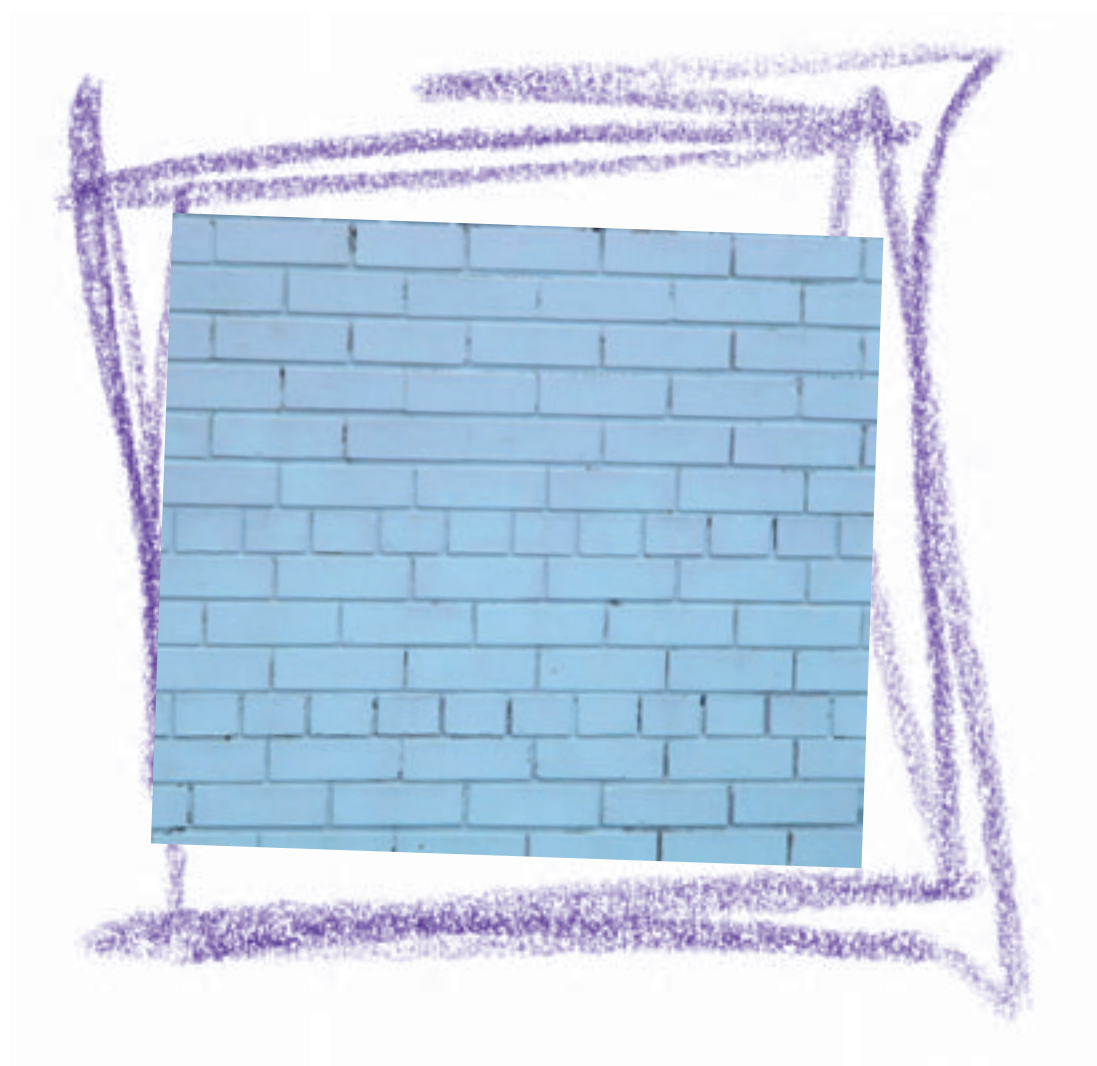# Young people's experiences of, and solutions to, identity related bullying:
Research report

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BELIEVE IN CHILDREN
CREDWCH MEWN PLANT

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Contents

Section 1: Methods and methodology

1.1 Purpose of the research

Research aims

The research aims were:

- to build on the existing evidence base regarding identity related bullying, specifically bullying experienced because of belonging to an ethnic group. To discover the types of bullying that Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) young people experience in different spheres of their lives in order to ascertain what support they accessed
- to find out children and young people's suggestions for services that would be useful when facing identity related bullying
- based upon the evidence to make recommendations for future service development and increase access to existing services that ensures emotional health and support for BME children and young people experiencing or living in fear of identity related bullying.

Research questions

The three over-arching research questions were:

- what experiences of identity related bullying do BME young people living in the Butetown, Grangetown and South Riverside areas have? How do these experiences differ within different social spheres? (eg between school and community)
- how does identity related bullying affect access to leisure services, school activities and free use of community spaces?
- what support is available, from the children's and young people's perspective, to support them when experiencing identity related bullying and what other support services would they use?

These were answered using different methods and undertaking research in different settings.

1.2 Ethics and research design

Gaining informed consent to participate in the research

The research was designed and implemented within an ethical structure that was young person centred, although the implementation of ethics varied between the different research settings.

Two of the settings were drop-in facilities that did not undertake structured activities. Young people go to these services to relax together and did not want to undertake any structured research activities such as focus groups or recorded interviews, so the research was designed flexibly to fit with the setting. In these settings it was not always possible to gain written consent.

The third research setting was a structured youth group and we used a series of focus groups because the young people wanted and expected

structured activities. The first focus group was an introduction to the research and the methods it would use. At the end of this focus group young people were invited to complete informed consent forms and were given parental information leaflets for their families. The focus groups were conducted in a separate room so that young people could choose whether to participate or not at any stage and could leave the focus group to undertake different activities in another part of the building.

In all settings young people were told and reminded that what they said would be written down and used for a report but that they would remain anonymous. The purpose of the research and child protection procedures were made explicit to all young people who participated in the research.

Young person focused research

Young people could not set the research agenda but the research was flexible and informal so that their issues and opinions could be heard and explored. A series of sessions in each research setting enabled the development of trust in the researcher and gave time for young people to develop an in-depth understanding of what the research was about. It was vital to revisit the young people because information given in the first session was very general but by the third session the young people trusted the researcher and felt able to give personal opinions.

A DVD was made with some of the young people who participated within the research so that direct key messages can be heard and seen by decision makers.

A gendered approach

The research has taken a gendered approach for the following reasons:

- some youth groups for BME young people are single gender so data was already gathered separately for boys and girls

- boys and girls use the community differently and generally have different behaviour patterns. A gendered approach enables these differences to be explicit
- boys and girls are likely to experience bullying differently and have different responses to it. This should have implications for the way in which anti-bullying measures are developed and used.

1.3 Research methods

Focus groups and observation notes

We used participatory focus groups and observation in the structured youth setting. The researcher undertook a series of 6 focus groups with 15 young people using creative methods (eg art and activities) in order to engage with the young people. The researcher also undertook structured observations to accompany the data from the activities.

Participant observation and observation notes

The researcher undertook participant observation at the two drop-in youth centres. One of these was in Butetown, mainly serving boys, and the other was a mixed gendered drop-in located in Riverside. In one drop-in setting the researcher undertook

5 participant observation sessions each lasting 45 minutes, and in the other the researcher undertook 4 participant observation sessions lasting one and a half hours each. Observations were written up using the same structured observation forms as used in the focus groups.

Questionnaires as a flexible tool
We created a questionnaire that would give the same information as the focus groups. However, the questionnaire was designed to be a flexible tool in order to accommodate young people's preferred method of telling us about their experiences and opinions. It was used in all of the following ways:

- completed individually and anonymously and handed back to the researcher
- facilitated with individuals by the researcher resembling a semi structured interview with notes being taken
- shared within a group of young people to form a group discussion around the questions and the researcher took notes

The questionnaires were used to back up the participant observation notes, resulting in the researcher having a record of all of the young people who spoke to her.

1.4 The research cohorts

Boys
The researcher spoke to 29 boys in total aged between 11 and 16 years old. 20 of the boys were from various African and Afro-Caribbean backgrounds, 2 from Asian cultures, 6 from white British cultures and one did not specify his ethnicity.

13 of the boys lived and attended schools in either Riverside, Butetown or Grangetown. 7 of the boys lived outside the target areas but attended schools and youth groups within the target areas. 8 of the boys lived outside the target areas but attended youth groups within the target areas. Only one boy lived outside the target area and did not attend a school or a youth group within the area.

Girls
The researcher spoke to 48 girls in total, 33 through the participant observation sessions and 15 through the focus groups. 7 of the girls were from African or Afro-Caribbean backgrounds, 19 were from Asian cultures, 21 were from white British cultures and one girl did not specify her ethnicity. They were aged between 10 and 18. In total 23 of them attended school and youth centres within the target areas of Riverside, Butetown and Grangetown. 16 of them lived and attended school in the target areas, and 9 of them lived outside of the target areas and did not attend school or youth centres within the target areas.

1.5 Recording and analysing the data

The questionnaires and focus groups produced data relating to the three research questions. Discussions in focus groups were tape recorded and subsequently transcribed. Notes from informal and group interviews were taken at the time of the conversations using the questionnaire as a basic structure.

Compilation was undertaken manually and latent content analysis was implemented after compilation.

Section 2: The different roles in experiencing bullying

This research aimed to examine young people's experiences of identity related bullying but discovered that all issues of bullying were important to young people and they did not want to focus on just one aspect. There was a general agreement about what types of behaviour constitutes bullying and the roles that young people can take within its dynamic. This section outlines young people's definitions of bullying and the different roles within which they experience it.

2.1 What is bullying?

The main types of bullying mentioned by young people were physical violence, verbal aggression, coercion and intimidation, spreading malicious gossip and sexual harassment. There was agreement between the different schools and youth groups that bullying is 'when one person gets hurts and the other one thinks it's funny' (hurt can be emotionally or physically, but often both) and that bullying has to happen more than once. Some young people in the younger age group (10-12 years) found it hard to distinguish between bullying and falling out with friends. In conversations during participant observation young people knew the different types of behaviour that constitute bullying, but they often did not describe their own experiences as being bullied. For example, some young people did not see being called names and being verbally harassed as bullying. This may be because there is a stigma attached to admitting to being bullied, or because young people are clear on the theories of bullying but less clear about boundaries of acceptable behaviour in practice and within their own experience.

There is a gender difference in dealing with bullying behaviour. Boys and girls said that generally boys bully through physical contact more than girls. This does not mean that girls do not fight. As one boy pointed out: 'the girl fights are the best!', but the consensus between boys and girls is that:

'Boys is fighting, girls is telling lies. Girls try to make them cry, boys try to get them to fight so there is a difference...'

Often there is a background context to fights that is based upon being called names or having rumours spread about you. This experience is common for both genders, so it seems that boys end up fighting about it and have an aim to goad the bullied boy into a fight, whereas girls seem to want to isolate other girls, and the bullied girl tends to try and walk away from it.
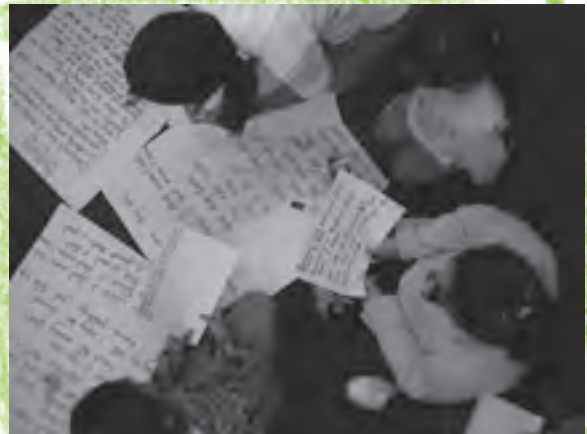
2.2 Experiences of being bullied

Why do some young people get bullied?
There are stereotypes of people who get bullied based upon seeming different in some way. There were two main reasons identified as to why young people get bullied:

1. Because they lack confidence and style and so are 'uncool'.

Many young people said 'they lack confidence'. Being ginger, being overweight or of a different size (tall or short) and being a 'spod' were commonly spoken about in focus groups and participant

observation. Comments such as 'people get bullied because they're geeks' were common.

2. Because of an identity they have

Young people are bullied for personal identities they have or are believed to have. Examples of personal identities are religion, skin colour, being disabled and being believed to be gay.

Section 4 gives more detail about identity bullying. Many young people commented on the difficulties that newcomers face:

'He gets picked on because he doesn't speak English'

'It's not me but there's a boy from Africa in my class and he gets bullied' [not for being black but for not speaking English]

The table below shows what young people said about why people get bullied. All of the reasons cited fit either the idea that victims of bullying lacking in some regard or that they have a specific identity.

Question: why do people get bullied? (total of 29 boys and 33 girls, all respondents answered the question)

Reason for being bullied	Girls	Boys	Total
They dress different or look different	17	6	23
They are weak/don't stand up for themselves	4	7	11
Because of their race/skin colour	6	10	16
They are ugly/overweight/ have spots/wear glasses	8	4	12
They are newcomers who can't speak English	2	2	4
They have a disability	1	4	5
They are thought to be gay	1	2	3
They are geeks/too clever	5	2	7

There was concern for young people who are bullied with most young people saying that bullying was wrong and that it affects confidence and self esteem, causing different behaviours ranging from crying all the time, feeling isolated and bullying other young people.

The stigma of being bullied

Whilst young people are quick to talk about other young people's experiences and the fact that 'bullying happens all the time' they are very reluctant to talk about personal experiences. This was not the case if the young person was talking to the researcher alone, if they were in a small supportive friendship group or if bullying occurred to all the young people within a friendship group. More young people were willing to talk about past experiences of bullying and said they had gained confidence since the bullying had stopped. However, in all research settings, if they were talking about their own experiences and another young person came up to join in the conversation they would stop telling their story and revert to more general issues about bullying. On the questionnaires 7 boys and 6 girls said they hadn't been bullied but 13 boys and 5 girls did not answer the question. From questionnaires, focus groups and participant observation, it is apparent that young people, particularly boys, can find it difficult to talk about personal experiences of being bullied.

The section above detailing why people get bullied shows that there are two perceptions of why it happens. However, the two different reasons for being bullied do not have clear boundaries and the first reason for being bullied is dominant in young people's understanding of why people get bullied and all bullying is perceived to be based on an individual weakness. Therefore there is a stigma attached to being bullied and to admit to having been bullied is to admit to being 'uncool' yourself. This stigma can be summed up with one girl's comment, 'I'm too cool to be bullied'. Young

people generally have sympathy and concern for a bullied individual, particularly if the bullying is related to an identity, although understandings of identity related bullying are not straightforward.

Personal experiences of being bullied
These are examples of bullying that young people talked about:

1. Intimidation

'I had £20 taken off me today but I'm OK about it.' Friend says, 'but you were crying earlier'.

'I was getting threatened. We had to go to the police and my older sister got involved' [to stop the bullying].

2. Physical Violence

'It happened at xx primary school. They hit me and kicked and called me names.'

3. For being different

'We get bullied because of how we look and how we are.'

4. Because of Identities

BME young people cited many examples of racist name calling and sometimes this was seen as bullying and sometimes as racism.

2.3 The bully's experience of bullying

Conflicting perceptions of 'the bully'
There are four different conflicting perceptions that young people have towards bullies.

1. Bullies are 'hard' and have confidence

For some young people, particularly boys, there is an admiration for bullies. They are seen as cool and having confidence and the power bullying brings enables them to have a bit of an aura and a reputation. In some boy's minds bullying is also linked to gang culture so there is an element of excitement and coolness about it.

2. Bullies are people with problems

There is sympathy for bullies with some young people saying that bullies may be bullied themselves, especially at home. Other people felt that bullies are insecure and have personal problems and so they need the power that comes with hurting others.

3. Bullies are impressive and popular

Many young people said that bullies do it to be popular, show off and gain recognition from friends. This suggests that being a successful bully gains you a peer group. As most young people say they do not like bullies there may be a difference in young people's peer dynamics between being popular within a peer group and having friends. The popularity may stem from fear rather than positive emotions for the bully.

4. Bullies are nasty

A minority of young people said that bullies were 'evil' and 'stupid'. It was mainly young people who were being bullied who said this.

The table below shows reasons young people gave for people being bullies.

Question: Why do people bully?
(Total 29 boys, 33 girls)

Reason for bullying	Boys	Girls	Total
To be hard	7	9	16
To show off/be cool	5	7	12
For fun/having a laugh	2	7	9
Have problems of their own being bullied or difficulties at home	7	5	12
They are jealous or insecure	0	7	7
To be popular and get respect	0	3	3
They're nasty stupid people	1	4	5
They're gangsters/to get money	2	0	2
No answer given	3	5	8

The bullies' experience of bullying

A minority of young people talked about being a bully. Since most young people say they dislike bullies there is a stigma attached to admitting to being a bully. It is noticeable how many young people did not answer the question 'have you ever bullied someone?'.

Have you bullied someone? What did you do and how did it stop?	Boys	Girls	Total
I was having a difficult time. It stopped because I knew I had to make changes for myself	2	0	2
I was having a laugh that just seemed to go too far	4	3	7
I didn't bully, but was part of a group and didn't stop one of us bullying	1	2	3
I bullied someone who was bullying me to make them stop	0	1	1
I bullied because of a person's characteristics (really silly, very smelly, they were small)	1	2	3
I haven't bullied but I do argue with ex friends	0	2	2
I have never bullied	4	5	9
No answer	17	16	33

Young people's reasons for bullying support both the different perceptions of the bully and the different reasons as to why people get bullied. For example, one boy's reasons for bullying support the perceptions of bullies having personal problems:

'In school I was bigger than people and they were scared of me. It happened because nothing mattered to me back then. They started talking about things and I made the changes. I would never do it again and it's not who I am.' (boy, 14)

The following interaction supports the notion of people being bullied because of individual weaknesses:

'I used to bully them [pointing at two girls opposite and saying to the girls]. I did though didn't I?'

'Yes, but it's alright now.'

Researcher [asking the two girls opposite and the girl speaking] 'so how did it stop?'

'Well, I wasn't being nice and she was really silly, but I had help to stop and we all talked together.' (Girl, 13)

When young people did admit to having bullied they said that they stopped with help from different adults and were helped to think through what they did and to talk to the person they had bullied. They may have received punishment, but they also received help.

The boundaries of bullying behaviour

Whilst not many young people said they had bullied, many participants, particularly boys, said that they undertook behaviour that could be described as on the boundaries of bullying, summed up in the comment: 'nearly everyone bullies, but some people mean to.' There were three main situations that are on the boundaries of bullying behaviour:

1. Horse play

Boys peer group relations often lead them to horseplay which seems physically aggressive and involves name calling, but in fact is just having a laugh. Many young people said that adults do not recognise the boundaries between playing and bullying although they admitted that often these boundaries get confused by young people too.

2. Going too far

In one informal interview three boys said that they had bullied but that they hadn't even realised it at the time. They said they were calling a mate names as a joke but then realised that the mate didn't want their friendship anymore and it had gone too far. Other young people described similar scenarios explaining that they were having a laugh that went too far.

3. Gang membership

Some of the boys identify bullying with gangs saying that fighting and intimidation are a part of being in a gang. If you are a part of a gang you have to bully because you're a part of the group. Many of the boys avoid any contact with gangs. One or two said that if you join a gang you do have to bully but it also gives you some protection because you're a part of something bigger.

2.4 Witnessing bullying

The table shows the extent to which young people are witnesses to bullying activities. The consensus view to witnessing bullying is summed up: 'I see it all the time in class and around school.' There are two roles that young people take when witnessing bullying; one is passer-by and the other is back-up. These are explained below after an examination of gender differences to witnessing bullying.

Question: Have you seen someone being bullied?

	Yes	No	No answer
Girls	29	4	0
Boys	22	5	2

Gender differences in witnessing bullying

Girls almost unanimously feel nervous and scared when seeing bullying whereas some, but not all, boys find it exciting. Male bravado and the perception that boys need to be able to fight to be a proper male add to the image of bullying as fun/exciting. Boys tend to end up in fights which often have on-lookers so the bullying becomes overt and exciting, gathering a crowd whereas it is harder to witness girls bullying as it tends to be more verbal and not result in fights. This process was described by one boy:

> [a group of] 'boys wind up one boy until he has had enough. The boy being picked on then retaliates and causes a fight. It is then the boy being bullied who gets into trouble. Bullies can make this situation happen so they never actually get caught out.'

In questionnaires girls commonly described their feeling as 'helpless' when seeing bullying but more than half the boys did not respond. In participant observation many boys said that they found bullying exciting but it may be that they did not want to admit to this on paper because it is not how they think they are expected to feel when seeing bullying.

Question: How does seeing bullying make you feel? (respondents could choose more than one emotion, total of 29 boys, 33 girls)

Emotion	Boys	Girls	Total
Helpless	7	21	28
Positive (excited/part of a group)	3	2	5
Scared and unhappy	3	12	15
Embarrassed and nervous	0	12	12
It's none of my business	2	0	2
I didn't realise	1	0	1
Sorry for/ashamed of bully	0	2	2
No answer to this question	14	2	16

Different roles in witnessing bullying: The passer-by and the back-up

In witnessing bullying there are two different roles young people can take; passer-by or back up. The passer-by is someone who sees bullying happening and although does not want to be a part of it, feels unable to stop the bullying behaviour. Reasons given for this feeling of helplessness were varied but based on fear:

- bullies are popular so to take issue with what they do will cause you to become unpopular. If bullies are popular it does suggest that peers look up to bullies. Peers may not like what they do but there is also an element of deference or the bully wouldn't be popular and get away with it. Being popular does not seem to be the same as being liked
- bullies are scary people because you may get bullied yourself, they may hurt or threaten your siblings and your family members
- it's hard to stand up to someone when you're scared, as exemplified in this comment: 'I didn't do anything about it because I was scared.'

The second role in witnessing bullying is one of back-up. The back-ups enable the bully to exert control as one young person explained: 'Bullies go around in groups, so although only one person bullies it feels like they have back-up.' Being a back-up seems to protect the bully, but it is also a way in which a young person can avoid being bullied themselves. Back-ups themselves commented:

'Yes I bullied because I went along with it but eventually I stood up for myself'.

'I've never bullied someone personally but if I knew about it I didn't stop it.'

2.5 Roles of bullying and emotional health

There are four roles that make up the dynamic of bullying and these are the bullied, the bully, the passer-by and the back up. Many young people find it difficult to talk about being bullied and being a bully, but these are the roles that are

commonly focused upon in anti-bullying initiatives. Recommendations are made in section 6 based upon data outlined in sections 2 to 5 of this report.

Young people focused upon the emotions that being bullied creates. They spoke about the isolation of the person bullied saying that bullied children and young people often 'don't want to go to school because they get bullied everyday.' During participant observation there was anger and intense frustration from boys and girls who were currently being bullied. The two quotes below summarise how being bullied makes young people feel:

> 'Being bullied makes me feel penalised, disgusted and worth nothing. You feel intimidated and scared and your attendance drops.'

> 'When they are bullied people feel alone, outnumbered, scared and think 'what's wrong with me?''

Young people who had bullied often talked about it in terms of their emotional health, saying that they needed help with managing difficulties in their own lives and this is recognised generally by other young people as one of the reasons why people bully. Back-ups to bullying feel guilty and sly, knowing that their presence in a group or next to a bully is aiding the bullying behaviour but not knowing how to change the situation. Witnesses to bullying are very clear that they feel helpless. Most girls and a few boys also feel scared and some boys feel excited or more powerful.

All four of these roles make up the dynamic of bullying and have a cost to children's and young people's mental health and emotional well being. There is a reluctance to talk about personal experiences of bullying and an unspoken support for bullies. It seems that young people have a theoretical understanding about bullying being destructive but it is not always clear as to how they can act on this message in everyday life. This could explain some of the discrepancies in the research findings – such as bullies being popular but participants saying they don't like bullies, and statements like people can't help being bullied but it's based on individual differences that are often seen as weaknesses.

Section 3: Locations of bullying and adult-young person relations

3.1 Where bullying happens

Where bullying occurs is linked to who is getting bullied and who is bullying. Young people get bullied at home, in their area and within school by both adults and other young people. They were quick to point out that there are different places within school and within the community which are 'hot spots' for being bullied. Community bullying varies between neighbourhoods, noticeably young people who had answered questionnaires from outside the three target areas for this project reported less community based bullying. Girls in focus groups were from Asian and Muslim communities and so

reported less community bullying because they do not spend a lot of time in the community, whereas girls answering questionnaires were mainly from white British cultures and they reported more community bullying. Similarly, boys in participant observation reported more community bullying than boys in questionnaire responses. The differences in boys reporting of community bullying may be because of neighbourhood differences as most of the boys responding to the questionnaires were from the same ethnic background as boys spoken to in participant observation. All of the data shows that community bullying happens on a regular

basis but that it is experienced differently between girls and boys, different cultures and will vary between different socio-economic neighbourhoods.

At school

Question: Does bullying happen in your school?

	Yes	No	No answer
Boys (n= 29)	28	1	0
Girls (n= 33)	31	2	0

'Bullying happens all the time at school' is a quote strengthened by the table above taken from questionnaire data. Young people outlined three different places within the school grounds where bullying happens.

In the classroom – bullying in the classroom can happen from teachers. 'In the classroom a teacher will bully by picking on one pupil and making them feel stupid.' The issue of adults bullying young people is explored below. Additionally many young people said that 'bullying happens between young people in the classroom when teachers ignore it or don't do anything about it.'

Outside – in primary schools bullying happens a lot in the playground and in secondary schools in outside yards and on paths between different school buildings.

In locker rooms – this happens usually when getting changed for PE lessons.

Although many schools have anti-bullying initiatives it seems that bullying is still commonplace in schools. It should be remembered that pupils from four primary schools and three secondary schools participated in the research so this is not indicative of one school in particular.

In the community

Question: Does bullying happen in the area where you live?

	Yes	No	No answer given
Boys (n= 29)	13	14	2
Girls (n= 33)	21	11	2

Respondents told us that bullying does happen in the community and more so in Riverside and Butetown than Grangetown.

Bullying in the community is undertaken by groups of young people and some adults. Certain families are perceived to be bullying and many of the young people named house numbers or families that they avoided and that they found scary because of verbal insults. Bullying from young people happens in two main community areas – firstly in gathering places such as outside shops or park benches and secondly in isolated areas such as back lanes and warehouse-type areas. Parks with high hedges and no seats or play equipment were avoided because of bullying and threatening behaviour.

Young people pointed out that bullying within school spills into the community at certain times of the day. School related bullying occurs in the community in the morning and afternoon when travelling to and from school, and at break time when young people can leave school premises. Generally it was found that this type of bullying in the community happens where there is already a bullying dynamic within the school. Non school related bullying in the community between young people from different schools generally occurs during the evenings and at weekends.

There are big age, gender and cultural differences between young people's use of the community and this affects their reporting of community based bullying. This research can only highlight this issue rather than suggest solutions as it is not a core focus of the research and there is not enough robust evidence to outline the problems fully. Generally, there is an age divide in community use with 10 and 11 year olds having much more restricted movements than 15 and 16 year olds. The restrictions seem to be higher for girls than boys and higher again for girls of Asian and Muslim cultures. In focus groups most of the girls from Asian and Muslim cultures did not comment upon the outdoor space in their communities focusing instead upon friends and families houses, mosque, temple or Gurdwara and school. With the exception of Buzz café and the Barnardo's run Neville Street service they did not seem to access any services or leisure opportunities. This research did not engage with enough boys of Asian and Muslim cultures to be able to undertake a good gender comparison but it seemed that boys from the same cultures used outdoor community space more freely and report more bullying.

Boys said that bullying in the community often happens between gangs. The term 'gang' was used very loosely by the boys and sometimes referred to different groups of boys that were rivals whilst at other times referred to more organised activities requiring group affiliation. Both types of gangs are involved with community based bullying.

At home

Siblings were often described as bullies within the home, but young people felt there was very little that could be done about this. Young people commented on adults within the home which is explained below.

3.2 Adults bullying

Adult and child relations

The research discovered ambivalence about whether adults bully. This is partly because young people are aware of child abuse and see this as different to bullying. One young person commented, 'adults can't bully children because that would be abuse'. Some young people think of adults telling them off as being bullied whilst others view negative disciplining as bullying. For young people there are no clear boundaries about what constitutes abuse, what constitutes bullying and what is appropriate within adult roles given that teachers and parents have a guardianship over people under 16, requiring teachers to maintain classroom control and parents to encourage positive behaviour. Regardless of these confusions this research shows that adults do bully young people.

Q- Do adults bully?	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	20	23	43
No	6	9	15
No answer	3	1	4

Adults bullying in the community

There were three main reasons cited for adults bullying young people within the community:

1. Identity related discrimination

Many of the boys from BME communities said that adults in the community bully with racist comments and gave lots of examples which are discussed further in section 4 in relation to identity bullying.

This bullying usually took the form of repeatedly having certain individuals shout racist abuse at them. Disabled young people also reported verbal abuse and threats, and other young people reported examples of this:

> 'I saw a stranger in the park on the weekend. And this younger boy came up to me really upset – he had a disability. He said that this stranger had said he was going to beat him up because he had a disability. It's not fair, but some adults are like that.'

2. Family disagreements/neighbour disputes

Some young people avoid certain houses and families because of fear of adult bullying. This type of bullying seems to be very area specific but relates to family affiliations and if a young person upsets one member of the family then the whole family could bully that young person. Family and neighbourhood disputes involve whole families and not individuals. Young people try to avoid provoking families for fear their whole family will be a target of bullying. Sometimes family disputes will have a racist background.

3. Negative/discriminatory view of young people

Shopkeepers were viewed very negatively by respondents who said that they often bully and humiliate children and young people. Two examples given were that they ask young people to leave shops before they've had a chance to buy anything and they are asked to move on when outside shops. Whilst from an adult viewpoint this behaviour is probably vigilance against potential anti-social behaviour young people are quick to point out that they had not done anything wrong or had a chance to buy anything and so were victims of prejudice and this is bullying behaviour if it occurs repeatedly.

Adults bullying at school

Although many of the stories about teachers bullying will have a background context and there is confusion for some young people about the differences between being disciplined and being bullied there are too many similar stories about teachers bullying from pupils attending different schools for this research to ignore. A few young people disagreed with the idea of teachers bullying saying that they were just telling off some unruly pupils and that bullying in school really only happened between pupils. The number of teachers bullying cannot be estimated because it is unknown whether it is one teacher in each school or many. Young people said that when teachers do bully it happens more than once and there is nothing you can do about it because it is a part of school life.

There were four main types of bully behaviour within the children's examples:

1.   Physical bullying

One young person was scared she would be named but felt it was important to know that 'one of our teachers bullies and abuses – she hit someone'. Other young people nodded agreement to this statement. There were also a few examples of inappropriate touching which the young people concerned described as rough handling not sexual touching.

2.   Humiliation

Many young people felt that they may have done something wrong but that the teachers' reaction was to humiliate them and continue the humiliation so it became a pattern of behaviour rather than a one off punishment. Some pupils felt they got bad marks as a humiliation tactic but this cannot be proved and even if it is not a humiliation tactic it does show that pupils who may not succeed in their school work do not feel encouraged by how certain teachers deal with poor work.

> 'They [teachers] make you feel bad and pick on you and give you bad marks.'

> 'Teachers will bully you. They call you names and shout at you in front of all the class.'

> '…you're not meant to be late but it's no reason to get humiliated and shouted at. It doesn't happen once but again and again.'

3.   Verbal aggression

Almost all young people said some teachers shout at particular pupils and saw this a form of verbal bullying. 'They shout without listening to the full story sometimes.'

4.   Identity bullying

Many young people from BME communities reported racism and racist bullying within their school from other pupils and from teachers. The following quote is one of many examples that reveals ignorance about cultural identities:

> 'Teachers abuse power. They bullied me because of my language, my background and my birth place. I'm a Welsh Somali but my teacher said I couldn't be Welsh and that made me mad…I'm proud of what I am.'

Adults bullying within the home

No young people said that their parents bullied but many young people said they thought that some parents bullied their children. There was a recognition that bullying by parents constitutes abuse but young people felt there was nothing that anyone could do about their parents bullying them.

> 'If your parents bully there's nothing you can do about it. You just have to deal with it.'

3.3 Locations and the adult bullying dynamic

Young people get bullied by adults and other young people in the same three locations – at school, at home and in the community. Most anti-bullying actions are focused within the school and interactions between young people. Conversations about adults bullying led to young people developing a holistic view of bullying. Many young people pointed out that although adults, mainly parents and teachers, do bully children, children can also bully adults and that any anti-bullying initiatives need to look at the whole picture and include child adult bullying as well as adult child bullying. In conversations many young people agreed that teasing teachers was bullying although it seemed that they had not considered this dynamic of bullying in any detail before.

Teachers and parents need better and clearer techniques to encourage positive behaviour so discipline boundaries are clear and can be maintained without having to resort to negative techniques and bullying. Additionally children and young people need to know more about positive and negative behaviour management, their rights and what is reasonable discipline for teachers to use.

Section 4: Identity related bullying

This research aimed to find out about young people's experiences of identity related bullying, specifically racist bullying, and to discover the ways in which they think about racism and bullying. However, the other two main strands of identity related bullying are on the grounds of disability and sexuality. Data about these two strands are included in this section but more in depth research should be undertaken to examine the inter-relations of the different sorts of identity related bullying.
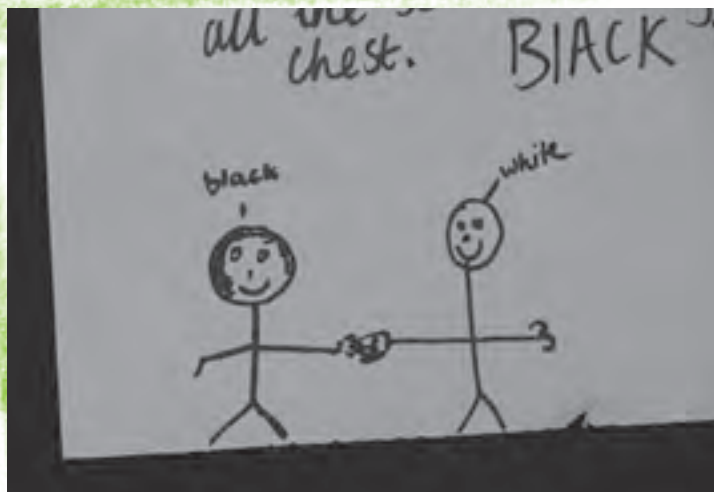
4.1 Racism and racist bullying

Racism in school

There were discrepancies between white and black pupils regarding racism in school. Many white pupils said that their school was always going on about racism, that the schools are heavy on racism and so no one gets bullied because of their race. The black pupils on the other hand gave examples of racist bullying and tend to report more teacher bullying. Whilst there is an issue about young people's understanding of bullying and enforcing discipline, this is an area that should be sensitively researched further.

Nature of racist bullying

There was no consensus about racist bullying. Some of the young people felt that bullying should be addressed as bullying and racism as racism, others thought that bullying is about picking on individual characteristics which includes skin colour and some thought that racist bullying was different to other forms of bullying because it made you feel bad about your community and family as well as yourself. The disagreements about the nature of racist bullying stem from the fact that young people do not distinguish clearly between the two types of bullying. They perceive skin colour in the same way as being tall or being ginger haired because they are all individual characteristics. For example, during participation observation with 8 boys the issue of hair colour arose. Seven of the boys were black and one ginger. He did not describe himself as white but as 'ginger' and talked about 'gingerism'. The other boys agreed with this saying he was bullied for who he was and the fact he was ginger. They all saw this as the same as, but also different to, racist bullying.

There is also little differentiation between racism and racist bullying. Theoretically the young people said that racist bullying was bullying on the grounds of skin colour, language, nationality or religion but in discussions and on an experiential level the young people talked about racist bullying being bullying on grounds of skin colour alone. For example, when we discussed real life scenarios of a traveller girl being bullied, young people said that this wasn't racist bullying because it wasn't skin colour, but that it was identity related bullying. Most young people said there weren't any travellers in Cardiff and they were not seen as a distinct group that would experience racism. Similarly, discussions over a scenario of a young man being bullied because of his religion was

not seen as racist although it was seen as bullying about an identity issue.

When asked if young people from certain cultures were bullied more in school two ethnic backgrounds were identified:

- boys from the Czech Republic were said to 'get a hard time' but this was explained to the researcher as being because they were gypsies and this was not seen as racist but just because they were different
- Bengali boys were reported to be particularly bullied and this was explained in racist ways

Conceptualising racist bullying as only about skin colour has implications for many ethnic minority groups of young people and for the types of mechanisms used to tackle racism and racist bullying. No young people from white minorities were included in this research but this perception of racist bullying will impact upon white minorities such as traveller young people and young people from Eastern European cultures and may not uncover bullying that occurs between different black cultures. There urgently needs to be subsequent research to look at identity related bullying that includes young people from many minority cultures. This is a very complicated issue that arose in this research and it is more diverse and subtle than being a black-white dynamic.

Some young people said that they hadn't been bullied but then went on to describe their experiences of racism at school, mainly getting called names on account of their skin colour. Generally pupils from white British cultures said that there was little racism within their schools, but black young people gave many examples of racism within schools, from both teachers and other pupils.

Reports of racist bullying within the community varied between neighbourhoods, gender and ethnic background. Some young people said that racist bullying didn't affect them suggesting that it was because they were established within their community. They pointed out that if they went to another part of Cardiff they would experience racism. Other BME young people do experience racism in their communities from adults and other young people, which included 'swearing and maybe racist abuse verbally in the street and area you live in.'

4.2 Bullying because of other identities

Disability
Generally young people did not know how to appropriately talk about people with learning difficulties or disabilities and comments that were made were expressions of sympathy for disabled young people couched in discriminatory language which was applied equally to people with physical or learning impairments. The few disabled young people who did participate in this research said they were bullied on account of their disability.

In response to questions about bullying on grounds of disability many young people asked 'what's a disability?' The personal information section of the questionnaire provoked some young people to ask if their disability was a disability, particularly for ADHD. This may be because young people are described as having special educational needs (SEN) and so they do not know that having an SEN is a means of recording a disability. This issue was also found by the Disability Rights Commission Wales in their report 'My School, my family, my life: Telling it like it is in Wales' (2007).

There was disagreement between pupils from different schools as to whether disabled young people got bullied. Some young people said that disabled pupils got bullied whilst others said that it did not happen at their school because there were no disabled people at the school. Other young

people said that this did not happen in their school because the disabled young people are with each other in their own units and 'with children in the same situations'.

Homophobia

Girls tended to be embarrassed about sexual orientation whereas boys tended to be derogatory about it. Almost all of the boys were discriminatory about gay people and would regularly come out with homophobic comments to each other such as 'gay boy' 'chichi boy' and 'arse boy'. On a sociological level, most of the boys seem to be proving their heterosexual identity through making sexualised comments about women and to girls and posturing to each other.
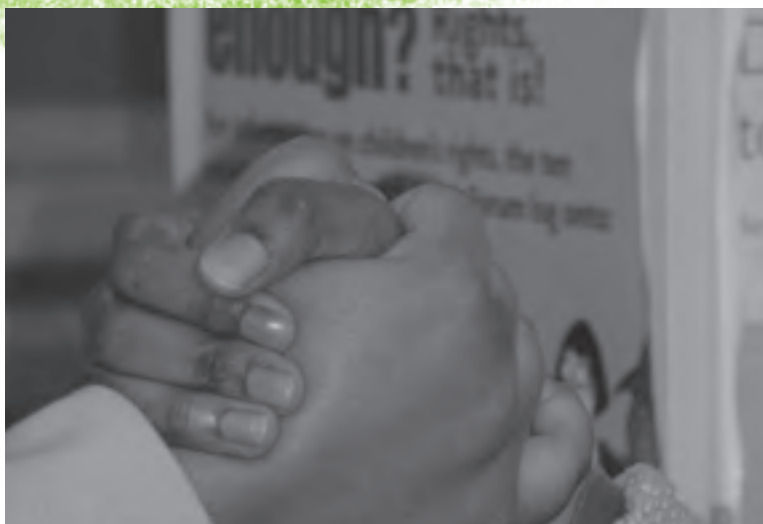
Generally, gay people were seen as a legitimate target for teasing by boys and girls. In focus groups discussing a scenario of a young man questioning his sexuality most of the girls were embarrassed and did not want to talk about it. They said that the names used in the scenario were used in their school but a significant minority felt that laughing

at someone being gay was allowable because it was genuinely funny. There was little understanding that one of the people in the scenario might feel excluded or sad.

One group of boys said that anyone who was gay got bullied at their school. The researcher asked, how do you know when someone is gay and this got a mixed response. Half the group said 'well you can tell. They are aren't they?' and the other half said that 'you don't really know. You just think they are gay.'

4.3 Limits of language, emotions and confidence in self identity

Boys' emotional literacy

Boys found it hard to talk about any aspect of bullying beyond physical bullying and at first they were very reluctant to talk to the researcher. Boys seemed to find bullying a difficult topic to talk about particularly in front of friends or certain peers. Whilst on the surface they appeared disinterested, after a few participant observation sessions they talked to the researchers checking that we were going to listen to them. Even then, they seemed shy about the topic, covering this up in bravado. Boys participating in the research would stop mid sentence if another boy came up and they did not want him overhearing the conversation, or they would change their sentence to make a joke and try and look 'cool'. This shows that boys have few trusted open peer relations and have different friendship dynamics to girls that require different coping strategies to those employed by girls.

Many groups of boys teased each other when filling in the questionnaires and talking to the researcher. Their peer dynamics often did not allow them to be thoughtful around this issue so their responses were guarded and sheltered behind jokey comments, inhibiting the considered expression of personal experiences or opinions.

Understanding diversity

There's a discrepancy between the theoretical understanding of bullying that young people have and the experiential understanding of bullying. This is highlighted most in discussions of different types of identity bullying. Partly this is because whilst young people can name bullying behaviours and the emotions it creates they find it much harder to apply this to identity related bullying situations, particularly if they are outside of their personal experience.

Young people seem to struggle to understand diversity issues that are outside of their own personal experiences. Boys are very scathing about people being gay and homosexuality is perceived by the majority of young people to be something to legitimately laugh at. The language used to describe disability issues, the lack of direct contact with disabled young people and the expressions of sympathy suggest that disabled young people are not seen as equal peers, although disability is not perceived to be something you should tease people about.

Many young people did not have the language context to talk confidently about race, ethnicity or cultural heritage or the linguistic terms to feel comfortable talking about racist bullying and so shied away from saying anything about race and culture at all. Some of the Asian girls tried to talk about being different to the researcher and asked if they were allowed to say 'black'. Racism is likely to be under-reported in this research for two reasons. Firstly the lack of confidence in using the 'right' linguistic terms may have inhibited conversations about racist bullying and secondly, most young people do not link racism and bullying and tended to focus on bullying generally rather than racist bullying.

The lack of understanding of diversity issues and the concern of using the wrong terms when talking about race and culture seems to combine to make some BME young people unable to talk about or explain the development of a positive cultural identity. Only some Muslim and Somali young people expressed a confident cultural identity and explained to the researcher how they negotiated their different identities. Many young people did not seem comfortable with talking about mixed heritage and belonging to multiple cultures which undermined their self esteem, and limited the expression of their opinions about living in Wales, of their heritage, culture and religion.

Section 5: Current initiatives to combat bullying

One of the aims of this research was to discover young people's solutions to identity related bullying, but young people do not always differentiate between different types of bullying. It was found that young people have their own coping strategies for dealing with bullying behaviour, schools have initiatives that young people spoke about and young people have their own ideas about what else could be done to combat it. These are outlined in this section whilst researcher recommendations are detailed in section 6. This is to ensure that young people's recommendations are clearly presented and separated from researcher comments and recommendations.

5.1 Tell an adult

Parents
Most young people said they would not tell their parents about bullying, giving four main reasons:

1. They do not want to worry their parents.
2. They are worried that their parents will go to the school and make the situation worse
3. They are worried that their parents may pick on the bullies' parents.
4. Parents do not really understand what bullying is about.

A few boys said they don't get bullied, but if they did they 'could tell their parents who would go down the school' [and sort it].

Teachers
Young people will not tell a teacher for the following reasons:

1. They have no proof of being bullied.

'Researcher – what happens if you tell the teacher?', young person – 'well nothing because they say there's no evidence.'

2. Teachers ignore bullying

'We get bullied all the time. We tell the teachers but they just ignore us. School doesn't do anything.' Researcher – 'why is that?' 'They want to ignore it so they [the school] look good.'

'She [school friend] got water thrown over her in a lesson [by person bullying her] and the teacher did nothing even though she was in the room and saw it.'

3. It makes the bullying worse

Often young people will not tell a teacher because they then speak to the bully which results in 'you being a grass and being bullied even more.'

Youth workers
Boys and girls who use youth services said that they felt able to trust and talk to their youth workers. They named specific workers saying that they would help think through how to stop the bullying.

5.2 Methods schools use

Schools have implemented a variety of anti-bullying initiatives and mechanisms to try and support pupils that are a mixture of preventative measures and punishment. Many pupils were aware of some of these mechanisms but not all pupils seemed to know about all the initiatives that their school had. During participant observation pupils were giving each other information about what was available in their school and how a particular method worked.

Mentor system
Many schools have some form of peer mentor system. In some schools having trust in the confidentiality of the mentors was an issue. 'You can go and talk to mentors but you don't want the bully to know you're doing that.' It was often commented that young people need confidence to go and talk to a peer mentor and they run the risk of the mentor knowing the bully.

Anti-bully policy
All schools were described as having an anti bullying policy but not all young people knew that they existed and only a few pupils could describe the contents of their anti-bullying policy. No young people had participated within the development of their schools anti bully strategy. The consensus was that,

'They have a policy but what good is that? What's the point in a school being anti-bullying when it's happening all the time?'

Posters
Some pupils described the posters that they had in their schools. 'Posters. That's what we have in school.'

Detentions
When found to be bullying young people said, 'most bullies get a detention after school as well.'

Temporary exclusions
Many young people from one particular school spoke about fixed term exclusions that were given to bullies. 'They're always on about bullying, the school's strict on it – it leads to exclusions.'

Moving the bullied pupil
One girl said she is getting bullied so much that she may be moving school. She did not want to change schools but was fed up with how people at her school are treating her. She said that it had been happening for a long time but that nothing was done at first and she feels that the teachers didn't take her seriously. A very small minority of young people reported similar circumstances.

Question: What does your school do to try and stop bullying? (total of 29 boys and 33 girls could choose more than one)

Initiative	Boys	Girls	Total
An anti-bullying policy	8	17	25
Has a post box	4	10	14
Counsellors/buddy system	4	9	13
Has peer mediation	0	4	4
Celebrates cultural differences	2	8	10
Known procedures for teachers to follow	0	4	4
It tries some of these things	2	0	2
It does nothing!	0	4	4
No answer/don't know	5	4	9

5.3 Young people's assessments of school anti-bullying measures

There's a difference between initiatives that work in primary and secondary schools. In primary schools things that were described to work were: telling pupils on the school council (as long as they're not friends with the bully), using an anonymous letter box and having teachers deal with bullying anonymously. However most of them said that it's different at secondary level saying 'it's just hard in secondary school.' Such resignation towards bullying and adults' inability to stop it was common:

'…bullying just happens. The school's got all this stuff but it doesn't work. I don't think that there's anything adults can do.'

Question: do these initiatives work?

Answer	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	1	3	4
No	17	21	38
Sometimes – it depends on the bully	2	3	5
No answer	9	6	15

When teachers did take action it was felt to be either ineffective:

'My teacher just sends them outside the head teachers' office to wait there'

or harmful:

'Telling a teacher is the worse thing you can do because they will just exclude the bully which makes it much worse when the bully comes back.'

Pupils, mainly boys, who admitted that they cause trouble in school felt unable to call on the school's support if they were experiencing bullying.

'If you've got a bad name because you cause trouble or mess about there's no point in telling anyone you're being bullied because they will think you've caused it or they just don't believe you because they think bad of you.'

Boys in this situation pointed out that their bad behaviour was not associated with bullying but that because they were labelled as trouble makers it was assumed that they would bring bullying onto themselves.

'If you have a bad name teachers will assume you are bullying even when you're not and not believe you when you are being bullied.'

Generally boys with a bad name feel they cannot tell anyone about any bullying and so they resort to sorting it out themselves. However, this means that they develop an even worse name. This happens at a serious level in the community and at a lesser level within school. The following example was told by a group of boys:

'We were going to the shops and this bloke [just a guy in the community] kept shouting nigger at us. He didn't realise that on one occasion there were six of us but half the group were walking at that point behind a van. We got broom handles and then beat the guy up. What were we meant to do? Keep being called nigger? Are the police really going to do something when they don't care that my mobile got nicked off me? If we don't do something it's just going to continue.'

[This is not a complete word for word quote. The researcher noted the details of the story related by four boys at once]

5.4 Young people's solutions to bullying

Young people had many suggestions for stopping racist bullying and bullying more generally.

1. Permanent exclusions and punishments for bullies

It was generally felt that bullies should get more punishments and permanent exclusions were suggested by many young people: 'They should just expel bullies – it's wrong'.

2. Retaliation

Many boys were of the opinion that they should retaliate and fight back to stop any bullying. Commonly young people felt that 'the only thing you can do is stand up for yourself or get the right mates. If you don't retaliate yourself then nothing can really change.' When young people had been bullied and had retaliated it was found to be effective in stopping the bullying.

3. Make it a legal issue involving the police

A few young people had said that the police are sometimes involved in bullying within the community incidents. Some boys suggested that the police could be involved more, even within the school. No negative opinions of the police were expressed, but some young people felt that while the police may be able to do something about bullying in the short term they are not equipped or able to do anything about bullying in the longer term.

4. Celebrate cultural diversity

It was clear to young people that racist bullying should be tackled through celebrating cultural diversity, particularly raising awareness in school of global citizenship and different cultures. Young people of different cultures wanted to learn about other cultures and religions and it seemed that BME young people wanted to directly participate in talking about their culture and religion.

'They should make the kids more aware of other people's cultures so they understand more about it [racism].'

5. Involve young people in responsive anti-bullying measures

Young people pointed out that bullying will always happen so you need preventative measures but also responsive mechanisms. It appeared that only a minority of young people were involved in preventative initiatives and none in responsive

mechanisms. Young people said they should be involved in all solutions to bullying as the easiest people for young people to talk to are other young people and peers.

6.   Training for adults

Two different training needs for adults were identified. Firstly that all adults in schools, not just teachers, need training in recognising bullying because it was felt that bullying is often confused with 'messing about'. Secondly, that teachers need training in dealing with power relations with young people and recognising bullying behaviour within colleagues' work. The consensus for needing this was given as:

'there needs to be teacher training in using and abusing power. The longer teachers have been there the more cocky they get and know they can get away with power abuses.'

7.   Holistic school culture with clear and commonly known procedures within schools

'The head teacher's like a statue standing there, but they are always around for special things. A head teacher who talks with all pupils makes a school better because they're in it and showing they're a part of it.'

This perception was common and a school was believed to comprise of teachers and pupils and teachers were seen as being able to help or hinder anti-bullying initiatives.

Bullying needs to be dealt with holistically, with procedures recognising adult-young person bullying, young person adult bullying and bullying between young people. The consensus was that pupils should be involved in developing these procedures, that rights and responsibilities of pupils and teachers should be made explicit and that the consequences

of any bullying behaviour were known to all parties. Alongside clear procedures pupils wanted to be able to know they could complain and that their complaints would be taken seriously.

'The school needs to take all complaints by pupils seriously and pupils should be able to complain.'

8.   Observation of school areas

Some pupils felt that CCTV cameras in schools would stop bullying in isolated areas of the school buildings.

9.   Help for bullies

It was believed that although bullies should be punished they also need help which is currently not recognised fully enough by adults in responses to bullying behaviour.

'There's no control on kids who are already bullies. There's nothing to help the bullies and sometimes they are bullied at home but no one knows about it. We should do more, but I'm not sure what.'

5.5 The limits to current initiatives

The data shows that young people do not think that the implementation of current anti-bullying initiatives is effective in reducing bullying regardless of differences between schools. If initiatives were properly evaluated nationally, it would be possible to ascertain whether it is the initiatives themselves or their implementation that does not work from a young person's perspective. It may be possible that the current initiatives reduce bullying but not enough for young people to feel that the initiatives are effective.

Current mechanisms either punish the bully or rely upon the person being bullied to speak out. A boy summed this up as 'It's a system based on grassing' and grassing is something all young people are reluctant to do. Initiatives are aimed at only one of the four roles that are within the dynamic of bullying and rather than dealing with whole school politics, initiatives are only focused upon bullying between young people.

The following section details recommendations for developing initiatives based upon all of the data for this study.

Section 6: Recommendations

This direct research involving a total of 77 young people has led to the identification of actions needed to reduce bullying and provide support for all young people involved in bullying. The recommendations outlined here are the researcher's based upon the evidence gathered from the interviews, focus groups, questionnaires and participant observation with the young people. They aim to build on and complement the Welsh Assembly Government's 'Respecting others: anti-bullying guidance' 2003 and the good practice identified by Estyn in 'Tackling bullying in schools: A survey of effective practice' 2006. These recommendations suggest programmes that would:

- increase self esteem and emotional well being of individual young people
- further young people's opportunities to have safe play, leisure, and cultural activities
- increase positive learning experiences both within and outside of the school environment

6.1 Recommendation 1: Cross departmental working on anti-bullying measures

Why is this needed?
Most anti-bullying initiatives are implemented within the school setting. However, this research shows how bullying also occurs within the community. This means that it should be an issue that is tackled between community development, youth justice, family support and community safety as well as health, education and youth services.

How could it work?
The Cardiff anti-bullying task group is well placed to develop and increase its joined up working and could create a sub-group of representatives from the relevant agencies to work on measures to reduce bullying within the community.

6.2 Recommendation 2: Young people's participation in community safety

Why is it needed?
Communities already participate within community safety through the community safety partnerships and Partnerships and Communities together (PACT) meetings. These forums discuss and tackle issues of community safety, which should include safety for young people. However, anecdotal evidence is that bullying issues are perceived as neighbourhood disputes or anti social behaviour and young people do not currently seem to participate within these forums.

How could it work?
The Cardiff anti-bullying coordinator or participation officer could work with youth leaders to find out young people's concerns at a community local level and advocate on these concerns to PACT groups, Communities First partnerships and community safety partnerships, aiming in the long term to develop sustainable ways for young people to participate within these forums. PACT could be a good starting point because young people, even those known to the police, saw the police as having a job to do and felt they could take more of an active role against bullying. Involvement in community safety initiatives could address bullying in the community from adults as well as young people.

6.3 Recommendation 3: Continued support for the bullied within schools

Why is this needed?
Although young people say that current initiatives do not work, there is no evidence to say how much bullying they prevent. It is likely that they do work, but not to the extent to which young people need or want them to.

How could it work?
Counsellors in schools may enable young people to feel they have someone independent to talk to. A combination of current initiatives within schools should be sufficient to support the bullied providing there are new mechanisms developed that deal with the other three roles within the bullying dynamic (ie the bully, the passer-by and the back-up). Pupil participation within preventative and responsive measures would help the bullied to feel listened to and would raise self esteem.

6.4 Recommendation 4: Systematic support and help for the bully

Why is this needed?
The dynamic of bullying has shown itself to be quite complex. Understandably many young people want bullies to be punished, but for bullies to be able to seek help themselves, and talk about their behaviour, there needs to be good support mechanisms as well. Support mechanisms for bullies should not rely upon the bully having to find help for themselves. Some schools may be offering help to bullies, but the research shows that young people do not think it is happening. For bullies to be able to seek help the overt condemning of bullies needs to be reduced.

How could it work?
Counsellors in schools would be well placed to work systematically with bullies, and if appropriate with their peer groups or families. Preventative measures should focus upon giving more information to pupils about why people bully, where bullies can go to get help for themselves and punishments that bullies receive. More peer mediation services could be developed to support bullies to change their behaviour.

6.5 Recommendation 5: Working with passers-by and back-ups through PSE seminars

Why is this needed?
Working with these roles probably offers the most scope for enabling young people to challenge bullying themselves. They are also the roles that most young people undertake but to date there has been little focus upon these two roles. Passers-by and back-ups feel responsible for bullying behaviour but very few young people said that they have lessons about bullying.

How could it work?
Develop a programme of PSE seminars about bullying and psychology that examines the four roles within bullying. Any work with young people that focuses upon the emotions provoked by bullying should include power issues, peer relations and popularity and excitement as well as the harmful effects of bullying. An open approach to talking about bullying that reduces guilt but addresses the issues may tackle the discrepancies between what young people think they should be saying about bullying and what actually happens during bullying incidents.

6.6 Recommendation 6: Further research to explore the extent and complexities of racist bullying in Cardiff

Why is this needed?
This research had limited funding and time and so could not cover the extent and complexities of racist bullying.

How could it work?
A well funded research project should be undertaken that includes young people from a variety of BME backgrounds. The involvement and expertise of local organisations and youth services supporting BME young people would be critical to the success of such research. A focus of further research should be to find out how young people can successfully negotiate multiple cultural identities and how the experience of racism and racist bullying differs between different black populations, neighbourhoods, minority white populations and gender.

6.7 Recommendation 7: The development of PSE diversity programmes

Why is this needed?
Diversity awareness includes disability, sexual orientation and ethnicity and culture but this research has shown that young people do not feel aware of each other's cultures, do not understand sexual orientation issues and do not know about disability rights. Young people in this research talked about 'diversity' to only refer to race but did not have the linguistic terms to feel confident talking about racism. If schools are currently delivering diversity programmes the data from this research suggests that it is not reaching young people in a way in which they are able to internalise the key messages.

How could it work?
A partnership development project that combines the work of key youth organisations in these equality areas to create a series of 3 or 4 participatory seminar workshops about generic diversity issues that could be delivered through the school PSE programme. It should build on and combine existing programmes with a key message of diversities being about identity differences. Good starting points for developing a generic diversity programme could be the Stonewall and Schools Out resources for teachers, (various resources available from www.stonewall.org.uk and www.schools-out.org.uk). Oxfam's 'Diversity and dialogue' resources for global citizenship education (www.

oxfam.org.uk/education) and peer education projects such as Croeso (www.croesoproject.org)

6.8 Recommendation 8: Tackling homophobia through studying masculinities and different gender roles

Why is this needed?
This research has only touched on homophobic bullying but the levels of homophobia amongst boys experienced by the researcher was at an unacceptable and offensive level. Stonewall have undertaken research which supports this research finding which has led to their 'Education for All' campaign and resources for teachers and schools. The level of bravado among boys peer groups inhibits them from being able to express opinions, be confident in themselves or listen to each other seriously.

How could it work?
Gender roles (ie men and women's different roles) and stereotypes could immediately be included in current youth and education services. The Republic of Ireland has had gender roles within the social and personal curriculum which has included an Exploring Masculinities programme for boys at single sex schools. This programme, and education about gender roles generally was reviewed in 2000 by the Irish government. This review and curriculum details could be examined closely and adapted for use

within Wales to reduce homophobia and domestic violence. A programme enabling the exploration of masculinities may enable boys to take different roles and approaches within their peer groups and may increase their choices of coping mechanisms.

6.9 Recommendation 9: Training for adults and holistic school procedures

Why is this needed?
From young people's accounts it seems that adults do not always recognise bullying. They also felt that adults, specifically teachers and some parents, need support to implement positive behaviour management although young people do not agree on the differences between bullying and negative discipline.

How could it work?
Enable teachers to learn the positive behaviour management techniques that parents learn on parenting courses. This would enable young people to know the consequences of bad behaviour and be given clear procedures of what would happen when they are disciplined by a teacher. Each school should create and make known clear complaints procedures for young people to follow so that when a teacher is bullying they know their school will listen to them and take their complaint seriously.

Section 7: Literature Review

This research had resource and time limits. There is a wealth of literature published about bullying, anti-bullying initiatives and identity related bullying on grounds of disability and sexual orientation. However, this literature review only examines literature about racist bullying.

Identity related bullying and mental health

Over the last two decades there has been a growing interest in a human rights agenda for young people, and within this has been the acceptance that young people should not experience discrimination due to race, sexuality or disability. This interest in a human rights agenda has been linked to the growing research output on bullying (Smith, 2004). The majority of bullying research seeks to identify how we can reduce the number of young people who experience bullying and the behavioural

and personality characteristics of victims and bullies. Bullying research has not focused on the experiences of young people in minority groups who are bullied. This is despite the fact that the bullying experienced by minority groups has been accepted to be of particular concern due to the belief that identity related bullying is not only aimed at the individual, but also the wider members of their group (Swann Report, 1984), and shows that others have the belief that different groups in society are inferior and less worthy than others.

In this literature review we seek to develop an understanding of identity related bullying in viewing this as a distinct construct. In 2004 Barnardo's carried out exploratory research with young people on their experiences and issues in relation to their emotional well being and mental health. A large number of young people in these discussions raised the issue of their experiences of discriminatory

bullying, be this due to race, looked after status, disability or poverty. An important issue for young people was also the response of adults, with children sometimes describing adults as being the perpetrators of the bullying that they experience and that the help or action taken by adults was inadequate in resolving the problem.

Definitions of bullying

There is no fixed or formalised definition of bullying. Bullying is accepted to be a 'systematic abuse of power' (Rigby, 2002) which can occur in school, the community or at home (normally termed abuse). As Farrington (1993) observes, differences between definitions are small, and examination of definitions reveals that the main differences are in relation to the specificity of behaviours constituting bullying.

The majority of definitions on bullying outline the behaviours which constitute bullying and highlight the difference between strength of power. Early definitions of bullying centred around overt forms of bullying such as physical and verbal bullying, latterly there has been a recognition that social exclusion, indirect verbal bullying or rumour mongering are also bullying. Bullying using mobile phones and the internet have also been found to be experienced by a number of young people (Oliver and Candappa, 2003).

Along with differentiation between academic definitions of bullying, cultural differences in the definitions of bullying, have been observed. For example the Japanese word 'ijime' (Morita et al, 1999) refers to a verbal/indirect bullying, whilst some languages have words which are related to just the physical ramifications of bullying, such as the Icelandic word, 'radast' (Smith et al, undated). Differences in definition have also been observed in the same country. Juric and Elsea (1999) found that gypsy and traveller young people do not consider verbal name calling to be bullying. These findings

have led to the suggestion for research into bullying to gather young people's definitions of bullying in the process of research, as opposed to standardised definition (Naylor et al, 2001) and Sharp (1999).

Bullying: School and community

Bullying research and work today remains grounded in the work of Olweus, be this in the research methods used eg the Olweus Bullying Questionnaire or in the methods for intervention eg the Whole School Approach. The Whole School approach to bullying, as the name suggests, places emphasis on the structure of the school, proposing that schools will be more successful at tackling bullying if from a classroom to a school management level there is a commitment to tackling bullying. This approach is also represented in interventions with both classroom based interventions and school wide policies. Throughout research on bullying the importance of the role of the school has been highlighted, with large scale studies into incidence rates finding a wide variance in levels of reported bullying (Smith et al 1994, Sharp 1999, Oliver and Candappa 2003). Oliver and Candappa found that between schools bullying rates ranged from 5% to 28%. This wide variance found across schools, led Sharp (1995) to conclude that study findings are specific only to the schools that they have been in and cannot be generalised.

Rutter (1994) draws attention to the social context of relationship in relation to young people's mental health:

'Homes and schools do not exist in a vacuum; nor can children's relationships in either setting be considered without reference to their social context and to the complex pattern of interconnections, between the various 'mini-environments' and the broader sociocultural nexus in which they operate, political, economic and social changes.'

The part of the wider social environment in bullying has not received a large amount of attention from general bullying research, though this comes across as an issue in the research in relation to discriminatory bullying. This research aimed to begin to examine the issues of bullying in the community and for this reason the research was conducted in different youth group settings rather than a specific school.

Racist bullying

Identity related bullying, in this context racist bullying, has been considered a sub-type of bullying (Rigby, 2002). Studies looking at differences have not identified discriminatory bullying as an issue, in this section where we consider specific studies looking at discriminatory bullying a different pattern emerges. An immediate problem with comparing discriminatory bullying with the mainstream bullying research is in that the paradigm adopted by mainstream bullying research takes an individualist approach, looking at personality characteristics and behaviours, whereas by considering discriminatory bullying we are looking at the vulnerability of a group to bullying. A good example of this tension comes from Boulton's (1995) critique of the approach of mainstream bullying research and the behavioural base of bullying interventions. Boulton argues that the emphasis of bullying research on behaviours, acts as a smokescreen for racism, sexism and 'all manner of ism's' to hide behind. Whilst Boulton has a point here, the young people who participated within this research did not always see the 'ism' behind the individual bullying behaviour.

Research by the Joseph Rowntree Fondation (2003) established that young people are particularly vulnerable to race hate crimes in the community. BME young people as victims of bullying in the community has been recognised as an issue within research, though as with other forms of bullying the majority of research has been concentrated on young people's experiences at school.

The majority of research with young people from BME groups shows that young people are more likely to be victims of bullying than their peers. Research has consisted of studies solely concerned with examining the issue of bullying across BME and white groups e.g. Siann et al (1994), attention to bullying as part of larger scale qualitative research into the school experiences of BME young people e.g. Troyna and Hatcher (1992), and as part of the wider research output on racism (McDonald, 1988).

In the late 1980's three publications drew attention to the experiences of BME young people at school, McDonald, 1989, CRE, 1988 and Kelly and Cohen, 1988. The McDonald Inquiry and the accompanying research from Kelly and Cohen was in response to the racist murder of a school boy in Manchester. 'Learning in Terror' by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), brought attention to the experiences of BME young people at school with bullying incidents highlighted across 115 schools through a case study approach. The case studies highlight the pervasiveness of racial bullying experienced by young people, with this taking the form of graffiti in the school to long term experiences of bullying.

The most detailed analysis from this research came from Kelly and Cohen (1988), who looked at BME young people's experiences of bullying in non inner secondary schools across two age groups, 11-12 year olds and 14-15 year olds . Comparing the experiences of Asian, White and Afro-Caribbean young people, Kelly and Cohen found that BME young people were more likely to have experienced bullying than their White counterparts. This increased likelihood was observed for both verbal bullying, where 71-80% of Afro-Caribbean and Asian young people had been called names compared to 65% of White young people, and physical bullying,

where 79% of Afro-Caribbean young people and 70% of Asian young people reported being picked on physically.

As part of the study young people were asked to list names that they had been called while at school. In both age groups racist names or names with racial connotations were the most commonly listed. In the younger age group (11-12 year olds) some confusion was found in young people's understanding in what was meant by a racist name. In the older age group (14-15 year olds) a larger number of racist names were reported and tended to be more severe in tone (Kelly and Cohen, 1988).

The wider social culture and the culture of the school were found by Kelly and Cohen (1988) to play a role in the prevalence of racial bullying, with the homogeneity of a school a factor. Young people were aware of hierarchies in the school and the role of teachers, as a result of this environment, racial bullying was observed to be structured and patterned around these hierarchies. The wider social culture around a school was also found to play a role in young people's experiences of bullying. For example high levels of racial bullying were observed in one school and this was found to relate to the local community, where there was a history of victimisation against the Jewish, Irish and Afro-Caribbean population.

As in the case of Kelly and Cohen (1988) Asian children were found by Moran et al (1993) to be significantly more likely to experience name calling than their White counterparts about race and colour (80% compared to 13%). Unlike Kelly and Cohen however no increased risk of experiencing physical bullying was observed. In a larger scale study conducted by Siann et al (1994) with children in inner city Glasgow and London, no difference was found between the experiences of bullying between BME and White young people. As was observed by Oliver and Candappa, (2003), young people's

qualitative perceptions of bullying were different from the quantitative findings with all young people perceiving BME young people to be at a greater risk of being victims of bullying than their white counterparts. This finding was used by Siann et al to propose that young people who experience racial abuse are not necessarily going to label the abuse as bullying. This research tends to back up Siann et al's proposal. Different young people made different distinctions between abuse, bullying and racism.

The complex nature of racial bullying is highlighted by Elsea and Mukhtar looking at the bullying experienced between different minority BME groups. The research found that although bullying was as likely to be experienced by BME young people from white young people and other groups of ethnic minorities, the bullying experienced between minority ethnic groups was much more likely to centre around cultural and religious differences. Bullying within ethnic minority groups was found to be a relatively rare occurrence.

Qualitative studies provide interesting insights into both young people's and adults' perceptions of racial bullying. A recent DFES study in 2003 explored BME young people's experiences in mainly white primary and secondary schools. Racial name callings and bullying was a recurring issue raised by both young people and their parents in the study.

Physical racial attacks were found to be a rare occurrence, with two young people reporting being physically attacked on the way to or from school. One of the young people commented that their parent's takeaway restaurant had also been subject to racist attacks. Racial bullying was reported by over a third of young people interviewed and this was described as happening at school or to and from school. Young people distinguished between name calling of malicious intent and teasing among friends.

Young people were sometimes found to be reluctant to discuss racial bullying. Young people have also been found to be reluctant to report racial incidents for fear of reprisals (Hamilton et al, 1996).

The role of teachers

It has already been noted that how a school addresses racist incidents has an impact on the whole school environment and the level of bullying experienced by pupils (McDonald, 1989).

Two recent research studies from Scotland support the views of both McDonald and Alchtar, finding that teachers sometimes have unhelpful attitudes in terms of addressing racial bullying: In addressing the impact of MCARE (multicultural and anti racist education) policies in Scotland in mainly white primary schools, Donald et al (2003) found that even in areas where ethnic minorities had had to move out of villages due to discrimination, a 'no problem here' attitude was encountered in schools:

'On the whole there's no racist problems. 'There's never been.'

Although adults did not perceive there to be a problem with racism, the children were very clear that children were called names because of the colour of their skin:

'Call them names – what they look like.'

An environment of '*invisible racism*' was found by Donald et al, whereby children were reluctant to report to parents and teachers incidents of bullying.

Interventions to address racial bullying in the classroom have included the use of resources such as 'The Heartstone Odyssey' which promotes multiculturism. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2005) carried out an evaluation of four different interventions aiming to reduce racism. Amongst these was an in school session exploring cultural stereotypes and the different forms racism can take, this was found to be effective in changing negative attitudes to black and ethnic minorities. From the evaluation it was concluded that improving awareness of race relations is relatively easy, but how to change children's and young people's attitudes still presents practitioners with a challenge.

Methodological problems

A number of methodological problems arise in studies of racial bullying in schools – a key issue is clearly the degree to which racial bullying is considered as racism or bullying, and how these perceptions in children affect their responses to bullying. Furthermore with the exception of Elsea and Mukhtar, questionnaires to address bullying are not adapted to a sufficient degree to get anything other than a superficial level of understanding concerning racial bullying eg Whitney and Smith, 1993, Siann et al 1994.

As Elsea and Mukhtar (2000) observe, interventions to address racial bullying are 'ill served by bullying research'. This is widely acknowledged to be due to the emphasis of bullying research on individual, psychological and environmental characteristics in bullying[1].

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1   This is also not helped by the use of differing definitions of bullying in research, (Smith, 1999)
    Elsea and Mukhtar (2000), Smith (1999) and Barter (1999)

Conclusion

There is recognition among researchers that racial bullying has been largely neglected by bullying research. In the discussion of racial bullying a number of problems are experienced with terminology with research referring to similar behaviours as racism, racial bullying and name calling.

In addressing racial bullying in schools it is clear from research that teachers play an influential role in how reported bullying from children is addressed, or even if there is a recognition that racial bullying takes place. While to some extent the preceding two issues have been acknowledged and discussed in the research literature, the impact of racial bullying on children and young people's emotional and mental health has been sadly lacking in research publications on racial bullying.

The Swann Report (1985) draws reference to the fact that racial name calling has a wider reference point for children:

> 'We believe the essential difference between racist name-calling and other forms of name-calling is whereas the latter may be related only to individual characteristics of the child, the former is not only a reference to the child but also to extensions of their family and indeed more broadly their ethnic country as a whole'[2]

From this view we would reasonably expect that racial bullying may have a more detrimental impact on the emotional well being and mental health of children in black and ethnic minorities. The impact of racial bullying has largely being neglected by research into the experiences of bullying.

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Appendix

During the course of this research we made a DVD with a girls' group. These are the lyrics of two songs that they wrote.

Victim

it's been happening for months now
there's no' one to talk to
i don't know where to go
i don't know what to do

every day i worry
about going to school
my parents have no idea
they think that it's all cool

it's been happening for months now
there's no' one to talk to
i don't know where to go
i don't know what to do

i think it's because i'm different
or it could be my culture
but there is no reason to bully me
they are like a bunch of vultures

it's been happening for months now
there is no' one to talk to
i don't know where to go
i don't know what to do

Because I'm Black

because i'm white it don't mean i bite
because i'm black it don't mean i smack
bullying's bad, it makes us feel sad
it's really wrong
like an uncomfortable thong

we are all tall, short and fat
but i'm not different that's a fact
i get teased of my size because i eat too many pies
i may be tall i may be small
but i have feelings just like you all

because i'm white it don't mean i bite
because i'm black it don't mean i smack
we are all tall, short and fat
but i'm not different that's a fact
the colour of my skin they say
is like a rusty bin

because i'm white it don't mean i bite
because i'm black it don't mean i smack
if i'm disabled they think i'm not able
but it's not true
i can prove it to you

i may be tall i may be small
but i have feelings
just like you all

because i'm white it don't mean i bite
because i'm black it don't mean i smack
we are all tall, short and fat
but i'm not different, that's a fact