Prevention and response to identity-based bullying among local authorities in England, Scotland and Wales

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# Executive summary

1. Introduction
   1.1 Background
   1.2 Aims of the project
   1.3 Report structure

2. Methodology, sources and evidence gaps
   2.1 Literature and policy review
   2.2 Local authority survey
   2.3 Stakeholder interviews
   2.4 Evidence gaps and limitations

3. Literature review
   3.1 Introduction to research on bullying
   3.2 Bullying related to race or ethnicity, including religion and belief
   3.3 Bullying based on disability
   3.4 Bullying based on sexual orientation
   3.5 Bullying based around gender
   3.6 Bullying based on gender identity
   3.7 Summary of research findings

4. Survey findings
   4.1 England
   4.2 Scotland
   4.3 Wales

5. Conclusions and recommendations

Appendices
   Appendix 1: Literature review
   Appendix 2: Stakeholder interview topic guide
   Appendix 3: Local authority questionnaire

References
Tables and figures

Table 4.1: Response rate of English Local Authorities according to regional location

Table 4.2: Typical partnerships established within LAs in relation to identity-based bullying in schools

Table 4.3: Typical partnerships established within LAs in relation to identity-based bullying in the wider community

Figure 4.1 Percentage of LAs equality schemes and anti-bullying strategies which refer to specific types of identity-based bullying

Figure 4.2 Percentage of LAs who recommend that schools record and report incidents of identity-based bullying

Figure 4.3 Whether LA respondents are in favour of school statutory requirements to record and report incidents of identity-based bullying

Figure 4.4 The percentage of LAs with evidence of different types of identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community

Figure 4.5 LA ratings on the usefulness of preventative identity-based bullying guidance from central government

Figure 4.6 LA ratings on the usefulness of preventative identity-based bullying guidance from non-governmental organisations

Figure 4.7 LA ratings on the usefulness of responsive identity-based bullying guidance from central government

Figure 4.8 LA ratings on the usefulness of responsive identity-based bullying guidance from non-governmental organisations

Figure 4.9 LA confidence in providing support to schools for each form of identity-based bullying
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Executive summary

Identity-based bullying refers to any form of bullying related to the characteristics considered unique to a child’s identity, such as their race, religion, sexual orientation or physical appearance. These forms of bullying are not only targeted at an individual, but reflect negative attitudes towards a wider sub-community or group to whom that individual identifies with (or is believed to identify with). Young people in such groups may be more vulnerable to or at risk of experiencing bullying and can benefit from more targeted support.

Over the last five years, identity-based bullying has received increased attention. The UK government has made tackling bullying of children and young people a key priority. The Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF, now Department for Education) made clear that all forms of bullying, including those motivated by prejudice, must not be tolerated and should always incur a disciplinary sanction. The coalition government has indicated that tackling bullying is a top priority, and has plans to introduce a zero tolerance approach to bullying and bad behaviour in schools. In Scotland and Wales, education is a devolved priority. The Welsh Assembly Government released guidance relating to bullying in 2003 which specifically refers to identity-based bullying, while the Scottish Government has addressed bullying with awareness-raising activities, policy development and training strategies through their investment in respectme and the development of the Scottish Anti-Bullying Steering Group.

This project was commissioned by the Equality and Human Rights Commission in December 2009 with the aim of providing an insight into identity-based bullying of young people in schools and in the wider community, and examining the preventative and responsive strategies currently being used to address it in local authorities across England, Scotland and Wales. It provides a comprehensive evidence base on how current activity aimed at preventing and responding to the bullying of young people addresses the problems of bullying on the grounds of disability, gender, gender identity, race, religion or belief, or sexual orientation.

To achieve this, evidence was obtained through three sources:

- a review of relevant academic literature and published and grey literature produced by key stakeholders and anti-bullying organisations
• stakeholder interviews conducted with national anti bullying organisations, and
• a survey on preventative and responsive measures to identity-based bullying, which was sent to all local authorities in England, Scotland and Wales.

This report presents the findings of the review and the survey; it highlights the main issues in tackling identity-based bullying, identifying areas of good practice and making recommendations for policymakers and practitioners in terms of developing and improving anti-bullying work.

Review of literature and policy
It is clear from the review that identity-based bullying is a significant problem for a large proportion of children. The studies reviewed illustrate how any individual characteristic that distinguishes a child from the rest of their peer group can increase the risk of bullying, ranging from looking or behaving differently to holding personal or religious beliefs which set them apart from the rest of their peer group. Whether a child is bullied because of their race, sexual orientation or any other personal characteristic, the effects of being bullied are the same, causing psychological, social or academic problems in both the short and long term.

There is a large variation in what is currently known about different forms of identity-based bullying. Homophobic, racial and disablist bullying are comparatively well researched, but very little is known in regard to bullying related to gender identity, asylum seekers and refugees, or Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children.

Studies repeatedly highlight that real or perceived differences between children are a cause of bullying, which suggests a poor understanding of diversity among children. For all forms of identity-based bullying, preventative strategies that raise awareness and understanding of why people differ, accompanied with an environment which promotes diversity and inclusion, are seen as being of prime importance in tackling prejudiced behaviours. Identity-based bullying needs to be addressed at all levels of the school community, through the use of equality and anti-bullying policies, assemblies, awareness-raising activities, and as part of the Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PHSE) curriculum.
In addition to preventative approaches, studies show that responsive strategies are also required to prevent the perpetrator from repeating their behaviour, and to help the victim cope with their experience. Many victims of identity-based bullying are reluctant to report incidents, either because of perceived prejudiced beliefs among teachers, fear of being judged, or uncertainty over whether their complaint will be believed or acted upon. In addition, some studies suggest that teachers lack confidence in dealing with equality issues, particularly in relation to sexual orientation, gender identity and sexual bullying, and are in need of better and more targeted training.

Despite these similarities, there are notable differences between forms of identity-based bullying. While research shows all identity-based characteristics can increase a child’s risk of being bullied, bullying relating to disability, learning difficulties and sexual orientation appear to be particularly prevalent within UK schools. These forms of bullying show a strong relationship to prejudiced attitudes held throughout the school, both by pupils and teaching staff. Therefore, when addressing these in particular, greater efforts need to be made to challenge overriding prejudice, and to eliminate homophobic and disablist attitudes at all levels of the school and wider community.

In addition, certain forms of identity-based bullying show unique characteristics which require special consideration when developing preventative and responsive strategies. With regard to homophobic bullying, lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) young people may be reluctant to report incidents out of a fear of having to disclose their sexual orientation when they are not ready to do so. Schools and local authorities must ensure pupils feel able to report these incidents confidentially and comfortably, while responsive strategies must also be carefully tailored in order to cause no further distress to the victim. Additionally, the impact of being bullied can differ according to the form of identity-based bullying experienced. Bullying directed at group characteristics, such as race or religion can have far-reaching effects, which target not just the individual but also the wider community. In comparison, bullying directed solely at the individual, such as bullying of disabled or transgender pupils, can severely affect the welfare and psychological wellbeing of the victim. Therefore it is important that all forms of identity-based bullying are individually understood, and addressed with consideration toward their unique characteristics.
The review revealed little information on the actions and policies of relevant authorities in England, Scotland and Wales; this is especially so regarding how far these have been implemented in practice, the effectiveness of anti-bullying measures for different forms of identity-based bullying, and what further support needs are required by local authorities and schools. One of the few pieces of evidence available, an analysis of 217 school anti-bullying policies in 2008, shows that 64 per cent referred to racial bullying, 48 per cent gender-based, 25 per cent homophobic, 15 per cent disability-based bullying and seven per cent faith-based bullying (Smith et al., in preparation), indicating a need for schools to take action to address all areas of equality.

The apparent lack of any further research prevents conclusions from being drawn on the effectiveness of identity-based anti-bullying strategies, instead highlighting the need for evidence-based evaluations of various strategies to tackle identity-based bullying, which are crucial in order to identify and modify guidance for best practice.

The review highlights areas in which further research is urgently required. Firstly, there is a need for clearer definitions of what identity-based bullying is. There is uncertainty among researchers and children and young people in distinguishing this type of bullying from both abuse, and bullying which is not related to identity-based characteristics. Secondly, there is a need for more research which assesses the prevalence of identity-based bullying, and the effect this can have on the victim, school and wider community. Thirdly, intervention strategies for both preventing and responding to identity-based bullying need to be monitored and evaluated in order to assess their relevance and effectiveness.

Survey results and stakeholder interviews
The local authority (LA) questionnaire was developed in close collaboration with the Equality and Human Rights Commission to establish what is being done at the local level in schools and the wider community to prevent and respond to different types of identity-based bullying. This questionnaire was sent to all local authorities in England, Scotland and Wales. Specific identity areas covered in the questionnaire included:

- Race or ethnicity
- Gypsy/Roma/Travellers
- Asylum seekers or refugees
- Religion or belief
- Learning disability/difficulty
Stakeholders from key anti-bullying and equality organisations were also interviewed, selected based on their involvement and specific knowledge of identity-based bullying. These interviews identified ways in which identity-based bullying is being addressed in schools and the community, providing a commentary on the results obtained through the LA survey. Respondents also reflected on existing policy and guidance and provided suggestions for improving prevention and response to identity-based bullying. Additional interviews were carried out with questionnaire respondents in order to identify examples of best practice.

The LA response rate to the questionnaire within each country was 38 per cent for England, 24 per cent for Scotland and 18 per cent for Wales, which (although lower than expected) is comparable to other large-scale surveys on LA performance. The lack of a response from many local authorities identified two prominent issues. Firstly, despite repeated requests, the research team encountered difficulties in locating the person responsible for anti-bullying work within several LAs, particularly in Scotland and Wales. Secondly, many LAs reported that they were unable to complete the questionnaire in the required time period due to a lack of time and/or capacity.

Results from the three countries were analysed separately due to the different policy contexts. Because of the low numbers of responses for Scotland (n = 8) and Wales (n = 4), the results are provided in the main report only. The higher response rate in England allows for some clear patterns from the data to be discussed, which, although not generalisable to all LAs, does raise interesting and important issues concerning identity-based bullying. The results from English LAs are discussed in terms of five key areas.

Policy and strategy framework
The majority of LAs reported having a designated lead on identity-based anti-bullying, but 28 per cent said that they did not. Stakeholder interviews highlighted the importance of this role in providing an informed and coordinated approach across schools and the wider community. The majority of LAs had established equality schemes and anti-bullying policies which referred to at least one form of identity-based bullying. However, while
prominent equality strands such as race or ethnicity, sexual orientation and disability were individually referenced in the majority of equality schemes and anti-bullying policies, only around half of all LAs had also included bullying related to transphobia, asylum seekers and refugees, or Gypsies, Roma and Travellers. Identity-based bullying was more likely to be referred to through anti-bullying policies than through equality schemes, suggesting that some LAs do not perceive bullying and equality as related issues. Respondents identified action plans as an important stage in incorporating identity-based bullying into local authorities’ policies and strategies.

Local authority recommendations to schools
Almost all LAs (95-97 per cent) recommended that their schools record and report incidents of bullying based on race or ethnicity, reflecting current statutory requirements. Between 77 and 81 per cent stated that schools were also recommended to record bullying related to sexual orientation, gender, disability, learning disability and religion or belief, and between 58 and 65 per cent of bullying related to gender identity, Gypsy, Roma and Travellers, and asylum seekers or refugees. A much smaller proportion also encouraged schools to report these incidents to the LA. This matters because reporting incidents to others rather than just making a record is more likely to lead to joined-up action. Ninety-five per cent of LAs recommend reporting of race and ethnicity incidents, compared with 42 per cent for disability, 40 per cent for learning disability, and only 26 per cent for gender identity.

However, despite making recommendations, almost one half of LAs do not monitor whether schools are meeting them, which raises questions around the extent to which LAs are aware of how schools are addressing and tackling identity-based bullying. The majority of LAs reported being in favour of statutory requirements for the recording (80 per cent) and reporting (63 per cent) of all forms of identity-based bullying, as they recognise the benefits of doing so, for example in terms of targeting resources. Despite this, some concerns were raised over how this data would be used, the extra strain these requirements could place on school staff, and fears of the results being used to rank performance.

Prevalence of identity-based bullying
In most cases, only a small number of LAs had managed to collect evidence relating to the prevalence of identity-based bullying, either in schools or the wider community. Although 75 per cent of LAs said they had evidence relating to the prevalence of racist bullying in schools, less than 40 per cent had
evidence for other types of identity-based bullying relating to sexual orientation, Gypsies and Travellers, gender, and religion or belief. Fewer still had evidence relating to bullying of disabled children, asylum seekers and refugees, and children with learning disabilities (26-30 per cent), and only 12 per cent of LAs collected evidence relating to gender identity. The finding that the majority of LAs have no evidence for the prevalence of most forms of identity-based bullying is particularly worrying. Interviews with LAs and stakeholders highlighted how recognising that these forms of bullying occurred was a critical first step, as the nature of identity-based bullying means it will occur in every LA.

Where evidence had been collected, in schools this was generally as part of termly or yearly surveys carried out among pupils. Within the wider community, evidence was provided through hate crime statistics, and reports from community partnerships. Collecting accurate and reliable evidence on the prevalence of identity-based bullying is crucial in identifying particular needs and problems within an area; results show very few LAs are currently doing this.

Training
The majority of LAs provided identity-based bullying training to school staff and pupils, but fewer reported offering this to children’s services. Stakeholder interviews addressed the importance of training, and the need to address specific forms of identity-based bullying rather than providing a general overview. In addition, LA capacity issues in relation to identity-based bullying training highlight the need for a more efficient training structure, possible through the use of ‘train the trainer’ programmes developed by anti-bullying organisations.

Tackling identity-based bullying
The majority of LAs said they recommended preventative strategies for specific forms of identity-based bullying, but they also identified a need for guidance and further support in terms of awareness-raising, funding and training. Stakeholders also highlighted the importance of preventative measures in addressing identity-based bullying.

LAs reported that responsive strategies were less likely to refer to specific forms of identity-based bullying than preventative measures, and again the need for clearer guidance, training packages and funding was identified. Interviews indicated that responsive strategies could be effective in
addressing identity-based bullying, but to a large degree were reliant on the preventative measures already in place.

Some difficulties were reported in preventing and responding to identity-based bullying, most notably a lack of funding, and uncertainty over the legal requirements of schools in terms of recording and reporting of incidents. However, the majority of LAs reported that they felt confident in providing support for schools in relation to each form of identity-based bullying. Although this suggests LAs feel prepared in addressing identity-based bullying, the finding raises concerns over what kind of support is being given to schools, given that many LAs are unaware of the guidance available, very few actually monitor the prevalence of identity-based bullying, and a small proportion do not even refer to certain equality strands in their anti-bullying and equality policies.

**Recommendations**
Recommendations relating to the prevention of and response to identity-based bullying are made in 10 areas:

*Policy and guidance*
The LA survey responses highlighted a greater awareness of identity-based bullying within England than in Scotland or Wales, mainly resulting from the larger amount of guidance available and the policies that had been put in place. However, some stakeholders felt that while this had been useful, not enough had been done at a national, regional and school level to promote awareness of issues relating to equality. Those forms of identity-based bullying where specific legislation had been implemented, or where well-promoted guidance exists, including racist, homophobic and disablist bullying, were more likely to be addressed by LAs than less prominent equality strands, including asylum seekers or refugees, transgender, and Roma, Gypsy or Traveller children. Stakeholders identified the importance of addressing all forms of identity-based bullying through policies and guidance at a national, regional and local level.

- We advocate a reference to each of the main identity strands within LA and school anti-bullying policies, as well as some statement concerning preventing and responding to identity-based bullying in associated equality schemes.
• Focus should be placed on raising awareness of identity-based bullying at both a government and non-government level and by providing practical guidance.

**Organisation of anti-bullying work**
The low response rate obtained among LAs in part results from the lack of departmental coordination and organisation around anti-bullying work. Those LAs who were best able to respond had designated anti-bullying coordinators, who provide a link between different departments, and have a clear and well-informed understanding of how identity-based bullying is being prevented and responded to within their LA. The lack of an identifiable lead on anti-bullying, particularly in Scotland and Wales, created difficulties in finding respondents with sufficient knowledge to complete the survey. However, in LAs where a strategic lead had been established, the lack of funding, time and capacity for this anti-bullying role was repeatedly raised.

• We recommend that LAs are encouraged to appoint a designated anti-bullying coordinator, and that the funding and resources are made available for this.

**Prevalence**
The literature we reviewed indicated a high level of prevalence for all forms of identity-based bullying, and highlighted the importance of using these figures to identify which equality strands are in greatest need of action. However, very few LAs currently assess the prevalence of identity-based bullying or monitor their schools to identify particular problems, or the effectiveness of intervention strategies.

• We recommend that LAs are encouraged to take greater measures in regularly assessing the prevalence of all forms of identity-based bullying and monitoring the work carried out in schools, so that they are aware of the extent of different types of bullying and can target their resources accordingly.

**Teacher/practitioner training**
While the majority of LAs provided specific training on identity-based bullying, this was more often delivered to schools than organisations working in the wider community. The literature highlights the importance of providing training around all issues of equality which is targeted at school staff and adults working with children. LAs play an important role in delivering this, and survey
results indicate that many do, but the nature of the training must be carefully considered. It is important to recognise that identity-based bullying does not only occur in school, and must be addressed by all organisations working with children and young people.

- We recommend that LAs play a greater role in promoting and delivering identity-based bullying training not only to teachers but also to those involved with other children’s services and those interacting with children and young people within the community.
- This training can be facilitated and informed by national anti-bullying organisations and stakeholders within each country through a ‘train the trainer’ approach.

Prevention and a whole school approach
The literature review and stakeholder interviews strongly indicated the importance of preventative strategies in tackling bullying, and the effectiveness of adopting a whole school approach which considers all of the equality strands. Whole school policies, assemblies, workshops and the PHSE curriculum are all effective methods through which to challenge prejudiced beliefs. Results from the survey showed that LAs do use specific preventative strategies, but that these are mostly for racist, disablist and homophobic bullying.

In England, specific guidance for all forms of identity-based bullying is available. Most LAs were aware of guidance which related to racist, homophobic and disablist bullying, with over half saying it had been useful and one third very useful. However, around half of LAs were unaware of guidance relating to bullying of Gypsies, Roma or Travellers or refugees. Two thirds of LAs also indicated the need for greater support around preventative strategies, particularly in terms of resources, training, funding, promotion of guidance, and a preference for the introduction of statutory requirements for schools to record and report identity-based bullying incidents.

- We recommend that better support is provided to LAs to help them develop preventative strategies which address all forms of identity-based bullying.

Response to identity-based bullying
Less than half of all LAs recommend specific responsive strategies for dealing with incidents of identity-based bullying, and in many cases the strategies
used show a lack of understanding of the issues involved in bullying based around prejudice. A range of responsive strategies are required which can be tailored to reflect the individual situation and the needs of the victim. Strategies directed at those who bully are also necessary to ensure that incidents are dealt with adequately. A two-pronged approach which incorporates both preventative and responsive strategies for identity-based bullying was identified through the literature review and stakeholder interviews as the most effective means of intervention.

- We recommend that specific responsive strategies for all forms or identity-based bullying are developed, and that these are implemented along with preventative measures as part of a coherent, all-round approach.

**Wider community**

Results from the LA survey highlighted a lack of knowledge around bullying in the wider community among respondents, resulting from the difficulties experienced in terms of multi-departmental working and coordination. As previous research has shown, identity-based bullying is a social issue, which can have implications for whole communities.

- We advocate a more coordinated approach between schools and organisations working with children in the wider community. This coordinated approach can be achieved through multi-agency working, coordinated by a strategic lead on anti-bullying within each local authority.

**Key issues in preventing and responding**

A multi-agency approach, which incorporates a range of organisations with a focus on both the welfare of children and issues relating to equality is an important step in tackling identity-based bullying. However, less than two thirds of LAs who responded to the survey had developed these partnerships. In addition, the majority of LAs reported experiencing no difficulties in tackling identity-based bullying, and were confident in their ability to provide support to schools on this issue. This appears contradictory, considering that some LAs do not even reference certain forms of identity-based bullying, and are unaware of the guidance available which relates to it.

- We recommend that LAs are encouraged to form partnerships with a variety of relevant organisations, so that identity-based bullying can be appropriately and more effectively addressed.
• We recommend that preventative and responsive materials for identity-based bullying are expanded and better promoted to encourage LAs to modify their current strategies, and implement an informed, evidence-based approach which effectively addresses identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community.

• We recommend that a requirement for schools to record and report incidents for all types of identity-based bullying should be introduced, in line with the positive support from LAs for this measure. This will provide the necessary data to measure the prevalence of bullying over time, which should be a key indicator on progress towards equality. This could form part of the new equality data requirements to be placed on LAs and schools as part of their equality duties under the Equality Act 2010.

Research
There is a significant lack of research that addresses identity-based bullying, both generally and by particular identity-based characteristics. This is particularly the case for asylum seeker, refugee and transgender children. In addition, there are very few studies that provide pre- and post-test evaluations of preventative and responsive interventions. There is a need for:

• Further research into the characteristics of identity-based bullying.
• Evaluations of targeted strategies and interventions to better inform LAs and schools of the issues surrounding identity-based bullying, and the strategies that can be used to reduce it.

Definition
Both the literature review and responses from LAs indicated that there is confusion over the definitions of identity-based bullying, and the need to clarify these terms from a legal and practical perspective, which also incorporates the views of the child. The distinction between abuse, harassment and bullying is particularly vague and requires clarification. Awareness-raising is required for all forms of identity-based bullying.

Survey results indicate a hierarchy of identity-based bullying within LAs, with the most prominent issues such as racial and homophobic bullying being much more likely to be addressed than bullying related to Travellers/Roma/Gypsy, asylum seeking, refugee or transgender children.

• We recommend that attention is placed on raising awareness and understanding of what identity or prejudice bullying is and how it differs
to non-prejudice related bullying, for all stakeholders and practitioners who work with children and young people.

- LAs and schools must be made aware of all forms of identity-based bullying, and treat each with equal concern.
1. Introduction

1.1 Background
This project was commissioned by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (the Commission) in December 2009 with the aim of establishing what local authorities across England, Scotland and Wales are doing to prevent and respond to identity-based bullying, both in schools and in the wider community. This comes at a time when increasing attention is being paid to identity-based bullying and the strategies that can be used to tackle it.

Bullying refers to a range of negative aggressive behaviours which are intended to cause physical or emotional damage to those who experience them. Research over the past 20 years has found bullying to be a problem for a substantial proportion of children and young people living in Britain. If left unresolved, the experience of being bullied can have a detrimental effect on a child’s development, leading to a variety of physical and psychological problems throughout adolescence and later life (Hawker and Boulton, 2000; Arsenault et al., 2009).

Anyone can be bullied, but there are various risk factors which increase the likelihood of it happening. For children and young people, these include individual characteristics such as temperament, personality or aspects of physical appearance like weight, hair colour or wearing glasses (Farrington and Ttofi, 2009). Bullying can also be based on identity-based characteristics such as race, religion or belief, disability, sexual orientation, gender or gender identity. We refer to this type of bullying as identity-based bullying, but it is also known as bias bullying or prejudice-related bullying due to its association with prejudiced or stereotyped views of particular social groups.

The Commission’s Staying On (2009) project identified bullying as one of the key reasons why young people disengage from learning and leave formal education. The research found that particular groups of pupils, including disabled and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) young people, were less likely to feel physically and emotionally safe at school and to be more at risk of bullying (Jackson & Hudson, 2009). These young people may also have particular needs or issues which should be considered by those tasked with preventing or responding to identity-based bullying.

Identity-based bullying is not only targeted at an individual, but reflects negative attitudes towards a wider sub-community or group with whom that
individual identifies (or is believed to identify). Young people in such groups may be more vulnerable to or at risk of experiencing bullying and can benefit from more targeted support.

**Policy context**
Under the previous UK government, tackling bullying among children and young people was made a key priority. As part of an overall commitment to improving wellbeing and experiences for all young people, the *Every Child Matters* agenda (2003) and *Children’s Plan* (2007) made specific references to preventing and responding to bullying. The Department for Children, Schools and Families (now Department for Education) made clear that all forms of bullying, including those motivated by prejudice, must not be tolerated and should always incur a disciplinary sanction. The coalition government has indicated that it too will make tackling bullying a top priority, with plans to introduce a zero tolerance approach to bullying and bad behaviour in schools.

In Scotland and Wales, education is a devolved priority. The Welsh Assembly Government released guidance relating to bullying in 2003 which specifically refers to identity-based bullying, while the Scottish Government has addressed bullying with awareness-raising schemes, policy development and training strategies through their investment in respectme and the development of the Scottish Anti-Bullying Steering Group.

The Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF, now Department for Education, DfE), the Scottish Government and the Welsh Assembly have all acknowledged the importance of tackling bullying, and have produced guidance designed to help schools and local authorities (LAs) prevent and respond to bullying that takes place in schools and the wider community.

Each country also has a national anti-bullying body: the Anti-Bullying Alliance in England, founded by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) and National Children’s Bureau (NCB) in 2002; the Welsh Anti-Bullying Network, facilitated by the Welsh Assembly Government and founded in 2005, and Respectme in Scotland, funded by the Scottish Government and founded in 2007. These organisations aim to raise the profile of bullying, including the extent and damage it causes, within each country. They represent key stakeholders and offer advice and support to those involved with children and young people regarding anti-bullying work.
Each country has implemented specific legislation to prevent bullying from occurring among children and young people; however there are significant differences between these approaches, and the degrees to which they have been implemented.

In England, the Education Act (2002), Children Act (2004) and Education and Inspections Act (2006) all place requirements on LAs and governing bodies to prevent bullying and ensure the health and welfare of children and young people. There are also specific policies in place which refer to bullying based around race, disability, sexual orientation, gender and gender identity. While all these forms of bullying are referred to through policies, only in the case of racial bullying are incidents required to be monitored and reported to the LA (DfES, 2004).

In Wales, bullying within schools and the wider community is addressed through the School Standards and Framework Act (1998), Education and Inspections Act (2006), and the Children Act (2004). The Welsh Assembly Government (2004) has also outlined seven core aims through which the needs and interests of children and young people are to be considered, and placed at the centre of a ‘vision for a better Wales’. One of these aims states that ‘every child and young person enjoys the best possible physical and mental, social and emotional health, including freedom from abuse, victimisation and exploitation’.

In Scotland, bullying is addressed through the Standard in Scotland’s Schools Act (2000), Children (Scotland) Act (2004) and the Schools (Scotland) Act (2007). Additionally, both the Getting It Right for Every Child framework (GIRFEC) and Curriculum for Excellence aim to assist in the development of children and young people, and prevent bullying. Over the next 10 years, the aims of the Scottish government are outlined in Scotland Performs (2008), a framework comprised of 15 national outcomes. Three of these outcomes relate to children’s health and welfare, including bullying, while a further outcome is aimed at ‘tackling the significant inequalities in Scottish society’. Most recently, A national approach to anti-bullying for Scotland’s children and young people (2009) was released for consultation. This proposes an improved approach to anti-bullying work in Scotland by outlining the contributions that could be made by sectors and stakeholders, as well as highlighting the role of the Scottish Anti-Bullying Steering Group. Local authority responses to the document are currently being compiled, the results
of which may have a significant impact on how bullying among children and young people is prevented and responded to in Scotland.

Public sector duties
The public sector equality duties are unique pieces of equality legislation. They give public bodies, including local authorities, maintained schools, academies and pupil referral units legal responsibilities to demonstrate that they are taking action on equality in policymaking, the delivery of services and public sector employment.

The duties require public bodies to take steps not just to eliminate unlawful discrimination and harassment, but also to actively promote equality. The duties provide a framework to help schools tackle persistent and long-standing issues of disadvantage, such as underachievement of boys from certain ethnic groups, and bullying of disabled young people.

Schools and LAs are currently bound by three separate duties for race, disability and gender. These are similar in their spirit and intention but where differences do exist between the different duties, these reflect the differing nature of discrimination faced by different groups and the lessons learned from the introduction of earlier duties. The requirements on LAs and schools in relation to bullying are outlined below for each duty:

**Race:** to eliminate racial discrimination, promote equality of opportunity and to promote good relations between persons of different racial groups. Institutions must produce a race equality policy which is a written statement of their policy for promoting race equality. All schools and educational establishments are also required to record racist incidents and to report them to the local authority on a regular basis.

**Disability:** schools and LAs are to have regard to the need to: promote equality of opportunity between disabled and other people; eliminate discrimination and harassment; promote positive attitudes to disabled people; encourage participation by disabled people in public life, and take steps to meet disabled people’s needs, even if this requires more favourable treatment. Schools and LAs are also required to publish a disability equality

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1 Guidance for schools and information on the legal requirements of the current duties can be found on the Commission’s website at: www.equalityhumanrights.com/publicsectorduties
scheme, which must show how the school is meeting its general duty to promote disability equality across all of its areas of responsibility.

**Gender:** LAs and schools have a general duty to promote equality of opportunity between men and women (and boys and girls) and a specific duty to publish a gender equality scheme, including an action plan showing how the school intends to fulfil its duties. Schools must revise and review the plan every three years and report on progress annually.

Under the Equality Act (2010), a new single public sector equality duty will be introduced which will apply to all protected characteristics: age\(^2\), disability, gender, gender reassignment, pregnancy and maternity, religion and belief, and sexual orientation. The new duty will commence in England and in Scotland in April 2011, and in Wales in spring/summer 2011. The single public sector equality duty will require public authorities to:

- eliminate discrimination, harassment and victimisation
- advance equality of opportunity, and
- foster good relations.

Until the new duty has commenced, the current duties will continue to apply.

**Government guidance**

In England, the *Don’t Suffer in Silence* packs (DFE, 1994; DfES, 2000) referred to bullying on the basis of race, gender, sexual orientation and disability; and identity-based bullying features strongly in the current 2007 *Safe to Learn* package of materials. Under the previous government, the DCSF (now DfE) made clear that all forms of bullying, including those motivated by prejudice, must not be tolerated and should always incur a disciplinary sanction.\(^3\) Separate guidance materials published as part of the DCSF *Safe to Learn* suite relate to racist bullying, homophobic bullying, bullying involving those with special needs and disabilities, cyberbullying, and bullying related to gender and gender identity. These documents provide information and advice on each form of identity-based bullying, while also making recommendations for schools on how to monitor, prevent and respond to this form of bullying.

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\(^2\) Where schools are concerned, age will be a relevant characteristic in considering their duties in their role as an employer but not in relation to pupils.

\(^3\) The coalition government has indicated that it will take a similarly strong stance on bullying.
In Scotland, a reference to prejudice-based bullying is made in the National Approach to Anti-bullying for Scotland’s Children and Young People (2009):

‘Bullying behaviour may be related to prejudice-based behaviours including racism, sexism or homophobia; and may only be one aspect of wider prejudice behaviours and/or may compound other differences or difficulties in a child’s life.’

Learning and Teaching Scotland has also published guidance on racial and sectarian bullying, and a toolkit which supports school staff in addressing homophobic bullying is available through the website\(^4\). However, there is not currently any specific guidance relating to other forms of identity-based bullying.

In Wales, Respecting Others: Anti-bullying guidance (The National Assembly for Wales, 2003) includes specific sections on bullying based on race, gender, sexual orientation, disability and long-term health conditions.

**Evidence gaps**

There is a wealth of literature relating to general bullying in schools and some recent research concerning the use and effectiveness of various anti-bullying strategies (Farrington and Ttofi, 2009; Merrell, Gueldner, Ross and Isava, 2008), including those specifically used in English schools (Thompson and Smith, in press). However, there appears to be a lack of evidence specifically related to identity-based bullying, including information on the current actions and policies of relevant authorities in England, Scotland and Wales. This is especially regarding how far these have been implemented in practice, the effectiveness of anti-bullying policies for different forms of identity-based bullying, and what further support needs are required. Additionally, until now there has been no available resource which reviews and analyses the research available, compares the differing forms of identity-based bullying, and examines the differences and similarities in how they are prevented and responded to.

**1.2 Aims of the project**

This research attempts to fill these gaps by providing a focused review of issues relating to identity-based bullying, both in schools and the wider community, and to establish how local authorities (LAs) are helping schools

\(^4\) http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/
and other children’s services to prevent and respond to different types of identity-based bullying.

The project was composed of three parts: a review of policy and existing literature relating to identity-based bullying in the UK, interviews with stakeholders, and a survey of local authorities across England, Scotland and Wales.

This report brings together existing identity-based anti-bullying literature, associated government policy and guidelines, and practical knowledge gained from those with a leading role in identity-based anti-bullying work. The report presents the findings of this project; we highlight the main issues in tackling identity-based (prejudice or bias) bullying, identify areas of good practice and make recommendations for policymakers and practitioners for developing and improving anti-bullying work.

1.3 Report structure
The report is structured in the following way:

- Chapter 2 outlines the methodology used for the literature review, stakeholder interviews and local authority survey. It also provides an overview of the issues regarding the interpretation of data in this report.
- Chapter 3 provides a review of current literature relating to overall identity-based bullying, before discussing specific literature which focuses on particular identity strands.
- Chapter 4 presents the findings from the survey concerning what local authorities and their schools are doing to prevent identity-based bullying inside schools and the wider community. The findings are discussed in relation to the comments provided through stakeholder interviews, which address identity-based bullying in schools and the community; as well as offering reflections on existing policy and guidance and suggestions for improvements in preventing and responding to identity-based bullying. Results are also addressed in relation to the literature review and existing and future policies.
- Chapter 5 highlights the overall conclusions based on this research and outlines some recommendations for future identity-based bullying work.
2. Methodology, sources and evidence gaps

The methodology for this project comprised: a literature review of published literature and existing policy relating to identity-based bullying, interviews with key stakeholders, and a local authority (LA) survey.

2.1 Literature and policy review
The literature review involved systematic searches for academic literature using three online databases; PsycINFO, ISI Web of Knowledge and ingentaconnect. Firstly, key search terms (identity-based bullying, prejudice bullying and bias bullying) were used in each database before conducting separate searches for particular identity strands (see Appendix 1 for details).

Various inclusion and exclusion criteria were agreed. Literature relating to bullying and/or harassment of children and young people (up to the age of 19) based on specific equality strands or minority groups were included in the review. Although literature searches were not limited by the date of publication, a focus in the review was placed on literature published in the last 10 years; with efforts especially made to identify literature from the last three years. Where older research is cited this is because it represents key work in particular areas, and/or highlights any changes or lack of change compared to more recent research findings. The review primarily focuses on UK literature (mainly from England, Wales and Scotland). However, non-UK research findings are referred to briefly in cases where UK research is lacking or where they can provide useful insights into identity-based bullying.

Additional published and grey literature was obtained from web-based searches of key stakeholders and anti-bullying organisations in England, Scotland and Wales. All resulting literature was categorised into the following themes; definition issues, prevalence and types of bullying behaviour experienced, and key issues in preventing and responding to various forms of identity-based bullying. Existing policy and guidance materials relating to identity-based bullying were found through governmental websites, central anti-bullying bodies within each country, and key stakeholders.

2.2 Local authority survey
A local authority (LA) survey questionnaire was developed in close collaboration with the Equality and Human Rights Commission (the Commission) to establish what is being done by local authorities to prevent
and respond to different types of identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community. Specific identity areas covered in the questionnaire were:

- Race or ethnicity
- Gypsy/Roma/Travellers
- Asylum seekers or refugees
- Religion or belief
- Learning disability/difficulty
- Disability
- Sexual orientation
- Gender
- Gender identity

These areas reflect key equality strands and some sub-divisions of these strands (such as Gypsy/Roma/Travellers, asylum seekers or refugees and learning disability) which were identified by the Commission as representing groups of young people likely to be at risk of experiencing bullying. Respondents were also asked to identify any other forms of identity-based bullying dealt with within their LA which had not been addressed in the questionnaire.

The questionnaire used a mix of closed and open-ended questions, to address the following issues:

- Who takes the lead on identity-based bullying within the LA.
- What policies, strategies or action plans the LA has to tackle identity-based bullying and what recommendations they make to schools in the area.
- The extent to which LAs are aware of the prevalence of different types of identity-based bullying inside and outside schools.
- Identifying any training provided for schools and other Children’s Services in relation to identity-based bullying.
- Strategies for preventing and responding to identity-based bullying.
- Rating the usefulness of available government and non-government resources.
- Identifying further ways in which governmental and non-governmental agencies can help support local authorities.
- Outlining any strategic partnerships specifically aimed at preventing or responding to identity-based bullying.
• Any difficulties encountered in preventing or responding to identity-based bullying.
• And identifying examples of good practice in schools and the wider community.

This questionnaire was sent to all LAs in England (152), Scotland (32) and Wales (22). Each LA was initially contacted to identify a relevant individual who takes a lead role in anti-bullying work within the local area. In most cases this involved being redirected to various departments (such as Children and Young People’s Services, Education, Safeguarding and Welfare), before being provided with details for a named contact. This information was also checked against earlier lists of named anti-bullying contacts, where available.

Once a relevant individual had been identified, we telephoned them directly to inform them about the study and to ask if they, or someone else, would be able to complete the survey. In the majority of cases the named individual was not available to speak to directly and so the survey request was sent in an email format.

Follow-up phone calls and emails were made two weeks after the original survey request to check that individuals had received the questionnaire and to ask whether they had any questions or problems with the questionnaire. A final reminder email was sent to non-respondents a month after the original request (see Appendix 3 for further survey details). In the initial survey request and follow-up correspondence it was made clear that completion of the survey was voluntary, that the data would be reported anonymously (LAs and individuals would not be identified)\(^5\), and that a summary of survey results would be available to all LAs who had responded.

2.3 Stakeholder interviews
Five individuals were interviewed from key stakeholder organisations. The organisations were selected for their involvement and specific knowledge of identity-based bullying, and those interviewed were asked to give a national perspective and to relay their expertise of working with children and young people from various equality groups (See Appendix 2 for further information).

\(^5\) Unique LA codes were provided.
The following organisations were represented:

- Beat Bullying
- Mencap
- Stonewall
- Womankind
- Barnardo’s Cymru

These interviews were used to highlight ways in which these organisations are addressing identity-based bullying in schools and the community, as well as considering the broader issues in terms of particular support needs and potential difficulties in dealing with identity-based bullying. Respondents were asked to reflect on existing policy and guidance and to make any suggestions for improvements in the way that LAs and schools prevent and respond to identity-based bullying.

Due to the small number of survey responses from LAs in Scotland and Wales, additional interviews were conducted with senior members of the national anti-bullying bodies within Wales (the Welsh Anti-bullying Network) and Scotland (respectme). One interview was also conducted with a representative of the devolved Welsh Assembly Government. These interviews provide a specific focus on the current situation relating to bullying and identity-based bullying within each country.

2.4 Evidence gaps and limitations

The literature and policy review draws on a range of information from a variety of sources, such as published academic literature, grey literature from charity organisations, policy documents and guidance materials. Over 100 references were reviewed for this report, providing a detailed overview of the current situation regarding identity-based bullying in the UK. The review also provides a sound basis for highlighting further research needed in this area.

‘Identity-based’, ‘prejudice’ or ‘bias’ bullying as general terms are not directly referred to in many research studies or related literature. A few studies have compared bullying based on different equality strands (or identity features); however, far more have focused on specific areas such as race, disability, sexual orientation or gender. Focusing on particular equality groups is important for identifying specific needs and difficulties relating to children and young people within these groups, but it is also necessary to compare across
groups to identify any similarities between the different types of identity-based bullying, including any common causes and solutions.

The literature review includes studies which have gathered either quantitative or qualitative data, as well as some that have used mixed methodologies. What we were unable to find were systematic pre-test and post-test evidence-based evaluations of various strategies or projects relating to preventing or responding to identity-based bullying; such research is crucial in identifying and modifying guidance for best practice.

Although the sample of stakeholders is small and not necessarily representative of other organisations working to tackle bullying, the stakeholder interviews provide valuable insights into issues concerning identity-based bullying in young people. They also highlight some issues of best practice and provide a reflection on current policy and action within schools and LAs. Many of these are UK-wide organisations or have individual branches representing England, Scotland and Wales.

The individuals who were interviewed were able to give in-depth information based on their knowledge and expertise of targeted anti-bullying work with young people across particular identity strands. The interviews with members of national anti-bullying boards and governments help to gain a broader picture of issues relating to identity-based bullying within these countries. However, it is important to note that the comments and issues raised through stakeholder and LA interviews are likely to reflect personal views and standpoints and not necessarily the official position of the organisation.

The LA response rate to the questionnaire within each country was 38 per cent for England, 24 per cent for Scotland and 18 per cent for Wales, which, although lower than expected, is comparable to other large-scale surveys of LA performance. The lack of a response from many local authorities helped to identify two prominent issues. Firstly, the difficulties encountered in locating the person responsible for anti-bullying work within several LAs, particularly in Scotland and Wales, suggest a lack of clearly identifiable anti-bullying leads. Secondly, many LAs reported that they were unable to complete the questionnaire in the required time period due to a lack of time and/or capacity. The low response rate raises some problems regarding the generalisation of survey findings. Due to the low response rate obtained within Scotland and Wales, drawing meaningful conclusions from the data is problematic. For these two countries the findings provide a commentary of how identity-based
bullying is currently being addressed by the LAs that did respond, and give suggestions for how this can be better improved. The higher response rate in England allows for some clear patterns from the data to be discussed, which, although not possible to generalise for all LAs, do raise interesting and important issues concerning identity-based bullying. The difference between respondents and non-respondents and issues with interpreting the received data is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Survey findings are discussed in relation to email and phone discussions held between the research team and LAs during data collection, information gained through stakeholder interviews, and consideration towards existing policy and literature in each country. This triangulation of information assists in identifying the current situation in each country and helps to suggest areas for further research and guidance for policymakers, practitioners, and stakeholders in relation to identity-based bullying.
3. Literature review

This section of the report presents the findings from the literature review. Some general patterns in bullying research and existing findings relating to identity-based or prejudice bullying more generally are outlined, before considering the literature addressing the following identity strands; race and ethnicity (including religion and belief), disability and learning difficulties, sexual orientation, gender and gender identity.

For each identity strand, we discuss definition and methodological issues, the prevalence and particular types of bullying behaviour, and issues relating to preventing and responding to this form of bullying. Some suggestions for good practice are also briefly outlined.

3.1 Introduction to research on bullying

Bullying refers to negative behaviours directed at an individual or group which are intended to cause either physical, emotional or relational hurt or damage. This aggression is usually repeated over time and involves a real or imagined imbalance of power, where the victim feels relatively unable to defend him or herself. These aspects of intention, repetition and power imbalance identify bullying as a subset of aggression and distinguish it from one-off peer disagreements, aggression between equals, or play fighting (Olweus, 2010; Smith and Brain, 2000)

Bullying can encompass a variety of behaviours. Traditionally, these have been categorised in either one of four ways:

- Verbal, such as name-calling, teasing, threatening.
- Physical, such as hitting, punching, kicking, inappropriate touching.
- Relational, such as ignoring, leaving out, spreading rumours.
- Indirect, such as stealing, damaging belongings, targeted graffiti.

More recently a fifth category of cyberbullying has been added, which incorporates victimisation or harassment carried out through electronic forms of communication (Slonje and Smith, 2008).

Research over the past 20 years has found bullying to be a problem for a substantial proportion of children and young people living in Britain. A recent report by the Department for Education (DfE, 2010) uses data from a longitudinal study of over 15,000 young people to provide an assessment
of the prevalence of bullying within UK secondary schools. The findings show 47 per cent of pupils reported being bullied at the age of 14, with this figure dropping to 29 per cent by the time participants had reached 16. Name-calling was the most commonly reported form of bullying, followed by violence, social exclusion and being forced to hand over money or possessions. Among primary school children, data collected as part of the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF, now Department for Education) Tellus4 survey (DCSF, 2010) revealed that of over 250,000 six-to-10 year olds, just under half had been bullied at school and 20 per cent away from school. Among these, two-fifths of those who were bullied in school and one third of those bullied outside said it occurred on a frequent basis (at least once a week).

These figures indicate the high prevalence of bullying in UK schools, but also raise the importance of considering the individual nature of bullying incidents, with regard to the age and gender of those involved and the type of bullying being addressed. In terms of age, research widely confirms a general decline in the levels of bullying experienced as the age of pupils increases (Olweus, 1993; Smith et al., 1999). While older pupils are less likely to experience bullying, an exception to this occurs during the transition between primary and secondary school; Pellegrini and Long (2002) highlight an increase in bullying behaviours experienced by pupils of both sexes, possibly due to disruptions in friendships and peer group affiliations brought about through a change of school environment.

With regard to gender, a commonly reported finding in earlier research had been that boys were more likely to be involved with bullying than girls, both as victims and as perpetrators (Smith and Sharp, 1994; Smith et al., 1999). However, recent findings from the longitudinal study discussed above (DfE, 2010) suggest girls are more likely to be bullied than boys at the age of 14, while no difference between sexes was found at the age of 16. DCSF (2008) analysis of the Youth Cohort Study and Longitudinal Study of Young People in England also reported no difference in the prevalence of bullying between Year 11 girls and boys. Differences in the type of bullying experienced were also found, with girls more likely to report verbal and relational forms of bullying, while boys were more often subject to physical types of bullying. These differences provide confirmation for findings reported in previous research which examined the complex relationship between age, gender and bullying (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995; Smith, 2004; Besag, 2006). A further important issue to consider is that children’s response to bullying can also differ between genders, for example Smith and Shu (2000) report that boys
are more likely to fight back against bullies, while girls show a higher likelihood for reporting incidents to friends or adults.

The experiences of victims illustrate the wide range of negative outcomes that can be caused by bullying. Those commonly reported include the loss of self-esteem, anxiety, stress, depression, difficulties with school work, reluctance to attend school, and, in more extreme cases, self-harm and suicide (Hawker and Boulton, 2000). Retrospective and longitudinal studies on adults who were bullied during childhood also indicate longer term mental health outcomes, including adjustment problems in adolescence and adulthood, lower self-esteem, and an increased risk for depression (Arseneault, Bowes and Shakoor, 2009).

The reasons underlying bullying are increasingly a focus of research: what makes one child choose to bully another, and why are some children more at risk of being bullied? A variety of characteristics have been identified as risk factors for being bullied, including a lack of social skills (Fox and Boulton, 2005), having few friends (Hodges and Perry, 1999; Eslea et al., 2003), being socially rejected by one’s peers (Boulton and Smith, 1994), and having physical characteristics which distinguish one person from the rest of the peer group (Sweeting and West, 2001). These findings highlight how being bullied significantly relates to those characteristics that set a child apart from the rest of the peer group, such as their appearance, or behaviours they display. These findings have led to the increased focus on identity-based bullying.

There is some reference to aspects of identity-based bullying within the main anti-bullying guidance for England, Scotland and Wales. However, there is some variation in the focus and attention placed by schools on particular types of identity-based bullying. An analysis of anti-bullying policies in 142 English schools (obtained in 2004) found that only 53 per cent made reference to racial bullying, 40 per cent to gender-based bullying, and 12 per cent to homophobic bullying (Smith et al., 2008). Further analysis of 217 school policies obtained in 2008 shows only a modest increase (64 per cent mention racial bullying, 48 per cent gender-based, 25 per cent homophobic, 15 per cent disability-based bullying and seven per cent faith-based bullying (Smith et al., in preparation). While these studies do not address all forms of identity-based bullying, they serve to highlight the focus of schools in addressing issues relating to equality.
An assessment of anti-bullying policies has yet to be conducted in Scottish schools. In Wales, an evaluation of anti-bullying policies from 480 schools was conducted in 2005 (Epstein, Dowler, Mellor and Madden, 2006). This evaluation did not provide specific figures relating to the number of policies that referred to different types of identity-based bullying. However, policies in which the bullying definition paid specific attention to the dynamics of racist, homophobic and sexist bullying were likely to receive the highest coding, reflecting an ‘outstanding’ definition; just under 10 per cent of policies were coded as outstanding, suggesting that many of the policies did not make this distinction.

A report by the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) (2009) addresses the effects that identity-based bullying can have upon victims. It discusses how these forms of bullying are not just indicative of problems between individual children, but reflect wider social problems, whereby negative behaviours towards particular social groups are justified on the basis of differing identities. The report highlights the need for interventions which address the issue at the school and community rather than individual level.

Research by Barnardo’s Cymru (Butler, 2009) examines identity-based bullying among a group of children attending youth clubs in Wales. Participants indicated that children were bullied for two main reasons; either because they lacked confidence, or because of certain identity-based characteristics, such as their religion, skin colour, disability, or sexual orientation. The results suggest that identity-based bullying arises as a result of children’s poor understanding of diversity, and a lack of confidence among school staff in talking about issues relating to race, disability, sexual orientation and other group-based characteristics.

Identity-based bullying requires focused attention, so that preventative and responsive interventions can be targeted to safeguard those who experience it. The following sections of this report discuss the prevalence and nature of identity-based bullying in relation to five key strands: race and ethnicity (which includes religion and belief), disability, sexual orientation, gender and transgender.
3.2 Bullying related to race and ethnicity, including religion and belief

Definition
Bullying which is related to a child’s race or ethnicity is most commonly referred to as racist bullying. This term ‘refers to a range of hurtful behaviours, both physical and psychological, that makes a person feel unwelcome, marginalised, excluded, powerless or worthless because of their colour, ethnicity, culture, faith community, national origin or national status’ (DCSF, 2006, p.33). While bullying of certain ethnic groups such as Roma, Travellers, Gypsies, and asylum seekers or refugees can be considered distinct, in terms of policy and guidance these are often addressed as forms of racist bullying, and are discussed here within this context. The same is true for faith-based bullying, which, although distinct, is often considered to be related to bullying based around race and ethnicity.

There is some uncertainty as to how far racism and bullying overlap (Eslea and Mukhtar, 2000). Although both bullying and racism share certain characteristics, for example unprovoked aggression and an imbalance of power, the personal experience of racist bullying compared to non-racist forms of bullying may differ significantly. While most forms of bullying are targeted at a single individual on the basis of one of their personal characteristics, the nature of racist bullying means it can be considered an attack against an individual’s whole social network. Potentially, in the mind of the target of racist bullying, it is not just they who are being attacked, but also their community; therefore the effects of racist bullying can spread to one’s family, friends and surrounding community. Because of this, the distinction between racial bullying and racial abuse can be particularly vague, making it difficult to classify between that which is bullying, and that which is abuse. This finding has practical applications in terms of how racist bullying can be monitored and recorded, suggesting a substantial overlap would be expected between reports of racial bullying, and more general racial incident report forms or hate crime statistics.

Prevalence and types of bullying
While a number of studies have addressed the issue of racist bullying, researchers are careful to point out that the findings cannot generally be considered to be representative of all racist bullying. Reasons for this include the ethnic composition of the study sample, racial beliefs or practices and ethnic make-up of the wider community, and differing perceptions of bullying and racism among ethnic groups. Despite these limitations, the research
gives us an insight into the extent to which racist bullying occurs among children and young people.

Initial studies on racist bullying in the UK generally found that children from ethnic minority groups were no more likely to experience bullying than white, ethnic majority children. Both Moran et al. (1993) and Boulton and Smith (1992) studied Asian and white school pupils in England; both Asian and white pupils exhibited similar social behaviour, having comparable numbers of friends, enjoying school to an equal degree, and reporting the same level of being bullied or bullying others. The only significant difference reported in these studies was that Asian children who had experienced bullying were more likely to have been bullied through racist name-calling. Victims reported that the experience of this was both hurtful and damaging. In a follow-up to this study, Boulton (1995) carried out interviews with children who had previously stated they had been bullied. The majority of Asian victims (80 per cent) reported being teased about their race by white children, while 13 per cent had also been racially harassed by other Asian children. In contrast, only 33 per cent of white children had experienced racist name-calling by Asian pupils, with most victims reporting that they had been bullied on the basis of some personal characteristic other than their race or ethnicity.

More recent results from the nationally representative Youth Cohort Study (YCS) and Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE) (DCSF, 2008b) show some variation between ethnic groups in the likelihood of being bullied. White and mixed-race pupils were the most likely to have been bullied in the last three years (66 per cent and 67 per cent respectively), while Indian and Bangladeshi pupils where the least likely to have been bullied (49 per cent and 54 per cent). The figure for black African, Caribbean, Pakistani and pupils from other ethnic minorities ranged from 58 per cent to 61 per cent. However, it is not possible to tell from this study whether or not the reported bullying was based on race.

While early studies often examined racial bullying from a ‘minority versus white’ perspective, Eslea and Mukhtar (2000) provide a more detailed understanding of the bullying experiences of pupils from three ethnic minority groups, surveying 243 Hindu, Indian Muslim or Pakistani children; 57 per cent of boys and 43 per cent of girls surveyed had been bullied in some way, with very little variation in involvement found between children’s ethnic backgrounds. While all three ethnic groups were equally likely to be bullied by white children, victims indicated that in most cases the bullies were other
Asian children from a differing ethnic group. Furthermore, bullying between differing ethnic groups most often related to the child’s religious or cultural differences, including the clothes they wore, the language they spoke, or the god(s) they worshipped.

These studies indicate that while overall bullying appears to show little variation between racial or religious groups, a large proportion of children report being bullied because their personal or religious beliefs differ from others in their peer group. This highlights how bullying related to race, ethnicity or religion can be brought about by a lack of tolerance or understanding regarding individuals’ personal or religious beliefs.

A study by Siann et al. (1994) similarly reports that no significant difference in the level of bullying was found between ethnic groups, but the authors argue that this finding may not be an accurate reflection as it is conceivable that pupils from ethnic minorities perceive racial harassment differently to bullying. Given that the questionnaire referred only to ‘bullying’, racist bullying that they may have experienced could be interpreted as a differing form of abuse, and therefore unlikely to be reported as bullying. Had the questionnaire specifically mentioned racial harassment, differing responses may have been obtained.

Sawyer et al. (2008) examined racial and ethnic differences in children’s reports of being bullied in a US sample. Minority group pupils were less likely than white children to report being the victim of frequent bullying when using a single-item definition-based measure; however, using a multi-item behaviour-based measure, minority youths were more likely to report at least one form of being bullied. This suggests there may be cultural differences in the way experiences of bullying are perceived. It is important that children are aware that the behaviours they experience constitute racial bullying. Only once children are aware of this, and feel they are able to report it, can preventative and responsive strategies be used with beneficial effects.

Monks, Ortega-Ruiz and Rodriguez-Hildago (2008) examined racist bullying in multicultural schools in Spain and the UK. Among all pupils, 10 per cent reported being the victim of bullying based upon their culture. In line with previous findings, no difference in personal victimisation was found between majority or minority pupils; however those from minority groups were more likely to experience cultural name-calling and social exclusion. The research also suggests children were able to make a distinction between bullying and
These findings provide an insight into the bullying experiences of children from ethnic minorities, but offer only limited information on how racial bullying can affect the child. Problems surrounding the definition of racist bullying/racist abuse and an incomplete understanding of how this form of bullying is interpreted among children limit the research. For example, some studies did not ask about racial bullying directly, but focused on how the bullying experiences of ethnic minority pupils compared to those of ethnic majority pupils. Given the lack of recent research in the area, it is conceivable that these methodological problems may have deterred researchers from more fully examining the issues around racist bullying. However, it is vital that research fully examines the issue of bullying related to race and ethnicity so that preventative and responsive interventions can be better informed and targeted more effectively.

**Bullying of Roma, Travellers and Gypsies**

Research examining the experiences of children and young people from Roma, Traveller or Gypsy communities is sparse, particularly regarding bullying and the extent to which these children experience it. In trying to examine these issues, researchers have encountered a variety of problems, including the transient nature of such communities, a significant proportion of children being home schooled, and prevailing attitudes against these communities that continues to thwart their integration into mainstream society (Lloyd and Stead, 2001). Although not focused directly on children, a review by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2009) highlights the inequalities experienced by Gypsy, Travellers and Roma, and discusses the widespread prejudice against these communities and the relationship this bears toward bullying in schools and the wider community.

One small-scale study on the experiences of Gypsy and Show Travellers in Scottish Schools provides an insight into the lives of these children and young people (Lloyd and Stead, 2001). Both Gypsy and Show Traveller children attending mainstream schools experienced frequent bullying and name-calling based on their racial and ethnic backgrounds. Both parents and children reported this behaviour to be persistent and harmful, negatively affecting the child’s happiness and involvement in the school community. Parents indicated that they believed name-calling was an inevitable aspect of sending their children to school. However, many of the children indicated that they believed
retaliation to be the only available response, as teachers did not listen or believe them when reporting their experiences, or simply failed to take action. As a result, children would either avoid going to school, or retaliate against their aggressors, eventually becoming excluded or suspended for their behaviour.

The role of school staff appears to be fundamental in improving the experiences of Roma, Gypsy and Traveller young people. This research identified how teachers strove not to distinguish these children from the rest of their peers, and in doing so failed to acknowledge the unique cultural background and experiences of these pupils. Rather than treating all pupils as a homogenous group, it is important to recognise children’s ethnic and cultural distinctions, thereby embracing the difference and diversity within the school, and using this to inform an ethos of inclusion and acceptance. Given the existing stereotypes which continue to plague their mainstream integration, it appears that only by acknowledging and accepting their culture and background will children and young people from Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities be given a chance to fully and safely integrate with the rest of the school community.

**Bullying of asylum seekers and refugees**

Much of the bullying of young asylum seekers and refugees could be expected to relate to their race or ethnicity, but their personal histories and current status as citizens within the UK may increase their risk of becoming targets of bullying. While little is known about the bullying of refugee and asylum-seeker children, the itinerant lifestyle they will have experienced before and during their settlement means these children are often isolated, and have little opportunity to form long-lasting friendships and establish themselves within the school community.

There is an absence of specific research on bullying among refugees and asylum seekers, but studies on the integration of these children in education give an insight into why this topic requires attention. Quinn and Wakefield (2009) discuss the barriers towards inclusion experienced by European migrants adapting to life at a secondary school in Northern Ireland. Of 37 immigrant pupils surveyed, four had experienced name-calling, and nine reported being bullied. Despite this, the majority reported that they felt accepted as part of the school, had good friends, and played with local children both inside and outside school. While some bullying was evident, the degree of inclusion experienced by the children is undoubtedly positive, which
the authors argue was due to the investment of the school in attempting to create a harmonious and inclusive environment through the development of their anti-bullying policy.

Hek (2005) has discussed the role of education in the settlement of young refugees to the UK. In one school surveyed, children from refugee backgrounds reported bullying as being the main problem they experienced. These children stated feeling uncomfortable identifying as refugees, were unable to easily discuss their background or history, and believed their accents and ethnicity made them vulnerable to bullying by other students. In comparison, students at another school reported feeling positive about their refugee status, and were confident in their ability to contribute as part of the school community. Furthermore, pupils felt that bullying was not targeted at refugees. In general, bullying within the school was not tolerated, and when it did occur, pupils felt confident in discussing it with teachers. Three key issues marked the distinctions between the two schools; the presence of specialist teachers, support from friends, and a whole school ethos which allowed children to identify themselves as refugees. Aspinall and Watters (2010) review the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers from an equality and human rights perspective, highlighting how culturally diverse schools are of key importance in ensuring greater support is provided to pupils, and that prejudiced forms of bullying are reduced.

These studies show the importance of an inclusive ethos in preventing bullying based around identity-based characteristics. Schools that invest resources and effort in involving students from all ethnic and racial backgrounds can have a profound effect on the individuals’ experience within schools. By acknowledging the differences between students and celebrating the heterogeneity of the school community, pupils were given the opportunity to learn and stay safe during their time in school.

*Faith-based bullying*

Bullying related to religious beliefs is under-researched, and little literature exists which documents the prevalence and characteristics of this form of bullying. Studies on racial bullying provide occasional commentary on faith-based bullying, such as that by Eslea and Mukhtar (2000) in their study of Hindu, Indian Muslim and Pakistani children. As reported earlier, much of the bullying reported occurred between ethnic minority groups, and was related to the racial and ethnic characteristics that distinguished them. For example,
among Hindu children, bullying was most frequently related to their attire, and the gods and places in which they worshipped.

Abbotts et al. (2004) addressed the issue of faith-based bullying in a study on the mental health of children affiliated to the Catholic Church and the Church of Scotland. Bullying was strongly associated with mental health outcomes among the children surveyed, and showed a relationship to both denomination and church attendance. Bullying was more frequently reported in cases where religious children attended non-denominational schools, or where their faith was not typical of the school community. In addition, children attending church on a weekly basis were more likely to be bullied than those who did not.

A report by Beat Bullying (2008) indicates that of the 800 young people surveyed about interfaith bullying, 23 per cent who practiced any religion reported being bullied because of their faith; 13 per cent said they had been bullied because of religious stereotyping and nine per cent because they wore religious symbols. The effects of experiencing religious bullying were wide-ranging, with around 20 per cent of victims reporting that they found it difficult to concentrate, lost confidence and self-esteem, and were made to feel stressed and angry. Being bullied led 12 per cent of victims to feel ashamed of their faith, and seven per cent to question their religion, illustrating the extent to which religious bullying can affect a child’s beliefs and wellbeing.

There is a certain degree of overlap between racial and religious bullying which makes it hard to address each of these forms as separate issues. The research above indicates the extent to which faith-based bullying occurs, and the harmful effects it can bring, yet also serves to indicate their similarities between religious and racial bullying: both are based on stereotypical views of a social or cultural group, both target group rather than individual characteristics, and both are in need of clearer research, policies and interventions which address these forms of bullying in their own right, and not simply as a sub-category of general bullying behaviour.

**Key issues in preventing and responding**

There is a limited amount of evidence regarding the nature and extent of racist bullying, and, in addition, little advice available to schools in terms of how they can best prevent and respond to this form of bullying. The definition of racist bullying itself first needs to be clearly identified, and only then can more comprehensive research be conducted, on which specific interventions
and advice can be based. Children’s perceptions of racial bullying are also of key importance, as this will determine the validity of racist incident report forms and hate crime statistics, the most commonly used methods of assessing bullying related to race. From what is known so far, racist bullying predominantly results from prejudicial beliefs, which if left unchallenged leads to the discrimination of pupils based on their race, ethnicity, nationality or religion. If schools and community organisations can be equipped to challenge these beliefs, for example with the provision of effective materials, then it is possible for reductions in racist bullying to be realised. However, as yet there is no evidence from schools to show whether or not this is happening.

Scherr and Larson (2009) discuss the implications of research on racist bullying for practitioners. The authors argue that schools should specifically refer to bullying related to race or ethnicity, and that students from differing racial and ethnic backgrounds should have access to at least one adult who is ‘fluent with regard to students’ languages and familiar with their cultures of origin’ (p.232). In doing so, pupils are provided with someone they are able to turn to for help, and can trust to take action when incidents occur. While this may not be practical in all situations, Scherr and Larson’s conclusions highlight how trust and a willingness to report bullying can be significant factors in preventing and responding to racist bullying. Addressing these issues may be the first important step in ensuring the safety and wellbeing of children from differing ethnic and racial backgrounds.

### 3.3 Bullying based on disability

**Definition**

The Disability Discrimination Act (1995) defines a disabled person as someone who:

> ‘Has a physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on his or her ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities’.

Applying this to a definition of bullying provided by the DCSF (2007), bullying of children with disabilities or learning difficulties/disabilities could be termed as:
A range of hurtful behaviours, both physical and psychological, that makes a person feel unwelcome, marginalised, excluded, powerless or worthless because of the presence of a physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on his or her ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities.

Disablist bullying can affect any child who is classed as having a disability, be it physical or mental, visible or non-visible. This term is also used to refer to bullying of children with learning difficulties or disabilities. While the definition above seems relatively straightforward, this will differ according to each child’s situation.

It is important that research examines how pupils with disabilities and learning disabilities perceive bullying and the behaviours that it involves. This allows both an accurate assessment of the prevalence, and a better understanding of how disabled children interpret, experience and respond to disablist bullying. Similarly, in terms of practice, it is vital that children who may not be able to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable behaviours directed toward themselves are taught to do so, and encouraged to report any incidents so that intervention measures can be applied.

Prevalence and types of bullying

Bullying related to disability is perhaps the most well-researched form of identity-based bullying. Early research on general bullying indicated how a variety of characteristics increased disabled children’s risk of being bullied. These included differences in physical appearance, lack of social skills, having few friends and low-quality friendships, social rejection and absence from school. All of these characteristics could be considered typical of children with differing forms of disability.

Early studies in the 1990s reported that disabled pupils were at an increased risk of being bullied compared to their non-disabled peers (Martlew and Hodson, 1991; Nabuzoka and Smith, 1993; Thompson, Whitney and Smith, 1994). This research was useful in identifying the increased risk of bullying of disabled pupils, but gave rather little information on how the prevalence and experience of bullying differed according to the form of disability. More recently, analysis of the YCS and the LYSPE has shown that four-fifths (81 per cent) of Year 11 children with special educational needs, or whose schooling is affected by their disability, reported having been bullied in the last three years. This compares to 70 per cent of those with a disability that does
not affect their schooling, and 65 per cent of those without a disability (DCSF, 2008b).

Subsequent research has addressed bullying from the perspective of individual disabilities; below is a discussion of research subdivided on the basis of differing forms of disability.

**Learning disability/Additional learning needs**

Bullying of and by children with learning disabilities has received a large degree of research attention. Studies have shown that these children exhibit a variety of psychological and social factors that can increase their vulnerability to bullying, including difficulties developing social skills, difficulties integrating themselves into their peer group, problematic behaviours, negative perceptions by their peers, and a greater tendency to report feelings of depression, anxiety and loneliness (Mishna, 2003). These characteristics distinguish children with learning disabilities from the rest of their peer group, potentially causing them to become socially isolated or excluded, and thus likely targets of bullying. Martlew and Hodson (1991) report that among a matched-pairs sample, children with mild learning difficulties had fewer friends than children without learning difficulties, and were bullied significantly more. Nabuzoka and Smith (1993) asked children to rate which of their peers they considered most likely to be victims of bullying. The results showed that children with learning disabilities were significantly more likely to be rated as a victim than children without learning disabilities.

A study by Mencap (2006) found that among 507 children and young people with a learning disability, 82 per cent had experienced being bullied. Of those, over a third reported being bullied in places other than the school, including parks, streets or the school bus. When asked how they felt about going out in public, 80 per cent reported being scared, and over half of those who had been bullied stopped going to places where the bullying had happened. Of children who had told someone about being bullied, 40 per cent said that no action had been taken. The report argues the need for action to be taken to prevent disablist bullying, firstly, through the government providing leadership and guidance, and secondly, by ensuring local authorities and children’s trusts support schools in preventing the bullying of children and young people with disabilities.

While it appears that children with learning disabilities are significantly more likely than their peers to experience bullying, research also suggests that this
group of children may be more likely to take part in bullying behaviours. Whitney, Smith and Thompson (1994) found that children with learning disabilities were more likely to bully other pupils, and the likelihood of children with learning disabilities adopting bully-victim roles has been reported in several studies (Nabuzoka and Smith, 1993; Kaukiainen et al., 2002; Unnever and Cornell, 2003). This can have serious implications, as recurrent cycles of being bullied and bullying others can negatively impact on a child’s psychological and social development, and could further complicate peer interactions, school enjoyment and educational attainment for children with learning disabilities.

Linguistic and speech difficulties
Several studies have examined the impact of language and speech impairments on the likelihood of experiencing bullying. Hugh-Jones and Smith (1999) reported that 83 per cent of children with a moderate to severe stutter had experienced bullying at school. Davis, Howell and Cooke (2002) found children with a stutter were more likely to be rejected and to be less popular than children with no linguistic difficulties.

Knox and Conti-Ramsden (2003) examined the risk of bullying among 100 11-year-old pupils with specific language impairments. They reported that 36 per cent considered themselves at risk of bullying, compared to 12 per cent of pupils with no language difficulties. No difference was found in children’s self-perception of the risk of bullying between mainstream and special educational settings, suggesting these children were as likely to be bullied by non-disabled children, as by children with any form of disability. Children with specific language impairments showed lower levels of self-esteem than non-disabled children, suggesting either that self-esteem is lower among pupils with language impairments, or that this effect was bought about through the children’s experiences of being bullied.

Lindsay, Dockrell and Mackie (2008) also assessed the risk of bullying among 69 children with specific speech and language difficulties; 28 per cent reported experiencing physical bullying and 54 per cent verbal bullying at least once in the previous week. They found that children with speech and language difficulties showed poorer self-perception of social acceptance, scholastic ability and self-esteem in addition to greater concerns about their physical appearance than non-disabled children. These children may have difficulties integrating with the rest of their peer group, increasing their vulnerability to bullying. The authors suggest that in the case of bullying
directed towards children with speech and language impairments, intervention programmes need to take account of the children’s communication difficulties, and find solutions to counteract this.

*Autism and Asperger syndrome*

There is limited research on the degree of bullying experienced by children with autism and Asperger syndrome. However, some studies have shown the characteristics of these children’s psychological and social development, such as a lack of social skills, and difficulties expressing non-verbal forms of communication, can increase the likelihood that they will be bullied by their peers.

Van Roekel, Scholte and Didden (2009) report that among 230 Dutch children with autistic spectrum disorder, 17 per cent report being the victim of bullying more than once a month, and 10 per cent more than once a week. Additionally, the results indicate that a significant proportion of the children took part in bullying others: 19 per cent more than once a month and 12 per cent more than once a week. However, it must be considered that these children all attended specialist schools and prevalence rates may differ for children with autistic spectrum disorders enrolled in mainstream schooling.

A survey of 1,400 parents with autistic children carried out by the National Autistic Society (2006) found that two out of every five children with autism had experienced bullying. Furthermore, three out of five children with Asperger syndrome or high-functioning autism had been bullied at school. Boys were slightly more likely to be bullied than girls (42 per cent compared to 36 per cent), while overall those studying in mainstream education were the most likely to have experienced bullying. The effects of bullying were well documented; 83 per cent of parents reported that bullying had affected their child’s self-esteem, while 75 per cent stated it had had an effect on their child’s development of social skills and relationships. In addition, 56 per cent of parents of autistic children said bullying had caused their child to skip school. When incidents of bullying were reported to the school, in England, 44 per cent of parents said no action had been taken. In Wales this was found to be even higher, with 63 per cent of parents reporting the same response by schools.

*Sensory disabilities*

There is little research on the extent to which children with sensory disabilities experience bullying at school. Whitney, Smith and Thompson (1994) reported
that blind children were no more likely to experience bullying than their peers. However, some studies have indicated that children with sensory disabilities may experience difficulties integrating themselves into the peer group. Nunes, Pretzlik and Olsson (2001) found that deaf children were significantly more likely to be neglected, and had fewer friends in the classroom than their peers, but in general were not less liked than other children. Dixon, Smith and Jenks (2004) reported that deaf children were likely to be considered as ‘second-class citizens’ by non-deaf children, while Kent (2003) found that hard of hearing adolescents were more likely to experience a sense of loneliness at school. While these studies do not provide an estimate of the degree of bullying experienced by pupils with sensory disabilities, their peers’ negative perceptions of deaf and blind children may increase the risk of them becoming victims of bullying, and further research is needed to better explore this possibility.

Disabilities affecting physical appearance or motor coordination
Disabilities which affect physical appearance or motor coordination or include other easily identifiable features have been found to increase a child’s risk of experiencing bullying.

Dawkins (1996) reports on the levels of bullying among children who attended a child development centre due to conditions which affected their appearance, mobility or gait, therefore resulting in a visible abnormality. These children were twice as likely to experience bullying compared to children with no visible abnormality. Dawkins identified four factors which predicted a child’s experience of being bullied; being alone at playtime, being male, having less than two close friends, and receiving extra help at school. Children with visibly identifiable disabilities were significantly more likely to receive help at school, and Dawkins suggests that it is this increased visibility which may have attracted more attention from bullies: once these factors were accounted for, no difference was found between groups in terms of likelihood of being bullied.

Key issues in preventing and responding
A key issue in research on disablist bullying concerns the difference in the levels of bullying encountered between specialist and mainstream schools. Both forms of schooling provide benefits for disabled pupils. Within mainstream schools, disabled pupils are given greater opportunities to integrate themselves with non-disabled peers, but in doing so may put themselves at risk of bullying, due to their differences. Research generally
indicates that bullying is less prevalent in specialist schools, although this is dependent on the form of disability being studied. In addition, opportunities for interactions with non-disabled pupils may be less forthcoming, thereby potentially hindering children’s social development and ability to integrate with non-disabled pupils.

Norwich and Kelly (2004) addressed this issue by examining the association between learning difficulties and bullying in special and mainstream schools. Their findings indicated that pupils in both settings experienced a high incidence of bullying; with around half of the pupils surveyed reporting that the bullying they had experienced was related to their learning difficulty. While significant levels of bullying were reported for both school types, pupils attending special schools were found to be particularly susceptible to bullying by children from mainstream schools, or other peers living in their neighbourhood. It appears that regardless of the type of school children attend, those with a disability are at significant risk of experiencing bullying.

The fact that many of the above studies refer to the effect of perceived differences between disabled and non-disabled pupils as the basis for bullying, suggests that addressing the concept of difference and diversity may be an effective route through which to tackle disablist bullying. Promoting a whole school ethos which encourages the acceptance of the diverse characteristics shown by its pupils could lead to a reduction in the levels of disablist bullying experienced (National Autistic Society, 2006; National Childrens’ Bureau, 2007).

Although such strategies can be used to help children with disabilities avoid being bullied, disablist bullying can only be effectively tackled if these are accompanied by interventions which target both the perpetrator(s) and the whole school community. Preventative strategies must be used to address the equality of disabled pupils, and responsive strategies should be targeted at children who bully others on the basis of disability, to educate them about disability, show them the consequences of their actions, and prevent them from repeating that behaviour.

Additionally, anti-bullying work targeted at assisting children with disabilities is required in order to help them deal with and respond to incidents of bullying. Research has illustrated that pupils with varying disabilities show difficulties in incorporating themselves into the peer group, and often lack social skills (Agaliotis and Kalyva, 2008). By providing social skills training, disabled pupils
may be better equipped to socialise with their peers, and through this gain greater acceptance and reduce the risk of victimisation (DCSF, 2008b).

Similarly, helping pupils with a disability to learn to recognise and respond to bullying can prevent it from taking place in the future. Some children with learning difficulties show bully-victim behaviour, and this may in part be due to uncertainty as to how to respond when they are bullied. By teaching them how to respond appropriately, for example by reporting incidents and not retaliating, pupils may be given the chance to escape from this cycle, and prevent themselves from becoming targeted (DCSF, 2008b). Furthermore, children with certain forms of disabilities show difficulties in responding to aggressive behaviours by peers, and in these circumstances, strategies such as assertiveness training may be effective.

While disablist bullying is undoubtedly a prominent issue which can seriously impact on a child’s wellbeing and attainment at school, if whole school policies and interventions are utilised effectively, then schools and communities have the potential to provide a safer environment in which disabled children are free to learn and develop without the fear of bullying and harassment.

3.4 Bullying based on sexual orientation

Definition
Bullying based on sexual orientation is motivated by a prejudice against lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB) people. It is also commonly referred to as homophobic bullying. Young people do not necessarily have to be gay, lesbian or bisexual themselves to experience homophobic bullying. This type of bullying may be directed towards young people perceived to be lesbian, gay or bisexual, young people who are different to stereotypical gender norms, and those who have gay friends or family (DCSF, 2007a).

Although homophobic bullying is distinct from sexist, sexual and transphobic bullying (discussed later), it is related to these forms of bullying through underlying sexist attitudes (DCSF, 2009) and as discussed below, challenging these attitudes is key in preventing and tackling this form of bullying.

Prevalence and types of bullying
There is a range of research evidence detailing the prevalence of bullying relating to sexual orientation. These figures vary according to the sample
selected, the research design employed, the type of bullying behaviour assessed and the time period measured.

A particular issue to consider in measuring homophobic bullying is that young LGB people may not feel ready to disclose their sexual orientation to researchers (Carragher and Rivers, 2002; Childline, 2006). Also, young people may be reluctant to report bullying of a homophobic nature because of the perceived negative attitudes of teachers, or fear that it will not be taken seriously (Rivers, 2001). This makes it difficult to use cross-sectional or prospective studies assessing the current extent of bullying experienced by LGB young people as the target population is not easily identified (Warwick et al., 2004). To overcome this problem, several retrospective studies have been conducted with LGB identified adults, asking them about bullying experiences when they were younger.

In these reports verbal bullying is commonly found to be the most common type of bullying behaviour associated with homophobic bullying (Carragher and Rivers, 2002; Childline, 2006; Ellis and High, 2004; Trenchard and Warren, 1984). This is consistent with general bullying trends. Another similar finding is the gender differences in the types of bullying behaviour experienced by young lesbian girls and young gay men (King et al., 2003). Physical bullying is more commonly experienced by males; while indirect or relational bullying appears to be more commonly reported by females. This is consistent with overall gender trends identified in Section 3.1.

Rivers (2001) found particularly high proportions of LGB young people who recalled being bullied in school; 82 per cent had experienced name-calling, while 71 per cent reported being ridiculed in front of their peers, 58 per cent reported being teased, and 60 per cent had been physically assaulted. Indirect forms of bullying were also prevalent: 59 per cent had rumours spread about them, 52 per cent reported being frightened by the way another person had looked or stared at them, while a minority (27 per cent) had been isolated by their peers. Some respondents (11 per cent) also reported having been sexually assaulted by either their schoolmates or by their teachers. These findings are based on a self-selecting volunteer sample of 190 LGB young people and therefore cannot give an indication of the proportion of all LGB young people who experience homophobic bullying. However, other larger scale studies suggest that homophobic bullying is a common experience among LGB young people. There is also some direct evidence that bullying
is a more common experience for LGB young people compared to heterosexuals (King et al., 2003).

A large scale cross-sectional survey conducted by Stonewall (Hunt and Jensen, 2007) provided data on the prevalence of bullying in LGB British young people. This survey reached 1,145 secondary students who identified themselves as LGB; of these two-thirds (65 per cent) had experienced direct bullying. This was higher in faith schools, where 75 per cent reported experiencing homophobic bullying. Over half of gay pupils did not feel able to be themselves in school and 35 per cent do not feel safe or accepted at school. Even if LGB young people do not directly experience bullying, they reported being in an environment where homophobic language was commonplace.

The common use of homophobic language as a derogative was previously reported in earlier school-based studies; however these findings also suggest that young people may not be aware of the hurtful consequences of using such language (Duncan, 1999; Thurlow, 2001). Thurlow (2001) asked 377 adolescents aged 14-15 to list abusive terms they commonly heard at school and found that 10 per cent of all abusive terms used to be of homophobic origin. Homophobic terms were much less common than sexist terms but were used significantly more than racist expressions as a means of insulting fellow pupils. Thurlow (2001) found that homophobic terms were rated by young people to be less taboo and offensive than racial abusive terms. It is suggested that young people may use homophobic language as its use is considered more acceptable than racially abusive language in schools (DCSF, 2007).

It appears that most young people are exposed to homophobic attitudes within schools. As identified in the definition section, homophobic bullying is not only directed toward those who are or perceived to be LGB, but those who are associated with LGB individuals, or simply perceived not to fit gender norms. Although not as well documented as research relating to specific LGB samples, there is some preliminary evidence assessing the experience of homophobic bullying across all young people.

**Key issues in preventing and responding**
The following issues are those which are important in understanding how best to prevent and respond to bullying related to sexual orientation.
**Reporting homophobic bullying**

General bullying research indicates that reporting bullying has been found to be an effective anti-bullying strategy (Smith, Talamelli, Cowie, Naylor and Chauhan, 2004). Reporting these incidents also enables young people to seek and receive social support to help them deal with the negative implications of bullying. However, young people may be reluctant to report incidents of homophobic bullying either for fear of revealing their sexual orientation when they are not ready to do so, or because they do not wish to be perceived as LGB. Rivers (2001) found 39 per cent of victims of homophobic bullying had told someone at home about the bullying they had suffered while only 22 per cent had told their teachers. Moreover, of those that did tell an adult, only a quarter had disclosed the reason why they had been bullied.

Similarly, Childline (2006) reported that victims of homophobic bullying may be particularly unwilling to seek help due to the perceived homophobic attitudes of parents and teachers. They suggest that some LGB people feel triply isolated, with schools, friends and families being unsupportive.

It is important that all children and young people feel able to report homophobic bullying and seek the help and support they need. To facilitate this, adults involved in child services (including schools) should adopt a non-judgmental and open approach, where young people feel safe in reporting instances of bullying based on sexual orientation. This is related to challenging the culture and attitudes surrounding sexual orientation (see below). It may also be necessary to provide targeted and specialised support or avenues of support for those who do report LGB bullying (Hunt and Jensen, 2007).

**Issues relating to education and training**

The existing literature concerning homophobic bullying suggests that a specific focus needs to be placed on raising awareness about the seriousness of homophobic bullying and on providing support and guidance to teachers in how to deal with homophobia (Chambers, Van Loon and Tincknell, 2004).

In the Stonewall School Report (Hunt and Jensen, 2007) which surveyed 1,145 LGB secondary school pupils, less than a quarter (23 per cent) reported being told that homophobic bullying is wrong in their school. In schools which had denounced such behaviour, LGB children were 60 per cent less likely to have been bullied and are also more likely to feel safe and accepted. Over
half (58 per cent) of LGB pupils who had experienced bullying had never reported it. Of those who did tell a teacher, most (62 per cent) felt that nothing was done about it. Half of the young people surveyed said that their teachers failed to respond to homophobic language when they heard it.

The issue of teacher uncertainty was mirrored in the Stonewall Teacher Report (Guasp, 2007). Of the 2,043 teaching and non-teaching staff at secondary and primary schools who were surveyed, 90 per cent reported having never received any specific training on how to prevent and respond to homophobic bullying. More than a quarter of secondary school staff (28 per cent) stated that they would not feel confident in supporting a pupil who was gay or bisexual.

Douglas et al. (1999) found that teachers were highly aware of homophobic bullying taking place in their school; 82 per cent had witnessed verbal homophobic bullying, while 26 per cent observed physical bullying taking place. Most of the staff reported one or two incidents happening over the last term, however five per cent knew of 10 incidents or more, while one staff member counted as many as 30. Similar findings were reported by Warwick, Aggleton and Douglas (2001), who found teachers to be aware of homophobic bullying but incapable of dealing with the issue as they were ‘confused, unable or unwilling to address the needs of lesbian or gay pupils’.

Recent results from the National Foundation for Educational Research (NfER) Teacher Voice omnibus survey support these findings: 46 per cent of teachers who responded to the survey thought LGB pupils were a target for bullying from other pupils, but only 16 per cent said that their school was ‘very active’ in promoting equality and respect for LGB pupils (Pyle and Rudd, 2010).

Uncertainty of how to deal with homophobic bullying has been linked to issues relating to the now repealed Section 28 of the Local Government Act (1988). This stated that an LA must not ‘promote homosexuality’ or ‘promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretend family relationship’. Although this Act was repealed in Scotland in 2000 and England and Wales in 2003, it has been suggested that there remains uncertainty in how to deal with issues of sexual orientation (Adams, Cox and Dunstan, 2004).

Since the publication of Stonewall’s (2007) Teacher and School reports, the DCSF has provided specific guidance relating to homophobic bullying as part of its suite of Safe to Learn resources for English schools (DCSF, 2007b).
This provides targeted advice and guidance for teachers and headteachers in preventing and responding to homophobic bullying; these professionals play an important role in promoting a more inclusive school ethos and in challenging existing homophobic cultures and attitudes.

**Challenging the existing culture and attitudes**

As with all prejudice-related bullying, the key to preventing homophobic bullying lies in challenging and changing existing attitudes. There is a need to address negative views relating to sexual orientation and change prevailing sexist cultures (Buston and Hart, 2001; Warwick and Douglas, 2001).

A central aspect in challenging homophobia is the adoption of a whole school approach and incorporating issues relating to sexual orientation and homophobic bullying in the organised curriculum, such as during Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHE) lessons. It is also important that the curriculum and other extracurricular activities act to reinforce an inclusive and accepting message to all. There are a few studies which have evaluated curriculum-based programmes relating to improving attitudes and understanding of homophobic bullying.

Buston and Hart (2001) reported findings based on homophobia in Scottish schools; this data was collected during a randomised controlled trial of a sex education programme (SHARE - Sexual Health and Relationships: Safe, Happy and Responsible). They identified examples of bad practice within schools relating to overt homophobia and a heterosexist bias and those associated with good practice in dealing effectively with issues of homophobia. Good practice included no stigmatisation of homosexuality, recognising diversity in sexuality, confronting homophobic comments made by pupils, and providing information, where appropriate, regarding homosexual and heterosexual identities. A further evaluation of the overall project revealed that better outcomes were associated with full implementation of the scheme, intensive teacher training, compatibility with the existing curriculum and senior management support (Buston, Wight, Hart and Scott, 2002).

Douglas, Kemp, Aggleton and Warwick (2001) evaluated a PSHE programme and educational activities to address sexual orientation and identity issues in four English schools. The majority of pupils reported that this project was successful in raising their awareness of issues affecting gay and lesbian people. Teachers also reported that the project was useful in supporting and guiding them in how to approach issues of sexual orientation in PSHE. Key
factors relating to the success of this project were cited as: adequate preparation of teachers and pupils; an appropriate and skilled project worker; and a considered approach to building partnerships with schools and working with young people.

Although challenging homophobic attitudes and improving the whole school ethos or climate is a key area of focus, prejudiced attitudes are based on wider social norms. Integrating both school interventions and work in the wider community is likely to lead to greater success and longer lasting changes in terms of preventing and responding to homophobic bullying (Anti-Bullying Alliance, ABA, 2007).

3.5 Bullying based around gender

Definition
Rather than discussing overall gender trends in bullying behaviour (which were briefly outlined earlier), this section reflects on bullying specifically targeted at an individuals’ gender and based on sexist attitudes or gender stereotypes. This is more commonly referred to as sexist or sexual bullying.

In December 2009 the DCSF released specific guidance on sexist and sexual bullying (in addition to transphobic bullying which is referred to in the following section). In this guidance (p.5) these forms of bullying are defined as follows:

Sexist bullying: Defined as bullying based on sexist attitudes that, when expressed, demean, intimidate or harm another person because of their sex or gender. These attitudes are commonly based around the assumption that women are subordinate to men, or are inferior. Young people’s expectations and attainment can be limited by sexist attitudes. Sexist bullying may sometimes be characterised by inappropriate sexual behaviours.

Sexual bullying: Defined as bullying behaviour that has a specific sexual dimension or sexual dynamic and it may be physical, verbal or non-verbal/psychological. Behaviours may involve suggestive sexual comments or innuendo including offensive comments about sexual reputation; or using sexual language that is designed to subordinate, humiliate or intimidate. It is also commonly underpinned by sexist attitudes or gender stereotypes.
In defining sexual bullying, it is also important to note the links to ‘sexual harassment’, defined as ‘unwanted and unwelcome sexual behaviour that interferes with a person’s life’ (Espelage and Holt, 2007).

Both sexual harassment and bullying involve an intention to harm, and an imbalance of power. Some researchers believe the term ‘sexual bullying’ sufficiently encompasses both bullying and sexual harassment when this behaviour is repeated over time and this bullying is of a sexual nature (Duncan, 1999; Fredland, 2008; Shute, Owens and Slee, 2008). However, not all incidents of sexual harassment can be classified as sexual or sexist bullying.

Sexual and sexist bullying can also be conceptualised under the broader term ‘gendered harassment’, which includes any behaviour that polices and reinforces traditional heterosexual gender norms. Gendered harassment therefore encompasses (hetero)sexual bullying, homophobic bullying and bullying based on gender non-conformity/transphobic bullying (Meyer, 2008). Meyer also suggests that although these forms of harassment are linked, bullying or harassment in regard to sex, sexual orientation and gender identity should be understood separately in order to help educators develop a deeper and more complex understanding of these practices in schools. As homophobic bullying is outlined above and transphobic bullying is outlined below, this section primarily focuses on sexual and sexist bullying. This is most commonly experienced by girls (Chiodo et al, 2009).

**Prevalence and types of bullying**

Sexual or sexist bullying may be expressed through different forms of behaviour which reflect the physical, verbal, relational, indirect and cyber distinctions associated with other forms of bullying. However, these behaviours are also characterised by a sexual context. Some examples (provided by Womankind, as cited in DCSF, 2009) include:

- Teasing or putting someone down because of their sex life, their sexuality, their body.
- Using words that refer to someone’s gender in a derogatory way.
- Using sexual words to put someone down.
- Making threats or jokes about serious and frightening subjects like rape.
- Spreading rumours about someone’s sexuality and sex life.
- Touching parts of someone’s body they don’t want to be touched.
- Putting pressure on someone to act in a sexual way.
There appears to be little research evidence relating to the prevalence of sexual bullying at a national level, and also how schools respond to it. However, there are some qualitative-based studies conducted in both England and Wales which have reflected on the prominence of sexual bullying in primary (Ashley, 2003; Renold, 2002, 2006) and secondary schools (Duncan, 1998, 2004; Ringrose, 2008a, 2008b).

These studies have tended to use group interviews (focus groups) and ethnographic research methods to understand the nature and reasons behind sexual bullying. The findings indicate that sexual harassment of girls by boys mainly takes the form of sexually abusive and aggressive language which predominantly centres on a girl’s sexual status, for example using terms such as ‘bitch’ or ‘slag’ (Duncan, 1998; Renold, 2002, 2006). Although less commonly reported than verbal forms of bullying, physical forms of sexual harassment were also experienced by some girls.

Other studies, such as Ringrose’s (2008a, 2008b) research on heterosexual conflicts in Welsh adolescents, report instances where sexually aggressive terms are used by girls in relation to other girls, in order to regulate their own and others’ behaviours. This behaviour is viewed in the context of heterosexual competition as a further way of reinforcing traditional gender roles.

In addition to this qualitative research, there are a few quantitative studies conducted by charity organisations which have highlighted various forms of unwanted and unwelcome sexual behaviours experienced by young people in the UK. An online survey conducted by Sugar magazine in partnership with the NSPCC (2006) found that among 674 teenage girls who responded to a questionnaire on the magazine website, nearly half (45 per cent) reported being groped against their wishes, while 56 per cent of unwanted sexual experiences had occurred before girls were 14. About half of all unwanted sexual experiences had happened more than once, indicating the existence of sexual bullying; which was associated with a range of negative emotions (such as feeling dirty, ashamed/guilty, worried/insecure, angry, powerless and insecure).

In 2009, Panorama commissioned the children’s charity Young Voice to investigate sexual bullying among young people aged 11-19 (from five regions of England). Among other findings, the survey showed that 19 per cent of the young people who responded reported that they had seen unwanted touching
happen to someone else in school, 15 per cent had experienced it themselves and eight per cent had done this to someone else. Also, 11 per cent reported that they had seen other pupils using force to do something sexual in school, 10 per cent had experienced this behaviour themselves and three per cent reported that they had done this to somebody else. Sexual-based verbal abuse was the most common form of bullying reported.

Although these surveys may be limited in terms of being able to make generalisations, the results do suggest that sexual-based bullying is a prominent issue for young people in the UK; especially when they are considered in addition to the findings from the qualitative ethnographic studies.

**Key issues in preventing and responding**
The following issues have been identified as potential barriers or enablers to preventing and responding to sexual-based bullying.

**Reporting of sexual bullying**
The research literature suggests that there is some reluctance for young people to report incidents of sexual harassment or bullying (Duncan, 1998). In the NSPCC/Sugar survey (2006), over a third of girls (38 per cent) did not speak to anyone about their unwanted sexual experiences. Common reasons included because they wanted to forget about it, because they were either scared or ashamed, or because they didn't know who to tell.

Renolds (2002) found that most girls who had experienced verbal or physical sexual aggression did not report this to teachers because of fears of confrontation or ridicule, and of not being taken seriously. In addition, they were unwilling to discuss personal and sensitive topics relating to the sexual nature of this behaviour.

Due to these potential barriers, girls may be prevented from reporting and thus seeking help to stop this form of bullying. It is important that efforts are made to encourage victims of sexual bullying to seek the help and support they need. To facilitate this, a clear and concise statement relating to sexual bullying should be included in school’s anti-bullying policies, detailing what action will be taken (DCSF, 2009). Importantly, the distinction between sexual bullying and sexual abuse needs to be clarified in order to resolve uncertainty over the extent to which these relate to each other.
Also, specific support may be required by victims and perpetrators of sexual bullying, especially where this behaviour constitutes sexual abuse and is classified as criminal behaviour. A key way to facilitate this targeted and effective support is by improving the education and training for teachers in relation to issues of sexual bullying. This also points to the importance of strong strategic partnerships in the local community to deal with issues of abuse.

**Issues relating to education and training**
Where members of staff are aware of sexual bullying they often lack the knowledge and confidence to deal with issues of child or adolescent sexualities appropriately (Duncan, 1998; Schubotz et al., 2006). It is important to assess the developmental needs of all staff and provide training to build the knowledge and skills necessary to stop sexual bullying.

The role of the curriculum is also central in preventing sexual bullying, mainly through challenging stereotypical gender attitudes and promoting respectful interpersonal relationships. Some specific projects that have aimed to change adolescent’s sexual attitudes and behaviour are cited in the literature.

For example, Zero Tolerance, a Scottish charity, used interactive theatre techniques to challenge negative attitudes among young people, as well as exploring the meaning of respect, power relationships, and violence in relationships. This project was cited by Leach (2003) as an example of good practice, as it encouraged young people to critically reflect on their own lives, attitudes and behaviours towards others. Leach also suggests that, as found for other forms of identity-based bullying, tackling gender violence in schools requires a whole school approach to ensure that the messages are consistent and reinforced across the school community.

Similarly, a reflection on Womankind Worldwide’s Challenging Violence, Changing Lives programme in 11 UK secondary schools revealed that the programme had the most impact in schools that took sexual bullying and gender equality seriously and maintained a consistent stance on these issues (Womankind Worldwide, 2007).

**Challenging attitudes and changing the culture**
In order to effectively prevent sexual bullying there is a need to address and tackle gender stereotyping and sexist attitudes which prevail in many schools. As suggested above, one way in which young people’s attitudes toward
gender roles and relationships can be improved is through specific programmes within the PSHE curriculum that focus on sex and relationships. It seems necessary to target such initiatives not only at young people in secondary schools but also children in primary schools.

Research suggests that sexual bullying is prevalent in primary schools where this behaviour serves to create and reinforce gender stereotypes and heterosexual hierarchies (Ashley, 2003; Renold, 2003). Therefore it is important that interventions address these issues in younger students while their gender identities are still developing. Curriculum activities should be age appropriate and reflect the developmental capabilities of pupils.

In addition to addressing issues of sexual bullying and respect for women in formal PSHE lessons, efforts should extend throughout all areas of the curriculum (Ashley, 2003; Leach, 2003). For example, by providing positive role models, challenging gender stereotypes, and promoting positive interactions between young people. The role of senior management is central to facilitating this, to ensure that focus and attention is placed on these issues, and that sexual bullying is taken seriously by all and dealt with in a consistent and effective way across the school community.

As the construction of gender roles and the idea of masculine and feminine behaviour reflects attitudes within the wider society (Basile, Espelage, Rivers, Mc Mohon and Simon, 2009), it is necessary that sexual bullying interventions recognise the role of other socialisation agents such as parents, the media and interactions outside of the school environment.

3.6 Bullying based on gender identity

Definition
Bullying relating to gender identity is targeted at individuals who are not perceived to fit stereotypical ‘normal’ gender roles. This form of bullying is also referred to as transphobic bullying, reflecting a hatred or fear of those individuals who do not conform to society’s gender expectations (DCSF, 2009; Hill, 2002). An individual may also experience transphobic bullying as a result of perception that a parent, relative or other significant figure displays gender ‘variance’ or is transgender.

Gender identity reflects an individual’s internal sense of self as being male, female, or an identity between or outside the two. This is associated with
socially constructed perceptions of gender roles; how a particular culture thinks an individual should look and behave according to their specific gender (Nagoshi et al., 2008).

**Prevalence and types of bullying**

Transphobia is an understudied area and there are very few UK-based studies which have explored this, especially in relation to transgender young people. In the overall bullying literature, transgendered individuals are often not distinguished from gay, lesbian and bisexual people, and prevalence reports often report findings for LGBT individuals combined. This means that the issues of gender identity, gender roles and sexual orientation are not considered separately.

Some qualitative-based studies have identified that bullying of boys and girls who do not conform to stereotypical gender roles is common in both primary (Ashley, 2003; Renold, 2002, 2006) and secondary schools (Duncan, 1998; Ringrose, 2008; Wolfe, Crooks, Chiodo and Jaffe, 2009).

For example, Renold (2002) found that over a third of Year 6 students interviewed from two English primary schools reported instances of bullying based on variations to ‘normal’ gender behaviour. Examples of bullying included exclusion, verbal abuse, ridicule and ritual humiliation. Boys were identified as different and subject to bullying if they engaged in activities and practices equated with girls, things feminine and non-masculine ways of being. Girls were identified as different if they failed to assert their femininity in engaging in dominant heterosexual activities such as talking about and forming heterosexual relationships.

Wolfe, Crooks, Chiodo and Jaffe (2009) suggest that particularly in early adolescence, gender-role expectations play a central role in whether or not young people are accepted by their peers. These gender-roles are enforced through abusive tactics such as transphobic bullying and gender-based harassment.

**Key issues in preventing and responding**

The research outlined above highlights the importance of gender identity formation for young people and the role it plays in bullying behaviour. However, further research is needed to help identify young people who may be most at risk of experiencing transphobic bullying and the specific support needs they may have. In terms of preventing and responding to transphobic
bullying, there is little existing literature highlighting particular issues for transphobic individuals; although the similarities it shows to homophobic and heterosexual bullying suggest challenging prejudiced attitudes and increasing understanding are of key importance in achieving this.

3.7 Summary of research findings

It is clear that identity-based bullying is a significant problem for a large proportion of children. The studies reviewed serve to illustrate how any individual characteristic that distinguishes a child from the rest of their peer group can increase the risk of bullying, ranging from looking or behaving differently to holding personal or religious beliefs which set one apart from the rest of their peer group. Whether a child is bullied because of their race, sexual orientation or any other personal characteristic, research shows the effects of being bullied are the same, causing both short-term and long-term problems psychologically, socially or academically.

This literature review has explored the differing forms of identity-based bullying. It has assessed their nature, prevalence and suggestions from research as to how they can best be prevented and responded to.

A large variation clearly exists regarding the awareness of individual forms of identity-based bullying. While homophobic, racial and disablist bullying are comparatively well researched, very little is known in regard to bullying related to gender identity, asylum seekers or refugees, or Gypsies, Roma and Travellers. More research, which specifically focuses on these issues is required to better understand why these forms of bullying occur, how prevalent they are, and what measures can be used to tackle them.

The issue of definitions is one which needs to be carefully considered in relation to identity-based bullying. Foremost, children’s perceptions of bullying need to be examined to understand how they interpret prejudiced behaviours, and whether individual acts should be considered as a form of bullying or abuse. The relationship between these two concepts needs to be clearly defined as this will have important implications for how schools and LAs respond to such behaviour.

The finding that real or perceived differences between children are repeatedly highlighted as a cause for bullying suggests a poor understanding of diversity among children. It also shows a lack of confidence among teachers and pupils in talking about issues relating to race, religion disability, sexual orientation,
and all other group-based characteristics. For this reason, the conclusions of research studies focus on the importance of preventative strategies which raise awareness around equality and aim to improve understanding and acceptance of differences. For all forms of identity-based bullying, acknowledging and understanding why people differ, accompanied with an environment which promotes diversity and inclusion is seen as being of prime importance in tackling prejudiced behaviours. Therefore, identity-based bullying needs to be addressed at all levels of the school community, through the use of equality and anti-bullying policies, assemblies, awareness-raising activities, and as part of the PHSE curriculum.

In addition to preventative approaches, responsive strategies are also required to prevent the perpetrator from repeating their behaviour, and to help the victim cope with their experience. Research shows many victims of identity-based bullying are reluctant to report incidents, either because of perceived prejudiced beliefs among teachers, fear of being judged, or uncertainty over whether their complaint will be believed or acted upon. In addition, some studies suggest that teachers fail to respond when told about incidents, lack confidence in dealing with equality issues, and are in need of better and more targeted training.

Schools need to ensure that staff are equipped to deal with such situations, and that a close and trusted relationship is formed between teachers and pupils that is non-judgmental and inclusive. To encourage this atmosphere, it is also important that all incidents of identity-based bullying are acted upon, with help provided for the victim, and strategies put in place to prevent bullies from indulging in repeat behaviour. These measures should be clearly outlined as part of the overall anti-bullying strategy.

Despite these similarities, there are however notable differences between forms of identity-based bullying. While research shows all identity-based characteristics can increase a child’s risk of being bullied, bullying relating to disability, learning difficulties and sexual orientation appear particularly prevalent within UK schools. These forms of bullying show a strong relationship to prejudiced attitudes held throughout the school, both by pupils and teaching staff. Therefore, when addressing these in particular, greater efforts need to be made to challenge overriding prejudice, and to eliminate homophobic and disablist attitudes at all levels of the school and wider community.
Additionally, certain forms of identity-based bullying show unique characteristics which require special consideration when developing preventative and responsive strategies. With regard to homophobic bullying, LGB young people may be reluctant to report incidents for fear of disclosing their sexual orientation when they are not ready to do so. Schools and LAs must ensure pupils feel able to report these incidents confidentially and comfortably, while responsive strategies must also be carefully tailored in order to cause no further distress to the victim. Therefore the unique characteristics of all forms of identity-based bullying need to be considered in order to develop effective preventative and responsive strategies.

While the research reviewed here gives some indication of the nature, prevalence and experience of identity-based bullying, it highlights large gaps in knowledge around these areas, and identifies the need for further research which focuses on specific areas of equality. A clearer and more detailed understanding is required of the issues which underlie identity-based bullying, in order for interventions to be better targeted, and schools better equipped to tackle it. In addition, assessments and evaluations of the work that is happening at ground level are fundamental to understanding which strategies and techniques are most effective in combating identity-based bullying.
4. Survey findings

This chapter outlines the findings from the local authority (LA) survey. The LA response rate to the questionnaire within each country was 38 per cent for England, 24 per cent for Scotland and 18 per cent for Wales, which is comparable to other large-scale surveys of LA performance. The low number of respondents, particularly in Scotland and Wales, means the findings from this survey cannot be considered representative of all LAs in the three countries, and prevent direct comparisons being made. The larger number of responses from English LAs does allow for some clear patterns from the data to be discussed, although caution is required in generalising these findings.

The results of the English LA authority questionnaire are presented first, followed by separate sections for Scotland and Wales which report general trends observed in the data collected.

4.1 England

Respondents and non-respondents
Completed responses were received from 57 of the 152 LAs in England, a response rate of 38 per cent. This response rate is comparable to other large-scale surveys targeted at LAs. This data provides a useful insight into the current situation of over a third of English LAs in terms of identity-based bullying; however there are some limitations in generalising the findings to all LAs in England. This is discussed in more detail below.

Some difference in response rate was observed across different regions of England (see Table 4.1), this was highest in the East Midlands (67 per cent) and lowest in the South West (19 per cent). Through the data collection process, regional approaches towards identity-based bullying were observed. Those regions that provided the highest response rate appeared to have identity-based bullying high on their agenda, with LAs readily agreeing to complete the survey in order to share their ideas and strategies. These regions benefitted from a large degree of coordination between their LAs, often helped through the work of Anti-Bullying Alliance (ABA) regional advisers, and networked regularly to ensure information was shared. In regions where a low response rate was achieved, very few indications of a regionally coordinated approach were given, with LAs often being unaware of prominent issues regarding identity-based bullying. This perceived lack of awareness or confidence in dealing with these issues may have led to many
anti-bullying coordinators being unable to complete the questionnaire, resulting in the low response rate obtained.

Table 4.1  Response rate of English Local Authorities according to regional location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of LAs</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Response rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Midlands</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East of England</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Midlands</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorkshire and Humberside</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reasons for non-response were obtained during follow-up phone calls and email reminders. The most common reason included a lack of time and/or capacity to complete the questionnaire. This was mentioned by 30 LAs and was also identified by several individuals who had actually responded to the survey. It was noted by many that even where LAs had a designated lead on anti-bullying work, this was not the person’s only job role and often involved individuals working on a part-time basis. The demands of these varied job roles and current activities were also cited by respondents as a main reason for not responding. In some cases the relevant individual was on leave, ill or had too many other commitments to complete the questionnaire.

Not having the relevant information to complete the questionnaire was another reason given for non-response, especially where coordination with other departments was needed but could not be achieved. In some LAs no one was able to complete the survey due to the anti-bullying coordinator post being either vacant, or only recently filled.

**Organisation of anti-bullying work in England**
The job title of many respondents included a direct reference to anti-bullying work, such as anti-bullying coordinator, manager or advisor (n = 20, 35 per cent). There was some diversity in the job title of other respondents. However, the remaining job titles commonly included senior, managerial or advisory
roles within the following areas: equality and inclusion (n = 6), behaviour and attendance (n = 5), health and wellbeing (n = 3) and various education initiatives such as Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHE), citizenship, healthy schools and Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) (n = 11). Some respondents were Educational Psychologists (n = 6).

Most respondents (n = 20, 35 per cent) were from the Children and Young People’s Services or Partnership department (or derivatives of this, for example Children’s services, Department for Children, Family and Schools). Other departments fell into three main categories; those focused on equality and inclusion (n = 6), those focused on school and/or learning (n = 12), and those focused on safeguarding, wellbeing and behaviour support (n =5). A couple of respondents reported coming from dedicated anti-bullying teams.

The majority of English respondents (n = 41, 72 per cent) stated that their LA did have a designated lead on identity-based bullying strategies; in many cases, the respondents themselves confirmed that they were the anti-bullying coordinator for their area. This anti-bullying role was commonly reported to involve strategic aspects of all anti-bullying work and not just identity-based bullying. Typically this designated lead will work with a variety of departments to coordinate the LA approach to identity-based bullying, thereby providing an efficient multi-departmental hub.

A few respondents stated that they had not previously used the term identity-based bullying; prejudice-related bullying was more commonly referred to instead. Many respondents with an anti-bullying strategic lead also provided further details about how identity-based bullying work is coordinated and monitored across a multi-agency board.

Over a quarter (28 per cent) of respondents did not have a designated lead on identity-based anti-bullying. Many of those without a specific lead reported that their identity-based anti-bullying strategies are coordinated through specific and multi-agency anti-bullying groups or teams. These teams most commonly included Children and Young Peoples Services and groups based around equality and/or inclusion; as well as those relating to school improvement and other school or education based departments. Safeguarding and specialist services such as Local Safeguarding Children’s Boards were also included as part of a multi-agency approach in several LAs.
There appear to be some limited targeted efforts to coordinate identity-based anti-bullying approaches and work across the different equality strands; for example two respondents mentioned having an anti-bullying steering or strategy group which comprises individuals from various departments within the LA, other public sector agencies such as the police, NHS and schools and stakeholders such as charity organisations representing particular equality groups or equality and diversity more generally (this was also mentioned during initial survey request follow-up telephone conversations with other respondents and also some non-respondents).

‘Led my team in SIS [School Improvement Service] but we have an Anti-Bullying Strategy Group which comprises an extended partnership representing Targeted Inclusion, Community Cohesion, METAS (Minority Ethnic Traveller Achievement Service) Extended Services, Ed Psyche, Educational Welfare, Safeguarding, Policy & Equalities, Healthy Schools and the group supports all aspects of bullying as is appropriate.’

‘I lead on anti-bullying in educational settings but we have an Anti-Bullying Steering Group that has representation across many departments in the LA and from the Police, NHS and a local charity.’

Policy and strategy framework for identity-based bullying
Figure 4.1 shows that just over half of LAs (ranging from 62-67 per cent) had equality scheme(s) that specifically referred to bullying based on the following identity strands: race or ethnicity, religion or belief, disability, learning disability, sexual orientation and gender. This was slightly lower in relation to Gypsy/Roma/Travellers (51 per cent), gender identity (47 per cent) and asylum seekers (46 per cent).

Most respondents also reported that their LA had an anti-bullying strategy (n =50; 88 per cent), however 11 per cent did not.

There was some variation in terms of specific forms of identity-based bullying referred to in these strategies (see Figure 4.1). Bullying relating to race (83 per cent) and sexual orientation (79 per cent) were most commonly referred to, followed by gender, disability, learning disability and religion or belief (between 71-77 per cent). As with the equality schemes, these proportions were lower for Gypsy/Roma/Travellers (65 per cent) and asylum seekers or refugees (53 per cent).
As Figure 4.1 illustrates, most forms of identity-based bullying were more likely to be referred to through an anti-bullying strategy than through LA equality schemes. In addition, greater focus appears to be placed on certain forms of bullying, particularly that related to race or ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation, while bullying of Gypsy/Roma/Travellers, asylum seekers or refugees, and transphobic bullying were less likely to be specifically referred to in LAs equality schemes and anti bullying strategy.

**Figure 4.1  Percentage of LAs equality schemes and anti-bullying strategies which refer to specific types of identity-based bullying**

From the 50 respondents who do have an anti-bullying strategy, most also have an action plan as part of this strategy (n = 43; 86 per cent); although five (10 per cent) do not and two respondents did not answer this further question. Additionally, the majority of these respondents (77 per cent) stated that identity-based bullying is referred to within this action plan. Considering answers from all respondents, there are 60 per cent of LAs which have an anti-bullying policy with an associated action plan that specifically refers to identity-based bullying. Action plans detail how the anti-bullying strategy will be achieved within each LA. It is important that LAs not only have an anti-bullying strategy but also have an action plan on how this will be implemented. Including identity-based bullying within a clear action plan also encourages LAs to ensure that schools are aware of and are tackling these forms of bullying.
In recent guidance to local authorities on reducing bullying in the community, the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF, now the Department for Education) stated that:

‘Local authorities, involving Children’s Trusts as necessary, and anti-bullying coordinators, have a key role to play by putting into place a coherent strategic policy to prevent bullying. They should make this policy known to all services, including the voluntary sector and services for parents, and ensure that the effectiveness of their strategy is evaluated.’ (DCSF, 2009; p.13).

Having an accessible anti-bullying strategy is important for promoting a focus on bullying and promoting the wellbeing of children and young people within the local authority. It is also central in helping to plan, coordinate and monitor anti-bullying work across the local area. The Anti-Bullying Alliance (ABA) provides online guidance for local authorities in developing and evaluating an anti-bullying strategy.

Although most of the respondents to this survey indicate that their LA does have an anti-bullying strategy, some do not. Also, it is not known what proportion of non-responding LAs have an anti-bullying strategy. Thus, it is important that continued support and guidance is provided by central government to help all local authorities develop such strategies; and to raise awareness and understanding of existing strategies if necessary.

The majority of respondents’ LAs recommend that school’s equality schemes address different forms of identity-based bullying (n = 47; 83 per cent) while seven (12 per cent) stated that they do not (three respondents did not complete this question). Twenty respondents said that their LA recommends that schools’ equality schemes deal with all forms of identity-based bullying; some stated that it included anything based on the DCSF Safe to Learn guidance or recommendations from the ABA. Others specifically mentioned types of bullying which fall into the traditional equality strands (such as race, disability, sexual orientation and gender). A couple of respondents suggested that Gypsy/Roma/Travellers and asylum seekers and refugees would be covered under the race and ethnicity strand. Two respondents mentioned other types of ‘identities’ including gifted and looked-after children, and bullying relating to socio-economic class.
Recommendations to schools: Recording and reporting

Current recommendations
Most LAs (97 per cent) recommend that schools record incidents of bullying relating to race or ethnicity (see Figure 4.2). This finding corresponds with the legal requirements of schools to monitor and report all racist incidents to the LA (DFES, 2004). It is important to remember that although all racial bullying will be classified as racial incidents, not all racial instances will be classified as bullying. It is not clear whether this distinction is made at this stage by all local authorities.

LAs were less likely to recommend that schools record bullying incidents relating to other types of identity-based bullying. Between 77-81 per cent stated that schools were recommended to record bullying incidents relating to sexual orientation, gender, disability, learning disability and religion or belief (ranging from 77-81 per cent). Fewer LAs recommended that schools record incidents based on: gender identity (65 per cent), Gypsy, Roma, Travellers (61 per cent) and asylum seekers or refugees (58 per cent).

Almost all LAs recommended that schools report as well as record racial/ethnicity based bullying incidents (n = 54, 95 per cent).

Generally, LAs were less likely to recommend that schools report other types of identity-based bullying than they were to recommend that schools record them (see Figure 4.2). Just under half of LAs recommended that schools report bullying based on the other identity strands (ranging from 40-49 per cent); with the exception of gender identity, where only 26 per cent of LAs recommended that schools report this form of bullying. Fewer respondents answered this question compared to recommendations on recording.
Figure 4.2 Percentage of LAs who recommend that schools record and report incidents of identity-based bullying

For all types of identity-based bullying schools were most commonly recommended to report incidents of bullying directly to the LA (n = 29 for racist incidents). A greater range of specific departments were mentioned in terms of who LAs recommended schools report racial types of bullying to (for example, race or ethnicity; Gypsy/Roma/Travellers; asylum seekers or refugees); these included: race equalities teams, governing bodies, equalities and engagement teams, and racist incidents monitoring teams (n = 6). A few respondents suggested that schools are recommended to inform the police for racial incidents constituting hate crime (n = 6) or directly to the anti-bullying coordinator (n = 5). Recommendations for schools to report bullying incidents to parents were identified by three LAs.

Twenty-one respondents (37 per cent) reported that their LA requests further information from schools. This usually included more specific details on a number of the following: who is involved (whether individuals are from vulnerable groups or from particular home circumstances); situational variables (such as where and when the incident occurred, who else was present); the type of bullying behaviour; action taken and associated outcomes.

However, while most LAs recommended that schools record and report at least one form of identity-based bullying (race/ethnicity), 23 (40 per cent) said they do not monitor schools to ensure that they are meeting these
recommendations. Thirty-two respondents (56 per cent) said that their LAs monitor schools to ensure they are meeting their recommendations on identity-based bullying, while 23 (40 per cent) said they do not (one respondent did not answer this question).

The 32 respondents who do monitor schools do so in a range of ways, including responses to annual/regular reports and/or surveys (such as the National Tellus survey or independent LA versions, n = 10), monitoring and reviewing anti-bullying policies (n = 6); assessing incident returns (n = 3); through healthy schools moderation/status (n = 4); visits and conferences (n = 5) or through bullying audits conducted by the LA or individual schools (n = 5). Three respondents mentioned electronic recording systems which can be used to monitor and evaluate bullying-related incidents, while a couple of respondents said that they were currently developing systems to monitor the bullying situation in their LA.

Statutory recording and reporting of identity-based bullying

At the time of data collection, the (then) DCSF had launched a consultation paper outlining proposed changes in the legislation regarding the recording and reporting of incidents of bullying between pupils. These new proposals planned to introduce a new statutory requirement on maintained schools and Pupil Referral Units to record serious and persistent incidents of bullying between pupils, racist incidents and incidents of verbal and physical abuse against school staff. The research team therefore addressed these issues as part of the LA survey to examine whether the proposed changes would be welcomed by LAs.

Recording

The majority of respondents said that they would be in favour of schools being required by law to record incidents of identity-based bullying (n = 45; 79 per cent). Some were unsure (n = 11; 19 per cent) and only one stated that they were not in favour (see Figure 4.3). Most respondents (84 per cent) included more detailed qualitative comments to explain their answer; most of these comments were in favour of statutory recording and argued for the benefits of this.

A common rational for being in favour of statutory recording was that it would provide a clearer or more complete picture of the nature and number of incidents of bullying (n = 18). Some respondents (n = 9) identified that a more accurate and detailed picture of the current bullying situation would be useful
in terms of identifying particular trends and patterns, in addition to highlighting areas of need and specific support required. Others believed that statutory recording would help direct resources and more effectively deal with specific forms of bullying (n = 22).

‘It’s important to capture data, and to explore this data in order to be able to be preventative in your practice. Data should be meaningful, not just a burdensome bureaucratic exercise, and it will be helpful in spotting trends, engendering trust in those affected by bullying, and in becoming more efficient in resolving issues that are often complex (being able to see the woods for the trees).’

‘It would enable schools to establish a baseline for improvement, spot trends and hotspots, and direct their effort in tackling bullying in a focused way.’

‘To direct resources to support children and young people. To be proactive in raising awareness around these issues and provide training and other support for staff to prevent, recognise and respond to identity-based bullying.’

Some respondents suggested that statutory reporting would help raise awareness of the importance of anti-bullying work and assist in identifying issues relating to bullying (n = 7). A few respondents thought that statutory duties would also ensure that schools complied with what was seen as an important area of school life.

‘It would help schools to understand emerging culture and social issues.’

‘(It) would enable schools to recognise their responsibilities to support children who experience this type of bullying.’

The need for an agreed definition of bullying and types of bullying was also raised in relation to ensuring an accurate representation and correct interpretation of data.

‘Without clear and open recording (accessible to people outside the school) we will have no consistent or accurate picture of the real situation with regard to bullying. However it will be important to ensure
that young people’s perceptions are included as these are often strikingly different to those of adults.’

However, a few comments highlighted some potential problems and issues which would need to be considered in relation to any statutory requirements.

There were some concerns regarding what incidents should be included in statutory duties to record; some suggested that key identity stands should be included rather than sub-divisions of these (n = 3); a few other respondents cautioned against classifying by type and suggested that all forms of bullying should be recorded regardless of type.

‘We would argue that all forms of bullying behaviour be recorded and not just identity-based bullying as currently proposed in DCSF consultation guidance on reporting and recording of bullying behaviour in schools.’

‘It would be very difficult to identify the primary motivation for bullying behaviour - a victim may fit multiple categories; for example a child could be disabled, female, Muslim and a refugee all at the same time. Recording bullying just because a target fits a category type does not necessarily mean that was the primary motivation for the bullying. There is a danger of creating a hierarchy of bullying based on perceived impact of the various categories.’

A couple of respondents also raised concerns about how increased requirements may add to the existing pressures and demands faced by schools. One respondent emphasised the need for a ‘non-punitive response to schools to encourage open recording’.

A few respondents revealed that they did not feel in a position to comment at this stage and would need to discuss with their colleagues in related departments. It is important to note that all respondents who answered this question were likely to be reporting on their own personal views and not necessarily the official stance of their LAs (an issue actually raised by one respondent). However, all respondents take a central role in relation to anti-bullying and therefore are well placed for providing an informed and well-considered evaluation of the issues relating to statutory reporting.
Figure 4.3  Whether LA respondents are in favour of school statutory requirements to record and report incidents of identity-based bullying

Statutory requirements to report
There was less consensus among respondents on whether schools should be required by law to report identity-based bullying incidents. Thirty-six were in favour of statutory requirements to report but four (seven per cent) were not. Seventeen (30 per cent) were unsure (see Figure 4.3).

Perceived benefits of reporting were similar to those of recording and again commonly included providing a clearer picture, identifying needs, and allocating and directing anti-bullying resources (n = 22). Sixteen respondents suggested that this could be done at the LA level and thus help LAs to inform their anti-bullying strategies (n = 16).

‘It is important that all schools are fully aware of the extent of and reason for any bullying in their schools. Without appropriate records, this cannot happen. It is impossible at present to know what the current position is. Without the data, we cannot know how to target the limited resources we have.’

‘It would enable the LA to establish a baseline for improvement, spot trends and hotspots, and direct our effort and that of partners we might need to involve based on empirical data rather than hunch.’
Other respondents suggested that statutory reporting would ensure compliance by all schools and encourage a more open reporting culture \((n = 4)\). However, these views were not shared by all respondents. Those who said they were either unsure or not in favour of statutory reporting provided some interesting and important considerations in relation to this argument.

Respondents’ concerns about statutory reporting included limitations on LA resources (in terms of capacity and cost implications of monitoring) \((n = 4)\), uncertainty about how to use the data and what value it would bring \((n = 2)\); as well as adding to existing pressures on schools and the possibility of antagonising relationships between LA and schools \((n = 3)\). There were also some concerns about the separation of bullying into so many different identity-based types and a suggestion that reporting should focus on main identity strands and promote overall equality and inclusion \((n = 3)\). Others emphasised the need to look at all forms of bullying while respondents indicated that it was necessary to avoid creating a hierarchy of importance among types of identity-based bullying, or between identity-based and non-identity-based bullying. However, the results of the survey indicate that certain forms of identity-based bullying, in particular racist bullying, are already better addressed than others.

‘…differentiating between prejudice-based bullying and bullying for all the other reasons may lead to a perception that some bullying is more important than others and thus only some bullying reported. It is the impact of the bullying that determines the severity - there should be prevention, procedures and actions to tackle all forms of bullying.’

The need for clearer definitions for each type of identity-based bullying, and ensuring schools provided truthful and accurate portrayals of the current bullying situation was also identified by a few respondents.

‘Getting a general picture across the district and within a school community is one way of assessing the scale of the problem - however much bullying is never identified or reported and thus goes undetected. A school with a severe bullying issue, but one which doesn’t prioritise it or address it, may have low returns and thus be perceived to be “doing well”.'
The minority of respondents (n = 4) who were not in favour of statutory reporting raised concerns about the potential for bullying league tables and difficulties in accurately interpreting the data provided.

‘We are concerned that no definition of a “bullying incident” is sufficiently robust to be applied absolutely consistently from school to school. Thresholds are bound to vary considerably. As a result the data would not necessarily point to those schools needing the most support. In addition, an FOI (freedom of information) request from the media would almost certainly have to be complied with, resulting in the possibility of “league tables” of bullying appearing the press.’

‘I strongly believe that high numbers of reported incidents of bullying in a school does not automatically equate to a school having a “bullying problem”. I am concerned that schools may avoid logging some bullying incidents (and this may lead to less children reporting bullying incidents because their concerns are not acted upon) so that their bullying statistics are kept low. I am also concerned that through FOI (freedom of information) requests to the LA, schools could be named as “bullying schools” by the press.’

The findings outlined here are particularly relevant in relation to the recent DCSF consultation on proposed changes to recording and reporting of prejudice-related bullying. Several of the LA respondents and stakeholders also mentioned this consultation document. Overall, there appears to be general support for recording and reporting by type of bullying. This is seen by many as a useful way to help both schools and LAs identify existing bullying trends in order to help highlight areas in which further work is required. However, some important concerns are raised relating to defining bullying behaviour, the types of incidents included and possible repercussions of this; as well as issues regarding demands placed on schools and LAs, and limited resources to manage and deal with this. These issues should be considered carefully in any future plans to introduce statutory recording and reporting. Clear guidance would also need to be provided before any proposed changes to the statutory duties to record and report were made.
Prevalence of identity-based bullying

*Schools*

Seventy-five per cent of LAs said they had evidence relating to the prevalence of racist bullying in schools, but less than 40 per cent had evidence for other types of identity-based bullying relating to sexual orientation, Gypsies and Travellers, gender, and religion or belief (Figure 4.4). Fewer still had evidence relating to bullying of disabled children, asylum seekers and refugees, and children with a learning disability (26-30 per cent), and only 12 per cent of LAs collected evidence relating to gender identity.

The amount of missing responses for the questions on prevalence of these types of bullying was higher compared to race and ethnicity, perhaps suggesting that more respondents were unsure whether such data was recorded by another department or agency within the LA. Again this may highlight the complexity of coordinating identity-based bullying work and suggests the need for further communication between associated departments to provide a more complete picture of the extent of bullying.

The types of evidence of prevalence varied considerably across LAs, both between and within the differing forms of identity-based bullying. Evidence relating to race and ethnicity included general comments relating to hate crime statistics or receiving race incident and bullying report forms from schools; as well as the use of web-based recording systems. A few reported that they were currently in the process of developing these systems and thus the data available could not be released at this stage.

Some respondents provided specific figures, but this data ranged from termly to yearly figures, with some not including any timescale. Also, in some of these cases there appeared not to be a distinction between general racial incidents and those which are also classified as bullying (involving repetition, intent to harm, and a real or perceived power imbalance).

Others stated that they know that these data are recorded but that they did not have access to them. Some respondents stated that the bullying data for various types of identity-based bullying are obtained through regular projects or surveys.
Figure 4.4 The percentage of LAs with evidence of different types of identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Evidence</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Community</th>
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<tr>
<td>Race or ethnicity</td>
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<td>Gypsy/Roma/Travellers</td>
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<td>Asylum seekers or refugees</td>
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<td>Learning disability</td>
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<td>Disability</td>
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<td>Sexual orientation</td>
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<td>Gender</td>
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<td>Gender identity</td>
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**Wider community**

Considerably fewer LAs had evidence of the prevalence of identity-based bullying within the wider community (the exception is for gender identity, see Figure 4.4). As with the data relating to evidence in schools, LAs were most likely to have evidence for race/ethnicity-based bullying (n = 18, 32 per cent).

Few respondents provided further details about the type of evidence available. Some referred to hate crime statistics and details from surveys which looked at bullying both inside and outside school. A few respondents stated that they had established community partnerships which recorded bullying related incidents, while others reported that this community information is likely to sit with other departments. Other responses included the existence of anecdotal evidence from the police and the current development of systems to record community-based bullying.

The finding that the majority of LAs have no evidence for the prevalence of most forms of identity-based bullying is particularly worrying. Interviews with LAs and stakeholders highlighted how recognising that these forms of bullying occurred was a critical first step, as the nature of identity-based bullying means it will occur in every LA, albeit in various guises. It was felt that LAs who reported that no incidents of this type took place in their area were either hiding the issue, or did not have sufficient measures in place to record and report these forms of bullying. Interviews with stakeholders also suggested
that LAs may show a reluctance to collect data on specific forms of identity-based bullying, as this could be interpreted as an admission that certain forms of bullying are taking place within their authority, thereby reflecting badly on their performance. In order to adequately prevent and respond to identity-based bullying, LAs must first acknowledge that identity-based bullying is occurring within their authority, by implementing effective recording measures which monitor its nature and prevalence.

**Training**
The majority of respondents said their LAs provided training on identity-based bullying to school staff; many also extend this training to students. Training which specifically related to identity-based bullying was provided by the majority of LAs (n = 49, 86 per cent), and was most likely to be provided for either staff and pupils (n = 24, 42 per cent), or just staff (n = 23, 40 per cent). Eight LAs (14 per cent) said they were unable to provide training; the reasons given mostly concerned the anti-bullying team’s lack of time and/or resources.

The majority of LAs who did provide training on identity-based bullying delivered it via one of three routes; by the anti-bullying coordinator/team themselves, by the healthy schools team, or by specialist equality teams, who provided training specifically orientated towards individual forms of identity-based bullying. In some cases, LAs had established partnerships with both regional and national anti-bullying organisations to deliver training targeted at specific forms of bullying. Racist, homophobic and disablist bullying were those most likely to be addressed, while to a lesser extent a small number of LAs also reported offering training on sexist and sexual bullying.

LAs were less likely to provide training outside of the school community: just over half of LAs (n = 32, 56 per cent) surveyed provided identity-based bullying training for Children’s Services. As before, the main reason for not providing training was a lack of capacity, with LAs reporting that they did not have the resources or time to provided targeted training. In addition, a small number of LAs who did not provide training indicated that they hoped to be able to deliver this at a later stage, but were currently developing their service, or were not yet well enough integrated with Children’s Services to provide the necessary expertise. Of those who did provide identity-based bullying training, most said it was directed towards departments working with vulnerable children and young people, such as social care, youth services, foster carers, and looked-after children’s teams. While few elaborated on the nature of this
training, a few respondents stated that this training would address identity-based bullying generally, as opposed to taking a focus on specific forms.

The stakeholders we interviewed identified the importance of specific identity-based bullying training as an important step in ensuring that school and children’s services were equipped to take action against differing forms of bullying. The majority of LAs said they were able to provide specific training, albeit to varying degrees, which would indicate that some appropriate measures are being taken to ensure members of the school community are able to prevent and respond to identity-based bullying. However, stakeholder organisations highlighted the need for this training to address specific forms of bullying, rather than relating to identity-based bullying generally, for example by considering children’s specific definitions of racist and homophobic behaviour, and their overlying attitudes towards differing equality groups.

Additionally, stakeholders indicated that training by LAs could be most efficient when it was targeted at the right audience. While training for all school staff and pupils would yield the most beneficial results, this would be extremely time-consuming for the LA, and would further stretch their limited capacity. Stakeholders suggested instead a more efficient approach of provide training for senior members of schools and children services, who would then be able to feed the training down to other levels of their community. In effect initial training at this level by the LA would serve to ‘train the trainers’, thereby alleviating some of the strains reported by LAs in terms of lack of funding and time. An example of this form of training comes as part of the Stonewall Education Champions Programme, which was reported as being particularly beneficial by LAs enrolled in it.

**Tackling identity-based bullying**

*Prevention strategies*

Around half of all LAs who responded said they recommended specific prevention strategies for most forms of bullying. These recommendations were most likely to relate to racist (n = 39, 68 per cent), homophobic (n = 37, 65 per cent), learning difficulty (n = 36, 63 per cent) and gender (n = 31, 54 per cent) forms of bullying; however, less than half of all LAs recommended specific strategies for the prevention of bullying related to gender identity (n = 25, 44 per cent) and asylum seekers or refugees (n = 27, 47 per cent).
The other half of LAs reported that the preventative strategies they recommended to schools did not differ from those used to prevent non identity-based forms of bullying. The open ended responses provided by some respondents give some explanation of this finding. Several LAs took the view that individual forms of identity-based bullying were already addressed as part of the LAs general preventative strategies. However, several of these LAs commented that while the preventative strategies they used were fairly generic, specialist advice and support would be sought when preventing bullying related to specific identity-based issues. This suggests that for the majority of LAs, prevention of identity-based bullying is being incorporated into existing strategies, but often as part of a general approach.

The LAs who did tailor their preventative strategies to particular forms of identity-based bullying mentioned the downsides to using this general approach, and the reasons as to why they had implemented different strategies. These authorities referred to the specific need for preventative strategies to promote diversity and equality, while simultaneously challenging prejudiced language, stereotypes and attitudes. While more general strategies could be used to address differing equality strands, they felt that this did not sufficiently account for the needs of vulnerable groups and individuals who could become targets of identity-based bullying. Strategies which had been tailored specifically to particular types of identity-based bullying were most likely to promote inclusion and respect throughout the school environment by taking more active steps to change the school’s ethos and focus on the promotion of equality.

The stakeholders we interviewed also highlighted the need to address specific forms of identity-based bullying at all levels of the school community. Specific preventative strategies were reported as being a key step towards this, for the potential they have to change the climate of the school, make staff and pupils aware of issues around equality, and introduce a culture of tolerance and respect throughout the whole school. Examples of this included holding whole school assemblies which discussed equality and bullying related to it, building these into the curriculum through PHSE, and making concerted efforts to promote tolerance and respect between children and young people, while also celebrating the benefits of difference and diversity. Those LAs who incorporated such measures were keen to point out the significant effect that could be realised in schools, with noticeable changes being reported in school climates, and a clearer and more tolerant understanding of equality among school pupils and staff.
All stakeholders interviewed referred to the need to challenge existing attitudes regarding equality by questioning children’s preconceptions and stereotypical beliefs, and providing them with a better understanding of the difference and diversity within their peer group. If preventative strategies only briefly refer to identity-based bullying (either generally, or to individual forms) then the extent to which they can have a real impact on changing beliefs and creating an inclusive culture is questionable. More beneficial effects may be realised by ensuring that individual equality strands are actively discussed and promoted through the school’s preventative strategies, to foster an accepting and respectful culture at all levels of the school community.

Guidance
Preventative identity-based bullying guidance published by central government was mostly reported as being useful or very useful to LAs, as indicated in Figure 4.5. Guidance regarding racist, homophobic and disablist bullying in particular appeared well received, with one third of LAs stating that each had been very useful. A large proportion of LAs were unaware of guidance relating to bullying of Gypsies/Roma/Travellers or refugees (n = 23, 45 per cent and n = 26, 51 per cent respectively), despite this being referred to in the race, religion and culture section of the Safe to Learn (2006) suite of guidance.

Figure 4.5 LA ratings on the usefulness of preventative identity-based bullying guidance from central government
Among LAs who identified useful or very useful guidance materials, the majority of respondents mentioned in some way the DCSF’s *Safe to Learn* (2006). Comments were generally positive, suggesting it had been a useful resource, which was clear, helpful and served to highlight the variety of preventative strategies available to schools. Some minor criticisms were voiced, suggesting the guidance was too policy-orientated, and advice for differing forms of identity-based bullying was too generic. However, the suite of *Safe to Learn* documents appeared to be generally well received, with *Preventing and Responding to Homophobic Bullying in Schools* in particular receiving a favourable mention from several LAs.

Similarly, preventative identity-based bullying guidance from non-governmental organisations was generally rated as useful or very useful by respondents (see Figure 4.6.). Compared to guidance from central government, a larger proportion of LAs appeared to be unaware of preventative guidance from non-governmental organisations, particularly with regard to bullying of Gypsies/Roma/Travellers (n = 23, 56 per cent), and asylum seekers or refugees (n = 24, 57 per cent). In particular, guidance on preventing bullying related to sexual orientation was perceived as very useful by the largest proportion of respondents (n = 22, 46 per cent).

**Figure 4.6  LA ratings on the usefulness of preventative identity-based bullying guidance from non-governmental organisations**

![Figure 4.6](image-url)
Respondents outlined a variety of available preventative guidance published by non-governmental organisations, which they had found to be either useful or very useful. Foremost among this was guidance published by Stonewall, which was specifically mentioned by 21 LAs for being both informative and helpful. In addition, resources produced by the Anti-Bullying Alliance, Mencap, Kidscape and Womankind were singled out by several LAs for being particularly useful.

Interviews with stakeholder organisations indicated that the guidance available from central government was useful for schools and LAs, and in many cases had been put together with the assistance of national anti-bullying organisations, including Stonewall, Womankind and Mencap. However, some stakeholders felt that while the guidance was useful, not enough had been done at a national, regional and school level to promote awareness of these materials, hence, many school staff, and some LA staff were unaware that anti-bullying guidance was available relating to differing forms of identity-based bullying. Secondly, it was felt that some of the Safe to Learn guidance neglected specific issues related to identity by combining differing forms of bullying into one document. This was particularly true in the case of sexist, sexual and transphobic bullying, which some stakeholders felt should have been discussed separately.

Stakeholders reported that non-governmental guidance on preventative strategies for identity-based bullying had often been put together when it was felt that central government guidance was insufficient, or had not yet addressed their area of expertise. While LAs were generally less aware of guidance from non-governmental organisations, awareness of this was generally dependent on the degree to which each organisation had promoted their material, or the extent to which LAs and organisations working with children shared information between themselves.

**Support**

The majority of LAs (n = 40, 70 per cent) felt there were further ways in which central government could help support them in preventing identity-based bullying, while only seven respondents (12 per cent) felt that no extra support was required. There are five categories of support that LAs would like offered: resources, training, funding, promotion of anti-bullying work, and the introduction of statutory requirements. Most commonly mentioned was the need for more resources, in particular more practical and meaningful guidance that is less focused on policy. Respondents also referred to the
need to have practical support regarding staff training, resources which illustrated how to include identity-based-bullying within the curriculum and lesson plans, and materials which could be used to monitor impact. Lack of current funding was similarly highlighted as an area where support was required, while greater provision of training, better publicity of anti-bullying work and guidance materials, and the introduction of statutory requirements for recording and reporting incidents of identity-based bullying were identified as areas in which LAs could be better supported.

LAs appeared slightly less certain if there were any further ways in which non-governmental organisations would be able to support them, with 22 respondents providing no answer to this question. Most of those who responded reported that there were further ways in which their LA could be supported. Analysis of their open-ended responses identified two main issues. First was the need for more training in relation to identity-based bullying, some of which is already offered by several non-governmental organisations. Although the capacity and resources for this varies by organisations, often the training is targeted at specific forms of identity-based bullying, which could be useful for LAs experiencing problems with specific issues. The second was the need for more materials and resources which gave practical advice for schools and LAs on how to prevent identity-based bullying. A handful of LAs also stated that they would benefit from resources which they could use to train staff themselves.

**Response**

**Strategies**

In comparison to preventative measures, LAs were less likely to recommend specific strategies for responding to identity-based bullying. Specific responsive strategies were most likely to be in place for bullying related to race or ethnicity (n = 30, 53 per cent), while for all other forms of identity-based bullying, less than half of all LAs (between 37-46 per cent) recommended specific interventions.

The majority of all LAs (n = 32, 56 per cent) reported that the strategies they used for responding to identity-based bullying did not differ according to whether the bullying was identity or non-identity based. Many respondents indicated that a variety of responsive options were already available to them, such as direct sanctions, restorative justice or peer support approaches, and that irrespective of whether bullying was related to identity or not,
any incidents would be responded to equally. Having a variety of strategies available allowed for a response which could be tailored to suit the particular needs of the individual, and this same range of responsive options was available to everyone who had experienced any form of bullying.

LAs who stated that their response strategies did differ between different forms of bullying (n = 16, 28 per cent), generally indicated that existing strategies would be adapted to suit particular forms of bullying. A small number indicated that specialist strategies had been implemented, either through work with other local agencies or with non-governmental organisations.

The stakeholders who were interviewed generally agreed that the variety and adaptability of existing responsive measures to bullying were sufficient, providing they took account of the individual’s needs, and were aware of the issues surrounding each form of identity-based bullying. Some responsive measures may be more or less suited to particular forms of identity-based bullying dependent upon the individual situation. For example, conference-based restorative approaches, in which all parties involved in an incident discuss its causes and means of reparation, may be more problematic than beneficial in responding to homophobic bullying of children who may be lesbian, gay or bisexual, but are not yet confident in talking about this with others. Thus the strategies used to respond to bullying should be carefully considered with regard to the individual situation, and the form of bullying being addressed.

In addition, several stakeholders addressed the need for responsive strategies directed towards the bully. While help for the victim should always be provided, the literature shows that identity-based bullying is commonly a result of stereotypical and prejudiced beliefs, and so through the use of responsive strategies, children who bully others could be deterred from taking part in this behaviour by being given a better understanding of equality issues.

Among stakeholders however, the overriding opinion was that responsive strategies could only be effective if used alongside sufficient preventative measures which addressed equality and clearly distinguished between differing forms of identity-based bullying. Preventative measures can be used to make the school community aware of issues relating to difference and diversity; without these, responsive measures may only be effective in
dealing with singular incidents, and not lead to long term changes in the behaviour of the bullies.

**Guidance**
The majority of all LAs reported that responsive guidance produced by central government was either useful or very useful (see Figure 4.7). Guidance relating to racist, disablist and homophobic bullying were rated by over half of all respondents as useful and over a quarter as very useful. However, a large proportion of respondents were unaware of responsive guidance relating to bullying of Gypsies/Roma/Travellers and asylum seekers or refugees (n = 18, 43 per cent, and n = 17, 40 per cent respectively).

**Figure 4.7** LA ratings on the usefulness of responsive identity-based bullying guidance from central government

Just over one third of LAs (n = 22, 39 per cent) identified materials produced by central government which had been useful or very useful in responding to identity-based bullying. Of these, 16 respondents referred to the DCSF *Safe to Learn* suite of guidance, which again received generally positive comments, in particular the resources related to racist and homophobic bullying. A small number of LAs also reported that they had developed their own series of guidance and toolkits to provided direct support to young people and their parents on issues which they felt were not covered in great enough depth through *Safe to Learn*. 72
In relation to responsive guidance produced by non-governmental organisations, around 20-30 per cent of LAs reported that they were unaware of such guidance (see Figure 4.8). This was particularly true in relation to faith-based bullying, and bullying of Gypsy/Roma/Travellers and asylum seekers or refugees. Among LAs who were able to rate the usefulness of guidance, across differing forms of bullying, ratings were generally equally split between useful and very useful. However, the guidance produced for responding to homophobic bullying was rated very useful by over a quarter of respondents (n = 15, 26 per cent). Similarly, responsive guidance relating to gender based (n = 10, 18 per cent) and gender-identity bullying (n = 9, 16 per cent) were more likely to be rated as ‘very useful’ than ‘useful’.

**Figure 4.8  LA ratings on the usefulness of responsive identity-based bullying guidance from non-governmental organisations**

As before, 22 LAs (39 per cent) specified which materials they had found to be useful or very useful for responding to incidents of identity-based bullying. Guidance produced by Stonewall was reported by 12 LAs to be particularly useful, showing similarities with that reported for preventative measures. Additionally, respondents mentioned useful responsive guidance which had been produced by the Anti-Bullying Alliance, Mencap, Kidscape, Beat Bullying, Save the Children and NASUWT. Three LAs reported that they had produced their own responsive guidance, in response to the need to bridge gaps that existed within current literature.
Interviews with stakeholders revealed little in regard to the effectiveness of response guidance to identity-based bullying, other than suggesting that evaluations on its effectiveness and the suitability of these strategies generally was required. However, LAs’ lack of awareness of what responsive guidance was available suggests greater promotion of these materials is required for LAs, schools and other organisations working with children.

Support
Twenty-eight out of 37 LAs felt there were further ways in which central government could help them improve their response strategy towards identity-based bullying (20 did not answer this question). The most common form of support mentioned was the need for further guidance; particularly that which would provide practical advice for schools, pupils and parents. In addition, training packages would be beneficial to some LAs, allowing them to train their own staff in relation to how to respond to incidents of identity-based bullying. A further support request was the need for more and continued, funding, which would allow LAs to develop their responsive strategies, and further the work and resources they are able to provide to schools and communities. Also mentioned by several respondents was the need to implement firmer legislation regarding the recording and reporting of identity-based bullying incidents.

Very few respondents (n = 16, 28 per cent) felt there were further ways in which non-governmental organisations could help support LAs in improving their responsive measures for identity-based bullying. Some suggestions were made as to how help could be provided, in particular assistance with training, more guidance, resources and advice regarding specific forms of bullying, and better networking and knowledge-sharing among the private sector and statutory agencies. These comments were provided by a minority of respondents however, with 12 LAs reporting that there were no further ways in which non-governmental organisations could better support them.

Issues in preventing and responding
Around 40-60 per cent of LAs (n = 21-35) had established strategic partnerships within schools to prevent differing forms of identity-based bullying. This was most commonly reported for bullying related to race and ethnicity (n = 35, 61 per cent), sexual orientation (n = 31, 54 per cent) and religion (n = 27, 47 per cent). Areas which had not been identified as main equality strands, such as Gypsy/Roma/Travellers, asylum seekers and refugees, and gender-based bullying were less likely to be prevented
and responded to through strategic partnerships, although, in some cases, agencies which represented these groups of children had been incorporated in anti-bullying steering groups. Of particular note is the finding that both learning difficulties and disability were areas in which few partnerships had been formed, despite research suggesting that these groups of children and young people are significantly at risk of being bullied while at school.

As with previous results, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation appear to top LAs hierarchies of strategic engagement, receiving a greater deal of attention than other equality strands.

Table 4.2 presents a list of typical agencies with which LAs had developed strategic partnerships to prevent and respond to identity-based bullying in schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.2: Typical partnerships established within LAs in relation to identity-based bullying in schools</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Safer Schools Partnerships</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Local Safeguarding Children’s Boards</td>
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<tr>
<td>• SEN (special education needs) services</td>
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<td>• Ethnic Minority and Traveller Attainment Service (EMTAS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Healthy Schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Children’s Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Partnership Against Hate Crime (PAHC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Support for Ethnic Minority Achievement (SEMA)</td>
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<td>• Equality groups</td>
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In comparison, fewer LAs had developed strategic partnerships to respond and prevent identity-based bullying in the wider community (30-45 per cent, n = 17-25). As was found within schools, bullying related to sexual orientation and race/ethnicity appeared to be the most likely areas to be covered through partnership-working. Among the remaining equality strands, around one third of all LAs gave evidence of having established strategic partnerships for the response and prevention of bullying in the wider community. Table 4.3 overleaf indicates some of the typical strategic partnerships which were reported by LAs.
Table 4.3: Typical partnerships established within LAs in relation to identity-based bullying in the wider community

- Safer Schools Partnerships
- Local Safeguarding Children’s Boards
- SEN services
- Ethnic Minority and Traveller Attainment Service (EMTAS)
- Police
- Children’s Services
- Partnership Against Hate Crime (PAHC)
- Support for Ethnic Minority Achievement (SEMA)
- Primary Care Trust
- Connexions
- Safer Communities Partnership
- Youth Services
- Anti LGBT Bullying Group
- Healthy Schools
- Youth offending teams

Through interviews with stakeholders and LAs, the importance of consultation and interaction between all areas of local government and public sector organisations was repeatedly identified as the most effective way to ensure all forms of identity-based bullying were addressed. Multi-agency strategic groups offer the opportunity for all professionals working with children and young people to share their experiences and examples of best practice so that more effective strategies and procedures could be implemented throughout schools and the wider community. While the results show that many authorities have already developed multi-agency partnerships, it is critical that these address all areas of equality, such as through the inclusion of agencies working with disabled children, Gypsy/Roma/Traveller communities or asylum seeker and refugee children. Representation for all equality strands was reported as being particularly important through interviews, as this ensured groups of vulnerable children and young people were identified, and support needs specific to them were raised and addressed at the LA level.

Only a small proportion of LAs (between 10 and 22 per cent) indicated that they had experienced difficulties in preventing or responding to any forms of identity-based bullying. Results showed that bullying related to sexual orientation posed slightly more difficulties regarding prevention and response.
than other forms of identity-based bullying, however there was very little variation overall between the differing forms. Several issues were identified when LAs were asked to provide details about the difficulties they had faced, most notably lack of funding, and the disclarity/lack of requirements for recording and reporting of incidents of bullying based around identity. In addition, issues particular to certain forms of identity-based bullying were identified, including the transience of Gypsy/Roma/Traveller and refugee/asylum-seeking populations, and difficulties in engaging schools with issues relating to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender pupils. However, considering that around half of all LAs do not have evidence for the prevalence of most forms of identity-based bullying, the extent to which respondents were truly aware of the problem is questionable.

The majority of LAs reported that they felt confident in providing support to schools for each of the nine forms of identity-based bullying (see Figure 4.9). Slightly more respondents stated that they felt very confident providing support for bullying based on race and sexual orientation than they did for other forms of identity-based bullying. LAs seemed less confident in providing support in regard to Gypsy/Roma/Travellers, asylum seekers and refugees, and gender identity-related bullying. A small number of LAs (n = 3-8, 5-14 per cent) stated that they did not know how confident they felt in providing support to schools across differing forms of identity-based bullying.

**Figure 4.9 LA confidence in providing support to schools for each form of identity-based bullying**
Most respondents (n = 37, 65 per cent) reported that there were no other forms of identity-based bullying which were dealt with by their LA. However, a small proportion (n = 11, 19 per cent) identified additional issues which had not been mentioned previously within the questionnaire. Two LAs reported having bullying issues related to recently arrived immigrants, and sizeable immigrant populations within their jurisdiction, which required further guidance and resources. Additionally, bullying of looked-after children and bullying in children’s homes were raised as identity-based issues that were not explored through this study. Several respondents also raised the topic of identity-based cyberbullying, an issue which has received little attention to date, but given the recent increase in cyberbullying among schoolchildren, could be problematic for LAs to prevent and respond to.

4.2 Scotland

Respondents and non-respondents
Despite requests to respond to the questionnaire being sent to all 32 Scottish local authorities, only eight returned a completed survey to the research team; a response rate of 24 per cent. While this response rate was disappointing, conversations with the Scottish anti-bullying organisation respectme, as well as email exchanges with anti-bullying workers within Scottish LAs identified a number of reasons why authorities did not respond to the questionnaire.

Firstly, the research team experienced difficulties in establishing initial contact with members of LAs who took a responsibility for anti-bullying work. Despite telephoning each LA, and requesting to talk with the strategic lead on anti-bullying, in many cases, no specific lead could be identified. On these occasions, contact was instead made with Quality Improvement Officers (QIOs), whose roles include monitoring, advising and improving school practice and performance (Scottish Negotiating Committee for Teachers Circular 12, 2004).

The wide-ranging remit of the role of QIOs may be one of the reasons that such a low response rate was obtained, as bullying would be only one of many issues they currently address, and therefore they may not have had immediate access to sufficient information to be able to complete the questionnaire. In addition, there may be several QIOs within each LA, each with differing remits, and as the questionnaire concerned both schools and the wider community, a certain amount of interdepartmental consultation may have been required. This can be a time-consuming process, and the short
time period in which LAs were asked to provide a response may not have been long enough to allow sufficient consultation between departments. Conversely, it could be that the issue of identity-based bullying was not one which was high on these LAs’ agendas at the time.

In addition, LAs were also being asked to respond to the consultation paper entitled a *National Approach to Anti-bullying for Scotland’s Children and Young People* (2009) at the time of our survey requests. As this paper proposes a renewed vision for the provision of anti-bullying work in Scotland, LAs may have given it priority over our survey.

**Local authority policies and recommendations for schools**

All of the LAs who did respond reported that they had an anti-bullying strategy and, for most, this specifically referred to bullying related to race or ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation and gender. No LAs reported that their strategies referred to bullying of asylum seekers or refugees, while only two out of the eight addressed bullying in relation to Gypsies/Roma/Travellers and gender identity. Six of the LAs did not have an action plan through which to inform and update its anti-bullying strategy. Of the two that did, only one LA’s action plan specifically referred to identity-based bullying.

In considering recommendation made to schools, all eight LAs recommended that schools produced anti-bullying policies, and, with the exception of one LA, these policies all referred to identity-based bullying.

All of the LAs recommended that schools record incidents of bullying relating to race and ethnicity, and the majority also recommended this for most other types of identity-based bullying. Bullying of asylum seekers or refugees was only recommended to be reported by two LAs. Similarly, most LAs recommended that schools reported incidents of bullying relating to race and ethnicity, but were less likely to make these same recommendations for other forms of bullying, particularly that relating asylum seekers or refugees.

When asked whether their LA would welcome statutory requirements for the recording and reporting of incidents of identity-based bullying, respondents mostly reported they were unsure. Three LAs were in favour of statutory recording, and two of statutory reporting, which they felt would provide a national framework for LAs to work within, and could help overcome reluctance in some schools to provide figures on the prevalence of bullying incidents.
Identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community

Half of all LAs had collected evidence relating to the prevalence of identity-based bullying in either schools or the wider community. The only form of bullying to which the majority of LAs reported that they collected evidence was racial or ethnic bullying. In the case of schools, this evidence was mostly collected as part of a regular survey on bullying incidents, but, as one respondent stated, ‘this is largely due to the fact that there is a legal compunction to report on racial incidents’. In the wider community, evidence of racial or ethnic bullying was more likely to be obtained through police reports or data collected in relation to hate crime.

A reason for this may be that LAs were most likely to have developed strategic partnerships within schools to prevent and respond to racial or ethnic bullying. Through these partnerships it might be expected that evidence on the prevalence of racist bullying could be adequately collected. However, other than stating that a multi-agency approach had been employed, the nature of these partnerships was unclear from the responses. In relation to the wider community, there was an equal split between LAs that had developed strategic partnerships and those that had not, but again, few specific details on the nature of these were provided.

Training

All LAs stated that they provided specific training in relation to identity-based bullying, either to staff, or to both staff and pupils. Half of the LAs reported that ‘respectme’ had been involved as part of this, either indirectly by training their trainers, or directly, through the free training sessions and workshops that the organisation provides. Fewer respondents indicated that identity-based bullying training was provided for children’s services, but in most cases this was offered to departments relating to child protection and social work.

Preventative and responsive strategies

When asked about preventative strategies for identity-based bullying, the majority of LAs stated that they did not recommend specific strategies for most forms of bullying, particularly that which related to gender identity, asylum seekers or refugees, or religion or belief. The exception to this was racial bullying, for which five LAs recommended specific preventative strategies. Guidance relating to preventative strategies was barely discussed by LAs, with most respondents choosing not to provide an answer when asked if guidance produced by both the Scottish Government or non-governmental organisations had been helpful. The few that did respond
mostly referred to guidance on racist bullying produced by respectme, which was rated as helpful.

Four LAs reported that there were further ways in which both the Scottish Government and non-governmental organisations could help them. These included the need for training and national guidance which specifically related to individual forms of identity-based bullying. The majority of LAs did not recommend specific strategies for responding to identity-based bullying, and little variation was observed according to the form of bullying. Only racial or ethnic bullying appeared slightly more likely to be addressed through specific interventions.

When asked if responsive guidance provided by the Scottish Government or non-governmental organisations was helpful, most LAs chose not to respond or said they were unaware of such guidance.

A small number of LAs stated that there were further ways in which they could be supported in responding to identity-based bullying, in particular the need for national guidance and more resources that could help them in addressing these particular forms of bullying.

Most authorities reported that that they had not faced any particular difficulties in preventing or responding to differing forms of identity-based bullying, and were most likely to feel confident or very confident to be able to support schools when incidents of this nature arose. However, the lack of evidence gathered for all forms of identity bullying questions the extent to which these LAs are aware of bullying occurring within their schools and communities, and how effective they can be in helping schools and other organisations prevent and respond to these incidents.

4.3 Wales

Respondents and non-respondents
Similar difficulties in achieving a good response rate were experienced with the Welsh local authorities. Out of the 22 Welsh LAs who were contacted and sent survey requests, only four completed questionnaires were returned to the research team; a response rate of 18 per cent.

For many LAs, initially locating the strategic lead for bullying proved problematic. Even with the assistance of The Welsh Assembly Government in
identifying named anti-bullying leads within each LA, further communication with some of these individuals revealed that they were no longer taking a lead on anti-bullying work or that the topic of the questionnaire was beyond their remit (n = 5). The lack of an identifiable person specifically concerned with anti-bullying work may in part explain why such a low response rate was achieved.

Follow-up telephone calls with those who did not respond highlighted that although their LA had been active in addressing general aspects of bullying, there had been very little work relating to identity-based or prejudice-related bullying at this stage (n = 4). Three LAs reported that due to recent work and current demands, they were unable to complete the questionnaire; however, local survey information was sent by two LAs to give an overview of the current anti-bullying situation in these areas. Stakeholder interviews revealed that an absence of a central anti-bullying coordinator for Wales did seem to have an impact on the scale of anti-bullying work at the LA level, with this varying considerably across different LAs. During a recent anti-bullying roadshow organised by the Welsh National Assembly, this discrepancy across local authorities was evident in the variation of school attendance within each region. It seems that although some local authorities were very active in their anti-bullying work, others were not and may lack the resources and structure to coordinate this work.

Local authority policies and recommendations for schools

Few discernable findings could be reported in terms of LAs policies on identity-based bullying. Only two LAs reported having an anti-bullying strategy. In both cases this specifically referred to race or ethnicity, religion or belief, disabilities, learning difficulties, sexual orientation and gender. Three LAs had an anti-bullying action plan in place, all of which referred to identity-based bullying.

Three out of the four LAs recommended that school’s equality schemes referred specifically to identity-based bullying, and further reported that all forms of bullying should be included as part of this. In terms of recording and reporting of incidents, most LAs recommended that incidents of all forms of identity-based bullying should be recorded, but were less likely to recommend that schools reported such incidents. Whether LAs would be in favour of statutory requirements for the recording and reporting of identity-based bullying was unclear. While two LAs suggested that they would welcome
both of these measures, the remaining two authorities reported that they were not sure.

Identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community
While two Welsh LAs collected evidence on the prevalence of differing forms of identity-based bullying in schools, none reported that the same was done for bullying in the wider community. Few indications were given as to the nature of this evidence being collected in schools, other than that some data would be provided through the requirement of schools to report racist incidents to their LA.

This may relate to the way in which anti-bullying is approached overall within Wales. Only one LA indicated that strategic partnerships had been established to prevent and respond to differing forms of identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community. Building a variety of partnerships in relation to identity-based bullying would better allow LAs to monitor and assess differing forms of bullying. If strategic partnerships had not been formed, then this may explain why little evidence had so far been collected.

Training
Three LAs stated that they provided training in relation to identity-based bullying, and in all cases this was only for pupils, not school staff. Only one LA provided specific training to Children’s Services. This training was mostly likely to relate to racist or homophobic bullying, and concerned specific responsive interventions, such as peer support, and training for both bullies and victims.

Preventative and responsive strategies
Two of the Welsh LAs who responded recommended specific strategies for most forms of identity-based bullying, although these strategies did not differ from those used for non-identity-based bullying. Only one respondent was aware of any national preventative guidance produced by either the Welsh Assembly Government or non-governmental organisations.

However, all four LAs reported that there were further ways in which both their government and non-governmental organisations could help them. Most prominently mentioned was the need for guidance which was directed at schools and other service providers, while LAs also reported that they would benefit from staff training, and greater awareness raising events relating to issues of identity-based bullying.
Local authorities were more likely to recommend specific responsive strategies for identity-based bullying, in particular incidents relating to racism, religion, Gypsy/Roma/Travellers, and asylum seekers or refugees. However, it was again reported that these strategies did not differ from those used for non identity-based bullying.

None of the LAs were aware of any guidance on how to respond to identity-based bullying produced by the Welsh Assembly Government, while only one respondent reported being aware of the guidance from non-governmental organisations. In contrast to preventative measures, LAs were less likely to report that they required additional support needs; however those that did suggested the need for clearer guidance and additional funding.

Despite the lack of information available to them however, three out of the four LAs reported feeling confident when providing support to schools in relation to differing forms of identity-based bullying. LAs suggested they would be slightly more confident in the case of homophobic bullying, but less confident with regard to bullying related to gender, gender identity, Gypsy/Roma/Travellers, and asylum seekers or refugees.
5. Conclusions and recommendations

This research has focused on the prevention and response to identity-based bullying among local authorities (LAs) in England, Scotland and Wales. All young people have the right to feel safe and free from bullying. However, there is a need for a greater understanding of identity-based bullying and those at risk of experiencing it. This form of bullying is not only targeted at individuals but also at particular groups, who are often vulnerable or marginalised within society. Drawing on a variety of sources, this research has identified some important issues concerning identity-based bullying and it is hoped that these findings will help guide future policy, research and intervention relating to this area. Our conclusions and recommendations on each of these issues are presented below.

Policy and guidance
This research has identified the role that policy and guidance plays in directing identity-based anti-bullying work and attention to particular areas. Findings indicate that there appears to be more awareness and targeted prevention and response of identity-based bullying in England, where there is greater guidance and specific reference in associated policy, compared to Scotland and Wales. Despite this however, only around one half of LAs referred to all forms of identity-based bullying through their equality schemes, even though over 80 per cent of English LAs recommended that schools address differing forms of bullying in their own equality schemes. This highlights a discrepancy between the recommendations made by LAs and the extent to which identity-based bullying is actually being addressed.

In addition, there seems to be some variation in awareness and actions at the LA level depending on the type of identity-based bullying being considered. This is generally highest for race-based bullying, which has the most comprehensive framework in terms of policy and statutory requirements, followed by bullying based on sexual orientation. Awareness and activity around homophobic bullying may be attributed to the release of the Stonewall research findings concerning homophobic bullying, and subsequent focus and attention placed on raising awareness and tackling this form of bullying. However, disablist bullying, and less well-documented forms of identity-based bullying, in particular those which relate to gender identity, Gypsies/Roma/Travellers and asylum seekers or refugees, are poorly addressed at present, and steps need to be taken to ensure that all forms of identity-based bullying are equally attended to by LAs.
Having an overall statement regarding all prejudice-related bullying is important for highlighting an organisation’s (be it local authority, school or other children’s service) commitment to tackling this form of bullying. Equally, anti-bullying policies and equality schemes must make clear reference to the different identity-strands. This allows organisations to identify a clear stance and direct consistent response to such bullying behaviour. By specifically mentioning different identity strands, it ensures that the particular needs of these groups are taken into consideration.

We recommend that:

- LA and school anti-bullying policies contain a reference to each of the main identity strands (race, religion or belief, disability, sexual orientation, gender and gender identity) as well as a statement concerning prevention and response to identity-based bullying in associated equality schemes.
- LAs consider whether there is a local need to refer to specific sub-groups within each strand, for example in places where asylum seekers and refugees are concentrated.
- A focus is placed on raising awareness of identity-based bullying at both a government and non-government level and by providing practical-based guidance.
- Any increase in statutory duties and policy requirements must be carefully considered to avoid LAs being ranked on their performance, and underachievers being punished.

**Organisation of anti-bullying work**

The importance of an organised multi-departmental approach and the presence of a designated anti-bullying coordinator within LAs was reflected through the response rates to the questionnaire. LAs with a specific lead on identity-based bullying were able to provide detailed information on how these forms of bullying were being addressed within schools and the wider community. In contrast, LAs with no designated lead on bullying reported difficulties in completing the questionnaire; to answer all questions required coordination between various departments, which they could not accomplish within the required timescale. This meant many questionnaires were returned partially completed, and did not provide the data required to adequately assess LAs’ identity-based bullying strategies. This highlights the importance of having a designated individual or team who can coordinate anti-bullying work between departments, are aware of how identity-based bullying is being addressed, and are able to provide detailed and accurate information in
regards to this. However, it should also be noted that, particularly in England, a significant proportion of anti-bullying coordinators were unable to complete the questionnaire due to a lack of both time and capacity. While a designated lead on anti-bullying is of prime importance in ensuring identity-based bullying is properly addressed, the demands of this role currently outweigh the capacity, and therefore steps must be taking to ensure anti-bullying coordinators are provided with the funding and resources they require to meet these demands.

We recommend that:

- Designated anti-bullying coordinators are appointed in all LAs to ensure both general and identity-based forms of bullying are addressed through an organised and coordinated multi-departmental approach.
- Where possible, the support and resources necessary to accomplish this should be provided to guarantee that LAs have the capacity to meet the demands expected of them.

**Prevalence**
The prevalence studies we reviewed highlighted the large proportion of children who experience identity-based bullying, and the negative outcomes it can have upon them. Assessing the prevalence of each form is crucial to identifying particular problems within a school or LA, but as survey results indicated, very few LAs currently do this. Racial bullying appears to be the only form of bullying monitored with any consistency, and this is mostly due to statutory requirements that schools record and report incidents. While the majority of LAs seemed in favour of statutory recording and reporting for all identity-based bullying incidents, survey comments and interview responses suggested there may be a reluctance to monitor the prevalence of all forms of identity-based bullying, for fear of being penalised or ranked according to LA performance. However, it is only through effective monitoring that problems can be identified, and the effectiveness of interventions assessed. Monitoring schools and children’s services is key to adequately addressing identity-based bullying. It highlights particular problems within an LA, providing an indication of how issues relating to equality are being addressed, what measures are being put in place by individual organisations, and how effective these have been in preventing and responding to identity-based bullying.
We recommend that:

- LAs take greater measures to monitor both the prevalence of identity-based bullying and the efforts of schools and other organisations in tackling this.
- Consideration is taken to ensure LAs, schools and children’s services are encouraged and willing to do this without fear of being ranked or penalised according to their performance.

**Teacher/practitioner training**

The training of those involved with children and young people is central to effectively preventing and responding to identity-based bullying. The literature review highlights the importance of teacher training for teachers to be able to identify and be aware of particular forms of prejudice-based bullying; as well as reacting to these incidents and playing an important role in challenging the attitudes which often underlie such prejudiced behaviour.

LAs play an important role in promoting and delivering such training not only to teachers but also to those involved with other children’s services and those interacting with children and young people within the community. It is also important that the trainers within LAs feel confident in dealing with and supporting schools or other agencies in tackling particular types of identity-based bullying.

We recommend that:

- LAs promote and raise awareness of specific training relating to different identity groups as delivered by stakeholders and national anti-bullying bodies. Such training can be delivered in a ‘train the trainers’ approach.
- In terms of school-based training, initial teacher training includes reference to identity-based bullying, as well as general bullying. Not only should this training address issues including recognising and dealing with bullying behaviour, it should also encourage teachers to reflect on their own role in reinforcing and shaping young people’s attitudes and possible prejudices.
- Follow-up and more targeted training be implemented to ensure that bullying prevention and response remains a key focus. This would also keep teachers up to date with any new developments in the bullying literature concerning how best to deal with identity-based bullying. Ideally this training or some form of awareness-raising should be delivered at a whole school level.
Prevention and a whole school approach

As the literature review illustrated, identity-based bullying is often based on a poor understanding of diversity and a lack of confidence in discussing issues around equality. For all forms of bullying, research indicated the need for preventative strategies which aimed to promote an ethos of inclusion and understanding throughout the school community, challenging prejudiced attitudes at all levels. A whole school approach is fundamental in achieving this, ensuring that identity-based bullying is addressed through equality and anti-bullying policies. In addition, whole school assemblies, workshops and the Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHE) curriculum are effective methods through which prejudiced beliefs can be challenged. Senior management play an important part in ensuring that all types of identity-based bullying are not tolerated in school, that a consistent and clear approach against such bullying is taken by all pupils and staff; and that awareness of these bullying issues and the promotion of an accepting and supportive social environment is addressed both in the formal and hidden curriculum.

Preventative strategies must also take into account all forms of identity-based bullying. The results of the survey show a bias towards the more prominent equality strands of race, disability and homophobia, while less than half of all LAs specifically referred to gender identity and asylum seekers or refugees in their preventative strategies. While guidance for preventing each form of identity-based bullying is available, and was generally rated as useful or very useful by those that used them, many respondents were unaware of these resources, and so greater effort needs to be made in ensuring LAs are aware of and have access to these materials. Support with regards to prevention is also required by the majority of LAs, particularly in the areas of resources, training, funding, promotion of anti-bullying work, and the introduction of statutory requirements for identity-based bullying.

We recommend that:

- The three national governments should provide greater support for the LAs in their jurisdiction, and ensure that there is better awareness of materials currently available in order to provide more effective preventative strategies against identity-based bullying.
- The formal curriculum, such as PSHE lessons, should address issues of identity-based bullying in relation to all of the identity strands.
- The overall promotion of diversity and acceptance and challenges to social stereotypes should be made in the wider and hidden curriculum.
For example, while it is important that role models from particular social groups are identified throughout various curriculum materials, care should be taken that these materials do not reinforce prejudices.

- Similarly, teachers and other school staff should be aware of the impact their actions have on pupils’ bullying behaviour. Incidents reported to teachers should always be acted upon. Systematic evaluations of curriculum and non-curriculum based projects focused on changing attitudes and prejudice bullying behaviours are currently lacking and need to be carried out.

Response to identity-based bullying

With the exception of racial bullying, less than half of all LAs surveyed recommend responsive strategies which specifically address individual forms of identity-based bullying. In most cases, the responsive strategies used for identity-based bullying do not differ from those used for bullying more generally, showing a lack of understanding with regards to the unique nature of identity-based bullying and the most effective measures in responding to it. While some strategies may be suitable for certain forms of bullying, in other cases their use may be less appropriate, for example the use of restorative conferences in resolving homophobic bullying. Only a small proportion of LAs indicated that their existing strategies would be adapted to suit particular forms of bullying. Stakeholders identified the need for response strategies to be carefully considered with regard to the individual situation, and the form of bullying being addressed. Additionally, specific strategies that are directed at the bully are required to ensure incidents are dealt with adequately. Therefore LAs should raise awareness of a range of responsive measures which can be used for all forms of identity-based bullying, and can be adapted by schools and children’s services to suit individual needs and requirements.

A key point raised by stakeholders and LA respondents was the necessity to integrate preventative and responsive strategies. Used singularly, responsive strategies may only be effective in resolving individual incidents. The nature of identity-based bullying, and its relationship to underlying prejudiced attitudes and a poor understanding of issues relating to equality highlights the need for a multi-pronged approach. Preventative strategies must be used to ensure the whole school community has a clear understanding of equality, and that the concepts of inclusion and respect are noticeable within all levels of the school community. Responsive strategies, which should be outlined clearly through anti-bullying policies, can then be used to deal with those that continue to bully. Conversely, preventative strategies alone can foster a more inclusive
school ethos, but if the response to identity-based bullying is inadequate, those pupils that persist in engaging in prejudiced behaviours will be unlikely to change their behaviour.

As found with preventative strategies, the range of guidance currently available on responsive strategies was mostly rated as useful or very useful, but again issues were identified surrounding LA awareness of these materials. Therefore, better promotion and sharing of information is required by those who produce these guidance materials. Some LAs had managed to produce their own guidance and toolkits; however the viability of this option is debatable, given the lack of time and capacity reported by many anti-bullying coordinators. The majority of LAs also indicated the need for greater support to help them improve their response to identity-based bullying. Further guidance, training packages, additional and continued funding, plus the introduction of statutory requirements were all identified as areas in which support could be given.

We recommend that:

- LAs take steps to ensure a range of responsive strategies are available for identity-based bullying, which can be tailored according to the individual situation. These should be accompanied by preventative strategies, so that identity-based bullying is tackled among both those involved in it, and by the whole school community.
- Support is provided to LAs to allow these strategies to be developed and put in place, while greater effort must be put into the promotion and dissemination of available resources.

**Addressing bullying in the wider community**

As found in the literature review, there is a considerable body of research relating to challenging identity-based bullying and bullying more generally within school settings. However, as identified earlier, identity-based bullying in particular is a social issue and one which needs to be tackled not only in schools but also in the wider community. A holistic approach therefore is recommended for preventing identity-based bullying.

There has been more recent guidance focused on bullying in the community and building associated partnerships, particularly in England. The evidence from the LA survey, however, reveals that although some LAs do use multi-agency approaches to deal with bullying and have developed useful
partnerships, these were more likely to have been developed in schools than in the wider community. It seems that further support is needed to coordinate anti-bullying work in schools and in particular, the wider community. A lead anti-bullying coordinator within each LA is essential to effectively pull together anti-bullying work from various areas and to manage a strategic multi-agency approach to all bullying behaviour, including identity-based bullying.

**Key issues in preventing and responding**
A multi-agency approach, which incorporated organisations with a focus on specific equality strands, was repeatedly identified by survey respondents as an important step in tackling bullying. However, less than two-thirds of LAs had developed strategic partnerships with regard to identity-based bullying in schools, and fewer still in relation to bullying in the wider community. Involving a variety of children’s services and other organisations in the development and implementation of anti-bullying work is crucial in ensuring all forms of identity-based bullying are addressed.

Although only a small proportion of LAs indicated that they had experienced difficulties in preventing or responding to various forms of identity-based bullying, very few LAs had actually monitored the prevalence of each of these forms. If LAs are unaware of identity-based bullying occurring within their schools and wider community, then they are unlikely to have taken steps to address it; and thus will not have encountered problems or difficulties in addressing it. Similarly, while the majority of LAs reported feeling confident in providing support to schools on identity-based bullying, the lack of awareness shown in terms of the resources and guidance available, and the large proportion who report having no specific preventative or responsive strategies, causes concern over what kind of support is being provided.

We recommend that:

- Materials which address individual forms of identity-based bullying are expanded and better promoted, so that LAs are able to implement an informed, evidence-based approach which effectively addresses identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community.
- LAs are encouraged to form partnerships with a variety of relevant organisations, so that identity-based bullying can be appropriately and more effectively addressed.
- A requirement for schools to record and report incidents for all types of identity-based bullying should be introduced, in line with the positive
support from LAs for this measure. This will provide the necessary data
to measure the prevalence of bullying over time, which should be a key
indicator on progress towards equality. This could form part of the new
equality data requirements to be placed on LAs and schools as part of
their equality duties under the Equality Act 2010.

Evidence gaps
The literature review highlighted the importance of using research to gain a
better understanding of the nature and prevalence of identity-based bullying.
Information gained through these studies can be used to develop targeted
preventative and responsive strategies. However, there is a clear lack of
research around many forms of identity-based bullying. Disablist and
homophobic bullying are comparatively well researched, but only a few
studies have directly focused on bullying of asylum seekers, refugees or
transgender children. In addition, evaluations of anti-bullying interventions that
identify techniques which are effective in preventing and reducing bullying and
prejudice are a crucial aspect of research which is currently lacking.
We recommend that:

- Further research is conducted to better understand all forms of identity-
based bullying, which can be used to inform preventative and responsive
strategies.
- Systematic and pre-test/post-test evidence-based evaluations of various
strategies, or projects relating to preventing or responding to identity-
based bullying, are crucial for identifying and modifying guidance for
best practice.

Definition
As discussed in the literature review, definitions for every form of identity-
based bullying need to be carefully considered. Although there is some
reference to identity, prejudice or bias bullying within the recent literature,
findings from the local authority survey reveal that several individuals are
unsure what is meant by these terms and how this differs to bullying more
generally. Also, the review highlights how young people themselves may differ
in how they perceive and acknowledge identity-based bullying, making it
difficult for some to distinguish between incidents of bullying, harassment and
abuse, especially in relation to certain identity strands. A shared definition is
essential for guiding future anti-bullying work and also in terms of gaining an
overall picture of the extent to which identity-based bullying occurs.
Additionally, it is important that all forms of identity-based bullying are clearly understood. Results from the survey indicate a hierarchy of strategic engagement within LAs, with a great deal of awareness and action shown in preventing racial, ethnic and homophobic bullying, yet very little awareness directed towards the less prominent areas of equality, such as asylum seekers or refugees, or Traveller/Roma/Gypsy children. Schools and LAs need to be made aware of all forms of identity-based bullying, and encouraged to take action in preventing and responding to any type of incident that occurs within their schools and wider community.

We recommend that:

Schools, along with both local and national government, place attention on raising awareness and understanding of what identity-based bullying is, how it differs to other forms of bullying, and why it is important to address. All forms of identity-based bullying must be addressed and treated with equal concern, rather than giving priority to those that top LAs hierarchies of strategic engagement.
Appendix 1: Literature review

Development of inclusion and exclusion criteria
The focus of the review and parameters of the research to be discussed were agreed between researchers. Inclusion and exclusion criteria were identified relating to the relevancy of the research to identity-based bullying, and the appropriateness of those studies to the UK situation.

Identification of relevant websites/databases to review for published literature
Searches were carried out using ISI Web of Knowledge, ingentaconnect and PsycINFO, as these were identified as prominent databases in the area of psychological and sociological literature. Texts were either downloaded or, where not available, collected from reference libraries.

Identification of relevant search terms
Search terms relating to identity-based bullying as a whole were first identified, followed by additional terms which specifically related to individual forms of identity-based bullying. Variants of these terms were included to ensure differing terminology used in research was taken account of.

Initial screening
Search results from databases were screened for their relevancy to the research question. Literature that was unrelated to the project’s aims were excluded, as was that from countries outside the UK which bore no relevance either to the issues identified through the review, or the UK anti-bullying situation.

Additional searches
Additional searches were run to identify grey literature published by anti-bullying organisations, which was relevant to identity-based bullying. These searches were conducted using specific equality strands/minority groups. In addition, literature was provided to the research team as a result of interviews with stakeholder organisations, and strategic anti-bullying leads in local authorities.
Appendix 2: Stakeholder interview topic guide

A) You and your organisation
   1. Please give a brief overview of your organisation and your role?
   2. How does your organisation work with, or for, children and young people in relation to bullying?

We are particularly interested in anti-bullying work concerning identity-based bullying (this is also referred to as prejudice or bias bullying).

B) Your organisation and work relating to identity-based bullying
   3. Can you confirm whether you and your organisation are actively involved in preventing and/or responding to any of the following areas: i.e. are there any specific projects/initiatives or guidance materials relating to the following:
      - Race or ethnicity
      - Gypsy/Roma/Travellers
      - Asylum seekers or refugees
      - Religion or belief
      - Learning disability/difficulty
      - Disability
      - Sexual orientation
      - Gender
      - Gender identity

   4. Could you tell me a little about the nature of each of these projects, for example;
      - are they school or community-based,
      - who you work with directly (i.e. local authorities, schools, police, children’s services, or other organisations)
      - whether training is delivered and to whom,
      - a brief outline of the content of the project—what is covered and how it is approached (i.e. through curriculum resources, focus groups, role play, other activities)
      - how is this project funded (i.e. local or national government funding, funds from your organisation itself, fees from the schools/other organisations involved)
5. Can you think of a particular school and or community who have been particularly effective in preventing and/or responding to insert name of type of bullying. (Can you identify the possible reasons for this success?)

C) Broader issues relating to identity-based bullying

6. What do you think are the main issues which need to be considered in tackling specific types of identity-based bullying? (take each type in turn if talking about more than one of the 9 areas)
   - Things which need to be taken into account/ specific support needs when trying to prevent and respond to insert name of type of bullying (which may differ from bullying more broadly or bullying of other identity-based characteristics).
   - Any particular difficulties and challenges in preventing and responding to insert name of type of bullying (which may differ from bullying more broadly or bullying of other identity-based characteristics).

D) Policies and strategies

7. Are you aware of any existing policy and/or guidance (either at a national or local level) relating to insert name of type of bullying? (please provide brief details).

8. How successful do you think this policy/guidance is in preventing and responding to insert name of type of bullying? (why is it successful or unsuccessful)

9. Has your organisation released any guidance in relation to insert name of type of bullying?, and/ or been involved in policy development in this area?

10. Are there any strategies/particular methods which you think are particularly effective in helping schools and the wider community to prevent and respond to insert name of type of bullying? (If necessary, probe reasons for their answer, why)
11. Are there any strategies/methods which you think are less effective in preventing and responding to **insert name of type of bullying**? (If necessary, probe reasons for their answer, why)

E) Suggestions and other comments

12. Do you have any suggestions in terms of how to improve prevention and response to **insert name of type of bullying**? For example, in terms of:
   - Resources such as time, greater financial support, increased importance/focus within schools, more and improved guidance material, more effective partnership working, greater sharing of good practice, or other.

13. Do you have any other thoughts or comments that you would like to add relating to identity-based bullying?
Appendix 3: Local Authority Questionnaire

Identity-Based Bullying: A Survey for the EHRC

This is a survey of all Local Authorities across England, Scotland and Wales. The project has been commissioned by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC); and is being conducted by researchers from the Unit for School and Family Studies at Goldsmiths, University of London. The Unit has extensive experience of research in school bullying.

This questionnaire is about how your Local Authority prevents and responds to identity-based (also referred to as bias or prejudice-related) bullying in schools and the wider community.

The findings from this survey will be useful in identifying:

- Ways in which identity-based bullying can be tackled in schools and the wider community
- Any barriers there may be in dealing with identity-based bullying
- Any support needs you require for dealing with identity-based bullying

We would be grateful if you could answer as many questions as possible and return the questionnaire within two weeks, as we are working on a tight time schedule. Please return completed questionnaires:

- By e-mail to either: Catherine Houlston (c.houlston@gold.ac.uk) or Neil Tippett (pss01nt@gold.ac.uk)
- By fax to Catherine Houlston or Neil Tippett on 020-7078-5405
- By post to: Unit for School and Family Studies, Goldsmiths, New Cross, London, SE14 6NW

The information you provide will enable us to identify overall trends, and where appropriate regional differences. We will not identify any Local Authority, school or individual by name in any reports or publications. However, if you are willing to share specific details about good practice we have asked if you could indicate this at the end of the questionnaire. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw your data at any time.
A summary of the survey results will be available to all organisations who take part. Please help us achieve a good response rate which will contribute to providing valid and useful findings for everyone.

If you require any further information regarding this project, please feel free to contact us. Thank you very much for your help.

Catherine Houlston (Researcher)        c.houlston@gold.ac.uk      Tel: 020-7919-7047
Neil Tippett (Researcher)         pss01nt@gold.ac.uk      Tel: 020-7919-7047
Peter K Smith (Professor and Head of Unit)  p.smith@gold.ac.uk      Tel: 020-7919-7898

INTRODUCTION

Bullying is defined as an aggressive, intentional act or behaviour, that is carried out by a group or individual usually repeatedly and over time against another individual or group. This behaviour is characterised by a physical or psychological imbalance of power, and can include:

- Verbal bullying e.g. name calling, teasing, threatening
- Physical e.g. hitting, punching, kicking, inappropriate touching
- Relational e.g. ignoring, leaving out, spreading rumours
- Indirect e.g. stealing, damaging belongings, targeted graffiti
- Cyberbullying e.g. sending abusive texts or emails

Bullying by and of children and young people can be related to identity-based characteristics. Key areas addressed in this questionnaire are:

- **Race or ethnicity:** bullying directed towards an individual which relates to their skin colour, ethnicity, or national identity.
- **Gypsy, Roma and Traveller:** bullying of children which relates to them being members of a travelling community.
- **Asylum seekers and refugees:** bullying of children which relates to them being from refugee and asylum seeking backgrounds.
- **Religion or belief:** bullying motivated by prejudice against an individual’s perceived or actual religious or spiritual beliefs, affiliations and practices e.g. Islamophobia.
- **Learning disability/difficulty:** Bullying of children who have an impairment which affects the way they learn, understand, socialise and communicate (i.e. speech and language difficulties). It is likely that these children will have Special Educational Needs.
• **Disability:** Bullying of children who have a physical or mental impairment (apart from learning disabilities/difficulties). For example, mobility, visual or hearing impairments, epilepsy, diabetes or a progressive condition such as multiple sclerosis. It is likely that these children will have Special Educational Needs.

• **Sexual orientation:** bullying motivated by prejudice against children who are, or are perceived to be, lesbian, gay or bisexual. Also referred to as homophobic bullying.

• **Gender:** bullying based around sexist attitudes or sexually inappropriate behaviours, intended to either demean or humiliate an individual because of their sex.

• **Gender identity:** bullying directed towards children whose gender identity is seen as being different to typical gender norms. This is also referred to as transphobic bullying.

This questionnaire includes six sections relating to the above areas and should take approximately 30 minutes to complete. We appreciate that you may not have information on all of the above areas, but we would be grateful if you could complete as much of the questionnaire as you are willing and able to do so.

There may be other forms of identity-based bullying which you are aware of in your LA. Although this questionnaire focuses on the areas outlined above, we would be interested to hear of your experiences in preventing and responding to other forms of prejudice related bullying. If you would be willing to supply details, space for comments is provided at the end of the questionnaire.

**GENERAL QUESTIONS**

**Local Authority (LA) code:**
(To ensure anonymity, your LA has been assigned an ID code which will only be known to the Goldsmiths research team. This code will be used in any subsequent reports or publications)

**Please state your job title and department:**

**Which departments are responsible for identity-based anti-bullying work in your LA?**

**Does your LA have a designated lead on identity-based anti-bullying strategies?**
If yes, please provide details of this position: If no, how are identity-based anti-bullying strategies coordinated?:

SECTION 1: POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

1a.  Do your LAs equality scheme(s) specifically refer to bullying of children and young people relating to:

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1b.  Does your LA have an anti-bullying strategy? (If no please go to section 2 below)

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1c.  If yes, does your LAs anti-bullying strategy specifically refer to bullying relating to:

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1d. Does your LA have an action plan as part of its anti-bullying strategy?
☐ No    ☐ Yes

If yes, is identity-based bullying currently referred to in your anti-bullying action plan?
☐ No    ☐ Yes

SECTION 2: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SCHOOLS

2a. Does your LA recommend that school’s equality schemes address different forms of identity-based bullying?
☐ No    ☐ Yes

If yes, what forms of bullying does this apply to?:

2b. Does your LA recommend that schools RECORD incidents of bullying specifically related to:

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2c. Does your LA recommend that schools REPORT incidents of bullying specifically related to:
If you answer yes to any of the below, please indicate who schools are advised to report these incidents to (i.e. the LA itself, police, parents, other)

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disability/difficulties
Disability ☐ ☐
Sexual orientation ☐ ☐
Gender ☐ ☐
Gender Identity ☐ ☐

2d. Does your LA request any further information from schools with regard to identity-based bullying?
☐ No ☐ Yes
If yes, please specify what further information is requested:

2e. Does your LA monitor schools to ensure they are meeting your recommendations on identity-based bullying?
☐ No ☐ Yes
If yes, please give details of how this is measured:

2f. Would your LA be in favour of schools being required by law to RECORD incidents of all types of identity-based bullying?
☐ No ☐ Yes ☐ Not sure
Please give reasons for your answer:

2g. Would your LA be in favour of schools being required by law to REPORT incidents of all types of identity-based bullying to LAs?
☐ No ☐ Yes ☐ Not sure
Please give reasons for your answer:

SECTION 3: PREVALENCE OF IDENTITY-BASED BULLYING
3a. Does your LA have any evidence relating to the prevalence of each form of identity-based bullying IN SCHOOLS? (if so, please give brief details of any particular figures/prevalence rates, and what sources these are from)

Race or ethnicity ☐ ☐
Please specify:
Gypsy/Roma/Travellers ☐ ☐
Please specify:
Asylum seekers or refugees ☐ ☐
Please specify:
Religion or belief ☐ ☐
3b. Does your LA have any evidence relating to the prevalence of each form of identity-based bullying IN THE WIDER COMMUNITY (outside of the school)? (if so, please give brief details of any particular figures/prevalence rates, and what sources these are from)

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SECTION 4: TRAINING

4a. Does your LA provide training for school communities that relates specifically to identity-based bullying?
☐ No  ☐ Yes, for teachers or other members of staff  ☐ Yes, for pupils
If yes, please give brief details of the training, including types of training and who it is delivered by:
If no training is provided, can you give reasons for this?:

4b. Does your LA provide training for any other Children’s Services that relates specifically to identity-based bullying?
☐ No  ☐ Yes
If yes, please give brief details of the training, including types of training and who it is delivered by:
If no training is provided, can you give reasons for this?:

SECTION 5: TACKLING IDENTITY-BASED BULLYING
Please note that this section is divided into three parts;
Part 1 concerns strategies and resources for **PREVENTING** identity-based bullying
Part 2 concerns strategies and resources for **RESPONDING** to identity-based bullying
Part 3 concerns partnerships and particular difficulties in **BOTH** preventing and responding to identity-based bullying

**Part 1: PREVENTION**

5.1a. Does your LA recommend any specific strategies for preventing identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community relating to:

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5.1b. Do these strategies differ to those used in preventing NON-IDENTITY-BASED bullying?

No   Yes

Please give reasons for your answer:

5.1c. In general, how useful would you rate the guidance materials available from CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (and other governmental agencies) for preventing each form of identity-based bullying?

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<th>Useful</th>
<th>Very useful</th>
<th>Not aware of any guidance</th>
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Please identify any guidance materials which you have found to be useful and very useful:

5.1d. Are there any further ways in which CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (and other governmental agencies) could help support your LA in improving prevention of identity-based bullying?

No   Yes
If yes, please specify (for example, extra materials, training or guidance):

5.1e. In general, how useful would you rate the guidance materials available from NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS for preventing each form of identity-based bullying?

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Please identify any guidance materials which you have found to be useful and very useful:

5.1f. Are there any further ways in which NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS could help support your LA in improving prevention of identity-based bullying?

☐ No  ☐ Yes

If yes, please specify (for example, extra materials, training or guidance):

Part 2: RESPONSE
5.2a. Does your LA recommend any specific strategies for RESPONDING to identity-based bullying in schools and the wider community relating to:

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5.2b. Do these strategies differ to those used in RESPONDING to NON-IDENTITY-BASED bullying?
☐ No ☐ Yes
Please give reasons for your answer:

5.2c. In general, how useful would you rate the guidance materials available from CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (and other government agencies) for RESPONDING to each form of identity-based bullying?

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Gender-identity 

Please identify any resources which you have found to be useful and very useful:

5.2d. Are there any further ways in which CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (and other governmental agencies) could help support your LA in improving RESPONSE to identity-based bullying?

☐ No  ☐ Yes

If yes, please specify (for example, extra materials, training or guidance):

5.2e. How useful would you rate the guidance materials available from NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS for RESPONDING to each form of identity-based bullying?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not useful</th>
<th>Useful</th>
<th>Very useful</th>
<th>Not aware of any guidance</th>
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<td>Race or ethnicity</td>
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<td>Gypsy/Roma/Travellers</td>
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<td>Religion or belief</td>
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<td>Learning</td>
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<td>disability/difficulties</td>
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<td>Disability</td>
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<td>Sexual orientation</td>
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<td>Gender-identity</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Please identify any resources which you have found to be particularly useful:

5.2f. Are there any further ways in which NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS could help support your LA in improving RESPONSE to identity-based bullying?

☐ No  ☐ Yes
Part 3: PREVENTION AND RESPONSE

5.3a. Has your LA developed any strategic partnerships specifically aimed at preventing or responding to each form of identity-based bullying IN SCHOOLS: (please provide details of who is involved, e.g. police, charity organisations, Local Safeguarding Children Boards, and the nature of these partnerships)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Race or ethnicity</td>
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<td>Please give brief details:</td>
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<td>Gypsy/Roma/Travellers</td>
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<td>Asylum seekers or refugees</td>
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<td>Religion or belief</td>
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<td>Learning disability/difficulties</td>
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5.3b. Has your LA developed any strategic partnerships specifically aimed at preventing or responding to each form of identity-based bullying IN THE WIDER COMMUNITY (outside of school): (please provide details of who is involved, e.g. schools, police, charity organisations, Local Safeguarding Children Boards, and the nature of these partnerships)

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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race or ethnicity</td>
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<td>Please give brief details:</td>
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</table>
### 5.3c. Has your LA faced any particular difficulties in preventing or responding to identity-based bullying?

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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
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<td>Race or ethnicity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asylum seekers or refugees</td>
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<td>Religion or belief</td>
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<td>Gender identity</td>
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</table>
Please give brief details:

Gender identity

Please give brief details:

5.3d. When providing support to schools on the forms of identity-based bullying below, how confident do you feel?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not confident</th>
<th>Confident</th>
<th>Very confident</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race or ethnicity</td>
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</table>

5.3e. Does your LA deal with any other forms of identity-based bullying which have not been addressed in this questionnaire?

☐ No  ☐ Yes

If yes, please describe the type of bullying encountered, any strategies used for prevention and response, and/or evidence collected by your LA:

Section 6: Examples of Good Practice

In the final publication of this report we would like to cite examples of good practice within schools and the wider community. If you feel any schools/organisations in your area have been particularly effective in preventing and responding to any form of identity-based bullying would you be prepared to share these details with us? (Any decision to share specific examples will not affect your LAs anonymity within this survey)

☐ No  ☐ Yes
If yes, please provide your telephone contact details:
We will then call you to record details of these examples. Names of specific schools and/or organisations will only be provided in the final report if we receive permission from the associated head teachers/members of senior management.

Thank you for completing this questionnaire
References

[Note: all websites cited were accessed 10 November 2010.]


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consequences of victimization by peers. Journal of Personality and Social
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Ringrose, J. (2008b) “Every time she bends over she pulls up her thong” Teen girls negotiating discourses of competitive, heterosexualized aggression. *Girlhood Studies*, 1 (1), pp.33-59


Contacts

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Equality and Human Rights Commission Helpline
FREEPOST RRLL-GHUX-CTRX
Arndale House, The Arndale Centre, Manchester M4 3AQ
Main number: 0845 604 6610
Textphone: 0845 604 6620
Fax: 0845 604 6630

**Scotland**
Equality and Human Rights Commission Helpline
FREEPOST RSAB-YJEJ-EXUJ
The Optima Building, 58 Robertson Street, Glasgow G2 8DU
Main number: 0845 604 5510
Textphone: 0845 604 5520
Fax: 0845 604 5530

**Wales**
Equality and Human Rights Commission Helpline
FREEPOST RRLR-UEYB-UYZL
3rd Floor, 3 Callaghan Square, Cardiff CF10 5BT
Main number: 0845 604 8810
Textphone: 0845 604 8820
Fax: 0845 604 8830

Helpline opening times:
Monday to Friday 8am–6pm.
Calls from BT landlines are charged at local rates, but calls from mobiles and other providers may vary.

Calls may be monitored for training and quality purposes. Interpreting service available through Language Line, when you call our helplines.

If you require this publication in an alternative format and/or language please contact the relevant helpline to discuss your needs. All publications are also available to download and order in a variety of formats from our website. www.equalityhumanrights.com
This research report provides an insight into identity-based bullying of young people in schools and the wider community, and examines the preventative and responsive strategies currently being used to address it in local authorities across England, Scotland and Wales. It brings together evidence from a review of research and policy literature relating to identity-based bullying, interviews with representatives from anti-bullying organisations, and a survey of local authorities.

What is already known:

• Bullying is a problem for a substantial proportion of children in Britain, and is one of the key reasons why young people disengage from learning and leave formal education.

• Anyone can be bullied, but identity-based characteristics, such as race, religion or belief, disability, sexual orientation, gender or gender identity can increase the likelihood of this happening.

• Identity-based bullying is not only targeted at individuals, but reflects negative attitudes towards a wider sub-group or community with whom that individual identifies (or is believed to identify).

What this report adds:

• All forms of identity-based bullying are prevalent – in particular bullying relating to disability, learning difficulties and sexual orientation. A common cause is children’s, and sometimes teachers’, poor understanding of diversity.

• An environment which promotes diversity and inclusion, combined with preventative strategies that raise awareness and understanding of why people differ, is key to tackling prejudiced behaviours.

• Certain forms of identity-based bullying show unique characteristics which require special consideration when developing preventative and responsive strategies.

• The degree to which local authorities recognise identity-based bullying and provide the resources to tackle it varies widely between authorities, and between forms of identity-based bullying. Racist bullying is the most widely recognised and addressed, reflecting statutory obligations.

• Recognising that bullying is occurring is critical in tackling it; however, the majority of local authorities did not have any evidence for the prevalence of most forms of identity-based bullying in schools, and even fewer for that occurring in the wider community.