell, & Lochman, 2006; Verkuyten and Thijs, 2002). In fact, the finding that reports of racial bullying decreased in schools with more support and more teacher diversity strengthens this hypothesis.

The influence of peer groups within schools may also account for these differences as the peer group has been found to play an important role in influencing bullying behaviors (Dijkstra, Lindenberg, & Veenstra, 2008). This particular type of bullying may vary more as a function of the racial diversity of peer groups within the school rather than the school environment as a whole. Perhaps schools in which children are members of racially diverse peer groups have lower reports of racial bullying than schools in which these peer groups are segregated by race. Thus, a racially diverse school with segregated peer groups may have more in-group biases compared to a school that is

less diverse but whose racial minority students are in the same peer groups. In sum, the current findings regarding the influence of the school environment raise more questions than answers about what factors may be accounting for the differences found between schools. This situation, however, demonstrates a unique opportunity for future research in this area to identify these variables and to use them to develop proper interventions at the school level that can be implemented to help reduce this behavior.

Future Research

Although the current thesis clarified the roles of race, immigrant status, and school context with regards to racial bullying, this project also raised a number of questions that should be addressed in further studies of this behavior. First, the current results are indications only of the racial in-group biases and group affiliations based on race described in the developmental literature. The current studies did not directly measure the specific processes involved in the social interactions between adolescents of different racial groups and immigrant backgrounds. Future research will need to explore the specific make-up of the bully-victim dyads to determine if in fact racial majority students are racially bullying students from racial minority groups. This type of study would involve a closer examination at the racial diversity of the peer groups in which this behavior is occurring. In-group biases based on race would be further confirmed if peer groups were segregated by race and racial bullying was occurring across and not within these peer groups. Thus, the direct measurement and exploration of these processes and how they lead to the aggressive and discriminatory treatment of Canadian visible minority youth should be explored in more detail in future work in this area.

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The development of racial bullying and racial victimization should also be investigated in a high school population as this information was not available for the current project. Because other bullying behaviors appear to occur less in older adolescents compared to younger adolescents, racial bullying will likely also occur less at older ages. However, this conclusion is only speculation based on theory and the developmental patterns found with regards to other types of bullying in younger samples. It is important, however, to confirm this hypothesis in the future to ensure that racial minority adolescents in high school are not at risk of being racially aggressed by their peers. This information could easily be gathered by including questions on a bullying questionnaire asking older students if they racially bully others or if they are racially bullied themselves. Taken together, this information will not only help clarify in-group biases and developmental processes that may be occurring, but it will also aid in designing proper interventions to address these biases at various periods in adolescent social development.

In addition, numerous questions remain about the development of racial bully/victims in African-Canadian youth. Perhaps this group is trying to assert its dominance by marginalizing other groups based on race and are then targeted as a result. Conversely, these youth may be marginalized as a racial out-group first and racially bullying others as a coping mechanism for this isolation. Although the current data indicated that racial bullying leads to future racial victimization, the development of this behavior over time should be further explored. This research would involve following African youth who engage in racial bullying over a longer period of time and determining if they report racial victimization at a later time period. As well, these youth could be

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specifically assessed about the quality of their relationships with peers of other racial groups to determine who they are targeting and why. Once racial bullying and victimization and the mechanisms of its development are better understood, intervention efforts and specific support for bully/victims will be more effective and focused on addressing the mechanisms through which this behavior develops.

The current results also indicate the need for further investigation on the factors that could aid immigrant youth with their social transitions. Although immigrant status was not generally related to victimization, some findings did indicate that immigrant youth may bully others over time, which justifies a closer look at why this behavior is occurring. Engagement in bullying behaviors in immigrant youth may indicate adjustment difficulties related to a lack of classroom or peer support. At the elementary school level, the influence of the classroom peer context would be important to examine as a supportive and integrated classroom may reduce bullying behavior in immigrant children. In high school, peer group factors may be more important to investigate. For example, the factors that determine the formation of a supportive peer group for immigrant youth could be investigated as well as whether these prevent engagement in bullying behavior. Multilevel modeling could be used to investigate the differences between classrooms in elementary school and the differences between peer groups in high school in the bullying behaviors of immigrant youth and determine if changes in these areas could be made to support these youth.

Finally, future research should determine what school contextual characteristics are accounting for the observed differences between schools on racial bullying and victimization. The role of diversity in both the classroom context and the peer group

within schools may be particularly important in affecting the prevalence of racial

bullying. In younger children, for example, the race of the classroom teacher may be an

important influence on this behavior. Racial minority teachers may reduce this behavior

simply by representing other racial minority students in the class. These teachers may

also be more sensitive to the interactions between children of different racial groups and

help children feel less inclined to engage in racial bullying. In older children, having

racially diverse peer groups may also reduce the incidence of racial bullying and should

be further explored using sociometric methods. Although racial bullying and

victimization are largely driven by individual factors, any method by which schools could

influence classroom or peer processes to help reduce this behavior could make a

significant difference for those who are affected by this type of bullying.

Summary

Canada is racially diverse and the bullying research in this country should account

for the different experiences of bullying in numerous racial groups. As well, the early

identification of at-risk minority groups and of those children engaging in racial bullying

may be important in preventing future prejudice. This perspective is also important to

help identify contextual factors that schools can focus on to support at-risk minority

groups and to prevent the development of racial bullying in the future. Although the

current thesis clarified many of these issues, this thesis also raised many important

questions about bullying in these areas that remain to be addressed. We hope that these

issues will be addressed in future investigations of bullying so that research informing

bullying preventions and interventions in this country can be representative of the diverse

population of Canadian children and their complex social interactions.

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STUDY 1 BULLYING AND VICTIMIZATION SCALES

Bullying and Victimization – Elementary School (Time 1 and Time 2)

The next questions deal with your actions toward someone else since the beginning of the year.

General Bullying/Victimization

1. Have you slapped or kicked/been slapped or kicked by another child?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

2. Have you punched, beaten or choked/been punched beaten or choked by another child?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

3. Have you spread a rumour about someone/has someone spread a rumour about you?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

4. Have you teased someone/has someone teased you?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

5. Have you said/has someone said to you "We don't want to play with you"?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

Physical Bullying/Victimization

1. Have you slapped or kicked/been slapped or kicked by another child?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

2. Have you punched, beaten or choked/been punched beaten or choked by another child?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

Social/Verbal Bullying/Victimization

1. Have you spread a rumour about someone/has someone spread a rumour about you?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

2. Have you teased someone/has someone teased you?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

3. Have you said/has someone said to you "We don't want to play with you"?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

4. Have you ever threatened someone/been threatened by someone with a knife?

    Yes   No

    How many times? (Circle the number)   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 more than 9

Bullying and Victimization – High School (Time 1 and Time 2)

The following is a list of behaviours that sometimes happen between people your age. For each behavior, circle the number that best described how often these things were done to you, and also how often these things were done by you to each person listed, during the last six months.
Response options: 0 = Never; 1 = Rarely; 2 = Sometimes; 3 = Often; 4 = Always.

General Bullying/Victimization

1. Pushing, grabbing, or shoving during an argument (done to you/by you).

2. Slapping or kicking during an argument (done to you/by you).

3. Throwing, smashing, hitting, or kicking an object during an argument (done to you/by you).

4. Hitting or trying to hit with an object during an argument (done to you/by you).

5. Choking, punching, or beating during an argument (done to you/by you).

6. Telling rumours or mean lies to make a person unpopular (done to you/by you).

7. Getting even with a person by keeping them from being in a group of friends (done to you/by you).

8. Ignoring or not talking to a person out of anger (done to you/by you).

Physical Bullying/Victimization

1. Pushing, grabbing, or shoving during an argument (done to you/by you).

2. Slapping or kicking during an argument (done to you/by you).

3. Throwing, smashing, hitting, or kicking an object during an argument (done to you/by you).

4. Hitting or trying to hit with an object during an argument (done to you/by you).

5. Choking, punching, or beating during an argument (done to you/by you).

Social Bullying/Victimization

1. Telling rumours or mean lies to make a person unpopular (done to you/by you).

2. Getting even with a person by keeping them from being in a group of friends (done to you/by you).

3. Ignoring or not talking to a person out of anger (done to you/by you).

HBSC SCALES

Principal Questionnaire

1. What is the total number of students in your school? _____ students

2. What is the total number of teachers in your school? _____ teachers

3. What percentage of students in your school are visible minorities? _____ percent

4. How many teachers in your school are visible minorities? _____ teachers

Student Questionnaire

Here are some statements about your school/teachers. Please show how much you agree or disagree with each one. (Please mark one box for each line).

Safe *School*

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. The rules in this school are fair.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Our school is a nice place to	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. I feel I belong at this school.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. I feel safe at this school.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

School *Support*

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. I am encouraged to express my own views in my class.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Our teachers treat us fairly.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. When I need extra help, I can get it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. My teachers are interested in me					

as a person. ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

e. Most of my teachers are friendly. ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

School Cohesion

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. The students in my class enjoy being together.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Most of the students in my class are kind and helpful.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Other students accept me as I am.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. When a student in my class is feeling down, someone else in class tries to help.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Racial Bullying and Victimization

How often have you bullied/have you bullied another student(s) at school in the past couple of months in the ways listed below? (Please mark one box for each line)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. I made fun of him or her because of his or race or colour.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
a. I was made fun of for my race or colour.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐