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Bullying victimization among sexually and gender diverse youth in Canada

by *Elena Prokopenko and Darcy Hango*

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Overview of the study

Bullying – including such behaviours as being teased, insulted or excluded - can have a myriad of consequences on youth's short and long-term health and well-being. Along with the immediate physical and emotional impacts of bullying, young people's overall quality of life can be adversely affected over an entire lifetime, impacting their participation and engagement in various aspects of life and society. Sexually and gender diverse Canadians, which in this study, refer to those who are transgender, non-binary, or report same-gender sexual attraction, are more frequent targets of bullying.

Using the Canadian Health Survey of Children and Youth (2019), this study provides an understanding of the prevalence and severity of self-reported experiences of bullying among sexually and gender diverse youth (aged 15 to 17). Ten forms of bullying are examined, ranging from being made fun of, to having one's property destroyed, to more cyberbullying type measures such as having hurtful information posted on the internet. The study also looks at the association between bullying, sexual and gender diversity, and other socio-demographic characteristics, as well as the relationships between bullying and overall health and well-being of sexually and gender diverse youth.

- Overall, 7 in 10 youth aged 15 to 17 reported experiencing some form of bullying in the preceding year. Sexually and gender diverse youth (aged 15-17) were most at risk, with 77% experiencing any of the 10 bullying behaviours measured on the survey. This compares to 69% of cisgender¹ youth who are exclusively attracted to a different gender.
- With the exception of two of the ten types of bullying measured by the survey, sexually and gender diverse youth were more likely to be victims than exclusively different-gender attracted cisgender youth. The differences were especially large for three forms of bullying: (1) being made fun of, called names or insulted by others, (2) being excluded from activities, and (3) having rumours spread by others.
- The share of sexually and gender diverse youth who reported experiencing six to ten of the ten measured bullying behaviours (16%) was significantly higher than the 10% among other youth.
- A higher share of bullying incidents occurred weekly or daily among sexually and gender diverse youth relative to their cisgender counterparts who were exclusively attracted to a different gender (10% vs 6%).
- Sexually and gender diverse youth who were bullied reported the highest incidence of negative mental health outcomes, even after taking into account a range of socio-demographic factors. For example, these youth were the most likely to report that they considered taking their own life in the past year (27%). This was almost double the probability recorded for their non-bullied counterparts (16%), as well as bullied cisgender and exclusively different-gender attracted youth (13%). Further, cisgender youth who were exclusively attracted to a different gender and who were not bullied were the least likely to have considered taking their own life (about 1 in 20 or 5%).

Introduction

Several studies on victimization have found that sexually and gender diverse people are at heightened risk of victimization, both online and in-person.² For example, results from the 2014 General Social Survey (GSS) on Canadians' Safety found that lesbian, gay and bisexual youth (aged 18-29) were about two times more likely than heterosexual youth to have been cyberbullied and cyberstalked in the last 5 years.³ More recent Canadian research using the Survey of Individual Safety in the Postsecondary Student Population (SISPSP), found that among students at postsecondary institutions (aged 18-24, or 17-24 in Quebec), LGBTQ2+ persons were twice as likely as heterosexual cisgender peers to have experienced discrimination on the basis of gender identity or sexual orientation.⁴

Internationally, there is also evidence of the increased risk of harassment among sexually and gender diverse youth. A national study from the United States found that the vast majority (87%) of sexually and gender diverse students experienced some type of harassment or assault on the basis of their personal characteristics in the past year. The most common types experienced were verbal harassment, sexual harassment, and electronic harassment (e.g., via text message, social media).⁵

The impact of the victimization, including acts of bullying – including being teased, insulted or excluded – can be especially pronounced for young sexual^{6,7} and/or gender diverse people.^{8,9} One study, for instance, found that bullied sexually and gender diverse youth had higher rates of suicide ideation and attempts than their cisgender heterosexual counterparts.¹⁰ Additionally,

American longitudinal data found that diverse gender expression in childhood was associated with more depressive symptoms in later adolescence, and that bullying victimization accounted for about one-third of the effect.^{11, 12}

Beyond these effects, young people's overall quality of life can be adversely affected over an entire lifetime, impacting their participation and engagement in various aspects of life and society. For instance, academic performance, and in turn, career potential and financial security, can be adversely impacted. A study in the United States found an association between low grade point average, low academic aspirations and victimization amongst sexual and gender diversity students.¹³

Indeed, bullying may compound already heightened levels of poor mental health, suicide ideation, and substance use among sexually and gender diverse youth.¹⁴ The Chief Public Health Officer of Canada's 2019 Report on the State of Public Health in Canada identified and highlighted the importance of examining the intersectionality between health, discrimination and sexual diversity status.¹⁵ One explanation for the generally higher levels of physical and mental health issues among sexually and gender diverse persons is found in the minority stress theory.¹⁶ This theory postulates that the stress of concealment, internalized negative stereotypes, and hypervigilance of potential harm (i.e., the expectation of experiencing discrimination) are negatively associated with mental and physical health.¹⁷

This paper examines experiences of bullying in the preceding year (in 2018) among high school-aged (15-17 years old) youth who report same-

gender attraction and transgender and non-binary youth regardless of their sexual attraction. This allows for a comparison of experiences of bullying in the preceding year with those of cisgender youth exclusively attracted to a different gender.¹⁸

The goal of this paper is to report on the experiences of bullying of sexually and gender diverse youth compared to their exclusively different-gender attracted cisgender peers to better understand the relationship between sexual attraction and gender identity, bullying, and health and well-being. This study uses the term sexually and gender diverse youth for transgender youth, those who did not report their gender as exclusively male or female (non-binary youth), and those who are attracted to the same gender.

Sexual and gender diversity among youth associated with higher likelihood to have experienced bullying in past year

The current study operationalizes sexual orientation using a measure of sexual attraction, which was collected on the Canadian Health Survey on Children and Youth (CHSCY). This measure may be used to capture sexually diverse youth who may not have been sexually intimate with someone, or who may be less likely than their older counterparts to identify with a given sexual identity.¹⁹ Based on this measure and using sex at birth and gender information of the respondent, the proportion of the age 15 to 17 population that reported they have at least some same-gender attraction is about 18% (almost 188,000), while 82% report attraction exclusively to a different gender (Table 1).

Respondents to the CHCSY were asked about their experiences of being bullied in the past year. Specifically, ten different types of bullying were assessed on measures ranging from being made fun of, to having one's property destroyed, to more cyberbullying type measures such as having hurtful information posted on the internet. Experiencing any one of these ten types of bullying at any frequency was reported by nearly three quarters (70%) of all youth aged 15 to 17. However, a larger share of transgender, non-binary, and youth with at least some same-gender attraction (as compared to exclusively different-gender attracted cisgender youth) reported such experiences, 77% versus 69%.²⁰ This aligns with previous research in Canada and the United States.²¹

Being made fun of and called names the most prevalent forms of bullying regardless of sexual attraction or gender identity

Not all types of bullying elicit the same effects, have the same perpetrators, or occur in the same locations. Cyberbullying, for instance, can impact youth at home when they access their social media accounts, while physical bullying likely occurs away from home. The former is likely to have negative emotional and mental health repercussions, while the latter can impact both physical and mental health. Knowing the prevalence of specific types of bullying can help pinpoint potential areas for prevention/intervention.

The most commonly reported form of bullying for all youth aged 15 to 17 is being made fun of or insulted by others (59%) (See Table 2). This is the most prevalent regardless of sexual attraction or gender identity (67% for sexually and gender diverse youth, and 57% for cisgender youth exclusively attracted to a different-gender). The next most commonly reported forms of bullying, regardless of sexual attraction or gender identity, were rumours being spread and being excluded from activities.

In contrast, the least common reported forms of bullying are being excluded from an online community, having hurtful information posted on the internet and having property destroyed by others. In 8 of the 10 forms, a significantly larger share of transgender, non-binary, and

Table 1
Proportion of youth aged 15-17 bullied in the past year, by sexual attraction and gender identity, 2019

Sexual attraction/gender identity	Total, youth aged 15-17		Youth aged 15 -17 bullied in the preceding year
	Weighted Count	percent	percent
Sexually and gender diverse youth [†]	187,667	17.8	76.9*
Cisgender youth with exclusive different-gender attraction (ref.)	867,977	82.2	69.0
Total, youth aged 15-17	1,055,644	100	70.4

* significantly different from reference category (ref.) (p < 0.05)

[†] Includes those who are transgender, non-binary (regardless of sexual attraction) and/or who have same-gender attraction.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Health Survey of Children and Youth, 2019.

youth with at least some same-gender attraction reported bullying as compared to cisgender youth exclusively attracted to a different gender. The exceptions are: being threatened/insulted online or by text messages, and being pushed, shoved, tripped or spit on by others.

Sexually and gender diverse youth were significantly more likely to report experiencing six to ten different forms of bullying

In most cases, experiencing many different forms or types of bullying can have a more harmful impact on youth than if only one form is experienced. The accumulation of stress and emotional health

issues related to bullying are likely compounded if an individual is bullied in multiple ways.²² The results in Table 3 show that sexually and gender diverse youth were significantly more likely to report one or more forms of bullying.

Meanwhile, sexually and gender diverse youth were significantly more likely to report experiencing six to ten different forms of bullying in the past 12 months (16%), just

Table 2
Prevalence of bullying experienced by youth aged 15-17 in past year, by specific bullying type and sexual attraction and gender identity, 2019

Types of bullying	Total, youth aged 15-17	Sexual attraction/gender identity	
		Sexually and gender diverse youth [†]	Cisgender with exclusive different-gender attraction (ref.)
		percent	
Made fun of, called names or insulted by others	58.7	66.8*	56.9
Rumours were spread by others	35.2	42.5*	33.6
Excluded from activities	32.4	40.0*	30.8
Pressured to do things by others	18.7	23.2*	17.8
Threatened/insulted online or by text messages	18.6	22.1	17.8
Pushed, shoved, tripped or spit on by other	17.2	19.2	16.8
Threatened with harm by others	16.9	21.0*	16.1
Excluded from an online community	13.4	17.4*	12.6
Hurtful information was posted on the internet	9.9	15.4*	8.7
Property was destroyed by others	9.7	12.9*	9.0

* significantly different from reference category (ref.) (p < 0.05)

[†] Includes those who are transgender, non-binary (regardless of sexual attraction) and/or who have same-gender attraction.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Health Survey of Children and Youth, 2019.

over one and half times as many as cisgender youth who reported being exclusively attracted to a different gender (10%).

Sexually and gender diverse youth were nearly twice as likely to report weekly or daily bullying on multiple forms of bullying

Similar to multiple types of bullying, experiencing frequent repeated episodes of bullying is typically more harmful than occasional incidents. In one study, frequent bullying between the ages of 8 and 10 was found to increase the risk of self-harm by age 12.²³ In the present context, the CHCSY asked about the frequency of experiencing the 10 forms of bullying within the preceding year. For the current study, frequent bullying is defined as at least once a week (i.e., weekly or daily).²⁴

Table 4 shows that sexually and gender diverse youth were significantly more likely than cisgender youth with exclusive

different-gender attraction to frequently experience multiple types of bullying. In particular, 9.7% of transgender, non-binary, and youth with same-gender attraction experienced two or more of incidents of bullying on a weekly or daily basis compared to 5.6% of youth with exclusive different-gender attraction. However, there was no difference in frequency between the groups when a single type of bullying was experienced.

Association between bullying, gender attraction and mental health, suicide ideation, and truancy

Bullying can impact overall well-being. The stress associated with being bullied often results in worse physical and mental health outcomes among victims.²⁵ And, in some cases, the bullying can increase the risk of suicide ideation and substance abuse.²⁶ These outcomes are often intertwined. For instance, there is a strong connection between poorer mental health and thoughts

of suicide.²⁷ In this paper, three potential well-being indicators are examined: mental health, suicide ideation, and truancy (skipping school without permission). (See [Data sources, methods and definitions](#)) For each of the three indicators, logistic regressions were estimated to examine the independent association of sexual attraction and gender identity and bullying on well-being, controlling for a range of socio-demographic factors, as well as other characteristics.²⁸ The derived estimates are reported in Table 5.

After socio-demographic and socio-economic factors were taken into account, sexually and gender diverse youth who were bullied in the previous year had a considerably higher probability of poorer mental health, with 33% describing their own mental health as poor. This figure was twice the probability of sexually and gender diverse youth who were not bullied (16%) and

Table 3
Number of bullying types experienced by youth aged 15-17 in past year, by sexual attraction and gender identity, 2019

Number of bullying types	Sexual attraction/gender identity		
	Total, youth aged 15-17	Sexually and gender diverse youth [†]	Cisgender with exclusive different-gender attraction (ref.)
		percent	
None	29.6	23.1*	31.0
One or two	33.5	32.5	33.8
Three to five	26.0	28.9	25.3
Six to ten	11.0	15.6*	10.0

* significantly different from reference category (ref.) (p < 0.05)

[†] Includes those who are transgender, non-binary (regardless of sexual attraction) and/or who have same-gender attraction.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Health Survey of Children and Youth, 2019.

Table 4
Number of weekly/daily bullying types experienced by youth aged 15-17 in past year, by sexual attraction and gender identity, 2019

Number of weekly/daily bullying types experienced in past year	Sexual attraction/gender identity		
	Total, youth aged 15-17	Sexually and gender diverse youth [†]	Cisgender with exclusive different-gender attraction (ref.)
		percent	
None	84.4	80.5*	85.3
One	9.3	9.8	9.2
Two or more	6.3	9.7*	5.6

* significantly different from reference category (ref.) (p < 0.05)

[†] Includes those who are transgender, non-binary (regardless of sexual attraction) and/or who have same-gender attraction.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Health Survey of Children and Youth, 2019.

bullied youth who were cisgender and exclusively attracted to a different-gender (16%).

Bullied youth also showed higher risk of reporting recent suicidal ideation, though again, this was more common among sexually and gender diverse youth. In 2019, bullied youth with same-gender attraction or who were transgender or non-binary were twice as likely to consider taking their own life in the last year, as compared to other bullied youth (respective probabilities of 27% and 13%, after other factors were taken into account). Cisgender youth who were not bullied and who were exclusively attracted to a different

gender were the least likely to have had suicidal thoughts in the last year, at 5%.

Perhaps reflecting the poorer mental health and/or desire to avoid bullying incidents, bullied youth were most likely to skip school. After socio-demographic and socio-economic factors were taken into account, the probability of skipping school at least three times in the past year was 20% among bullied sexual and gender diversity youth and 16% among bullied youth that were exclusively attracted to a different gender. This compares to a 10% probability among sexual and gender diversity youth who had not experienced

bullying and 9% for non-bullied youth with exclusive different-gender attraction.

Conclusion

Bullying victimization of sexually and gender diverse youth is generally more prevalent than among the heterosexual cisgender population in Canada. In the current paper, a measure of sexual attraction was used to identify the sexually and gender diverse population at increased risk of bullying. Youth aged 15 to 17 who were attracted to the same gender together with transgender and non-binary youth were compared with cisgender teens with exclusive different-gender

Table 5
Association between sexual attraction, gender, bullying and selected well-being indicators among youth aged 15-17¹, 2019

Sexual attraction/gender identity and bullying ²	Self-reported poor mental health	Considered taking one's own life in past year	Skipped school without permission 3 or more times in past year
	percent		
All youth aged 15-17	16.1	13.2	14.7
Different-gender attracted, not bullied	5.6**	4.7**	9.1**
Different-gender attracted, bullied	15.9**	12.6**	16.0*
Same-gender attraction, not bullied [†]	15.9**	15.6**	9.5**
Same-gender attraction, bullied (ref.) [†]	32.7	26.7	20.3

* significantly different from reference category (ref.) (p < 0.05)

** significantly different from reference category (ref.) (p < 0.01)

[†] Includes those who are transgender, non-binary (regardless of sexual attraction) and/or who have same-gender attraction.

1. Predicted probabilities are calculated using a logistic regression model, using the covariates at their mean values.

2. Regression adjusted for: gender, Indigenous identity, immigrant generational status, language spoken most often at home, racialized status, population size of community, family structure, number of persons in home less than age 16, household income, frequency youth discussed daily activities with parents, frequency that parents knew who youth was with outside home, frequency of parent's knowledge of youth's online activities, and current grade level.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Health Survey of Children and Youth, 2019.

attraction. This study showed that transgender, non-binary, and youth with at least some same-gender attraction youth were significantly more likely to have experienced any form of bullying in the past year (77%) than exclusively different-gender attracted cisgender youth (69%). This difference remained even when taking into account a wide range of sociodemographic factors.

Sexually and gender diverse youth were more likely to be victims of nearly all of the 10 forms of bullying measured in this survey. The differences between sexually and gender diverse youth and exclusively different-gender attracted cisgender youth were especially large for three forms of bullying: (1) being made fun of, called names or insulted by others, (2) being excluded from activities, and (3) having rumours spread by others.

Same-gender attracted, transgender and non-binary youth also experienced a greater number of these 10 types than their exclusively

different-gender attracted, cisgender counterparts. At the same time, sexually and gender diverse youth experienced more instances of frequent bullying (weekly or daily) than youth who reported being cisgender and only attracted to a different gender.

Bullying is often associated with negative health and well-being outcomes. A great deal of past research has examined these issues using a framework synonymous with minority stress theory, which states that the stress among sexually and gender diverse youth associated with concealing one's sexual orientation or gender identity, or with acts of violence and bullying may manifest themselves into poor mental health, suicide ideation, and truancy. In line with past work, the current study found that being a victim of bullying and reporting same-gender attraction, being transgender or non-binary was related to poorer mental health, including heightened risk of suicide ideation. The results also suggest that bullying may impact

school attendance. Sexually and gender diverse youth who were bullied in the past year were more likely to frequently skip school without permission.

For the first time in Canada, data from the Canadian Health Survey of Children and Youth are available to examine bullying among sexually and gender diverse youth based on a nationally-representative sample. Taken together, the findings in this paper highlight issues among an infrequently studied adolescent population and one that is vulnerable to victimization. The findings enhance our understanding of the experiences sexually and gender diverse youth have with bullying and the subsequent relationship with well-being indicators, which can help inform public health, education, and youth-focused policies. And, given that the sexually and gender diverse population in Canada is younger, on average,²⁹ continued youth-focused research is needed to inform programs and policies about issues facing this population.

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Data sources, methods and definitions

Data sources

The Canadian Health Survey on Children and Youth (CHSCY) explores issues that have an impact on the physical and mental health of children and youth, such as physical activity, the use of electronic devices, time spent in school and extracurricular activities. Information from the survey is used to develop programs and policies to help improve the lives of Canadian children and youth. The 2019 CHSCY covers the population aged 1 to 17 as of January 31, 2019, living in the ten provinces and the three territories. Excluded from the survey's coverage are children and youth living on First Nation reserves and other Aboriginal settlements in the provinces, children and youth living in foster homes and the institutionalized population. Data were collected directly from respondents from February 11, 2019 to August 2, 2019. Respondents were given the opportunity to complete the questionnaire online, and if this was not completed by March 31, 2019 a Statistics Canada interviewer called and asked them to complete the questionnaire over the phone.

The population of interest for the current study are youth aged 15 to 17 because these were the ages that were asked about their sexual attraction preferences.

Measures

Sexual attraction

Sexual attraction is asked of 15- to 17-year-olds via the following question: People are different in their sexual attraction to other people. Which best describes your feelings? Would you say you are: (1) Only attracted to males, (2) Mostly attracted to males, (3) Equally attracted to females and males, (4) Mostly attracted to females, (5) Only attracted to females, (6) Unsure.

This measure is then combined with one's self-reported gender to create an indicator of sexual attraction. Initially a four category variable was created: (1) *at least some same-gender attraction* combined all youth who said that they were 'only' or 'mostly' attracted to the same gender, (2) *equal attraction to both females and males* includes youth who say they have an equal attraction to both females and males, (3) *exclusively different-gender attraction* includes male youth who say they only have sexual attraction to females, and female youth who say they only have sexual attraction for males, (4) *unsure* are those youth who report being unsure about their sexual attraction. Youth who that said they had at least some same-gender attraction or equal attraction to both females and males, as well as transgender and non-binary youth were grouped together and compared with cisgender teens who said they are exclusively attracted to a different gender. For purposes of the analyses, respondents who said they were unsure about the target of their sexual attraction (4% of all 15- to 17-year-olds) were removed as it was difficult to ascertain to which group, they should be placed. Also, they are a very important group in their own right.

Bullying

The CHSCY includes 10 items asking about experiences of bullying. The specific question is: Sometimes people tease, hurt or upset another person on purpose. During the past 12 months, how often did the following things happen to you?

- Someone made fun of you, called you names or insulted you
- Someone spread rumours about you
- Someone threatened you with harm
- Someone pushed you, shoved you, tripped you or spit on you
- Someone tried to make you do things you did not want to do
- Someone excluded you from activities on purpose
- Someone destroyed your property on purpose
- Someone posted hurtful information about you on the Internet
- Someone threatened or insulted you through email, instant messaging, text messaging or an online game
- Someone purposefully excluded you from an online community

For each experience, respondents indicate how often this incident occurred using a Likert scale. Response categories for each type of incident are: 1: Never; 2: A few times a year; 3: Monthly; 4: Weekly; or 5: Daily.

In this paper the above 10 items are used in three different versions: (1) a dichotomous version combines any frequency of bullying (a few times a year or higher) compared to never been bullied; (2) the number of types or forms of bullying are combined into four separate categories—none, one or two, three to five, and six to ten; (3) frequency of bullying across all 10 items is combined to form a measure of frequent bullying such as weekly or daily on none of the ten forms, on one of them, or on two or more of them.

In this paper, three potential outcomes associated with bullying and sexual and gender diverse populations are examined: (1) mental health, (2) suicide ideation, and (3) truancy (skipping school without permission). The first measure asks the respondent: 'In general, how is your mental health?' Response categories are excellent, very good, good, fair, and poor. The outcome measure is dichotomous with those answering fair or poor in one category while those who say excellent, very good and good in the other. Suicide ideation is measured via the question: 'In the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide or taking your own life?'. Truancy is measured via the question asking respondents, "In the past 12 months, about how many times have you skipped a day of school without permission"? Responses were: never, 1 to 2 times, 3 or 4 times, 5 or more times. For purposes of this study, the responses were dichotomized to 3 times or more, or 1 to 2 times or less.

Notes

1. Refers to those whose gender aligns with the sex assigned to the person at birth.
2. Hango 2016; Burczycka 2020; Jaffray 2020; Cotter and Savage 2019; Simpson 2018.
3. Hango 2016.
4. Burczycka 2020.
5. Kosciw et al. 2018.
6. Goodenow et al. 2016, Robinson, et al. 2013; Birkett et al. 2009; Toomey and Russell 2016.
7. Martin-Storey and Fish 2019; Kurki-Kangas et al. 2019
8. Mustanski et al. 2016; Peter et al. 2015; Taylor et al. 2011; Robinson et al. 2013
9. Peter et al. 2015, Taylor et al. 2011; Toomey and Russell 2016; UNESCO 2012; Mustanski et al. 2016; Robinson and Espelage 2012
10. Robinson and Espelage 2012.
11. Roberts et al. 2013.
12. Robinson and Espelage 2012.
13. Kosciw et al. 2018.
14. See Mustanski et al. 2016; Newcomb et al. 2014; Robinson and Espelage 2012; Pearson et al 2007.
15. See Tam 2019.
16. Meyer 2003.
17. See Flentje et al. 2020 for a recent systematic review. And Hatzenbuehler 2009.
18. Same-sex or same-gender sexual attraction is an indicator of sexual diversity most often employed in studies of youth who may not have engaged in sexual behaviours yet or who may be less likely than their older counterparts to identify with a given sexual identity. For most people, sexual identity, attraction and behaviour align, although attraction typically captures a larger subpopulation of individuals beyond sexual orientation categories (e.g., mostly heterosexual). Youth may also be unsure of their orientation or attraction because of inexperience, difficulties understanding the question, or higher likelihood of selecting 'not sure' similar to other responses in the survey. Additionally, the survey collected sex at birth and gender information from the respondent, which allowed to identify youth who are transgender or non-binary.
19. Saewyc et al. 2004; Villalobos et al. 2020.
20. The relationship between sexual attraction and bullying is attenuated somewhat but remains significant even in multivariate models controlling for a wide range of pertinent factors. These results are available upon request.
21. Peter et al. 2015; Kosciw et al. 2018.
22. For an example of research on 'poly victimization' see Finkelhor et al 2007; and Turner et al 2010.
23. See Fisher et al. 2012.
24. Specifically, the measure collates the information of frequent (weekly/daily) bullying on each of the ten forms of bullying, and the new variable contains 3 categories: (1) those not bullied, bullied a few times a year or monthly on any of the ten items, (2) those bullied weekly/daily on one of the ten forms, (3) those bullied weekly/daily on two or more of the ten forms.
25. See Salmon et al. 2018; Wang et al. 2009.
26. See Költő et al. 2019; Fisher et al. 2012.
27. Borges et al. 2008; Teismann et al. 2018.
28. The factors include gender, Indigenous identity, immigrant generational status, language spoken most often at home, racialized status, population size of community, family structure, number of persons in home less than age 16, household income, frequency youth discussed daily activities with parents, frequency that parents knew who youth was with outside home, frequency of parent's knowledge of youth's online activities, and current grade level.
29. Statistics Canada 2022.

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