SPEAK UP/OUT:
ENGLAND COUNTRY REPORT

JANUARY 2019

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Here we explore some of the particular features of the English context and the schools we worked with, as these set the context for implementation and our findings. The overall context of changes in education, with different statuses of secondary schools – especially the creation of semi-independent Academies - an emphasis on academic attainment through the publication of league tables alongside cutbacks in public spending are key overarching features, which made finding schools willing to take part more challenging.

The three schools we worked with were very different: two were Academies, but one deemed 'outstanding' by the school inspectorate, Ofsted and the other good; the third school was a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU) intended for young people with very complex needs. While the PRU had also been classed 'outstanding', the profile of the student population meant that staff prioritise personal, health, relationships, sex education and related developmental activities.

There were, as a consequence, markedly different school cultures, which enabled testing how easily, or not, the bystander programme and responses to sexual harassment could be integrated. We also worked with very different student cohorts – Year 9 and Year 10 (13-15 year old) students at School 1, Sixth Formers (16-18 year old) at School 2, and Years 8 and 9 (12-14 year old) at a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU).

Across all three schools, teachers seemed overwhelmed and it was difficult to sustain contact let alone to ensure that the Bystander Project became a part of institutional change. Time and resource restrictions for all staff members meant they were juggling multiple responsibilities: two out of three of the schools were more committed and more accommodating of the practical needs of the bystander intervention. The difference in priorities and commitment across the three schools seems to link with whether or not pastoral work is a significant aspect of the school culture. Despite the fact that one of the areas for assessment by the government's schools inspection body, Ofsted, is 'personal development, behaviour and welfare', time pressures and league tables can mean that schools emphasise disciplinary action to curtail behaviour rather than invest in initiatives that enhance personal development and welfare. This was connected, especially in one school, to a tendency for staff to veer towards punitive/sanctions-based responses, and thus a focus on perpetrators rather than on those subjected to harassment.

None of the schools had a specific sexual harassment policy or even a statement against it, this meant that they lacked a clear definition and understanding of sexual violence or sexism. Members of staff at Schools 1 & 3 came to the realisation that their schools had regularly made statements against racism and, in effect, had a zero

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tolerance approach to racist language. Yet sexist language was prevalent and rarely challenged, contributing to a culture in which sexual harassment was normalised. Sexual harassment was, therefore, seen to be part of safeguarding policies and procedures or subsumed under anti-bullying policies. We examined the school websites and all the relevant publicly available policies and documents, including but not limited to the school's Vision statement, blogs, Ofsted reports, child protection protocols, safeguarding procedures, anti-bullying policy, mobile phones policies, equal opportunities policies, exclusion and inclusion policies. There were many gaps, including limited attention to sex discrimination and sexism, with minimal references to sexist or sexual bullying. This meant that we were working in institutions with little overt policy level commitment to challenging the gender norms and contexts within which sexual harassment takes place and is normalised.

We had underestimated the limited knowledge of sexual harassment among staff, and some continued to differentiate between 'low level' and 'high level' behaviour, rather than the wider culture which enables and supports it. Their framing was one of risk, with sex discrimination rarely considered. Risk assessments are now a dominant tool across all public services, embedded within commissioning agendas and funding regimes.

The continuing uneven provision of sex and relationships education was also a source of variation between schools, with only one ensuring it was part of timetabled activities. One senior teacher in School 3 spoke passionately about the decades long erosion of feminist inspired activities on sexism and gender equality within schools. Interestingly, this project coincided with the re-emergence of feminist societies within schools, with a Feminism in Schools conference in November 2018, at which there was a great deal of discussion about sexual harassment. Two out of three schools participating in this study had feminist societies.

METHOD AND IMPLEMENTATION

In this section we present pen pictures of the three schools, the participation of students and school staff and how the bystanders project was implemented.

THE THREE SCHOOLS

School 1 has been an Academy since 2013, it is a mixed sex school of around 1,000 students aged between 11 and 16. The student population is 88 per cent black or ethnic minority, reflected in the profile of students that participated in the bystander workshops. The school received a rating of 'good' in its most recent Ofsted inspection. A pre-occupation with improving academic achievement may be linked to the greater

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use of sanctions and other disciplinary tools in this school. We were able to run two sessions with school staff and two sets of consecutive sessions with students – Class A and Class B. Class A was a mix of students from Years 9 and 10, aged between 13 and 15. Class B were all Year 9 students, so slightly younger overall. Most of the young people were from ethnic minorities and they had been selected by the teachers.

The number of sessions varied, with Class A, there were five sessions – two single sex sessions for both female and male students followed by a mixed session bringing all the students together. For Class B, we were able to run a total of seven sessions, three shorter single sex sessions, followed by a mixed session. The student sessions were scheduled weekly across four weeks. The limited engagement by staff at this school meant a final follow up session did not take place.

The time and resources issues noted earlier meant that in School 2 and School 3 it was only possible to work with a single class.

School 2 opened in 1999 and converted to Academy status in 2011. An Ofsted report in 2011 sets the total number of pupils in 2011 at 1423, with an age range of 11-19. The school has a highly respected Sixth Form and houses a Training College. It was rated as outstanding by Ofsted in 2011 on 24 of the 27 indicators while the Sixth Form was rated as outstanding in every indicator: it is very popular and hugely over-subscribed. The school does have an above average number of special educational needs students and a fairly diverse population, but this was not reflected in our bystander sessions at which the students were predominantly white and did not appear to require learning support, perhaps reflecting the make-up of the Sixth Form. The participants at this school were older and had longer sessions of 90 minutes. Both meant the conversations were deeper and covered more ground. At School 2, there were five sessions – two single sex sessions and then a mixed session bringing all the students together. A Follow Up session took place four months after the intervention itself.

School 3 is a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU) for students with complex needs. The student population is 11-16 years of age and has a population of just 120 students with a high student-staff ratio. It is usual for PRUs to have a particularly high turnover of students. The school's website states 'we have some students who stay with us for very short periods (maybe a few weeks), some will stay with us for longer, and others for a number of months or years.' In this school, in contrast to the others, there was a real issue with the consistency in student participation. Just two girls attended all the sessions, the other sessions involved new students each time, which made it more difficult to move through the stages of the interventions. Moreover, one of the intentions for taking the work forward was not possible with such a transient

population. In many ways, the PRU context was more difficult and yet also more positive – students, particularly the boys, displayed a range of behavioural issues, but staff were particularly engaged with pastoral issues and the largest number of staff attended the Follow Up session.

STUDENT PARTICIPATIO N

Due to different school organisation sessions were of variable lengths: in School 2 they were the intended 90 minutes, and there was minimal setting up time; in Schools 1 and 3 the scheduled time was 45 minutes, but often 10 minutes was lost in gaining access and moving furniture, and finding participants. In both these schools some content had to be dropped. The older students at School 2 engaged better with sit down discussions while the younger students at Schools 1 and 3 engaged better with activities that involved them moving around the room.

Also for Schools 1 and 3, the sessions with the boys required more 'managing' in that they tended to speak over each other, laugh and joke. Establishing ground rules in the first session, and reminding everyone of them at subsequent ones, became an important tool for tackling disruption.

As shown in Table 1 below, 72 young people took part in the bystanders programme.

Table 1: Students per session by gender and school

School	Number of students per group	Female 1	Male 1	Female 2	Male 2	Female 3	Male 3	Mixed	Follow Up
School 1	Class A (Year 9)	14	11	14	8	N/A	N/A	8	N/A
School 1	Class B (Year 9-10)	13	6	10	7	7	7	14	N/A
School 2	Class A (Year 12)	7	8	7	7	N/A	N/A	14	13 (7F, 4M)
School 3	Class A (Year 8-9)	6	5	3	4	N/A	N/A	10	4 (3F, 1M)

STAFF PARTICIPATION

The methodology of the intervention involved a pre session with staff to inform them of the content and intention, a post session to report on student work and their agenda for change and a follow up meeting 3 months later to assess whether teachers

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and students had, together, been able to make changes. Table 2, provides a breakdown of staff participation at the three schools.

Table 2: Staff per session by gender and school

School	Session 1		Session 2		Follow Up	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
School 1	14*		6**	3	0	0
School 2	4	2	3	1 1x	1	0
School 3	6	2	6	2	6	1

*breakdown by sex not recoded

**this combines the number of staff at Sessions 2 and 3

At School 1, there were 3 sessions with staff. Two sessions took place either side of the Class A student sessions, the third session took place at the very end after all the sessions with Class A and Class B students were concluded.

This was the first school we worked in and the large initial attendance seemed to be the result of mixed messages with a number of teachers present expecting to receive training. Having said that, the teacher organising the feminist society took up the issue for a school assembly. Attendance was much lower for the next sessions and it proved impossible to organise a final follow up session. There was a sense of complacency at School 1, staff viewed themselves as good on this issue, as evidenced in their pre-questionnaire responses (see Appendix 2) and wanted the staff sessions to highlight this rather than be a space to reflect on their practice and views. During the sessions, if staff admitted that they did not know how to respond to a situation or issue, our contact (who was responsible for 'behaviour' in the school) was quick to respond by saying 'yes you would, here is the process, this is what happens, I did this last week'. This limited teacher engagement.

There were two staff sessions at School 2. Six members of school staff attended the first one - five teachers across the curriculum and the sixth form pastoral support lead- with five returning for the second session. Both sessions lasted 90 minutes and demonstrated a very high level of commitment, they were creative and politically engaged, with a clear commitment to fighting gender inequality and doing positive work on sexuality. However, when we tried to organise a Follow Up session with both students and staff, only our contact teacher at the School attended, since that date

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clashed with an events day at the school and we heard back that a couple of the members of staff that had been at the previous sessions had linked up with a local women's organization and had started to consider ways to take forward work on SH.

School 3 was recruited at a late stage when a previous school dropped out unexpectedly. Staff here were also teachers from across the curriculum, and attendance was consistent across the three meetings. There was a strong commitment to pastoral care, but taking work forward with students was complicated by the constantly changing population in this school.

Overall, the bystander project engaged 28 members of staff across the three schools.

IMPLEMENTING THE BYS TANDER INTERVENTION

A specialist sexual violence NGO, with a reputation for training and working with young people, delivered the sessions. Their expertise was evident in how they encouraged students to engage with the exercises whilst ensuring they felt supported through a challenging process. Student engagement was enhanced by the fact that both facilitators were young and were comfortable using language and terms familiar to, or in use by, the student cohorts. Feedback from staff and students recognised the skills they brought and their ability to work with challenging comments from the young people, including victim blaming and sexism. It takes knowledge, skill and experience to shift the focus from the victim to the perpetrator: too much prevention work ends up with an emphasis on how girls should avoid sexual violence by changing their behaviour, curtailing their freedom. Our facilitators constantly found ways to help students hold perpetrators accountable for their actions.

Table 3 offers a brief summary of the activities that comprised the bystanders intervention programme. Much more detail on each of them is contained in the Bystanders Manual.

Table 3: Description of Activities

Session	Activity	Activity description
Session 1 (single-sex)	Where is the Line?	Short descriptions of sexual harassment developed from the pilot were printed onto eight cards (vignettes). One card was given to each of the students and they were asked to consider how OK or Not OK the situation was and to locate themselves along a line.
	Concept Map	Students were asked to work in groups and complete a map containing predefined questions including "who harasses?",

		"who is the victim?", "where does the sexual harassment occur?"
Session 2 (single-sex)	Combined Concept Map	A joint "concept map" was created by the research team bringing together responses of boys on one sheet and girls on another. Students formed groups and discussed similarities and differences.
	Most likely activity	This session explored gender stereotypes by asking 'who is most likely to…' undertake certain tasks, respond in certain ways, and the final question asked students 'who is most likely to intervene in sexual harassment?'
	Bystanders Video	A short animation with some examples of bystander responses was created for this project. This was used to explore barriers to becoming an active bystander and what other possibilities for action might be.
Session 3 (mixed session)	Bystanders Role-Play	The vignettes used in Session 1 formed the basis for role plays linked to their previous discussion on active bystanding.
	Agenda for Change	An agenda for action was developed with the groups focusing on what needed change within their schools to improve responses to sexual harassment.
	Speak Up Speak Out Logos	The students developed their own words/slogan written inside an empty logo.
Follow-up session (mixed session)	How feelings have changed and their learning	a. The students were asked to write down changes in their feelings about sexual harassment, the victim and the harasser. b. The students were asked to write on a speech bubble how their understandings of sexual harassment, victims, harassers and bystanders had changed (or not).

FINDINGS AND LEARNING

This section explores the key themes from the data collected from: pre and post questionnaires with staff and with students; focus group discussions with staff; single sex and mixed sex sessions with students using the exercises in our manual; and further group discussions with staff. Due to the inconsistent attendance by staff at all schools and students at two schools, we pay less attention to the pre and post questionnaire data as the samples don't match across time (this data is in Appendix 2). Our discussion is therefore based much more on the qualitative data and some of the materials produced by the young people in the sessions.

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The material is organised thematically in sections exploring: recognising and understanding sexual harassment; gender norms and gender inequality; and responding to sexualharassment.

RECOGNISING AND UNDE RSTANDING SEXUAL HAR ASSMENT

Both staff and students across the three schools identified a range of forms of sexual harassment at school including: sexualised verbal abuse (girls being called 'sket', 'slag', 'whore'); pressure on girls to share naked pictures of themselves using mobile technology and social media; boys under pressure to watch pornography; boys sending unsolicited sexual pictures of themselves to girls; boys touching girls' bums; students pulling each other's trousers down; boys putting their arms around girls; girls being approached by strangers outside and around the school premises including when they are in school uniform. Female students were more aware of the links between these experiences of sexual harassment at school and other forms of violence and abuse including child sexual abuse. However, only one class of students (no staff) mentioned the #MeToo and #TimesUp campaigns.

The normalisation and daily reality of sexual harassment was also noted by many: its everydayness was compared with the zero tolerance approach to verbally abusive racist language in all three schools. Whilst there was some recognition of victim blame, several members of staff as well as some male students placed responsibility on girls to speak up/out.

> *I don't think girls recognise it (lots of heads nodding). I think it is normal and therefore it is minimised* [Staff Member at School 1, Session 1].

The absence of policies and/or a clear survivor focused procedure and reporting mechanism alongside normalisation mean that speaking up/out is more easily expected than realised. Students and staff noted a sense of entitlement among male students in relation to their treatment of girls e.g. slapping girls' bums, commenting on their appearance as they choose and putting their arms around girls in a possessive 'my woman' way alongside the still prevalent sexual double standard. Also, in all three schools it was noted that male students are subjected to sexual harassment and specifically noted the use of the word 'gay' as a derogatory term.

STAFF PERCEPTIONS

Staff at two out of three schools focused their concerns on young people's use of social media, particularly the circulation of photographs that girls had shared privately. This was in contrast to students, for whom everyday verbal abuse and physical contact featured most strongly. Whilst there was some recognition that the gender regime in schools underpinned sexual harassment, this was often forgotten when the attention

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shifted to the experiences of boys and male teachers. There was also a noticeable tendency to distinguish levels of harassment, what in School 2 was designated 'low level' and 'high level'. This way of atomising sexual harassment as discrete and scalable incidents rests on concerns about safeguarding, situations where staff have an obligation to act. It results in a failure to recognise the overall pattern, the regularity of the 'low level', which in turn means that these behaviours are even further normalised and become part of the gender regime in schools.

Among some staff, and especially some of the male teachers, there was limited engagement about the impact on the victim, with a shift to exploring the intention and motivations of the perpetrator. One teacher suggested that an intended compliment could be received differently by a shy girl and a confident girl, a version of the misreading/miscommunication discourse on sexual violence, which easily slides into victim blame. Staff at two different schools suggested that for some students, sexual harassment is just a way of 'being naughty' or that it is a reflection that the students concerned are 'socially inept'.

This deflection process was also evident when a male teacher at the second session in School 1 asked for advice on how he could talk with girls about wearing longer skirts. This session rather than focusing on how to take work forward with young people shifted to teachers explaining their difficulties in distinguishing between wanted and unwanted sexual attention.

That said, there was some recognition that girls' experience of sexual harassment takes place in the context of gender inequality, including the continued sexual double standard.

Distance travelled

The lack of consistency in the school staff attending at two schools meant that session 2 was often spent covering the same basic ground. There was some movement amongst some teachers, but what became evident at an early stage was that for the intervention to be effective training work needed to take place with school staff. They were not clear what sexual harassment was, nor how it affected the school lives of girls in particular. We assumed a knowledge that was not in evidence. This is one of the key lessons of the project: that school contexts are ones in which sexual harassment is normalised and tolerated, which in turn means that teachers take a considerable range of behaviour for granted and have not developed skills and knowledge in order to intervene and create change. In short they do not draw a line.

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One of the first exercises with students was 'Where is the Line?' – this involved a series of short scenarios and a length of string across the room between a sign saying 'OK' and one saying 'not OK'. Students were given a scenario and asked to place themselves on the line and then explain why they had chosen that place. Discussion then took place and they had the option of changing their place. Many of the scenarios created a strong consensus, others did not.

Scenario 1 - a group of boys film up the skirt of a girl as she is descending stairs. The boys then share that film online.

This was considered not OK by the majority of students, primarily because there was no consent, and that the intrusion was made worse by sharing online. When asked to consider what difference it would make if the film had been made by a boyfriend many students saw that as worse because it would be a breach of trust. The only exception here was boys at School 3 who made the young woman responsible and refused to hold the boys that shared the film accountable for their behaviour.

Scenario 2 - a female student is slapped on the bum by a male student. He says her tight skirt made her look hot.

Whilst the vast majority agreed this behaviour was 'not OK', there was a certain level of victim blaming and responsibilisation when students were probed further. Here other contexts were introduced, such as the boy being her boyfriend or the possibility that it might be taken as a compliment. Girls at School 3 pointed out that boys were regularly slapping girls on the bum: 'that's just usual' and 'boys being boys'. Being asked whether girls ever do this to boys prompted a recognition in this group that it had become OK in their school for boys to touch girls but not the other way around. While most of the boys were clear that simply wearing a short skirt does not mean you are inviting attention, a few at Schools 1 and 3 suggested that the girl was wearing a tight skirt to get attention, and a number made the point that it was the responsibility of girls to indicate that the behaviour was unwanted. The ease with which students found multiple ways to excuse the behaviour was interesting, and required skilled interventions from perpetrators to enable them to question these responses

Scenario 3 - a sports teacher is constantly whistling at and winking at a female student and tells her to smile and learn how to accept compliments.

This elicited the most consensus, primarily because of the age difference and the difference in power between teacher and student. There was wide acknowledgement that girls would struggle to report this behaviour.

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Scenario 4 - a male student is shown pornography on the phone by one of his male friends, when he says he is not interested, his friends say he must be gay.

Students across all the sessions were agreed that it is not OK to show someone porn if they don't want to see it, and there was wide recognition that the term 'gay' is used as an insult. Several students talked about the pressure on boys to view pornography and to be seen to be interested in heterosexual sex.

Scenario six - a boy and girl have kissed, then the boy sends her a picture of his penis and pressurises her to send a naked picture back.

The mention of pressure was picked up by girls as what made this not OK. In School 2 the boys noted that this could count as an illegal act if either of them are under 18, and worried about whether this was a breach of trust and if it might 'progress' to other forms of sexual harassment and possessive behaviour such as stalking and watching.

Scenario 8 - a girl is followed through the park by boys and they wolf-whistle at her. When she turns around to look at them, one of the boys exposes his genitals.

This was only used with three out of eight groups of students, and all were clear that this was not OK. Some of the girls suggested that this is the most serious, noting the fear that it would induce and also the threat of further physical and sexual violence.

Students expressed most uncertainty about Scenarios 5 and 7.

Scenario 5 - a male student is getting a lot of attention from a group of girls - they blow kisses at him in the corridor and block his way so that he has to squeeze past them to get to class.

This evoked the most uncertainty, and as intended prompted discussion about whether boys can be sexually harassed. There was considerable conjecture about whether the boy might like the attention with one group of girls arguing 'girls can't really do anything to boys, but boys can hurt girls'. There was a sense in several groups that whilst this was not OK it was not as serious as previous scenarios.

Scenario 7 - a girl is sitting on a bus listening to music and is being stared at by a boy she recognises. He keeps staring then smiles at her and she politely smiles back at him but then looks out of the window. The boy then moves to sit very close to her and asks why she was ignoring him.

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This proved to be the most complex for students to take a position on, since it was unclear where the line between flirting and harassment was. That the young woman smiled was considered either an invitation or making the situation worse by some. In response some of the girls noted that looking out of the window was a clear enough indication that she was not interested.

The records we made of where students located themselves show the most clarity and consensus for scenarios one, two, three, four, six and eight. The most movement took place for scenario five and the least for scenario seven.

During this exercise notes were made of the things that students thought made something 'more OK' and 'less OK'. This material has been analysed and is presented in Table 3 below. Whilst there are overlaps between girls and boys, boys offered more factors that needed to be taken into account.

Table 4: Factors that influence young people's views about sexual harassment

	GIRLS	BOYS
MORE OK	If people are in a relationship	If they know each other
	If they are friends	Where it is part of friendship
	If the boy fancies her	If the boy fancies the girl
	If it is a compliment	
	If it's a joke	If it's a joke
	If it is only verbal	If it's non-physical abuse
	If he hasn't touched her/done anything wrong	
		If the girl likes it/does not mind
	If there is a response from the	If girl does not respond

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	girl If it is same sex, two girls	negatively/smiles back If a boy is harassed by a girl/girls are approaching boys Where a vídeo image is not shared If someone has shared porn before If the person's intention is good If there's previous behaviour i.e. posted pornography before If she sent the pictures If she is sleeping around Using gay as an insult between friends
LESS OK	Lack of consent Saying 'gay' Persistence/Pressure If the person feels uncomfortable/is not responding Where there is a group of harassers Touching If it is same sex Intrusion on personal space Nude pictures Where harasser is older/has more power If a girl is shown porn If it is a stranger	Lack of consent Homophobic language Where there is pressure If the person feels uncomfortable/is not responding Where there is a group of harassers Touching If it's the same sex Where harasser is older/has more power Showing porn to girls If it is a stranger

		If she doesn't like the guy
		If it is illegal
		Sharing vídeos of people online
		Filming up someone's skirt
		If it's someone you trust

Students in session 1 were asked to complete a Concept Map - a visual summary of what they knew about sexual harassment – who does it happen to, who does it, where, what is harassing, what should teachers do, what might stop them, what should students do and what might stop them. As an aid a few space were completed with data from the pilot of the materials. Some completed the maps in pairs, others in small groups. Responses were merged into girls and boys responses for discussion in Session 2 (see Appendix 1 for the merged Concept Maps for each class).

The content related to recognising and understanding sexual harassment are discussed here.

While boys focused on two or three sites where sexual harassment takes place – school, home, alleyway – girls identified many more places including work, street, house, bus, train station, Facebook, Snapchat, parties, cinema, and parks. In fact girls at all three Schools noted that it can in fact take place 'anywhere'.

Girls documented a wider range of behaviours as sexual harassment than boys, with the exception one group of boys in School 2 who also provided an extensive list. The behaviours identified included: upskirting; touching; grooming; sexual gestures; sending videos/pics; exposing genitals; groping; verbal; kissing; wolf whistles; cat calling; winking; staring; slurs; repeated messages; stalking. One group went further by categorising harassment as direct, indirect, physical, non-physical, verbal and non-verbal.

On the question of who does it, boys were specifically identified, as were those in more powerful positions. Some students stated that anyone might do it.

One section of the concept map asked how it felt for victim and perpetrator: the responses to the latter were especially revealing from groups of boys where a sense of power and control was evident in many of their responses. Girls had much more to say

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about what it felt like to be harassed. We present these findings by sex because there were discernable different responses.

> Girls suggested that victims felt: embarrassed; anxious; scared; vulnerable; worried; uncomfortable; life or death; isolating; helpless; belittled; exposed. The boys' answers were more limited, suggestions included: upsetting; scary; and intimidating; one group of boys suggested it might be disturbing but another group suggested that victims 'might like it'.
>
> Girls thought harassers felt: powerful; lonely; good; depressed; superior; accomplished; amused and normal.
>
> For boys: powerful; like they have achieved something; that they had made someone feel small; good about themselves.

When asked what they felt when they thought about sexual harassment, girls responded with: angry; lonely; sad; scared/worried; guilty; uncomfortable; disgusted. Boys responded with: insulting; out of order; ashamed; angry; emotional; and bad.

Sharing the concept maps in session 2 was a way of showing the different (and similar) understandings of young women and young men without them having to speak these things in front of one another. The discussions focused most on how different their perceptions were, especially how little boys seemed to consider what the impacts were on victims.

Distance travelled

It was clear to us that all the students benefited from engaging with the material and exercises as many were unclear about sexual harassment. Distinct shifts took place in the sessions, suggesting that providing spaces in which students can explore and reconsider what they know offers potential for learning. The interactive style of the exercises proved engaging, as did working initially in single sex groups. The experiential knowledge of both girls and boys could be surfaced and recorded using the concept maps, which provided a foundation for the next layers of the intervention. All the students who attended the Follow Up sessions said that their understanding of sexual harassment had changed and several were able to provide examples of how they had reconsidered past events and realised that these were not OK.

GENDER NORMS AND GENDER INE QUALITY

One exercise – 'the most likely' game – was designed to explore the gender norms within which sexual harassment takes place. Students were keen to engage with this exercise and displayed a willingness to unpick and shift their assumptions during the

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game, suggesting again that simply creating the space for these conversations opens potential for change.

STUDENTS

The 'most likely' exercise was done in Session 2, with cards with 'Girls/Women' and 'Boys/Men' placed on different walls and students standing in the middle of the room. Facilitators read out statements and students would move to whom they thought these were most likely to be true of, they could stand in the middle if the statement applied to both/either. Conversations then took place about their choices.

How students placed themselves could be read as evidence of how entrenched traditional and conservative gender norms are. In some senses this was true, but students were also reflecting the societal expectations that shape their lives. Wherever possible, we sought to explore the difference between what students thought and what they noted as a gendered expectation/stereotype.

Almost all the students across all three schools said that women are most likely to do the cooking in the home, pointing to the persistence of gender differentiation whereby women are supposed to be home makers and men to be breadwinners.

> My dad does not even know how to cook [Boy, School 1]

> It's about how people grow up to think – women do housework, cooking and cleaning, men earn money [Boy, School 1]

School 1 student sessions were far more multicultural/diverse than the sessions at the other two schools and so it was interesting some girls here associated these issues with culture.

> Depends on the culture, in some cultures men do cook but in most cultures they don't [Girl, School 1]

In stark contrast most students stated that men are far more likely to be paid to cook for a living, very few could name a female chef, and those who could astutely observed that they tend to be sexualised or confined to baking.

There was a definite consensus that girls are most likely to cry. Some believed that it is easier for girls/women to cry and that is possibly why they most visibly cry in public.

> It's easier for them to cry and let out emotion whether that be in a happy or sad way [Boy, School 1]

> More acceptable for women to cry, which means they cry more [Boy, School 2]

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This was then linked to ideas of females being weaker, which made it even more difficult for boys who are forced to cry in private spaces or risk being teased or bullied. A few students pointed out that since it is more acceptable for boys to be angry than to cry, they often channel any upset into anger/violence. A similar consensus emerged that boys were more likely to be angry. Some students bought into the view that this is a consequence of biological differences between men and women, namely that men/boys have more testosterone and this makes them more aggressive. Anger for men is 'seen as a strength' [Girl, School 1], whereas displays of anger by girls/women is depicted as further reflections of their emotional state – 'they are labelled as crazy and hysterical' [Girl, School 1], or 'psychopath, mental, drama queen, petty' [Girl, School 3]. One student astutely observed that men/boys tend to get angry 'when women challenge their position' [Girl, School 1]. This gendered essentialism was extended to boys in that if boys do not fight they are feminised as 'weak, girly, pussy'.

These discussions exposed how feminine characteristics are assumed to be worth less than those associated with masculinity.

SEXUAL DOUBLE STANDA RDS

The students were asked 'who is most likely to be teased about being too sexual' and whilst there was some discussion of how common this was for anyone, their reflections revealed an acute awareness of sexual double standards. One girl at School 3 explained that girls are accused of being 'frigid' if they do not express an interest in sexual activity and accused of being a lesbian if they complain about boys touching them. Most students noted that the terms used against girls, whether they are actually sexually active or just perceived to be, have negative connotations - sket, whore, slag, desperate, dirty, needy. Interestingly, many of these have some association with impurity and uncleanliness. Meanwhile, boys' public personae was seen to benefit from an association with sexual activity: 'boys get ratings'. Terms used to describe male sexual activity had more positive connotations - player, man-hoe, horny. One female student at School 1 succinctly summarised this as 'men are praised for getting lots of girls, girls are really hurt by it'.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

To link the exercise to the project students were asked 'who is most likely to make jokes around sexual harassment?': the majority answered that it would be boys because girls take sexual harassment more seriously. For some of the boys sexually abusive comments were seen as 'just banter', a male defined form of humour. Both female and male students across the three schools depicted girls as more sensitive in general but also more understanding of the implications of sexual harassment because of the likelihood that they may have experienced it. Linked to this was a sense that

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since boys do not know how it feels and are not directly impacted, they can afford to joke about it.

Girls at all three Schools expressed anger about sexual harassment and all referred to gender norms as 'unfair'. Also, girls at School 2 pointed out that when girls do speak up/out about sexual harassment, they are told they can't take a joke, and some girls may laugh about it just to protect themselves and not have to confront the seriousness of what has happened.

PERFORMING GENDER ROLES

During the sessions, students performed stereotypical gender roles in various ways. This was most obvious at Schools 1 and 3 where the boys laughed and joked during some of the exercises. The boys at School 3 did this much more obviously and directly and they became very distracted by the idea of being gay. Two students were removed from Session 1 by teachers when they became particularly disruptive, but all the boys in the session were performing 'bad boy masculinity'. This was also evident in the mixed session during the role plays, where there was a lot of bravado and most of their suggestions advocated violence.

The slightly older boys at School 2 rather than become rude and unruly, these male students became defensive, confidently stating that feminism had 'gone too far' and asserting that women very often lie about sexual harassment. They did, however, choose to reconsider these statements when they were unpicked, to the extent that one of the boys thanked the facilitators for 'being enlightened' and wanted to go back to his pre-questionnaire and change his answers.

There are clear benefits to starting with single sex sessions, as in the final mixed session, in all three schools boys tended to dominate the discussion, they became louder while the girls became more subdued. This contrasted with the animated engagement of girls at the single sex sessions. Noticing this pattern in School 1, facilitators spent some time at the end of the second session with girls at Schools 2 and 3 to positively encourage them to take up space and speak up/out at the forthcoming mixed sessions. Even with this support they remained quieter than the boys throughout.

Distance travelled

These experiences taught us that in school contexts where gender norms are not a matter of regular discussion, where a gender regime in which sexual harassment is common has become entrenched, a single session on these issues is insufficient to create meaningful change. It served to highlight the extent of changes needed and

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that if interventions are not embedded within a 'whole school approach'[1] any impacts of interventions like the Bystander project are likely to be short lived.

STAFF

At the first meeting with staff at each of the schools (T1), a number of them raised concerns about gender norms and the connection to normalisation of sexual harassment. When we returned (T2) and summarised the points made by students, gave them access to material generated by the students, they were surprised by how conservative and traditional the gender contexts are for young people. This prompted some to talk about potential ways in which they might adapt their curriculum to address these issues, and whilst a few implemented some of these ideas, none of the schools instituted what could be described as a whole school approach.

Teachers across the three schools were able to identify ways that they have been addressing gender inequality through their individual subjects including by: getting everyone involved in thinking through cooking and other domestic chores by doing budgeting work in maths classes; discuss the gender pay gap in maths classes; encourage girls to do the digging during gardening sessions (traditionally taken up by boys); look at gender differences in life expectancy and also at maternal mortality and global VAWG in geography; through role plays in drama sessions. However, as discussed in the next section, there was also some gendered distinctions between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' victims that could be impacting their responses.

RESPONDING TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT

This section explores discussions with staff and students on how they have been and want to respond to sexual harassment. The data discussed in these sections is based on session T1 with staff and sessions S2 and S3 with students.

STAFF

During the first session with staff, we asked them about their policies and procedures and how they have been responding to SH. Staff at all three schools referred to the school's safeguarding procedures and suggested that SH is dealt with as bullying but none of them were able to refer to any specific statement on sexual harassment. As noted in the first section of this report, staff at two schools realised that the school had a clear statement opposing racism, including racist language, but that sexist language was frequent and normalised. Staff at Schools 2 and 3 specifically referred to the lack

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[1] https://www.endviolenceagainstwomen.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/EVAW-Coalition-Schools-Guide.pdf

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of a common language for talking about SH, tackling this would be an important starting point for establishing an effective procedure.

Very few members of staff across the three Schools were responding to sexism through their specific subject areas, though going forward, many participants seemed receptive to the idea of taking a whole school approach to tackling SH. Though one of the schools was working with a local women's organisation on challenging consent and myths, other than general talks on E-safety, there seemed to be very little SH prevention work going on in the schools.

Facilitators used the same vignettes discussed above to get a sense of how staff at each of the schools have been and would respond to sexual harassment.

There is work going on in all three schools on the issues of sexting but a lot of e-safety work across schools in the England involves warning students of the risks of sharing images rather than having discussions about when and how this constitutes sexual harassment and challenging boys that share images.

It also seemed that staff at School 1 were making distinctions between deserving and undeserving victims where 'shy girls' were considered more deserving or in need of support. Also students that share an image of themselves on social media were being seen as less deserving of support and empathy even where that image is then shared with others against their consent. Age was another aspect of this as staff viewed the sharing of porn as more serious if there was an age difference, e.g. if a 16 year old showed porn to a 12 year-old as opposed to this being shared by the same age group.

Also responses were dependent on school cultures - there were specific tendencies at each of the schools. At School 1, staff leaned towards punitive responses, for instance, their immediate response to the vignette about up-skirting was to say they would impose sanctions, take the harassers phone, punish all those involved, issue a red card (part of their warnings system) where students called someone a 'whore' and they would involve the police because of the legislation around sharing of sexual images (sexting). They were prepared to take action against all 40 students if an entire class was found to be involved. One needs to ask whether criminalising an entire class of secondary schools students is an appropriate response. Moreover, where staff are using a 'red card' system on the lead up to excluding a student from school but doing no other work on SH and sexism within the school or with that student, what difference will exclusion make to the student's behaviour? Facilitators suggested that this approach might lead to students repeating the same behaviour on returning from exclusion.

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However, School 1 was not alone in this response as it seems that the change in the law on sexting means that both Schools 2 and 3 also stated clearly that the sharing of sexual images is illegal and that they would confiscate phones and make a police report.

It was in the context of these discussions about sexting and sanctions that we observed a key tension between encouraging staff to be involved a zero tolerance approach to SH and an approach that is nurturing and victim-centred.

At the time of the sessions, other than the bullying and e-safety work, there had not been much preventative work on SH specifically but there were signs that this could be developed as staff were raising related issues at school assemblies (School 3) and planning work with an external organisation (School 2) and emergent feminist societies that have the capacity to support a whole school approach (Schools 1 and 2).

One particularly problematic response, discussed by staff at two out of three schools, was the practice of bringing harasser and victim together to resolve the issue. As is clear from the discussion below, students do not want this and do not feel it is an appropriate response. Conversely, staff at School 2 also observed the importance of tackling SH without damaging trust and disclosure. Staff explained that they were concerned about establishing 'intent' as boys may just have assumed that what they were doing was a joke. However, as stated in the next section, students made clear that they don't agree with this practice. In any case, what does this mean for trust and disclosure, a concern raised by staff at all three schools that students may be reluctant to report incidents where they can be identified because they will be called a 'snitch' or a 'supersnake'. To lose friends at an age where peer networks are hugely significant would be a strong push against reporting. Staff at School 2 reflected on the limitations of their 'anonymous' reporting mechanisms – that one can know who made the report if a student uses the anonymous online reporting mechanism because you have to enter an email address to use it, also students may not be putting notes into the 'worry box' in case they are spotted doing so.

Facilitators asked staff to brainstorm barriers to intervention. There was a surprising level of overlap.

Knowledge and confidence

While staff at only one of the three schools talked openly about lacking the knowledge to tackle SH, it was clear to us that staff may need as much space as the students to develop their understanding. This connects with suggestions that schools need to develop a shared language and understanding to take things forward and to respond to reports. This could also help encourage staff to deal with levels and forms of sexual

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harassment that are being taken for granted as an aspect of everyday life. Two schools specifically flagged the need to develop their understanding of harassment by people of the same sex.

Actually it was clear to us that staff across the three schools need as much space to develop their understanding of SH as the students. The school staff believed that there is currently no consistency in responses to sexual harassment because it can be difficult to 'draw the line'. An example given here was in relation to sexual comments which might be interpreted as 'just banter'. The group observed that students do not necessarily recognise sexual harassment because it can be subtle and normalised. Girls may have been conditioned into feeling they should be flattered rather than degraded.

Time/resources

There were all sorts of distinctions being made between types of incidents, such School 2's desire to distinguish between 'low' and 'high' risk cases. But staff across all three schools were honest about the pressure of workload questioning whether they would have the capacity to respond to reports of all SH if they were to start encouraging these. Staff at School 1 noted that each report leads to a lot of paperwork and school staff are already very busy. Staff at School 2 referred to having to 'pick your battles', but at the same time they were aware that if a student had reported something, that means it is a big deal for them and staff need to respond. Not responding could lead to a downward spiral, as indicated by the discussions with students who so clearly stated that they don't think that staff take SH seriously. Perhaps connected to this, staff at School 3 said that sometimes they assume that someone else will pick this up and they don't need to do it because they simply can't respond to everything. At present it seems that sexist swear words and boys touching girls' bums is not being responded to, sharing of sexual images seems to get a response from all three schools. What's clear, however, is that if something is not reported or logged in some way, it's always going to be difficult to establish patterns that can then be addressed through a whole school and more preventative way.

Trust/disclosure

Staff at all three schools recognised that trust and non-disclosure is a key part of SH reporting. They all talked about under reporting of sexual harassment because students were concerned about being seen as a 'snitch' or a 'supersnake', of being bullied and re-victimised and they were concerned about making a situation worse.

There was a threat of harassment from peers and from partners if the SH had taken place within the context of a relationship. School 2 staff explained that reporting SH

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could be connected to intimate partner violence and they were working with a local women's organisation to provide support for students.

Connected to the discussion above about a typical response involved meeting with harasser and harassed separately and then together, staff commented that they had found it difficult to decide who to believe and were concerned that boys may be doing things that they think are funny and / or think they are paying someone a compliment. Yet they were aware that disclosure of reports in any shape or form could lead to further harassment. Staff complained that they cannot tackle an issue if it is not reported but clearly this is a circular problem as students will not report if they feel they will end up in a room with the harasser.

STUDENTS

Responding to sexual harassment threaded through all the sessions, beginning with the Concept Maps completed during Session 1, and ending with role plays on bystander interventions in the mixed sex session and students creating an Agenda for Change (discussed in the next section).

The work began exploring why teachers and students might not intervene, and what they might/could do. Girls' reasons for why teachers do not act included: they don't take it seriously; it is normalised; they think you are lying; they want to protect the harasser; they don't know what to do; they do not recognise it as harassment; they feel awkward; they are scared of the harasser; they lack confidence. For boys the reasons given were: may be scared; have experienced SH themselves; the incident may be a one-off; they can't be bothered, they are uncomfortable; they feel threatened; they lack knowledge and training; it would disrupt teaching. One group at School 1 offered a different, and more cynical list: the harasser might be his/her daughter or son; the teacher wants the victim to be harassed; the teacher might not be listened to; it might ruin their reputation; they might be fired from their job.

In response to the question 'what teachers should do', girls noted: talk to parents; report to social services/the police; talk to the harasser/punish them; make sure the student is safe and what help they need; verbally say that it is not OK; educate women/girls; have a discussion; listen to you; help you out; provide counselling. Boys offered: listen; report it; ask the victim what support/advice they need; physically protect the victim; inform parents; provide emotional support; exclude perpetrators; call social services; stop it; expel the harasser; punish the harasser.

Overall girls had more of a focus on process and the need to listen to and support the victim, whereas boys were more likely to emphasise sanctions for harassers.

The final section on responding was about what students might do, and what prevents them acting. Here girls offered the following reasons for inaction: because they just want to forget it; being scared; knowing some teachers may not take it seriously being bribed to not say something; someone has something over you. In terms of what students could do, they offered: tell/talk to someone you trust; report it; use a helpline; block them if it's online. Two responses were clearly more directed at what boys might do: avoid laughing about sexually harassment and succinctly just don't harass.

While boys at School 3 could not think of any reasons for why students might not report, at other schools they noted: scared/feel threatened; they lack knowledge or confidence and power; they are worried about being judged; they don't want to be seen as a snitch. In terms of what students could do, boys suggested: say something; tell someone you trust/an adult; fight back; report it; offer support, comfort or protection to victims; film it; confront.

Many of the suggestions about responding depended on being able to speak about it/report it, including to teachers, whilst having limited trust that such conversations would be responded to with care and empathy. This data supports the project aims of raising awareness and building commitment among staff in order that students are empowered to address sexual harassment.

At the third mixed sessions with students, facilitators encouraged them to role play some of the vignettes with a view to thinking about and acting out a bystander intervention. This exercise was particularly powerful and students were very engaged. Importantly, by this point in the programme, all classes reflected awareness of the need to not ignore sexual harassment should they witness it. There were differences between victim-focused and perpetrator-focused responses but there were many similar suggestions across the three schools.

Students proposed to intervene by pretending to be the friend of the victim (ensuring then that s/he is not standing alone taking the victim away from the place), by going up to the victim and 'styling it out' by either pretending to not have seen her/him for a while, or call her/him over to the other side of the street, or to approach the victim and ask her/him about – all actions that would make the perpetrator aware that there are witnesses and simultaneously indicate to the victim that he/she is supported. Other ways to focus on the victim included asking whether he/she is OK. Students proposed that this could distract the perpetrator or disturb the situation enough so that victim and bystander could get away from the situation and then from a safe place

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could report what had happened and/or it could create an opportunity to provide the victim with information about a service that could support them. As if stating the obvious, some students felt (from experience) that it was important to re-iterate the need for staff to speak with the victim and harasser separately. Those students role playing the victim said that they wanted the bystanders to show more concern for them and their needs. When students were asked what they would want/need in that situation to become active bystanders, girls at School 1 said they would need more confidence to intervene and/or report but also need to know that teachers would take it seriously. Girls across the three schools were that bit more focused on supporting the victim than tackling the perpetrator.

Students proposed to focus on the harasser by speaking up/out, alerting other people to the his behaviour and making clear it is unacceptable. Facilitators drew out the potentials of different bystander positions – by standing in-between the victim and the harasser, this could give the victim an opportunity to get away; by standing alongside the victim it shows support for them. Those students role playing the harasser described feeling uncomfortable, awkward and confused when there was a bystander intervention.

For online incidents, students noted that bystanders could report it and also write a supportive comment to push against the abusive ones and/or message harassers and tell them that what they are doing is wrong, so to show that there is opposition and speak up/out in a way that makes clear they condemn rather than condone the behaviour.

Interestingly, with boys' responses, while some of them noted that they would like to give information about support services, the specific school context impacted their suggestions. So, for instance, boys talked about the need to be able to give information about a service but, in addition to this, where images are being shared, they thought it important to inform the victim but also to give advice to the victim as well such as for them not to share photos. This reflects the victim-blaming identified across students and the school more widely. Girls at School 3 for instance also responded to the Bystander animation by saying that girls should not send these pictures. With regards to addressing perpetrators, boys at School 1 also seemed more inclined to approach the perpetrator privately and pressurise them to delete the image or to ask for anonymised reporting. This could be connected with School 1's punitive approach to these issues as many students, especially the boys, noted on their concept maps their uncertainty with telling / involving teachers because of their heavy handed approach. Conversely, at School 2, where staff were less inclined towards punitive measures, students insisted that harassers need to face consequences for their behaviour. Others

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wanted to ensure that the perpetrator was challenged and held to account for their actions. But students at School 3 where everyone talked about intense normalisation of sexual harassment, also wanted to see clear repercussions for the harasser. Also, while students at School 1 (the most ethnically mixed cohort) emphasised making confidential reports, students at School 3 (the PRU) were the only ones to specifically talk about involving the police, again possibly connected with the school context.

As noted in the section on tackling gender norms, boys at Schools 1 and 3 also used the role play spaces to perform masculinity – they proposed confrontational and aggressive responses during the role plays ('choke him', 'put him in a head lock' and fight him), while other students suggested reasons why confrontation may not be helpful. Typical paternalistic responses were also articulated such as getting the harasser to see sense by asking him 'what if this was your sister'.

Students across all three schools were asked to identify the barriers to bystanding and to taking action on SH. The most obvious across all the schools was that students and staff need to be able to identify it as sexual harassment. Responses focused on knowing whether it will be taken seriously e.g. picked up by a teacher and dealt with sensitively and confidentially, knowing what the procedure is and what they can do about it (both inside and outside school), being able to identify someone they can trust to tell. However students across all three schools also said they were worried about repercussions – being called a 'snitch' (a serious problem when peer groups are so important to young people), not wanting to turn it into a big deal, being victimised/bullied, being told to mind your own business, and/or making the situation worse. A couple of students stated that people may not get involved because they don't think it's their issue, they think it's not going to happen to them so don't see why they should care. Interestingly, girls at School 3 pointed to differential gender norms as a key obstacle - 'girls are not listened to like boys'.

CHANGING SCHOOL CULT URES

Both staff and students were asked about steps that need to be taken in order to change school cultures within which sexual harassment has become so normalised, to encourage students to make reports and to speak up/out when they see SH. At the final mixed sessions, students were asked to develop Agendas for Change and we tried to schedule the staff session [T2] immediately after this so that students could see us taking their work and ideas to the staff. The following table shows these plans for action and this is followed by a discussion of staff responses and reflections on these at the follow up sessions.

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Table 5: Agendas for Change

School	Agenda for Change
School 1	Students - stop and help, provide comfort to the victim, create distraction, move the victim away from the harasser, confront/challenge the harasser, ignore harasser, encourage harassers friends to tell them they are wrong Teachers provide emotional support and help to victim, provide details about where to get support, respect confidentiality, challenge abusive behaviour, exclude harasser from school, involve police Whole school has an event, speaks out about sexual harassment, organise workshops/assemblies, have someone in the school students can talk to about sexual harassment
School 2	Students will be actively involved, challenge harassment when they see it, and provide support to the victim Teachers will prioritise sexual harassment, provide ongoing support, ensure confidentiality (within safeguarding, and involve victim in that process), and provide education for the harasser. The whole school will provide prevention workshops for everyone, raise awareness, inform about how to make teachers aware, SH lead will train teachers.
School 3	Teachers agenda for change That teachers can be more knowledgeable and confident to educate on The language we use, how we talk to each other, developing an ethos – not saying banter is not that bad So normalised that they often think not worth speaking about – fatalism Encouraging boys to speak to you Changing the culture of fear – they know it's wrong, but next steps won't happen if we don't enable them to overcome the culture of fear

For staff, a shared language and consistency of responses was seen as key for creating change but also all three schools talked about students as key to creating a cultural shift in the schools and proposed bringing through Bystander Champions or Ambassadors. However, School 3 recognised that this would be difficult in the context of a PRU where student turnover is so high.

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Unfortunately it was difficult to implement proposed changes within the time frame for this project. Schools just about completed all the intervention sessions before heading into exams and the summer recess so by the time that we returned to the schools in the Autumn, they had not been able to pick up the work and take it forward.

The bystander approach necessarily means that students and staff find ways to work in partnership to transform the culture of their schools but it was difficult to get a joint staff and student session despite nominating specific staff and students at S3 and T2 to take the work forward. unless we are working with the school, and particularly with the staff, on a regular, consistent basis, and meeting them periodically, we can only impact a very small group of students to raise awareness of sexual harassment and gender inequality, we have not gotten anywhere near cultivating a Bystanders intervention

We found that the best way for implementing the actions for change would be to provide some guidance on developing a SH statement, a policy and procedure then meet with staff and student nominees every three months for the following academic year to support them to continue to prioritise the action points until it becomes a clearer part of the school context and a whole school approach. School 2 at least had established a relationship with a local women's organisation and were planning to gain their support to do exactly this as well as to deliver workshops to the students.

LEARNING

Across the three very different schools it was clear that sexual harassment was something girls experienced or witnessed as everyday events. This meant that they had deeper experiential knowledge than boys about some of the topics we covered: what sexual harassment is; how it makes victims feel; what the barriers to speak out might be. We are certain that this knowledge would not have surfaced in such detailed ways if we had worked only in mixed sex groups: girls were more confident and able to express anger and frustration in single sex groups.

That said among many – but not all – of the boys there was a willingness to engage, but this required considerable skill in facilitation in order to get underneath their bravado and defensiveness. Once engaged, boys were able to reach many of the same places as girls through the exercises. That they dominated discussion in the mixed session suggests that more sessions would be needed to create a confidence among the girls to hold the ground they had already established.

There were clear gender differences in what was emphasised in terms of responses to sexual harassment, with girls wanting support if they were to come forward and boys more likely to recommend sanctions on the perpetrator.

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Whilst the role plays worked in exploring different ways in which one might intervene, again creating more time to practice, possibly having a month break and returning to explore what they had been able to do differently might further embed the learning and the commitment to change.

SCHOOL CONTEXTS

The context and cultures of the three schools was different, and this was reflected in the relationships between students and staff, and the routes that were explored in making change going forward.

School 1 was more disciplinarian and staff less engaged with the process; the suggestions made for future action by staff differed between two female teachers who took the issues into the feminist society and organised a school assembly on the issue and other teachers who were more focused on formal behaviour issues.

School 2 benefited from a more liberal environment with staff used to engaging external organisations in workshops at the school. Here we were working with an older cohort and a more middle class, less diverse student profile. One teacher, already working with a local women's organisation decided to develop work with them more widely on gender inequality, sexism, sexual harassment. This was also the only school where students and staff met together in the Follow Up session. We are most confident that the Bystander project will continue to influence how staff and students deal with the issue of sexual harassment.

School 3 was a PRU and therefore had a contradictory but very distinct character. On the one hand every single classroom was locked and required security permits to pass through and teachers were present at every session. On the other, students seemed confident that staff were on their side. This could be because PRU staff are trained to provide good pastoral support and to work with students with complex lives and issues. The PRU context meant that some of the students had behavioural issues, and this proved especially challenging when involving boys, some of whom were 2 years younger than the cohorts in other schools. This context challenged us in thinking how to adapt the resources and exercises to groups of students that require reading and other forms of support. We had to reduce the number of exercises we did, suggesting that more time would need to be allocated when working with students with learning difficulties. Although staff were very engaged and keen to take the work forward, the PRU context is one where the student population changes regularly, there are limited possibilities to create a group of them who can become change makers, making working with staff more of a priority. Staff demonstrated their commitment by

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suggesting that they could embed the learning into procedure, by introducing a statement about the unacceptability of sexual harassment into the contract that students sign when they first reach the school.

REFLECTIONS

Across all three schools, one major issue that arose was the limited knowledge and awareness of school staff about both sexual harassment and the idea of active bystanders. We underestimated the input that they would need in order to work with students taking the intervention forward. That said, however, the pressure on teacher time, and limited resources in many secondary schools makes it difficult to imagine having considerably more time than that we were given.

It might be that others using the materials we have developed choose to have more, but shorter sessions with students. This would enable more consolidation of learning and possibly build additional confidence in girls.

Gaining support for a whole school approach – the foundation of addressing gender regimes in schools – proved much more difficult than we had anticipated. This was undoubtedly in part because sexual harassment had been tolerated for many years in schools, and was underpinned by a lack of engagement with sexism and gender inequality more broadly. The re-emergence of feminist societies in many schools and the newly established Feminism in Schools conference offer the possibility of change.

Jessica Ringrose and Emma Renold (2011) argue for teaching feminism in schools as part of a 'whole child' approach, whereby individual children are given the tools and support they require to develop positive gender identities. They also advocate a whole school strategy, including addressing sexism and sexual harassment, albeit with some recognition that it is difficult to garner consensus on how this should be implemented across the whole staff group and subject areas.[2]
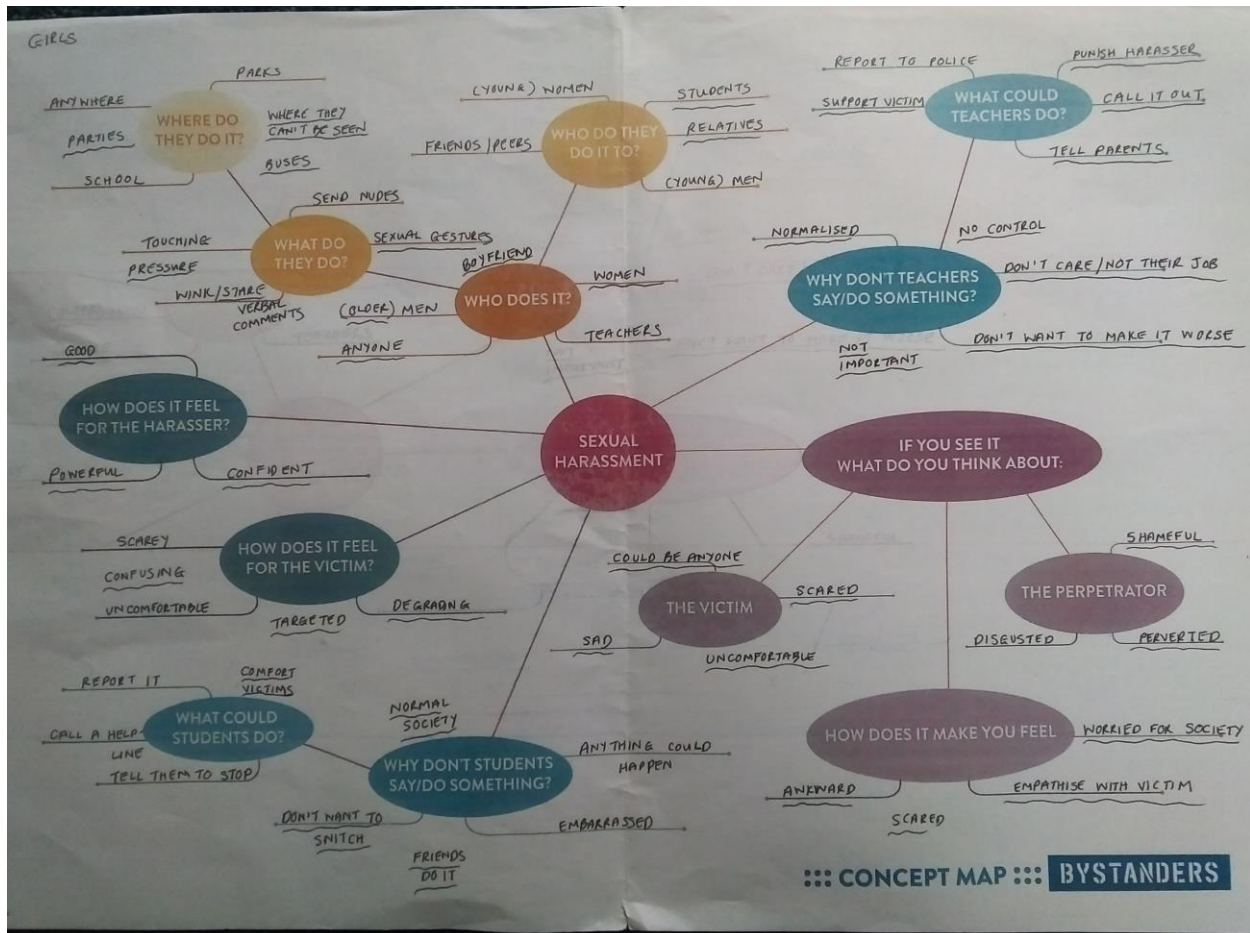
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[2] Ringrose, J, and Renold, E (2011) 'Schizoid Subjectivities? Rethinking teen girls' sexual cultures in an era of sexualisation', *Journal of Sociology, 47(4), 389–409.*
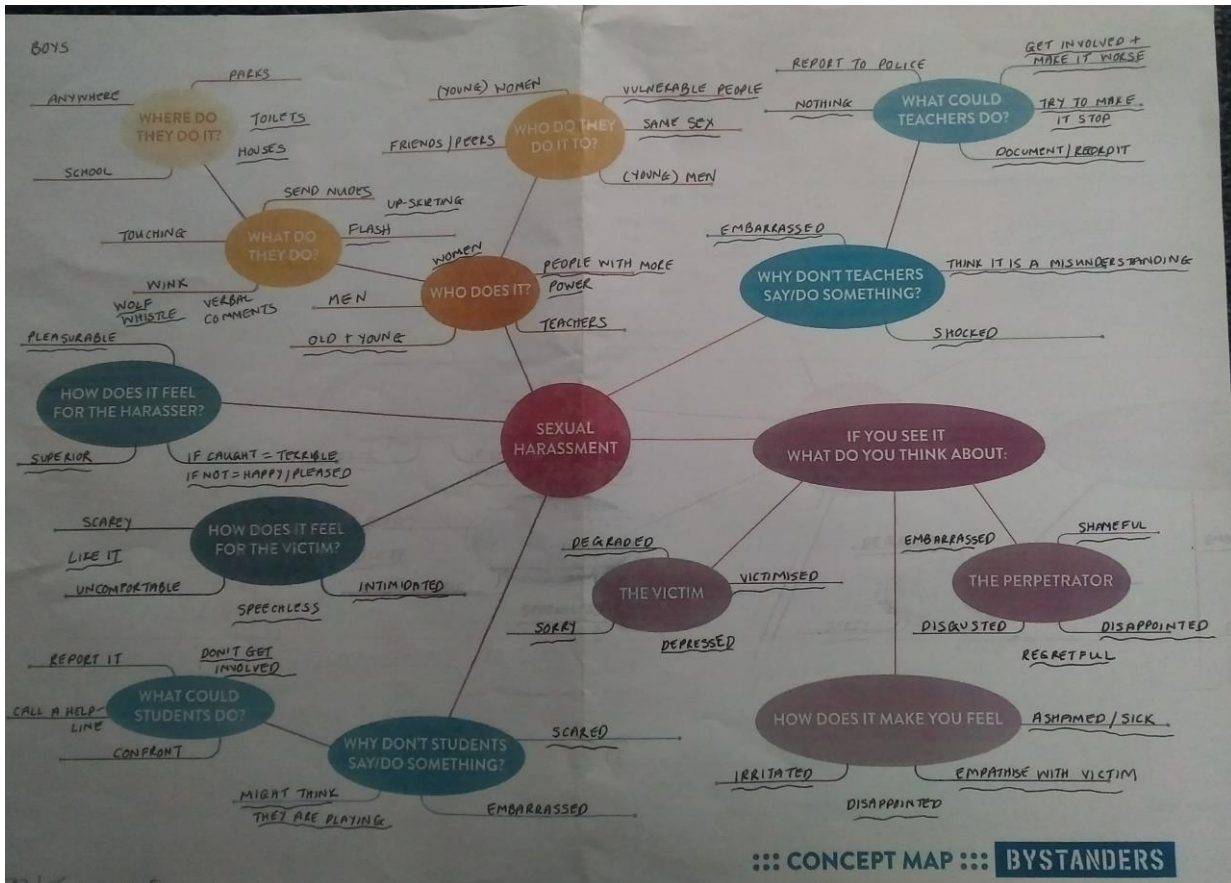
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APPENDIX 1 : CONCEPT MAPS

SCHOOL 1 CLASS A GIRLS

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SCHOOL 1 CLASS B GIRLS

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SCHOOL 1 CLASS B BOYS

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SCHOOL 2 GIRLS

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SCHOOL 2 BOYS

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SCHOOL 3 GIRLS

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SCHOOL 3 BOYS

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APPENDIX 2 : QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

School 1, Class A

PRE n=14 girls, n=11 boys; POST n=8 mixed; FOLLOW-UP none

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Bar chart showing responses across Strongly agree, Agree, Not sure, Disagree, Strongly disagree for Pre-Girls, Pre-Boys, Post-All:

Response	Pre-Girls	Pre-Boys	Post-All
Strongly agree	2	0	3
Agree	6	2	3
Not sure	1	7	1
Disagree	5	1	1
Strongly disagree	0	0	0

■ Pre-Girls ■ Pre-Boys ■ Post-All

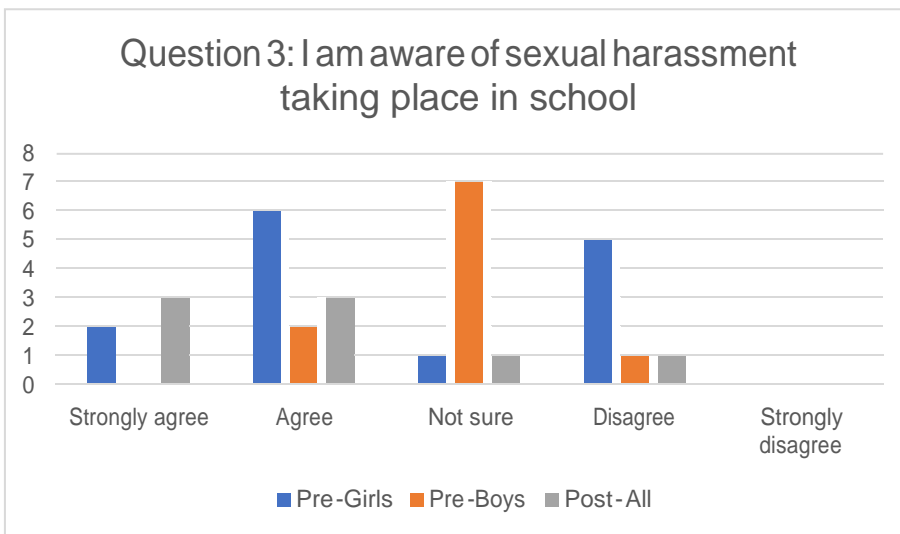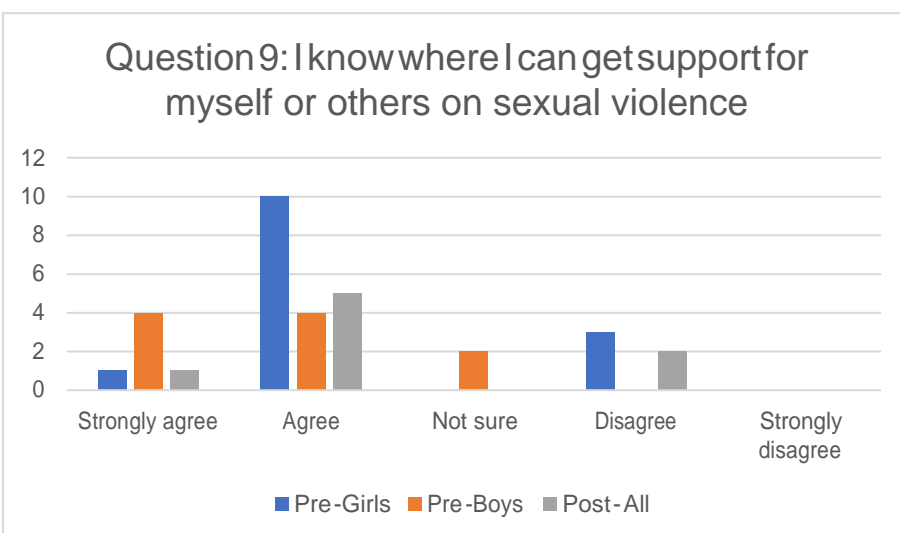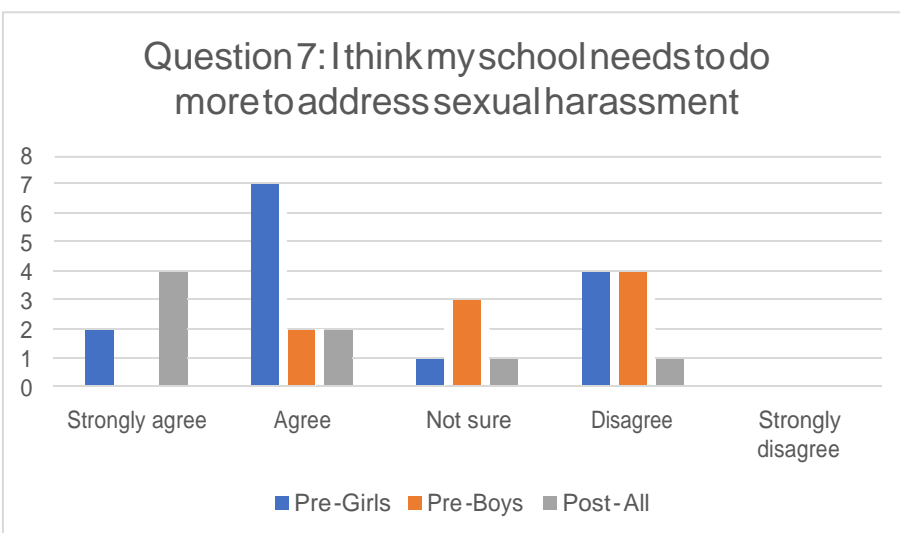## Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Response	Pre-Girls	Pre-Boys	Post-All
Strongly agree	3	5	4
Agree	9	3	1
Not sure	0	2	3
Disagree	2	0	0
Strongly disagree	0	0	0

■ Pre-Girls ■ Pre-Boys ■ Post-All

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Response	Pre-Girls	Pre-Boys	Post-All
Strongly agree	2	1	1
Agree	9	2	3
Not sure	0	6	4
Disagree	3	0	0
Strongly disagree	0	0	0

■ Pre-Girls ■ Pre-Boys ■ Post-All

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Pre-Girls   Pre-Boys   Post-All

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Pre-Girls   Pre-Boys   Post-All

Question 9: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

Pre-Girls   Pre-Boys   Post-All

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School 1, Class B, Boys

PRE n=6; POST n=7

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

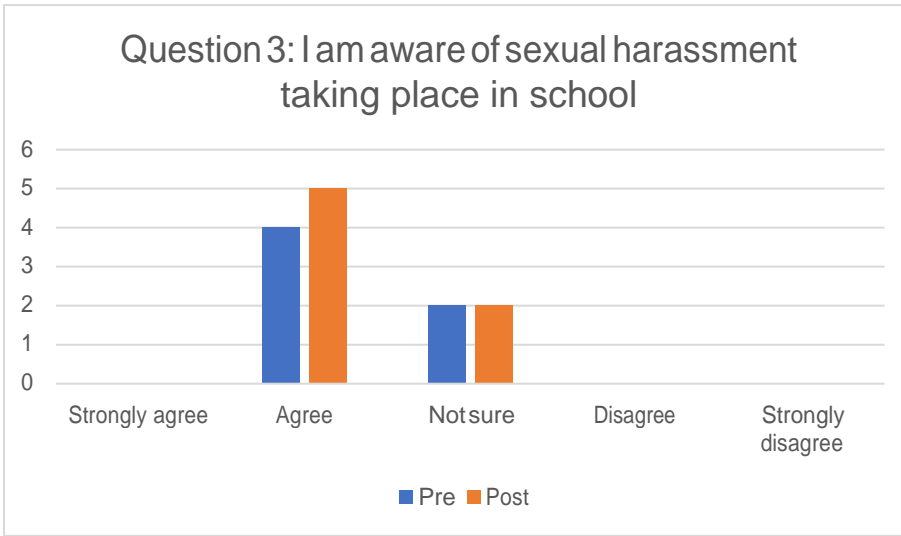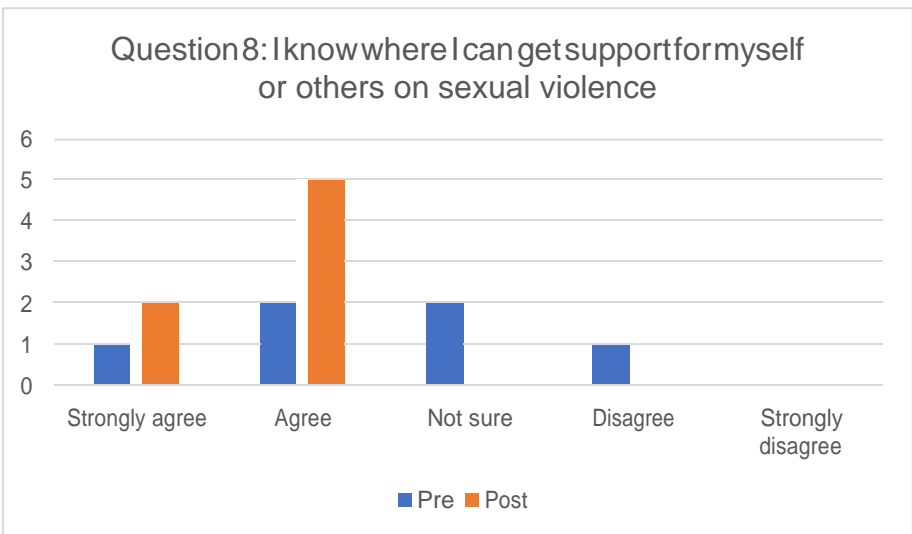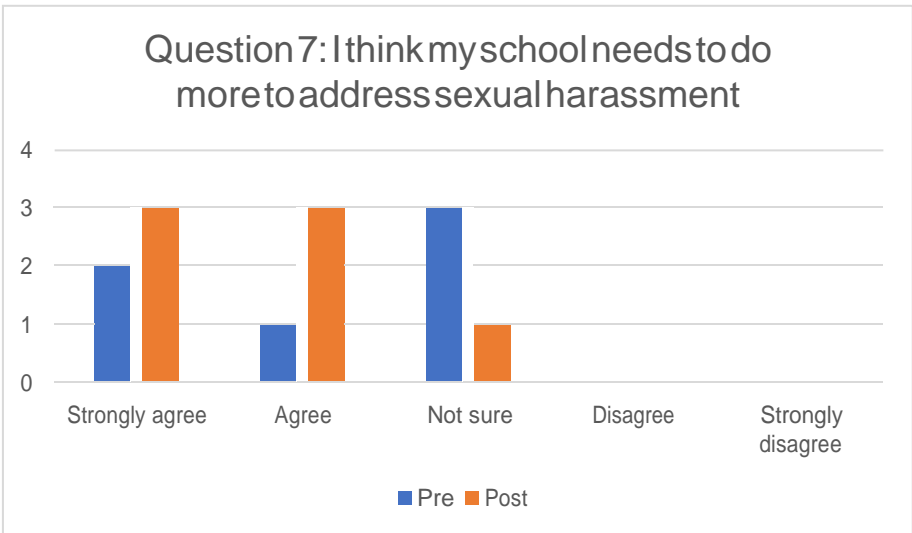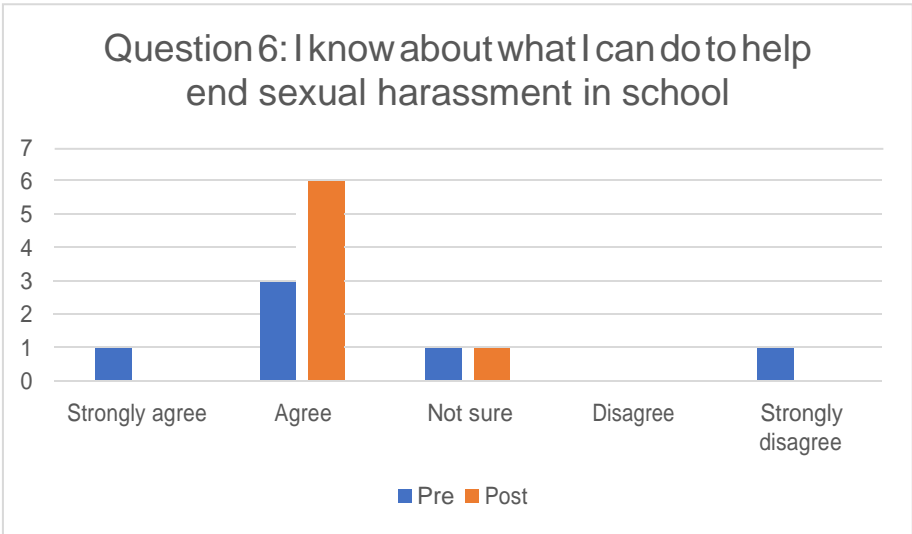Bar chart showing Pre and Post responses:
- Strongly agree: Pre 0, Post 0
- Agree: Pre 4, Post 5
- Not sure: Pre 2, Post 2
- Disagree: 0
- Strongly disagree: 0

Legend: Pre (blue), Post (orange)

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Bar chart showing Pre and Post responses:
- Strongly agree: Pre 1, Post 1
- Agree: Pre 4, Post 6
- Not sure: Pre 1, Post 0
- Disagree: 0
- Strongly disagree: 0

Legend: Pre (blue), Post (orange)

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Bar chart showing Pre and Post responses:
- Strongly agree: Pre 1, Post 2
- Agree: Pre 3, Post 4
- Not sure: Pre 2, Post 1
- Disagree: 0
- Strongly disagree: 0

Legend: Pre (blue), Post (orange)

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Legend: ■ Pre ■ Post

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Legend: ■ Pre ■ Post

Question 8: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

Legend: ■ Pre ■ Post

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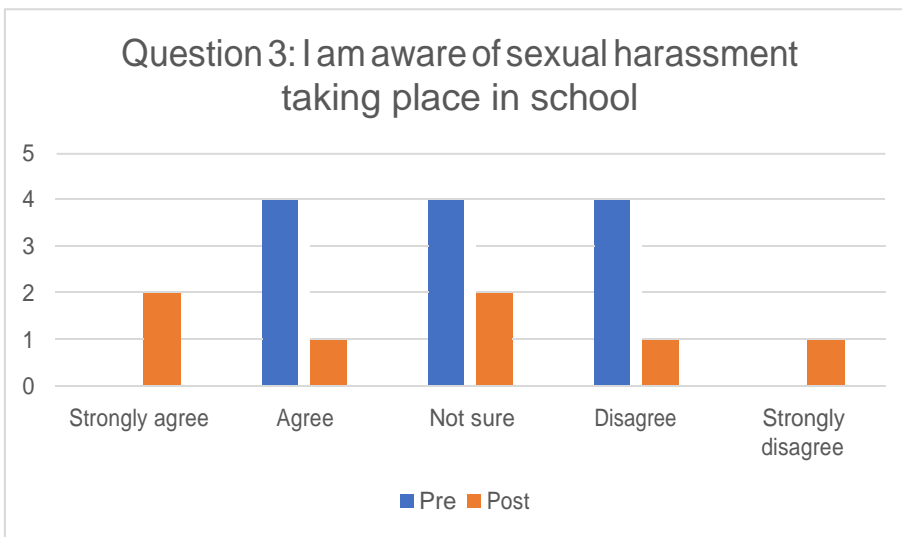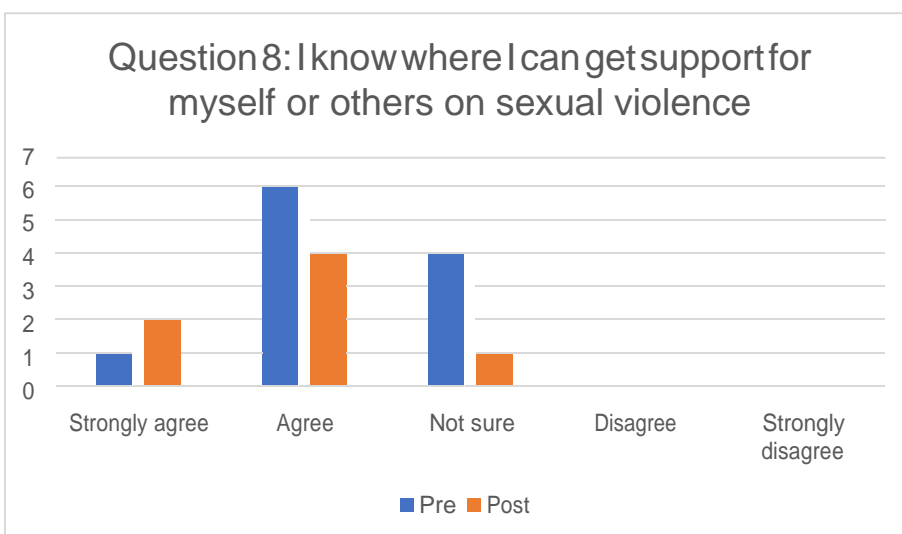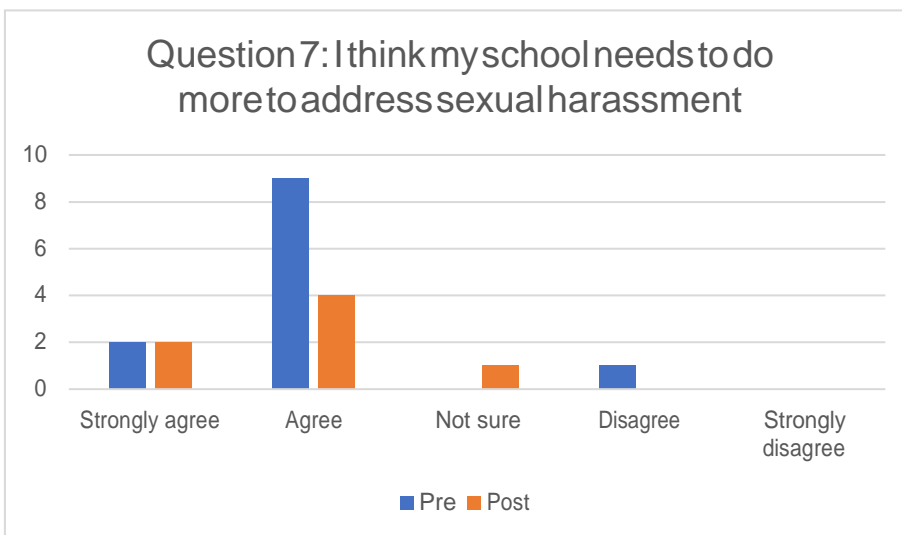Programme of the European Union

School 1, Class B, Girls

PRE n=12; POST n=7 (your doc says 6, but there are 7 responses in the data); FOLLOW-UP none

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Legend: ■ Pre ■ Post

X-axis: Strongly agree, Agree, Not sure, Disagree, Strongly disagree

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Legend: ■ Pre ■ Post

X-axis: Strongly agree, Agree, Not sure, Disagree, Strongly disagree

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Legend: ■ Pre ■ Post

X-axis: Strongly agree, Agree, Not sure, Disagree, Strongly disagree

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

■ Pre ■ Post

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

■ Pre ■ Post

Question 8: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

■ Pre ■ Post

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School 2, Class A, Boys

PRE n=8; POST n=7; FOLLOW-UP n=4

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

	Pre	Post	Follow-up
Strongly agree	3	7	3
Agree	5		1
Not sure			
Disagree			
Strongly disagree			

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

	Pre	Post	Follow-up
Strongly agree		1	
Agree	5	4	3
Not sure	2	1	1
Disagree	1		
Strongly disagree		1	

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Legend: Pre, Post, Follow-up

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Legend: Pre, Post, Follow-up

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Legend: Pre, Post, Follow-up

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Pre | Post | Follow-up

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Pre | Post | Follow-up

Question 8: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

Pre | Post | Follow-up

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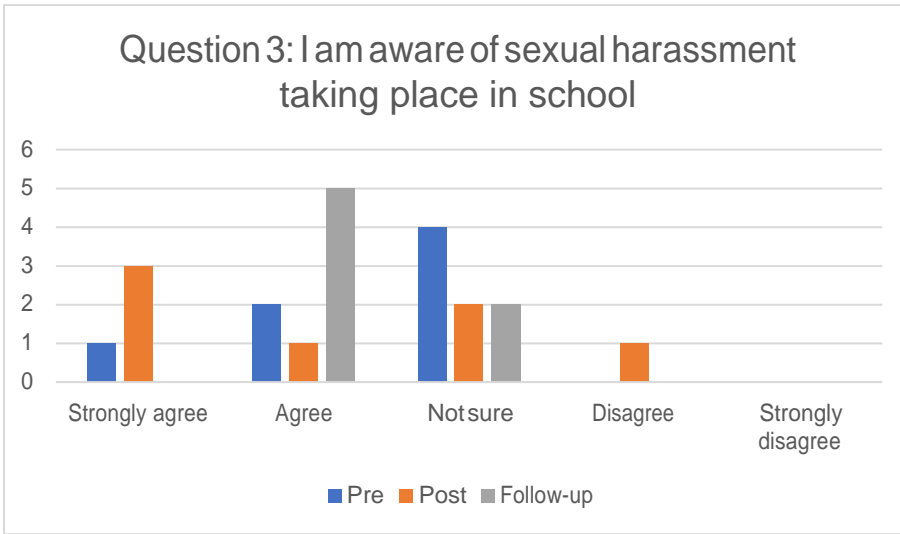
School 2, Class A, Girls

PRE n=7; POST n=7; FOLLOW-UP n=7

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Legend: Pre, Post, Follow-up

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Legend: Pre, Post, Follow-up

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Legend: Pre, Post, Follow-up

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Pre ■ Post ■ Follow-up

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Pre ■ Post ■ Follow-up

Question 8: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

Pre ■ Post ■ Follow-up

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School 3, Class A, Boys

PRE n=3; POST none; FOLLOW-UP n=1
NB: Probably not worth showing the charts, as small group and limited post/follow-up data

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre	0	2	1	0	0
Follow-up	0	1	0	0	0

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre	0	0	3	0	0
Follow-up	0	0	0	0	0

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Pre ■ Follow-up

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Pre ■ Follow-up

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Pre ■ Follow-up

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Pre Follow-up

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Pre Follow-up

Question 8: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

Pre Follow-up

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School 3, Class A Girls

PRE n=7; POST none; FOLLOW-UP n=2 (but only one had done the PRE)
NB: Probably not worth using the charts as limited post/follow-up data

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Pre   Follow-up

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Pre   Follow-up

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Pre   Follow-up

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Legend: Pre, Follow-up

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Legend: Pre, Follow-up

Question 8: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

Legend: Pre, Follow-up

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School 1, Staff

PRE n=13; POST n=4 (but your doc says 3); FOLLOW-UP n=3

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre	3	5	5		
Post	4				
Follow-up	3				

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre			8	3	2
Post		1		2	1
Follow-up			1	1	1

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Pre Post Follow-up

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Pre Post Follow-up

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Pre Post Follow-up

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Pre / Post / Follow-up

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Pre / Post / Follow-up

Question 8: I address sexual harassment within the teaching of my subject

Pre / Post / Follow-up

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Question 9: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

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School 2, Staff

PRE n=6; POST n=5; FOLLOW-UP n=1

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Pre | Post | Follow-up

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Pre | Post | Follow-up

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Pre | Post | Follow-up

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Pre | Post | Follow-up

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Pre | Post | Follow-up

Question 8: I address sexual harassment within the teaching of my subject

Pre | Post | Follow-up

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Question 9: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

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School 3, Staff, Female

PRE n=6; POST n=5; FOLLOW-UP n=4
NB: Your doc says 8, 7 and 4 but the data only shows 6,5 and 4 responses.
Also an anomaly in Q3, as there are 5 FU responses rather than 4

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Pre   Post   Follow-up

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Pre   Post   Follow-up

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Pre   Post   Follow-up

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Pre · Post · Follow-up

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Pre · Post · Follow-up

Question 8: I address sexual harassment within the teaching of my subject

Pre · Post · Follow-up

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Question 9: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence

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School 3, Staff Male

PRE n=2; POST n=2; FOLLOW-UP n=1

Question 1: I understand the behaviours that sexual harassment includes

Question 2: I think it depends on the context whether behaviour is sexual harassment or not

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Question 3: I am aware of sexual harassment taking place in school

Legend: Pre, Post, Follow-up
X-axis: Strongly agree, Agree, Not sure, Disagree, Strongly disagree

Question 4: I think boys and girls understand sexual harassment differently

Legend: Pre, Post, Follow-up
X-axis: Strongly agree, Agree, Not sure, Disagree, Strongly disagree

Question 5: I am aware of how gender shapes sexual harassment

Legend: Pre, Post, Follow-up
X-axis: Strongly agree, Agree, Not sure, Disagree, Strongly disagree

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Question 6: I know about what I can do to help end sexual harassment in school

Pre   Post   Follow-up

Question 7: I think my school needs to do more to address sexual harassment

Pre   Post   Follow-up

Question 8: I address sexual harassment within the teaching of my subject

Pre   Post   Follow-up

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Question 9: I know where I can get support for myself or others on sexual violence