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Bullying Victimization Among Music Ensemble and Theatre Students in the United States

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to analyze the prevalence of reported school victimization through physical, verbal, social/relational, and cyberbullying aggression among music ensemble and theatre students in the middle and high schools of the United States as compared to their peers involved in other school-based activities. We analyzed nationally representative data from five waves (2005–2013) of the biannual School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey, a joint project of the U.S. Bureau for Justice Statistics and the National Center for Education Statistics. Logistic regression results showed that music ensemble and theatre students were significantly more likely to be victimized by in-person bullying than their non-arts peers. A significant interaction between sex and arts status showed that male music and theatre students faced the greatest risk of being subjected to physical bullying aggression while female music and theatre students faced the greatest risk of victimization through social/relational aggression. Though incidents of experiencing hate speech were rare, music and theatre students faced a significantly greater risk of hate speech victimization than non-arts students. The overall probability of a music student being victimized by any type of in-person bullying was .34 compared to .25 for non-arts students.

Keywords

bullying, music students, theatre students, high school, middle school

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One of the more troubling forms of aggressive behavior among children and adolescents, bullying has come to be seen as a pervasive problem in the United States and other countries throughout the world (Due & Holstein, 2008). Though some teachers and school administrators might consider any victimization in school as bullying behavior, in the scholarly literature, bullying behavior is defined as the subjecting of a victim to repeated negative actions intended to cause discomfort or injury over an extended duration of time by a perpetrator who holds a real or perceived advantage in physical, psychological, or social power over the victim (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Hymel & Swearer, 2015; Olweus, 1994). Victimization through bullying can take various forms: (a) physically, through intimidation or assault; (b) verbally, through insults, hate speech, or taunting; (c) relationally or socially, through rumor spreading and social exclusion; and (d) so-called cyberbullying, the carrying out of any form of repeated harassment through technologically mediated platforms, such as social networking websites or via mobile phone (Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009). Differential patterns of the aggressive behaviors that comprise bullying have been documented between genders, with physical, overt aggression more commonly occurring among males and relational, covert aggression more prevalent among females (Bowie, 2007).

Overall prevalence rates of bullying reported in the literature vary. A recent review by Hymel and Swearer (2015) indicates that across studies, bullying victimization rates have been reported ranging from 10% to 33% of students, and reported bullying perpetration rates range from 5% to 13%. Despite the varying estimates of prevalence rates, peer bullying emerges almost alarmingly early in human development. Bullying has been observed in preschool-aged children, but unlike other forms of aggression that are described as "stable traits" across childhood, bullying reaches a peak during middle school and tends to decline through high school (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Hymel & Swearer, 2015; Nansel et al., 2001; Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000).

The prevention of bullying and school victimization more broadly is an important concern for researchers and practitioners because there is a strong established body of research evidence suggesting that victims and perpetrators of bullying suffer grave developmental consequences. In prior research, both bullies and victims have been observed to experience physical, emotional, and social trauma as well as loneliness, depression, poor school performance, strong anxiety, and school avoidance behaviors (Boulton, Trueman, & Murray, 2008; Due & Holstein, 2008; Hawker & Boulton, 2000; Hutzell & Payne, 2012; Klomek, Marrocco, Kleinman, Schonfeld, & Gould, 2007; Roland, 2002). Though the consequences of adolescent victimization carry important developmental ramifications for victims and perpetrators, there is relatively little evidence in the research or practical literature within the fields of music or arts education to document the rates at which students in the visual and performing arts report that they are the victims of physical or relational aggression.

There is a great deal of research on bullying and school-based victimization as related to a variety of other contextual and personal factors. An extensive line of this research examines the bullying and school-based victimization of students in relationship to various demographic, academic, physical, and social characteristics. Physical weakness, poor self-concept, and peer rejection are all associated with bully

victimization (Perry, Hodges, & Egan, 2001). Differences in factors relating to bullying involvement—either as victim or as perpetrator—have been shown across racial and ethnic groups (Cooc & Gee, 2014; Spriggs, Iannotti, Nansel, & Haynie, 2007). Blake, Lund, Zhou, Kwok, and Benz (2012) found that American students with disabilities were victimized at rates nearly 1.5 times that of students without disabilities. In a large study based in the American Midwest, students who disliked school were found to be more likely to suffer victimization than those who were more connected to school (Eisenberg, Neumark-Sztainer, & Perry, 2003). Additionally, in that study, those with poor academic performance reported the highest levels of school victimization as compared to moderate levels for academically superior students and relatively low levels for academically average students.

Although the National Association for Music Education (NAfME) has issued a formal statement on bullying issues, suggesting that music classrooms are a "safe haven" (NAfME, 2012), among the arts, the discipline of theatre/drama education has the most developed research literature exploring intersections of arts education and bullying or school victimization. Researchers in theatre/drama education have described and evaluated theatre-based interventions to prevent or stop bullying. Drama therapists have designed and implemented anti-bullying and conflict resolution interventions since at least the late 1980s (e.g., Burton, 2010; Cossa, 1992; Gourd & Gourd, 2011). This line of research suggests that theatre-based programs designed to address bullying are effective in preventing and reducing incidents of bullying victimization, and at least one study found that the positive effects of a drama-based intervention endured for at least a year following the implementation of the program (McArdle et al., 2002).

Few music education researchers have focused on the experience of bullying within or beyond music ensembles and classrooms. Carter (2013) explored the ways that bullying and hazing impacted the band experience of former marching band members who had attended historically black colleges and universities and found that each of his participants had indeed been victimized by hazing and bullying rituals that they found to be "shameful and embarrassing" (p. 39). Hazing, however, is a form of victimization separate and distinct from bullying (Silveira & Hudson, 2015), with its own attendant risk and protective factors. Beyond Carter's empirical work, issues related to bullying and music education are generally found in practitioner journals offering best practices to teachers who are facing bullying incidents among their students (e.g., Carter, 2011; Taylor, 2011), and these reports cite either anecdotal and pop culture references (as in Taylor, 2011) or statistics from surveys outside of arts education (as in Carter, 2011) to establish the prevalence of the bullying problem for which the best practices are recommended.

There is a clear need, then, for research examining the prevalence of school victimization by bullying behaviors affecting arts education students. To date, there is no published research that establishes bullying victimization rates of arts students. In the present study, we sought to address this gap in the literature using several waves of nationally representative data to determine whether students of the performing arts suffer school-based victimization at rates equal to, less than, or greater

than their non-arts peers. This study represents a first effort to determine the rate at which students involved in arts education experience bullying and how this rate compares to national averages and to students who do not study the arts.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to analyze the prevalence of reported school victimization through physical, verbal, and relational (or social) aggression among performing arts students in the middle and high schools of the United States as compared to their peers involved in other school-based activities. In addition to overall rates of in-person victimization, we also sought to determine whether music and theatre participants were more, less, or similarly likely to be victims of technologically mediated cyberbullying. The study employed data from five waves of the Bureau of Justice Statistics National Crime Victimization Survey School Crime Supplements, individually and pooled over time, and was guided by the following research questions: (1) Controlling for other forms of school activity participation and various demographics, what is the relative likelihood that students involved in school-based choirs, bands, orchestras, and theatre productions are victims of physical, verbal, cyber, or relational aggression as compared to their non-arts peers? and (2) Controlling for other forms of school activity participation and various demographics, does the rate at which school-based choir, band, orchestra, and theatre participants are victimized by physical, verbal, cyber, or relational aggression vary between the sexes?

Method

Data and Participants

For the present study, we analyzed data from the 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, and 2013 data sets of the School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Begun in 1973, the NCVS is an annual project of the U.S. Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), for which the U.S. Census Bureau collects the data. The NCVS serves as the chief source of statistics about criminal victimization in the United States. For each wave of the NCVS, a nationally representative sample of roughly 49,000 households is surveyed to generate knowledge about the frequency of criminal victimization, the characteristics of criminal activity (whether reported to police or not), and the consequences suffered by victims of crime. Initiated in 1985, the School Crime Supplement (SCS) to the NCVS has, since 1999, been administered in odd years to students, aged 12 through 18, whose households are part of the main sample for NCVS. The purpose of the SCS is to provide policymakers and researchers, as well as school officials, with high-quality data on the prevalence of school-related victimization in the nation. The SCS questionnaire, codesigned by BJS and the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), asks respondents to report about school crime issues such as bullying behaviors, drug availability and use, school violence, and gang activity.

Since 2005, SCS respondents have been routinely asked to report the school-sponsored organized activities in which they participate, including a question that specifically asks whether respondents participated in their school's band, choir, orchestra, or theatre programs. Respondents were also asked to report participation in sports, spirit groups such as cheerleading, student government, academic clubs such as debate team or Spanish club, community service groups like Key Club, and other clubs or school-sponsored activities. For the present study, we used the self-reported responses to these questions to determine respondents' participation in the various activities. Due to the wording of the questionnaire, it was impossible to isolate music from theatre students in these data sets; however, national data suggest that the greatest proportion of participants in U.S. school-sponsored performing arts activities are engaged in music ensembles (Parsad & Spiegelman, 2012), making it likely that the vast majority of performing arts participants in the SCS samples were music students.

Outcome variables. We created a set of dichotomous outcome variables by recoding student responses to the 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, and 2013 questionnaire items related to their experiences as victims of various forms of in-person physical, verbal, and relational aggression. The 2007 SCS introduced new questions about technologically mediated aggression, commonly known as *cyberbullying*, and the 2009 SCS expanded the categories of online behavior classifiable as cyberbullying, so for years 2007 and later, we were also able to create dichotomous outcome variables specifically related to victimization by cyberbullying. We coded all outcome variables as 1 if the respondent reported that they had victimized by the aggressive behavior specified and 0 otherwise.

Covariates. To improve the precision of our estimates and to apply some degree of control for self-selection of students into school-based music and theatre, we included a vector of student- and school-level covariates that are observable in the SCS data sets. The covariates for student characteristics we employed have been shown in prior research to be associated with selection into school-based music: student's self-reported race and indication of Hispanic ethnicity, sex, and parent's level of education, which we use as a proxy for socioeconomic status (Elpus, 2014, 2015; Elpus & Abril, 2011). Additionally, we included two school characteristic controls: a binary variable indicating whether the respondent's school is public or private and a binary variable indicating whether the respondent attended a middle school or a high school. These variables accounted for the uneven probability of victimization by bullying, which peaks in middle school (Hymel & Swearer, 2015; Nansel et al., 2001; Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000) and is more prevalently reported by students in public schools as compared to private schools (DeVoe & Murphy, 2011).

Analytic samples. The analytic samples from 2005 ($N = 6{,}068$; 85.3% of the total 2005 sample), 2007 ($N = 5{,}545$; 85.3% of the total 2007 sample), 2009 ($N = 4{,}273$; 85.1% of the total 2009 sample), 2011 ($N = 5{,}655$; 86.4% of the total 2011 samples), and

2013 ($N = 4{,}878$; 85.2% of the total 2013 sample) included all SCS respondents with nonmissing data for the relevant questionnaire items that comprised our outcome variables of interest, the indicator for performing arts participation, and the covariates we employ in the analyses. Probability weights, computed by BJS to account for the uneven probability that certain members of the population would be included in the sample and available in the data sets, were applied to all analyses to ensure that analyses of data yield nationally representative results. All reported standard errors were robust to the clustering and stratification in the two-stage, stratified complex survey sampling design of NCVS (Heeringa, West, & Berglund, 2010); consequently, the significance tests reported were robust to the violation of the assumption of independent observations typically inherent in complex survey sampling. We conducted our analyses in two ways: first, cross-sectionally by year and, second, pooled across all five waves using a merged data set (N for the pooled analyses = 26,419); our procedure for merging the data followed the procedure previously employed by Cooc and Gee (2014) in their analyses of SCS data.

Empirical Approach

Research questions for the present study asked whether music and theatre participation in school is associated with the likelihood of students being victimized by bullying behaviors at school. Since the outcomes of interest are binary—that is, whether respondents reported being victimized by the various forms of bullying—we analyzed the data using logistic regression (logit model) at each year to fit the theoretical model presented in Equation 1:

$$\begin{aligned}&\ln\left[\frac{P\left(BullyingVictim_i = 1\right)}{1 - P(BullyingVictim_i = 1)}\right]\\&= \alpha + \beta MusicOrTheatre_i + \gamma_{1\ldots k}\boldsymbol{OtherParticipation}_i + \pi Sex_i + \xi MiddleSchool_i,\\&+\psi Sex \times MusicOrTheatre_i + \tau_{1\ldots k}\boldsymbol{Covariates} + \varepsilon_i\end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

where $BullyingVictim_i$ represents the binary outcome (coded one for student i reporting having been victimized physically, verbally, relationally, or online and zero otherwise) for student i; α is the intercept; $MusicOrTheatre_i$ is a binary coded 1 for self-reported band, choir, orchestra, and theatre participants and 0 otherwise; $\boldsymbol{OtherParticipation}_i$ is a vector of dichotomous variables indicating self-reported participation in school-based sports, spirit (i.e., cheer), academic clubs, student government, service clubs, or other school-based clubs; Sex_i is the indicator of student i's self-reported sex; $MiddleSchool_i$ is a binary coded 0 if student i is in middle school and 0 if student i is in high school, $Sex \times MusicOrTheatre_i$ is the interaction of sex and music/theatre participation, which allows the estimates for male and female arts participants to vary; and $\boldsymbol{Covariates}$ are the vector of control variables described previously. In the pooled analysis, we add a vector of binary indicator variables for the year in which student i responded to the SCS.

Results

Descriptive Results

Table 1 shows the means for the outcome measures, indicators of music/theatre participation, indicators of other activity participation, and the covariates for each of the time periods individually and pooled together. Since all the variables in these analyses are dichotomously coded, the mean of each variable represents the proportion of respondents for whom the characteristic represented by the variable applies. As evident in the final column of the table, across all time periods, an average of 28% of all respondents reported that they had been victimized by any of the various bullying behaviors. In the pooled data, 28% of respondents in the sample reported that they had participated in their school's band, choir, orchestra, or theatre productions during the year in which they were surveyed. Across all time periods, sample members identified as 51% male and 49% female, 78% white, 14% black or African American, 5% Asian or Pacific Islander, 3% multiracial, and 1% Native American or Alaska Native. Approximately 19% of the sample identified as being of Hispanic or Latino origin, which in federal data is reported in addition to and separately from race. Most respondents (58%) attended a high school in the year in which they were surveyed while the remaining 42% attended a middle school, and the vast majority of sample members (92%) attended a public school. Consistent with other national estimates (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014), 31% of sample members reported that their parents had earned a bachelor's degree or higher.

Among those students reporting that they had participated in their school's band, choir, orchestra, or theatre programs in the pooled data, 35% indicated that they had been bullied in some form during the year. Music ensemble and theatre students in the samples were 41% male and 59% female and identified themselves as follows: 81% white, 11% black or African American, 4.5% Asian or Pacific Islander, 3% multiracial, and 0.5% Native American or Alaska native. Hispanic or Latino origin was indicated by 14% of music ensemble and theatre students. Among the music ensemble and theatre students in the pooled data, 52% attended middle schools, and 48% attended high schools in the year they were surveyed; 91% of arts students attended publicly controlled schools, and 9% attended privately controlled schools. Fully 42% of music and theatre students had parents who had attained a bachelor's degree or higher.

Bullying of Participants in School-Based Band, Choir, Orchestra, and Theatre

Table 2 presents the results of the logistic regression estimates for Equation 1 for overall bullying victimization (Column 1) as well as for victimization by physical, social/relational, and verbal aggressions (subsequent columns) in the pooled 2005–2013 data set.[1] Controlling for other forms of activity participation and school- and individual-level covariates, music ensemble and theatre students were significantly more likely than nonparticipants to be victimized by bullies; the odds ratio (OR) suggests that female music

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Outcome Variables, Independent Variables, and Covariates.

	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013	Pooled
Outcome variables						
Victim of bullying by any means	.28	.32	.28	.28	.22	.28
Victim of physical aggression	.13	.15	.23	.21	.17	.17
Victim of social/relational aggression	.26	.30	.19	.21	.15	.23
Victim of any hate speech	.11	.10	.09	.09	.07	.09
Victim of hate speech related to sexual orientation	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Victim of hate speech related to gender	.02	.02	.02	.01	.01	.02
Victim of cyberbullying	—	.04	.06	.09	.07	.06
Independent variables (activity participation)						
Band, choir, orchestra, or theatre	.27	.28	.28	.28	.28	.28
Interscholastic athletics	.38	.41	.39	.39	.39	.39
Academic club	.18	.21	.20	.21	.21	.20
Spirit club or cheer	.07	.10	.09	.09	.09	.09
Student government	.06	.07	.06	.07	.06	.07
Service club	.11	.14	.15	.17	.16	.15
Other school-sponsored club/activity	.15	.03	.02	.02	.02	.05
Covariates						
Male	.51	.52	.51	.51	.52	.51
Female	.49	.48	.49	.49	.48	.49
White	.78	.78	.79	.79	.78	.78
Black or African American	.15	.14	.14	.13	.13	.14
Native American or Alaska Native	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Asian or Pacific Islander	.05	.04	.04	.04	.05	.05
Multiracial	.02	.03	.02	.03	.03	.03
Hispanic ethnicity	.19	.17	.19	.20	.21	.19
Attends a middle school	.43	.42	.41	.42	.42	.42
Attends a public school	.92	.92	.92	.92	.92	.92
Parents hold a bachelor's degree or higher	.30	.30	.31	.32	.33	.31
Number of observations	6,068	5,545	4,273	5,655	4,878	26,419

Note: Since all variables in the table are dichotomously coded, the unweighted means reported here represent the proportion of respondents in the sample who have the characteristic indicated by the variable. Sample members reporting Hispanic ethnicity may be of any race.

and theatre students were 41% more likely to be victimized by any in-person bullying behavior than were students who did not participate in music ensembles or school theatre, with male music and theatre students facing an additional 20% risk of victimization beyond the risk faced by female music and theatre students. A linear combination of the main effect and interacted logistic regression coefficients revealed that the risk for male music and theatre students was 69% greater than the risk for non-arts students

Table 2. Logistic Regression Results for Odds of Victimization of Bullying Behaviors, Pooled 2005–2013 Data.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Bullied (in-person)	Physical aggression	Social/relational aggression	Any hate speech	Sexual orientation hate speech	Gender hate speech	Cyber-bullied
Music/theatre student	1.41***	1.33***	1.42***	1.44***	1.64**	1.88***	1.09
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.29)	(0.23)	(0.10)
Music/theatre × Male	1.20**	1.25**	1.20**	0.86	1.42	0.92	1.50**
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.37)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Athlete	0.98	0.93	0.98	0.95	0.82	0.92	1.15*
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.07)
Academic club member	1.07	1.04	1.03	1.20**	1.20	0.94	1.24**
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.22)	(0.13)	(0.09)
Spirit club/cheer member	1.14*	1.08	1.21***	1.11	0.96	0.91	1.33**
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.25)	(0.15)	(0.12)
Student government	1.01	0.86	1.07	0.99	1.07	1.12	1.00
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.24)	(0.20)	(0.11)
Service club member	1.22***	1.23***	1.24***	1.32***	1.53*	1.61***	1.37***
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.28)	(0.20)	(0.11)
Other club member	1.30***	1.28**	1.24**	1.38***	1.13	1.05	1.70***
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.28)	(0.21)	(0.27)
Male	0.85***	1.04	0.72***	1.16**	0.86	0.32***	0.55***
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.16)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Middle schooler	1.49***	1.83***	1.36***	1.19***	0.66**	1.04	0.88*
	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.06)

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Bullied (in-person)	Physical aggression	Social/relational aggression	Any hate speech	Sexual orientation hate speech	Gender hate speech	Cyber-bullied
Black or African American	0.90	0.91	0.91	1.41***	0.93	1.09	0.67***
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.07)
Native American	0.82	0.80	0.87	1.22	0.48	0.68	1.02
	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.33)	(0.48)	(0.46)	(0.33)
Asian/Pacific Islander	0.46***	0.42***	0.45***	1.29*	0.23**	0.56	0.51**
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.21)	(0.10)
Multiracial	1.10	1.06	1.15	1.43*	0.61	0.81	0.96
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.32)	(0.18)
Hispanic ethnicity	0.72***	0.73***	0.71***	1.21**	0.58*	0.71*	0.71***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.06)
Attends a Public school	1.36***	1.51***	1.27**	1.41**	1.28	1.35	1.36**
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.15)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.16)
At least one parent holds BA+	0.85***	0.81***	0.82***	0.83**	0.82	0.82*	0.78**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.06)
Constant	0.27***	0.08***	0.28***	0.06***	0.01***	0.02***	0.04***
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)

Note: Coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) are reported as odds ratios. All models include dummy variables for the survey year (year fixed effects). All estimates account for the weighting and stratified sampling in the School Crime Supplement (SCS) data. Cyberbullying estimates do not include 2005 data.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

(OR = 1.69, SE = .08, t = 11.46, p < .001). The increased risk of victimization for all music and theatre students remained consistent for all of the subareas of in-person bullying examined; however, male performing arts students did not face additional risk significantly greater than that of female performing arts students for victimization by hate speech. When compared to non-arts students, all arts students (male and female) faced a 44% increased risk of victimization by any hate speech, a 64% greater risk of victimization by hate speech related to sexual orientation, and an 88% greater risk of victimization by hate speech related to gender. The results for cyberbullying victimization suggest that there was no significant difference in risk between female music and theatre students and female students who did not participate in music and theatre. However, male music and theatre students faced a significantly greater risk than male nonmusic and theatre students. For male music and theatre students, the risk of victimization by cyberbullying was significantly greater than that for male nonmusic and nontheatre students: A linear combination of the main effect and interacted linear regression coefficients suggests that male music and theatre students faced a 63% greater risk of being cyberbullied than non-arts participants (OR = 1.63, SE = .19, t = 4.18, p < .001).

Predicted Probabilities of Victimization: Average Marginal Effects

Though the odds ratio results from the logistic regression model provide reasonable estimates of the *relative* risk of victimization by bullying behaviors for music/theatre and nonmusic/-theatre students, it is perhaps more instructive to interpret the obtained results by considering the probabilities of victimization predicted by the logistic regression models directly. This is particularly true for certain kinds of victimization, such as through the various forms of hate speech, where the high relative risk for music/theatre students expressed in the odds ratios masks the overall low risk of this kind of victimization. For example, while the odds ratio for sexual orientation–related hate speech victimization (1.64) suggests that music ensemble and theatre students are 64% more likely to suffer from this kind of bullying, the probability that a male music ensemble or theatre student will be victimized and report it when surveyed is less than 2% compared with a probability of less than 1% for male non-performing arts students. Thus, although the relative risk between performing arts and non-arts students looks alarmingly high, the actual level of risk is still quite low.

Table 3 shows these predicted probabilities for victimization by the various bullying behaviors for music/theatre participants and nonparticipants, considered as a whole and also disaggregated by sex. For context, Table 3 also displays the predicted probabilities of victimization for athletes and non-athletes. Each of these probabilities is computed by plugging the values observed in the pooled data set into the regression equation estimated in Table 2. The values reported in Table 3 are what is sometimes referred to in the methodological literature as the "average marginal effect" of each indicated status (Long & Freese, 2014). Multiplying the predicted probabilities reported in the various cells of Table 3 by 10 yields the percentage chance that a student with the indicated characteristics in the cell's row stub will be victimized by the bullying behaviors indicated at the top of each cell's column.

Table 3. Predicted Probabilities of Victimization by Various Bullying Behaviors by Student Characteristics, Pooled 2005–2013 Data.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Bullied (in-person)	Physical aggression	Social/relational aggression	Any hate speech	Sexual orientation hate speech	Gender hate speech	Cyber-bullied
Full Sample							
Average probability	.28	.18	.22	.09	.01	.02	.06
All males	.27	.18	.20	.10	.01	.01	.05
All females	.29	.17	.24	.09	.01	.03	.07
Band, Choir, Orchestra, and Theatre Students							
Music/theatre student	.34	.22	.28	.11	.02	.02	.07
Nonmusic/-theatre student	.25	.16	.20	.08	.01	.01	.05
Male music/theatre student	.34	.24	.26	.11	.02	.01	.06
Male nonmusic/-theatre student	.24	.16	.17	.09	.01	.01	.04
Female music/theatre student	.34	.20	.29	.11	.02	.04	.08
Female nonmusic/-theatre student	.27	.16	.23	.08	.01	.02	.07
Athletes							
Athlete	.27	.17	.22	.09	.01	.02	.06
Non-athlete	.28	.18	.22	.09	.01	.02	.06
Male athlete	.26	.18	.20	.09	.01	.01	.05
Male non-athlete	.27	.19	.20	.10	.01	.01	.04
Female athlete	.29	.16	.24	.08	.01	.02	.08
Female non-athlete	.29	.17	.25	.09	.01	.03	.07

Note: Probabilities of the bullying outcomes for each characteristic reported here are as predicted by the logistic regression model presented in Table 2. These results represent students in both middle and high schools.

As seen in Table 3, students who participate in their school's band, choir, orchestra, or theatre programs face a greater than one in three chance (probability = .34) of being the victim of in-person bullying through any means (physical, social/relational, or verbal). The magnitude of the odds ratios reported previously is evident when comparing males and females in Table 3; whereas male nonmusic/-theatre students face a .24 probability (less than a one in four chance) of being victimized by any means of in-person bullying, male music/theatre students face a .34 probability (greater than a one in three chance). Similarly, female music and theatre students face a .34 probability of victimization through in-person bullying of any means while their female nonmusic/-theatre counterparts have only a .27 probability of victimization. For comparison, students uninvolved in any of the activities included in the SCS survey (that is, reporting no involvement in any of music, theatre, sports, academic clubs, spirit clubs, student government, service clubs, or other clubs) have a predicted .24 probability of victimization.

Considering all three panels of Table 3 together makes it clear that the probability of victimization by any bullying among music ensemble and theatre students is considerably greater than their peers in athletics. While all differences between the predicted probabilities for music/theatre students are significantly greater than the average probability for the whole sample, the Column 1 probabilities for athletes in Panel C are virtually indistinguishable from the probabilities across the entire sample in Panel A. Remember, too, that these estimated probabilities are the average marginal effect for each kind of activity participation while controlling for other forms of participation.

Other large magnitude effects evident in Table 3 can be seen in victimization by social/relational aggression. While male nonmusic/-theatre students only face a .17 probability (just larger than a one in six chance) of suffering from social/relational aggression, male band, choir, orchestra, or theatre students face a chance greater than one in four (a .26 probability). Female band, choir, and orchestra students face a nearly 30% chance of being victimized by social or relational aggression, significantly higher than the (still somewhat high) 23% chance of such victimization faced by female students who do not participate in their school's band, choir, orchestra, or theatre programs.

Average Marginal Effects for Middle Schoolers

The probabilities reported in Table 3 represent the average marginal effects at all grade levels and do not isolate middle from high school students. As would be expected based on the results of prior research, the predicted probability of victimization by bullying among music ensemble and theatre students is significantly greater in middle school. A band, choir, orchestra, or theatre student in middle school faces a .39 probability—nearly a two in five chance—of being victimized by in-person bullying of any means, compared with the significantly lower .30 probability of a nonmusic/-theatre middle schooler being so victimized (p for difference < .001). The probability of in-person bullying victimization is slightly lower (.39) for music/theatre female middle schoolers and slightly higher (.40) for music/theatre male middle schoolers, but these differences between the sexes are not statistically significant ($p = .776$). Middle school music and theatre students have a 31% chance of being victimized by social/relational

aggression while their nonmusic/-theatre counterparts have only a 23% chance of suffering social/relational aggression; the difference is statistically significant ($p < .001$). As would be reasonably hypothesized, the risk of social/relational aggression for middle schoolers in band, choir, orchestra, and theatre is greatest among the girls: They face a 33% chance of victimization by social or relational aggression while middle school boys in the performing arts face a 30% chance of suffering social or relational aggression. The difference is statistically significant, $p = .009$.

Discussion

In the present study, we sought to determine the national prevalence of victimization by bullying among American secondary school students who report participation in their school's music ensembles and theatre programs. Although past research has examined the association between bullying victimization rates and other student-level characteristics (Blake et al., 2012; Cooc & Gee, 2014; Due & Holstein, 2008; Perry et al., 2001), the present study is the first to document the likelihood of victimization by bullying behaviors among secondary school music ensemble and theatre students. According to our analyses, when controlling for race, Hispanic or Latino origin, sex, parental level of education, middle school or high school attendance, public or private school attendance, interscholastic athletic participation, and other forms of extracurricular participation, music and theatre students face a significantly greater risk than their non-arts peers of reporting being the victims of bullying behaviors. Specifically, female music and theatre students faced a 41% greater risk of being bullied, and male music and theatre students faced a 69% greater risk of being bullied than their peers who were not involved in school music ensembles or theatre programs. We further interpreted the model by computing predicted probabilities to explore the bullying risk in real rather than only relative terms. While all middle and high school students nationally faced a .28 probability of being bullied, athletes of any sex faced a slightly lower .27 chance (statistically indistinguishable from the risk faced by non-athletes), but music and theatre students faced a .34 probability, which was statistically significantly larger than the risk faced by both non-arts students and the general population regardless of arts or other participation.

It is important to remember that although the SCS is the most comprehensive national data set available on issues of school victimization and bullying, the identifying question that allowed us to discern performing arts students did not differentiate between music ensemble and theatre students. Therefore, one important limitation of the present study is our inability to determine whether the risk faced by music and theatre students differs by the type of performing art pursued by the student. That is, music students may face a greater, lesser, or identical increased risk as compared to the theatre students. Further research might help understand if the risks are different between music and theatre students, or a careful lobbying effort could be undertaken to encourage the U.S. Department of Education to refine the way the questionnaire is worded. Caution must be exercised in such a lobbying effort, however, lest the Department decide simply to stop asking SCS respondents about the performing arts at all, depriving the performing arts education research community of a valuable nationwide data source.

While all middle and high school students face some risk of victimization by bullying, the increased risk that music and theatre students face of in-person bullying should be noted by preservice and in-service teachers in the performing arts and perhaps especially by school counseling staff. Efficacy research on bullying prevention programs has suggested that whole-school approaches designed to improve total school climate have been successful in reducing incidence of bullying for a majority of students (Bradshaw, 2015); based on a comprehensive review of this research, Bradshaw (2015) recommends that schools adopt a three-tiered support framework based on a public health model. In the model Bradshaw recommends, 80% of students are served well by universal, schoolwide bullying prevention programs; roughly 15% of students are supported by a combination of the schoolwide prevention program and some targeted small group interventions based on behavioral indications of risk for bullying; and about 5% of students—those who have very high risk behaviors or have been identified either as bullies or victims—receive individualized anti-bullying support. Within this kind of a framework, whole-school interventions are aimed at improving the overall school climate, changing social norms regarding the acceptability of bullying, and reducing bystander silence. Targeted supports for small groups include social skills building and emotional regulation coaching. Intensive individual support for students most at risk aims to improve individual mental and behavioral health in tandem with the student's family.

The results of this study are noteworthy to the music and theatre education professions in that they raise important points to consider for future research inquiry and for the practice of music education, theatre education, music teacher preparation, and theatre teacher preparation. The most basic implication for performing arts educators arising from this study is the simple descriptive result: Music and theatre students are, at a greater proportion than nonmusic and nontheatre students, victims of bullying. Music and theatre educators need to be aware that a significant portion of their students—particularly those in middle school (Hymel & Swearer, 2015)—may be the victims of bullying and should take extra caution to see that this behavior is explicitly addressed as unacceptable in the culture of the performing arts classroom. Anti-bullying research has shown that classroom-level supports—that is, using class time to specifically address bullying, build social-emotional competencies, improve communication, and suggest bullying response actions—are effective at reducing bullying and victimization (Bradshaw, 2015). Music and theatre educators who focus on artistic expression and communication through their art form likely already intend to improve their students' social-emotional competencies, especially in classrooms where the teacher's philosophy aligns with instruction focused on the aesthetic experience and the human communication components of the arts. Teachers can use discussions of the social-emotional import of art to reduce bullying by drawing parallels from what may seem to students as distant abstractions of composer's or playwright's artistic intent into the students' own lived experiences. Drawing connections from art to daily lives in a framework intended to support students social-emotional competencies can actually reduce bullying and victimization, which seems like a worthwhile investment of time given the results of the present study.

Theatre educators especially should be encouraged to explore and implement some of the theatre-based interventions to bullying behaviors that have shown efficacy in prior

research (e.g., Burton, 2010; Gourd & Gourd, 2011; McArdle et al., 2002). In the intervention described by Gourd and Gourd (2011), a drama-based bullying unit was developed by teachers in a middle school and used in social studies classes to supplement a larger, schoolwide anti-bullying initiative. In the program Burton (2010) described, students assumed the roles of bully, victim, and bystander in theatrical improvisations. The improvisations among girls especially brought the covert nature of relational aggression into the open and allowed victims of bullies a chance at "role reversal, choosing to portray bullies carrying out bullying they had actually experienced" (p. 264). The improvisations were then used to develop devised theatre pieces that were presented to younger students as part of a successful bullying reduction and prevention program.

Given that prior research has established that there are differential patterns in types of bullying behaviors between the sexes, the interaction between sex and bullying risk that we found in this study raises interesting questions when placed in the context of both that prior scholarly work on bullying and prior work on gender issues in music education. It is generally known that the forms of bullying victimization vary by gender: Male victims tend to be bullied by males through acts of physical aggression, and female victims tend to be bullied by females through acts of social and relational aggression (Wang et al., 2009). As might be reasonably hypothesized from this prior knowledge, we found that female music ensemble and theatre students are at a considerable risk of victimization by social/relational aggression—nearly a one in three chance—and this risk is considerably greater than that of female athletes, who face a less than one in four chance, and the overall risk for females who have a .24 probability of being so victimized. Perhaps most interestingly, we found that male music ensemble and theatre students are at a slightly greater risk of victimization by social/relational aggression (.26 probability) than they are of physical aggression (.24 probability), and male music/theatre students face a greater risk of social/relational aggression than even *female* students who do not participate in music ensembles or school theatre (.23 probability). It is possible that given the preponderance of females involved in school-based music ensembles (Elpus, 2015), male music ensemble and theatre students are immersed in a peer culture where social/relational aggression is more typical regardless of the specific victim or perpetrator gender, especially considering that other activities where participants are at a greater risk of social/relational victimization (e.g., spirit and cheer) are also female dominated. However, more research is needed to determine if there is any truth to this speculation, which is just one of many possible explanations for the results we observe.

Issues of male underrepresentation in music and theatre education, and specifically in choral music education, are investigated in a fairly substantial body of music education research and practical literature. Scholars writing for practitioner audiences often prescribe solutions to the recruitment and retention of male singers (e.g., Demorest, 2000; Freer, 2007) while researchers have examined male singers' identity (e.g., Ashley, 2006) and lived experiences (Bennetts, 2013; Harrison, Welch, & Adler, 2012; Kennedy, 2002). Green (1997, 2010) has extensively theorized about the historically gendered nature of roles within the musical experience with singing associated most strongly with femininity. The results of the present study complement this extant theory and

research; indeed, increased perceived risk of victimization by bullying behaviors may be one systematic reason for the relative lack of males in American choral music education, a context that recent national estimates suggest has been female dominated by about 70% to 30% consistently for at least the past 30 years (Elpus, 2015).

An inherent strength of the program described by Burton (2010) was its focus on making overt the nature of social/relational aggression, which, as mentioned, is often covert from adults and may be difficult to identify even if it is occurring under the direct supervision of the teacher during class or rehearsal. Further complicating the matter is that social/relational aggression may be perceived by teachers as less serious or in need of intervention than other forms of bullying, as was found in a vignette study of preservice teachers' attitudes toward and anticipated responses to various types of bullying (Bauman & Del Rio, 2006). Unfortunately, there are few evidence-based programs for teacher professional development in recognizing, preventing, or arresting social/relational aggression (Merrell, Buchanan, & Tran, 2006). Merrell and colleagues (2006) recommend including social/relational aggression as a specific element in broader schoolwide programs designed to encourage prosocial behaviors and reduce aggression generally. Strategies that music and theatre teachers can employ to support the efficacy of schoolwide anti-bullying programs include (a) making explicit a no-tolerance policy for bullying within the classroom, (b) opening the music classroom for students during times when it is not being used for a class such as lunch, and (c) generally being committed to creating a culture of safety and respect in the music or theatre programs. Arts teachers often serve as important mentors and influential nonparental adults in the lives of the adolescents with whom they work (Beam, Chen, & Greenberger, 2002; Ivaldi & O'Neill, 2008; Roorda, Koomen, Spilt, & Oort, 2011; Shields, 2001); through this appropriate relationship, music and theatre teachers might be able to connect victims of bullying to needed counseling and resources as well as provide needed guidance and emotional support.

Beyond a focus on the culture of the music or theatre program as one of openness and support for social-emotional growth or the implementation of specific anti-bullying measures within a school or particular classroom, research suggests that effective classroom management also reduces bullying victimization (Bradshaw, 2015; Waasdorp, Bradshaw, & Leaf, 2012). Students report well-managed classrooms as having a better climate, they report feeling safer in these classrooms, and students see teachers who manage their classrooms well as more supportive, all of which contribute to reduced incidents of bullying (Waasdorp et al., 2012). Many of the effective schoolwide programs for reducing bullying include extensive support for teacher classroom management strategies (Farrington & Ttofi, 2009). This suggests that music and theatre teacher preparation programs should take an active approach when it comes to developing preservice teachers' classroom management skills, and perhaps teacher educators should look to some of the effective schoolwide bullying programs such as Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS) for ideas on how to support preservice teachers in the development of effective classroom management (Waasdorp et al., 2012) rather than relying primarily on cooperating teachers to address these teaching competencies in vivo during student teaching internships.

Prior to the present study, it would have been somewhat reasonable to assume that music ensemble and theatre participation might be a protective factor against bullying. This fallacious assumption rested on reasonable logic connecting two disparate parts of the scientific record on adolescent development: Victims and perpetrators of bullying have been found to suffer negative adolescent developmental outcomes (Boulton et al., 2008; Hawker & Boulton, 2000; Hutzell & Payne, 2012; Pepler et al., 2006; Pepler, Jiang, Craig, & Connolly, 2008), while arts participants have been found in prior research to have generally positive developmental outcomes (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001; Barber, Stone, Hunt, & Eccles, 2005; Bungay & Vella-Burrows, 2013; Busseri, Rose-Krasnor, Willoughby, & Chalmers, 2006; Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003; Fredricks et al., 2002). The present study suggests that any positive developmental benefits arising from musical and theatrical study in secondary schools are not the result of reduced risk of victimization by bullies; on the contrary, the increased incidence among music students of victimization by bullying behaviors that we find is a risk factor that is overcome by the developmental benefits of music ensemble and theatre participation in secondary schools. The precise mechanism through which arts education confers developmental benefits remains an open question in the research literature, however, and is worthy of future inquiry.

The finding that students participating in their school's music ensembles and theatre programs are more likely than nonmusic students to become the victims of bullying behaviors has important implications for the preparation of preservice music and theatre teachers. As they transition from preservice to early career status, music educators who are themselves in their own emerging adulthood period (Arnett, 2000) may find that they are taking on the role of influential nonparental adult to adolescents who may be only a few years their junior. This is a role for which many early career music educators may feel at best surprised and at worst totally unprepared to assume for their students. Teacher education curricula would do well, then, to more fully prepare preservice music and theatre educators to understand the nature and importance of mentoring from influential nonparental adults in the lives of adolescents. Clearly, all music and theatre teacher education programs should at some point prior to the student teaching internship address issues related to adolescent development on a practical level; through course work and field experiences, preservice music teachers should explore what behaviors constitute bullying, how to recognize both overt and covert aggressions, and have specific preparation in strategies for the prevention or elimination of bullying (Carter, 2011) in the classroom and in the culture of the music or theatre program. At the very least, music and theatre teachers should be prepared to understand the kinds of schoolwide anti-bullying programs that are commonly implemented and devise ways to support the efforts of these programs within the context of their curricula. It is quite possible that many educators in all fields may be currently unaware of the extent of the increased risk of bullying faced by performing arts students, either within or outside their arts classrooms, but teacher education programs and teacher professional development can and should prepare preservice teachers and support in-service teachers in helping all of their students to avoid becoming bullies and to overcome bullying victimization.

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1. The individual logistic regression results for each bullying outcome disaggregated by School Crime Supplement (SCS) waves (i.e., 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, and 2013) are available on request from the authors.

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