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National trends in school victimization among Asian American adolescents

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Abstract

The model minority perception of Asian American students often ignores the academic and social challenges that many face in schools. One area that has received less attention is the school victimization experiences of Asian American adolescents. While some qualitative researchers have explored factors contributing to school victimization in recent years, missing in the literature is the scope of these incidents among Asian Americans. This paper contributes to this literature by (1) examining national trends in the victimization of Asian American adolescents in schools over the last decade and (2) investigating how victimization varies according to their gender, socioeconomic status, and achievement levels. The results show that although Asian American adolescents are consistently less likely to be bullied relative to other students, they are more likely to report experiences of racial discrimination. Victimization incidents for Asian Americans also differ by gender and academic achievement levels.

Key words: Asian American; school victimization; bullying; racial discrimination; National Crime Victimization Survey; School Crime Supplement

National Trends in School Victimization Among Asian American Adolescents

Introduction

The perception of Asian Americans as "model minorities" often overlooks the challenges that many face in the United States. Despite success in numerous sectors of U.S. society, Asian Americans continue to experience discrimination and unfair treatment at different institutional levels of society, such as in the workplace and labor market (Chou & Feagin, 2010). One area that receives less policy attention is the victimization of Asian American students within U.S. schools, a topic that is often overshadowed by the group's generally high level of academic achievement (Pew Report, 2013). However, studies show that Asian American adolescents report higher levels of peer discrimination and harassment than other racial and ethnic groups (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way, Santos, Niway, & Kim-Gervey, 2008). Yet, aside from sporadic media coverage of a few incidents of Asian American school victimization in recent years (see Hwang, 2011), the issue receives less attention in policy and education research. Indeed, a recent task force report on school bullying from leading scholars commissioned by the American Educational Research Association (AERA) makes no explicit mention of Asian Americans as a potentially vulnerable group (Espelage et al., 2013).

In the meantime, qualitative studies have contributed to understanding why high levels of peer discrimination, harassment, and other forms of school victimization happen to Asian American adolescents. Research indicates that peer discrimination of Asian Americans stems from linguistic differences, high levels of academic achievement, perceptions of teacher favoritism, and other stereotypes of Asian American students (Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way et al., 2008). However, while many of these studies provide rich accounts of the day-to-day experiences of Asian American students, few have quantitatively

examined school victimization at the national level and over time. Understanding the national trends can provide more insight into the extent of school victimization for Asian Americans. Furthermore, awareness of these trends among teachers, counselors, school leaders, and parents can help further deconstruct misguided perceptions of Asian Americans as model minorities.

The purpose of our article is to complement and expand the limited research literature on the school victimization experiences of Asian Americans. Our study makes several critical contributions to the extant body of literature on school victimization. Utilizing data from the *School Crime Supplement* (*SCS*), we describe trends in school victimization for Asian American adolescents over the last decade. We also explore heterogeneity in Asian American adolescents' experiences of school victimization in terms of gender, family background, and academic achievement level. In the following section, we provide a definition of school victimization and present an overview of studies on the experiences of Asian American students. Next, we explain our data and analytic method. We then describe our findings and discuss the main results. Lastly, we discuss limitations of our study and implications for future research and practice.

Background

Defining School Victimization

One of the challenges in understanding the extensive research literature on school victimization and bullying is that studies tend to define the terms 'victimization' and 'bullying' differently. The recent AERA task report provides examples of this confusion (Espelage et al., 2013). Traditionally, bullying has been defined as any unwanted, intentional, aggressive behavior that involved a real or perceived power imbalance that is often repeated over time (Olweus, 1993). This definition, however, is rarely used in research. Studies generally provide a definition of bullying or ask respondents to check from a list of behaviors (e.g., hitting and

excluding), which are them summed into a scale. While some bullying behaviors may overlap with the broader definition of school victimization, the AERA task force report emphasizes the distinction of intentionality, repetition, and power in bullying. However, given the overlap between victimization and bullying, the report recommended assessing both, when feasible.

In this article, we adopt a broad definition of victimization to refer to a spectrum of experiences with varying degrees of severity (Maffini, Wong, & Shin, 2011). This can range from minor verbal or physical harassment to violent experiences, such as being attacked (Elias & Zins, 2003; Ho, 2008). Our primary rationale for this definition is to be consistent with the language used in the *SCS*, which focuses on two types of victimization experiences: bullying and verbal harassment due to race-related hate words. We describe how these behaviors differ in more detail in the methods section, but for the remainder of this article, unless noted, we use victimization as an umbrella term for these two types of incidents.

Asian Americans and School Victimization

Prior research demonstrates that Asian American students consistently report higher levels of peer discrimination than students from other racial groups (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Fisher et al. (2000) found that while African American and Latino students tended to experience more discrimination from adults, Asian American students reported higher levels of peer discrimination, such as being called names and excluded from social activities due to their race. Similarly, Rivas-Drake, Hughes, and Way (2008) reported that Chinese American adolescents experienced higher levels of teasing and harassment from their African American peers. Qualitative research with Chinese American adolescents showed that many mentioned ethnic and racial discrimination as challenges in peer relationships (Qin, Way,

& Rana, 2008). Complicating these trends is that Asian American students experience both explicit discrimination in the form of physical and verbal harassment and implicit discrimination in the form of stereotypes (Fisher et al., 2000).

Importantly, higher rates of school victimization among Asian American youth have been linked to poor psychological and social outcomes. Peer discrimination has been found to impact self-esteem (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006), depression (Juang & Cookston, 2009), stress (Grossman & Liang, 2008), and general well being (Liang, Grossman, & Deguchi, 2007). Qin, Way, and Rana's (2008) study of Chinese American adolescents in Boston and New York found that Chinese American boys, in particular, felt targeted for lacking physical size and strength, which affected how they understood masculinity and racial differences in schools. Niwa and colleagues (2011) found that the psychological toll of discrimination for Chinese American students included social avoidance, fear and distrust of their schools, feelings of powerlessness, and even frustration with their own Chinese peers who were unable or unwilling to "fight back."

While much research has focused on documenting school victimization among Asian Americans, other studies have explored the factors that contribute to these experiences. Research from Rosenbloom and Way (2004) and Qin, Way, and Rana (2008) found that stereotypes of Asian Americans are often a key motivator of discrimination and harassment. Qin and colleagues noted that many Chinese American students reported being teased for speaking a different language or having an English accent. Asian Americans were also targets based upon their perceived identity as foreigners and status as immigrants. Many experienced resentment from peers for perceived higher academic skills and achievement, which stemmed in part from the perception that teachers praised and treated Asian American students better than their non-Asian American counterparts. Other stereotypes pertaining to the physical size (e.g., height) of Asian

American students and perceptions of social awkwardness made Asian Americans frequent targets of their peers as well. More recently, Peguero and Williams (2013) found that stereotypes linked to test scores and sports participation moderated levels of bullying victimization for Asian Americans. They argued that violating stereotypes might lead to victimization for minorities.

Much of the aforementioned research on Asian Americans is based on small-scale studies but a few have examined the experiences of Asian Americans using national data. For instance, Peguero (2009) analyzed the *Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002* (*ELS:2002*) and found evidence that among Asian Americans, first- and second-generation students were more likely to be victimized. In a follow-up study, Koo, Peguero, and Shekarkhar (2012) used the same data to explore the role of immigration status and gender and concluded that Asian American immigrant female students have higher odds of being threatened at school compared to White American male students. Maffini, Wong, and Shin (2011) explored the mental repercussions among Asian American adolescents following violent victimization using the *National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health* and found that family bonds weakened the link between violent victimization and somatic symptoms.

Current Study

The existing literature on Asian Americans and school victimization provides a detailed account of what students experience at school and the impact of these incidents on adolescent development. However, there are limitations in the existing body of research. Primarily, most studies focus on the day-to-day experiences of Asian Americans in localized contexts and in a single point in time, which restrict their ability to make broader generalizations with respect to trends at the national level and over time. While some studies use national data, the scope is either outdated or confined to one or two years. Missing is a discussion of the trends in school

victimization for Asian Americans and whether the incidence rate is increasing or decreasing. In addition, while a small number of studies have examined the experiences of specific Asian American subgroups (Peguero & Williams, 2013), heterogeneity in school victimization among Asian students is still underexplored. For instance, qualitative studies noted that the perception of academic achievement is a motivating factor for peer resentment, yet there is limited evidence of differential rates for high achieving versus low achieving Asian American students.

In our study, we address these limitations and expand on the literature in several ways. First, we overcome the limitation of small sample sizes common in studies of Asian Americans by pooling six waves of cross-sectional national data on school victimization. The data not only contain information on households, student characteristics and school experiences, but distinguish between multiple types of victimization experiences. Second, the pooled data allow us to explore how victimization trends have changed for Asian American students relative to other groups in the past decade. Lastly, we examine heterogeneity in victimization experiences among Asian Americans in areas highlighted in the qualitative literature, in particular, gender, academic achievement, and family income. The latter is an area that receives less attention in the literature but research suggests that poverty status can be a risk factor for victimization in low-income communities (Hong & Espelage, 2012). Although Asian Americans as a group have a higher median income household income ($66,000) than the U.S population ($49,800), poverty rates are similar at 13 percent and even higher for certain Asian American subgroups (Pew Report, 2013). To summarize, we ask the following two research questions: 1) What are the trends in school victimization for Asian American adolescents relative to Blacks, Latinos, and Whites in the last decade? 2) Is school victimization experienced differently among Asian American adolescents in terms of gender, family income, or academic achievement?

We formulated several hypothesis based on prior literature and the model minority myth. The latter advances the view of Asian Americans as universally successful but ignores the discrimination and challenges that many face, which leads to further marginalization in U.S. society (Lew; 2006; Louie, 2004; Tran & Birman, 2010). The model minority designation also keeps Asian Americans at a distance from other racial minority groups and can cause interracial tensions (Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008). Other stereotypes of Asian Americans, such as the perpetual foreigner perception, are likely to exacerbate school victimization as well (Lee, 2006; Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007). Thus, in this study, we expected Asian American adolescents to experience higher rates of race-related hate words than other racial groups but similar or lower rates for bullying (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Second, for both types of victimization, we expected Asian American males to be targeted more than females (Koo, Peguero, & Shekarkhar, 2012) and more frequently for high-achieving Asian American students than lower achieving Asian American students (Greene et al., 2006). Based on the general trends on victimization by family income (Chauhan & Reppucci, 2009), we anticipated higher rates for lower-income Asian American students than their higher-income counterparts.

Method

Data and Participants

We use data from the *National Crime Victimization Survey* (*NCVS*) and the *School Crime Supplement* (*SCS*). The *NCVS* is a nationally representative survey of about 40,000 households comprising nearly 75,000 persons collected each year since 1973. The survey provides the largest national forum on the frequency, characteristics, and consequences of criminal victimization in the United States. The *SCS* is a supplement to the *NCVS*, administered since 1985 and every other year starting in 1999. Youth between 12 and 18 years old living in a

household selected to complete the *NCVS* are eligible for the *SCS*. The supplement asks youth about their experiences with, and perceptions of crime and safety at school, such as student bullying, hate-related incidents, fear of victimization at school, and the presence of drugs and weapons. Approximately 5,000 youths complete the *SCS* at each data collection.

Our study focuses primarily on the *SCS* and students' report of school victimization. However, we use the *NCVS* for information about students' family background, such as parent income level. We excluded the years before 2001 given substantial differences in the survey items. Merging the *NCVS* and *SCS* datasets from 2001 to 2011 (6 waves of data) resulted in a sample of 37,191 students. The total number of students for each data collection period ranges from 8,374 in 2001 to 5,052 in 2011. White students make up most of the sample (63%), followed by Hispanic (18%), Black (13%), Asian (4.1%) and students of mixed race (2.5%)

School Victimization

We use two measures of school victimization: (1) bullying and (2) race or ethnicity-related hate words. For bullying, students in 2001 and 2003 were asked, "During the last 6 months, have you been bullied at school? That is, has anyone picked on you a lot or tried to make you do things you didn't want to do like give them money." We coded this outcome as dichotomous (1 = yes, 0 = no). From 2005 to 2011, students were asked seven questions about specific bullying incidents, such as another person making fun of them or spreading rumors. If students confirmed any of these incidents, they were coded as having been bullied. Given that the 2001 and 2003 surveys asked a single question about bullying while 2005 to 2011 asked specific bullying items, we conduct our analyses separately for these two periods. For race or ethnicity-related hate words, students were asked, "During the last 6 months, has anyone called you a derogatory name at school having to do with race, religions, ethnic background or national origin, disability,

gender, or sexual orientation?" Students were asked to check two boxes indicating whether the hate-related word was due to the student's race or ethnic background. We created a dichotomous variable indicating whether the student had checked "yes" to either of the two boxes.

Demographic Variables

Our main predictor of interest when exploring trends in school victimization is student race. We include the following racial categories: Asian, Black, Hispanic, White, and Other.

Select Student Characteristics

We analyze heterogeneity in school victimization for three student characteristics. The first is a measure for gender (male or not). The second is students' academic grades, a self-reported measure of the letter grade that students have earned across all subjects: mostly A's, B's, C's, and D's or F's. For subgroup analyses that resulted in small sample sizes, we grouped the response items into three categories (i.e., mostly A's, B's, and C's or lower). Lastly, we included parent income, a set of four dummy variables representing a student's family income bracket: (1) less than $19,999; (2) $20,000-$39.999; (3) $40,000-$74,999; and (4) more than $75,000.

Control Variables

We examined other student and survey characteristics related to school victimization. This included student age, since some studies have found that bullying tends to increase during middle school (Espelage & Horne, 2008). Since there is often overlap between victims and perpetrator, we controlled for two measures of student misbehavior: whether a student had been in a fight during the school or had skipped in school in the past four weeks. To control for potential time effects, we included variables for the survey year. We also included the following regional dummy variables to control for unobserved heterogeneity: Northeast, Midwest, South, and West. Lastly, we included the population size of each student's residence with 10 dummy

variables, ranging from under 10,000 to over 5,000,000, to account for different victimization rates in larger or smaller areas. In Table 1, we provide a summary of our main variables.

Analytic Method

To address our first research question about trends in school victimization for Asian American adolescents, we fit the following logistic regression model separately for each of our two victimization outcomes for student *i* at time *t*:

$$(1) \qquad logit(p_{it}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 ASIAN_{it} + \beta_2 BLACK_{it} + \beta_3 HISPANIC_{it} + \beta_4 OTHER_{it} + \gamma YEAR_t + \delta Z_{it}$$

where p_{it} represents the probability of each of our selected victimization outcomes occurring, *YEAR* is a vector of dummy variables for 2001 to 2011 (odd years only), and *Z* is a vector of control variables. We assume that the differential trends in victimization outcomes, captured by our *YEAR* dummies, are constant across racial groups. In addition to calculating the population odds ratio of victimization by antilogging the parameters, we also use the parameter estimates to recover the predicted probabilities of being victimized for each racial group and for each year.

To address our second research question about heterogeneity in school victimization, we augment equation (1) by including interactions between each of the three student characteristics of interest (gender, academic grades, parent income) and the race dummy variables (e.g., *ASIAN*×*MALE*). We fit separate models with these interaction terms for each of the three student characteristics. To examine whether differences in school victimization are statistically significant, such as for Asian males compared to Asian females, we conducted post-hoc general linear hypothesis (GLH) tests on the parameters of interest. We use a Bonferroni correction to adjust for the six total tests conducted, setting the alpha level at 0.05/6 = 0.0083.

Missing Data

Nearly 97 percent of the participants had either complete data or missing values on one variable. In the latter case, about 17 percent of participants had missing values on family income. To reduce bias and maintain our sample size, we imputed missing values for all observations using chained equations in Stata 12.0. The results were similar with listwise deletion though.

Results

To provide context for our results, we first describe overall nationwide trends in school victimization in the SCS data. Then we present our main results by each research question.

National Trends in School Victimization

In Table 2, we present school victimization rates by year and disaggregated by specific incident types as reported in the *SCS* dataset. The top panel focuses on bullying while the bottom examines hate-related words. For overall bullying (last row of the top panel), about 7 to 8 percent of students reported being bullied in 2001 and 2003. However, in 2005 to 2011, when the survey asked about specific bullying categories, about 28 to 32 percent of students reported at least one incident. These results indicate that bullying rates are much lower when surveys ask a single question about bullying, compared to presenting respondents with the option of checking from a range of incidents. Despite differences in how bullying is asked, the percentage of students reporting being bullied has remained stable within each period. In terms of specific bullying incidents from 2005 to 2011, the top three are peers making fun of victims (19%), spreading rumors (17%), and threatening with harm (10%), all fairly stable for each data collection year.

In the bottom panel of Table 2, we present disaggregated results for hate-related words. Although the focus of this article is on race or ethnicity-related hate words, we display the other categories here for comparison. In general, few students reported being victims of any type of

hate-related words, especially compared to bullying. Only about 8 percent reported any hate-related words in each year. The two most frequently reported incidents were hate words related to race or ethnicity. About 5 percent of students reported either of these incidents. The frequency of race or ethnicity-related hate words is stable across years, similar to the other categories.

RQ1: National Trends Over Time in School Victimization for Asian Americans

In Table 3, we display our fitted logistic regression models describing the relationship between race and each victimization outcome. We first present models including only the race variables and year fixed effects and then models adjusted for our selected covariates. Models 1-4 focus on bullying for the two different time periods (2001-2003 and 2005-2011), while Models 5-6 addresses race-related hate words. We use the parameter estimates in the unconditional models to calculate the fitted probability of victimization for each racial group in a given year.

In Figure 1, we present the probabilities of being bullied for each racial group from Models 1 and 3. In general, we see that Asian Americans have the lowest probability of being bullied for each year. The fitted probability is about 5 percent in 2001 and 2003, compared to 17-19 percent from 2003 to 2011. The increase is expected given the change in the survey items during those two periods noted earlier. However, despite these changes, the probabilities for Asian Americans are still lower than the national trends and relative to other racial groups. For instance, the probability of being bullied for Asian Americans is 11 percentage points lower than for Blacks and 14 percentage points lower than for Whites. The results in Figure 1 also indicate that bullying rates for Asian Americans have remained consistent in the past decade.

In Figure 2, we display the fitted probabilities of students being called race or ethnicity-related hated words from Model 5. In contrast to their relatively low rates of experiencing bullying as shown in Figure 1, Asian Americans have the second highest rate of experiencing

race or ethnicity-related hate words. The fitted probabilities for Asian Americans are around 9 percent for each year, compared to less than 4 percent for Whites. The results in Figure 2 display evidence that is consistent with the high rates of racial discrimination as reported in earlier qualitative studies on Asian Americans students. In sum, the main trend in Figures 1 and 2 supports our first hypothesis that while Asian Americans are less likely to be bullied relative to other racial groups, they are more likely to be victims of race-related hate words.

Although the unadjusted models in Table 3 (Models 1, 3 and 5) and fitted probabilities provide an important snapshot of the trends over time, we also present covariate-adjusted models to understand whether students are targeted due to their racial background or other factors related to race. For bullying in Models 1-2 and Models 3-4, the magnitude of the parameter estimates on the race variables are slightly attenuated with the inclusion of covariates but the direction of the relationship remains about the same. For instance, for Asian Americans in 2005-2011, the unadjusted odds of being bullied relative to Whites are 0.47 ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.75, $p < 0.001$), compared to the adjusted odds of 0.54 ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.61, $p < 0.001$). This indicates other factors associated with race may be influencing victimization for Asian Americans. We see similar patterns in Models 5-6 for students experiencing race-related hate words. Overall, the covariates-adjusted models for both types of victimization supports the racial differences observed in Figures 1 and 2.

RQ2: Heterogeneity in School Victimization Among Asian Americans

Whereas our first research question examined overall trends in school victimization among all Asian American students, our second research question asks whether there are differential rates of victimization. The main results are presented in Figures 3 and 4 for bullying and race-related hate words, respectively. We focus on bullying from 2005 to 2011 given the larger sample size for Asian Americans. We also present the separate logistic regression models in

Table 4. For brevity, we only present the coefficient estimates relevant for Asian Americans (full results for other parameters are available by request from the authors).

In Figure 3, the results indicate that bullying rates for Asian Americans are slightly higher for males than females, and for those from higher income backgrounds. However, the differences are not statistically significant, $F(1, 136) = 0.64$, $p = 0.42$; $F(1, 46) = 0.16$, $p = 0.69$. The main difference is in bullying rates by academic achievement. Asian American students who self-reported receiving mostly C's or less in their courses have about a 32 percent chance of being bullied, compared to 15 percent for those who receive mostly A's. Thus, low-achieving Asian American students have nearly 2.7 times the odds of being bullied than high-achieving Asian Americans, $F(1, 152) = 9.21$, $p = 0.003$. In Figure 4, we examine heterogeneity in experiences of race-related hate words for Asian Americans. The results indicate that Asian American males are more likely to be victims than Asian American females, nearly 2.5 times higher odds, $F(1, 134) = 15.90$, $p = 0.0001$. There is no statistically significant difference by family income or academic achievement. Although we had hypothesized similar differences for both bullying and experiencing race-related hate words for Asian American adolescents, the results show evidence of heterogeneity by individual characteristics that depend on victimization type.

Discussion

This study complements previous studies on the school victimization experiences of Asian American adolescents. By pooling together nationally representative data from the past decade, we analyzed patterns of school victimization over time. The scope of the dataset, the size of the sample, and the specific survey items on victimization provided a unique opportunity to examine the extent of victimization among Asian Americans, heterogeneity in experiences, and ultimately shed light on an issue that receives little research and policy attention in education.

Our results show that the extent of school victimization depends on the type of incident. Asian Americans are the least likely to be bullied among all racial groups and over the last decade. While the frequency of the bullying depends on how bullying is defined, we estimate that the probability of an Asian American being bullied at school is about 0.18 in 2011, compared to 0.24 to 0.31 for other racial groups. Similar to other racial groups, the probability is lower for Asian American students when the *SCS* asked students a single question about bullying than a list of bullying incidents. However, bullying trends for Asian Americans have remained fairly stable in the last four data collection periods (2005-2011). Thus, while incidents of physical assault or bullying of Asian Americans have appeared in the media (Hwang, 2011) and should be monitored closely, the national trends suggest that they happen with less frequency. More attention should focus on understanding the context of these cases.

Although experiences of bullying are low, Asian Americans are more likely to be victims of race or ethnicity-related hate words than Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites. This finding is consistent with studies showing that Asian Americans are more likely to experience racial discrimination at school, particularly from peers (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). In addition, the probability of experiencing race-related hate words for Asian Americans has been steady in the last decade at about 0.09. These results indicate that while such victimization rates are higher for Asian American relative to other groups, they are still low in the absolute sense. In sum, discussions of Asian Americans at the policy level need to distinguish the type of school victimization.

To better understand factors related to school victimization among Asian Americans, we explored whether certain subgroups are more affected than others. We found that Asian American males are more likely to be targets of race-related hate words than Asian females.

However, we did not find gender differences in terms of bullying. This is slightly contrary to Koo, Peguero, and Shekarkhar (2012) who found that Asian American immigrant females had a higher likelihood of physical harassment. Unfortunately, the *SCS* did not collect information on participants' immigration status. Our finding that Asian American males experienced a higher probability of being targets of race-related hate words could be potentially explained by Qin, Way, and Rana's (2008) conclusion—Asian males are targeted because of their physical size and perceived weakness, which are fueled by racial stereotypes. We found no difference in bullying or race-related hate words by family income. Although this is likely due to the fact that there were few Asian American students from the lower income quartiles, Peguero and Williams (2013) also found no relationship between income and victimization for Asian Americans.

Lastly, we found that high-achieving Asian American students tended to be bullied *less* than their low-achieving counterparts. This is an unexpected finding given that the model minority perception of academic achievement was often cited as reason for the bullying of Asian Americans in qualitative studies (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Qin, Way, & Rana's 2008). The finding is also contrary to Peguero and Williams's (2013) study that found high-achieving Asian Americans were more likely to be bullied. One possible explanation for the different findings is that student achievement in this study was based on self-reported grades, as opposed to standardized assessments in Peguero and Williams. Nakamoto and Schwartz's (2010) meta-analysis of student achievement and peer victimization found that studies using self-reports of grades tended to find smaller effect sizes, likely due to reliability issues with self-reports. Despite the limitations of self-reported grades, the findings in this study raise the possibility that perhaps perception of Asian American academic achievement matters more than reality. Another possibility is that low achieving students are likely marginalized or struggling in other ways that

makes them targets. Indeed, the broader literature on school victimization patterns indicates that lower achieving students are more likely to be victimized (Nakamoto & Schwartz, 2010). Unfortunately, the lack of additional data in this study prevented further exploration of these hypotheses. Overall, the results suggest that gender and achievement differences should be considered when designing and targeting interventions to reduce victimization experiences among Asian Americans.

Limitations and Future Research

Although this article benefits from unique features of the *SCS* dataset, there are several limitations in our findings related to the dataset as well. First, although we have attempted to disentangle race from other correlates with race and school victimization by including individual level controls, time effects, and regional fixed effects, there still may be unobserved confounders. However, the unadjusted and covariates-adjusted models yield similar trends, suggesting that bias due to other confounders may be minimal. Second, the *SCS* sampled households but not schools, which prevents more policy relevant multilevel analyses about the effect of the school context on Asian American victimization. Third, while pooling multiple years of data increased the sample size to examine Asian Americans, we are unable to examine ethnic subgroup differences. Similarly, we lacked information on other factors related to school victimization for Asian Americans, such as immigration status and English proficiency.

Many of the limitations in this study should be considered within the broader context of what the *SCS* was designed to accomplish: document national trends in school victimization. We used this feature to help contextualize anecdotal evidence of victimization incidents involving Asian American adolescent in schools. Prior research has examined the effects of school victimization and why Asian Americans are targeted, but this study is one of the first to address

the extent of these incidents over time on a national scale. In addition to the contribution our study makes to the extant literature on the victimization of Asian Americans in schools, there are four areas for future research motivated by our study. The first stems from the surprising finding that low achieving Asian Americans were more likely to be bullied. Researchers should examine the extent to which this is due to low achievement or other struggles that make these students a target (i.e., language and immigration status). Disentangling these factors can help separate race from the role of other background characteristics associated with school victimization. Second, researchers should also explore victimization experiences in the earlier grades. This study and many previous ones focused on adolescents in middle and high school. Longitudinal data on the same students, rather than cross-sectional data used in this study, can help unpack whether Asian Americans experience victimization differently as they age.

Third, in thinking about policy intervention, further research should examine protective factors that may moderate or mitigate school victimization among Asian American youth. Given the school context in which victimization occurs, we call attention to the role of school factors, in particular peer and adult relationships. Although research shows that strong relationships with peers and adult may lower the risk of school victimization (Garandeau & Cillessen, 2006; Holt & Espelage, 2007; Schmidt & Bagwell, 2007), few studies have explicitly examined whether this trend is consistent for Asian American youth (Hong et al., 2013).

Finally, one of the main motivations behind this study was to further unpack the model minority myth associated with Asian Americans. In examining school victimization trends, we provided further evidence of the challenges that Asian American youth face, despite the regular perception of academic success. The findings also serve as a reminder that the consequence of the model minority myth is further marginalization of Asian Americans and their experiences.

However, more research is needed to inform appropriate policies and practice. For instance, studies should collect and examine data that acknowledges the ethnic diversity within the Asian American category. Given the variation in household and other background characteristics among Asian Americans, disaggregating school victimization by Asian ethnic subgroups can provide a more nuanced understanding of who is being targeted and ultimately lead to more culturally relevant strategies to prevent school victimization.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1
Univariate descriptive statistics of selected covariates from the School Crime Supplement analytic sample, 2001-2011

Variables	Mean
Male	0.512
Age	14.753
Asian	0.039
Black	0.153
Hispanic	0.176
White	0.606
Other	0.026
Public School	0.918
Grades 6-8	0.408
Grades 9-12	0.591
Academic Grades: "Mostly A's or B's"	0.785
Household Income < $40,000	0.374
Parent Education BA or higher	0.248
Been in a fight	0.057
Skipped school	0.071
Survey Years (proportion of sample)	
2001	0.225
2003	0.202
2005	0.169
2007	0.151
2009	0.116
2011	0.136
Sample Size	37,191

Note. Sample weights and complex survey design included in summary statistics.

Table 2
The proportion of bullying and hate-related incidents by type and year, School Crime Supplement, 2001-2011

Variables	2001	2003	2005	2007	2009	2011	All
Bullied							
Made fun of you	--	--	0.189	0.209	0.187	0.188	0.193
Spread rumors	--	--	0.149	0.180	0.164	0.186	0.169
Threatened you with harm	--	--	0.049	0.058	0.057	0.053	0.054
Pushed, shoved, tripped, or spit	--	--	0.092	0.109	0.089	0.088	0.095
Do things you did not want	--	--	0.035	0.041	0.036	0.034	0.037
Exclude you from activities	--	--	0.046	0.052	0.046	0.058	0.050
Destroyed your property	--	--	0.035	0.042	0.033	0.030	0.035
Any of the above	0.079	0.072	0.285	0.317	0.279	0.288	0.196
Hate-related Words							
Race	0.041	0.039	0.042	0.045	0.046	0.047	0.043
Religion	0.018	0.014	0.017	0.016	0.017	0.014	0.016
Ethnicity or National Origin	0.027	0.023	0.025	0.029	0.028	0.028	0.027
Disability	0.010	0.011	0.006	0.010	0.008	0.012	0.009
Gender	0.027	0.022	0.019	0.020	0.017	0.014	0.020
Sexual Orientation	0.012	0.012	0.010	0.010	0.006	0.012	0.010
Any of above	0.092	0.081	0.079	0.083	0.076	0.082	0.082
Race / Ethnicity or National Origin	0.050	0.047	0.051	0.055	0.050	0.054	0.051

Note. Sample weights and complex survey design included in estimates. Bullying incidents were not asked in 2001 and 2003.

Table 3
A taxonomy of logistic regression models predicting whether a student is bullied or a victim of race-related hate words, School Crime Supplement, 2001-2011

	Bullied (2001-2003)		Bullied (2005-2011)		Race Hate (2001-2011)	
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Asian	-0.421~	-0.240	-0.746***	-0.613***	1.037***	1.114***
	(0.238)	(0.226)	(0.086)	(0.094)	(0.128)	(0.131)
Black	-0.302**	-0.519***	-0.117~	-0.257***	0.927***	0.745***
	(0.107)	(0.130)	(0.061)	(0.072)	(0.077)	(0.089)
Hispanic	-0.212*	-0.324**	-0.338***	-0.411***	0.861***	0.718***
	(0.098)	(0.114)	(0.050)	(0.056)	(0.067)	(0.080)
Other	0.238	0.121	-0.048	-0.165	1.189***	1.055***
	(0.262)	(0.272)	(0.094)	(0.101)	(0.131)	(0.148)
Age		-0.323***		-0.141***		-0.036*
		(0.021)		(0.010)		(0.014)
Male		0.007		-0.333***		0.223***
		(0.065)		(0.033)		(0.054)
$20K-$39K		0.111		0.034		-0.010
		(0.117)		(0.066)		(0.092)
$40K-$74K		0.029		0.089		-0.048
		(0.124)		(0.074)		(0.098)
$75K or more		-0.027		0.105		-0.086
		(0.144)		(0.073)		(0.113)
Mostly C's		-0.409**		-0.538***		-0.382***
		(0.132)		(0.101)		(0.111)
Mostly B's		-0.670***		-0.832***		-0.517***
		(0.136)		(0.097)		(0.108)
Mostly A's		-0.973***		-0.951***		-0.565***
		(0.143)		(0.101)		(0.111)
Fight		1.458***		1.793***		1.312***
		(0.094)		(0.075)		(0.074)
Skipped		0.421***		0.810***		0.713***
		(0.116)		(0.070)		(0.082)
Public		0.148		0.215**		0.253*
		(0.129)		(0.068)		(0.130)
Constant	-2.369***	2.499	-0.820***	1.717***	-3.321***	-3.035
	(0.049)	(0.326)	(0.036)	(0.182)	(0.072)	(0.288)
Controls						
Year	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region +Pop. Size		X		X		X
Sample Size	15895	15895	21296	21296	37191	37191

Note. All models include sample weights and survey design. Reference category for income is less than $20K and mostly D's and F's for grades. ~p<0.10; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001.

Table 4
A taxonomy of logistic regression models predicting bullying and race-related hated words heterogeneity by student gender, family income, and academic achievement, School Crime Supplement, 2001-2011

	Bullied (2005-2011)			Race Hate (2001-2011)		
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Race						
Asian	-0.892***	-0.849*	-0.387~	0.771***	0.586	1.072***
Gender						
Male	-0.291***			0.368***		
Asian*Male	0.442*			0.488*		
Income						
Income 2		-0.043			-0.194	
Income 3		-0.080			-0.312~	
Income 4		-0.170~			-0.490*	
Asian*Income 2		0.023			0.302	
Asian*Income 3		0.104			0.483	
Asian*Income 4		0.327			0.757~	
Grades						
Mostly Bs			-0.352***			-0.243*
Mostly As			-0.441***			-0.531***
Asian*Mostly Bs			-0.193			-0.020
Asian*Mostly As			-0.349			0.189
Sample Size	21296	21296	21296	37191	37191	37191

Note. All models include sample weights and survey design with primary sampling unit and strata. Models also control for year, region, town size, school sector (public or private) school, and whether a student had been in a fight or skipped school. Interaction terms between additional racial dummies (Black, Hispanic, Other) and gender (Models 1 and 4), income (Models 2 and 5) and self-reported grades (Models 3 and 6) are also included. Coefficient estimates on these variables are suppressed for brevity. Income 2 corresponds to $20K-$39K; Income 3, $40K-$74K and Income 4, equal to or greater than $75K. Reference category for parent income is less than $20K and C's or lower for student grades. ~p<0.10; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001.

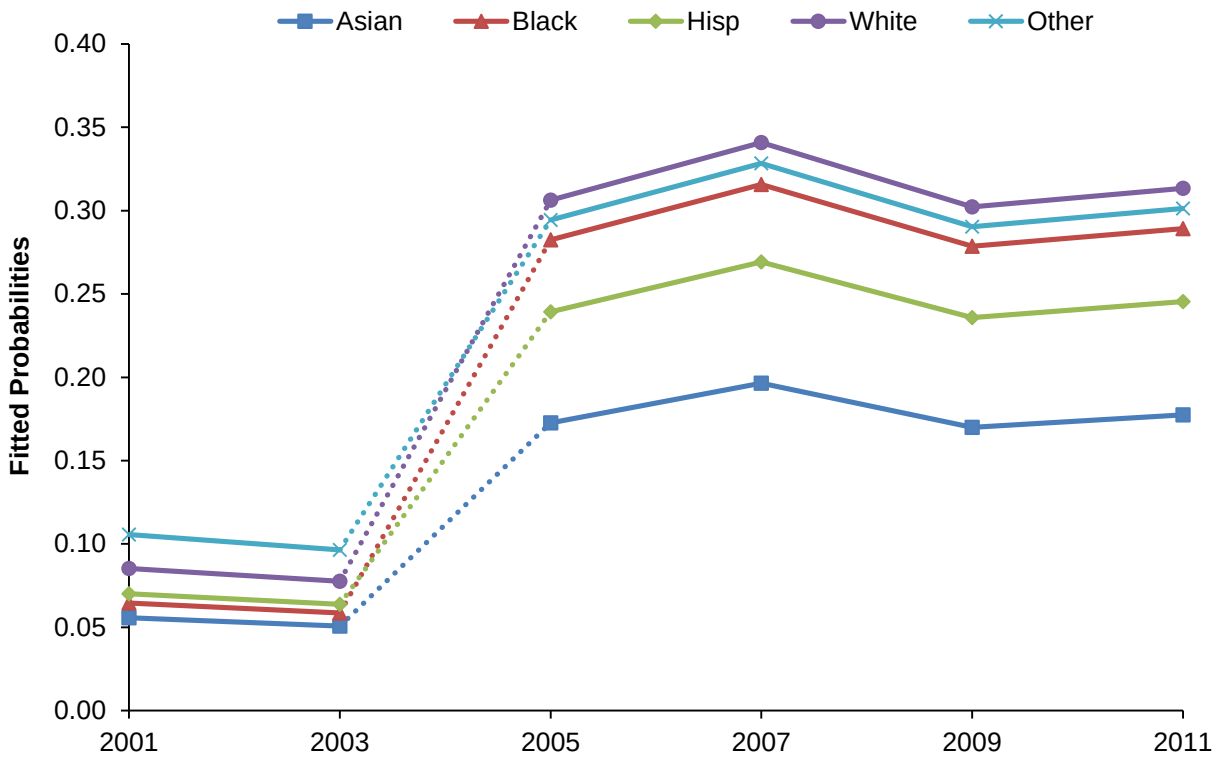

Figure 1: Fitted probabilities of a student being bullied, by race and year

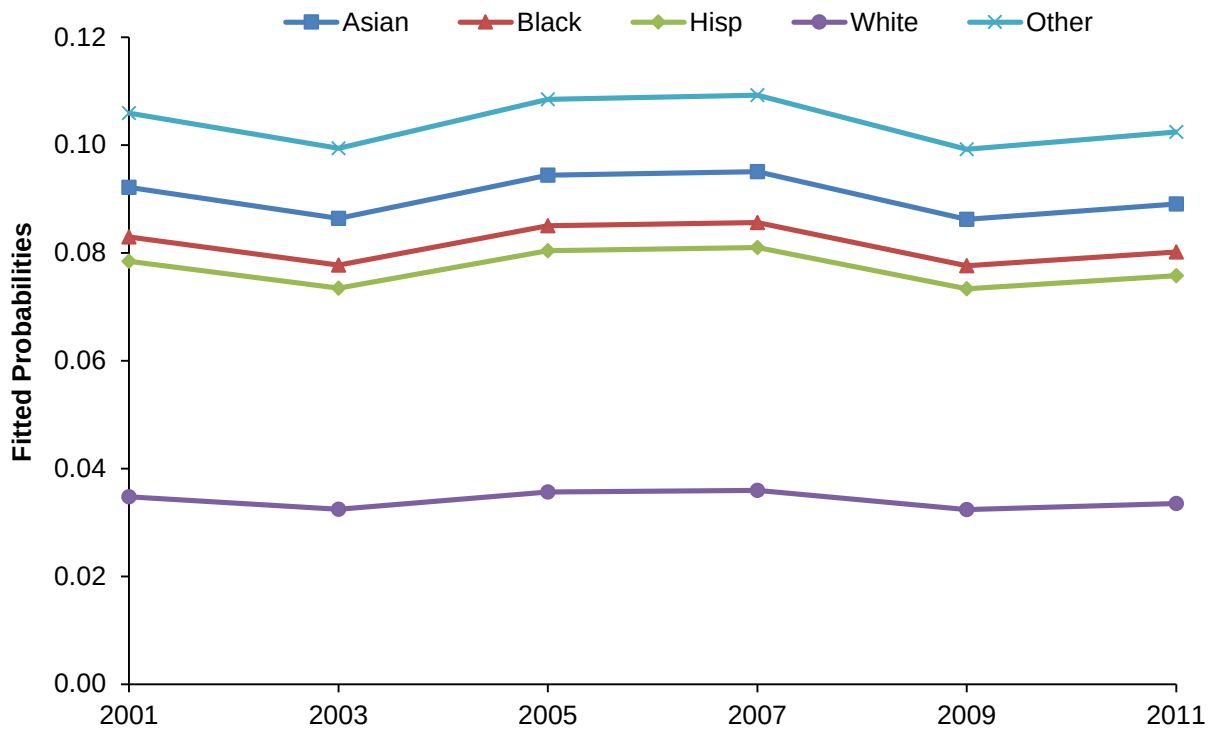

Figure 2: Fitted probabilities of a student being called race or ethnicity-related hate words, by race and year

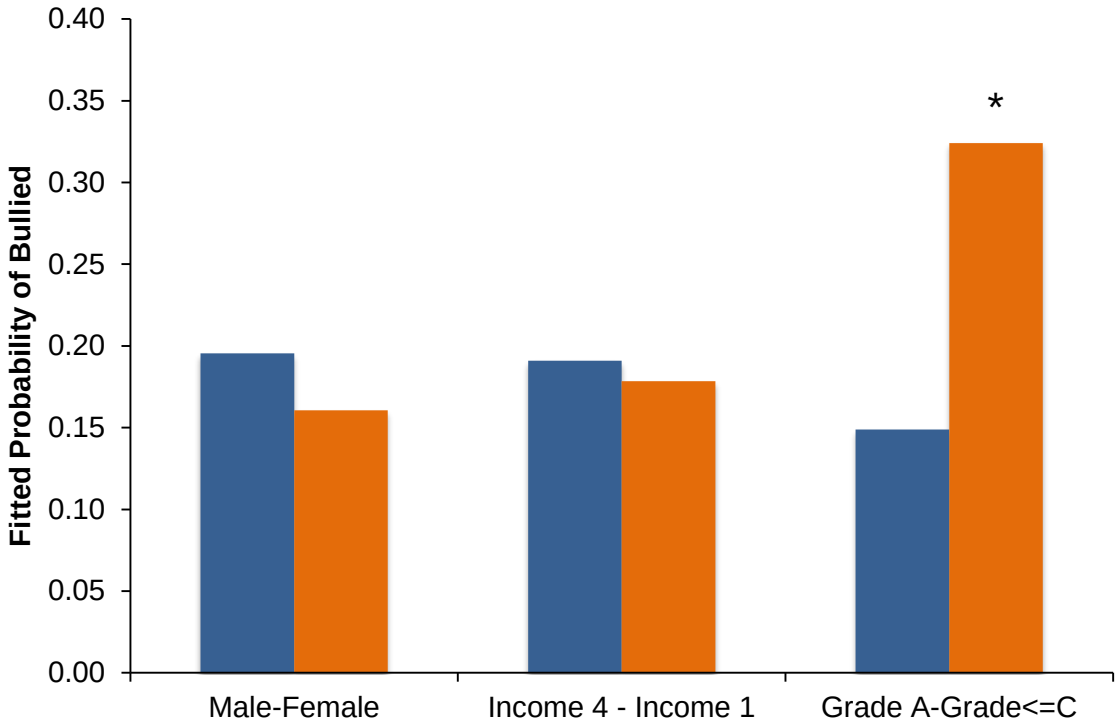

Figure 3: Fitted probabilities of an Asian American student being bullied, by gender, income, and grades. Income 4 = $75,000 or more, Income 1 = less than $25,000; *$p < 0.001$

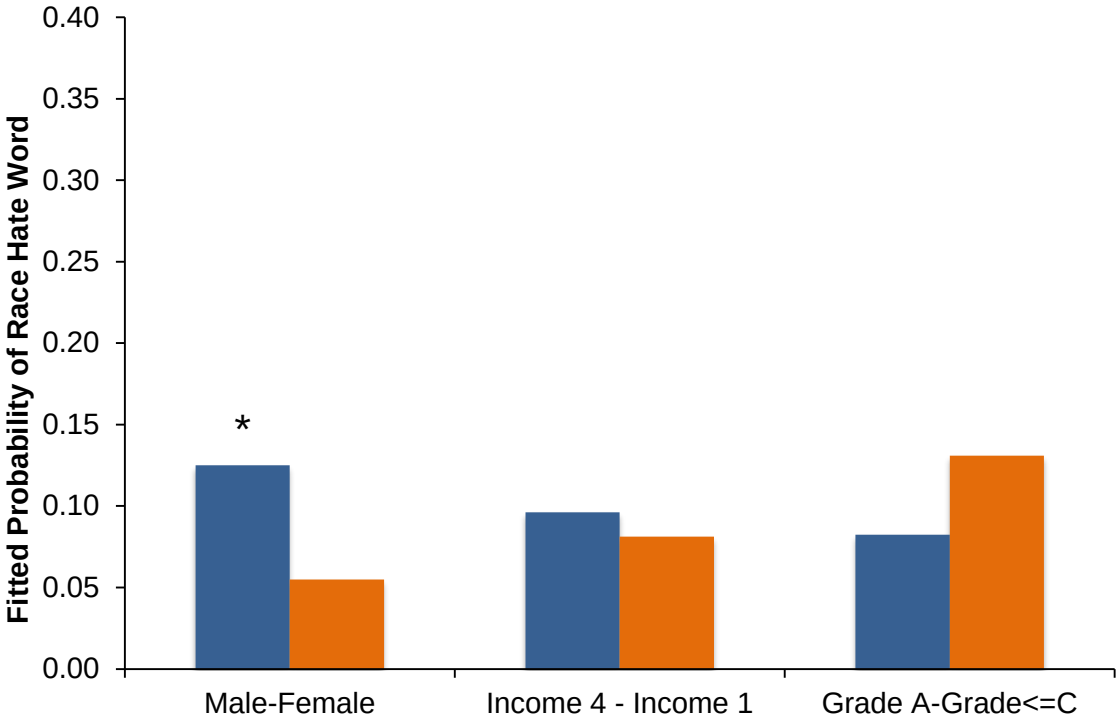

Figure 4: Fitted probabilities of an Asian American student being called a race- or ethnicity-related hate word, by gender, income, and grades. Income 4 = $75,000 or more, Income 1 = less than $25,000 *$p < 0.001$