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Examining the Prevalence of Bullying Among Biracial Children in Comparison to Single-Race Children

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EXAMINING THE PREVALENCE OF BULLYING AMONG BIRACIAL CHILDREN
IN COMPARISON TO SINGLE-RACE CHILDREN

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
Western Kentucky University
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In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Kristina Gamble

May 2015
EXAMINING THE PREVALENCE OF BULLYING AMONG BIRACIAL CHILDREN
IN COMPARISON TO SINGLE-RACE CHILDREN

Date Recommended 4/13/15

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Dean, Graduate School 4/25/15
Date
I dedicate this thesis to my son Karmello. You have been my motivation throughout my journey as a graduate student. One day you will be a young man embarking on your own educational and professional endeavors. Remember to never lose sight of your dreams and goals. Resilience and determination can bring you out of any form of adversity.

Secondly, I would like to dedicate this thesis to all single parents in pursuit of a master degree. Do not let anyone or anything deter you from your goals. You may come across various obstacles along the way, but I am proof that you can make it to the finish line with completed thesis and master degree in hand!
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Bullying is an issue that has a presence felt by individuals residing all across the United States. There is not one universal accepted definition of this problem, but the types of bullying are as diverse as the individuals who are affected. This study looks at an under researched demographic of Biracial children in comparison to single-race children and the prevalence of bullying. The study uses data from the Fragile Families and Child Well-being Study. The original study took place in 20 urban cities across America with mothers and fathers of newborns (N=4,898). This study looks at the prevalence of bullying made possible from the 9 year follow up child survey (N=3,266). After analysis, results show that race is not a significant factor when comparing the prevalence of bullying between biracial children with their single-race peers.
INTRODUCTION

There is not a universally accepted definition of bullying, but according to Nansel and colleagues (2001), bullying can be defined as, (1) behavior that is intended to harm or disturb another, (2) the behavior occurs repeatedly over time, and (3) there is an imbalance of power with a more powerful person or group attacking a less powerful person (p. 2094). Understanding that bullying can be verbal or physical is important. Verbal bullying includes calling someone names or making threats. Physical bullying requires physical contact with a person that could include hitting and/or pushing (Nansel et al, 2001). Bullying can also be overt or covert. Overt bullying encompasses the more observable physical and verbal acts. These acts include name calling, threats, hitting, kicking, and punching. Contrary to the overt form, covert bullying is less observable and includes gossiping, body language, and exclusion (Byers, Caltabiano, & Caltabiano, 2011). Approximately 30% of American students in grades 6-10 have reported at least a moderate involvement in bullying (Swearer, Turner, Givens, & Pollack, 2008). Some lasting effects of bullying include depression, poor school attendance, and stress (Swearer, Turner, Givens, & Pollack). Research highlights specific negative outcomes of bullying. However, explaining who is being bullied and the experience of the victim still lacks empirical research.

Approximately 5 percent of all American children born in the early 2000s were Biracial (Herman, 2004). As documented by the United States Census Bureau in 2010, more than nine million individuals identified as having two or more races. This was an increase of three million in this population from the 2000 Census data, where people had
the option of selecting more than one race for the first time (Census Bureau Brief, 2010). There are multiple combinations of races to qualify as a Biracial identifier. The four groups that are the most common and most studied include (1) Black-White, (2) American Indian-White, (3) Asian-White, and (4) Black-American Indian (Campbell & Eggerling, 2006). According to the Census Bureau brief (2010) the Black-White Biracial demographic represented 784,764 people, White-Asian, 868,395 people, White-American Indian, 1,082,683 people, and Black-American-Indian demographic represented 182,494 people. Although the Biracial population is continuing to grow and it is more common for people to identify as Biracial, bullying research primarily focuses on single-race children. Not only is it a disservice to not include analysis and provide data on Biracial children being bullied, but also a comparison of how often Biracial children are bullied in relation to single-race children is important as well. Based on previous research on Biracial children, Park (1937) and Billson (1988), it is expected that Biracial children will experience a higher frequency of being bullied than their peers of a single-race.

The purpose of this study is to examine bullying against Biracial children and determine if this marginalized population experiences bullying more often than single-race children. If Biracial children are at a greater risk of being bullied, the results may encourage the creation of programs specifically targeted at reducing bullying of marginalized individuals. This will be done by reviewing research conducted on other marginalized populations, such as the GLBT (Gay, Lesbian, Bi-Sexual, and Transgenered) community, that point out significant increases in bullying with individuals who are outside the majority or perceived as non-normative.
This research utilized data from the Fragile Families and Child Well-being Study. The discussion of racial identity in the United States is probed to understand the historical context of this study. Previous studies and their findings of other marginalized groups experiencing being victims to bullying such as the GLBT youth will also be outlined. The discussion of marginalized groups’ experiences will then propel the study to the marginal man theory that will be explored to address the potential distinctive differences of Biracial children and their experience with bullying compared with children of only one race.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A Racialized Society

Race as a Social Construct. There was a time when race was looked at from a biological standpoint. Now race is often viewed as socially constructed categories in which a person identifies or associates with in society (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). The categorization of race embodies separation and focuses on differences among groups in society (Thompson, 2006). Omni and Winant’s racial formation theory (1994) discusses race as a driving force within a society’s social structure and ultimately plays a role in the way a society is organized (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Bonilla-Silva (1997) point out that the racial formation theory examines at race from the individual level but also acknowledges the macro-level cultural impact race has on a society.

Racism in a Racialized Society. Bonilla-Silva’s (1997) racialized social system framework examines racial categories involving a hierarchy system. A racialized society
and the hierarchy of races can be traced back to the expansion to the new world and to Africa (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). This hierarchy introduces ranking of different races and paves the way for racism in a society. In a racialized society, the dominant race takes control institutionally and structurally thus having power over other races along the lower end of the racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). In the United States, racism has been overt, such as the legacy of the institution of slavery. However, not only overt acts of racism thrive in a racialized society. Racism can also be more subtle and less direct (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). There is a pattern of overt acts of racism in the United States being legally abolished, but then subtle acts of discrimination exist and can oppress various groups of races such as African Americans (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Given the history on racism and, by extension, interracial marriage and Biracial offspring, this study on Biracial children will outline how neglected this population has become even after legal accomplishments and policy acknowledgments. Biracial children may still experience such issues as bullied due to their racial differences and cannot be just viewed on an individual level. As discussed in the critical race theory, the mistreatment of marginalized populations in the United States is evident within institutions embedded within the country.

*Fluidity of Color Lines.* The marginalization of Biracial individuals in The United States is evident through the historical context of color lines. Sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois predicted that one of the most pressing problems in the modern times would be the issue of the color line in our country (Lee & Bean, 2004). The United States is a highly racialized society in which categories are constantly used to identify and label
individuals. Recent increases in the Biracial identification have led to racial categories changing and evolving. As more individuals identify with two or more races, the total multiracial population becomes more significant. Multiracial individuals could account for more than 20% of the total population by year 2050 (Lee & Bean, 2004). Crossing ethnic borders may be validated by the projected multiracial statistics. However, a recent study conducted with U.S. college students unveils a different story. The results from Renan (2000) shows that although most students came to college with the intention of embracing their multiracial background, they were often met with rejection and lack of accommodations for those who did not fit into a concisely defined racial category. Findings such as these contradict the view that we are now a part of a post racial society. Just because of the increase in multiracial identified individuals, people with two or more races are not always celebrated or taken in consideration when programs, social groups, and resources are incorporated into the various institutions in society. The dark past of slavery has especially made racial boundaries less fluid for African Americans with a composition of more than one race. Africans were captured into slavery, and women were raped and thus Biracial children resulted without any rights or recognition from their white plantation owner fathers (Sears, 2004). The racialized society has cast African Americans at the low end of the racial hierarchy. The lower the position on the racial hierarchy, the more likely a person will be associated with the lower status racial category (Lee & Bean, 2004). This poses an interesting dilemma for black-white Biracial children who may struggle with their own polarizing identity as well as categorized by society. Children being bullied, instead of being embraced, could ensue due to the lack of
acceptance from their peers who ultimately reflect the very dynamics of a racialized society.

**Background on the Biracial Identity**

*One Drop Rule.* Individuals with two races have not always been able to claim a Biracial identity. The hypo descent rule, or more popularly called the one drop rule, has a deep history in racial classification in the United States (Root, 1998). Black-white Biracial individuals can be traced back to slavery. Slave masters would father illegitimate children with the slaves on the plantation (Williams, 2009). Although, those children had just as much White blood as Black blood, one drop of the latter meant that child would be considered black. The only way around being automatically identified as Black, would be to pass as White (Williams, 2009). This was only possible if a Biracial person had fair skin and features that would not be associated with African Americans. The individuals passing would have to silence and suppress their identity (Mullen, 1994). This historical examination of passing is important in the discussion of understanding why and how Biracial individuals of any age racially identify. Although the one drop rule is not a modern law, people still seem to look at this as a normal determination of race whenever the person in question has at least one parent of African descent (Mullen, 1994). As time goes on and Multi-racial children are being brought up in a more acceptable multicultural world, the trend may show an increase in the younger generations self-identifying as Multi-racial (Cheng, Simon, & Lively, 2009). The only way to validate this trend is to continue to collect data and track the identification of Biracial individuals in upcoming
generations in the United States.

Naming Biracial individuals. Biracial and Multi-racial were not always the only names to represent persons with mixed race ancestry. In the 1870’s the term mulatto was used to describe people with two races, one being African American. Usually it was the Black and White combination that would be identified using this term (Spencer, 2000). The term itself meant mule and an Arabic word for mixed (Raiman, 2004). The term mulatto was often used in slavery, along with the names quadroon and octoroon.

Quadroon represented a person who was one-quarter African ancestry, whereas octoroon was a name given to someone who had one-eighth of their ancestry represented by African (Raiman, 2004). The black bourgeoisie and the mulatto elite were also popular terms used to describe very light skinned black individuals who were descendants of white slave owners (DeBose & Winters, 2003). They were looked at as higher up in the racial caste system than Blacks, but still were subject to ridicule and fewer rights than that of fully white citizens.

Socially, the term mulatto was used to refer to anyone with mixed racial heritage until the 1920’s. Formally during this period the term Black was used to identify anyone with any known black ancestry (Spencer, 2000), although referring to people with mixed racial ancestry as mulattos was still common for individuals across the country. During this period the Federal document of Statistical Directive No. 15 was established. Only four racial groups were officially recognized by the United States’ government: White, Black, Asian and Pacific Islander, American Indian and Alaskan Native (Spencer, 2000). This lack of recognition of multiracial individuals remained even after the Biracial baby
boom in the late 1960’s until the 1990’s.

The terms Creole and Colored have also been used to name Biracial individuals. Creole was used during the settlement of areas in the south with French settlers. The racial combinations of Native Americans, French, and African-Americans helped to produce the common Creole term (Hall, 1995). Often fair skinned Creole’s were still called black by citizens and the government. The term Colored was originally used to describe lighter skinned mulattos but later the term was used to describe all blacks in the civil rights era (Spencer, 2000). The naming of individuals with two or more races changed throughout history, but what remained the same until year 2000, was the fact that these individuals did not have the right to choose their name and/or identification.

*The Tragic Mulatto Stereotype.* The tragic Mulatto or Octofoon can be found throughout the literature of many beloved writers such as Mark Twain and William Faulkner (Berzon, 1978). The tragic Mulatto in literature was popular in the early 1900’s. An early representations of the tragic mulatto can be found in Sterling Brown’s *The Negro in American Fiction* (1937). Within this work, he describes the notion that having one drop of black blood will result in a tragic ending (Raiman, 2004). Other writers depicted this story of a light skinned, mixed ancestry character with the father of the Mulatto usually being White, and the mother being Black (Davis, 1995). Within the fiction, the Mulatto has severe difficulties functioning in society due to their Biracial background. The individuals often suffer and end stuck between two worlds that they can never fit into properly (Davis, 1995). The stories were fiction, but the myths about being
of two races started to invade the minds of Americans. Still to this day, some of the same feelings illustrated in the tragic mulatto stories are feared by interracial parents who are considering having children. The stories of tragedy based on race were often exaggerated and played on emotion (Bullock, 1945). There are, of course, Biracial individuals in society then and now who could possibly relate to the feelings that surrounded the Mulattos. However, this doomed and hopeless feeling illustrated within the tragic Mulatto stories were still considered fiction and did not ensure an accurate portrayal of Biracial persons. The experiences of individuals with two or more races do not have to be simply feared and debated, but can be analyzed and examined from an empirical standpoint.

*Loving vs. Virginia decision.* The legal validation of interracial marriages helped in the effort of collecting data on Biracial children (Campbell & Eggerling, 2006). Interracial marriages can be defined as a marriage between two different races. Most commonly, we view this type of union between a white person and a person of a minority race (Keiley & Milan, 2000). In 1967, the Loving vs. Virginia case from the United States Supreme Court ruled that forbidding interracial marriages was no longer legal (Brunsma, 2005). The legalization of interracial marriage was a progressive ruling, not only for political reasons, but socially as well. Legalizing interracial marriages allowed the Biracial identity to be more socially accepted because the union between these individuals’ parents became legally accepted (Campbell & Eggerling, 2006). Laszloffy and Rockquemore (2003) pointed out that as the birth of Biracial children increase so will the awareness of multiculturalism. In fact, there has been a stable increase in the number
of interracial families for the past 30 years (Keiley & Milan, 2000). Both documented increases will continue to provide justification for studying certain phenomena as bullying regarding this growing population. These individuals will share unique experiences apart from their single-race peers in relation to bullying.

*The Biracial Identity Development Model.* The 1967 outcome of the Loving vs. Virginia case made it illegal to ban interracial marriages but the experiences of Biracial youth were still largely left untold. It was not until 1990 that Poston developed the Biracial identity development model created to address the unique identity developmental process of many Biracial children. The model, like many other identity models, addresses the identity of an individual throughout their life span (Herring, 1995). Poston’s model (1990) has five stages: the personal identity, the choice of group categorization, enmeshment/denial, appreciation, and the integration stage. The first stage, personal identity, primarily focuses on a Biracial child’s self-esteem in relation to their primary reference group such as their family. The last two stages, appreciation and integration are a combination of acceptance, integration, and appreciation for their multiple racial identities (Herring, 1995). Relevant to this current study, the choice of group categorization and the enmeshment/denial stage both encompass a time when Biracial youth experience acceptance issues, bullying, and possible alienation from their single race peers (Herring, 1995). The Biracial identity development model followed previous identity models, but the incorporation of the unique experiences of Biracial youth at different life stages was progressive and a resource tool for Biracial youth.

*The Multicultural Movement.* The Biracial identity development models of the
1990’s and the increasing number of Biracial children being born in the United States paved the way for a multicultural movement (Debose & Winters, 2003). The movement was led by interracial parents who were not content with the current way their children were being classified (Spencer, 2000). The pressure was also put on from Biracial and multiracial individuals who wanted the opportunity to identify with either one of their races or both. Parents were also adamant about their children being able to choose how they are racially identified at their school facilities (DeBose & Winters, 2003). School facilities would make children choose the race that they felt best fit them. In 1990, the option of Other was first offered on exams and school documentation forms (Spencer, 2000). During this year more than ten million individuals checked the Other option. Students began to also write in Multiracial, Biracial, Interracial, or Black-White on the documents they were asked to complete. During this time two magazines were established to address the issues of individuals with mixed race heritage (Spencer, 2000). However, individuals with mixed race heritage still found their experience and concerns less accepted than other races and ethnicities in the country. It was a harsh reality to not get the support and attention that other racial groups were getting during a time where ethnic and cultural pride were experiencing an all-time high in the United States of America (Spencer, 2000). The push and pressure of the movement did contribute to the historical changes in the United States Census.

*United States Census.* Although the Loving vs. Virginia case legalized interracial marriages, for thirty-three years children resulting from an interracial union were not given the option to check multiple race identifiers on the United States Census. If a
Biracial child is instructed to choose the best fit for their race, one can only imagine the conflicting feeling they may harbor when trying to decide what their true race is. The Biracial identity development model discussed the confusion about the Biracial child’s struggle to understand or choose their personal identity. This feeling of confliction changed with one of the biggest contributions to how we measure and record race in the United States: The 2000 check all that apply race change made to the Census (Harris & Sim, 2002). Respondents were given the choice of selecting all races that apply when filling out racial identifying information. This change had a great sociological impact. It allowed researchers to get an actual count of Biracial individuals living in the United States, not to mention let individuals fully disclose their Biracial or Multiracial identity. Race, for a change, was less rigid and conservative (Harris & Sim, 2002). It illustrates how our country is changing and that Biracial and Multi-racial citizens can no longer be ignored and treated as an invisible Other category. According to the 2010 Census brief, the individuals who identified as two or more races increased by more than 30% since the data from the 2000 census was released.

*Perceiving Race.* The percentages of individuals who identify as two or more races continues to rise, but the process in which identification takes places is complex when taking in consideration the various perceptions of race. External race focuses on the physical appearances of an individual. Expressed race focuses on the way individuals we express themselves and how we portray which race we identify with through our language and behaviors. Internal race is how we see ourselves. It is the thought of how we look at ourselves without the influence of external factors (Harris & Sim, 2002).
These distinctions are all necessary when studying bullying of Biracial children. Bullying could occur because one’s external race, internal race, and perceived race are not in line or because being Biracial is different and less understood.

THEORETICAL MECHANISMS

*The Origin of the Marginal Man Theory.* In the 1920s Robert Park described the theory of marginality in relation to immigrants. Immigrants find themselves as marginal beings wedged between their native culture and their new found home (Pilar & Udasco, 2004). Although there is a sense of detachment from immigrants’ new host culture and their original one, their marginality often brings a more discerning intelligence and broader viewpoints (Phinney & Allpuria, 1996). Park acknowledges the hybrid person that evolves through marginality and focuses more on the positive outcomes that could project themselves as a result of being influenced by two different cultures.

Stonequist’s *The Marginal Man* (1937), expands Park’s concept of marginality. Contrary to Park’s *A Human Migration and the Marginal Man* (1928), Stonequist goes into great detail about the negative outcomes of a marginal person being between two cultures. Stonequist was in fact a student of Robert Park at the University of Chicago, but his views on marginality were more elaborate and not just about immigrants. According to Stonequist (1937), other populations could be studied using the marginality concept to discuss the conflict and effects of being stuck between two cultures. The marginal man theory posits that when an individual is tied to two different cultures, exclusion and discrimination can occur (Billson, 1988). As Park described the marginal man being on
the edges of two cultures, Stonequist views the marginal man as a being caught between the two contrasting cultures (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). As described by Billson (1988), marginality was advanced even further by stating the various dimensions of the phenomena: cultural, social role, and structural marginality. Cultural marginality is most commonly associated with the negative treatment of individuals from more than one race, which can be used to apply marginality to Biracial children.

*Biracial and Marginalized.* Both Park’s and Stonequist’s work can be used to describe the social and psychological well-being of Biracial marginalized individuals (Campbell & Eggerling, 2006). According to Campbell and Eggerling, the marginal man theory posited that the Biracial individual existed between two totally polarizing cultures that could render several social and psychological issues. This theory centers on the fact that the marginal man (Biracial individual) will experience confusion and will deal with issues of assimilation. The physical appearance, according to this theory, will have the biggest influence on him or her assimilating into society (Campbell & Eggerling, 2006). The negative consequences of not fitting in or belonging to a particular group could consequently have an influence on self-esteem and self-concepts.

*Linking Bullying to Marginalized Populations*

Unfortunately, Biracial children are one of the least researched marginalized groups. Few studies directly examine the dynamics of multiracial families but from the scarce studies available marginalization and various social and psychological stresses are clearly present (Dalmage, 2001). One way to encourage more empirical studies
conducted on Biracial children and bullying is to link Biracial children with other bullied marginalized populations such as the GLBT community, disabled individuals, those individuals who are marginalized due to being overweight, and immigrants. These unique populations all share commonalities regarding their unique differences that set them apart from the established mainstream society. Therefore, it is possible to make a case that since these populations share certain characteristics of marginalization, all marginalized groups are worthy of research conducted to help provide insight into the prevalence of bullying, the effects of bullying, and possible solutions for bullying.

The GLBT Community. GLBT youth account for 5% to 6% of American youth (Swearer, Turner, Givens, & Pollack, 2008). Bullying occurs more often against GLBT children than straight children (Friedman, Koeske, Silvestre, Korr, & Sites, 2006). Similarly to other marginalized populations, the mere fact of being different designates them as a target. Marginalization often results from their peers because of the lack of conformity of GLBT individuals to mainstream society (Juvonen, Graham, & Schuster, 2003). Based on this information about GLBT youth and bullying, one might expect to find closely related patterns for Biracial youth.

There have been studies conducted with the GLBT community that investigates bullying and the impact it has on this population of youth. There was a study conducted by the Human Rights Watch that interviewed 140 youth that identified with the GLBT community. More than 90% of the youth interviewed admitted to being a victim of at least one form of bullying. Often, youth reported being verbally and physically bullied by their peers. Out of 14 predictors of bullying, there were significant differences between
the youth of the GLBT community and that of the general youth sample (Swearer, Turner, Givens, & Pollack, 2008). These types of findings seem consistent when looking at marginalized GLBT members being bullied. A national survey conducted on grades 6-10 has shown that youth representative of this community were three times more likely to experience a physical attack or form of bullying than the general youth population (Swearer, Turner, Givens, & Pollack). Within the last two decades alone, new studies continue to examine bullying and members of the GLBT community that furthers the awareness and expansion of the empirical research.

*Children’s weight and bullying.* Physical characteristics, such as excessive weight, which are not aligned with what society has deemed acceptable, will often lead to marginalization. When a child reaches a BMI (body mass index) at or above the 95th percentile, that child will be considered overweight by the Center for Disease and Control (Taras & Potts-Datema, 2009). Extremely dangerous weight concerns are present within every demographic, but the fastest growing overweight and obese epidemic can be found within the country’s population of children (Janssen, Craig, Boyce, & Pickett, 2004). The negative physical outcomes, such as heart and future mortality issues are concerns. However, the socio-emotional burden put onto overweight children is just as concerning to their well-being. Children and adolescents rely heavily upon physical cues when interacting with one another. Being rejected by their peers is common for children with weight issues (Janssen, Craig, Boyce, &Pickett). The rejection and marginalization from peers is not the only ramification. Bullying also exists for overweight and obese children. Their physical deviation from the standard norm of weight situates them as easy objects
of bullying (Fox & Farrow, 2009). Verbal bullying experienced by overweight and obese children is similar to that of other marginalized groups in society.

A recent study reveals that the obese children sampled are 65% more likely to become victims of bullying than children within a normal weight range (Lumeng et al., 2010). Other studies corroborate these findings. A study conducted by Farhat, Iamotti, & Simmons-Morton (2010) revealed that young children are less accepting of overweight or obese children than their normal weight peers. Physical acts of bullying are not absent from findings. Still, many overweight and obese children fall victim to verbal bullying that leads to lingering psychological and social effects (Janssen, Craig, Boyce, & Pickett, 2004). The research on weight and bullying speaks volumes to the existing findings on marginalized populations. External characteristics that deviate from the mainstream society produce negative outcomes which still needs further exploring to alleviate the verbal and physical bullying of groups outside the majority.

Disabled children and bullying. Disabled children, another marginalized population, are three to four times more likely to fall victim to bullying than their non-disabled peers (Blake et al., 2014). Children with disabilities can fall into several different categories. There are physical disabilities, which are easily seen, and learning disabilities, which are less visible. Both types of disabilities draw attention to children when their appearance or behavior is unlike the rest of their peers (Luciano & Savage, 2007). Consequently, negative outcomes such as bullying can ensue and lead to exclusion and ostracism. Bullies exert verbal and physical tactics against disabled children in various social settings (Flynt & Morton, 2004). Children with disabilities are often seen
as weaker victims to bullies. Disabled children often endure consistent and persistent episodes of bullying.

According to Carter and Spencer (2006), there have been numerous studies on students being bullied with visible and non-visible disabilities. Children with disabilities such as stuttering, report that they are called names, physically bullied, and ostracized from group activities. Learning disabled children with conditions such as ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) from one study have been found to experience bullying victimization 2-3 times the amount of their peers without this disorder. In fact, only 22% of children without disabilities experience bullying (Carter & Spencer, 2006). The research present with bullying and children with disabilities reveals the reality about marginalized populations and the negative treatment they can receive for just simply being different.

**Race and Bullying.** When a child has been bullied for being different, the child himself is usually referenced as the target. However, previous research indicates that the target of bullying can go beyond the child himself. According to Larson and Scherr (2010) children can be bullied and teased based on their ethnicity or race. This type of bullying identifies the ethnic groups as the targets instead of the individual child. In fact, 14% of young elementary school children stated that they had been bullied due to their race (Pepler, Connolly, & Craig, 1999). Ethnic bullying encompasses exclusion, racial teasing and taunts, slurs based on race, and offensive cultural references. The distinction between bullying overall and ethnic bullying is the intent to make racial slurs or comments that belittle the entire ethnic group and not just the individual (Larson &
Within ethnic bullying, the bully seeks out individuals based on their racial and ethnic differences. Although ethnic bullying is associated with derogatory comments that can cause psychological and social emotional pain, it can also be linked to lack of inclusion (Scherr & Larson, 2010). Exclusion can occur among racial and ethnic minorities and majorities causing tension and lack of cohesion among children.

Empirically, ethnic bullying research is commonly linked to immigration. The United Nations Global Commission on Internal Migration (2014) concludes that almost 41 million immigrants made the United States their home in the year 2012. As an influx of immigrants enters the United States each year, they are bringing with them their own ethnic identities, languages, and culture. Although current laws prohibit discrimination against individuals based on their race or ethnicity, which does not stop bullying and subtle comments or acts called micro aggressions, which alienate marginalized groups (Fox & Stallworth, 2005). As described in the Asian American youth research of Qin, Way, and Rana (2008), bullying type behavior to children based on their race or ethnic traits can leave lasting effects on their psychological and social emotional well-being. The results from this study show that more than 50% of Asian American students experienced some type of racial or ethnic bullying and discrimination from their peers. This study and others like it, claim the children being bullied mirrored the group target dynamic of ethnic bullying. Further, these youth are not targets based on individual differences, but instead it is their membership to an ethnicity that constitutes as the reason they are sought out to be bullied.

*Ethnic Bullying and Biracial Children.* Much of the research conducted on
ethnic bullying focuses on immigrants and minorities; however, Biracial children have not been included in the minority groups studied. Research has shown that minorities such as African American kids have been found to sometimes be the instigators of ethnic bullying (Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008). With research pointing out that ethnic bullying can occur to and from any ethnic group, this poses an interesting position for Biracial children. This supports the idea that ethnic bullying could indeed occur against Biracial children from various races and ethnicities. Biracial children, like other ethnic minorities, possess different physical characteristics that could trigger ethnic slurs, taunts, and physical altercations from peers. However, unlike other ethnic minorities such as Asian Americans, there has been a lack of empirical research conducted on Biracial children making it impossible to make generalizations about dynamics of Biracial children and ethnic bullying.

CURRENT STUDY

The prior literature review has highlighted the importance of studying bullying and the negative outcomes that can result for those marginalized individuals who are bullied. Clearly, there is a lack of research on Biracial children making their bullying experiences the unheard voices of this phenomenon. Although there have not been many studies conducted on Biracial children regarding bullying, examining research on other marginalized groups leads to the conclusion that bullying is prevalent within groups seen as deviant from the majority. The marginal man theory helps to offer reasoning behind the assertion that marginalized groups are victims of bullies more than the general
population. Based on prior literature and theory the goal of the current study is to examine whether there are significant differences between Biracial children and single-race children regarding bullying victimization.

The project will use data from the nine-year follow up child survey from the Fragile Families and Child Well-Being Study. By using this data, this work will offer an initial study comparing bullying of Biracial children with children of one race.

TESTABLE HYPOTHESES

The first testable hypothesis is centered on overall bullying. Accordingly, there are also hypotheses on verbal and physical forms of bullying. Considering the two different types of bullying is important to see if there is any pattern or difference in the occurrences of bullying type based on whether the child is Biracial or of a single-race.

\( H1 \): Biracial children experience overall bullying more frequently than children of one race. The independent variable of this hypothesis is the race of the nine year olds. The dependent variable is the frequency of being bullied. The marginal man theory and previous studies on bullying of marginalized populations have shown that groups belonging to a marginalized sector experience more bullying than the general population. Biracial children, being of more than one race, pose a unique position in society where marginalizing and bullying could be higher than single-race children.

\( H2 \): Biracial children experience more verbal bullying than do their peers of one race. The independent variable of this hypothesis is the race of the child respondents and the dependent variable is the amount of verbal bullying a child experiences. Previous
research within the studies on bullying has shown a significant difference of marginalized
groups being verbally bullied compared with groups accepted by mainstream society.
Biracial children falling on the seam of two races and cultures represent a unique form of
marginalization that could result in a higher prevalence of bullying.

H3: Biracial children experience more physical bullying than their single-race peers. The independent variable is race. The dependent variable is the amount of physical
bullying a child experiences. The marginal man theory shows the distinctive
marginalization of Biracial children effect on bullying in comparison to children of only
one race.

METHOD

Data.

The data for this study is from the nine-year follow up child survey from the
Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study. In 2000, the Fragile Families study was
originally conducted in 20 urban cities where mothers were interviewed within two days
of giving birth (N=4,898). Both mothers and fathers were interviewed. The research
question was gathered from studying the nine-year follow up (5th wave) of those children
born in 2000. The children were asked a set of questions ranging from their relationship
with their parents to their overall health and safety. My interest is with the comparison of
Biracial and single-race children. However, children were not given a Biracial identity
option. The number of Biracial children was determined by looking at focal children who
were a product of an interracial relationship. This was possible because of the parent race
identifier questions within the original parent base questionnaire. The identification of two parents of two separate races was used to determine the biracial focal child. The number of single-race children born was established from the identification of same race parents. This study focused on the questions relating to bullying and how often children experienced these phenomena. This dataset was chosen because of the fact that identifying the Biracial population within the data was possible. Within this dataset there were measures of both verbal and physical bullying, as well as a variety of control variables.

**Dependent Variable**

**Bullying.** Several indicators were created to measure the bullying being experienced by the children in the Fragile Families study. An *overall bullying index* encompassed four indicator questions of bullying: how often have kids in your school or neighborhood picked on you or said mean things to you; how often have kids in your school or neighborhood taken things like your lunch money, without asking; how often have kids in your school or neighborhood purposely left you out of activities; how often have kids in your school or neighborhood hit you. Responses were coded in terms of days per month for each item: not at all (0), 1-2 times a month (2), once a week (4), several times a week (14), everyday (30). Thus, overall bullying was established by taking the sum of the days per month from all four indicators. Therefore, children with a higher overall bullying index represented a higher overall prevalence of bullying victimization.

The following item measured *verbal bullying*: how often have kids in your school
or neighborhood picked on you or said mean things to you. Responses were coded in terms of days per month: not at all (0), 1-2 times a month (2), once a week (4), several times a week (14), everyday (30).

A single question was used to measure physical bullying: how often have kids in your school or your neighborhood hit you. These response choices were coded in terms of days per month: not at all (0), 1-2 times a month (2), once a week (4), several times a week (14), everyday (30).

**Independent Variable**

**Race.** The original coding of race was not retained because both children and their parents were not given Biracial as an option regarding race. Fragile Families constructed the mother and father race variable with an indicator question: which of these categories best describes your race? The responses included White (1), Black (2), Asian or Pacific Islander (3), American Indian (4), and other (5). They were also asked if they are of Hispanic descent. The mother race and father race was compared to create a set of dummy variables that indicated the different racial comparisons with children who were Biracial (reference), Black, White, Hispanic, or Other.

**Control Variables.** Gender was controlled by children being coded as male (1) or female (0). Socio-economic status was measured separately for mothers and fathers, through the following indicators: mother (father) education, labor force participation, and government assistance. Mother (father) education was measured with the indicator question, what is the highest grade or year of regular school that you have completed?
The following responses were collapsed into a set of four dummies measuring mother (father) education: less than a high school degree, high school degree or GED (reference), some college, and college or more. Receipt of government assistance was measured with the indicator question: In the last 12 months, did you have income from public assistance, welfare, or food stamps? Parents were considered having received public assistance if they said yes to receiving any of the three forms of assistance. Labor force participation was measured by a single question asking the respondent if they expected to work during the next year. Labor force participation was coded as yes (1) or no (0).

This study also required controlling for whether or not the child lived with both parents because the experience of Biracial children in a single parent homes could have differed from that of a two parent household. Parental Structure was measured by using the constructed variable by Fragile Families. A set of dummies indicated whether the parents were married (reference), cohabiting, visiting (dating but not living together), or not romantically involved. These control variables were utilized because both could have been mediating factors in researching bullying among the nine year olds. Controlling for these variables also helped in avoiding any spurious relationships.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

The frequency of bullying was determined by using a summed index of four questions. However, the single questions about verbal bullying and then physical bullying were examined to see if there were any differences in the type of bullying children
experienced based on whether they were Biracial or single-race. Nested Multivariate regression (OLS) was used to measure the prevalence of bullying and the association that race had with the dependent variable. The results indicated what percent of variance in the dependent variable, bullying, could be explained by the race of the children in the model. The findings provided the opportunity to compare whether or not Biracial children endured bullying at a higher frequency than single-race children.

The dependent variables of physical, verbal and overall bullying each encompassed two models. The first model examined the effect that race had on the child’s frequency of being bullied. This was measured by using a set of dummy variables for race introduced into the model with the dependent variable. The second model introduced the impact of the control variables besides race, to analyze their impact on the frequency of a child being bullied.

RESULTS

Sample Description

The frequencies for the race of the children in this wave of the study are presented in Table 1. Forty-three percent of the children who participated in the child survey were Black. White children made up 16% of the sample, while 23% of the children were Hispanic. All of the Biracial combinations summed to only 15% of the overall sample (N= 3,266), with the largest group being Black/Hispanic (4.5%).
The means and standard deviations for the dependent, independent, and control variables are presented in Table 2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent Variable</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Bullying</td>
<td>10.90</td>
<td>19.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Bullying</td>
<td>5.80</td>
<td>9.84</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Bullying</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent Variables</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-----</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>-----</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Children</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Children</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Control Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than a High School</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Degree or</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or More</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Assistance</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Force Participation</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Parental Structure:</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not romantically involved</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The responses indicate low occurrences of bullying. The scale for overall bullying ranges from 0-120 with a mean of 10.9 indicating an overall low occurrence of bullying. When examining the different types of bullying, both physical bullying and verbal bullying have a scale ranging from 0-30. Verbal bullying has a mean of 5.8 and physical bullying has an even lower mean of 1.9 indicating extremely low occurrences of both types of bullying being reported by children from the survey.

Almost half (45%) of the children represented in the sample identify as Black. Twenty-two percent identify as Hispanic, 16% as White, 15% as Biracial, and only 2% as other race. Fifty two percent of the respondents are Male, while females constitute a 48 percent.

Most of the children from the sample have parents who have less than a high school degree (37%) or a high school degree/GED (38%). Much smaller percentages of children have parents with some college (18%) or college or more (6%). Thirty-five percent of the parents of the children in the sample said yes to receiving some type of government assistance. Most (87%) of the children’s parents were working or expecting to work within the year.

Children coming from a home where parents were cohabiting, represented 39% of the sample. The majority (53%) of the children’s parents were not romantically involved with one another. Twenty-four of the parents reported being married and 26% as only visiting one another.

*Multicollinearity*
Correlations were run among all variables within the study. The results revealed that the control variables and the focal variables could be used within the analyses since not a relationship met the .90 level. Most relationships were below the .50 level. The Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) was also run for each variable and not one factor came close to the nine threshold. The correlation matrix results and VIFs thus indicated that none of the variables in the models were at risk of multicollinearity.

*Multivariate OLS Regression*

Nested multivariate regression was a sound analytic tool for this study comparing the prevalence of bullying between Biracial children and their Single-Race peers. This type of regression analysis allows the models to indicate what percent of variance (if any) in the dependent variable, prevalence of bullying, can be explained by the independent variables in the model.

Table 3 displays the relationship between the race of children and the dependent variable, overall bullying. Model 1 consists of examining overall bullying with Biracial children as the reference category while being compared with White, Black, Hispanic, and Other races. The model shows that there are no significant racial differences in the prevalence of overall bullying. The parental structure variables and socioeconomic variables of parental education, labor force participation, and government assistance were entered into the second model along with the original focal independent variables. No significance was found between race and overall bullying even after the control variables were introduced into the model. The variation explained in the overall bullying index
went up from only 0.3% to 0.4% after incorporating the controls for the second model. All contrast categories were explored within the full model for overall bullying (results not shown). However, the only significant difference between overall bullying and race was with Hispanic children experiencing less occurrences of overall bullying in comparison to white children (-3.12, p<.05). No other comparisons were significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Nested Multiple Regression for Overall Bullying (N=2754)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent Variables</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Race:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biracial Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Children</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Children</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Children</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Control Variables</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parental Education:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Less than high school degree</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school degree or GED</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or more</td>
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</tr>
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Table 3. Nested Multiple Regression for Overall Bullying (N=2754) Continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Government Assistance</strong></td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>(0.80)</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Labor Force Participation</strong></td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabitng</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>(1.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>(1.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Romantically Involved</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>(1.79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R²</strong></td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prob&gt;F</strong></td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Unstandardized Coefficients are reported.

The nested multiple regression analysis for verbal bullying is provided in Table 4. The regression results for verbal bullying in relation to Biracial children compared with the other races, renders no significance. The introduction of the control variables into the second model for verbal bullying, does not affect the variability of bullying based on race. The first model had only 0.1% of the variation in the dependent variable explained, and only increased to 0.2% after controls were added in the second model. None of the coefficients’ magnitude increased significantly. All contrast categories were then explored with the full model for verbal bullying (results not shown). However, there were no significant comparisons.
Table 4. Nested Multiple Regression for Verbal Bullying (N=2773)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>White Children</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.74</td>
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<tr>
<td>(0.67)</td>
<td>(0.70)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(0.56)</td>
<td>(0.56)</td>
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<td>Hispanic Children</td>
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<td>-0.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>(0.63)</td>
<td>(0.64)</td>
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<td>-1.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1.49)</td>
<td>(1.51)</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>-0.24</td>
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<tr>
<td>(0.38)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>----</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.55)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or more</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.88)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government Assistance</strong></td>
<td>----</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.41)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labor Force Participation</strong></td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.58)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parental Structure:</strong></td>
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Physical bullying multiple regression results are shown in Table 5. As the previous regression models indicate no significance in the prevalence of overall and verbal bullying based on race, physical bullying does not offer any new significant results. The parental structure variables and socioeconomic variables of parental education, labor force participation, and government assistance were entered into the second model along with the original focal independent variables. No significance was found regarding the relationship between race and physical bullying even after the control variables were introduced into the model. Before the control variables were incorporated, 0.3% of the variation in the occurrence of physical bullying could be predicted by the independent variables in the model. Once the control variables were added into the model, 0.5% of the variation in the occurrence of physical bullying could be predicted using the independent variables in the model. Overall, the magnitude of the coefficients did not increase significantly with the inclusion of control variables. All contrast categories were then explored with the full model for physical bullying (results not
shown). Hispanic children experiencing less occurrences of physical bullying in comparison to White children (-1.18, p<.01), was the only significant comparison discovered after running contrast categories.

| Table 5. Nested Multiple Regression for Physical Bullying (N=2778) |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Variables**           | **Model 1**     | **Model 2**     |
| **Independent Variables** |                 |                 |
| **Race:**               |                 |                 |
| Biracial Children       | -----           | -----           |
| White Children          | 0.39 (0.40)     | 0.48 (0.42)     |
| Black Children          | -0.18 (0.33)    | -0.19 (0.33)    |
| Hispanic Children       | -0.64 (0.37)    | -0.70 (0.38)    |
| Other Children          | -1.27 (0.90)    | -1.15 (0.90)    |
| **Control Variables**   |                 |                 |
| **Gender:**             |                 |                 |
| Male                    |                 | 0.16 (0.22)     |
| **Parental Education:** |                 |                 |
| Less than high school degree | -----           | 0.34 (0.27)     |
| High school degree or GED | -----           | -----           |
| Some college            |                 | 0.21 (0.33)     |
| College or more         |                 | -0.08 (0.52)    |
| **Government Assistance** | -----           | -0.28 (0.25)    |
DISCUSSION

This study used the child survey from the nine year follow up of the Fragile Families and Child Well-Being Study to determine whether Biracial children experience bullying more often than their Single-Race peers. The results from the multivariate regression analyses show that there is no a significant difference in the prevalence of being bullied as a Biracial child, neither physically nor verbally, compared with any other race. Overall, the results show only one significant difference in bullying by race within this study: Hispanics are bullied less than Whites. Further, the control variables (family structure, socioeconomic status, and gender) are not associated with bullying.

The three hypotheses: Biracial children experience overall bullying more
frequently than children of one race (H1), Biracial children experience more verbal bullying than do their peers of one race (H2), and Biracial children experience more physical bullying than their single-race peers (H3) were not supported by the multivariate regression models. There was no indication from the results that Biracial children experienced any form of bullying more than children of one race.

CONCLUSION

Bullying is continuing to present a problem to our school systems, neighborhoods, and society overall. The purpose of this research was to look at the prevalence of bullying of Biracial children compared to that of single-race children. Several studies on bullying in the GLBT community cited bullying as a real concern. However, other marginalized groups (such as those who are overweight and those with physical or learning disabilities) have received less attention yet indicate that they do experience more bullying than their peers who are not marginalized. However, there has not been any substantial research on bullying of Biracial children. Previous research has looked at minority children being bullied in comparison to white children, but there is a lack of research that focuses on the uniqueness of Biracial children and the prevalence of bullying within their lives. This is problematic given the growth of the Biracial population in the United States.

Results from these findings did not support any of the hypotheses of the study. Although the findings do not conclude that there is any difference in the prevalence of bullying among Biracial children compared with single-race children, this does not mean that bullying is not occurring. In this study bullying is not entirely absent from the
children’s lives. Children did experience being bullied at times, but is clear that within this sample bullying is not occurring in relation to a child being Biracial. Sometimes the non-finding is the finding. This study could use this type of finding as a platform to vocalize that Biracial children are at no greater risk of being bullied than single-race children. Results such as these could bring comfort to possible new interracial couples who are expecting to have Biracial children but worried about the type of social experience their children may encounter as youth. It is a positive finding that we can report that Biracial children are at no greater risk of being physically or verbally bullied than White, Black, Hispanic, or Other Single-Race children.

LIMITATIONS

The biggest limitation of this study is the way the sample of Biracial children had been constructed. We did not know if a parent was Biracial and therefore it was unclear whether or not a child was Biracial or multiracial as a result. The fact that the child did not self-report his or her race matters as well. The study was restricted in only being able to use parental race as a means to be able to determine the Biracial combinations. It would be interesting to examine bullying based on how Biracial children identify themselves. While discussing the limitation of the sample, this study also dealt with an urban population. There could be a connection between the diversity of the urban environment and the fact that biracial children did not experience bullying more often than their Single-Race peers. A more diverse sample of Biracial children from both rural and urban settings would allow us to draw interesting conclusions about marginalization.
Another limitation to this study was the indicators of bullying. The structure of the questions asked posed several concerns. The survey did not ask separate questions about bullying in the school and the neighborhood. There was an inability to look at the bullying setting and compare the prevalence of bullying in relation to the location in which the acts occurred. Children were simply asked to group their bullying experiences together, thus losing the importance of the environment. Asking several questions for both verbal and physical type of bullying would also be beneficial. However, the study only had four questions indicating bullying, of which only one was a physical bullying indicator. No questions were asked concerning online forms of bullying such as social media, email, and text messaging. If questions were looking at less visible acts then a clearer picture of all types of bullying could be exposed. Ethnic bullying indicators were also entirely absent in the survey. The questions focused on physical and verbal indicators, but failed to speak to the slurs and derogatory statements that can be used by bullies towards members of a specific ethnic group. Without this type of information, there is not a way to analyze the prevalence of ethnic bullying that Biracial children experience in comparison to other mainstream forms. If ethnic bullying indicator questions had been present for this study, the results could have been possibly quite different. The more questions we have to analyze, the better chance we have at getting a clear and accurate picture of the prevalence and breadth of bullying. Nonetheless, given the dearth of studies to directly and fully address bullying, the items available in the Fragile Families data were a good start.
CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

Before this study, all of the research conducted with minority children and bullying neglected the consideration of Biracial children. This study provided the opportunity to look at Biracial children as a focal independent variable in relation to one of the country’s most pressing phenomena of bullying. Previous studies that have focused on Biracial children were primarily smaller case studies that examined only identity-type of issues faced by Biracial children. In contrast with previous studies, the Fragile Families and Child Well-being data included a significant number of Biracial children that only improved the representative nature of the study. This research expanded the sociological knowledge to a more empirically quantitative aspect that focused on a specific social problem, bullying. Ultimately this study could open a new dimension into analyzing the social problem with a comparison of minority groups. This study looked at the uniqueness of Biracial children and did not simply assume that this population encountered the same life experiences as all other minorities.

FURTHER SUGGESTIONS

This area of research could benefit from a large, representative sample of the top four or five Biracial groups to see if Biracial groups of different compositions experience different types and frequencies of bullying. This is one area of Biracial research that can
be expanded if there are better overall samples of the Biracial population and if all
Biracial individuals are not simply grouped together. This study did reveal a significant
relationship between bullying between Hispanic and White children. Hispanic children
reported fewer occurrences of bullying than White children. It would be interesting to see
more research and studies aimed at exploring the dynamics of bullying and race between
Hispanic and White children in the United States. Ethnic bullying in relation to Biracial
individuals with a mixed methods approach would also be beneficial for future research
endeavors. Analyzing the life course of Biracial individuals and the prevalence and types
of bullying that occur would also be a great contribution to the sociological field of study.
Currently, none of these types or sources of data exist.

Despite the results, this study simply continues to open the door for more research
on Biracial children. Bullying is just one aspect that can be explored but there are many
other areas of interest that can be observed to expand the knowledge and empirical
studies on biracial children. Although the findings did not support the hypotheses of
Biracial children being bullied more than single-race children, there is still significance
within this study. The greater significance is in the study itself rather the findings. Studies
such as this one continue to pull back the veil of invisibility of a population that has been
a research methods challenge for far too long. Our country has a history of controversy
and speculation over the experience of the Biracial individual and this study will help to
provide fact-based research to add to the knowledge of the Biracial individual instead of
perpetuating the myths.
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