

ABSTRACT

GÖNÜLTAŞ, SEÇİL. Why Do Adolescents Intervene?: Predictors of Bystanders' Judgments and Responses in Generalized and Bias-based Bullying (Under the direction of Dr. Kelly Lynn Mulvey).

Three studies were to conducted to examine the correlates of adolescents' bystander responses to different forms of bullying in schools, namely generalized (based on individual differences such as being shy) and bias-based bullying (due to group membership such as being an immigrant or a refugee). Research on bystanders' responses to bullying demonstrates that prosocial or defender bystander behaviors play a role in reducing bullying in schools. The research presented adopts both a developmental intergroup and a social-ecological framework to understand when and why adolescents help bullied peers in different social contexts. The relations between different forms of bullying, social-cognitive development, intergroup relations, and their manifestations are multifaceted and warrant studies to inform the efforts to tackle the pervasive problems of different forms of bullying.

The first manuscript investigated factors related to bystander intervention and victim retaliation in response to different types of peer aggression and examined the relationships between responses to aggression and social-emotional factors. Participants consisted of 6th and 9th graders in the USA ($M_{age} = 13.27$ years, $SD = 1.77$, $N = 896$, 52.8% female), who reported whether they would intervene if they witness bullying and following retaliation. Findings documented that effortful control and justice sensitivity (observer) predicted acceptability judgments regarding bystander intervention. In a similar line, participants' higher levels of affective empathy, justice sensitivity as observer and sympathy were positively related to participants' likelihood of engaging in active bystander responses. On the other hand, participants with higher rejection sensitivity and negative affect were more likely report that

they would show inactive responses to bullying.

The second manuscript investigated whether social-cognition and intergroup processes factors shape adolescents' judgments and responses to bias-based and generalized bullying. Participants included 179 6th (*Age* = 11.83 years, *N* = 96, 60 female) and 9th (*Age* = 14.64 years, *N* = 83, 48 female) students in the USA. Participants rated how likely they would intervene if they witnessed generalized bullying of nonimmigrant and bias-based bullying of immigrant peer. Results demonstrated that nonimmigrant-origin adolescents reported that they expect they would be less likely to intervene in bias-based bullying. Further, intergroup contact and Theory of Mind (ToM) positively predicted active bystander responses.

The third manuscript examined 587 Turkish adolescents' (*Age* = 13.14 years, *SD* = 1.61) bystander responses towards generalized (when Turkish youth are bullied) and intergroup (when Syrian refugee youth are bullied) in a within-subjects design. Adolescents read two hypothetical stories with either ingroup or outgroup targets of the bullying. After each story, adolescents evaluated the acceptability of bullying and the likelihood of different types of bystander responses. Findings revealed that adolescents judged intergroup bullying as more acceptable and were more likely to explicitly support the bully in bias-based bullying compared to intragroup bullying. Results also showed that adolescents with higher ToM and empathy evaluated intergroup bullying as less acceptable and were more likely to expect that they would challenge bullying. Further, adolescents with more prejudicial attitudes and discrimination were more likely to see intergroup bullying as acceptable and more likely to support the bully. This research line has implications at both the theoretical and societal levels by contributing to our understanding of the predictors of bystander intervention in intergroup settings.

Examining social-emotional, social-cognitive factors, intergroup processes, school, and

peer-related factors that could influence the bystander's reaction in a different social contexts and the interplay between these factors will help us to understand the complex nature of the bullying and bystander responses. Overall, these three studies generate new knowledge regarding the factors that influence responses to bullying, fostering equitable social and learning environments for all youth, including immigrant and refugee youth.

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Why Do Adolescents Intervene?: Predictors of Bystanders' Judgments and Responses in
Generalized and Bias-based Bullying

by
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DEDICATION

To my professor, iğdem Kağıtçıbaşı who dedicated her life to the wellbeing of children
everywhere.

I still take your lessons with me every day.

BIOGRAPHY

Seçil Gönültaş grew up in Istanbul, Turkey. She completed her Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology in 2014 at the Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, Turkey. She completed her Masters of Arts in Developmental Psychology in 2017 at Koç University in Istanbul, Turkey. In 2018, she entered the Lifespan Developmental Psychology graduate program at North Carolina State University. During her Ph.D. at North Carolina State University, she worked as a teaching assistant and as a research assistant at Social Development Laboratory under the supervision of Dr. Kelly Lynn Mulvey. Her research interest centers on investigating how social cognition and group processes relate to adolescents' and children's behaviors in intergroup contexts, including bystander responses to bullying. Through her research, she hopes to translate this research agenda into policy-focused intervention programs aimed at fostering equity and social justice, especially in school settings.

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General Introduction

Youth aggression and violence are major problems for youth across the world (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2019). Bullying, one of the most common forms of youth violence, occurs when youth are exposed, repeatedly and over time, to social conflicts including aggressive physical acts, name-calling, social exclusion, ignoring and rumor spreading. Prevalence rates indicate that 25–42% of youth ages reported being bullied at school around the world: 31.7% (USA); 25% (Europe); 41.1% (Middle East), 30.3% (Asian countries) (UNESCO, 2019). Further, worldwidereports showed that approximately 70% of students witness peer aggression (Programme for International Student Assessment [PISA], 2018).

Considering the negative influences of bullying on those who are bullied, those who witness, and even those who bully the others, it plausible to say that higher rates of bullying are concerning for youth wellbeing. Bullying is related to increased rates of depression and anxiety, low self-esteem, and helplessness in victimized youth (Gini et al., 2018). Further, bullying leads to increasing externalizing problems and lower academic achievement and school belonging in both victims and bullies (Fisher et al. 2016). Students who witness bullying also report more feelings of helplessness and less sense of connectedness to their schools (Bradshaw et al., 2007).

Most bullying research has focused on the victims and bullies to promote anti-bullyingefforts in reducing the occurrence and negative effects of bullying. However, the seminal workby Salmivalli et al. (1996) that defined bullying as a group process also emphasized the importance of bystanders (i.e. peers who witness the bullying without being involved as either the victim or bully). Bystanders are found to influence the probability of

bullying occurrence (Salmivalli et al., 1996; Salmivalli et al., 2011). For example, research on bystander intervention reveals that when bystanders show defending behaviors (e.g., challenging the bully and supporting the victim), bullying tends to cease very quickly (Salmivalli et al., 2011; Hawkins et al., 2001). Thus, there is growing interest in understanding what students think about bullying as bystanders. For example, the PISA report (2018) examined students' perceptions of bullying and showed that most students evaluated bullying negatively and defending the victims of bullying as a good thing to do when they witness bullying. Similarly, 81% of students expressed that they feel irritated if nobody defends bullied peers across Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] countries (PISA, 2018).

Contrary to what is found with adolescents' attitudes towards bullying and bystander intervention, the extant literature shows that bystanders are often passive actors, often disengaging or walking away from the situation due to the fear of possible retaliation (Hawkins et al., 2001; Kärnä et al., 2010; Thornberg & Wänström 2018). Bystanders at times show behaviors that reinforce bullying in the schools, including supporting the bully and encouraging others to join the bullying incident (Jenkins et al., 2018; Salmivalli, 2010). Studies also showed that if bystanders reinforce bullies or show passive responses, victims are more likely to experience social anxiety and peer rejection (Kärnä et al., 2010). On the other hand, bystanders' active intervention helps protect victims from depression and reinforces an anti-bullying ethos in schools (Aboud & Joong, 2008; Hawkins et al., 2001; Salmivalli et al., 2011). Those findings demonstrate that bystander responses not only play a role in the prevalence rate of bullying, but are also related to the severity of the effects of bullying on victims.

Considering the importance of bystander responses in bullying, exploring correlates for promoting bystander prosocial responses is critical for ensuring equal treatment of all youth. Thus far, existing studies demonstrate that individual factors including age, gender, empathy, self-efficacy, disengagement, attitudes towards aggression are related to bystander responses (Fredrick et al., 2020; Macaulay et al., 2018; Mulvey et al., 2016; Mulvey et al., 2019; Thornberg et al., 2020). Further, social factors (e.g., parents, teachers, peers, class, and school climate) have been found to be influential in bystanders' judgements and responses (Banks et al., 2020; Grasseti et al., 2020). In a similar line, contextual factors such as different forms of bullying, characteristics of bullies and victims, and group processes predict bystanders' motivation to intervene (Caravita et al., 2019; Macaulay et al., 2018; Palmer & Abbott, 2018; Palmer et al., 2017; Poteat & Vecho, 2016; Williams et al., 2018). Although examining predictors of bystander responses across adolescence is gaining attention, less emphasis has been given to individual and social factors across different contexts (generalized and bias-based) that might play a role in bystander decision in intervening or not intervening indifferent types of bullying. Generalized bullying occurs if the victim is targeted because of personality, reputation, skills, or abilities (Juvonen & Graham, 2014). Unlike generalized bullying, bias-based bullying occurs if someone is bullied due to belonging to a particular group (e.g., raced-based, nationality-based, gender-based or disability-based; Palmer & Abbott, 2015).

The aims of the current research are two-fold: (a) examining social-emotional factors underlying bystander responses to different forms of generalized bullying; and (b) examining whether social cognition and intergroup-related factors might be related to bystanders' responses and judgments when the bully is a member from the ingroup and the victim is an

member from the outgroup member (e.g., bias-based bullying towards immigrants in the USA and refugees in Turkey as the intergroup contexts). In the following sections, I first briefly summarize the context for the common and unique aspects of each study under the Present Study. Then, I provide a short summary, related references, and the article for each manuscript separately. Finally, I discuss the summary of findings, limitations, and future direction under the General Discussion section.

The Present Research

The present research consists of three studies that examine the predictors of bystander responses to different types of bullying. Bullying can be categorized under different dimensions, including the type of act (e.g., verbal, physical, relational, etc.), type of context (e.g., school context, online settings, etc.), or type of reason (e.g., generalized bullying, bias-based bullying). The current research examines the correlates of bullying in two types of bullying across three studies: generalized bullying and bias-based bullying. Adolescents and children can experience in many different social contexts. However, the three studies in this dissertation mainly focus on school bullying during adolescence, which influences the social, emotional, and academic development of adolescents (Ladd et al., 2017; Rothman et al., 2011).

Adolescence is an important developmental period for understanding trajectories of bullying and bystander responses as the prevalence rate of bullying is increasing during middle school and high school compared to elementary school years (Centers for Disease Control [CDC], 2019). Adolescents' experiences during transitional processes (i.e., from elementary school to middle school, and from middle school to elementary school) shape the prevalence rates of bullying during this period. More specifically, such transitions can lead to some differences in adolescents' friendship networks, which might create concerns regarding

social status within their groups. Thus, during these transition times, adolescents might be more inclined to conform to their peers' aggressive behaviors than during other times (e.g., Pepler et al., 2006). This pattern is more common in older adolescents, demonstrating that it is also important to examine age-related trajectories within the adolescence period itself (e.g., Mulvey et al., 2019). In line with this, adolescents can perceive bullying as more normative and they can be more permissive by prioritizing their peer dynamics over moral judgments and concern (e.g., LaFontana & Cillessen, 2010). Further, developmental patterns have also been observed in bystanders' responses to peer victimization. For example, Mulvey et al. (2016) found that younger adolescents were less likely to evaluate race-based humor as acceptable compared to older adolescents. Similarly, older adolescents were less likely to expect that their peer would intervene in race-based humor. Moreover, anti-bullying efforts are less effective with older adolescents compared to younger adolescents (see meta-analysis, Yeager et al. 2015). Based on earlier literature, the present dissertation project investigates bystander responses to different types of bullying among adolescents (younger versus older adolescents) across three studies.

Manuscripts

Manuscript 1: The Role of Social-Emotional Factors in Bystanders' Judgments and Responses to Peer Aggression and Following Retaliation in Adolescence

The first manuscript investigated the social-emotional correlates of adolescents' acceptability judgments and bystander responses to generalized bullying and possible retaliation. Within the framework of this work, social-emotional factors, including temperament (effortful control, affiliativeness, negative affect and surgency), empathy (affective, cognitive and sympathy), justice sensitivity (transgressor, observer, and victim), and

rejection sensitivity (anxious and angry), were examined as predictors of adolescents' acceptability judgments and bystander responses to generalized bullying and possible retaliation.

Participants consisted of 896 6th and 9th graders recruited from five public schools in a rural school district in the Southeastern United States. All participants read six hypothetical bullying scenarios and possible retaliatory acts by the victims. Then, they were asked to evaluate whether the bullying is acceptable or not and how likely they would be to show active (say something, get help, talk to the victim) and inactive responses (not get involved, walk away) for each scenario. Participants were also asked to answer the same questions for the possible retaliatory acts.

In order to investigate the social-emotional predictors of bystanders' judgments and responses to generalized bullying and possible retaliation seven hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. Findings from these analyses documented that effortful control and justice sensitivity as observer positively predicted acceptability judgments regarding bystander intervention. In a similar line, participants' higher levels of affective empathy, justice sensitivity as observer and sympathy were positively related to participants' likelihood of engaging in active bystander responses. On the other hand, participants with higher rejection sensitivity and negative affect were more likely report that they would show inactive responses to bullying. Overall, the results of this study provides significant implications to explore and understand the mechanism behind in terms of how social-emotional factors relate to bystander attitudes and responses to bullying and to possible retribution.

The Role of Social-Emotional Factors in Bystanders' Judgments and Responses to Initial Peer
Aggression and Retaliation in Adolescence

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Abstract

This study investigates how social-emotional factors are related to bystanders' responses to aggression and possible retaliation. Participants consisted of sixth and ninth graders ($N = 896$, 52.8% female) who indicated how likely they would be to intervene if they observed an initial aggressive act and then following retaliation. Hierarchical regression models were used to examine social-emotional predictors of bystander judgments and responses. Findings highlight that participants with high effortful control and transgressor justice sensitivity were more likely to evaluate bystander intervention as more acceptable. Furthermore, youth with higher affective empathy, sympathy, and observer justice sensitivity were more likely to report that they would engage in active bystander responses, whereas youth with higher negative affect and rejection sensitivity were more likely to report that they would engage in inactive responses to aggression. These findings have important implications for understanding how individual differences in social-emotional factors relate to bystander attitudes and responses to initial aggressive acts and to possible retribution.

Keywords

peer aggression, bystander intervention, moral judgments, social-emotional factors, retribution, adolescence

Youth aggression and victimization is a serious public health concern that affects the lives of millions of youth and their families across the United States. Prevalence rates indicate that 26% to 30% of youth ages 12 to 18 reported being bullied at school in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). Furthermore, approximately 72% of high schoolers report having witnessed peer aggression (Waasdorp & Bradshaw, 2018). Youth who witness peer aggression have the potential to reduce and even stop bullying, either by standing up to the bullies or supporting victims. However, bystanders do not always intervene or respond in a way that stops the peer aggression (Kärnä, Voeten, Poskiparta, & Salmivalli, 2011; Polanin, Espelage, & Pigott, 2012). The current study aimed to better understand how individual differences in social-emotional factors can explain variation in judgments and responses of bystanders to peer aggression and the following retribution by victims.

Given its high prevalence rate, peer aggression is identified as one of the foremost problems faced by youth. Peer aggression leads to negative consequences for social and emotional development, including negative mental health outcomes such as depression, internalizing disorders, and emotional

problems (Malecki et al., 2015). Youth who are exposed to peer aggression and who witness aggression as bystanders were more likely to support aggressive retaliation (Waasdorp, Pas, O'Brennan, & Bradshaw, 2011). Peer aggression, therefore, increases the potential for retribution from peers and the risk of future harm. Considering the negative effects, it is critical to examine factors influencing bystanders' responses to peer aggression and possible retribution.

Bystanders have a range of options for responses when they observe victimization and only some of these responses are likely to stop the peer aggression and bullying (e.g., Kärnä, Voeten, Poskiparta, et al., 2011). The model proposed by Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Österman, and Kaukiainen (1996) categorized bystanders' possible roles during bullying under four categories: assistants, reinforcers, outsiders, and defenders (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). Furthermore, in

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another conceptual scheme called the Bullying Circle, Olweus (2001) described the interplay between eight different reactions on a continuum around the aggressor–victim–bystander trichotomy. It consists of the following intervention styles: aggressor or bully, followers/henchmen, supporters/passive bullies, passive supporters/possible aggressor, disengaged onlooker, possible defenders, and defenders. This model allows for mobility from one intervention style to the next across different social contexts (Olweus, 2001). These conceptualizations are important for understanding how responses might contribute to the problem or help resolve it. Bullying and peer aggression are less frequent when bystanders intervene, defend, or help the target after the incident in school settings (Salmivalli, Voeten, & Poskiparta, 2011) and bullying and peer aggression are more frequent in school settings where bystanders display more behaviors that reinforce bullying (Polanin et al., 2012).

Theoretical Frameworks for Individual and Contextual Factors in Bystander Responses to Aggression

Using the person by environment framework (e.g., Bates & Pettit, 2007; Ellis et al., 2011), as well as the social cognitive framework more generally (Bandura, 2001), the present study integrated knowledge about temperament, empathy, and justice and rejection sensitivity in a school context where youth experience transition. The person by environment framework suggests that environmental effects on adjustment depend on personal attributes (e.g., temperament, justice, and rejection sensitivity). For example, in a peer aggression context, youth moral judgments regarding aggression can differ based on the relationship between personal attributes and social context. Similarly, applying social cognitive theory (which suggests that a change in an individual's behavior results from bidirectional influences between a person and the environment; Bandura, 2001) to bystanders, bystander individual characteristics and school environment play a role in explaining their responses to peer aggression and the following retribution. Furthermore, responses can be understood in terms of interactions between individual and contextual factors. In the following section, we discuss some demographic characteristics (e.g., gender and age) and social-emotional factors as individual characteristics of bystanders and how adolescents' transition to middle and high school provide an important social context.

Individual Characteristics, Social-Emotional Factors, and School Transition Years Predicting Bystanders' Judgments and Responses

Certain demographic characteristics as individual factors (e.g., gender and age) are predictors of bystanders' responses

in interpersonal peer aggression incidents. For example, Mulvey, Palmer, and Abrams (2016) demonstrated that older adolescents (10th-grade high school students) were more likely to judge race-based humor as acceptable than were younger adolescents (eighth-grade middle school students). With regard to gender, Jenkins and Nickerson (2017) showed that girls were more supportive of bystander intervention compared with boys during middle school (12–14 years), suggesting that girls are more likely to recognize the harm of bullying and to experience more emotional distress when experiencing bullying. While research has supported select factors related to individual differences in bystander responses to peer aggression, further research is needed to understand other social-emotional correlates of bystanders' reactions.

Attention to individual factors has already proven helpful in some domains. For example, individual differences in temperament (i.e., relatively consistent, basic dispositions inherent in the person that underlie and modulate the expression of activity, reactivity, emotionality, and sociability; Shiner et al., 2012) may predict patterns of response to aggressive behavior (retaliation on the part of the victim or intervention on the part of bystanders). Temperamental differences are also related to later emotional and behavioral problems (e.g., anxiety, depression, and externalizing problems). Previous studies, for example, showed that high surgency and low effortful control are associated with externalizing behaviors (Dougherty et al., 2014; Rettew & Hudziak, 2008), which are often hallmarks for the diagnosis of emotional and behavioral disorders (EBDs; World Health Organization, 2016). Furthermore, there is a strong connection between temperamental differences and aggressive behavior as well as a link between temperament dimensions, such as anger and discomfort, and reactions to peer aggression among upper secondary school students in Italy (Menesini, Palladino, & Nocentini, 2015). In addition, surgency (i.e., high-intensity pleasure and impulsivity) and effortful control (i.e., inhibitory control, attentional focusing, and low-intensity pleasure) are related to moral judgments and aggression in young children aged between 3 and 5 years (Smetana et al., 2012), but less is known about these relations in adolescence. Furthermore, negative affect, such as depressive mood and frustration, has been shown to relate to aggressive behavior in 7- to 17-year-olds (Ebesutani, Kim, & Young, 2014). Thus, individual differences in temperament may be an important predictor of responses to peer aggression. Certain temperament characteristics have been associated with children's empathic reactions, which are important predictors of bystander intervention. For example, children high in inhibitory control were more sensitive to peers' emotional needs and respond empathically than children low in inhibitory control (Valiente et al., 2004). Furthermore, a more fearful temperament predicted less empathic concern for the stranger's distress (Valiente et al., 2004).

Individuals reporting higher levels of empathy are more likely to intervene when they observe bullying and those who engage in aggression report lower levels of empathy (Barchia & Bussey, 2011). Similarly, defending bystander behavior is related to higher empathy (DeSmet et al., 2016). Based on this work, antibullying programs often incorporate empathy training (e.g., Garandeau, Vartio, Poskiparta, & Salmivalli, 2016). However, much prior research has examined empathy as a unitary construct. Recent bullying research calls attention to the importance of distinguishing between affective empathy (i.e., the ability to emotionally “resonate” with other people’s feelings while understanding that they are distinct from one’s own), cognitive empathy (i.e., the ability to understand what others are thinking or feeling, without necessarily “resonating” with that feeling state), and sympathy (i.e., feelings of concern about a distressful event in another person’s life; Espelage & Swearer, 2010). Affective empathy has often been equated with sympathy. However, although affective empathy and sympathy are both emotional responses to perceived emotions of others, affective empathy refers to “feeling with” another person, whereas sympathy refers to “feeling for.” Furthermore, affective, but not cognitive, empathy predicts bystander behaviors (van der Ploeg, Kretschmer, Salmivalli, & Veenstra, 2017). Therefore, the present research measures both empathy and sympathy to create a more comprehensive picture of responses to aggression.

Furthermore, research finds that participants with higher empathic concern were more likely to be sensitive to others’ injustice, which is critical for the motivation to help others and care for their well-being (Decety & Yoder, 2016). Individual differences in justice sensitivity as a multidimensional personality disposition (i.e., individual differences in the frequency and intensity of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral reactions to perceived injustice; Schmitt, Baumert, Gollwitzer, & Maes, 2010) might also be linked to differences in aggressive behavior and responses to aggressive behavior in adolescence. For example, German adolescents (9- to 17-year-olds) vary in terms of their justice sensitivity, which measures variation in individuals’ sense of injustice in response to violations or transgressions when they are the victim, the perpetrator, or an observer (Bondü & Elsner, 2015). Children and adolescents who are sensitive to victim injustice are more likely to engage in aggressive behavior (Bondü & Krahe, 2015). Similarly, Bondü, Rothmund, and Gollwitzer (2016) found that German adolescents (12- to 18-year-olds) with high victim sensitivity are more likely to feel anger and moral outrage when they feel that others behave unfairly toward them and to aggress to avoid being victimized. Highly observer-sensitive adolescents tend to feel annoyed and support and help the victim when witnessing injustice. On the contrary, highly perpetrator-sensitive adolescents are more likely to feel guilty and tend to compensate the victim if they treat others

unfairly. Considering these results, we aim to identify how justice sensitivity is related to evaluations of retaliation in response to aggression and bystander intervention to stop aggression.

Another construct that might be related to responses to aggressive behavior is rejection sensitivity. Highly rejection sensitive persons anxiously and/or angrily expect rejection. Prior research has documented that when some individuals experience rejection, they develop a heightened sensitivity to the possibility of future rejection and respond as though threatened in contexts where future rejection is possible (Downey, Lebolt, Rincón, & Freitas, 1998). Furthermore, research indicates that adolescents who do engage in youth violence are often highly rejection sensitive (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2013), especially if they exhibit angry responses to potential rejection (Bondü & Krahe, 2015). However, no prior research has examined whether rejection sensitivity is related to attitudes and judgments regarding retaliation in response to aggression. Moreover, research has not examined rejection sensitivity and bystander intentions to intervene.

In addition to social cognitive factors, social context and environmental factors are important considerations for understanding bystander responses to bullying. Social contexts may be especially relevant during educational shifts, which are life transitions that are routine changes undertaken by many children and youth. When youth experience a transition from elementary school to middle school and then from middle to high school, they are likely to face noteworthy changes and challenges that influence the youth social environment. In addition, when they move from small schools with well-established social environments into larger and, potentially less supportive schools, youth have to reestablish social relationships with each person in the system (Felmlee, McMillan, Inara Rodis, & Osgood, 2018). During such transitions, some students report higher rates of bullying involvement after their transition to a new school (e.g., Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000; Pepler et al., 2006). For example, Pellegrini and Bartini (2000) found that increases in bullying behavior occur as students make the transition into middle school. Similarly, Pepler et al. (2006) demonstrated that students’ self-reports of bullying perpetration were highest after the school transition (i.e., in ninth grade). Relatively little is known about students’ bystander behavior during transition years, in particular. Recently, Mulvey et al. (2019) demonstrated that environmental factors are also significant predictors of bystander intervention: positive school climate was associated with a greater likelihood of intervention and higher feelings of social exclusion and teacher and peer discrimination were associated with inactive responses to aggression and retaliation among sixth and ninth graders.

To summarize, given the impact of bystander responses on subsequent bullying, it is important to understand the role of

individual differences in social-emotional characteristics in explaining different response patterns during times of school transition. Furthermore, possible retaliation after peer aggression can also lead to serious negative consequences for peer relationships and even further victimization (Waasdorp et al., 2011). Thus, it is critical to examine predictors of bystanders' responses to aggressive acts and to possible victim retaliation to advance our understanding of the factors that motivate youth to challenge any form of peer aggression.

Current Study

The overarching aim of this project is to identify social-emotional factors (temperament, empathy, sympathy, justice sensitivity, and rejection sensitivity) that predict bystander intervention, both in response to aggressive acts and in response to possible retaliation by victims. To our knowledge, prior research has not examined these particular social-emotional variables in concert or examined how they are relevant for both responses to initial aggressive acts as well as for responses to hearing about possible retaliation in response to aggression.

To better understand the correlates of bystander responses, we measured participants' response to both initial aggressive acts and retaliatory behavior. Furthermore, we also measured participants' moral judgments, specifically, their ratings of the acceptability of the initial aggressive act and the victim retribution to gain insight into adolescents' cognition about bullying, retribution, and bystander intervention. This is an important extension of prior research on bystander intervention, which has often focused on expected or reported responses, but which has less frequently measured underlying moral judgments of the aggression (Salmivalli et al., 2011; van der Ploeg et al., 2017). Furthermore, we measured a number of different types of aggressive acts, including group social exclusion, verbal aggression, physical aggression, cyberbullying, intimate partner violence, and dyadic social exclusion. Bullying refers to intentional and repeated aggressive behavior that harms another individual within the context of a power imbalance (Volk, Dane, & Marini, 2014). However, our measure captures reactions to a single act of aggression that if repeated could constitute bullying. Thus, we frame our arguments in the context of peer aggression.

We conducted research with sixth and ninth graders because these are key transition years for youth, as they are entering middle and high school in the United States. Adolescence is also important as social and emotional factors are associated with aggression perpetration, victimization, and bystander responses during this period. Thus, social-emotional development in adolescence is seen as one of the key components that needs further investigation to develop a comprehensive approach to combating peer aggression and possible retaliation.

Hypotheses

We expected that, with age, participants would be less likely to support bystander intervention to stop peer aggression and more likely to condone retaliatory youth violence. We also expected that females would be more supportive of bystander intervention, whereas males will be more supportive of retaliation based on earlier research that has documented gender differences in bystander intervention (Jenkins & Nickerson, 2017). In terms of moral judgments about the acceptability of the aggressive act and retaliation, we expected that participants with higher empathy (affective and cognitive) and sympathy, effort control, affiliativeness, and justice sensitivity (observer, transgressor, and victim) would be more likely to evaluate initial aggressive and retaliatory acts as unacceptable. On the contrary, we expected that higher levels of negative affect, surgency, and rejection sensitivity (anxious and angry) would be positive predictors of judgments of acceptability of the aggressive act and retaliation. Considering the prior theorizing on the Bullying Circle (Olweus, 2001) and Salmivalli et al.'s (1996) bystander roles model, we combined prior research and categorized bystander behaviors into active (i.e., actively resists, stands up to the bully, and speaks out against the bullying) and inactive (i.e., observe bullying but turn away/do not intervene) response categories. Regarding active bystander intervention and inactive responses to the aggressive act and retaliation, we expected participants with higher empathy (affective and cognitive) and sympathy, effort control, affiliativeness, and justice sensitivity (observer, transgressor, and victim) to be more likely to engage in active intervention, and participants with higher negative affect, surgency and rejection sensitivity (anxious and angry) to be more likely to engage in inactive responses.

Method

Participants

The participants were 896 adolescents ranging between 10 and 18 years ($M_{age} = 13.27$ years, $SD = 1.77$). Adolescents in sixth ($N = 450$, $M_{age} = 11.73$, $SD = 0.84$), and ninth grades ($N = 446$, $M_{age} = 14.82$, $SD = 0.90$), approximately evenly divided by gender (49.6% of the sixth graders were female and 50.4% of the ninth graders were female), were from five middle- to low-income public schools in the Southeastern United States. Participants were primarily European American (63.3%), with 22.9% African American, 3.9% Latino, 7% Multiracial, and 2.9% Other ethnic group. All students in the sixth and ninth grades at the participating schools were invited to participate and informed consent letters were sent home to families. Only students with parental consent who also assented were allowed to participate (participation rate was 78%).

Procedure

All adolescents completed an online survey; the battery of forms was completed in classrooms at participants' schools during noninstructional time. Trained research assistants administered the surveys in group settings on laptop computers. Participants' name and their email addresses were collected to be able to provide a small electronic gift card (US\$5) as an incentive for participation. However, the names were removed from the file and only participant numbers were retained in the data file where analyses were conducted.

Measures

The Responses to Peer Aggression Task. We used *The Responses to Peer Aggression Task* to measure adolescents' evaluations and responses to peer group aggression (Mulvey & Killen, 2016; Mulvey et al., 2016). For this study, we developed four scenarios focused on group-based aggression (physical aggression, relational aggression, social exclusion, and cyberbullying) and two focused on aggression in dyadic situations (relational aggression and intimate partner aggression; see supplemental documents for a story example).

For each scenario, participants completed the following two measures: (a) acceptability of the aggressive act ($\alpha = .83$), and (b) acceptability of bystander intervention ($\alpha = .85$). In addition, participants rated the likelihood that they would engage in active bystander intervention in response to the aggression (say something to them; get help from a teacher, family member, or another adult; get help from a friend; or talk to the victim about it after; $\alpha = .94$) as well as the likelihood that they would show inactive responses to the aggression (not get involved and stay there or walk away; $\alpha = .92$). All responses were rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*not likely at all*) to 6 (*really likely*). Then participants were presented stories indicating that the victim might engage in retaliation. They completed the same acceptability ($\alpha = .88$) and intervention measures (active intervention: $\alpha = .94$; inactive responses: $\alpha = .93$) for the retribution. As each scenario was thought to be unidimensional, scores for each measure were averaged, creating composite scores.

Temperament. Temperament was measured by using the *Early Adolescent Temperament Questionnaire-Revised Scale* (Capaldi & Rothbart, 1992), which includes 65 items rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*almost always untrue*) to 5 (*almost always true*). The scale consists of four subscales: effortful control (e.g., When someone tells me to stop doing something, it is easy for me to stop; 16 items; $\alpha = .65$), surgency (e.g., I enjoy going places where there are big crowds and lots of excitement; 16 items;

$\alpha = .67$), negative affect (e.g., I get sad more than other people realize; 19 items; $\alpha = .89$), and affiliativeness (e.g., I will do almost anything to help someone I care about; 15 items; $\alpha = .90$). Composite scores were calculated by averaging the item-level scores. Previous studies reported coefficient alphas that ranged from .64 to .81 for the subscales of this scale (Ellis & Rothbart, 2001).

Empathy. The Adolescent Measure of Empathy and Sympathy (AMES) was used to measure adolescents' empathy (Vossen, Piotrowski, & Valkenburg, 2015). The scale includes three subscales measuring affective empathy (e.g., When people around me are nervous, I become nervous too; four items; $\alpha = .80$), cognitive empathy (e.g., I can tell when someone acts happy, when they actually are not; four items; $\alpha = .80$), and a sympathy subscale (e.g., I feel sorry for someone who is treated unfairly; four items; $\alpha = .83$). Items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*); scores for each subscale were calculated by averaging the scores.

Justice sensitivity. The *Justice Sensitivity Inventory* was used to measure justice sensitivity (Bondü & Elsner, 2015). It includes scales from the victim's ($\alpha = .75$), the observer's ($\alpha = .85$) and the perpetrator's perspective ($\alpha = .87$). Each perspective was captured through five items (e.g., as a victim, "It bothers me when others receive something that I am entitled to"; as an observer, "It bothers me when someone does not receive something he or she is entitled to"; and as a perpetrator, "It bothers me when I take something that someone else is entitled to") with the 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*totally*).

Rejection sensitivity. The *Childhood Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire* (Downey et al., 1998) was used to measure adolescents' rejection sensitivity with written scenarios involving peers and teachers. Following each vignette, participants responded to three questions. The first two questions assessed anxious and angry responses by asking how nervous (six items; $\alpha = .82$) and how mad (six items; $\alpha = .82$) they would feel in the situation. Responses to these items ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*extremely*). The third question asked about the expectation of acceptance (six items; $\alpha = .75$), with responses ranging from 1 (*yes!!*) to 6 (*no!!*). A separate score was generated for each situation by multiplying the score for the expected likelihood of rejection by the degree of anger or anxiety over the possibility of its occurrence (Expectancy of rejection \times Anger) and then dividing their sum by 6, the total number of situations.

Results

Data analysis was conducted in multiple steps. First, basic descriptive statistics based on age and gender for the

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics by Age and Gender.

Variables	Younger				Older			
	Female		Male		Female		Male	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Acceptability of the aggressive act (1–6)	1.36	0.54	1.63	0.71	1.43	0.65	2.00	0.98
Acceptability of bystander intervention (1–6)	5.08	1.27	4.77	1.20	5.17	1.16	4.54	1.26
Acceptability of retribution (1–6)	1.73	0.86	2.05	1.08	2.12	1.11	2.48	1.10
Active bystander intervention to the aggressive act (1–6)	4.95	0.78	4.48	0.98	4.75	0.93	4.09	1.21
Inactive responses to the aggressive act (1–6)	2.22	1.19	2.62	1.20	2.40	1.20	2.76	1.22
Active bystander intervention to retribution (1–6)	4.80	0.87	4.37	1.09	4.53	1.00	4.09	1.21
Inactive responses to retribution (1–6)	2.32	1.25	2.59	1.24	2.55	1.22	2.81	1.29
Effortful control (1–5)	3.45	0.57	3.35	0.50	3.26	0.52	3.16	0.41
Affiliativeness (1–5)	3.68	0.77	3.40	0.82	3.54	0.73	3.20	0.83
Negative affect (1–5)	2.91	0.74	2.82	0.80	3.02	0.69	2.90	0.75
Surgency (1–5)	2.86	0.58	3.01	0.55	2.99	0.58	3.07	0.51
Affective empathy (1–5)	3.09	0.90	2.49	0.93	3.12	0.96	2.50	0.97
Cognitive empathy (1–5)	3.82	0.64	3.51	0.76	3.78	0.81	3.52	0.80
Sympathy (1–5)	4.55	0.58	4.19	0.89	4.38	0.69	3.75	0.91
Justice sensitivity (victim; 1–5)	3.09	1.20	2.94	1.12	2.87	1.22	2.65	1.19
Justice sensitivity (observer; 1–6)	3.38	1.10	3.09	1.22	3.13	1.33	2.64	1.39
Justice sensitivity (transgressor; 1–6)	3.60	1.23	3.14	1.30	3.34	1.33	2.72	1.42
Rejection sensitivity (anxious; 1–36)	11.02	4.63	10.00	4.87	10.79	5.12	9.45	5.32
Rejection sensitivity (angry; 1–36)	8.09	4.09	8.44	4.86	8.38	3.92	8.85	5.27

assessed variables were computed (see Table 1). Next, a correlation analysis was conducted (see Table 2). Finally, seven separate hierarchical regressions were used to examine the independent variance accounted for by individual factors, as predictors of evaluations of peer aggression, bystander interventions in response to the aggressive act, and bystander intervention in response to retaliation by victims. As the sample was predominantly European American, ethnicity was treated as a dichotomous variable.

Adolescents' gender (male = 0, female = 1), ethnicity (dichotomous: majority = 0, minority = 1), and age (dichotomous: sixth graders = 0, ninth graders = 1) were entered first as control variables as demographic variables are good candidates for the first step of a hierarchical regression (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). The dimensions of temperament (effortful control, affiliativeness, negative affectivity, and surgency) were added in the second step to examine the variance in moral judgments and bystander intervention over and above demographic variables. Next, affective empathy, cognitive empathy, and sympathy were entered, given their theoretical associations with justice and rejection sensitivity (Bondu & Richter, 2016). In Step 4, we entered dimensions of justice and rejection sensitivity to determine whether they would add to the outcomes over and beyond that of demographic variables, temperament, and empathy (see Tables 3 and 4).

Hierarchical regression is appropriate for our analysis as the variance on moral judgments and bystander intervention are being explained by predictor variables that are correlated with each other (see Table 2; the results did not indicate multicollinearity based on standards for the variance inflation factor [VIF]; all VIFs were below 2.5).

Predictors of Moral Judgments About the Acceptability of the Aggressive Act and Retaliation

For the moral judgment about the acceptability of the aggressive act, the final model with all variables entered into the prediction equation accounted for a significant amount of variance (see Table 2). There were seven significant predictors of moral judgment of the aggressive act: gender ($B = -.27, \beta = -.18, p < .001$), ethnicity ($B = .17, \beta = .11, p < .001$), surgency ($B = .10, \beta = .08, p = .030$), affective empathy ($B = .11, \beta = .14, p < .001$), sympathy ($B = -.29, \beta = -.31, p < .001$), justice sensitivity as observer ($B = -.06, \beta = -.11, p = .017$), and rejection sensitivity expectation (angry; $B = .04, \beta = .24, p < .001$). Accordingly, female and majority participants were more likely to evaluate the aggressive act as unacceptable than were male and minority participants. Those with more sympathy were more likely to rate the aggressive act as less acceptable. However, higher rates of surgency and affective empathy were associated with evaluating the

Table 2. Correlations for Outcome and Study Variables.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1. Acceptability of the aggressive act	—																	
2. Acceptability of bystander intervention	-.28 ^a	—																
3. Acceptability of retribution	.56 ^a	-.14 ^a	—															
4. Active bystander intervention	-.46 ^a	.39 ^a	-.31 ^a	—														
5. Inactive responses to the aggressive act	.40 ^a	-.34 ^a	.30 ^a	-.31 ^a	—													
6. Active bystander intervention to retribution	-.38 ^a	.33 ^a	-.34 ^a	.88 ^a	.28 ^a	—												
7. Inactive responses to retribution	.39 ^a	-.31 ^a	.33 ^a	-.28 ^a	.92 ^a	-.28 ^a	—											
8. Effortful control	-.21 ^a	.24 ^a	-.27 ^a	.20 ^a	-.25 ^a	.21 ^a	-.23 ^a	—										
9. Affiliativeness	-.18 ^a	.28 ^a	-.13 ^a	.46 ^a	-.13 ^a	.44 ^a	-.12 ^a	.17 ^a	—									
10. Negative affect	.07 ^c	.02	.21 ^a	.18 ^a	.15 ^a	.17 ^a	.16 ^a	-.42 ^a	.53 ^a	—								
11. Surgency	.08 ^c	-.11 ^b	.06	-.25 ^a	-.02 ^a	-.27 ^a	-.02	.10 ^a	-.37 ^a	-.49 ^a	—							
12. Affective empathy	-.07 ^b	.13 ^a	-.01	.31 ^a	-.06	-.29 ^a	-.04	-.03	.29 ^a	.26 ^a	-.29 ^a	—						
13. Cognitive empathy	-.19 ^a	.14 ^a	-.11 ^b	.36 ^a	-.16 ^a	.31 ^a	-.14 ^a	.12 ^b	.35 ^a	.16 ^a	-.07 ^c	.30 ^a	—					
14. Sympathy	-.45 ^a	.34 ^a	-.34 ^a	.58 ^a	-.24 ^a	.51 ^a	-.23 ^a	.24 ^a	.39 ^a	.07 ^c	-.18 ^a	.37 ^a	.42 ^a	—				
15. Justice sensitivity (victim)	-.09 ^b	.10 ^b	.02	.17 ^a	-.05	.16 ^a	-.03	-.10 ^b	.17 ^a	.32 ^a	-.18 ^a	.21 ^a	.16 ^a	.16 ^a	—			
16. Justice sensitivity (observer)	-.29 ^a	.29 ^a	-.16 ^a	.44 ^a	-.28 ^a	.38 ^a	-.27 ^a	.10 ^b	.30 ^a	.14 ^a	-.18 ^a	.29 ^a	.26 ^a	.41 ^a	.55 ^a	—		
17. Justice sensitivity (transgressor)	-.31 ^a	.34 ^a	-.22 ^a	.43 ^a	-.28 ^a	.39 ^a	-.27 ^a	.19 ^a	.30 ^a	.08 ^c	-.26 ^a	.31 ^a	.22 ^a	.44 ^a	.42 ^a	.73 ^a	—	
18. Rejection sensitivity (anxious)	.11 ^b	.16 ^a	.08 ^c	.11 ^b	.06	.12 ^a	.08 ^c	-.15 ^a	.11 ^a	.23 ^a	-.32 ^a	.28 ^a	.01	.12 ^a	.15 ^a	.16 ^a	.17 ^a	—
19. Rejection sensitivity (angry)	.33 ^a	-.02	.29 ^a	-.07 ^c	.20 ^a	-.04	.19 ^a	-.25 ^a	.01	.28 ^a	-.18 ^a	.15 ^a	-.05	.09 ^b	.18 ^a	.02 ^a	-.02	.70 ^a

^a $p < .001$. ^b $p < .01$. ^c $p < .05$.

Table 3. Moral Judgment Regressions.

Variable	Acceptability of the aggressive act			Acceptability of bystander intervention			Acceptability of retribution		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Step 1									
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	-.27	.05	-.18***	.20	.08	.08*	-.17	.07	-.08**
Ethnicity (0 = majority, 1 = minority)	.17	.05	.11***	-.02	.08	-.01	.10	.07	.04
Age	.05	.05	.04	.22	.08	.09**	.19	.07	.09**
R ² change		.12			.04			.07	
F change		35.92***			12.22***			19.99***	
Step 2									
Effortful control	.01	.06	.003	.35	.10	.15***	.01	.08	.007
Affiliativeness	-.02	.04	-.02	.21	.07	.14**	-.16	.06	-.12**
Negative affect	.07	.05	.07	-.02	.09	-.01	.39	.07	.27***
Surgency	.10	.05	.08*	.04	.08	.02	.24	.07	.13**
R ² change		.05			.09			.11	
F change		11.59***			20.61***			26.11***	
Step 3									
Affective empathy	.11	.03	.14***	-.13	.05	-.11**	.12	.04	.11**
Cognitive empathy	.003	.03	-.003	-.03	.06	-.02	-.01	.05	-.007
Sympathy	-.29	.04	-.31***	.21	.06	.14**	-.27	.05	-.21***
R ² change		.10			.03			.04	
F change		35.93***			9.88***			14.84***	
Step 4									
Justice sensitivity (victim)	.01	.02	.01	-.04	.04	-.04	.03	.04	.03
Justice sensitivity (observer)	-.06	.03	-.11*	.09	.05	.09	-.02	.04	-.02
Justice sensitivity (transgressor)	-.04	.03	-.06	.13	.04	.15**	-.03	.04	-.04
Rejection sensitivity (anxious)	-.01	.01	-.01	.14	.01	.16**	-.02	.01	-.08
Rejection sensitivity (angry)	.04	.01	.24***	-.01	.01	-.05	.05	.01	.22***
R ² change		.06			.05			.03	
F change		15.17***			10.41***			6.31***	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

aggressive act as more acceptable. Participants with more justice sensitivity (observer perspective) were more likely to rate the aggressive act as less acceptable. Having low angry rejection sensitivity was also related to evaluating the aggressive act as less acceptable.

In terms of the acceptability of bystander intervention, the final model also accounted for a significant amount of variance (see Table 3). Accordingly, higher rates of effortful control ($B = .35$, $\beta = .15$, $p < .001$), affiliativeness ($B = .21$, $\beta = .14$, $p = .003$), sympathy ($B = .21$, $\beta = .14$, $p = .001$), justice sensitivity as transgressor ($B = .13$, $\beta = .15$, $p = .002$), and feeling anxious about rejection ($B = .14$, $\beta = .16$, $p = .001$) were related to greater likelihood of evaluating bystander intervention to the aggressive act as acceptable, whereas affective empathy ($B = -.13$, $\beta = -.11$, $p = .010$) was related to a lower likelihood of evaluating bystander intervention to the aggressive act as acceptable. Female participants ($B = .20$, $\beta = .08$, $p = .012$) and older participants ($B = .22$, $\beta = .09$, $p = .016$) were more likely to evaluate bystander intervention to the aggressive act as acceptable compared with males and younger participants.

Regarding the acceptability of a victim taking retribution against the bully, the final model was significant (see Table 3). Participants who rated higher negative affectivity ($B = .39$, $\beta = .27$, $p < .001$), surgency ($B = .24$, $\beta = .13$, $p = .001$), affective empathy ($B = .12$, $\beta = .11$, $p = .008$), and feeling angry about rejection ($B = .05$, $\beta = .22$, $p < .001$) were more likely to rate retribution as more acceptable. On the contrary, the higher the participants rated sympathy ($B = -.27$, $\beta = -.21$, $p < .001$) and affiliativeness ($B = -.16$, $\beta = -.12$, $p < .002$), the lower they rated acceptability of retribution. Male participants ($B = -.17$, $\beta = -.08$, $p = .003$) and older participants ($B = .19$, $\beta = .09$, $p = .007$) were also more likely to evaluate retribution as acceptable.

Predictors of Bystander Responses to the Aggressive Act and Retaliation

In terms of the likelihood of active bystander intervention to the aggressive act, the final model was significant (see Table 4). Higher rates of affiliativeness ($B = .21$, $\beta = .17$, $p < .001$), cognitive empathy ($B = .12$, $\beta = .09$, $p = .004$),

Table 4. Bystander Intervention for the Aggressive Act and Retribution Regressions.

Variable	Bystander intervention for the aggressive act						Bystander intervention for retribution					
	Active intervention			Inactive responses			Active intervention			Inactive responses		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Step 1												
Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	.15	.06	.07**	-.23	.08	-.09**	.02	.07	.01	-.12	.09	-.05
Ethnicity (0 = minority, 1 = majority)	.04	.06	.02	.28	.08	.11***	-.04	.06	-.02	.32	.09	.12***
Age	.03	.06	.01	.05	.08	.02	.05	.06	.02	.11	.09	.04
R ² change	.10			.06			.06			.05		
F change	28.48***			15.68***			18.11***			14.05***		
Step 2												
Effortful control	.04	.07	.02	-.16	.10	-.07	.12	.08	.06	-.09	.10	-.04
Affiliativeness	.21	.05	.17***	-.07	.07	-.05	.25	.06	.19***	-.10	.07	-.06
Negative affect	.04	.06	.03	.18	.09	.11*	.02	.07	.01	.25	.09	.15**
Surgency	-.12	.06	-.07*	-.05	.09	-.02	-.18	.07	-.10**	-.01	.09	-.006
R ² change	.18			.06			.18			.06		
F change	48.18***			12.54***			48.89***			12.95***		
Step 3												
Affective empathy	-.04	.03	-.03	.08	.05	.06	-.01	.04	-.01	.09	.05	.07
Cognitive empathy	.12	.04	.09**	-.11	.06	-.07	.09	.05	.07*	-.11	.06	-.07
Sympathy	.41	.04	.33***	-.06	.06	-.04	.34	.05	.25***	-.06	.06	-.04
R ² change	.15			.02			.10			.02		
F change	69.07***			6.24			39.03***			5.94**		
Step 4												
Justice sensitivity (victim)	-.07	.03	-.08*	.06	.04	.06	-.06	.03	-.07	.09	.04	.08
Justice sensitivity (observer)	.14	.03	.18***	-.20	.05	-.21***	.10	.04	.12**	-.21	.05	-.21***
Justice sensitivity (transgressor)	.05	.03	.06	-.07	.04	-.08	.05	.03	.07	-.09	.05	-.10*
Rejection sensitivity (anxious)	.01	.01	.01	-.01	.01	-.01	.01	.01	.03	-.01	.01	.03
Rejection sensitivity (angry)	-.01	.01	-.04	.03	.01	.12*	-.01	.01	.03	.02	.01	.08
R ² change	.03			.06			.02			.06		
F change	9.91***			11.25***			5.62***			12.15***		

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

sympathy ($B = .41$, $\beta = .33$, $p < .001$), and justice sensitivity as observer ($B = .14$, $\beta = .18$, $p < .001$) were related to a greater likelihood of expecting they would engage in active bystander intervention. Surgency ($B = -.12$, $\beta = -.07$, $p = .013$) and justice sensitivity as a victim ($B = -.07$, $\beta = -.08$, $p = .049$) were negatively related to lower anticipated levels of active bystander intervention. Female participants were also more likely to report greater likelihood of active intervention ($B = .15$, $\beta = .07$, $p = .003$).

Regarding the likelihood of inactive responses to the aggressive act, the data also fit well (see Table 4). Participants who reported higher rates of negative affectivity ($B = .18$, $\beta = .11$, $p = .041$) and angry rejection sensitivity ($B = .03$, $\beta = .12$, $p = .019$) were more likely to report that they would engage in inactive responses. In addition, participants who reported higher rates of observer justice sensitivity ($B = -.20$, $\beta = -.21$, $p < .001$) were less likely to report that they would demonstrate inactive responses.

Male participants were more likely to report greater likelihood of inactive intervention ($B = -.23$, $\beta = -.09$, $p = .006$). In addition, minority youth were more likely to expect they would engage in inactive responses to the aggressive act compared with majority youth ($B = .28$, $\beta = .11$, $p = .001$).

For the likelihood of active bystander intervention to youth retaliation, the predictors accounted for a significant amount of variance (see Table 4). Higher rates of affiliativeness ($B = .25$, $\beta = .19$, $p < .001$), sympathy ($B = .34$, $\beta = .25$, $p < .001$), and justice sensitivity as observer ($B = .10$, $\beta = .12$, $p = .004$) were related to greater anticipated likelihood of active intervention in response to victim retaliation. On the contrary, surgency ($B = -.18$, $\beta = -.10$, $p = .001$) was negatively related to likelihood of active intervention in response victim retaliation.

For the likelihood of inactive responses to retaliation, the model fit well (see Table 4). Those who reported greater negative affect ($B = .25$, $\beta = .15$, $p = .006$) were more likely

to engage in inactivity. Higher justice sensitivity as observer ($B = -.21, \beta = -.21, p < .001$) and transgressor ($B = -.10, \beta = -.10, p = .037$) were negatively related to expected inactive responses for retribution. In addition, minority youth were also more likely to report that they would engage in inactive responses to retaliation acts compared with majority youth ($B = .32, \beta = .12, p < .001$).

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to understand how individual differences in social-emotional factors are related to adolescents' responses as bystanders of initial aggressive acts and the following retaliation. The results of this study extend past research by examining the role of temperament, empathy, sympathy, justice sensitivity, and rejection sensitivity both in moral judgments and bystander responses to initial aggressive acts and possible victim retaliation retribution.

With regard to demographic factors, similar to findings in the general bullying literature (e.g., Mulvey et al., 2016), our results demonstrated that girls are more likely to reject aggression and retaliation and are more likely to report that they would engage in active forms of bystander responses in initial aggressive acts. Furthermore, participants who are from ethnic minority backgrounds were more likely to report that they would engage in inactive responses compared with majority youth. This is an important finding that warrants further study. The schools where these data were collected were predominantly European American; thus, this research should be replicated in more heterogeneous schools to document whether similar patterns are found. It may be that minority youth in majority European American schools feel disenfranchised or are concerned about intervening because of the potential that they may be victimized. As research on bullying interventions in the United States has noted, many interventions are ineffective and this could be due to a lack of attention to the diversity in U.S. schools (Evans, Fraser, & Cotter, 2014). Thus, more attention should be paid to the experiences of ethnic minority youth who observe aggression.

Interestingly, age was only significant in predicting moral judgments about the acceptability of retribution and the acceptability of bystander intervention. Older adolescents judged that both bystander intervention and retribution were more acceptable than did younger adolescents. This may suggest that, with age, adolescents recognize the importance of responding to bullying. However, it is concerning that they consider both intervening on behalf of the victim and the victim retaliating to be more acceptable than do younger participants. Future studies should attend more carefully to victim retaliation. While the rates were below the midpoint on the acceptability of victim retaliation, similar to research that demonstrated that retaliation is generally considered unacceptable (Gasser, Malti, & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2012), it

is still important to understand more about why these age-related differences in acceptability of retribution emerge.

Our study extended earlier research by documenting that participants who were high in surgency were more likely to see the initial aggressive act and retribution for that aggression as more acceptable. Consistent with our hypotheses and person by environment models of development, participants who were high in surgency were less likely to report that they would engage in active bystander responses compared with participants who were low in surgency. This finding is in line with studies that indicated that children with high surgency are less sensitive to their peers' and teachers' reactions to both negative and positive emotions, compared with children with low surgency (Morris, Denham, Bassett, & Curby, 2013). Our findings also highlight the importance of effortful control skills in participants' moral judgments about bystander intervention. Although evidence was not found to support the contention that low levels of effortful control would be related to lower likelihood of engaging in active bystander intervention, it remains quite plausible that individuals who have difficulty with inhibitory control might be more likely to display specific types of intervention behaviors. We examined all types of active responses together, but it may be that participants with lower inhibitory control are more likely to directly confront the bully and less likely to be able to wait and talk to the victim later or seek out help from others. Thus, future research might consider examining the distinct types of responses separately to determine more specific temperamental characteristics of bystander intervention. Although temperament is, generally, considered to be stable, prior research on bullying and temperament has highlighted the importance of understanding differences based on temperament for targeted interventions and to attend to specific Temperament \times Environment considerations that might optimize conditions to reduce peer aggression (Sugimura & Rudolph, 2012). Overall, temperament can provide additional insights into the heterogeneity of bystanders' moral judgments and responses to aggressive acts and retribution.

Our results with empathy suggest that participants with higher cognitive empathy were more likely to indicate that they would engage in active bystander intervention in response to an aggressive act. Similarly, sympathy was positively related to active bystander intervention and acceptability of bystander intervention. Furthermore, participants who were high in sympathy were more likely to evaluate the aggressive act as unacceptable. Contrary to our expectations and earlier studies (e.g., van der Ploeg et al., 2017), affective empathy was negatively correlated with the acceptability of bystander intervention and positively correlated with the acceptability of retribution. A possible reason for the unexpected results might be that affective empathy leads individuals to be more aware of other people's suffering and to experience other people's feelings more intensely. Thus,

these individuals might avoid defending victims of peer aggression to avoid these stressful contexts. Furthermore, the prior research used a measure of empathy that was specific to bullying contexts (Kärnä, Voeten, Little, Poskiparta, & Salmivalli, 2011), whereas this study employed a global measure of empathy and sympathy (Vossen et al., 2015). Overall, the current findings demonstrate the importance of measuring sympathy and different forms of empathy to be able to capture nuances in their effects on youth's moral judgments about peer aggression.

With regard to the individual-level differences in justice sensitivity, our results demonstrated that among different facets of justice sensitivity, observer sensitivity was the most powerful predictor of the lower likelihood of acceptability of the initial aggressive act, lower likelihood of engaging in inactive responses, and a higher likelihood of active bystander intervention. Individuals high on justice observer sensitivity feel more personally affected by wrongs experienced by others and this might make them more motivated to actively intervene in instances of aggressive act. On the contrary, victim sensitivity was negatively correlated with engaging in active bystander intervention. These results support the conceptual distinction between victim and observer sensitivity, which proposes that victim sensitivity reflects self-oriented and egocentric concerns, whereas observer sensitivity reflects other-oriented concerns (Bondü et al., 2016). Perpetrator sensitivity, on the contrary, was only positively correlated with the acceptability of bystander intervention although prior work found that perpetrator sensitivity showed more consistent negative links with all forms of aggression and was positively correlated with defending behaviors (Bondü & Krahe, 2015). This may be explained by the nature of measures as all of our stories were presented from the perspective of the observer and perpetrator sensitivity might be a better predictor of self-reported aggression.

With regard to rejection sensitivity, angry rejection sensitivity uniquely predicted a higher likelihood of acceptability of initial aggressive acts and following retribution. Similarly, participants who were high in angry rejection sensitivity were more likely to report that they would engage in inactive response to an aggressive act. This pattern is in line with the studies that demonstrated that angry rejection sensitivity was a better predictor of aggressive behavior than anxious rejection sensitivity (Jacobs & Harper, 2013), indicating that the two facets of rejection sensitivity differ with regard to their links with aggression in children and adolescents.

Although we did not directly examine adolescents' moral judgments regarding aggression in relation to EBDs, our findings regarding temperament, empathy, justice, and rejection sensitivity likely have implications for youth with EBD (those who often show high frequencies of disruptive and aggressive behaviors). For example, earlier studies

document the link between both high surgency and low effortful control with externalizing disorders (Rettew, 2008). Similar to temperament, findings regarding empathy have important implications for intervention with youth with different profiles of behavior problems based on the assumption that lack of empathy is a risk factor for developing EBDs (de Wied, Gispen-de Wied, & van Bostel, 2010). Furthermore, Bondü and Elsner (2015) examined the construct and discriminant validity of justice sensitivity by examining its relations with rejection sensitivity, emotional problems, prosocial and antisocial behavior (conduct problems and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder [ADHD] symptoms), and peer problems among children and adolescence. The findings showed that victim sensitivity was positively, and perpetrator sensitivity was negatively, related to conduct problems and ADHD symptoms. Similarly, both anxious and angry rejection sensitivity were positively related to conduct problems, emotional problems, and hyperactivity. Thus, examining different facets of justice and rejection sensitivity in relation to adolescents' responses to peer aggression have important implications for the interventions, especially for those targeting youth with EBD.

Our results should be considered in light of some limitations. First, all data were self-reported; thus, future research should consider collecting data from multiple sources (e.g., parents, peers, and/or teachers) to provide more perspectives on how social-emotional factors are related to bystanders' reactions to peer aggression and retribution. Second, given the wide range of negative and positive bystander responses to peer aggression, it would have been ideal to include additional responses assessing other forms of negative or defending bystander behavior. Third, given the methodological limitations of cross-sectional designs, longitudinal research is needed to further examine the causality of the detected relationships and to better capture the stability of the results. As mentioned previously, in the current study, adolescents' moral judgments and bystander responses were evaluated in the hypothetical scenarios. Mixed methods that include observations, peer nominations, and behavioral measurement should be used in future studies to understand the complex nature of bystander responses to peer aggression and the following retribution. The current study used a sample of students in sixth and ninth grades, and students from a rural school district. An important area for future research would be investigating this phenomenon with different grades and in both urban/rural schools across a wider geographic area. Future research might also examine whether individuals' willingness to intervene as bystanders differ across different types of peer aggression (e.g., intimate partner vs. group). Finally, future research might identify whether bystander behavior differs depending on the relationship between the witness, the aggressor, and the victim.

Despite these limitations, our study presents an important step in identifying different social-emotional factors together in a single study, which allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the complex pattern of peer relationships. In addition, this study is novel in measuring both moral judgments and expectations about bystander intervention and measuring intervention not only in response to aggression but also in response to hearing about possible retaliation. Furthermore, the current study advances prior research by showing how individual differences in social-emotional factors, as may be experienced by youth with EBD, differently influence bystander attitudes and responses to peer aggression and the following retribution. Thus, it is crucial for researchers and teachers to be aware that the audience observing peer aggression is not a homogeneous group, but rather is a heterogeneous group that can be both parts of the problem and solution. Our findings have important implications for researchers, educators, and policy makers who are concerned with the mechanisms of changes in bystander responses.

This current research also provides insight into the scant literature on retribution to peer aggression in both conceptual and methodological ways by examining predictors of supporting retribution across different aggression scenarios. This is especially important when considering the fact that retribution is one of the strong motivators for school shootings (McCullough, Kurzban, & Tabak, 2013). Overall, our findings suggest that attention should be given to individual characteristics when designing interventions to reduce peer aggression, foster positive forms of intervention, create respectful norms, and promote a safer school environment. The findings set the stage for a clear picture of the factors associated with engaging in youth violence and the promoting factors related to standing up to peer aggression through bystander intervention.

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Ethical Approval

This study was approved by the institutional review board at the University of South Carolina, and North Carolina State University approved the study with an inter-institutional agreement.

Informed Consent

All participants assented to participate. Parents provided passive informed consent for all participants.

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Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

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Manuscript 2: The Role of Immigration Background Intergroup Processes, and Social-Cognitive Skills in Bystanders' Responses to Bias-based Bullying towards Immigrants during Adolescence

The second manuscript examined the extent to which bystanders' responses to bullying vary as a function of whether the bullying was generalized or bias-based. For generalized bullying, "shyness" was examined as a targeted individual characteristic as it is one of the important underlying reasons for peer victimization in generalized or interpersonal context (e.g., Jantzer et al., 2006). In particular, this study examined generalized bullying (targeting victim due to the shyness) as compared to bias-based bullying targeting a victim's immigration background because immigrants are one of the most vulnerable populations to bullying, and much of the bullying is rooted in racial discrimination and prejudice (OECD, 2018; Stevens et al., 2020).

Immigrant victims of bullying suffer more from issues related to well-being, lower self-esteem, and school avoidance compared to their non-immigrant victimized peers (Maynard et al., 2016). Further, the role of discrimination towards immigrants, intergroup contact, and adolescents' social-cognitive abilities on bystanders' motivation to challenge bias-based bullying in schools were investigated. This work highlighted key bystander outcomes amenable to intervention drawing from a Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2008) and Social Reasoning Developmental perspective (SRD; Rutland, Killen & Abrams, 2010). As described earlier, research on bystanders' responses to bullying demonstrates that prosocial or defender bystander behaviors play a role in reducing bullying in schools (Salmivalli et al., 2011). However, less is known about the correlates of bystanders' reactions in bias-based bullying situations. To address this gap, we examined whether youths' moral

judgments and bystander responses to bias-based and interpersonal bullying varied as a function of youths' immigration background, ToM abilities, and intergroup processes.

Participants included 179 6th ($M_{age} = 11.83$) and 9th ($M_{age} = 14.64$) grade-students. Participants read three stories about bullying: one toward an immigrant peer due to immigration background, one toward a non-immigrant-origin peer due to shyness, and one toward immigrant peer due to shyness. They then evaluated the acceptability of bullying acts and indicated how likely they would be to show different bystander responses. Participants' social cognitive skills and intergroup attitudes towards immigrants were measured.

Mixed ANOVAs (to examine differences by immigration background) and Hierarchical regressions (to examine predictors of bystander responses) were used. Findings revealed that adolescents' judgments and bystander responses might depend on the participant's immigration background. Participants with immigrant backgrounds evaluated peer aggression towards an immigrant (both in bias-based and interpersonal immigrant stories) as less acceptable, and they were more likely to intervene compared to participants without an immigrant background. Further, younger adolescents judged aggression as less acceptable compared to older adolescents. Results also suggest that intergroup processes and social cognitive factors are important predictors of bystanders' responses in intergroup contexts. Different components of intergroup attitudes shape distinct bystanders' responses in different ways.

Overall, the findings can inform the development and implementation of more appropriate anti-bullying interventions in ethnically diverse schools. This article is published in the *Child Development*.

The Role of Immigration Background, Intergroup Processes, and Social Cognitive Skills in
Bystanders' Responses to Bias-based Bullying towards Immigrants during Adolescence

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The Role of Immigration Background, Intergroup Processes, and Social-Cognitive Skills in Bystanders' Responses to Bias-Based Bullying Toward Immigrants During Adolescence

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This study examined how intergroup processes and social-cognitive factors shape bystander responses to bias-based and general bullying. Participants included sixth and ninth graders ($N = 179$, $M = 13.23$) who evaluated how likely they would be to intervene if they observed bullying of immigrant-origin and nonimmigrant-origin peers. Adolescents' grade, intergroup attitudes, and social-cognitive abilities were evaluated as predictors of bystander responses. Nonimmigrant-origin adolescents reported that they expect they would be less likely to intervene when the victim is an immigrant-origin peer. Furthermore, participants with more intergroup contact and higher theory of mind were more likely to expect they would intervene in response to bias-based bullying. Findings have important implications for understanding factors that inform antibullying interventions that aim to tackle bias-based bullying against immigrants.

Bias-based bullying is defined as any form of bullying occurring because of one's social identities and group membership (e.g., immigrant-origin, race or ethnicity, nationality, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability; Mulvey, Hoffman, Gönültaş, Hope, & Cooper, 2018). One group which is more likely to experience bias-based bullying is immigrant-origin youth (Stevens, Boer, Titzmann, Cosma, & Walsh, 2020). In bullying targeting immigrant-origin youth, the reasons for bias-based bullying are likely to be rooted in negative intergroup attitudes toward immigrants. While recent research on bias-based bullying is helping bridge the gap between intergroup processes (prejudice, discrimination, etc.) and bullying, many studies exclusively focus on the negative outcomes for the victimized youth rather than factors that might reduce the occurrence of bias-based bullying toward immigrant-origin youth (Alivernini, Manganelli, Cavicchiolo, & Lucidi, 2019; Caravita, Strohmeier, Salmivalli, & Di Blasio, 2019). One factor which influences the probability of bullying occurrence is bystander intervention. Bullying most often involves bystanders, who are individuals that witness or observe bullying rather than being directly involved as either the bully or victim. If bystanders

intervene and challenge the bully, bullying tends to cease within 10 s (Salmivalli, Voeten, & Poskiparta, 2011). However, researchers often do not address the unique intergroup processes that might influence bystanders' response to bias-based bullying toward immigrant-origin youth. Thus, in the current research, we aimed to examine how bystanders' and victims' immigration background might play a role in bystander moral judgments and their possible responses toward bias-based bullying in intergroup contexts.

The focus of this study is on bias-based bullying due to the youth's immigrant-origin for several reasons. First, there is increasing evidence that immigrant-origin youth experience antisocial, prejudicial and discriminatory behavior, and attitudes in the school context (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2019). Similarly, a growing body of research has demonstrated that bias-based bullying is experienced by large numbers of immigrant-origin youth and is more harmful to the victim compared to general bullying (Menesini & Salmivalli, 2017). Although immigrant-origin youth report being bullied more frequently than nonimmigrant-origin peers (Alivernini et al., 2019), most research does not examine nonimmigrant-origin and immigrant-origin youth' judgments and possible bystander responses to bias-based bullying. Lastly, U.S. Census data in 2015

showed that 23% of students in public schools in the United States are immigrants and this percentage is increasing substantially each year (National Center for Education, 2017). Considering these changing demographics in public schools, it is critical to examine factors influencing bias-based bullying to provide implications for school-based interventions in ethnically diverse bullying contexts (Evans, Fraser, & Cotter, 2014; Palmer & Abbott, 2018). Thus, new research is needed to understand youth's judgments and bystander responses to bias-based bullying due to one's immigrant-origin in the school context.

Bystander Intervention in Bias-Based Bullying

Extant literature suggests that bystanders have a range of options when they observe victimization (e.g., intervene and console the victim and actively and directly help the bully to victimize a target; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Österman, & Kaukiainen, 1996) and only some of these responses are likely to stop the bullying, whereas others generally perpetuate it. For example, Salmivalli et al. (1996) categorized possible bystander responses under four roles in general bullying: assistants, reinforcers, outsiders, and defenders. In another conceptual scheme, the Bullying Circle, Olweus (2001) proposed that bystanders might have seven different roles including followers-henchmen, supporters-passive bullies, passive supporters-possible aggressors, disengaged onlookers, possible defenders, and defenders in general bullying. These models provide insight into the importance of examining correlates of bystander responses in general bullying (i.e., if the victim is targeted because of his or her personality, reputation, skills, or abilities) to decrease bullying rates. Based on these models, various contextual factors (e.g., perceived school norms and peer norms about bullying) and certain individual characteristics (e.g., gender, age, empathy, and self-efficacy) are identified as predictors of bystanders' responses in general bullying (Salmivalli et al., 2011). For example, girls were more likely to support bystander intervention compared with boys during middle school (12–14 years), suggesting that girls are more likely to recognize the harm of bullying (Jenkins & Nickerson, 2017). With regard to age, Mulvey, Palmer, and Abrams (2016) demonstrated that older adolescents (10th-grade students) were more likely to judge race-based humor as acceptable than were younger adolescents (8th-grade students).

However, very little is known about the predictors of bystanders' reactions in bias-based bullying situations. Unlike general bullying, bias-based bullying is rooted in discrimination and prejudice targeting someone's membership in a particular group (Juvonen & Graham, 2014). Rodríguez-Hidalgo, Calmaestra, Casas, and Ortega-Ruiz (2019) provide evidence for how bias-based bullying differs from general bullying in both conceptual and methodological ways with the possibility of certain prejudice and discrimination-related dynamism existing due to the intergroup relationships. In other words, the reason victims are targeted by peers is that they are different from the majority due to the group membership (e.g., they come from a different country, have a different skin color, belong to a different religion, and belong to a distinct cultural subgroup or class). Therefore, bystanders' responses to bias-based bullying are likely affected by intergroup processes. Specifically, examining group membership, intergroup attitudes as group processes, and social-cognitive factors as individual predictors of bystanders' responses to bias-based bullying is needed to better understand how bystanders can play a role in challenging and reducing bias-based bullying.

Developmental Intergroup Approach to Bystander Responses in Bias-Based Bullying Toward Immigrant-Origin Youth

Social Identity Development Theory (Nesdale, 2008) underscores the importance of social identification and social context in the development of intergroup attitudes through childhood and adolescence. One of such salient social contexts is having immigration background (i.e., having the first-hand experience of immigration or having parents who were first-generation immigrants). Immigration background might shape in-group and out-group perceptions in both immigrant-origin and nonimmigrant-origin youth. For example, immigrant status was found to be a unique predictor of both positivity bias (for the in-group: immigrant-origin) and negativity bias (for the out-group: nonimmigrant-origin) even controlling for ethnic identity (Pfeifer et al., 2007). Furthermore, nonimmigrant-origin youth may develop prejudice and discrimination toward immigrants and refugees who are perceived as one of the most salient out-groups across the world (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2019; Jones, & Rutland, 2018; Miklikowska, 2017).

Earlier studies about bias-based bullying toward immigrant-origin youth suggest that immigration

status constitutes a risk factor for victimization when immigrants are perceived as different from the in-group and when they do not fit in the peer group (e.g., Strohmeier & Spiel, 2003). Identity-based group membership like immigration status does not only influence the victim and bully dynamics but also influences bystander responses (Caravita et al., 2019). Bystanders might be more motivated to stand-up or challenge the bully when the targeted victim is an in-group member compared to an out-group member. Although most research on bullying has not attended to factors related to group membership including in-group bias, out-group threat, and stereotyping, there is a need for examining bias-based bullying with the increasing inclusion of immigrant young people in schools across the United States and Europe.

Among the few studies that examined the bystander responses toward bullying of immigrant youth, Caravita et al. (2019) showed that nonimmigrant-origin youth have higher levels of moral disengagement self-serving cognitive distortions leading individuals to selectively avoid moral tensions) when they read hypothetical situations about bullying of nonimmigrant peers compared to immigrant victims. The authors concluded that as nonimmigrant youth have negative attitudes toward immigrants, they might not experience the dilemma between their moral judgments and the immoral bullying incident when the victim is an immigrant youth. Another recent qualitative study investigated how adolescents reason about bullying toward immigrant and nonimmigrant youth (Mazzone, Thornberg, Stefanelli, Cadei, & Caravita, 2018). Findings showed that participants were more likely to reason about the bullying by referencing “*rejecting cultural deviance*” (indicating that victim is from another culture or country) and “*learned racism*” (indicating that negative attitudes toward immigrants due to effects of peers, parents, and teachers) when the victim is immigrant compared to nonimmigrant victim. Although these studies did not specifically address how the interplay between social-cognitive skills and intergroup related factors might shape bystander responses in bias-based bullying, the findings provide important evidence regarding how group membership and characteristics of the victim play a role in adolescents’ moral judgments and bystander responses. These studies document increased research attention on issues related to bias-based bullying toward immigrants. However, still little is known about possible social-cognitive and intergroup-related predictors

of moral judgments and bystander responses in bias-based bullying contexts.

The Social Reasoning Developmental perspective (SRD; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010) offers a theoretical and empirical framework to understand possible intergroup-related factors by emphasizing the role of group processes, group norms, group status, and conflict context on attitudes toward outgroups. In other words, the SRD perspective bridges developmental and social psychological theories and proposes that intergroup processes shape youths’ beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors in different social situations. Thus, this perspective allows us to examine when and why group processes become more important contrary to when and how moral principles are given priority. Furthermore, the SRD perspective investigates the development of intergroup relationships in relation to social-cognitive development suggesting that the development of social-cognitive abilities influences whether individuals show intergroup biases toward others from different groups and whether these intergroup attitudes influence their moral judgments toward social conflicts within intergroup contexts. Overall, the research drawing on this perspective demonstrates that intergroup processes (e.g., intergroup contact, discriminatory tendencies, and peer norms) and sociocognitive abilities (e.g., mental state understanding) simultaneously influence the development of moral reasoning about justice, fairness, and equality in intergroup contexts (Rutland et al., 2010). Thus, in the following section, we review possible intergroup processes and social-cognitive skills that might help us to understand how bystanders respond in a bias-based bullying context. As we specifically targeted bias-based bullying toward immigrants, we examine each intergroup factors within that context.

Intergroup Processes

Intergroup Contact

Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) proposes that intergroup contact (i.e., meaningful interaction between members of different social groups) between groups reduces prejudice and improves intergroup relations under certain conditions including equal status between in-group and out-group members, mutual goals and cooperation, and meaningful interaction between in-group and out-group members. Both cross-sectional studies and longitudinal studies reveal that adolescents who have many opportunities for contact,

positive attitudes about contact, perceived positive social norms about out-groups, and high levels of behavioral control were more likely to develop intergroup friendships with immigrants (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). For example, a recent study demonstrated that children who have more contact with immigrants have less prejudice toward that specific out-group (Vezzali et al., 2019). Furthermore, Abbott and Cameron (2014) demonstrated that intergroup contact is a significant predictor of bystander intervention in the case of bias-based (immigrant) name-calling in youth. Similarly, research suggests that cross-group friendships and other forms of intergroup contact with immigrants are associated positively with bystanders helping and related negatively to bystanders' passive responses (Palmer, Cameron, Rutland, & Blake, 2017).

Discrimination

Discrimination is described as the behavioral component of prejudice, referring to the negatively biased treatment of individuals, based on their group membership (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Bullying at school may have roots in discrimination toward targeted out-groups. In other words, peer discrimination might be a cause of bias-based bullying although the relation between bias-based bullying and discrimination phenomena has gained relatively less empirical attention. Peer discrimination and bias-based bullying are conceptually related but also different constructs. While bias-based bullying involves repeated victimization by nature, discrimination does not have to be a repeated act.

Intergroup processes related to immigrants provide a unique context to study the association between discrimination and bias-based bullying because extant literature suggests that majority youth have discriminatory tendencies toward immigrants across different countries (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2019; Jones, & Rutland, 2018; Miklikowska, 2017). Certain stereotypes about immigrants, prejudicial attitudes, and perceived threats are the most common reasons for discriminatory tendencies. Youth's discriminatory tendencies are likely to influence their bystander responses in peer conflicts. For example, Swedish adolescents who have more prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior toward immigrants are more likely to see bullying toward that targeted group as more normative (Özdemir, Sun, Korol, Özdemir, & Stattin, 2018).

Peer Norms

Peers are also involved in shaping children's and adolescents' attitudes toward immigrants and refugees. For example, a study conducted with Norwegian school-aged students found that students whose peers held more positive norms for out-groups held also more positive out-group attitudes toward immigrants (De Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt, & Brown, 2010). Negative peer norms, on the other hand, have been identified as one of the key barriers to cross-group friendship development and peer group norms that condone exclusion influence children's inclusivity toward ethnic out-group members (Hitti & Killen, 2015). Along similar lines, the youth whose friends hold prejudicial attitudes toward immigrants increased in their negative attitudes toward immigrants with time (Miklikowska, 2017). Moreover, findings also demonstrated that youth without immigrant friends were more likely to be influenced by peers' attitudes compared to those who have immigrant friends (Miklikowska, 2017). Such intergroup processes as intergroup contact, discrimination, and peer norms, along with their complex relations need to be understood to examine bystander responses in bias-based bullying.

Social Cognitive Factor: Theory of Mind

Earlier research showed that several social-cognitive factors can also shape children's and adolescents' moral judgments about different social conflicts (Pozzoli, Gini, & Vieno, 2012; Smetana, Jambon, Conry-Murray, & Sturge-Apple, 2012). Relatedly, bystanders' moral judgments and responses might also result from a confluence of social-cognitive factors including interpreting the bullies' intentions, understanding the emotions of victims, interpreting social cues, generating response options, and selecting and enacting a chosen behavior. In this study, we examined whether theory of mind (ToM), as a core social cognitive ability that is central to many aspects of interpretation of social behavior, is related to the different types of bystander responses.

One central social cognitive skill that may account for differential responses to bullying is ToM, which refers to the ability to infer mental states of the self and others such as intentions, beliefs, and desires (Wellman & Cross, 2001). To be aware that people can differ on what they believe, know, and want helps individuals to make sense of complex social relationship patterns, and allows higher levels of social competence (Imuta, Henry,

Slaughter, Selcuk, & Ruffman, 2016). Thus, ToM constitutes one of the most critical abilities for successful social interaction, communication, and prosocial behavior in childhood and adolescence.

For the relation between ToM and bullying, there are mixed results in the literature (Smith, 2017). While research demonstrates that lower ToM is considered an important predictor of aggressive behavior (Harvey, Fletcher, & French, 2001), there is also some empirical evidence arguing that bullies are not necessarily dysfunctional in analyzing and interpreting social cues. Rather, some bullies can be skilled in social manipulation and are skilled in using aggressive strategies toward others (Hawley, 2007). In line with these mixed results, a recent longitudinal study showed two distinct pathways between ToM and being bully; a pathway which shows that ToM indirectly predicted being a bully through poor social preference and a direct path between higher ToM and later bullying (Fink, Rosnay, Patalay, & Hunt, 2020).

When it comes to bystander intervention, however, the limited literature on bystander roles suggests that active defending behaviors as bystanders are associated positively with higher ToM (Caravita, Di Blasio, & Salmivalli, 2010). More recently, Metallidou, Baxevani, and Kiosseoglou (2018) showed that ToM predicted defending behavior both directly and indirectly (via the positive effect on affective empathy and cooperative skills) in elementary school students.

However, all these studies which examine the relation between ToM and bullying have two common things that prevent results from being generalizable. First, most of the studies examine this relation in young children (elementary school). Although many ToM insights, particularly false belief understanding, develop by the age of 5 (Watson, Nixon, Wilson, & Capage, 1999), research indicates that higher-level mental state understanding continues to evolve during adolescence (Dumontheil, Apperly, & Blakemore, 2010). Thus, studying the influence of developmental change across adolescence on bystander intervention in bullying is critically important, as there can be developmental changes in ToM during that period (Vetter, Altgassen, Phillips, Mahy, & Kliegel, 2013). Second, all studies described above investigated the relation between ToM and bullying in general bullying contexts. Intergroup processes may shape bystander responses to bias-based bullying when the victim is either an in-group or out-group member. Overall, considering the mixed findings on the relation between ToM and aggression, there is a need for

further understanding of how different factors work together in bystander responses. Thus, it is important to examine whether variations in adolescents' ToM abilities shape their bystander responses to bias-based bullying to inform intervention programs aimed to promote intergroup relations.

Present Study

In this study, we examined to what extent adolescents' responses to bullying vary as a function of both their immigration background and victims' immigration background across bias-based and general bullying stories. Furthermore, we investigated the role of intergroup processes and ToM on bystanders' motivation to challenge bias-based and general bullying in adolescence.

We examined possible bystander intervention and moral judgments regarding different types of bullying with within-subject design because it is important to explore the factors which might influence within-individual differences in adolescents' motivation to intervene in different bullying contexts including bias-based and general bullying. In this study, we kept the type of the act (social aggression) and type of the context (school context) constant across our bullying scenarios. However, we varied the reason for bullying across the scenarios. For bias-based bullying, we chose immigrants as our target of bias-based bullying since immigrants are an understudied marginalized group that is exposed to discrimination and prejudice due to their group status (Brown, Ali, Stone, & Jewell, 2017; Nshom & Croucher, 2017). For general bullying, we choose "shyness" as the targeted individual characteristic as it is one of the important underlying reasons for peer victimization in general bullying contexts (e.g., Jantzer, Hoover, & Narloch, 2006).

We investigated bystander responses during adolescence because compared to younger children bullying is increasingly attractive among adolescents and their attitudes toward bullying become more permissive indicating that they might prefer popularity over socially accepted and egalitarian behaviors (LaFontana & Cillessen, 2010). Furthermore, there is evidence for developmental change during adolescence in challenging youth bullying and aggression, showing that older adolescents (high school students) are less likely to engage in bystander intervention than younger adolescents (middle school students) in response to general bullying (Mulvey et al., 2019) as well as race-based humor (Mulvey et al., 2016). Moreover, adolescents'

narratives regarding social groups, such as racial and ethnic groups, increasingly refer to internal characteristics such as values and beliefs, suggesting that this period is a time for a significant developmental change in social identity and group membership (Nesdale, 2008). Lastly, studying the influence of developmental change across adolescence on bystander intervention in bullying is critically important, since there are also developmental changes in ToM during that period (Vetter et al., 2013). Thus, examining intergroup processes in concert with ToM abilities is important during adolescence as possible correlates of bystander responses in bias-based bullying which results from intergroup processes.

The following hypotheses were tested: (a) Immigrant-origin youth would report that they evaluate bias-based bullying as less acceptable and be more likely to actively challenge the bully compared to nonimmigrant-origin youth (Palmer et al., 2017); (b) Older adolescents would be less likely to report that they challenge both bias-based and general bullying compared to younger adolescents (Mulvey et al., 2016); (c) Girls would be more likely to report that they challenge both bias-based and general bullying compared to boys (Jenkins & Nickerson, 2017); (d) Youth who have less discriminatory tendencies toward immigrants would be more likely to report that they challenge bias-based bullying (Özdemir et al., 2018); (e) Youth whose peers have more negative attitudes toward immigrants would be less likely to report that they challenge bias-based bullying (Peets, Pöyhönen, Juvonen, & Salmivalli, 2015); (f) Youth who have more intergroup contact with immigrants would be more likely to report that they challenge bias-based bullying (Palmer et al., 2017; Vezzali et al., 2019); (g) Youth who have higher ToM abilities would be more likely to report that they expect to challenge bias-based bullying than participants with lower ToM abilities (Caravita et al., 2010; Metallidou et al., 2018).

We see these analyses as first step to explore how social-cognitive skills, immigration background and intergroup processes can shape bystanders' responses. Thus, it is important to note that we considered all analyses as exploratory.

Method

Participants

Data were collected from 179 sixth ($M = 11.83$, $N = 96$, 60 female) and ninth ($M = 14.64$, $N = 83$,

48 female) grade-students. Participants were low-income students recruited from one high school and two middle schools in the same district in the Southeastern United States. The schools' minority enrollment and students with Hispanic-Latino immigrant-origin rates are similar: 44% minority (21% Hispanic); 58% minority (27% Hispanic), 61% minority (32% Hispanic; see Supporting Information for Method for the school characteristics details). The percentage of children enrolled that are eligible for free and reduced meals is similar across schools: 97%, 99%, 96%.

Adolescents were White-European American (28.8%), Black-African American (15.1%), Hispanic-Latino (39.9%), Asian-Asian American (3.3%), Bi-racial-Multi-racial (7.3%), and Other (5%). In this study, 172 of the adolescents were born in the United States and seven of them were born outside of the United States. In previous studies, immigrant-origin youth are defined as those who have at least one foreign-born parent (Suárez-Orozco, Motti-Stefanidi, Marks, & Katsiaficas, 2018). Thus, we created an immigrant-origin variable from parents' immigration background. If adolescents reported either parent as having not been born in the United States, they were called the immigrant-origin youth, $N = 79$ (68-Hispanic-Latino; 3-African; 2-Indian; 1-Ukrainian and 5-unspecified). If adolescents reported that both parents were born in the United States, they were called nonimmigrant-origin youth ($N = 100$).

Measures

Responses to Peer Aggression

Each participant read three hypothetical stories about social aggression in the same order (one toward an immigrant peer due to immigration background, one toward a nonimmigrant-origin peer due to interpersonal characteristics [shyness] and one toward an immigrant peer due to interpersonal characteristics [shyness]). For example, our bias-based story involves an immigrant youth who is bullied because of the immigration background:

Let's say that María Victoria is from another country and now lives in the USA. Imagine that some of María Victoria's classmates shout rude words to María Victoria all the time because she is very shy and remains quiet all the time. No one stands up for her and she does not know what to do about it.

The stories were taken from earlier research (Mulvey et al., 2019) and were adapted for this research (see Supporting Information for Method). In our adaptation, we kept the type of aggression type (social aggression) and the context (school bullying) the same, but we changed the victims' characteristics (either immigrant-origin or nonimmigrant-origin youth) and the reason of bullying (either due to the immigrant-origin or shyness). For each scenario, the same assessments were given. Participants provided a moral judgment of the act of bullying ("how okay or not okay is it that if her classmates act this way?" 1 = *really not okay* to 6 = *really okay*). Then, they were asked how likely they would respond (1 = *not likely at all* to 6 = *really likely*) in six different ways (say something to the bully, get help from teachers and adults, get help from peers, talk to the victim after, not get involved and stay there, walk away). Two responses that are related to seeking help were averaged to create composite scores. Similarly, two responses related to inactive responses were averaged. The gender of the characters in the stories was matched the gender of the participants to facilitate the youth's identification with the story.

Discriminatory Tendencies

Discriminatory tendencies among participants were assessed via a measure developed by Berger, Benatov, Abu-Raiya, and Tadmor (2015). In this task, drawings of a street with eight houses set side by side were presented to participants. Participants were told to imagine that they live in one of the houses (tagged as "*my house*") and all houses seen in the picture are available (except theirs). Then, they were told to imagine that a new peer (who is born in another country but now lives in the United States) was going to move to their neighborhood. Finally, participants were asked to indicate the house in which they would like their new peer in the story to live. The age and gender of the hypothetical out-group member were matched to that of the participant. The number of houses from "my house" to the house chosen was counted as an indicator of discriminatory tendencies. That this measure is valid: discriminatory tendencies toward refugees were positively related to perceived realistic and symbolic threat and normative beliefs about aggression toward refugees and were negatively related to children's and adolescents' motivations for social contact with refugees (Gönültaş, Selçuk, Slaughter, Hunter, & Ruffman, 2020).

Perceived Peer Norms

Perceived peer norms toward immigrants (Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008) were measured using three items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$), with participants responding on 7-point scales: "How friendly do you think your friends are to immigrant people?" (1 = *not at all friendly*; 7 = *very friendly*), "Do you think your friends would be happy to go out with someone who is an immigrant?" (1 = *not at all happy*; 7 = *very happy*), and "In general, how much do you think your friends like immigrants?" (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *a lot*). The perceived peer norms score was calculated by averaging scores, with higher scores indicating more positive attitudes toward the immigrants by peers (from 1 to 7). Earlier research showed that positive peer norms about specific out-groups were negatively related to intergroup anxiety and out-group prejudice (Turner et al., 2008).

Intergroup Contact With Immigrants

Participants' intergroup contact with immigrants was measured via the Developmental Intergroup Contact Survey (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008). It includes six items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$; e.g., How often do you work on school projects and study with students who are from a different country but now live in the United States?). Responses were given on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*none*) to 4 (*very*). The intergroup contact score was calculated by averaging the scores, with higher scores indicating more contact with immigrants (ranging from 1 to 4). This measure was developed by Crystal et al. (2008), and was adapted from Kurlaender and Yun's (2001) Diversity Assessment Questionnaire to assess ethnic intergroup contact. For the purpose of current research, it was modified to fit an immigrant intergroup context. Previous research showed that intergroup contact with targeted out-groups was associated with their cross-race relationships, experiences, and out-group attitudes (reliabilities between .73 and .79; Ruck, Park, Killen, & Crystal, 2011).

Theory of Mind

To measure adolescents' ToM, the Strange Stories task (White, Hill, Happé, & Frith, 2009) was used. Participants were presented with four mindreading stories (depicting instances of double bluff, misunderstandings, deception, and white lies). After each story, participants were expected to answer a

question requiring causal inference. Participants' responses were scored on a 0–2 scale, indicating the accuracy of the response regarding the information in the story (0 = false answer, 1 = correct answer without attributing mental states of characters, 2 = correct answer with mental state attribution like believe, think). Participants' responses were scored by two coders. Interrater reliability (based on 25% of responses) was Cohen's $\kappa = .88$. Participants' accuracy scores were summed to compute the total ToM performance ranged between 0 and 8. Earlier research suggests that adolescents' performance on Strange Stories is related to higher-order false belief understanding (Gönültaş et al., 2020) and showed no evidence of differential item functioning across gender, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status (Devine & Hughes, 2016). Furthermore, research also shows test–retest reliability within one month (Devine & Hughes, 2016). The Strange Stories Task provides a reliable and valid measure of individual differences in ToM during adolescence (Devine & Hughes, 2016).

Data Analysis Plan

First, we performed Little's Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test to assess whether values of the outcomes are MCAR. Furthermore, we also calculated the intraclass correlation coefficients to examine measures of variance explained by the schools (as students nested within schools). Then, to test whether participants' moral judgments and their bystander responses depend on the victim's group membership and reason for bullying we used a mixed-model analysis of variance (ANOVA). Follow-up tests were conducted with pairwise comparisons to examine where the differences lie. To examine whether intergroup processes and social-cognitive abilities predict moral judgments and bystander responses in bias-based bullying, five hierarchical linear regression analyses were performed. We examined the predictors of adolescents' moral judgments and bystander responses only for the bias-based bullying scenario because our intergroup measures are salient for that context. To be comprehensive, we also conducted hierarchical regressions to examine ToM role in two general bullying stories (see Tables S2 and S3 for the specific statistical results).

Results

Our preliminary analysis showed that missing values were completely at random ($\chi^2 = 231.39$, df

(208), $p = .127$). In other words, no pattern exists in the missing data. Furthermore, the percentage of the missing data for all outcome variables ranges between 0% and 8%. Regarding school-related variables, results from fully unconditional model indicated that there was not sufficient between school variabilities across outcomes for further analyses ($\tau_{00} = .18$, $z = .80$, $p = .2119$; $\tau_{00} = .25$, $z = .88$, $p = .1902$; $\tau_{00} = .18$, $z = .81$, $p = .2089$; $\tau_{00} = .23$, $z = .92$, $p = .1793$ and $\tau_{00} = .08$, $z = .57$, $p = .2835$).

Group Differences Based on Immigrant Status

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, and ranges for our outcome variables (i.e., acceptability, say something, seeking help, talk to the victim and inactive responses) and for the predictors (i.e., ToM, discrimination, peer norms, intergroup contact) by immigrant-origin across three hypothetical bullying scenarios. We also provided a correlation table that shows bivariate correlations between our outcome variables as a Supporting Information (see Table S1 for correlations).

Acceptability Judgments

To examine differences in adolescents' acceptability judgments we ran a 3 (story type: bias-based, general, general (immigrant)) \times 2 (immigrant-origin: with and without) \times 2 (age: sixth and ninth graders) \times 2 (gender: female and male) mixed ANOVA. Our within-group variable was story type and our between-group variables were immigrant-origin, age, and gender. Results revealed a two-way significant interaction between story type and immigrant-origin, $F(1, 169) = 19.41$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .103$. Accordingly, immigrant-origin adolescents evaluated social peer aggression toward an immigrant adolescent (both in the bias-based and general bullying story when the victim is an immigrant) as more unacceptable compared to participants without immigrant-origin ($F(1, 169) = 7.39$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .042$; $F(1, 169) = 9.59$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .054$, respectively). However, immigrant-origin youth judged general aggression as more acceptable compared to nonimmigrant-origin youth ($F(1, 169) = 17.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .094$) indicating that group membership might play a role in adolescents' moral judgments about acceptability. Results also showed a significant three-way interaction between story type, acceptability, and age, $F(1, 169) = 5.61$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .032$ (see Figure 1). Accordingly, younger adolescents judged social aggression as less acceptable compared to older adolescents only

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics by Immigrant-Origin

Variable	Immigrant-origin (N = 79)				Nonimmigrant-origin (N = 100)			
	M	SD	Min	Max	M	SD	Min	Max
Age	13.19	1.54	11	16	13.06	1.58	11	16
Acceptability IOB	1.30*	0.74	1	6	1.62	0.89	1	5
Say something IOB	4.39**	1.60	1	6	3.75	1.47	1	6
Seeking help IOB	4.19***	1.32	1	6	3.41	1.21	1	6
Talk to the victim IOB	4.63	1.51	1	6	4.49	1.51	1	6
Inactive responses IOB	2.41	1.43	1	6	2.68	1.34	1	6
Acceptability NIOG	1.47*	0.75	1	4	1.21	0.61	1	5
Say something NIOG	4.15**	1.68	1	6	4.76	1.36	1	6
Seeking help NIOG	3.93*	1.37	1	6	4.26	1.24	1	6
Talk to the victim NIOG	4.48	1.54	1	6	4.56	1.52	1	6
Inactive responses NIOG	2.38	1.38	1	6	2.16	1.23	1	6
Acceptability IOG	1.53***	0.96	1	6	2.11	1.04	1	6
Say something IOG	4.10	1.79	1	6	3.69	1.59	1	6
Seeking help IOG	4.05**	1.46	1	6	3.38	1.22	1	6
Talk to the victim IOG	4.62	1.60	1	6	4.24	1.70	1	6
Inactive responses IOG	2.29	1.45	1	6	2.67	1.51	1	6
Theory of mind	5.65	1.55	1	8	5.71	1.51	1	8
Discrimination	1.66*	1.24	1	7	2.10	1.21	1	7
Peer norms	5.57	1.13	2	7	5.55	1.15	1.67	7
Intergroup contact	2.41**	0.69	1.33	3.83	2.10	0.60	1	3.50

Note. IOB = Immigrant-origin Bias-based; NIOG = Nonimmigrant-origin General bullying; IOG = Immigrant-origin General Bullying.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

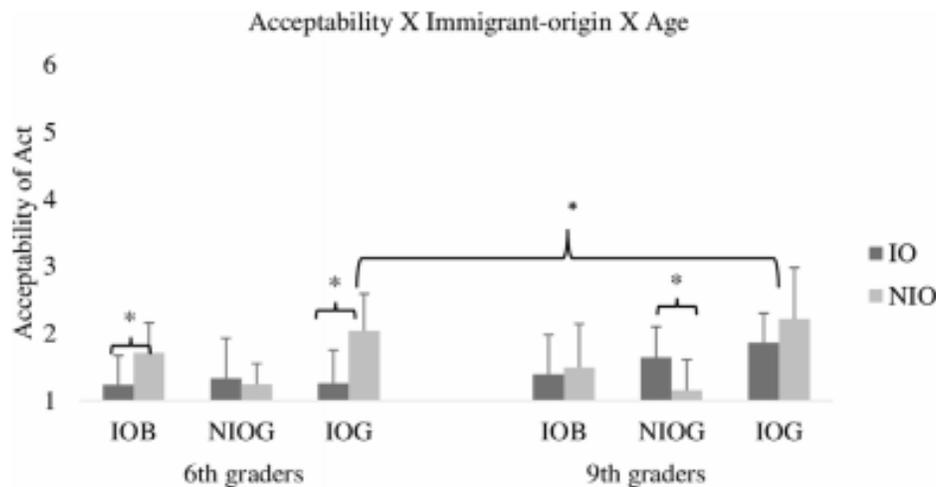


Figure 1. Interaction between Story Type \times Immigrant-Origin \times Age of the Acceptability of Act.

Note. IOB = Immigrant-origin Bias-based; NIOG = Nonimmigrant-origin General bullying; IOG = Immigrant-origin General Bullying; IO = Immigrant-origin; NIO = Nonimmigrant-origin.

in the general immigrant story ($F(1, 169) = 17.56$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .094$) but not in the bias-based and general bullying stories. Thus, our hypotheses regarding possible age differences were not supported completely.

Furthermore, within-person differences across different types of bullying showed that immigrant-origin adolescents evaluated social peer aggression as less acceptable in the immigrant-origin bias-based story compared to the immigrant-origin

general bullying story ($p = .033$). Moral judgments of immigrant-origin youth did not differ between immigrant-origin bias-based and nonimmigrant-origin general bullying stories ($p = .108$) and between nonimmigrant-origin general bullying and immigrant-origin general bullying ($p = .506$). On the other hand, significant differences were observed in the moral judgments of nonimmigrant-origin adolescents across three stories. More specifically, nonimmigrant-origin youth evaluated the bullies' behavior as less acceptable in the nonimmigrant-origin general bullying story compared to immigrant-origin bias-based ($p < .001$) and immigrant-origin general bullying stories ($p < .001$). Furthermore, nonimmigrant-origin youth evaluated social aggression as more acceptable in the immigrant-origin general bullying story compared to immigrant-origin bias-based.

Bystander Responses

With regard to different types of bystander responses, we ran a similar 3 (story type: bias-based, general, general (immigrant)) \times 2 (immigrant-origin: with and without) \times 2 (age: sixth and ninth graders) \times 2 (gender: female and male)) Mixed ANOVA for each bystander response separately. All the means for different bystander responses (say something, seeking help, talk to the victim, and inactive responses) are presented in Table 1 by the immigrant-origin (immigrant-origin and nonimmigrant-origin).

For the bystander response option "say something" results showed that there was a two-way interaction between immigrant-origin and acceptability ($F(1, 169) = 16.71, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .091$) indicating that in the biased-based scenario, immigrant-origin adolescents more often reported that they would say something to the transgressor compared to nonimmigrant-origin peers, $F(1, 169) = 7.86, p = .006, \eta_p^2 = .045$. Furthermore, nonimmigrant participants were more likely to report that they would say something to the aggressor when the victim is a nonimmigrant-origin adolescent compared to the immigrant-origin peers, $F(1, 169) = 7.53, p = .007, \eta_p^2 = .022$. Similarly, there was also significant two way interaction between immigrant-origin and acceptability in the "talk to victim" response ($F(1, 169) = 3.93, p = .021, \eta_p^2 = .024$). Accordingly, immigrant-origin adolescents were more likely to report that they would talk to the victim compared to nonimmigrant-origin peers in the immigrant-origin general bullying scenario, $F(1, 169) = 3.92, p = .049, \eta_p^2 = .024$. With regard to

"seeking help," results revealed a significant three-way interaction between acceptability, age, and immigrant-origin, $F(1, 169) = 3.82, p = .024, \eta_p^2 = .023$. Immigrant-origin adolescents were more likely to say that they would get help from someone in the bias-based scenario compared to nonimmigrant-origin peers across older and younger adolescents ($F(1, 169) = 6.81, p = .010, \eta_p^2 = .040$; $F(1, 169) = 4.45, p = .036, \eta_p^2 = .026$). Furthermore, nonimmigrant-origin youth were more likely to report that they would seek help when the victim is nonimmigrant-origin youth compared to their immigrant-origin peers in both age groups ($F(1, 169) = 10.33, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .059$; $F(1, 169) = 11.34, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .064$). The only age difference was observed between older and younger nonimmigrant-origin adolescents in the second general bullying scenario $F(1, 165) = 4.92, p = .028, \eta_p^2 = .029$. More specifically, younger nonimmigrant-origin adolescents were more likely to report that they would seek help from others compared to older nonimmigrant-origin adolescents (see Figure 2).

With regard to inactive responses, results showed that there were no significant differences in the likelihood of inactive responses between immigrant-origin and nonimmigrant-origin youth across all three stories, $F(1, 169) = 2.34, p = .067, \eta_p^2 = .010$. It is important to note that the effect sizes that we found are generally small in size (based on Ferguson, 2009).

Our within-person comparison's revealed that immigrant-origin youth's bystander responses (say something, seek help, talk to the victim, and inactive) did not differ across three stories. However, nonimmigrant-origin youth were less likely to say something, seek help, and talk to the victim in immigrant-origin bias-based and immigrant-origin general bullying stories compared to nonimmigrant-origin general bullying story. Furthermore, nonimmigrant-origin youth were more likely to show inactive responses in immigrant-origin bias-based and immigrant-origin general bullying stories compared to nonimmigrant-origin general bullying (all $ps < .001$).

Predictors of Acceptability and Bystander Responses

To explore the predictors of acceptability judgments and expected bystander responses in the bias-based bullying context, separate hierarchical regressions were used. Participants' age (younger = sixth grade, older = ninth grade) and immigrant-origin (0 = yes; 1 = no) were entered as control

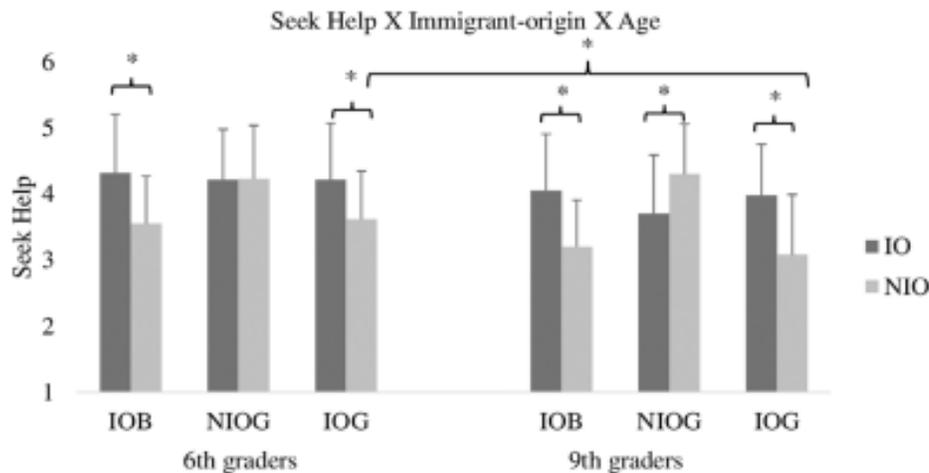


Figure 2. Interaction between Story Type \times Immigrant-Origin \times Age for Seeking Help Response.

Note. IOB = Immigrant-origin Bias-based; NIOI = Nonimmigrant-origin General; IOI = Immigrant-origin General; IO = Immigrant-origin; NIO = Nonimmigrant-origin.

variables in the first step. Gender was dropped from the analysis as we did not find gender differences in adolescents' moral judgments and their bystander responses. Participant's ToM ability was added next, to examine the variance in moral judgments and bystander intervention over and above demographic variables entered in the first step. In the third step, intergroup related variables (i.e., intergroup contact, discrimination, and peer norms) were entered. At the last step, two-way interactions between our predictors were added to examine the possible interplay between them in explaining the moral judgments and bystander responses.

Predictors of Acceptability of Bias-Based Bullying

The third model (with all variables entered into the prediction equation but not two-way interactions) accounted for 19% of the variation (adjusted R) in acceptability of the bias-based bullying $F(3,141) = 3.14, p = .001$. Adding two-way interactions to the regression model explained an additional 4% of the variation in acceptability of the bias-based bullying and this change in R^2 was not significant, $F(6,135) = 1.09, p = .375$. Results revealed that the participants with higher ToM abilities judged biased-based bullying to be less acceptable ($B = -.24, \beta = -.26, p = .002$) while the participants with higher discriminatory tendencies judged bias-based bullying to be more acceptable ($B = .21, \beta = .22, p = .029$). Furthermore, the higher participants reported positive attitudes toward immigrants, the less acceptable they judged bias-

based bullying to be ($B = -.15, \beta = -.18, p = .046$). None of the interactions between predictors were significant (all $ps > .05$; see Table 2).

Predictors of Bystander Responses

Seeking Help

The final model with all variables and the interaction terms entered into the prediction equation accounted for 18% of the variation (adjusted R) in seeking help response to the bias-based bullying, $F(6,136) = 2.39, p = .031$ (see Table 3). Regarding participants' help-seeking responses (on behalf of victim), immigrant-origin adolescents were more likely to expect that they would get help from someone compared to nonimmigrant-origin peers ($B = -.75, \beta = -.29, p = .001$). Furthermore, the two-way interaction between peer norms and ToM was significant ($B = -.30, \beta = -.19, p = .017$). In terms of the two-way interaction between ToM and peer norms, participants with higher ToM and higher peer norms were more likely to get help from someone than participants with high ToM and perception that their peers have negative attitudes toward immigrants (see Figure S1 for the interaction graph).

Talk to the Victim

The final model with all variables and the interaction terms entered into the prediction equation accounted for 23% of the variation (adjusted R) in

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Table 2
Hierarchical Regression Analysis for the Acceptability Judgments of Bias-Based Bullying

Variables	Acceptability of act											
	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3			Step 4		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Age	-.01	.14	-.01	-.08	.13	-.05	-.06	.13	-.04	-.08	.13	-.05
Immigrant-origin	.25	.14	.15	.30	.13	.18	.21	.13	.13	.25	.14	.21 ^a
Theory of mind				-.31	.07	-.33 ^b	-.27	.07	-.28 ^b	-.24	.08	-.26 ^b
Intergroup contact							.04	.07	.04	.04	.08	.05
Discrimination							.22	.08	.23 ^a	.21	.10	.22 ^a
Peer norms							-.14	.07	-.16	-.15	.07	-.18 ^a
ToM × Discrimination										-.09	.09	-.09
ToM × Peer Norms										.12	.08	.13
ToM × Intergroup Contact										-.12	.09	-.12
Peer Norms × Intergroup Contact										-.02	.08	-.02
Intergroup Contact × Discrimination										-.16	.09	-.17
Peer Norms × Discrimination										.11	.08	.14
Adjusted R ²	0.02			0.13			0.20			.24.5		
F for change in R ²	1.74			17.07 ^c			4.36			1.26		

Note. ToM × D = Interaction between Theory of Mind and Discrimination; ToM × PN = Interaction between Theory of Mind and Peer Norms; ToM × IC = Interaction between Theory of Mind and Intergroup Contact; PN × IC = Interaction between Peer Norms and Intergroup Contact; IC × D = Interaction between Intergroup Contact and Discrimination; PN × D = Interaction between Peer Norms and Discrimination.

^a $p < .05$; ^b $p < .01$; ^c $p < .001$.

acceptability of the bias-based bullying, $F(6,134) = 3.05$, $p = .008$ (see Table 3). With regard to “talk to the victim,” participants with higher ToM ($B = .30$, $\beta = .18$, $p = .034$) and participants who have higher intergroup contact with immigrants ($B = .53$, $\beta = .35$, $p = .017$) were more likely talk to victim after the bullying incident. There was a also significant interaction between peer norms and ToM ($B = -.42$, $\beta = -.24$, $p = .004$). Participants with higher ToM and higher peer norms were more likely to help than participants with high ToM and lower peer norms (see Figure S2 for the interaction graph).

Say Something

The third model (with all variables entered into the prediction equation but not two-way interactions) accounted for 9% of the variation (adjusted R) in acceptability of the bias-based bullying $F(3,141) = 3.92$, $p = .045$ (see Table 4). Adding two-way interactions to the regression model explained an additional 3% of the variation in acceptability of the bias-based bullying and the change in R^2 was not significant, $F(6,135) = 0.96$, $p = .454$. In terms of the “say something” response, participants with higher intergroup contact with immigrants ($B = .22$, $\beta = .23$, $p = .001$) were more likely to say something to the

transgressor ($B = .29$, $\beta = .22$, $p = .042$). Neither ToM ($B = .09$, $\beta = .05$, $p = .221$) nor discrimination ($B = .07$, $\beta = .04$, $p = .314$) were significant predictors of actively saying something to the transgressor.

Inactive Responses

Adolescents who have higher ToM were less likely to report that they showed inactive responses ($B = -.26$, $\beta = -.17$, $p = .047$). Further, adolescents who have higher intergroup contact with immigrants were less likely to expect that they would show inactive responses when an immigrant peer is bullied ($B = -.29$, $\beta = -.22$, $p = .017$; see Table 4).

Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore adolescents’ moral judgments and bystanders’ responses to different types of bullying, including bias-based bullying targeting immigrants, and general bullying targeting either native or immigrant peers. Our results suggest that immigrant-origin adolescents evaluated bullying as less acceptable when the victim is also immigrant-origin peer while nonimmigrant-origin adolescents evaluated bullying as less

Table 3
Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Bystander Intervention to Bias-Based Bullying

Variables	Seeking help												Talk to the victim											
	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3			Step 4			Step 1			Step 2			Step 3			Step 4		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Age	-.32	.20	-.12	-.29	.20	-.11	-.30	.20	-.11	-.29	.21	-.11	-.19	.25	-.06	-.12	.25	-.04	-.15	.24	-.05	-.25	.24	-.09
Immigrant-origin	-.90	.20	-.34 ^c	-.92	.20	-.35 ^c	-.78	.22	-.30 ^b	-.75	.22	-.29 ^b	.08	.25	.03	.03	.25	.01	.37	.25	.12	.21	.25	.07
Theory of mind				.14	.12	.09	.14	.12	.09	.07	.12	.05				.32	.14	.19 ^a	.35	.14	.21 ^a	.30	.14	.17 ^a
Intergroup contact							.14	.11	.11	.14	.13	.10						.41	.13	.27 ^b	.53	.15	.35 ^a	
Discrimination							-.12	.13	-.08	-.11	.15	-.07						-.23	.15	-.13	-.17	.18	-.10	
Peer norms							.06	.11	.04	.15	.12	.11						.06	.13	.04	-.06	.14	-.04	
ToM × D										.15	.15	.10									.14	.17	.08	
ToM × PN										-.30	.12	-.19 ^a									-.42	.14	-.24 ^b	
ToM × IC										-.15	.14	-.09									.01	.16	.00	
PN × IC										.23	.13	.17									-.31	.15	-.14	
IC × D										.11	.15	.07									.24	.17	.14	
PN × D										-.04	.13	-.03									-.23	.15	-.16	
Adjusted R ²	.14			.15			.17			.25			.01			.04			.15			.24		
F for change in R ²	11.84 ^b			1.39			1.36			2.33 ^a			0.31			5.65 ^a			5.71 ^a			2.70 ^a		

Note. ToM × D = Interaction between Theory of Mind and Discrimination; ToM × PN = Interaction between Theory of Mind and Peer Norms; ToM × IC = Interaction between Theory of Mind and Intergroup Contact; PN × IC = Interaction between Peer Norms and Intergroup Contact; IC × D = Interaction between Intergroup Contact and Discrimination; PN × D = Interaction between Peer Norms and Discrimination
^a $p < .05$; ^b $p < .01$; ^c $p < .001$.

Table 4
Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Moral Judgments and Bystander Intervention to Bias-Based Bullying

Variables	Say Something												Inactive Responses											
	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3			Step 4			Step 1			Step 2			Step 3			Step 4		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Age	.25	.26	.08	.26	.26	.08	.26	.26	.08	.29	.27	.09	.10	.23	.04	.06	.23	.02	.07	.22	.03	-.01	.23	-.01
Immigrant-origin	-.48	.26	-.15	-.49	.26	-.32 ^b	-.31	.28	-.10	-.47	.29	-.15	.29	.23	.11	.33	.23	.12	.05	.24	.02	.12	.25	.05
Theory of mind				.06	.15	.04	.11	.15	.06	.09	.16	.05				-.22	.13	-.14	-.26	.13	-.17 ^a	-.23	.13	-.14
Intergroup contact							.28	.14	.18 ^a	.29	.17	.19 ^a				-.29	.12	-.22 ^a	-.29	.12	-.22 ^a	-.22	.14	-.16
Discrimination							-.08	.16	-.04	.07	.21	.04				.24	.14	.15	.24	.14	.15	.23	.17	.14
Peer norms							-.11	.14	-.07	-.12	.16	-.07				.05	.12	.04	.05	.12	.04	.02	.13	.01
ToM × D										.07	.20	.04										-.06	.17	-.04
ToM × PN										-.29	.16	-.16										.28	.14	.16
ToM × IC										.17	.19	.09										-.15	.16	-.09
PN × IC										-.03	.17	-.02										-.09	.14	-.06
IC × D										.21	.19	.12										.01	.16	.01
PN × D										.10	.17	.07										-.14	.14	-.11
Adjusted R ²	.02			.03			.09			.11			.01			.03			.11			.15		
F for change in R ²	2.06			0.17			2.92 ^a			1.21			0.99			2.91			3.88 ^a			1.11		

Note. ToM × D = Interaction between Theory of Mind and Discrimination; ToM × PN = Interaction between Theory of Mind and Peer Norms; ToM × IC = Interaction between Theory of Mind and Intergroup Contact; PN × IC = Interaction between Peer Norms and Intergroup Contact; IC × D = Interaction between Intergroup Contact and Discrimination; PN × D = Interaction between Peer Norms and Discrimination.

^a $p < .05$; ^b $p < .01$.

acceptable when the victim is also nonimmigrant-origin peer. Furthermore, we investigated whether adolescents' moral judgments and bystanders' responses to bullying vary as a function of age, discrimination, peer norms, and ToM abilities. Furthermore, intergroup attitudes and social-cognitive abilities are important predictors, with more intergroup contact, positive peer norms, and lower discrimination and higher ToM related to the greater likelihood of intervention to bias-based bullying. The results extend past research by clarifying the key role of social cognition and intergroup processes in evaluating and responding to bias-based bullying toward immigrants.

As expected, immigrant-origin participants judged bias-based bullying as more wrong compared to judgments of nonimmigrant peers indicating that immigrant identity might become salient and shape their moral judgments. Similarly, nonimmigrant adolescents evaluated bullying as less acceptable in general bullying when the victim is nonimmigrant compared to their immigrant-origin peers. Earlier research has demonstrated that adolescents' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are significantly shaped by their social identity (e.g., race-ethnicity, nationality, gender, social class), which motivates them to behave differently to their group members and individuals from other groups (Mulvey, Hitti, Rutland, Abrams, & Killen, 2014). For example, strong ethnic identity in younger and older immigrant adolescents is related to positivity bias toward their in-group members due to the perceived similarity and shared experiences in the acculturation process (Pfeifer et al., 2007). Consistent with past research, the difference between adolescents' responses across different types of bullying can be explained by their group memberships and their intergroup attitudes. However, we are limited in our ability to explain the results in terms of in-group bias due to the absence of data regarding adolescents' ethnic identification based on immigration background. Therefore, future research is needed to explore other possible factors to disentangle the difference in bystander responses to bias-based bullying between immigrant-origin and nonimmigrant-origin adolescents.

In line with previous research (e.g., Mulvey et al., 2018), there was also an overall developmental trend in adolescents' acceptability judgments indicating that younger adolescents judged aggression as less acceptable compared to older adolescents. However, our hypothesis regarding age was partially supported: the interaction between age and acceptability showed that the difference

between older and younger adolescents was only significant in the immigrant-origin general bullying story but not in the bias-based and nonimmigrant-origin general bullying story. Prior research has found age-related differences in bias-based contexts (Mulvey et al., 2016) as well as in general contexts. However, bias-based and general contexts have not previously been tested together. In this research, we examined both contexts using a within-subject design and examine possible age differences. Interestingly, we only observed age differences in nonimmigrant origin youth. It is plausible that older nonimmigrant-origin youth might become more permissive toward in-group transgressors considering their group functioning and group norms compared to younger children. Another possible reason might be that older adolescents might have a greater fear of repercussions such as victimization or social exclusion by the in-group transgressors as they consider the possible costs of challenging group norms. We only focused on the transition years (to middle and high schools) as increases in bullying behavior occurs during transition years (Farmer et al., 2015). However, a more comprehensive developmental pattern can be detected when a wider age-range is targeted in future research.

Our within-group comparisons revealed that only nonimmigrant-origin youth varied in their moral judgments and bystander responses across three scenarios while immigrant-origin youth's responses were not different. Immigrant-origin youth consistently judged bullying as not-acceptable. In this study, we did not measure the youth's own experiences of victimization. It is possible that immigrant-origin youth have experienced more bullying and thus are more likely to recognize its harmful nature, regardless of the reason for bullying. An additional possible reason for the difference in the pattern might be that intergroup attitudes and group membership are more salient for the nonimmigrant origin youth which leads to differences based on characteristics of the victims and reasons for bullying. Interestingly, nonimmigrant origin youth evaluated general bullying of an immigrant adolescent (shyness) as more acceptable compared to bias-based bullying of an immigrant (immigrant-origin). One possible explanation is that nonimmigrant origin youth might be more accepting of bullying when the victim is an immigrant but the reason for bullying is not explicitly related to racism, prejudice, etc.

In line with our hypotheses, our results indicated that participants with higher discriminatory tendencies evaluated bias-based bullying as more

acceptable. Furthermore, our research showed that adolescents' peer norms about immigrants also might shape their moral judgments regarding bias-based bullying when the victim is an immigrant peer. These findings are in line with the SRD perspective (Rutland et al., 2010) which proposed that intergroup attitudes shape individuals' judgments and behaviors toward targeted out-groups. Considering the earlier results which revealed that bullying incidence increases when endorsed by a peer group and regarded as a group norm, it is plausible that peer norms and discriminatory tendencies might determine the likelihood of bystander responses among adolescents. Thus, these findings have implications for antibullying interventions that focus on the bystanders, suggesting policy makers should consider promoting intergroup relations in schools, especially with diverse student populations.

As we expected, adolescents' group membership was also related to their bystander responses. More specifically, immigrant-origin adolescents were more likely to expect that they would show active responses (e.g., say something, talk to the victim and get help from someone) in the bias-based scenario compared to nonimmigrant-origin peers while nonimmigrant adolescents were more likely to report that they would show active responses when the victim is a nonimmigrant peer. Contrary to our expectation, we did not observe any differences in adolescents' inactive responses by immigrant-origin. Youth tend to evaluate bullying and social exclusion of ethnic minority peers as wrong (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002). Thus, showing inactive responses might be more likely to contrast with their moral judgments, and in turn, might lead to more social desirability while responding to inactive responses. Furthermore, participants who have higher intergroup contact with immigrants were more likely to report that they would say something to bully and talk to the victim after the bullying incident. This is in line with Intergroup Contact (Allport, 1954) theory indicating that contact with out-groups and cross-group friendship reduces negative attitudes toward out-groups. Nonimmigrant adolescents who develop friendships with immigrants might improve their knowledge about immigrants and increase their empathic concern (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This way, they might have more motivation to challenge bullies and comfort the victim.

Our results suggest that participants with higher ToM performance perceived bias-based bullying as less acceptable. Furthermore, adolescents with

higher ToM abilities were more likely to report that they would talk to the victim. We also found a similar pattern for the role of ToM in bystander responses across the two general bullying stories (see Table S3 and S4 for the specific statistical results). These are important and novel findings and consistent with earlier research that showed how ToM is related to defending response as bystanders since they might be more motivated in a prosocial way by understanding the hurt of the victim (Smith, 2017). Furthermore, the interaction with ToM and peer norms showed that adolescents with higher ToM abilities and perception of positive peer norms about immigrants were more likely to report that they would show active responses (seeking help and talk to the victim). Findings suggest that youth with higher ToM consider not only the victim's perspective, but also shape their responses based on their peer group norms about certain groups. Thus, ToM itself might not be sufficient to challenge bullying and youth might seek their group approval of their behaviors. Furthermore, prior research suggests that youth is not always accurate in assessing their peer group's norms: children and adolescents generally indicate that they would challenge morally questionable behaviors, yet often expect that their group would not (Mulvey et al., 2014). This suggests that they may be inaccurate in assessing group norms supporting intervention behaviors, given this inconsistency. Future research might explore whether those with higher ToM scores are also more accurate in judging how their groups would respond to bullying. Furthermore, these results extend existing research by examining the possible relations between social cognitive skills and intergroup processes during incidents of bias-based bullying.

This study also contributes to the literature by examining minority youth's perception of bias-based and general bullying. Experiencing ethnic harassment not only harms immigrant youth's psychological functioning, but also creates risk for engaging in aggressive and violent behaviors (Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir, & Stattin, 2019). In other words, ethnicity-based harassment is a unique risk factor for violent behaviors among immigrant youth. However, research examining the effect of intergroup processes on youth's perception of bias-based aggression has predominantly focused on the majority youth. Our study provides evidence for why it is critical to examine how intergroup processes might shape minority group (in this case, immigrant youth) judgments and bystander responses in different peer social conflicts.

Notwithstanding our promising and novel findings, some limitations and future directions for research should be considered. First, this study exclusively investigated how adolescents evaluated and reasoned about acts of different types of bullying in hypothetical scenarios. Although the current findings provide some initial evidence of how adolescents might behave in similar scenarios, it will need to be explored how evaluations about the acceptability of bullying and bystander responses are related to actual behavioral responses to bullying. Furthermore, the use of multiple methods including identifying bystanders via social networks and peer nomination approaches could provide greater insight into the bystander responses than only self-report measures. Second, although we found mean differences across different bullying scenarios it was important to note that participants' means for acceptability judgments were below the mid-point. In other words, most of the participants were likely to use the first half of the scale (*really not okay to kind of not okay*) to evaluate bullying across stories. Thus, actual behavioral responses might allow us to see more salient differences in the responses between different bullying scenarios. Third, we framed our items in terms of general immigration. However, the development of identity-based on immigrant-origin and national identity might vary across ethnic groups, geography, and time spent in the United States. With related to that, most of our immigrant-origin participants have Hispanic-Latino background in which collectivism is an important value. Based on cultural socialization theories empirical research showed that collectivism was positively related to the prosocial behavior of Hispanic-Latino adolescents (range = 13–17). This was explained by the possible association between collectivism and cooperative interactions with others in a harmonious way (Davis et al., 2018). In a similar vein, Segal, Gerdes, Mullins, Wagaman, and Androff (2011) demonstrated that Hispanic-Latino youth and young adults have more social empathy and they are more willing to help a stranger compared to their nonimmigrant-origin peers. These patterns are likely to reflect the participants in our study as well. However, our results also showed that older immigrant-origin adolescents were more likely to see bullying as more acceptable compared to nonimmigrant-origin adolescents when the victim is nonimmigrant-origin adolescents. Thus, the interaction between age and group processes might shape immigrant-origin adolescents' attitudes and bystander responses toward bullying. Fourth, future research

should also examine the intersectionality of different group memberships (e.g., bias-based bullying toward LGBT immigrant adolescents). For example, Fournier, Hamelin Brabant, Dupéré, and Chamberland (2018) found that lesbian and gay immigrants were more likely to encounter many challenges including racist and homophobic discrimination. Furthermore, for the general bullying, we chose "shyness" as a targeted personal characteristic (e.g., Jantzer et al., 2006), however, future research should also examine other personality characteristics as an underlying reason of peer victimization in general bullying to better capture the stability of the results. Lastly, although we examine adolescents' evaluations quantitatively, future research should also examine bystander responses qualitatively to understand the motivations of bystanders in the intergroup context via their voices which help the researcher to generate a conceptual framework to inform antibullying intervention programs in diverse societies. To our knowledge, only two qualitative recent studies investigated youth's judgments about bias bullying toward (Caravita et al., 2020; Mazzone et al., 2018). Findings showed that participants were more likely to attribute the reason for bullying to learned racism, color and prejudice in a bias-based bullying context (when the victim is immigrant) compared to general bullying (when the victim is nonimmigrant). However, more research is needed to extend these studies by allowing youth to discuss their motivation to intervene or not to intervene in bias-based bullying. Despite these limitations, our study uniquely presents an important first step in understanding why adolescents' moral judgments and bystander intervention differ across three types of bullying varied on victim's group membership (immigrant-origin and nonimmigrant-origin) and reason of the bullying (bias-based and general bullying).

This study extends the bystander intervention literature by examining the correlates of bystander intervention in different types of bullying including bias-based bullying. Although effect sizes were small the practical significance of these findings might have important implications for intervention research in diverse societies. Prior research documents that, in the U.S. context, many bullying interventions are not very effective, in part because they do not attend to the diverse heterogeneous populations in schools (Evans et al., 2014). Thus, it is critical to examine factors influencing bias-based bullying to provide implications for school-based interventions in ethnically diverse bullying contexts (Evans et al., 2014; Palmer & Abbott, 2018). These

results are important steps to inform the development and implementation of more appropriate antibullying interventions in ethnically diverse settings as schools are increasingly diverse in today's world. Our results help to inform school-based antibullying intervention programs which target fostering positive social climates of schools, where school principals, educators, and educational psychologists attend to the unique needs of children with marginalized background and support their well-being and positive intergroup interactions. Findings also suggest that considering intergroup processes and social-cognitive skills help to strengthen existing antibullying interventions that attempt to tackle bias-based bullying against immigrants.

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information may be found in the online version of this article at the publisher's website:

Figure S1. Interaction between Peer Norms and ToM in Bias-based Bullying for Seeking Help

Figure S2. Interaction between Peer Norms and ToM in Bias-based Bullying for Talking to the Victim

Table S1. Correlations for Study Outcomes

Table S2. Bystander Intervention for General Bullying

Table S3. Bystander Intervention for General Bullying (Immigrant)

Table S4. Schools' Characteristics

Appendix S1. Methods

Manuscript 3: Do Adolescents Intervene in Intergroup Bullying?: Bystander Judgments and Responses to Intergroup Bullying of Refugees

Despite the plethora of literature on bullying, and the availability of hate crime data toward Syrian refugees, relatively less is known about how adolescents show bystander responses in cases of bias-based bullying toward refugees. The third study examined to what extent Turkish adolescents' reactions to school bullying as bystanders vary as a function of two different forms of bullying, namely bias-based (if a Syrian child is bullied because of refugee status) and generalized bullying (if a Turkish child is bullied because of shyness) in hypothetical scenarios. Further, the second aim of the study was to investigate the possible role of intergroup related factors and social-cognitive abilities (ToM) as predictors of bystander responses to bias-based bullying. This study also draws from Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2008) and the Social Reasoning Developmental perspective (SRD; Rutland, Killen & Abrams, 2010). Participants included 587 Turkish middle ($M_{age} = 12.19$) and high ($M_{age} = 14.81$) school students in two districts that vary in terms of Syrian refugee enrollment (high-low Syrian enrollment). Participants read two stories (bias-based and interpersonal bullying). To evaluate moral judgments, they rated the acceptability of bullying after each story. Then, they evaluated how likely they would be to respond in different ways as bystanders: explicitly challenge the bully and explicitly support the bully. Adolescents' ToM abilities (White et al., 2009) and empathy (Pöyhönen et al., 2008) were assessed through reliable measures to understand what role social cognitive skills play in bystander responses. Further, intergroup contact (Crystal et al., 2008), prejudice (Aboud, 2003), and discrimination (Berger et al., 2015) towards Syrian refugees were examined as intergroup-related predictors of bystander responses.

Findings from ANOVAs showed that adolescents judge bullying as more acceptable and were more likely to support the bully in bias-based bullying than in generalized bullying. Hierarchical regression results also revealed that adolescents with higher ToM and empathy were more likely to challenge the bully and less likely to support the bully in bias-based bullying explicitly. In terms of intergroup factors, adolescents with higher intergroup contact with Syrian refugees were more likely to challenge the bully explicitly and less likely to support the bully explicitly. Relatedly, adolescents with high prejudice and discriminatory tendencies towards Syrian refugees reported that they were more likely to engage in explicit support of the bully and less likely to engage in explicit challenges of bullying. Examining factors involved in bystander responses to bullying is essential to inform why intervention programs should consider multiple factors in intergroup contexts where there is a great need for new research to inform policy and programming to ensure just and fair treatment of all youth.

This article is under review in the *Journal of Research on Adolescence*.

Gönültaş, S., & Mulvey, K. L. (under review). Do Adolescents Intervene When Outgroup

Members are Victimized?: Intergroup Processes and Social-Cognitive Predictors of Bystander Responses in Bias-based Bullying of Syrian Refugees in Turkey.

Abstract

This study examined 587 Turkish adolescents' ($M_{age} = 13.14$, $SD = 1.61$) judgments and the likelihood of bystander responses towards hypothetical intragroup (Turkish victim) and intergroup (Syrian refugee victim) bullying. Intergroup factors and social-cognitive skills were assessed as predictors. Findings revealed that adolescents were more likely to see intergroup bullying as more acceptable and more likely to explicitly support the bully compared to intragroup bullying. Further adolescents with higher theory of mind and empathy were more likely to evaluate intergroup bullying as less acceptable and more likely to expect they would challenge the bully. Adolescents' prejudice and discrimination towards refugees were predictors of bystander judgments and responses to intergroup bullying. This study provides implications for anti-bullying intervention programs for intergroup bullying of refugees.

Keywords. bias-based bullying, bystander responses, prejudice and discrimination, intergroup contact, victimization of Syrian refugees, theory of mind, empathy

Do Adolescents Intervene in Intergroup Bullying?: Bystander Judgments and Responses to Intergroup Bullying of Refugees

From the start of the crisis in Syria in 2011 through 2020, Turkey hosted three million six hundred thousand refugees, largest number of refugees worldwide (UNHCR, 2020). Almost 46 percent of those individuals are between 0-18 years old (UNHCR, 2020). Evidence from empirical articles and public reports revealed that Syrian adolescents experience discrimination and negative attitudes from their peers (Demir & Özgül, 2019; Yitmen et al., 2019). Further, Syrian refugee adolescents are bullied in schools by their Turkish peers due to their refugee status (Yilmaz & Uytun, 2020). Considering the negative influence of bullying of Syrian refugees on their mental health and school belonging (Sapmaz et al., 2017; Yilmaz & Uytun, 2020), it is important to explore ways to reduce bullying of Syrian refugee youth. One factor which influences the probability of bullying occurrence is the response of bystanders who witness bullying rather than being involved as either the bully or victim (Salmivalli et al., 2011). Bystanders can help to stop bullying incidences. However, bystanders might not be willing to intervene in intergroup contexts when the bully is from their ingroup and when the victim is from a marginalized outgroup. Thus, in the current study, we investigated to what extent adolescents' bystanders' attitudes and responses to bullying vary depending on the ethnic background of the victim exploring both intergroup bullying (when the victim is an outgroup Syrian refugee peer and the bully is an ingroup Turkish peer) and intragroup bullying (both the victim and bully are Turkish peers). Further, we examined how bystander responses differ across different forms of bullying and how responses to intergroup bullying are associated with individuals' socio- cognitive abilities and intergroup attitudes.

Bystanders' Judgments and Responses to Intragroup and Intergroup Bullying

Intergroup bullying is defined as repeated aggression involving a power imbalance that targets the victims due to their group membership (e.g., race or ethnicity, nationality, immigration/refugee status, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability, Palmer & Abbott, 2018). On the other hand, intragroup bullying occurs if the ingroup victims are targeted because of their personality, skills, or abilities (Juvonen & Graham, 2014). Although both forms of bullying have adverse effects on adolescents, intergroup bullying can be even more detrimental to adolescents' school adjustment and psychological health than intragroup bullying (Mulvey et al., 2018). Thus, it is important to examine factors that help in tackling intergroup bullying. As noted above one factor which influences the probability of both intragroup and intergroup bullying is bystander intervention.

Research on bystander intervention documents that bullying tends to stop when bystanders intervene (Salmivalli et al., 2011). However, bystanders' intervention (on behalf of the victim) in bullying incidents is rare, even in intragroup bullying situations for many reasons, including possible fear of retaliatory acts (Frey et al., 2014). Further, bystanders can also reinforce and assist the bully, especially in intergroup bullying, when the victim is an outgroup member (immigrant/refugee) and the bully is an ingroup member (António et al., 2020; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2020). Limited research on bystander judgments and responses to intergroup bullying provide evidence that bystanders may be exposed to higher risks of being socially excluded by their group members if they intervene (António et al., 2020). Thus, intergroup bullying contexts might create further concerns and obstacles for bystanders' motivation to intervene in assertive ways. However, it is still very little known about how intergroup bullying might influence bystander judgments and responses.

Therefore, it is essential to explore predictors and underlying mechanisms that help explain the different types of bystander responses in intergroup bullying incidents, especially in high-conflict contexts such as refugees in Turkey.

Most of the bullying studies conducted in Turkey examine the demographic correlates of being victimized or being a bully and provide information about the prevalence rate of ingroup bullying in school settings (Çalışkan et al., 2019; Björkqvist & Österman, 2018). Among the few studies that examined bullying involving Syrian youth in Turkey, Yilmaz (2020) showed that Syrian adolescents in the study sample experienced different types of involvement in bullying (“15.1% as a victim, 9.2% as a bully, and 34.5% bully and victim”). However, there is a lack of research on Turkish adolescents’ bystander responses to different types of bullying, including intergroup bullying targeting Syrian refugee peers. This is novel and important issue to address as intergroup bullying of refugee adolescents is a major threat to the inclusion and wellbeing and to harmonious intergroup relations. To advance theoretical understanding of generic developmental and distinct intergroup processes in reducing intergroup bullying, the current research shifts the focus from bullies and their victims to their peers as bystanders. Thus, by bridging developmental and social approaches it is important to examine social cognitive and intergroup-related factors as possible predictors of bystander judgments and responses.

Predictors of Bystander Responses to Intergroup Bullying of Syrian Refugees in Turkey

To our knowledge no prior research has examined the bystanders’ judgments and responses to intergroup bullying of refugees. Thus, we reviewed the limited research that has investigated intergroup bullying targeting immigrants to explore possible factors in bystander responses to intergroup bullying of refugees as immigrants and refugee youth experiences

common discrimination and prejudice in their schools (Buchanan et al., 2018). However, it is also important to note that the current research is novel in addressing common and unique mechanisms to foster bystander responses as a tool to reduce ethnic victimization.

Among few studies that examine bystander responses in the intergroup bullying context, Mazzone et al. (2018) showed that adolescents' reasoning differs when the victim is an immigrant or non-immigrant peer. More specifically, adolescents attributed more to "learned racism and fear towards immigrants" while reasoning about bullying of immigrants. Similarly, Caravita et al. (2019) found that adolescents' justifications might depend on the group membership of the victim in hypothetical scenarios (whether the victim is an immigrant or non-immigrant peer). Although research on adolescents' judgments and reasoning for intergroup bullying is gaining attention, little is still known about how social-cognitive factors and intergroup processes might shape bystanders' judgments and responses in intergroup bullying contexts. Understanding the role of social-cognitive factors and intergroup processes is important as this may reveal key areas for intervention both to reduce bullying in general and to foster assertive bystander intervention to halt bullying which does occur.

In the current study, we adopt the Social Reasoning Developmental perspective (SRD; Rutland et al., 2010) to understand when and why adolescents challenge or support either bullies or victims in intergroup contexts. This model combines social group processes (e.g., peer evaluations and inclusion decisions into peer groups) with the development of social and cognitive skills. It provides a model that explains the developmental unfolding of group dynamics by illustrating the process in which children and adolescents subjectively evaluate behaviors of ingroup and outgroup members by weighing moral norms and fairness and also group functioning. Thus, the current study is informed by this model theoretically, and the

hypotheses are derived by this empirical framework that emphasizes the role of social factors such as group processes, intergroup attitudes, and conflict on youth's bystander responses towards intergroup bullying.

Intergroup Processes as Predictors

In line with the SRD model, we explore the role of various intergroup factors that might underlie individual differences in bystander responses in intergroup bullying contexts, such as intergroup contact, prejudice, and discrimination.

Intergroup Contact. Allport's Intergroup Contact Theory argues that intergroup contact would lead a decrease in prejudice and other types of negative attitudes towards outgroups if specific conditions are met (i.e. equal status, common goals, cooperation, and institutional support, Allport, 1954). For example, when adolescents have more opportunities to contact immigrants and refugees, their likelihood of establishing friendships with the members of those groups is higher compared to adolescents who have less opportunity for contact (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Titzmann et al., 2015).

Further, intergroup contact is also associated with bystanders' active responses when they witness their outgroup members are victimized (Abbott & Cameron, 2014). Similarly, Palmer and colleagues (2017) showed that cross-group friendship was associated with an increase in the likelihood of prosocial bystander responses among adolescents. Although the possible link between intergroup contact and bystander responses has not been tested yet in the context of intergroup bullying of Syrian youth in Turkey, related studies provide some evidence that intergroup contact may foster youth's positive bystander responses. For example, a recent study showed that the association between negative attitudes and discrimination was weaker in Turkish children and adolescents who reported more Syrian refugee friends compared to

children and adolescents with lower contact with Syrian refugees (Bağcı et al., 2020).

Further, in a follow-up study, they found that intergroup contact did not matter for individuals who have prior negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees. In other words, for those adolescents, prejudice was a strong predictor of their behavioral tendencies towards refugees. These findings suggest that, in addition to intergroup contact, it is also important to examine prejudice and discrimination, given that not all opportunities for contact may be positive and that prejudice and discrimination may still occur in contexts where contact is possible (Bağcı et al., 2020).

Prejudice and Discrimination. Prejudice (i.e. “negative attitudes or negative evaluative responses to groups as a whole or toward individuals due to their group membership”) and discriminatory tendencies (i.e. “negatively biased treatment of people based on their group membership”, Dovidio et al., 2010; Gönültaş & Mulvey) might also shape bystander motivation to intervene when adolescents observe bullying of an outgroup member. Prejudice and discriminatory tendencies towards Syrian refugee children and youth have increased as Syrian refugees have settled in public schools (Gönültaş et al., 2020; Uzun & Butun, 2016).

Studies with Syrian participants also showed that they are exposed to prejudicial attitudes, discriminatory tendencies, and social exclusion (Akçapar & Şimşek, 2018; Demir & Özgül, 2019). Given the prejudice and discrimination toward refugees and the likely continuation of the global refugee crisis with an increased number of refugees requesting entrance to Turkey, the consequences of such prejudice and discrimination in peer social conflicts are essential to understand.

Social-cognitive Skills as Predictors

Further, the SRD perspective posits the importance of investigating the role of social-cognitive development in relation to intergroup processes. The SRD argues that the development of social-cognitive abilities influences whether individuals show intergroup biases toward others from different groups and whether these intergroup attitudes influence their moral judgments towards social conflicts within intergroup contexts (Rutland et al., 2010). Thus, in addition to intergroup attitudes, we also examined how adolescents' Theory of Mind (White et al., 2009) and empathy (Pöyhönen, 2008) as these might influence bystander responses to bullying.

Theory of Mind. One social cognitive ability that may be especially important for thinking about responding to others' behavior is Theory of Mind (ToM), which can be defined as attributing and predicting subjective mental states of others including intentions, beliefs, desires, and emotions (White et al., 2009). Examining ToM can help researchers to understand the dynamic relationship between bystanders' responses to bullying and group processes. This is because low ToM and perspective-taking abilities are predictors of individuals' intergroup attitudes towards specific outgroups (Amodio, 2014). Further, research documented that higher mental state understanding was positively related to active defending behaviors (Caravita et al., 2010).

However, recent studies showed that children and adolescents do not always use their theory of mind ability effortlessly and automatically (Ekerim-Akbulut et al., 2020; Gönültaş et al., 2020; McLoughlin & Over, 2017). For example, two recent studies showed that Turkish adolescents and young adults were more likely to attribute mental states to their ingroup members compared to Syrian refugees. Moreover, their ToM performance varies as a function

of perceived similarity, prejudice, and threat perception towards outgroups (Ekerim-Akbulut et al., 2020; Gönültaş et al., 2020). In other words, they direct their attention to specific aspects of situations and individuals when trying to grasp others' mental states, and this selectivity in the information they attend to can bias their theory of mind performance. Similarly, McLoughlin and Over (2017) found that children perceived less humanness in outgroup members compared to ingroup members. Together, these findings suggest that studies which examine the possible role of ToM in intergroup relations should consider ToM mind as effortful process and evaluate ToM performance for the specific targeted outgroup members.

Empathy. Empathy is conceptualized broadly as the ability to understand and feel the cognitive and affective experiences of others (Hodgson & Wertheim, 2007). Several studies document the relationship between bystander intervention and empathy, indicating that when bystanders can understand and feel a victim's situation, they are more likely to help, and thus, more likely to stop the bullying incident (e.g., Barchia & Bussey, 2011). Similarly, a recent study showed that empathy was a significant predictor of both bystanders' moral judgments and active responses to intragroup bullying and following retaliation on the part of the victim (Gönültaş et al., 2019). Further, inducing empathy toward refugees in majority children aged between 8 and 11 improves outgroup attitudes, and in turn, increases helping behavior toward refugees (Taylor & Glen, 2020). What is still unknown, however, is what role empathy plays in shaping bystander responses to intergroup bullying, in particular.

Present Study

Extant literature on bystander intervention in bullying documents that when bystanders intervene (e.g., defending the victim, challenging the bully or helping the victim after the bullying), bullying cases is likely to stop in most of the time (Salmivalli et al., 2011).

However, there is a dearth of literature on bystander responses to intergroup bullying in a context with high intergroup tension, such as in Turkey, given the refugee crisis. This gap in the literature limits our understanding of how bystander responses might vary based on the group membership of victims and the reason for bullying. In this study, we addressed this gap by investigating how bystander responses are related to intergroup processes and social-cognitive skills with a novel approach by bridging developmental and social approaches. With this aim, we examined to what extent Turkish adolescents' reactions to school bullying as bystanders vary in response to two different forms of bullying, namely intergroup (if a Syrian youth is bullied because of refugee status) and intragroup bullying (if a Turkish youth is bullied because of shyness) in hypothetical scenarios in a within-subjects design. Refugee status was chosen as the reason for intergroup bullying as this is a salient intergroup context in Turkey and shyness was chosen as the reason for intragroup bullying since it is one of the important underlying reasons for peer victimization in generalized or interpersonal context (e.g., Jantzer et al., 2006).

We focused on adolescence because, throughout this developmental period, the social horizon and knowledge about group dynamics of adolescents widen (Levy & Klein, 2010). Especially in the context of intergroup attitudes towards immigrants and refugees, earlier studies showed that negative attitudes towards immigrants increase with age (Ruck & Tenenbaum, 2014). Further, research demonstrates that adolescents were less willing to have social contact with their immigrant and refugee peers with age (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007). Moreover, we specifically focus on middle schools and high schools because earlier studies showed that adolescents were more likely to see bullying as more acceptable and less willing to intervene with age. More specifically, 6th graders were less to see bullying as acceptable and

were less likely to show active responses compared to 9th graders (e.g., Mulvey et al., 2019). Thus, we examine attitudes and expected bystander responses in both younger and older adolescents.

Hypotheses for Differences in Bystanders' Acceptability Judgments and Bystander Responses across Intragroup and Intergroup Bullying

Based on previous research suggesting that victims' immigration background might shape bystanders' judgments (Caravita et al., 2019; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2020), we hypothesized that adolescents would evaluate intragroup bullying as less acceptable compared to intergroup bullying (H1). In line with research documenting bystanders' different attributions to intragroup and intergroup bullying (Caravita et al., 2020), we expected that adolescents would be more likely reference fairness, refugee status, and discrimination in their acceptability judgments for intergroup bullying while they would be more likely to consider personal characteristics in intragroup bullying (H2). In a similar line with H1, we also expected that adolescents would be less likely to challenge and more likely to support bullies in intergroup bullying compared to intragroup bullying (H3). Further, we also examined whether adolescents' acceptability judgments, bystanders' responses, and their reasoning might differ depending on opportunities for intergroup contact (comparing participants in school districts with high or lower contact with Syrian refugees) and age (middle and high school) across H1, H2, and H3.

Hypotheses for Predictors of Bystanders' Acceptability Judgments and Bystander Responses in Intergroup Bullying

After examining within and between-group differences, we further explored the possible predictors of adolescents' acceptability judgments, their bystanders' responses, and their

reasoning in intergroup bullying. Given the evidence of positive association social-cognitive abilities and challenging responses (Caravita et al., 2010; Gönültaş et al., 2019), we expected that adolescents who have higher ToM and empathy would be less likely to see bullying as acceptable, less likely to support bully and more likely to challenge the bully in intergroup bullying (H4). Finally, considering the evidence suggesting that bystanders' responses are likely to be affected by intergroup factors (Palmer & Abbott, 2018), we hypothesized that adolescents who have lower discriminatory tendencies, less prejudice toward Syrian refugees, and who have more intergroup contact with Syrian refugees would be less likely to see bullying as acceptable, less likely to support bullies and more likely to challenge intergroup bullying (H5).

Methods

Participants

Data was collected from 587 Turkish middle ($Mage = 12.19$, $SD = 1.01$; 208 girls) and high ($Mage = 14.81$, $SD = .97$; 142 girls) school students. The data were collected from eight different schools in Istanbul (located in the northwestern part of Turkey), which is a key location that hosts a larger refugee population in Turkey (Ministry of Interior, Directorate General of Migration Management, 2017). To get variability in intergroup contact with Syrian refugees in Istanbul, schools were chosen from four different districts: two districts where the population of Syrian refugees is relatively high (14% and 19% of the total population of the districts) and two districts in where the Syrian refugee population is low (1% and 5% of the total population of the districts). Middle schools in lower and higher contact districts and high schools in lower and higher contact districts are similar in terms of the total number of students and that curriculum that is taught.

Procedure and Design

Institutional Review Board approval was obtained from the two universities (in the USA and Turkey). After receiving permission from the Ministry of Education of Turkey, the study was introduced to school principals and school counselors. Adolescents were recruited by sending invitation letters and consent forms to parents through their schools. All students with parental consent were included in the study.

A within-subjects design was used to compare adolescents' acceptability judgments and bystander responses to intergroup bullying and intragroup bullying. All participants were presented the measures in the following order: intragroup bullying story, theory of mind stories, intergroup bullying story, intergroup contact scale, discrimination, empathy, and prejudice. We did not randomize the order of measures in order to avoid priming participants in terms of intergroup attitudes towards Syrian refugees. All measures were presented in Turkish. Most of the tasks and scales have reliable and validated Turkish versions: Prejudice, Discriminatory Tendencies (Gönültaş et al., 2020; Husnu et al., 2018), Empathy (Nalbant et al., 2018), and Theory of Mind (Gönültaş et al., 2020). However, the bullying scenarios and the intergroup contact scale were adapted and translated for this study using forward-translation and back-translation methods.

The data was collected between December 9, 2019, and January 10, 2020. Participants completed the study in a paper-based format, either in their classrooms or in the school libraries in their reading or physical activity classes. Students who did not have parental consent or did not assent to participate did their class activities (reading their book or attending physical activity class). Small stationery items were given to adolescents for their participation.

Measures

Dependent Measures

Acceptability Judgments and Bystander Intervention. Two bullying stories were created based on earlier research (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2020; Mulvey et al., 2019). The type of aggression and the context were kept as same across stories: social aggression in the school context. However, victims' ethnic background and the reason for bullying were changed. More specifically, in the first story, adolescents read about a hypothetical bullying scenario in which a Turkish peer bullies a Turkish youth due to being shy (intragroup bullying).

Story 1: *“Your group enjoys telling each other jokes about lots of things, including different personality characteristics. Now, imagine that the school day has not yet started, and you are hanging out with your group of friends in the hallway. There are no teachers around yet. Murat, who is one of the kids in your group of friends, shouts out rude words against shy people. Meanwhile, Fatih appears. When Murat realizes Fatih is around, he purposely shouts out a rude word at Fatih because Fatih is very shy as he did in the previous days”.*

In the second story, adolescents read about a hypothetical bullying scenario in which a Turkish peer bullies a Syrian refugee youth because of refugee status (intergroup bullying).

Story 2: *“Your group enjoys telling each other jokes about lots of things, including about different groups of people. Now, imagine that the school day has not yet started, and you are hanging out with your group of friends in the hallway. There are no teachers around yet. Barış, who is one of the kids in your group of friends, tells a joke about Syrian people. Meanwhile, Joram appears. Joram is originally from Syria but now lives in Turkey. When Barış realizes Joram is around, he purposely shouts out a rude word at Joram because Joram is from Syria as he did in the previous days”.*

After each story, participants rated the acceptability of bullying on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*really not okay*) to 6 (*really okay*). Then they were asked how likely they would respond as bystanders in the following ways: explicit challenge (tell the bully to stop, tell other members of your group not to join in) and explicit support (laugh and tell others to come and watch, join the bully). Their responses were rated on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not likely at all*) to 6 (*really likely*), and composite scores were created for explicit challenge to bully and explicit support to bully for intragroup bullying and intergroup bullying.

Reasoning. Participants were also presented with a reasoning question (Why?) after the acceptability question. Participants' responses were coded by using coding categories based on previous literature on individuals' conceptions of moral judgments (Killen et al., 2013). The analyses were conducted using the following justification codes (used more than 10%): Fairness (e.g., "It is not fair to bully anyone for any reason"), Personality Characteristics (e.g., "We shouldn't treat anyone differently because of their shyness"), Refugee Status (e.g., "They deserved this as they came from different country") Prejudice & Discrimination (e.g., "It is okay to bully them because Syrian students are bad and we should stay away from them"; "It's racist and discriminatory"), Empathy (e.g., "How would they feel if it happened to them?"), Harm (e.g., "It will hurt his feelings") and Prescriptive Norms (e.g., "Because you are not supposed to bully"). Double and triple codes were used when there was more than one category to capture. Interrater reliability was assessed based on about 25% of the interviews, with very good reliability, Cohen's $\kappa = .89$.

Intergroup-related Predictors

Intergroup Contact. The Developmental Intergroup Contact Survey was used to evaluate participants' contact with the refugees was used (Crystal et al., 2008). This scale

consists of six items on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*none*) to 4 (*very*). Examples include “How often do you work on school projects and study with students who are from Syria but now live in Turkey?” and “In the neighborhood where you live, do you have neighbors who are from Syria but now live in Turkey?” for example (Cronbach’s $a = .73$). The composite score was calculated by averaging the items, with higher scores representing greater contact with Syrian refugees. This measure was initially developed to assess ethnic intergroup contact and was modified to fit the specific intergroup context (contact with Syrian refugees in Turkey).

Discriminatory Tendencies. Discriminatory tendencies were measured via a social distance task by Berger et al. (2015). After participants were presented with a drawing depicted a street with eight houses set side-by-side, they were asked to choose one of the houses for their new-comer Syrian refugee peer. Adapting this measure to also capture tendencies in school, we presented participants with a drawing of a classroom with eight desks set side-by-side. Then, participants were told to choose a desk for the same Syrian refugee peer. We matched the gender and age of the hypothetical Syrian refugee peer with the participants’ age and gender. As the distance scores in houses and desks were strongly correlated ($r = .83, p < .001$), a composite score was created by averaging two distance scores. The composite distance score is ranging from 1 to 7, with higher scores representing greater discriminatory tendencies toward the Syrian refugees.

Prejudice. To assess intergroup attitudes, we adapted the Multiple-Response Racial Attitude measure (Aboud, 2003). Participants were presented twelve traits, six positive (“nice, likable, clean, good”) and six negative (“ugly, bad, dirty, unpleasant”). Participants were asked to rate each adjective for the targeted outgroup (Syrians) with a 5-point scale (1 = not at all to 5 = a lot). Negative and positive attitudes scores were created by averaging

items in each domain (Cronbach's a : .86 for the negative attitudes subscale and .82 for the positive attitudes subscale). Then a composite score was created by subtracting the composite score of positive attitudes from the composite score of negative attitudes with higher scores representing greater prejudice toward Syrian refugees in Turkey (ranging from -4 to 4). This measure was previously used to measure older children's and adolescents' prejudice (Gönültaş et al., 2020; Rutland et al., 2005).

Social-cognitive Predictors

Empathy towards Victim. Adolescents' empathy towards victims of bullying was assessed via the Empathy for Victimization Scale (Kärnä et al., 2011; Pöyhönen et al., 2008). This scale includes seven items rated on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*) (e.g., I can understand how being bullied make someone feel bad; Cronbach's $a = .86$). The composite score was created by averaging the scores, with higher scores representing higher levels of empathy towards victimized peers of bullying.

Theory of Mind. A modified version of the Strange Stories task was used to examine adolescents' theory of mind abilities (Devine et al., 2016; White et al., 2009). Earlier studies showed that children and adolescents were more likely to attribute mental states to ingroup members compared to outgroup members (Gönültaş et al., 2020). Thus, in the current study, we adapted two mindreading stories (white lie and deception) to depict Syrian characters. After each story, participants answered a question requiring causal inference about the target's mental state. Participants' responses were coded on a 0-2 scale (2 = correct answer with mental state attribution; 1 = correct information without attributing mental states and 0 = false answer). Two coders scored participants' responses (interrater reliability was Cohen's $\kappa = .96$ based on 25% of responses). Participants' accuracy scores were summed to compute the total ToM

performance ranged between 0 and 4.

Data Analysis Strategy

Statistical analyses include descriptive statistics (e.g., means, standard deviations, and ranges), mixed repeated-measures ANOVAs, bivariate correlations, and hierarchical regression. First, three separate mixed repeated-measures ANOVAs were used to examine group mean differences in acceptability judgments, bystander responses, and reasoning by school district and age group. Mixed-design analysis is appropriate to explore the interaction between within subject factors (different types of bullying stories) and between-subjects factor (age group and school district) on the dependent variable. Second, to examine the relationship between outcome variables and predictors, bivariate Pearson correlations were conducted. Lastly, hierarchical regressions were conducted to investigate social-cognitive and intergroup-related factors as possible predictors of adolescents' acceptability judgments and bystander responses. This data analytic approach is common to explore the unique role of different factors on outcome variables. All analyses were performed in SPSS.

Results

Missing Data and Preliminary Analysis

Table 1 presents the means, SDs, ranges, and correlations between outcome variables and predictors. Missing value percentages for variables ranged from 0.2% to 9.2%. Thus, the pairwise deletion method was used to minimize the loss of cases. To examine whether adolescents' demographic characteristics, social-cognitive skills, and intergroup attitudes depend on the school district (lower contact and higher contact with Syrian refugees), we first conducted ANOVAs. Accordingly, no differences were found in adolescents' age, ToM ability, and empathy across school districts. Further, adolescents in schools where Syrian refugees

mostly live in the district reported higher levels of intergroup contact compared to adolescents in schools with low contact. Adolescents in schools with low contact were more likely to report prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory tendencies compared to adolescents in schools with high contact with Syrian refugees (see Supplementary Analysis for the means and exact values). Based on these findings, the school district was used in all analyses as a possible factor. Gender was dropped from the analyses as we did not find gender differences in adolescents' acceptability judgments and their bystander responses.

Acceptability Judgments by Age and School District

To test H1 and examine differences in adolescents' acceptability judgments we ran a 2 (story type: intergroup bullying and intragroup bullying) X 2 (age group: middle school and High school) X 2 (school district: lower contact and higher contact with Syrian refugees) mixed ANOVA. Our within-group variable was story type and our between-group variables were age group and school district. Results showed a main effect of story type on adolescents' acceptability judgments ($F(1, 573) = 12.93, p < .001, \eta p^2 = .022$) with a small effect size. Overall, adolescents judged all bullying as wrong, but evaluated intragroup bullying as less acceptable ($M = 1.32; SD = .66$) than intergroup bullying ($M = 1.60; SD = 1.16$) regardless of school districts. Although no significant interactions were found between acceptability and school contact, there was a between-subjects effect of school contact ($F(1, 573) = 22.00, p < .001, \eta p^2 = .037$) with a small effect size. More specifically, adolescents in schools with higher contact judged both bullying types as less acceptable ($M = 1.33; SD = .40$) compared to adolescents in lower contact schools ($M = 1.64; SD = .50$).

Reasoning by Age and School District

To test for differences in participants' reasoning regarding their acceptability judgments (H2), a mixed model 14 (Reasoning in Intragroup and Intergroup Bullying: Fairness, Refugee Status, Personality Characteristics, Discrimination, Empathy, Harm and Prescriptive Norms) X 2(age: middle school and high school) X 2 (school district: lower contact with Syrian refugees and higher contact with Syrian refugees) ANOVA was run for proportional use of each code. Results showed a significant main effect of reasoning (see Table 2 for the means, SDs, and ANOVA statistics). Pairwise comparisons showed that participants were more likely to attribute fairness, refugee status, and discrimination in intergroup bullying compared to intragroup bullying. Further, participants were more likely to attribute personality characteristics, harm, and prescriptive norms in intragroup bullying scenarios compared to intergroup bullying.

Bystander Responses by Age and School District

In order to test H3 and examine different types of bystander responses, we ran a similar 4(bystander responses: explicit challenge in intragroup bullying, explicit challenge in intergroup bullying, explicit support in intragroup bullying, explicit support in intergroup bullying) X 2 (age: middle school and high school) X 2 (school district: lower contact and higher contact with Syrian refugees) Mixed ANOVA. Results showed that there was a main effect of bystander response ($F(7, 539) = 1031.09, p < .001, \eta p^2 = .657$). Accordingly, adolescents were more likely to report that they would support the bully in intergroup bullying compared to intragroup bullying ($F(7, 539) = 544.42, p < .001, \eta p^2 = .753$). However, no differences were found in bystander responses in terms of explicit challenge across two stories ($p = .055$). Further, results showed that adolescents were more likely to report challenging behavior

compared to supporting behavior in both stories ($p_s < .001$). The findings also revealed a significant three-way interaction between bystander responses, school district, and age groups ($F(7, 539) = 5.03, p = .002, \eta p^2 = .009$) (see Table 1 for the means for each group and see Figure 1 for differences). Accordingly, middle school students in lower contact districts were more likely to support the bully ($p = .016$). At the same time, they were less likely to challenge the bully in intergroup bullying compared to intragroup bullying ($p = .004$). Further, high school students in higher contact districts were less likely to support the bully in intergroup bullying compared to high school students in lower contact districts ($p = .003$).

Predictors of Acceptability Judgments and Bystander Responses

H4 and H5 were that social-cognitive factors and intergroup related factors would predict adolescents' acceptability judgment and bystander responses in intergroup bullying (when the victim is Syrian youth). To test those hypotheses, first, we examined correlations between outcome variables and predictors (see Table 3). Then, three different hierarchical regressions were conducted to examine predictors of bystander judgments and responses to intergroup bullying based on what was theoretically supported in the literature. We performed these analyses only for the bystander responses to intergroup bullying (not to intragroup bullying) as intergroup related factors are primarily meaningful to explore in the intergroup context.

Age group (middle school = 0, high school = 1) was added in the first step as previous research has documented age-related differences in responses to bullying. The school district (lower contact to Syrian refugee = 0, higher contact to Syrian refugee = 1) was also added in the first step because results ANOVA tests revealed that there were significant differences between adolescents from low and higher contact districts in terms of intergroup related factors

(see Supplementary Analysis). In the second step, empathy and ToM were added because they were related to bystander responses in intragroup bullying (Caravita et al., 2010; Gönültaş et al., 2019) but were not previously tested in the context of intergroup bullying. At the last step, intergroup related variables (i.e., intergroup contact, discrimination, and prejudice) were added to examine the possible interplay between them in predicting the acceptability judgments and bystander responses as previous studies showed that intergroup related factors might shape adolescents' behaviors and attitudes towards targeted outgroups (e.g., Palmer et al., 2017). Tolerance and VIF values for all variables indicated that multicollinearity was not a problem. The results of the hierarchical regression analyses are detailed below.

Acceptability of Intergroup Bullying

For the acceptability of intergroup bullying, the third model explained 27 % of the variance ($F(7, 439) = 25.11, p < .001$) when all predictors entered to the model (see Table 3). Findings showed that adolescents in higher contact districts were less likely to see intergroup bullying as acceptable ($B = -.31, \beta = -.12, p = .017$). Similarly, adolescents with higher empathy towards victimized youth evaluated intergroup bullying as less acceptable ($B = -.33, \beta = -.23, p < .001$) controlling for age and school district. With regard to intergroup factors, adolescents who have higher discriminatory tendencies ($B = .16, \beta = .27, p < .001$) and prejudicial attitudes ($B = .13, \beta = .16, p = .001$) towards Syrian refugees were more likely to perceive bullying as more acceptable.

Explicit Challenge to Bully

Regarding participants' expectation that they would explicitly challenge the bully (on behalf of victim) in intergroup bullying, the third model explained 13% of the variance ($F(7, 439) = 3.57, p = .014$). Participants with higher ToM ($B = .33, \beta = .11, p = .020$) and

empathy towards victims ($B = .39, \beta = .25, p < .001$) were more likely report that they would explicitly challenge the bully in intergroup bullying controlling for age group and school district. While intergroup contact with Syrian refugees was positively related to explicit challenge of the bully ($B = .20, \beta = .09, p = .047$), adolescents with higher discriminatory tendencies towards Syrian refugees were less likely to challenge the bully when they witnessed bullying of a Syrian youth ($B = -.07, \beta = -.11, p = .029$) controlling for demographic and individual factors (see Table 4).

Explicit Support to Bully

The hierarchical regression analysis revealed that the final model explained 20% of the variance in explicit support to bully ($F(7, 439) = 7.97, p < .001$). Adolescents with higher empathy ($B = -.44, \beta = -.32, p < .001$) and ToM ($B = -.31, \beta = -.12, p = .007$) were less likely to report that they would explicitly support the bully in intergroup bullying independent of age group and school district. With regard to intergroup related factors, adolescents with higher discrimination ($B = .06, \beta = .11, p = .030$) and prejudice towards Syrian refugees ($B = .10, \beta = .14, p = .004$) were more likely report that they would explicitly support the bully (see Table 4).

Discussion

Considering the growing evidence that Syrian youth in Turkey are experiencing prejudicial treatment in schools (Demir & Özgül, 2019), it is important to extend anti-bullying efforts for Syrian refugee youth in school settings. One critical piece in improving anti-bullying efforts is understanding bystanders' judgments and their willingness to intervene in intergroup bullying. Thus, we investigated whether bystander responses might vary as a function of different types of bullying (intragroup bullying and intergroup bullying) and

whether intergroup related factors and social-cognitive skills predict bystander responses to intergroup bullying. In so doing, we aim to contribute to the scarce bystander intervention literature on adolescents' attitudes toward intergroup bullying of refugees in high intergroup tension contexts.

Overall, adolescents were likely to report bullying as unacceptable (all means were below the mid-point), were likely to report that they would explicitly challenge the bully (all means were above the mid-point), and were likely to report that they would not explicitly support the bully (all means were below the mid-point). However, significant variations in mean differences in adolescents' judgments and responses were still found based on bullying type.

In line with our hypothesis regarding acceptability judgments (H1), findings showed that adolescents judged intergroup bullying (when the victim is Syrian refugee youth) as more acceptable than intragroup bullying (when the victim is Turkish youth). These results are similar to earlier studies, which showed that group processes shape adolescents' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors towards outgroups (Palmer & Abbott, 2018). Contrary to our expectations, we did not find a significant interaction between acceptability and school district (lower contact and higher contact). More specifically, adolescents in schools with higher contact were more likely to evaluate both intergroup and intragroup bullying as less acceptable compared to adolescents in schools with lower contact. This is an interesting finding, as it suggests that opportunities for intergroup contact, more generally, may foster awareness of the importance of treating others equitably and fairly regardless of the type of peer aggression. On the other hand, one might speculate that higher contact schools may have fostered anti-bullying school norms in ways that are different than the lower contact schools.

However, the higher contact schools in this study were implementing any specific anti-bullying intervention program. Despite not having a specific anti-bullying curriculum, it is possible that informal education is occurring in the higher contact schools related to the negative effects of bullying and social exclusion because of the school demographics. While this finding is intriguing, future research will need to further explore what might account for this pattern.

With regard to reasoning, as we expected (H2), adolescents' reasoning regarding acceptability judgments differed between stories: adolescents reasoned more about fairness, refugee status, and discriminatory acts for the intergroup bullying, while they attributed harm and prescriptive norms more for intragroup bullying. Our reasoning data provide novel findings regarding how adolescents approach intergroup bullying of their Syrian refugee peers: they attend carefully to moral issues around discrimination as well as acknowledge their Syrian peers' unique experiences as refugees when evaluating victimization of Syrian refugees. This suggests that youth do differentiate between different types of bullying. Further, our findings suggest that anti-bullying efforts might draw on the reasoning that adolescents use when thinking about bullying to shape discussions around bullying. Specifically, anti-bullying efforts might address the discriminatory nature of intergroup bullying and create anti-bullying norms that comprehensively address both intergroup and intragroup bullying.

With regard to adolescents' likelihood of different types of bystander responses to intragroup and intergroup bullying, our hypothesis (H3) was supported only for explicit support, but not for explicit challenge. Specifically, we found that adolescents were more likely to expect that they would explicitly support the bully in intergroup bullying compared

to intragroup bullying. It is plausible that when the victim is an outgroup member, and the bully is an ingroup member, adolescents might be more supportive of the bully given their shared group membership. No significant overall differences were observed in adolescents' explicit challenge across intragroup and intergroup bullying. However, middle school students in lower contact districts were less likely to challenge the bully in intergroup bullying compared to intragroup bullying, while no significant difference was found in higher contact schools. This suggests that opportunities for positive intergroup contact may help younger adolescents to recognize the importance of speaking up on behalf of outgroup victims.

Our findings revealed that several social-cognitive variables were predictors of adolescents' acceptability judgments and bystander responses to intergroup bullying (H4). More specifically, the higher adolescents' empathy towards victimized youth was, the more likely adolescents were to see bullying as unacceptable and the less likely they were to expect that they would explicitly support the bully. Further, they were more likely to report that they would challenge the bully explicitly. In line with our hypothesis (H4) and previous studies, our findings highlight the role of ToM in bystanders' challenging and supporting responses. These findings extend the results of earlier studies that examine the possible role of ToM and empathy in bystander responses in intragroup bullying to intergroup bullying contexts (Barchia & Bussey, 2011; Caravita et al., 2010). Our findings are also in line with a recent intervention study that aimed to increase the social inclusion of Syrian refugees into schools in Turkey by increasing perspective taking and empathy in both Turkish children and Syrian refugee children aged between 8 and 12 (Alan et al., 2020). They showed that an educational curriculum that involves perspective-taking and empathy increases children's prosocial behavior towards outgroups (Syrian and Turkish) and decreases social exclusion of Syrian

refugee children and intergroup aggression (Alan et al., 2020).

In line with the earlier research drawing on the SRD perspective and our hypothesis (H5), the current study showed that intergroup factors shape bystanders' acceptability judgments and responses to intergroup bullying. Adolescents with higher discrimination and prejudice judged intergroup bullying as more acceptable. As we expected, adolescents with high prejudice and discriminatory tendencies towards Syrian refugees reported that they were more likely to engage in explicit support of the bully and less likely to engage in explicit challenges of bullying. These results underline the necessity of intervention studies that aim to decrease negative attitudes towards Syrian refugees to create an inclusive school climate. This is especially important considering the results of earlier public reports and research, which showed that one of the common challenges that young Syrian refugees face in the school is prejudice experienced in their daily interactions with Turkish students (Demir & Özgül, 2019). Further, adolescents with high intergroup contact with Syrian refugees were more likely to challenge the bully explicitly. This is in line with prior studies from adult literature which showed that engaging in contact with Syrians increases Turkish young adults' prosocial attitudes towards Syrian refugees (Bağcı et al., 2018). However, to our knowledge, there have been no studies that tested this relationship in children and adolescents. Considering the changing demographics of schools in Turkey (in terms of ethnic composition), it is critical and timely to examine how intergroup contact can be influential in children's and adolescents' motivation to intervene in intergroup social conflicts to inform intervention studies. Overall, the current study showed that Turkish adolescents' bystander responses were significantly shaped by the intergroup related factors which motivate them to behave differently when they witness the victimization of Syrian refugee youth.

Notwithstanding the novel findings of our study, some limitations and future directions for research should be considered. First, the measures of the current research include only self-report measures within a cross-sectional design, which precludes conclusions regarding causality. Second, we used hypothetical scenarios to be able to examine differences in bystanders' acceptability judgments and responses across different types of bullying. However, it is also important to investigate adolescents' actual bystander responses in the case of intergroup bullying. Further, we manipulated both victim ethnic background and the reason for bullying in the intergroup bullying story. But future studies might consider examining intergroup bullying that targets the victims for reasons unrelated to his or her group membership (e.g., Syrian youth is bullied because of shyness, Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2020). Third, we only investigated different types of explicit bystander responses as our intergroup related measures were explicit in nature. However, adolescents can challenge or support the bully in implicit ways as well. Fourth, although we targeted schools in districts with high and lower contact with Syrian refugees and our results confirmed that adolescents in schools with higher contact report more contact compared to adolescents with lower contact, the percentage of Syrian refugees enrolled in these school is still low. Thus it is unclear if the current findings reflect the situation in cities closer to the border with Syria, where Turkish adolescents may have even more contact with Syrian refugees, such as Hatay (27% of the city population), Gaziantep (22% of the city population), and Kilis (76% of the city population). Further, we evaluated adolescents' intergroup contact with Syrian refugees in terms of quantitative aspects. However, future research should also consider examining the quality of intergroup contact as some of the previous literature showed negative associations between intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes (Vervoort et al., 2011). Lastly, in the current study, we only

examined the Turkish adolescents' bystander responses and their attitudes towards their Syrian peers. However, creating an inclusive school climate and society (in general) is not a one-way street. Thus, it is also important to examine Syrian refugee adolescents' perspectives towards social conflicts in the school and society. This is especially important, given that some recent findings suggest that some Syrian refugees are both victims and bullies (Yilmaz, 2020). Overall, the findings of the current study provide novel insights for how social-cognitive skills and intergroup processes might shape bystander responses to intergroup bullying of Syrian refugees. This is especially timely and important issue based on the evidence demonstrating increasing negative interactions between Turkish and Syrian youth in schools.

Moreover, considering the increase in Syrian refugees in Turkey in recent years, new programs for an inclusive education system should be developed to create inclusive classrooms and the increasing sense of belonging, which can be particularly poignant for refugees who have been displaced from their homes (Icduygu, 2015). Thus, our findings set a stage for future research in examining bystander responses to intergroup bullying in informing anti-bullying programs to ensure just and fair treatment of all youth.

Supplementary Analysis

To examine whether adolescents' demographic characteristics, social-cognitive skills and intergroup attitudes vary depend on the school district we first conducted ANOVAs. Results showed that adolescents' age was not significantly different across two school districts ($F(1, 575) = 3.86, p = .056, \eta p^2 = .010$). However, parental education was significantly higher in the low contact school district compared to high contact school district ($F(1, 527) = 228.19, p < .001, \eta p^2 = .302$). With regard to adolescents' experiences in bullying, results showed that there were no significant differences adolescents' self-report in their experiences either as bullies ($F(1, 545) = .50, p = .822, \eta p^2 = .000$) or bystanders ($F(1, 552) = 1.84, p = .175, \eta p^2 = .003$). However, adolescents in high contact schools reported more victimization compared to adolescents in low contact ($F(1, 545) = 1.24, p = .001, \eta p^2 = .018$). With regard to social-cognitive skills, there were no significant differences in theory of mind ($F(1, 561) = 3.11, p = .058, \eta p^2 = .003$), empathy ($F(1, 558) = .39, p = .532, \eta p^2 = .001$), egalitarian beliefs ($F(1, 501) = .25, p = .613, \eta p^2 = .001$) and perceived inequality ($F(1, 515) = 3.50, p = .062, \eta p^2 = .007$) across school districts. Further, adolescents in schools where Syrian refugees mostly live in the district reported higher levels of intergroup contact compared to adolescents in schools with low contact ($F(1, 519) = 206.79, p < .001, \eta p^2 = .285$). Adolescents in schools with low contact were more likely report prejudicial attitudes ($F(1, 529) = 7.78, p = .005, \eta p^2 = .015$) and discriminatory tendencies ($F(1, 550) = 1.16, p = .001, \eta p^2 = .019$) compared to adolescents in schools with high contact with Syrian refugees.

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Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Between Outcome Variables and Predictors*

Variables	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.Acceptability of IntragroupB (1-6)	1.32 (.66)	1									
2.Explicit Challenge IntragroupB (1-6)	4.64 (1.15)	-.36**	1								
3.Explicit Support IntragroupB (1-6)	1.52 (.92)	.45**	-.40**	1							
4.Acceptability of IntergroupB (1-6)	1.60 (1.16)	.27**	-.33**	.35**	1						
5.Explicit Challenge IntergroupB (1-6)	4.50 (1.35)	-.21**	.56**	-.29**	-.44**	1					
6.Explicit Support IntergroupB (1-6)	1.66 (1.13)	.23**	-.31**	.49**	.58**	-.45**	1				
7.Theory of Mind (0-4)	1.36 (.48)	-.13**	.20**	-.23**	-.07	.17**	-.17**	1			
8.Empathy (1-5)	3.82 (.86)	-.30**	.29**	-.34**	-.28**	.29**	-.32**	.19**	1		
9.Intergroup Contact (1-4)	2.01 (.57)	-.12**	-.02	.05	-.05	-.06	-.09	-.05	.04	1	
10.Discrimination (-4-4)	.13 (1.61)	.17**	-.15**	.16**	.31**	-.15**	.22**	-.02	-.13*	-.11*	1
11.Prejudice (1-7)	3.49 (2.12)	.24**	-.19**	.21**	.38**	-.23**	.26**	-.09*	-.25*	-.11*	.41*

Note. IntragroupB is intragroup bullying and IntergroupB is intergroup bullying.

Table 2. Mean, Standard Deviations and ANOVA Results for the Reasoning

	<i>Intragroup Bullying</i>	<i>Intergroup</i>			
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Bullying</i>	<i>F value</i>	<i>p value</i>	η_p^2
		<i>M (SD)</i>			
Fairness	.02 (.11)	.09 (.21)	26.87	< .001	.049
Refugee Status	.00 (.00)	.15 (.25)	168.09	< .001	.245
Personality	.12 (.24)	.01 (.05)	96.42	< .001	.157
Characteristics					
Discrimination	.001 (.02)	.11 (.23)	72.96	< .001	.123
Empathy	.06 (.18)	.07 (.21)	0.81	.368	.002
Harm	.43 (.42)	.26 (.35)	59.79	< .001	.103
Prescriptive Norms	.16 (.32)	.07 (.19)	32.29	< .001	.059

Table 3. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for the Acceptability Judgments of Intergroup Bullying

Variables	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
Age	-.02	.12	-.01	-.02	.12	.01	-.03	.11	-.01
School District	-.42	.13	-.16**	-.38	.12	-.15**	-.31	.13	-.12*
Empathy				-.46	.06	-.32***	-.22	.06	-.23***
ToM				-.25	.12	-.09*	-.21	.11	-.07
Intergroup Contact							.12	.11	.06
Discrimination							.16	.02	.27***
Prejudice							.13	.04	.16**
Adjusted R^2		.02			.14			.27	
F for change in R^2		5.78**			29.85***			25.11***	

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4. Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Bystander Intervention to Intergroup Bullying

Variables	Explicit Challenge			Explicit Support		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
Age	.01	.13	.01	-.02	.11	-.01
School District	-.03	.15	-.01	-.22	.13	-.08
Empathy	.39	.07	.25***	-.44	.06	-.32***
Theory of Mind	.32	.14	.11*	-.31	.12	-.12**
Intergroup Contact	.20	.13	.09*	.17	.11	.08
Discrimination	-.07	.03	-.11*	.06	.02	.11*
Prejudice	-.06	.04	-.07	.10	.03	.14**
Adjusted R^2		.13			.20	
F for change in R^2		3.57*			7.97***	

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

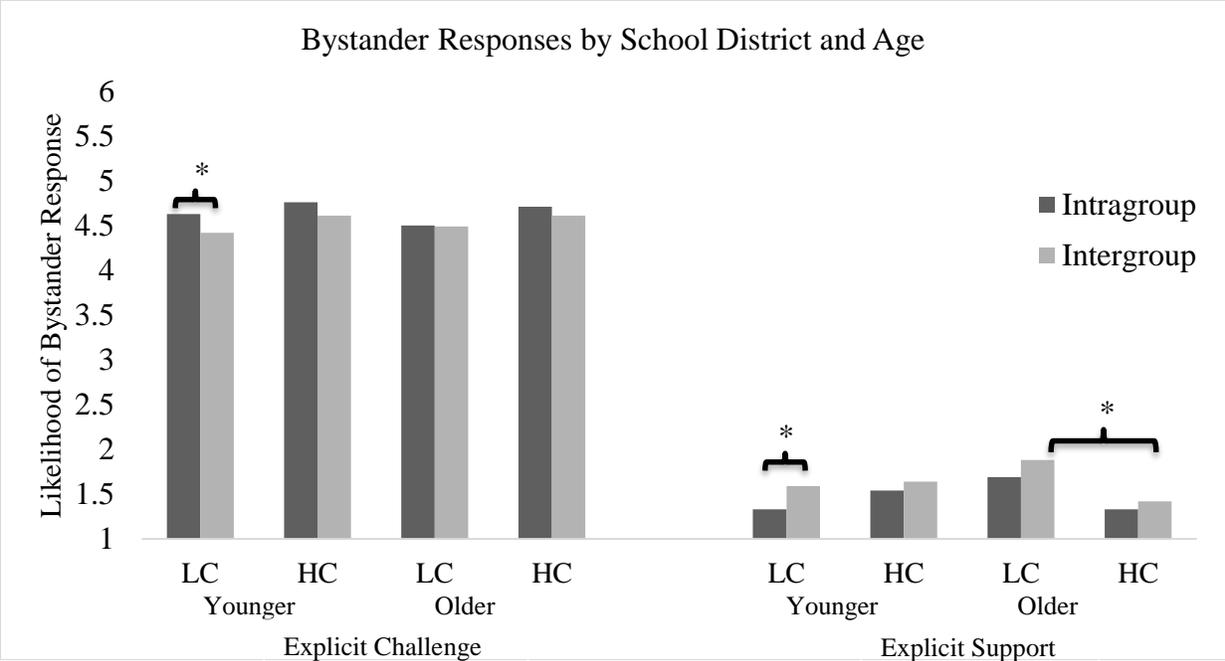


Figure 1. *Likelihood of Bystander Responses by School District and Age*; LC indicates the Lower Contact and HC indicates the Higher Contact

General Discussion

School bullying is a severe problem that impacts children and youth all around the world (OECD, 2018). The current research focuses on a critical yet less well-understood issue: bystanders' responses and judgments to generalized and bias-based bullying (intergroup) in adolescence. Bridging developmental and social approaches, it aims to explore the correlates of bystanders' attitudes and responses to empower bystander motivation to intervene. Across three studies, we showed that different dimensions of social-emotional factors, social-cognitive factors, and intergroup-related factors predict bystanders' judgments and responses to generalized and bias-based bullying.

Manuscript 1

First, we hypothesized that social-emotional factors (“temperament, empathy, justice sensitivity, and rejection sensitivity”) would be related to bystander attitudes and responses to initial bullying and possible retaliation in generalized bullying. In line with the Person by Environment framework (e.g., Bates & Pettit, 2007; Ellis et al., 2011) and the social cognitive framework (Bandura, 2001), findings showed that distinct dimensions of social-emotional predictors were related to bystander responses to generalized bullying and retaliation. This research is novel for several reasons. First, most of the literature on bystander responses emphasizes initial bullying. However, our knowledge is limited in terms of bystander responses to retaliation despite well-established findings documenting that retaliation leads to an increase in aggression in the school climate (McAuliffe et al., 2007). By examining social-emotional correlates of bystanders' judgments and responses to retaliation, we extended earlier studies to understand how anti-bullying programs that target bystanders should also consider factors involved in reactions to retaliation. Second, although several individual factors (e.g., empathy,

moral disengagement, self-efficacy) have been identified in earlier studies, no prior research has explored how different dimensions of empathy and temperament, justice sensitivity (as victims, transgressors, and bystanders), and rejection sensitivity (anxious and angry) were related to those judgments and responses. Thus, this study extends earlier studies by showing that participants' justice sensitivity from the observer perspective was positively predict their active bystander responses to bullying. On the other hand, negative affect and rejection sensitivity was found to a significant predictor for the likelihood of reporting inactive responses. Further, it has also made novel contributions in demonstrating that temperament and empathy should be considered as multidimensional constructs since distinct dimensions of those constructs predict bystander judgments and responses differently. This study also replicated some of the earlier findings in the literature on bystander responses in terms of gender and age. More specifically, results showed that younger and female adolescents were more likely to evaluate bullying as less acceptable and were more likely to actively intervene in bullying.

Manuscript 2 & Manuscript 3

By adopting a novel social approach and developmental approach to the issue of bystander judgments and responses, the second study focused on outlining the factors that predict how bystanders react in generalized bullying of ingroup peers and bias-based bullying of immigrants peers in the USA. This approach complements the common research focus on the correlates of bystanders' judgments and responses to generalized bullying. It thus shifts the question from 'how bystanders perceive bullying and react to it' to 'whether bystander responses depend on the characteristics of the victim (ingroup peer versus outgroup peer)'. This shift may instigate novel insights that are crucial to understand distinct mechanisms behind generalized bullying and bias-based bullying. This research also advances our understanding of

how bystanders' responses are associated with individuals' socio-cognitive abilities (Theory of Mind) and intergroup attitudes (intergroup contact with immigrants, discrimination towards immigrants, and peer norms about immigrants). Earlier studies showed that children and adolescents were more likely to show prosocial behaviors and help ingroup members as compared to outgroup members. However, to our knowledge, no studies have yet explored how the interplay between group membership, intergroup related factors, and social cognitive skills might shape bystander responses in the context of bias-based bullying.

As we expected, current findings revealed that nonimmigrant-origin adolescents rated generalized bullying (victim is a nonimmigrant-origin youth) as less acceptable, whereas immigrant-origin adolescents rated bias-based bullying (victims is an immigrant-origin youth) as less acceptable. Further, when we examined possible predictors of bystander responses to bias-based bullying, we found that social-cognitive related factors and intergroup related factors were important predictors demonstrating that participants with higher intergroup contact, positive peer norms, and lower discrimination and higher Theory of Mind related to higher likelihood of reporting active responses bias-based bullying of an immigrant peer. These results are in line with studies demonstrating that higher intergroup contact and lower levels of negative attitudes towards targeted outgroup were related to increases in prosocial attitudes and behaviors toward outgroup peers (Brenick & Killen, 2014; Cocco et al., 2020). Our findings present important implications in understanding how group membership shapes bystander responses to different types of bullying by setting the stage for further investigation of such issues. Current findings also extend past research by clarifying the key role of social cognition and intergroup processes in evaluating and responding to bias-based bullying towards immigrants. Overall, investigating the factors involved in understanding bystander responses in

bias-based bullying is important and timely to foster equitable and inclusive school environments for those from marginalized backgrounds such as immigrants.

By extending the second study to a different intergroup contact, the third study examined the question of how adolescents react to bullying of an ingroup peer versus bullying of a Syrian refugee peer in Turkey. This is an important and understudied context because, from the start of the crisis in Syria in 2011 through 2020, Turkey has received more than three million six hundred thousand refugees, with 46 percent aged between 0-18 (UNHCR, 2020). In response to unprecedented numbers of Syrian refugees in Turkey, the majority population evinced increased prejudice, threat perceptions, and discriminatory tendencies towards Syrian refugees of all ages (İçduygu & Nimer, 2020; Gönültaş et al., 2020). One group that experiences prejudice and discrimination is Syrian refugee youth, especially in school settings (Demir & Özgül, 2019). According to the Ministry of National Education report (2020), 684,919 Syrian refugee students were registering in public schools (63% of Syrian refugee children and youth in Turkey). Despite the efforts to increase schooling opportunities for refugee children and youth, Syrian refugee enrollment numbers in Turkish public schools remain low, especially in middle and high schools. One reason might be experiences of different forms of intergroup bullying (social exclusion, aggression, hate speech) that Syrian refugees endure when interacting with both peers and teachers (Demir & Özgül, 2019).

To our knowledge, no studies have been explored whether bystanders are willing to intervene in the bullying of refugee peers in their schools. Our aim, then, was to explore correlates of bystander responses to intergroup bullying of Syrian refugees to provide evidence that can be used to improve school climate and inclusion for marginalized youth. Thus, current research provides novel information by demonstrating adolescents were more likely to see

bullying as more acceptable and more likely to support the bully in bias-based bullying compared to generalized bullying. These findings both replicated what we found earlier and extended Study 2 in a different intergroup context.

Results also provide insight into how adolescents with higher theory of mind and empathy were more likely to explicitly challenge the bully and less likely to explicitly support the bully in bias-based bullying. These results are similar to findings from Study 1 and Study 2 with regard to the possible relationship between social-cognitive skills and bystander responses. However, it is also important to note that the measures that we used in Study 3 to evaluate ToM and empathy were different from those in Study 1 (empathy) and Study 2 (ToM). Study 1 found a positive relationship between distinct dimensions of empathy (affective, cognitive and sympathy) and bystanders' judgments and responses. Study 3 expanded upon this finding by showing that, specifically, empathy for the victims of bullying is a significant correlate of judgments and responses. Further, Study 2 demonstrated that adolescents with higher ToM abilities were more likely to show active responses by evaluating generalized ToM performance. Study 3 investigated how ToM abilities for a targeted outgroup (i.e., ToM for Syrians) was salient predictor of bystander responses and extended Study 2 by providing insight why outgroup mentalizing is important to consider in such contexts.

In terms of intergroup factors, Study 2 replicated Study 1 by demonstrating that adolescents with high intergroup contact with Syrian refugees were more likely to explicitly challenge the bully and less likely to explicitly support the bully. Relatedly, adolescents with high prejudice and discriminatory tendencies towards Syrian refugees reported that they were more likely to engage in explicit support of the bully and less likely to engage in explicit challenges of bullying. Overall, in both studies, we documented how intergroup factors are

related to bystander responses in different intergroup contexts.

Possible Cultural and Contextual Factors to Consider

The three studies examine bystanders' judgments and responses in three different contexts (generalized, bias-based bullying of immigrants and bias-based bullying of refugees) in two countries (USA and Turkey). A recent OECD (2018) report provides some evidence to compare the rates of generalized bullying and how bystanders' approach generalized bullying. Accordingly, the overall rates of bullying ("being bullied at least a few times a month") are similar in the USA and Turkey, 25.9 % and 24.1 % respectively. The rates of different types of bullying (e.g., physical, verbal, relational, etc.) were also provided in the same report. It is important to note that physical bullying is higher in Turkey (9% versus 5%) while verbal bullying is higher in the USA (17% versus 13%). Further, this report also allows us to compare the bystanders' judgments regarding bullying with the following statements: "I like it when someone stands up for other students who are being bullied"; "It is a good thing to help students who can't defend themselves"; "It irritates me when nobody defends bullied students"; "It is a wrong thing to join in bullying". The percentage of students who "agreed or strongly agreed with" the statements described above ranged between 88 % -95% in the USA and 80 % -84% in Turkey. Although data did not provide any information on whether this difference in the rates of adolescents between the USA and Turkey is meaningful, it still provides some insights that adolescents in the USA might relatively be more motivated to intervene in bullying compared to adolescents in Turkey.

Studies 2 and 3 investigated a distinct intergroup dimension of bystander responses to bias-based bullying in different intergroup contexts (immigrants in the USA and refugees in Turkey). To our knowledge, there is no study or public report to compare bullying rates or

bystander approaches targeted bullying of immigrants and refugees between two countries. However, earlier studies provide evidence regarding how those contexts are similar in terms of increased discrimination and prejudice towards immigrants and refugees (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2020; Gönültaş et al., 2020; Stevens et al., 2020). Worldwide findings suggest that immigrants, refugees, and minorities are the most vulnerable to bullying, and much of the bullying is due to prejudice and discrimination (OECD, 2018). However, there are also many contextual differences including the numbers of immigrants/refugees, governmental policies regarding immigrants and refugees, and school climates towards diversity (Stevens et al., 2020). For example, even though we did not obtain information regarding school climates towards diversity in our study, schools in the second study have more immigrant-origin youth compared to the number of refugee youth in schools in the third study. Further, immigration has a long history in the USA compared to the refugee crisis in Turkey. This might lead individuals to have more negative attitudes towards Syrian refugees in Turkey compared to individuals' attitudes towards immigrants in the USA. Overall, testing the role of group processes in both contexts using similar methods to assess bystander responses shed light on generic and specific aspects of group processes in bias-based bullying.

Limitations and Future Directions

The results of this dissertation should be considered in the lights of common (valid for all three studies) and unique (for each study context) limitations. To start with a common limitation across three studies, hypothetical scenarios were used to examine bystander responses to different types of bullying. Earlier studies demonstrated that children's and adolescents' actual behavior are related to their judgments (Mulvey et al., 2018; Turiel, 2008). However, it is also important to examine how children's and adolescents' own experiences with bullying (as

victims, bullies or bystanders) and their actual responses (as bystanders) might change across different types of bullying including generalized and bias-based. Relatedly, future research might examine bystander responses via behavioral measures using multimethod data (e.g., understanding bystander responses via virtual reality in addition to hypothetical scenarios). Further, all three studies were cross-sectional in nature, using correlational evidence to explore dynamics behind bystander responses to different types of bullying. To understand casual mechanism behind bystanders' attitudes and responses in terms of social-cognitive factors and intergroup-related factors future research should explore longitudinal patterns. All three studies have examined adolescents' different types of responses to generalized bullying and bias-based bullying including active, passive, explicit and implicit support, explicit and implicit challenge. Future studies should examine other types of bystanders' role in the bullying circle. Another common limitation across three studies is the mono-source data method. In all three studies, data was collected only from adolescents. Future studies should consider examining family-related, peer-related, and teacher-related factors by using a multi-source data approach.

In addition to these common limitations, Study 2 and Study 3 have some unique limitations. First, bystander responses to bias-based bullying were only tested in immigrant and refugee contexts. However, there are other intergroup contexts that bias-based bullying might occur (e.g., due to race, sexual orientation, religion, etc.). Second, bystanders' judgments and responses were examined only for the verbal bullying in Study 1 and Study 2. However, immigrant and refugee youth can experience different types of bullying including, for example, physical, relational, and social exclusion, which might influence bystanders' judgments and their motivation to show responses. Thus, in future research, other types of bullying should be also considered. Lastly, only group membership of the victim was

manipulated in both Study 2 (either immigrant-origin or nonimmigrant-origin peer) and Study 3 (either Syrian refugee or Turkish peer) while the bully was presented as ingroup peers in all stories. It is plausible to note that bystanders' judgments and responses might be also influenced by the group membership of the bully. More specifically, they might be more willing to intervene if their ingroup members are victimized by outgroup bullies. Thus, manipulating both victims' and bullies' group membership can be informative to have a more comprehensive understanding of group-related dynamics behind bystander responses.

Implications and Conclusion

Attaining safe schools for all youth is positioned high on the agenda of educators and global policymakers who strive for equality as a universal human right. The current project aims to increase our understanding of how bystanders can contribute to this as one of the important social agents. Bystanders are key targets for intervention programs to reduce bias-based bullying through changing school cultures and developing awareness, preparedness, and competence in adolescents (Salmivalli et al., 2011). Considering the severe consequences of bullying and peer victimization for youths' development, there is a great demand for innovative and comprehensive intervention strategies. Most existing anti-bullying intervention programs address victims and bullies in generalized bullying contexts and pay less attention to bystanders as well as to bias-based bullying. Thus, examining social-emotional, social-cognitive factors and intergroup-related processes that could be related to bystander's reactions in different social contexts is crucial to understand the complex nature of the bullying and dynamics behind bystander responses. As one of the severe form of aggression in school climate, bullying has many short term and long term negative consequences for adolescents' and youth's well-being.

The extant literature has found significant positive correlations between bullying and mental health outcomes such as depression and anxiety (e.g., Priest et al., 2013). In a similar vein, exposure to bullying can lead to feelings of anger, helplessness, and hurt (Bryson et al., 2020; Prihadi et al., 2019) which is related to an increase in anxiety and depression. Besides mental health and emotional consequences, bullying has also many educational consequences at both the student level and also at the school level. At the student level, victims experience difficulties in focusing their school-related task and this leads decrease in their academic performance (Ma et al., 2009). At the school level, bullying harms the entire school climate especially in schools with diversity as youth from marginalized backgrounds are more likely to be targeted by bullies (Garnett, & Brion-Meisels, 2017). Bystanders are important targets for intervention programs as bystanders have the potential to reduce bullying and targeting bystander behaviors can create changes in school climate to increase the awareness the consequences of bullying and to increase competence in preventing and intervening in different types of bullying. Thus, examining the factors that influence bystander responses informs intervention and prevention studies.

This research line has implications at both the theoretical and societal level by contributing to our understanding of the predictors of bystander intervention in intergroup settings. Theoretically, this study builds on prior research by bridging the gap between research on bullying, intergroup relations, and social-cognitive factors. At the societal level, these studies aim to address these neglected issues by highlighting key bystander outcomes amenable to educational intervention drawing from a developmental intergroup perspective. To fully understand the dynamics of bullying, it is therefore key not to only look at the ways to understand victims' and bullies' behaviors, but also at the barriers that may keep

bystanders from intervening when they observe bullying. While prior research has documented the importance of bystander intervention in reducing bullying (Salmivalli et al., 2011), research has also found that most of the bullying interventions are not very effective, as they do not attend to the diversity of the students (Evans et al., 2014). Thus, it is important to explore the factors in such diverse contexts to shape bullying intervention programs and contribute to the conversation surrounding how to ensure that schools and communities are welcoming for all students.

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