



Routledge Research in Crises Education

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON MIGRATION, BULLYING, AND SCHOOL

**IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOLS, REFUGEES,
AND MIGRANTS**

Edited by
Hildegunn Fandrem and James O'Higgins Norman



 **cost**
EUROPEAN COOPERATION
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International Perspectives on Migration, Bullying, and School

This edited volume consolidates research from 32 countries in order to address the implications of the recent global wave of migration on educational opportunity and assess links between migration and bullying in Europe and further afield.

Using data gathered from the European Commission-funded TRIBES project (Transnational Collaboration on Bullying, Migration, and Integration at School Level), chapters cover first-hand accounts, policy document analysis, and lived experience through comparative themes such as school climate, governmental policy, diversity and inclusion, technology, student voice, and school design to demonstrate how bullying can be understood as a threat to developing inclusive and diverse schools and societies globally. Rooted in a bio-ecological model that recognizes the intersectionality of migrant lives, ultimately this book will advance collaboration between stakeholders to ensure better integration, a reduction in bullying, and better safety and well-being for refugee and migrant students.

Reflecting the truly cross-disciplinary, cross-cultural, and intersectional nature of the volume, this book will be of interest to researchers, scholars, and postgraduate students in migration and education studies, bullying and cyberbullying, and the sociology of education. Policymakers and practitioners in psychology, technology, and youth studies more broadly will also benefit from this book.

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and Migrants**

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Hildegunn Fandrem and
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1 Migration and Bullying in European Perspectives

A Bio-Ecological Approach

*Hildegunn Fandrem and
James O'Higgins Norman*

According to the World Migration Report (2020), the global estimate is that there were around 281 million international migrants in the world in 2020. Thus, migrants comprise currently 3.6% of the global population. Regionally, Europe hosts the largest number of international migrants with 82 million in 2019 (International Migration, 2019). Furthermore, ongoing wars in Ukraine have made migration a relevant topic in some European countries that until recently have had little or no migration. Consequently, increasingly growing up in a multicultural society and learning to live within diverse and inclusive populations have become a way of life for most European children and young people (Nergaard et al., 2020).

Bullying can be understood as a threat to developing inclusive schools and societies, and it is also a public health problem because of its manifold negative short- and long-term consequences for individuals and their communities (UNESCO, 2019). Therefore, a better understanding of the complex mechanisms behind bullying in multicultural settings and how different systems influence bullying and inclusion is an urgent concern for policymakers and educators alike. A systematic review commissioned by UNESCO on the available scientific empirical evidence conducted on the topic of bullying and migration was done in 2019 (Strohmeier et al., 2019). This review showed that bullying is a serious issue in schools among children from a migrant background; however, systematic investigations in multicultural settings are still limited. The aim of this book is to fill this gap in the research literature and, more specifically, contribute with the result of the research undertaken in a COST network called *TRIBES*, a European network of international researchers on the topic of migration and bullying that operated between 2019 and 2023.

As a base for the different contributions in this book, Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model was used as a framework aiming to show how the different aspects and systems that were addressed in the different working groups (WGs) in *TRIBES* are relevant. In the following, Bronfenbrenner's model will first be presented, definitional issues will be followed, and an overview of *TRIBES* will be given. Last, the structure of this book with the main topic of each chapter is presented.

Bronfenbrenner's Bio-ecological Model

For several years, Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological system theory (1979, 2005) has been used in explaining how bullying behaviour may be influenced by the arrangement and patterns of interaction between different systems that connect individuals to wider contexts (e.g., Espelage & Swearer, 2010; Rivara & Le Menstrel, 2016; Støen et al., 2018). Since the different parts of a larger system can mutually influencing each other, change, or intervention, within one part of a system can be the start of a change in the whole system (von Bertalanffy, 1968). Thomas (2021) claims that this is the overarching theory that represents the common position in which many system perspectives of bullying are framed. The main idea is that individual behaviour is nested within contextual systems that are multiply determined and differently reinforcing. Thus, also whether individuals experience inclusion is shaped by the bidirectional interactions of the systems. In the following, the different systems that surround the individual are presented.

First of all, the child has its characteristics related to, e.g., sex, age, health and ethnicity. Also, to which degree the individual child's voice is emphasized may be seen as a factor on this individual level. Then, there is the *microsystem*, which is the immediate social system of the child, i.e., peers, school, family and neighbourhood. The interaction between the child and its peers, teachers and parents influences the child's development. If a child is bullied by a peer in a class, it influences the child's feeling of inclusion in the class. The next level is the *mesosystem*, which is the connection or collaboration between the different systems in the immediate environment, e.g., home-school collaboration. A good collaboration between home and school may be crucial to solve bullying cases or to make a child with a migrant background feel included in the school. The *exosystem* then is the environmental setting that indirectly has an impact on the individual, e.g., friends of family, legal-, health- and social welfare services, laws and other national policies and programmes. Whether a country has laws concerning safe learning environment or anti-bullying programmes which also concern migrant students may influence these children's experience of inclusion. The outermost system in Bronfenbrenner's model is the *macrosystem*. This system includes attitudes and the overarching social ideologies of the nation or culture. For migrant students, e.g., the characteristics of their culture of origin and the country of settlement or how the individual manages to deal with the degree of differences between the two cultures may influence their experience of positive adaptation. Last, the *chronosystem* is of importance. This system concerns the patterning of environmental events and transitions over the life course, i.e., sociohistorical conditions or the effect of time and historical events on all systems. The change in use of electronic devices may, e.g., influence the form of bullying that a student might engage in, i.e., online and/or offline. In addition, an historical event such as the Covid-19 pandemic may cause changes in how people interact not only in a specific period of time, but also in the medium to long term. Moreover, the historic perspective may

also include how the conditions have changed over time for different migrant groups in terms of how local governments, local communities and particularly the school community were prepared to receive and include migrant students as newcomers.

Definitional Issues

Migration

Migration is the movement of people who change their place of residence and who, voluntary or are more or less forced, to settle down in a new geographic region permanently or temporarily (Fandrem et al., 2021). People who themselves change their place of residence are called *first-generation immigrants*.¹ People who were born into a first-generation immigrant family are labelled *second-generation immigrants*. Thus, they are born in the country of settlement but have parents who migrated from another country, and as such the experiences of first-generation and second-generation migrants may be quite similar but also different in terms of education, health and integration with the rest of the host society.

There might be different reasons for people to migrate, and the migration might be more or less forced, or it might be voluntary. If the migrant chooses, or are forced to, move because of war or political standpoint, the migrant is designated *refugee* under the 1951 convention (UNHCR, 2024); otherwise, the migrant may be classed simply as an immigrant to the host population. Regardless of the reason for migration, positive or negative, migrant children and youth experience new cultural, social and psychological conditions because of the acculturative processes (Berry, 1997) that take place. The backdrop of this book is that such processes may directly affect peer relations in general and the occurrence of bullying in particular. In addition, migration and acculturation processes influence indirectly the child, because their parents also have to deal with these processes, and also representatives from the host population are confronted with such processes in their daily encounters, or they have to, in, e.g., the making of laws and policy, to relate to that such processes exist.

In the acculturation theory (Berry, 1997, 2001), there are two dimensions that are usually said to be involved in the acculturation process: (1) degree of maintenance of the heritage culture and identity and (2) degree of relationships sought with people from the host country. Different combinations of the two dimensions may result in different acculturation strategies: *integration*, *separation*, *assimilation* and *marginalization*. The concept of *integration* is used when contact with both people from the heritage culture and the host country is encouraged. The opposite, *marginalization*, occurs when relationships are not established either between people from the heritage culture or between the immigrant and members from the host country. *Separation* is the result, or the strategy, when contact or affiliation with only people from

the heritage culture is sought while it is conceptualized as *assimilation* when migrants sought, or are forced to, build relationships mainly with the people from the host country. In the work in the international network that this book is based on *integration at school level* is the aim, and thus, the focus is on schools' capacity to handle the increased mobility that follows from migration aiming providing migrant students with contact with both people and aspects from the heritage culture as well as the new country. Moreover, the focus is on schools' readiness to meet and include refugees and other migrant students who themselves have migrated in addition to working with and valuing diversity or differences generally.

However, whatever increased multicultural competencies (Banks & Banks, 2019) that you will find in schools (at least in some countries), that have arisen from the increased global migration over last 50 years, will also influence the school's capacity to meet still new groups of newcomers in a good way. Such competencies are a strength, as it is developed over years through different groups of migrants, and thus, diversity and inclusion in schools may be studied from a broader perspective than just migrant student/newcomer perspective. The refugee crisis in recent years, most recently the one in Ukraine, has emphasized the urgency of the issue, and educational provision for students with an immigrant background is ever more to the fore in countries that previously did not deal so much with migration challenges. The situation may be further complicated when we also consider the needs of indigenous ethnic minorities such as the Sami people in Norway or the Travelling Community in Ireland. Identifying the policy and educational needs of the established minority alongside those of the migrants and the wider population can be difficult and present many challenges to the high standard of living that the EU aspires to for all of its citizens. Consequently, a subtopic might be practices that have been put in place for schools to deal with diversity and integration, including education of indigenous students in regard to other cultures and ethnicities and integration of immigrant students into the history and community of their new society, also including gender and other identity dimensions across both perspectives.

Bullying

Hellström and colleagues (2021) show how the term “bullying” can be tracked back to the 1530s, having a positive connotation at that time, but how the definition changed remarkably during the seventeenth century from expressing admiration of certain individuals to describe a person as a harasser of those who are weaker. Moreover, in the 1880s, a century before the modern research field of bullying arose, the definition of bullying included aspects that we still typically find in several definitions used today, i.e., that it is an *instrumental aggression*, and that the behaviour is characterized by *imbalance of power*. The third criterion that is listed in the most used definition today, which refers to Olweus and Roland (1983), is *repetition*. There is, however, an

ongoing debate among scholars about how to define bullying (Thornberg & Delby, 2019), where a broader understanding has been wanted (e.g., Lyng, 2019). Importantly, bullying has for several decades been considered a behaviour not only dependent on the individual who perpetrates the bullying, but also as a complex relationship problem (e.g., Pepler, 2006; Fandrem et al., 2009). The relation to the institutional and societal norms that underpin individual and group relationships has been emphasized in more recent literature (Donoghue, 2022). While parents to some degrees have been included in some anti-bullying programmes over the years, e.g., in the Olweus anti-bullying programme (Baraldsnes, 2020), less attention has been paid to context and systems outside the school that impact on life in the school (Cornu et al., 2022). Recent work on the definition of bullying builds on Olweus' work but expands his definition to call out the institutional and societal aspects as well as those individual- and group aspects that were previously the primary focus of research in this field. O'Higgins Norman et al. (2024) conceptualize bullying as a "damaging social process," rather than merely an individual, or group-, behaviour, this is reflected in the inclusive definition of school bullying developed by UNESCO and the World Anti-Bullying Forum, which recommends that "School bullying is a damaging social process that is characterized by an imbalance of power that may be driven by social (societal) and institutional norms. It is often repeated and manifests as unwanted interpersonal behaviour among students or school personnel that causes physical, social, and/or emotional harm to the targeted individuals or groups, and/or the wider school community".

As far as we know the first study that investigated migration-related aspects for perpetrating bullying was the one by Fandrem and colleagues in 2009, where the associations of power and affiliation-related forms of aggressiveness, on the one hand, and bullying behaviour, on the other hand, were compared among native Norwegian students and students with immigrant backgrounds in Norway. This study was later replicated in other countries, i.e., Austria (Strohmeier et al., 2012) and Cyprus (Solomontos-Kountouri & Strohmeier, 2021), where similar results as in the Norwegian study appeared: Findings indicated that immigrant boys were more likely to engage in bullying out of a need for acceptance or to belong than boys who were part of the host population. In the continuation, not only general bullying among immigrants was studied, but also, more specifically, ethnicity-based bullying: Results from studies conducted in Sweden (Bayram et al., 2016) and Italy (Caravita et al., 2019) show that adolescents are more likely to be involved in ethnic harassment or racial bullying when they hold negative attitudes or prejudices against immigrants. Prejudice-based forms of bullying may, however, involve many different aspects of one's identity; in addition to race/ethnicity, people may also have prejudice against, e.g., gender, physical appearance, sexual orientation, religion and disability (e.g., Bucchianeri et al., 2016; Russell et al., 2012). Different concepts in the literature are used for this complex phenomenon that has roots in group-based prejudice, i.e., *identity-based*

bullying (Tippett et al., 2010), *bias-based* bullying (Mulvey et al., 2018) and/or *stigma-based* bullying (Earnshaw et al., 2018). Research shows that youth who experience bias-based bullying based on multiple social identities report more negative outcomes of bullying and higher levels of school avoidance and fear than those students who only report one type of bias-based bullying and those who experience non-bias-based bullying (Mulvey et al., 2018). Consequently, this book will reflect on the *intersectionality* of bullying that can be experienced by students who are migrants in schools.

Intersectionality, first introduced by Crenshaw (1989), may be defined as the interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class and gender as they apply to a given individual or group, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage (Fandrem & Skeie, 2020). While Crenshaw (1989) mainly focused on the “intersection” of race and gender, her perspectives are relevant for a range of overlapping identities, like physical ability, race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, religion, politics, citizenship, sexual orientation or socioeconomic status. Some of this is also well captured in the concept “multicultural riddle”, where Gerd Baumann focuses on the interrelations of religion, ethnicity and nation (Baumann, 1999).

Cyberbullying, or online bullying, as a specific form of bullying, deserves some special attention, as we include technology as a specific sociohistorical condition in Bronfenbrenner’s framework. Even if it is still unclear whether the three criteria in the often used definition of “bullying” are completely applicable to the phenomenon of cyberbullying, the most used definition of cyberbullying to date assumes this, i.e., “an aggressive intentional act carried out by an individual or a group of individuals, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a victim who cannot easily defend him or herself” (Smith et al., 2008; Menesini et al., 2013; Hinduja & Patchin, 2015). Also, the newer definition recommended by the UNESCO and the World Anti-Bullying Forum applies to online bullying. Thus, it is the same behaviour taking place as in face-to-face bullying, the behaviour has just changed arena. However, intension might be difficult to detect online, and imbalance of power may include several aspects, e.g., anonymity may contribute to a power imbalance as well as the case of difficulties in removing or avoiding materials. The repetition criterion is the one most discussed when it comes to relevance for cyberbullying, as O’Moore (2014) states it; as soon as something is posted online repetition is constituted.

A common form for cyber-, or online, bullying that has recently become more explored is hate speech (Wachs et al., 2022). Furthermore, online hate postings often include identity-related aspects of bullying (Gradinger & Strohmeier, 2019). Also, research has shown that stigma-based bullying is more common in cyberspace than in real life (Earnshaw et al., 2018; Flygare & Johansson, 2013).

Importantly, research shows a big overlap between cyber and traditional (face-to-face) bullying; however, the overlap varies internationally from 44%

(Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004) to 75% (Smith et al., 2008) when two to three times per month are used as the cut-off. The variations in degrees of overlap may be due to differences in conceptualizations, contexts and measurement instruments. However, authors generally agree that a large proportion of students experiencing cyberbullying are also bullied in traditional ways (Olweus & Limber, 2018; Sjørsø, 2021).

The COST Action TRIBES

As mentioned in the introduction, the different chapters in this book show the main findings, and thus represent the outcome, of the work carried out in TRIBES, a specific COST network. The COST abbreviation stands for Co-operation Of Science and Technology and is a funding organization for research and innovation networks. COST Actions help connect research initiatives across Europe and beyond and enable researchers and innovators to grow their ideas in any science and technology field by sharing them with their peers. Thus, COST Actions are bottom-up networks which aim to boost research, innovation and careers.

The COST Action TRIBES stands for *Transnational Collaboration on Bullying, Migration and Integration at School Level*. The heart of this action was to promote capacity in enhancing integration and bullying intervention via international collaboration. TRIBES aimed more specifically at advancing collaboration between stakeholders to evolve and improve scientific measures and guides regarding bullying and migration. A sub-aim was building capacity across these challenged areas, working holistically towards ensuring integration, reducing bullying and enhancing the safety and well-being of refugee and other migrant students.

The Action started in April 2019 and ended in October 2023. TRIBES started with 28 European countries at its inaugural meeting in Brussels on 19th April, but by the third year of the Action, altogether 32 countries were members of the Action. In addition to the European member countries, there were participants in WGs also from outside Europe, e.g., Australia (WG6). Countries which joined could, through their national COST office, nominate up to two full members and two substitute members to the Management Committee (MC) of the Action. Professor James O Higgins (Dublin City University, Ireland) was elected as the Chair and Professor Hildegunn Fandrem (University of Stavanger, Norway) as the Vice Chair at the inaugural meeting. To take forward the aims of TRIBES, six WGs on the following topics were established, with a Chair for each of the groups:

WG1: School Climate Measures – Assessment / Development of new up-to-date tool.

Chair: Dr. Ruth Berkowitz, University of Haifa, Israel.

WG2: Immigration, Diversity & School Practice – Gathering/evaluating cross national data.

Chair: Dr. Janos Gyori, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary.

WG3: School Bullying, Tolerance and Integration – Establishing/appraising best practice.

Chair: Professor Eveline Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany.

WG4: Pupils Voice and Promotion of Inclusion – Levels of application, practice and benefits.

Chair: Dr. Niamh O'Brien, Anglia Ruskin University, United Kingdom. 'With support from: Maritta Valimaki, University of Turku, Finland'

WG5: School Design and Safety – Importance and provision at national levels.

Chair: Professor Muthanna Samara, Kingston University, United Kingdom.

WG6: E-Technology, Cyberbullying and Online Safety – Support efforts to combat intolerance.

Chair: Professor Jacek Pyżalski, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland.

The MC met at approximately six-month intervals, to discuss progress of the Action' aims and objectives. During the pandemic, these meetings were held online. For the physical meeting, different countries hosted the meetings, and usually one- or half-day conferences were arranged along with the meetings with speakers both from the Action and outside the Action, i.e., locals from the country where the meeting was arranged. In addition, Short Term Scientific Missions (STSMs) were set up, which enabled researchers to visit another institution in another country for a period of time. STSMs were, however, limited because of the pandemic and often combined with ITC grants during the project period. ITC stands for Inclusiveness Target countries, that is countries that are less research intensive. Early career investigators and doctoral students from participating ITCs can apply for conference grants to attend international science-related conferences on the topic of the Action, but which are not organized by the action. The STSM leader was Professor Peter Smith (Goldsmiths University, UK) and the ITC Conference Grant Leader was Dr. Sebastian Wachs (University of Potsdam, Germany). Communication Officer of the TRIBES network was Mr. Amador Ordoñez Puime MA (Xunta de Galicia, Spain), he was responsible for the website (including Facebook) and newsletters.

The Structure of This Book

The contributions in this book are both theoretical and empirical. The chapters concern different aspects related to bullying and migration from all the six WGs, and they might be said to collectively touch upon all the levels in Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (2005) and as such align also with the more recent definition of bullying that include also the contextual and societal norms that underpin bullying behaviour.

After an introduction chapter, we start with the individual level, which might be said to be represented in the contribution from WG4, as it focuses on the

promotion of students' voices to tackle bullying. More specifically, the degree to which the discourse and evidence that already exist on this topic address diverse students is discussed. Thus, the focus is on how students from indigenous, immigrant and ethnic groups may be encouraged in generating information and ideas. The findings are based on literature that concerns students at secondary school level's voices and views across six European countries.

The third chapter is from WG1 and explores school climate perception in a sample of first- and second-generation immigrant students and school educators working in multicultural schools, with a specific focus on promoting integration and the role of school educators, which might be said to represent the microsystem in Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Qualitative data is collected from six countries. The results from the interviews conducted with students revealed that bullying, social exclusion and isolation are common experiences among migrant students. Moreover, immigrant students experience significant barriers, including communication problems and a lack of educational support, which have a negative impact on their school achievement. The results from the interviews conducted with school educators showed that communication problems between school educators and parents and a lack of multicultural teaching competence constitute important barriers to the inclusion of immigrant students.

WG 2 contributes with two chapters. The first one (Chapter 4) is related to the previous one from WG1, as it investigates educational programmes and projects for inclusion of newly arrived migrant students with a qualitative approach. In this study, five countries are included, and the voices of teachers and school leaders are reported. Also, here intercultural competencies among adults in school seem to be a challenge although general and targeted programmes for newly arrived migrants might be important for their inclusion and learning. The other chapter from WG2 (Chapter 5) goes in-depth regarding home-school collaboration. Thus, it points to the mesosystem, Bronfenbrenner's model, as it concerns collaboration between two microsystems. The chapter attempt to fill the gap in the literature pointing to school practices that involve parents and use data from six European countries, each represented by one school leader, one teacher and one migrant parent. Findings suggest that there are many initiatives and effective practices at local level; however, some initiatives and practices may not be addressing effectively the needs of parents in supporting their children regarding inclusion and education. Seeking support from other parents and increased digitalized communication, which refer to the chronosystem in Bronfenbrenner's framework, may however be beneficial. The chapter also discusses how the wider school family relationships and the community may play an important role for migrant children to be included in the school and larger society and that this should be given further consideration in top-level policy.

Two other factors on macro level in Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological system (Bronfenbrenner, 2005) that are important for migrant children's inclusion

are national legal frameworks and anti-bullying programmes. WG3 address these aspects in their two chapters. The legal frameworks that are analysed in the first chapter from this group (Chapter 6) include the Education Acts in six European countries. The findings show how there is a great variance between countries and that none of the education acts address bullying or harassment as a problem connected to migrants. Some of the acts do address, directly or indirectly, issues of bullying, and aspects of migration that are discussed mostly relate to language learning. Then, Chapter 7 focuses on more specific anti-bullying programmes, as it compares the way 43 programmes target migrant children and youth in five European countries. In addition to addressing that most of the programmes do not target migrant children and youth, results show that the programmes sometimes refer to issues of inclusion and of overcoming discrimination and racism. Moreover, only 13 explicitly refer to migration-related diversity and only two of the programmes are evidence based.

Chapter 8 addresses the effects that physical school design and architecture may have on bullying victimization and the well-being of children and youth. This reflects numerous aspects of the model of Bronfenbrenner (2005) including the microsystem and the exosystem. As Bronfenbrenner (1977, p. 514) noted, "The microsystem is the complex of relations between the developing person and environment in an immediate setting containing that person (e.g., home, school, workplace, etc.)", in which the physical design of the school directly affects the social environment. The contribution, which is a result from work in WG5, reviews some of the literature on school design and bullying and discusses how this can affect the integration of children in schools in general, and integration of immigrant children in particular. The chapter also identifies official policies dealing with physical design of schools in seven different countries and reviews whether these are related to bullying and student well-being. Only one of these includes documents that explicitly and specifically discuss school design and describe the effect on children's well-being and bullying behaviour.

The two last chapters, which are the contributions from WG6, concern what we might call aspects of the chronosystems in Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). As cyberbullying has appeared because of the technological development and media influence over time, it might be seen as a sociohistorical condition. Chapter 9 addresses a cross-cultural perspective of prejudice-based cyberbullying. Current knowledge on the topic is explored, focusing on the exploration of seven reasons for prejudice-based cyberbullying: Family origin, skin colour, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, disability and poverty. Findings from high school students from 17 countries revealed that the most frequent reason for cyberbullying from the perspective of the bully was the sexual orientation of the victim, while the most frequent perceived reasons for cyberbullying from the perspective of the once who were victimized were not only their sexual orientation, but also their religion or belief. The results are discussed in relation to the context of cultural differences, in addition to sample characteristics. Chapter 10 also focuses on new

technology as the bullying helplines existing in 18 European countries are investigated to analyse their characteristics and search for those that have been proven to be the most useful and inducers to report bullying cases. Results showed that the characteristics of helplines varied greatly from one country to another, from having only one helpline available to up to 12. Moreover, none of them was specific to ethnic-cultural bullying which indicates a problem falling to address the ethnic-cultural perspective not only at a national but also at the regional level in general.

Note

- 1 While emigrate is used for moving *away* from a country, immigrant is used for moving *to* a different country.

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