

The Relationship of Acculturation and Bullying in Russian Schools

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Abstract

Russian schools have been characterized by their ethnic diversity over the past decade. Children from ethnic minorities in Russia face problems in acculturation, including school bullying. The purpose of this article is to determine the relationship between the acculturation strategies of ethnic minority students, the acculturation expectations of Russian students, and their roles in school bullying situations. We conducted a social psychological survey among a sample of 429 students, 200 of whom were Russian ($M\ age = 16.18$, $SD\ age = 1.43$) and 229 were members of ethnic minorities ($M\ age = 15.67$, $SD\ age = 1.65$). It used scales from the MIRIPS and the Revised Olweus Bully Victim Questionnaire (Russian version). The results of the study showed significant differences in the level of victimization. It was also found that the acculturation expectation of segregation was positively related to victimization ($\beta = 0.24$, $p\text{-value} < 0.01$), and aggression ($\beta = 0.18$, $p\text{-value} < 0.01$) among Russian students, whereas the acculturation strategy of segregation was positively related to victimization ($\beta = 0.40$, $p\text{-value} < 0.01$), assimilation strategy positively ($\beta = 0.07$, $p\text{-value} < 0.01$) and integration strategy negatively ($\beta = -0.05$, $p\text{-value} < 0.05$) related to aggression among ethnic minorities. The results of the study are discussed in terms of a sociocultural approach using psychological theories and research.

Keywords

school bullying, adaptation, acculturation, Russian students, ethnic minority students.

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Introduction

Russia is historically a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional country. According to the latest Russian census, 80% of the population are Russians, a titular nation, while the remaining 20% represent other ethnic groups.¹ Russia's cultural and ethnic heterogeneity is de-

¹ Russian Census. Vserossiyskaya perepis' naseleniya 2010 [Russian Census of 2010]: https://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_ito-gi1612.htm

terminated not only by a large number of indigenous peoples but also by the influx of immigrants, mainly from the CIS countries.² In particular, one of the latest migration trends is family migration, which leads to ethnic heterogeneity in Russian schools due to the enrolment of migrant children³ [Demintseva et al., 2017]. According to data from the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, in 2020 there were 800,000 minor foreign nationals in Russia, of whom only 140,000 were enrolled in Russian schools.⁴

The interaction of peers from different ethnic groups leads to the process of acculturation, which includes psychological and sociocultural adaptation [Berry et al., 2013; Sam, Berry, 2006]. Sociocultural maladaptation of ethnic minorities in the school context takes the form of low academic performance, failure to learn new school rules, and peer relationships difficulties [Demintseva et al., 2017; Schachner, Van de Vijver, Noack, 2016]. One of the most widespread problems in interpersonal relations among students today is school bullying. According to the results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) [OECD, 2019] and UNESCO [Attawell, 2019] in 2018, one in three Russian students reported being bullied at least several times in the past month. Studies by Russian psychologists, in their turn, demonstrate that on average 15% of 6th–9th graders are subjected to school bullying, while the frequency of bullying across schools varies from 0 to 40% [Ivaniushina, Khodorenko, Alexandrov, 2021]. Children from ethnic minorities are usually involved in school bullying as victims, while pupils from the ethnic majority group more often act as aggressors (bullies) [Kozmus, Pšunder, 2017; Morozov, 2010; Rigby, 2012; Vitoroulis, Vailancourt, 2015; 2018]. According to several studies, factors contributing to the school victimization of ethnic minority children often include their appearance, as well as speech and behavior patterns [Qin, Way, Rana, 2008; Russell et al., 2012; Smokowski, Rose, Bacallao, 2009], while the social dominance of the majority group is often a factor of aggression [Rigby, 2012]. We believe that acculturation expectations and attitudes contribute to a certain extent to this distribution of roles. However, research on the role of acculturation in school bullying is scarce, which underlines the relevance of the present study on the relationship between acculturation and school bullying in the Russian context.

² Federal State Statistics Service. Vitrina statisticheskikh dannykh [Statistics Showcase]: <https://showdata.gks.ru/report/278004/>

³ Devyatij ezhegodnyj demograficheskij doklad “Naselenie Rossii — 2001” [The population of Russia, 2001: Ninth Annual Demographic Report]: http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/znagi/ns_r01/razdel5g5_9.html

⁴ <https://minobrnauki.gov.ru>; https://tass.ru/obschestvo/11095469?utm_source=google.com&utm_medium=organic&utm_campaign=google.com&utm_referrer=google.com

The purpose of this study is to identify the relationship between the acculturation expectations of the ethnic majority and the acculturation strategies of ethnic minorities, on the one hand, and their roles in school bullying situations, on the other hand.

This study follows up on J. Berry's acculturation theory, as well as research on the psychology of intergroup relations and educational psychology. Furthermore, the results of this study may have a high practical value in the adaptation of both ethnic majority and ethnic minority students, the prevention of school bullying, the development of guidelines for teachers of diverse classrooms, and in working with troubled adolescents.

**A Theoretical
Approach
to the Study
of Acculturation**

In cross-cultural psychology, acculturation is understood as a process of psychological and cultural changes that result from contact between members of different ethnic groups [Berry et al., 2013]. Cultural changes include changes in cultural traditions, as well as the economic and political life of the groups. Psychological changes involve changes in individuals' attitudes, values, and identification [Sam, Berry, 2006].

According to John Berry's theory, acculturation is a bidirectional process, in which mutual adaptation of different ethnic groups takes place during intergroup contact [Berry et al., 2013; Sam, Berry, 2006]. Individuals undergoing the acculturation process face two questions: one concerns the preservation of their heritage culture and identity, while the other involves establishing relationships with other groups, most often with the host population. Depending on individuals' answers to these questions, four acculturation strategies can be distinguished [Berry, 1992; Sam, Berry, 2006]. The names of these strategies for the majority and minority groups differ. In particular, for members of ethnic minority groups, the acculturation strategies include the following: integration, which is the best-case scenario, whereby individuals preserve their cultural identity and strive to interact with the host population; assimilation, characterized by the rejection of one's cultural identity and complete adoption of the host culture; separation, characterized by the maintenance of one's cultural identity and unwillingness to interact with the host population; marginalization, which is the worst case scenario, whereby individuals reject both their culture of origin and the host culture [Ibid.].

Applied to the host population, these strategies are commonly referred to as acculturation expectations. In particular, assimilation promoted by the ethnic majority group is called "melting pot", separation is called "segregation", integration carried out by the host population is known as "multiculturalism", and marginalization imposed by the dominant group is referred to as "exclusion" [Berry, 1992; Berry et al., 2013; Sam, Berry, 2006].

The acculturation process leads to the adaptation of ethnic minorities to the host society. Two types of adaptation are usually distinguished within this model — psychological and sociocultural [Berry et al., 2013]. Successful psychological adaptation is characterized by high life satisfaction, adequate self-esteem, and absence of mental health issues, while sociocultural adaptation is a measure of how successfully an individual copes with daily needs and problems [Berry, 2005; Sam, 2000]. In an international comparative study, J. Berry found that different acculturation strategies led to different degrees of psychological and sociocultural adaptation [Berry et al., 2006]. For example, integration results in psychological and sociocultural adaptation to the greatest extent, and marginalization to the least. The assimilation strategy leads to a moderately high level of sociocultural adaptation and relatively poor psychological adaptation, while the strategy of separation, in contrast, results in a moderately high level of psychological adjustment and poor sociocultural adjustment [Ibid.].

A Sociocultural Approach to the Study of Bullying

School age is a sensitive period in the development of a child's personality. During this period children develop social skills and internalize social norms of behavior [Bornstein, Hahn, Haynes, 2010]. Interpersonal conflicts are also typical for this age and in the school context, they can escalate into bullying. Bullying is considered as systematic violence aimed at causing physical and psychological harm to the victim, driven by an imbalance of power between those involved in it [Olweus, 1994]. Although recent studies have developed a comprehensive classification of bullying participants [Caravita et al., 2019; Salmivalli, 1999], the main focus has been on the roles of the aggressor, victim, and bystander [Vitoroulis, Vaillancourt, 2015; 2018].

Researchers who examine bullying from the sociocultural perspective often consider children from immigrant families as victims because they occupy a non-dominant position in society, while children from the ethnic majority group are more often seen as aggressors [Rigby, 2012]. This distribution of roles is confirmed by many studies conducted in different samples of immigrant adolescents using both quantitative and qualitative methods [Clubb et al., 2001; Kozmus, Pšunder, 2017; Morozov, 2010]. For example, Priest et al. [2016] performed a cross-sectional analysis of a cohort of children aged 12 to 13 years using the data from the Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC). The study revealed higher levels of ethnic victimization among ethnic minority children. Kozmus and Pšunder [2017] obtained similar results on a sample of Slovenian and immigrant children in Slovenian schools. Morozov [2010], in his turn, interviewed Russian adolescents living in the US and found that they

often experienced ethnic victimization in school (the process of involving a student in school bullying as a victim) [Muratore, 2014], which went along with a lack of friends and neglect or exclusion by peers. At the same time, a recent meta-analysis that examined the studies of the bullying prevalence among ethnic majority and ethnic minority youth yielded a weak relationship between ethnicity and participant roles in school bullying [Vitoroulis, Vaillancourt, 2015; 2018]. It should be noted, however, that this meta-analysis focused on research conducted in the American and European contexts. Meanwhile, in the Russian context, this topic remains understudied.

While factors of ethnicity-based bullying, in particular bullying of ethnic minorities, have received considerable attention in research, the characteristics of interethnic relations, especially on the part of the ethnic majority, have been largely overlooked. Social exclusion is usually one of the most important risk factors for victimization [DeRosier, Mercer, 2009; Juvonen, Graham, 2001]. The results of the longitudinal studies suggest that social exclusion is a predictor rather than a consequence of peer bullying [Salmivalli, Isaacs, 2005]. In a study of 7,272 Finnish students, Strohmeier et al. [Strohmeier, Kärnä, Salmivalli, 2011] found that social exclusion and lack of friends predicted the victimization of immigrants. According to the study by DeRosier and Mercer [2009], perceived behavioral atypicality is a predictor of social exclusion by peers, which leads to victimization. Children who behave atypically at the beginning of the school year are more likely to be socially excluded and bullied by peers by the end of the school year. Similar results were obtained in an Austrian study in which immigrant students were explicitly asked about the reasons for their victimization [Strohmeier, 2007]. The study participants included 280 students (62% were immigrants) around the age of 12. The most commonly cited reasons for victimization were the behavior of these adolescents and peer rejection [Ibid.]. Another study conducted in Spain and England among 620 students aged between 11 and 16 years (15% were immigrants) showed that "being different" was mentioned as the most frequent reason for the victimization of ethnic minority children [Monks, Ortega-Ruiz, Rodríguez-Hidalgo, 2008]. Thus, it can be assumed that immigrants are perceived by peers as atypical compared to the norms established in the majority group, which in turn makes them vulnerable to social exclusion and leads to victimization by peers who belong to this majority.

Some immigrants may also be perceived as "different" because of their appearance, and some may still have difficulties with speaking the new language, which impedes their communication with others. Research shows that bullied children are rated by peers, teachers, and themselves as having social skills problems, and being weaker, unhappier, and more susceptible to peer's influence, which

makes them seem an “easy target” [Fox, Boulton, 2005]. Russian studies indicate immigrant children’s poor knowledge of the Russian culture and language, which results in language and sociocultural barriers. Among the problems hindering the productive involvement of immigrant children in various types of educational and social activities, Demintseva et al. [2017] highlight the following: the difficulty of adaptation to the Russian cultural environment, the difficulty of learning Russian, poor understanding of the norms and values of Russian society, ignorance of everyday routine and norms of interpersonal communication, and difficulties in mastering the study material.

The process of acculturation also plays an important role in ethnic victimization and aggression. Different acculturation strategies or acculturation expectations have different consequences: as a rule, multiculturalism-oriented strategies and expectations, such as multiculturalism/integration and “melting pot” / assimilation, result in more positive relationships between students from different ethnic groups, while ethnocentric strategies and expectations, such as segregation/separation and exclusion/marginalization, result in hostile relationships, including school bullying [Berry et al., 2013; Bourhis et al., 1997].

**The Relationship
between
Acculturation
and School
Bullying**

Acculturation in the school environment plays an important role in the adaptation of ethnic minority children and leads to their psychological and sociocultural adjustment manifested in harmonious and positive relationships with peers from other ethnic groups. The association between peer relationships and the choice of acculturation strategies has been examined in a number of studies. For example, the study by Morozov [2010] aimed to determine the role of relationships between adolescents from different ethnic groups in the process of immigrant adolescents’ acculturation. Morozov interviewed twelve Russian adolescents aged 15 to 18 who were first-generation immigrants to the United States. The results showed that Russian adolescents choose between the assimilation and separation strategies depending on the acculturation expectations of their American peers (the expectations of the “melting pot” or segregation correspondingly). The immigrants’ choice of acculturation strategy was influenced by factors such as stereotyping on the part of American adolescents, which was related to the lack of information about the Russian ethnic group, and victimization, which mostly took the form of neglect. There are also studies focusing on the impact of acculturation strategies on victimization. For instance, Roberts and Ali [2013] hypothesized that the members of ethnic minority groups in Australia who chose the strategies of separation and marginalization would report higher levels of victimization. Howe-

ver, the results showed that it was the assimilation strategy that was associated with higher levels of victimization. The researchers attributed this result to the fact that only a small number of respondents chose the separation and marginalization strategies and the study, therefore, lacked the statistical power to reveal the association between victimization experiences and acculturation strategies. Another study [Bauman, 2008] conducted on a sample of Mexican Americans among the ethnic majority of White Americans found no association between acculturation and victimization. This could also be due to the small size of the sample ($N = 118$), in which victimization was reported only by 12% respondents.

Given the results of the above studies, the research on the relationship between acculturation strategies and aggression may also be of interest within our study. Many papers examine this relationship in a sample of immigrant youth in the United States. Of particular importance in this research area are the findings of Szapocznik and Herrera [1978]: they discovered that Cuban-American immigrant boys were more prone to deviant behavior than their parents. The authors interpreted the study results in terms of the respondents' acculturation orientations (towards maintaining their culture of origin or adopting a new culture). There are usually intergenerational differences between the acculturation orientations of immigrant adolescents and their parents, whereby children are more prone to assimilation. Smokowski et al. [Smokowski, Rose, Bacallao, 2008] demonstrated that adolescents' involvement in the culture of origin was associated with less aggressive behavior. Other studies suggest that the assimilation strategy used by ethnic minority youth is positively correlated with deviant and delinquent behaviors. For example, Buriel et al. [Buriel, Calzada, Vasquez, 1982] hypothesized that integration with traditional Mexican-American culture would be positively related to psychological well-being and negatively related to delinquent behavior. The researchers examined three generations of immigrants. Their migration status was used as an indicator of integration. Surprisingly, the results showed that the third generation of migrants from Mexico had higher delinquency rates [Ibid.]. Samaniego and Gonzales [1999] found that the relationship between acculturation and delinquent behavior was mediated by negative peer relationships together with family conflict and maternal monitoring. Interestingly, family relationships independently of peer conflict significantly mediated the relationship between acculturation and delinquency. A possible explanation is that children who experience no parental control are more likely to have deviant friends [Ibid.]. Thus, numerous studies consider the orientation towards the host culture — the assimilation strategy — as a factor of aggressiveness, alcohol and drug use, delinquent behavior, and other forms of deviant behavior.

The existing evidence, on the one hand, suggests that the acculturation strategies of integration and assimilation lead to socio-cultural adaptation in the school environment, understood as a set of characteristics related to academic performance, learning strategies, the functional efficacy in the new culture and relationships with peers from ethnic minorities [Kim, Chao, 2009; Kim, 2017]. On the other hand, the assimilation strategy used by non-dominant ethnic groups is a more frequent predictor of aggressive behavior. The strategies of separation and marginalization are correlated with negative outcomes including poor academic performance and negative peer relationships. At the same time, the relationships between peers from different ethnic groups also depend on the host majority's acculturation expectations. In particular, the acculturation strategy chosen by a member of the ethnic minority may depend on the ethnic majority's expectations. Most commonly, the acculturation expectation of multiculturalism is the best-case scenario, while the expectations of the "melting pot", segregation and exclusion are characterized by different levels of ethnocentricity.

According to some studies, acculturation is correlated with victimization in the school context [Bauman, 2008; Palladino et al., 2020], while other studies demonstrate the relationship between acculturation and school aggression [Buriel, Calzada, Vasquez, 1982; Szapocznik, Herrera, 1978]. Thus, we have enough evidence to suggest that maladaptive acculturation strategies and expectations are positively related to both the role of the victim and the role of the aggressor.

Based on our review of the literature, the following hypotheses will be tested:

1. Ethnic minority students are more likely to report the role of the victim than Russian students.
2. Russian students are more likely to report the role of the aggressor than ethnic minority students.
3. The acculturation expectations of Russian students are correlated with their roles in school bullying situations:
 - A. The expectation of multiculturalism is negatively correlated with both victim and aggressor roles among Russian students.
 - B. The expectations of the "melting pot", segregation, and exclusion are positively correlated with both victim and aggressor roles among Russian students.
4. The acculturation strategies of ethnic minority students are correlated with their roles in school bullying situations:
 - A. The strategy of integration is negatively correlated with both victim and aggressor roles among ethnic minority students.

- B. The strategies of assimilation, separation, and marginalization are positively correlated with both victim and aggressor roles among ethnic minority students.

**Study Design
and Methods**
Sample

The study involved 429 children studying in Russian schools, of whom 200 were Russian and 229 were members of ethnic minorities.

Russian students. The age ranged from 11 to 18 ($M = 16.18$, $SD = 1.43$); 43 respondents (21.5%) were male, and 157 respondents (78.5%) were female. Eleventh-graders accounted for 39.5% of the group, tenth-graders — for 30.5%, ninth-graders — for 15.5%, and eighth-graders — for 14%. A total of 110 respondents (55%) lived in Moscow, 6 respondents (3%) in St. Petersburg, 4 respondents (2%) in Irkutsk, 4 respondents (2%) in Nizhny Novgorod, while other Russian cities were represented to a very small degree. The sample included respondents who studied in ethnically heterogeneous classrooms.

Ethnic minority students. This group consisted of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities living in Russia. Immigrant participants represented such ethnicities as Tajiks (55 respondents), Uzbeks (12 respondents), Kyrgyz (7 respondents), Kazakhs (10 respondents), Azerbaijanis (9 respondents), Armenians (17 respondents), Georgians (7 respondents), and Koreans (6 respondents). The participants from the Russian ethnic minorities included Tatars (37 respondents), Bashkirs (1 respondent), Avars (3 respondents), Dargins (2 respondents), Ingush (2 respondents), Laks (1 respondent), Lezgins (2 respondents), Tabasarans (1 respondent), Chechens (1 respondent), and the Chuvash people (1 respondent).

The respondents' ages ranged from 13 to 18 ($M = 15.82$, $SD = 1.65$). Eleventh-graders accounted for 24.2% of the respondents, tenth-graders — for 30.7%, ninth-graders — for 14.4%, and eighth-graders — for 30.5%. 93 respondents (22.6%) were male, and 134 respondents (31.9%) were female. Sixty-nine respondents (29.7%) lived in Moscow, followed by St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Voronezh, Saratov, Krasnogorsk, and Podolsk (four respondents — 1.7%).

Procedure

Prior to the start of the study, we obtained a Statement of Opinion from the HSE University Institutional Review Board for social sciences research confirming the compliance of the study design with established ethical norms.

The data collection process included spreading the survey on the online platform 1ka.si via various school and parent communities on social media. In the instructions, participants were informed

of the confidentiality of their data, the voluntary nature of participation in the study, and the ability to terminate their participation at any point in the survey. The questionnaire started with a filter question about the respondents' ethnicity to divide them into two groups — Russian students and students from other ethnic backgrounds — and provide them with different versions of the questionnaire.

Research Techniques *Acculturation Strategies Scale (for the ethnic minority group)* [Berry, 2017; Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2009]. This scale from the MIRIPS (Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies) questionnaire includes four subscales, each measuring one of the acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Each of the subscales consists of four statements that are rated on a 5-point Likert scale. Several examples of the statements are: "It is important for me to be fluent both in my native language and in Russian"; "I prefer activities which involve only Russians"; "I feel that it is not important for my ethnic group to maintain their own cultural traditions nor to adopt the Russian ones"; "I prefer to have both Russian friends and friends from my ethnic group".

Acculturation Expectations Scale (for ethnic majority group) [Berry, 2017; Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2009]. This scale from the MIRIPS questionnaire includes four subscales, each measuring one of the acculturation expectations: multiculturalism, "melting pot", segregation, and exclusion. Each of the subscales consists of four statements that are rated on a 5-point Likert scale. Several examples of the statements are: "I feel that immigrants should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adopt the Russian ones"; "Immigrants should be fluent both in their native language and in Russian"; "Immigrants should have only Russian friends".

Victimization/Aggression Scale [Bushina, Muminova, 2021; Solberg, Olweus, 2003]. These scales were taken from the Revised Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire (ROBVQ), which examines the psychological construct of bullying and has good psychometric reliability and validity scores. The scales included eight statements, which were rated on a 5-point frequency scale, where 1 stood for "it hasn't happened in the past couple of months" and 5 for "several times a week". The role of victim or aggressor in school bullying was assigned based on the frequency of being victimized or being aggressive. The statements on the scale were aimed at assessing physical, verbal, and indirect types of bullying. Several examples of the statements: "I was called mean names, was made fun of, or teased in a hurtful way" / "I called another student(s) mean names, made fun of or teased him or her in a hurtful way"; "Other students told lies or spread false rumors about me and tried to make others

dislike me" / "I spread false rumors about him or her and tried to make others dislike him or her".

Demographic variables. The survey included a sociodemographic section with questions about the respondent's gender, age, ethnicity, place of residence, and grade.

All of the variables were constructed according to the guidelines for these research techniques by calculating the mean values of the scales.

Data Processing Statistical processing of the data was performed using RStudio along with the psych⁵ package. The following statistical procedures were applied: descriptive statistics, comparison of means using the Mann — Whitney U test, correlation of variables with Holm's correction, and linear regression analysis with stepwise addition of variables.⁶ The regression analysis was performed in two steps: the first one included sociodemographic variables and was necessary to control for gender and age, and the second one included acculturation strategies and expectations.

Results Tables 1 and 2 present the mean values, standard deviations, and Spearman's correlation coefficients with Holm's correction of the studied variables, as well as internal consistency scores of the scales for the samples of Russian and ethnic minority students, respectively. Because of the unacceptable values of internal consistency for marginalization and exclusion, these variables were excluded from further analysis.

The nonparametric Mann — Whitney test was used to compare Russian students ($N = 200$) and ethnic minority students ($N = 229$) by victimization and aggression levels. The results showed that the samples differed in victimization: ethnic minority students had statistically higher values of victimization ($U = 16,624, p < .001, r = -.22$). The level of aggression, however, did not differ significantly across the samples ($U = 18,202, p = .20, r = .14$).

A linear regression analysis with stepwise variable addition was conducted in two steps for each of the target variables in each of the samples. The first regression step included gender and age; in the second step, acculturation strategies and expectations were added.⁷ Based on the results of the internal consistency test, the

⁵ Revelle W. (2021) psych: Procedures for Psychological, Psychometric, and Personality Research: <http://CRAN.R-project.org/package=psych>

⁶ Not to be confused with hierarchical regression, which is a comparison of nested models.

⁷ Multicollinearity checks showed acceptable variance inflation factors for each of the predictors ($VIF < 10$), ranging from 1.01 to 1.88, with a mean of 1.22.

Table 1. Mean Values, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Coefficients with Confidence Intervals of Variables in the Sample of Russian Students

Variables*	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Gender									
2. Age	16.18	1.43	-.15* [-.29, -.02]						
3. Multiculturalism ($\alpha = .75$)	4.00	0.77	.15* [.01, .28]	-.03 [-.16, .11]					
4. Melting pot ($\alpha = .60$)	2.02	0.64	-.13 [-.27, .01]	.16* [.02, .29]	-.27** [-.39, -.13]				
5. Segregation ($\alpha = .67$)	1.82	0.84	-.28** [-.40, -.14]	.04 [-.10, .18]	-.50** [-.60, -.39]	.53** [.43, .63]			
6. Exclusion ($\alpha = .40$)	1.77	0.74	-.20** [-.33, -.07]	.00 [-.13, .14]	-.47** [-.57, -.35]	.58** [.48, .66]	.70** [.62, .77]		
7. Victimization ($\alpha = .86$)	1.25	0.52	-.08 [-.22, .05]	-.05 [-.18, .09]	-.09 [-.23, .05]	.10 [-.04, .24]	.31** [.18, .43]	.21** [.07, .34]	
8. Aggression ($\alpha = .90$)	1.16	0.41	-.10 [-.24, .04]	-.07 [-.21, .07]	-.25** [-.37, -.11]	.07 [-.07, .21]	.34** [.21, .46]	.14 [-.00, .27]	.64** [.55, .72]

Note. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. Values in parentheses indicate the internal consistency of scales (α).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Table 2. Mean Values, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Coefficients with Confidence Intervals of Variables in the Sample of Ethnic Minority Students

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Gender									
2. Age	15.65	1.32	.07 [-.06, .20]						
3. Integration ($\alpha = .84$)	3.69	0.86	.03 [-.10, .16]	-.16* [-.29, -.03]					
4. Assimilation ($\alpha = .82$)	2.42	0.90	-.03 [-.17, .10]	-.05 [-.18, .08]	-.35** [-.46, -.23]				
5. Separation ($\alpha = .74$)	2.47	0.80	-.07 [-.20, .06]	-.05 [-.18, .08]	.03 [-.10, .16]	.09 [-.05, .21]			
6. Marginalization ($\alpha = .40$)	2.20	0.54	-.08 [-.21, .05]	-.05 [-.18, .08]	-.01 [-.14, .12]	.24** [.11, .36]	.25** [.12, .37]		
7. Victimization ($\alpha = .94$)	1.41	0.57	-.09 [-.22, .04]	-.03 [-.16, .11]	.04 [-.09, .17]	-.04 [-.17, .09]	.56** [.47, .65]	.21** [.08, .33]	
8. Aggression ($\alpha = .85$)	1.18	0.29	-.00 [-.13, .13]	-.04 [-.17, .10]	-.22** [-.34, -.09]	.27** [.14, .39]	-.04 [-.17, .10]	-.16* [-.29, -.03]	.07 [-.06, .21]

Note. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. Values in parentheses indicate the internal consistency of scales (α).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

acculturation strategy of marginalization ($\alpha = .40$) and the acculturation expectation of exclusion ($\alpha = .40$) were excluded from the analysis. The regression analysis results for the sample of Russian students are shown in Table 3, and for the sample of ethnic minority students — in Table 4.

The regression analysis showed that gender and age were not significant predictors, meaning that there is no relationship between these indicators, on the one hand, and victimization and aggression, on the other. The acculturation expectation of segregation was found to be positively related to victimization ($\beta = .24$, $p < .01$) and aggression ($\beta = .18$, $p < .01$) among Russian students.

In the ethnic minority group, the acculturation strategy of separation was positively related to victimization ($\beta = .40$, $p < .01$), the assimilation strategy was positively related to aggression ($\beta = .07$, $p < .01$), and the integration strategy was negatively related to aggression ($\beta = -.05$, $p < .05$).

The regression models were compared using ANOVA; the R^2 change and the F statistic for ΔR^2 are reported in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3. Results of Linear Regressions with Stepwise Addition of Variables Predicting Victimization and Aggression among Russian Students

Predictors	Victimization — Model 1		Victimization — Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]
Gender (female)	-.12	[-.30, .06]	-.01	[-.19, .17]
Age	-.02	[-.07, .03]	-.02	[-.07, .03]
Multiculturalism			.05	[-.05, .16]
Melting pot			-.06	[-.19, .07]
Segregation			.24**	[.13, .35]
R^2	.011 95% CI [.00, .05]		.108** 95% CI [.02, .17]	
F statistic for ΔR^2			7.05***	
ΔR^2			.097** 95% CI [.02, .17]	
Predictors	Aggression — Model 1		Aggression — Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]
Gender (female)	-.11	[-.25, .03]	-.01	[-.15, .12]
Age	-.02	[-.07, .02]	-.02	[-.06, .02]
Multiculturalism			-.05	[-.13, .03]
Melting pot			-.09	[-.19, .01]
Segregation			.18**	[.09, .26]

Predictors	Victimization — Model 1		Victimization — Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]
R^2	.017 95% CI [.00, .06]		.144** 95% CI [.05, .22]	
F statistic for ΔR^2			9.58***	
ΔR^2			.127** 95% CI [.04, .21]	

Note. β stands for standardized regression coefficients. LL and UL indicate lower and upper limits of the confidence interval, respectively.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Table 4. Results of Linear Regressions with Stepwise Addition of Variables Predicting Victimization and Aggression among Ethnic Minority Students

Predictors	Victimization — Model 1		Victimization — Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]
Gender (female)	-.12	[-.26, .05]	-.07	[-.19, .06]
Age	-.02	[-.07, .05]	.00	[-.05, .05]
Integration			-.02	[-.08, .07]
Assimilation			-.05	[-.13, .02]
Separation			.40**	[.32, .48]
R^2	.009 95% CI [.00, .04]		.327** 95% CI [.22, .41]	
F statistic for ΔR^2			33.97***	
ΔR^2			.320** 95% CI [.22, .42]	
Predictors	Aggression — Model 1		Aggression — Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i> 95% CI [LL, UL]
Gender (female)	.00	[-.08, .08]	.03	[-.07, .08]
Age	-.02	[-.04, .02]	-.01	[-.04, .02]
Integration			-.05*	[-.10, .00]
Assimilation			.08**	[.03, .12]
Separation			-.02	[-.06, .03]
R^2	.001 95% CI [.00, .02]		.097** 95% CI [.02, .16]	
F statistic for ΔR^2			7.22***	
ΔR^2			.094** 95% CI [.02, .17]	

Note. β stands for standardized regression coefficients. LL and UL indicate lower and upper limits of the confidence interval, respectively.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Discussion The data from the Russian Ministry of Science and Higher Education for the year 2021 shows an increase in the number of foreign students in Russian schools (147,000 students), which presents a new challenge for the entire education system, as well as for individual schools and classrooms that host representatives of non-Russian cultures.⁸ A diverse classroom composition contributes to changes in intergroup relations, and the teachers need to consider the cultural backgrounds of all participants for the learning process to remain successful [Carter, 2019]. Students, in their turn, need to develop new competencies in communicating with peers from their own and other cultural backgrounds; otherwise, this leads to conflicts and the spread of ethnicity-based bullying [Forghani-Arani, Cerna, Bannon, 2019]. The purpose of our study was to examine the relationship between the acculturation expectations of the ethnic majority students and their roles in school bullying situations, and the relationship between the acculturation strategies of ethnic minority students and their roles in school bullying. The obtained results are discussed below.

The first hypothesis, namely that the role of the victim would be more pronounced among members of ethnic minorities, was confirmed. From the sociocultural perspective, ethnic majority students are in a more dominant position and have more power [Rigby, 2012]. Consequently, ethnic minority students are more vulnerable and more often become a target for discrimination. Several characteristics related to the cultural atypicality of ethnic minority students are most often identified as bullying factors [DeRosier, Mercer, 2009]. Some examples are: poor language proficiency, different appearance, ignorance of cultural traditions and social norms of the dominant social group, and sometimes low academic performance [Demintseva et al., 2017; Fox, Boulton, 2005; Juvonen, Graham, 2001; Salmivalli, Isaacs, 2005; Bornstein, Hahn, Haynes, 2010]. These factors typically serve as “markers”, which place ethnic minority children in a more vulnerable position in school bullying situations. Our findings are in line with the results of several studies, in which members of ethnic minority groups more often reported the role of the victim in school bullying situations [Bauman, 2008; Kozmus, Pšunder, 2017; Morozov, 2010; Roberts, Ali, 2013].

The second hypothesis, namely that the role of the aggressor is more pronounced among members of the ethnic majority, was not confirmed. This may be due to the fact that we have chosen a social psychological survey as the main research method. Students might have used defense mechanisms as a reaction to the survey questions. The average values on the aggression scale were low and totaled 1.16

⁸ Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation: <https://minobrnauki.gov.ru>

out of 5 points, which indicates either that the level of aggression among the students is actually low, or that the given questionnaire cannot capture the actual aggression levels. Moreover, a social survey conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center VCIOM in 2020 showed that Russian youth were viewed by all age cohorts more as benevolent (51%) than as aggressive (34%).⁹ Given this, students from different ethnic groups simply may not be interested in school bullying and may not engage in it as aggressors.

The third hypothesis concerning the relationship between the acculturation expectations of Russian students and their roles in school bullying situations was partially confirmed. Only the separation strategy was found to have a significant positive relationship with both the role of the victim and the role of the aggressor. In other words, those Russian students who said to expect members of ethnic minorities to maintain their culture without adopting the Russian culture were more likely to report involvement in school bullying. This may be due to the fact that, according to researchers' evaluations, the acculturation expectation of segregation is the most ethnocentric one and has a negative impact on interethnic relations [Lebedeva, Tatarko, Berry, 2016; Berry, 2005; Berry et al., 2013; Kalin, Berry, 1996]. The acculturation expectation of segregation is typically associated with such indicators, as ethnocentrism, authoritarian ideology, perceived social identity threat due to the presence of immigrants, and few immigrant friends or contacts [Montreuil, Bourhis, 2004]. Ethnic majority students may feel threatened by their classmates from other ethnic backgrounds, which may cause them to be aggressive or, conversely, to get involved in school bullying as victims [Stephan, 2014; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, Duran, 2000]. Moreover, authoritarianism associated with segregation is a characteristic of bullying, as bullying occurs when there is an imbalance of power between the victim and the aggressor [Olweus, 1994; Bilewicz et al., 2015]. Thus, we can assume that the aggressor from the ethnic majority group may possess an authoritarian ideology.

The fourth hypothesis was also partially confirmed. For ethnic minority students, the role of the victim was positively correlated with separation, while the role of the aggressor was positively related to assimilation and negatively related to integration. These findings are in line with the results of several other studies in which separation is considered a strategy leading to social maladaptation [Bauman, 2008; Palladino et al., 2020; Roberts, Ali, 2013; Berry et al., 2013; Birman, Trickett, 2001]. Respondents who adhere to the separation strategy are more likely to preserve their cultural identity, which has a negative impact on their relationship with the host po-

⁹ VCIOM (2020) Molodaya Rossiya: avtoportret i vzglyad so storony [Young Russia: A Self-Portrait and an Outside View]: <https://wciom.ru/analytical-reviews/analiticheskii-obzor/molodaya-rossiya-avtopor-tret-i-vzglyad-so-storony>

pulation. Various studies show that children from the ethnic majority group have a more positive attitude toward peers who accept and follow the norms of the host population [Morozov, 2010; Birman, Trickett, 2001]. There is also evidence that separation and exclusion by peers are important factors of victimization [DeRosier, Mercer, 2009; Morozov, 2010; Salmivalli, Isaacs, 2005; Strohmeier, Kärnä, Salmivalli, 2011]. At the same time, the members of ethnic minority groups who are discriminated against are more likely to choose the strategy of separation because of the group support they receive in case of ethnic discrimination [Berry, 2005; Berry et al., 2013]. The negative relationship between integration and the role of the aggressor can be explained by the consequences of choosing this strategy. According to most research on this topic, integration is the most beneficial acculturation strategy leading to psychological and sociocultural adjustment, which is characterized by good academic performance, a strong sense of school belonging, high self-esteem and life satisfaction, and positive relationships with peers in the school environment [Kim, Chao, 2009; Kim, 2017; Berry et al., 2006]. At the same time, the positive relationship between assimilation and the aggressor role suggests a different dynamic in school relationships: when adopting the host culture and rejecting their culture of origin, ethnic minority students may place themselves among the majority group, which has more power than ethnic minority peers, and therefore engage in school bullying situations as aggressors [Olweus, 1994; Tajfel, Turner, 2004]. Moreover, when rejecting their cultural identity, ethnic minority students may feel frustration that can manifest as aggression toward peers [Miller et al., 1941].

Thus, by identifying relationships between acculturation strategies and expectations and the roles of ethnic minorities and ethnic majorities in school bullying, we have shown that attitudes towards culture are important factors of school bullying involvement. Our study has certain limitations and offers prospects for future research. One of the limitations stems from the chosen data collection method — collecting data from adolescents of different ages and places of residence via the Internet. While using the Internet for data collection has many benefits, it also has several disadvantages, such as unrepresentative samples, social desirability, various types of bias in responses, limitations in the types of data that can be collected, and lack of control over external factors influencing respondents at the time of completing the questionnaire. There are also limitations associated with using the sample of adolescents from ethnic minorities. We relied on the assumption that ethnic minority students would socialize in families whose cultural traditions differed from those of the Russian majority. In future research, however, it seems useful to control for a place of birth and migration status.

Factors of bullying in heterogeneous environments need a careful examination. One direction for future research is to develop more valid techniques to study both bullying and acculturation strategies and expectations. Future studies can be designed using vignettes to avoid socially desirable responses. Furthermore, it may be useful to distinguish between different groups of ethnic minority students and focus on specific ethnic groups. Finally, along with other socio-demographic characteristics, future research should control for family socioeconomic status and composition and parents' occupation as these are important factors of school bullying [Novikova, Rean, Konovalov, 2021].

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