

## **Peer Victimization and Ethnic-Cultural Peer Victimization: Self-Esteem and School Relations between Different Cultural Groups of Students in Andalusia, Spain**

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### Abstract

The objective of this research consisted of studying peer victimization (10 types) and ethnic-cultural peer victimization (10 types), together with their relation to self-esteem, social adjustment and number of friends at school, focusing especially on the cultural variable. A representative sample of pre-adolescent and adolescent students was recruited (mean age = 14.48 years) from schools in Andalusia (Spain). The sample consisted of 7,037 students from different cultures (80.1% majority, 2.7% gypsies, 6.1% first-generation immigrants and 4% second-generation immigrants). The participants filled in a self-informed questionnaire. Results show that multivictimization does not depend on the cultural group. Nevertheless, ethnic-cultural multivictimization is different in each group, more frequent in first-generation immigrants and gypsies. First-generation immigrants show lower levels of social adjustment if compared to other groups. Taking into account Tajfel's theory, it can be inferred that first-generation immigrants and gypsies are the groups with the highest risk of social exclusion. The situation seems even more difficult in the former because of the lack of social support.

*Keywords:* Victimization, discrimination, social exclusion, self-esteem, ethnic-cultural groups.

### Resumen

La finalidad de esta investigación es estudiar la victimización entre iguales (10 tipos) y la victimización étnico-cultural entre iguales (10 tipos), así como sus relaciones con la autoestima, ajuste social y número de amigos en la escuela, prestando especial atención a la variable cultural. Para ello una muestra representativa de estudiantes preadolescentes y adolescentes (edad media = 14.48 años) de la región de Andalucía (España) compuesta por 7.037 estudiantes culturalmente diversos (80.1% mayoritario, 2.7% gitano, 6.1% inmigrantes de 1.ª generación y 4% inmigrantes de 2.ª generación) cumplimentó un cuestionario auto-informe. Los resultados revelan que el alumnado sufre multivictimización personal con independencia de su grupo cultural. Sin embargo la multivictimización étnico-cultural afecta de modo desigual en función del grupo cultural, más a estudiantes inmigrantes de 1.ª generación y a gitanos. El alumnado inmigrante de 1.ª generación manifiesta niveles significativamente inferiores de ajuste social que el resto de los grupos controlados. Estos hallazgos contemplados desde la teoría de Tajfel nos permiten inferir que tanto el alumnado inmigrante de 1.ª generación y como el gitano se encuentran en una situación de alto riesgo de exclusión, si bien la situación del primero puede ser más preocupante por falta de apoyo social.

*Palabras clave:* Victimización, discriminación, exclusión social, autoestima, grupos étnico culturales.

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## Introduction

Bullying at school is defined as repeated violent and intended behavior in which the aggressor establishes a relationship of superiority by power and force (Olweus, 1996). Bullying occurs in schools and in the way to school (Mayer & Furlog, 2010) affecting physically and psychologically the victims. Emotional impact on victims is strong and when aggression is repeated, they feel vulnerable and defenseless. This phenomenon is called victimization (Sanchez, Ortega, & Menesini, 2012).

The number of studies about victimization which include the ethnic-cultural variable or focus on ethnic-cultural victimization is scarce. Most of them were conducted in the USA and concluded that different ethnic-cultural groups are involved in different types of victimization. Therefore, those studies on bullying show significant differences among ethnic-cultural groups when taking into account victims (Carlyle & Steinman, 2007; Hanish & Guerra, 2000; Sawyer, Bradshaw, & O'Brennan, 2008; Spriggs, Iannotti, Nansel, & Haynie, 2007). There are very few studies that found no significant differences among ethnic-cultural groups in the prevalence of victimization at schools in the USA (Seals & Young, 2003) or Canada (McKenney, Pepler, Craig, & Connolly, 2006). On the other hand,

many different studies conducted in Europe show no significant differences among ethnic-cultural groups taking into account victimization (Durkin et al., 2012; Fandrem, Strohmeier, & Roland, 2009; Monks, Ortega-Ruiz, & Rodriguez-Hidalgo, 2008; Strohmeier, Kärnä, & Salmivalli, 2011). Some other studies, less numerous, found significant differences among ethnic-cultural groups while being a victim of bullying (Wolke, Woods, Stanford, & Schulz, 2001) and also while acting as victim-aggressor (Strohmeier, Spiel, & Gradinger, 2008).

Some studies on peer victimization that included ethnic-cultural variable reported evidence on a specific form of victimization: racist name-calling or insult (Collins, McAleavy, & Adamson, 2004; Lloyd & Stead, 2001). Insults or racist name-calling described in those studies are related to differences in ethnic features and/or the color of the skin between aggressors and victims. This form of racist and/or xenophobic victimization was found to be an important problem suffered especially by students from ethnic-cultural minorities and occasionally also from the majority group. The study conducted by Collins et al. (2004) concluded that racist name-calling and insult was not only related to physical ethnic differences such as the skin color but also to cultural characteristics related to the religious beliefs, customs or traditions. Recently, some

studies on victimization (general, not only ethnic-cultural) include in their self-administered questionnaires the subtype of victimization by insult or pejorative names based on ethnic differences or skin color (Strohmeier et al., 2011). Research conducted with pluricultural participants from schools by Verkuyten and Thijs (2002, 2006) in the Netherlands, by McKenney et al. (2006) in Canada, and by Monks et al. (2008) in Spain and England, show two different aspects: a) insult or racist and/or xenophobic name-calling are the most common forms of ethnic-cultural victimization, nevertheless, other forms should also be taken into account; and b) taking into account different forms of ethnic-cultural victimization, minorities are significantly more affected than the majorities.

Studies conducted by Verkuyten and Thijs (2002, 2006) by McKenney et al. (2006) point out another form of ethnic-cultural victimization: direct social exclusion with explicit allegation to racist and/or xenophobic motivation (for example: You cannot play with us as you are from other country). A transnational study conducted by Monks et al. (2008) compared the prevalence of three different types of general victimization such as direct verbal (insults, name-calling and threatening), direct relational (direct social exclusion) and indirect relational (rumor or lie spreading), and also the prevalence of

three correlated types of ethnic-cultural victimization: direct verbal ethnic-cultural, direct relational ethnic-cultural and indirect relational ethnic-cultural. This study showed that pupils from ethnic-cultural minorities suffered significantly more ethnic-cultural victimization in comparison to their peers from the majority group, taking into account the three types. On the contrary, there were no significant differences among groups in any type of general victimization. Moreover, students who suffered ethnic-cultural victimization (of any of the three types) not necessarily manifested being victims of homologous types of general aggression.

The relationship between victimization and low self-esteem was observed taking into account global self-esteem (Björkqvist & Österman, 1999) and its different dimensions (Boulton & Smith, 1994). Students who suffered frequent victimization are more prone to have low self-esteem (Fox & Boulton, 2006; Roland, 2002).

There are also studies that found relationship between peer-victimization and poor social adjustment at school (Cava, Buelga, Musitu, & Murgui, 2010). Victims show low number of social relationships (Toblin, Schwartz, Gorman, & Abou-Ezzedine, 2005). They also tend to feel more lonely than their peers who do not suffer victimization (Fox & Boul-

ton, 2006; Newman, Holden, & Delville, 2005) together with feelings of exclusion (Due et al., 2005).

Recently, the relationship among victimization, self-esteem and social adjustment at school is frequently studied. Nevertheless, the number of studies with pluricultural samples, taking into account ethnic-cultural victimization, is scarce. Those studies were conducted mostly in the USA, Canada and Europe utilizing the concept of *discrimination*. A study conducted in Great Britain on adolescents from different cultural minority groups by Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe and Warden (2004) found negative relationship between perceived discrimination and self-esteem. A series of important studies conducted by Verkuyten and Thijs (2002, 2006) in the Netherlands analyzed the relationship between being a victim of ethnic-cultural discrimination at school (*racist name-calling* and *racist social exclusion*) and self-esteem in victims (differentiating *personal self-esteem* and *ethnic self-esteem*). Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) studied prevalence of ethnic victimization (*racist name-calling* and *racist exclusion*) on 2682 Dutch pre-adolescents from the ethnic-cultural majority group and also minority groups such as Turkish, North African and Surinamese. Taking into account structural identity models, those researchers suggested that ethnic

self-esteem was a mediating variable between ethnic discrimination and global self-assessment (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2006). Analyses confirmed this hypothesis for each of the four groups. Considering different types of ethnic-cultural victimization, it was found that racist nomination influenced more global self-assessment than social exclusion while playing.

Ethnic-cultural discrimination is negatively related to self-esteem (Coker et al., 2009; Hunter, Durkin, Heim, Howe, & Bergin, 2010; Seaton & Yip, 2009). Ethnic-cultural discrimination is also negatively related to wellbeing at school and establishment of satisfactory interpersonal relationships. Eccles, Wong and Peck (2006) found significant relationship between discrimination, low self-concept and low school performance in Afro-American students. Also Dotterer, McHale and Crouter (2009) observed negative correlation between discrimination, school self-esteem and relationship with school in adolescents from minority groups.

### **Methodological aspects**

The current study utilizes a self-report which is considered the most adequate instrument while studying personal victimization, ethnic-cultural victimization, self-esteem, social adjustment and number of friends. Scientific literature review included above shows

that self-reports are the most commonly utilized instruments in research into bullying and victimization. Methodological aspects of the previous studies were taken into account while defining questions on personal and ethnic-cultural victimization included in the questionnaire. Research conducted by Sawyer et al. (2008) shows that the number of detected victims is higher when asked for different types of victimization rather than including just one question on the issue. On the other hand, studies in which different types of personal and ethnic-cultural victimization are compared show that there are participants who suffer from ethnic-cultural victimization but not the homologous forms of personal victimization (Blaya, Debarbieux, del Rey, & Ortega, 2006; McKenney et al., 2006; Monks et al., 2008; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2006). Considering all those issues and with the objective of collecting the most precise and exhaustive information on the topic, the current self-report studies at the same time ten possible types of personal and also ten types of ethnic-cultural victimization. The term *multivictimization* (Blaya et al., 2006) is utilized when participants suffer different forms of victimization at the same time.

### Hypotheses and Objectives

The objectives of the current study consisted of: 1) Describing

the levels of personal victimization, ethnic-cultural victimization, self-esteem, social adjustment and number of friends in pupils from schools in Andalusia; 2) Comparing those levels taking into account the ethnic-cultural group of the students; and 3) Finding possible relationships among those variables.

Based on Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (1982) it is expected that pupils from minority ethnic-cultural groups show lower levels of social adjustment (Hypothesis 1). In line with the previous studies on personal and ethnic-cultural victimization conducted in Andalusian schools in Spain (Monks et al., 2008) it is predicted that no significant differences among groups are going to be found in prevalence of personal victimization (Hypothesis 2) but significant differences are going to be found in prevalence of ethnic-cultural victimization (Hypothesis 3). Taking into account previous research, significant correlations are expected to be found among personal victimization, ethnic-cultural victimization, self-esteem, social adjustment and number of friends (Hypothesis 4).

### Method

#### Participants

A total number of 7,037 adolescents and pre-adolescents participated in the study (1,278 from the

last cycle of Primary Education, 4,145 from Compulsory Secondary Education and 1614 Post-Compulsory Schooling —*Bachillerato*—). Girls (48.6%) and boys (51.1%) from 38 schools in 8 provinces and 33 towns of Andalusia (Spanish region) filled in the survey. 661 of the participants were from Almería (3 schools), 847 from Cadiz (6 schools), 840 from Córdoba (4 schools), 747 from Granada (6 schools), 934 from Huelva (4 schools), 610 from Jaen (3 schools), 1,082 from Málaga (6 schools) and 1316 from Sevilla (6 schools). The mean age of the participants was of 14.48 ( $SD = 2.30$ ). 80.1% of all the students defined themselves as “the majority group”, 2.7% as “gypsies”, 6.1% as “first-generation immigrants”, 4% as “second-generation immi-

grants” and 7% did not give their cultural group. The distribution of the participants by gender and age can be seen in Table 1.

The population for the current study consisted of pupils from the last cycle of Primary Education (5th and 6th), Compulsory Secondary Education (1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th) and Post-Compulsory Schooling (*Bachillerato*) (1st and 2nd) from Andalusia. Stratified random sampling with one-step conglomerates was conducted. Schools were considered units for sampling and pupils units for analyses. Twenty four stratum were obtained by crossing two variables: province and school level (8 X 3). Schools were randomly selected. Sampling error is estimated in  $\pm 1.2\%$  and the confidence level is of 95.44%.

Table 1

*Distribution of the Participants by Gender and Age*

	Age											Total	
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		21
Boys	124	243	342	399	453	479	468	403	198	64	14	0	3,187
Girls	107	304	348	393	386	446	482	460	227	44	15	1	3,213
Total	231	547	690	792	839	925	950	863	425	108	29	1	6,400

Note. 637 of the participants did not report their exact age.  $X^2_{(11)} = 25,26, p = .008$ .

## Instruments

The first part of the questionnaire consisted of items on demographic data such as age, gender and cultural group. Then, different variables of the study were measured as follows:

- Self-esteem: Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979) consists of 10 questions with a 4-point Likert response scale ranging from 2 “totally disagree” to 4 “totally agree” (Vázquez, Jiménez, & Vázquez, 2004). The reliability of the scale for the current sample was good ( $\alpha = .78$ ).
- Social adjustment: A subscale of the “Questionnaire on Convivencia, Conflicts and School Violence” (Ortega, Del Rey, & Mora-Merchán, 2008), which consisted of the following questions: “Students in my class get along”, “My classmates are interested in me”, “I like working in a group”, “My classmates help me when I need it”, “I feel I have friends”, “I express and defend my opinion without hurting other people”, “I join activities with other people” and “I help my classmates in what they need”. Participants responded to each question on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 4 (always). The scale shows acceptable reliability in Ortega, Del Rey & Sánchez (2011) validation ( $\alpha = .79$ ) and for the current sample ( $\alpha = .72$ ).
- Number of friends: Participants answered the item “How many good friends do you have at school?” choosing one of the following options: “none”, “one”, “between 2 and 5” and “6 or more”.
- Personal victimization: Frequency of general victimization was measured by the item “How many times have you felt intimidated, rejected or mistreated by one of your classmates in the past three weeks”, with the response options: “never”, “occasionally” and “frequently (at least once a week)”. The multivictimization was measured as the total number of its reported types: “physical aggression (punching, kicking or pushing)”, “stealing from me”, “calling me names”, “lying about me and saying things about me behind my backs”, “threatening me”, “rejecting me, isolating me or not playing with me”, “braking my things”, “by mobile (text messages, calls or videos to tease me)”, “by the Internet (e-mail, chat, etc.)” or “other”.
- Ethnic-cultural victimization: Frequency and ethnic-cultural multivictimization were measured by items similar to those designed to measure personal victimization adding “because of the color of your skin, religion, culture or being from a different country”.



## Procedure

Permits were solicited and obtained from the eight Provincial Offices of the Ministry of Education and all of the selected schools. Each pupil filled in the questionnaire during their regular class hours in their classrooms, supervised by the researchers. The survey was anonymous, individual and voluntary.

## Results

### Self-esteem, Social adjustment and number of friends in different groups

Table 2 shows means and standard deviations for the three

studied variables in different groups. *Self-esteem* and *Number of friends* are the same for all the groups whereas there are significant differences in *Social adjustment*.

Games-Howell pairwise comparisons showed that the only significant difference between groups is found in *Social adjustment* between majority and first-generation immigrants which, in case of the latter is worse than in case of the former, with rather small effect size ( $d = .25$ ).

### Frequencies of victimization

Tables 3 and 4 show frequencies of personal and ethnic-cultural victimization for each cultural group, respectively.

Table 2

*Means and Standard Deviations in Self-Esteem, Social Adjustment and Number of Friends*

	Majority <i>n</i> = 5639 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Gypsies <i>n</i> = 189 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	First-generation immigrants <i>n</i> = 430 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Second-generation immigrants <i>n</i> = 173 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	No answer <i>n</i> = 496 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Total <i>n</i> = 7037 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>F</i>
Self-esteem	31.87 (4.28)	31.72 (3.95)	31.65 (4.08)	31.59 (4.31)	31.38 (3.98)	31.80 (4.24)	2.09
Social adjustment	23.47 (4.58)	22.48 (5.73)	22.32 (4.82)	23.20 (4.71)	23.24 (4.24)	23.34 (4.62)	7.07*
Number of friends	2.55 (.63)	2.53 (.77)	2.47 (.73)	2.56 (.63)	2.52 (.62)	2.54 (.64)	1.28

\*  $p < .01$ .

*Note.* Levene's statistic showed unequal variances among groups. Thus, Welch's ANOVA was used for the comparison.



Table 3

*Frequencies of General Victimization for Each Cultural Group*

	Frequency of personal victimization		
	Never	Occasionally	Frequently
Majority	77.6%	17.5%	5.0%
Gypsies	78.6%	14.9%	6.5%
First-generation immigrants	70.2%	24.4%	6.1%
Second-generation immigrants	73.0%	19.8%	7.3%
No answer	75.5%	20.4%	5.1%
Total	76.9%	18.1%	5.1%

Table 4

*Frequencies of Ethnic-Cultural Victimization for Each Cultural Group*

	Frequency of ethnic-cultural victimization		
	Never	Occasionally	Frequently
Majority	91.9%	6.6%	1.5%
Gypsies	79.0%	17.0%	4.0%
First-generation immigrants	68.6%	26.3%	5.1%
Second-generation immigrants	80.9%	16.2%	2.9%
No answer	89.7%	7.4%	2.9%
Total	89.6%	8.5%	1.9%

There are significant differences among groups [ $\chi^2_{(8)} = 18.18$ ,  $p < .05$ ]. Adjusted standardized residuals show significantly higher frequency of “never” answer in “majority” group in comparison to the rest ( $ASR = 2.8$ ) whereas first-generation immigrants show higher percentage of “occasional” personal victimization in comparison to the rest ( $ASR = 3.2$ ). Also,

differences among groups in ethnic-cultural victimization are statistically significant [ $\chi^2_{(8)} = 264.52$ ,  $p < .01$ ] (see Table 4). “Majority” has higher percentage of “never” answer if compared to the rest ( $ASR = 12.8$ ), “gypsies” have higher percentage of “occasional” ( $ASR = 4.1$ ) and “frequent” ( $ASR = 2$ ) victimization, first-generation immigrants have

Table 5

*Means and Standard Deviations in the Studied Variables for Different Frequencies of Personal and Ethnic-Cultural Victimization*

	Frequency of personal victimization			<i>F</i>
	Never <i>n</i> = 4752 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Occasionally <i>n</i> = 1119 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Frequently <i>n</i> = 313 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	
Self-esteem	32.41 (4.06)	30.51 (4.46)	28.97 (5.08)	107.28*
Social adjustment	24.10 (4.39)	21.84 (4.61)	18.44 (5.99)	228.36*
Number of friends	2.59 (.61)	2.45 (.70)	2.08 (.93)	41.14*
	Frequency of ethnic-cultural victimization			<i>F</i>
	Never <i>n</i> = 5889 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Occasionally <i>n</i> = 561 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Frequently <i>n</i> = 125 <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	
Self-esteem	31.94 (4.30)	30.97 (4.01)	30.11 (4.95)	17.32*
Social adjustment	23.59 (4.58)	21.56 (4.89)	20.66 (6.48)	55.53*
Number of friends	2.55 (.64)	2.48 (.74)	2.31 (.90)	4.40*

\*  $p < .01$ .

higher percentages of “occasional” ( $ASR = 13.1$ ) and “frequent” ( $ASR = 4.7$ ) victimization and Second generation immigrants have higher percentage of “occasional” ( $ASR = 4.6$ ) victimization.

Table 5 shows means and standard deviations in *Self-esteem*, *Social adjustment* and *Number of friends* for different frequencies of personal and ethnic-cultural victimization. Levene’s test showed unequal variances ( $ps < .05$ ). Therefore, Welch’s ANOVA and post-hoc Games-Howell tests were performed to check whether the

differences among groups were statistically significant.

Games-Howell post-hoc pairwise comparisons for frequency of personal victimization showed that all the differences are statistically significant ( $ps < .01$ ). Small effect sizes were found in self-esteem between “occasionally” - “frequently” ( $d = .32$ ) and in the number of friends between “never” - “occasionally” ( $d = .21$ ), medium effect sizes were found in self-esteem between “never” - “occasionally” ( $d = .45$ ) in social adjustment between “never” - “occasionally”

( $d = .50$ ) and “occasionally”-“frequently” ( $d = .64$ ), and in the number of friends between “never”-“frequently” ( $d = .65$ ) and “occasionally” - “frequently” ( $d = .45$ ). Large effect sizes were found in self-esteem between “never”-“frequently” ( $d = .75$ ) and in social adjustment between “never”-“frequently” ( $d = 1.08$ ). On the other hand, Games-Howell post-hoc pairwise comparisons for frequency of ethnic-cultural victimization showed significant differences in *Self-esteem* between “never”-“occasionally” with a small effect size ( $d = .23$ ); “never”-“frequently” also with rather small effect size ( $d = .39$ ); *Social adjustment* between “never”-“occasionally” with small-medium effect size ( $d = .43$ ); “never”-“frequently” with a medium effect size ( $d = .52$ ); and in *Number of friends* between “never”-“frequently” with a small effect size ( $d = .31$ ) ( $ps < .01$ ). The rest of the differences between groups for frequency of ethnic-cultural victimization were non-significant ( $p > .05$ ).

### Types and multivictimization

Results show that 70.7% of the participants did not suffer personal victimization, 14.2% suffered one, 7.2% two, 4% three, 2% four, .1% five .5% six, .2% seven or eight and 0% nine or ten types of general victimization. 90.9% did not suffer ethnic-cultural victimization,

6.3% did suffer one, 1.3% two, .6% three, .4% four, .3% five, .1 six, seven, eight or nine and 0% ten types of victimization. Differences in means for different cultural/ethnic groups can be seen in table 6.

Games-Howell post hoc comparisons showed significant differences in ethnic-cultural multivictimization between “first-generation immigrants” and “second generation immigrants” with rather small effect size ( $d = .32$ ); “first-generation immigrants” and “no answer” also with rather small effect size ( $d = .38$ ). “Majority” suffered significantly less victimization than the “gypsies” with a small effect size ( $d = .27$ ), less than “first generation immigrants” with a medium effect size ( $d = .46$ ) and less than “second generation immigrants” with a small effect size ( $d = .20$ ).

Table 7 shows percentages of different types of personal and ethnic-cultural victimization among the cultural groups. Taking into account percentages of students who reported at least one type of victimization, personal victimization is more frequent than ethnic-cultural victimization (25.8% vs. 8.3%,  $\chi^2 = 928.7$ ,  $p < .01$ ). There are significant differences in personal victimization in the item reporting “stealing from me” with first-generation immigrants experiencing most and majority and no answer groups experiencing less this type of victimization. Also the

item “other” personal victimization is significantly different among groups with second-generation immigrant experiencing it most and majority less. On the other hand, there are significant differences

among groups in all the items of ethnic/cultural victimization. First-generation immigrants and gypsies are the most ethnic/cultural victimized groups and majority is the less victimized in most of the items.

Table 6

*Mean Number of Types of Personal and Ethnic-Cultural Victimization in Different Cultural Groups*

	Personal victimization	Ethnic-cultural victimization	<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>
	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )		
Majority (5639)	.59 (1.13)	.12 (.56)	1,042.98*	.53
Gypsies (189)	.63 (1.27)	.35 (1.05)	11.63*	.24
First-generation immigrants (430)	.71 (1.14)	.49 (1.00)	21.53*	.21
Second-generation immigrants (289)	.71 (1.14)	.23 (.55)	51.18*	.54
No answer (496)	.58 (.99)	.17 (.67)	84.52*	.49
Total (7037)	.60 (1.13)	.16 (.63)	1,187.84*	.48
<i>F</i>	2.04	18.20*		

\*  $p < .01$ .

*Note.* Levene’s statistic showed unequal variances in ethnic-cultural victimization and equal variances in personal victimization. Thus, Welch’s ANOVA was used in the former.

**Table 7**  
*Percentages of Different Types of Personal and Ethnic-Cultural Victimization among the Cultural Groups*

	Type of personal victimization % of "yes" answers									
	Physical aggression	Stealing from me	Calling me names	Lying about me	Threatening me	Rejecting me	Braking my things	By mobile	By the Internet	Other
Majority	6.4%	3.0%	18.2%	14.6%	4.0%	6.1%	1.8%	.9%	2.3%	1.1%
Gypsies	9.7%	5.6%	17.4%	9.7%	6.3%	6.9%	2.8%	1.4%	2.1%	2.1%
First-generation immigrants	9.2%	5.9%	20.2%	17.9%	4.5%	7.8%	2.8%	.3%	3.1%	2.0%
Second-generation immigrants	6.6%	5.7%	23.0%	16.8%	5.3%	7.4%	2.0%	.4%	1.6%	4.1%
No answer	6.1%	2.9%	18.2%	15.5%	4.1%	4.4%	2.2%	1.0%	1.5%	1.2%
Total	6.6%	3.4%	18.5%	14.9%	4.2%	6.2%	1.9%	.9%	2.3%	1.3%
$\chi^2_{(4)}$	6.76	15.14*	4.28	6.74	2.67	4.80	2.66	2.70	2.81	17.50*
	Type of ethnic-cultural victimization % of "yes" answers									
Majority	1.4%	.8%	4.0%	2.1%	.9%	.9%	.6%	.2%	.4%	.4%
Gypsies	4.5%	4.5%	13.4%	3.2%	2.5%	3.8%	2.5%	1.9%	1.3%	1.3%
First-generation immigrants	5.1%	2.7%	19.7%	9.9%	3.5%	5.1%	2.7%	.8%	2.1%	1.9%
Second-generation immigrants	.4%	2.4%	12.5%	3.1%	.8%	1.6%	0.0%	.4%	.4%	2.0%
No answer	3.1%	1.7%	5.0%	2.1%	1.7%	1.7%	1.2%	.7%	.2%	.2%
Total	1.8%	1.1%	5.6%	2.7%	1.2%	1.3%	.8%	.3%	.5%	.5%
$\chi^2_{(4)}$	40.58*	33.62*	207.87*	81.91*	22.92*	54.56*	27.45*	24.17*	23.87*	27.34*

\*  $p < .01$ .

### Relationship between personal, ethnic-cultural victimization and the rest of the studied variables

Table 8 shows relationships among all the studied variables. The frequencies and varieties of both types of victimization were positively correlated. On the contrary, frequencies and varieties of victimization were negatively correlated with *Number of friends*, *Social adjustment* and *Self-Esteem* variables that showed positive correlations with each other. All the correlations were statistically significant. Taking into account the criteria suggested by Cohen (1988), strong correlation were found

only between *Personal Multivictimization* and *Frequency of personal victimization*, *Personal Multivictimization* and *Ethnic-Cultural Multivictimization* and *Frequency of ethnic-cultural victimization* and *Ethnic-cultural multivictimization*. The rest of the correlations could be considered rather small.

### Discussion

It was expected that students from ethnic-cultural minority groups would show lower levels of social adjustment in comparison to their peers from the majority group. The results show that

Table 8  
*Relationships among all the Studied Variables*

	Frequency personal	Multi-victimization personal	Frequency ethnic-cultural	Multi-victimization ethnic-cultural	Number of friends	Social adjustment	Self esteem
Frequency personal	1						
Multivictimization Personal	.70*	1					
Frequency ethnic-cultural	.28*	.25*	1				
Multivictimization Ethnic-cultural	.30*	.96*	.52*	1			
Number of Friends	-.18*	-.15*	-.06*	-.08*	1		
Social Adjustment	-.30*	-.24*	-.14*	-.10*	.31*	1	
Self Esteem	-.21*	-.20*	-.08*	-.10*	.18*	.29*	1

\*  $p < .01$ .

the hypothesis is supported only for first-generation immigrants, although only with a small effect size. Taking into account Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (1982) this result could be interpreted as the existence of certain cultural confrontation among pupils born in Spain and first-generation immigrants. Moreover, this confrontation would reinforce prejudices and therefore, pupils would protect their ingroup rejecting at the same time the outgroup. In the studied context, the number of first-generation immigrants is scarce and diverse; therefore, they are the group with the highest risk of social maladjustment. Nevertheless, there is no significant difference among groups in number of friends or self-esteem. Thus, whether the cultural group is stable with respect to school or local context (majority group and gypsies are more stable in Spain in comparison to the first- and second-generation immigrants who are less stable) does not seem to influence self-assessment and the number of friends.

Personal multivictimization is suffered by students from all ethnic-cultural groups. Nevertheless, there are some differences among groups. Taking into account the ten different types of personal victimization, significant differences were found only in the item "stealing from me" with higher percentages in case of the first-generation immigrants in comparison to the majority group. These results seem

to be in agreement with some European studies from the last decade (Strohmeier et al., 2011; Strohmeier et al., 2008; Wolke et al., 2001) and also with most of the studies conducted in the USA (Caryllyle & Steinman, 2007; Hanish & Guerra, 2000; Sawyer et al., 2008; Spriggs et al., 2007). Those studies show that minorities suffer more personal victimization in comparison to the majority group. Nevertheless, among the ten types of personal victimization studied in the current research, only two were different between groups. These findings are in agreement with other recent European studies (Fandrem et al., 2009; Monks et al., 2008) and also with some research from the USA (McKenney et al., 2006; Seals & Young, 2003). Therefore, the current research shows more evidence which support the second hypothesis: there are no significant differences among groups in personal victimization.

As stated in the hypothesis 3, ethnic-cultural victimization is different for different groups. The results show that this hypothesis is supported for each of the ten studied types of ethnic-cultural victimization. Those types of victimization affect more first-generation immigrants and gypsies in comparison to second-generation immigrant and majority groups. Taking into account studies conducted by Hanish and Guerra (2000) based on Tajfel's theory (1982), it seems that when an ethnic-cultural



tural group see itself as a minority in a given context, this minority is exposed to victimization. Therefore, it seems that: 1) First-generation immigrants are at the highest risk for suffering difficulties in social-affective development as they are exposed to multiple forms of ethnic-cultural victimization; this group is diverse and have difficulties finding peers who share their identities at school and other contexts; 2) Gypsies are also at risk because of frequent ethnic-cultural victimization, although with more possibilities of finding peers with their cultural identity. The situation of first-generation immigrants is preoccupying, also taking into account that their levels of social adjustment are significantly lower in comparison to their peers from the majority group. The situation of gypsies seems better than the former as their self-esteem, social adjustment and number of friends are similar to those from the majority group and second-generation immigrants. Nevertheless, taking into account the theory of Hanish and Guerra (2000), the pressure suffered by means of ethnic-cultural victimization at school and the possibility of finding peers with the same identity could lead to the formation of minority groups separated from the majority. The formation of those groups, together with the ethnic-cultural prejudices and different forms of aggression at school could lead to socialization and development of multicultu-

tural communities which cannot be considered intercultural.

As expected, second-generation immigrants suffer less ethnic-cultural victimization in comparison to first-generation immigrants. Comparison between second-generation immigrants and gypsies yields interesting results as the latter suffer more ethnic-cultural victimization than the former, even though gypsies have been co-existing with the majority group in Spain throughout centuries. It is possible that second-generation immigrants have assimilated and showed more cultural identity characteristics from the receiving society in comparison to the first-generation immigrants and gypsies. Second-generation immigrants in Andalusia, South of Spain, are culturally diverse and there are very few separated cultural communities.

The results support the fourth hypothesis according to which all the variables are significantly correlated. Negative relationship between personal victimization and self-esteem was also found in studies conducted in other countries (Fox & Boulton, 2006; Roland, 2002). Personal victimization is also negatively related to social adjustment and number of friends at school, which has also been described in scientific literature where victims are found to have difficulties while establishing satisfactory relationships with peers, little self-control, feeling excluded

and lonely (Cava et al., 2010; Due et al., 2005; Fox & Boulton, 2006; Toblin et al., 2005).

Negative relationship was found between ethnic-cultural victimization and self-esteem. Some recent studies have also found similar results, although the terms utilized were *discrimination* (Coker et al., 2009; Hunter et al., 2010; Seaton & Yip, 2009). On the other hand, ethnic-cultural victimization was also related to social adjustment and number of friends. The two relationships are in agreement with studies conducted by Eccles et al. (2006) and Dotterer et al. (2009) who pointed out that ethnic-cultural discrimination is negatively related to the wellbeing and feeling related to peers at school. The current study shows that: 1) ethnic-cultural peer victimization at school is negatively related to self-esteem and also to social adjustment; and 2) frequent ethnic-cultural victims have less friends in comparison to the non-victimized peers.

Strong positive relationship found between personal and ethnic-cultural multivictimization, together with other relationships, lead to the conclusion that victimization and discrimination suffered by children and adolescents from minority groups should be considered from a complex theoretical perspective which has not yet been proposed. The current study shows important results on those issues, although with limitations always present while using self-reports. Models suggested at the past are focused mostly on personal or general victimization or social discrimination. Taking into account the current study, we aim to develop a future line of research to support new theoretical models utilizing also observational methods. These models could integrate personal and ethnic-cultural victimization, together with other related variables such as self-esteem, social adjustment or number of friends.

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