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# Involvement in bullying during high school: A Survival Analysis

## approach

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Knowledge about the risks of bullying involvement during any year of high school is an important element of interventions for changing the likelihood of being bullied. Three cohorts of Australian students (n = 1,382) were tracked from 7th to 11th grade. The study showed that some students have continued involvement in bullying, whilst in addition, new bullies and new victims emerge during each high school year. The findings indicated that the risk of bullying involvement ranged from 16% (as a bully) to 36% (as a victim), increasing to 54.5%, and 56.3% respectively, if a student was a bully or a victim in 7<sup>th</sup> grade. The risk to students of becoming victims, bullies, or bully-victims in each year of high school suggests that bullying prevention initiatives should be designed to suit students at different stages of adolescent development.

Keywords: survival analysis; bullies, victims- bully-victims; bullying prevention

## Introduction

Involvement in bullying may be as a bully, a victim, a bully-victim (Haynie et al., 2001; Veenstra et al., 2005). Bullying occurs in most schools, with reported prevalence rates varying from nine per cent in Sweden to 54 per cent in Lithuania (Nansel, Craig, Overpeck, Saluja, & Ruan, 2004). Negative psycho-social outcomes are associated with such repeated, intentional and systematic abuse of power (Beaty & Alexeyev, 2008; Skrzypiec, Slee, Askill-Williams, & Lawson,

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2012; Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefoghe, 2002; Turner, Finkelhor, Shattuck,  
& Hamby, 2012).

International studies of the prevalence of bullying show a peak in frequency of bullying around the end of primary (elementary) school and the beginning of high school (e.g., Eslea & Rees, 2001; Nansel et al., 2001). It has been suggested that the frequency of bullying in the later years of high school diminishes as students' growing social competencies enable the use of more prosocial strategies (Semrud-Clikeman, 2007). However, this does not mean that bullying will not be present at all in the later high school years. Some studies indicate that bullying and being a victim of bullying are roles that remain relatively stable for students as they transition from primary to middle school (Camodeca, Goossens, Terwogt, & Schuengel, 2002; Hanish & Guerra, 2004; Paul & Cillessen, 2003; Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000). Sourander, Helstela, Helenius and Piha (2000) concluded from their eight-year longitudinal study that bullying, and being a victim of bullying were persistent behaviours. Furthermore, being a victim was found to be the more persistent of the two (and strongly associated with emotional and behavioural problems).

However, other studies have reported mixed results. For example, in their review, Juvonen and Graham (2014) estimated that somewhat less than 10 per cent of youths maintained an involvement in bullying across their school years. Changes, as well as some stability in bullying others, were also reported in a seven-year longitudinal study of Canadian adolescents by Pepler, Jiang, Craig, and Connolly (2008). Similarly, a study by Barker, Arseneault, Brendgen, Fontaine and Maughan (2008), which examined the trajectories of students who were bullies and victims, indicated that involvement in bullying could change as students progressed across the high school years. Meanwhile, Rosen et al., (2009), in a longitudinal study of 'social victimization',

1 reported that children victimized at one developmental period were not necessarily  
2 ‘chronically’ victimized at a later point in time. Later research by Nocentini, Menesini,  
3 and Salmivalli (2013), using multi-level growth models, showed that bullying  
4 experiences varied significantly across time at both the individual and classroom levels.  
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6 Similarly, Ryoo, Wang, and Swearer (2014) found instability in being a victim or bully  
7 over time, particularly during school transition years. Likewise, a combined cohort  
8 study by Baly, Cornell and Lovegrove (2014) found a high degree of variance in self-  
9 and peer-reports of bullying other students across six waves of surveys across three  
10 years, and that the majority of the reported bullying was transient. Overall, extant  
11 research shows disparate findings about the trajectories that bullying other students and  
12 being victimized take, highlighting the need for further research.  
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28 In particular, studies concerned with stability and change largely trace the  
29 trajectories of bullies and victims following an *initial* identification of students’  
30 involvement in bullying. Typically, such studies do not indicate whether there are other  
31 students, who were not identified at a first data collection point, but who might have  
32 become involved in bullying at a later date - even relatively late into their high school  
33 years.  
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43 In addition, although gender has been widely studied in relation to the general  
44 field of school bullying, such as the study by Craig et al. (2009) which reported that  
45 boys are more likely than girls to bully other students, relationships between *onset* of  
46 bullying involvement during high school, with gender and bullying involvement in  
47 primary school, are infrequently studied. Research by Shute, Owens and Slee (2008)  
48 pointed to the vulnerability of post pubescent girls to victimization, thus raising the  
49 possibility that trajectories of bullying involvement, including onset, might change  
50 during adolescence.  
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2 To examine the likelihood of students becoming involved in bullying for the  
3 first time during the high school years we used survival analysis to describe students'  
4 involvement as bully, victim or bully-victim over an extended period of schooling,  
5 according to gender, and according to involvement in bullying in primary school. This  
6 study of the timing of onset of involvement in bullying has the potential to identify  
7 whether patterns reported in current literature may mask late onset of becoming a bully,  
8 victim, or bully-victim. Late onset might require different types of preventative and  
9 supportive interventions. The timing of involvement in bullying is therefore of  
10 significant interest and the main focus of this paper.  
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### 23 *Objectives*

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26 The objectives of the current study were to investigate:  
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- 28 1. The risk of being a bully, victim or bully-victim:
  - 29 a. **at any time** during high school, that is, either repeated or for the first time  
30 (onset);  
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  - 32 b. **for the first time (onset)**, having not been involved in bullying in any  
33 previous years of high school.  
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- 35 2. The predictors of being a bully, victim or bully-victim in high school with regard to:
  - 36 a. the influence of students' bully, victim or bully-victim status in 7<sup>th</sup> grade (the  
37 final year of primary school in South Australia) on bully, victim or bully-victim  
38 status in high school;  
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  - 40 b. the influence of gender on bully, victim or bully-victim status in high school.  
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## Method

Ethics approvals were obtained from the Department of Education and our University Ethics committee. The study was approved by each school principal. Participants and their parents/carers provided informed consent. Participation was voluntary and confidential.

Schools were self-selected, as they had requested a survey of their students' experiences with bullying and other facets of school life. Two schools were rated as minimum disadvantage schools on the Department for Education Index of Educational Disadvantage (which groups schools into one of seven ranks of educational disadvantage based on four measures: parental income; parental education and occupation; Aboriginality; and student mobility) with, respectively, 12% and 17% of students receiving school fee relief. The third school was rated as high disadvantage with approximately 79% of students receiving school fee relief.

### *Participants*

Over 3,000 primary and high school students participated in the study. Students' ages ranged from 11 to 16 years ( $M = 13.4$  years;  $SD = 0.94$ ), with 50.8% males and 91% indicating that they only spoke English at home. The proportion of students identifying as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander was less than one per cent in each of the first two schools, and approximately nine per cent in the third school.

### *Measures*

We used the 16-item Peer Relations Questionnaire (PRQ, Rigby & Slee, 1991), which has been widely used and validated (e.g., see Tabaeian, Amiri, & Molavi, 2012). It

1 includes six questions about being a bully (e.g., ‘I enjoy upsetting wimps’), six  
2 questions about being victimized (e.g., ‘I get picked on by others’), and four pro-social  
3 behaviour questions (e.g., ‘I enjoy helping others’). The PRQ asks respondents to report  
4 the frequency of their involvement in bullying using a four-point Likert-type scale  
5 which ranges from ‘never’, ‘once in a while’, ‘pretty often’ to ‘very often’.  
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12 In addition to the PRQ, we asked students to indicate their gender, age, cultural  
13 background, and how often they had been a bully or a victim in the current school year.  
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15 This latter simple frequency question provided a cross-check to the PRQ factor items.  
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### 21 *Participant flow*

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25 We tracked three cohorts of students (n = 3,020) for five years (see Table 1). In the first  
26 year this included 7<sup>th</sup> grade students from approximately 30 feeder schools who were  
27 attending a transition day at their prospective high school, plus students who were in  
28 their first (8<sup>th</sup> grade) or second year (9<sup>th</sup> grade) of high school. During the five-year  
29 period, new students entered the study due to their beginning high school or changing  
30 schools.  
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41 With the exception of the final wave of data collection, over one thousand  
42 students participated in the study each year (see Table 1). In each year, participation  
43 involved students from the previous cohort as well as one new cohort. For example, as  
44 shown in Table 1, in the first year (cohort 1) 548 7<sup>th</sup> grade students, 442 8<sup>th</sup> grade  
45 students, and 380 9<sup>th</sup> grade students completed questionnaires. Of these students, 413 7<sup>th</sup>  
46 graders, 294 8<sup>th</sup> graders, and 237 9<sup>th</sup> graders completed questionnaires in the following  
47 year in 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> grades respectively. In addition, there were 553 new 7<sup>th</sup> graders,  
48 52 new 8<sup>th</sup> graders, 87 new 9<sup>th</sup> graders, and 108 new 10<sup>th</sup> graders that joined the  
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1 longitudinal study in the second year; they comprised cohort 2. Table 1 shows the  
2 pattern of participation in subsequent years.  
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9 INSERT Table 1: Number of students who started and participated in the longitudinal  
10 study over a 5-year period  
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19 Participant attrition occurred over the five years due to a number of factors, including  
20 students leaving the study sites, and some classes not being available on data collection  
21 days (e.g., due to exams; sporting commitments; teacher availabilities; etc.). As shown  
22 in Table 1, only 577 students participated in the final wave of data collection. For this  
23 reason, a decision was made not to include the fifth wave of data in the survival  
24 analyses.  
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34 Furthermore, not all participants had data that could be included in the survival  
35 analyses. To be included, each student's data needed to have been present in two or  
36 more consecutive waves, or have been in one wave and no more (i.e., censored data).  
37 For example, a student who participated in just one wave of data collection, and for  
38 whom bullying involvement information was known for that year but for no other year,  
39 was included in the analysis (as censored data). However, a student for whom data was  
40 available in Year 1 and Year 3, but missing for Year 2, for example, was not included in  
41 the analysis. This is because it was not known whether the student had been involved in  
42 bullying during the missing year. Overall data was available for 1,462 (89.05%) of  
43 participants who completed questionnaires by the fourth wave of data collection. Of  
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1 these students, 1,382 had data that met the survival analysis data criteria. In summary,  
2 nearly half of the original sample (45.76%) was included in the survival analyses.  
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5 There were significant differences between students who were not included and  
6 those for whom sufficient data was available for the survival analysis. Students from the  
7 school of high disadvantage were more likely to have had insufficient data for analysis.  
8 This reflects a problem in social science research whereby data from vulnerable groups  
9 is difficult to collect, and this must be held in mind when interpreting our results.  
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### 19 ***Research Design***

20 We administered the PRQ during regular class lessons near the end (November) of each  
21 academic year. Almost 100 per cent of students present in class on the days of data  
22 collection completed their questionnaires.  
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30 We undertook survival analysis of the questionnaire data using SPSS v23. A strong  
31 feature of survival analysis is that it permits the inclusion of censored data. Censored  
32 data is information obtained from individuals who leave or drop out before the full  
33 study period has been completed, but who have not yet experienced the “event”. For  
34 example, if individuals provide questionnaire data in their first and second year of high  
35 school, but none in their third year, and they had not experienced the “event” before that  
36 time, then their data is included in the analysis as censored data (using a specific  
37 algorithm). This is because whether or not they would have experienced the “event” in  
38 their third year had they continued with the study is unknown, although the time until  
39 they did not experience the event (i.e., their survival time) is known. Use of the  
40 censored data algorithm allows information to the time of “drop out” to be included in  
41 the analysis.  
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1 Survival analysis has proved useful in other domains of research, such as in  
2 criminology. For example, Skrzypiec (2006) used survival analysis to estimate the  
3 likelihood of completing a drug court intervention, while Hill, Habermann, Klusmann,  
4 Berner, and Briken (2008) used survival analysis to examine the recidivism of sexual  
5 offenders.  
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11 In the present study, we wished to investigate the onset (the first time) of  
12 bullying other students, of being a victim, and of being a bully-victim. In doing so, we  
13 conducted an analysis not previously undertaken (to our knowledge) in relation to  
14 involvement in bullying. We collected longitudinal data to track students as they  
15 progressed through their high school years, each year asking students to report their  
16 involvement in bullying as victims or perpetrators. This approach enabled identification  
17 of any periods within the time frame where the risk of bullying events was higher or  
18 lower. The survival analysis approach also permitted an examination of predictor  
19 variables using Cox Regression. We used gender and bullying involvement in 7<sup>th</sup> grade  
20 (primary school) to predict the likelihood of persistently being a bully, being a victim,  
21 or being a bully-victim in high school.  
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#### 41 ***Determining Involvement in Bullying***

42 We investigated the factor structure of the PRQ using confirmatory factor analysis  
43 (CFA) robust maximum likelihood (type = complex) in MPlus v 17.0. All items of the  
44 PRQ were analysed separately as one-factor congeneric models of bully or victim, to  
45 determine convergent validity, and then together in one model to determine construct  
46 validity. The PRQ showed good construct validity (see Appendix, Figure A). We used  
47 Hancock and Mueller's (2001) coefficient H to measure scale reliability.  
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1 The CFA for the bully model showed good fit and good reliability ( $H = 0.81$ )  
2 with the data (see Appendix, Figure B). The regression coefficients in the bully model  
3 were used to calculate a bully factor score for each student. The CFA for the victim  
4 model showed good fit and good reliability ( $H = 0.90$ ) with the data when one item was  
5 dropped ('Others leave me out') (see Appendix, Figure C). The regression coefficients  
6 in the victim model were used to calculate a victim factor score for each student. Bully  
7 factor scores and victim factor scores were used to determine involvement in bullying  
8 for each student as a bully, victim, bully-victim or not involved, as described in the  
9 following sections.  
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### 23 *Bullies*

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26 The PRQ scores for being a bully ranged from three to 13. Students with scores greater  
27 than or equal to seven were classified as bullies. This cut off point was supported by a  
28 comparison of students' PRQ bully scores with the questionnaire item that asked  
29 students to self-report how often they bullied other students. As shown in the Appendix,  
30 Table A, participants who reported low levels of bullying other students (i.e., where the  
31 'pretty often' or 'very often' occurrences of bullying others were zero) had PRQ bully  
32 scores that were less than seven. In contrast, students with PRQ bully scores greater  
33 than or equal to seven also self-reported two or more experiences of bullying other  
34 students 'pretty often' or 'very often'.  
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### 50 *Victims*

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52 The PRQ scores for being a victim ranged from four to 16. Participants with PRQ  
53 victim scores greater than eight were classified as victims of bullying. This cut off point  
54 was supported by a comparison of students' PRQ victim scores with the questionnaire  
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1 item that asked students to self-report how often they had been a victim. As shown in  
2 the Appendix, Table B, participants who reported low levels of being victimized (i.e.,  
3 the number of ‘pretty often’ or ‘very often’ occurrences were zero) had PRQ victim  
4 scores of less than nine. In contrast, students with high PRQ victim scores also reported  
5 that they had been victims of bullying ‘pretty often’ or ‘very often’.  
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### 13 *Bully-Victims*

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16 Students with PRQ victim scores greater than eight *and* PRQ bully scores greater than  
17 seven were classified as bully-victims. In our sample, only one person was classified as  
18 a bully-victim in the last year of primary school and so this category of primary school  
19 bullying involvement was not included as a 7<sup>th</sup> grade predictor variable in the regression  
20 analyses.  
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### 30 *Not Involved in Bullying*

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33 Students with PRQ victim scores less than nine and PRQ bully scores less than seven  
34 were classified as not involved in bullying.  
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### 40 *Survival Analysis*

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43 Survival analysis examines the time taken until an event happens, such as a death or a  
44 failure in a mechanical system, or in the present study, involvement in bullying as a  
45 bully, victim or bully-victim. This procedure permits an estimation of the proportion of  
46 a population that will ‘survive’ past a certain time, and for those people who do not  
47 experience the event (e.g., survive), the rate at which they will fail (e.g., die). Survival  
48 analysis provides an estimation of the probability that an event will occur during a given  
49 time period. It permits information from participants involved in a study for various  
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amounts of time to be included as useful data in the analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

### *Survival Analysis Parameters*

*Events:* We investigated the event identified as ‘involvement in bullying’. Therefore we undertook three survival analyses, and defined the event (based on students’ responses to the PRQ) in each successive analysis as:

- 1) at least one occurrence during the study period of being classified as a bully,
- 2) at least one occurrence during the study period of being classified as a victim of bullying,
- 3) at least one occurrence during the study period of being classified as both a bully and victim of bullying.

*Time:* Event occurrences were measured in time units of ‘one school academic year’, which began at 8<sup>th</sup> grade when students entered high school.

*Predictors:* We used Cox Regression analysis with gender and bullying-status in the final year of primary school (7<sup>th</sup> grade) as predictors of the likelihood of being a bully, victim, or bully-victim in high school.

### ***The likelihood of involvement in bullying either repeatedly or for the first time***

Figure 1 shows the likely prevalence of involvement in bullying as a victim, bully or bully-victim in each year of high school again, or for the first time. For example, 15% of 8<sup>th</sup> grade students were likely to be victims of bullying, while 4% were likely to be bullies, and 2% bully-victims. Overall, 21% of students were likely to have some

1 involvement in bullying in the 8<sup>th</sup> grade, increasing to just over one-quarter (26%) of  
2 students in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade.  
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5 Figure 1 also shows that the likelihood of being a bully (again or for the first  
6 time) remained relatively stable during each of the high school years, varying from  
7 three to four per cent. The likelihood of being a victim of bullying was greatest in 9<sup>th</sup>  
8 grade (18%), decreasing to 11 to 12 per cent in 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grades. The likelihood of  
9 being a bully-victim during high school was lowest in 8<sup>th</sup> grade, at two per cent.  
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11 However, being a bully-victim was three times more likely (6%) in 11<sup>th</sup> grade than in 8<sup>th</sup>  
12 grade.  
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23 INSERT Figure 1 The likelihood of being involved in bullying again or for the first  
24 time, as a Victim, Bully or Bully-Victim, in each year of high school.  
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### 33 *First time involvement in bullying (onset)*

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37 Figure 2 shows the likelihood that a student would become involved in bullying **for the**  
38 **first time**, not having been involved in bullying in any previous years in high school.  
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#### 42 *As a bully*

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46 As shown, the total likelihood of bullying other students for the first time (onset) during  
47 the first four years of high school was 16%, while the likelihood of the onset of bullying  
48 other students was highest (4%) during 8<sup>th</sup> grade, and varied from 2%-3% during 9<sup>th</sup>-  
49 11<sup>th</sup> grades.  
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*As a victim*

The total likelihood of being a victim of bullying (onset) during the first four years of high school was 36%. As shown in Figure 1, the risk of the onset of being a victim of bullying (i.e., being a victim for the *first* time) in high school was greatest in the first year of high school, namely, 8<sup>th</sup> grade (15%). For students who had *not* been victimized in 8<sup>th</sup> grade, the risk of onset of being a victim of bullying decreased by about half in 9<sup>th</sup> grade (8%) and remained at a low level for grades 10, and 11. For students who had not been a victim of bullying in 8<sup>th</sup> grade or 9<sup>th</sup> grade, the likelihood of onset in 10<sup>th</sup> grade was 5%. For students who had not been victimized in 8<sup>th</sup> grade, 9<sup>th</sup> grade or 10<sup>th</sup> grade, the likelihood of onset in 11<sup>th</sup> grade was 6%.

*As a bully-victim*

The total likelihood of being both a bully of other students and a victim of bullying (onset) by the end of the first four years of high school was 13%. Although this likelihood of first onset was relatively small, it increased from 2% in 8<sup>th</sup> grade to 4% in 11<sup>th</sup> grade (see Figure 2).

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INSERT Figure 2 The risk of becoming a Victim, Bully or Bully-Victim for the first time (onset) during each year of high school.

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***Predictors of Bullying Involvement in High School***

Our analysis next turned to the question concerning the predictors of involvement in bullying.

*Bullies*

As shown in Table 2, the significant predictors of being a bully during high school were gender (male) and being a bully in 7<sup>th</sup> grade. Being a victim in 7<sup>th</sup> grade was not a significant predictor of being a bully in high school. Exp(B) is the ratio of hazard rates that are one unit apart on the predictor variable. So the difference of one unit in gender (e.g., changing focus from girls to boys), increases the hazard rate by 338.5%.

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INSERT Table 2 Predictors of being a bully of other students at any time in high school

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Figures 3 and 4 show the proportion of individuals who experienced the event of ‘being a bully’. As shown in Figure 3, the likelihood that students who had been bullies in 7<sup>th</sup> grade would subsequently bully other students, at some time, by 11<sup>th</sup> grade was 40.5 %, compared to 11.5% for students who had been victims of bullying, and 10.7% for students not involved in bullying. Figure 4 shows that the likelihood of males being a bully at some time by the end of 11<sup>th</sup> grade, was 14.2 %, compared to 4.5% for females. The important message to take from Figures 2 and 3 is that each step-up of the line in the Figures represents new bullies and victims in each high school year.

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INSERT Figure 3: The likelihood of being a bully in high school based on bullying status in the last year of primary school

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INSERT Figure 4: The likelihood of males and females bullying other students in high school

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10 *Victims*

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13 As shown in Table 3, a significant predictor of being a victim of bullying during high  
14 school was being a victim in 7<sup>th</sup> grade. Neither bully status in 7<sup>th</sup> grade nor gender were  
15 significant predictors of becoming a victim.  
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25 INSERT Table 3: Predictors of being a victim of bullying in high school

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32 Figure 5 illustrates that the risk of becoming a victim of bullying by 11<sup>th</sup> grade for  
33 students who had been victims in 7<sup>th</sup> grade was quite high (56.3%). Similarly, the  
34 likelihood of becoming victims of bullying, for students who had bullied other students  
35 in primary school, was also high at 54.9 %. For students not involved in bullying in 7<sup>th</sup>  
36 grade, the likelihood of becoming a victim was 17.5 %. The likelihood of victims in 7<sup>th</sup>  
37 grade becoming victims during 8<sup>th</sup> grade was 47.9%, while for bullies in 7<sup>th</sup> grade there  
38 was a risk of 23.8% of becoming a victim in 8<sup>th</sup> grade. For students not involved in  
39 bullying in 7<sup>th</sup> grade, the risk of becoming a victim in 8<sup>th</sup> grade was 6.9%. No  
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INSERT Figure 5: The likelihood of being a victim of bullying in high school based on involvement in bullying in the last year of primary school

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10 ***Summary of Findings***  
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13 Table 4 displays a summary of our findings about the risk of becoming involved in  
14 bullying during 8<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> grade. The risk during any given year of being a bully or a  
15 bully-victim (again or for the first time) was relatively low, but for being a victim (again  
16 or for the first time) the risk was much higher, ranging from 11 to 18%. By grade 11,  
17 the overall risk of involvement in bullying as a bully was 16%, as a victim was 36%,  
18 and as a bully-victim was 13%.  
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29 The likelihood of becoming a bully during high school for students not involved  
30 in bullying in their last year of primary school (7<sup>th</sup> grade) was slightly lower than the  
31 risk for students who had been victims of bullying in 7<sup>th</sup> grade. However, this risk  
32 increased to 40.5% if students had been bullies in 7<sup>th</sup> grade.  
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40 Involvement in bullying as a victim or bully in 7<sup>th</sup> grade carried a high risk of  
41 becoming a victim of bullying at some point during high school, varying from 54.9%  
42 for students who had been bullies in 7<sup>th</sup> grade to 56.3% for students who had been  
43 victims in 7<sup>th</sup> grade. The risk of becoming a bully in high school was also increased if  
44 students were males.  
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56 INSERT Table 4: Risk of involvement in high school as a bully, victim or bully-victim  
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## Discussion

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3 Our results indicate that although the likelihood of onset of bullying other students  
4 during high school is relatively low, new bullies emerged during each high school year.  
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6 Hanish and Guerra (2004) reported an increase in bullying behaviour over the primary  
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8 school years, attributing such change to an increase in physical and cognitive abilities  
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10 relative to younger or weaker children. It is possible that this increase in social  
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12 competencies continues to better equip, albeit in undesirable ways, bullies in high  
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14 school. McQuade, Achufusi, Shoulberg, and Murray-Close (2014) found that 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup>  
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16 grade children who had an over- or under-estimation of their own social competence  
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18 when compared to their peers, showed higher rates of physical aggression if their peer  
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20 status was low, but higher rates of relational aggression if they had higher peer status  
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22 (i.e., were popular). McQuade et al's study shows the complexity of associations  
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24 between social competence and different forms of aggression. The study indicates that  
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26 the association of biased self-perceptions, popularity and aggression, particularly in the  
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28 adolescent years, warrants further investigation. Furthermore, the relatively stable  
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30 *proportion* of bullies in the current study (even though new bullies emerge each year)  
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32 suggests that some bullies either desist from bullying other students, or become bully-  
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34 victims or victims. The degree to which this is the case remains to be investigated in  
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36 future longitudinal studies that track individual cohorts of students across the high  
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38 school years. Longitudinal studies with measures of social competence, popularity and  
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40 different forms of peer aggression (e.g., physical and relational) would enlighten our  
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42 understanding of this complex issue.  
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55 For victims, while it is known (e.g., Rosen et al., 2009), and our study confirms,  
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57 that victimization is likely to continue for existing victims, new victims also emerged in  
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59 each year in our sample. Our study has shown that overall, the likelihood that a student  
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1 will become of victim of bullying at some point in high school, was 36%. This suggests  
2 that one in three students will be bullied at some point in high school, irrespective of  
3 whether or not they have been previous victims of bullying during 7<sup>th</sup> grade.  
4

5 Alarming, the likelihood of being a victim significantly increases to 54.9% if the  
6 student was a victim of bullying during his or her last year of primary school  
7 (irrespective of gender). In other words, one in two students bullied in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade are  
8 also likely to be bullied at some point in high school.  
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There are various suggestions about why victims are chronically victimized (e.g., social competence, Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, & Sadek, 2010; disability, Humphrey & Symes, 2010). A question raised by our study concerns the reasons that individuals are targeted as victims when they have not previously attracted the attention of bullies. One possibility is that relational bullying increases as students get older, as discussed by several researchers (e.g., Tremblay & Nagin, 2005; Vaillancourt, 2005). Early research (Slee & Rigby, 1993) and more recent research (de Bruyn, Cillessen, & Wissink, 2010) has established that bullying other students is positively associated with popularity amongst peers, while being victimized is negatively associated with popularity. Research by Puckett, Aikins, and Cillessen (2008) of 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade adolescents investigated the moderating role of prosocial behaviours and self-efficacy on relational aggression and popularity. The authors found that relational aggression correlated with perceived popularity, social self-efficacy, leadership and cooperation, as well as with high functioning within the peer group. In light of these findings, Puckett et al. suggested that “relational aggression cannot simply be seen as a behaviour that is always maladaptive or pathological (although it may be in many cases)” (p. 572).

Whether this is the case at later ages is unknown. Such findings suggest that the role of popularity with relational aggression (in particular) is not simple, and that future studies

1 that seek to examine this relationship must consider many other social factors, including  
2 perceived social competence and social self-efficacy.  
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5 Pepler et al. (2006) noted that “adolescents can readily acquire power over  
6 another by identifying vulnerabilities related to sexuality and, in turn, use these as a  
7 means to bully, through sexual harassment” (p. 377). Similarly, Shute, Owens and Slee  
8 (2008) highlighted issues of sexuality in the post pubescent years as a factor in  
9 victimization. The field of research into sexualized and gendered experiences of  
10 bullying, harassment and aggression (e.g., Rivers & Duncan, 2013) is potentially  
11 relevant to our findings about the emergence of new victims in the latter high school  
12 years. Further research is required to investigate this supposition.  
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26 New bully-victims also emerged in each year of high school, and increasingly  
27 so, as students progressed into the senior years of high school. It may be that students  
28 who had been victims of bullying responded by bullying other students as they matured.  
29 This aligns with social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986), which would predict a link  
30 between students’ observations of bullying behaviours and potential adoption of such  
31 behaviours. Alternatively, it may be that students who had bullied other student became  
32 victims of bullying as the limitations of their self-regulatory social and emotional  
33 capabilities were manifested. For example, Cook et al. (2010), in a meta-analysis of 153  
34 studies, found that both bullies and victims displayed internalising symptoms –  
35 providing one indicator of a shared characteristic that might manifest itself through  
36 what, on the surface, appear to be quite different behaviours by bullies and victims.  
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54 In the present study, males were three times more likely than females to become  
55 bullies irrespective of bullying involvement in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade. This finding is consistent  
56 with other studies (e.g., Camodeca, Goossens, Terwogt & Schuengel, 2002; Skrzypiec  
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Slee, Murray-Harvey & Pereira, 2011). Developmental research shows that adolescent males are more likely to engage in problematic behaviours, attributed by Moffitt (1993) to the “maturity gap” that accompanies puberty and the years before adulthood. Such behaviour she suggests, comes about by motivation, mimicry and reinforcement, and is triggered when individuals sense that engaging in such behaviour is personally profitable. More research is needed to investigate the link between involvement in bullying and the “maturity gap” during adolescence.

### ***Limitations***

Only schools in the southern metropolitan area of South Australia were involved in this study. Furthermore, the study relied upon students’ self-reports, with recognised problems of potential participant blind spots and social desirability bias (Muijs, 2011). However, with respect to reports about the (often hidden) experience of being a bully or victim, self-reports are arguably an important source of information.

Students from the participating school of high disadvantage, with its greater rates of school drop-out, were more likely to have had insufficient data for analysis. This reflects a known problem in social science research whereby data from vulnerable groups is difficult to collect (Bonevski et al., 2014). This must be held in mind when interpreting our results.

Relatively few bully-victims were identified in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade cohort. Therefore it was not possible to make predictions about the potential influence of being a bully-victim in 7<sup>th</sup> grade on bullying involvement high school. Future studies would require a larger sample of primary school students to allow the identification of a sufficient number of bully-victims to enable statistical analyses.

1 Further research which records the exact time during the year when bullying  
2 involvement occurs would provide more accurate statistics and probability levels than  
3 our method using the academic year as a time interval.  
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## 8 **Conclusions**

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11 There are important implications for school-based interventions arising from our  
12 findings. A number of researchers (e.g., Espelage & Swearer, 2003) have highlighted  
13 how transitions across primary and secondary school, and associated issues of  
14 dominance status and peer group affiliations, impact on bullying and victimization. The  
15 present findings indicating some stability in bullying involvement suggest there is more  
16 to such behaviours than the disruption of peer networks. Schools should take this into  
17 account in the delivery of anti-bullying programs. Specific attention might be given to  
18 bullying status during the transition between primary and secondary schools. This is  
19 particularly important for students who have been victims of bullying in primary school.  
20 Furthermore, the emergence of new victims in each year of high school suggests that  
21 interventions should continue and be implemented accordingly for each age group, in  
22 every year of high school.  
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42 The finding that new bullies, victims, and bully-victims emerged during each  
43 high school year points to the complexity of bullying involvement in high school and  
44 the need to undertake longitudinal studies that track students and measure bullying  
45 interactions. School-based interventions and policies that aim to break bullying  
46 trajectories and minimise harm for recurrent victims should take into account later onset  
47 bullying involvement. Such interventions would best be designed by considering the  
48 maturity and cognitively complex nature of senior students, and the sophisticated types  
49 of bullying that might occur during this stage of their development. It is important to  
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1 nuance types of bullying prevention interventions, taking into account the intensity and  
2 severity of the bullying, and the understanding that older students are more likely to  
3 seek the support of peers rather than teachers or parents. As such peer support programs  
4 may have a greater role to play in interventions with senior students.  
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10 Bullying is a phenomenon that needs to be addressed in all years of schooling.  
11 The identification of late emerging bully, victim, and bully-victim status has  
12 implications for the development and maintenance of bullying prevention policies and  
13 practices, including the timing, duration and modifications of policies and practices to  
14 suit students at different stages of pre-adolescent and adolescent development.  
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## Tables

Table 1: Number of students who started and participated in the longitudinal study over a 5-year period

Cohort	Grade	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
cohort 1	7 <sup>th</sup> grade	548	→ 413	→ 392	→ 331	→ 280
cohort 2	7 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 2)		553	→ 466	→ 376	→ 0
cohort 3	7 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 3)			463	→ 0	→ 0
cohort 1	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	442	→ 294	→ 285	→ 228	→ 154
cohort 2	8 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 2)		52	→ 38	→ 27	→ 21
cohort 3	8 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 3)			59	→ 34	→ 2
cohort 1	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	380	→ 237	→ 232	→ 187	→ 1
cohort 2	9 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 2)		87	→ 62	→ 43	→ 23
cohort 3	9 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 3)			51	→ 32	→ 24
cohort 4	9 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 4)				31	→ 0
cohort 2	10 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 2)		108	→ 70	→ 44	→ 0
cohort 3	10 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 3)			78	→ 33	→ 22
cohort 4	10 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 4)				29	→ 8
cohort 3	11 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 3)			62	→ 22	→ 1
cohort 4	11 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 4)				36	→ 9
cohort 5	11 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 5)					21
cohort 4	12 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 4)				9	→ 0
cohort5	12 <sup>th</sup> grade (new in Yr 5)					11
	<i>New</i>		800	713	105	32
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1370</b>	<b>1744</b>	<b>2199</b>	<b>1462</b>	<b>577</b>

Note: 7<sup>th</sup> grade: ages 12-13; 8<sup>th</sup> grade: ages 13-14; 9<sup>th</sup> grade: ages 14-15; 10<sup>th</sup> grade: ages 15-16; 11<sup>th</sup> grade: ages 16-17



Table 2: Predictors of being a bully of other students at any time in high school

<b>n=352</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>Wald</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>Sig.</b>	<b>Exp (B)</b>
Gender	1.219	.416	8.600	1	.003	3.385
7th grade bully involvement group			9.736	3	.021	
Bully in 7 <sup>th</sup> grade	1.991	.746	7.125	1	.008	7.324
Victim in 7 <sup>th</sup> grade	-.618	1.042	.352	1	.553	.539

Table 3: Predictors of being a victim of bullying in high school

<b>n=352</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>Wald</b>	<b>df</b>	<b>Sig.</b>	<b>Exp(B)</b>
Gender	.276	.266	1.074	1	.300	1.318
7th grade involvement in bully group			17.744	3	.000	
Bully in 7 <sup>th</sup> grade	-.022	.779	.001	1	.977	.978
Victim in 7 <sup>th</sup> grade	1.434	.354	16.430	1	.000	4.194

Table 4: Risk of involvement in high school as a bully, victim or bully-victim

	<b>Risk of becoming a bully %</b>	<b>Risk of becoming a victim %</b>	<b>Risk of becoming a bully- victim %</b>
During any year, again or for the first time	3-4	11-18	2-6
For the first time (onset) in high school	2-4	6-15	2-4
By the end of four years of high school:	16	36	13
• If student was not involved in bullying in 7 <sup>th</sup> grade	10.7	17.5	na
• If student was a bully in 7 <sup>th</sup> grade	40.5	54.9	na
• If student was a victim in 7 <sup>th</sup> grade	11.5	56.3	na
• If the student was Male	14.2	n.s.	na
• If the student was Female	4.5	n.s.	na

ns= not significant; na = not available

## Figures

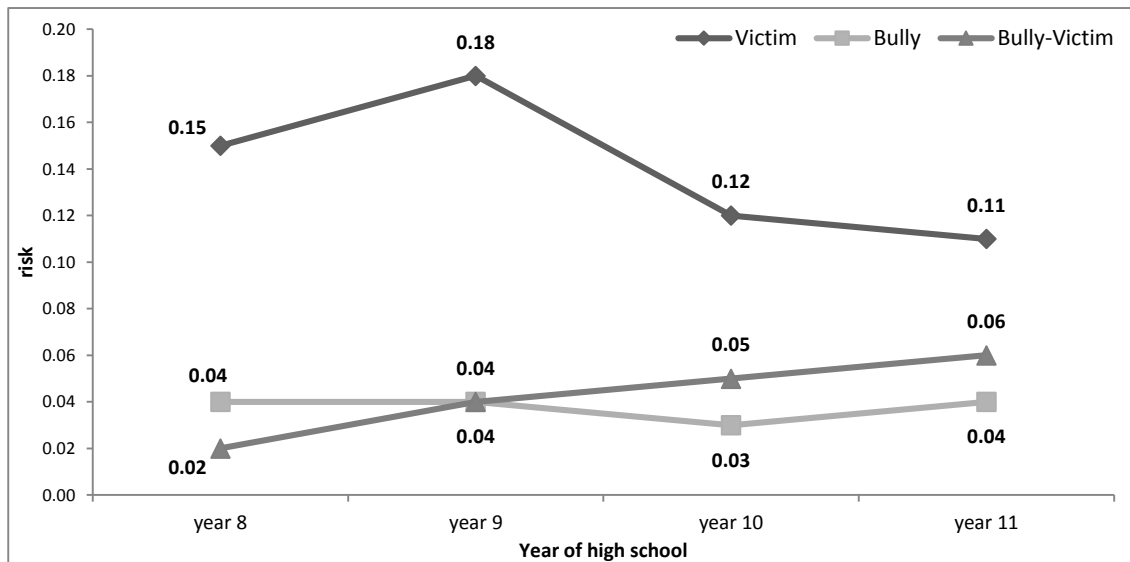


Figure 1: The likelihood of being involved in bullying in high school, again or for the first time, as a Victim, Bully or Bully-Victim, in each year of high school.

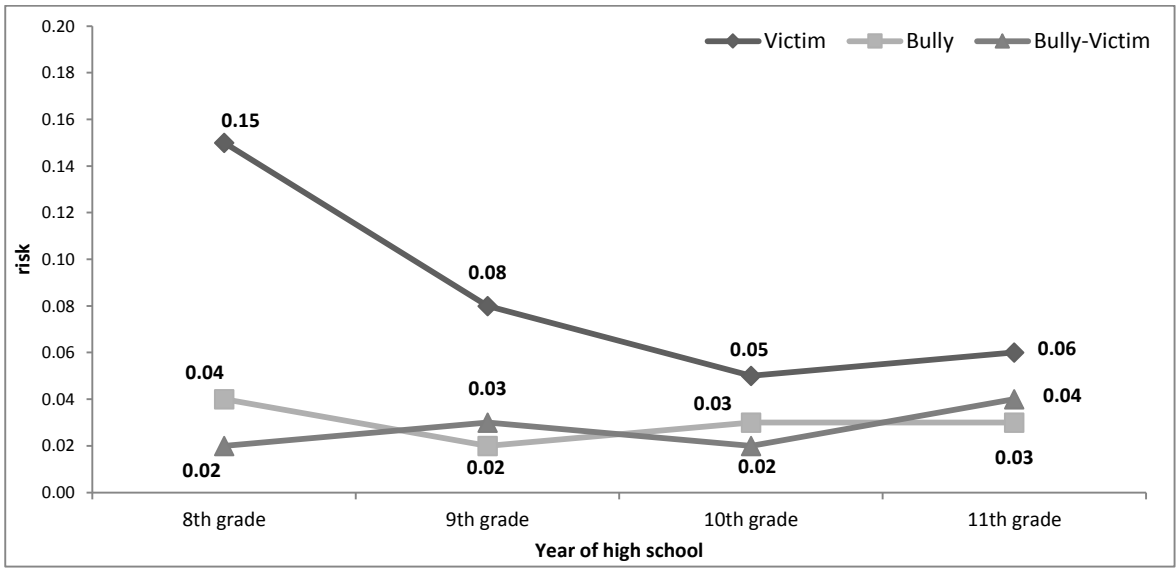


Figure 2: The risk of becoming a Victim, Bully or Bully-Victim for the first time (onset) during each year of high school.

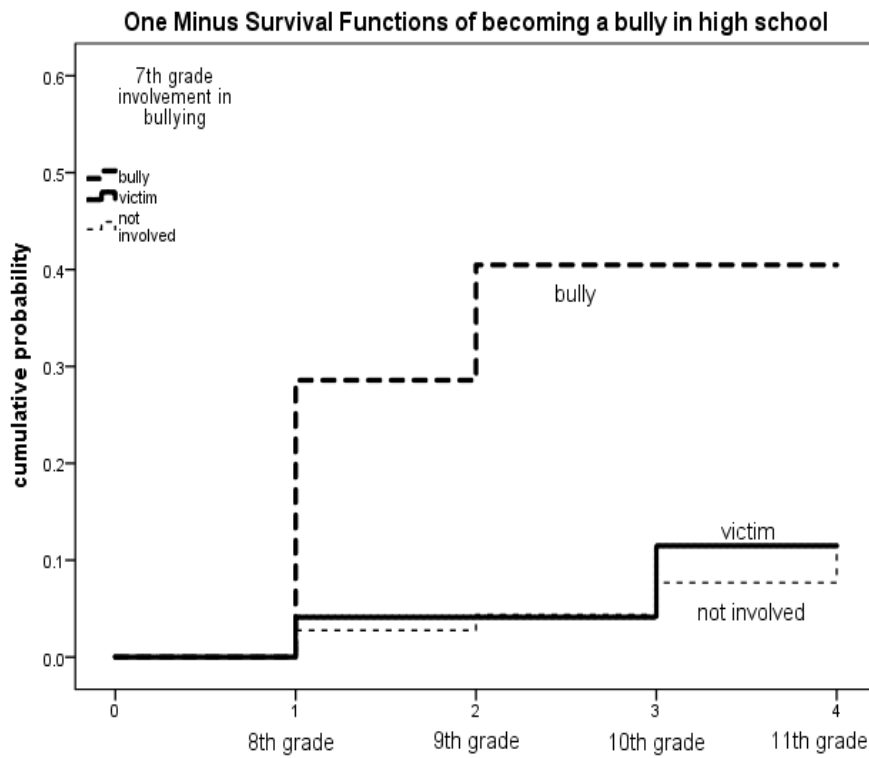


Figure 3: The likelihood of being a bully in high school based on bullying status in the last year of primary school

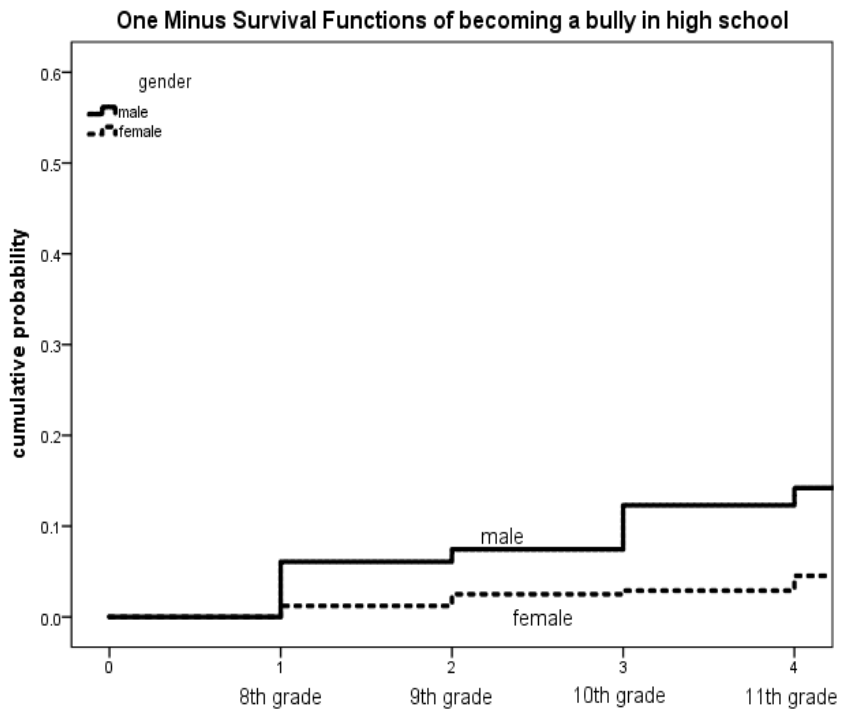


Figure 4: The likelihood of males and females bullying other students in high school

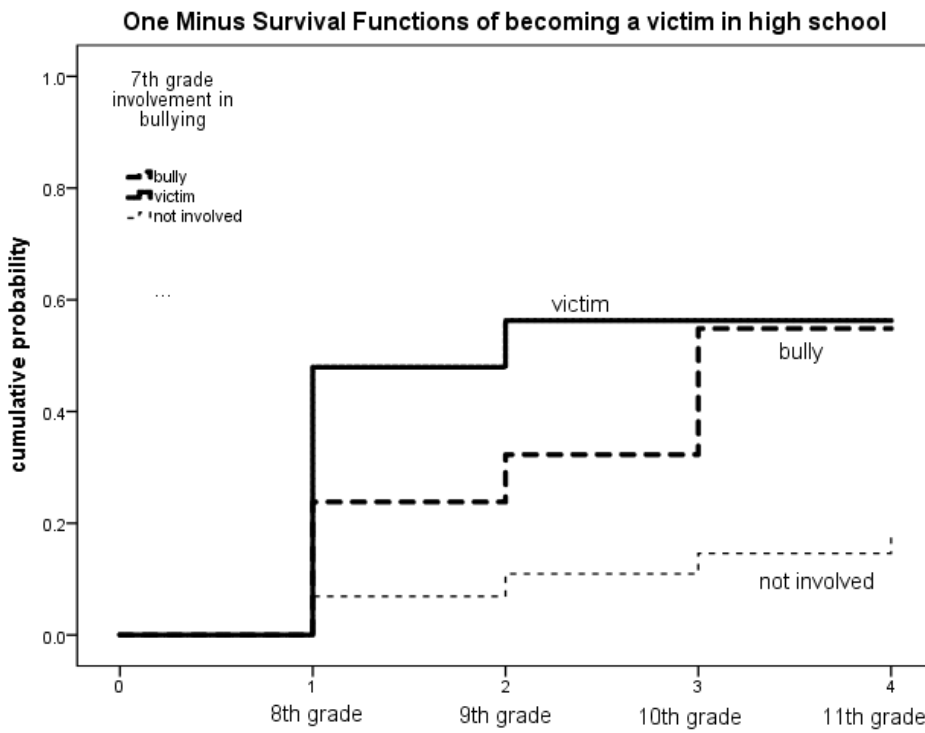


Figure 5: The likelihood of being a victim of bullying in high school based on involvement in bullying in the last year of primary school



## Appendix

Table A: Comparison of Factor Bully Scores by the number of self-reported “pretty often” / “very often” victim experiences, showing factor bully cut-off score of 7.

		Number of “pretty often” / “very often” responses for bully scale						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Factor	3	550	1	0	0	0	0	0
Bully Score	4	467	8	0	0	0	0	0
	5	113	31	3	0	0	0	0
	6	44	37	6	0	0	0	0
Bullies	7	0	19	11	4	0	0	0
others ↓	8	0	2	12	8	3	0	0
	9	0	0	3	2	5	0	0
	10	0	0	0	4	2	1	3
	11	0	0	0	0	1	3	0
	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

Table B: Comparison of Factor Victim Scores by the number of self-reported “pretty often” / “very often” victim experiences, showing factor victim cut-off score of 8.

		<b>Number of “pretty often” / “very often” responses for victim scale</b>						
		<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
Factor Victim	4	285	3	0	0	0	0	0
Score	5	218	4	0	0	0	0	0
	6	191	10	0	0	0	0	0
	7	117	15	2	0	0	0	0
	8	213	71	10	1	1	0	0
Victim of	9	0	20	17	3	1	0	0
bullying	10	0	5	18	14	2	0	0
↓	11	0	0	0	15	8	3	0
	12	0	0	1	7	14	10	0
	13	0	0	0	2	4	2	0
	14	0	0	0	6	2	13	1
	15	0	0	0	0	3	9	4
	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	12

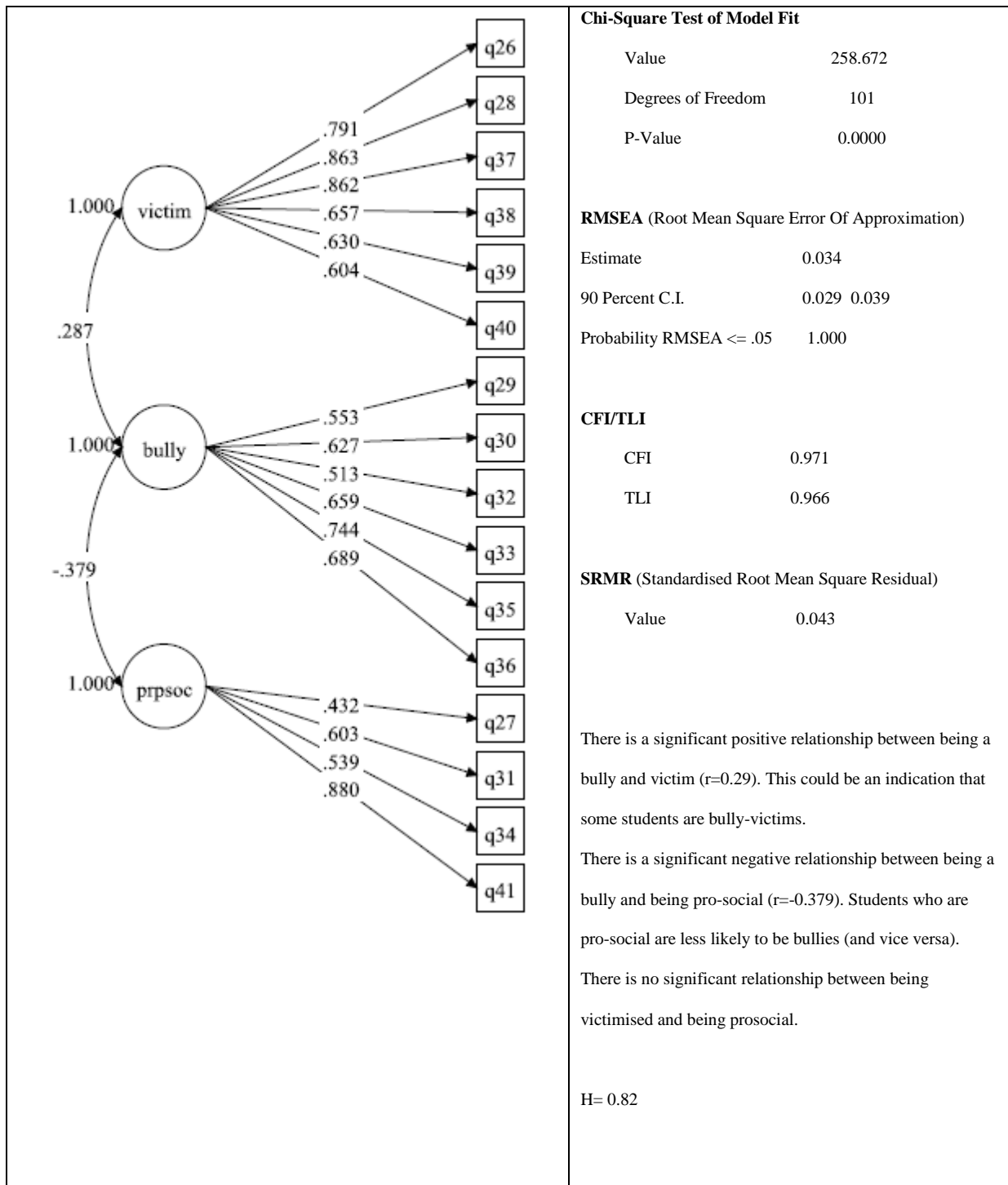
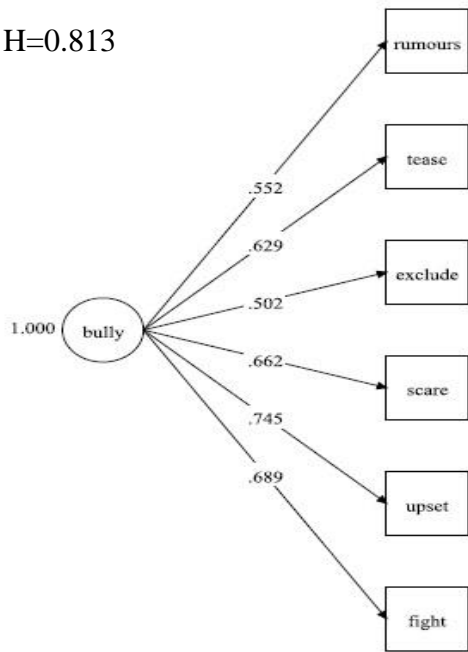


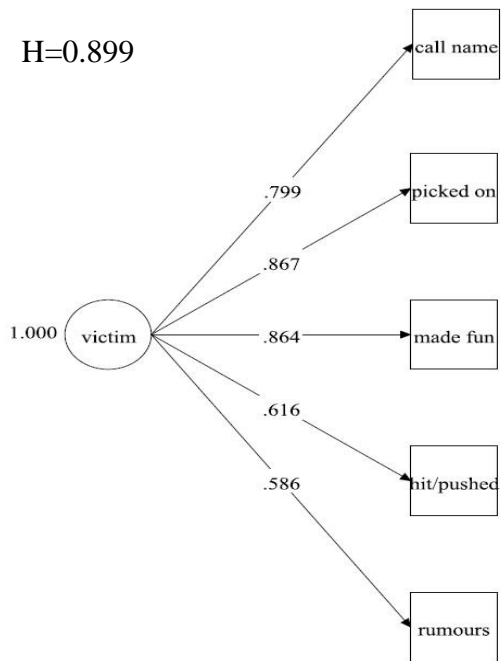
Figure A: Factor structure of constructs in the Peer Relations Questionnaire (PRQ) (Rigby & Slee, 1991).

H=0.813



7a  $\chi^2 (9) = 13.294, p > 0.05$ ; RMSEA = 0.019; 90% C.I. [0.000 - 0.039]; Probability RMSEA  $\leq .05$  is 0.997; CFI = 0.991; TLI = 0.985; SRMR = 0.023

Figure B: Item loadings and fit indices of the Bully Factor from the PRQ



7b  $\chi^2(5) = 11.538, p < 0.05$ ; RMSEA = 0.031; 90% C.I. [0.006 - 0.055]; Probability RMSEA  $\leq .05$  is 0.899;  
 CFI = 0.998; TLI = 0.996; SRMR = 0.017

Figure C: Item loadings and fit indices of the Victim Factor from the PRQ