



Bullying Victimization Due to Racial, Ethnic, Citizenship and/or Religious Status: A Systematic Review

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Abstract

A resurgent climate of nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia in many parts of the world has drawn attention to the risk of bullying victimization among racial, ethnic and/or religious minority youth. However, no attempt has yet been made to synthesize the literature on this topic to derive better understanding and guide future prevention and intervention efforts. The aim of this study was to conduct a systematic review of the literature on individual, school, family, and community -level factors and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization. Systematic searches of EBSCOhost, Scopus, ASSIA and Web of Science databases identified 73 articles that included quantitative and qualitative analyses on this topic. Overall, this review found that negative stereotypes and discrimination operating in school and community contexts put racial/ethnic minority, immigrant, and refugee youth at an increased risk of racist bullying victimization. The review also found that racist bullying victimization is associated with a wide range of negative outcomes including poor mental health, lower academic engagement, and an increased risk of involvement in delinquent behaviours, especially among older pupils. The review identified several gaps in the research, including the lack of adequate theorization and the infrequent consideration of potential mediators and moderators. Finally, the review outlined future directions, such as the need to study how intergroup processes influence racist bullying victimization.

Keywords Bullying · Race · Ethnicity · Religion · Bias · Racism

Introduction

A resurgent climate of nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia in many parts of the world, has drawn attention to the phenomenon of racist bullying. (Huang & Cornell, 2019). Racist bullying is defined as bullying motivated by prejudice against someone's actual or perceived race, ethnicity, culture, citizenship status or religion (Tippett et al., 2010). To date, there has been no systematic analysis and synthesis of the empirical evidence to determine the factors and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization. Without this knowledge it is not

possible to know confidently what contributes to racist bullying victimization and how it can be challenged effectively. This study addresses this gap by systematically reviewing the empirical evidence on individual, school, family, and community-level factors and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization.

Bullying, that can happen face to face or online, is recognised as a global public health, educational and mental health issue that can have a long-lasting negative impact (Wolke et al., 2013). While many aspects of bullying are well studied in the literature, racist bullying has only recently gained attention in the literature as a specific subtype of bullying (Xu et al., 2020). Yet a growing body of research demonstrates that racist bullying is experienced by large numbers of racial, ethnic and/or religious minority youth in schools (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2021; Huang & Cornell, 2019). Considering this evidence, it is important to gain insight into the factors and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization to reach a better understanding of negative pathways and help guide future interventions in ethnically and culturally diverse school contexts.

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In the general bullying literature, Bronfenbrenner (1977)'s ecological systems theory has been applied to frame bullying as a socio-cultural phenomenon that is influenced not only by individual characteristics of the child but also school, family, and community factors. This theoretical perspective views child development as a complex system of interactions influenced by multiple levels of contexts from those closest to the child (family, school) to those furthest away (community). However, it remains unclear what factors at what level have the most consistent associations with *racist* bullying victimization.

Furthermore, while there are many systematic reviews of outcomes associated with general bullying victimization, there has been no systematic investigation of the negative outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization. This is an important gap as some emerging evidence suggests that racist bullying is more harmful compared to general bullying as it is targeted at a person's racial, ethnic, cultural and/or religious identity that is internal, stable, and uncontrollable (Jones & Rutland, 2018; Menesini & Salmivalli, 2017). Furthermore, as racist bullying occurs in an intergroup context it has the potential to affect not only a person's academic performance, self-esteem and/or mental health but also their racial/ethnic/religious identification and hostility towards outgroup members (Benner & Graham, 2013). However, it is not currently known what outcomes are most consistently associated with racist bullying victimization across multiple domains.

The lack of a comprehensive review of the empirical evidence on factors and outcomes most consistently associated with racist bullying victimization hampers the design of empirically based interventions. Among the existing few systematic reviews and meta-analyses that consider race, ethnicity, citizenship, and religion in relation to bullying, the focus has been on reviewing ethnic/racial differences in the prevalence of bullying with inconsistent findings (Álvarez-García et al., 2015; Vitoroulis & Vaillancourt, 2015, 2018). More recently, there was a review of contextual-level risk factors associated with bullying among racial and ethnic minority youth (Xu et al., 2020). However, this review did not distinguish whether the bullying experienced was due to someone's perceived race or ethnicity or due to other reasons. To address this gap and call more attention to the phenomenon of racist bullying, the present study systematically reviewed the empirical evidence on individual, school, family, and community-level factors and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization.

Current Study

There is a need to systematically assess the evidence on what individual, school, family, and community-level factors influence racist bullying victimization. Also, there is a

need to systematically examine outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization. This study addresses these gaps by systematically reviewing the empirical evidence on individual, school, family, and community-level factors and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization. Systematically reviewing this evidence can improve understanding of multilevel pathways and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization that can then, in turn, help inform more effective interventions at multiple levels. It can also help highlight which factors at different levels have been most consistently associated with racist bullying victimisation and which factors have been less studied. In doing so, it can advance theory development in the field.

Methods

Search Strategy

The review adhered to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines (Moher et al., 2009). An electronic search was carried out between 20th May and 2nd June 2019 on EBSCOhost, Scopus, ASSIA and Web of Science databases for both quantitative and qualitative empirical studies published in English in scientific journals with no restriction of publication year. To update the review, the search was repeated on 9th March 2021 to cover any research published between 2019 and 2020. The review was last updated on 17th August 2022 to cover any research published between 2021 and 2022. The search terms used were organised into four categories: (a) prejudice related terms, such as "prejudice", "stigma", "bias", "discriminat*", (b) bullying related terms, such as "bullying", "bull*", "victim*", "perpetra*", "aggressor*", "bully-victim", "peer victimization", "school violence", "aggression", "peer harassment", "youth violence", (c) minority membership terms, such as "rac*", "ethnicity" "minorit*", "muslim*", "asian*" and, finally, (d) age related terms, such as "child*", "youth", "high school". The searches were conducted combining Title and Abstract in all 4 databases. The saved searches were uploaded to Covidence for storage and screening purposes.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Studies were included if: (1) they examined bullying victimization that occurred *because of* or *based on* a person's race, ethnicity, religion or citizenship status, (2) they considered bullying and cyberbullying that occurred before the age of 18 taking place either in schools and/or in other youth environments such as sports/after school clubs, (3) the source of information for bullying occurring among peers was the children and young people involved or their peers, teachers,

parents/carers, or other adults, (4) they measured at least one correlate of bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion and 5) they employed a quantitative, qualitative or mixed-methods design.

The following studies were excluded: (1) purely theoretical studies that did not empirically assess factors and/or outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization, (2) literature-based studies such as literature reviews and systematic reviews, (3) unpublished studies such as dissertations/theses, (4) publications published in formats other than scientific journals such as conference proceedings, editorials, books, (5) studies published in languages other than English, (6) studies that focused on bullying among adults or involved an adult as perpetrator or victim and (7) studies that focused on bullying among members of different national, racial, cultural, ethnic, religious groups but where the motivation or basis for the bullying is unknown.

Data Collection

As shown in Fig. 1, the literature search yielded 5383 potentially eligible publications. After duplicates were removed, 2921 studies remained. After the titles and abstract of these publications were screened against the inclusion and exclusion criteria, 478 references were identified as potentially relevant and retrieved in full text. In the next step, the full text of the 478 articles selected was screened independently by LDA and MS. Any disagreement was resolved by consensus with a third reviewer (LV). Following the full text review, 62 studies were selected for inclusion in the review. An additional 11 articles were added via reference list checking, bringing the total of included studies to 73 (see Fig. 1). The two reviewers agreed upon the final 73 articles to be included. Data were extracted by one reviewer (MS) and checked for accuracy by a second reviewer (LDA).

Coding Strategy

Finally, the following information was extracted from each article that met the inclusion criteria: (a) authors and year or publication; (b) country; (c) characteristics of the participants (sample size, gender, ethnic/racial or religious group and age or grade); (d) methodological design, including the definition and measure used to investigate bullying due to racial/ethnic, citizenship and/or religious status; (e) theoretical framework adopted in the study if any and (f) main findings on individual, school, family, and community-level factors and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization.

The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) were used as guidelines for reporting the selected articles.

Quality Appraisal

Included studies were assessed for quality using the Quality Assessment Tool for Studies with Diverse Designs (QATSDD; Sirriyeh et al., 2012). This instrument contains a list of criteria for quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research designs rated on a four-point scale, ranging from 0 (not at all) to three (complete). A percentage for each study was calculated for standardisation purposes by dividing the total score for each study by the maximum possible score. Table 1 presents all studies reviewed along with quality percentages. Inter-rater reliability between reviewers, assessed across 10% of included studies, was excellent ($k = 0.90$).

Results

Forty-eight articles out of 73 (66%) were published between 2012 and 2022. Overall, 70% (51 studies) of studies investigated individual-level factors associated with bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion. School-level factors were considered by 47% of articles (34 studies), family-level factors by 5% of studies (four studies) and community-level factors by 23% of articles (17 studies). Finally, outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization were considered by 37 studies (51% of studies included). Key information about the studies included in this review is presented in Table 2. This table depicts the country where the study was conducted, characteristics of the sample, the method used, and type of bullying involvement measured. A full reporting of measures and theoretical frameworks used in each study can be found in the supplemental materials.

The next part of the results section describes the main findings of studies that have investigated individual, school, family and community-level factors and outcomes associated with bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion (see Table 3).

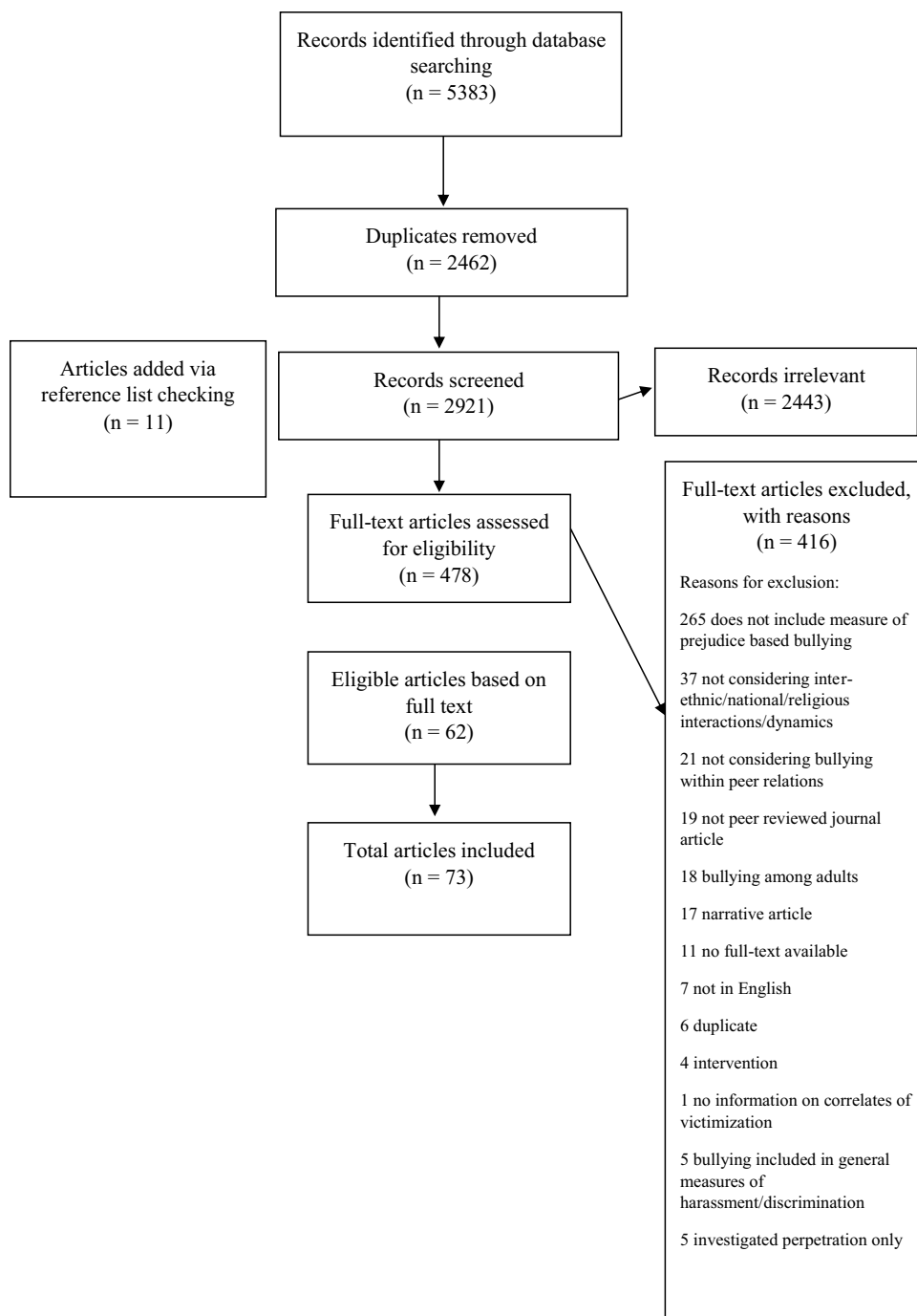
Individual-Level Factors

The following individual-level factors associated with bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship and/or religion were investigated in 51 studies included in this review.

Gender

Gender was analyzed in nine studies. In 78% (seven out of nine) of these studies, males were reported to be at higher risk of being victimized due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion (Aroian, 2012; Atwal & Wang, 2019;

Fig. 1 Flow diagram



Bucchianeri et al., 2016; Larochette et al., 2010; Liang et al., 2007; McKenney et al., 2006; Mendez et al., 2016). Two studies reported no significant gender differences in bullying victimization due to race/ethnicity (Arens & Visser, 2020; Holmgren et al., 2019).

Age

Only one study investigated age differences in bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial differences. The study found

that younger adolescents were more at risk (Monks et al., 2008).

Ethnic Minority/Immigration/Refugee Status

Forty-one studies reported that racist bullying victimization was more frequent among ethnic minorities, immigrants and refugees (Arens & Visser, 2020; Banerjee et al., 2020; Besic et al., 2020; Boulton, 1995; Bucchianeri et al., 2016; Caballero et al., 2007; Caravita et al.,

Table 1 Quality assessment report

Article	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total score (5)
Albdour et al. (2017)	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	3	93
Arens and Visser (2020)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	93
Aroian (2012)	0	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	3	3	88
Atwal and Wang (2019)	3	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	2	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	81
Baams et al. (2017)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	79
Baker et al. (2001)	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	0	76
Banerjee et al. (2020)	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	1	86
Bešić et al. (2020)	0	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	0	74
Bloomer et al. (2014)	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	0	76
Boulton (1995)	3	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	3	83
Bucchianeri et al. (2016)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	79
Caballero et al. (2007)	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	0	0	0	0	0	55
Caravita et al. (2020)	3	3	3	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	86
Cardoso et al., 2018	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Chong et al. (2009)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	3	93
Coffin et al. (2010)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	0	86
Connolly and Keenan (2002)	0	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	0	0	0	0	0	52
Crengle et al. (2012)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	81
Crozier and Davies (2008)	3	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	0	79
Crozier & Dimmock, 1999	0	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	55
Das-Munshi et al. (2016)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Deuchar and Bhopal (2013)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	0	0	0	0	0	57
Devine and Kelly (2006)	0	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	0	0	0	0	0	50
Dovchin (2020)	0	3	3	0	0	3	3	3	X	X	3	0	0	0	0	0	43
Dupper et al. (2015)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	3	86
Durkin et al. (2012)	3	3	3	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Eslea and Mukhtar (2000)	0	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	69
Felix et al. (2009)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	93
Felix and You (2011)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	79
Galán et al. (2021)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	90
Garza Ayala (2022)	3	3	3	0	1	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	0	74
Goldweber et al. (2013)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Gower et al. (2015)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	93
Gower et al. (2021)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	90
Gross and Rutland (2014)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	0	0	0	0	0	57
Gusler and Kiang (2019)	3	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	83
Haavind et al. (2015)	3	3	3	0	1	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	0	74
Haines-Saah et al. (2018)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	3	93
Holmgren et al. (2019)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Hong et al. (2022)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	79
Hunter et al. (2010)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	93
Jones et al. (2018)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	79
Junger (1990)	0	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	0	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	67
Larochette et al. (2010)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	93
Liang et al. (2007)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	3	86
Lloyd and Stead (2001)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	X	X	3	0	0	0	0	0	50
Mbilishaka and Apugo (2020)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	0	86
McKenney et al. (2006)	0	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	76
Mendez et al. (2012)	3	3	3	0	1	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	1	76
Mendez et al. (2016)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86

Table 1 (continued)

Article	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total score (5)
Monks et al. (2008)	0	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	76
Moran et al. (1993)	0	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	0	3	3	3	3	3	0	2	71
Moulin (2016)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	0	0	0	0	3	64
Mthethwa-Sommers and Kisiara (2015)	0	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	0	76
Page (2020)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	0	0	0	1	3	67
Palladino et al. (2020)	3	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Pan and Spittal (2013)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	79
Perry (2020)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	X	X	3	0	0	0	0	0	50
Qin et al. (2008)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	3	86%
Rodriguez-Hidalgo et al. (2014)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	93%
Rodríguez-Hidalgo et al. (2019)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86%
Rosenbloom and Way (2004)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	X	3	3	3	3	2	0	86
Russell et al. (2012)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	0	79
Schihalejev et al. (2020)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	0	71
Schumann et al. (2013)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Seaton et al. (2013)	3	3	3	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Stone and Carlisle (2017)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	79
Strohmeier et al. (2011)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Sulkowski et al. (2014)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86
Thijs and Piscoi (2016)	3	3	3	0	2	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	83
Varma-Joshi et al. (2004)	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	X	X	3	3	3	3	0	3	83
Vitoroulis and Georgiades (2017)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	93
Yu et al. (2003)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	X	3	3	X	0	3	86

Quality assessment criteria: 1=explicit theoretical framework; 2=statement of aim(s/objectives in main body of report; 3=clear description of research setting; 4=evidence of sample size considered in terms of analysis; 5=representative sample of target group of a reasonable size; 6=description of procedure for data collection; 7=rationale for choice of data collection tools; 8=detailed recruitment data; 9=statistical assessment of reliability and validity of measurement tools (quantitative only); 10=fit between stated research question and method of data collection (quantitative only); 11=fit between stated research question and format and content of data collection tool (e.g., interview schedule) (qualitative only); 12=fit between research question and method of analysis; 13=good justification for analytical method selected; 14=assessment of reliability of analytical process (qualitative only); 15=evidence of user involvement in the design; 16=strengths and limitations critically discussed. Studies were scored depending on the degree to which the specific criteria were met (“complete”=3 “moderately”=2; “very slightly”=1; “not at all”=0). A summary score was calculated for each article by summing the total score obtained across relevant items and dividing by the total possible score (for a complete description of the score computing procedure, see Sirriyeh et al., 2011)

2020; Cardoso et al., 2018; Chong et al., 2009; Coffin et al., 2010; Crengle et al., 2012; Crozier & Davies, 2008; Das-Munshi et al., 2016; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Dovchin, 2020; Eslea & Mukhtar, 2000; Felix et al., 2009; Felix & You, 2011; Gusler & Kiang, 2019; Haines-Saah et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2018; Junger, 1990; Larochette et al., 2010; Liang et al., 2007; Mbilishaka & Apugo, 2020; McKenney et al., 2006; Mendez et al., 2012; Mendez et al., 2016; Monks et al., 2008; Moran et al., 1993; Page, 2020; Palladino et al., 2020; Perry, 2020; Qin et al., 2008; Rodriguez-Hidalgo et al., 2014; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Schumann et al., 2013; Stone & Carlisle, 2017; Strohmeier et al., 2011; Sulkowski et al., 2014; Vitoroulis & Georgiades, 2017).

Religious Minority Status

Seven studies found that wearing a religious covering or visibly practising one’s religion as visible indicators of religious minority status were associated with bullying victimization. This involved Muslim and Sikh youth in the USA (Aroian, 2012; Atwal & Wang, 2019), non-Christian youth in the USA (Dupper et al., 2015), Muslim and Christian youth in the UK (Crozier & Davies, 2008; Moulin, 2016), Jewish children and adolescents in Australia (Gross & Rutland, 2014) and Muslim youth in Estonia, Finland, and Sweden (Schihalejev et al., 2020).

Table 2 Characteristics of studies included in systematic review

No	Authors/Year	Country	Sample	Method/measures	Type of bullying involvement
1	Albdour et al. (2017)	USA	N = 10, 14–16 year old Arab Americans	Qualitative, interviews, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
2	Arens and Visser (2020)	Germany	N = 4367 students (3rd and 4th grade)	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
3	Aroian (2012)	USA	N = 14 Muslim Americans (7th to 12th grade) aged 13–17 year old	Qualitative, focus groups, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
4	Atwal and Wang (2019)	USA	N = 199, 12–18 year old Sikh Americans (5th to 12th grade)	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 16-item victimization scale and 1 item on religious head covering	Victimization (religion)
5	Baams et al. (2017)	USA	N = 41,132 youth aged 10–18	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 2 items	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
6	Baker et al. (2001)	Canada	N = 25 non-White adolescent victims of racism aged 15–19, N = 14 parents of perceived victims	Qualitative, interviews, 10 open-ended questions	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
7	Banerjee et al. (2020)	India	N = 27 adolescent expat kids from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh	Qualitative, online interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
8	Besic et al. (2020)	Austria	N = 55 students aged 8 and above	Qualitative, interviews	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
9	Bloomer et al. (2014)	UK	N = 63 Traveller children and young people aged 5–16, 28 parents	Qualitative, interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
10	Boulton (1995)	UK	N = 60 Asian and White children aged 8–10	Qualitative, interviews, self-nomination	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
11	Bucchianeri et al. (2016)	USA	N = 162,034 adolescents in grades 5, 8, 9 and 11	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
12	Caballero et al. (2007)	UK	N = 170 including 84 primary and secondary mixed race pupils, 44 teachers, 35 parents of mixed race pupils and 7 Local Education Authorities advisors	Qualitative, interviews and focus groups	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
13	Caravita et al. (2020)	Italy	N = 692 students (Mage = 13.07; SD = 1.42; Interviews N = 35 immigrant students)	Mixed, cross-sectional survey and interviews, 2 items	Victimization and perpetration (race/ethnicity)
14	Cardoso et al., 2018	USA	534 Latino students from middle and high schools, mean age 14.44	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
15	Chong et al. (2009)	USA	21 young Southeast Asian men aged 13–17	Qualitative, interviews and focus groups, 4 open-ended questions	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
16	Coffin et al. (2010)	Australia	N = 119 Aboriginal primary school students, 21 Aboriginal high school students, 40 parents and other caregivers of Aboriginal children, 18 elders and 60 AEIOs	Qualitative, interviews, 5 open-ended questions	Victimization and perpetration (race/ethnicity)

Table 2 (continued)

No	Authors/Year	Country	Sample	Method/measures	Type of bullying involvement
17	Connolly and Keenan (2002)	UK	N = 32 ethnic minority youth aged 17 and under, and 69 adults	Qualitative, interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
18	Crengle et al. (2012)	New Zealand	N = 9080 secondary school students aged 13–18 (median = 14)	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
19	Crozier and Davies (2008)	UK	N = 157 South Asian families and 69 teachers from 13 primary and secondary schools	Qualitative, interviews and focus groups	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
20	Crozier & Dimmock, 1999	UK	N = 60 primary school pupils aged 8–11, 20 out of these were subsequently interviewed	Mixed methods, cross-sectional survey and interviews, 10-item questionnaire	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
21	Das-Munshi et al. (2016)	South Africa	N = 1034 8th grade adolescents aged 14–15	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
22	Deuchar and Bhopal (2013)	UK	N = 15 Traveller children aged 7–11	Qualitative, focus groups	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
23	Devine and Kelly (2006)	Ireland	N = 10 teachers, 61 children aged between 7 and 11 and parents	Qualitative, interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
24	Dovchin (2020)	Australia	N = 9 international university students aged 19–30	Qualitative, retrospective interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
25	Dupper et al. (2015)	USA	N = 50 adolescents in grades 6–12 affiliated with religious minority groups	Qualitative, focus groups	Victimization (religion)
26	Durkin et al. (2012)	UK	N = 925 children aged 8–12 years (M = 9.8 years)	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
27	Eslea and Mukhtar (2000)	UK	N = 243 ethnic minority (Asian) children aged 12–15	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
28	Felix et al. (2009)	USA	N = 70,600 students in grade 7, 9 and 11	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
29	Felix and You (2011)	USA	N = 161,838 Grade 9 and Grade 11 students	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
30	Galán et al. (2021)	USA	N = 3939 Grade 9 to Grade 12 students	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity/national origin)
31	Garza Ayala (2022)	USA	N = 8 Latina/o/x bilingual adolescents	Qualitative, focus group	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
32	Goldweber et al. (2013)	USA	N = 10,254 students in grades 6–8 (aged 11–15)	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 2 items	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
33	Gower et al. (2015)	USA	N = 122,180 8th, 9th, 11th grade students	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 2 items	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
34	Gower et al. (2021)	USA	N = 2404 9th and 11th grade students	Quantitative, cross sectional, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity/national origin)

Table 2 (continued)

No	Authors/Year	Country	Sample	Method/measures	Type of bullying involvement
35	Gross and Rutland (2014)	Australia	N=55 Jewish students interviewed in primary and secondary schools, 13 parents, 10 teachers, 4 principals and 10 Jewish communal leaders	Qualitative, interviews and classrooms observations	Victimization (religious)
36	Gusler and Kiang (2019)	USA	N=258 undergraduates aged 18–23, with the mean age being 19	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 8 items	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
37	Haavind et al. (2015)	USA	N=4 Chinese American girls aged 11–12	Qualitative, focus group	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
38	Haines et al. (2018)	Canada	N=27 secondary school students aged 14–18	Qualitative, interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
39	Holmgren et al. (2019)	Finland	N=364 international adoptees aged 9–15	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
40	Hong et al. (2022)	USA	N=9863 students aged 10–17	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/color)
41	Hunter et al. (2010)	UK	N=925 students aged 8–12	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
42	Jones et al. (2018)	USA	N=791 youth aged 10 to 20	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 8 items	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
43	Junger (1990)	Netherlands	N= ~ 200 boys aged 12–17 from four ethnic groups (native Dutch, Surinamese, Moroccan and Turkish)	Mixed, cross-sectional survey and follow-up interviews, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
44	Larochette et al. (2010)	Canada	N=3684 6th to 10th grade students and 116 principals	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 2 items	Victimization and perpetration (race/ethnicity)
45	Liang et al. (2007)	USA	N=20 Chinese American adolescents between the ages of 11 and 14 (grades 6–8)	Qualitative, focus groups	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
46	Lloyd and Stead (2001)	UK	N=31 educational staff, 18 Traveller pupils, 24 parents and 18 support workers	Qualitative, interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
47	Mbilishaka and Apugo (2020)	USA	N=56 African American women aged 18–72	Qualitative, guided autobiographies	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
48	McKenney et al. (2006)	Canada	N=506 students, grades 7–11, mean age 13.94, 74.9% European-Canadian	Quantitative, longitudinal survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
49	Mendez et al. (2012)	USA	N=12 students (6 Mexican Americans and 6 Mexican immigrants), aged 14–19	Qualitative, interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
50	Mendez et al., 2016	USA	N=3305 students from grades 5–12	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)

Table 2 (continued)

No	Authors/Year	Country	Sample	Method/measures	Type of bullying involvement
51	Monks et al. (2008)	Spain & UK	<i>N</i> = 620 adolescents aged 11–16 (298 from Spain & 322 from England). 14.7% (<i>n</i> = 91) of the total sample identified themselves as being from a cultural minority	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 6 items (including a mix of open-ended and closed questions)	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
52	Moran et al. (1993)	UK	<i>N</i> = 33 matched Asian-White pairs aged 9–15 & 5 matched African Caribbean/White pairs	Mixed, quantitative cross-sectional survey and interviews, 1 item from Olweus questionnaire	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
53	Moulin (2016)	UK	<i>N</i> = 26 Christian adolescents aged 11–19	Qualitative, focus groups and follow-up individual interviews	Victimization (religion)
54	Mithethwa-Sommers and Kisiara (2015)	USA	<i>N</i> = 12 students from refugee backgrounds aged 15–19	Qualitative, focus groups	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
55	Page (2020)	UK	<i>N</i> = 57 students aged 14–17	Qualitative, world-café style group discussions	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
56	Palladino et al. (2020)	Italy	<i>N</i> = 252 students aged 11–18	Quantitative, cross-sectional, 4 items	Victimization (culture/country of origin)
57	Pan and Spittal (2013)	China	<i>N</i> = 8182 students in grades 7–10	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 2 items	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
58	Perry (2020)	USA	<i>N</i> = 28 English-speaking women and men of Haitian descent born and/or raised in the Bahamas aged 18–43	Qualitative, retrospective interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
59	Qin et al. (2008)	USA	<i>N</i> = 120 Chinese American adolescents, mean age 13	Qualitative, interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
60	Rodriguez et al. (2014)	Spain	<i>N</i> = 7037 adolescents and pre-adolescents mean age 14.48	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 10 items for multi-victimization, 1 item for general victimization	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
61	Rodriguez et al. (2019)	Spain/Ecuador	<i>N</i> = 10,753 Ecuadorian subjects Mage = 13.77 (SD = 1.169) and 14,437 Spanish subjects Mage = 14.03 (SD = 1.390)	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 11 items	Victimization and perpetration (ethnicity/religion)
62	Rosenbloom and Way (2004)	USA	<i>N</i> = 20 Asian American, 20 Latinos, and 20 African American, ninth-grade high school students, mean age 14.2	Qualitative, longitudinal, repeated interviews and observations	Victimization and perpetration (race/ethnicity)
63	Russell et al. (2012)	USA	<i>N</i> = 17,366 in grades 7–12	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
64	Schihatejev et al. (2020)	Estonia, Finland, Sweden	<i>N</i> = 2781 9–10, 12–13 and 15–16-year-old students from Estonia, Finland and Sweden	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)

Table 2 (continued)

No	Authors/Year	Country	Sample	Method/measures	Type of bullying involvement
65	Schumann et al. (2013)	Canada	<i>N</i> = 20,021 students with an average age of 13 years, 10 months in Grades 6–10	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 2 items	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
66	Seaton et al. (2013)	USA	<i>N</i> = 399 9th grade adolescents. The resulting sample included White (<i>N</i> = 191), African American (<i>N</i> = 94), Latino (<i>N</i> = 79), Asian American (<i>N</i> = 32) and Native American (<i>N</i> = 3) youth	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 5-item scale	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
67	Stone and Carlisle (2017)	USA	<i>N</i> = 7585 students aged 11–16	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 2 items	Victimization and perpetration (race/ethnicity)
68	Strohmeier et al. (2011)	Finland	<i>N</i> = 4957 native Finns, 146 first-generation immigrants, and 310 second-generation immigrants aged 9–12 years	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item from Olweus questionnaire	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
69	Sulkowski et al. (2014)	USA	<i>N</i> = 2929 students from grades 5–12	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)
70	Thijs and Piscoi (2016)	Netherlands	<i>N</i> = 379 ethnic minority preadolescents (<i>M</i> _{age} = 10.84 years)	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 3 items	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
71	Varma-Joshi et al. (2004)	Canada	<i>N</i> = 26 consisting of three first-generation Canadians and their immigrant parents, all of whom are Black. The remaining twenty-three participants belonged to either the First Nations tribes of Mi'kmaq and Maliseet or indigenous Black communities. Aged 14–19	Qualitative, interviews	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
72	Vitoroulis and Georgiades (2017)	Canada	<i>N</i> = 1300 native and immigrant students (<i>M</i> _{age} = 12.19)	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (race/ethnicity)
73	Yu et al. (2003)	USA	<i>N</i> = 15,220 students aged 11–17	Quantitative, cross-sectional survey, 1 item	Victimization (ethnicity/religion)

Table 3 Study results

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
1 Albdour et al. (2017)		Bullied/discriminated by teachers because of their race/religion		Bullied/discriminated in the community because of their race/religion	Victims described high stress levels and anxiety which compromised their ability to function. They reported feeling sad, angry, overwhelmed, helpless, and hurt when they were bullied. They also lost control over their lives and self-confidence
2 Arens and Visser (2020)	Non-native students more likely to experience a combination of ethnic peer victimization and general victimization. No gender differences found	More likely to experience other forms of peer victimization in school			Victims reported higher levels of different types of anxiety and depression, and lower levels of self-esteem and peer self-concept
3 Aroian (2012)	Male. Muslim	Bullied/discriminated by teachers because of their race/religion		More prevalent in upper- or lower-class school districts that were primarily White	
4 Atwal and Wang (2019)	Male. Wearing a religious head covering related to Sikh American adolescents' perceptions that they were stereotyped as foreigners, which, in turn, related to verbal and relational victimization				Victimization was related to lower self-esteem and higher depressive and anxious symptoms
5 Baams et al. (2017)					Experiences of bias-based bullying were significantly associated with student absenteeism due to feeling unsafe
6 Baker et al. (2001)		Teachers discounted the importance of racial slurs		Racist name calling was thought to be an expression of systemic racism	
7 Banerjee et al. (2020)	Expat South Asians			Religious stigma and anti-immigration hatred was perceived to contribute to victimization	Victims experienced loneliness. Helpful coping strategies were filtering out negative reactions, staying indifferent, connecting online with existing friends
8 Bešić et al. (2020)	Refugees attending mainstream schools	Perception that teachers ignored their complaints and discriminated against them		Negative media representations	

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
9 Bloomer et al. (2014)		Perception that teachers discriminated against Traveller children and young people and ignored their complaints			Participants reported that their dislike for school stemmed from how they were treated by fellow pupils
10 Boulton (1995)	Asian. Targeted by other-race pupils				
11 Buccianeri et al. (2016)	Male. Non-White. LGBTQ. Those with one or more disabilities				
12 Caballero et al. (2007)	Mixed race. Targeted by White and Black pupils and teachers				
13 Caravita et al. (2020)	Immigrants				No more likely to bully others because of their skin colour or race
14 Cardoso et al. (2018)	Born outside of the USA				Ethnic-biased bullying was linked to depression and, through depression, to suicidal ideation, alcohol, and illicit drug use
15 Chong et al. (2009)	Asian	Anti-Asian racism in school		Anti-Asian racism in their neighbourhoods Violence and substance abuse common in their communities Victim of violent crime Institutional racism. Low SES neighbourhoods	Victimization evoked anger and thoughts of retaliation
16 Coffin et al. (2010)	Aboriginals. Targeted by other Aboriginals	Associating with non-Aboriginals Teachers ignored their complaints	Authoritarian parents Parents encouraged victims to fight back		
17 Connolly and Keenan (2002)		Teachers ignored incidents			
18 Crengle et al. (2012)	Ethnic minorities				
19 Crozier and Davies (2008)	South Asian. Muslim. Targeted by White youth	Institutional racism. Teachers dismissive or blaming the victim		Racism in communities especially after 9/11 and Iraq war	
20 Crozier and Dimmock, (1999)					Children reported reacting to being called names with sadness, feeling hurt, or feeling upset

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
21 Das-Munshi et al. (2016)	Indian. Self-identifying as 'coloured'		Low family SES		Increased prevalence of PTSD and CMD (Common Mental Disorders)
22 Deuchar and Bhopal (2013)		Teachers dismissive and hostile			Victims reported feeling isolation
23 Devine and Kelly (2006)	Perceived as being 'other'	Teachers were dismissive			Victims reported depression, suicidal ideation and long-term anxiety over speaking English. Most common coping strategies were trying to learn the language better and assimilating, becoming more passive and withdrawn, choosing to hang out with other people who were also from a minority group
24 Dovechin (2020)	Immigrants in Australia whose first language is not English				
25 Dupper et al. (2015)	Non-Christians (especially those wearing religious apparel)	Some teachers ignored or even perpetuated the abuse Situational triggers included school curriculums and religious holidays		Situational triggers included media coverage of current events	
26 Durkin et al. (2012)		Ethnic minorities especially in schools where they are a numerical minority Ethnic majority children in schools where they are a numerical minority			
27 Estlea and Mukhtar (2000)	Belonging to a different Asian ethnic group than own. Targeted by different Asian ethnic group than own				
28 Felix et al. (2009)	African Americans and Asian Americans more likely to report being bullied due to their race. No ethnic/racial differences reported for religious bullying victimization	More likely to experience other forms of peer victimization in school			

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
29 Felix and You (2011)	Being of Asian Pacific Islander or African American origin	Mean perception of being targeted for bullying because of race or ethnicity predicted physical, sexual and verbal victimization in school			Compared with uninvolvement youth, youth experiencing bullying due to race/ethnicity/national origin were at increased risk for non-suicidal self-injury, suicidal ideation, exposure to violence, sexual assault, and adolescent relationship abuse. These same youth were also more likely to forego medical care (i.e., not go to the emergency department when needed) and go more than 2 years since their last routine well visit
30 Galán et al. (2021)					More likely to also report identity-based bullying perpetration
31 Garza Ayala (2022)	Being bilingual and speaking a second language in school				
32 Goldweber et al. (2013)		Being a victim of school bullying, especially in urban areas was associated with increased likelihood of being racially bullied		Urbanicity was associated with the increased likelihood of having been racially bullied	
33 Gower et al. (2015)		In schools where discipline problems were frequently reported there was increased odds of race-based bullying The proportion of students feeling unsafe at school was a risk factor of race and religious-based bullying			

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
34 Gower et al. (2021)		Having more LGBTQ peers in school lowered the risk for LGBTQ youth			
35 Gross and Rutland (2014)	Jewish	Anti-Jewish stereotypes perpetuated in the school playground		Anti-Jewish stereotypes perpetuated within peers' families	Attributions of skin color/ethnicity did not exacerbate the relationship between childhood peer victimization and poorer psychological adjustment
36 Gusler and Kiang (2019)	Racial/ethnic minority participants are more likely than White participants to attribute childhood peer victimization to their skin color/ethnicity				Victims reported feeling anger as a result of being victimized
37 Haavind et al. (2015)	Talking own language in school				Perpetrator of peer-based aggression/discrimination in response to victimization
38 Haines-Saah et al. (2018)	Ethnic minority status			Racial stereotypes perpetuated in the community	
39 Holmgren et al. (2019)	Sex, disability, country of origin, were not significant predictors Social skills not a protective factor		Higher rates of parental depression Low family SES was not a statistically significant predictor		Positive correlation with increased amount of social problems such as being clingy and not getting along with peers
40 Hong et al. (2022)					Alcohol and marijuana use were positively associated with racial bully victimization
41 Hunter et al. (2010)	Those who had been subjected to discriminatory bullying reported higher perceived threat and lower levels of control compared to those whose victimization was not discriminatory	More likely to experience other forms of peer victimization in school			Discriminatory bullying correlated more strongly to depression than non-discriminatory bullying. Perceived threat but not perceived control partially mediated the relationship. A stronger ethnic/religious identity buffered against depression

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
42 Jones et al. (2018)	Latino youth more likely to report race victimization compared to White and African American LGBTQ youth more likely to report harassment due to race and religion compared to heterosexuals Ethnic minorities African-Canadian students engaged in more racial bullying and victimization than European-Canadian students Boys engaged in racial bullying and victimization more than girls				
43 Junger (1990)					
44 Laroche et al. (2010)					
45 Liang et al. (2007)	Chinese American Male when reporting physical victimization due to race	Victimization driven by prejudice and misconceptions about the victim's culture Inadequate controls from teachers in relation to boys' victimization		Victimization driven by prejudice and misconceptions about the victim's culture Social and racial hierarchies in relation to girls' victimization	In reaction to harassing incidents, respondents expressed feeling ashamed, flustered, isolated in their experiences, at a loss of how to stop the behavior as certain strategies (e.g., retaliation) not accepted in their culture and without recourse Perpetrator of peer-based aggression in response to victimization Victimization was related to school non-attendance Victims reported long-lasting self-hatred, feeling helpless, embarrassed and anxious. Tried to cope by fitting in and making changes to their hair Victims reported hating school
46 Lloyd and Stead (2001)		Parents perceived victimization was not taken seriously by teachers		Victimization driven by stereotypes in society	
47 Mbilishaka and Apugo (2020)	Ethnic minorities				

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
48 McKenney et al. (2006)	Males. First generation Canadians				Those victimized reported more internalizing problems concurrently and one year later regardless of immigration group status Those victimized reported more externalizing problems concurrently and one year later regardless of immigration group status
49 Mendez et al. (2012)	Mexican immigrant youth targeted by Mexican American youth				Victims reported feeling isolated and alienated due to not fitting in
50 Mendez et al. (2016)	Males. Ethnic minorities more likely to be racially bullied	More likely to experience other forms of peer victimization in school			Victims of racial but not religious bullying significantly more likely to report a high-severe emotional impact compared to general victimization especially when female. "Making a joke about it" was the only coping strategy that predicted a less severe emotional impact. Telling an adult at school was not helpful. Males more likely than females to report fighting back
51 Monks et al. (2008)	Cultural minority status Younger age				Pupils reported being upset or angry as a result of the victimization
52 Moran et al. (1993)	Asian. African American				
53 Moulin (2016)	Christian (especially when exercising faith in the form of going to church which was seen as not 'cool')	Participants perceived formal aspects of schooling to be biased against Christian beliefs and practices		Anti-Christian prejudice	
54 Mthethwa-Sommers and Kisiara (2015)		Participants did not report their victimization to school authorities			

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
55 Page (2020)	Ethnic minorities	Perception that the school did nothing to help		Racist slurs experienced also in the community fuelled by negative media reporting and social media communication	Victims reported increased anxiety and lower self-esteem. Feeling bad about one's own ethnicity was also reported. In one case bullying resulted in hair loss
56 Palladino et al. (2020)	Adolescents born abroad without Italian citizenship show higher levels of ethnic victimization compared to adolescents born in Italy with an Italian parent who, by virtue of bloodline have Italian citizenship A strong or accentuated acculturation orientation toward one's home country, represents a risk factor for adolescents born in Italy Acculturation toward the host country represents a protective factor only for students who were born in Italy and have an Italian parent				Victims reported social withdrawal
57 Pan and Spittal (2013)					Positive association between racial and religious bullying victimization and suicidal ideation and depression symptomology
58 Perry (2020)	Ethnic minorities. Those that intentionally minimised the visibility of their Haitian ethnicity avoided victimization				

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
59 Qin et al. (2008)	Chinese American targeted by non-Chinese peers	Attributed victimization experiences to stereotypes around Chinese students' academic performance and teachers' preference towards Chinese students A number of students attributed the fact that Chinese "don't stick together" as one of the reasons they were so often the victims of discrimination and harassment			
60 Rodriguez-Hidalgo et al. (2014)	First-generation immigrants. Gypsies	Strong positive relationship found between personal and ethnic-cultural multi-victimization			Ethnic-cultural peer victimization at school was negatively related to self-esteem and also to social adjustment Frequent ethnic-cultural victims had less friends in comparison to the non-victimized peers Ethnic-cultural victimization was a positive predictor of victimization, whereas ethnic-cultural aggression was a negative predictor of peer victimization Victimized students reported feeling isolated
61 Rodriguez-Hidalgo et al. (2019)					
62 Rosenbloom and Way (2004)	Asian Americans targeted by African American and Latino students	African American and Latino adolescents resented teachers' bias towards Asian American students Stereotypes about Asian Americans perpetuated in the school environment Adults did not intervene			

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
63 Russell et al. (2012)		Young people experiencing bias-based harassment had much higher odds than did those experiencing non-bias-based harassment of being threatened with a weapon and having property damaged at school			Mental health status and substance use levels were worse among youth suffering bias-based harassment than among those suffering non-bias-based harassment Bias-based harassment was associated marginally with lower grades but much more with truancy
64 Schihalejev et al. (2020)	Muslims based on parents' religion more likely to being bullied for their language, religion and for being of foreign origin compared to Christian or children of no religion. Those practising religion more at risk. Those born in other countries and where majority and other language was spoken at home more at risk				

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
65 Schumann et al. (2013)	Those of East/Southeast Asian, Caucasian, and South Asian ethnicity were more likely to be racially victimized in communities in which they were the minority ethnic group than when they were in the majority group			Some aspects of community ethnic diversity, such as count of ethnic-focused Christian religious buildings, had positive associations with racial victimization. In contrast, the presence of non-Christian religious buildings was related to decreased prevalence of racial/religious victimization	
66 Seaton et al. (2013)		African American and Latinos' subjective perceptions of racial discrimination were linked to nominations of overt and relational victimization when rated by their European American peers		North American Aboriginal majority ethnicity and South Asian majority ethnicity communities had higher prevalence of racial/religious and physical/social victimization in general, compared to other communities Individuals in the ethnic minority in a community were more likely to be victimized than individuals of the same ethnicity in a community where they were the majority	

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
67 Stone and Carlisle (2017)	The highest proportion of students who reported recent bullying victimization due to race/ethnicity belonged to the non-Hispanic Asian race/ethnic group				An association between racial bullying status (not involve, bullying victim, bullying perpetrator, or mixed bullying victim/perpetrator) and youth substance was identified in this study. Racial bully perpetrators were most likely to have used cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana, followed by youth in the mixed victim/perpetrator group
68 Strohmeier et al. (2011)	First and second-generation immigrants compared to natives				
69 Sulkowski et al. (2014)	Immigrant status				Perceived discrimination associated with lower self-esteem and more emotional problems
70 Thijs and Piscoi (2016)					
71 Varma-Joshi et al. (2004)		Disparaging reactions from teachers led students to accept victimization as 'normal'	Disparaging reactions from parents led students to accept victimization as 'normal'		Negative effects of name-calling included the following: some participants recalled attempting to scrub off their skin color, praying to turn white, losing interest in school, and, in extreme cases, contemplating suicide The participants' responses to name-calling, ranging from self-loathing to gang violence to social isolation, demonstrates the severity of racial taunts

Table 3 (continued)

Authors/Year	Individual-level factors	School-level factors	Family-level factors	Community-level factors	Outcomes
72 Vitoroulis and Georgiades (2017)	Non-White students had increased odds for racial victimization compared to White students	Students' sense of school belongingness and perceived teacher support for cultural diversity were both negatively associated with ethnic/racial bullying victimization Second generation immigrant students had reduced odds of ethnic/racial victimization in moderately concentrated schools; while non-immigrants had increased odds in the same schools			
73 Yu et al. (2003)	Those from a White ethnic group who spoke a foreign language at home more at risk				

Intersectionality

Two studies (Bucchianeri et al., 2016; Jones et al., 2018) reported that having other stigmatized characteristics such as being LGBTQ or having a disability increases the risk of bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion.

Linguistic Diversity & Acculturation

Four studies found that speaking one's own language at school (Garza Ayala, 2022; Haavind et al., 2015) or at home (Schihalejev et al., 2020; Yu et al., 2003) was positively associated with bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion. In another study, participants reported that trying to learn the local language better was a way of protecting themselves from the risk of bullying victimization due to racial, ethnic, citizenship and/or religious differences (Dovchin, 2020). In Italy, Palladino et al. (2020) found that a strong acculturation towards the host country protected students from bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion. However, this protective effect was moderated by citizenship status.

School-Level Factors

The following school-level factors associated with bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship and/or religion were investigated in 34 studies included in this review.

Ethnic School Composition

Two studies reported that ethnic school composition moderated the relationship between ethnic/immigration status and racist bullying victimization. In one study, ethnic majority children were more likely to be bullied because of their race/ethnicity when they were the numerical minority in their school as size of group changed power differentials (Durkin et al., 2012). In another study, second generation immigrants were less likely to be bullied in moderately concentrated schools (Vitoroulis & Georgiades, 2017).

Institutional Racism

A strong theme that emerged mainly from qualitative studies is that the youth who experienced bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial, citizenship and/or religious differences, as well as their parents, felt that their teachers were dismissive and even, at times, contributed to the perpetuation of stereotypes and bias in the classroom (Baker et al., 2001; Bešić et al., 2020; Bloomer et al., 2014; Chong et al., 2009; Coffin et al., 2010; Connolly &

Keenan, 2002; Crozier & Davies, 2008; Deuchar & Bhopal, 2013; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Dupper et al., 2015; Gross & Rutland, 2014; Liang et al., 2007; Lloyd & Stead, 2001; Page, 2020; Qin et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). In one US study, adolescents from refugee backgrounds reported that they were not willing to report their victimization to the school authorities, as they did not trust they would do anything (Mthethwa-Sommers & Kisiara, 2015). In another Canadian study, disparaging reactions from teachers led students to accept their victimization as “normal” (Varma-Joshi et al., 2004).

In one study, participants perceived formal aspects of schooling to be biased against Christian beliefs and practices (Moulin, 2016). The importance of respect for cultural diversity was emphasised also in another Canadian study according to which a stronger sense of school belongingness and perceived teacher support for cultural diversity reduced ethnic/racial bullying victimization (Vitoroulis & Georgiades, 2017).

Four qualitative studies reported that those bullied due to their race, ethnicity and/or religion felt teachers discriminated against them (Albdour et al., 2017; Aroian, 2012; Bešić et al., 2020; Bloomer et al., 2014).

Perceived School Violence

One study found that bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial and/or religious differences is more frequent in schools where there is a higher risk of being threatened with a weapon or having property damaged and where there is a higher proportion of students reporting feeling unsafe (Russell et al., 2012). Another study found that there were increased odds of ethnic bullying victimization in schools where discipline problems were frequently reported and where there was a higher proportion of students feeling unsafe at school (Gower et al., 2015). Eight studies found that those bullied due to their race/ethnicity and/or religion are more likely to self-report, or identified by their peers as, being victimized by peers for other reasons (Arens & Visser, 2020; Felix et al., 2009; Goldweber et al., 2013; Hunter et al., 2010; Mendez et al., 2016; Rodriguez-Hidalgo et al., 2014; Seaton et al., 2013) and/or experiencing other forms of physical, sexual and verbal victimization at school (Felix & You, 2011).

Peer Relationships

Two studies found that ethnic/racial minorities were more likely to be bullied due to their ethnicity/race if they chose to associate with peers from an ethnic group other than their own (Coffin et al., 2010; Qin et al., 2008).

School Composition

In the USA, one study found that having more LGBTQ peers in school lowered the risk of bullying victimization due to race/ethnicity and/or religion for LGBTQ youth (Gower et al., 2021).

Family-Level Factors

Only four out of 73 studies investigated family-level factors and their associations with bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial, citizenship and/or religious differences. An Australian study reported a positive association between racist bullying and authoritarian parents that encouraged victims to fight back (Coffin et al., 2010). Further, a Canadian study showed there was a positive correlation between disparaging comments from minority parents that reinforced the view that victimization is “normal” and to be expected and ethnic/racial bullying victimization (Varma-Joshi et al., 2004). Finally, in Finland, higher rates of parental depression were found among victims of racist bullying after controlling for age and gender (Holmgren et al., 2019).

Regarding the effect of family socioeconomic status on racist bullying victimization, results are mixed. A study conducted in South Africa (Das-Munshi et al., 2016) reported that adolescents from low SES families were more likely to be victimized due to ethnic/racial and/or religious differences. In contrast, in a Finnish study investigating racist bullying victimization among international adoptees, low family SES was not a statistically significant predictor (Holmgren et al., 2019).

Community-Level Factors

The following community-level factors were investigated in relation to bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial, citizenship and/or religious differences in 17 studies included in this review.

Community Diversity

One Canadian study found that individuals in the ethnic minority in a community were more likely to be victimized than individuals of the same ethnicity in a community where they were the majority (Schumann et al., 2013). The same study found that community ethnic diversity, as signified by the presence of ethnic-focused Christian religious buildings, was positively associated to ethnic/racial bullying victimization. In contrast, the presence of non-Christian religious

buildings was related to decreased prevalence of ethnic/religious bullying victimization (Schumann et al., 2013).

Stereotypes

Twelve studies found that bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial, citizenship and/or religious differences is higher in communities where ethnic/racial and religious stereotypes have developed due to negative media representations of ethnic and religious minorities in the aftermath of events, such as 9/11 and the Iraq war (Baker et al., 2001; Banerjee et al., 2020; Bešić et al., 2020; Chong et al., 2009; Coffin et al., 2010; Crozier & Davies, 2008; Dupper et al., 2015; Haines-Saah et al., 2018; Liang et al., 2007; Lloyd & Stead, 2001; Moulin, 2016; Page, 2020). In one US study, victims reported being bullied due to their race, ethnicity and/or religion also by adults in other contexts showing the pervasiveness of racism in the community (Albdour et al., 2017). One Australian study found that Jewish students' victimization related to anti-Jewish stereotypes perpetuated in peers' families (Gross & Rutland, 2014).

Poverty

Evidence on the relationship between bullying victimization due to racial, ethnic and/or religious bias and poverty is mixed. One study reported that bullying due to ethnic/racial differences is higher in low-socioeconomic communities (Coffin et al., 2010), whereas another found victimization due to racial/ethnic and/or religious differences to be equally high in upper- and lower-income school districts (Aroian, 2012). One US study reported that living in an urban area was associated with an increased likelihood of ethnic/racial bullying victimization (Goldweber et al., 2013).

Community Violence

A US and a Canadian study reported bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial differences is more prevalent in communities where violence, victimization and substance abuse is common (Chong et al., 2009; Schumann et al., 2013).

Outcomes

The review found evidence of the following outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization.

Mental Health

Eighteen studies found that bullying due to race/ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion is concurrently and longitudinally associated with depression, anxiety, lower self-esteem, and feelings of anger (Albdour et al., 2017; Arens

& Visser, 2020; Atwal & Wang, 2019; Cardoso et al., 2018; Chong et al., 2009; Crozier & Dimmock, 1999; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Dovchin, 2020; Haavind et al., 2015; Mbilishaka & Apugo, 2020; McKenney et al., 2006; Mendez et al., 2012; Monks et al., 2008; Page, 2020; Pan & Spittal, 2013; Rodriguez-Hidalgo et al., 2014; Thijs & Piscoi, 2016; Varma-Joshi et al., 2004). These effects have been reported in both adolescent (e.g., McKenney et al., 2006) and pre-adolescent (e.g., Thijs & Piscoi, 2016) samples. Bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial and/or religious differences can be so severe that in some cases it has been found to associate concurrently with suicidal ideation (Cardoso et al., 2018; Galán et al., 2021; Pan & Spittal, 2013; Varma-Joshi et al., 2004) and PTSD and CMD symptomology (Das-Munshi et al., 2016).

Four studies investigated whether attributions of race, ethnicity and/or religion exacerbate the relationship between peer victimization and psychosocial adjustment with mixed findings. A US cross-sectional survey (Russell et al., 2012) found that mental health issues and substance misuse levels were worse among youth reporting victimization due to racial/ethnic differences than among those reporting general victimization. Also, in the UK, a study found that bullying due to race, ethnicity and/or religion correlated more strongly with depression than general bullying partially by increasing feelings of perceived threat, however a stronger ethnic/religious identity buffered against it (Hunter et al., 2010). Finally, a US study found that victims of ethnic but not religious bullying were significantly more likely to report a high-severe emotional impact compared to general bullying victimization especially when female (Mendez et al., 2016). In contrast, one cross-sectional survey in the US (Gusler & Kiang, 2019) found that attributing victimization to skin colour/ethnicity did not exacerbate the relationship between peer victimization and poor psychosocial adjustment.

Only two studies investigated whether coping strategies moderated the effect of bullying victimization due to racial, ethnic, citizenship and/or religious status on mental health. Helpful coping strategies found to lessen the emotional impact of ethnic bullying victimization were filtering out negative reactions, staying indifferent, making a joke about it, and connecting online with existing friends (Banerjee et al., 2020; Mendez et al., 2016). A large-scale study conducted in the USA found that only 24% of youth indicated that “telling an adult at school” made things better. In the same study, males were significantly more likely than females to report “fighting back” as a coping strategy, and more likely to report it was effective (Mendez et al., 2016). In another study conducted in India with expat kids from South Asia the findings indicated that most of the study's participants could cope with instances of ethnic bullying victimization by “creating a cocoon of indifference around themselves” and by systematically filtering out any negative

reactions (Banerjee et al., (2020, p. 285). In the same study, participants spoke of how they tried to stay indifferent to the bullying they experienced and take any inappropriate comments sportingly rather than feeling antagonistic to their peers. Some respondents stated that this strategy helped them dilute the situation and gain respect from their host country's peers. The other main strategy that helped expat kids cope was using social networking media to keep in touch with their extended friend network in their home countries while they struggled to form friendships in their host country.

Physical Health

One study reported that in one case racist bullying victimization had resulted in hair loss (Page, 2020). Another study with an adolescent sample reported that those victimized due to their ethnicity/race were more likely to forego medical care (i.e., not go to the emergency department when needed) and go more than 2 years since their last routine well visit (Galán et al., 2021).

Social Relationships

Eight studies reported that those bullied due to their ethnicity, race, citizenship status and/or religion are more likely to feel isolated and to report not getting along with their peers (Banerjee et al., 2020; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Holmgren et al., 2019; Liang et al., 2007; Mendez et al., 2012; Palladino et al., 2020; Rodríguez-Hidalgo et al., 2014; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). This effect has been observed in both adolescent (Palladino et al., 2020) and pre-adolescent (e.g., Devine & Kelly, 2006) samples.

Involvement in Risky or Illegal Behaviours

Four studies reported that youth who are ethnically/racially bullied are more likely to act out aggressively towards others in response to their victimization (Galán et al., 2021; Haines-Saah et al., 2018; Lloyd & Stead, 2001) or engage in serious forms of violence such as gang violence (Varma-Joshi et al., 2004). These findings were confirmed in one Canadian longitudinal study that showed that those ethnically/racially bullied reported more externalizing problems concurrently and one year later regardless of immigration status (McKenney et al., 2006). In contrast, an Italian study found no link between ethnic bullying victimization and perpetration (Caravita et al., 2020). Three studies have also found a relationship between bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial and/or religious differences and alcohol and illicit drug use (Cardoso et al., 2018; Hong et al., 2022; Russell et al., 2012). Those engaged in both ethnic/racial bullying perpetration and victimization also reported higher

odds of cigarette, alcohol and marijuana use compared to adolescents who were not involved in this type of bullying (Stone & Carlisle, 2017). However, longitudinal evidence on potential interactions among age, racist bullying victimization and substance use is missing (Stone & Carlisle, 2017). Finally, two studies found that those bullied due to their ethnicity/race, citizenship status and/or religion are more likely to be exposed to other forms of violence (Galán et al., 2021; Rodríguez-Hidalgo et al., 2019).

Academic Engagement

A positive concurrent link has been reported between ethnic/racial and/or religious victimization and school absenteeism (Baams et al., 2017; Lloyd & Stead, 2001; Russell et al., 2012), dislike for school (Bloomer et al., 2014; Mbilishaka & Apugo, 2020; Varma-Joshi et al., 2004), and lower grades (Russell et al., 2012). This association has been observed among both younger (e.g., Bloomer et al., 2014) and older children (Russell et al., 2012).

Discussion

Despite increasing research on racist bullying victimization in the last few decades, there is scarcity of studies reviewing the empirical evidence on factors and outcomes associated with this type of bullying. This lack of systematic synthesis of research findings hinders conclusions about the factors and outcomes most and least associated with racist bullying victimization that is essential knowledge for advancing research and theory development in this field. Consequently, the present review synthesized findings from 73 articles and provided an overview of the evidence on individual, school, family, and community-level factors and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization. Overall, the current review found that racial/ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee youth are disproportionately targeted, and their victimization is influenced by stereotypes and discrimination operating in multiple contexts (e.g., school, community environments). The review also found that racist bullying victimization is associated with a wide range of negative outcomes including poor mental health, lower academic engagement, and an increased risk of involvement in delinquent behaviours, especially among older pupils.

Individual-Level Factors

At the individual level, racial/ethnic minority, immigrant, or refugee status was the factor most consistently associated with racist bullying victimization. This finding is not surprising given that other types of bias-based bullying are most common among young people with the corresponding

sociodemographic characteristic (e.g., LGBTQ youth teased about sexual orientation; Bucchianeri et al., 2016). It is important to note that this increased risk also includes children and young people from groups that may not typically be considered as “minority groups” such as children who had returned from England or who had parents who were English and who were found to be bullied in Irish schools due to their different accent (Devine & Kelly, 2006). Research on peer victimization has also shown that ethnic minority youth who do not fulfil stereotypes about their racial and ethnic groups are more likely to be victimized than youth who fulfil these stereotypes (Peguero & Williams, 2013). Also, in some cases children of the same race may be targeted for belonging to a different ethnic group (Eslea & Mukhtar, 2000).

Other individual characteristics were less studied. There was some indication in the literature that youth who are bilingual and use their home country’s language at school or at home are more at risk of being bullied due to their perceived immigration status. These findings confirm other research on linguistic diversity and social inclusion that shows that immigrant youth that use their native language at school are more likely to be seen as “different” and, therefore, less likely to be accepted by native peers and more likely to experience antisocial behaviours (Lee et al., 2021; Sauer & Ajanovic, 2012).

There was also some limited research on intersectionality and multiple minority identities suggesting that ethnic minority youth with additional stigmatized characteristics such as being LGBTQ or having a disability are significantly more at risk of racist bullying victimization, however more research is needed in this area (Das-Munshi et al., 2016; Jones et al., 2018). This finding resonates with empirical findings from the wider literature on bias-based bullying and harassment that finds that youth with marginalized identities experience disproportionately high rates of multiple harassment types (Bucchianeri et al., 2016; Galán et al., 2021).

With regards to gender and age differences, there is a less clear picture as relatively few studies have considered these effects. Most studies that investigated gender differences found males to be more at risk. However, this finding may be explained by the fact that racial/ethnic bullying may be too overt for girls to engage in (Larochette et al., 2010) or it may be related to the measurement of the construct across studies with more overt forms of bullying such as name-calling investigated more widely than relational forms, such as social exclusion (see supplementary material). The review found only one study on age effects on racist bullying victimization, therefore more research is needed in this area.

School, Family, and Community-Level Factors

Overall, there has been less research on school, family, and community-level factors influencing racist bullying

victimization compared to individual-level factors. Studying these systems factors is important, as they are likely to influence perceptions of the proximal processes occurring in these environments (Benner & Graham, 2013).

In terms of school-level factors, the more consistent findings across the literature were found in relation to perceived levels of racism and discrimination in schools that appears to be a unique influencing factor in this context. Racist bullying was more commonly reported by ethnic minority youth that felt disrespected and discriminated against in their schools and, as a result, had lost faith that their complaints would be taken seriously (e.g., Bešić et al., 2020; Page, 2020). This finding resonates with the wider literature on racism and inclusion that highlights the importance of creating an inclusive school ethos that welcomes diversity (Hek, 2005; Hymel et al., 2015). Disparaging reactions from teachers may lead youth to either be reluctant to report their victimization (Mthethwa-Sommers & Kisiara, 2015) or accept their victimization as “normal” (Varma-Joshi et al., 2004).

Other school-level factors have been less investigated. There was some indication in the literature that those bullied due to their race, ethnicity and/or religion are more likely to also experience other forms of victimization at school (Arens & Visser, 2020; Felix et al., 2009; Goldweber et al., 2013; Hunter et al., 2010; Mendez et al., 2016; Rodriguez-Hidalgo et al., 2014; Seaton et al., 2013) and to feel unsafe at school (Gower et al., 2015; Russell et al., 2012). It has been reported previously in the literature that some children and young people can be targets of different types of victimization (Finkelhor et al., 2009). Several factors have been found to increase the risk of experiencing multiple types of victimization, ranging from neighborhood and household characteristics (e.g., single headed households, family unemployment), to individual characteristics (e.g., age, smoking or alcohol consumption, being male) (Ellonen & Salmi, 2011; Finkelhor et al., 2011).

With regards to family-level factors, research is extremely limited in the context of bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion. It is known from previous systematic reviews and meta-analyses that child abuse and neglect is considered a risk factor for bullying victimization (Lereya et al., 2013; Nocentini et al., 2019) so this needs to be investigated also in relation to racist bullying. There is a need to study in more detail how family socialisation processes including how parents respond to their children’s victimization relate to racist bullying as some research shows that encouraging youth to fight back or accept their victimization as “normal” is linked to increased risk of repeat victimization (Coffin et al., 2010; Varma-Joshi et al., 2004).

Finally, with regards to community-level factors, there is consistent evidence that bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial, citizenship and/or religious differences is reinforced

by ethnic/racial and/or religious stereotypes perpetuated in the communities where those bullied live and through the media (Baker et al., 2001; Banerjee et al., 2020; Bešić et al., 2020; Chong et al., 2009; Coffin et al., 2010; Crozier & Davies, 2008; Dupper et al., 2015; Haines-Saah et al., 2018; Liang et al., 2007; Lloyd & Stead, 2001; Moulin, 2016; Page, 2020; Schumann et al., 2013).

Outcomes

The review found consistent evidence that bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial, citizenship and/or religious differences is associated with depression, anxiety, lower self-esteem and social withdrawal across younger and older ages (Albdour et al., 2017; Arens & Visser, 2020; Atwal & Wang, 2019; Cardoso et al., 2018; Chong et al., 2009; Crozier & Dimmock, 1999; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Dovchin, 2020; Haavind et al., 2015; Liang et al., 2007; Mbilishaka & Apugo, 2020; McKenney et al., 2006; Mendez et al., 2012; Monks et al., 2008; Page, 2020; Rodriguez-Hidalgo et al., 2014; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Thijs & Piscoi, 2016; Varma-Joshi et al., 2004), although more longitudinal studies are needed to infer causality. These findings resonate with the broader literature on general bullying (Brunstein Klomek et al., 2007; Lutrick et al., 2020). Research suggests that the link between internalizing symptoms and bullying is mutually reinforcing such that being the target of bullying can function as both antecedent and consequence of depression, anxiety, and social withdrawal (Rivara and Menestrel, 2016).

Furthermore, some research, conducted primarily with older samples, suggests that bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity and/or religion is linked to delinquency, tobacco, alcohol, and illicit drug use (Cardoso et al., 2018; McKenney et al., 2006; Stone & Carlisle, 2017). This link has also been reported in the general bullying literature where some research has found that experiencing a strain such as bullying can foster substance abuse and delinquency as a way of coping with the strain (Cullen et al., 2008). More research is needed on how age moderates the relationship between racist bullying victimization and externalizing outcomes such as delinquency, tobacco, alcohol, and illicit drug use.

Finally, the review found consistent support for a positive association between academic engagement and bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity and/or religion. Children and adolescents who are bullied because of their race, ethnicity and/or religion are more likely to show lower academic engagement and performance and be more frequently truant from school across all ages (Baams et al., 2017; Lloyd & Stead, 2001; Russell et al., 2012). Due to the correlational nature of most of these studies, it is not possible to ascertain the temporal order of these variables. However, findings

from the wider literature on general bullying suggest that being the target of bullying can function as both antecedent and consequence of poor academic achievement and engagement (Laith & Vaillancourt, 2022).

Limitations of the Included Studies

This systematic review provided an up-to-date review of empirical studies investigating bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion. Although research on this issue has increased significantly in the last decade, it remains quite limited compared to the attention that has been devoted to understanding other forms of bullying victimization. Most previous research conducted so far on bullying among ethnic and religious minorities does not investigate the perceived motivation behind the victimization. This is a limitation.

The research that does exist has methodological and theoretical limitations. First, there is a preponderance of cross-sectional research designs using questionnaire surveys. For this reason, causal inferences are not possible. Furthermore, in many of these studies, bullying due to perceived racial, ethnic, citizenship and/or religious differences is measured with a single item. Second, there is no single agreed definition of what qualifies as racial/ethnic and religious bullying and how it differs from discrimination, peer harassment and/or peer victimization due to perceived racial, ethnic, citizenship and/or religious differences. The lack of a universal definitional framework makes it harder to synthesise results. Also, only three studies considered cyberbullying due to race, ethnicity and/or religion. More studies that measure cyberbullying are needed to gain insight into the correlates and outcomes associated with this type of bullying.

Third, in many studies, there is also poor conceptualisation of the term “ethnic/racial minority” and “religious minority”. For example, many studies are not clear on whether participants self-identified as ethnic/racial and religious minorities or whether they were categorised as such by the researcher(s) based on official information obtained from the school authorities and/or other sources. In addition, studies do not always provide sufficient information on the power differentials between different racial, ethnic, and religious groups in their country. This is an important dimension of the term “ethnic/racial minority” and “religious minority” that studies need to consider more fully so that it is highlighted that minorities include those with less power and privilege in society.

Furthermore, most research on bullying due to perceived ethnic/racial, citizenship and/or religious differences lacks a theoretical framework. Even when a theoretical framework is used, most commonly social identity theory, it is not always clear how theoretical concepts are measured and analysed. For example, although ethnic identification is a key concept

in social identity theory, this is rarely measured and studied. Therefore, this review highlights a pressing need for improvements in the theoretical design of research on bullying due to race/ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion to advance the field.

Finally, there is a need for a more systematic investigation of developmental differences in factors and outcomes associated with racist bullying victimization. Despite many studies using samples varied in age, very few report on age moderator effects and/or include multivariate analyses that take into account age.

Strengths and Limitations of This Review

This systematic review had strengths and limitations. It is the first to synthesize both quantitative and qualitative evidence to create a breadth and depth of understanding of individual, school, family, and community-level factors and outcomes associated with bullying victimization due to race, ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion. The analysis allowed recognition of the distinct factors that influence this type of bullying victimization and the detrimental impact it has on youth. However, it was not possible to conduct statistical analysis of effect sizes nor was it possible to form hypotheses about potential moderators and mediators due to limited reporting in the included studies. Some literature was excluded such as grey literature, studies not published in English or studies measuring related constructs such as peer victimization, harassment, and discrimination.

Future Research and Practical Implications

This systematic review provides key implications for future research and policy development. The reviewed studies indicate that bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial and/or religious differences is influenced by distinct factors such as stereotypes that are pervasive in many contexts including in schools, families, and communities and, therefore, a different prevention and intervention approach is required that considers these systemic, prejudice-related factors. This unique approach to prevention and intervention needs to draw on an integrated framework of theories from multiple fields such as the social psychology prejudice-related literature and the developmental literature on bullying (Earnshaw et al., 2018).

This integrated theoretical framework could be based on a social-ecological model informed by the latest insights from theories of intergroup relations such as social reasoning developmental models (Palmer et al., 2022; Rutland & Killen, 2015). Bullying is an ecological phenomenon that results from an interplay between structural, contextual, and individual factors (Espelage et al., 2013; Swearer & Espelage, 2004). However, Espelage et al. (2013) argue that very little research has comprehensively evaluated the validity

of the social-ecological perspective in relation to bullying. Huang and Cornell (2019) agree that most bullying research has concentrated on individual, family, and school influences, with less emphasis on community and mass media exosystems. However, bias-based bullying is especially vulnerable to exosystemic factors, such as mass media and the community environment and by macro factors, such as cultural norms and beliefs (Hong & Garbarino, 2012; Huang & Cornell, 2019). Therefore, these factors need to be investigated in a more systematic way in future research.

The more immediate school context is also important as research has consistently shown that racial/ethnic and religious bullying is more likely to be experienced in schools with perceived high levels of racism and intolerance. This shows the importance of ensuring that teachers and other school staff receive sufficient education and training on promoting cooperative learning structures (Farmer et al., 2011; Hymel et al., 2015). Cooperative learning environments implicitly communicate civic values to students that in turn influence how groups interact (Johnson & Johnson, 2012). It is also important for teachers to be regularly provided with opportunities to reflect on their practice and how it might be influenced by their own attitudes and beliefs.

Other contextual variables such as school and class ethnic diversity also need to be investigated in more detail as results are less consistent. For example, some research has shown that majority group members can also be victimized when they are a numerical minority in their school or community as the size of the group changes power differentials (Durkin et al., 2012; Schumann et al., 2013). Furthermore, it is not clear if high ethnic diversity in classrooms and schools is a protective or a risk factor (Bayram et al., 2018; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). A recent systematic review found that the effect of ethnic diversity on bullying may be culture and age specific (Basilici et al., 2022).

In comparison to general bullying, racial/ethnic and religious bullying is also driven by social-cognitive factors of stigma (e.g., social dominance orientation, stereotypes, and prejudice) and group processes (e.g., intergroup contact, group norms, group identification, and intergroup anxiety) that need to be more systematically integrated and investigated in research (Earnshaw et al., 2018; Priest et al., 2021). Social reasoning developmental models (Killen & Rutland, 2011; Rutland & Killen, 2015) and social identity frameworks (Gini, 2006) provide some useful direction on the type of variables that might be investigated under such an integrated theoretical framework.

According to these theoretical models, intergroup processes (e.g., group norm, group identification, intergroup contact, and intergroup anxiety) influence children and adolescents' behavior in intergroup situations such as racial/ethnic and religious bullying (Abbott & Cameron, 2014; Palmer et al., 2015). For example, social identity development

theory suggests that bullying and other kinds of inter-group conflict during childhood are more likely if in-group members think that their standing might be enhanced by out-group dislike and attack, or if they believe that their status is threatened by members of an out-group (Gini, 2006; Nesdale & Scarlett, 2004). At the same time, intergroup contact has been found to improve intergroup relations and reduce prejudice (Keles et al., 2021; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In addition, Palmer and Abbott (2018) argue that with age, group characteristics (group norms, status, identity) become more important and may overrule moral concerns (e.g., wrongfulness of prejudice). More research studying these factors and their interaction with other individual and systems-level factors is urgently required to advance prevention and intervention efforts in this field.

For example, a factor that requires to be investigated in more detail is strength of ethnic identification as this is a key variable in social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982), however it is not clear if a stronger ethnic identity increases or decreases the risk of racist bullying (Verkuyten, 2002; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001; Wong et al., 2003). Related to this, there is also a need to investigate further how bullying victimization due to race/ethnicity, citizenship status and/or religion may affect perceptions of one's own social identity and/or how it might enhance cultural mistrust (Benner & Graham, 2013).

This review also found only two studies that investigated the protective factors that buffer against the negative outcomes of racial/ethnic and religious bullying victimization. This research suggests that how victims of racial/ethnic and religious bullying cope with their victimization may influence the magnitude of negative outcomes they experience because of their victimization. For example, some research has shown that helpful coping strategies were filtering out negative reactions, staying indifferent, making a joke about it, and connecting online with existing friends (Banerjee et al., 2020; Mendez et al., 2016). More research is also needed to establish whether bullying victimization due to ethnic/racial and/or religious differences is more damaging than other forms of bullying as some initial research suggests (Russell et al., 2012).

Conclusions

Research on racist bullying victimization has increased in recent years, however, in the absence of a systematic synthesis of the empirical evidence, it is not clear what factors and outcomes are most consistently associated with this type of bullying victimization. This review found that adverse school and community environments that perpetuate negative stereotypes and discrimination put racial/ethnic and religious minorities at increased risk of racist bullying victimization. The review also found that racist bullying

victimization is associated with a wide range of negative outcomes including poor mental health, lower academic engagement, and an increased risk of involvement in delinquent behaviours, especially among older pupils. The finding that those bullied due to their race/ethnicity, citizenship and/or religion perceive to be discriminated and disrespected by their teachers highlights the importance of developing anti-bias, anti-racism, and inclusion training materials for educators, and implementing multi-level interventions that are targeted towards different groups such as teachers and pupils. Better knowledge of how intergroup processes influence racial/ethnic and religious bullying would help create more tailored and effective approaches to prevention and intervention. This unique approach to prevention and intervention needs to draw on an integrated framework of theories from multiple fields such as the social psychology prejudice-related literature and the developmental literature on bullying. This review concludes that more studies on racial/ethnic and religious bullying are required, especially those that investigate the interaction between individual, systemic and intergroup factors.

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Declarations

Conflict of interest The authors report no conflicts of interest.

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