

The experience of Ukrainian students in Slovakia: The mediating role of misleading information between negative emotionality and life satisfaction

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Abstract | Background: The number of foreign students from Ukraine in Slovakia is rising greatly. This corresponds to the fact that international students are currently the fastest-growing group of all migrants, including labour migrants, family migrants and refugees (King & Raghuram, 2013; McGill, 2018). Foreign students undergo a process of adaptation which is associated with high levels of stress and negative experiences in the first year of study. Previous studies have highlighted a number of problematic areas that students from Ukraine go through during the process of adaptation. These include prejudice and being negatively judged by local residents. Although social support is one of the key factors in the adaptation process of international students, they experience it more from their own community, creating closed groups of international students. This paper aims to explore the relationship between the negative emotionality of international students and overall life satisfaction. It also wants to verify the role of information distortion - the frequency of bullshitting - in this relationship. This variable represents a strategy whose goal is to avoid unpleasant consequences or to impress other people. Methods: The research was conducted in the second half of 2022 with a sample of 136 Ukrainian students. This makes up about 10% of Ukrainian students studying at the University of Prešov in Slovakia. The Satisfaction with Life scale, Bullshitting Frequency Scale and Big Five Inventory - 2 XS were used to explore negative emotionality. The mediation analysis was conducted in statistical software JASP. Results: The Pearson correlation coefficient showed a significant negative relationship between life satisfaction and negative emotionality. There were also significant positive relationships found between life satisfaction and frequency of bullshitting as well as between negative emotionality and frequency of bullshitting. The results confirmed the mediational effect of frequency of bullshitting in the relationship between negative emotionality and life satisfaction. Discussion: The results suggest bullshitting as a variable that is related to the coping mechanism of international students during the challenging period of adaptation. Their relationship to the local group of Slovaks may be marked by distrust in contrast to the strong ties in closed expatriate communities. Mistrust may be a reason for distorted answers to questions about their own well-being. The developmental period of adolescence, accompanied by idealisation and a one-sided view of the world, may also play a role. Further research could study information misleading as a manifestation of dysfunctional coping with negative emotions. At the same time, in the process of adaptation of foreign students observe their resilience. Another line of research could address the closedness/openness of international student communities and their correlates. The practical implications of the research are directed towards international student counselling and adaptation programs.

Keywords | Ukrainian students, life satisfaction, negative emotionality, frequency of bullshitting

Background

Foreign students from Ukraine in Slovakia

The number of foreign students from Ukraine in Slovakia has been rising rapidly. In the academic year 2017/2018, there were 1822 students from Ukraine (60 of them with Slovak citizenship) studying at Slovak universities. In 2021/2022 this was already 5393 students (125 had Slovak citizenship) (www.cvtisr.sk). This corresponds to the fact international students are currently the fastest-growing group that among all groups of migrants, including labour migrants, family migrants and refugees (King & Raghuram, 2013; McGill, 2018). There are certain characteristics specific to students from Ukraine. These include (1) studying in a foreign language, (2) being younger than Slovak students (they can start university at 16) and (3) the military conflict in Ukraine since 2014.

In conceptualizing study in a foreign country, the authors use the concept of mobility (Conradson & Latham 2005). Mobility involves the movement of human resources which has social, relational and contextual implications in addition to the physical aspects. It is influenced by national institutions, regional structures, community and family dynamics of the individual as well as their unique characteristics. The term student mobility suggests that it is an activity that is voluntary and even a privilege or choice of a desired location (King & Raghuram, 2013). The phenomenon of studying abroad can be classified under the term intellectual migration or educational migration. Educational migration is associated with career and skills development (Lo et al., 2022) as well as improving the economic status of the communities where the students come from. Financial support, especially from parents, is often characteristic of educational migration, making it different from other types of migration such as labour migration (Heckert, 2015). Intellectual migration (Li et al., 2020) refers more to the collaboration between educational institutions and the benefits that this kind of migration brings to them. This is grounded in three ideas from migration studies: mobility, transnationalism and brain circulation. In addition to these two perspectives on migration, Robertson (2011) has also noted that studying abroad is a way of gaining the opportunity to live in another country. Indeed, Nada and Araujo (2018) have distinguished between the concept of international student and foreign student. While the goal of international students is to study in a different country, foreign students decide to study abroad for several reasons.

Motivation to study abroad

Unterhalter and Oketch (2009) articulated the idea that higher education is becoming increasingly globalized with the trend growing since then. In terms of why young people choose to study abroad, the rational action model (Bourdon, in Liu, 2023) explains the reasons to as to how young people make decisions about their studies. These decisions are based on their social class, the economic and social consequences that studying can bring them, their own capabilities and assessing the manageability of their studies. Other authors have suggested the desire to improve language skills, expand their knowledge of other societies (Kahanec & Kralikova, 2011), better labour market opportunities and the willingness of host countries to attract skilled labour (Chiswick & Miller, 2011; Beine et al., 2014). According to McGill (2013), attaining a scholarship, optional practical training and temporary work visa applications influence the choice of countries where students go to study. The prestige of universities and institutions as well as the economic situation of the country also play a role (Perkins & Neumayer, 2014; OECD, 2013).

Other authors have asserted that middle-class youth leave their countries for better education and better job opportunities (Rye & Blekesaune, 2007; King et al., 2011) while youth at risk of poverty leave for better economic conditions (Rye & Blekesaune, 2007; Demi et al., 2009). Findlay (2010)

argues that it is a combination of the economic reasons of the receiving institutions and the motivations of international students and their families and communities. In addition, the significant network of the individual, their social group and geographical proximity play an important role. This latter point is appropriate in the case of Ukrainian students coming to Slovakia.

In terms of students from the former USSR countries, Hrynkevych (2017) and Helmer (2017) oppose the view (Leontiyeva, 2016) that the main reason for studying abroad is economic. Hrynkevych (2017) points to the acquisition of intercultural communication experience and formation of new social capital as the main opportunities for Ukrainian students to Polish universities. In interviews with students from Russia, Helmer (2017) found the reason for studying abroad was to improve their CV without the intention of staying in a foreign country permanently. Another study among youth in Estonia showed that young people evaluate leaving their country as self-empowerment and self-expression (Nugin, 2014). Another study from Kazakhstan suggests that young people's motivation for studying abroad is to obtain a better education that would set them apart from their peers and ensure their advancement into the middle class (Holloway et al., 2012). Similarly, Stockdale (2006) believes that young people leaving home is part of their personal development.

The characteristics of students coming to Slovakia from Ukraine as well as the reasons for studying there have not been fully explored so far. Based on interviews with students, Mičko (2018) cites the reasons of students from Ukraine studying Slovakia as a vision of a better life (higher standard of living), quality of education received and existence of relatives in Slovakia (living relatives or ancestors from Slovakia).

Psychological and social experiences of foreign students

During the first year, foreign students undergo a process of adaptation which is associated with high levels of stress and negative experiences. Gebhard (2012) has identified the possible problematic areas in the adaptation process as academic, social interactions and emotional reactions to the new environment. Academic success is often hampered by a lack of language competence and is a factor that facilitates social adjustment (Rienties et al., 2012). In a sample of over 4,500 students in Australia, Ryan & Henderson (2018) found that international students perceived feedback from lecturers to be rather negative, discouraging and upsetting. There is also the case of the different assessment and teaching systems in different countries where learned patterns have to be adjusted and this takes time.

Wang (2015) uses the term "cross-cultural loss" where international students lose their original home environment and what was close to them, including relationships, home environment and established learning conditions. This loss is reduced in the process of adaptation, mainly through a gradual increase in life satisfaction, positive emotions, self-efficacy and connection with the majority society, i.e. the native population (Zhang & Goodson, 2011).

Social support has been one of the significant factors determining the survival of international students (Nada & Araujo, 2018; Othman, 2011). However, one study has shown that international students perceived more social support from other international students than from the local classmates (Chavajay, 2013). Perceived discrimination from the native population also predicts the degree of adjustment of international students (Duru & Poyrazli, 2011). Although research examining the experiences of Ukrainian students in Slovakia is scarce, Bosá et al. (2017) has pointed to problematic experiences with Slovaks such as (1) prejudice where students are viewed as "less cultured"/"less civilized"/"less decent"/"less orderly" people from the part of Eastern Europe associated with corruption and criminality; (2) unwillingness to help on the part of Slovaks

which made it difficult for them to deal with common issues such as finding housing; (3) image of Ukrainian students as those who commit offences such as disturbing the peace at night, violating public order, dealing with waste, etc; (4) risk of being victims of fraud and other criminal activities because of their young age.

In the academic year 2022/2023, 1368 students from Ukraine studied at the University of Presov. Given these high numbers, there is a great probability of forming closed communities. This is also one of the characteristics of migrant groups. An interesting example of the formation of closed groups of migrants is the term "diaspora" which Sheffer (in Shuval, 2000) defines as: ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material ties with their countries of origin- their homelands. Originally the term "diaspora" denoted forced displacement usually under political threat (conquest, invasion, war etc). Nowadays it has been extended to include voluntary migration.

Cohen (in Giordano, 2010) lists the following features of diasporic groups: (a) the initial reason for leaving is a traumatic or threatening experience or for economic reasons; (b) a collective memory, mythic vision or idealization of the homeland and a subsequent project of return at some point; (c) a strong ethnic group consciousness based on a sense of difference, on the idea of a common history and destiny; (d) a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic immigrants in other countries, along with the knowledge that they are not accepted in the host country, leading to problematic relationships with its members; (e) an expectation of a special benefit, a valuable and enriching life. As for international students from Ukraine, given the characteristics of the developmental period of adolescence and going abroad at a relatively young age, as well as the experience of war conflict in the home country, a strong relationship with one's own country and compatriots appears to be realistic. International students may exhibit features of diasporic communities temporarily, and for varying lengths of time. These expectancies should be verified by research although this is currently lacking.

Rationale for the research

This research aims to verify the relationship between the negative emotionality of Ukrainian students and overall life satisfaction. It also aims to verify the mediating role of the frequency of bullshitting, i.e., information distortion, in the relationship between negative emotionality and overall life satisfaction.

While negative emotionality may be part of students' adaptation process, it may also be a more enduring personality characteristic. Soto and John (2017) distinguish negative emotionality from neuroticism, which has clinical connotations. In addition, Vecchione et al. (2012) have also found differences in personality traits in terms of age. Personality traits change between adolescence and emerging adulthood. Experienced adverse events that the individual cannot control increase negative emotions of emerging adults (Shiner et al., 2017). In this study, negative emotionality is understood in terms of experiencing negative emotions in the current period. The period of adolescence is characterized by an increase in negative emotionality, compounded for students by the stress that accompanies adapting to new conditions.

De Jong (2002) prefers using life satisfaction over other concepts of well-being when looking at the consequences of migration. Contemporary research likewise makes extensive use of the variable „life satisfaction“ in the context of migrants' quality of life (Lönqvist et al., 2015; Schiele, 2021; Baláž & Valuš, 2020; Mueller, 2020; Ajaero et al., 2023) as well as the quality of life among international students (Machul et al., 2020). Life satisfaction is associated with psychological certainty which has been identified as a significant factor in international student aspirations

(Bokhan et al., 2021). Life satisfaction has also been shown in student samples to be mediated by self-concept (Lau et al., 2020) and psychological resilience (Ma et al., 2023). This specifically refers to coping with negative emotions and stress.

Previous research has also found that the relationship between negative emotional experiences and life satisfaction is culturally contingent and negative in individualistic cultures rather than collectivistic cultures. Conversely, in cultures where self-presentation is a greater value than survival, positive emotions are more likely to be positively related to life satisfaction (Kuppens et al., 2008; Bastian et al., 2014). This factor may be relevant for Ukrainians whose country lies between individualist Europe and collectivist Russia (Borysenko, 2017).

The variable assumed to be related to both variables is information distortion or in other words, bullshitting. Bullshitting appears to be a characteristic of an individual's personality. It may be constant or may manifest itself more intensely in specific situations where the individual feels the need to make an impression for the sake of impressing others or avoiding an unpleasant situation (Littrel, 2021; Cavojova & Brezina, 2021). Bullshitting has been studied in a Slovak sample in relation to attitudes towards migration (Čavojová & Brezina, 2021). It was found that persuasive bullshitting was associated with cognitive distortion and that those involved presented themselves as having a lot of information about migration. It was also found among students that bullshitters used more "socially desirable" problem-solving strategies. Moreover, students with higher levels of bullshitting expressed higher levels of self-confidence (Jerrim et al., 2019). Thus, bullshitting plays a role in relation to both self-evaluation and the evaluation of 'others'. Foreign students may have a need to influence the social perception towards themselves, in communication with the majority population.

Methods

Sample and data collection

The sample consisted of 136 foreign students from Ukraine studying in Slovakia (69% female, $M_{age} = 18.91$, $SD = 1.91$). The data were collected in the second half of 2022. The data collection took place during classes through an anonymous online questionnaire. All students, international and Slovak, were given the questionnaire at the same time although only the results of the foreign students were evaluated. The purpose of the research was explained to the respondents and anonymity of the answers was guaranteed. All respondents were in their first year of study and had been in Slovakia for at least 3 months.

Research variables and questionnaires

The Satisfaction with Life scale (Diener et al. 1985) is a 5-item questionnaire that measures the cognitive appraisal of one's own life satisfaction. Respondents state the extent to which they agree or disagree with each of the 5 items using a 7-point scale, ranging from 7 strongly agree to 1 strongly disagree. The Cronbach alpha value in the sample was .792.

The Bullshitting Frequency Scale (Littrell et al., 2020; Čavojová & Brezina, 2021) examines bullshitting as a everyday behavioural act aimed at distorting information in order to create an impression (pervasive bullshitting) or to avoid unpleasant consequences (evasive bullshitting). Items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale where the respondent indicates the frequency of a particular behaviour. For example, "I exaggerate/pretend when I want to make the things I talk about sound more interesting or exciting." The reliability was also sufficient in the sample (Cronbach Alfa = .826).

The Big Five Inventory-2 XS (Soto & John, 2017; Kohút et al., 2020) was used to measure the negative emotionality of students from Ukraine. The questionnaire has 15 items that measure the Big Five traits. The items are measured on a 5-point Likert scale. There were three items related to Negative Emotionality (Cronbach alfa = 0.733).

Statistical processing

The data were processed in the statistical software JASP using descriptive statistics, Pearson's correlational coefficient and mediation analysis. Due to the limited sample, the effect size was not explored.

Results

Firstly, a correlation analysis of the variables was carried out. All three variables were found to be significantly correlated with each other (Table 1). However, the collinearity diagnostics showed an acceptable result (VIF= 2.54), indicating a moderate level of correlation.

Table 1: *Descriptive statistics and correlation of variables*

	M	SD	Skewness	S.E.	1.	2.	3.
1. Life Satisfaction	21.044	8.636	-0.821	0.209	-		
2. Negative Emotionality	9.400	3.679	-1.023	0.209	0.237**	-	
3. Frequency of Bullshitting	36.191	13.435	-1.231	0.211	0.224**	0.277**	-

** $p < 0,01$

A mediation analysis was carried out to examine if the frequency of bullshitting mediated the relationship between negative emotionality and life satisfaction (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Frequency of bullshitting as a mediator between negative emotionality and life satisfaction

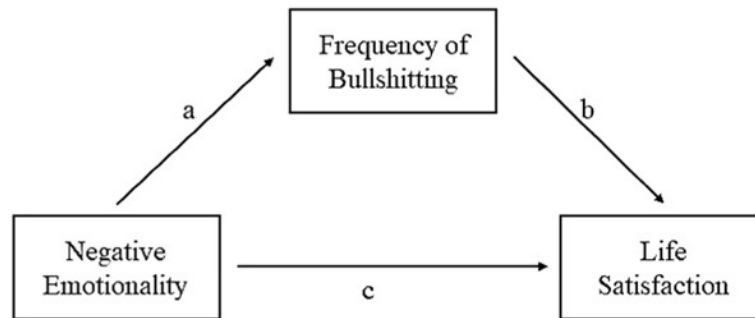


Table 2 shows the path coefficients of the variables explored. The frequency of bullshitting was significantly predicted by the level of negative emotionality ($R^2=0.078$; $B=0.116$; $p < 0.001$).

Life satisfaction ($R^2=0.149$) was significantly predicted by negative emotionality ($B=-0.136$; $S.E.=0.035$; $p < 0.001$) and frequency of bullshitting ($B=0.317$; $S.E.=0.035$; $p < 0.001$).

Table 2: Path coefficients from the linear models testing the relationships of life satisfaction, negative emotionality and frequency of bullshitting

		B	S.E.	z	p	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower	Upper
Frequency of bullshitting	→ Life satisfaction	0.317	0.084	3.756	< .001	0.151	0.482
Negative emotionality	→ Life satisfaction	-0.136	0.035	3.915	< .001	-0.203	-0.068
Negative emotionality	→ Frequency of bullshitting	0.116	0.035	3.297	< .001	0.047	0.185

Table 3 shows the indirect effect of bullshitting frequency in the relationship between negative emotionality and life satisfaction. While the effect was found to be significant, it was weak ($B=0.037$; $S.E. = 0.015$; $p < 0.05$).

Table 3: Frequency of bullshitting as a mediator in the relationship between negative emotionality and life satisfaction

				B	S.E.	z	p	95% Confidence Interval		
								Lower	Upper	
Negative emotionality	→	Frequency of bullshitting	→	Life satisfaction	0.037	0.015	2.475	0.013	0.008	0.066

Discussion

The aim of this paper was to explore the relationship between the negative emotionality of foreign students from Ukraine and their overall life satisfaction. It also aimed to find out whether this relationship is mediated by the frequency of bullshitting, i.e. misleading information. The results confirmed a significant, but weak, inverse relationship.

This relationship can be interpreted as the use of coping strategies to maintain a positive perception of life despite negative experiences. Gruenberg (in De Jong, 2002), has argued that life satisfaction is not only associated with rewards but with challenges as well. Short-term negative emotions need not threaten life satisfaction as they are an inevitable part of goal attainment. However, bullshitting would represent a dysfunctional strategy to deal with negative emotionality. However, the weak effect may indicate that there are other mediating variables in this relationship.

In the context of educational migration, it is expected that negative experiences will be more commonly part of students' lives given the many stressors related to the initial phases of study, changing living conditions and changes in social relationships. The adaptive coping strategies of Ukrainian students in Slovakia, as well as their resilience or hardiness could be another possible research topic (Harrison & Brower, 2011). In research among students from Syria (Karaman et al., 2022) studying in Turkey (Karaman et al., 2022) the theme of resilience emerged as significant in relation to their life satisfaction, as did self-recovery and effort to achieve goals. Parallels can be found between their sample and the current sample at least in terms of conflict in their country and studying in a neighbouring, culturally close country.

Several studies have confirmed the buffering effect of social support on coping with challenging situations and stress. This has also been done in the context of foreign students adapting to new circumstances (Tinghög et al., 2010; Ladin & Reinhold, 2013; Crockett et al., 2007, Smith & Khawaja, 2011). Glass and Westmont (2014) have discussed belongingness to a group or institution within a resilience-based model of acculturation. This protective factor is also experience-dependent within the social context, in the context of academic performance or intergroup communication.

Previous research by Berinšterová et al. (2023) has shown that foreign students from Ukraine with a higher frequency of bullshitting described the beliefs of Slovaks towards migrants more negatively. In this research, the frequency of bullshitting was associated with life satisfaction. It can be assumed that bullshitting affects social perception in the direction that negative characteristics are attributed to others, i.e. members of another, foreign group, and one's own characteristics are described as being better than they really are. Alternatively, the negative characteristics of the others are described as being even more negative and one's own positive characteristics as even more positive. In the context of modern diasporas (Cohen, in Giordano,

2010), there is talk of idealising one's own ethnic and national group living in another country and excoriating "the other". Bullshitting may be an indicator of this phenomenon as well, in the sense of avoiding unpleasant experiences. In addition to the tendency to make an impression or avoid a negative response, bullshitting as an everyday strategy may be part of a defence mechanism.

However, the degree of closeness of international student groups was not part of the current study and could be part of further research into this topic. In the context of tracing social networks, Burt (2000), Claridge (2018) and Kim, Jarvenpaa and Gu (2018) discuss the concepts of bonding and bridging. Bonding represents the connectedness of a group, group cohesion or network density while bridging refers to the extent to which members of groups are connected to other groups and the extent to which they develop communication and social relationships.

The results can also be interpreted in the context of a developmental period that is characterized by an increase of negative emotions. Indeed, one of the strategies during this period is idealization and unidirectional assessment of reality. The young age of starting university may raise demands on the readiness of universities and the creation of suitable study conditions for students from Ukraine.

There is also controversy about the desirability of educational migration. International students belong to a group of "high-skilled migrants" who are flexible, have sufficient resources and social backgrounds (Fong 2023; Leung 2013). Slovakia is known as a country with negative perceptions of migrants, although migration from more culturally-related countries is considered more acceptable (Bozogáňová, 2020). On the other hand, subjective accounts of international students in other countries have reported encountering psychosocial difficulties, cultural differences, challenging exams and barriers to career advancement (Khan et al., 2015). However, the cultural affinity of Ukraine could be a reason for the students' favourable reception. Nevertheless, previous research has pointed to negative social experiences of Ukrainian students in Slovakia.

International students who stay to live in the foreign country represent an increase in the labour force and competition in the country (McGill, 2018). It is also a way to increase the competencies of young people as a means of exchanging experiences. On the other hand Helmer (2017) has described the view of mobility associated with neoliberalism as an "asset of the "winners" of transition, but also in terms of "escape narratives". Hrynkevych (2017) points to the threat of migration of students from Ukraine to Poland as the loss of Ukraine's social capital of youth who may not return to Ukraine after studying. Rye and Blekesaune (2007) have noted youth migration in general as a controversial topic for similar reasons. On the one hand, there is the promotion of economic growth, knowledge and social capital as a consequence of the transfer of experience. On the other hand, those who leave are among the group of the population that would be beneficial for a given country. It also overlaps in part with the concept of return migration. Wahba (2021) has explored the pros and cons of return migration. Among the positives, she acknowledges that two out of five migrants return to their home country where they apply the experience and knowledge they have gained abroad. However, she also mentions that the experiences gained in other countries are not always applicable when returning to one's own country and that the norms and ideas may not be adopted either. Moreover, not all who have left their homeland have been successful in a foreign country.

Within these views, a consensus can be found in the discussion on the readiness of universities to create adequate conditions for foreign students from Ukraine. One suggestion may be an introductory year, language preparation and the opportunity for social adaptation and getting to know the majority population.

Another suggestion has been counselling for foreign students. Although not all students are open to the idea of counselling (Onabule & Boes, 2013), systematic counselling for such young students could bring another source of social support and help the process of bridging the social groups. Counselling can consist of information support and improving support at the beginning of studies as well as at the end of when deciding on job opportunities or returning to the homeland could be of value. In the context of psychological counselling, one of the challenges is the development of personal competences and the training of coping strategies. Among the personal competencies, problem-solving skills and coping skills have been confirmed as predictors of adaptation for foreign students (Wang et al. 2012). Another possible form of support are mentoring programmes with the potential to build relationships with the Slovak population.

It is also necessary to outline the limitations of this study. In contrast to the research of Čavojová and Brezina (2021), the current study did not distinguish between pervasive and evasive bullshitting, although its evasive function is referred to as avoiding answers that could bring negative consequences or showing oneself in a better light.

There are also limitations in terms of the sample size with responses obtained from 10 percent of Ukrainian students studying at the University of Presov.

Further research should also elaborate in more detail on the different roles that foreign students from Ukraine studying in Slovakia occupy. The clarity of their work or study motivation, the degree of their willingness to return to their homeland or, on the contrary, to stay abroad, could distinguish different groups of students. This issue has been rarely studied in the European context and the studies used were from Asia or the United States of America. However, the uniqueness of this research also lies in the fact that the data collection took place in the first semester after the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, when students' perspectives on the topic might also have been influenced by the situation.

Acknowledgments

This study was conducted in compliance with the ethical standards set by the Declaration of Helsinki (1964) and informed consent was provided to all participants.

The author refused to share the data.

The author did not preregister his research plan.

The author has no known conflict of interest to declare.

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