REPORT ON INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS,
SCHOOL BULLYING AND ADOLESCENT VIOLENCE

ARBAX GENERAL REPORT

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Compiled for the general report

Suvi Pihkala, University of Oulu, Women's and Gender Studies

Content

Country reports:
IRELAND
Erika Doyle and Mona O'Moore,
Anti Bullying Centre / Trinity College Dulblin, Ireland
FINLAND
 Suvi Pihkala, Vappu Sunnari, Marika Ihala,
University of Oulu, Women's and Gender Studies
ROMANIA
Radu Colt, Grup Scolar Victor Jinga
SPAIN
Ana Maria Perdiguero Lago, Maria Virginia Calviño Baltar, IES Ribeira do Louro;
Ana Mª Jorquera Ordóñez, Asesoramiento, Tecnología e Investigación S.L.

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Suvi Pihkala, University of Oulu, Women's and Gender Studies

Introduction

Intercultural diversity is not new in European educational scenarios. In mid-2006, the European Parliament adopted a resolution[1] on racist violence in Europe with the purpose of Combating Racism and Xenophobia including homophobic, anti-Semitic, Islamophobic and other types of violence motivated by phobia or hatred based on ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, religion or other irrational grounds. The Fundamental Rights Agency created in 2008, replacing the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, continues this work on combating racism, xenophobia and related intolerance.

ARBAX against racial bullying and xenophobia is a new innovative multilateral project funded by the European Lifelong Learning Comenius programme. The project began in January 2012 and will be completed in December 2013. The project is coordinated by *Xunta de Galicia*. Partners in the project are *AtinServices* (Spain), *The Anti-Bullying Centre - Trinity College* (Ireland), *University of Oulu - Women's and Gender Studies* (Finland), *Grup Scolar Victor Jinga* (Romania) and *S.C. Concept Consulting SRL* (Romania). With this consortium and expertise the project aims to contribute to preventing and combating bullying in schools, focusing on racial bullying. Multi-ethnic school environments, resulting mainly from migration and globalization, are experiencing new forms of violence directed towards pupils coming from different social, cultural and ethnic environments. ARBAX shows pupils how different identities and cultures can peacefully coexist together and how ethnic stereotypes and prejudices can contribute to bullying incidents. The project will design an ICT tool which comprises a 3D video game and a social network that can be accessed by pupils. Through these, an anti-bullying, anti-racism and anti-xenophobia campaign will be promoted.

The aim of this report is to provide a comparative analysis and overview of the ethnic profile of the participating countries in the ARBAX project. This means providing an overview on the population, questions of integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities, and on the general situation and culture of interculturality in the project consortium countries – namely Spain, Finland, Romania and Ireland. Furthermore, the ethnic profile and understanding of context provides a basis for closer look at the classroom context which is studied from the perspective of bullying in general and racist bullying and xenophobia in more particular. This will be approached through conceptualization of the phenomenon of bullying and school violence, data on its extent and forms in the consortium countries as well as frames and practices of violence prevention. A separate report on good practices will take this further and provide an outlook on models, campaigns and programs on bullying prevention and intervention.

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[1] Document P6_TA(2006)0273, Increase in racist and homophobic violence in Europe

These two reports together will:
- provide a documentary analysis on the situation of ethnic minorities and immigrant communities in each partner's region in terms of statistics, evolution, needs and challenges;
- offer and insight into previous results on bullying, racism and xenophobia within classroom contexts;
- and continue to search for useful conclusion to tackling harassment and inter-ethnic conflicts among the youth.

How the report was produced

This report is based on country reports drawn by participants from Spain, Romania, Ireland and Finland. Each country has provided an overview analysis on questions on immigration and ethnic minorities. Statistics have been sought from official national statistics, national research and official databases. In addition to questions of immigration and ethnic minorities the report includes also an overlook on research and data on school bullying and racism in each region. Each partner has studied research carried out in the field of bullying and racist bullying and provided an overlook for the purposes of this report.

Furthermore, each country also carried out qualitative research focusing particularly on the target group of ARBAX Project – that is, secondary school students. In each project region qualitative data was collected from the youths (secondary school and high school students) and from adults (professional, teachers and counsellors). The data was collected using focus groups or interviews with youth and separately with adults. The data collection differed from country to country and flexibility was given to adjust the data production into the country contexts.

- Romania: For this focus group topics there were 4 meetings held. For two of these the students have attended (high school pupils, between 15 and 17 years old and secondary school pupils, between 13 and 15 years old) and for the other two the participants have been teachers, counselors and psychologists, master-teachers (high school and middle school).
- Ireland: a focus group with 15 students, 6 boys and 9 girls. Nine of the students were from Irish backgrounds, 4 from central Africa and one each from Greece and Eastern European Backgrounds; a second focus group comprised 12 students, 5 boys and 7 girls. The majority were from Irish backgrounds with two each from East African and Eastern European backgrounds. For adults, in the first school interviews were undertaken with a teacher and chaplain separately due to their availability because of teaching commitments. In the second school a focus groups was convened before school commenced by the year coordinator, and this comprised five teachers.
- Spain: Two focus groups one with students who could be harassed due to their origin, race or nationality for being a part of minority groups and second with member students

of the national majority, from the racial or cultural point of view. Focus groups were realised in collaboration with Ideara S.L..

- Finland: in Finland the data was collected through focus group and interviews. Instead of one youth group five separate and partly sequential interviews with more individual approach were carried out, approximately four hours altogether. Two of the participants were native Finnish by background, 3 had immigrant background. Four of the interviewees were boys, one girl. One of the interviewees had a background of systematic bullying. Adult focus group interview with seven participants, additionally one separate informal interview was carried out with a youth worker, approximately two hours all together.

The aim of this research was to gain insight into the realities of bullying and school violence and racial bullying in particular from the youth as well as from the adults who work with the youth.

Looking into this topic is much needed in all the regions, but includes also challenges. Experiences of violence may not be easy to disclose and willingness to disclose this information depends on the context, situation and people involved. In the **Spanish** data the youth was divided into two groups – one of majority population and the other one with minority youth. This was aimed to avoid self-censorship in the group situation. Similarly the experience form **Finland** with more individual interviews echoed the same challenges of gaining access to the experiences. Even in more private situations it is important to remain sensitive as to the barriers of openness, possibility of learned discourses and limits that the interview situation produces.

Contexts

Finland, Romania, Spain and Ireland

The ARBAX consortium consists of four countries – Spain, Romania, Ireland and Finland - which provide their unique perspectives on issues of multiculturality and challenges related to it. The specificities of each country and/or region provide different cultural frameworks which will offer experienced knowledge in regard to multicultural understanding and cultural diversity and affording different cultural understandings (from Northern Europe, Anglo-Saxon, Mediterranean, Eastern-Europe countries). The countries include those with views as traditionally hosting countries and those countries that have only lately received more immigration.

Spain, Romania, Finland and Ireland are all facing increasing immigration and the mobility of people is introducing new cultures and nationalities into the everyday of the people in these regions. Each country – and each region – has its own history and background story on immigration, their historical ethnic minorities and own history of national identity and multiculturality as part of it. Nevertheless all regions also share similar challenges and possibilities regarding ever more diverse societies.

By the number of population **Spain** is the biggest of the consortium countries with a population of 47 190 493 in 2011. Spain is also from the ARBAX consortium the one with most immigration. The number of foreigners with registration certificate or residence card in force at the end of 2011 was 5.251.094. This represents a 1.08% increase over the previous quarter. Two of every five resident foreigners in Spain are of Romanian, Moroccan or Ecuadoran nationality. Seven countries out of the fifteen resident countries in Spain belong to the European Union (UK, Italy, Portugal, Germany, and France). Other countries outside Europe include Colombia, China, Bolivia, Argentina and Domican Republic. The areas of most immigration are Catalonia, Madrid, Andalusia and Communitat Valencia.

The total population of **Romania** is 19,042,936 inhabitants in 2011. Although more than 80% of the population declares Romanian origin, the country has hosted for centuries ethnic minorities, of which at present only 20 are officially recognized. The registration of ethnicity is based on the interviewee's own declaration, which affects the statistics as, for example the Roma population may not be willing to declare their ethnic affiliations and most of the times they declare themselves as "poor Romanians". Around 88,6% of population declare themselves Romanian. The high number of inhabitants belongs to such historical categories as: Olteni, Ardeleni, Moldoveni, Munteni. As ethnic groups, there are social representations, existing stereotypes towards these groups. The largest ethnic minority are the Hungarians with 1238 thousand people, representing 6,5% of the stable population of the country in 2011. Roma people represent 3,2% of total resident population, this is assigned relatively uniform throughout the country, with percentages ranging between 1,1% in Botosani county and 8,8% in Mures county. Roma are found in a relatively higher proportion of over 6,0% of the population in Calarasi county (8,1%), Salaj (6,9%) and Bihor (6,1%). They are guaranteed a series of rights through international agreements. Among other ethnic groups which recorded a number of people over 20 thousand are the Ukrainians (51.700 people), Germans (36.900), Turks (28.200), Russians - Lipovan (23.900) and Tatars (20.500 people). The Ukrainian in terms of turnover recorded 36,884 people which is a lot less than those who reported other ethnicities (96.040 persons) or those who did not want to declare their ethnicity (59.186 people). Germans are the third-largest group in terms of size based on the voluntary declaration of ethnicity. German is also the third foreign language in Romania, being taught to all faculties of languages in the country.

Compared with other EU countries like Spain, Romania is a country where the percentage of immigrants is relatively small. According to the data provided by the Romanian Immigration Office at January 1st 2012, in Romania there were 59.559 foreigners, of which 49.358 had temporary residence documents and 10.201 had permanent residence. Foreigners with temporary residence in the country were Romanian citizens belonged to families (21.326 persons), 12.295 people were studying, and 6.750 people wanted to work. Most foreign citizens staying in Romania are from Moldova (17.811 persons), Turkey (9.063 people) and China (7.041 people).

Finland is a country with a population of 5,4 million. Finland is often described to be a homogenous nation where immigration has started to grow only during the past few decades. The first peaks in immigration to Finland started in the 1990's when refugees particularly from Somalia first moved to Finland. The second growth spurge started with the expansion of the European Union which increased mobility from the new EU member states. By the end of 2010 the percentage of immigrants was 3,1% with immigration coming mainly from neighbouring countries like Estonia 29 080, Russia 28 426, Sweden 8 510, but also from Somalia 6 593, and China 5 559. Regional differences are, however, noticeable: in Oulu (Northern Osthrobothnia, sixth biggest city in Finland) the percentage of immigrants in the population is 2,2 (2009, in 2008 1,87) whereas in the capital of Finland, Helsinki, it was 7,2.[2] According to the most recent publications of the Statistics of Finland, 29 500 persons immigrated to Finland from foreign countries during 2011. The number is 3,100 higher than in the previous year and the highest since the independence of Finland[3]. If looking at people speaking foreign languages as their native tongue (other than Finnish or Swedish) in 2011 of the 5 401 267 population 4 863 351 (90%) speak Finnish, 291 219 (5,4) Swedish and 244 827 (4,5%) other foreign languages. By far the most often spoken languages are Russian and Estonian.

While the above profiles describe immigration and general population Finland also host other ethnic minorities which may also face discrimination, racist violence and harassment. These include the Sami people (8 700) and the Roma population (around 10 000 to 12 000, or 0.2% of the total population but only estimations are available as the Finnish law on the protection of personal data prohibits the registration of sensitive information indicating e.g. ethnic origin.).

The population of **Ireland** is estimated 4,5 million. The number of Irish residents who were born outside Ireland continues to increase and stood at 766,770 in 2011 an increase of 25 per cent on 2006, and accounting for 17 per cent of the population. The groups which showed the largest increase were those already well-established in Ireland. The fastest growing groups were Romanians (up 110%), Indians (up 91%), Polish (up 83%), Lithuanians (up 40%) and Latvians (up 43%). Immigration by foreign nationals in the year to April 2011 was 33,674. No one country of origin stands out, but rather the data shows immigrants came from a large selection of countries. The largest groups came from Poland, UK, France, Lithuania, Spain and the USA. A question on foreign languages was asked for the first time in census 2011. The results show that over half a million (514,068) Irish residents spoke a foreign language at home and that, unsurprisingly, Polish was by far the most common, followed by French, Lithuanian and German. In addition to immigration other ethnic minorities include the Irish Travellers (approximately 29 500) who also face discrimination and prejudices.

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[2] Keränen & Rontti 2010, 19.
[3] Statistics of Finland 2011.

Inter-ethnic relations in employment and education

The changes and evolution of Spain, Ireland, Finland and Romania towards ever more multi-ethnic societies meets challenges at various levels in regards to integration. Central questions in all the regions are related particularly to employment and education as routes to social inclusion. Employment and education are also reflecting how the society at large accepts and meets diversity. As **Irish** and **Finnish** country reports note, the economic recession has already had an effect in hardening the attitudes towards immigration. As noted by ECRI[4] "Welfare cuts, diminished job opportunities and a consequent rise in intolerance towards both immigrant groups and older historical minorities are worrying trends emerging from ECRI's country-by-country visits during 2011, the report reveals. Xenophobic rhetoric is now part of mainstream debate and extremists are increasingly using social media to channel their views, whilst discrimination against the Roma continues to worsen." These signals make the challenge of work towards non-violence even more acute.

Employment and education are without doubt one of the corner stones of integration and targets of activities at national and EU level. Challenges of **employment** are evident for immigrants and they are connected to getting employed, being employed to a job reflecting ones educational level and wages. Possibilities are marked by context specific understandings of the country of origins. For example in the **Irish** data on wage penalties immigrants from English-speaking countries suffer a small penalty whereas those from non-English speaking countries experience a wage gap of 32 per cent. Immigrants from the EU10 experience a penalty of 45 per cent. Equal situation can be seen in **Finland** where employment is rather easy for those moving in from Western European countries and from Estonia. The highest unemployment rate within immigrant populations were amongst people from Sudan, Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Myanmar with all over 50% unemployment rate[5]. In Spain immigrants were strongly affected by the problem of unemployment in the early days of the current economic crisis. From the total of newly unemployed persons from the year 2008 (1,280,300), 29 % of them (371,000) were foreign nationals; a much higher percentage than found among the general workforce. The figures for 2009 were 1,118,700 newly unemployed of which 276,900 were foreigners; this equates to 25% of the total which, while lower than the percentage in 2008, is still higher than the percentage of foreign nationals among the general workforce (at the end of 2009 this figure was 15.7%).On the other hand in **Romania** no major differences were reported in social, cultural, professional and educational integration compared with Romanian population and the biggest differences are related with the Roma community.

In addition to being employed and the frames of employment there are also tendencies of segregation in regards to the fields of work: according to the **Irish** country reports in terms of variation by nationality, EU15 nationals (excluding Ireland and the UK) are disproportionately

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[4] ECRI - Press Release – 03.05.2012
[5] Rapo 2011.

found in hotels and restaurants, and business and finance, compared to Irish nationals. There are also high proportions of EU10 (Accession State) nationals in manufacturing, construction and hotels/restaurants. Nationals from the rest of the world are found predominantly in hotels and restaurants and in the health sector[6].

The high presence of migrant children has substantial implications for European **education** systems. The fundamental questions are how to anticipate the segregation of school centres to improve the equality in the education, how to integrate the increasing diversity of mother languages and cultural perspectives and to develop intercultural skills; how to adapt teaching skills and build bridges with families and immigrant communities[7]. The challenges faced by immigrant children include access to school placement in classes, year groups and types of secondary school programmes[8]. Challenges in education are also related to the ways in which the different values with which children with various ethnic backgrounds identify with are recognized in the school systems, and how for example language and religious diversity is met. Some countries are only now facing the inclusion of diverse group of migrant children into an almost exclusively white majority nationality school population. School and society at large may hold stereotypical attitudes towards immigrants and ethnic minorities which challenge the school as a safe learning environment for those with ethnic background. The questions of xenophobia, racism and intolerance are looked at closer later on in this report.

Getting a foot on the educational system is a challenge for immigrants, particularly for those with challenges with language skills, but it affects other ethnic minorities as well. Interrupting basic education as well as discontinuing to further education is more usual among Roma pupils than among the majority population. This challenge is faced throughout Europe. Challenges in education lie in the cultural differences, teachers' limited knowledge of Roma culture and inadequate co-operation between the home and the school[9]. In **Ireland** in addition to the Roma community this relates also to the situation of Irish Travellers.

Needs and challenges

To meet the challenges of social cohesion, racism and discrimination both in education and society at large should be met systematically. At national level work is done efficiently through policies starting from principles laid down in the general frames of human rights to more specialized acts and policies of education and immigration. Drawing from the country reports several central issues can be raised as needs in order to meet the challenges of multi-ethnic societies.

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[6] CSO, 2008.

[7] Country report, Spain

[8] Darmody, Byrne & McGinnity, 2012

[9] Romanilasten perusopetuksen tukemisen kehittämissuunnitelma 2009.

- The integration of immigrants and other ethnic minorities needs to be supported
    - Structures and institutional responses to facilitate employment of immigrants (e.g. qualification systems; training and educational programmes; language skills; integration plans)
    - Clear, transparent and good quality procedures for refugees and asylum seekers with special attention to vulnerable groups such as unattended children
- Targeted activities are needed that tackle racism and racial violence, support the victims of racism and racial violence or discrimination in schools and in society at large.
    - Affecting the general attitude climate, which is much needed particularly now when we can see increase in racist attitudes induced by economic recession in Europe.
    - There is a need to collect and access more accurate data on racism and racial violence. This means also lowering the thresholds of reporting such crimes and victim support.
    - Racism and racial violence should be maintained as active interest and agenda by building sustainable structures and institutional stakeholders
    - Focus should be put on the discourses used at institutional levels as well as in everyday practices about racism in order to provide a room to disclose and tackle all cases and experiences of racial violence. This calls also for attention to structural racism and racism embedded into official institutions as well.
    - General guidelines and plans against racism in society and for schools should be encouraged. While bullying and violence may be visible on general terms, focused discussion on discrimination and racial violence is also needed.
- Educational institutions should be able to meet the challenges of diversity
    - Careful consideration of integration processes of ethnic minorities and equal access to education
    - Flexibility and customization to meet different needs from different cultural, ethnic, religious or language needs
    - Understanding interculturality as a possibility and accepting and attending conflicts accurately
    - Supporting interculturality and positive relationships between people with different backgrounds
    - involvement of parents and the surrounding community as well as NGO's and other stakeholders.

Framework for inter-ethnic dialogue, equality and non-violence in schools and society

The basis for positive inter-ethnic relations in school can be found in the ways immigration and ethnic diversity is encountered on a societal level at large. This calls for attention to issues of integration, social cohesion, and structures to support positive intercultural dialogue and work against racism.

As written in the Charter for Fundamental Rights of the European Union "the Union is founded on the indivisible, universal values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity; it is based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law." and continuing "The Union contributes to the preservation and to the development of these common values while respecting the diversity of the cultures and traditions of the peoples of Europe as well as the national identities of the Member States and the organisation of their public authorities at national, regional and local levels". Regarding non-discrimination the Charter prohibits "Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation"[10].

Current EU measures to combat all forms and manifestations of racism and xenophobia include:
- The Framework Decision on combating racism and xenophobia
- The Race Equality Directive
- The Employment Equality Directive
- The Audio-visual Media Services Directive and
- Legislation prohibiting discrimination at border controls.[11]

Central actors and networks on European level include The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in charge of Tolerance and Non-Discrimination within the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE); European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) and European Network Against Racism (ENAR); the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the Anti-Discrimination Unit of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) within the United Nations.

On a national level the European Union countries have different approaches and different rates of success in facilitating integration and reducing gaps in the educational outcomes of ethnic minority and migrant children. On a critical note national responses have not adopted systematic approaches against racial discrimination or in regards to the underachievement of ethnic minority

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[10] Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2010/C 83/02)
[11] Racism and xenophobia, EC – Fundamental Rights Agency

and migrant pupils. Initiatives have been criticised to be uneven, inconsistent and isolated responses to immediate environments that schools and education authorities face on a day to day basis.[12]

Education policies are an elemental part of both integration and the fight against racism. Policies ensure that children of migrant or ethnic minority background have equal access to education, thus affording a route to better possibilities of employment. Additionally policies are used to promote the concept of equality and inclusion in education by making intercultural learning at school a priority. [13] As stated by ENAR "Education and training systems must instil values of respect, diversity and challenge prejudice. The systems themselves must be free of discrimination at all levels."[14] Equal access and safety and non-violence are closely intertwined issues.

Questions of intercultural schools are faced in all regions as a question in need of targeted activities. Weather we talk about immigrant children or children from other ethnic minorities we are guided by the same principles of a right to an equal and safe learning opportunities. The question of equal access has been stated in a binding manner first in The United Nations Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960) and is also elaborated centrally in The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child particularly in Article 19(1) which says that, "State parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse while in the care of parent(s)…or any other person who has the care of the child" and in Article 29 covers the nature of education and stated that it should be directed "to development of the child's personality to its fullest potential, the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of the sexes and friendship among all people, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin".[15]

In **Spain** the Education Act (LGE 1967) guarantees the right to education of foreigners, equal to the Spanish, with the possibility of additional courses to compensate for deficits that may arise. However, the Act does not address the presence of foreign students in Spanish classrooms in multiculturalism key and sets objective is that foreigners "be informed of Spanish culture," without ever considering their educational needs.

Act on the Right to Education (LODE, 1985) equates the rights of foreigner students to those of the Spanish. This emphasizes the right to receive an education that develops the skills and personality. This detail, which refers to the original characteristics of each student, seems

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[12] Kane, 2008a.
[13] Gauci 2012.
[14] ENAR General Policy Paper No. 5:Fighting Racism and Promoting Equal Rights in Education and Training
[15] Kane 2008b

considering the possible peculiarities and / or cultural and educational needs that a student may have for his character abroad. Furthermore, the Act articulates the implementation of compensatory measures for students who need it for reasons, among others, socio-cultural environment where the source of the student may have much to do.

Act on the Education System (LOGSE, 1990) defines in its Article 5º of concrete measures to correct inequalities and in legal language being introduced terms that places more emphasis on the cultural aspects rather than the simple fact of being foreign. Thus, there is respect for the culture of each student as one of the basic principles of the Law In fact, no longer used words like "immigrant" or "foreign" and talk about differences of ethnicity, culture or origin geography. The Act also provides for the implementation of compensatory measures gaps that might arise immigrant groups.

Law on Participation, Evaluation and Administration of the Teacher Center (el Gobierno de los Centro Docentes) (LOPEG, 1995) will mark the development of the respect to the ratios to avoid the formation(training) of ghettos and the Royal decree 299/1996, between(among) others, of Arrangement(Ordination) of the Actions(Shares) directed to compensating the inequalities in the education pleads for promoting the aspects that contribute the different cultures and understands that the sociocultural plurality is a potentially wealth-producing factor of an of integration and cultural school. It refers to the following aspects: eradication of the illiteracy, educational compensation and acquisition of the languages of reception.

Quality Act (LOCE, 2002) maintains the rights acquired by foreign students, making their access to education of Spanish students. It sets an article devoted exclusively to such students, providing compensatory measures if necessary and also talking about the relationship with families. Although down to more detailed than previous retrieves a language reminiscent of the Law of 1970 to defining and addressing the needs of immigrant students. Leaving aside the cultural elements to insist on more of an academic.

Education act (LOE, 2006) sets the focus on diversity as a basic principle of the education system to meet a need that covers all stages of education and all students. So it is adequately responding to the educational demands that the diversity of students require, without any exclusion. This law recognizes in its text that attention to diversity involves the requirement to provide quality education to all citizens of both sexes, at all levels of education. This is to enable all citizens to achieve the maximum development of all its capabilities, individual and social, intellectual, cultural and emotional they need to receive a quality education tailored to their needs. At the same time they must ensure effective equality of opportunity, providing the necessary support both to students who require it and to the centres where they attend school. Criticism of this progressive law comes from the lack of resources (human, economic ...) to make effective educational practice centres at these legal objectives. In its article 20 on the ESO says "help to develop between students and the students the skills that enable them to assume their duties responsibly, know and exercise their rights in relation to the other, to practice

tolerance, cooperation and solidarity between people and groups, exercise in strengthening human rights dialogue and shared values of a pluralistic society and prepare for the exercise of democratic citizenship."

In **Finland** on a national level education is guaranteed as a basic right in The Finnish constitution. The National Child protection Law aims to ensure every child's right to a safe growing environments and balanced and diverse development and to special protection. On educational level the Basic Education Act (628/1998, 29 §) sets the foundation for a right to a both emotionally and physically safe learning environment. Since 2003 the school legislation obliges the schools to draw a plan to protect children from violence, bullying and harassment and to put this plan into action and to follow its implementation. The requirement to draw a school safety plan should be a concrete tool to assess and draw action plans to prevent and intervene in school violence. Regarding issues of equity and tolerance, since 2004 the Equality Act has aimed to ensure equality and to support the constitutional rights for all. The Equality Act specifically mentions age, ethnicity or nationality, language, religion, belief, opinion, bodily ability, sexual orientation or other personal matter as grounds for discrimination. Public organizations – including schools – are obliged to plan equality plans to ensure equality. Basic Education Act 2004 includes aims regarding respect for human rights and tolerance. Drawing from the changes in 2003 in the Finnish constitution regarding freedom of religion, also the basic education act was reviewed regarding the teaching of life stance education / religion.

The Basic Education Act also states that students have the right to receive free of charge needed school welfare services. This refers to supporting and maintaining the frames for good learning, good physical and psychological health and social wellbeing and activities that support the prerequisites needed for this. Usually specifically assigned multiprofessional school welfare teams are responsible for this work.

In **Romania**, since 2001 a central role in work on the situation of minorities and immigrants in Romania has been on the National council of minorities, coordinated by the Department of Interethnic Relationships. Its work is to support organisations working with issues of minorities, propose development measures and other proposals; maintain relationships and cooperation. Since 2003 after the modification of the Romanian constitution the minorities are granted right to identity; education; right to representation in Parliament; rights at local level in relation to language in public services (in defined areas), ruse of mother tongue in court. Additionally Romania has ratified among others the International convention on the elimination of all forms of Racial discrimination.

On an educational level legal framework combatting violence in school includes Education law 1/2011 under which the code of ethics for pre-university education was approved stating teachers' responsibility to care for the physical, mental, and moral health development of students through supervision of their activities throughout the school and within the organized activities outside the school to ensure full security of all those involved in these actions; to

prohibit any form of physical assault and humiliating treatment by or toward the students; ensure the protection of each student by denouncing forms of physical violence exerted on them, any form of discrimination, abuse, neglect or exploitation of students, in accordance with law no 272/2004 on the protection of child rights; exclude any form of sexual emotional or spiritual abuse; and prohibit of sexual harassment and sexual relations with students, including consensual.

The regulation also stipulates the establishment of a Commission to prevent and combat violence in schools for each school. This commission is composed of teachers, representatives of parents, and the local public authority's representatives. The commissions' role is in sharing and following information, evaluating and monitoring, analysing cases of bullying, in designing operational plans to reduce bullying and in preparing six months progress reports

In **Ireland** there is no legislation governing anti-bullying policies in schools. However all schools are obliged under the Nation Education Act 2000 to prepare a code of behaviour in accordance with the Guidelines of the National Education Welfare Board and as part of this they are advised to implement the Department of Education and Skills recommendations in setting up or reviewing Anti-Bullying Policies[16].

A policy of 'interculturalism' rather than 'multiculturalism' has been adopted as an underlying principle in the Irish education system: "The term 'multiculturalism' is sometimes used to describe a society in which different cultures live side by side without much interaction … the term 'interculturalism' expresses a belief that we all become personally enriched by coming in contact with and experiencing other cultures, and that people of different cultures can and should be able to engage with each other and learn from each other"[17].

The National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) developed Intercultural Education in the Post-Primary School, Guidelines for Schools. These guidelines provide guidance for teachers and school management on mediating the curriculum in a way that reflects cultural diversity; making the curriculum as accessible as possible for children from ethnic minority groups; enhancing the intercultural experience of all pupils; and Creating an inclusive school culture.

Violence in school – Words used

In the country reports produced for the ARBAX Project the violence taking place at school was approached through various conceptualisations and framing, and common understanding was also sought in the qualitative research.

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[16] Department of Education of Skills Guidelines on Countering Bullying Behaviour, 1993
[17] NCCA, 2006.

In some of the discussion aggression, bullying and violence are viewed sometimes almost as synonyms to one another[18] particularly when talking about school. However, it is important to distinguish the differences and to also note the contradicting views on the matter. In a highly widespread manner generally school violence has been conceptualized using the word 'bullying'. Based on Dan Olweus[19] "the phenomenon of bullying is characterized by the following criteria: it is aggressive behaviour or intentional 'harm doing,' which is carried out repeatedly and over time in an interpersonal relationship characterized by an imbalance of power. One might add that the bullying behaviour often occurs without apparent provocation." Continuing Olweus distinguishes "between direct bullying/victimization, with relatively open attacks on the victim, and indirect bullying/victimization."[20] Some define two categories of bullying: reactive bullying, that is to say in reaction to a frustration or an aggression, or proactive, aiming to obtain some material or social recognition[21].

Bullying can take many forms including:

- Verbal Bullying: Verbal attacks can be of a highly personal and sexual nature. They can be directed at the student's family, culture, race or religion. Malicious rumours are particularly insidious forms of verbal bullying.
- Physical Bullying is often written off as "horseplay" or "just a game" when challenged. While children can and do play roughly, in the case of bullying these 'games' can be a precursor to vicious physical assaults
- Gesture Bullying: there are many different forms of non-verbal threatening gestures which can convey intimidatory and frightening messages. This can be a movement, body stance or look which accompanies the bullying behaviour.
- Exclusion Bullying is particularly hurtful because it isolates the child from his/her peer group and is very hard for the child to combat as it directly attacks their self-confidence/self-image. This is often perpetrated by groups of girls.
- Extortion Bullying: young children are particularly vulnerable to extortion bullying. Demands for money, possessions or equipment, lunch vouchers or food may be made, often accompanied by threats. Students may also be dared or forced to steal from the school leaving them (at the mercy of the bully) open to further intimidation.
- Cyber-bullying: In an ever more technologically advanced world, a new strain of bullying has emerged amongst school children, which utilises social network pages, emails and text messaging to abuse, intimidate and attack others, either directly or indirectly through spreading rumours[22]

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[18] O'Moore, 2001
[19] Olweus, D. 1996.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Roland & Idsoe, 2001.
[22] www.abc.tcd.ie

Bullying is often approached as a subcategory of aggression. The term bullying has also turned the discussion and research of school violence towards the individual level.[23] Some emphasise the perspective of power and approach the violence in school from a wider perspective with sensitivity towards how violence is an action or a structure linked with power; it oppresses or diminishes another person and is used as a means to dominate and control the person in question[24]. School violence can then provide a broader approach which can also be used to unearth the early drops of violence and structures that enable it. In the definition of the Ministry of Education, The Institute of Educational Sciences and UNICEF mission in Romania violence in schools is defined as "*any manifestation of behaviours starting from physical, psychological and verbal to other misdemeanour or offensive actions to inappropriate school behaviour*".

In the **Irish** country report it is noted that some factors contribute to aggressive climate in school and should be addressed as well. These can include inconsistent and inflexible rules; poor staff morale; inadequate supervision of students; punishment that is too harsh, abusive or humiliating; few incentives and rewards for non-aggressive behaviour; a curriculum that affords few opportunities to acknowledge or celebrate success and achievement in non-academic and academic spheres.

Other concepts employed in the country reports are concepts such as abuse and harassment (e.g. in the **Spanish** report). In the **Romanian** focus group data the youth favoured the concept of aggression to bullying whereas in **Finnish** data the youth seemed to be comfortable with the word bullying. This however does not mean that the word bullying would be used in the strictly defined way presented before.

The words, concepts and definitions of violence taking place in schools afford various perspectives to the school realities. Through these definitions and concepts we direct our gaze into certain phenomenon while excluding others. Theoretical definitions and definitions by professionals may, also, end up rather distant from the realities of the youth. As pointed out by O'Moore[25] referring to Guerin (2001) and Björqvist (1997) among others children's experiences do not automatically fit to the pre-set definitions, for example in regards to repetitiousness or intentionality. What is of more importance to the children are severity, injury and effects. This was seen in the ARBAX interviews /focus groups as well. The experiences of the youth need to be approached not by limiting the discussion with rigid definitions but through allowing and affording room to express and share experiences relevant for the youth themselves when making sense of their school realities and relationships. Bullying, bad treatment, harm making and school violence should be addressed in a holistic manner looking also at the random, passing incidents and the continuums of violence. There is a need to reflect what implications the different frames of understanding wrong-doing ranging from individual-based to those based on cultures and power has on defining the phenomenon.

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[23] Sunnari 2010
[24] Sunnari 2000, 91; 2010; Huuki 2003, 39; 2010
[25] O'Moore, 2001

Talking about racism and racial bullying and xenophobia

The traditional and often used definition of *racism* is that racism is the belief that different characteristics in racial groups justify discrimination. Some sources emphasize that racism involves the belief that different racial groups are characterized by intrinsic characteristics or abilities and that some such groups are therefore naturally superior to others, or follow practices that discriminate against members of particular racial groups for example by perpetuating unequal access to resources between groups.[26]

Racist violence is "any form of violence inflicted on someone because they are from a certain race (usually a different race from the perpetrator) – and that race may be in the minority or the majority."[27] Similarly *ethnic violence* "is violence perpetrated against individuals or groups because they belong to a particular ethnic group that is generally in the minority. Such discrimination is consequently more frequently ingrained in a society where the 'majority' often have a long-standing negative attitude towards a particular minority group. "[28]

Concepts of racism, racial and or ethnic violence, discrimination, abuse and intolerance are all widely used in the research and policy work around issues of ethnicity and multiculturalism, immigration and multi-ethnic societies. In addition Philomena Essed's concept of everyday racism[29] has been used to approach the ways racism is permeated through everyday practices and has been used for example in the current Finnish debate around the issue. The notion of "race" has been replaced partly by wider understanding of differences that combine to construct "racialized" others[30]. Racialization, first introduced by Robert Miles in 1989, is based on categorizing and valuing people based on their (real or perceived) physical or cultural characteristics.[31] It is then 'difference' and the processes of constructing these differences which is at the heart of discrimination-based violence and it "may be based on religious intolerance, ignorance of other cultures, entrenched political ideologies, exaggerated nationalism, or indeed plain and simple racism. Discrimination-based violence is also perpetrated against other groups based on religion or ethnicity. Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, as well as people who are recognisably from ethnic minorities or distinct religious groups but who were born in Europe, are all at risk of discrimination-based violence."[32]

The communities most vulnerable to racism and racial and/or religious discrimination in Europe are various but among the communities most affected are people of African descent, black Europeans, migrants (both EU and third country nationals), Roma, Muslims and Jews. Different nations have additionally specific communities who are especially vulnerable. The ENAR

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[26] Kane, 2008a
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Essed 1991
[30] Puuronen 2011
[31] Puuronen (2011); 64-65
[32] Kane 2008a

Shadow report on racism in Europe notes a link between the vulnerability and experience of discrimination, visible characteristics of difference, and the public's perception of these characteristics. Further distinctions exist between visible minorities (including nationals of ethnic minority backgrounds) and status minorities (those whose legal status places them in a particularly disadvantaged situation in the country). [33] What comes central in understanding "racism" is the lived realities in which 'race' is constantly intersecting with other dimensions – such as social status, as mentioned in the quote above.

Bullying and school violence in general

To understand the extent of bullying, racism and xenophobia each country has provided an overview of the school violence and/or bullying situations based on existing data from primarily secondary schools. Additionally qualitative data was collected by each partner as describes in the beginning of this report. This section draws conclusion on school violence, bullying and racist bullying in schools.

Bullying is studied more or less systematically in different countries. In **Finland** and **Ireland** several nationwide surveys have been conducted to study the extent and evolution of bullying. Research usually sets to study the occurrences of bullying, sometimes also of school climate in more general. Surveys also aim to find out where bullying takes place and how it is intervened. Systematic studies have given access to part of the realities of school bullying but have not been able to reach to expose the hidden, often normalised forms of violence in schools or to study power from a cultural framework. [34] In **Finland** the regular forums for bullying and school violence data include Annual School Heath Survey and for example Youth Bullying Questionnaires by Mannerheim League of Child Welfare. In **Ireland** a nationwide study was carried out in 1998 and several studies have been conducted by Anti Bullying centre on bullying and a large study on inter-ethnic relations in school by TDC. In **Romania** the first major surveys on bullying – or school violence more precisely – has been conducted in 2004-2005, which then laid ground for future strategy work and policy development. Also **Spanish** data is based on separate surveys and research carried out particularly since 1990's, by, among others Rosario Ortega et al.. In 2006 a nationwide study was conducted by Õnate and Piñuel.

The extent of bullying

The country reports show the well-known fact that bullying is a phenomenon touching all school levels in all the countries/regions. A Nationwide Study of Bullying in **Ireland** indicates that some 31% of primary school students (4-12 years) and 16% of secondary school students (12-18 years) have been bullied at some time[35]. Research carried out in 2008 found that 30.2% of

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[33] Gauci 2012
[34] Huuki 2010
[35] O'Moore, Kirkham & Smith, 1998

students (30.3% girls, 30.1% boys) reported that they had been bullied in the previous couple of months. In addition, 24.9% of students (11.5% girls and 30.9% boys) reported that they had taken part in the bullying of others at school[36].

In **Finland** school bullying has been annually studied in the national School Health Survey. In the data on School Health survey on Northern Osthrobothnia[37] the results show that school bullying occurs now just as often as it did in the beginning of the decade: 8% of 7-9 graders, 2% of high school students and 5% of vocational school students face bullying in school.

In **Spain** several researches have been carried our regionally (e.g. Viera, Fernandez & Quevedo; Ortega; nationwide survey Report Ciceros X). According to the Report Cisneros X, from the Primary Education to Bachelor, 25% are victims of violence and bullying. 75% of cases of bullying are repeated from some time ago.

In **Romania** the first studies with national relevance on violence in schools were elaborated by the Ministry of Education, The Institute of Educational Sciences and the UNICEF mission in Romania. The Study "Violence in School" (2006) was the base for the national strategies and actions against bullying. It states that violence is present in more than 75 % of the 1207 schools (secondary and post-secondary) in the study. The proportion of students with severe manifestations of violence was estimated about 2,5 %.

Forms of violence and bullying

Verbal bullying, particularly **name-calling** rose as the most often reported form of violence or bullying followed by **exclusion** and "**light" physical violence** such as pushing and shoving and 'horseplay'. Mobile phones and internet are also forums of bullying to an increasing degree. **Bullying online** can mean harassment via mobile phone or social networking sites, spreading rumours, sharing images/videos without consent among others. Cyberbullying can also be a continuation of the bullying taking place offline.

In all the discussions with the youth those participating recognised bullying and violence in some of it forms but what was considered meaningful forms or situations varied as did the way they were reacted to. In the **Romanian** focus group data discussion about sexual assault was brushed off with laughter. In the **Finnish** interview data students discussion revealed how some forms of violence such as name calling can be regarded as mundane and normal quite easily. The same was case in the **Spanish** focus group discussion regarding both verbal bullying and insulting gestures – "everybody has a mouth to defend" and consequently everybody needs to know how to defend oneself. Drawing the line between what the youth consider as bullying/violence and what is not, may be difficult and very context specific. Also practices that feel uncomfortable may be accepted as part of the school culture. In the **Irish** focus groups data examples were

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[36] Anti-Bullying Centre, 2008
[37] Lommi et al. 2011

among others about how first year students who are small in stature often receive teasing about their height and size of the schoolbags they are carrying and how this is often seen as a rite of passage particularly in the first year.

The places and forms of bullying are very similar in all the countries – bullying happens in the informal settings of school – that is to say during breaks, and in the corridors as well as on the way in and out of school. Bullying or violence taking place in these settings evades easily the adult supervision. On the other hand a **Finnish** research on school bullying suggests that the classroom is the second most likely place for students to be bullied[38]. It is not then just a question of being able to see what takes place among the students but also about being able to recognise it as bullying, aggression or violence.

There is no rule on who will be bullied. Random reasons that set the victim apart from the bully or bullies may be sufficient "justification". In the **Romanian** focus group the students and teachers identified issues like wealth, religion, ethnicity (e.g. Hungarian ethnic or Roma population), clothes, valuables, nervousness, facial expression or tone of voice. Ethnicity, particularly in relation to the Roma community rose as a central question in the focus groups. The qualitative data from other countries emphasise the same - the bullied may be considered the "week one" or the lonely one (**Spanish** focus groups), or the one who is/looks different, who doesn't conform to the group (**Finnish** interview). In **Ireland** the students report that first year students who are small in stature often receive teasing about their height and the size of the schoolbags they are carrying. The criteria for being "the week one" or being tall enough are not set and may have different meanings depending on, for example, whether one is a boy or a girl.

Project cicero X in **Spain** reported that Children may be harassed even if "absolutely normal", happy and even "brilliant" academically, and it is also, in many cases, timely and insignificant the "fact" or "reason" that triggers the harassment. Although picking the weak one or the one different from others was mentioned often for example in the **Spanish** and **Finnish** focus group data, on the other hand the country report from **Ireland** states that it is not unusual to find that there are many children victimised through bullying who are popular and socially well adjusted. It has been recognised that many of the negative and unsympathetic characteristics that are often ascribed to victims may be the result of long-term unreported bullying rather than a cause of bullying.[39] According to the Ireland country report, there are also some children who may unknowingly invite attacks by behaving in ways that cause tension and irritation in their class or peer group. Such children, often referred to as 'provocative' victims may have inadequate social skills or learning difficulties. In the **Romanian** focus group data the youth described violence rising from jokes and developing through reactions into more serious incidents. Also the **Irish** data included this: bullying can occur randomly initially for example due to a comment.

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[38] Peura et al. 2009
[39] See also e.g. Sunnari 2010

Some of the discussions reveal notions also on what causes someone to bully others. Particularly Romanian data included this discussion. In the **Romanian** focus group data the teacher's identified issues causing violence/aggression such as issues related to family background and upbringing, or on the other hand the youths' individual character, attempt to draw attention, trying to be cool or other factors related to entourage. Particularly in ethnically tense school ethnicity was seen as one cause for conflicts. Also issues like media, the internet and lack of respect were mentioned. Students on the other hand saw violence being caused by verbal violence (particularly in high school), individual characteristics, status, entourage, and family background.

When discussing bullying the youth reflect the social orders, places and hierarchies of school in different ways. Students in **Spanish** focus groups and **Finnish** interview data reflected the internalised rules and boundaries within the peer relations. This means peers considered equal to one another can make jokes on one another, can use also for example racist names and be also physically aggressive. In the understanding of the youth this was based on and made possible by equal division of power that set these actions apart from bullying/school violence. On the other hand research has shown how social status, power and violence are all closely linked to humour making violence normalised and hence difficult to recognise let alone resist[40]. Being part of a group is also meaningful – group provides protection and support and – as in one interview in the **Finnish** data – it may also work to avoid conflict as "there's always somebody in the group who is more easy going and who sooths thing out when things get heated". While groups afford feelings of safety (**Spanish** data) they may also enforce differences and prejudices. Challenging these was described in the **Finnish** interviews as a way to support peaceful coexistence.

Racism and racial bullying

Data on racial bullying is less consistently available than the data on bullying in more general, which is also studied more often with nation-wide studies. Due to this access to data the experiences of bullying on a general level (i.e. excluding explicit discussion on racist bullying) allowed providing the general overlook on bullying above. Racial bullying was, however different in this respect. Racial bullying can be studied by asking the causes of, for example name calling in the general bullying surveys or it can be studied though studies focusing on this particular phenomenon through interviews or surveys or ethnographic research like in Finland[41]. In Ireland a large study on inter-ethnic relations has been recently carried out[42].

In general, however, racial bullying and racism in a school context is less discussed and reports from **Ireland** and **Finland** in particular identified this lack of debate. Racism is considered either marginal or the discussion on racism is replaced by discussion on intercultural dialogue. On the

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[40] Huuki et al. 2010; 374
[41] e.g. Rastas 2007, Souto 2010
[42] Curry, Gilligan, Garratt and Scholtz, 2011

other hand, the issues of specific ethnic minorities may have more space for discussion (e.g. Roma community) and be as themselves targets of actions and policies. For example the Roma community receives some attention in all regions, a situation also encouraged by European initiatives.

Racism is a phenomenon that can be found throughout the society – in the school as well. Questions of racism and xenophobia are present when discussing how students from different minorities are encountered and how differing needs are met – for example how the role of family in Roma culture is understood and encountered by the teachers. The ENAR report[43] identifies several manifestations of racism in schools "including structural concerns (such as segregation and discrimination by teachers), and more personal concerns (such as language barriers and bullying at the hands of peers). The result of both is poorer educational attainment by many members of ethnic minorities and over-representation among early school leavers or drop-outs." Additionally the ENAR report raises issues of early school leaving and minority youth being too often separated into special classes or group – a question raised by the **Irish** report as well.

Our focus here will be particularly on the racist bullying and school violence linked to racism and xenophobia taking place in the peer relations, which will be here summarised country by country. The concept of racial or racist bullying for the purposes of this report refers to violence, repetitious or random that may take various forms ranging from verbal to physical and from act of doing to non-doing. What is meaningful is that it is based on notions about ethnicity, 'racialized' notions of persons or groups, religion or culture and it may intersect with other socio-cultural factors such as age, gender, bodily ability and so on.

In Finnish research children with immigrant background are reported to be in higher risk of being isolated and thus being alone in difficult situations such as bullying as well[44]. Rastas[45] and Soilamo[46] both report how racism and bullying based on ethnicity is present in schools and that having an immigrant background creates a risk of being bullied. Name calling, slandering and insults are the most occurring forms of bullying. The research in Finland on racism in schools Honkasalo et al.[47] showed how racism, setting one apart, and "shunning from" are part of the everyday realities of youth with multicultural background. Racism had manifested as concrete discrimination, direct violence and as experiences of being left outside, being defined different or being mistrusted either as a casual one-off situation or continuously for years. Girls and boys experiences of violence are different – whereas girls face gossiping and exclusion boys report more racist jokes and slander and violence like threats, pushing and hitting. Also staring, mean laugh, name calling, considered stupid, belittling the feeling of national identity and insulting one's cultural or ethnic background were considered by the youth as racism. What is important to

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[43] Gauci 2012
[44] Soilamo 2006, 35-36.
[45] Rastas 2007, 115
[46] Soilamo 2006, 102-126
[47] Honkasalo et al. 2009

note is that racism is not perpetrated by other pupils but by adults as well. In these cases it was more a question of ignoring the experiences of minorities, slandering, and not reacting in racist situations[48].

In the interviews in Finland cases of random slandering on the streets, which was, however, not reacted to (considered "drunken blabber") and also an individual case of a person being thrown by stones on the street as the most drastic incident were reported. As for the schools, the students did refer to name calling but in a manner that made it seem that if/when name calling does occur it is so normal part of everyday reality that it is not reacted to. Also its link to racial bullying was implicit. One interviewee also considered that having peers with multicultural background did not cause any conflicts or racism and that school's work on intercultural dialogue was one reason for this. On the other hand in the adult focus groups racism was considered a problem and issues of particular importance. Particularly the complete invisibility of children with ethnic background, parents' attitudes and the continuum of violence experienced in the reserved attitude climate of today's Finland were discussed at length.

In **Ireland** data from 5569 school children invited to participate in the nationwide anti-bullying programme shows that 6.1% of girls and 13.0% of boys at the primary level, and 7.3% of girls and 10.7% of boys at the secondary level, indicated that they were called nasty names about their colour or race[49]. Boys at both levels were statistically significantly more likely to have been targeted in this way than were girls. In O'Moore et al.'s[50] nationwide survey in 7% girls and 9% boys at primary level and 4.8% girls and 8.1 boys at post-primary level indicated that 'I was called nasty names about my colour and race'. These findings mark decreases between the surveys among primary girls but increases among post-primary girls, and primary and post-primary boys. A study published in April 2010 by the Teachers' Union of Ireland (TUI), involving 332 second and third-level (institutes of technology and further education colleges) teachers found that 28% were aware of racist incidents that had occurred in their school or college during the previous month. Black children were identified as particularly vulnerable to such incidents[51]. Irish data on Interethnic relations students talked about experiencing racism from strangers on the street (also adults), peers in school and in their neighbourhoods. Some children experienced overtly racist remarks from classmates but more commonly there were cultural misunderstandings and misrepresentations which cause annoyance and frustration.

The Irish focus group data reports that racial bullying is not central in the youths understanding of violence in schools, however, bullying based on how one looks (which could be related to ethnicity) was reported. Often bullying incidences are not initially racially motivated but if a jealousy grows between bully and victim then the bullying can become serious. The focus group data for the project revealed also how racist violence may be more common in the community

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[48] Yhdenvertaisuus, rasismi ja hiljainen hyväksyntä -seminaari 17.11.2011, Joensuu.
[49] Minton, 2007, 2010
[50] O'Moore, 1998
[51] TUI, 2010

than in schools and that the incidents are most likely not reported reflecting the lack of political pressure to take the matter seriously. The teachers also reflected the pecking orders and "color codes". Stereotypical views and cultural misunderstandings are present in the everyday life of schools and the challenge is to consider how much demonising of the other takes place and how this fuels school violence.

The Spanish data about harassment based on ethnicity discusses the centrality of being included. This forefronts being part of a group and group dynamics (who forms groups, what's the interaction within and between groups and how this related to bullying) and on the other hand questions of being excluded – who is excluded, what does it mean to be excluded, what kinds of vulnerabilities it creates.

The research showed racist stereotypes regarding "gypsies" (related particularly to cultural issues such as the role of the family, distinct values and traditions, and notions about disrespect towards educative systems). This also resulted in lack of relationships between the majority population and the "gypsies". Arabs were also identified as distinct group, but less so than "gypsies". "The Black" was mostly discussed as symbolic representation of something "not from here" and referring to "being black" was reported as an insult "because you know it hurts". On a cultural level racism is also embedded into how minorities are perceived in relation to integration – in the youth's perspective the responsibility is on the individual, which is demonstrated by good examples of integration; problems are the failures of the individual in question. From the perspective of the minority youth themselves seemingly racist situations were not so much framed as being based on ethnicity but explained away as general bullying.

Of the participating countries the issue of racism was quite prominent in the **Romanian** data and particularly in relation to the Roma community, much like in the Spanish data. In the interviews ethnicity was one of the major identified issues related to violence, or aggression as discussed by the youth. Ethnicity was identified as a cause for being bullied particularly by the teachers but students as well. Ethnic diversity was also named as a cause of school violence. Violence was reportedly directed towards Hungarians and particularly towards the Roma population. Students had strong reactions about Roma people who were reported as lazy, violent, and aggressive when with group. Roma people were considered profiteers, and evading punishments and rules. Also teachers discussed the challenge of clashing cultural traditions and values – the role of family being one of them. Teachers also mentioned resentment regarding Roma pupils profiting from benefits based on ethnicity.

The challenges of racism in schools and racist bullying is an acute question in all the reports but it manifests in very different ways and reflects the very differing histories of multiculturality and ethnic diversity of the regions. In **Ireland** and **Finland** particularly the youth did not identify racist bullying as a major issue whereas the data from **Romania** and **Spain** provided more examples on this issue. It seemed the youth was more able to identify racism and ethnicity (etc.) as a basis for bullying and violence. However, in the adult groups the acknowledgement of

racism as a problem was present in all the reports together with the worry of lack of tools and abilities to recognise it in its various forms.

There seems to be a lack of language to speak about the experiences of racism or racial bullying. There is also a need to give emphasis on the normalised, silently accepted forms of violence and those everyday forms of racism that are hidden in the "normalcy" of practices that nevertheless maintain and create exclusions and differences.

Experiences on prevention and intervention

In an ideal situation bullying and any kind of violence in school should be prevented and intervened efficiently. Still the experiences of the youth as well as research studies reveal this is not always the case.

In **Romania** available national data as well as teachers' awareness and knowledge – or lack of – was seen as a major obstacle in work against school violence. As stated in the Romanian country report, there is a lack of discussion and interest in discussion on bullying. In some case open discussion may be also too often maintained only by NGO's or media leaving the most important stakeholders with influence aside. Also parents are often not involved, and may not interested to being involved. The short term nature of both interventions and dissemination of information (e.g. conferences instead of more long-lasting trainings) was seen problematic. Lack of understanding of bullying as a phenomenon may also direct towards sporadic, limited interventions such as punishments and sanctions instead of systematic approaches. In the interview data both teachers and students shared a lack of trust in prevention or intervention activities and put more emphasis on punitive measures. Teacher's frustrations were also shared regarding the involvement of parents.

The students own involvement in cases of violence/aggression was not habitual and students were not sure what would be the best way to react – to avoid or to tell the teachers. There was no consensus as to the most effective method and also teacher's attempts of intervention were considered as them trying their best in tricky situations.

Finland has an extensively spread model (the Kiva school model) for schools' anti-bullying work, which has been reported to have shown good results in reducing bullying as well as models for peer support and peer conflict resolutions models (VERSO, peer student system) and several national campaigns/programmes that maintain bullying as well as to some degree racial bullying as a topic in schools either through discourses of anti-bullying or school peace/tolerance. In the interview data with the youth it came evident that one of the problems of prevention models is the fact that they are left to serve rhetorical role with little or no influence in the daily realities of the youth. The earlier and annual studies underlined that bullying or violence is not reported to teachers or adults and this was also discussed is the interviews.

Experiences were contradicting as to how teachers would intervene if the situation came to their attention and also weather the youth would themselves be involved if they saw someone being bullied. Some of the participants in the interviews did say they would intervene should they see bullying taking place but the survey studies however show that bystanders are not likely to get involved. One interviewee discussed also about bystanders taking the bully's side because of fear. According to one of the interviewees, seeing bullying may feel bad but one doesn't intervene because it isn't one's business. The same person also reflected how sometimes one might go and ask the bully to leave the victim alone "for just one day". So, for some, and in some contexts these possibilities for intervening could also be identified.

In a recent initiative in **Ireland** the Irish Ministry for Education and Skills opened an Anti-Bullying Forum to explore ways to tackle bullying in schools. Alongside a working group has been established to tackling bullying including homophobic bullying, cyber bullying and racist bullying. Systematic approaches to bullying have been proven most efficient. The SPHE whole school support programme provides a number of services including research on bullying in each school via a student survey; professional development for staff; measures whole school level of bullying via Friendship week; classroom level intervention strategies for teachers; parent education; support for school policy work. Other programmes and campaigns include "Anti Bullying Campaign tools for teachers"; Stay Safe campaign; Cool School Programme; and Show racism a red card –campaign.

In the focus group data the buddy systems were mentioned as most favourable methods for interventions and the reluctance to report, or "rat" to teachers' came through both from the children and adult. The code of not telling was most prominent message from the teachers. Also the lack of time and space to deal with the issue of bullying was reported. Teachers reported a pressing need to be better equipped through regular talks, training and advice.

In **Spain** prevention and interventions were not reported in the focus groups. The report did however mention the culture of not censoring some of the forms of bullying at all – such as name calling or insulting gestures.

What comes across as a general challenge is the ambivalence in relation to the effect of interventions and prevention, which is often shared by the students and the teachers. Challenges in this are manifold and are related to lack of tools or faith in their efficiency, lack of awareness on violence and bullying, accepting certain aspect of bullying/violence as normal part of the school, limits to one's actions defined by peer relations and hierarchies; and lack of communication between students and teachers.

While prevention and intervention of bullying in general is carried out extensively, the same is not true for the prevention and intervention on racist bullying in particular. Some particularities emerge from the data. In **Finland** the anti-racism work is mostly taking place through the discussions on tolerance and intercultural dialogue. Finland does not have strong background on

the discussion on racism and teacher may be poorly equipped to understand or recognise racism and its multiple manifestations. Form the youths' interview perspective it is the communication and interaction with different people which is the key to tolerance. There has also been a call for a more concrete discussion on racism from the researcher community and NGO's. **Ireland** as well seems to lack the traditions of racism-discourse and the topic of racism may not be high on the agenda in school with only few children with minority backgrounds. The students in the interview data also reported some teachers failing to recognise and/or deal with racism creating also awkward situations through ill-judged attempts to help. A policy of 'interculturalism' has been adopted by schools through some of the curriculum. Initiatives are also taking place particularly by NGO's. Within the intercultural dialogue discourse less attention or focus has been given to the attitudes which allow racism to develop both in society and in schools. There are also particular challenges in combating racism on the streets and through social media where behaviour in these areas is not monitored.

Some models for anti-bullying work and work against racism have been collected in a separate ARBAX report on good practices.

Comparative notes

Bullying and racial bullying should be intervened and not tolerated regardless of the form it takes. The following draws from the country reports to conclude in some of the needs and topics to consider in the work against bullying and violence in school, with special focus on racism, racial bullying and xenophobia:

- **Understanding the extent of the phenomenon and finding common words**
  It became evident that talking about violence taking place in schools is approached through different words in different countries and as a consequence the discussion in the country reports was carried out using words such as bullying, school violence, harassment, aggression, violence. Sometimes these concepts are overlapping or are used as synonyms to one another. Sometimes they carry in the connotations to very specific forms of abuse. Regardless of the words used sensitivity is needed in regards to what type of practices, behaviour and issues are included and which ones excluded from the discussions. Understanding the extent of the phenomenon and finding a common 'language' to talk about it is a prerequisite for preventing and intervening in violence and bullying. There is a need to discuss the phenomenon without 'locking' the varied experiences with strictly defined conceptualisation.

- **Need for an open, informed discussion about bullying on national, local and school level**
  The countries differ in the way school violence, aggression and bullying is present in the public discussions. The discussion on bullying and/or racial bullying is called for at European, national, local and in the school levels to encourage work towards systematic

practices and models. However, discussion about bullying and violence is hindered by lack of common understanding of violence causing incidents to go unreported. There may also be tendency to play down the amount and seriousness of violence. A lot of the work on bullying involves the teachers and the youth while other stakeholders and particularly parents may be not involved at all in the attempts to prevent violence. In some cases it is the NGO's and third sector which is working on the topic. Schools need systematic and holistic approaches that involve the school staff, the youth and the parents as well as the community at large.

- **Punishments and systematic approaches**
  The systemacity of approaches varies hugely from region to region and national guidelines provide very different frames for the work at the school level. Common rules and guidelines and their systematic following support the work on prevention and intervention. Approaches to this include, among others, clear guidelines and protocols, including the whole community and training the teachers about bullying, violence as well as to pay attention to the early drops of violence. There is also shift in emphasis from punitive measures to more soft approaches, such as restorative justice and no-blame approach.

- **School culture**
  On a practical level violence is prevented and intervened in the everyday situations whenever bullying, violence or racism occurs as well as through programmes integrated to the school practices to improve school climate and school culture. Important principles in preventing and intervening in violence are building structures that support positive dialogue and equality among peer, teachers and staff.

- **Building trust – does the work have any effects?**
  The experiences from the country reports highlighted a need to get relevant people involved. This would also support commitment to the issue and increase the scope of influence. As trust in the effectiveness of the prevention or intervention models was not very strong in all the countries, participating the whole community could also increase the trust to the tools of both students and teachers.

- **Breaking the code of not telling**
  According to the research what was evident was the youth's unwillingness or lack of possibilities to share experiences of bullying or violence to others. Teachers are often seen as too distant to approach partly because of the age gap and perceived lack of understanding of youth culture. Sometimes violence/bullying may also be left undisclosed as it is perceived as "normal" so a shared discussion also with the students about what bullying and violence is and how they perceive is important. Also the room to

take actions is defined by the youth culture and peer hierarchies in general. One may not be able to act because of fear of the bully. The process of dealing with bullying should also be considered from the perspective of those involved - some investigation and mediation protocols may actually cause more distress for the victim making them reluctant to report incidences. If talking to parents or adults is unattempting to the youth, talking to tutors or peers were seen to be more helpful. It is important, however, that right amount of support and tools is provided for the youth to deal with difficult situations.

- **Equipping the Teachers and school staff to recognise and intervene in bullying**
  If students were ambivalent about intervening in bullying, similar was also present in some of teachers talk. Some teacher's felt frustration and distrust regarding the effect of bullying interventions and prevention.

  Teacher's ability to recognise bullying and to intervene in it as well as one's ability to reflect one's own practices and attitudes should be supported through training and also through the development of teacher education in general. There is an abundance of best practises manual, seminars and conferences on bullying. Training and education needs to be directed more to developing school practices and anti-bullying work and on using/applying intervention models. Training should be also directed to other staff in the school as well.

Particular issues should be raised when discussing racist bullying and racism in schools:

- **Racial bullying and bullying**
  Racial and ethnic bullying or violence based on ethnicity, culture, religion, nationality etc. can take all the same forms as 'regular' bullying and violence in schools from hardly visible forms to drastic incidents of physical violence. It can be repetitious or incidental and it can also evolve from the sporadic to a more systematic bullying. Despite the similarities there is a need to explicitly discuss and work on the level of racial bullying separate from the more general bullying discourse.

- **Racism and notions of 'the other'**
  One particularity of racial bullying and racism is the way it is based on shared notions of 'the other'. One question raised was how racialised notions of the other are a factor in bullying or violence? This makes racial bullying also context specific – even though some shared elements may be found as well. Tackling racism calls for putting emphasis on deconstructing these notions with youth, teachers, parents and providing information in order to support reflection. This means also recognising and challenging those racialising, prejudicial discourses and practices that take place in each region and tackling them. For example this may be a question of Roma community or of particular religious community.

- **Continuum of experiences of violence**
  Another particularity of racial bullying is that it may create of continuum of experiences of violence – one can encounter experiences of racism in school by peers, on the streets by strangers, in stores and in the neighbourhood, in media and in social media. These experiences may be additionally overlooked on policy level, by adults or dealt with in an awkward manner in the everyday situations. Victims may encounter structural racism yet again if taking the matter forward.

- **Lack of space to disclose experiences of racial violence**
  Recognizing racial bullying may be hindered by the pupils' lack of confidence in talking to the teachers and they may not have words to describe the everyday experiences of intolerance and discrimination. Like bullying, racism is rarely reported and is mostly tolerated in isolation by those individuals and groups experiencing it. Youth can also feel rather helpless to tackle racism alone and in some research discuss it as persistent and "natural". It is difficult to oppose as it is encountered everywhere and is based on rigid, internalized definitions and discourses. The role of the adults in acting as an example is then even more important.

- **Racism not on the agenda**
  In newly multicultural countries /regions or regions with homogenous population racism in itself may be a subject considered marginal or it may be in the margins for other reasons as well. The issue may also not be high on the agenda of most schools as students with immigrant background are a small minority in many schools in countries with late immigration such as Ireland and Finland. However racist bullying should be tackled in the same way as any other form of bullying or violence in schools. It would be important to see how racism is or is not discussed, what related issues are discussed.

- **Balance between discussion on intercultural dialogue and racism**
  The discourse of intercultural dialogue and tolerance are important. What we can see is a strong focus on 'interculturalism' and/or multiculturalism within the educational policies and actions. These aim to support the equal access to education and to support intercultural dialogue between the majority populations and minorities and immigrants. Tolerance is part of the educational curriculum embedded through different subject such as history, health education, arts etc. and supporting multicultural dialogue is the main approach in preventing racism. There has also been criticism as, at the same time less focus has been put on racism and its ways of forming the school culture, power relations and school climate. There is also a need to interrogate what connotations the discourse of tolerance carries with it and whose tolerance of what/who is it implying.

Conclusion

This report has aimed to provide insight into the ethnic profiles and situations of school violence and racist bullying in Spain, Ireland, Finland and Romania. The report provides an overview for the purpose of identifying questions, needs and challenges to guide the development work of the project, namely the creation of the online tools: 3D game and social network to support the work against racism and xenophobia in schools. Tackling the phenomenon of bullying and racial bullying at a European level is much called for and the ARBAX project will continue to work on this aim. The issues raised in this report will be guiding the development of the new tools to support violence prevention, however, our hope is that they also encourage discussion on a more general level about the needs and challenges of creating safe, non-violent learning environments for all.

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