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ABSTRACT

Violence is a part of daily life in the United States, the world's leader in the number of homicides, rapes, and assaults. This working paper examines the issue of violence in the United States from a gender equity perspective. Gendered violence is reinforced by cultural beliefs that allow individuals and groups to use violence to establish and maintain systems of control over others. Looking closely at the different ways in which we continue to perpetuate violence against women and girls, based on deeply ingrained gender-role stereotypes and expectations, helps us to see all the arenas--sexual harassment, date rape, battering, homophobic violence, and street violence--as linked. Within all areas the commonalties are clear: rigid gender-role expectations and the role of socialization create an acceptance of violence. The role of our society in supporting nonviolence can be strengthened through social institutions. Especially crucial to this is the role of education, a major carrier of the culture, which can help shape students' attitudes and behaviors toward nonviolence. By exploring violence as a gender issue, we hope to create an understanding of the entire issue of violence and offer hope for stemming all violence. Contains 49 endnotes; citations for over 100 books, journal articles, and videos; and a listing of 59 organizations located throughout the United States. (JBJ)

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Center for Equity and Cultural Diversity

Working Papers Series

Gendered Violence
Examining Education's Role

Katherine Hanson

Education Development Center, Inc.
55 Chapel Street
Newton, MA 02158
(617)969-7100

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Center for Equity and Diversity Working Paper 4

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Katherine Hanson

Education Development Center, Inc.
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Center for Equity and Diversity
Education Development Center, Inc.
55 Chapel Street
Newton, MA 02158
800-225-3088 / 617-969-7100
Fax: 617-332-4318
Internet: weeapub@edc.org

For the women, children, and men whose lives were destroyed
by gendered violence—never again!

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This working paper examines the issue of violence in the United States from a gender equity perspective. Looking closely at the different ways in which we continue to perpetuate violence against women and girls, based on deeply ingrained gender-role stereotypes and expectations, helps us to see all the arenas—sexual harassment, date rape, battering, homophobic violence, and street violence—as linked. Within all arenas the commonalities are clear: rigid gender-role expectations and the role of socialization create an acceptance of violence. Additionally, we see most violent behavior as an individual choice on the part of the perpetrator, rather than as a loss of control. The role of our society in supporting nonviolence can be strengthened through our social institutions. Especially crucial to this is the role of education, which we see as a major carrier of the culture, and which can help shape students' attitudes and behaviors toward nonviolence. By exploring violence as a gender issue, we hope to create an understanding of the entire issue of violence and offer hope for stemming all violence.

Violence in the United States

Violence is a part of daily life in the United States; we lead the world in the number of homicides, rapes, and assaults. The statistics are overwhelming: over 37,000 people were killed with guns in 1990; males are about 3 times as likely as females to be murdered; the homicide rate for young men is 73 times greater than the rate in similar industrialized nations; and, murders by youths have increased by 27 percent since 1980.[1]

Violence is also the leading cause of death for women but this fact is obscured by labeling these deaths as "domestic" violence. Each year nearly 1.8 million women are assaulted by their husbands or lovers and the leading cause of injury among women is being beaten by a man at home.[2] Despite the stereotype, women do leave their abusers but that does not make them safe; in almost 75 percent of reported spouse assaults, the woman was divorced or separated at the time of the assault.[3] And these perpetrators are not the men who are causing harm to others beyond the intimate relationship—the vast majority of violent males choose to assault either their partners or nonfamily members, but rarely both.[4]

Additionally, 292 rapes occur each day—a 59 percent increase between 1990 and 1991. One out of every 8 women in the United States has been raped at least once; 61 percent were raped before the age of 18; 32 percent were raped between the ages of 11 and 17; 29 percent of victims were under the age of 11.[5]

More than 1 in 10 teenagers experience violence in their dating relationships;[6] studies of high school and college students revealed rates of dating violence ranging from 12 percent to 65 percent,[7] and between 60 and 85 percent of girls report peer sexual harassment in schools. [8] Teens and younger girls with disabilities are also at significant risk, and there may be a relationship between gendered violence and the onset of certain illnesses; a recent study of bulimic women suggests that up to 49 percent of the women had experienced sexual abuse after age 12. The same study found that bulimic women experienced a greater incidence of adult battering than did nonbulimic women.[9]

Race, class, and gender intersect in all discussions of violence. Homicide remains the leading cause of death among African American males; in 1987 there were 53.3 African American male victims of homicide per 100,000. For African American females the figure was 12.6; for white males 7.9 and for white females the homicide rate was 3 per 100,000. African American females are at greater risk of being raped or murdered than any other group of women.[10] Youth from Latino or Asian families, students from recently arrived immigrant families, and students who are physically or emotionally disabled face significant levels of violence. Despite common stereotypes, violence tends to be intraracial or intraclass rather than interracial or interclass.[11] Members of specific racial, ethnic, or social classes are at greatest risk from members of their own group. The cultural expectations and stereotypes of specific groups often influence how gendered violence is defined or dealt with. For example, the Indochinese community, as several other ethnic communities, discourages seeking assistance from others beyond the family or community. As a result women may not report violence or seek help.[12]

At the same time, violence against lesbian and gays has risen considerably. In 1991, 1,822 antigay and antilesbian incidents—including harassment, threats, physical assault, vandalism, arson, police abuse, and murder—were reported in Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis/St. Paul, New York, and San Francisco, a 31 percent increase over the 1990 total.[13] Perpetrators of homophobic violence for the most part tend to be young white males, a different pattern from other forms of violence, although it shares the common denominator of deep-seated gender stereotypes. Homophobic violence seems to be supported by society and by adolescents who may maintain biased attitudes and behaviors into adulthood. For instance, one New York State study of almost 3,000 teenagers found respondents to not only be negatively biased toward homosexuals, but "sometimes viciously and with threats of violence."[14]

One commonality among these figures is that most violence continues to be committed by males. Almost 90 percent of violent crimes are committed by males[15] and males have the highest suicide rates. While the number of violent females is increasing,

we see an alarming pattern—males in the United States are hurting others and they are hurting themselves. For women, violence and the fear of violence is often a way of life. The impact of violence and the internalized and constant threat of violence negatively affect self-esteem, destroy a sense of safety or control over one's life, damage a female's ability to have positive relationships, undermine her concentration—all of which severely limit her capacity to participate fully in her own life. Gendered violence prevents victims from being successful students; those who are afraid or who are victims of violence cannot be engaged students.

The pervasiveness of violence—generally termed hate crimes—has given rise to a number of national discussions and strategies to reduce violence. Yet within these efforts to reduce violence, one key component is often overlooked or minimized—gendered violence.

Gendered Violence

Since the dynamics of domination and control are at the core of gendered violence, any effort to help young people understand the issue and change behaviors must include a discussion of their interpretation of gendered violence and an examination of the social causes of gendered violence. Gendered violence is reinforced by cultural beliefs that allow individuals and groups to use violence to establish or maintain systems of control over others. This violence is easier to justify and is socially tolerated when it is directed toward victims viewed by the culture as deserving of such treatment. Because these patterns are so pervasive, they appear normal and natural, and challenges to them are viewed as a threat to the natural order. Violent reactions often result. The "naturalness" of these systems and the rigidity with which they are maintained may also give targets of violence few alternatives. Violence in relationships is reinforced by our cultural norms that support a hierarchy of power in human relationships. And since patriarchy—the institutionalization of male dominance over women—has been the most widespread cultural expression of this power, it is necessary to address sexism in the context of understanding gendered violence.[16]

Similarly, concepts of cultural norms in this society are grounded in heterosexism and thus define those who are perceived of as outside of the heterosexual norm as deserving of victimization. Heterosexism, as an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes nonheterosexual forms of behavior, identity, relationship, or community, provides the rationale for violence against gays and lesbians.

Part of the Culture

Gendered violence, like other forms of hate violence, can be viewed as "institutionally supported violence." The Women's Project of Little Rock suggests that rather than being acts of sickness, fate, or aberration, institutionally supported violence targets people of color, Jews, women, gays, lesbians, and others who do not have institutional support and power, and is built into social expectations for behavior. Institutions that are supposed to protect people may in fact have racist, sexist, and homophobic policies and practices that create a social climate in which violence against those who do not have full power is promoted.[17]

Building on an understanding that society dictates unconscious but fairly rigid role definitions of what is appropriately female or male, we can view violence against women, gays, and lesbians (because they are seen as stepping outside those definitions) as having tacit social/institutional approval. In this sense, violent acts are not isolated acts of psychopaths. They exist along a single continuum, beginning with acts of differential treatment, verbal slurs, and various forms of harassment, and moving to some of the more physical manifestations in such brutal acts as battering, rape, and murder. Gendered violence includes all forms of violence that stem from our society's socialization of males to be dominant and violent. It is grounded in a set of gender-role stereotypes, and it is directed toward individuals defined as targets because of their gender—usually because they are female. It is rooted in what we are taught and what we learn are acceptable behaviors and roles for men and women and often assumes that violence on the part of either a victim or a perpetrator is an acceptable part of the person's role. To begin to change this dynamic of violence, we must help individuals and institutions understand the dynamic embedded in gender-role stereotypes, develop methods to equalize power, and inculcate new patterns of thought and behavior, including an intolerance for violence and a respect for difference.

An important first step is to define the breadth of gendered violence, to demonstrate the link with socialized behavior, and to develop comprehensive approaches to addressing the issue. Until recently, the various components of gendered violence were seen as distinctly separate, each with its own advocates, experts, and funding. Those working in sexual harassment in schools or the workplace did not talk to those working in dating violence. These groups did not connect with rape crisis programs or with battering programs. And programs dealing with homophobic violence or violence among gay or lesbian relationships were not a part of any conversation. This situation is beginning to change, however, as practitioners and researchers are seeing the links. For example, as both Nancy Worcester, of the University of Wisconsin, in her work with adolescent

battering, and Barrie Levy in her research on dating violence, have found, there are significant similarities between adult battering relationships and those of adolescents. However, fewer resources and recourses are available to adolescents. Education about gendered violence needs to view it as a linked system of behaviors and attitudes that includes verbal/emotional, physical, and sexual aspects. It includes sexual harassment, dating violence and date rape, rape, battering, homophobic violence, and murder. When gendered violence is viewed as a linked system, it can be addressed in a comprehensive, multidimensional approach with students.

Approaches to dealing with gendered violence among adolescents—as among adults—must have the goal of changing the existing social structures that create a tolerance for the victimization of young women, gays, and lesbians, as well as goals that make it possible to prevent or intervene in individual cases of violence.

Through education, young men and women can unlearn the tolerance of violence and learn how to achieve violence-free, egalitarian relationships. These skills are as critical to students as reading, writing, math, and the use of computers. Because adolescents may not have the knowledge or skills to prevent or react against violence in their own lives or those of their family or friends, schools must set standards for healthy, violence-free relationships and provide models for students to aim for.[18]

Characteristics of Gendered Violence

Gendered violence is a complex issue, involving a variety of factors. As identified by Barrie Levy,[19] current research on dating violence has surfaced several characteristics that can also apply to various forms of gendered violence, including the following:

- *Diversity.* Gendered violence is not unique to any one race, class, or ethnic group, or to heterosexual women. It is prevalent in all communities.
- *Gender.* Although both males and females can be victims, in most dating violence situations, females are the primary victims. In homophobic violence, adolescent males are the primary targets.
- *Invisibility.* Young people neither talk about nor seek help for gendered violence, for reasons of shame, isolation, or terror. For gay and lesbian youth, the additional concerns about keeping one's sexual orientation secret may silence victims of both homophobic violence and violence in a homosexual relationship.
- *Normative confusion.* Many adolescents do not define relationship violence as a problem; rather they tend to interpret such violence as signifying "love," in that, because it is so common, it is expected and seems "normal."

- *Patterns of abuse.* As in adult battering, adolescent violence contains patterns of control and jealousy enforced by verbal and physical abuse.
- *Sexual abuse.* Date rape accounts for 67 percent of sexual assaults on adolescent and college-age women. Rather than one-time acts of violence, these females experience repeated sexual assaults and coercion within their intimate relationships.
- *Substance abuse.* While not a causal connection, substance abuse and violence often coexist. Alcohol and drugs can either increase the likelihood of explosive anger or violence on the part of the abuser or be used by victims to numb or escape emotionally. Substance abuse and violence must be confronted simultaneously.

Unfortunately, for many adolescent victims of gendered violence, it is extremely difficult to confront the problem, perhaps because of the pervasiveness of the imbalance of power and the deeply ingrained gender inequity that continues to shape expectations about roles. One major obstacle to preventing gendered violence is the hidden nature of the problem. Whether it is defined as sexual harassment, dating violence, rape, battering, or homophobic violence, adolescents may not seek assistance to deal with or end the violence, often because they may feel they caused the violence, deserved it, are responsible for stopping it by themselves, or because they fear reprisal. Parents also are frequently the last to hear about teens' difficulties because adolescence is a time when independence is most ardently sought.

Equally serious is the tendency of adults to minimize the intensity of relationships and the potential for violence among adolescents. Within schools, there is often a lack of clear messages that verbal and physical violence are not tolerated. Although there is greater emphasis on "peer" violence as unacceptable, similar messages about gendered violence are few and far between. In many instances gendered violence may be tolerated, minimized, or condoned with such remarks as "boys will be boys" or "that's just the way football players are."

Additionally, if teens are victims of or witnesses to violence at home, they may be in an even greater bind of fear and silence. They would already have a groundwork of acceptance of violence, and probably also have experience with intimidation and retaliation.

Gendered Violence and the Role of Education

Violence is not a universal human function; most people go through life without committing violent acts against another person. However, there is a level of historical acceptance and support within any culture for or against an array of violent acts. Our

thinkers and social activists, our spiritual leaders, and our teachers are currently searching for alternatives to violence. State legislatures and Congress are examining intervention measures. One answer to reducing violence may lie in a yet relatively unexplored arena—the gender-role socialization of our children by our social systems, including education. While gender-role socialization is not the only cause of violence, it significantly exacerbates the levels of violence when connected to other causes—anger, racism, poverty, learning disabilities, childhood abuse, frustration, attention deficit syndrome—all of which have been linked to violence.[20] Violence takes many forms, ranging from one-on-one or gang violence to the abuse, battering, and murder of women. Jackson Katz of Real Men has noted that "all violence is gendered."[21] This understanding—that the acceptance of violence, particularly among males, is something we inculcate in our children—can have significant implications for the ways in which we view education. By identifying the gendered commonalities of violence we tie the various forms of violence together and can begin to address the underlying issues regarding violence. The prevention of violence through teaching children how to function in equitable relationships reduces the need for later intervention and punishment.

Most acts of violence are committed by men, and although this does not imply that all men are violent, violence-prone, or accepting of violence as a way of resolving conflicts or attaining power, we have not yet adequately developed societal systems that provide all young men with emotional and intellectual support for nonviolence. As one of the most important systems for acculturating our children to society, we must examine the power and importance of our educational system in changing a paradigm that accepts violence as a male norm to one that assumes male and female norms of empathy and compassion. As society explores new questions about and responses to violence, a key intervention point remains the public school system.

Additionally, as other systems and institutions disintegrate, the school becomes the arena for a range of services formerly assigned to family, spiritual community, or neighborhood. Finally, in the tradition of public education, schools are grounded in social movements that have been responsive to the events and conditions of society. Both the historical role of education as a vehicle for social justice and the legal mandates that require students to be safe in school support the argument that education about and against violence is a valid and necessary part of the contemporary curriculum.

Gender, Violence, and Socialization

There is currently considerable discussion about what is gender and what is sex. For this discussion, gender is viewed as a social construct, as are race, class, and ethnicity.

Although there are biological (sex) differences between males and females, this does not mean that gender-related differences reflect genetic factors. Rather, gender is "the product of social doings of some sort"[22] that results in our framing of what it means to be male or female, a definition that often varies from culture to culture. From birth on, children are taught the norms, values, and behaviors of their gender, as perceived by the culture into which they were born. Through this socialization process, children internalize the rules for "masculinity" and "femininity" and gain both a social and sexual identity. John Stoltenberg points out that "sexuality does not have a gender, it creates a gender. It creates for those who adapt to it in narrow and specified ways the confirmation for the individual of belonging to the idea of one sex or the other."[23]

Because they are learned at a very early age, the meanings attached to gender definitions seem natural, rather than socially constructed. The roots of violence—gender stereotypes, power imbalance, racism—are deeply embedded in our socialization of children; efforts to confront such violence must include a comprehensive examination of the socialization process and the definitions society has of appropriate male and female gender roles.

Violence is one of the most disturbing aspects of living in a society that promotes a hierarchy of power in human relationships according to class, race, and gender, among other divisions. Such violence is based in part on cultural assumptions about appropriate roles for males and females. These assumptions reinforce the norms that males be aggressive, powerful, unemotional, and controlling and contribute to a social acceptance of men as dominant. Such societal norms also portray women as sexually dangerous because they tempt men, as passive, in need of control because they are impulsive, and as subordinate to men.

These norms serve to create stereotyped gender-role definitions in which males are expected to exercise control and authority aggressively.[24] Males who do not ascribe to such beliefs or behaviors are castigated, harassed, and often assaulted. Violence against women and girls becomes a part of the social fabric. Similarly, homophobic violence is supported by a set of norms that unconsciously prescribe what is appropriately "masculine" and "feminine" in thought, affect, and behavior.[25] These norms define violence against females, nonstereotyped males, gays, and lesbians as reaffirming the natural order of gender appropriate behavior. In addition, women and girls with disabilities are often defined as nonsexual and so become both victimized and invisible.

These stereotyped perceptions of what it means to be appropriately male—to control, to be powerful—have become part of our national mythology, glorified in the media. They are reinforced by a country in which growing numbers of young, urban males are

demeaned, tossed aside, or corrupted by a society that views them, consciously or through neglect, as throwaways. For many, violence becomes a way to verify that they are, in fact, "men." Violence becomes a way to earn respect, to make an impact, to get what they want. For many young men, violence has evolved into a culture that anthropologist Glifford Geertz says should be thought of "as the extrinsic gene" because of its deep hold on habits and hearts.[26]

The American Psychological Association's 1992 conference, Toward a New Psychology of Men, pointed out, "violent behavior, emotional distance, and higher rates of drug addition among men can't be explained by hormones. The problem is cultural beliefs about masculinity—everything packed into the phrase 'a real man'"[27] However, even within this culture of violence, we must remember that violence is a choice for the perpetrator. Counselors from Emerge, a treatment group for batterers in Greater Boston, and other violence prevention advocates have pointed out violence is not a constant; individuals make choices about who they will hurt and when. Batterers, for example, do not beat their bosses or co-workers; they go home and beat their partners.[28] This knowledge leads to a need to examine the issues of power, imbalance of power, and the perception of who is an appropriate target for violence.

Teaching Gender Roles and Violence

The nightly news, television entertainment, videos, movies, magazines, and video games hold up an image to children of what it means to be adult—male or female—in this society. Children in the United States are exposed to 12,000 acts of violence on television alone each year.[29] Countless documents have examined the portrayal of women as helpless victims, raped, shot, molested, or murdered for entertainment. Thousands of Rambo figures cavort across the screen, spewing mayhem and murder everywhere. MTV, videos, and popular music abound with misogynist messages. Television and the media reinforce sexual and racial stereotyping. African Americans are most often portrayed as criminals or victims. Women, especially women of color, are always victims.[30] Almost all portrayals link violence and sex—for these entertainment producers, violence is sexy. Again, according to the American Psychological Association conference, "The accumulated research clearly demonstrates a correlation between viewing violence and aggressive behavior." The power of connecting violence and pornography to incite hatred and violence among oppressors and to instill passivity among victims was demonstrated by the sado-masochistic films of Nazi Germany. This lesson was not lost on the U.S. military, which admitted that pornography films are shown to ready troops for invasions.

However much we would like to lay blame on the media, we must remember that the media is us. It is not a faceless industry, but rather groups of individuals who were raised in the same cultural context as the rest of the nation. In many ways they are acting as mirrors for ourselves, a way to examine what we as a society believe about women, men, and violence.

Studies over the last 20 years have examined U.S. society's expectations for gender roles. Countless reports talk about boys encouraged to "fight like a man," told that "boys don't cry," or teased for being a "sissy" or "wimp." Girls can be "tomboys," at least until middle school, when their behavior then becomes suspect and is discouraged. We continue to observe warnings to girls to: not stray too far from home, not offend males by having strong opinions, not be too smart, and to not be too physical or athletic. GI Joe and Barbie, with their traditional, rigid stereotyped models of masculinity and femininity, continue to train another generation.

While some of this social conditioning is changing, *Failing at Fairness*, *We've All Got Scars: What Boys and Girls Learn in Elementary School,* and *How Schools Shortchange Girls* all point out the persistent problem of equating certain behaviors with maleness or femaleness and highlight the strong role education and schools play in it. By the second grade, this hidden curriculum

> taught little girls to be helpful and nurturant. It taught little boys to distance themselves from girls, to look down on them. . . . Through its insistence that boys learn to be boys and girls learn to be girls . . . we make inordinate demands on small boys to become instant men, to live up to macho criteria they are as yet unprepared to meet.[31]

This process continues throughout the educational career of children. One of the most overlooked arenas of training for violence within schools may be the environment that surrounds athletics and sports. Beginning with Little League games, where parents and friends sit on the sidelines and encourage aggressive, violent behavior to the college or professional arena where brutality is cheered, the message is clear. Violence is sport. For some males, sport is a way to act out aggression, "In sports you can do what you want. In life it's more restricted."[32]

Whether it's Sugar Ray Leonard's admission he beat his wife (ignored by most sports writers), the sexual harassment by the New England Patriots of a female sports writer, the publicized competition among college athletes to gather sexual conquests, or the sexualized life styles of atheletes as written about by former athletes Dave Meggyesy and Jim Bouton, the connection between sports violence and gender relations is clear. Athletes participated in approximately one-third of 862 sexual assaults on U.S.

campuses.[33] Most gang rapes on campus involved fraternity brothers and varsity athletes.[34] Other research points out that varsity athletes had higher levels of sexual aggression toward women than did nonathletes.[35]

Michael Messner and Donald Sabo, both former athletes and now academic researchers, remind us that

> nothing inherent in men leads them to rape women . . . nothing inherent in sports makes athletes especially likely to rape women. Rather, it is the way sports are organized to influence developing masculine identities and male peer groups that leads many male athletes to rape.[36]

However, the authors also point to the mysogyny, homophobia, and aggression that have become part of the culture of sports. For them, violence in sports plays several roles: it makes the domination of women seem natural, it allows other males to identify with muscular male bodies while denying or masking the homoeroticism in sports, and it constructs differences among men in order to marginalize some and to maintain a power hierarchy.

For too many, the model of the athlete or sport figure as aggressive, winning, dominant may be translated into the model for everyday life. And, the model is not lost on children. Many boys identify with this set of beliefs and behaviors and continue to play them out as they reach adulthood. Comparing the attitudes of men and women, New York University professor Martin Hoffman found women were concerned with fairness, honesty, and helping others. Men, he found, were more socialized to egoistic achievement and excess. Furthermore, he found a strong connection between sports and those characteristics.[37] Sports and athletics could become a key to changing attitudes and behaviors in all arenas, should we begin to develop models for healthy competition and camaraderie rather than linking athletics with violence and domination.

Education as the Carrier of Culture

Our educational system is a primary carrier of the dominant culture's assumptions, norms, and beliefs. For many years gender equity scholarship has documented evidence of the pervasiveness of gender-role stereotyping and bias within student-teacher interactions, curriculum materials, classroom behaviors, and course offerings. Schools, with their history and role of conveying cultural beliefs and behaviors, play an important role in creating an awareness of gendered violence and in countering such behaviors.

School culture both promotes and enables gendered violence. Without policies and a K--12 curriculum that focus on violence, sexuality and gender play a strong role in establishing a school's organizing principles. Currently in junior high and high schools,

sexuality (including gay and lesbian issues) and gender bias comprise a large part of a hidden curriculum. This hidden curriculum supports the maturation of gendered violence that leads from school violence to workplace and "domestic" violence. In order to frame gendered violence in schools, we need to think of schools as the "workplace" for youth and prohibit violence there as it is prohibited in other workplaces.

Education as Intervention

School is the appropriate site for significant work on gendered violence. It is the place in which considerable gendered violence—in the form of sexual harassment or homophobic harassment—occurs, and where victims and perpetrators often continue to be in contact with each other. It can be the place where students who are victims of gendered violence outside the school can be made either to feel safe or to feel more isolated and alone. In the tradition of public education, schools are grounded in social movements that have been responsive to the events and conditions of our society. Finally, mandatory attendance ensures the opportunity to design curricula for a group of children who will be in school for 12 or 13 years, enabling schools to make positive change over time.

Changing laws and public policy have primarily motivated changes in schools that have led to safe and equitable learning environments. Early education reformers saw public education as "universal education" and as a means to create a level playing field for all students. But, this early public education was built on a model of assimilation to the dominant norm. Later, led by women advocates at Hull House and Henry Street, community education was created to address equity and diversity by taking into account the balance of classroom and climate.

This settlement house movement set the tone for early education attempts to meet the needs of students based on an understanding of their background and experiences. Since 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education* has inspired the movement for Title IX and the later legislation addressing the equity concerns of women, children, and people with disabilities. The civil rights movement and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 framed our current responses to students, declaring their right to safety and equity. Within current mandatory attendance laws, such as the recent Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) reauthorization, is the requirement that schools provide a safe climate for students. The recent *Franklin v. Gwinnett* decision reinforced the belief that schools are responsible for students' safety when the Supreme Court declared that students can sue for damages a school system that does not protect them from sexual harassment. This decision also broadened the understanding that "safety" is not just protection from the most violent and obvious crimes.

Both the historical role of education and legal mandates support the argument that education about/against gendered violence is a valid and necessary part of the curriculum. Schools currently are at the forefront of substance abuse and peer violence education and prevention. Similarly, incorporating awareness of gendered violence within schools is the first step to transforming the larger society.

Gendered Violence: A Fragmented Approach

While the issue of gendered violence is of critical concern to educators and prevention specialists, the field of violence prevention is fragmented and scattered. If it can be assumed that "all violence is gendered; at the core of all violence is the assumption that men must be violent,"[38] curricula should address the role of socialization in a discussion of the many aspects of violence. However, a recent literature search indicated there is not one curriculum model that incorporates all aspects of gendered violence. This is due partly to the origins of much of the information and models that are currently available. It also reflects a failure to see the whole picture and to see how deeply gender stereotypes and violence are embedded within society's beliefs. Each of the existing curriculum models was developed out of a specific need or by a specific group dealing with one component of gendered violence. We have a wide range of programs and materials, including those centering on sex-role stereotyping; sexual harassment; dating violence; rape crisis and prevention; battering and abuse; "domestic" violence; and violence against gays and lesbians. However, we now have the framework to see the interconnections and common underpinnings of all these issues.

As researchers in sexual harassment among adolescents are discovering, the dynamics of harassment and its effects are similar to those found in adult women who are battered and/or raped. The links among the various perspectives are strong, and the implication is that gendered violence is a continuum, with different labels often applied to the same or a similar situation. For example, when a male follows a female around school, is it sexual harassment or is it stalking? When he hits her or sexually abuses her, is it harassment, battering, dating violence, or rape? And who is the appropriate resource to refer the girl and/or her abuser to?

Resources for Preventing Gendered Violence

The fragmentation of information and services available within gendered violence is reflected in available resources. Most materials or services seem to fall into two

categories: (1) sexual harassment and (2) battering and dating violence. While some materials and resources included homophobic violence and violence against women and girls with disabilities, the scarcity of materials addressing these areas indicates both the invisibility of the needs of students in these groups and the need to develop such materials. A comprehensive model of gendered violence awareness and prevention would integrate resources and information from all four categories.

Sexual Harassment

Currently the most visible form of gendered violence within schools, sexual harassment has the added weight of being prohibited by Title IX. The Supreme Court ruling in *Franklin v. Gwinnett* holds that schools are liable in cases of sexual harassment. This finding, augmented by the Clarence Thomas hearings, increased the visibility and examination of sexual harassment within the workplace and in schools. In the early stages of sexual harassment training and prevention, considerable attention was paid to training staff on issues of sexual harassment; much of the initial focus was on preventing sexual harassment by male staff members of female colleagues and students. However, significant harassment also occurs among students. Therefore, sexual harassment training and curriculum models address these two categories.

Enforcement and Awareness Training for Adults. Because Title IX mandates that sexual harassment will not be tolerated within schools, a wide range of resources and training materials exist, particularly for school administrators. Minnesota and Massachusetts, as well as other states, have developed training and resources to prevent sexual harassment. Some states have provided training for administrators, much of which examines the legal implications of sexual harassment, increasing administrators' awareness of the depth of the issue, and providing them with suggestions for prevention and appropriate responses. In 1989, Minnesota became the first state to mandate that all educational organizations as well as the Minnesota State High School League (which directs all fine arts and athletic activities) implement policies and procedures to deal with sexual harassment/violence. This mandate became law in 1991.

A growing arena of work is training for parents and teachers. Parents of young children have previously been instrumental in increasing children's awareness of "safe touch" and the danger of child molestation. They are now being enlisted in developing sexual harassment programs for their schools. One such model is being developed under a current grant from the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA). This model will

provide training to parents of elementary school children in several Massachusetts communities.

However, while much of the training focuses on sex-role stereotyping as integral to the understanding of sexual harassment, little connection seems to be made between what may be termed sexual harassment in the school and dating violence, "domestic" violence, battering, or stalking—all of which may be used to describe the same act of gendered violence. Additionally, there is little consideration given to the possibility that adults involved in such training may be either perpetrators or victims of gendered violence. As the amount of training increases, this key issue that will need to be considered.

There are many resources and expert trainers to help administrators and teachers understand and respond to sexual harassment. Many of these resources are appropriate for both adults and students and can be used interchangeably. Others have a more specific workplace focus and can be used for training about sexual harassment among adult colleagues. Several national organizations have developed models and materials for schools on sexual harassment. The National Coalition for Sex Equity in Education (NCSEE), a national organization for gender equity specialists, is a key link to many of these resources. The 10 regional Desegregation Assistance Centers, funded by the U.S. Department of Education, provide training and resources on this topic to school districts. In addition, all states now fund a sex equity consultant under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to provide training and resources to local districts.

Equally important to the work of sexual harassment and gendered violence prevention for adults is the work and materials produced as part of the gender equity movement. These materials, many of which are distributed through the WEEA Publishing Center at Education Development Center, stress the reduction of gender-role stereotypes among males and females, gender-fair classroom instruction, and the development of safe, gender-fair school climates. These materials can provide a core of useful activities for teacher preservice and inservice, for sexual harassment training, and for other gendered violence training.

Sexual Harassment Curriculum for Youth. Because sexual harassment has been a major issue within schools, several curricula have been developed to help adolescents both understand the issue and change their behaviors. These materials are generally designed for grades 7 through 12 and are appropriate for courses in social science, sociology, cultural awareness, vocational education, human sexuality, and current events. They can also be used in community groups, youth groups, places of worship, workplaces, or any other setting in which sexual harassment of teens is a concern.

Most such materials give considerable attention to sex-role stereotyping and its influence in promoting violence. Yet, most of the work on gendered violence is for middle and high school students, and little exists for elementary students—making the work of reeducating students that much harder. Until recently, most work on gendered violence with young students has focused on teaching children about child sexual abuse. While doing so is important, the result has been a gap in students' understanding of and tolerance for other forms of gendered violence and in fact may not help them understand the role they may play in peer-related gendered violence. Sexual harassment is now addressed in some curriculum guides, such as Minnesota's *Girls and Boys Getting Along*, the first such elementary curriculum. This critical gap needs to be addressed by researchers, practitioners, and prevention specialists to reach students at a time when they may be more open to learning new behaviors.

An example of materials for younger children is *My Family and Me: Violence-Free: Domestic Violence Prevention Curriculum*. The two components, one for grades K–3 and the other for grades 4–6, were created by the Minnesota Coalition for Battered Women. For teens, one model curriculum, *It's Not Fun: It's Illegal,* was developed by Susan Strauss for the Minnesota Department of Education. This curriculum was later revised and expanded into a book, *Sexual Harassment and Teens: A Program for Positive Change*. The book provides information about sexual harassment, helps teachers give young people a safe, supervised opportunity to examine their own attitudes and behaviors regarding gender roles and harassment, and lists resources and materials. The introductory section prepares teachers to understand the issue, feel comfortable with it, and then present it in their classes. However, like most curriculum models on the issue, this does not address the teachers' feelings or attitudes toward sexual harassment, a difficult topic, and even more difficult to do in a stand-alone curriculum.

The Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, in conjunction with the National Education Association, recently completed a sexual harassment curriculum for middle and high schools entitled *Flirting or Hurting? A Teacher's Guide for 6th through 12th Grade*. The curriculum focuses on sexual harassment within schools, offers activities for students in a variety of classes, and attempts to teach students not to be bystanders but to intervene when they see harassment.

In addition to curricula, there are numerous materials and videos on sexual harassment for teens. Early videos include "No Laughing Matter: High School Students and Sexual Harassment," from the Massachusetts Department of Education; "It's Not Funny If It Hurts" and "Think About It . . . It Won't Go Away," from the California Department of Education; "Tell Someone," from the University of Michigan; and "Your

Right to Fight: Stopping Sexual Harassment on Campus," from SUNY—Albany. Recent videos have added significantly to the collection, including "Sexual Harassment: It's Hurting People" by the National Middle School Association. The short video helps middle school students understand the causes and consequences of harassment and the teacher manual reinforces the messages with specific activities. Additionally, brochures and handbooks have been developed by a variety of state departments of education for use within their states. Eleanor Linn of the Desegregation Assistance Center at the University of Michigan developed one of the first such handbooks, *Tune in to Your Rights: A Guide for Teenagers about Turning Off Sexual Harassment*, which is currently published in English, Spanish, and Khmer.

Battering and Dating Violence

In the United States, there are hundreds of battered women's and rape crisis programs, the majority of which are either community-based or affiliated with a larger entity, such as a hospital or human service agency. When programs began in the mid-1970s, their initial goal was to provide services for victims of violence. As direct services and other programs developed, the rise in the incidence of gendered violence in the lives of adolescents became increasingly evident. This fact, coupled with the ongoing commitment to change attitudes, policies, and behavior regarding "domestic" violence and sexual assault, has resulted in an increase in prevention and education programming. Though not an exhaustive review of these approaches, our discussion here is a reflection of the overall models existent in school-based programs that address gendered violence.

The majority of battered women's and rape crisis programs have an education component, which is generally some combination of communitywide public education and outreach services. Education is viewed in the broadest context, meaning that the need for attitudinal and behavioral change is necessary throughout society and that various approaches are necessary in order to create such change. Therefore, school-based programming is often viewed within the larger context of other prevention efforts. Given that the majority of programs on sexual assault and "domestic" violence exists independently of one another, most approaches deal with those two topics as related but distinct issues. Though some curricula exist that contain "modules" or units on various aspects of gendered violence, the general approach has been to address them in separate contexts. Similarly, while some approaches address violence from a multicultural perspective, others do not specifically explore the variety of issues for women across difference. For example, while some materials for adults offer the perspectives and

concerns of women of color, poor women, and European American women, materials for students usually ignore these.

Most school-based programming has been initiated by the local battered women's or rape crisis program, often precipitated by a positive interaction with a teacher, guidance counselor, or health instructor or, in many instances, through dealing with a specific incident affecting a student. The most common model of school-based programming consists of a mix of various components, including the following:

1. Classroom presentations—usually in connection with health-related issues or in health classes—that address facts and definitions of domestic violence and/or sexual assault, the impact on teens, relationship and communication skills, and resources for assistance
2. Forums for teens, such as speak-outs or newspaper and radio-shows presentations,
3. Support groups or workshops for at-risk students (mostly for females, although some exist for males also)
4. Theater troupes or other dramatic presentations such as videos
5. Peer leader presentations and/or services
6. An emphasis on addressing the school environment, including policy development, service coordination, training, and evaluation

Components 1 through 5 represent the most prevalent programming while component 6 represents a more comprehensive and institutionalized approach, one requiring greater involvement from school personnel, a process that is just beginning to occur. In the mid-1980s, some curricula were developed that address the continuum of violence; these are still in use and have been widely adapted by programs according to their own needs.

For example, the Massachusetts Department of Public Health's Women's Health Unit published *Preventing Family Violence: A Curriculum for Adolescents*. This curriculum was designed to be used in various settings and contains eight units: "Introduction to Family Violence," "Child Abuse," "Child Sexual Abuse," "Woman Abuse," "Date Rape," "Gender Role Stereotypes and Socialization," "Stress, Prevention and Intervention."

Another example is *Skills for Violence-Free Relationships: Curriculum for Young People Ages 13–8*, written by Barrie Levy for the Southern California Coalition on Battered Women. This curriculum contains several units, covering the definition of domestic violence, the myths and facts, the reasons battering takes place, and prevention skills. Another model is *In Touch with Teens: A Relationship Violence Prevention*

Curriculum for Youth Ages 12–19 by the Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women. This curriculum, which also has student materials translated into Spanish, can be easily adapted into a number of high school classes. The curriculum recognizes the intersections of gender, race, disability, and other factors and presents violence as a learned behavior. It links the different versions of gender-based violence, explores the role of the media in supporting violence, and offers building blocks to good relationships. It also includes discussions on homophobic violence and anti-Semitism.

These and other similar curricula have several features in common: they are designed for a range of settings, including schools, residential programs, youth groups, and community presentations; they recognize the interconnectedness of sex-role stereotyping and expectations with gendered violence; they recognize, to a limited degree, the continuum of violence against women; and they are geared directly to the intended audience—that is, they are not training-for-trainers. While several curricula currently exist that are utilized in schools and community programs, there are tremendous gaps in efforts toward implementation and/or institutionalization school- or systemwide. And while they are useful tools, for the most part the curricula exist independently of comprehensive programming that would include training, implementation, evaluation, and integration. In addition, because some curricula discuss only specific dimensions of gendered violence (e.g., "domestic" violence or sexual assault), the links between acts of violence may not be sufficiently examined. Some modules deal with the specific issues of women of color or women with disabilities, but most do not mention them. Finally, most curricula on gendered violence do not include a discussion of sexual harassment or specific issues related to violence against gay and lesbian teens. Many programs ignore the needs of gay, lesbian, and bisexual teens, as well as deny the incidence of violence in gay and lesbian relationships. In fact, the phrase "dating violence" can itself be seen as heterosexist and therefore not applicable to other kinds of relationships. There has also been little evaluation of the effectiveness of the existing curricula or an assessment of young peoples' overall attitudes about violence or their immediate experiences.

Due to the intensity of gendered violence and its impact on individuals as well as on society overall, current school-based programs are often designed both to meet the needs of those students who are victims of such violence, as well as to provide a larger context of violence prevention activities geared to the general student body. The lines between intervention and prevention are often blurred; many programs reach only a small percentage of students because they focus on individual classrooms or small groups.

School-based approaches can be loosely divided into three areas: (1) case management and advocacy-oriented, (2) support group-centered, and (3)

education/prevention-based programs. Most programs are multidimensional and while they have a particular focus or strength, they generally offer a variety of components. Following are descriptions of each area and examples of programs.

Case Management and Advocacy. These programs have expanded their educational programming to include an array of intervention services for those teens who are experiencing violence. In addition to providing direct services, their case management work enables them to promote a coordinated response for victims. Such a response may include parents, teachers, guidance counselors, police and other criminal justice departments, and child welfare agencies. In offering a mix of education, counseling, and advocacy, students are provided with both a safe and supportive environment for disclosure and an advocate to assist the victim through the process. In addition, school personnel are educated about the need for sensitivity, safety, and confidentiality. These programs are based on the understanding that although education in terms of prevention is important, the safety of victims must be a priority if intervention is to be successful. In addition, a positive response from school personnel indicates a heightened awareness of and interest in addressing the needs of students who are victims.

An intervention strategy that combines education and advocacy also enables the adults who are involved to recognize the varied dimensions of violence and its impact on students and the school environment. The role of the advocate is clearly invaluable; otherwise, the potential for ignoring or minimizing the problem strongly exists. It is critical that schools do not perceive students' disclosures as a mark against them; violence is everywhere, not merely in particular communities. The presence of an advocate both enhances the role of the school and supports the victim.

Support Group-Centered Programs. These emphasize support groups as educational rather than "treatment-oriented" and often adapt curricula to the needs of support group participants. The components usually include information about violence and abuse; dimensions of violence and abuse, such as physical, emotional, and verbal communication skills; assertiveness and self-esteem building; and available resources. In *Dating Violence: Young Women in Danger*, Levy notes that school-based support groups exist throughout the country and often include young women from junior or middle through high school and from regular school programs as well as pregnant and parenting teen programs. Generally, the support groups are publicized in a way that reduces any stigma attached to attending. This may include labeling the group as a workshop on self-esteem or leadership skill development. While the groups are generally facilitated by a

staff person from a local shelter or rape crisis program, there must be a contact person or liaison from the school in order for them to be effective. There are variations of the support group model in terms of length, number of sessions, topics covered, format, and so on, but according to Levy, they all share several features, including an educational format with a planned curriculum, a system for mutual support among group members, an interactive group process with an emphasis on empowerment, a confidentiality policy for group members, and the availability of the facilitator as a resource rather than as a therapist.[39]

Education/Prevention-Based Programs. While there are relatively few models of school-based comprehensive approaches to gendered violence, the Dating Violence Intervention Project (DVIP) in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the Statewide Minnesota School Curriculum Project present two different approaches. The goals of DVIP are to provide dating violence prevention education, change teacher and student attitudes, engage students in addressing these issues with their peers, and impact the larger culture of the school environment. An underlying premise of the program is that the use of violence is a choice by the perpetrator. The DVIP curriculum explores this assumption in three sessions that address what abuse is; power; messages about how men and women are supposed to act in relationships and how these messages lead to violence; characteristics of an abusive relationship; and how to prevent abuse.

In addition to developing the curriculum, DVIP also includes the following components: a week of schoolwide awareness activities, held annually; two support groups; inservice training for school personnel; an information table at parents' night; training and education for all health teachers and all entering freshmen in their health classes; peer leader training; and a theater troupe that does improvisations on dating violence.

A teacher-training model for violence prevention education was developed by the Minnesota Coalition for Battered Women and adopted by the Minnesota state school system. Funded through a private foundation, this program was directed toward middle and high school students in the first phase and preschool and elementary students in the second phase. The program was designed to train teachers to incorporate dating violence prevention into their classroom teaching.

As one of the few statewide, systemic models of its kind, this program has several unique features: adaptation of *Skills for Violence-Free Relationships*; development of a video for use in training and in the classroom; establishment of an advisory council representing educators and advocates; formation of liaisons with battered women's

programs and the schools in their area; and provision for training and curriculum materials to be supplied free of charge to districts. The emphasis on teacher training was a strong component of this program. The curriculum was utilized in health and social studies classes. The fact that individual school districts had discretion with regard to the use of the curriculum has been cited as a weakness and a preferable strategy may have been to establish statewide requirements. Nevertheless, the approach enabled large numbers of students to be reached.

Wisconsin has also developed a series of responses to gendered violence. One such effort was developed by the University of Wisconsin—Madison, Division of University Outreach. The Domestic Violence Training Project was established to train school personnel and health workers about battered women's issues and to build connections between battered women's programs and schools and health services so as to create a community response to "domestic" violence. The project grew out of a collaboration between the state's domestic abuse grant specialist and the Wisconsin Coalition Against Domestic Violence and linked with the state's Department of Public Instruction to bring "domestic" violence discussions into the classroom and to help develop ways in which adolescents could respond. The coalition has worked with a number of the districts in the state, and in each district a different response model was designed. For instance, teens in one district created a play on gendered violence awareness that they now present to middle and elementary school students.

A range of resource materials have also been designed to explore the broader issue of violence. One resource to help both adults and older students understand the role the media plays in perpetuating gendered violence is the discussion guide and video "Warning: The Media May Be Hazardous to Your Health," by Media Watch in California. In addition, such curriculum as EDC's *Violence Prevention Curriculum for Adolescents* provide inclusive models for addressing the issues of peer and street violence with adolescents. Currently, very little work draws on the body of research and knowledge that comes out of peer violence prevention. This important information, including an understanding of how students play out the roles of abusers, victims, or bystanders will strengthen the development of a curriculum on gendered violence.

Homophobic Violence

Currently there are few training materials or model curricula that include a gay, lesbian, and bisexual focus as a critical component of addressing gendered violence with youth. There is a clear deficit of resources available to support instruction and education for middle and high school students.[40] While there has been an increase in the number of

incidents of violence directed at gays and lesbians, mainstream violence prevention that focuses on teen dating violence, gender-role stereotypes, sexual harassment, sexual abuse, and family violence does not include gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth in the context of the discussion. Although states, such as Wisconsin, Minnesota, and California, have policies that include equity statements for gay and lesbian youth, there is little available that can guide schools to bring their practices into line with their rhetoric regarding a nonviolent school climate and an equal educational opportunity for all students.

Nationally, little has been done to include gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth in the curriculum or in programs. Although mentioned in some materials, homosexual students and their concerns were not specifically addressed, and those materials that do exist are available only in English. This stereotypes the target audience and eliminates a multicultural, multiethnic acknowledgment. No sources created a context for gay and lesbian youth within the civil rights movement or other social justice movements. There were no sources that addressed gay and lesbian youth issues for disabled/physically challenged youth.

The most common strategy was to include gay and lesbian issues in human sexuality lectures or similar teaching components or in sensitivity training, rather than in approaches for combating gendered violence. Textbooks include discussions of gay and lesbian youth with institutional and community controversy, AIDS/HIV, suicide, and a moral/societal values perspective or with sex, abortion, STDs, and general health education. There are, however, existing resource guides, teacher-training manuals, videos, and curricula that touch on gendered violence issues as they impact gay and lesbian youth.

Sticks, Stones, and Stereotypes: A Curriculum Resource Guide, by the Equity Institute's Appreciating Diversity Program, is aimed at grades 9–12 and first year college students and focuses on oppression, gay and lesbian identity, and stereotypes and bias in school settings. The guide and accompanying video provide a variety of interactive activities on name-calling, reducing stereotypes, and understanding the harm caused through lack of peer intervention. Counseling, guidance, and intervention strategies are recommended, but the material has no direct focus on gendered violence.

Project 10 Handbook: Addressing Lesbian and Gay Issues in All Schools was developed by Project 10 founder Virginia Uribe, for grades 9–12. This handbook describes the history and function of Project 10. Used with an accompanying video of personal stories and case studies, it defines the need to address the safety and support of gay and lesbian youth. It focuses on the concept of denied adolescence to gay and lesbian youth, who remain hidden as the result of fear and lack of support, and stresses working

with adolescents and their parents.

Affording Equal Opportunity to Gay and Lesbian Students through Teaching and Counseling: A Training Handbook for Educators, developed by the National Education Association for grades 9–12, focuses on an educator's commitment to justice and human rights. Built around a 1988 resolution that supports equal opportunity within public education regardless of sexual orientation, this workshop module highlights personnel policies and procedures, safe school environment, and the free flow of information. As a springboard for addressing gay and lesbian youth issues, it includes outlines for one day or weekend training for teachers, incorporates both "Sticks, Stones, and Stereotypes" and Project 10 videos, and provides teaching strategies and goal-setting recommendations.

Two manuals that include gendered violence as part of homophobic violence have been developed recently. *Serving Lesbian and Gay Victims of Violence: A Training Manual for Victim Advocates*, developed for the Fenway Community Health Center, Boston, presents a legal rights, juvenile justice system perspective. It offers good definitions and resources and describes the Fenway program history, policies, and procedures. The manual, while not a curriculum, serves as a good resource for learning about adult-focused issues of gendered violence. *Bridges of Respect: Creating Support for Lesbian and Gay Youth*, a resource guide for the American Friends Service Committee, is a general handbook on justice, equity, and nonviolence. The school-applicable information in the guide has a greater emphasis on equity nonviolence than other materials currently available.

Violence against Girls and Women with Disabilities

People with disabilities represent another community targeted for violence and oppression. In general, they are more often victimized by friends, family, and caretakers than by strangers. People with disabilities may be perceived as easy targets for victimization, and violence against girls and women with disabilities is often overlooked, denied, or ignored. Often such violence is unreported, for many of the same reasons it is not reported in the larger population—girls and women with disabilities may feel no one will believe them; they may have limited ability to communicate with people outside their immediate environment; they may depend on the abuser for many of their needs, or they may not want to contribute to a perceived image of helplessness.

The incidence of violence against women and girls with disabilities may be higher than that of any other population. Recent U.S. research shows that the reported number of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse of children with disabilities was 1.7 times higher than the rate for children without disabilities.[41] A study conducted in British Columbia

by the McCreary Centre Society found that for girls with developmental disabilities the rate of sexual abuse was 1.5 times higher than for the general population and for boys with disabilities the rate was about double. This study also pointed out the lack of prevention, intervention, and support services for students with disabilities.[42] Similar findings were also reported by the DisAbled Women's Network in Toronto.[43] As in the United States, Canadian research has not addressed mental health issues in relation to medical, legal, counseling, education, and prevention aspects of violence against people with disabilities. Because much of the research is based on reported cases, gendered violence for women and girls with disabilities may be a significantly greater problem than is currently assumed in either country. Professionals working with girls with disabilities note that girls tend to self-disclose a large number of violent incidents when talking in informal groups. Harilyn Rousso, a leading disabilities expert in New York, had similar discoveries and has begun to research this area. Her findings will be critical to the development of appropriate prevention programs.

As with much of education, the issues and needs of women with disabilities are largely absent. New materials do either include information on students with disabilities or are directed to this specific audience. Often, however, much of the material seems to be designed to address sexual abuse and does not cover the full range of gender-based violence.

As part of its project on disabilities, the McCreary Centre Society compiled a bibliography of materials and resources related to sexual abuse. Other resources are available through organizations such as the Equity Institute in New York. One resource, developed especially for survivors of violence and their advocates, was created by the Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women. *Survivor*, a 24-page booklet, has a special edition for people with developmental disabilities. The booklet is designed to help a survivor through a sexual assault crisis or to teach about prevention and safety, and is also available in Braille, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, and Vietnamese.

Additional resources are also available from a range of groups, and again, most deal specifically with sexual abuse. These include *Preventing Sexual Abuse of Persons with Disabilities* from the Minnesota Program for Victims of Sexual Assault, *Teacher Training Manual: Sexual Exploitation of Handicapped Students* by the Seattle Rape Relief's Developmental Disabilities Project, and *Assisting Child Victims of Sexual Abuse (for Special Needs Victims)* available from Aspen Publications.

Recommendations

There are many issues to consider in developing appropriate responses to the problem of gendered violence. It is important to understand that such violence is complex and must be viewed from an interdisciplinary perspective, one that bridges societal implications and their impact on individuals. Recognizing the seriousness of gendered violence is critical because doing so signals an air of condemnation for such behavior. Therefore, issues of violence must be addressed both as a problem affecting students and adults and as a social issue to be discussed in the classroom.

Returning to the understanding that violence and peacefulness are cultural paradigms that can be changed primarily through shifts in social systems, rather than on an individual basis, we can begin to develop models for system change that will significantly impact the way in which we, as a society, view gendered violence. It is ironic that while advocates for battered women have argued for system changes within the larger society, the United States has paid more attention to individual and family-based solutions.[44] However, there have been indicators of such interventions, but they have been primarily in the criminal justice system. Researchers currently point to the effectiveness of a multidisciplinary response to gendered violence, for, as the Syers-McNairy's study shows, battered women seeking to build new lives draw upon multiple resource systems.[45] In *Intervention for Men Who Batter*, Edleson and Tolman extend this model and recommend that intervention to stop abuse occur across multiple systems. They advocate, for example, a community intervention program that works on a regular basis with entire school systems. As they describe such a system, the

> response of the entire system would be coordinated with the aim of ending violence and models of violence. District intervention and advocacy would be brought to bear in special cases of violence. Curricula might be revised or developed and integrated into lesson plans. Special training of teachers and supporting professions could take place. Course electives concerning relationships and violence could also be offered. Media and outreach campaigns that regularly communicate about violence and the abuse of power might also be developed within the school environment.[46]

They argue that it is not the *violence* that is the central issue. Rather it is the "abuse of power by men through violence against women that is established and maintained as an acceptable practice within our society. . . . Unless change occurs in the underlying blueprints that guide the social development of individuals and larger social units, it is hard to envision how a violence-free ecology is possible."[47] This perspective is supported by educators and curriculum development specialists, by those in teacher

education and administration, social service providers, and experts in gendered violence. The following is a summary of what experts and practitioners felt should be included in comprehensive gendered violence prevention.

Predelivery Components

For this type of comprehensive approach to be most effective, several activities should be considered. Schools need to intervene at all points in the circle—preservice, K–12, family connections, larger society—and in as many ways as possible. Some of the key components that should be developed in addressing gendered violence throughout the system, as identified by experts and practitioners, are listed below.[48]

- *Institutional support.* An effective program needs support from high-level school administrators. All the individuals surveyed spoke of the need for support from school administrations and boards. Instructors need the support of principals to ensure that the effort is a priority for the school system and that the appropriate protocols will be followed in assisting a child who discloses that she or he has been victimized.
- *Policy and procedures.* Before the information is delivered or program launched, a protocol should be developed outlining the appropriate response for administrators and teachers to students who disclose that they have been the victims of gendered violence.
- *An interdisciplinary team.* Crucial is the establishment of a core coalition of teachers to guide and implement the approach. Most individuals surveyed felt that a critical element is the selection of appropriate instructors. While it is important for instructors to self-select, it is also necessary to have some other criteria for selection. For instance, to be most effective, this core team would need to reflect not just health perspectives but a range of classroom settings, including social studies, mathematics, and civics. Teams also need to be representative of the diversity within the school or district.
- *Student involvement.* The establishment of a core coalition of students to assist in curriculum delivery is an important component. Peer leader programs are often very effective in schools. Peers could be especially helpful for the sensitive areas this type of curriculum addresses.
- *Training.* For a curriculum on gendered violence to be effective, teachers and peer leaders need to be thoroughly trained in the areas the curriculum addresses before delivering it. Instructors need to be particularly informed on sensitive

areas—such as disclosure and legal protocols—before delivering this to students. Training for teachers and students on critical content components, delivery methods, time frames, and so on, is also important.

- *Community links.* Formal relationships with community service providers, such as battered women's shelters, rape crisis centers, and other service agencies, is a key component. Much work has already been done in communities on these issues, and schools should have access to this knowledge base and be informed of the services these programs provide. In addition, instructors need to know where to refer students. Effective programs invite community providers to conduct presentations during an orientation on the curriculum for teachers, administrators, students, and parents. Moreover, community providers may also be invited to conduct workshops and presentations during the course of the curriculum delivery. Community providers can also assist in the training of teachers and students.
- *Parent information.* Parent and community support is critical to the success of any effort to reduce violence. Key points about violence as a hindrance to learning, and other important issues need to be made clear. Other violence prevention efforts, which may already be supported by families, may be a useful base for building understanding and support for such an effort, as can recent national public awareness campaigns about "domestic" violence. An orientation session should involve community providers, administrators, teachers, students, and parents, to both reduce concerns about the effort and involve all concerned parties in an active exchange, fostering ownership and collaboration among the various sectors. A handbook for parents may help reduce parental concern and build support for the curriculum.

Delivery Components

According to practitioners and experts, the critical components for the delivery stage of this type of intervention are as follows:

- *Interdisciplinary in nature.* Most individuals surveyed felt that interdisciplinary, long-term training is best. An effective program would deliver the curriculum in several subject areas, drawing on their specific content as an entry point for students. For example, a math class might focus on the statistical aspects of the problem; an English class might analyze the problem from a literary perspective.

- *Student attitude and knowledge.* Some means of assessing student attitudes in the area of gendered violence can help instructors determine "where the students are" and what entry points might be most effective.
- *Goals and objectives.* Process and outcome goals and objectives should be identified and presented in the beginning of the curriculum delivery. Goals and objectives may include a change in student behaviors and attitudes, the establishment of protocols for responding to incidents, and better collaboration among the various institutions and individuals, including schools, community programs, teachers, parents, students, and administrators.
- *A range of teaching methodology.* Because students learn in different ways, a variety of techniques and methods for delivering the curriculum should be utilized. Techniques and methods may include role play, group exercises, small-group discussions, audiovisual materials, community provider presentations, victim panels, and handouts.
- *Diverse content areas.* For the curriculum to be most effective, it should cover a broad range of topic areas. Both teacher instructors and student assistants should be involved in the content selection process. Content areas identified as particularly important for a curriculum addressing gendered violence include
    - the scope and range of gendered violence, including violence against gays and lesbians
    - gender as a social construct and the socialization of violence
    - the culture of schools in terms of the part they play in promoting or enabling gendered violence
    - the roots of gendered violence, addressing such aspects of the problem as sexual stereotyping, labeling, and the commonalities of violence, and including discussion of the intersection of gendered violence with issues of race, class, and culture
    - the link between gendered violence and substance abuse
    - the link and similarities between victims and perpetrators of violence
    - the legal issues involved, and issues around disclosure, confidentiality, and student rights, trust, and safety
    - a protocol for outlining the appropriate response for teachers, students, and administrators to disclosure, and including access to community resources and referrals designed to assist victims of gendered violence

Postdelivery Components

Posttests of student participants should be conducted to compare current attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge with those of the students when they began the program. If properly designed and evaluated, posttests can determine whether process and outcome goals and objectives have been satisfied and can indicate areas for adoption or revision.

Incorporating a Gender Perspective

Given adolescents' particular vulnerability to sexual and dating violence, educational programming must incorporate issues of sex-role stereotyping and gender expectations. Though violence prevention and conflict resolution programs emphasize qualities of cooperation and communication, they do not necessarily have a "gendered" perspective. In fact, a recent survey of violence prevention programs for young adolescents reported that only 4 out of 51 programs specifically listed prevention of teen dating violence and/or rape as a goal.[49]

There are various ways to incorporate gendered violence issues into the curriculum, including integrating such specific components as violence prevention, conflict resolution, gender equity, health education, and peer leadership. In addition, there already exist several curricula that specifically address many of the aspects of gendered violence. Many rape crisis centers, battered women's programs, and gay and lesbian organizations have educational components focusing on youth. Most of these approaches, however, depend on individual class presentations without ensuring other aspects of necessary institutionalized support, including thorough staff training, curriculum integration, parent involvement, supportive services for male and female victims, and rehabilitative and disciplinary programs for abusers. In addition to instituting curricula, programs, and comprehensive support services, schools must take an unequivocal stand against gender bias, harassment, and violence.

Several points need to be addressed in the development of any and all training and curricula that treat gendered violence. Among them are the following:

- *Personal issues for teachers and presenters.* Many adults who may be involved with work on gendered violence may themselves be victims or abusers, or they may have been witnesses to gendered violence. Their desire or need to protect this information or to disclose it as part of the process must be considered, as must the effect that reexamining gendered violence may have on them.
- *Policy and procedural concerns.* The school environment as a whole must be considered in the development of any education protocols regarding gendered

violence. These protocols include an examination of the policies and practices that inhibit or tacitly encourage various forms of gendered violence; connections to support and social service providers outside the school building; and opportunities for safety for those students who wish to disclose or further explore any number of gendered issues. Critical to success is full, visible support from school and district administrators both for teachers and for any curriculum.

- *An examination of the characteristics of gendered violence.* This includes not only realizing its prevalence across diverse communities but also includes an understanding that cultural norms must be addressed, not to excuse violence but to place it in an appropriate context. Other topics of focus include gender-role stereotyping; the understanding that males can also be victims; the invisibility of the issue; normative confusion in which violence equals love or when jealousy is confused with love; substance abuse, sexual abuse, AIDS/HIV, and STDs; the understanding that gendered violence may not necessarily be prevented through negotiation (in many cases of gendered violence, conflict resolution and mediation are inappropriate and may place the victim in greater danger); that consent may not be mutual; the realization that young people do not actively seek help or tell anyone of their victimization; and the social isolation of lesbian and gay teens.
- *An examination of how the school environment is influenced by such violence.* The links between gendered violence and other forms of "acting out" or behavior problems are well known among practitioners. But because the issue is often masked within schools, education approaches need to include such discussions as looking for the signs: students are often stalked on school grounds or may have to sit through classes or share hallways, libraries, and cafeterias with their abusers. Students who are abused may have increased absences or increased visits to the school nurse. They may display "promiscuous" behaviors that are signals related to incest, sexual abuse, or other forms of gendered violence. Other health problems may surface, such as eating disorders, self-destructive behavior, or substance abuse, and as the violence intensifies, the sense of resignation may increase, leading to a sense of hopelessness and total isolation. Additionally, the current social acceptability and prevalence of violence may prevent friends or other teens from becoming concerned or from intervening.
- *Personal issues for students.* As with adults, students who have been victims of gendered violence or who have witnessed such violence may be in a difficult situation regarding self-disclosure. Information and discussions about gendered violence must be addressed in a thoughtful, conscious way that allows students a sense of safety and

choice about disclosure. In addition, clear messages must be stated about the procedures and about the limitations placed on school responses in order not to jeopardize students' safety or trust.

Such a model as envisioned by the teachers and practitioners we interviewed places a great deal of trust in the power of the educational system to change a powerful and deeply held belief system. We believe that education is a tool for positive social transformation and that by using the power of education and our schools, we can in fact begin to develop a society that is nonviolent, that honors human beings, and to create models of respectful living. Through an approach to education that is grounded in democracy, that values diversity, and that promotes nonviolence, we can offer our young people models of individual behavior and experience in systems that support these principles. Education cannot make the change by itself, but it can lead the way. For those who believe in a vision of peacefulness and valuing differences, schools can provide the opportunity to make such a vision real.

Notes

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"But He Loves Me" (46 mins.), Churchill Media, 12210 Nebraska Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90025 (800)344-7830.

"Crossing the Line: Sexual Harassment among Students" (30 mins.), Intermedia, Inc., 1300 Dexter N., Seattle, WA 98109 (800)553-8336.

"Defending Our Lives," Cambridge Documentary Films, Inc. (CDF), P.O. Box 385, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617)354-3677.

"Heart on a Chain: The Truth about Date Violence" (15 mins.), Coronet/MTI Film & Video, 4350 Equity Drive, P.O. Box 2649, Columbus, OH 43216 (800)777-8100 (education, K–12, and public libraries); (800)777-2400 (all other organizations).

"Media Mayhem: More Than Make Believe" (30 mins.), NEWIST, CESA 7, 1S Bldg., University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, WI 54311 (800)633-7445.

"The Power to Choose" (20 mins.), Agency for Instructional Technology, Customer Service, Box A, Bloomington, IN 47402 (800)457-4509.

"The Schools' Role in Creating a Violence-Free Society" (60 mins.), Nancy Worcester, Domestic Violence Training Project, 610 Langdon Street, Madison, WI 53703.

"Sexual Harassment: It's Hurting People" (18 mins.), National Middle School Association, Dept. #700, Columbus, OH 43265-00018 (800)528-NMSA.

"Sexual Orientation: Reading between the Labels" (30 mins.), NEWIST, CESA 7, 1S Bldg., University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, WI 54311 (800)633-7445.

"Sticks, Stones, and Stereotypes: A Video-Curriculum Module about Namecalling" (26 mins.) ("Palos, Piedras y Estereotipos: Un Video-Curricular Módulo Sobre Nombres Derogatorios"), Appreciating Diversity Program, Equity Institute, 6400 Hollis Street, Suite 15, Emeryville, CA 94608 (510)658-4577; FAX 510-658-5184.

"When Love Hurts" (17 mins.), Marin Abused Women's Services, 1717 Fifth Avenue, San Rafael, CA 94901 (415)457-2462.

Organizations

Adolescent Assault Awareness Program
Rhode Island Rape Crisis Center
300 Richmond Street, Suite 305
Providence, RI 02903
401-421-4100

Association for the Advancement of Public Policy
1735 S Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009
202-797-0606

Battered Women Fighting Back! Inc.
95 Berkeley Street
Suite 107
Boston, MA 02116
617-482-9497

BrotherPeace Twin Cities
3501 Chicago Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55407
612-929-5713

Casa Myrna Vasquez
P.O. Box 18019
Boston, MA 02118
617-521-0133

Center for Women Policy Studies
2000 P Street, NW
Suite 508
Washington, DC 20036
202-872-1770

Center for Research on Women
Wellesley College
Wellesley, MA 02181
617-283-2500

Center for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence
1914 N. 34th Street, Suite 105
Seattle, WA 98103
206-634-1903

Challenging Media Images of Women
P.O. Box 902
Framingham, MA 01701
508-879-8504

Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information
P.O. Box 1182
Washington, DC 20013
703-821-2086

Committee for Children
172 20th Avenue
Seattle, WA 98122
206-322-5050

Common Purpose
86 Forest Hills Road
Jamaica Plain, MA 02130
617-524-7717

Dating Violence Intervention Project
Transition House
P.O. Box 530
Harvard Square Station
Cambridge, MA 02238
617-868-8328

Disabilities Unlimited
3 East 10th Street
Suite 4B
New York, NY 10003
212-673-4282 (Voice/TDD)

Domestic Abuse and Rape Crisis Center (DARRC) of Warren County
P.O. Box 423
Belvidere, NJ 07823
908-453-4121

Domestic Violence Public Education Campaign
Protection Order Advocacy Program
King County Courthouse
516 Third Avenue, Room E-223
Seattle, WA 98104
206-296-9669

Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project
206 West Fourth Street
Duluth, MN 5586
218-722-2781

Emerge
Batterers Treatment Program
18 Hurley Street
Cambridge MA 02141
617-422-1550

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR)
130 West 25th Street
New York, NY 10001
212-633-6700

The Feminist Institute Clearinghouse
P.O. Box 30563
Bethesda, MD 20814
301-951-9040

Fenway Community Health Center's Victim Recovery Program (gay and lesbian battering)
7 Haviland Street
Boston, MA 02115
617-267-0900

Foundation for the Prevention of Sexual Harassment and Workplace Discrimination
601 13th St., NW
Suite 1150
Washington, DC 20005
202-393-0091

Jane Doe Safety Fund
210 Commercial Street
3rd floor
Boston, MA 02109
617-238-0922

Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women
6043 Hollywood Boulevard, Suite 200
Los Angeles, CA 90028
213-462-1281

Massachusetts Coalition of Battered Women's Service Groups
210 Commercial Street
3rd floor
Boston, MA 02109
617-238-0922

Media Action Alliance
P.O. Box 391
Circle Pines, MN 55014-0391
612-434-4343

Media Watch
P.O. Box 618
Santa Cruz, CA 95061-0618
408-423-6355

Men Overcoming Violence (MOVE)
54 Mint St., Suite 300
San Francisco, CA 94103
415-777-4496

Minnesota Department of Education
550 Cedar Street
522 Captiol Square Building
St. Paul, MN 55101
612-297-2792

National Assault Prevention Center
P.O. Box 02005
Columbus, OH 43202
614-291-2540

National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME)
205 Hampshire House
University of Massachusetts
Box 33635
Amherst, MA 01003-3635
413-545-2462

National Association for Women in Education
1350 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 850
Washington, DC 20036
202-833-3331

National Center on Women and Family Law, Inc.
799 Broadway, Room 402
New York, NY 10003
212-674-8200

National Clearinghouse for the Defense of Battered Women
125 S. 9th Street
Suite 301
Philadelphia, PA 19107
215-351-0010

National Clearinghouse on Marital and Date Rape
2325 Oak Street
Berkeley, CA 94708
510-524-1582

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence
P.O. Box 34103
Washington, DC 20043-4103
202-638-6388
and
1202 E. Colfax Avenue
Denver, CO 80214
303-839-1852

National Coalition Against Sexual Assault
2428 Ontario Road, NW
Washington, DC 20009
202-483-7165

National Council for Research on Women
530 Broadway
10th Floor
New York, NY 10012
212-274-0730

National Education Resource Center for Gay and Lesbian Youth
Education Development Center (EDC)
55 Chapel Street
Newton, MA 02158
617-969-7100

National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS)
54 Mint Street, Suite 300
San Francisco, CA 94103
415-546-6627

National Organization for Women
1000 16th Street, NW
Suite 920
Washington, DC 20036
202-331-0066

National Victim Center
309 W. 7th Street, Suite 705
Fort Worth, TX 76102
817-877-3355

New Jersey Coalition Against Sexual Assault
5 Elm Row
Suite 306
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-2103
908-846-3586

New York State Coalition Against Domestic Violence
The Women's Building
79 Central Avenue
Albany, NY 12206
518-432-4864

NC Equity
505 Oberlin Road
Suite 100
Raleigh, NC 27605
704-342-6367

Programs for Educational Opportunities
School of Education #1005
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1259
313-763-9910

Project SERVE
1314 H Street
Suite 201
Sacramento, CA 95814
916-556-1682

Project 10
7850 Melrose Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90046
818-577-4553

Real Men
P.O. Box 1769
Brookline MA 02146
617-782-7838

Seattle Rape Relief Project
1820 S. Jackson, Suite 102
Seattle, WA 98144
206-325-5531

School of Social Work
Attn.: RES DEV PROJ LD
Room 225E NH
University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA 52242
319-335-1256

Sociologists Against Sexual Harassment
Department of Sociology
University of Michigan
Dearborn, MI 48128
313-593-5611
SASH.l@asuvm.inre.asu.edu

South Shore Women's Center
85 Samoset Street
Plymouth, MA 02360
508-746-2664

WHISPER
P.O. Box 65796
St. Paul, MN 55165-0796

Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction
Sex Equity Consultant
P.O. Box 7841
Madison, WI 53707-7841
608-267-9157

Women Against Pornography
P.O. Box 845
Times Square Station
New York, NY 10036
212-307-5055

Women Helping Battered Women
P.O. Box 1535
Burlington, VT 05402
802-658-3131
TDD 802-658-1966

Women's Educational Equity Act Publishng
Center
Education Development Center (EDC)
55 Chapel Street
Newton, MA 02158
800-225-3088
617-969-7100

Women's Project
2224 Main Street
Little Rock, AR 72206
501-372-5113

The **Center for Equity and Cultural Diversity** at EDC is a national center committed to improving the ways we live, work, and learn in a pluralistic society. Looking through the lenses of race, ethnicity, class, gender, ability, sexual preference, and age, we work to establish links and build coalitions among people in diverse sectors. By bringing together researchers, practitioners, policymakers, educators, employers, and community leaders, we work to empower individuals and reshape our systems and institutions to reflect the diversity of beliefs and experiences that make up our society. The center carries out its work through field-based projects, forums and coalitions, a publishing center, and technical assistance activities.

Our Working Papers Series captures elements of the cutting-edge work of Center staff, highlighting some of our interests and approaches. The papers are designed to challenge existing ideas and promote discussions around many of the issues with which we are currently struggling.

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