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American Indians and Bullying in Schools

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Key Words

American Indians • schools • bullying • hate crimes

Abstract

Recent studies show the frequency of school bullying has been on the rise (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011) and poses serious health threats to youth development (Nansel, et al., 2001). This study reviews the literature on the definition of bullying and examines the 2010 Minnesota Student Satisfaction survey on the victimization of American Indian students in public schools. The authors examined the extent of victimization by race/ethnicity, particularly for American Indian students, and how it correlates with gender and grade. Findings reveal that American Indian students are disproportionately victims of victimization and potential bullying. Suggestions for future research and implications for social work practitioners are described.

INTRODUCTION

PREVALENCE

Concerns about school bullying have been on the rise though actual rates of bullying differ greatly by study. Earlier studies indicate a 10% rate of victimization (Sampson, 2009; Smokowski & Kopasz, 2005), while more recent reports put the numbers in the 30-50% range (Berzin & O'Connor, 2010; Smokowski & Kopasz, 2005). More specifically, in 2007, in United States schools, some 32% of 12 to 18-year-old students reported being bullied at school (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011); examples of bullying included: being made fun of (21%), subject of rumors (18%), pushed, shoved, tripped or spit on (11%), threatened with harm (6%), exclusion from activities (5%), property destroyed (4%) and being forced to do something they did not want to do (4%) (Robers, Zhang, Truman, & Snyder, 2010).

Bullying takes on many forms of direct verbal and physical aggression (Nansel, et al., 2001) and reports have also included students being bullying based on their race/ethnicity or religion. In 2011, it was reported that 11% of 12 to 18-year-old

students described someone at school using "hate-related words against them" (p. vi), which is a 1% increase from the previous year's report (Robers, Zhang, Truman, & Snyder, 2012; Robers, et al., 2010). In an earlier study, Sampson (2009) reported even higher rates of "25% of students victimized by bullying reported being belittled about their race or religion" (p. 8). Even more recent studies confirm that racial bullying behaviors have increased in frequency and in severity (Snell & Englander, 2010). One study stated 22% of American Indian students reported being threatened or injured with a weapon on school property (Zyromski, Bryant, & Gerler, 2009). Clearly racial bullying or perhaps more accurately hate crimes exist in our educational system. Unfortunately, ethnoviolence continues on into college life (Perry, 2009). Perry (2009) reported that in her 2002 study of campus hate crime 40% of American Indian students reported they were victimized because of their race. She also reported that the victimization was intense with 36 students encountering 130 incidents of violence. Twenty-eight were victimized more than once. Some American Indian students believe that schools are not safe places for them.

It is important to point out that statistics for bullying may be underrepresented due to inaccurate reporting. Inaccurate reporting occurs due to both the lack of a clear definition and potential underreporting by the victims. Sampson (2009) gave the following reasons why students do not report:

- a) fear of retaliation,
- b) feeling ashamed,
- c) not being believed or worrying parents,
- d) believing that nothing would change,
- e) thinking that parents' and teachers' advice would make things worse,
- f) fearing the bully would find out from the teacher and
- g) not wanting to be thought of as a snitch (p. 5).

Most (66%) middle and high school students do not report bullying to adults because of the poor responses of adults (e.g. teachers not intervening) (Sampson, 2009).

DEFINITIONS

Sampson (2009) defined bullying as physical, verbal or subtle aggression by one or more children for the purpose of hurting another child. The two key components in bullying were identified as: (a) "repeated harmful acts" and (b) "imbalance of power" (p. 2). Examples of bullying include threatening, pushing, shoving, grabbing, kicking, biting, "hitting, exclusion and teasing" (Peskin, Tortolero, & Markham,

2006, p. 468), if it entails repeated acts by someone who may be more physically or psychologically stronger. The literature also describes a bully-victim as a student who bullies others and is bullied (Smokowski & Kopasz, 2005).

Definitions of bullying include acts of violence directed at marginalized groups of people (Perry, 2009). It is not only directed at the individual but also at the community the individual represents. Hate crimes, similar to racial bullying, were defined in the HCSA as, "crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation or ethnicity" (Perry, 2009, p. 402).

Victimization is closely tied to bullying in the literature and the two concepts are sometimes treated as synonymous. However, bullying is typically defined as a more specific form of victimization in that it includes harmful acts (victimization) and the imbalance of power (bullying) (Hunter, Boyle, & Warden, 2007). In the present study, we use indicators of victimization not specifying power differential presence to examine the extent of the problem of victimization and potential bullying among American Indian youth.

GENDER AND GRADE LEVEL

Seals and Young (2003) examined bullying as it relates to gender and grade level. They reported males bullied more than females and seventh graders bullied more than eight graders. A later study by Cunningham (2007) showed males being involved in bullying more than females being both the bully and the victim. The study also revealed that bullying occurred more "frequently in 6th through eighth grades" (p. 460).

RACE AND BULLYING

For the purpose of this paper the authors focus on victimization and potential bullying as they are related to race. Research suggests, "there is a strong relationship between race and the probability of victimization" (Bachman, Randolph, & Brown, 2011, p. 707). The literature on victimization based on race/ethnicity is inconclusive (Peskin, et al., 2006). For example, Peskin, et al., (2006) points out that in a study completed with 6th to 10th grade youth, Latino students were both bullied and victims of bullying more often than African American students; and in a separate study in Los Angeles with middle school students, Blacks were more often the bullies, victims and bully-victims than Latinos.

A study on Korean American students reported a higher proportion of Asian children report being bullied than any other racial group (Shin, D'Antonio, Son, Kim, & Park, 2011). A similar study by Mouttapa, Valente, Gallager, Rohrback & Unger (2004) reported victims of bullying were disproportionately Asian but they could not

determine whether victimization was based on race or because Asians students were more likely to report the victimization. In another study, Mouttapa, et al., (2004) reported that in schools in Europe where the student population was predominantly white, Asian students were more often exposed to "racist name-calling" (p. 329). Internationally, countries report bullying ranging from a "low of 15%"to "a high of 70%" (Nansel, et al., 2001, p. 2094).

Assessing the perception of being harmed at school is another way to assess bullying. Bachman, et al. (2011) analyzed perceived levels of fear for White and African American students and reported that previous victimization, in particular bullying, was the strongest indicator of fear for both groups. The article investigated factors that may influence fear of victimization and suggested that after controlling for significant factors there was "no significance difference in perception of fear" between gender and racial groups for those students while at school or going to and from school (p. 720).

In 1999, American Indians were exposed to more violent crimes against them than any other racial group (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2011). In addition, 70% of violent crimes against American Indians are committed by whites. Whites are attacked 70% of the time by other Whites and Blacks are 80% more likely to be attacked by other Blacks (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2011).

For American Indians, this is important because they face a much greater exposure to violence than any other racial/ethnic group (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2011). The 2010 Minnesota Student Survey (MSS) asks students questions about activities, experiences, and behaviors. Topics include: tobacco, alcohol and drug use, school climate, physical activity, violence and safety, health, and other topics (Minnesota Department of Health, n.d.). The survey demonstrates the extent of the problem and the need to look at the victimization of American Indian students and its effects. Reports on why American Indian students drop out include school factors:

- Lack of American Indian role models (Butterfield, 1983).
- Lack of culturally relevant curriculum (Butterfield, 1983; Reyner, 1992).
- Cultural differences (Reyner, 1992; Marsiglia, Cross, & Mitchell-Enos, 1998).
- Unfair application of rules (Coladarci, 1983; Dehyle, 1992; Reyner, 1992).
- Feeling that teachers did not care for them (Coladarci, 1983; Dehyle, 1992; Reyner, 1992).
- Teachers not providing enough assistance (Dehyle, 1992; Coladarci, 1983).
- Low expectations (Butterfield, 1983; Chavers, 2000; Reyner, 1992).
- Culturally-biased tests (Butterfield, 1983; Reyner, 1992).
- Passive teaching methods (Reyner, 1992).

And personal factors such as:

- Lack of parental support (Butterfield, 1983; Chavers, 2000; Coladarci, 1983).
- Trouble in school (Coladarci, 1983).
- Feelings of being "pushed out," peer pressure, discipline problems, difficulty
 with classes, responsibilities at home as well as pregnancy, marriage and
 poverty (Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2010, p. 28).
- Boredom (Dehyle, 1992; Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2010).

Barriers include a range of school and student factors which contribute to a student's lack of school connection.

Bullying threatens the healthy development of a child (Peskin et al., 2006; Pergolizzi, et al., 2009). Nansel et al. (2001) reported that the effects of being bullied include: "higher levels of insecurity, anxiety, depression, loneliness, unhappiness, physical and mental symptoms, and low self-esteem" (p. 2095). It could also extend to, "incarceration, depression-suicide and problems in school functioning" (Pergolizzi, et al., 2009, p. 266). Even the fear of being bullied affects the learning capability of a student. Being afraid can cause stress, "anxiety and posttraumatic stress disorder" (Bachman, et at., 2011, p. 707). Research points to students avoiding school if they have the perception they will be hurt at school (Randa & Wilcox, 2010). There is a strong correlation between students who perceive they will be revictimized and school avoidance behaviors (Randa & Wilcox, 2010). The current study examines the extent to which American Indian students in Minnesota are victimized compared to other racial groups. This research allows social workers and educators to determine the extent of possible need in addressing victimization and potential bullying among this population of students.

METHODOLOGY

This research paper analyzes the 2010 Minnesota Student Survey to determine: (a) the extent to which American Indian students are victimized in Minnesota schools compared to other racial/ethnic groups, and (b) the comparisons among gender, age and race and being bullied.

Data for the current study came from the Minnesota Student Survey (MSS) administered by the Minnesota Departments of Education, Health, Human Services, and Public Safety. The MSS is conducted with Minnesota public school students every three years and includes populations from three sources: (a) regular public school, charter schools and tribal schools (grades 6, 9 and 12 only), (b) alternative schools and Alternative learning centers and (c) juvenile correctional facilities. The

current study utilizes the data from the 2010 survey of public school, charter and tribal school students. The current study focuses on the data regarding experiences of victimization among racial groups of students with a focus on American Indians.

The initial sample included 130,908 students representing three grade levels – 6^{th} (n = 46,787), 9^{th} (n = 47,387) and 12^{th} (n = 36,734). The sample had fairly equal representation between the genders, male (n = 65,160) and female (n = 65,748). The original survey allowed for students to self-select all ethnic categories that apply to them. However, the dataset also provides a single variable with mutually exclusive racial categories (as reported in the statewide tables) including "American Indian" (n = 1,951), "Black, African or African American" (n = 7,174), "Hispanic or Latino" (n = 5,682), "Asian American or Pacific Islander" (n = 6,973), "White" (n = 94,580), "Mixed race (checked more than one race/ethnicity)" (n = 8,759), and "I don't know/ no answer" (n = 5,789). The current study compared the data among the mutually exclusive racial categories excluding those who responded they did not know their ethnicity. This resulted in a final study sample of 125,119 students.

The dependent variables measuring the experience of victimization for this study included self-reported items regarding the experience of verbal threatening at school and the experience of physical violence. The data set includes a single item asking students, "During the last 12 months, which of the following has happened to you on school property? Has a student... threatened you?" with a potential yes/ no response. Two items on the data set inquired about students' experiences with actual physical violence at school. The first asked, "During the last 12 months, which of the following has happened to you on school property? Has a student...pushed, shoved or grabbed you?" and the second asked, "During the last 12 months, which of the following has happened to you on school property? Has a student...kicked, Both offered a yes/no response option. These two variables bitten, or hit you?" were combined and recoded into a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not a student had experienced physical violence at school. The independent variables included race, gender and grade level as described in the sample section above. As all variables were at the nominal level so all relationships among variables were tested using a chi-square test.

RESULTS

Among the American Indian students, 55.4% were male and 44.6% female, with 990 in the 6th grade, 631 in the 9th grade, and 330 in the 12th grade. Though numbers among the population as a whole also decreased as grade level decreased, American Indians experienced the highest rate of decline in representation in the higher grades levels. In the 6th grade level, American Indian students represented 2.3% of

the population compared to only .9% of 12th grade students. White students, by comparison, increased their representation constituting 78.5% of 6th grade students and 81.3% of 12th grade students. A 2x3 chi-square goodness of fit test showed the relationship between race and grade level was significant when comparing American Indian to White students, $\chi^2 = 305.75$; df = 2; p < .000. The results indicate 50.7% of all the American Indian students were in the 6th grade compared to 33.4% of White students. In the 12th grade, these numbers shift significantly. Only 16.9% of the American Indian students surveyed were in the 12th grade compared to 30.6% of the white students. The percentage of white students represented by grade remains relatively similar across the grade levels while American Indian students are underrepresented at the higher grade levels. American Indian students also had fewer students in increasing grades across the other racial groups. Though all the other non-White racial categories showed decreases in their representation in higher grades, American Indians had the lowest percentage of their students in the highest grade (12th) compared to all other racial groups. A 2x3 chi-square goodness of fit test showed the relationship between race and grade level was significant when comparing American Indian to African American, $\chi^2 = 101.38$; df = 2; p < .000, Asian $\chi^2 = 196.2$; df = 2; p < .000, Latino χ^2 = 42.39; df = 2; p < .000, and Mixed race students, χ^2 = 99.7; df = 2; p < .000, with American Indians having a lower percentage of students in the 12th grade then all others. Similarly, a 3x6 chi-square goodness of fit test showed the relationships between race and grade level was also significant across the racial groups when comparing all six groupings, $\chi^2 = 998.3$; df = 10; p < .000. Table one summarizes the grade level representation comparing American Indian students with students from the other racial groups.

TABLE 1: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AMERICAN INDIAN AND WHITE POPULATIONS OF STUDENTS BY GRADE LEVEL

Race	6th Grade		9th Grade		12th Grade			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	χ^2	
American Indian	990	50.7%	631	32.3%	330	16.9%	2 205 75*	
White	31250	33.0%	34407	36.3%	28923	30.3%	$\chi^2 = 305.75^*$	

*p<000

Overall, 54% of all American Indian students reported some type of bullying behavior (either physical violence or threats). Of those experiencing bullying behavior, 29.3% experienced threatening, 47.5% experienced physical violence and 23.5% experienced both physical violence and threatening behavior.

A 2x6 chi-square goodness of fit test showed the relationship between race and being verbally threatened was significant when comparing the six racial groups, χ^2 = 861.06; df = 5; p < .000. American Indian students had the highest rates of experiencing verbal threats, 29.9% compared to 28.6% of mixed race student, 25.1% of African American students, 21.1% of Latino students, 15.7% of Asian students and 18.4% of white students. There is a magnitude of 11 percentage points of difference in experiencing verbal threatening between the American Indian students and White students and 14 points of difference between American Indian and Asian students. Pair by pair chi-square goodness of fit tests show the differences in level of threatening experienced was significant when comparing American Indian students to the other racial groups individually except for the mixed race group. In all but the mixed race case, the American Indian students experienced a higher rate of threatening than the other groups of students.

TABLE 2: EXPERIENCE OF BEING VERBALLY THREATENED AMONG RACIAL GROUPS

Race of Students	Threatened		Not Threa	tened			
	n	%	n	%	χ^2		
American Indian	571	29.9%	1336	70.1%			
African American	1744	25.1%	5199	74.9%			
Asian	1080	15.7%	5779	84.3%	$\chi^2 = 401.22^*$		
Latino	1178	21.1%	4417	78.9%			
White	17248	18.4%	76432	81.6%			

^{*}p<000

A 2x6 chi-square goodness of fit test showed the relationship between race and experiencing physical violence was significant when comparing the six racial groups, χ^2 = 109.78; df = 4; p < .000. Mixed race (49.9%) and American Indian students (49%) had the highest rates of experiencing physical violence compared to 41.4% of African American students, 42.4% of Latino students, 37.7% of Asian students and 39.4% of white students. There is a magnitude of nearly 10 percentage points of difference in experiencing physical violence between the American Indian students and White students and 11 points of difference between American Indian and Asian students. Pair by pair chi-square goodness of fit tests show the differences in level of physical violence experienced was significant when comparing American Indian students to the other racial groups individually except for the mixed race group. In all but the

mixed race group, the American Indian students experienced higher rates of physical violence than the other groups of students. As noted below, significant differences exist in the experience of physical violence and threatening between boys and girls in the sample. To ensure gender differences did not account for the differences observed in the racial groups, separate 2x6 chi-square goodness of fit tests were run with just the males and just the females in the population. All racial differences were still significant when controlling for gender in this manner suggesting it was the race of participants and not simply gender accounting for the different experiences in levels of threatening and physical violence experienced. Similarly, all racial differences were significant when controlling for age by running the test with each year in school separately suggesting it was race and not simply age affecting the differential experiences of threatening and violence.

TABLE 3: EXPERIENCE OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AMONG RACIAL GROUPS

Race of Students	Experienced Violence		Did Not Experience Violence			
	n	%	n	%	χ^2	
American Indian	926	49.0%	962	51.0%		
African American	2842	41.4%	4025	58.6%		
Asian	2575	37.7%	4259	62.3%	$\chi^2 = 109.78^*$	
Latino	2367	42.4%	3209	57.6%		
White	36813	39.4%	56620	60.6%		

^{*}p<000

Among all racial groups, a 2x2 chi-square goodness of fit test showed boys experienced significantly higher rates of threatening then girls, χ^2 = 2110.2; df = 1; p < .000, with 25.2% of boys experiencing threatening compared to only 15% of girls. Similarly, a 2x2 chi-square goodness of fit test showed boys experienced significantly higher rates of physical violence then girls, χ^2 = 2998.12; df = 1; p < .000, with 48.5% of boys experiencing physical violence compared to only 33.5% of girls.

Within the population of American Indian students, a 2x2 chi-square goodness of fit test showed the relationship between gender and experiencing verbal threatening was significant, $\chi^2 = 13.76$; df = 1; p < .000. The results indicate 33.5% of boys experienced being verbally threatened compared to 25.6% of girls. There is a magnitude of eight percentage points of difference in experiencing verbal threatening between the groups. Similarly, a 2x2 chi-square goodness of fit test showed the relationship between gender and experiencing physical violence was significant,

 χ^2 = 15.38; df = 1; p < .000. The results indicate 53.1% of boys have experienced physical violence compared to 44.1% of girls. There is a magnitude of nine percentage points of difference in experiencing physical violence between males and females.

TABLE 4: EXPERIENCE OF VERBAL THREATENING AND PHYSICAL VIOLENCE BETWEEN AMERICAN INDIAN GENDER GROUPS

Gender	Threatened		Not Threatened			Experienced Violence		No Experience of Violence		
	n	%	n	%	χ^2	n	%	n	%	χ^2
Girls	220	25.6%	638	74.4%	χ^2	375	44.1%	476	55.9%	χ^2
Boys	351	33.5%	698	66.6%	=13.76*	551	53.1%	486	46.9%	=15.38*

^{*}p<000

Rates of experiences of threatening and violence decrease as grade level increases among American Indian students. A 2x3 chi-square goodness of fit test showed the relationship between grade level and experiencing threatening was significant, χ^2 = 26.37; df = 2; p < .000. The results indicate 35.2% of sixth graders have experienced threatening compared to 25.3% of ninth graders and 23.1% of twelfth graders. An additional 2x3 chi-square goodness of fit test showed the relationship between grade level and experiencing physical violence was significant, χ^2 = 126.37; df = 2; p < .000. The results indicate 60.7% of 6th graders have experienced threatening compared to 42.1% of ninth graders and 26.8% of twelfth graders.

DISCUSSION

The present study suggests there are high rates of victimization overall among students, particularly with boys and those in the lower grades. These findings are congruent with most of the other current research on the issue of bullying and victimization (Cunningham, 2007). However, these results also indicate American Indian students have both the highest rates of experiencing victimization in the form of threats or physical violence and the highest dropout rates when compared to other racial groups. More than half of all American Indian students in the study experienced physical violence or threatening at school and nearly a quarter of American Indian students experienced both. These high levels of victimization and potential bullying experienced may lead to several issues for students including not feeling safe in school, problems with academics and potentially dropping out.

The Minnesota Student Survey illustrates that the number of American Indian students moving on to the next grade decreases significantly from 6th to 9th to the 12th grade. By the time they reach the 12th grade, only half of the students are still in school, which may account for the decrease percent of American Indian students who report being bullied in 11th and 12th grade. It may also suggest a potential link between bullying and dropping out. Due to its cross sectional nature, the present study cannot attribute racial bullying to the significant dropout rate for American Indian students, however, future research should examine the extent to which the bullying experienced by American Indian students relates to the decision to drop out.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

There is limited research on bullying and its impact on American Indians as well as interventions specifically addressing this issue. After doing a literature review in four social work databases, we found eight articles using the terms American Indian and bullying. They were: Academic File (0); Academic Search Premier (6); Social Service Abstracts (2); and Social Work Abstracts (0). From the eight articles found, two focused on LGBTQ, and one on cyberbullying. Two out of the eight articles included American Indians in the sample population but did not go further to specifically identify any outcomes for them. As social workers it is important to look at research in order to address racial disparities in our educational system. Advocacy, within the system, can be for effective changes in bullying policies and creating school-wide support for anti-bullying initiatives. School social workers can review school policies to see if they promote diversity and create a welcoming school environment (Joseph, Slovak, Broussard, & Webster, 2012).

In Marsiglia et al. (1998), group work was used as an intervention after a fatal shooting within the American Indian community. Group intervention that is culturally grounded can be used as a process to increase the self-esteem and cultural pride of American Indian students which will assist in them staying in school (Marsiglia et al., 1998, p. 101). Creating a safe and supportive culturally-grounded group is important and should include the following:

- 1. Culturally specific activities such as, making dreamcatchers, having talking circles, burning sage and so on
- 2. Have at least one American Indian facilitator
- 3. Food should be provided during group work
- 4. Group size should be small
- 5. Groups can be gender specific depending on purpose
- 6. School administrators' support and involvement (p. 101).

School administrators, school social workers and facilitators need to be knowledgeable about American Indians from a historical context as well as recent issues that impact the Indian community. They need to understand and support cultural practices to include child rearing and spirituality.

This research article is a first step at looking at the victimization and bullying of American Indian students. More research should be done measuring the effects of group work on bullying.

LIMITATIONS

The present study defined being bullied through the experience of either verbal or physical victimization. We cannot be certain the incidents of physical violence were directly linked to bullying (i.e. included an element of power imbalance) though we do see a high rate of victimization overall. Future research should include a more holistic measure of bullying behavior to best find points of potential intervention. Further, such detailed analysis may allow us to know if threatening and violence have similar effects or are more harmful than other types of bullying such as name-calling (Sampson, 2009). We also do not know how frequently this population engages in bullying behavior in addition to being victimized (i.e. are "bully-victims") or the intensity and duration of victimization.

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