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Characteristics of bullying among adolescents in Ukraine after the full-scale russian invasion

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Abstract. This article presents the results of an all-Ukrainian study titled “Bullying and Tolerance in Educational Institutions after February 24, 2022”, conducted between November 2023 and January 2024. The study aimed to identify the prevalence of bullying among middle school students (grades 5-9) and its most common types and pretexts. Additionally, the research identified support-seeking patterns for adolescents experiencing bullying and how schools respond to these appeals. Common school responses included communication with the bully or target and involving the bully’s parents. Police intervention occurred in 3.9% of cases. Notably, some peculiarities of bullying in Ukrainian schools emerged after the full-scale russian invasion, including increased bullying levels in Kyiv and new pretexts such as refugee status. The overall prevalence of bullying since the invasion began is 24.7%. Among bullied students, 59.4% sought help from someone and 52.2% of those received help. Appearance, behaviour, and worldview were the most common pretexts for bullying. Based on language, those who live abroad and moved there from the Kharkiv, Kherson, Luhansk, Kyiv Regions and Kyiv, as well as those who live in the Lviv Region and Kyiv and moved there from the Kherson and Donetsk Regions, are more likely to be bullied because of their use of the russian language. Relational bullying, such as spreading rumours and discouraging friendships, was the most prevalent type among Ukrainian adolescents. The study results can be used for more effective anti-bullying intervention programs in educational institutions

Keywords: bullying; types of bullying; pretexts of bullying; full-scale invasion; intergroup relations; group dynamics

INTRODUCTION

Every year, both in Ukraine and around the world, there is increasing discussion about bullying in the school environment. On the one hand, this is due to the prevalence of information technology and the emergence of cyber-bullying, and on the other hand, new trends emphasise putting the child and their psychological safety at the centre of the educational process (Samchenko, 2023).

The need to comprehensively study the prevalence, responses, and characteristics of bullying in Ukraine has long been overdue. However, since 2022, due to changes in migration processes and the psycho-emotional state of Ukrainians, this issue has become even more urgent. Conducting a narrowly thematic representative study enables to determine the baseline

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prevalence of bullying after the full-scale invasion and understand the characteristics of bullying and responses to it in Ukraine, especially given the changes in the psychosocial context in recent years. This information can be used to develop and implement anti-bullying prevention and intervention programs in Ukrainian educational institutions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The issue of bullying gained recognition primarily within the English-speaking world, particularly with the publication of Dan Olweus' *Aggression in the Schools* (1978), where the author describes research on bullies and targets of bullying conducted in Stockholm schools in the early 1970s. Most scholars refer to the definition by Olweus: "A student is being bullied when he or she is exposed, **repeatedly** and over time, to **negative actions** on the part of one or more other students", and "there should be **imbalance in strength**" (Olweus, 1993).

National prevention and intervention programs, when formulating the definition of bullying, are based on three (sometimes four) main characteristics inherent in bullying: regularity (repeated action), pain, power imbalance, and, in some cases, intent. Olweus also identified these characteristics: 1) aggressive behaviour aimed at harming someone; 2) this behaviour is repeated over a long period of time; 3) it is characterised by an imbalance of power and/or authority (Olweus, 1994; Smith *et al.*, 1999). As for the fourth characteristic (intent to harm), in Rigby's book, he writes about the initial intention to harm (Rigby, 2007). D. Olweus (1997) also writes about the initial intent to harm as a feature of bullying.

Ukrainian legislation (as of April 2024) defines the concept of "bullying" without considering the characteristics that the author of the definition gave to bullying and provides only two out of three (or four) characteristics: 1) harm (pain) and 2) systematic nature (The Law of Ukraine No. 2657-VIII..., 2018). This may cause other forms of aggression to be mistakenly attributed to bullying.

Some scholars point out that **bullying** is defined differently in different cultures and languages despite the classic definition by D. Olweus (1994). In addition, in Ukraine, the term "bullying" is used synonymously with the term "цькування" (tskuvannia), although it has a somewhat broader meaning than bullying.

The everyday Ukrainian understanding of bullying, due to the imposition of the term "цькування", differs significantly from the one accepted in Western academic tradition and is often used to describe a much wider range of aggressive behaviour. D.P. Farrington (1993) also complains about the confusion in definition among Western scholars. In particular, because of this confusion, in the more than 20 years of studying the topic after Farrington's article, researchers have tried to adhere to the classic definition of bullying provided by D. Olweus. The authors also use this definition in this article.

Bullying has yet to be studied in Ukraine, but questions about it have been included in several large-scale sociological surveys. All-Ukrainian surveys on the prevalence of bullying have been conducted in several waves as part of the Health and Behavioural Science Centre (HBSC) study. According to the 2018 study, 37.9% of all adolescents surveyed admitted to being victims of insults/humiliation/bullying in the past two months, experiencing them with regularity. However, the researchers included individuals who reported experiencing such actions "once or twice" in this percentage (Balakireva & Bondar, 2019). This raises the question of whether a single occurrence can be classified as bullying if systematicity and repetition are considered key characteristics. Excluding the share of those who answered "once or twice" to this question gives a prevalence rate of 15.8% of respondents who were victims several times a week, once or twice a week, or 2-3 times a month. This figure seems low compared to the bullying prevalence surveys of previous years, as well as our current survey of 2023/2024. This may be explained by the generalised wording of the questions about bullying and violence, which yields lower prevalence rates than questions describing specific situations that are considered bullying (Huang & Cornell, 2016).

Although the HBSC study examined the prevalence of bullying over five waves, it did not examine the pretexts for bullying or how schools responded. This is not surprising given that the study does not specifically focus on bullying but instead on children's rights.

The ESPAD-2019 survey (Balakireva *et al.*, 2019) shows that more than a third of adolescents aged 15-16 (35%) have engaged in "insulting" behaviour in the past two months. Slightly more than a third (39%) reported being "insulted" during the same period. Similar questions, but where the word "bullying" was used instead of "insulting" yielded a combined 15.9% of adolescents being attackers and targets. According to the PISA study (conducted among adolescents aged 15), in 2022, only 21.7% of students in Ukraine suffered from bullying (Bychko *et al.*, 2023). In 2018, the same study recorded the prevalence of bullying in Ukraine at 25.8% (Mazorchuk *et al.*, 2019).

Types of bullying. Based on the analysis of Ukrainian publications, it can be seen that studies usually measure only the prevalence of bullying, but almost never identify (except for some studies, such as ESPAD-2019) the types, reasons, and pretexts of bullying in the school environment.

When dividing bullying by type, we propose to use the following criteria: the place of the incident and the type of interaction between the participants. Two types of bullying can be distinguished by the place of occurrence: traditional and cyberbullying (Kowalski *et al.*, 2012; Hase *et al.*, 2015). Traditional bullying occurs in person and is limited to a specific space, such as a school, club, or classroom. Cyberbullying occurs

“remotely” through electronic means of communication. Direct and indirect bullying are distinguished based on the type of interaction (Olweus, 1993). In direct bullying, the target knows who the perpetrator is. Direct bullying can manifest in name-calling, hitting, pushing, ridicule, and mockery. Indirect bullying is expressed in social isolation, spreading rumours, etc. (Chester *et al.*, 2017; Hu *et al.*, 2022; Ratcliff *et al.*, 2022). This type of bullying is also called relational.

Pretexts for bullying. Traditionally, children who are vulnerable to bullying are those with special educational needs and/or disabilities (Cullinan, 2007; McLaughlin *et al.*, 2012), those who are overweight (Merrill & Hanson, 2016), and those from families with low socio-economic status (Låftman *et al.*, 2017). A separate category includes targets of bullying against whom society has already formed certain prejudices. Usually, these are representatives of so-called minorities, including racial, sexual, ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities.

Children who present with mental health challenges, substance use, or video game addiction also face a higher risk of bullying (Merrill & Hanson, 2016). Targets of bullying usually have a lag in communication skills and the quantity of social interactions (Gresham, 2015; Weeden *et al.*, 2016; Romera *et al.*, 2021). When selecting pretexts for bullying, the authors of the study considered these risk groups.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The sociological study was conducted from November 2023 to December 2024 by an online survey through the Qualtrics platform among students in grades 5-9 (10-14 years old). The age group was chosen because bullying spikes during “crisis” periods in school life, especially during the transition from primary to secondary school. At this point, several factors coincide with the beginning of hormonal changes in the child’s body, when physical and mental transformations occur; changes in group dynamics (mixing of the group, class newcomers, change and restructuring of roles in the group); as well as many school challenges: a new curriculum, new subject teachers, etc. (Farmer *et al.*, 2010; Turunen *et al.*, 2021; Clark *et al.*, 2022).

The link to the parental/guardian consent form was sent to secondary education institutions through regional and district education departments, where classroom teachers distributed the consent form to parents/guardians of students in grades 5-9. If parents gave their consent, they automatically received a link to an anonymous student questionnaire with instructions and a request to pass it to their child(ren). The respondents also gave their assent to the questionnaire; thereby the consent of both parents/guardians and children was obtained.

Sample design. A controlled sample was used for this study. The calculation of the sample population for the survey of students in grades 5-9 by region of Ukraine

was based on official statistics at the beginning of the 2022/23 school year. The active dissemination of information and the type of sampling allowed to survey of 14,728 respondents aged 9-16 in 24 regions of Ukraine and Kyiv (except for the temporarily occupied and/or uncontrolled territories). To work with the data set and to ensure an even distribution across the regions of Ukraine, the sample population was weighted by region following the planned sample. In this case, the confidence interval for the sample of 5 576 respondents is $\pm 0.80\%$ with a ratio of variables from 0.1 to 0.9. Due to the distribution of respondents, which corresponds to the structure of the population by region for this age and covers all regions except the temporarily occupied ones, the data are representative.

The student survey results were analysed using the specialized statistical package IBM SPSS Statistics, which allows for the use of the most modern methods of mathematical statistics for data processing. As part of the survey data analysis, frequency (univariate) and bivariate data distributions were constructed for nominal and ordinal attributes and nominal attributes with compatible alternatives. The following analysis methods were used to analyse the results: the mean value method, the standard deviation method, and the ranking method.

Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. The study included 52.6% male and 47.4% female respondents. According to the age distribution, most respondents were 14 (28.8%), and the least were 10 (15.7%). The age groups of 11-13 comprise almost the same proportion of respondents (18.0%). Of the respondents, 99.2% studied at schools, lyceums, and gymnasiums, and 0.8% at technical schools and colleges. The distribution of students by grade matches the statistically significant error. Specifically, 21.8% of respondents study in the 5th grade, 19.9% in the 6th, 18.4% in the 7th, 18.4% in the 8th, and 21.6% in the 9th.

One-third of the surveyed students study in schools located in rural areas (23.7%), 12.3% in villages, 46.4% in cities (including 8.7% in cities of regional significance (including Kyiv), 29.9% in cities of district significance, and 7.8% in other cities). Almost half of the surveyed students study at school in Ukraine full-time (45.3%), one in five in a mixed form of education (19.3%), and (20.6%) online with their classes in Ukraine. Additionally, 7.7% of the surveyed students study online at a distance school in Ukraine, and 6.5% combine studying abroad and a distance school in Ukraine. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of Princeton University (IRB No. 15642).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first set of questions about bullying focused on the respondents’ general experience without reference to a recent period. We did not ask a direct question about

bullying; instead, we used a projective question that described the bullying situation but did not name it. In total,

51.3% of the adolescents surveyed said they had repeatedly experienced at least one of the following. (Fig. 1).

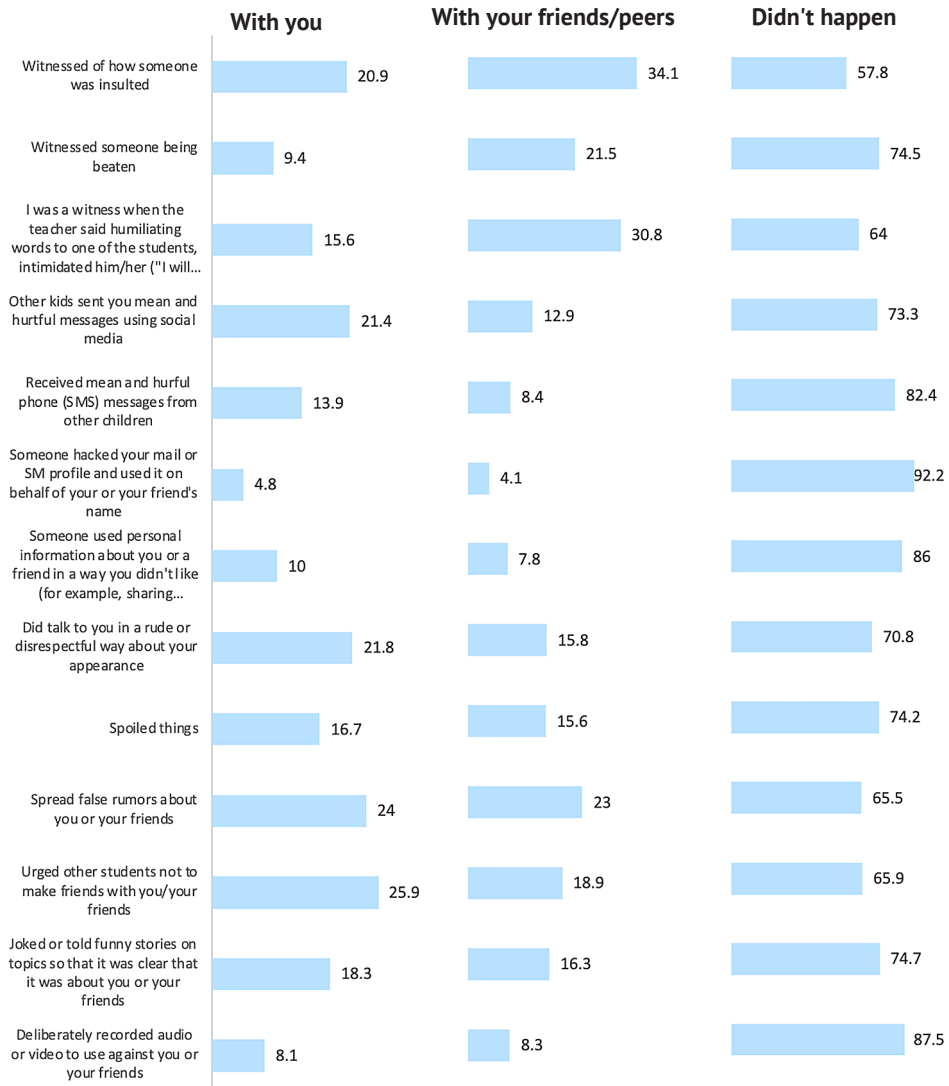


Figure 1. Distribution of responses to the question

“Has any of the following ever happened to you or your friends repeatedly (i.e., several times)?”, %

Note: respondents could choose several answers, so the sum of answers does not equal 100%

Source: compiled by the authors of this study

A comparison of students' responses by gender regarding the mention of at least one of the listed situations of bullying shows that 55.9% of females and 46.2% of males have experienced it. Since *September 1, 2022*, 24.7% of students who participated in the survey have faced “repeated intimidation, insults, isolation, rumours, etc., that could cause mental or physical pain” (Fig. 2).

Among males, 24.1% have been bullied since September 1, 2022, while among girls, it is 25.4%. This

matches the trend in the distribution of bullying by gender observed in foreign statistics (Digest of Education Statistics, n.d.). According to the region where the respondents' school is located, students in Kyiv have faced bullying most often since September 1, 2022 (33.7% reported having experienced bullying). The least frequent cases of bullying during this period were reported by students in the eastern (18%) and southern (22%) regions (Fig. 3).

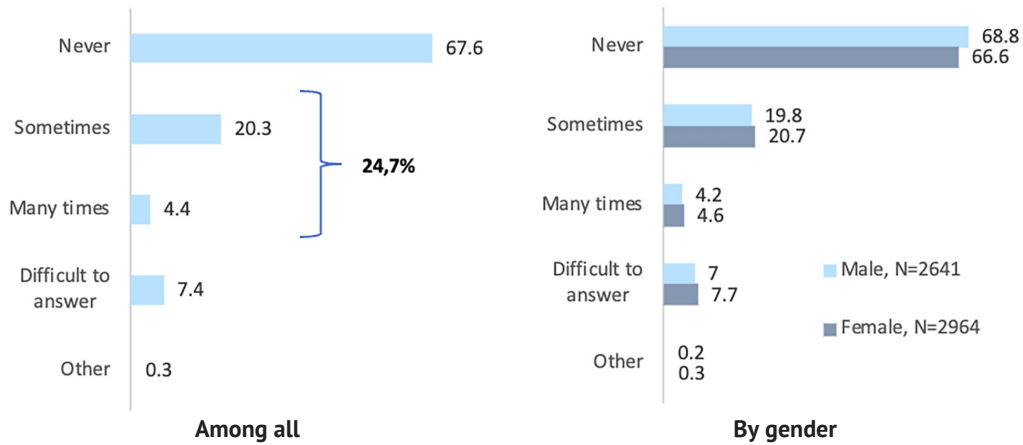


Figure 2. Distribution of responses to the question “*Since September 1, 2022, have you suffered from repeated intimidation, insults, isolation, rumours, beatings, etc., that could cause mental or physical pain?*”
Source: compiled by the authors of this study

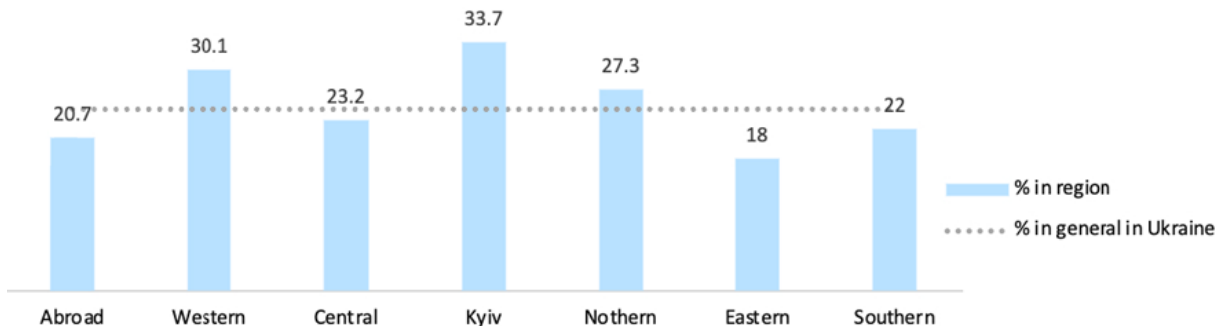


Figure 3. Distribution of answers of respondents who have suffered from repeated intimidation, insults, isolation, rumours, beatings, etc., depending on the macro-region, %
Source: compiled by the authors of this study

The highest rate of bullying was found in regional centres (34.4%) compared to cities of district significance and other cities (25.8% and 24.1%, respectively), as well as in rural areas – 25.3% (Fig. 4).

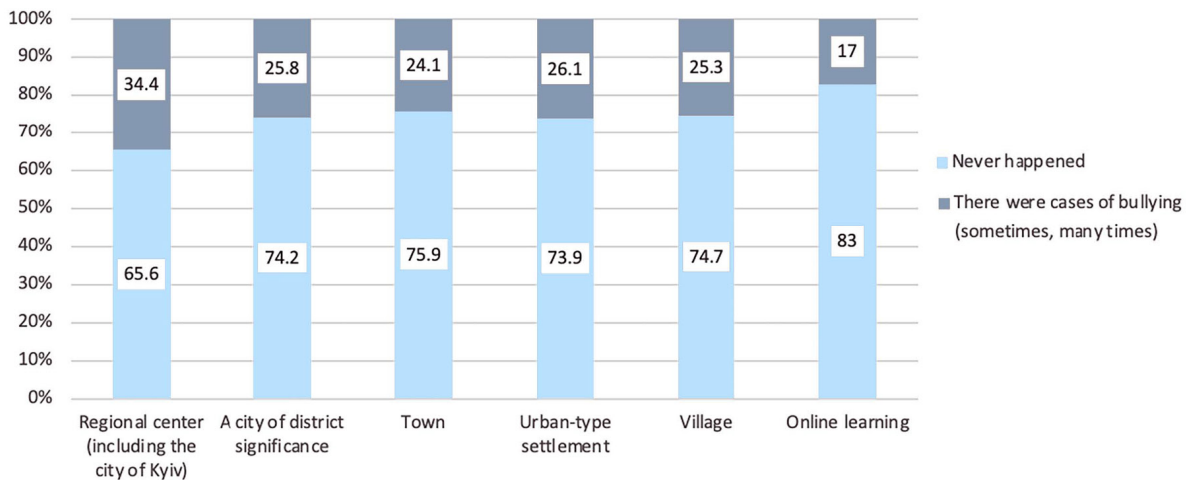


Figure 4. Distribution of responses about experiencing bullying by type of settlement, % (share of those who chose at least one of the listed cases that have happened repeatedly at any time)
Source: compiled by the authors of this study

Regarding the types of bullying, the most commonly reported were (the sum of the percentages may exceed 100, as respondents could choose more than one answer):

1. Being told not to be friends with them (25.9%);
2. Spreading false rumours about them (24.0%);
3. Derogatory or humiliating comments about their appearance (21.8%);
4. Offensive online messages (21.4%);
5. Jokes or anecdotes told in a way that made it clear that they were about the target of bullying (18.3%).

One of the objectives of our study was to find out what pretexts of bullying have been used to bully adolescents since September 1, 2022. Thus, 21.5% of the surveyed students do not know why they were bullied, 28.7% mentioned appearance, 22.6% – strange behaviour (too active, too shy or indecisive, too different from others), 21.5% – a worldview that differs from the opinions of others, and 18.7% – preferences/hobbies.

The least frequently mentioned reasons for bullying were race and family lifestyle (Fig. 5).

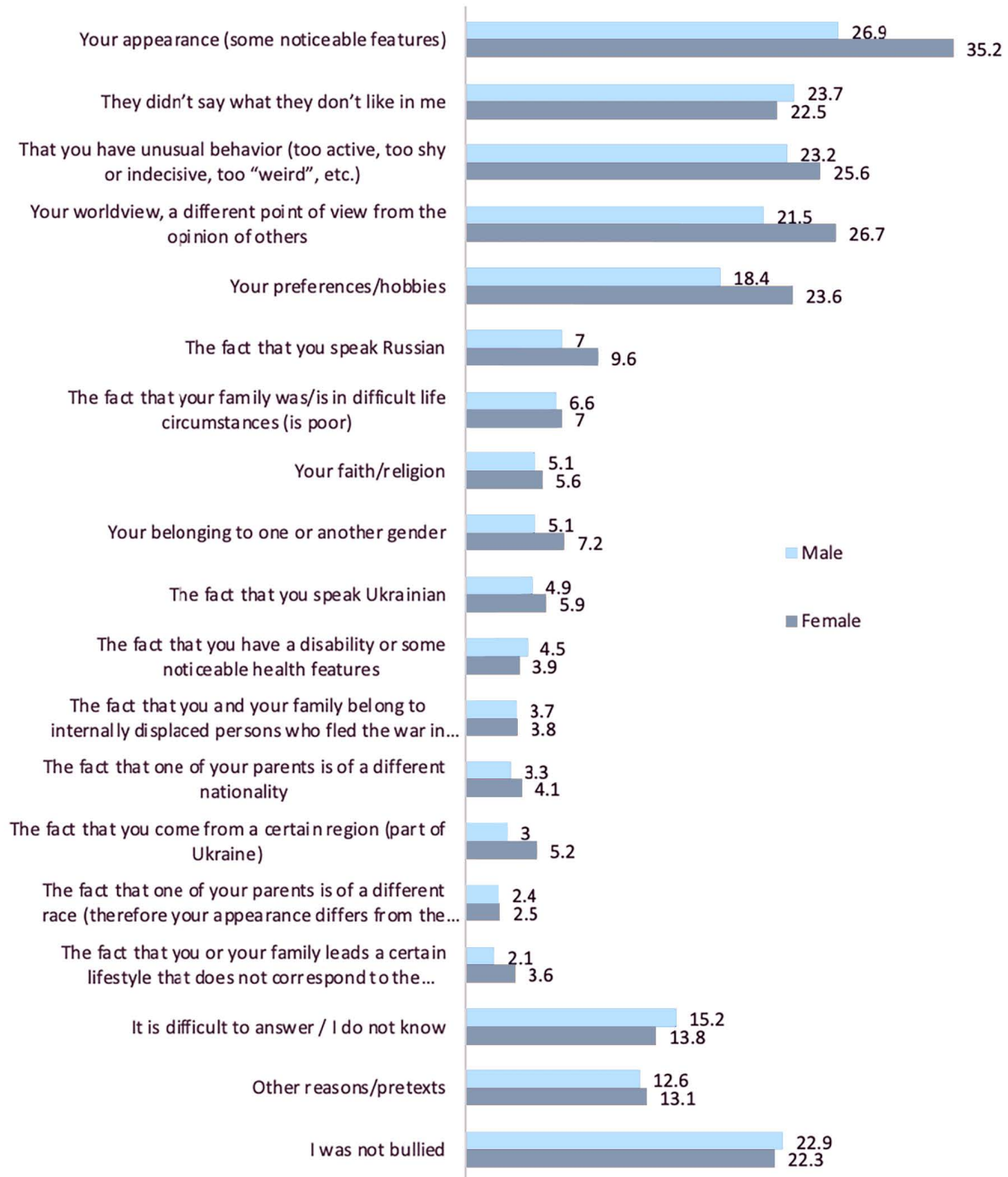


Figure 5. Distribution of responses to the question “What is the pretext why you might have been bullied since September 1, 2022, or after the outbreak of a full-scale war?”, by gender, %, N = 1,380

Note: respondents could choose several answers, so the sum of answers does not equal 100%

Source: compiled by the authors of this study

When analysing each of the pretexts by gender, no statistically significant differences were found, except for bullying due to “because of appearance”. Among 35.2% of girls said they were bullied because of their appearance, whereas among boys, this figure was 26.9% (Fig. 5).

Respondents living abroad most often mentioned pretexts for bullying, such as origin from a certain region (oblast, part of Ukraine) (10.7%), speaking Russian (13.2%), or Ukrainian (10.7%). Separating those who are bullied for speaking Russian and calculating the dependence on the region of origin and the region of location during the survey revealed that those who are abroad and moved there from the Kharkiv, Kherson, Luhansk and Kyiv Regions, as well as Kyiv, are bullied for this reason. The same applies to those in the Lviv

Region and Kyiv and moved there from Kherson and Donetsk Regions.

Asking for help and the school's response to bullying. After September 1, 2022, 16.2% of all respondents sought help from at least someone. Among students who have been or are being bullied, there are 59.4% of those who asked for help. In particular, girls (62.4%) were more likely than boys (55.8%) to seek help from at least someone. Girls (45.8% of bullying targets) more often than boys (40.6%) sought help from their parents, as well as from friends and peers (23.1% and 11.8%, respectively) (Fig. 6). These findings are consistent with similar studies that show that girls are more likely to seek help (Cortes & Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2014; Modecki *et al.*, 2014). One-third of targets turned to teachers (30.1%).

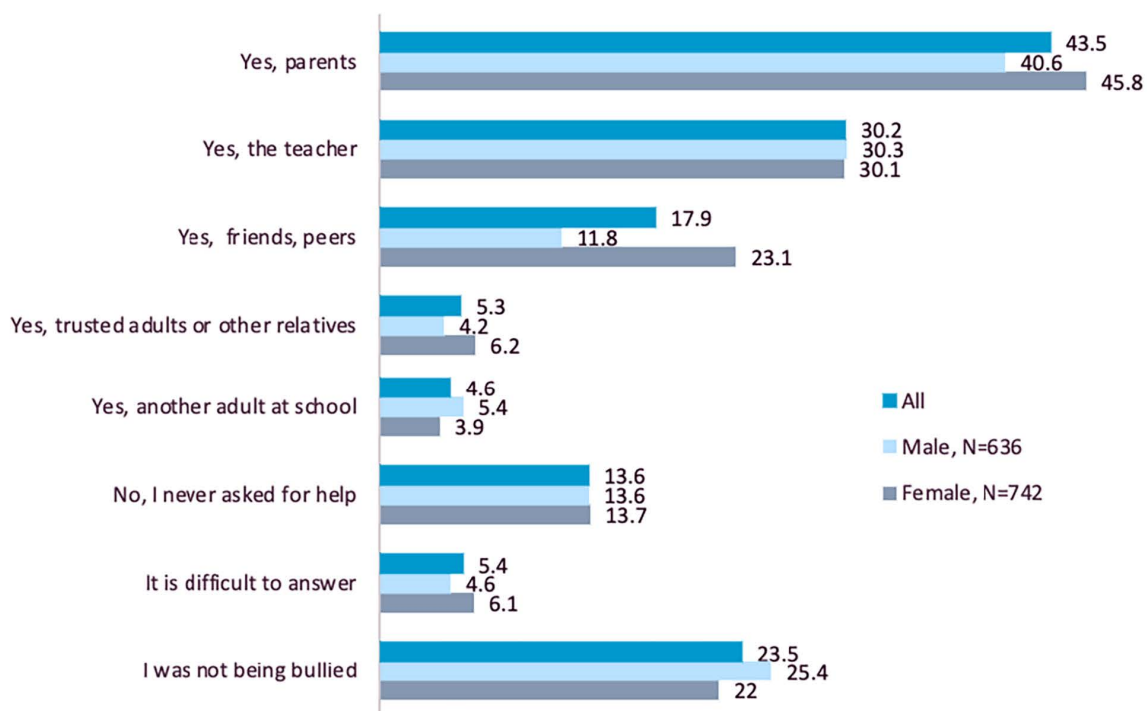


Figure 6. Distribution of responses to the question “If you were or are being bullied, have you asked anyone for help?”, % of those who have suffered at least sometime since *September 1, 2022*, N=1 380

Note: respondents could choose several answers, so the sum of answers does not equal 100%

Source: compiled by the authors of this study

As the age of respondents and grade level increase, the frequency of children seeking help in cases of bullying decreases. Among all surveyed 5th-grade students, the proportion of those who have asked someone for help is 18.7%; among 9th-grade students, it is 12.8% (Fig. 7). Among bullying targets, the respective figures are 68.1% and 47.9%.

Half of the students who sought help from someone said that everyone they approached responded to their need for help (52.2%). 34.9% said that some responded and some did not, 5.6% of surveyed students answered that no one responded to their request for help, while 6.4% hesitated to answer this question (Fig. 8).

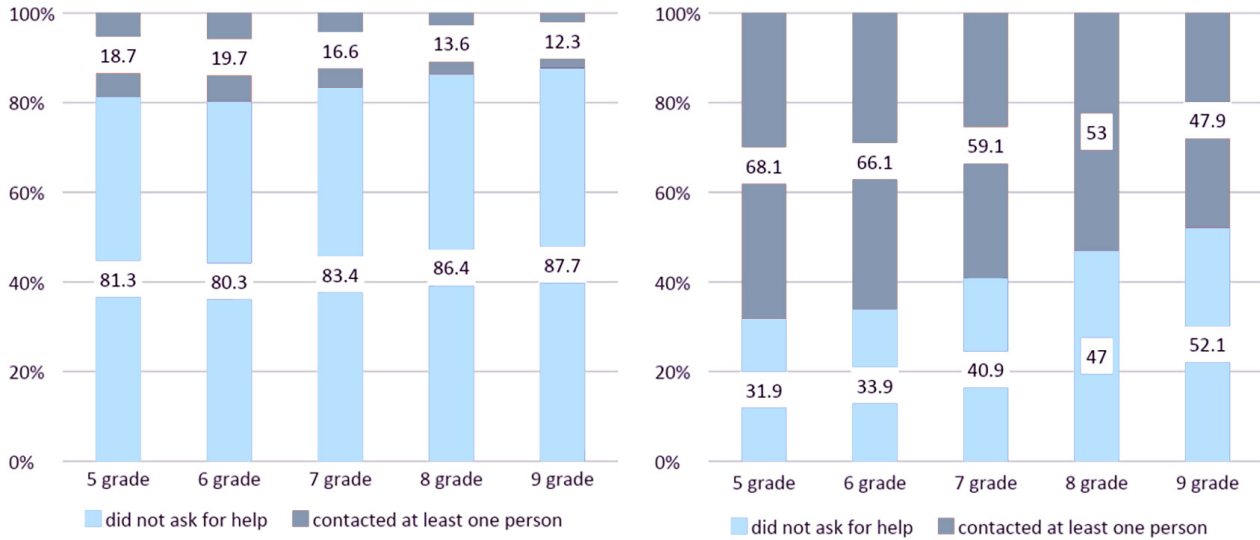


Figure 7. Distribution of respondents' appeals to someone because of bullying depending on the grade, % of those who have suffered at least sometime since *September 1, 2022*, from repeated intimidation, insults, isolation, rumours, beatings, etc., that could cause mental or physical pain, N = 1,380

Note: % of all, N = 5,576

Source: compiled by the authors of this study

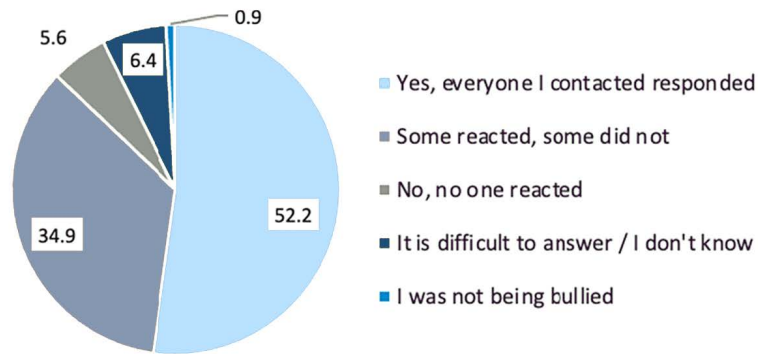


Figure 8. Distribution of responses to the question "Did those to whom you sought help respond in any way?"; % of those who sought help when they were or are being bullied, N = 820

Source: compiled by the authors of this study

13.5% of all surveyed students said that a teacher or other adult from school had witnessed bullying, 52.5% said that no adults or teachers were among the witnesses, and 33.9% hesitated to answer. However, 19.6% of those who said that teachers or other adults from school witnessed bullying claim that adults did nothing. 51.0% say that witnesses of bullying talked to the attacker, and one in three says they talked to the victim of bullying (30.4%). 26.1% of students said that adults talked to both the attacker and the bully simu-

taneously. Other actions mentioned by students included calling the parents of the bully (23.8%), the parents of the victim (15.8%), involving the principal (19.4%) and psychologist (16.4%) (Fig. 9).

19.9% of respondents reported that bullying stopped after adult intervention, 26.1% reported that it became easier, and 25% reported that nothing changed. In addition, 3.8% of respondents reported that bullying had increased, and 2.5% reported that it had become much worse (Fig. 10).

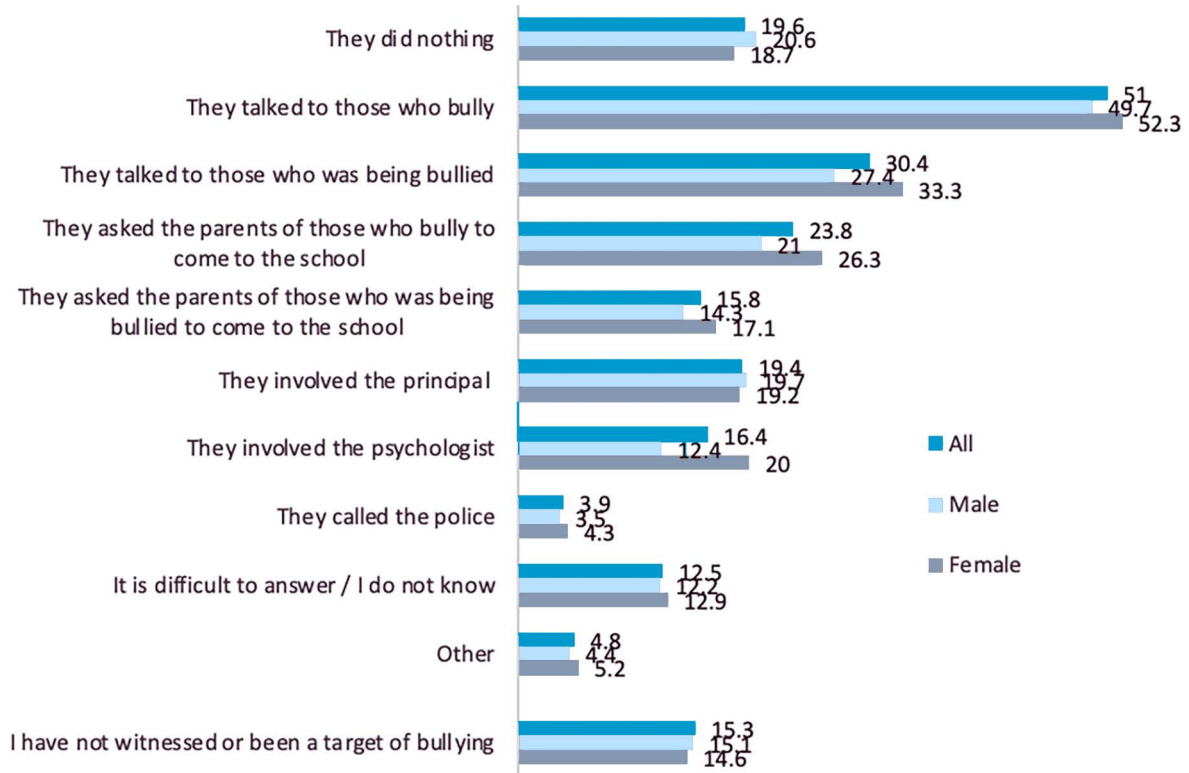


Figure 9. Distribution of responses to the question “What exactly did the school, or an adult do?”, % of those who said that one of the teachers or other adults from the school witnessed bullying, N = 751

Note: respondents could choose several answers, so the sum of answers does not equal 100%
Source: compiled by the authors of this study

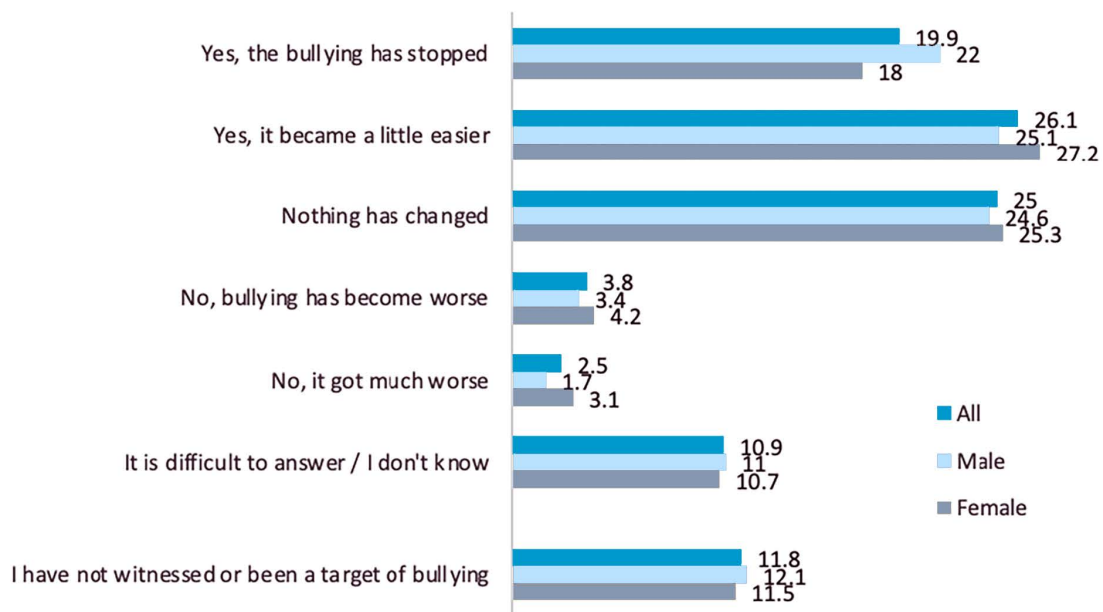


Figure 10. Distribution of responses to the question “Did it help with the bullying situation?”, % of those who said that one of the teachers or other adults from school had witnessed bullying, N = 751

Source: compiled by the authors of this study

The most effective method of dealing with bullying was to involve a psychologist. Thus, 68.4% of respondents said that bullying stopped or became a little easier. Also, according to the respondents, one of the most influential methods was to invite the parents of the

target of bullying to school (70.4%) and the invitation of parents of the bully as well (66.1%) (Fig. 11). After calling the police, the situation with bullying worsened in 16.0% of cases, and in the case of non-intervention – in 11.4% (Fig. 11).

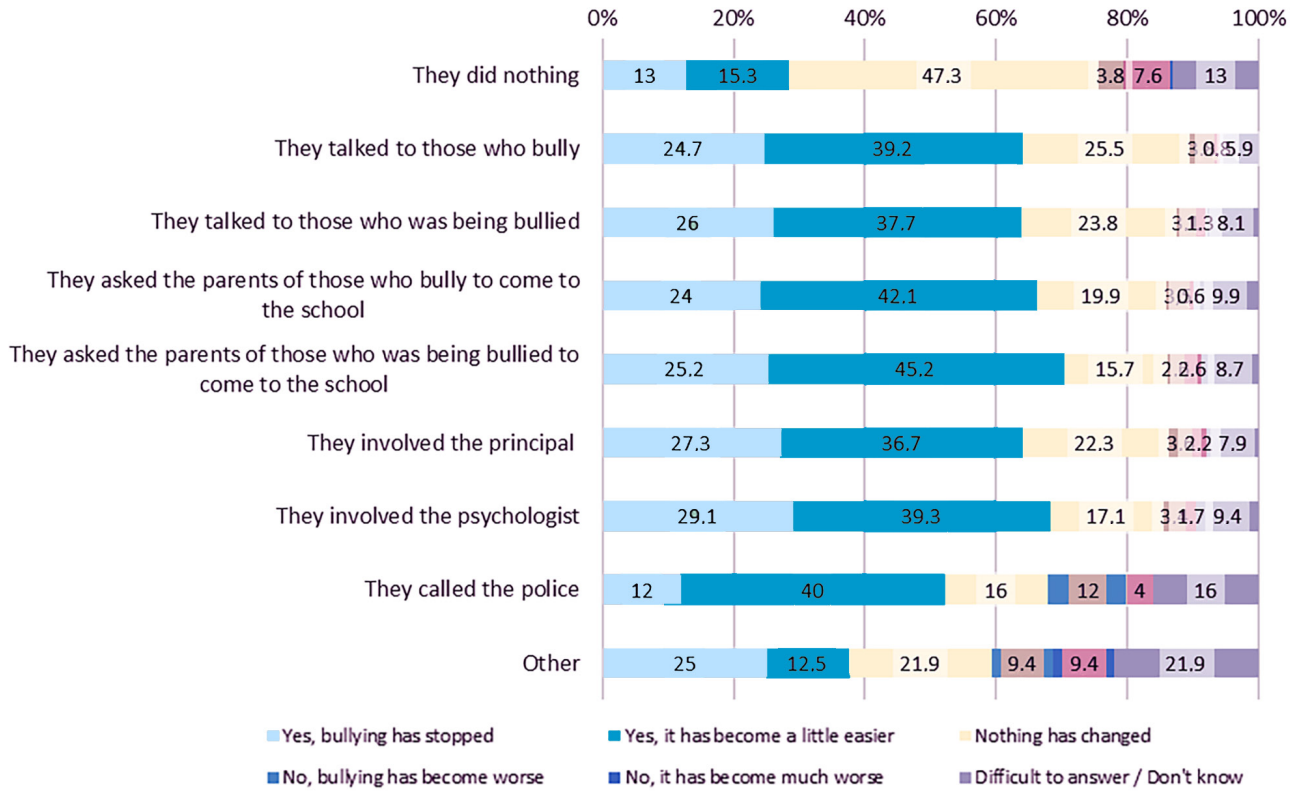


Figure 11. Distribution of respondents' answers about actions of the school or adults in relation to bullying situations they participated in or witnessed, depending on the consequences of these actions, % of those who said that one of the teachers or other adults from the school witnessed bullying, N = 751

Source: compiled by the authors of this study

This study demonstrates the significant presence of indirect relational bullying in the school environment. Not only does relational bullying often go unnoticed by teachers and is not taken seriously (many educators and parents do not perceive humour or social isolation as something that can be harmful), but it is also the type of bullying that causes the most mental health damage (Hu *et al.*, 2022). Research findings indicate (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2007; Duy, 2013) that teachers are more likely to intervene in direct (physical and psychological) bullying than in cases of relational bullying. It is important to consider these indicators when comparing student and teacher perceptions of bullying: teachers, with significant types of bullying may be unaware of certain types of bullying, which may not receive the appropriate intervention.

There is hidden a vast potential for intervention in the responses to adults' reactions to reports of bullying. According to this survey, every fifth adult who witnessed bullying did not intervene. The fact that

adults did not respond at all to the request for help was reported by 5.6% of respondents, and "Some responded, but some did not" by 34.9%. However, when teachers or other adults intervened, bullying ceased (19.9%) or the situation improved (26.1%). Thus, overall, the bullying situation was resolved in 46% of cases. Authors assume that involving adults who did not respond to bullying can significantly improve the situation in the educational environment. However, ways to engage passive adults most effectively have yet to be explored.

Another noteworthy aspect of improving the situation with bullying is that only a third of students sought help from teachers, who are in a position to intervene directly and immediately. Adolescents either do not trust teachers, have strained relationships with them, or lack an anonymous channel for reporting bullying. One of the objectives of our study was to understand the specifics of the bullying situation in Ukraine in the period after the start of the full-scale

russian invasion. As evident from the results, Kyiv shows higher bullying rates than other macro-regions, which is somewhat anomalous. Typically, cities report lower bullying rates than rural areas (Student reports of bullying..., 2019). However, upon comparing with other indicators, it can be observed that Kyiv has the highest proportions of individuals who have travelled abroad and returned (15.9%), as well as those who relocated to Kyiv from other regions (31.6%). Kyiv also has the lowest proportion of students who have not moved from their homes after February 24, 2022, due to the war (37.0%).

Against the backdrop of such migration processes in Kyiv schools, there are consequences of roles being redistributed within groups due to the influx of new (IDPs) or new-old (returnees) group members. Drawing on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the mere presence of a representative from external groups can precipitate intergroup conflicts. According to a study by K. Ojala & D. Nesdale (2004), grounded in SIT, perceiving a situation as threatening to ingroup distinctions contributes to the tolerance of bullying by other group members. Moreover, bullying can become a tool for accentuating positive differences between ingroup and outgroup members. The same study suggests that ingroup favouritism, fostered through social identity processes, may eventually lead to the bullying of outgroup members (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004; Scherr & Larson, 2010).

It can be assumed that the influx of IDPs to Kyiv has led to the formation of new minority groups in classrooms, which constitutes an additional factor of victimisation (Graham & Juvonen, 2002), as intergroup interaction occurs from the perspective of different identities and values.

The third risk factor is the accumulated stressors experienced by newcomers to Kyiv schools (Goldwaber *et al.*, 2013), such as relocation, experiences, escaping from occupation, witnessing war, forced migration, chronic stress, etc. These factors increase the likelihood of becoming targets of bullying. Additionally, "the negative effects of intergroup interaction increase in times of social crises or war" (Chorna, 2023).

The high prevalence of language (russian and Ukrainian) and regional origin among children abroad presents challenges in interpretation, as the question design does not distinguish whether these respondents experienced bullying based on these factors offline from other Ukrainian refugees, members of the local community, or Ukrainian students online. Bullying of migrants based on language by the local population is described in the literature as a common phenomenon. For example: "Social exclusion and the formation of social identity groups create bullying at these schools. The findings show that immigrant learners tend to withdraw from participation in verbal activities in the classroom because they are ridiculed." (Babane, 2020; Biswas *et al.*, 2020; Lebrun-Harris *et*

al., 2020). S. Dovchin (2020) discusses the concept of "ethnic accent bullying", focusing on bullying related to biographical accents and sociolinguistic backgrounds. At the same time, bullying based on origin from specific regions of Ukraine may be perceived by refugee students within the broader context of "originating from Ukraine".

Overall, identifying changes in the nature of bullying in Ukraine following the full-scale russian invasion is challenging primarily because there have been no systematic and targeted surveys of children and adolescents regarding bullying in the school environment in Ukraine. The few studies that have been conducted are sporadic and used different tools (with varying questions and definitions of bullying), targeted different age groups, and employed diverse survey methods.

It is also challenging to compare these results with data from other countries, as differences in tools and research methodologies also contribute to this difficulty.

CONCLUSIONS

It is worth noting that the prevalence and manifestations of bullying in this study are comparable to other studies conducted in Ukraine before the outbreak of full-scale war. The survey results provide insight into the prevalence of indirect, relational bullying, which often remains invisible to teachers (van der Wal *et al.*, 2003) and thus directly affects how teachers respond to reports of bullying (Cortes & Kochenderfer-Ladd, 2014). Recognising that some types of bullying may be invisible to teachers and understanding the importance of responding to such bullying will help encourage children to report instances of bullying.

It is also essential that the study sheds light on the funnel of responses to bullying at school. Not all children report bullying to adults, and not all reported incidents receive responses. Involving more adults in responding to bullying, as well as addressing the prevalence of indirect relational bullying, can help educational institutions combat its manifestations effectively. Additionally, the study revealed regional variations in the prevalence of bullying in Ukraine. For example, increased rates of reported bullying were found in Kyiv due to migration processes in the capital after February 24, 2022. These processes contribute to the reshuffling of group dynamics and bullying towards out-group representatives, reflecting social identity formation and ingroup favouritism.

The most common pretexts for bullying include appearance, unusual behaviour, differences in worldview, and preferences/hobbies. In Kyiv, students are more often bullied due to their gender, appearance, and preferences/hobbies compared to other regions of Ukraine. Conversely, students abroad are bullied based on their origin from specific Ukrainian regions or their proficiency in russian or Ukrainian languages. There is a clear need for further systematic research on bullying

in Ukraine to understand the changes in societal dynamics during wartime and post-war periods.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors are not aware of any possible conflict of interest.

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Особливості булінгу серед підлітків в Україні після повномасштабного російського вторгнення

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Анотація. У статті представлено результати всеукраїнського дослідження «Булінг і толерантність у закладах освіти після 24 лютого 2022 року», проведеного в листопаді 2023- січні 2024 року. Дослідження мало на меті виявити розповсюдженість булінгу серед учнів середньої школи (5-9 класи), його найпоширеніші види та приводи. Крім того, дослідження визначило патерни пошуку підтримки підлітками, які зазнають булінгу, та шляхи реагування школи на ці звернення. Найпоширеніші відповіді шкіл містили спілкування з кривдником або мішенню та залучення батьків кривдника. Поліція втручалася у 3,9 % випадків. Слід зазначити, що деякі особливості булінгу в українських школах з'явилися вже після повномасштабного російського вторгнення, зокрема підвищений рівень булінгу в Києві та нові приводи, такі як статус біженця. Загальна поширеність булінгу з початку вторгнення становить 24,7 %. Серед учнів, які зазнали булінгу, 59,4 % зверталися по допомогу до когось, з них 52,2 % отримали допомогу. Зовнішній вигляд, поведінка та світогляд були найпоширенішими причинами для булінгу. За мовною ознакою частіше зазнають цькування через російську мову ті, хто проживає за кордоном і переїхав туди з Харківської, Херсонської, Луганської, Київської областей та м. Києва, а також ті, хто проживає у Львівській області та м. Києві і переїхав туди з Херсонської та Донецької областей. Серед українських підлітків найрозповсюдженішим типом булінгу є реляційний булінг, зокрема поширення чуток та перешкоджання дружбі. Результати дослідження можуть бути використані для більш ефективних програм протидії булінгу в навчальних закладах

Ключові слова: булінг; цькування; види булінгу; приводи булінгу; повномасштабне вторгнення; міжгрупові відносини; групова динаміка