Abstract

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In recent years, bullying among middle-school youth and adolescents has become a serious problem in American schools (Nansel et al. 2001). Researchers from a variety of different disciplines attempt to identify factors associated with bullying in order to develop effective intervention programs. However, many findings in relation to race, gender, and bullying are largely inconclusive. The present study employs a social constructionist framework to understand race and gender differences in adolescent bullying. Specifically, I explore how the meanings associated with race and gender in the form of popular stereotypes influence bullying behavior. The findings reported here are from the Gender and Middle School study conducted among 535 adolescents attending middle school in the southeast. The results of the analyses show significant relationships between race, gender, and bullying. Black students (compared to white and other minority) and male students (compared to female) reported higher frequencies of bullying. Further, perceiving that others stereotype you increases the frequency of participating in bullying behavior and explains the relationship between race and bullying. Lastly, the stereotype influence is greater for black males in the study than the effect for white males. These findings have implications for education officials as well as theory on the influence of stereotypes on adolescent behavior.

RACE, GENDER, AND BULLYING BEHAVIOR:

THE ROLE OF PERCEIVED STEREOTYPES

by

Brandy Deneen Farrar

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APPROVED BY:

Michael Schwalbe   Feinian Chen

Maxine Thompson

Chair of Advisory Committee

DEDICATION

To my daddy.

BIOGRAPHY

Brandy Farrar was born on January 8, 1980 in Cary, North Carolina. She became interested in issues concerning race while enrolled in an African American history class during high school. After graduating from Cary High School in 1998, Brandy went on to major in African American studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. During freshmen year, she discovered the sociological imagination- which seemed like the perfect theoretical fit for the historical understanding of the black American experience. The rest will be history. Brandy graduated from UNC with degrees in both African American studies and Sociology. After taking a year off to do research, she returned to school to pursue a graduate degree. In 2006, Brandy obtained her Master's degree in Sociology. She continues at North Carolina State towards pursuing her P.h.D.

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Not to be cliché, but the old saying goes "No (wo)man is an island." Never have I understood this more than going through the process of writing this thesis. It has been a long and arduous journey. Without the guidance and support of many people, I would not have been able to obtain this degree. Maxine Thompson, you have been not only my scholarly advisor, but also a friend. I would also like to acknowledge my other committee members, Feinian Chen and Michael Schwalbe, who have both pushed me to excel methodologically and theoretically. To Zaynah Williams, my venting buddy, without your empathetic and sympathetic ear, this process would have been even more stressful than it was.

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, bullying among middle-school youth and adolescents is recognized as a serious problem in American schools (Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton and Scheidt 2001). Recent attention from media talk shows and newspaper stories linking bullying to school shootings (e.g., Littleton, California, and Santee, California) sparked interest among researchers and public policy experts to identify who bullies, the victims of bullying, and the short-term and long-term consequences of bullying.

Empirically, a variety of factors at the individual, contextual and societal level are found to be associated with bullying; however, many findings are largely inconclusive. For example, although many studies find that boys bully more than girls, recent evidence suggests that boys and girls may differ more with respect to the *types* of bullying behavior rather than the frequency of bullying (Crick, Casas and Ku 1999; Baldry and Farrington 1999; Rivers and Smith 1994; Leckie 1998; Carney and Merrell 2001). Bullying among girls comes in the form of gossip or spreading rumors, teasing and name calling whereas boys are more likely to engage in physical fighting (Leckie 1998). The research on race and bullying is also contradictory with some studies finding that blacks bully more than whites (Graham and Juvonen 2002), other studies show that blacks bully less than whites (Christie-Mizell 2003) and still other studies show no difference in the likelihood of bullying between blacks and whites (Bosworth et al. 1999; Seals and Young 2003). The contradictory findings in relation to gender and race influences on bullying results from the lack of an adequate theory as to how these status characteristics influence the likelihood of bullying. In many cases researchers include gender and race as demographic variables in exploratory studies (Nansel et al. 2001; Bosworth, Espelage and Simon 1999; Seals and Young 2003) or as control variables with other factors being the focus of the

study (Christie-Mizell 2003; Parcel and Menaghan 1993) without offering a theory as to how race or gender may influence bullying. This study attempts to remedy this shortcoming in the literature by employing a social constructionist framework to understand race and gender differences in bullying among adolescent youth.

According to the social constructionist framework, race and gender are master status attributes that frame interactions and as such are social objects to which youth respond. In behaving in appropriately racialized and gendered ways we signify to others our social competence and facilitate interactions. For adolescents, who are especially preoccupied with garnering acceptance from peers, race and gender become cultural resources from which youth draw upon when negotiating interactions. I argue that it is because the social and cultural meanings associated with being black and being male correspond with bullying behaviors that black youth and male youth are more likely to bully. Further, because black male youth have fewer pro-social methods of gaining acceptance from others, they are especially likely to bully.

As such, the present study employs the social constructionist framework to answer the following question: How can we understand race and gender as socially constructed master status attributes that frame interactions in such a way that differential patterns of bullying behavior result? I begin by presenting a brief discussion of the definition of bullying behavior and some of the important factors associated with bullying. This discussion is followed by a review of the existing literature on race and bullying and gender and bullying. Next, I present the conceptual argument for why black and male youth may be more likely to participate in bullying behavior. Guided by the social constructionist perspective, I argue that the cultural meanings associated with race and gender shape interactions such that black students and male

students are more likely to bully. Lastly, I present empirical data from a survey of middle-school youth.

BULLYING

Although every researcher uses slightly different definitions, bullying is generally defined as physical or psychological abuse towards peers that is deliberate and occurs repeatedly over time (Olweus 1991; Galloway 1994; Hoover, Oliver and Thompson 1993). Bullying includes a wide range of coercive behaviors that can often be classified into physical and verbal bullying. Physical bullying includes hitting, pushing, holding and hostile gesturing; whereas verbal bullying includes threatening, humiliating, degrading, name-calling, put-downs, sarcasm, taunting, staring, sticking out the tongue, eye-rolling, silent treatment, manipulating friendship and ostracizing (see Clarke and Kiselica 1997; Remboldt 1994). Although bullying occurs as early as third grade, it is highest among middle-school youth (i.e., 6th-8th grades) (Nansel et al. 2001). This is particularly true for violent forms of bullying behavior with verbal abuse remaining constant across grades.

Once thought to be relatively harmless, research has shown that bullying has serious consequences for both victims and bullies. A report by the U.S. Secret Service investigating school shootings in the U.S. found that bullying played a major role in motivating the attacks (cited in Dake, Price and Telljohann 2003). Of 37 different school shootings, two-thirds involved attackers who felt persecuted, threatened, attacked or injured by others prior to the incident" (cited in Dake et al. 2003). Bullies are significantly more likely to become involved in self-destructive behaviors such as alcohol use, tobacco use, and fighting (Berthold and Hoover 2000; Baldry and Farrington 2000). Studies have also shown significant relationships between

bullying others and carrying weapons, cheating on tests, stealing, vandalism, having trouble with the police, and skipping school (Berthold and Hoover 2000; Baldry and Farrington 2000; Rigby and Cox 1996).

In addition to the concurrent self-destructive behavior that bullies display, researchers also agree that bullying is a precursor to more serious aggressive behaviors (Farrington 1991; Lochman 1992; Oliver et al. 1994; Pulkkinen and Pitkanen 1993). Eron and Huesmann (1984) reported in a 22-year longitudinal study of 8-year-old bullies that most of them had at least one criminal record in adulthood. Eron et al. (1987) followed bullies identified early in school and found that 25 per cent had a criminal record by the age of 30. In a study of bullies in grades 6 through 9, 60 percent had been arrested at least once and 35 percent had been arrested three or more times by the age of 24 (Olweus 1994).

In light of the pervasiveness of bullying and its link to a variety of undesirable psychological, social, and behavioral outcomes, many researchers, spanning a variety of disciplines, have attempted to identify factors associated with bullying behaviors in order to develop effective intervention strategies. Here I will report a few of the consistent (and presently relevant) findings within the sociological literature.

One popular trend in the literature is to consider peer influences on bullying behavior. Research has shown that peers participate in bullying behavior in roles other than victim and offender (e.g., bystander, reinforcer, assistant, defender, etc.) (Myron-Wilson 1999; Tani et al. 2003). Further, bullies tend to be more popular with teachers and students than non-bullies and victims. Pellegrini and Brooks (1999) found that bullying enhanced within group status and popularity among 138 fifth graders making the transition through the first year of middle school. Similarly, Rodkin and colleagues (2000), in a study of 452 fourth- through sixth-grade boys,

found 13% were rated as both aggressive and popular by their teachers. Furthermore, these aggressive and popular boys received an equivalent number of "cool" ratings from peers (Rodkin et al. 2000). Several studies also show that students who have friends who bully are more likely to bully themselves (Moutappa, Valente, Gallaher, Rohrback and Unger 2004; Espelage et al. 2000). It seems, then, that peers are an important influence on bullying behavior.

In addition to peer influences, researchers have also focused on emotions as an important predictor of bullying. Several studies have shown an association between anger, anxiety, and bullying. Students who have high levels of anger and who felt like they didn't belong at school are more likely to bully (Bosworth et al. 1999). A study of Australian students found that bullies were more likely to report feeling unhappy than non-bullies (Slee 1995). Similarly, Kaltiala-Heino and colleagues (2000) reported that students identified as bullies and victims were 6.4 more times more likely to experience symptoms of anxiety than were students who were not involved in bullying. Lastly, bullies tend to live in lower-class and less-educated households (Parcel and Menaghan 1993). Their parents are more likely to be employed in semi or unskilled occupations (compared to skilled manual or non-manual occupations) (Sweeting and West 2001).

Race, Gender, and Bullying Behavior

<u>Race</u>

The literature on race and bullying behavior is sparse. Existing research either fails to specify a theory as to why race may influence bullying behavior or focuses on race differences in victimization. Conventional wisdom assumes that children who are bullied somehow differ from their peers. Implicit in this assumption is that characteristics that differ from some social norm (whether it is appearance, ability, or ethnicity) increase the tension between in-groups and out-

groups, thereby increasing the likelihood of bullying behavior. Evidence supporting this theory

is contradictory. For example, ethnic minority students were significantly more likely to report

that as a group they were bullied more than white students; however, the results of the same

study showed no differences by race of being bullied (Siann, Callaghan, Glissov, Lockhart, and

Rawson 1994). In a study of 11-year-old children living in Scotland, Sweeting and West (2001)

also found no difference in rates of victimization by race. However, in a study of US youth in

grades 6 through 10, black youth reported being bullied significantly less frequently than other

races (Nansel et al. 2001).

Other researchers focus on the racial composition of the school as a potential explanation

for race differences in bullying. In keeping with the general definition of bullying that requires a

power imbalance between the students involved, researchers suggest that the ethnic composition

of the setting within which bullying occurs could represent an imbalance of power and therefore

facilitate peer harassment. Empirically, the evidence for the influence of racial composition of

the school on bullying behavior is inconsistent. In a study of sixth and seventh graders attending

schools in which blacks were the majority, Graham and Juvonen (2002) found that African

American students were more likely to be the aggressors in peer harassment than were white or

Hispanic students. However, African Americans were also the majority in a study of seventh

and eighth grade students attending school in Mississippi that showed no significant differences

in bullying between African American and white students (Seals and Young 2003).

These and other studies concerning race influences on bullying behavior fail to consider

what race means in our society. Simply conceptualizing race as a "variable" to explore, a

demographic characteristic to control for in statistical analyses, or an individual-level trait

indicating difference with respect to peers fails to consider the meaning attached to race within

our society and therefore precludes a better understanding of how race influences bullying behavior.

Gender

Unlike race, researchers have focused a considerable amount of attention on the relationship between gender and bullying. Previous research suggested that boys were more likely to bully than girls (e.g., Kumpulainen, Rasanen, and Puura 2001; Branwhite 1994; Charach, Pepler, and Ziegler 1995; Bosworth, Espelage, and Simon 1999; Seals and Young 2003; Christie-Mizell 2003; Espelage, Bosworth, and Simon 2000). Further, in a longitudinal study of children interviewed between the ages of 8 and 12, Kumpalainen, Rasanen, and Henttonen (1999) found that males were more likely to continue to bully over the 4-year period. Studies also show that males are also more likely than females to target the same victim repeatedly (Craig 1993).

Recent research suggests that boys and girls are more likely to differ in the *types* of bullying behaviors they participate in rather than the frequency. For example, boys are more likely to use physical bullying such as kicking and pushing and verbal threats, whereas girls are more likely to use indirect forms such as rumor spreading and social ostracism (Crick, Casas, and Ku 1999; Baldry and Farrington 1999; Rivers and Smith 1994; Leckie 1998; Carney and Merrell 2001).

Research has also shown that students perceive that boys are more overtly aggressive and that girls are more relationally aggressive (Crick 1997). Further, boys' aggression is more likely to be accepted by peers than is girls (Huesmann, Guerra, Zelli, and Miller 1992 cited in Hannish and Guerra 2000). Engagement in gender non-normative forms of aggression (i.e., overt

aggression for girls and relational aggression for boys) is associated with significantly higher levels of social-psychological maladjustment than is engagement in gender normative aggression for both boys and girls (Crick 1997). The authors conclude that this likely because "gender atypical behavior (e.g., overt aggression exhibited by girls) is likely to incur more social sanctions and negative sentiments from peers and adults than is behavior that is relatively extreme in frequency but gender normative (e.g., overt aggression exhibited by boys)" (Crick 1997: 610).

Taken together, the recent shift from arguing that boys bully more than girls to careful examination of the types of bullying behavior that boys and girls participate in, along with the consideration of the consequences of atypical gendered behavior as it relates to bullying, lays the groundwork for a better understanding of how gender influences bullying. However, the literature on gender and bullying still lacks an adequate treatment of the meanings surrounding "maleness" and their relevance to bullying behavior and is therefore limited in explaining gender differences in bullying.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In order to understand how race and gender may influence the likelihood of participating in bullying behavior, we must first understand the social construction of race and gender in American society. Previous notions of race have centered around the categorization of individuals based on physical attributes and biological characteristics. Recent scientific evidence has shown that no particular set of physical attributes is limited to one race (Brown 1998). Consequently sociologists reject biological notions of race in favor of socio-historical explanations. Racial categories, and the meanings attached to those categories, are given

concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded (Omi and Winant 1986). In the United States, race emerged as a justification for exploitative economic relations. The transition from indentured servitude to racial slavery necessitated a system of rules governing who could and could not be enslaved (Omi and Winant 1986). As such, distinctions based on race were created. Individuals brought to the United States from Africa were now considered "black" and therefore enslaveable. Settlers in the new land were considered "white" and therefore "free." Further, in order to justify the enslavement of black people, powerful elites created a racist ideology that cast blacks as inferior to whites. Blacks were said to be subhuman and beastlike and therefore deserving of enslavement. This racist ideology did not end with the abolition of slavery. Powerful elites continue to use racist ideology to maintain economic advantage over black people (Feagin 2000).

We can see modern day evidence of the continued persistence of racist ideology in the content of stereotypes of black people. Blackness is associated with being criminal, violent, aggressive, lazy, unintelligent and hyper-sexual. The media plays a large role in disseminating stereotypical images of black Americans; however, racial stereotypes exist beyond fictional depictions of blacks in the media. Studies show that although whites evaluate black Americans more positively than negatively overall, a significant proportion of whites believe that blacks are lazy (31%), irresponsible (20%), aggressive (50%), and lacking discipline (60%) (Peffley, Hurwitz, and Sniderman 1997: 35). And because race is seen as something that is "natural," "common sense," or "essential" (Omi and Winant 1986), individuals view differences in skin color and other obvious physical characteristics as representative of underlying differences in human nature (Omi and Winant 1986).

Further, attributing stereotypical traits to "blackness" has implications for behavior. Stereotypes are part of a mental schematic structure that allows the social environment to seem stable and predictable (Fiske and Taylor 1984; Meehan and Janik 1990; Snyder 1981). Moreover, people use stereotypes to help them organize information about their social world. By stereotyping, we seek to infer who people are, what they might do, what their intentions are, etc. If we are unable to make such inferences, interaction may be difficult and uncomfortable. In this way, stereotypes help to facilitate interactions.

Although all individuals desire comfort in interactions, adolescents (the focus of this study) may have particular interest in participating in comfortable interactions. During adolescence, peers emerge as significant others (Sebald 1992; Youniss and Smollar 1985). The increased importance of peers is coupled with increasing pressures to attain social status (Corsaro and Eder 1990; Eder 1985). Further, "adolescents are sometimes morbidly, often curiously, preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared to what they feel they are" (Erikson 1959: 94). The combination of new physical developments, social pressures to become independent (while still being under the control of adults) and preoccupation with others' images of themselves, results in unclear social definitions and expectations for the adolescent (Simmons, Rosenberg, and Rosenberg 1973). Minority adolescents are particularly susceptible to this crisis because they emerge from childhood largely insulated from and unprepared for discrimination (Erikson 1959). These overly encouraged children are thrust into the shock of adolescence-at a time when individuality becomes standardized and differences untolerated (Erikson 1959: 96).

In attempting to de-mystify these unclear social definitions and expectations, black adolescents may draw upon racial stereotypes as a cultural resource to gain acceptance and

popularity from peers. Race is one of the fundamental ways that we categorize individuals in the

United States. Further, knowledge of racial stereotypes is widespread and occurs early on in life.

Research shows that children come to be aware of stereotypes at an early age and that children

from stigmatized groups are more likely than children from non-stigmatized groups to be aware

of broadly held stereotypes (McKown and Weinstein 2003). In this way, racial stereotypes are

readily available resources that black children may draw upon when choosing how to interact

with others.

As I mentioned previously, the content of stereotypes of black people includes images of

blacks as aggressive, violent, criminal, and generally threatening people. Drawing upon racial

stereotypes when choosing behavior, then, means acting in a way that is aggressive and

threatening. This is consistent with definitions of bullying behavior. Therefore, it may be the

stereotypical images associated with blackness that increase the likelihood of black adolescents

participating in bullying behavior. This leads me to the first set of hypotheses under study:

> *Hypothesis 1: The frequency of bullying will be higher for black*
> *students compared to white students.*

> *Hypothesis 2: Perceiving that others stereotype you will increase the*
> *frequency of bullying.*

> *Hypothesis 2a: Bullying among black students will be*
> *positively related to belief that others stereotype them.*

Like race, gender is also socially constructed. Most people link femininity and

masculinity with the biological differences between men and women. But in fact, gender has

more to do with organizing members of a society in relation to key societal processes, such as the

division of labor, allocation of scarce resources, taking care of children and others who cannot

care for themselves, reinforcing common values, etc., than physical differences between males

and females (Lorber 1996). The process of gendering individuals begins with the assignment to

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a sex category based on what the genitalia look like at birth (West and Zimmerman 1987).

Because it is taboo in our society to display genitalia, continued membership in a particular sex

category requires the appropriate identificatory displays that indicate one's membership in one or

the other category (West and Zimmerman 1987). Such identificatory displays are exemplified in

the ways parents dress their babies so that others will know whether the child is a boy or a girl.

Once a child's gender is evident, others treat those in one gender differently than those in the

other, and the children respond to the different treatment by feeling different and behaving

differently (Lorber 1996). Children begin to distinguish between themselves and others based on

whether they are successfully behaving in appropriately feminine or masculine ways (Cahill

1989). Gendered behavior, then, does not flow "naturally" from biological differences, but

rather it emerges from and bolsters claim to membership in a sex category (West and

Zimmerman 1987).

Further, claim to membership in a sex category is not inconsequential, but has political

effects. In American society, the construction of the social categories of men and women is

inextricably linked with a system of hierarchical arrangements that privileges men and

disadvantages women: "Capitalism was partly constituted out of the opportunities for power and

profit created by gender relations…it continues to be" (Connell 1987: 104). By rendering certain

behaviors as "masculine" and others as "feminine," gender also designates particular types of

work to particular categories of people (men and women) (Connell 1987: 99). In as much as

particular types of work are valued differentially (and rewarded differentially in terms of

allocation of scarce resources), gender distinctions concentrate economic advantages in the hands

of men and economic disadvantages in the hands of women (Connell 1987). And because

capitalism gives power to those who are wealthy economically, the accumulation of wealth by

men that gender divisions facilitate means the concentration of power in the hands of men. In

short, being able to appeal to the category of men, which is accomplished by behaving

appropriately "masculine," affords you a position of dominance and power over others.

This dominance and power extends beyond the economic realm. Hegemonic masculinity

allows for the dominance and power of men to extend into other realms as well:

> In the concept of hegemonic masculinity, 'hegemony' means (as in Gramsci's
> analyses of class relations in Italy from which the term is borrowed) a social
> ascendancy achieved in a play of social forces that extends beyond contests of
> brute power into the organization of private life and cultural processes.
> Ascendancy of one group of men over another achieved at the point of a gun, or
> by the threat of unemployment, is not hegemony. Ascendancy which is
> embedded in religious doctrine and practice, mass media content, wage structures,
> the design of housing, welfare/taxation policies so forth is. (Connell 1987: 184).

An integral part of the winning of male hegemony has been the creation and mass

dissemination of the ideal model of masculinity. The "culturally idealized form of the masculine

character" is found throughout the media in depictions of men as heroes, athletes, etc.

(Donaldson 1993). The ideal masculine figure is aggressive, dominant, and violent. Not all men

behave in this way (nor do they aspire to) and the public face of men in positions of power

doesn't always correspond with these images (Donaldson 1993). However, for adolescents who

are concerned with gaining acceptance and popularity, drawing upon dominant notions of

masculinity may be more expedient than other forms of masculinity, because hegemonic

masculinity is constructed not only in relation to the subordination of women, but also in relation

to the subordination of various other masculinities as well. Drawing upon dominant notions of

masculinity, then, may be seen as more likely to garner social acceptance and popularity for the

adolescent male. Dominant notions of masculinity (e.g., aggression, violence, domination), like

the stereotypes associated with blackness, are also consistent with definitions of bullying

behaviors. As such, I argue that adolescent boys are more likely to bully because they are

appealing to dominant notions of masculinity in order to gain acceptance and popularity from peers. This leads me to the third hypothesis under study:

Hypothesis 3: The frequency of bullying will be higher for male students compared to female students.

The argument presented thus far has addressed race and gender stereotypes separately as they bear on bullying. However, race and gender are interconnected systems of ideology that often intersect in distinct and important ways. For example, black men embody an analytically interesting contradiction. On one hand, black men are located at the bottom of a racial hierarchy that renders them inferior and powerless. On the other hand, by virtue of being men, black men have some recourse for asserting dominance and power. As such, "…black men subjectively internalize and incorporate aspects of the dominant definitions of masculinity in order to contest the conditions of dependency and powerlessness which racism and racial oppression enforce" (Mac an Ghaill 1994: 87-88).

Evidence of this phenomenon is particularly apparent in contexts where black men experienced continued marginalization, like education. The institution of education continues to be a conservatizing force within which teachers bring to the classroom the dominant cultural values (Bourdieu 1976). To the extent these values and beliefs include the stereotypical images associated with black male youth (that they are threatening and inferior), teachers are likely to behave accordingly. Research has shown that this is the case. In an ethnographic study of African-Caribbean boys living in an inner-city area, Sewell (1997) discovered that the black boys' perceptions that their teachers feared them because of their size, presence, and styles of walking were accurate. Interviews with teachers and other school personnel confirmed that they did in fact fear the black male students and approached situations involving these students differently. Frustrated and demeaned by such mistreatment, the black boys responded with

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hyper-masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity (through the enactment of gender power), then, became a resource upon which the black boys drew to refashion a sense of self.

In her study of teacher punishment of black boys, Ferguson (2000) observed similar behavior. The schoolboys in this study also felt that they had been categorized as troublemakers and failures. Feeling as if they could not succeed in the classroom, the school boys attempted to gain respect and self-esteem in other ways. Having little other power to muster, the schoolboys would perform tough masculinity (Ferguson 2000). Further, the schoolboys began to identify with the "fantasmatic threatening figure of black masculinity" exemplified in popular images such as the gangsta rapper (Ferguson 2000: 125). In short, the schoolboys "actively configure self through two social identities, race and gender, to provide the social psychic and emotional resources for recouping a sense of self as competent and admirable in an institutional setting where they have been categorized as problems or as failures" (Ferguson 2000: 97).

For black male youth, then, stereotypes of "blackness" and "maleness" may operate differently than they would for black females or white males. Because white males are privileged in formal education, they may feel less of a need to draw on hegemonic masculinity when interacting with peers. Although black females often experience marginalization in formal schooling, hegemonic masculinity is not available as a resource from which they may draw upon to regain dignity and self-respect. Therefore, drawing on stereotypes of "blackness" and "maleness" may not only facilitate smooth interactions in the sense that such behavior would be consistent with others' expectations; but it may also allow black male adolescents to get dignity and respect they are otherwise denied. This leads me to the next hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis 4a: Black male students will bully more frequently than white,*
> *male students and black, female students.*

> *Hypothesis 4b: Bullying by black, male students will be positively associated*

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with the belief that others stereotype them.

In summary, I have argued above that race and gender are best understood as cultural resources upon which black and male students draw when attempting to gain acceptance and popularity from peers in interaction. So far, my argument has focused on the historical, cultural, and social processes involved in creating the meanings attached to race and gender in American society. It is important to note that individuals are not passive recipients of racial or gendered labels, but rather active participants in the social construction of race and gender. Both race and gender are something that people do. Even though our society is structured in such a way that race and gender are highly constraining of individual agency, individuals do exercise choice. It is reasonable to assume that not all of the black children, regardless of whether or not they are aware of racial stereotypes will draw upon those stereotypes when interacting with peers. Some students may find it more important to disconfirm those stereotypes. He or she may construct lines of action according to this goal. For example, the individual may behave in a way that he believes will signify to others in the interaction that he does not possess the stereotypical traits. If an individual possesses an identity counter to stereotypical notions of his race or gender, he or she may define as a goal to come across as atypical in an interaction. For example, Brent Staples (1992) writes that he was tired of being treated as a mugger or rapist when he walked the streets of New York. To minimize strangers' perceptions of him as threatening, he decided to whistle Beethoven and Vivaldi as he walked down the street. This simple act effectively challenged others' perceptions of him and signified to observers that he was not dangerous or threatening. Similarly, a student who does not want others to associate him or her with popular stereotypes may actively seek out behavior alternatives to minimize stereotypical judgments. Minimizing stereotypical judgments may be particularly important for students whose identities are staked on

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behaviors that are explicitly in contrast to stereotypical behavior. Consequently, I have developed the following hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis 5: Possessing an identity counter to stereotypes will decrease the frequency of bullying.*

It is also plausible to think that perceiving that others are stereotyping you will generate feelings of anger and anxiety. Cooley (1964) coins the term the "looking-glass self" to describe how one's self appears to others and the self-feeling that results. There are three parts to the looking-glass self: (1) the imagination of our appearance to the other person; (2) the imagination of his judgment of that appearance; and (3) some sort of self-feeling (e.g., pride or mortification) that results. It is possible that students who perceive that others view them stereotypically will believe that others are also judging them negatively and consequently feel anger or anxiety.

Previous theory and research support this possibility. Cooley (1964) suggests that members of oppressed groups may react to their oppression in violent or antisocial ways. Further, theory concerning the social psychology of stigma posits that individuals may respond to stigma-relevant stressors that pose a threat to their social identities with anxiety and physiological arousal (Major and O'Brien 2005: 402).

In addition to theory on emotional responses to stigma, there has also been empirical research conducted on how stereotypes may induce negative affect that leads to undesirable behavior. Stereotype threat refers to "the predicament created when an individual, who cares about a given domain, knows that a stereotype about her or his social group can provide a potential explanation for poor performance in that domain" (Smith 2004; 178). In the face of this threat, individuals will perform more poorly in the stereotyped domain than they would if the stereotype was not invoked. Researchers have identified several potential mediators that could contribute to an understanding of how stereotype threat operates-one of which is anxiety.

Drawing from Sarason's (1972) research on test anxiety, the basic idea is that individuals who are negatively stereotyped will experience a generalized anxiety that interferes with their ability to perform well on the task.

To date, research has both supported and contested this theory. Studies using word fragments (Brown and Josephs 1999), state trait anxiety instruments (Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough, Steele, and Brown 1999; Oswald and Harvey 2001; Schmader 2002; Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling, and Darling 1999), and situation specific measures of anxiety (Stone et al. 1999) have found no association between anxiety and stereotype threat performance. However, Watts and Cooper (1989) found that high levels of anxiety and depression are associated with a reduced ability to perform complex cognitive tasks. Further, when self report measures are employed, anxiety has been shown to partially mediate the relationship between stereotype threat and test performance (Osborne 2001; Spencer, Steele, and Quinn 1999). Similarly, anger has also been linked to poor performance within a stereotyped domain. Vescio, Gevais, Snyder and Hoover (2005) found that women who were angered by negative stereotypes of them as incompetent workers performed poorly on an experimenter induced task.

The bulk of this research has been done in experimental settings with cognitive tasks as outcomes; however, several aspects of stereotype type threat can be applied to others settings and outcomes. In order for a stereotype to have a negative influence on performance, it must be relevant to the task being performed. Further, the stereotype will have a greater impact on performance when the individual cares about the domain being stereotyped. Lastly, the individual must feel as if he or she is being evaluated on their performance.

Each of these conditions of stereotype type threat can be applied to adolescent social interactions. Cultural stereotypes of blacks and males as threatening are relevant to social

interactions. Therefore, we would expect to see the negative effects of such stereotypes within that domain. I mentioned earlier that peer relationships are very important to adolescents. And, adolescents are quite pre-occupied with what others think of them. Therefore, cultural stereotypes of blacks and males as threatening and aggressive may affect black and male adolescents' behavior with peers in the same way that the stereotype of women as being bad at math would affect a women's performance on a math test. If the student is aware of such stereotypes, he or she may believe that others are evaluating their behavior based on this stereotype. The perception of this stereotypical judgment may evoke feelings of anger or anxiety. Both anger and anxiety have been linked to bullying behavior (Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpelia, Rantanen, and Rimpela 2000; Bosworth et al. 1999). Therefore, it may not be that students are interpreting race and gender in the context of cultural stereotypes in order to facilitate successful interaction; but rather that adolescents are reacting aggressively to negative emotions invoked by such stereotypes. As such, the following hypothesis will be considered:

Hypothesis 6: High levels of negative affect will increase bullying behavior.

Hypothesis 7a: The association between perceiving that others stereotype you and bullying will be positively related to high levels of negative affect.

Hypothesis 7b: More frequent bullying by black students who perceive that others stereotype them will be positively associated with high levels of negative affect.

Lastly, the abundance of research findings on peer influences on bullying behavior compels a consideration of the role that peers play in this process. The most prominent theory driving research on peer influences on bullying behavior is social learning theory. According to social learning theory, there are three conditions that influence the likelihood of modeling (Bandura 1977). Children are more likely to imitate a model when: the model is a powerful

figure; the model is rewarded rather than punished for the behavior; and the model shares similar characteristics with the child. In the case of bullying, these conditions are often present. Peers who are present during bullying episode have the opportunity to observe a powerful figure (the bully). Research has shown that bullies are seldom punished for their aggressive behavior (Craig and Pepler 1997). Given these conditions, bullies may influence peers to become involved in bullying as active participants (O'Connel, Pepler, and Craig 1999).

Such a theory is not inconsistent with the conceptual framework outlined above; however, it needs to be elaborated to include race and gender. Friendship groups tend to be segregated by race and by gender. The processes outlined above, then, may be more pronounced when considered within friendship groups. For example, having black friends who are equally susceptible to racial stereotypes may increase the likelihood of having a model who bullies to begin with. Similarly, interacting with mostly boys may increase the likelihood of having significant others who bully.

It is also my contention that peers don't just serve as models for bullying behavior, but also as an audience for such behavior. As mentioned previously, peers emerge as significant others during adolescence and as such become a salient audience for self-presentation (Deaux & Major 1987). Further, the desire to gain acceptance and popularity guides many adolescent interactions. If a student has friends who bully, that student may be more likely to perceive that also being a bully will garner the desired popularity and acceptance. Therefore:

Hypothesis 8: Having friends who bully will increase the frequency of bullying.

METHODS

Data

The findings reported here are from the Gender and Middle School study conducted

among 535 adolescents attending middle school in the southeast. During the 2003-2004

academic years, a survey was administered to students at an urban public school. Letters

describing the purpose of the survey and procedures for ensuring confidentiality were sent to the

parents of all 535 students in the school. The data were collected by means of self-administered

questionnaire to those students whose parents allowed them to participate. The survey was

administered in 8 of 10 health/gym classes. Students are assigned to health/gym classes

randomly; there is no reason to expect that those not included in the sample differ in any

significant manner from those included in the sample. Ten students in the school did not take

health/physical education for medical reasons (less than 2%). Thus, 465 students were eligible to

be included in our sample. Surveys were received from 388 of the eligible students, a response

rate of 83%. The non-respondents include 14 students (4%) who refused to participate in the

study. The remaining non-response rate is due to student absence (13%), particularly at the

second round of data collection.

The survey was administered over two semesters. A series of analyses to assess the

extent to which absences and non-responses were random were conducted. First, the

demographic characteristics of our sample were compared to the demographics of the school.

Sixty percent of the students in the school are white, and 40% are minorities (30% African

American, 5% Hispanic, 3% Asian and 2% multi-race). The demographics of the sample mirror

these numbers, with 55% of the students reporting their race as white; 31% African American;

5% Hispanic; 3% Asian, and 5% other race. Second, to assess whether the high rate of absences

at the second round of data collection compromises the data, the underlying distributions on a series of variables from the first round of data collection and the second round of data collection were compared. The respondents in the second round of data collection do not differ significantly in race, grades in various subjects, depression scores, or in their participation in delinquency from those in the first round of data collection (when attendance was not compromised). Both investigators were present during the administration of the questionnaire in each class to assist students with problems in comprehension.

Sample Characteristics

Adolescents in the sample are between the ages of 10 and 15 years, with an average of 12.5 years. Approximately equal numbers of males (53%) and females (47%) participated in the study. Information on parent education, employment and work position was collected from each respondent. The sample is diverse in socioeconomic characteristics. For fathers, 9.1 percent had less than a high school degree, 10.5 percent were high school graduates, 10.7 percent had some post-high school education, 27.8 percent had graduated from college and 17 percent had advanced degrees. Twenty-five percent of the students did not know their father's level of education. For mothers, this distribution is 4 percent, 10.4 percent, 16 percent, 30.4 percent and 15.6 percent respectively. Twenty-three percent of the students did not know their mother's level of education. Most of the fathers were employed (96%) and 20% of mothers were homemakers or not employed outside the home. No information on family income was collected.

Measures

Dependent variable

The dependent variable of interest in this study is bullying behavior. Two items from the questionnaire are consistent with the definitions of bullying behavior found in the literature and therefore were chosen to make up the bullying measure. The students were asked to indicate how often it was true that they enjoyed upsetting wimps and how often it was true that they teased others. The responses for these two items are coded as never = 1, rarely = 2, sometimes = 3, and often = 4. Scores ranged from 2 to 8 with higher scores indicating greater frequency of engaging in bullying behavior. The two items yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .70, which is comparable to other bullying measures used in the literature. The mean score for the bullying scale is 3.14.

Independent Variables

Perceived Stereotype. Two items were used to determine whether the students perceived that they were stereotyped because of their race. The first item (fear) asked: How often do you feel that people act as if they are afraid of you because of your race? The second item (disrespect) asked: How often do you feel that people do not respect you because of your race? The response options for both items were coded as never = 1, rarely = 2, sometimes = 3 and often = 4. The mean score for fear is 1.35 and the mean score for disrespect is 1.45.

Student Identity. To assess the student's commitment to an alternative identity from which they may be able to garner acceptance, I employed a scale measure composed of three items that assess how relevant the identity of student is to the respondent. Students were asked how important it was to: (1) have other students think of you as a good student; (2) be a good

student; and (3) have teachers think of you as a good student. Responses were coded not

important at all = 1, somewhat important = 2 and very important = 3. Cronbach's alpha for the

student identity scale equals .67. Students reported a mean score of 7.41 for student identity.

Affect. Two scales were developed to measure the anger and anxiety of the students

involved. To assess anger, students were asked how often in the past week they experienced the

following: "I lost my temper"; "I felt angry"; "I felt like shouting or throwing things." The

response options were coded rarely or not at all = 1, some of the time = 2, often = 3 and most of

the time = 4. Responses ranged from 3 to 12 with higher responses indicating more frequent

feelings of anger. Cronbach's alpha for the anger scale is .90 and the mean score is 5.91.

To assess anxiety, students were asked how often in the past week they had experienced

the following: "I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing"; "My sleep was restless"; "I

had trouble getting my breath"; "I felt like I couldn't do what I needed to do." Responses were

coded rarely or not at all = 1, some of the time = 2, often = 3, and most of the time = 4. Scores

ranged from 4 to 15 with higher scores representing more frequent feelings of anxiety.

Cronbach's alpha for the anxiety scale is .71 and the mean score is 6.70.

Peer Influences. To assess the peer influences on bullying behavior (friends bully), a

scale composed of two items was constructed. The students were asked: (1) How many of your

friends teased other students?; and (2) How many of your friends spread rumors about other

students. Responses were coded none of them = 1, very few of them = 2, some of them = 3,

most of them = 4 and all of them = 5. Cronbach's alpha for the friends bully scale equals .72 and

the mean score is 4.13.

Analysis

   To analyze the data, I begin by using a series of ordinary least squares regression models predicting frequency of bullying. The base model used in the analysis includes race and gender as predictors of bullying and controls for the age of the student. Next, each of the independent variables of interest (perceived stereotype, student identity, affect and peer influences) are entered to the base model one at a time to create a series of nested models. As the perceived stereotype items are added to the base model, I am interested in what effect each item has on bullying as well as how much of the relationship between race, gender, and bullying is explained by the items. In Models 3, 4 and 5, the student identity, affect and peer influence scales are entered into the equations one at a time. As each scale is introduced, I am interested in what influence they have on bullying as well as what influence they have on the relationship between perceived stereotype and bullying. In the final equation, Model 6, I enter parents' education and household composition to explore whether the findings persist for different categories of these variables. Lastly, I run a separate set of models that tests for significant interactions between race, gender, perceived stereotype, and affect.

<div align="center">

RESULTS
</div>

   The mean score for variables are reported by race and gender in Table 2. Blacks reported a significantly higher mean score on bullying (3.49) than whites (2.91). Black students were also significantly more likely to perceive that others feared them because of their race, to experience feelings of anger and to have friends that bully. Both black and non-black minority students were significantly more likely to report that others did not respect them because of their race.

Males reported significantly higher mean scores on bullying (3.38) than did females. Female students scored higher on the student identity scale than males with a statistically significant mean score of 7.67 compared to 7.18 for males (p < .05).

Correlations

There were several significant correlations between the main variables of analysis. All of the independent variables (fear, disrespect, anger, anxiety, student identity, and friends bully) were significantly associated with bullying behavior. Further, the student identity scale was correlated in the expected direction. That is, possessing an alternate student identity is negatively associated with bullying. The results show a negative association between student identity and anger as well. The anger and anxiety scales are positively associated; as are the perceived fear item and the perceived disrespect items. Lastly, the anger, anxiety and peer influence scales were all positively correlated with the perceived stereotype items. See Table 3 for Correlations.

Multivariate Analyses

Results of the bivariate analyses show that bullying behavior varies according to race and gender. To determine whether race and gender are significant predictors of bullying behavior, ordinary least squares regression is used. The results of Model 1 show that race and gender are significant predictors of bullying behavior. Net of gender, blacks (.17) bully more frequently than whites. Similarly, net of race, males (.17) bully more frequently than females. Results of Model 1 also show a significant effect for the age control variable. That is, older students bully more frequently than younger students.

Having shown that both blacks and males bully more frequently, the next step is to determine what influence perceived stereotype has on that relationship. Hypothesis 2 states that perceiving that others stereotype you will increase bullying. The results of Model 2 support this hypothesis. When the perceived stereotype items (fear and disrespect) are entered into the base model, not only do we see an increase in overall predictive power (R^2 increases from .08 to .18), but we also see a positive and significant coefficient for both perceived stereotype items. In other words, perceiving that others fear you and disrespect you because of your race significantly increases the frequency of bullying. I also hypothesized that this effect would explain the relationship between race and bullying behavior. The results of model two support this hypothesis as well. When the perceived stereotype items were entered into the model, the race effect is substantially reduced (by 82%). The standardized estimate for black students goes from a statistically significant .17 to a non-significant .03. This pattern did not hold for the male students. The standardized coefficient for males actually increases in magnitude and significance (from .17 to .20) when the perceived stereotype items are added to the base model.

Next, I turn my attention to the alternate, student identity. Hypothesis 5 states that possessing an identity counter to race and gender stereotypes will decrease bullying. To test this hypothesis, the student identity scale is added to model 2. The results of Model 3 support my hypothesis. When comparing Model 3 to Model 2, we again see an overall increase in the predictive power of the model (from .18 to .20). Further, the standardized coefficient for the student identity scale is significant (-.13, $p<.05$). Students with high scores on the student identity scale bullied less than students with low scores on the scale. There is no reduction in the magnitude of the coefficient for black students and only a slight reduction in the coefficient for male students. Adding the student identity scale to the model does not significantly influence

the relationship between perceived stereotype and bullying either. The disrespect item does decrease slightly (from .13 to .12); however, the fear item actually increases in magnitude (from .26 to .27) and both items remain statistically significant. In short, commitment to a student identity decreases the frequency of bullying; however, it does not lessen the impact of perceived stereotype on bullying.

I also hypothesized that anger and anxiety would influence the effect of perceived stereotype on bullying. Specifically, I argue that students who perceive that others stereotype them bully more because they experience anger or anxiety. If this is true, then the perceived stereotype items should decrease to statistical non-significance when the anger and anxiety scales are introduced into the equation. The results of Model 4 indicate partial support for these hypotheses. The anger scale produces a statistically significant coefficient (.20, $p < .01$), but the anxiety scale does not. Students who reported higher anger bullied more than students who reported low anger. Comparing model 4 to model 3, we see an increase in the overall predictive power of the model, as well as slight reductions in the magnitude of both the black and male students' coefficients. Further, when the two scales are introduced, the standardized estimate for disrespect is reduced to non-significant. The fear item, however, remains significant. Consequently, anger mediates the relationship between perceiving that others disrespect you because of your race, but not the relationship between perceiving that others fear you because of your race.

The last relationship of interest is the relationship between peer influences and bullying. Hypothesis 8 states that because peers serve as an audience as well as an encouragement for bullying behavior, we would expect that having friends who bully would also increase the frequency of bullying. The results of Model 5 support this hypothesis. Friends bully is a

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statistically significant predictor of frequency of bullying (.39, p < .001) and the overall

predictive power of the model increases significantly (from .23 to .36). Further, when friends

bully is entered into the equation, we see several changes in the estimates for other variables of

interest. The standardized estimate for male decreases for the first time (from .18 to .15)-

although it remains statistically significant. The standardized estimate for black students actually

reverses in direction. When peer influences are considered, black students bully less than white

students. We also see a decrease in the effect of the fear item on frequency of bullying. The

standardized estimate decreases in magnitude and significance (from .24, p < .001 to .18, p <

.01). In summary, having friends who bully increases bullying as well as explains some of the

effect of race, gender, and perceived stereotype on bullying.

Lastly, parent's education and household composition are entered into the model as

control variables to determine if there are significant differences with respect to these indicators.

Both indicators produced significant coefficients. Students who reported that their parents had

professional degrees (compared to less than a high school degree) reported participating in

bullying more frequently. Students who lived in two-parent households (compared to single-

parent households) reported significantly less frequent bullying. Results of the full model also

show an increase in the overall predictive power when compared to the base model (.08 to .38).

Further, the full model shows that being a male student, perceiving that others fear you because

of your race, experiencing frequent anger and having friends who bully all have significant

independent effects on the frequency of participating in bullying behavior. Comparison of the

standardized estimates shows that having friends who bully has the greatest influence on

bullying behavior.

Interaction Effects

In addition to the main effects explored above, several of the hypotheses suggest interactions between the independent variables of interest. For example, Hypothesis 2a states that bullying among black students will be positively related to the belief that others stereotype them. If this is true, there should be a significant interaction effect for race x gender. To test this hypothesis, terms indicating a two-way interaction between race and perceived stereotype are entered into the full model. Results of these analyses do not support this hypothesis. Neither interaction term (race x perceived fear stereotype or race x perceived disrespect stereotype) produced a statistically significant coefficient.

Hypothesis 4a also predicts an interaction between two of the independent variables. It states that the black, male students will bully more frequently than white, male students and black, female students. To test this hypothesis, two-way interaction terms for race x gender are entered into the full model. The results of Model 2 were not statistically significant either. Therefore, hypothesis 4a is not supported.

The last two-way interaction relationship of interest is between perceived stereotype and affect. I argued in Hypothesis 7a that the association between perceiving that others stereotype you because of your race and bullying will be positively related to higher levels of negative affect. Therefore, two-way interaction terms for perceived stereotype x affect were entered into the full model one at a time. Out of the four models testing this interaction (Models 4-7 in Table 5), one model produced statistically significant results. The fear stereotype x anxiety two-way interaction term was statistically significant (-.08, $p < .05$). However, the direction of this effect contradicts my hypothesis. I predicted that the interaction between perceived stereotype and negative affect would increase bullying behavior. The results of Model 5 show that the

interaction between perceiving that others fear you because of your race and high levels of anxiety actually decreases bullying behavior. Therefore, Hypothesis 7a is not supported either. In summary, there is little support for the hypotheses predicting two-way interactions between, race, gender, perceived stereotype and affect. Results of these analyses are shown in Table 5.

Next, I turn my attention to the possibility of a three-way interaction between race, gender, and perceived stereotype. Hypothesis 4b states that bullying by black, male students will be positively associated with the belief that others stereotype them. To explore this in more detail, I estimate the full model including the male x perceived stereotype interactions separately for each race. Tables 6a and 6b show the effects of the two-way interactions between male and perceived fear stereotype and male and perceived disrespect stereotype on bullying behavior by race. For the black students, the male x disrespect two-way interaction is statistically significant (.89, $p < .01$) and the male x fear two-way interaction approaches significance (.68, $p = .06$). Black males who perceived that others disrespected them because of their race bullied significantly more than black females who perceived that others disrespected them because of their race. Further, the effect of the disrespect item on frequency of bullying is six times greater for black males than it is for black females.

For the non-black minority students, both the male x fear and male x disrespect two-way interactions were statistically significant. Non-black minority males, (compared to non-black minority females) who perceived that others feared them and disrespected them because of their race bullied significantly more frequently (1.47, $p < .05$ and 1.56, $p < .01$ respectively). The difference in the effects of fear and disrespect on frequency of bullying for non-black minority males and non-black minority females is quite large. The effect of the fear stereotype on bullying is 3 times greater for non-black minority males than for non-black minority females.

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The effect of the disrespect stereotype on bullying is actually negative (-.26) for non-black minority females and positive (1.3) for non-black minority males.

Lastly, neither the male x fear nor male x disrespect two-way interactions were significant for the white male students in the sample. In summary, the results of the three-way interaction analysis support my earlier argument. Black males who perceive that others stereotype them because of their race bully more than black females and white males who perceived that others stereotype them because of their race.

The second three-way interaction hypothesis to be tested is Hypothesis 7b. It states that more frequent bullying by black students who perceive that others stereotype them will be positively associated with high levels of negative affect. To test this hypothesis, I run the full model with two-way interaction terms for perceived stereotype by affect separately for each race. Results of these analyses produce only one significant result. Blacks who perceived that others feared them because of their race and who had high levels of anxiety were significantly less likely to bully (-.16, $p < .05$). Again (like in the case of the two-way interaction), this significant result contradicts my hypothesis. I predicted that the interaction between race, perceived stereotype and negative affect would be positive in its influence on bullying behavior. In result, it is negative. Therefore, Hypothesis 7b is not supported.

DISCUSSION

In this article, I employ the social constructionist perspective to explore race and gender influences on bullying behavior. I begin by arguing that black students and male students will bully more frequently than white students and female students respectively. Results of the regression analyses were consistent with my expectations. Black students reported bullying

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more frequently than white students. The results of the present study corroborate the results of previous research on gender and bullying behavior. The male students in the study reported participating in bullying behavior more frequently than female students.

Conceptually speaking, I hypothesized that black students and male students would bully more because the cultural meanings associated with being black and being male correspond to definitions of bullying behavior. In interactions with peers, black students and male students may draw upon these stereotypical expectations in order to gain acceptance and popularity. The survey used in the present analyses did not include measures for perceptions of stereotypes based on gender; however results of the analyses do in fact indicate a significant relationship between perceiving that others stereotype you because of your race and bullying behavior. The students in the study who perceived that others stereotyped them because of their race reported higher frequencies of participating in bullying behavior. Further, when perceived stereotypes are taken into consideration, the relationship between race and bullying behavior no longer exists. In other words, perceiving that others fear you because of your race and perceiving that others disrespect you because of your race explains the black students' increased participation in bullying behavior. It seems, then, that the black students are drawing on popular racial stereotypes when interacting with peers. This is not, however, an indication of how much the black students have embraced these stereotypes. The extent to which the black students have internalized popular stereotypes into their own identities cannot be determined in the present study. It is clear, however, that the black students are aware of broadly held stereotypes of black people as threatening and aggressive, and that these stereotypes influence their interactions with peers.

These results are not surprising considering the long tradition of theory and research into how macro processes influence individual behavior. The United States has a long history of

systematic racism. One way that systematic racism is reinforced and perpetuated is through racist ideology that casts whites as superior and blacks as inferior. Images of black inferiority are pervasive throughout our society and influence not only adolescent behavior, but adult behavior as well. In order for researchers and other parties interested in bullying behavior to fully understand bullying behavior, the racialized context within which this behavior is occurring must be incorporated. Racial hierarchy organizes and structures the daily lives of individuals, even of adolescents, such that the images that are perpetuated as well as the options available to young black Americans are severely constrained. As a result, racialized behavior emerges.

Because the majority of bullying occurs within the school context, this finding has important implications for education research. If black students do in fact bully more than other students, it is likely that they will be labeled and treated as troublemakers by teachers and school administrators. Research has shown that once teachers label students as troublemakers or delinquents they are more likely to focus punitive rather than instructional efforts on the labeled student. Therefore, black students who bully may find it even more difficult to be successful within the education system. Further, the bullies' behavior may be interpreted by school personnel as proof that popular stereotypes of blacks are truthful, thereby perpetuating these stereotypes. Of course it would be overly simplistic to suggest that responsibility for black students' aggressive behavior rests solely on the shoulders of their teachers and school administrators. The process by which teachers and administrators come to label and expect disruptive behavior from the students is reciprocal and part of a larger context of racialized expectations and behavior. Black students are bombarded with images of blacks as inferior and aggressive from a variety of sources. They may begin to act accordingly before interactions with school administrators as well as outside the school setting. When such behavior is brought into

this institutionalized setting it may become problematic causing school personnel to label the student a troublemaker. The student, once labeled, may continue to behave accordingly- and so on. In short, the process by which these black students come to behave in racialized and gendered ways is reciprocal and reiterative with consequences that reinforce and reproduce existing racial inequality.

Unlike the black students, the perceived stereotype items did not explain the increased bullying of the male students. Gender has a persistent independent effect throughout the analyses. Empirically speaking, it is likely that this is due to the fact that the perceived stereotype items specifically addressed whether the students believed that others stereotyped them because of their race. The questionnaire did not measure whether students believed that others stereotyped them because of their gender. However, studies have shown that children acquire knowledge of cultural stereotypes about the appropriate social roles for men and women at an early age (Fisher-Thompson, 1993; O'Keefe & Hyde, 1983; Signorella, Bigler & Liben, 1993; Turner, Gervai & Hinde, 1993). It is not unreasonable to assume that the males in the present study would not only be aware of gender stereotypes, but also behave consistently with notions of masculinity in order to signify their "maleness." Furthermore, bullying by definition may be a way of doing gender for males. In addition to the institutionalized racism that is pervasive throughout society, gender is also a primary way by which we organize members of a society. In general, men are privileged over women. However, hegemonic masculinity, as displayed by showings of aggression and dominance, begets the most power and dominance. Perhaps bullying, in itself, is one manifestation of hegemonic masculinity.

Although the results of the present study are most applicable to race differences in bullying, the interaction analyses show that gender and race are interconnected with respect to

bullying. Male students who perceived that others feared them or disrespected them because of their race bullied more than females who perceived that others feared them or disrespected them because of their race. When this relationship is explored in more detail, we see that perceived stereotypes only increase bullying for the black males and the non-black minority males. In other words, the perception of racial stereotypes disproportionately influenced the bullying of black males and non-black minority males compared to black females and non-black minority females. The varied races reported by the non-black minority students make it difficult to draw a conclusion about what this might mean in relation to that particular group; however, this finding is entirely consistent with my earlier argument concerning black, male students. Hegemonic masculinity is linked to notions of dominance and power in American society. For black adolescents who may be denied the advantages afforded by "maleness" in other outlets (e.g., formal schooling), interactions with peers may be one of only a few ways they are able to reap the benefits of "maleness." While school personnel and administrators may react to black males with contempt, disrespect and fear, peers may perceive performances of tough masculinity as appropriate and award popularity and prestige. In this way, hegemonic masculinity represents a resource for black, male students to recoup dignity and respect otherwise denied.

It is not my contention, however, that popular stereotypes determine adolescent bullying behavior. Popular stereotypes are but one resource from which adolescents may draw upon when interacting with peers. In the analysis, I allow for the possibility that students may have other identities that guide their interactions with peers. I hypothesized that if these identities are in opposition to popular stereotypes and particularly salient to the adolescent, there should be decreased participation in bullying behavior. The results show that possessing a student identity does in fact decrease bullying; however it does not influence the effect of perceived stereotype.

Perceiving that others stereotype you because of your race continues to have a significant effect on bullying, even when you control for student identity. This result is not surprising considering that race is a master status in American society. The meanings attributed to student identity are unlikely to frame interactions in the same way that the meanings attributed to race and gender do. Still, the finding that adolescents who scored high on the student identity scale bullied less has important implications for researchers attempting to develop intervention programs to prevent bullying. Parents, administrators, and school personnel should stress the importance of school as well as provide resources for students to excel academically.

In addition to considering the potential moderating effect of alternate, non-stereotypical identities, I also allow for theory concerning the emotional effects of perceiving that others stereotype you. Specifically, I was interested in the possibility that perceiving that others stereotype you would induce feelings of anger and anxiety in the black students that would subsequently lead to increased bullying behavior. Results of the analyses show no support for this argument. Anger increased bullying, and black students reported experiencing higher anger overall, however there was no significant interaction between perceived stereotype and anger. Anxiety was not significantly associated with bullying behavior until it interacted with perceived stereotype. However, the direction of the significant interaction result is opposite to the hypothesized direction. Students who perceived that others feared them because of their race, and who experienced high levels of anxiety actually bullied significantly less. Such a finding is counter-intuitive but can be interpreted to be consistent with the conceptual framework. I argue that it is racial stereotypes that influence black students' behavior such that they bully more than other students-not traits inherent or characteristic of black students. If the negative affect of the black students had explained the effect of perceived stereotype on bullying behavior or if

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negative affect increased the black students' participation in bullying behavior, I would have concluded that the black students bully more because they experience higher levels of negative affect. But this is not the case. The black students' anger and anxiety did not increase the frequency of them bullying. Finding no support for an alternative explanation for black students' increased participation in bullying behavior strengthens my assertion that black students' increased participation in bullying behavior is attributable to cultural and social, but not individual explanations.

It is also plausible that this finding reflects problems with how bullying is operationalized. Bullying is measured with a scale composed of two items assessing how often students tease others and enjoy upsetting wimps. The item concerning upsetting wimps likely reflects a power differential between the bully and the victim; however, the item concerning teasing may not. It could be that the teasing amongst the black students in the study is not aggressive but rather social. In other words, instead of malicious teasing of students perceived to be weak or vulnerable, black students' teasing may be camaraderie between friends. If this is the case, then the increased anger of the black students would not be related to increased bullying. This could also explain the significant effect of peer influences on bullying behavior. Having friends who bully is the strongest predictor of participation in bullying behavior. To flesh this possibility out in more detail, separate analyses were conducted with the two items from the bullying scale (findings not reported here). The exploratory analyses were identical with respect to the affective items as well as the peer influences. It seems, then, that the behavior occurring is not teasing amongst friends, but rather bullying amongst peers. Although this does not illuminate the surprising finding any further, it does lend further support to my argument that the black students' are not bullying more simply because they are angrier.

CONCLUSION

In this article, I have attempted to remedy the shortcoming in the bullying literature regarding a lack of theoretical orientation for hypothesized race and gender differences in bullying behavior. In casting race and gender as cultural resources from which youth draw upon when interacting with peers, I have employed a distinctly sociological perspective to understanding race and gender differences in bullying behavior that was previously missing. The findings presented here suggest that the cultural meanings associated with race and gender have a significant impact on bullying behavior and therefore represent a significant and important contribution to theory on bullying behavior as well as research on stereotypes in general. Bullying does not represent idiosyncratic behavior amongst adolescents but instead reflects the racialized and gendered society within which we live.

There are, however, several limitations to the study. First, the generalizability of these results is limited. The findings presented here were conducted with a small sample within one school with a limited age group (11-14). Second the measure of bullying behavior used in the present study is limited. The scale consists of two items (whether the student teased others or upset wimps) cited widely within the bullying literature and follows the recent trend to ask about specific bullying behaviors (rather than asking if the student bullies). However, it does not address violent bullying and it may not reflect a power differential between bully and victim. As such, the measures used here may actually under-estimate the role that stereotypes play in bullying behavior. Violent, aggressive bullying may be even more strongly correlated with perceived racial stereotypes- particularly through the moderating effect of anger. Bullying in general is thought to fall under the heading of aggressive behavior in which the bully is asserting power and dominance over the victim. However, the expanding definition of bullying currently

being used in the literature includes a wide range of coercive behaviors. Measures that lack these dimensions may lack the specificity needed to meaningfully explore bullying.   Ideally, a measure of bullying that explicitly reflects aggression and dominance would be a more meaningful operationalization of bullying behavior.

Lastly, bullying occurs in the dynamic process of interaction. Further, the cultural meanings associated with race and gender are not static but constantly being created, interpreted and appropriated in interaction. Qualitative research on how students make use of stereotypes would also be an important contribution to research on race, gender and bullying behavior.

Despite these limitations, the findings of the present study make an important and significant contribution to the research on race, gender and bullying behavior. Race and gender are best understood as cultural resources from which adolescents draw on when interacting with their peers. Researchers should move way from individual explanations for bullying behavior and towards social and cultural explanations.

	Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Analysis Variables		
Variable	Description	Mean	Standard Deviation
Bullying	I tease others. I enjoy upsetting wimps. [never = 1, rarely = 2, sometimes = 3, often = 4] Cronbach's alpha = .70	3.12	1.37
Fear	People act as if they are afraid of you because of your race. [never = 1, rarely = 2, sometimes = 3, often = 4]	1.34	.66
Disrespect	People do not respect you because of your race. [never = 1, rarely = 2, sometimes = 3, often = 4]	1.44	.73
Student Identity	It is important to have other students think of you as a good student. It is important to be a good student. It is important to have teachers think of you as a good student. [not important at all = 1, somewhat important = 2, very important = 3] Cronbach's alpha = .67	7.42	1.70
Anger	I lost my temper. I felt angry. I felt like shouting or throwing things. [rarely or not at all = 1, some of the time = 2, often = 3, most of the time = 4] Cronbach's alpha = .90	5.91	2.92
Anxiety	I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing. My sleep was restless. I had trouble getting my breath. I felt like I couldn't do what I needed to do. [rarely or not at all = 1, some of the time = 2, often = 3, most of the time = 4] Cronbach's alpha = .71	6.70	2.57
Friends Bully	How many of your friends teased other students? How many of your friends spread rumors about other students? [none of them = 1, very few of them = 2, some of them = 3, most of them = 4 and all of them = 5] Cronbach's alpha = .72	4.11	1.94

Table 2: Mean Scores for Bullying, Stigmatized Ethnicity, Affect, Non-Conflicting Identity, Student Identity and Peer Influences by Race and Gender

	Race			Gender	
	White	Black	Other	Male	Female
Bully	2.91	3.49[a]	3.29	3.38[d]	2.89
Perceived Stereotype					
Fear	1.12	1.76[a,b]	1.42[c]	1.32	1.37
Disrespect	1.30	1.68[a]	1.56[c]	1.39	1.49
Student Identity	7.49	7.40	7.16	7.18[d]	7.67
Affect					
Anger	5.50	6.49[a]	6.44[c]	5.93	5.89
Anxiety	6.49	6.90	7.13	6.53	6.87
Friends Bully	3.75	4.88[a,b]	4.07	4.24	3.98
N	191	92	45	165	163

[a] Black vs. White mean difference is significant ($p < .05$)

[b] Black vs. Other mean difference is significant ($p < .05$)

[c] Other vs. White mean difference is significant ($p < .05$)

[d] Male vs. Female mean difference is significant ($p < .05$)

Variable	Y_1	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5
Table 3: Correlations						
(Y_1) Bully						
(X_1) Fear	.34***					
(X_2) Disrespect	.25***	.47***				
(X_3) Student Identity	-.17**	-.01	-.03			
(X_4) Anger	.31***	.23***	.21***	-.16**		
(X_5) Anxiety	.19***	.21***	.25***	-.09	.53***	
(X_6) Friends Bully	.51***	.31***	.27***	-.11*	.29***	.26***

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Table 4: Race, Gender and Perceived Stereotype Predicting Bullying Behavior						
Race (Reference Category White)						
Black	.17**	.03	.03	.02	-.04	-.05
Non-black Minority	.08	.03	.02	.01	.01	.01
Gender (Reference Category Female)						
Male	.17**	.20***	.18***	.18***	.15***	.15**
Age	.13*	.11*	.10	.07	.05	.05
Perceived Stereotype						
Fear		.26***	.27***	.24***	.18**	.16**
Disrespect		.13*	.12*	.09	.05	.05
Alternate Identity						
Student Identity			-.13*	-.10	-.07	-.06
Affect						
Anger				.20**	.15**	.14*
Anxiety				.01	-.04	-.04
Friends Bully					.39***	.38***
Parent's Education (Reference Category High School or less)						
Some College						.07
College Grad						.08
Professional Degree						.15*
Don't Know						.09
Household Composition (Reference Category Single Parent)						
Two Parent						-.15*
Step Parent						.02
Other						-.06
R²	.08	.18	.20	.23	.36	.38
Adjusted R²	.07	.16	.18	.21	.34	.35

N = 328. Standardized Coefficients.

Note: *indicates p < .05; **indicates p < .01; ***indicates p < .001

Table 5: Race, Gender, Perceived Stereotype, and Affect two-way interactions predicting bullying behavior							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Race (reference category White)							
Black	-.16	-.10	-.14	-.15	-.17	-.14	-.15
	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)
Non black Minority	.06	.06	.06	.07	.08	.06	.06
	(.19)	(.19)	(.19)	(.19)	(.19)	(.19)	(.19)
Gender (reference category Female)							
Male	.41**	.41**	.41**	.41**	.42***	.41**	.41**
	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.12)	(.13)	(.12)
Age	.07	.06	.07	.07	.06	.07	.07
	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)
Perceived Stereotype							
Fear	.36**	.33*	.32**	.36**	.38**	.33**	.34**
	(.12)	(.14)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)
Disrespect	.09	.08	.07	.08	.10	.08	.08
	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)
Student Identity	-.05	-.05	-.05	-.05	-.04	-.05	-.05
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Affect							
Anger	.07**	.06*	.07*	.07*	.06*	.07*	.07*
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Anxiety	-.03	-.02	-.02	-.03	-.01	-.02	-.02
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Friends Bully	.27***	.27***	.27***	.27***	.28***	.27***	.27***
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Parents Education (reference category ≤ High School							
Some College	.31	.30	.29	.30	.37	.29	.29
	(.24)	(.25)	(.25)	(.25)	(.25)	(.25)	(.25)
College Degree	.25	.25	.24	.24	.29	.25	.24
	(.22)	(.22)	(.22)	(.22)	(.22)	(.22)	(.22)
Professional Degree	.53*	.51*	.50*	.49*	.57*	.50*	.50*
	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)
Don't Know	.33	.32	.31	.30	.38	.31	.31
	(.23)	(.23)	(.23)	(.23)	(.23)	(.23)	(.23)
Household Composition (reference category Single Parent)							
Two Parent	-.40	-.39	-.42*	-.42*	-.46*	-.41*	-.42*
	(.20)	(.21)	(.21)	(.20)	(.20)	(.20)	(.21)

Table 5 cont'd: Race, Gender, Perceived Stereotype, and Affect two-way interactions predicting bullying behavior							
Step Parent	.09	.14	.11	.10	.08	.09	.09
	(.26)	(.26)	(.26)	(.26)	(.26)	(.26)	(.26)
Other	-.25	-.22	-.24	-.26	-.34	-.23	-.24
	(.23)	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)
Two-way Interactions							
Black x male	.46						
	(.29)						
Non-black minority x male	.50						
	(.38)						
Black x fear		-.01					
		(.25)					
Non-black minority x fear		.31					
		(.33)					
Black x disrespect			.07				
			(.17)				
Non-black minority x disrespect			.11				
			(.25)				
Fear x anger				-.02			
				(.03)			
Fear x anxiety					-.08*		
					(.03)		
Respect x anger						.01	
						(.02)	
Respect x anxiety							-.00
							(.02)
R²	.39	.38	.38	.38	.39	.38	.38
Adjusted R²	.35	.34	.34	.35	.36	.34	.34

N = 328. Un-standardized Coefficients. Standard Error in Parentheses.
Note: *indicates p < .05; **indicates p < .01; ***indicates p < .001

Table 6a: Perceived Fear Stereotype Predicting Bullying Behavior by Race and Gender
WHITES (N = 191)
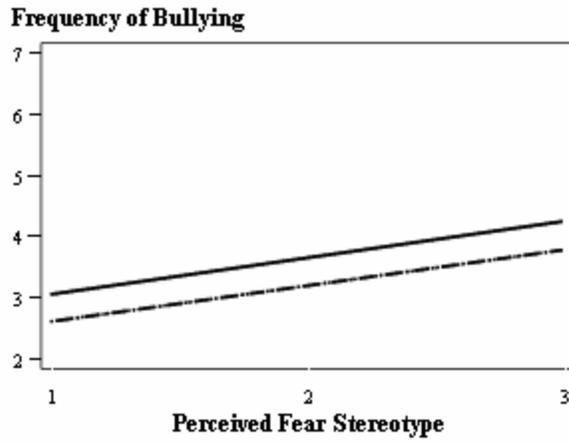
BLACKS (N=92)
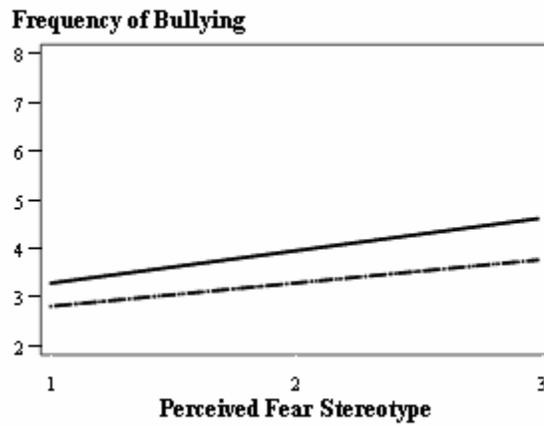
NON-BLACK MINORITY (N=45)
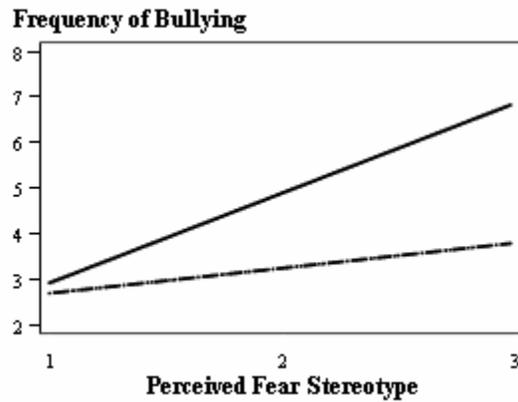
Table 6b: Perceived Disrespect Stereotype Predicting Bullying Behavior by Race and Gender
WHITES (N = 191)

Frequency of Bullying

Perceived Disrespect Stereotype

BLACKS (N=92)

Frequency of Bullying

Perceived Disrespect Stereotype

NON-BLACK MINORITY (N=45)

Frequency of Bullying

Perceived Disrespect Stereotype
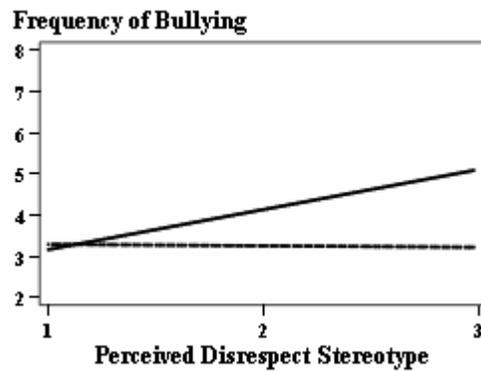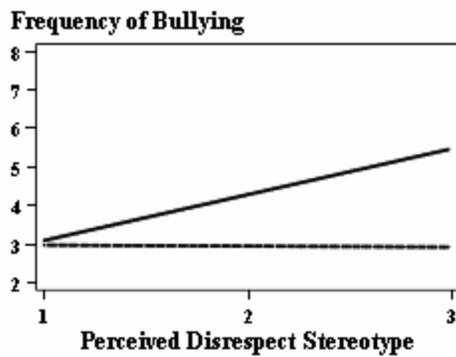
Table 7: Perceived Stereotype x Affect Interactions by Race

	Black (N = 92)				Non-Black Minority (N = 45)				White (N = 191)			
Gender (reference category Female)												
Male	.56	.60	.57	.57	.69	.69	.70	.68	.24	.24	.22	.24
	(.31)	(.31)	(.32)	(.32)	(.44)	(.44)	(.42)	(.44)	(.15)	(.15)	(.15)	(.15)
Age	.02	.01	.03	-.01	-.02	-.03	-.01	-.04	.08	.07	.09	.08
	(.17)	(.16)	(.17)	(.17)	(.22)	(.22)	(.20)	(.21)	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)
Perceived Stereotype												
Fear	.25	1.32*	.29*	.24*	.49	.65	.86	.61	.22	.31	.17	.19
	(.44)	(.52)	(.22)	(.22)	(1.35)	(1.03)	(.43)	(.43)	(.42)	(.54)	(.19)	(.20)
Disrespect	.22	.26	.08	.61	-.12	-.11	1.30	.58	.05	.05	-.52	-.40
	(.22)	(.21)	(.42)	(.54)	(.33)	(.33)	(.86)	(.97)	(.13)	(.13)	(.32)	(.34)
Student Identity	-.14	-.08	-.15	-.14	-.04	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.03
	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Affect												
Anger	.03	.01	-.01	.03	.09	.12	.39*	.13	.09	.09**	-.03	.10**
	(.11)	(.05)	(.11)	(.06)	(.23)	(.11)	(.18)	(.11)	(.08)	(.03)	(.07)	(.03)
Anxiety	-.10	.20	-.09	.00	.02	.02	.07	.17	-.01	-.00	-.02	-.11
	(.06)	(.15)	(.06)	(.14)	(.12)	(.28)	(.11)	(.22)	(.04)	(.08)	(.04)	(.08)
Friends Bully	.22**	.25***	.21**	.23**	.28	.28	.24	.30	.30***	.39***	.30***	.31***
	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.17)	(.17)	(.16)	(.17)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)

Table 7 cont'd: Perceived Stereotype x Affect Interactions by Race

Parents Education (reference category High School or less)												
Some College	.46	.73	.47	.54	.17	.19	.82	.37	-.04	-.04	.04	.14
	(.45)	(.45)	(.45)	(.45)	(.80)	(.80)	(.82)	(.82)	(.41)	(.41)	(.41)	(.42)
College Degree	.32	.35	.34	.31	-.01	.02	.55	.25	.03	-.03	.07	.13
	(.43)	(.42)	(.43)	(.43)	(.69)	(.68)	(.69)	(.72)	(.37)	(.37)	(.37)	(.37)
Professional Degree	1.26*	1.51*	1.27*	1.34*	.29	.34	1.09	.71	.25	.25	.34	.39
	(.61)	(.60)	(.61)	(.62)	(.80)	(.83)	(.79)	(.85)	(.37)	(.37)	(.37)	(.38)
Don't Know	.31	.67	.33	.41	-.27	-.23	.07	-.03	.22	.22	.28	.34
	(.48)	(.50)	(.48)	(.49)	(.77)	(.72)	(.70)	(.76)	(.40)	(.40)	(.39)	(.40)
Household Composition (Reference Category Single Parent)												
Two Parent	-.44	-.61	-.46	-.49	.08	.07	.06	.02	-.67	-.67	-.67	-.66
	(.41)	(.41)	(.42)	(.42)	(.58)	(.58)	(.54)	(.57)	(.35)	(.35)	(.35)	(.35)
Step Parent	.27	.40	.25	.29	.38	.36	.36	.18	-.26	-.24	-.36	-.31
	(.46)	(.44)	(.46)	(.45)	(.83)	(.85)	(.77)	(.84)	(.44)	(.45)	(.44)	(.44)
Other	-.20	-.44	-.21	-.16	.10	.07	-.09	-.05	-.53	-.53	-.58	-.51
	(.46)	(.44)	(.46)	(.45)	(.87)	(.87)	(.81)	(.85)	(.41)	(.41)	(.40)	(.40)
Two-way Interactions												
Fear x anger	.00				.02				.00			
	(.06)				(.15)				(.06)			
Fear x anxiety		-.16*				.00				-.01		
		(.07)				(.13)				(.06)		

Table 7 cont'd: Perceived Stereotype x Affect Interactions by Race

Respect x anger	x		.02 (.05)				-.19 (.10)				.10 (.05)	
Respect x anxiety	x			-.05 (.07)				-.08 (.11)				.06 (.04)
R^2	.35	.39	.35	.35	.57	.57	.61	.58	.39	.39	.40	.39
Adjusted R^2	.21	.25	.21	.21	.32	.32	.39	.34	.33	.33	.35	.33

Un-standardized Coefficients. Standard Error in Parentheses.
Note: *indicates $p < .05$; **indicates $p < .01$; ***indicates $p < .001$

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