School Bullying: The Experience of

Ethnic Minority and Ethnic Majority Pupils

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Lisa Finch

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is widely acknowledged as an insidious form of victimization that is prevalent within our schools. In the context of a wider society that may in itself be racist, racial bullying in schools is beginning to be acknowledged both in the academic literature and the media. However, studies of ethnicity and bullying are scarce.

The present study aims to highlight the experiences of bullying at school for both ethnic minority and ethnic majority pupils. In particular, the relationship between ethnic identity and the experience of bullying is examined. A total of 199 secondary school pupils aged between 12 and 13 years (Year 8) from an inner city school in Leicester participated. Two questionnaires were completed which assessed their experiences of bullying and ethnic identity.

Significant differences were found for ethnicity regarding the overall experience of being bullied, with ethnic majority pupils reporting experiencing more bullying than their minority peers. Ethnic minority pupils were more likely than ethnic majority pupils to experience bullying with a racial content. No relationship was found between the effect of racial bullying and ethnic identity status. Some gender differences reported in the literature were reflected in the results of this study.

The results proved difficult to interpret and a critical discussion of methodological limitations is offered. Implications of the findings for schools, and the clinical implications for psychology are discussed. Future research needs are also considered.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. INTRODUCTION

"... it is a fundamental democratic right for a child to feel safe in school and
to be spared the oppression and repeated, intentional humiliation implied in
bullying" (Olweus, 1994; p.1183).

Racism in Britain today is flourishing. Although not as politically institutionalized in
Britain as in some European nations, the slowly increasing support for the far right
and racist sentiment is graphically illustrated in the growing membership of the
British National Party (BNP) and the establishment of the Ku Klux Klan in certain
areas of Britain. The recent election of a BNP councillor in East London ably
demonstrates the strength of feeling in some areas of Britain against minority groups.

The incidents of racially motivated violence against minority groups has also shown
an increase in recent years and this is reflected in the growing intensity of media
coverage. However, despite this growing awareness, there have been relatively few
studies carried out looking at adolescents' experiences of racially motivated bullying
within the school environment.

For the young adolescent, school life plays an important part in the perceived
validation of any racist act. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that the
incidents of racist bullying may be indicative of a more deep-seated, society-wide
problem. Consequently, there is a need to investigate racist bullying in schools to
ascertain its frequency and its context within society in general.

The aim of the study is to investigate the characteristics of bullying within a typical
urban secondary school in Leicester and determine whether the racial content is
significant. The study will define bullying and seek to illustrate the nature,
prevalence, characteristics and circumstances in which typical bullying incidents
occur. It will summarize the fundamental qualities of ethnic identity for ethnic
minority groups and specifically illustrate the nature of the ethnic minority population
in Leicester. Through the use of previous literature, the study will describe the

essential nature of racism in Britain and how this may be related to bullying in schools.

Using a framework of self-categorization theory, the study will seek to explain how ethnic identity may become salient for an individual, and how a strong ethnic identity may assuage the effects of racial bullying. The study will propose a number of hypotheses to reinforce some of these arguments and to illustrate the characteristics of bullying within the school. The methodology of the study will be explained and the results will be analysed and summarized in the discussion section.

Finally, the study will draw conclusions from the survey findings and discuss their implications, both for Clinical Psychology and for society in general.

1.1. Definitions of Bullying

There are a number of definitions of bullying in the literature, most of which agree bullying is intentional harmdoing, carried out repeatedly over time, and which occurs within an interpersonal relationship that has an imbalance of power between the bully and victim (e.g. Olweus, 1991; Roland, 1988; Tattum and Herbert, 1993). Olweus (1994) defines bullying as :

> "a student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students" (p. 1173)

Olweus goes on to define a negative action as being when a person intentionally inflicts, or attempts to inflict, injury or discomfort on another person.

Within this definition, bullying can be physical or verbal in nature, but can also take the form of other psychologically damaging acts, such as social exclusion, extortion, making faces and obscene or threatening gestures. There is a huge range in the severity of bullying. Physical bullying can range from a simple push to an assault with a weapon. Likewise, verbal and emotional forms of bullying can range from teasing

to abusive comments about physical appearance. Racial and sexual harassment are particularly insidious forms of bullying as they attack the most fundamental aspects of a person's being, the sense of self.

1.2. Increasing Concern About Bullying

Bullying first became an issue of public concern during the mid-1980's. In 1985, 13 year old Mark Perry deliberately cycled in front of a van after being persistently harassed by a group of boys. His death highlighted the disastrous results bullying behaviour can have. In 1989, the Elton Report (cited in Sharp and Smith, 1991) on discipline in schools, was commissioned by the government to investigate problems of discipline and teacher-pupil relations. The Report highlighted bullying as a problem that was not only widespread, but also one which was ignored by teaching staff. It expressed concern about the suffering caused to individual pupils and the damaging effect that bullying can have on the school atmosphere. The Report concluded that staff should be alert to signs of bullying and racial harassment; that they should deal firmly with all such behaviour and that their actions should be based on clear rules backed by appropriate policies. Following the Elton Report, funding was provided for a number of Local Education Authorities to further develop and implement its recommendations.

In addition to governmental concerns, bullying has received increasingly high levels of media attention (e.g. Boseley, 1997) and a number of anti-bullying initiatives have begun to emerge. One of these was the advisory working group regarding bullying formed by the Gulbenkian Foundation in 1989. This has funded a number of projects, including a survey service on bullying (Ahmad *et al.*, 1991) and, in conjunction with British Telecom, the establishment of the "Bullying Line" associated with "Childline". Additionally, major charities concerned with child safety such as Kidscape and the Anti-Bullying Campaign have provided advice packs for parents and training events for school staff. Guidance booklets, such as "Bullying: a positive response" by Tattum and Herbert (1990), videos, story books and teaching packs have also begun to emerge to address the recognized need for help in dealing with the problems of bullying at school.

Since Besag wrote in 1989 of 'surprisingly little research of informed opinion' (p.3), recent years have seen an increase in surveys of bullying and related behaviour in the UK (e.g. Ahmad and Smith, 1990; Mellor, 1990; Mooney *et al.*, 1991; Stephenson and Smith, 1989). There have also been a number of books published, dealing with the subject at both a theoretical (e.g. Besag, 1989) and a practical level (e.g. La Fontaine, 1991; Tattum and Lane, 1989).

1.3. The Prevalence of Bullying

Research on bullying in schools has been most intensive in Scandinavia where a great deal of pioneering work has been carried out by Olweus in Norway. A comprehensive survey involving more than 130,000 Norwegian students completing Olweus's self-report questionnaire established that 15% of students in junior and senior high schools (corresponding to ages 7-16) were involved in bully/victim problems with some regularity, either as bullies or as victims (Olweus, 1991; 1993; 1994). The survey showed that approximately 9% were victims, and 7% bullied other students regularly. A total of 5% of the students were involved in more serious bullying problems, with incidents occurring once a week or more frequently.

In the largest UK survey to date Whitney and Smith (1993), using a modified Olweus questionnaire, found that 27% of junior/middle school pupils and 10% of secondary school pupils reported being bullied 'sometimes' or more frequently during the school term. These figures remained constant when the more stringent criterion of being bullied 'once a week' or more was applied. Similarly, 12% of junior/middle school pupils and 6% of secondary school pupils reported bullying other pupils 'sometimes', and 5% did so 'once a week' or more.

An earlier longitudinal study carried out by Newson and Newson (1984) supports these findings. They reported that the mothers of 26% of a sample of 11 year-olds were aware that their children were being bullied at school. Mellor (1990) also produced similar findings to the Norwegian study, using a similar definition and questionnaire. He found that 9% of pupils acknowledged being the victims of bullying, while 6% confirmed that they had bullied other pupils.

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However, Ahmad and Smith (1989 cited in Whitney and Smith, 1993) in a survey of 2,000 pupils reported slightly higher incidence levels. They found that being bullied 'sometimes', 'now and then' or 'more often' was reported by 20% of middle school and 18% of secondary school children. Being bullied 'once a week' or more often was reported by 6% and 8% respectively, and 'once a week' or more often by 2% and 3% respectively. These figures suggest an incidence of up to 1 in 5 for being bullied, and 1 in 10 for bullying others (Smith, 1991). Other studies suggest that figures of around 20% for being bullied sometimes or more are not uncommon (e.g. Arora and Thompson, 1987; Boulton and Underwood, 1992; Newson and Newson, 1984). Indeed, surveys such as the one carried out by Kidscape (1986) report that 68% of a sample of 4,000 pupils experienced bullying.

Smith (1991) concludes that, in general, it is likely that one in five pupils in England have experienced bullying, and one in ten have inflicted it upon others, also that it is likely that the incidence is lower in Scotland. However, the different incidence rates found across studies may be accounted for by a number of methodological factors. These include factors such as the definitions of bullying used; whether a definition of bullying is given to the participants or not and differences in the methods of data collection. The use of questionnaires, individual and group interviews have all been utilized to study the nature and extent of bullying problems.

1.4. The Characteristics Associated with Bullying

1.4.1. Demographic Characteristics

Age

Olweus (1994) reports a clear trend for the percentage of students who report being bullied to decrease with age. He cites a Norwegian study in which more than 50% of the bullied children in the lowest grades reported that they were bullied by older students. Olweus (1994) suggested that this finding could possibly be explained by two possible factors. Firstly, that the younger students have more potential bullies in the years above them at school, and secondly that as they grow older, a proportion

of the victims develop strategies to escape the bully. He also noted that pupils in the higher age grades use less physical means of bullying other pupils.

There is little data on the relative ages of bullies and victims in the UK and much of what is available is inconclusive (e.g. Ahmad *et al.*, 1991; Boulton and Underwood, 1992). However, Whitney and Smith (1993) report findings, consistent with Olweus, which do confirm a trend for a decrease with age in the proportion of pupils who report being bullied.

In summary, age trends in bullying seem to follow what would be expected in terms of opportunities to dominate others. Older children are less likely to be bullied; but are slightly more likely to bully others if there are younger children present.

Gender

Olweus (1994) reported a trend for boys to be generally more exposed to bullying than girls. Boys were found to experience physical forms of bullying more than girls, whereas girls were more often subjected to indirect bullying in the form of social isolation and intentional exclusion from the peer group (Olweus, 1994). This trend was particularly marked in the secondary/junior high school grades. Olweus (1994) also reports that boys carry out a large part of the bullying to which girls were subjected. More than 60% of bullied girls (grades 5-7) reported being bullied mainly by boys, while approximately one fifth said they were bullied by both boys and girls. The great majority of boys (over 80%) were bullied by other boys.

Surveys in the UK have found similar gender differences within schools (e.g. Whitney and Smith, 1993). Arora and Thompson (1987) found that a considerably larger percentage of boys than girls take part in bullying other students with some regularity. In secondary schools, more than four times as many boys than girls reported having bullied other students. Bullying by physical means was more common among boys, who also use harassment with non-physical means (e.g. gestures). Girls in contrast often used more subtle and indirect methods of bullying such as slandering, spreading rumours, and manipulation.

Whitney and Smith (1993) confirmed some of the findings on gender differences. They found that girls are slightly less likely to be bullied in secondary schools, but are only about half as likely to be involved in bullying others. Boys are bullied almost entirely by boys, whereas girls are bullied by both boys and girls. Finally, boys are more involved in physical forms of bullying whilst girls tend more towards verbal or indirect forms. These findings are in line with earlier research in Britain (Munthe, 1989; Smith, 1991). Smith (1991) however, suggests that such gender differences may be artifacts of the inconsistent definitions of bullying utilized within different studies.

1.4.2. The Characteristics of Victims

A relatively clear picture of 'typical' victims has emerged from the literature (e.g. Olweus, 1991; 1994). Victims are seen to be generally more anxious and insecure than other students: they are described as being physically weak, less able, or less willing to retaliate to harassment, and may react to bullying by crying (in lower grades) or by withdrawal. Victims tend to suffer from low self-esteem and have a negative view of their situation. They often feel like failures, stupid, ashamed and unattractive and, as a rule, feel lonely at school. They are not aggressive or teasing in their behaviour. Accordingly, bullying cannot be explained in terms of victims acting provocatively towards their peers.

Olweus (1994) proposes that the behaviours and attitudes of the victim signal to others that they are insecure individuals who will not retaliate. Victims are therefore characterized by an anxious or submissive reaction pattern which, Olweus suggests, is combined with physical weakness in boys.

However, another smaller group of victims, characterized by both anxious and aggressive reaction patterns, has been identified. They often have problems with concentration, and behave in ways that may cause irritation and tension around them. It is not uncommon that their behaviour provokes other students, thus resulting in negative reactions (Olweus, 1991).

1.4.3. The Characteristics of Bullies

Research has shown that bullies tend to display a number of distinctive characteristics. They are generally aggressive and have a more positive attitude towards violence than their, typically physically weaker, victims. (Olweus, 1994). Bullies are often impulsive and have a strong need to dominate others, combined with average or unusually low levels of anxiety and insecurity (Olweus, 1994).

In a review, Olweus (1994) cites that several studies have found bullies to be slightly below or of average popularity. They are often surrounded by a small group of peers who support them and who seem to like them, although their popularity decreases in higher grades. Bullies do not appear to reach the low level of popularity that characterizes their victims.

It has been shown however, that the tendency to bully others or to be victimized, are not polar opposites. Some bullies, like most victims, tend to be anxious (Stephenson and Smith, 1989) whereas some victims, far from being passive, are 'provocative' (Olweus, 1991). Some children who frequently bully others are themselves bullied (Besag, 1989) and some children identified as bullies are frequently no less popular than others and have friends with whom they relate supportively (Olweus, 1994).

1.4.4. Familial Circumstances

Arora and Thompson (1987) reviewing the associated factors of bullying suggested that victims of bullying are more likely to have over-anxious and over-protective parents. Bullies themselves were more likely to have over-controlling or dominating parents, parents who used inconsistent or aversive discipline techniques, or parents with marital problems (Bowers *et al.*, 1992). Bowers *et al.* (1992) propose that children growing up in such families are exposed to models of aggression and bullying, coupled with the lack of effective parental monitoring, these behaviours develop and then generalize to their peer groups.

Olweus (1994) has argued that the emotional attitude of the parents is an important factor in determining how the child's peer relations are developed at school. He found that negative emotional attitudes by the caregiver, together with an acceptance of aggression and the use of overly domineering methods of discipline, increased the chance that the child would become aggressive towards others. Whitney and Smith (1993) also concluded that parenting styles, discipline and monitoring practices could influence the rate of bullying.

Family systems theory offers another perspective on family antecedents of bully and victim problems. Families who show high levels of cohesion (i.e. warmth and low levels of hostility) may be less likely to produce a bullying or victimized child. Cohesion has been related to optimal family functioning (Olson, 1986 in Bowers *et al.*, 1992). There is however a risk that families may become too cohesive. Indeed, as Olweus (1980) suggests that a characteristic of victims' mothers is that they are 'anxiously over-involved' with their children. Bowers *et al.* (1992) cite research which suggests that victimized children tend to spend more time with their parents than other children, becoming too dependent on them and therefore increasing their social isolation from their peer group.

1.4.5. School Factors

Olweus (1994) found no relationship between bullying and school factors, such as the size of the class or school, staff job satisfaction, or negative attitudes towards the teacher or schoolwork. However, Whitney and Smith (1993) identified some school variations in rates of bullying. They found that at schools with bigger bullying problems, pupils were more likely to be isolated at playtime and experience bullying on the way to and from school. They suggest this may be a reflection of the fact that these schools did not provide a supportive environment for their pupils or did not have clearly identified anti-bullying practices.

In summary, bullying is clearly linked with social dominance. It may be that the psychological gains of maintaining a relatively dominant position are significant for the bully. Victims appear socially isolated, unable to seek group support in resisting the bully, and see themselves as having an inferior status. Arora and Thompson (1987) suggest that bullying can therefore be seen as a way of maintaining social dominance through aggressive means. This occurs because the victim does not have the necessary skills to integrate with their peer group. The bullies are considered as having been exposed to aggressive models of behaviour, both in the home and culture, and have therefore learned a set of values which support and accept aggression as a means of achieving and maintaining a social structure. The fact that peer groups and, very often, adults accept a certain proportion of bullying as a 'natural' part of school life, may be a reflection that minor forms of violence have become an accepted part of western culture (Tattum and Herbert, 1993).

1.5. The Long Term Effects of Bullying

The long term effects of bullying, for both victim and bully, can be considerable. Victims often suffer a loss of confidence and self-esteem in social relationships, both during and after episodes of bullying. They may find it difficult to concentrate on their school work (Mellor, 1990), and may be afraid to go to school for fear of being victimized. This may lead to school absenteeism and further isolation and school failure (Reid, 1983 cited in Bowers *et al.*, 1992). Olweus (1994) reported that victims tend to have low self esteem and high levels of depression as much as 7 to 10 years later. In the most severe cases victims have been known to take their own lives. For example, in January 1997, David Tuck was found hanged after refusing to go to school. The day before, he had been upset and cited bullying at school and the break-up of his parents marriage as the reasons (The Guardian, 28 Feb, 1997).

Olweus (1994) suggested that as young adults, former bullies have a four-fold increase for the risk of criminality. Increased incidences of problems of alcohol abuse, domestic violence and violent crime in later life have also been reported in reviews of the long term effects (e.g. Olweus, 1994; Tattum and Herbert, 1993).

Bullying is clearly a serious problem which can have disastrous consequences for children and society at large. For the victim, the long term consequences are distressing, particularly if the bullying lasts for a substantial period of time. It can be seen that individuals who are bullied often feel isolated by their experiences and may attribute internal causes for the bullying. They may feel they deserve the harassment, becoming withdrawn and less willing to take social, intellectual or vocational risks (Tattum and Herbert, 1993). It is these feelings of self-reproach that are part of the reason why they are reluctant to inform adults that they are being bullied. In extreme cases victims of bullying take feelings of inadequacy into adult life.

1.6. Ethnic Minorities in Britain

In this thesis the term 'Asian' is used to apply to a collection of people who are natives of, or descendents of, the continent of Asia. The term 'South Asian' is similarly used to refer to those people who are natives, or descendents from the South Asian subcontinent, particularly India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. It is acknowledged that people categorized as 'South Asian' are not of a single ethnic group and that Asian cultures contain a wide range of different customs, beliefs and languages. However, the broad term 'South Asian' is used in this thesis as individuals within this group share approximately similar racial and ethnic characteristics which differ from those of the ethnic majority group.

Britain is a multi-racial society, approximately 2.7 million people in Britain today are from non-European ancestry (Ballard, 1994). The cultural, religious and linguistic traditions of ethnic minority groups has expanded the range of diversities of British lifestyles.

It is thought that ethnic minorities constitute 5% of the total population of the United Kingdom. Of these, almost half are British born (Anwar, 1986; cited in Hutnik, 1991). In the 1981 census 2.2 million members of ethnic minorities were recorded. Of these, an estimated 1.2 million (55%) were of Asian origin. The history of immigration can be traced to the early 1950's, when the UK underwent rapid economic changes and expansion and used immigrants from Africa, India and the

Caribbean to fulfil labour requirements. The first migrants settled in industrial areas where there were opportunities for employment, later arrivals settled in areas where the first immigrants were and established social networks. Hence, the ethnic minority population today is focused in a small number of areas: the South East (56%), the Midlands (23%), the North and North West (16%), with the remaining 5% settling in the South West, Wales and Scotland (Anwar, 1986, cited in Hutnik, 1991).

1.6.1. Demographics

The ethnic minority population show different demographic characteristics to that of the ethnic majority. The ethnic minority population tends to be predominantly younger than that of the majority. For instance, more than half of the Asian population is under 25, compared with approximately 35% of the general population, with nearly 40% of Asians under 16 years old compared with 22% of the general population. Clearly, this has significant implications for education, employment and service facilities for ethnic minorities.

Further differences in demographics exist within the household structure for ethnic groups. Brown (1984; cited in Diamond and Clarke, 1989) reports that only 5% of Asian households consist of one adult (compared with 20% of white and 13% of West Indian households). The average household size of whites (2.6 persons) was also found to be smaller than that of Asians (4.6 persons) and Asian households were more likely to contain children than any other group.

Figures for unemployment are also higher for ethnic minorities, particularly those in the age group 16 to 24, where more than 33% were unemployed compared with 16% for whites. Unemployment rates for those with higher qualifications are much higher for Asian minorities than for any other group (Diamond and Clarke, 1989). In a survey conducted by the Policy Studies Institute in collaboration with the Commission for Racial Equality (Brown and Gay, 1985; cited in Hutnik, 1991), over one third of employers were found to discriminate directly against ethnic minority job applicants.

1.6.2. The South Asian Population in Leicester

The presence of the South Asian population in Leicester can be estimated from the 1991 census data. Of a total population of 270,493 people, approximately 24% are South Asian, compared to 71% Whites. There are approximately equal numbers of males and females in both groups. The majority of both the White and South Asian groups in Leicester are in the 16-54 age range (50% White, 57% South Asian) with a third of the South Asian population aged under 16, compared with only one fifth of the White group.

A summary of the employment status of Whites and South Asians in Leicester (taken from a 10% sample in the 1991 Census) is shown in Figure 1.1. Overall, 5% of the White population in Leicester were unemployed in 1991 compared with 7% of the South Asian population. Considering gender differences in unemployment, 8% of South Asian females compared to 4% of White females were unemployed. This is in contrast to 5% of White males and 6% of South Asian males being unemployed.

1.7. Racism in Britain

The Collins English Dictionary defines racism as

> "... hatred, rivalry or bad feeling between races; the belief that races have distinctive cultural characteristics determined by hereditary factors and that this endows some races with an intrinsic superiority with the implication of a right to be dominant; discriminative behaviour towards members of another race on the basis of such a belief."

Human beings have long been categorized into 'races' based on physical characteristics, in particular skin colour. The concept of race is now seen to be scientifically incorrect (Jones, 1981; cited in Fernando, 1995) but persists as a social entity.

Figure 1.1.

Employment of Ethnic Groups in Leicester

(Source: 1991 Census)
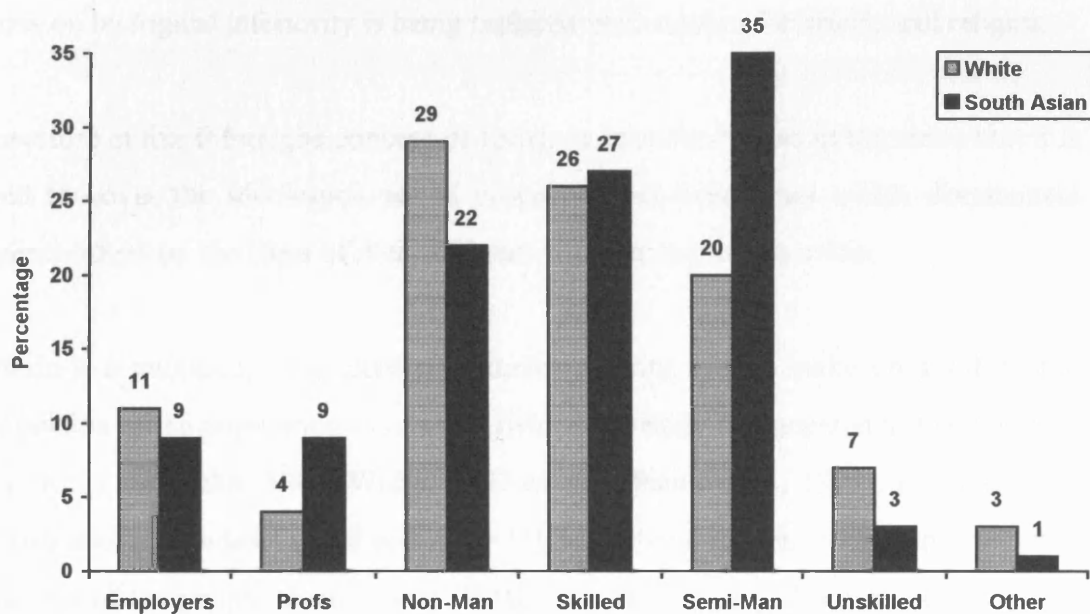
Note: Profs: Professional Workers.

        Non-Man: Non-Manual Workers.

        Skilled: Skilled Manual Workers.

        Semi-Man: Semi-Skilled Manual Workers.

        Unskilled: Unskilled Manual Workers.

Racism has been socially constructed over hundreds of years and is not a static phenomenon. In societies such as Britain, racism is produced through the education system, the media, political discourse, economic pressure, and the ordinary 'common sense' of the general public (Solomos, 1993). Similarly, Fernando (1995) argues that racism is fashioned by racial prejudice and underpinned by economic and social factors and is associated with the power of one ethnic group over another.

Gilroy (1993; cited in Fernando, 1995) argues that racism in Britain operates without any reference to 'race' itself or the biological ideas of difference. Racism is therefore not merely a way of signifying ideas of biological superiority. In today's society, the focus on biological inferiority is being replaced with issues of ethnicity and religion.

Therefore in this thesis, the concept of racism is broadly defined in the sense that it is used to cover the ideologies, social processes and behaviours which discriminate against others on the basis of their different ethnic group membership.

Britain is a multicultural society and ethnic minority groups make up a substantial proportion of the population. Racism in Britain is widely documented in the literature (e.g. Kelly and Cohn, 1988; Walsh, 1987 cited in Siann et al., 1994). In a report on British social attitudes, Jowell and Airey (1984; cited in Hutnik, 1991) observed that nine out of ten people thought that Britain was racially prejudiced and one third of respondents admitted that they were themselves prejudiced against Asian and black people. In a survey conducted for New Society in 1986 (in Cohn, 1988), 42% of British teenagers considered themselves prejudiced against people of other races. Skin-colour and physical appearance have long been used as social markers for racial exclusion. However, Ballard (1994) argues that there has been an increasing focus towards ethnic minorities' religious and ethnic distinctiveness as a target for white hostility.

There have been an increasing number of high-profile incidents of racial violence in recent years. In April 1993, Stephen Lawrence an A Level student whose parents came to Britain from Jamaica, was standing with a friend at a bus stop, when a gang of white youths ran up to them shouting racist taunts. One of the youths then stabbed

Lawrence to death with a 10 inch knife. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of unlawful killing "in a completely unprovoked racist attack by five white youths". No-one has been found guilty of the murder (The Times, 26 April, 1996). In February 1993, Fiaz Mirza from the borough of Newham, was viciously beaten, robbed and then thrown in the Thames to die in what was later found to be a racially motivated crime (The Sunday Times, 3 July, 1994). In Newcastle, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims are reported to hire private security guards to protect them as they enter mosques during the holy month of Ramadan (The Sunday Times, 3 July, 1994).

Although these specific instances received considerable media attention, they are not isolated incidents. In 1981, the Home Office reported that the rate of racial attacks against Asians was 50 times that for white people. Another report published by the Home Office in 1986 confirms these findings: the most common form of racial attack was that of whites against Asians. Asians comprised 70% of the victims of recorded incidents in London. The attackers were mainly white teenagers, who occasionally had been encouraged by parents, but were more often members of a gang. The report states that of the 1,877 racial incidents recorded in the Metropolitan Police area in 1985, of which only 15 % were solved.

1.8. Racial Bullying

Bullying can occur on the grounds of ethnicity and race, and racial abuse within schools is prevalent (Siann *et al.*, 1994). An example of how racial bullying and harassment can have tragic consequences is the killing of 13 year old Ahmed Ullah, which the Burnage Report concluded was influenced by racial motives (cited in Moran *et al.*, 1993). Similarly, in late February 1997 Vijay Singh committed suicide by hanging himself from the banisters of his home. In a poem that he left, he told of a week of suffering at the hands of racist bullies at his school (The Guardian, 28 Feb, 1997).

Despite incidents of this nature, studies of racial components in bullying have been scarce. Tizard *et al.* (1988, cited in Moran *et al.*, 1993) found that about a third of pupils in inner London schools reported being teased because of their colour; black

children more than white. In a survey of three secondary schools, Kelly (1988) found that two-thirds of all students reported that they had been bullied and much of this was name-calling. Kelly concluded that Asian pupils suffered most from racial name-calling, although it was high for all racial groups. Kelly also noted that more Asian pupils complained about having fights picked with them (19%) than other groups did (5-10%). In a study focusing on name-calling, Cohn (1988) found that 'racist' names were the most prevalent and most varied forms of verbal bullying. Malik (1990; cited in Moran *et al.*, 1993) surveyed 612 secondary school children, finding that one third reported being bullied and of these, over a third reported being bullied by someone from another racial background. Again, a significantly higher proportion of Asian children reported being bullied in this way.

Whitney and Smith (1993) did not distinguish respondents by ethnicity in their survey of over 6,000 pupils, but they ascertained the frequency of different types of reported bullying. Of the children bullied, "being called nasty names about my colour or race" was reported by 14.8% in junior and 9.4% in secondary schools. While significant, it was less frequent than being called "nasty names in other ways", "physically hurt", "threatened", or having "rumours spread about me", which were reported by between one-quarter and two-thirds of those bullied.

Moran *et al.* (1993) examined the differences between Asian and White childrens' experiences of bullying. They matched participants for school, year group, gender, special educational needs and broad ethnic grouping. The general profile of their findings were consistent with earlier studies (Olweus, 1991; Whitney and Smith, 1993) and showed no effect of ethnicity. The authors argued that although the results were based on a relatively small sample of 33 pairs, they are likely to give the clearest findings on this issue to date. There were no significant differences for enjoying school, having friends, being bullied, or bullying others. For those who are bullied, the locations for bullying, ages of bullies, and likelihood of help from peers, were very similar for Asian and white children. However, only Asian pupils (18%) were found to report racial name-calling as a way in which they were bullied.

Moran *et al.* (1993) suggest that the racist name-calling experienced by some Asian children does not reflect general higher levels of bullying, or a reluctance of Asian children to report episodes of bullying to teachers. However, the sample size is too small to be sure of this conclusion. Moran and colleagues suggest that the findings that Asian children experience racial name-calling could be indicative of the experiences of racism and prejudice that ethnic minority individuals are exposed to within the majority community as a whole.

Siann *et al.* (1994) found no significant differences between ethnic minority and ethnic majority groups in terms of their experiences of being bullied. However, when the participants were asked whether they believed that ethnic minority pupils were bullied more than ethnic majority pupils, significant differences between the ethnic groups emerged. Pupils from an ethnic minority (75.4%) were more likely than their majority peers (49.6%) to confirm that they felt this statement to be true. Siann *et al.* (1994) interpret this as an indication that a majority of ethnic minority pupils believe that, as a group, they are more likely to be bullied than ethnic majority pupils. This is despite no evidence of a significant difference between ethnic minority and ethnic majority groups in their self-reported experience of bullying.

The Siann *et al.* (1994) study found that gender differences were in line with those reported in the literature, with boys indicating more experience of being bullied and a greater physical component of the bullying. The Siann *et al.* (1994) study also explored pupils' perceptions of bullying; including mental bullying, physical bullying and bullying overall. There were no overall differences between the ethnic minority pupils and the ethnic majority pupils in their perceptions of what constitutes bullying (for all three types of bullying explored).

In view of the well-documented evidence of racism in schools, these results are surprising, but congruent with a smaller study carried out by Siann *et al.* in 1990 (cited in Siann *et al.*, 1994) which also found no consistent differences in the incidences of bullying between ethnic groups. Regarding their findings, Siann *et al.* (1994) proposed that the experience of feeling bullied is related to being made to feel personally inferior and inadequate, and is an assault on one's level of self-esteem.

They suggested that being racially abused is unlikely to make the individual feel attacked for their personal qualities. Therefore the recipient of racial abuse is less likely to label the abuse as bullying. Siann *et al.* (1994) hypothesized that, had they asked the participants whether they had been subject to racial abuse, they would have identified significant ethnic differences.

Siann *et al.* (1994) contend therefore that most individuals draw a distinction between racial abuse and bullying. The distinction is made on the ground that while racist taunts are painful, they do not strike at the individual's private core self. They further suggest that it is this distinction that underpins their findings that ethnic minority pupils do not report higher levels of bullying than their majority peers. However, significant ethnic group differences were found in the responses to a question which asked whether pupils believed that, in general, ethnic minority pupils were bullied more than their majority counterparts. Ethnic minority students were far more likely to endorse this.

These findings are suggested to highlight the experience that ethnic minority pupils have of racism (Siann *et al.*, 1994). While racial abuse directed at oneself may not be perceived as bullying, when ethnic minority students reflect on the personal experience of members of their community, they show an awareness of the negative interactions they are subjected to by the majority community. Because of this knowledge, Siann *et al.* (1994) suggested that they are also likely to perceive members of ethnic minority communities as being subjected to a greater degree of bullying.

The general pattern of findings in the studies cited, suggest that overall, there are no clear effects of ethnicity in relation to ethnic minority and ethnic majority pupils' experiences of bullying. However, there was one contrasting result, only Asian pupils reported name-calling on the basis of race. The qualitative responses indicated that the names and statements made were very hurtful to ethnic minority children (Moran *et al.*, 1993). It has been suggested by some authors (e.g. Moran *et al.*, 1993; Siann *et al.*, 1994) that the racial name-calling experienced by ethnic minority children is perceived within a framework of prejudice from the majority community.

The studies discussed above suggest that racial harassment, especially name calling, can occur for children of all ethnic groups, although estimates of frequency vary considerably. Variations may be due to genuine differences as much as to problems of measurement. Few of the previous studies provide a precise matching of children from different ethnic groups yet this is necessary to establish whether there are ethnic differences in the extent and patterning of bullying. Earlier studies, in so far as any differences are reported in the findings between ethnic groups, may be confounded by age, gender and even school effects. These variables are all known to affect the extent and nature of bullying (Olweus, 1991; Whitney and Smith, 1993) and therefore all of these factors should be controlled if ethnic differences are to be unambiguously identified. The Siann *et al.* (1994) study grouped participants into broad categories of 'ethnic minority' and 'ethnic majority', no information was given as to the specific groups or backgrounds of the participants. This makes it difficult to derive firm conclusions or comparisons from the study. The Moran *et al.* (1993) study matched 33 pairs of children of white and Asian origin and attempted to control for the possible confounding effects of gender, age and school, possibly providing the most conclusive findings to date.

The similarity in the experience of bullying reported by ethnic minority and ethnic majority pupils in the studies cited above should not be taken to indicate that ethnic minority pupils do not endure racism in school as methodological limitations may serve to mask the extent and nature of the problem.

1.9. Attributes and Criteria of Ethnic Minority Group Membership

Wagley and Harris (1958; cited in Hutnik, 1991) proposed five criteria to describe the essence of minority group membership. Minority groups are seen to be subordinate sections of society, who have physical or cultural traits that are held in low esteem by the majority community. Individuals within a minority group are bound together by the common traits and disabilities which they share. Membership in a minority group is transmitted by rule of descent, with individuals from a minority group, either by choice or necessity, marrying within the group. It can be seen that the difference between definitions of ethnic groups and ethnic minority groups lies in

the implication of an imbalance in power and prestige. Hutnik (1991) argues that, by definition, membership in a minority group involves the social consequences of being different from the majority group. It also means suffering the disadvantage of being relatively deficient in power and resources. This implies that members of a minority are excluded from fully participating in the society because they are different to the majority group. Tajfel (1978; cited in Hutnik, 1991) asserts that this situation serves to develop attitudes of discrimination and prejudice against members of minority groups, which in turn serves to strengthen the internal cohesion and structure of the minority group.

These criteria are not exhaustive or necessary for minority group membership. Hutnik (1991) argues that minority people feel themselves bound together by race, nationality, culture, common history, fate, experiences of discrimination and social disadvantage, which all serve to strengthen in-group cohesiveness and solidarity and to enhance their consciousness of their minority group membership. By definition, membership in a minority group entails the consequences of being unlike the majority. The majority comprises any group that in a salient situation hold the balance of power and resources, this does not necessarily have to be the numerical majority group.

Under conditions of prejudice and discrimination, it is suggested that group membership becomes more important as the group becomes numerically dominant in the immediate social environment (Krishna, 1990; Sapru, 1989; cited in Hutnik, 1991). Hutnik (1991) for example found that when South Asians are in the numerical majority in the immediate social setting, ethnicity is more salient for them, than when they are in a numerical minority. It would appear that as the ethnic minority group becomes less distinctive in the immediate social setting, ethnicity becomes more important. Self-categorization theory provides one way of making sense of this finding, as will be discussed later.

1.10. Identity in Adolescence

Identity is an important component of the self-concept and is particularly salient during adolescence. Although the development of a sense of one's identity is a never ending process, identity formation is widely acknowledged as one of the central tasks of adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; cited in Phinney, 1990) and is a dynamic process which changes over time and context.

Adolescence is a period of transition from childhood to adulthood and is usually thought of as a time of change and consolidation (Phinney, 1989). The physical changes which occur during adolescence bring with them a change in body image and thus in the sense of self. Intellectual growth during adolescence makes it possible for a more complex self-concept to develop. Coleman and Hendry (1995) suggest that the development of identity during adolescence is related to the increasing emotional independence of the individual.

Erikson (1968; cited in Rosenthal, 1987) purported that the search for identity becomes particularly important during adolescence because of the rapid biological and social changes that are associated with this period. Writers such as Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1967, cited in Coleman and Hendry, 1995) have suggested that some form of crisis is necessary for resolution of identity issues to take place. However, the extent of the adolescent identity crisis deemed necessary has never been thoroughly described or explained. Coleman and Hendry (1995) differ from this viewpoint, arguing that for the majority of adolescents, no crisis takes place, but that a gradual adaptation to changing identity takes place over a period of time. They support a 'normalized' view of adolescence and cite evidence that for most young people, there does not appear to be a disturbance of self-image during early adolescence, and the adolescent years are not marked by stress or turmoil (Coleman and Hendry, 1995).

1.11. Ethnic Identity

Adolescence is a period of transition that involves self-definitional or identity changes contingent on the passage from childhood to adulthood (Steinberg, 1985; cited in Hutnik, 1985). As an aspect of identity, ethnic identity can be expected to be of particular importance during adolescence. Adolescence is a time of considerable cognitive and physical development, and a time when social expectations change. During adolescence, the ability to think beyond concrete reality to hypothetical situations evolves. Concerns with morality, ideals, social issues, and ultimately with one's place in the world, become paramount. Coupled with cognitive changes, are physical changes, which alter the adolescent's sense of his or her body and heighten concerns regarding appearance. At the same time, the demands placed by society on these emerging adults become complex and conflicting. In addition, more interactions take place outside the family and social life becomes increasingly important. These factors are likely to make ethnic identity salient for minority youth (Phinney, 1989).

Ethnic identity is a broad concept that includes many components such as ethnic awareness (the understanding of one's own and other groups), ethnic self-identification (the label used for one's own group), ethnic attitudes (feelings about own and other groups), and ethnic behaviours (behaviour patterns specific to an ethnic group) (Phinney, 1992). Generally, ethnic identity refers to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and one's thoughts, perceptions, feelings and behaviours that are due to being a member of an ethnic group.

Ethnicity includes group patterns of values, social customs, perceptions, behavioural roles, language usage, and rules of social interaction that group members share (Ogbu, 1981; cited in Rotheram and Phinney, 1987). The sense of personal identification with the ethnic group and the identification by others as being a member of that group defines only a part of ethnic identity. By focusing on the psychological aspects of ethnic identity, it is possible to include those members of an ethnic group whose life style may reflect that of the dominant group, but who

maintain identification with the ethnic group, as may be the case for those members of the groups born in the UK (Hutnik, 1991).

1.11.1. Theories of Ethnic Identity

Historically, many of the theories of ethnic minority identity were, in essence, assimilationist (Hutnik, 1991). The trend was to see ethnic minority groups as inferior, and to expect them to shed their ethnicity to become like the majority group. Early psychologists assumed that true integration was equivalent to complete assimilation and vital for healthy functioning of the nation and the individual. Erikson (1968; cited in Phinney, 1989) argued that members of an ethnic minority internalize the negative views of the dominant society, and therefore develop a negative identity and self-hatred. Tajfel (1978; cited in Turner, 1987) suggested that membership in a disparaged minority group can create psychological conflict; minority group members are faced with a choice of accepting the negative view of society towards their group or rejecting them in a search for their own identity. Recently, these thoughts have been questioned by the observations that ethnicity persists despite opportunities to assimilate and that levels of self-hatred are not present.

The process of ethnic identity development is increasingly recognized as not being a static phenomenon. Rather it varies with development and experience and changes in the social and historical context (Phinney, 1990). As a developmental process, it can be compared to the more widely studied area of ego identity formation. Ego identity is ideally formed during adolescence through a period of exploration of specific identity domains, leading to a commitment or decision in major life areas, such as religious or political preference (Waterman, 1982). Identity achievement is the secure sense of self that is the optimal outcome of the identity formation process; an unsuccessful resolution of identity issues results in identity diffusion, indicated by a lack of clarity about oneself and one's place in society (Erikson, 1968; cited in Rosenthal, 1987). The process of ethnic identity formation is similar in that it involves an exploration of the meaning of one's ethnicity (e.g. history and traditions) that leads to a secure sense of oneself as a member of a minority group (Phinney, 1989).

Marcia (1980; cited in Phinney, 1989) developed a model of the stages of ethnic identity development, based upon Erikson's (1968; cited in Rosenthal, 1987) theory of ego identity development. An individual who has neither engaged in exploration of their ethnicity, nor made a commitment to their ethnicity is said to have a diffuse identity. A commitment made about one's own ethnicity without exploration (usually on the basis of parental values), represents foreclosed status. An individual in the process of exploration without having made a commitment, is said to be in moratorium. This stage is usually accompanied with some confusion about the meaning of one's own ethnicity. A firm commitment following a period of exploration is indicative of an achieved identity, where the individual has a clear understanding and acceptance of their ethnicity. Although achieved identity is seen as the most sophisticated identity status, the paradigm does not suggest a necessary developmental progression. Pathways for movement from one status to another have been discussed by Waterman (1982).

In a review, Phinney (1990) stated that it is widely accepted that ethnic identity is a multidimensional construct, involving ethnic feelings, attitudes, knowledge, and behaviours. The key components of ethnic identity include self-identification as a group member; attitudes and evaluations relative to one's group; attitudes about oneself as a group member; extent of ethnic knowledge and commitment; and ethnic behaviours and practices. Phinney (1989) suggested a model which conceptualizes ethnic identity as being on a continuum ranging from high to low identity. Individuals may locate themselves at any point on this continuum The ethnic identity continuum proposed by Phinney can be seen in Figure 1.2. However, the model only applies to those individuals for whom ethnicity is a salient issue.

Phinney (1989) found empirical evidence for a three-stage theory of ethnic identity development, which related closely to Marcia's work on ego identity statuses. The first stage, characterized by little interest or concern with ethnicity (approximating Marcia's diffuse and foreclosed stages); this is followed by an exploration stage in which attempts are made to learn about one's ethnicity and what it means for the individual (this stage represents Marcia's moratorium stage). The final stage

Figure 1.2.

Phinney's (1989) Model of Ethnic Identity as a Continuum

HIGH ETHNIC IDENTITY
(strong, secure, or achieved ethnic identity)

- Self-identification as group member
- Involvement in ethnic behaviours and practices
- Positive evaluation of the group
- Preference for, and being comfortable with, own group; happy with one's membership
- Interest in and knowledge about group
- Commitment, sense of belonging to the group

$\updownarrow$

LOW ETHNIC IDENTITY
(weak, or diffuse ethnic identity)

- Self-identification as group member
- Little involvement in ethnic behaviours and practices
- Negative evaluation of own group
- Preference for majority group; unhappy with one's membership of minority group
- Little interest in or knowledge about own group
- Little commitment or sense of belonging to own group

proposed by Phinney was one of achieved identity, which is characterized by knowledge knowledge of, and commitment to, one's ethnic identity (Marcia's achieved identity stage).

Several other models of ethnic identity are cited by Phinney (1989). The models share the idea that achieved identity is the result of an identity crisis which involves a period of search or exploration, leading to commitment. These models differ from Marcia's model, in that they suggest stages that are presumed to show progression over time. All of the minority models cited have assumed that a period of exploration into the meaning of one's ethnicity is central to ethnic identity development. It is not clear however, what initiates this stage. There is a suggestion that exploration may be a result of a growing awareness on the part of minorities of the conflict between the values and attitudes of the majority society and a positive view of themselves or their group (Arce, 1981; cited in Phinney, 1989).

1.12. Self-Categorization Theory

Self-categorization theory (Turner *et al.* 1987) is concerned with the processes underlying psychological group formation. The theory attempts to analyse the functioning of categorization processes in social perception and interaction and their effects on issues of individual identity and inter-group phenomena. Self-categorization theory is one way of understanding how ethnic identity becomes a salient issue for members of a minority group.

Traditionally, the main features of the psychological group formation were conceived in terms of identity (that group members define themselves as being part of a distinct social category), inter-dependence (that people form themselves into groups for the mutual satisfaction of their needs) and structure (that groups stabilize over time to a set of structures and systems of social norms and role differentiation) (Turner, 1987a). Tajfel *et al.* (1971; cited in Turner *et al.*, 1987) found that the very act of categorizing people into social groups is sufficient to produce discriminatory inter-

group behaviour (increase in perceived intra-group similarities and an accentuation of inter-group differences). This finding has been replicated many times (Tajfel, 1982).

Tajfel (1972; cited in Turner *et al.*, 1987) described social identity as the person's knowledge of belonging to a certain group, and the emotional value that group membership brings. Knowledge of group membership is achieved through a process of social categorization whereby the individual divides his world into categories and classes. When an individual uses a social category to define himself, it is assumed that he identifies himself with the category. Tajfel and Turner's (1985) social identity theory describes a person's social identity as being the sum of the social identifications used by the individual to define himself. The basic thesis underlines that individuals strive to develop and maintain a positive sense of social identity. When an individual belongs to a group, the process of social comparison takes place at the intergroup level. If the group fails to contribute towards an individual's sense of positive identity, Tajfel (1979; cited in Turner, 1987b) proposes the individual may try and change the structure of the group, look for new dimensions of comparison to enhance positive social identity, or leave the group or distance themselves from it.

Self-categorization theory explains the emergence of group-level processes in terms of the functioning of the self-concept and at the same time assumes that group processes reciprocally mediate between self-categorization and cognition. Self-categories are cognitive groupings of self and some other class of stimuli as identical and different from some other class. They exist at three different levels of abstraction related to class inclusion: self-categorization as a human (superordinate level), based upon differentiations between species; ingroup-outgroup categorizations (self as a social category), based on differentiations between groups of people on the grounds of class, race etc.; and personal self-categorization (subordinate level), based on differentiations between self as a unique individual and other group members.

The theory proposes that as shared social identity becomes salient, individual self-perception tends to become depersonalized. That is, individuals tend to define

themselves less as differing individual persons and more as interchangeable representatives of some shared social category membership.

Individuals acquire social categories by the processes of socialization, the influences of significant others, and the media. Initially experience with ethnic groups consists of interactions with significant others who are representatives of the groups. As transmitters of culture, parents and teachers are important for younger children, later, the peer group becomes of paramount importance. Children's sense of their ethnicity and its salience in describing themselves or others depends largely on the proportion of own-group and other-group members in the environment (Phinney and Rotheram, 1987). Children's sense of their ethnicity is also influenced by the wider social structure, including the ways ethnic groups are defined, the coherence of a group and the supports it provides, the relative status of the groups, and the tensions that exist between them.

The bullying literature has shown that the relationship between the bully and the victim is characterized by an imbalance of power. The fact that one is a member of a minority group also brings with it an implied imbalance of power and lack of social standing which may be reinforced by the bullying experience. Therefore, it can be seen that for those children of an ethnic minority group status, who experience bullying with a racial content, ethnic identity may become increasingly salient.

Ethnic minority individuals belong to two categories: by birth and cultural tradition they belong to the ethnic minority group; by nationality they belong to the majority group. Hence they may categorize themselves along two dimensions: the first is the extent to which they consider themselves part of the ethnic minority group, the second is their categorization of themselves within the majority group label.

Hutnik (1985) suggests that ethnic minority individuals may use one of four strategies of self-categorization: the dissociative strategy, where categorization is in terms of ethnic minority group membership, the assimilative strategy, where self-categorization primarily reflects the majority group and denies ethnic minority roots; the acculturative strategy, where the self is categorized approximately equally in

terms of both dimensions; and finally, the marginal strategy, where neither dimension is salient to self-categorization.

The outcomes of the social comparison process depend on the experiences of the individual with members of both groups over time (Hutnik, 1991). If their experiences with the ethnic minority and the majority are mainly positive, it is likely they will categorize themselves with labels characteristic of both groups (the acculturative strategy). If experiences with majority group are mainly negative, and those with the minority group, positive, their strategy of self-categorization will be essentially dissociative in nature. Assimilation only occurs if experiences with the majority group are more favourable than those with the ethnic minority. Individuals who have negative outcomes with both groups are likely to be marginal. It may be that such individuals will use self- rather than group-identity as primary reference points.

Self-categorization theory argues that social comparison is a fundamental process in the choice of which strategy of social self-categorization is made. Ethnic minority adolescents are likely to make social comparisons with both the ethnic majority and the ethnic minority groups and locate themselves within the framework of those comparisons (Hutnik, 1991). Phinney and Rotheram (1987) argue that recent social movements and an increased focus on cultural pluralism have made ethnic minority group children increasingly more aware of their own cultural heritage. Correspondingly, these factors have also made ethnic majority children more conscious of the ethnic diversity in society. Hence ethnic identity is more likely to become a salient issue for children of all ethnic backgrounds.

Oakes (1987) found that the salience of group membership is governed by an interaction between the 'accessibility' of a particular social categorization and its 'fit' in the immediate social environment. Accessibility refers to the relative 'readiness' of a social category to become activated, and 'fit' refers to the actual match between the characteristics of the social environment and the category specifications. Therefore of all the social categorizations available to a person at a given moment, only that which is accessible and which fits the perceptual field will become salient.

In a series of studies Hutnik (1985) observed that ethnicity is more salient to ethnic minority groups than to ethnic majority groups. Hutnik (1991) argues that ethnic minority individuals are more aware of their ethnicity than their majority peers because it is their very membership in an ethnic minority group within the wider British society that makes them more conscious of their ethnicity. They share a common history, culture, tradition and fate in that they are the recipients of prejudice and discrimination and are therefore linked by the experience of a common disadvantage which serves to make ethnicity more salient to them. It can be seen that in schools, just as in society in general, racial discrimination serves to make ethnicity salient. Perversely, because ethnic identity is salient and individuals have obvious strong links with their minority customs and cultures, this may serve to intensify the occurrence of bullying with a racial content. The reason for this may be explained by Olweus (1994) who suggested that for some victims of bullying, their behaviours are seen as provocative and hence lead them to be victimized. It could be speculated that the fact that some pupils are seen to have a strong ethnic identity, is in itself enough to be provocative and cause tension within an inherently racist society.

1.13. Research Aims and Hypotheses

A large proportion of the literature to date concerning bullying has focused upon the ethnic majority community and their experiences. It has been noted in the literature (e.g. Kelly and Cohn, 1988) that bullying can take the form of racial abuse, although there has been little research conducted in the UK regarding students from ethnic minorities and their experience of bullying. The aims of this study are to explore the relationship between ethnic identity and the experience of bullying.

Self-categorization theory is used to explain the salience of ethnic identity and to formulate predictions concerning the effects of racial bullying. In particular, it is hypothesized that a strong sense of identification with one's ethnic background is likely to act as a buffer against the negative impact of racial bullying by providing a sense of belonging and self-esteem.

The specific hypotheses that are addressed by the study are:

Hypothesis 1.

There will be no difference in the experience of bullying for ethnic minority and ethnic majority pupils.

Hypothesis 2.

Pupils from an ethnic minority background are more likely to experience bullying with a racial content than pupils from an ethnic majority group.

Hypothesis 3.

Pupils with a weak ethnic identity will be more affected by racial bullying than those with a strong ethnic identity.

Two further subsidiary hypotheses are included to confirm the results of earlier studies. In particular, the association between gender and the experience of bullying is explored. The subsidiary hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 4.

Males will report being bullied more than females.

Hypothesis 5.

There will be a difference in the type of bullying experienced by males and females. Males will report being physically bullied more than females. Females will report being emotionally and verbally bullied more than males.

2. METHOD

2.1. Participants

The participants in the study comprised 199 Year 8 pupils (aged 12-13 years) attending an inner city Secondary School in Leicester with an ethnically diverse catchment area. Of the 223 pupils in Year 8, three were withdrawn from the study by their parents and 19 were absent from school when the questionnaires were administered. Two pupils' questionnaires were incomplete and they were therefore excluded from the analysis. The sample therefore consisted of 93 males and 106 females. Figure 2.1. shows the distribution of the participants in terms of their stated ethnic background.

In order to increase the robustness of the statistical analysis, it was decided to re-categorize participants into fewer ethnic groups. Hence, pupils who said they came from Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi communities were assigned to a 'South Asian' group (N = 118, 59.3%). Those pupils who categorized themselves as being of White, British or European origins were assigned to a 'White European' group which comprised just under one third of the sample (N = 59, 29.6%). The remaining pupils (N = 22, 11.1%) were of a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds which made it difficult to categorize them into a group with any strong conceptual meaning. It was therefore decided that as the remaining pupils were of a small number and that they could not be classified into a homogeneous group, that they would be excluded from the statistical analysis. Hence the analysis was carried out using data from a total of 177 pupils. The Headteacher of the school was able to verify that the distribution of the participants' ethnic backgrounds broadly reflected the ethnicity of the pupils attending the school.

2.2. Measures

Participants completed modified versions of the 'Life in School' Checklist (Arora, 1994) (see Appendix 1), additional bullying questions (see Appendix 2) and the 'Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure' (Phinney, 1992) (see Appendix 3).

Figure 2.1.

Participants by Ethnic Background

Pakistani 2.5%

Afro-Caribbean 3.0%

White European 28.6%

Other 2.0%

Mixed 7.5%

Bangladeshi 1.0%

Indian 55.3%

34
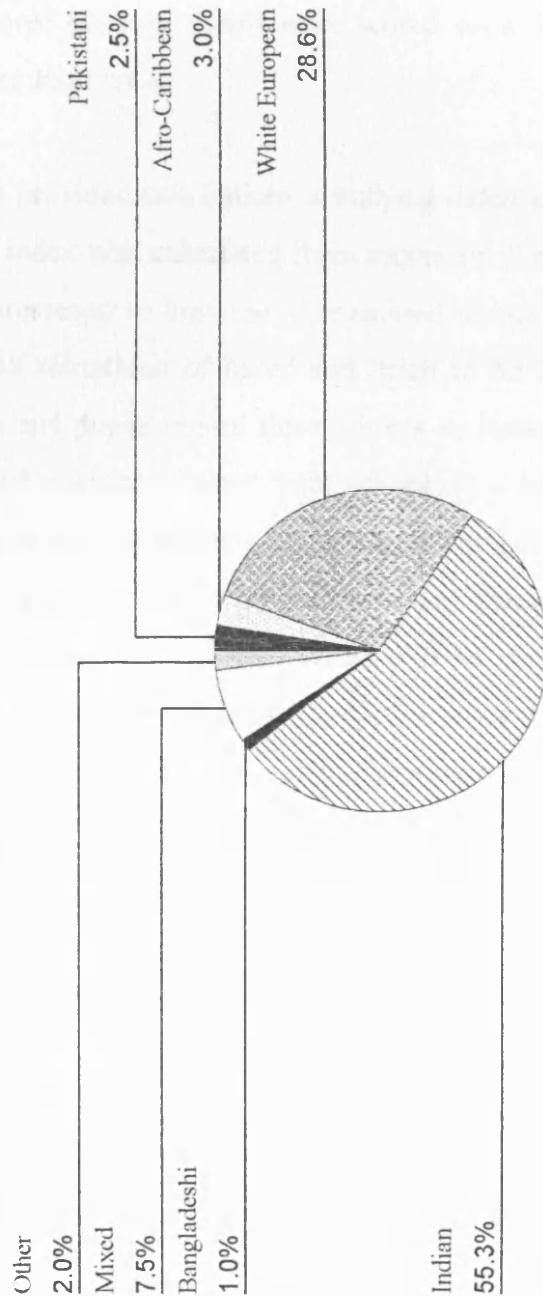
2.2.1. The 'Life in School' Checklist (Arora, 1994)

The checklist provided an indirect method of measuring bullying and asked pupils to report on events that happened in the last week at school. The original checklist comprised 40 items, of which half were positive and half negative. This was designed to divert attention from the fact that interest was primarily centered around those items considered bullying. Items were scored on a 3-point scale ranging from *no, once* and *more than once*.

The checklist provided two indices, a bullying index and a general aggression index. The bullying index was calculated from scores on 6 items of the checklist: 'tried to kick me', 'threatened to hurt me', 'demanded money from me', 'tried to hurt me', 'tried to break something of mine' and 'tried to hit me'. The author suggests that both teachers and pupils regard the six items as instances of bullying (Arora 1996). From a limited amount of data from schools that have used the checklist, Arora (1996) suggests that the bullying index ranges from 2 to 8 for a secondary school as a whole. However, data for year groups is not available separately and the author notes that it is likely that a higher figure will be obtained for younger age groups within schools. The general aggression index comprised the same six items as the bullying index, although different calculations were carried out to find the aggression index. The general aggression index has a range between 5 and 16 for a secondary school as a whole.

The bullying and general aggression indices provided by the 'Life in School' checklist were not used in the present study for two main reasons. There are no reliability or validity data published for the checklist. Additionally, the items which comprised the indices were heavily weighted towards physical bullying, which the literature suggests involves more males than females. It was felt therefore that the use of the indices may have had implications for the results of the study, possibly biasing it towards males.

For the present study the checklist was modified to include only 28 items, retaining equal proportions of positive and negative items and the six items comprising the

bullying and general aggression indices. This was carried out in order to reduce the number of items in the questionnaire and to lower the number of apparently redundant items. Items which appeared ambiguous (for example "asked me a stupid question") were excluded. Also items which appeared to be very similar, for example "helped me with my homework" and "helped me with my classwork" were merged to convey the overall idea of being helped, for example, "helped me with my work".

Additional questions exploring the pupils' experiences of bullying during their time at the present school were added. These involved questions regarding the frequency, duration and content of bullying, whether or not they had witnessed bullying and if so, the particular type of bullying they witnessed.

Readability

The modified 'Life in School' checklist was assessed for readability using Elley's (1969) noun frequency count This is a suitable measure of readability for text at the sentence level. An approximate readability age range of up to 8.5 years was found. Appendix 4 shows the details of Elley's method of assessment.

Factor Analysis

As the 'Life in School' checklist was substantially altered for use in this study, a measure of construct validity in the form of factor analysis was performed. The use of factor analysis also enabled the large number of variables in the checklist to be reduced to a more limited number of factors.

A principal components analysis with varimax (orthogonal) rotation was carried out which revealed eight factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 (Kaiser's 1958 criterion; cited in Kim and Mueller, 1994) (principal factor loadings for all eight factors are given in Appendix 5). Of the eight factors, four were clearly interpretable. Cattell's (1978; cited in Child, 1990) scree test however, supported a three-factor solution (see Figure 2.2.).

Figure 2.2.

Factor Scree Plot for the 'Life in School' Checklist
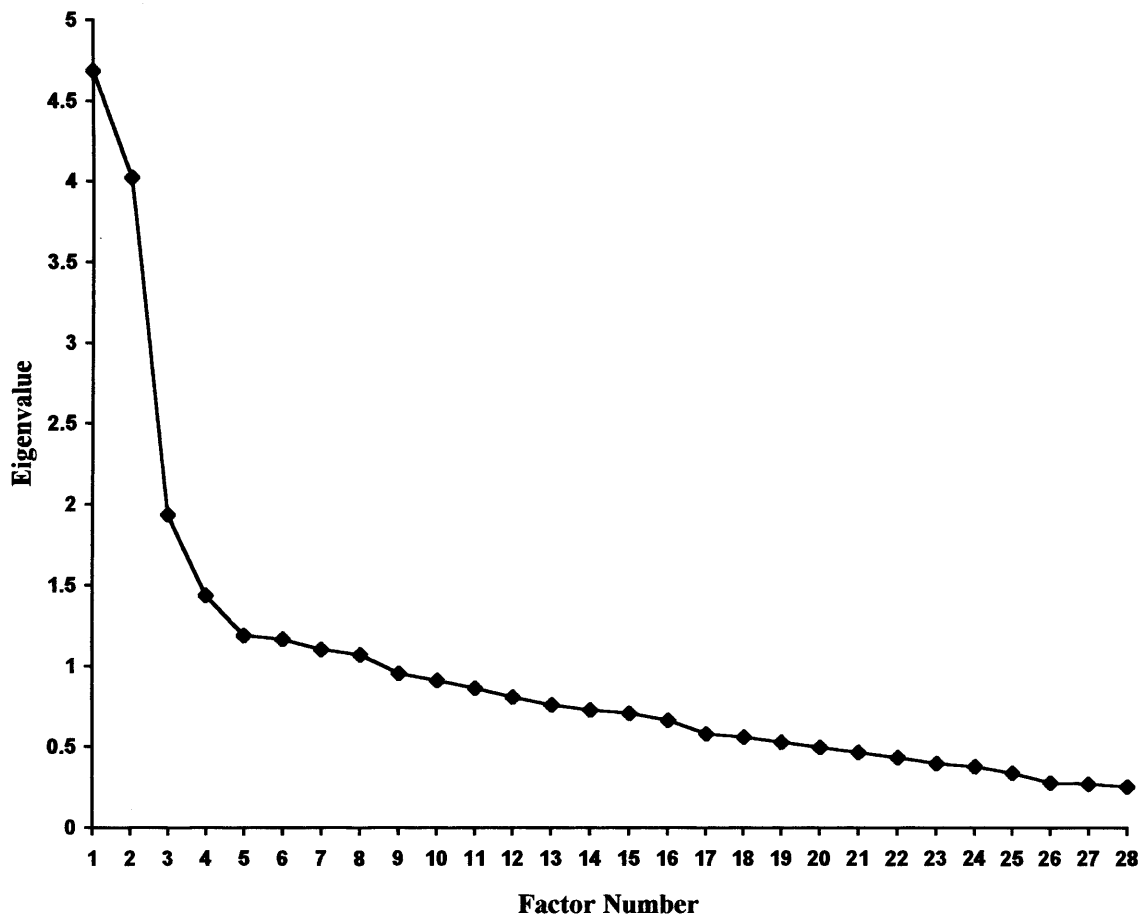
A three-factor solution, accounting for 38.0 per cent of the extracted variance, was therefore adopted. The principal factor loadings of the three factors are shown in Table 2.1. (loadings below 0.30 are excluded as they were not relevant for the solution) (Tabachnik and Fidell, 1989).

Factor 1 can be labelled "helping" (e.g. 'helped me with my work'). The second factor reflected "teasing" (e.g. 'called me names', 'laughed at me'). Finally, the third factor appeared to define a component of "physical harm" (e.g. 'ganged up on me'). The questions that comprised each factor were subsequently used to form corresponding factor scales. Individual factor scale scores were calculated by summing an individual's scores for each question of the corresponding factor scale. For example, an individual's factor score for "helping" would be the sum of all questions which comprise the factor i.e. questions 1, 12, 16, 17, 20, and 28.

Reliability

In order to measure the internal reliability or consistency of the 'Life in School' checklist, an item discrimination method, Cronbach's alpha coefficient was used. This method takes into account individuals' performance on each item of the questionnaire and is used when items are answered along a scale of responses (for example, 'strongly agree', 'somewhat agree', etc.).

Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients were calculated for the three factor scales identified. The reliability coefficients are shown in Table 2.2. The alpha reliability values of the factor scales were high.

Table 2.1.

Factor Loadings for the 'Life in School' Checklist

	Factor 1 Helping	Factor 2 Teasing	Factor 3 Physical Harm
	16.7%*	14.4%*	6.9%*
	4.69 +	4.03 +	1.94 +
Smiled at me (16)	0.76		
Helped me (17)	0.71		
Helped me with my work (1)	0.58		
Chatted with me (28)	0.58		
Shared something with me (20)	0.57		
Lent me something (12)	0.50		
Teased me about my family (4)		0.78	
Teased me because I am different (7)		0.75	
Called me names (2)		0.64	
Tried to kick me (5)		0.59	
Laughed at me (25)		0.53	
Ganged up on me (15)			0.81
Tried to hurt me (18)			0.76
Threatened to hurt me (9)			0.67
Tried to frighten me (11)			0.49
Tried to hit me (27)			0.42
Shouted at me (22)			0.32

note: Only loadings > 0.30 are displayed
* = proportion of the Variance accounted for
+ = Eigenvalue

Table 2.2.

Cronbach's Alpha Coefficients for the 'Life in School' Checklist

	Factor 1 Helping	Factor 2 Teasing	Factor 3 Physical Harm
Cronbach's alpha	0.73	0.74	0.76

In addition, Cronbach's alpha coefficients were calculated separately for the 14 positive and 14 negative items in the modified questionnaire. Overall, the reliability was 0.80 and 0.82 respectively.

2.2.2. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992)

The MEIM explores an individual's ethnicity. It consists of 20 items in total, of which 14 assess ethnic identity. Phinney describes three component subscales of ethnic identity. These are ethnic identity achievement (7 items); positive ethnic attitudes and a sense of belonging (5 items); and ethnic behaviours and practices (2 items). The questionnaire also includes six items assessing attitudes and orientation towards other groups. Items are scored on a 4-point scale from *strongly disagree* (scored as 1) to *strongly agree* (scored as 4). In addition, items assessing self-identification and ethnicity of parents are included, although they do not form part of the score.

As the MEIM was devised in America it required slight modification for use with a UK sample. Modifications included replacing the categories of ethnic groups used in the American version with groups more pertinent to the present population. For example, Mexican-American and Hispanic groups were replaced with groups more commonly found in the UK such as Afro-Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani etc. Minor changes were made to some of the terms used in the questionnaire. For example, the term 'ethnicity' used in the original questionnaire was replaced with 'ethnic group'

for easier understanding. Additionally, alterations were made to the layout of the questionnaire to make completion easier.

Readability

Readability formula are valid on sections of prose containing a minimum number of 50 words. Therefore, it was possible to assess the readability of the introductory paragraph of the MEIM using the Dale-Chall formula (1948). This formula uses a word list as a basis for predicting vocabulary difficulty and has been found to have high validity and age level accuracy in validation research (Harrison, 1980). Details of the assessment of readability for the MEIM, including the Dale-Chall formula are given in Appendices 6 and 7. The corrected UK reading age level for the introduction to the MEIM was found to be 12 to 13 years.

The questions of the MEIM were assessed for readability using analysis of the text at the sentence level. Using Elley's (1969) noun frequency list, the questions were assessed as having a reading age of 10 to 12 years. Elley's noun formula applied to the MEIM can be seen in Appendix 8.

Factor Analysis

Phinney's factor structure is included in Appendix 9. Phinney used a two-factor solution, of which the first factor assessed "ethnic identity" (the ethnic identity scale devised by Phinney comprised three interrelated components: ethnic identity achievement, affirmation and belonging, and ethnic behaviours). A second distinct factor assessed "other-group orientation". It was decided to factor analyse the MEIM in order to confirm the applicability of Phinney's factors to the present sample.

Therefore, a principal component analysis with varimax (orthogonal) rotation was performed. Initial analysis identified four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 (Kaiser's 1958 criterion; cited in Kim and Mueller, 1994) (principal factor loadings for the four factors are given in Appendix 10). However, Cattell's (1978; cited in

Child, 1990) scree test supported a three-factor solution (see Figure 2.3.). As the fourth factor was not clearly interpretable, a three-factor solution was therefore adopted which accounted for 45.6 per cent of the variance. The principal factor loadings of the three factors are shown in Table 2.3. (loadings below 0.30 were excluded as they were not relevant to the solution) (Tabachnik and Fidell, 1989).

Factor 1 is best characterised as "attachment to own group" (e.g. 'clear sense of ethnic background', 'pride in ethnic group'). The second factor reflects "exploration of own group" (e.g. 'spent time finding out about own group'). Factor 3 can be labelled "other-group orientation" as it loads strongly upon items such as 'involved in activities with people from other groups'. The three factors were again used to form corresponding factor scores. Individual's factor scores comprise the total score of all questions that make up the respective factors. For example, an individual's factor score for the factor 'attachment to own group' consists of summing the scores for the eight questions which make up the factor (questions 3, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20).

Phinney (1992) suggested that the MEIM comprised two distinct factors, one assessing ethnic identity, the other assessing an individual's orientation to groups other than his/her own. However, the present analysis suggested a three factor solution. Whereby two separate factors appeared to assess two distinct aspects of ethnic identity: attachment to own group; and exploration of own group. Taken together the two factors incorporate all of the ethnic identity items of Phinney's first factor with an additional item, question 15, "I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups" (this question is reverse scored). Factor 3 corresponded well with Phinney's second factor (other-group orientation). However, item 15 which is included in Phinney's 'other-group orientation', loaded more highly in the present study on factor 2, 'exploration of own group'.

As three distinct factors were identified in the current study, they were subsequently used in the analysis of the data, instead of the factor structure suggested by Phinney.

Figure 2.3.

Factor Scree Plot for the MEIM
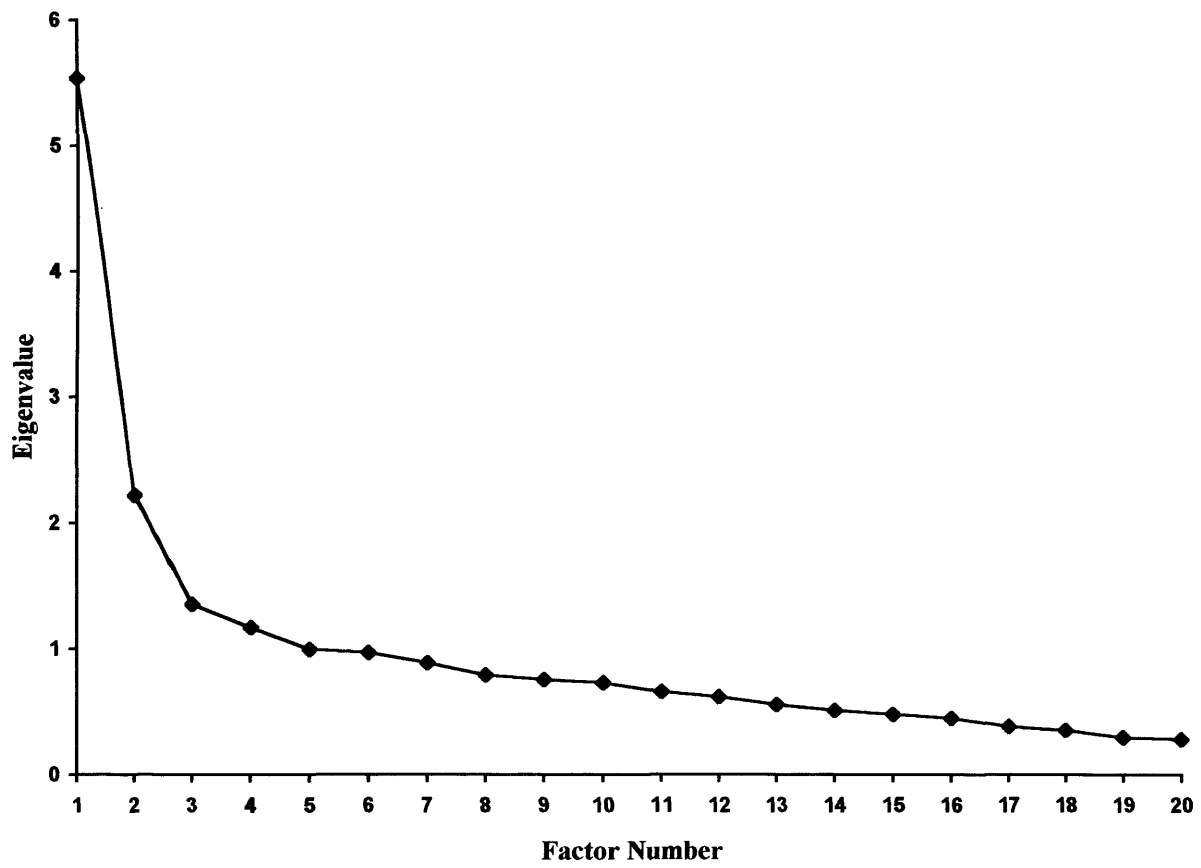
Table 2.3.

Factor Loadings for the MEIM

	Factor 1 Attachment to own group	Factor 2 Exploration of own group	Factor 3 Other-group orientation
	27.7%*	11.1%*	6.8%*
	5.54 +	2.22 +	1.36 +
I feel a strong sense of attachment towards my own ethnic group (18)	0.76		
I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments (14)	0.74		
I have a clear sense of my ethnic background (3)	0.71		
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group (11)	0.69		
I feel good about my culture or ethnic background (20)	0.66		
I understand what my ethnic group membership means to me (12)	0.65		
I participate in cultural practices of my own group (16)	0.59		
I am not very clear about the role of my ethnic group in my life (8)	0.36		
I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group (1)		0.67	
I have not spent much time trying to learn about my ethnic group (10)		0.67	
I am active in groups that include mostly my own ethnic group (2)		0.59	
I've talked to people about my ethnic group (13)		0.55	
I think about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group (5)		0.47	
I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to (6)		0.37	
I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups (15)		0.36	
I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own (9)			0.69
I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own (19)			0.68
I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups (17)			0.67
I like meeting people from ethnic groups other than my own (4)			0.53
I feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't mix together (7)			0.51

note: Only loadings > 0.30 are displayed
* = proportion of the variance accounted for
+ = Eigenvalue

Reliability

Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients (Cronbach, 1951) were calculated for the three factor scales. Scale scores were calculated for each factor by summing items loading at 0.30 or more. Table 2.4. shows the reliability coefficients using Cronbach's alpha. The alpha reliability values of the first two factors scales were high (0.84 and 0.71 respectively). Unfortunately, the alpha coefficient for the third scale is not as high as one might like, however, it is above the 0.50 level considered sufficient for research (Nunnally, 1978).

Table 2.4.

Cronbach's Alpha Coefficients for the MEIM

	Factor 1 Attachment to own group	Factor 2 Exploration of own group	Factor 3 Other-group orientation
Cronbach's alpha	0.84	0.71	0.65

2.3. Procedure

Approval for the study was obtained from the Department of Clinical Psychology's Ethical Committee. Additionally, as the participants were under sixteen years of age, it was necessary to obtain written consent from parents as well as the consent of the Headteacher concerned before the study commenced.

Following consultation with the Headteacher, parents received written information (translated into Punjabi and Gujurati by one of the teachers at the school) regarding

the nature and aims of the study and their child's participation within it. Parents were required to return a form to school indicating if they did not wish their child to participate. The parental letter and reply slip are shown in Appendix 11.

The questionnaires were administered to pupils in their classes during their normal school day. For those pupils who were withdrawn according to their parents wishes, alternative arrangements were made for them to join another group while their classmates participated in the study.

At the beginning of each class, the purpose and nature of the study was explained and the participants were reassured that there was no specific reason why they had been asked to participate in the study. They were informed that their responses would be kept confidential and anonymous, and of their right to withdraw from the study should they wish to do so (see Appendix 12).

The 'Life in School' checklist was presented first. The following instructions were given:

> "I am interested to know what happens to young people in school. On
> this page there are various things that might have happened to you
> during the past week."

The first item was read out to the class and instructions were given on how to complete the questionnaire. They were instructed to work by themselves and to stop when they reached the bottom of the page. After completion the additional questions exploring bullying were introduced. The pupils were instructed to think of their time spent in the school and to tick the box that best reflected their experiences.

Finally the MEIM was administered. The introduction paragraph at the top of the questionnaire was read aloud to the pupils. Again the first question was read aloud and instructions were given how to complete this.

Pupils were given the opportunity at lunch break (for those completing the questionnaires in the morning) or at the end of the school day to discuss any issues that arose during the study with the investigator. They were also informed that the school welfare officer had been identified as a person whom they could approach for further help or advice.

At the end of the study the school received a written report. This outlined the results of the study, detailing the nature and extent of the experiences reported by the pupils. This report did not refer to any individual or class group concerned.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Ethnicity and Gender of Sample

Table 3.1 shows the distribution of participants according to their ethnic group and gender. Overall, slightly more females than males took part in the study. Just over half of the South Asian group (N = 66, 55.9%) were males, and approximately two thirds of the White European group were females (N = 41, 69.5%).

Table 3.1.

The Distribution of Participants by Ethnic Group and Gender

	Male (N = 84)		Female (N = 93)		Total (N = 177)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
South Asian	66	37.3	52	29.4	118	66.7
White European	18	10.2	41	23.1	59	33.3
Total	84	47.5	93	52.5	177	100.0

3.2. The Experience of Bullying

During their time at the present school, 79 participants (44.6 %) reported that they had been bullied at some point.

Factor analysis of the 'Life in School' checklist revealed three factor scales: Helping; Teasing and Physical Harm. The scores for the Helping factor scale ranged from 0 to 12 (mean = 8.4, sd = 2.7). The Teasing factor scores ranged from 0 to 10 (mean = 2.0, sd = 2.3). Finally the range of scores for the Physical Harm scale ranged from between 0 to 10 (mean = 1.5, sd = 2.0).

Hypothesis 1. There will be no difference in the experience of bullying for ethnic minority and majority pupils.

The proportion of each ethnic group that reported having experienced bullying is shown in Figure 3.1. It can be seen that over half of the White European group have experienced bullying (N = 35, 59.3%), while just over a third of the South Asian group were bullied at school (N = 44, 37.3 %). Chi square analysis showed that members of the White European group were more likely to report having been bullied at school than the South Asian group (χ^2 = 7.73, df = 1, p < 0.01). Figures 3.2. a - c show the proportion of participants who were categorized as having high and low scores on each of the factor scales of the 'Life in School' checklist.

In order to explore whether there was a relationship between ethnic group membership and participant's experience of bullying at school, two separate one-way (between groups) analyses of variance were performed using the factor scales of Teasing and Physical Harm as the dependent variables. No significant differences were found between ethnic group membership and having experienced Teasing (F = 0.84, df = 1, ns) or Physical Harm at school (F = 2.34, df = 1, ns).

Figure 3.1.

Proportion of Pupils Bullied at School by Ethnic Group
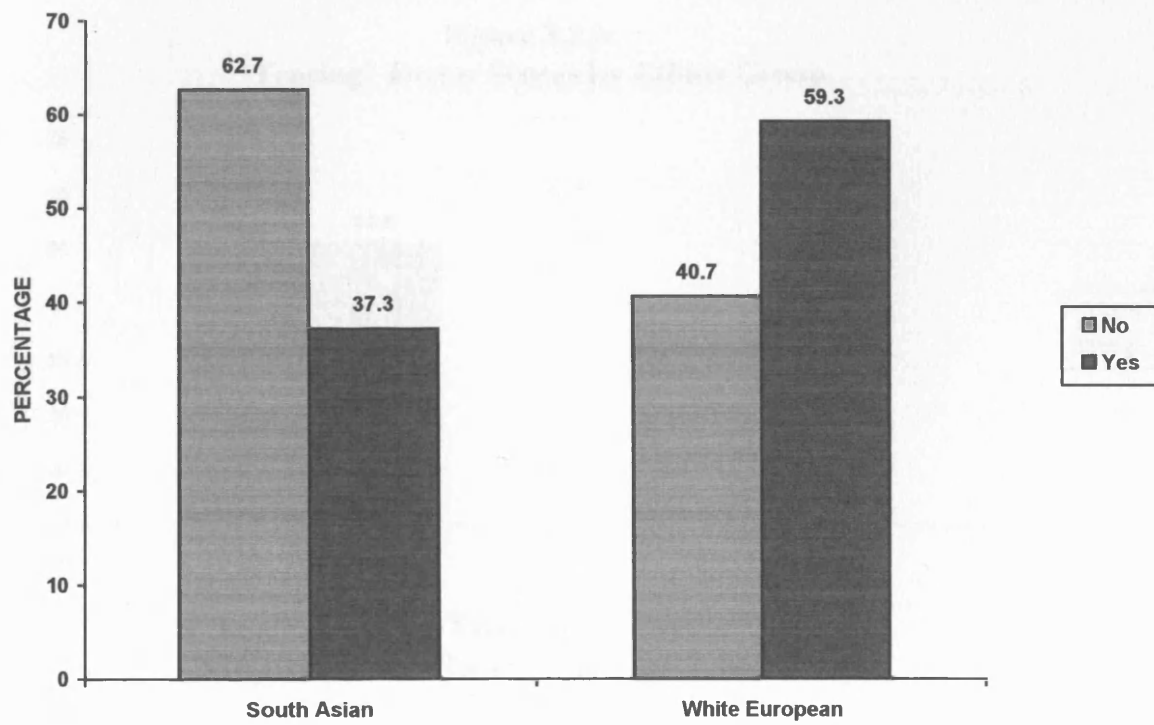
Figure 3.2.a.
"Helping" Factor Scores by Ethnic Group
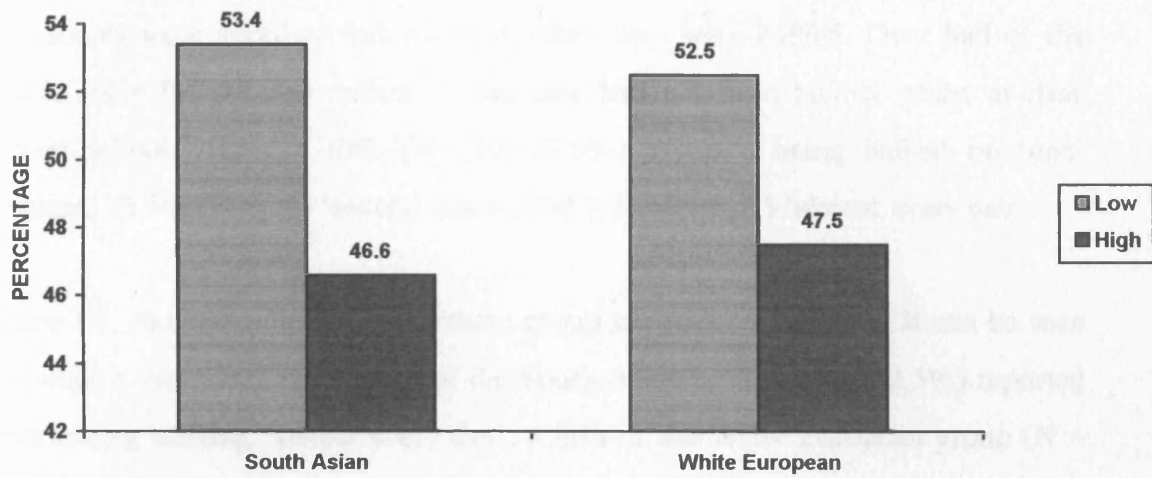
Figure 3.2.b.
"Teasing" Factor Scores by Ethnic Group
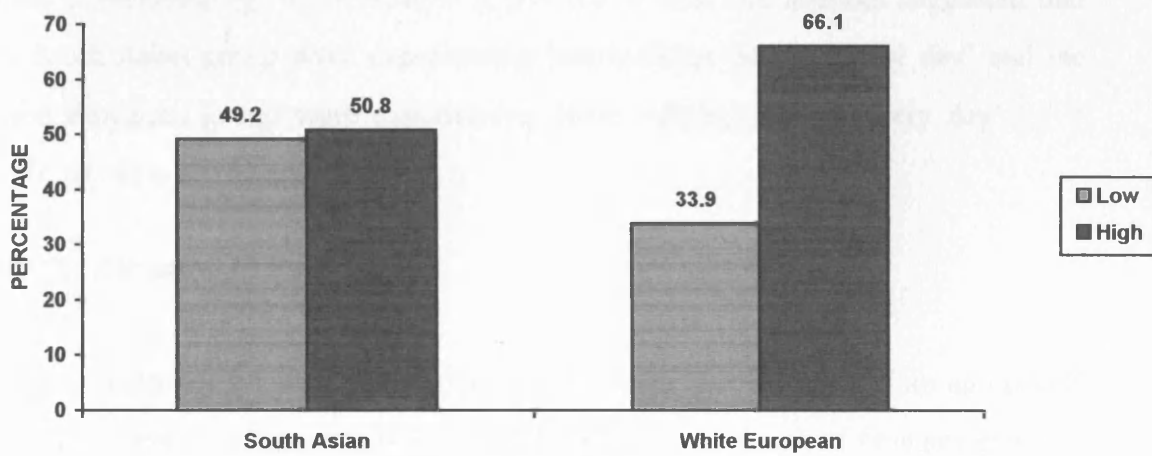
Figure 3.2.c.
"Physical Harm" Factor Scores by Ethnic Group

51
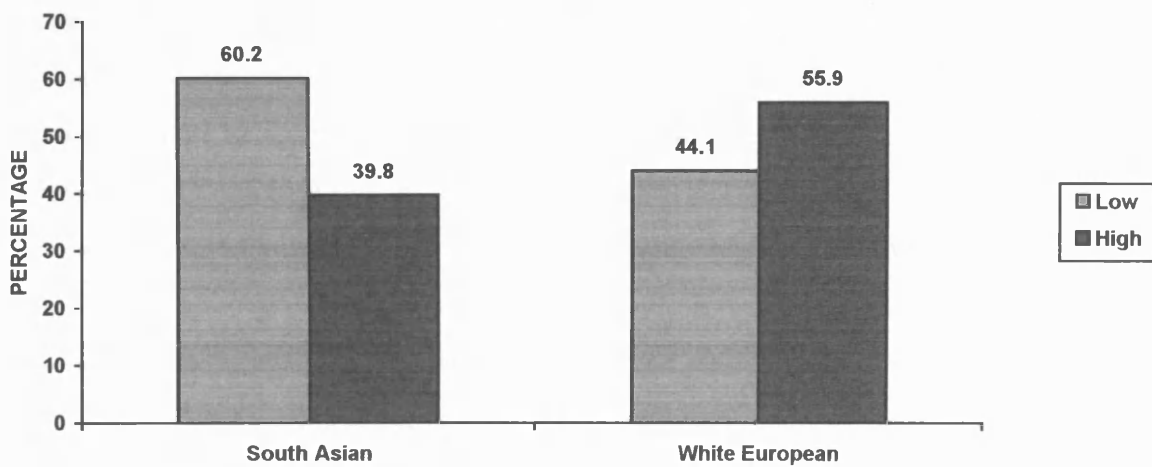
3.3. The Frequency of Bullying

Participants were asked to indicate how often they were bullied. Over half of the sample (N = 98, 55.4%) indicated that they had not been bullied whilst at their present school. About a fifth (N= 40, 22.6%) reported being bullied on 'one' occasion, 14.7% (N = 26) 'several times', and 7.3% (N = 13) 'almost every day'.

Figure 3.3. shows how often each ethnic group experienced bullying. It can be seen that while a very small percentage of the South Asian group (N = 3, 2.5%) reported experiencing bullying 'almost every day', a fifth of the White European group (N = 10, 16.9%) have this experience. Chi square analysis showed that there was a significant relationship between the frequency of episodes of bullying and ethnic group membership (χ^2 = 15.18, df = 3, p < 0.01). Post hoc analysis suggested that the South Asian group were experiencing less bullying 'almost every day' and the White European group were experiencing more bullying 'almost every day' (χ^2 = 11.62, df =1, p < 0.01).

3.4. The Duration of Bullying

When considering the overall experience of bullying, the length of time an episode lasts is important. Participants were asked to indicate the length of time any episodes of bullying had lasted. Over half of the sample had not experienced bullying (N = 98, 55.4%). Approximately one fifth (N = 41, 23.2%) of the participants had experienced bullying that lasted for 'at least one week', while one in ten participants experienced episodes of bullying that lasted 'between 2 - 4 weeks' (N = 19, 10.7%). Fewer participants indicated that they had been bullied for 'one term' (N = 7, 4.0%), although the numbers rose for the category of longest duration. Here, almost ten per cent (N = 12, 6.8 %) indicated that they had been bullied for 'longer than one term'.

Table 3.2. shows that one in ten pupils of the White European group had experienced bullying lasting longer than one term, whereas only one in twenty pupils in the South Asian group had this experience. The group experiencing the shortest duration of bullying was the White European group, where approximately

Figure 3.3.

The Frequency of Bullying by Ethnic Group
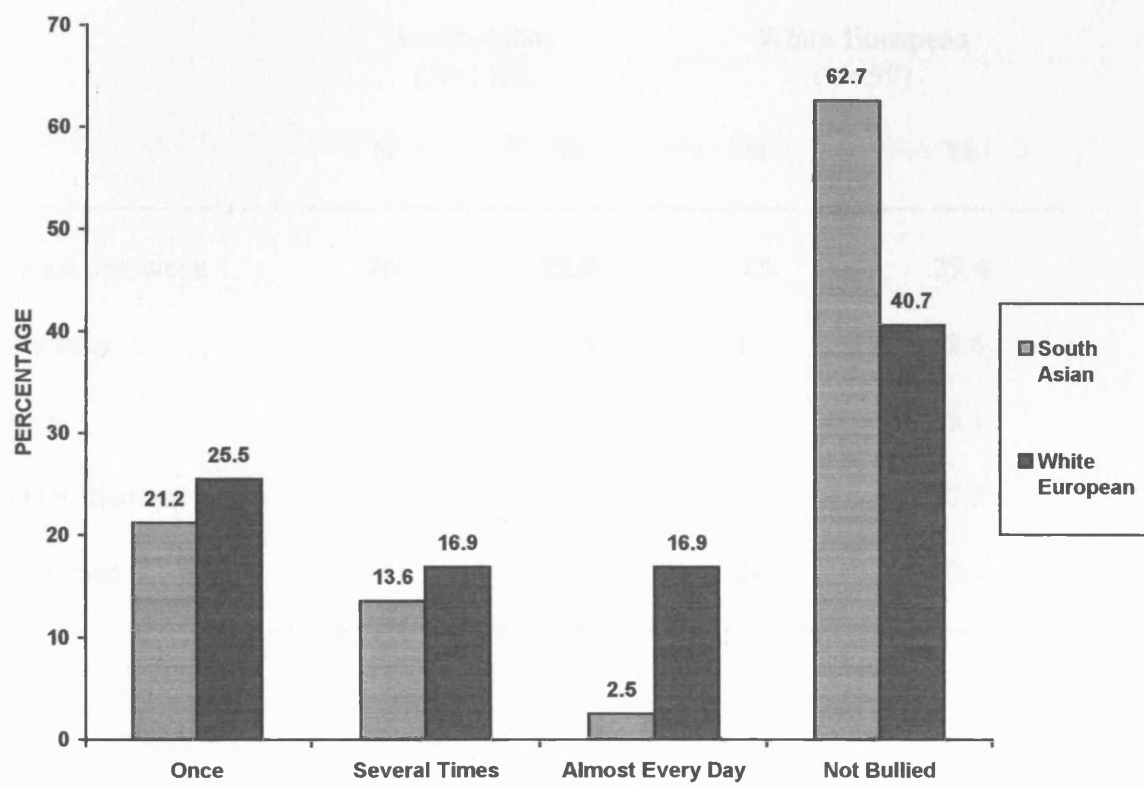
Table 3.2.

The Duration of Bullying by Ethnic Group

	South Asian (N=118)		White European (N=59)	
	N	%	N	%
At least one week	26	22.0	15	25.4
2-4 weeks	8	6.8	11	18.6
1 term	4	3.4	3	5.1
Longer than one term	6	5.1	6	10.2
Not bullied	74	62.7	24	40.7

one quarter of participants experienced bullying for 'at least one week'. Chi square analysis of the whole population suggested that there was a relationship between ethnic group membership and the duration of bullying experienced ($\chi^2 = 10.59$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.05$). Post hoc comparisons revealed that the White European group were more likely to report bullying lasting for the duration of both 'one week' and 'between 2 - 4 weeks', while the South Asian group were less likely to report bulling lasting 'between 2 - 4 weeks' ($\chi^2 = 5.43$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$).

3.5. The Effect of Bullying

In assessing the effect of bullying, both quantitative and qualitative data was obtained.

When asked to reveal what effect, if any, that the bullying had had upon them, 15.8 % of participants (N = 28) reported no effect. A quarter of the participants (N = 47, 26.6 %) indicated that bullying had had 'some bad effect', while a small proportion (N = 4, 2.3 %) reported that the bullying had had a significantly bad effect upon their lives. Chi square analysis showed that there were significant differences between ethnic groups in terms of their reported effects of bullying ($\chi^2 = 12.57$, $df = 3$, $p < 0.01$). Post hoc analysis showed that the White European group were more likely to report 'some bad effect' of bullying ($\chi^2 = 8.54$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.01$).

Qualitative responses to the question "what effect did the bullying have" encompassed a wide range of responses, some of the most common of which will be outlined here. Individual responses will be identified by the giving the subject number in brackets after the quote.

One fifth of the participants (N = 17, 21.5%) described negative affect after being bullied. Reply's included statements such as:

> "it made me upset" (20)
>
> "it made me sad and hurt my feelings" (46)

"it made me feel very down" (65)

"it made me cry" (184)

Just over ten per cent (N = 9, 11.4%) of the respondents expanded upon this to include feelings of being scared and therefore withdrawing from some aspects of normal school activities, for example:

"I was a little scared what they might do next" (12)

"scared and shook up a bit" (43)

"it made me scared, sad and worried. I was very worried" (114)

"I was scared and quiet" (120)

"I was going swimming with the school but I didn't go" (53)

"I was afraid to play with my friends in case a bully came along" (137)

"I was upset and tried to keep away from them" (161)

"at break and lunch I wanted to stay in the classroom" (184)

"now I'm more cautious at the bus stop" (189)

Five comments (6.3%) indicated that bullying had had an impact on their school work or school attendance. These were:

"I did not eat a lot but I didn't want to go to school" (141)

"I felt sad and did not want to come to school" (129)

"if I was scared I would tell my mum and dad I am sick I can't go to school" (17)

"it upset me when I went home, it disrupted my schoolwork" (190)

"I couldn't concentrate. It hurt me" (54)

A further issue highlighted by three participants (3.8%) involved the effect of bullying on their sense of self. Responses included statements such as:

"it made me feel bad about myself" (108)

"made you feel really small" (57)

"it was about the way I am" (38)

Two participants (2.5%) indicated that bullying had resulted in social isolation at school:

> "I didn't have many friends" (8)
>
> "not many people was my friends and I was on my own at lunch" (15)

In addition, at least one participant had sought professional help following bullying:

> "I get stress headaches and I have to go to the hospital once a week because I've got tension. My neck has gone tense because of bullying." (94)

In summary, it can be seen that bullying had many wide-ranging and negative effects, and had had an impact on the academic and social aspects of school life. The experience of bullying may have also fostered a negative sense of self.

3.6. Factors Which Predict the Effect of Bullying

A forward stepwise multiple regression analysis was undertaken in order to determine which variables were the strongest predictors of the overall effect of bullying. A criterion of $F = 0.05$ for entry and $F = 0.10$ for removal identified four main variables as significant predictors of the effect of bullying, which accounted for a quarter of the variance ($R^2 = 0.24$; $F = 7.8$, $df = 3,75$, $p < 0.01$). These variables were gender, physical harm and whether or not participants had experienced racial bullying, as shown in Table 3.3.

Variables that were entered, but not included in the regression equation as they did not meet the specified criteria, included the factors scales for the 'Life in School' checklist (Helping, Teasing), the factor scales for the MEIM (Attachment to own group, Exploration of own group and Other-group orientation), ethnic group and the frequency and duration of bullying.

Table 3.3.

Summary of Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables

Predicting the Effect of Bullying (N = 79)

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	t value
Gender	0.33	0.12	0.29	2.86**
Racial bullying	0.11	0.04	0.30	2.95**
Physical harm	0.07	0.03	0.26	2.58*

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

3.7. Witnessing Bullying

Participants were asked to report whether or not they had seen another pupil being bullied, and to identify the type of bullying they witnessed. Overall, 156 participants (88.1%) had witnessed bullying at school. Over a third (N = 63, 35.6%) had witnessed all three types of bullying: physical, verbal and emotional. A quarter of participants (N = 45, 25.4%) had only seen emotional bullying, while only 7.9% (N = 14) reported only witnessing verbal bullying. Just under one fifth (N = 34, 19.2%) indicated that they had seen physical bullying. Only 15 participants (8.5%) had not witnessed any forms of bullying while at their present school.

With reference to the ethnic groups, Table 3.4. shows the different types of bullying that participants had witnessed. It can be seen that the most frequent form of bullying witnessed was a combination of physical, verbal and emotional bullying for both groups. There was no significant differences in the relationship between the type of bullying witnessed and ethnic group membership (χ^2 = 2.43, df = 4, ns).

3.8. The Experience of Racial Bullying

Hypothesis 2. Pupils from an ethnic minority background are more likely to experience bullying with a racial content than pupils from an ethnic majority group.

Participants were required to specify the types of bullying they had experienced. Of the participants in the South Asian group who had experienced bullying, the majority (N = 37, 84.1%) reported that the bullying had had a racial content. Over half of the participants who had experienced bullying in the White European group, also reported that they had experienced bullying with a racial content (N = 20, 57.1%).

Table 3.4.

Type of Bullying Witnessed by Ethnic Group

	South Asian (N=113)		White European (N=58)		Total (N=171)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physical	24	14.0	10	5.8	34	19.9
Verbal	8	4.7	6	3.5	14	8.2
Emotional	32	18.7	13	7.6	45	26.3
Physical, Verbal and Emotional	41	23.9	22	12.9	63	36.8
Not Seen Bullying	8	4.7	7	4.1	15	8.8

Note: Six participants failed to complete this section.

Chi square analysis showed that pupils from the South Asian group were more likely to be racially bullied than those from the White European group ($\chi^2 = 7.04$, $df = 1$, p < 0.01). The null hypothesis that the variables of ethnic group and racial bullying are independent of each other can therefore be rejected.

3.9. The Association Between Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Group Membership

The factor scores for the 'attachment to own group' scale ranged from 9 to 32 (mean = 26.2, sd = 4.7). The range of scores for the 'exploration of own group' scale were from 10 to 28 (mean = 21.1, sd = 3.9). Finally, the scores for the 'other-group orientation' scale ranged from 6 to 20 (mean = 16.6, sd = 2.9).

To explore any relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic group membership, two separate unrelated t-tests were carried out using the factor scales of 'attachment to own group' and 'exploration of own group' as the test variables. The relationship between ethnic group membership and 'attachment to own group' was significant (t = 7.79, $df = 175$, p < 0.05), with the South Asian group (mean = 27.96, sd = 3.52) having higher attachment than the White European group (mean = 22.83, sd = 5.14).The differences found between the South Asian group (mean = 22.43, sd = 3.29) and the White European group (mean = 18.51, sd = 3.80) relating to their scores on 'exploration of own group' were also significantly different (t = 7.09, $df = $ 175, p < 0.05). Accordingly, the South Asian group have a significantly stronger ethnic identity than the White European group; on the current measure.

The 'other-group orientation' factor was also examined with respect to ethnic group. Using an unrelated t-test, a significant difference between the South Asian group (mean = 16.89, sd = 2.77) and the White European group (mean = 16.08, sd = 3.23) was found relating to other-group orientation (t = 1.72, $df = $ 175, p < 0.05).

3.10. The Association Between Ethnic Identity and Racial Bullying

Hypothesis 3. Pupils with a weak ethnic identity will be more affected by racial bullying than those with a strong ethnic identity.

The two factors of the MEIM which assessed two distinct components of ethnic identity, namely attachment to own group and exploration of own group, were used to provide a working definition of ethnic identity. Using a median-split procedure, participants were categorized into 'high' and 'low' groups for the 'attachment to own group' and 'exploration of own group' factors.

Hence individuals in the 'high' categories of the two factors would be regarded as having a strong ethnic identity. Conversely, those in the 'low' categories would be regarded as having a weak ethnic identity. The proportion of participants who were categorized as having high and low scores on each of the factor scales of the MEIM is shown in Figures 3.4. a - c.

To explore the relationship between ethnic identity and the effect of racial bullying, two separate chi square analyses were carried out on the 57 participants who had experienced racial bullying (72.1% of the bullied population). The effect of racial bullying was found not to be significantly related to whether participants had high or low attachment to their own ethnic group ($\chi^2 = 0.99$, $df = 2$, ns). Nor was the relationship between high or low exploration of one's own group found to be significantly related to the effect of racial bullying ($\chi^2 = 2.09$, $df = 2$, ns). Hence, the null hypothesis was accepted that the effects of racial bullying for an individual are independent of their ethnic identity status.

Figure 3.4.a.

"Attachment" Factor Scores by Ethnic Group

PERCENTAGE

90
80
70 — 81.4
67.8
60
50
40
32.2
30
20 18.6
10
0

South Asian   White European

□ Low
■ High
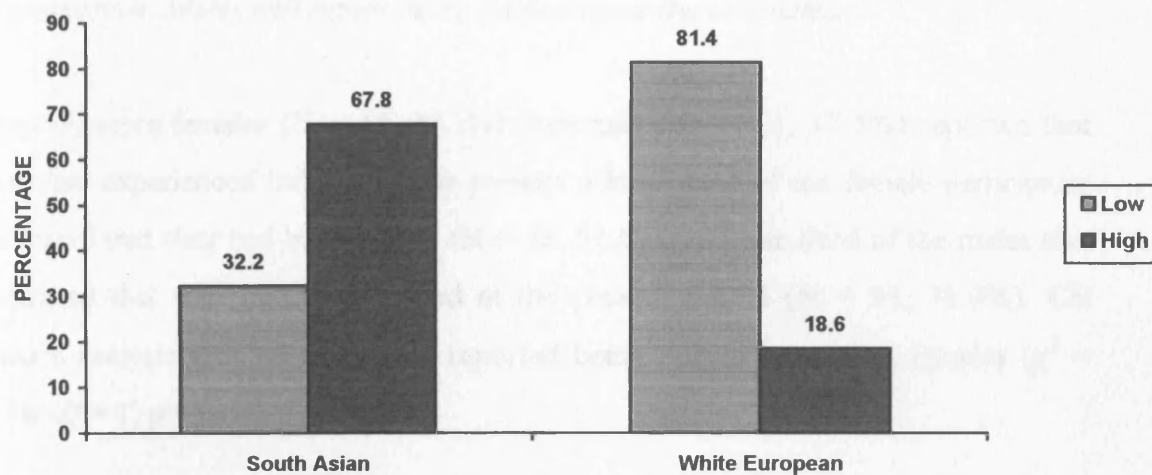
Figure 3.4.b.
"Exploration" Factor Scores by Ethnic Group

PERCENTAGE

90
80 — 78
70
61.9
60
50
40 — 38.1
30
22
20
10
0

South Asian   White European

□ Low
■ High
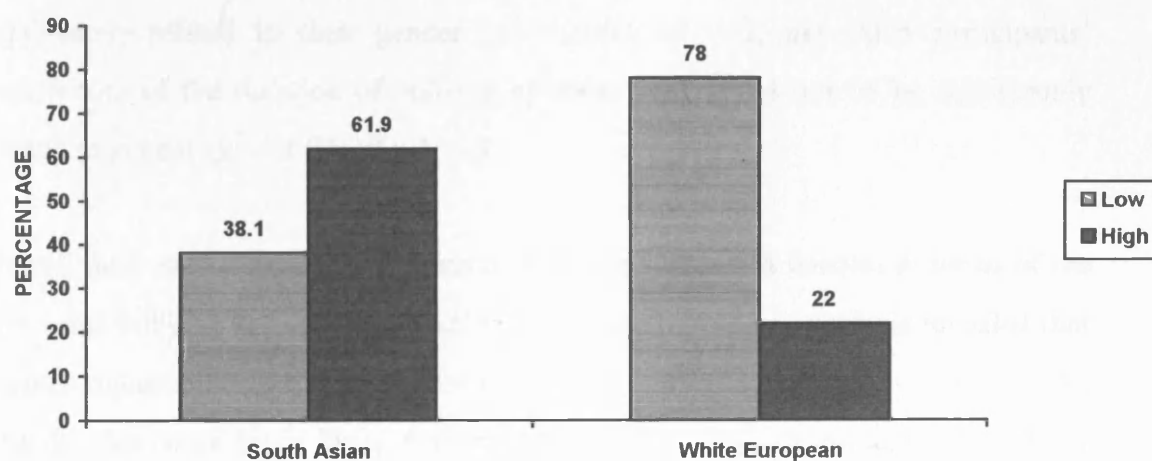
Figure 3.4.c.
"Other-Group Orientation" Factor Scores by Ethnic Group

PERCENTAGE

53
52.5   52.5
52
51
50
49
48 — 47.5   47.5
47
46
45

South Asian   White European

□ Low
■ High
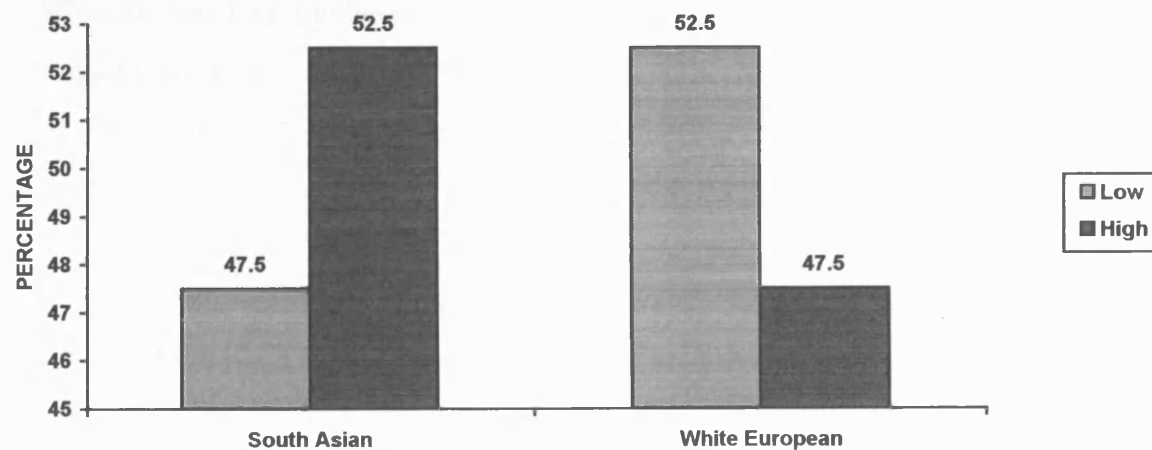
3.11. The Relationship Between Gender and Bullying

Hypothesis 4. Males will report being bullied more than Females.

Overall, more females (N = 48, 27.1%) than males (N = 31, 17.5%) reported that they had experienced bullying at the present school. Half of the female participants indicated that they had been bullied (N = 48, 51.6%) and one third of the males also indicated that they had been bullied at the present school (N = 31, 36.9%). Chi square analysis showed that males reported being bullied more than females (χ^2 = 3.86, df = 1, p < 0.05).

Chi square analysis revealed that the frequency with which participants' experienced bullying ('once', 'several times' and 'almost every day') was not found to be significantly related to their gender (χ^2 = 0.02, df = 2, ns). Also participants' experiences of the duration of bullying episodes was found not to be significantly related to gender (χ^2 = 1.04, df = 3, ns).

Overall there was a significant difference between males and females in terms of the effect that bullying had (χ^2 = 5.86, df = 2, p < 0.05). Post hoc analysis revealed that females reported being affected more than males did (χ^2 = 5.47, df = 1, p < 0.05). That is, they were more likely than males to report 'some bad effect' of bullying rather than 'no effect' of bullying.

No difference was found between males and females in terms of their experience of being racially bullied (χ^2 = 1.48, df = 1, ns), having witnessed bullying taking place at school (χ^2 = 0.20, df = 1, ns), nor in the types of bullying they witnessed (χ^2 = 4.30, df = 4, *ns*).

Hypothesis 5. There will be a difference in the type of bullying experienced by males and females. Males will report being physically bullied more than females. Females will report being emotionally and verbally bullied more than males.

An unrelated t-test showed that there was no significant difference between males (mean = 7.16, sd = 2.38) and females (mean = 8.97, sd = 2.51) on the Helping scale (t = 3.21, df = 77, ns). The differences found between males (mean = 2.96, sd = 2.86) and females (mean = 2.92, sd = 2.74) relating to their scores on the Teasing factor scale were also not significant (t = 0.08, df = 77, ns). However, the differences between males (mean = 2.26, sd = 2.11) and females (mean = 1.81, sd = 2.19) in their experiences of physical harm were significantly different (t = 0.90, df = 77, p < 0.05).

3.12. Additional Analyses

In order to analyse whether there was a significant interaction between the types of bullying experienced (physical harm or teasing), gender and ethnic group, two separate two-way (between subjects) analyses of variances were performed.

There was no main effect of either gender (F = 0.28, df = 1, ns) or of ethnic group (F = 1.43, df = 1, ns) upon participants' experiences of 'Teasing'. In addition, there was no significant interaction between gender and ethnic group (F = 0.87, df = 1, ns).

The two-way analysis of variance examining the relationship between physical harm, gender and ethnic group, revealed no main effect of either ethnic group (F = 2.49, df = 1, ns) or of gender (F= 1.36, df = 1, ns). Interactions between ethnic group and gender were also not significant (F = 0.23, df = 1, ns).

4. DISCUSSION

The aim of the research has been to investigate the relationship between ethnic identity and bullying. A brief summary of the main findings of the study will be presented and discussed in relation to the existing literature and the aims and hypotheses of the study. The limitations of the study will then be outlined followed by a summary of the implications for schools and education. Where appropriate, implications for clinical psychology will be discussed within the text as a whole, although a separate section outlining further issues and implications for clinical psychology as a profession will be discussed. Finally, the implications of the findings for society as a whole will be considered along with the requirement for future research.

4.1. Summary and Consideration of the Main Findings

Just under half of the participants reported being bullied. This figure is considerably higher than those in the bullying literature where the accepted ratio is one in five (Smith, 1991). However, surveys such as the one carried out by the charity Kidscape (1986) have suggested that as many as 68% of pupils have experienced bullying at school. This highlights the fact that differences in methodologies make comparisons across studies difficult and no generalizations of the prevalence of bullying can be conclusively drawn. The difficulties posed by methodological limitations are discussed in greater detail in the section below.

The present study found that ethnic majority pupils experienced more bullying than their ethnic minority peers. The hypothesis that there would be no differences found between ethnic minority and ethnic majority groups regarding their experiences of bullying was therefore not borne out. This finding is not consistent with other studies reported in the literature which, on the whole, find no overall differences between ethnic minority and majority groups (e.g. Moran *et al.*, 1993; Siann *et al.*, 1994). Although this finding may simply be a reflection of the nature of bullying within this school, the lower rates of bullying reported by ethnic minority pupils may be partly

explained by their perception that some acts of bullying are not viewed as bullying *per se*, but are seen to reflect the racist nature of society in general.

Nonetheless, the unexpected finding that at this particular school, ethnic majority pupils are experiencing more bullying overall than ethnic minority pupils merits further consideration. The ethnic composition of the school and its context within the community may be relevant issues. Within the school population, pupils from ethnic minority groups outnumber pupils from the ethnic majority. While this serves to make ethnicity a salient issue for ethnic minority groups, it could be suggested that within such an environment, ethnicity also becomes salient for pupils from a White European background. The school environment and ethos is also affected by the composition of the school. The school could be very easily identifiable as multicultural in its outlook. Most of the notice boards, classroom displays and murals covering the walls reflected an ethnic minority orientation. The school obviously was aware of multicultural issues and this was rightly reflected within the environment.

However, one might speculate, that although White European pupils form the majority group in the context of the wider community, within the environment of the school, their experiences might reflect and mirror those of a minority group. It could be hypothesized that White European pupils, within this context, do not have the strong cultural and traditional ties which to serve to strengthen group membership that are present for ethnic minority pupils. Therefore, at this particular school, ethnic majority pupils may categorize bullying at a more individual level. It may be that ethnic majority pupils report experiencing more bullying as they do not have a strong group identity which acts as a buffer and mediates against the effect of bullying.

The study confirms the hypothesis that pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds are more likely to experience bullying with a racial content than pupils from an ethnic majority group. This finding is consistent with the existing literature that specifically examines the racial aspects of bullying for ethnic groups (e.g. Kelly and Cohn, 1988).

No significant differences were found between the two ethnic groups in terms of their experiences of verbal and emotional forms of bullying. Again, this runs counter

to much of the racial bullying literature which states that name-calling and being teased on the basis of race is more common for children of ethnic minorities, Asian children in particular (e.g. Kelly and Cohn, 1988). The fact that no differences with regard to teasing were reported may however be consistent with Whitney and Smith's (1993) finding that being called names on the basis of race was less frequent than other forms of bullying. Again, there is a possibility that the ethnic mix of the school is a relevant factor when considering this result. There is a possibility that name-calling which occurs between or within ethnic minority groups may not be perceived as being racist. This speculation awaits confirmation from future studies.

The hypothesis that pupils with a weak ethnic identity will be more affected by racial bullying than those with a strong ethnic identity was not supported in the present study. Analysis showed that the effect of racial bullying was not significantly related to ethnic identity status. It is thought that shortcomings in the methods used to assess racial bullying and ethnic identity may have contributed to this result. This will be discussed further when considering other methodological limitations.

The study found that overall males experienced more bullying than females and that they experienced more bullying by physical means than females did. These findings are generally reported in the literature. However, some of the gender differences which are generally reported in the literature concerning the extent or type of bullying experienced are not replicated in the present study. This may partly be an artifact of the nature of the questionnaire used. It could be hypothesized that the 'Life in School' Checklist may not have been a sufficiently sensitive measure of the issues highlighted in the literature when considering gender differences and bullying. For example, the 'Life in School' Checklist may not be particularly sensitive to issues such as social isolation and deliberate exclusions from peer groups that have been indicated in the literature to be particularly pertinent for females and their experiences of bullying. This may go some way to account for the lack of gender differences noted in the forms of bullying experienced by pupils in the present study.

Another factor which may also have contributed to the lack of gender differences found concerns gender stereotypes and related peer pressure. It is possible that

adolescent males may have felt reluctant to admit that they had been affected by their experience of being bullied. This may be particularly relevant when considering the method of administration used, as the questionnaires were individually completed in a peer group environment. This may have been further exacerbated by the gender of the researcher who was female.

A significant relationship was found between both the frequency and duration of episodes of bullying and ethnic group membership. South Asian participants experienced less frequent bullying of a shorter duration whereas White European participants experienced bullying on a more regular basis for relatively longer durations. These findings are again contrary to existing literature which reports no differences between the frequency of bullying that Asian and White children experience (e.g. Moran *et al.*, 1993) Comparable statistics for the duration of bullying episodes is not available in the literature.

Members of the White European group were more likely to indicate that bullying had had 'some bad effect' on their lives. When considered in conjunction with the findings that this group are also more likely to experience bullying of longer duration and higher frequency, perhaps it is not surprising that they also report more detrimental effects of what appears to be the more pervasive forms of bullying.

The areas under investigation in this research project are obviously of a highly sensitive nature. It may be that pupils of all ethnic groups were reluctant to share difficult experiences with a stranger to the school, despite the nature of anonymous, individual questionnaires. It should also be borne in mind that the ethnicity of the researcher may have had some impact on the results of this study. The researcher was White European and it could be hypothesized that the South Asian pupils were hesitant to share their experiences of racial bullying with someone who was not of their ethnic group. These two considerations, could conceivably have produced an under-reporting of both the pattern and nature of bullying problems at this particular school.

In summary, the results of the present study are diverse. Overall, the reported levels of bullying are quite high, although significantly, a number of trends reported in the literature have not been replicated. Generally, the hypotheses under investigation have not been accepted and it is difficult to draw firm conclusions from the data.

4.2. Methodological Limitations

The assessment of bullying problems and ethnic identity are sensitive and important issues. The empirical studies described in the literature have employed a number of different techniques to measure bullying including teacher ratings, peer nominations, individual interviews, asking pupils to complete booklets incorporating questions about bullying and asking them to fill out anonymous questionnaires. Research on ethnic identity development has faced methodological issues concerning whether to conceptualize the process as one of distinct stages, or as a continuous process. Measurement issues have also focused on the use of interviews versus questionnaires to assess ethnic identity. Interviews allow in-depth exploration of identity themes, but are time consuming, whereas questionnaires can be used easily with large samples and give quantitative data that permit a range of statistical analysis. Ethnic identity has been assessed in the past using both interviews (Phinney, 1989) and questionnaires (Phinney and Alipura, 1990).

Ahmad and Smith (1990) concluded that for those students willing to talk individually, interviews can give a rich insight into bullying problems. However, it has also been suggested by Smith (1991) and concluded by Siann et al. (1990), that pupils generally have some difficulty talking openly about bullying in interview situations. In a review, Smith (1991) concluded that the best method for obtaining information about the incidence of bullying appeared to be the use of an anonymous questionnaire. Ahmad and Smith (1990) also argue that the self-report questionnaire is more valid than individual interviews or teacher and peer nomination methods.

However, even when similar questionnaires are used, incidence rates of bullying problems vary considerably across the UK. There are a number of possible methodological factors which account for this. It may be that while some pupils have

experienced serious and prolonged victimization, others who respond that they have experienced bullying, may be referring only to isolated incidents with less accompanying trauma. Another possibility is that pupils who possibly fall into the second category may have been the 'victims' of other pupils who did not intentionally set out to bully.

Another methodological difficulty lies in the nature of the questionnaires used in different studies. A questionnaire could alert pupils to issues which they have previously not regarded as bullying. For example, some questionnaires provide a definition of bullying at the start, others provide respondents with a list of activities and require them to rate whether or not the activities could be regarded as bullying. In this manner, pupils may reinterpret their past experiences (which may have been perceived by the individual as 'mucking around' or a 'normal' part of school life), as bullying, and hence inflate incidence rates. The definition of what is meant by bullying is therefore of paramount importance. As Smith (1991) suggested, if behaviour such as social exclusion is not covered by the term, it is likely that there will be underreporting of bullying by girls.

The present study attempted to address a number of these methodological issues. The obvious strengths of the questionnaire type methodology used are that it overcomes the difficulties inherent in an interview situation and that it also offers anonymity. The use of the 'Life in School' Checklist was a deliberate attempt to overcome some of the difficulties inherent in the provision of definitions of bullying. However, the use of questionnaires is fraught with other methodological difficulties. How and why individuals report on their present and past experience of bullying can be affected by a number of contextual variables. These include: how the information is gathered, which questions precede those referring to bullying, and the amount of attention given to the issue of bullying within school. Questionnaires also have implications for those children who have special educational needs and may have difficulty in completing the questionnaire, or who may refuse to participate in the study due to the nature of response required.

The fact that the usual class or form teacher was present during all of the occasions where the questionnaires were administered may have produced an inhibiting effect on some of the pupils. It was apparent during administration that some teachers became involved in the administration of the questionnaire, responding to questions, reiterating instructions or helping with reading. The decision for teachers to be present during the administration was made following discussion with the headteacher. It was acknowledged that while there may be some loss of data as a result of teachers being present, the presence of the class teacher was deemed necessary to ensure discipline remained during the administration procedure. The headteacher also felt that observation of the researcher would enable a greater understanding of the study for his staff members.

The fact that no relationship was found between the effect of racial bullying and ethnic identity status could be a result of the methods used to assess racial bullying and ethnic identity. The definition of what constituted racial bullying was the researcher's and not the participants'. That is, pupils were not directly asked whether or not they have experienced racial bullying at school. This decision was made following discussions with the headteacher, who felt the subject was one which was too sensitive to be directly asked, and partly because of the difficulties noted in the literature of alerting pupils to an issue. The danger being that they will reinterpret past events that they may not have regarded as racial bullying and therefore distort the results. Therefore, the decision was made to assess racial bullying by asking pupils to indicate the forms of bullying they might have experienced. Items used to assess racial bullying included asking about whether the bullying was about "the colour of your skin", "the customs of your culture' e.t.c. Positive responses to such statements were deemed to indicate that the participant has suffered from bullying with a racial component and were hence judged to have been racially bullied. It is noted however, that this is quite a clumsy method of assessing racial bullying and does not reflect whether the individuals considered themselves to have been racially bullied.

While it is understood that all groups have their own unique traditions and values Phinney (1992) argues that some general aspects of ethnic identity are common to all

human beings. Therefore, the MEIM is used to explore ethnic identity as a general phenomenon that is relevant to all groups. One aspect of ethnic identity that Phinney suggests is common for all groups is ethnic behaviors and practices. However, although this is assessed using the MEIM, only two items of the questionnaire contribute to this component of ethnic identity. It could be argued therefore that the MEIM does not give sufficient weight in the analysis to this component. In addition to this, a widely used indicator of ethnic identity is language usage, which was not included in the general measure of this study. Language usage has a different salience for different groups and its exclusion may represent the loss of an important component of ethnic identity. These two factors may have contributed to the inconclusive nature of the findings with respect to ethnic identity and racial bullying.

Further considerations of the nature of the questionnaire used to assess ethnic identity are also warranted when attempting to understand further the finding that there was no relationship found in this study between ethnic identity and the effect of racial bullying. The content of the questionnaire, while obviously relevant for minority groups may not be particularly relevant for the majority group. It could be suggested that the items contained within the questionnaire held no particular importance for the majority group or did not reflect issues that were salient for them. In addition to this, it could be argued that categorizing people into 'high' or 'low' or 'weak' or 'strong' levels of ethnic identity is simplistic and does not accurately reflect the process of ethnic identity development or an individual's position within it.

The fact that the present study did not attempt to explore the ethnicity of the bullies may also be a relevant limitation to take into account. As it is not possible to state who carried out the bullying, the effects of within group bullying and between group bullying may have been lost. As mentioned earlier, there is a possibility that name-calling within an ethnic group is not considered by members of the group to be racial bullying by members of the group in question. However, name-calling between groups may take on a racial meaning.

The use of questionnaires in this study may have served to obscure many of the subtleties of the social interactions under consideration. It could be argued that the

questionnaire method of investigating these issues should be supplemented with other techniques such as observational methods, individual interviews and small group interviews. Within any school there are bound to be many practices, attitudes and values that serve to interact with variables such as ethnic identity, gender and bullying which this study may not have directly accessed.

4.3. Implications for Education

4.3.1. Multicultural Education

While the findings of high levels of bullying are discomfiting, the finding that ethnic majority pupils experienced higher levels of bullying than their ethnic minority peers suggest that the efforts of the school to foster a multi-cultural environment have had some success. Nonetheless, some Asian children are still experiencing racist name-calling and racial bullying. Certainly one focus of anti-bullying work in schools should be to tackle this issue directly and explicitly as an unacceptable form of behaviour, just as other forms of bullying and harassment are. Multicultural education that promotes understanding and appreciation of ethnic diversity and positive ethnic relations is essential if prejudice and racism is to be reduced.

With the awareness that nationality, religious and racial identity provide a sense of distinctiveness for minority group adolescents (Hutnik, 1985), the aim of multi-ethnic practice should be to encourage majority group adolescents to accept and explore minority group cultures, and to encourage minority group adolescents to become competent in the ways of the dominant culture. In education, this would mean opportunities should be available for ethnic minority pupils to learn their ethnic language as part of the school curriculum. White adolescents could be encouraged to take up Hindi, Punjabi or Urdu as a second language. Multicultural education should not be limited to language, wider issues encompassing all aspects of different communities should be encouraged within schools, if integration is to take place.

It is unclear how widespread multicultural education programmes are in schools or the extent to which their effectiveness has been evaluated (Phinney and Rotheram,

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1987). Clinical Psychology has a role to play, perhaps in conjunction with educational psychologists or staff teams, in devising programmes which are at a suitable developmental level for the pupils concerned and which address the needs of both the ethnic minority and ethnic majority children. Clinical Psychology would also be well placed, if not to carry out a suitable evaluation study, then to advise the school on how best an evaluation programme could be carried out.

4.3.2. The School Ethos

The importance of the school ethos cannot be underestimated. A school's ability to carry out its educational responsibilities and to provide an environment free of discrimination and fear depends on the values, principles and on the general culture it affords. The responsibility for providing such an environment is shared by all members of a school. It is important therefore that all members are able to contribute to the development of policies and procedures that ensure a safe environment. Mortimore (1995; cited in Young Minds, 1996) identified a number of characteristics that effective schools were found to have in common. These included emphasizing and raising pupils self-esteem; providing positive feedback to pupils; and maintaining fair and clear discipline structures. In addition, effective schools are found to work closely with the local community and encourage parental involvement.

In schools where these values are adopted racism, prejudice, bullying and other forms of violence or abuse are not tolerated, and importantly are seen not to be tolerated by pupils, parents and teachers alike. Well-established pastoral care and tutorial systems are necessary to ensure that children who have concerns can be encouraged to share them and learn to deal and cope with them.

4.3.3. School-Based Interventions

The first programme to be systematically evaluated followed from the Nationwide Anti-Bullying Campaign in Norway (Olweus, 1994). Evaluations suggest that the interventions used in the campaign (surveys, information to teachers and parents, a video for class discussion) reduced bullying by 50% (Olweus, 1994). An in-depth

description of Olweus's intervention programme is outside the scope of this paper, but a comprehensive summary can be found in "Bullying at School: What we know and what we can do" (Olweus, 1993).

Intervention studies are also under way in the UK, with an anti-bullying programme being evaluated as part of the DES Sheffield Bullying Project. The interventions used in the project were based on ideas and approaches that have been developed in the UK and reflected the recommendations of the Elton Report (1989). Presently the work is limited to only one LEA, but the results are available on a national basis (Sharp and Smith, 1993). In the interim, reports containing practical action have been compiled by Elliott (1991) and Smith and Thompson (1991) and a resource bibliography by Skinner (1992) is also available.

The whole-school approach aims to counter the view that bullying and discrimination are inevitable parts of school life. Bullying becomes an open subject within school that is discussed by all members of the school body thus enabling more people to become involved in the identification of bullying problems. Agreed procedures enable staff to follow a framework when enquiring about bullying and creates a supportive environment for pupils. Sharp and Smith (1991) discuss a range of optional interventions which may be included into the basic intervention package. One such intervention involves raising problematic issues such as bullying and racism and prejudice within the national curriculum. Approaches which encourage pupils to develop their own solutions to bullying go some way to overcoming findings that suggest half of pupils who have been bullied do not tell anyone of their experiences. Quality Circles and Bully Courts are two approaches which are currently under evaluation.

The results of this study suggest that some children from ethnic minority backgrounds are experiencing racial bullying. Certainly one focus of anti-bullying work in schools would be to tackle this issue directly and explicitly as an unacceptable form of behaviour, just as other forms of bullying and harassment are. Whilst intervention and anti-bullying programmes are undoubtedly important, until we understand the nature of racial bullying, these issues cannot be adequately

addressed in intervention programmes at school. The current research has highlighted the fact that racial bullying is present in our schools. Further research is necessary to increase our knowledge of what issues are most pertinent for children from ethnic minority groups and how they are affected by racial bullying. Clinical psychology must play a role in designing and implementing efficient and viable intervention programmes for use in schools.

4.3.4. Teacher Training and Support

Although not directly assessed in this study, whether or not pupils feel able to tell teachers about bullying episodes is an important factor for consideration. Few pupils who experience bullying report it to teachers and when they do, they often feel that the responses by teachers are neither positive nor effective (e.g. Kelly, 1988; Smith, 1991; Whitney and Smith, 1993). This suggests that communication between teachers and pupils is not particularly helpful when incidents of bullying are under consideration. Kelly (1988) also found that a proportion of pupils believed that their teachers were racist and therefore were reluctant to talk to them about incidents of bullying, racial or otherwise.

Teachers' responses to pupils' disclosures of having experienced bullying at school is therefore vital, not only in maintaining effective communication and trust between the staff group and pupil body, but also as an indicator of the school ethos. It is important that teachers consider the extent to which their interactions with others may sometimes, albeit unintentionally, cause distress to others who may be feeling particularly vulnerable at that time.

In a review, Phinney and Rotheram (1987) highlighted the fact that many teachers lack an awareness of the impact ethnicity has in the classroom and are unwilling to acknowledge that racism is present in schools. It is therefore reasonable to require teachers to be able to interpret any racial components of bullying that exist. Teachers therefore need training to be able to deal with and understand the issues surrounding ethnicity and racism. Phinney and Rotheram (1987) cited three areas that should be addressed in teacher training to achieve these aims. These include:

knowledge of cultural diversity; awareness of similarities between minority and majority groups; and the awareness of the impact of socio-economic and cultural effects on attitudes. It seems likely that if schools are to be successful working with all children, there is a need to increase teachers' awareness of ethnic differences and their own attitudes and expectations towards children from ethnic minority groups.

Teachers and other staff in schools are best placed to identify difficulties when they occur, and have an important role in finding ways to help. Teachers should be able to seek support from not only their own profession but, where necessary, from outside agencies such as Clinical Psychology. Clinical Psychology as a profession needs to be able to work alongside teachers, both in an advisory and supportive role. Therefore, good links with local schools and a thorough understanding and awareness of referral procedures should be promoted at all educational levels.

4.4. Implications for Clinical Psychology

In conjunction with school-based intervention programmes, Bowers *et al.* (1992) suggest that family factors may play a part in maintaining the problem at school. Clinical Psychology therefore has an important role to play in targeting those children and families which may be helped by a family-based intervention. Bowers *et al.* have developed a Family Systems Test, which they argue can be used as a screening device to identify children that might benefit from a family-based intervention. More work of an individual or family nature is needed for bullying problems at school to be addressed in a holistic manner. Clinical Psychologists are in an ideal position to implement and evaluate such approaches. Moreover, Clinical Psychologists are in a position to carry out research which may aid our understanding of how familial factors contribute and maintain bullying problems within school. Findings such as those concerning discipline and parenting factors at home, which have been related to children being more or less likely to be bullied or to bully other children, could also be used by Clinical Psychologists when considering family or group-based interventions. These could deal not only with the issues directly concerned with bullying, but also group work involving parenting and discipline issues and the wider issues of racism and racial prejudices and attitudes.

Limitations of school-based intervention programmes are that they aim to reduce as much as possible the frequency of bullying incidents in the school setting, without paying too much attention to the individuals who engage in these behaviours. A role of Clinical Psychology could therefore be in the development and evaluation of programmes designed to work with individuals alongside more wider school-based intervention programmes. School-based intervention programmes could be adapted to identify those children who are in greatest need of help and so enable more intensive individual intervention efforts to be directed toward them. Research on school-based intervention programmes has highlighted the necessity for parents, peers and teachers to all be involved in such programmes (Gagnon, 1991).

When working with a family unit, an understanding of the family's cultural context is essential for a positive outcome. Hence, it is important that training schemes for all professionals, including Clinical Psychology, address issues surrounding race and culture. It can be argued whether an individual is able to fully understand the experiences of an individual from another ethnic group. Therefore, to be able to meet the needs of all groups and to deal sensitively with concerns and difficulties of people from ethnic groups different from one's own, it is necessary to train and recruit more members of ethnic minority groups in the teaching and helping professions. Given that there is an under-representation of ethnic minorities in these professions, there is a need for ethnic majority professionals to be better trained to work with ethnic minority group members.

A further approach for Clinical Psychology involves working individually with both pupils who are bullies and those who have been bullied. Arora (1991) has advocated the use of victim support groups. In these groups, assertiveness training and support for victims is used to provide a means by which they can learn and practice skills and techniques to enable them to cope with, and avoid bullying situations. There is a role for Clinical Psychology working with staff groups and educational psychologists to develop training sessions for teachers to facilitate their understanding of group work and to develop with them the necessary skills and techniques which will be used in the group.

An approach used by Pikas (1989, cited in Sharp and Smith, 1991) 'The method of common concern' has been used to challenge bullies' behaviour. It is limited in that it is only appropriate for use when the bullying situation involves a group of pupils victimizing one individual pupil. The approach uses structured individual and group discussions with all of the pupils involved (including the victim) to arrive at an agreement on how both bullies and victims can 'live' together in the same school. Much of this work has been used with groups of boys. It would appear that there is a need for similar strategies to be developed for use with girls or groups of mixed sexes. It would also be helpful for an approach to be developed specifically where the bullying situation concerns not a group of aggressors, but is limited to perhaps an individual bully.

4.5. Wider Implications

The model proposed by Hutnik (1991) suggests that ethnic salience may enhance further integration. She argues that when ethnicity is salient and has a positive value for the individual, inherent racial differences are not suppressed. Therefore individuals are able to develop methods of coping with the societal consequences of these differences, such as prejudice and discrimination. If ethnicity is not salient or if the psychologically salient self-categorization is 'British only' (assimilative strategy), then this denial of difference may not be met with similar categorizations from members of the majority group. That is, the individual may categorize himself as British, but in the eyes of others may be perceived and therefore treated as Indian. Hutnik (1991) therefore speculates that it would be beneficial for the psychological well-being of the ethnic minority individual to be aware of his ethnic origins in order that they may acquire adequate psychological strategies to cope with prejudice and discrimination.

Acculturation (as opposed to assimilation) merits consideration as being a goal to be reached in striving for integration of ethnic minorities within the larger society. Hutnik argues that acculturation is a frequently chosen solution for cultural adaptation. From the point of view of social policy, acculturation would require the ethnic minority individual to be competent only in the cultural norms of the majority

to be able to function within British society. This would also give the ethnic group the opportunity to explore, maintain or reject its ethnicity.

4.6. Future Research

The study of ethnicity is a sensitive issue that has a history of discrimination and prejudice in political, social and economic domains. Although awareness of ethnic perspectives is increasing, majority values continue to dominate the research. For ethnic groups to be understood in their own terms, there is a need for more ethnic minority researchers. It is also essential that ethnic majority researchers increase their understanding of other ethnic groups and their awareness of the assumptions they bring to research from their own backgrounds.

Methods used in previous research studies to investigate bullying in ethnic minorities have regularly used a white control group. However, the use of a white control group may go some way to explain the inconsistent effects of ethnicity. It may be that by using a white control group, experiences for ethnic minority students are judged within the framework of how a white student experiences bullying. There is a need therefore for future research studies to concentrate solely on the experiences of ethnic minority children. In this way, issues may be identified which are primarily pertinent for ethnic minority students. Previous research, including the present study, by focusing on both the majority and minority groups, may have failed to identify questions and issues that are relevant for ethnic minority children in particular. The use of a more exploratory qualitative analysis in future research may allow a number of these issues to be addressed in greater detail.

A further problem inherent in research on ethnic identity is that of controlling for differences in socio-economic status (SES). Many studies have found correlations between ethnic minority status and SES and therefore may have confounded these variables. An important issue for research in this area is to untangle the confounding effects of class and ethnicity.

If ethnicity becomes increasingly salient in differing environmental contexts, future studies should explore contextual factors that influence intergroup attitudes and behaviours, such as the structure of the classroom, power relationships between groups and attitudes of the staff at school. The wider context of the neighbourhood and the catchment area for schools should also be taken into account when considering exploring the nature of bullying and racial bullying. For example, the changing ethnic balance of a neighborhood may effect the degree to which ethnic identity becomes a salient issue (Rotheram and Phinney, 1987).

4.7. Conclusion

The growing awareness of bullying problems in schools has triggered a number of research studies in the literature. However, most studies have focused on the experience of the majority group. There have been a number of methodological difficulties in the existing literature that make it difficult to generalize findings or make firm conclusions. This is particularly true with regard to efforts to counteract and intervene systematically against racial bullying. The phenomenon of bullying is of considerable interest to many developmental, educational and child psychology researchers, and has many important practical and societal implications. In the future there is a need to research a number of issues in the area of bullying problems which will have to be dealt with in more methodological diversity and under more varied cultural conditions.

In conclusion, research focusing on ethnic identity can expand the range of theories available to explain behaviours such as bullying and racial bullying. There is a need for future studies to explore the processes of development within particular ethnic groups and the way in which ethnicity influences children's behaviours generally. Only then can we provide guidelines and policies to structure environments which will provide children with the opportunity to learn in an atmosphere free from fear, prejudice and discrimination.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

The 'Life in School' Checklist (Arora, 1994)
Adapted by Finch (1997)

I am a boy ☐   I am a girl ☐   Age ☐   Class ☐

We would like to know what happens to people in school. These statements are various things that might have happened to you during the last week. Please tick the box that best matches the statement.

During this week another pupil:	No	Once	More Than Once
1) Helped me with my work			
2) Called me names			
3) Said something nice to me			
4) Teased me about my family			
5) Tried to kick me			
6) Was very nice to me			
7) Teased me because I am different			
8) Gave me something			
9) Threatened to hurt me			
10) Demanded money from me			
11) Tried to frighten me			
12) Lent me something			
13) Talked about clothe with me			
14) Told me a joke			
15) Ganged up on me			
16) Smiled at me			
17) Helped me			
18) Tried to hurt me			
19) Talked about TV with me			
20) Shared something with me			
21) Was rude about the colour of my skin			
22) Shouted at me			
23) Played with me			
24) Talked about hobbies with me			
25) Laughed at me			
26) Tried to break something of mine			
27) Tried to hit me			
28) Chatted with me			

Appendix 2.

Additional Bullying Questions

When answering the following questions, try to think about all of your time in this school.

Please tick the box which best answers the question:

A) Have you ever been bullied at school?   Yes ☐   No ☐

B) If you were bullied, were you bullied: Once   ☐
                                            Several times   ☐
                                            Almost every day   ☐
                                            Several times a day   ☐

C) How long did the bullying last in general: At least one week   ☐
                                               Between two and four weeks ☐
                                               One term   ☐
                                               Longer than one term   ☐

D) Did the bullying have: No effect   ☐
                                             Some bad effect   ☐
                                             A really bad effect   ☐

What effect did it have?

....

....

E) Was the bullying about: The way you look   ☐
(you may tick more than one)   The colour of your skin   ☐
                                    The clothes that you wear   ☐
                                    Your religion   ☐
                                    The food that you eat   ☐
                                    Your family   ☐
                                    The customs of your culture ☐
                                    Your race or ethnic group   ☐
                                    Other   ☐
                                            (please state):

                                    ....

                                    ....

F) Have you ever seen a pupil bullying another pupil?   Yes ☐ No ☐

G) If Yes, was the bullying: Physical (hitting, kicking etc)   ☐
(you may tick more than one)   Verbal (calling names etc)   ☐
                                    Emotional (teasing, laughing etc) ☐

90

Appendix 3.

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992)
Adapted for use in the UK by Finch (1997)

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or *ethnic groups* that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Indian, Afro-Caribbean, Pakistani, Chinese, White European, Bangladeshi, and Irish. Every person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two groups, but people differ on how important their *ethnicity* is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behaviour is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in:
In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be: --

Please tick the box which best agrees with your answer:

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1) I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.				
2) I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own group.				
3) I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.				
4) I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.				
5) I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.				
6) I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.				
7) I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.				
8) I am not very clear about the role of my ethnic group in my life.				
9) I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.				
10) I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.				
11) I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.				
12) I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups.				

Appendix 3.

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992)
Adapted for use in the UK by Finch (1997)

Please tick the box which best agrees with your answer:

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13) In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.				
14) I have lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.				
15) I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.				
16) I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music or customs.				
17) I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.				
18) I feel a strong sense of attachment towards my own ethnic group.				
19) I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.				
20) I feel good about my culture or ethnic background.				

For questions 21-23 write in the number below that gives the best answer:

(1) Pakistani
(2) Afro-Caribbean
(3) White European
(4) Indian
(5) Irish

(6) Chinese
(7) Bangladeshi
(8) Mixed; parents are from two different groups
(9) Other (write in) _____

21) My ethnic group is ⬜

22) My father's ethnic group is ⬜

23) My mother's ethnic group is ⬜

Appendix 4.

Readability of the 'Life in School' Checklist

Elley (1969) graded 2,000 words according to their frequency of usage and devised a readability formula in which all nouns are 'counted'. The frequency values (in Bentley, 1985) are summed for all nouns and then divided for the total number of nouns counted. This gives a mean noun frequency rating. This rating is then converted to approximate age ranges.

Hence, Elley's (1969) noun formula is:

Mean Noun Frequency Rating = <u>Sum of frequency levels of nouns</u>
Number of nouns

The list below shows the nouns identified in the 'Life in School' Checklist with their associated frequency value. Calculations for the mean noun frequency ratings are give below.

boy (1)	work (1)	questions (5)
girl (1)	names (1)	time (1)
age (3)	something (1)	answers (2)
class (2)	family (2)	day (1)
people (1)	money (2)	week (1)
school (1)	clothes (2)	term (6)
statements(7)	joke (6)	effect (8)
things (1)	television (3)	religion (7)
week (1)	colour (2)	food (2)
box (2)	skin (3)	customs (8)
pupil (5)	hobbies (5)	culture (9)
race (3)	group (3)	

Mean Noun Frequency Rating   =   <u>Sum of frequency levels</u>
No. of Nouns

= <u>109</u>
35

= 3.11

Approximate reading age range   = Up to 8.5 years

Appendix 5.

Factor Structure of the 'Life in School' Checklist

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8
	16.7%*	14.4%*	6.9%*	5.1%*	4.3%*	4.2%*	3.9%*	3.8%*
	4.69 +	4.03 +	1.94 +	1.44 +	1.19 +	1.17 +	1.10 +	1.07 +
Question 1	0.58					0.34		
Question 2		0.64						
Question 3						0.76		
Question 4		0.78						
Question 5		0.59	0.37					
Question 6						0.74		
Question 7		0.75						
Question 8							0.74	
Question 9			0.67	0.45				
Question 10				0.36	-0.32		0.40	
Question 11			0.49	0.33	-0.35			
Question 12	0.50							
Question 13					0.31			0.41
Question 14					0.57			
Question 15			0.81					
Question 16	0.76							
Question 17	0.71							
Question 18			0.76					
Question 19					0.67			
Question 20	0.57							
Question 21								0.75
Question 22			0.32				0.31	-0.39
Question 23					0.63			
Question 24					0.36			0.52
Question 25		0.53						
Question 26				0.73				
Question 27			0.42	0.65				
Question 28	0.58				0.32			

note: only loadings > 0.30 are displayed
* = proportion of the Variance accounted for
+ = Eigenvalue

Appendix 6.

Dale-Chall (1948) Readability Formula for the MEIM

The Dale-Chall formula uses a word list as a basis for predicting vocabulary difficulty. The Dale list of 3,000 words was originally derived from research in America. However, the list has been extensively used in British research (Harrison, 1980).

The Dale-Chall formula score is converted into 'corrected age levels' for UK schools. The formula is as follows:

$$\text{US grade} = (0.1579 \times \text{PERCENT UFMWDS})$$
$$+ (0.0496 \times \text{WDS/SEN})$$
$$+ 3.6365$$

$$\text{UK reading level} = \text{US grade} + 5$$

where   UFMWD   =   unfamiliar words
and   WDS / SEN   =   average number of words per sentence

The calculations for the introductory paragraph of the MEIM are shown below:

$$\text{US grade} = (0.1579 \times 11)$$
$$+ (0.0496 \times 25.757)$$
$$+ 3.6365$$
$$= 6.6$$

$$\text{UK reading level} = 6.6 + 5 = 11.6$$

$$\text{Corrected age level} = 12 \text{ to } 13 \text{ years}$$

NB. The average number of words per sentence is calculated as follows:

$$\text{WDS/SEN} = 100 \div \text{total number of sentences}$$
$$= 100 \div 3^{15}/_{17}$$
$$= 25.75$$

Appendix 7.

Dale-Chall (1948) Readability Formula for the MEIM
List of Familiar and Unfamiliar Words

Unfamiliar Words (N = 11):

cultures
ethnic
examples
ethnic
ethnic
differ
ethnic
behaviour
affected
ethnic
react

Familiar Words (N = 89):

in	names	group
this	of	is
country	groups	to
people	are	them
come	Indian	how
from	Afro-Caribbean	they
a	Pakistani	feel
lot	Chinese	about
of	white	it
different	European	and
and	Bangladeshi	how
there	and	much
are	Irish	their
many	every	is
different	person	by
words	is	it
to	born	these
describe	into	questions
the	an	are
different	group	about
backgrounds	or	your
or	sometimes	group
groups	two	and
that	groups	how
people	but	you
come	people	feel
from	on	about
some	how	it
of	important	or
the	their	

Appendix 8.

Elley's (1969) Noun Count for the MEIM

The list below shows the nouns identified in the MEIM with their associated frequency value. Calculations for the mean noun frequency ratings are give below.

country (2)	behaviour (7)	order (3)
people (1)	questions (5)	lot (1)
cultures (9)	terms (6)	pride (9)
words (3)	box (2)	accomplishments (9)
backgrounds (9)	answer (2)	friends (1)
groups (3)	time (1)	practices (4)
examples (7)	history (5)	food (2)
names (1)	traditions (9)	music (2)
Indian (4)	customs (8)	mother (1)
Afro-Caribbean (9)	organizations (8)	father (1)
Pakistani (9)	members (6)	other (1)
Chinese (9)	sense (7)	parents (3)
European (9)	meeting (4)	number (3)
Bangladeshi (9)	life (2)	good (1)
Irish (9)	membership (9)	attachment (9)
person (4)	role (9)	activities (8)

Elley's (1969) noun formula is:

Mean Noun Frequency Rating = $\underline{\text{Sum of frequency levels of nouns}}$
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ Number of nouns

$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad = \dfrac{245}{48}$

$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad = 5.10$

Approximate reading age range = 10 to 12 years

Appendix 9.

Phinney's (1992) Factor Structure:
Ethnic Identity and Other-Group Orientation

	High School Sample		College Sample	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Ethnic Identity				
Question 1	0.718	-0.185	0.623	-0.037
2	0.438	-0.193	0.483	-0.175
3	0.603	0.041	0.743	-0.067
5	0.296	-0.079	0.549	0.052
6	0.422	0.076	0.706	-0.071
8	0.288	0.023	0.361	-0.062
10	0.410	-0.177	0.543	-0.086
11	0.477	-0.105	0.760	-0.130
12	0.586	0.095	0.735	-0.107
13	0.513	-0.046	0.679	-0.007
14	0.513	-0.046	0.662	-0.025
16	0.534	-0.101	0.604	0.038
18	0.658	-0.127	0.827	0.033
20	0.610	0.015	0.723	0.011
Other-Group Orientation				
Question 4	0.325	0.504	0.181	0.663
7	-0.029	0.438	0.038	0.649
9	-0.003	0.528	-0.116	0.519
15	0.075	0.569	0.279	0.548
17	0.208	0.475	-0.008	0.394
19	0.203	0.618	0.200	0.774

Appendix 10.

Factor Structure for the MEIM

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
	27.7%*	11.1%*	6.8%*	5.8%*
	5.54 +	2.22 +	1.36 +	1.17 +
Question 1		0.67		
Question 2		0.59		
Question 3	0.71			
Question 4			0.53	
Question 5		0.47		-0.32
Question 6		0.37		
Question 7			0.51	0.34
Question 8	0.36			0.75
Question 9			0.69	
Question 10		0.67		
Question 11	0.69			
Question 12	0.65			
Question 13		0.55		
Question 14	0.74			
Question 15		0.36		0.61
Question 16	0.59			
Question 17			0.67	
Question 18	0.76			
Question 19			0.68	
Question 20	0.66			

note: only loadings > 0.30 are displayed
* = proportion of the Variance accounted for
+ = Eigenvalue

Appendix 11.

Parental Consent Letter

17th February, 1997

Dear Parent,

I am studying for my Masters degree in clinical psychology at the University of Leicester. As part of this, I am interested in investigating the experience pupils may have of bullying while at school.

The Headteacher of The City of Leicester School, Dr. Griffiths, has given his permission for pupils at the school to participate in the study if their parents consent to their involvement. Each pupil taking part will be asked to complete two anonymous questionnaires during their time in class. One questionnaire examines their experience, if any, of bullying at school. The other will explore their ethnicity, looking at cultural traditions, attitudes and behaviours.

It is hoped that practical implications can be drawn from the study that will contribute to anti-bullying programmes in schools.

If you would **not wish** your son or daughter to take part in this study. I would be very grateful if you would return the slip below to school by Friday 21st February.

Thank you for your co-operation in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Lisa Finch
Trainee Clinical Psychologist

Name of child: _____   Class: _____

I **DO NOT** wish my son / daughter to take part in the above study.

Signed: _____
         Parent / Guardian

Appendix 12.

Verbatim Transcript of Classroom Introduction

"As you have already been informed by your Headteacher, Dr. Griffiths, today you are going to be a part of a study which is concerned with looking at some of your experiences at school and also your ethnic backgrounds and cultures.

"Your parents have received a letter which told them all about the study and they gave their consent for you to take part. However, if at any stage during the study you no longer wish to take part, then you do not have to do so. It's up to you.

"There are no special reasons why you have been chosen to take part in the study. Your year group was picked at random and I will be asking everyone in the year to take part.

"This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. I am only interested in finding out about what has happened to you, and that will be different for all of you. So it is important to try and work on your own when you are answering the questions that I will show you in a minute.

"Before we start, I would like to reassure you that your reply's are completely anonymous, so please do not write your name on the form. Your answer's will be kept completely confidential. So that whatever you write on the form will only be seen by me and will not be shown to any teachers or anyone else from the school.

"Does anybody have any questions?"