Although society is more aware of sexual harassment than it was in the past, the problem is not disappearing. Many school children are afraid to talk about it for fear of reprisal and humiliation. The articles in this issue focus on harassment and the schools in the following papers: (1) "Harassment Revisited" (Percy Bates); (2) "Sexual Harassment: What We Have Learned" (Eleanor Linn); (3) "Racial Harassment in Education" (Bob Croninger); (4) "Racial/Ethnic Harassment: What the Research Reveals" (Martha A. Adler); (5) "Ethnic Harassment Is Hurtful and Illegal" (Norma Barquet); (6) "Checklist and Survey: Is Harassment a Problem in Your School?" (Marta Larson); (7) "On Preventing Harassment: Tips for Parents and Community Members" (Marta Larson); (8) "Complaint Investigation: The Basics" (Marta Larson); (9) "Successful Harassment Prevention Programs" (Tasha Lebow); and (10) "Recommended Resources for Abolishing Harassment" (annotated list of 32 resources) (Eleanor Linn and Ted Wilson). References follow the articles. (Contains one figure.) (SLD)
Abolishing Harassment
Abolishing Harassment

Harassment Revisited

by Percy Bates

This office first addressed the problem of sexual harassment in print in 1983, so that now we have been working at eradicating sexual harassment in schools for more than ten years. There is an old saying that time takes care of everything; it did not take care of sexual harassment. Vicious incidents of sexual harassment continue, and racial and ethnic harassment have become more prevalent. Things are no better now than they were in 1983.

Certainly the media have made us more aware of sexual harassment. It is blasted across our television screens and is a daily item in newspapers across the country. The Senate confirmation hearing for new Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas brought graphic descriptions of sexual harassment into our living rooms and made many Americans realize that it is unacceptable. More recently the downfall of Senator Robert Packwood made it painfully clear that we have not come very far in our fight against sexual harassment. We are more aware of sexual harassment, but schoolchildren are still afraid to talk about it for fear of humiliation and reprisals.

We at the Programs for Educational Opportunity have broadened our efforts to eradicate sexual harassment to include discriminatory harassment which targets students' race, ethnicity, disability or sexual orientation. Many schools want comprehensive, coherent policies and procedures for stopping all kinds of harassment.

How often does harassment occur in our schools? Eleanor Linn reports that at least 68 percent of girls and 39 percent of boys in grades 8-11 have been "touched, grabbed, or pinched" in a sexual way. Bob Groninger reports that 35 percent of principals, 43 percent of...
Continued from page one

African-American youth, and 29 percent of white youth say racial violence occurs in their high schools. Martha Adler reports that 20-25 percent of students are victims of racial or ethnic incidents in the course of a school year, and that minority students suffer disproportionately when students use racially derogatory names, dress up in racially identifiable stereotypes, or mimic the accents of their culturally different peers. Such incidents are on the rise and occur in small towns as well as urban centers. Harassment has become almost commonplace, but we must not lose our sense of outrage. We must do more to abolish this abuse from our schools.

Norma Barquet says all harassment is an abuse of power. Teachers have power over their students; boys often have physical power over girls; students in majority groups often can intimidate students in minority groups. In 1994 the U.S. Office for Civil Rights recognized the commonalties of sexual and racial/ethnic harassment and published investigative guidelines for racial/ethnic harassment like its earlier guidelines for sexual harassment. Yet, despite the existence of federal guidelines, schools vary in their criteria as to what kind of harassment is offensive. Whether harassment targets students because of their gender, race, ethnicity, class, disability, religion, or sexual orientation, all such discriminatory acts should be firmly addressed with uniform standards of fairness. Tasha Lebow describes some model programs for stopping and preventing harassment; Eleanor Linn and Ted Wilson recommend further resources for schools.

We hope this information will be shared with students as well as teachers and administrators. Knowledge is not the total answer to abolishing harassment, but it is definitely a good first step.
Sexual Harassment: What We Have Learned

by Eleanor Linn

Sexuality is a vulnerable aspect of everyone's life. It involves some of our most intense personal feelings and, even in the most caring of relationships, raises our anxiety about how much we can trust others. At some point in our lives, nearly all of us experience the joy of mutual attraction, the sadness of rejection, and the revulsion of an unwanted advance. These feelings can sometimes be overwhelming, even for mature and self-confident adults. They are still more strongly felt by younger people, who are less familiar and less sure of their sexually-related emotions. And these negative feelings about unwanted sexuality can be almost unbearable when young people are the target of frequent or particularly offensive sexual behavior, or when previous hurtful experiences related to their gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or other group status identity have heightened their vulnerability.

Harassment related to one's sexuality is all the more painful when it occurs at school. School should provide a safe environment so students can learn successfully. It should be a place that models mature and respectful relationships between individuals and across groups. Schools have a moral obligation to treat children well. Moreover, children are required to attend school. Unlike a workplace, which an employee can choose to leave, even though at considerable hardship, children have little or no choice about whether or where they go to school.

Our society has traditionally dealt with all types of harassment by silencing victims. Silencing has been a convenient way for those in power to deny the existence of a problem that they do not want to correct. But silencing comes at a great psychological cost to victims. Targets of harassment who are compelled to maintain silence suffer from having their view of reality denied. They come to doubt their ability to perceive the world around them, and eventually they lose or fail to develop the confidence and personal power that comes from knowing that they have the ability to change their environment and take action in their own interest. This sense of confidence in one's self is a crucial prerequisite to motivation, ambition, and the ability to strive for academic success.

In the past, female targets of sexual harassment have been severely blamed for male acts of sexual aggression, especially if they dared complain about unwanted sexual behavior directed at them. Female sexual stereotypes, such as the temptress, the witch, the nymphet, and the ice-maiden, have perpetuated the notion that women are responsible for inciting and for stopping all kinds of sexual behavior. Women are held responsible not just for their own behavior, but for their daughters' and for the behavior of men, even men they do not know. Men, in this way of thinking, are considered incapable of controlling themselves.

Another cultural contributor to sexual harassment is the double standard for men and women, which requires women to reject all sexual advances and requires men to constantly make advances. To play the double standard game, young people must be able to distinguish between a coy "No" and an emphatic one, between an advance that comes from honest desire and one that comes from an interest in the game of conquest. With such a confusing system of communication, unwanted sexual advances are bound to occur, and their unwelcome is bound to be ignored.

Sexual intimidation has long been a powerful mechanism for many other types of oppression. Members of racial and ethnic minority groups—gay, lesbian and bisexual people, and people with disabilities—are frequently subjected to contemptuous stereotypes that imply that they are hyper sexed, or that deny their right to sexual behavior in such crimes is not a coincidence. Hate crime are acts of sexual abuse, as well. The overlay of sexual behavior in such crimes is not a coincidence. Sexual content heightens the offensiveness of a hostile act and hurts its target all the more.

Categorizing Sexual Harassment

Although the first Title IX implementation guides (Matthews and McCune, 1974) did not explicitly mention sexual harassment, by 1981 the U.S. Supreme Court in Alexander v. Yale ruled that sexual harassment was indeed a form of sex discrimination and a violation of the victim's civil rights.

Initial Title IX cases involved school employees as perpetrators of sexual harassment and students as their victims. This blatant abuse of the power differential between adults and children is not only a violation of professional ethics; in most states it is sexual child abuse as well. Since the Supreme Court ruled in Franklin v. Gwinnet County (1992) that school districts have the legal
responsibility to protect students from sexual harassment and victims have a right to sue for monetary damages. Schools must take complaints from students seriously and investigate them thoroughly (see Marta Larson's article on Complaint Investigation in this issue). In school districts in which it is proven that an adult employee has sexually harassed a K-12 student, the employee must be punished with severe sanctions, including the possible termination of employment and the notification of all prospective employers.

School responsibility is also present in the far more frequent case of student-to-student sexual harassment, in which schools have both legal and moral responsibility to protect children. Here questions of appropriate punishment and the prevention of further abuse or retaliation must take into account a large number of factors including the age of the students, the offensiveness of the behavior, the number of students involved, the effectiveness of previous efforts to control such behavior, and the school's preparedness in terms of supervision, complaint management, and support. Schools must provide everyone in their community, through modeling, education and awareness-raising, the opportunity to participate in a respectful and responsive learning environment. Although many student-to-student complaints can be resolved informally with the help of committed student and staff support, more serious student-to-student cases must be countered with strong disciplinary action.

Research on Sexual Harassment

Three recent national studies of sexual harassment of students in schools assessed its prevalence, its severity, and its harm to young people. They were conducted in the hope of raising the issue publicly, of better understanding the causes of sexual harassment, and of finding effective ways to prevent and remedy it. The findings from these studies are quite similar.

The first study was done jointly by the Wellesley Center for Research on Women and the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund. They published a questionnaire in the September 1992 issue of Seventeen Magazine, which 4,200 young women answered. Their responses appeared in a report that received wide publicity, entitled Secrets in Public: Sexual Harassment in Our Schools.

At nearly the same time, the American Association of University Women (AAUW) commissioned Louis Harris Associates to administer a written survey to a scientific sample of 1,632 male and female students in grades 8-11 in 79 secondary schools across the country. African American and Hispanic students were oversampled for greater statistical accuracy. Their report, which appeared in June 1993 and which received even wider media attention than the first study, is entitled Hostile Hallways: The AAUW Survey on Sexual Harassment in America's Schools.


Prevalence

All three of the studies found that sexual harassment occurs with disturbing frequency in secondary schools. The Wellesley Center survey found that 89 percent of the girls reported that they had been sexually harassed in school. The AAUW found that 85 percent of the girls and 76 percent of the boys reported being sexually harassed in school. In our reanalysis of the AAUW data, we eliminated any students who, although they said that they had been sexually harassed, did not report feeling upset by even their worst experience of unwanted sexual harassment. Still we found that 83 percent of the girls and 60 percent of the boys reported that they had been sexually harassed.

When asked what sort of behavior had occurred, the students' reports were quite similar. Comments, jokes, gestures, or looks were the most common forms of harassment reported as unwelcome by students. They were experienced by 89 percent of the girls in the Wellesley study, 76 percent of the girls and 56 percent of the boys in the AAUW study, and by 76 percent of the girls and 50 percent of the boys in our reanalysis. Being touched, grabbed, or pinched in a sexual way was the second most common form of sexual harassment in all of the studies. It was reported by 83 percent of the girls in the Wellesley study, 65 percent of the girls and 42 percent of the boys in the AAUW study, and by 68 percent of the girls and 39 percent of the boys in our reanalysis.

Although sexual harassment occurs with alarming frequency in secondary schools, it is clear from all three studies that sexual harassment happens more frequently to girls than to boys. Indeed, the most offensive physical forms of it happen almost exclusively to girls.

Other status characteristics, such as a student's race, ethnicity, grade-point average, or socioeconomic status (as...
measured by a student's mother's educational level), do not statistically affect the likelihood of a student's being harassed. Stating it another way, girls are more likely than boys to be harassed, no matter what their race, ethnicity, grade-point average, or socioeconomic status. These data provide statistical evidence for the legal interpretation of sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination in schools.

Severity

In reanalyzing the AAUW data, we constructed a severity scale for all the sexual harassment that students reported. Each student was given a score for the frequency of each type of unwanted sexual behavior that the student was subjected to and another score for how upset they reported feeling as a result of that behavior. We added the two scores to give each student a severity score and then compared composite severity scores for girls and boys. We found that girls are three times more severely harassed than boys. We also found that students who have been harassed by a teacher or other school employee have significantly higher severity scores than students who have been harassed by other students but never by a teacher.

Most importantly, however, we found that students who have friends who have been sexually harassed and students who report that a lot of sexual harassment occurs in their school are more than twice as likely to be severely harassed than students whose friends have not been harassed, or who report that little harassment occurs in their school. This highly significant finding led us to conclude that although sexual harassment occurs everywhere, it is decidedly more harmful in some school cultures than in others. We therefore became convinced that a school's efforts to combat sexual harassment must focus on changing the school culture.

Overlap of Harassers and Harassees

The reanalysis finding that surprised us most was the large overlap between students who had been targets of harassment and those who admitted to harassing others (see chart at right). Fifty-three percent of the boys and 53 percent of the girls reported that they had been both victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment. Although more girls than boys reported being only victims (31 percent of the girls and 7 percent of the boys), and more boys than girls reported being only perpetrators (9 percent of the boys and 1 percent of the girls), a majority of both male and female students reported that they have been both victim and harasser. This astonishing overlap led us again to emphasize the idea of school culture, for we had no other way to explain why such large numbers of students engage in behaviors that they themselves characterize as hurtful and demeaning.

The large overlap between the harasser and harassee groups made us reexamine our previous assumption that a school could separately identify the perpetrators and the victims of sexual harassment. We had expected schools to develop programs that would punish harassers and support, even compensate, victims. We now believe that, although many school situations warrant immediate and appropriate punishment and support, schools must also be prepared to face other situations in which the question of responsibility is far murkier. Rather than throw up our hands in despair, we again turned to questions about how to change the culture of the school.

Since all three studies showed that sexual harassment is common in classrooms and hallways, in front of groups of people, and often right in front of teachers, it seems clear that educators' unwillingness or inability to stop this harmful behavior is a major part of the problem. Educators, parents, and students must work together to create a nurturing, respectful and harassment-free environment in their schools.

Articles on prevention strategies in this publication outline the key elements of a school's sexual harassment prevention plan. The resources they cite help make a school plan into a reality. We all have a legal and moral obligation to make schools safer and more equitable for students. By working together, we can change our schools' climate and culture. We can create a culture of fairness and justice, in which students experience the empowerment that comes from reciprocal respect and the ability to take meaningful action to achieve their goals.

**Figure 1. Percentage of Girls and Boys Being Harassed and Harassing Others**

![Graph showing percentages of girls and boys being harassed and harassing others.]

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Programs for Educational Opportunity

* Equity Coalition, Volume IV, Number 1, Spring 1996, Abolishing Harassment*
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Racial Harassment in Education
by Robert Croninger

HARASSMENT is not unique to any group of people, nor is it unique to the United States. News stories, from the ethnic conflict in Bosnia to the suicide of bullied Japanese youth, testify that harassment is a problem that does not know ethnic and political borders. Nonetheless, some of the more brutal and startling incidents of harassment involve the treatment of blacks by whites in our own country. The lynching of blacks after the Civil War, the assaults on black veterans returning home from World War I, the murder of black civil rights activists during the 1950s and 1960s, and the police beatings of Rodney King in Los Angeles and Malice Green in Detroit serve as vivid reminders that racial harassment is a troubling aspect of our national heritage and life.

Racial Violence and Harassment
While racial harassment is disturbing wherever it occurs, it is especially disturbing when it occurs in elementary and secondary schools or on college campuses (Joyce, 1990). Education, after all, is supposed to be a solution to, and not the cause of, racial harassment and discrimination in the United States. Within an integrated, caring, and thoughtful environment, students are supposed to learn to respect each other, get along with each other, and develop an intolerance for bigotry and prejudice. There is good reason, therefore, to be alarmed when educational institutions become a national focal point for the mistreatment of racial and ethnic groups.

While there is evidence that educational institutions can reduce racism and foster cross-racial understanding (Hawkins, 1994; Peshkin, 1991; Shotel and Sagar, 1983), there is also reason to believe that racial conflicts are frequent occurrences in classrooms. The National Center for Education Statistics reports that 35 percent of high school principals describe racial conflict as at least a minor if not severe problem in their schools (Ingels, Scott, Lindmark, Frankel, and Myers, 1992). A survey of students by Who’s Who Among American High School Students (1992) reports similar results: 43 percent of African-American youth and 29 percent of white youth say racial violence occurs in their high schools.

Moreover, there have also been well-publicized incidents of African-American youth being harassed on predominantly white campuses in the United States (Farrell and Jones, 1988). A number of campuses, the University of Michigan and the University of Wisconsin among them, responded by promoting codes of conduct that prohibited hate speech and racially offensive behaviors. Although many of these codes were later found to be unconstitutional and difficult to enforce, they underscore the problem of racial harassment in post-secondary institutions (White, 1994).

The images of black children walking beside federal marshals through a gauntlet of jeering white adults to attend newly desegregated schools evoke some of the worst chapters of racism in this country, chapters that we want to believe are closed. But in the eyes of many black students racial harassment is an ongoing and troubling part of their educational experience, one that we must address if we are ever to eliminate the structural inequalities and cultural strains that nourish racial conflict.

Forms of Racial Harassment
Racial harassment can take one of two forms: blatant, racially motivated abuse of African Americans by non-blacks, or less obvious institutional forms of racism that appear to have no specific perpetrator or targeted victim. Blatant forms of harassment are intentional, often meant to offend and hurt. They include racially motivated assaults, abusive language scrawled on sidewalks or...
bathroom walls, and verbal taunts and jeers meant to
denigrate blacks. These forms of harassment are relatively
easy to identify, and there is general agreement that they
constitute unacceptable behaviors, particularly in public
places (Joyce, 1990).

The other form of harassment occurs when
whites say or do things that create environments hostile to
blacks, even though that may not be their intent. This form
is best understood not as individual
incidents but as the collective effect of
institutionalized practices and behaviors, an effect that isolates and
prevents blacks from fully realizing the benefits of their own efforts or from
sharing in publicly supported opportuni-
ties and activities. There is far less
agreement about what constitutes this
form of racial harassment, especially
between African Americans and
whites (Troya and Hatcher, 1991).

Nonetheless, the courts recognize that
racial harassment need not be inten-
tional or even directed at specific indi-
viduals to be harmful; it may involve
creating or maintaining environments
hostile to black students (Joyce, 1990).

Consider, for example,
that debasing depiction of blacks in
textbooks or curricular materials can damage the self-es-
teem of African-American students and discourage them
from fully participating in educational opportunities, re-
gardless of a teacher's intent. Similarly, stereotypical de-
piction of blacks in school plays or student parties, even
when they are not directed at an individual, create an at-
mosphere that fosters harassment and encourages more
hurtful forms of behavior. Whites tend to see these be-
haviors as relatively innocent or benign, especially if the
individuals involved disavow any intention of offending
someone (McClelland and Hunter, 1992). African
Americans, however, may experience these behaviors as
part of an environment that is derogatory and hurtful to
them as individuals and as members of a racial group.

When does discrimination create a hostile
environment? Distinctions are largely subjective. Non-
theless, guidelines that exist consider (a) severity, (b) per-
vexedness, and (c) persistence of discrimination (Pitsch,
1994). Guidelines also emphasize the importance of con-
sidering the response of administrators and other autho-
rities to discrimination. Does the response indicate that
authorities take seriously discrimination that threatens an
individual's or group of individuals' right to fair treatment
and equal protection? If the answer is "No," authorities
may have violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, as
well as state and local civil rights statutes.

Consequences of Racial Harassment

When racial harassment involves physical attacks, brutal
beatings, or even murder, the immediate consequences of
harassment are painfully clear and
vivid. These incidents lead us to
think of harassment as specific
events involving a perpetrator and a
victim, but harassment may also in-
volve bystanders who tacitly approve
perpetrators by down playing the
significance of hateful acts or the ill-
treatment of minority children.

While the direct harm
to individuals should not be underes-
timated, the indirect effects of racial
harassment on victimized groups are
also important. A survey of racial
harassment in a residential area of
England found that reported inci-
dents of racial violence elevated feel-
ings of vulnerability among targeted
populations, in this case Asians and
African Caribbeans (Bowling,
1993). Anecdotal evidence from the United States also
suggests that incidents of harassment have a domino-like
effect among blacks (Feagin, 1992). Individuals share ex-
eriences among friends and family, who in turn see them-
selves as potential targets for white resentment and hostil-
ity. In this sense, racial harassment is not so much an in-
cident as a social process by which blacks, even those
who have not been physically abused, are victimized
(Bowling, 1993).

The educational process requires mutual
trust and understanding among families, children, and
educators (McDermott, 1977). When black children and
their parents are fearful of being mistreated at school, the
educational process breaks down, denying them access to
important opportunities. While many black families have
responded heroically to harassment and hostility, educa-
tional leaders must accept responsibility for establishing
an environment in which African-American families and
students feel welcome, safe, and valued.

Obligations of Schools

Education leaders have a strong obligation to address ra-

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racial harassment, but as many schools and campuses have discovered, there are no simple solutions. Campuses have established disciplinary procedures for responding to hate speech and racial slurs and later found their efforts challenged in court. Many codes were found to be too general and in violation of other rights, such as privacy or freedom of speech (Joyce, 1990; White, 1994). These rulings clarify the parameters within which education leaders can prohibit racial harassment and highlight the limitations of simple, rule-based responses to offensive acts.

Schools and campuses have also tried to address racial harassment with instructional strategies such as student leadership training (Shofield and Sagar, 1983), multicultural curriculum (Banks, 1993), and critical pedagogy (Ellsworth, 1989). These strategies promise to provide opportunities to address the beliefs and values of students and educators that foster racial prejudice, discrimination, and harassment. Unfortunately, they usually represent only a small and isolated part of an institution's instructional effort. Under these circumstances, instructional strategies can actually reinforce the racial prejudice that they are supposed to combat, particularly if white students and educators come to see these activities as "non-academic" and the domain of minority students and educators (Ellsworth, 1989).

While codes of conduct and instructional strategies can be helpful, the most important component of a successful intervention may be an institution's openness to discussing student concerns about race outside the parameters of a formal grievance or special class (see Tasha Lelsin's article in this issue). In one school, the principal routinely met with students in a town meeting format. Meetings were not called to address racial harassment specifically, but race relations were a frequent topic of discussion, since it was an important concern among students. Because the meetings were routine and the principal referred to them in making decisions, they were a central part of the school's culture. The principal's efforts created a more open climate in the school for discussing race relations and related concerns of students, reduced the incidence of racial conflict, and fostered a greater sense of trust among students and staff (Hawkins, 1994).

Schools must address racial harassment when it exists, but doing so is not easy. More than a century of racism cannot be eliminated by new codes of conduct or special course work. Discipline policies and instructional strategies are important, but they must be combined with a willingness to address race as a pervasive aspect of a student's life and educational experience. Such an effort requires a sustained commitment to addressing all forms of discrimination and racial harassment in classrooms, schools, and colleges throughout the country.

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Racial/Ethnic Harassment: What the Research Reveals

by Martha A. Adler

The term harassment has become part of the mainstream lexicon; it is often the topic of discussion in private conversations, public debates and even the media. More often than not sexual harassment is the focus; racial/ethnic harassment only gets public attention when it reaches a flash point and results in violence.

Harassment of any kind negatively impacts on a student’s ability to do well in school but researchers on K-12 education have paid little attention to harassment. Furthermore, in the research that is available a dichotomy exists between gender and race. The research on racial/ethnic harassment rarely deals with gender differences or sexuality, but studies on sexual harassment usually do address differences of race and ethnicity. Eleanor Linn offers specifics regarding research about sexual harassment elsewhere in this publication; this article examines only the available research on racial/ethnic harassment and its implications for educational settings.

Where Does Racial/Ethnic Harassment Begin?

If you ask a member of any generation in our society today to describe the kids they went to school with, they invariably mention a class or school bully. Ask these same people what they remember about the bully and, if their racial/ethnic group was not in the majority, chances are that they will begin to describe what we could label as racial/ethnic harassment.

However, harassment is not only what bullies do. Racial/ethnic discord in schools can be expressed in subtle or overt ways. It may be expressed through name calling, racial/ethnic slurs, racial/ethnic jokes, graffiti, racially/ethnically motivated fights or assaults, and vandalism. When such discriminatory actions occur repeatedly, are severe or pervasive within a classroom, school, or district, and result in a student’s inability to participate fully in their educational program, then these actions are forms of harassment that can create a hostile environment.

The roots of racial/ethnic harassment and violence cannot be easily traced but may emerge from deep-seated racism that has been established over generations of mistrust and hatred for groups that do not share the same ethnic/racial/cultural heritage. Such racism can escalate into severe acts of violence.

Incidents of racial/ethnic harassment or violence usually have their beginnings in long-standing attitudes among members of communities that reflect complex social forces at play. In communities where there is significant economic or demographic upheaval, racial/ethnic tensions can emerge and be exacerbated. When such incidents occur, most students do not have the skills to deal with them; minor incidents can be flash points that escalate to serious violence.

Other forms of harassment reflect a somewhat unintended, almost benign, form of bias, one that grows out of ignorance and simply results from a misunderstanding of another’s social actions. Whether the causes of harassment are the result of explicit racism or ignorance of other people and their ways of doing things, it is well established that all children enter school with biases and prejudices obtained from the influence of parents, peers, the media and other sources within their communities.

That bias is established at an early age was documented in a study conducted from 1963 to 1975—a period of significant advances in Civil Rights in the United States—by the Anti-Defamation League and the University of California at Berkeley. The study concluded that “by the age of 12, children have already developed a complete set of stereotypes about every ethnic, racial and religious group in society” (Sonnenschein, 1988, p. 265). Children are aware of how other people are like them or different from them; children often point out the differ-
ences they see and ask honest questions. How the adults in the lives of children respond is critical. Children learn from those around them. As children become aware of the differences in the people they observe in their daily lives, they learn to view these differences in ways that are compatible with the social attitudes dominant in their own families (Byrnes, 1988). Conversely, when children are never exposed to people who are racially/ethnically different from themselves and have no opportunities to interact positively with others, then existing stereotypes remain unchallenged.

Because much of our self identity is formed by the social groups in which we grow and learn, we come to value the ways of thinking and acting that our own social group favors—often times leading us to devalue the ways of thinking and doing of people who are not members of the social groups to which we belong. This natural tendency of humans is what leads to misunderstanding those not like us. According to Pettigrew “prejudice legitimates discrimination, and discrimination breeds prejudice” (1980, pp. 24-25). If left unchecked, the negative and false attitudes that children have been allowed to develop about others not like themselves will not go away. Children will act on their biases and prejudices as they mature, with the strongest of these beliefs not being exhibited until they become adolescents.

Thus, as children move through the grades, their contact with a much larger world expands as they leave their elementary schools and join students from other parts of their community for the first time in their middle-school and high-school classrooms. School becomes the arena where their biases can erupt in the form of racial/ethnic harassment. When such acts of harassment occur, they often go unreported or, worse yet, are even reinforced by what is promoted in the media, popular culture, literature, films, and, yes, even schools. Outside forces can contribute to the reinforcement of stereotypes and prejudice learned through the child’s social contacts while growing up.

The results are obvious: children who have been allowed to act on their biases and prejudices against those who do not share the same social/racial/cultural/ethnic values or behaviors become adults who act on these biased and prejudiced stereotypes as well. Social actions that grow out of bias and prejudice can lead to harassment. No one is immune from the reinforcement of stereotypes learned at an early age, but minority students are more often on the receiving side of this bias and, as such, frequently find themselves victims of racial/ethnic harassment.

Does Racial/Ethnic Harassment Occur Often?
As previously stated, information about K-12 schools is not easy to find in the literature on racial/ethnic harassment. Most schools keep records of only the serious incidents students become involved in, and so incidents of bullying and harassment that are racial/ethnic in nature go unreported or unrecorded. Thus, an attempt to understand the nature and frequency of harassment in schools requires an examination of sources that do not on the surface appear connected, i.e., sources that document the extreme cases—those that have culminated in violence. According to Howard Ehrlich, Director of the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, as many as 20 to 25 percent of students are victimized by racial or ethnic incidents in the course of a school year, and the number of racial and ethnic incidents is on the rise (O'Neil, 1993).

Another source, the National Coalition of Advocates for Students (NCAS), tracked newspaper stories from around the country and found 120 incidents of racial/ethnic violence occurring in 25 different states for the brief period of December 1991 to February 1992 (O'Neil, 1993).

Another study by the Southern Poverty Law Center (O'Neil, 1993) documented over 170 incidents of hate crimes in schools and colleges during 1992; more than half of these crimes were committed by teenagers. Even more revealing is the 1989 study of hostility among racial groups in Los Angeles County schools which “found that incidents of bigotry—ranging from verbal racial slurs to physical assault—had occurred in 37 percent of the 956 schools” studied (Stover, 1990).

Furthermore, minority students suffered disproportionately in these incidents. Of the over 2,200 cases documented, African-American students, while making up 14 percent of the 1988-89 enrollment, represented 29 percent of the victims. Hispanics, 47 percent of the district, were 30 percent of the victims. White students, although just 29 percent of the school population, accounted for only 16 percent of the victims. Finally, Asians and Pacific Islanders, 9 percent of the district, were victims in 15 percent of the incidents. A smaller percent of incidents being directed toward gay and religious groups was also reported. No data were reported for other groups, such as females and American Indians.

It would be easy to look at these figures and conclude that such incidents are routine only for urban areas in the United States, that such behavior could never happen in rural or suburban America. However, incidents of racial/ethnic harassment have been reported and documented throughout our nation—in small towns as well as urban centers.
The Office of Civil Rights has received complaints from school districts about students who used racially derogatory names, who mocked other students by dressing up in racially identifiable stereotypes, and who mimicked Spanish accents. Such behavior is not isolated; it has been documented to occur repeatedly and to create environments that are hostile and not conducive to learning. Ironically, many acts of harassment occur when attention has been drawn to students whose racial/ethnic heritage is not the same as the mainstream school population, such as during Black History Month.

That such harassment is prevalent throughout our nation's schools is disturbing. A 1990 follow-up to the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) of 1988 reported that 85 percent of the tenth graders surveyed responded that they would "never" feel that it was okay to make racial remarks. While this figure is encouraging, it is unsettling to note that 10 percent responded in the "rarely" or "almost never" categories and almost 5 percent reported it was okay to make such remarks "often or sometimes." Given the fact that bias and prejudice can be socially reinforced and that such behavior leads to harassment that can escalate to violence, this total of 15 percent represents a problem.

Who Harasses Others Racially/Ethnically?
Based on the tenth graders who responded to the NELS study, it would be easy to conclude that students who engage in harassment must be in the minority. Who are the students who feel it is okay to act on their biases and prejudices? Just as identifying the nature and frequency of racial/ethnic harassment is difficult, defining the typical harasser is also problematic. Since bias and prejudice take years to grow and become intrinsic to an individual's ethos, it would be too simplistic to attempt to delineate the characteristics of a typical racial and/or ethnic harasser.

However, there are some variables that have been identified for a child who has internalized and acted on the prejudices he/she has learned. Citing previous writings (Alport, 1958; Pettigrew, 1981), Byrnes (1988) states that children are less likely to be found prejudiced if they have high "levels of self esteem, more frequent and positive experiences with members of outgroups, greater cognitive sophistication, and more sensitivity and openness to other points of view" (p. 268). In contrast, children "who are dogmatic, ... and think in ... sharp dichotomous terms, are more likely to be prejudiced and act in discriminatory ways" (Byrnes, 1988, p. 270).

Do Bystanders Participate in Harassment?
Students who become the harassers because of another's race or ethnicity do not act in a vacuum. These incidents of harassment occur in public places and are viewed by other students as well. Those who watch and are silent become partners in the act of harassment. This group, i.e., those who stand by in silence and watch, may be equally responsible.

Although there is considerable research on bystanders to publicly committed violent crimes, the bystander issue is not addressed in the literature on racial/ethnic harassment in schools. However, for public acts of harassment in schools, there can be no doubt that bystanders exist and by their very inaction support acts of harassment. Thus, it seems worthwhile to take a look at what the research on bystander theory offers and whether it has relevance to the issue of racial/ethnic harassment in schools.

In studying the unresponsive nature of bystanders to emergency situations, Latané and Darley (1974) found that when people witness acts that are considered unacceptable, they are less likely to take a role in stopping the negative acts if there are more than one or two other bystanders. In fact, the larger the group, the less likely any one individual is to intervene. They suggest that the presence of others may influence individual by-
standards. Furthermore, if the bystanders share some social bond (e.g., they belong to the same club or team), that social relationship may also influence individuals to act against their own intuition to intervene. Bystanders will look to their peers; if they show no visible disdain for the antisocial act of harassment, the bystander is less likely to intervene.

What Does the Student Who is Harassed Feel?

Once again, the research on students who are the victims of racial/ethnic harassment is very minimal. However, because bias and prejudice have direct links to racism, an examination of research done in this area is worthwhile. A study of minority students and their families is very revealing. Although the study does not deal specifically with acts of racial/ethnic harassment, what the students reported as going on in their classrooms and schools is all part of the larger picture—the picture in which acts of harassment in lunch rooms, hallways during passing time, and on the school yard go unnoticed and unreported.

Murray and Clark (1990) found clear evidence that minority students who are the victims of harassment are affected in ways that interfere with their ability to obtain the same educational opportunities as their white counterparts. In their study, they identified eight patterns of racism, the first four of which the minority children themselves perceived as being most detrimental to their well-being in the classroom. Much of what these students identified could easily contribute to an atmosphere that would tolerate or ignore acts of harassment and as such deserve some serious attention. They are:

1. **Hostile and insensitive acts.** Racial slurs, name calling, assaults and physical violence, and graffiti as well as vandalism perpetrated by their peers left minority students with high levels of stress, a reduction in their attention spans, a reduction in their ability to concentrate in class, and a loss of their sense of well-being.

2. **Bias in the use of harsh sanctions.** Minority students saw “justice” being unfairly meted out in their schools. One seventh grader reported that black students get detention, while white students only receive warnings for their misbehavior. A fifth grader reported that whenever a white student initiates a fight with a black student, both do get suspended; however, when the instigator of the fight is black, usually only the minority child is suspended.

3. **Bias in giving attention to students.** Those interviewed were very aware of differential treatment toward students on the part of teachers. Students were also able to verbalize differences in who was publicly encouraged, praised, and helped.

4. **Bias in selection of curriculum materials.** The children easily identified instances in which their culture and people did not appear in their school materials at all or were misrepresented. Many of those interviewed said they were tired of being portrayed in the textbooks as having been badly treated. Often times they expressed embarrassment at the portrayal of their race in history books.

The remaining four patterns of racism were not perceived by the children interviewed to be as significant as the preceding four; however, these factors also impact on the children’s access to equal educational opportunities.

5. **Inequality in amount of instruction.** Children spoke of classrooms where minority students were not given challenging work or were allowed to misbehave and thus were deprived of learning in an environment that demanded everyone’s participation and attention.

6. **Bias in attitudes toward students.** Bias in attitudes was perceived to be directed at minority students from both their teachers and peers. Teachers were seen to demand more academically from students whom they perceived to be capable based solely on beliefs about their personalities, motivation, or intellectual capacities. However, when minority students were academically successful, their peers made public comments that amounted to accusations of teacher favoritism. Often times their social and academic skills were belittled or they were considered to be something other than who they really were. Comments such as “You’re not like those other Blacks” were not uncommon (Murray & Clark, 1988, p. 23).

7. **Failure to hire racial minority teachers and other school personnel at all levels.** It was obvious through what students said that they were aware that members of their racial/ethnic groups were not visible to all levels of school staff and administration.

8. **Denial of racist actions.** Students acknowledged that when racial incidents were reported, they were often met with comments such as, “It’s an isolated incident,” or, “Don’t make a mountain out of a molehill.”

These eight factors offer some very clear directions for anyone concerned about creating school climates that are free of the risk of racial/ethnic harassment.

**Conclusion**

There is general consensus within the research on racial/ethnic harassment that coincides with many of the recommendations that have been put forth regarding sexual harassment. Much of this research has shaped the development of successful programs for training students and adults in schools on how to reduce prejudice and acts of...
discrimination, harassment, and violence.

Children who are victims of racial/ethnic harassment are not unlike their peers who have been victimized by sexual harassment in that they have learned not to report it. The subtle message that they have understood is that if you report it, nothing will happen, and, in fact, things could get worse for you. The good news in all of this, however, is twofold. First, knowing that harassment exists and understanding the factors that contribute to it are essential to taking steps to eliminate the potential for racially/ethnically hostile environments. Second, while a study by the Anti-Defamation League and the University of California (Sonnenschein, 1988) reveals a rather depressing picture of the beginnings of bias and prejudice, the study also concluded that because young children have not finished their development, there is still time to reverse the false stereotypes they have formed about other people. It is not too late to engage the young in self awareness and in ways that will allow them to change their attitudes about other people. As educators and adults concerned with equal educational opportunities for all children, we are in a strong position to do something about it.

Ironically, it is the diversity in our people that brings out the richness in our society. The intended outcome of school desegregation was to unite our society racially so that children would be able to learn free of bias and prejudice. James Banks applauds desegregation as bringing "the opportunity for harmony" but warns that it also has "the potential for more conflict unless there are interventions to improve understanding and tolerance among students" (O'Neil, 1993). The down side of this coming together is that, by creating schools that are more diverse but allowing our communities in which we live to continue to be segregated, we inadvertently create places where bias and prejudice learned outside of school will grow if left unchecked and unchallenged.

There are a number of actions that can be implemented at the school level in order to promote positive learning environments for all students. (See the programs described by Marta Larson and Tasha Lebow elsewhere in this publication for specific recommendations.) Perhaps most important, teachers and students need first to be aware of their own biases. What stereotypes do we hold and what generalizations do we make about others based on their group membership? Awareness is a first and essential step before we can move forward in this very sensitive area of interpersonal relations. None of us can escape holding biases, but we can become aware of them, learn to examine them critically, and begin to control our actions so that they are not driven by bias and prejudice.

It should be the goal of every educational institution to assure not only that their schools are free from bias and prejudice, but that they take an active role in working toward eradicating it in our society.

"Because the knowledge of the tools of reducing prejudice is available and awaits our use, we can make significant inroads on the problem by acting on it" (Pate, 1988, p. 289). Thus, if there could be any good news about the bad news of harassment in our society, it is the real possibility of eliminating it. We can do it!

References

Ethnic Harassment Is Hurtful and Illegal

by Norma Barquet

Many of us were taught when we were young that name calling, bullying, and making fun of people are not acceptable behaviors. Both children and adults can be hurt by this form of psychological terrorism which today we call harassment.

Harassment can be motivated by differences in race and ethnicity as well as gender. We know that harassment hurts, but we seem to have made it OK in our society to make fun of others who don't belong to "our group."

Ethnic Harassment Occurs Far Too Often

Ethnic harassment is more common than we realize. Even though it is negative and hurtful, we seem to minimize its importance with comments such as: "It's only a joke" or "We are not hurting anyone in specific," or we turn the tables on those who object and ask: "Where is your sense of humor?"

Telling jokes is one of the most insidious ways in which people are harassed. We hear jokes in the workplace and at social functions that insult women (e.g., the dumb blond, mother-in-laws, grandmothers, etc.) and people whose ethnicity or race is easily identifiable. Poles, Arabs, Hispanics, American Indians, African Americans, and Jews are among the groups that are the constant target of jokes. Yet seldom do people openly object when these jokes are being told.

The media also contribute to this problem. Women continue to be stereotyped in commercials and television programs as shallow, incompetent, and laughable. Women are also characterized as either dumb, sex symbols who have nothing to offer except "being pretty" or as helpless moms who spend their entire day whining and cleaning house.

Ethnic and racial minorities, on the other hand, are portrayed as one-dimensional criminals or terrorists and are made into objects of fear, humor, or ridicule. Cartoons and some of the most popular Disney movies made especially for children, such as "Aladdin" and the "Lion King," are filled with sexist, racist, and ethn...
teristics, language usage, gender, and socioeconomic status. These factors make other people more recognizable as members of a group and therefore a clearer target for harassment and hate crimes.

With few exceptions most groups have been the target of ethnic harassment in this country at one time or another. Almost every ethnic group that has immigrated to this country, as well as the American Indians who lived in this land before the invasion by Europeans, has been subjected to ethnic stereotypes, put downs, and hostility. For example, terms such as “paddy wagon” and “hooligan” were derogatory terms used to demean the Irish. “The only good Indian is a dead Indian” is another phrase which has been used to degrade American Indians. So, whether you are Irish, Polish, German, Arabic, Italian, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Jewish or Vietnamese, you probably have experienced the pain of being ridiculed by members of other groups.

Yet, some members of those groups which have experienced harassment and discrimination in the past have either forgotten that history or have internalized their own oppression and, in turn, have become the oppressors of more recent immigrants who are still socially, politically, and economically outside of the mainstream of society.

Racial/ethnic intolerance seems to thrive on a perceived pecking order with regards to social class. However, ethnic/racial harassment and hate crimes can also occur among groups of similar social status who come from different racial, ethnic, or religious backgrounds. Conflicts between Hispanics and African Americans, African Americans and Koreans, and between Croatians and Serbs in this country are only a few examples of this serious problem.

Unfortunately, because we live in a highly segregated society, we also suffer from cultural isolation and lack of exposure to people whose culture, language, religion, or race are different from our own. In many cases the harasser is in a position of power or influence and uses that position to gain greater control over the person who is in a vulnerable position. We must be aware of any imbalance of power existing between the two persons involved in order to assess issues of control and intimidation and their effect on the person being harassed.

Harassment can also manifest itself as a less blatant “hostile environment” where there appears to be no specific victim or victimizer. Bob Croninger describes this form of harassment in his article in this issue.

Ethnic Harassment Is Against the Law

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) in the U.S. Department of Education are responsible for developing anti-harassment policy guidelines and for enforcing the laws against sexual and racial and ethnic harassment.

Guidelines to deal with sexual harassment were established first. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission published a definition of sexual harassment in 1980. Since then judicial decisions have attempted to give more specificity to the guidelines, but the following original definition is still current:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when:

1. submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual’s employment;

2. submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual;

Harassment Is Unwelcome

In normal human interaction, people give each other feedback regarding communication and what is welcome or unwelcome. When individuals disregard this feedback and ignore the other person’s request to stop unwelcome communication, the result is harassment.

We suffer from cultural isolation and lack of exposure to people whose culture, language, religion, or race are different from our own.

In many cases the harasser is in a position of power or influence and uses that position to gain greater control over the person who is in a vulnerable position. We must be aware of any imbalance of power existing between the two persons involved in order to assess issues of control and intimidation and their effect on the person being harassed.

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Programs for Educational Opportunity

University of Michigan School of Education

Equity Coalition, Volume IV, Number 1, Spring 1986, Abolishing Harassment
c) such conduct has the purpose or effect of substantially interfering with an individual’s work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1980, Nov. 10).

In 1981, the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education developed a shorter working definition of sexual harassment:

Sexual harassment consists of verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature, imposed on the basis of sex, by an employee or agent of a recipient that denies, limits, provides different or conditions of aid, benefits, services or treatment protected under Title IX (internal memorandum from the director for litigation, enforcement, and policy services, Office for Civil Rights, to regional civil rights directors, dated August 31, 1981, p. 2).

In 1993 the Proposed Rules of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission spelled out a definition of harassment that included race and ethnicity as well as gender and other human differences:

... [V]erbal or physical conduct that denigrates or shows hostility or aversion toward an individual because of his/her race, color, religion, gender, national origin, age, or disability (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1993, Oct. 1).

In 1994, OCR extended its definition and guidelines of harassment which had been exclusive to gender were expanded to include all protected groups. The investigative guidelines under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for investigating issues of racial (ethnic) incidents and harassment affecting students in educational institutions stated that:

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ... prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance (p. 11448).

Although the word “race” is used throughout the document, it is clearly stated in a footnote that:

For the sake of simplicity and clarity, the term ‘race’ shall be used throughout this guidance to refer to all forms of discrimination prohibited by title VI, i.e., race, color, and national origin (p. 11448, Footnote 2).

Furthermore, the procedures under Title VI state that:

... [N]o individual may be excluded from participation in, or otherwise subjected to discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin under any program or activity that receives Federal funds. Racially based conduct that has such an effect and that consists of different treatment of students on the basis of race by recipients’ agents or employees, acting within the scope of their official duties, violates title VI. In addition the existence of a racially hostile environment that is created, encouraged, accepted, tolerated or left untreated by a recipient also constitutes different treatment on the basis of race in violation of title VI (p. 11448, emphasis added).

Schools which are recipients of federal funding risk the loss of that funding if they do not comply with these procedures.

Harassment Hurts Student Achievement

Student performance in school can be adversely affected when harassment of any kind is present. In fact, if the behavior is persistent or threatening enough, students may drop out of school or even attempt suicide to avoid the pain and humiliation. This is why we must insist that our schools be free of all types of harassment.

Schools are usually uncomfortable with the issue of harassment.

Educational institutions should play a significant role in the process of eliminating all types of harassment, yet schools are usually uncomfortable with the issue of harassment and are unprepared to stop it. Other articles in this issue are intended to help schools develop policies and procedures to deal with all forms of harassment and to offer models and programs which will help ensure that our schools are free of all types of harassment.

Desegregation Assistance Centers, such as the Programs for Educational Opportunity, can help you plan and implement prejudice reduction and anti-harassment workshops for students, staff and the community. If necessary, parents of students or student advocates can call the Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education, and request that an investigation be conducted into incidences of harassment.

As individuals we must also begin by raising the level of awareness among our family, friends, and co-workers regarding the different types of harassment, how it manifests itself, its devastating consequences, and its legal consequences. And above all, as parents, we must instill in our children, by word and by example, that harassment is no laughing matter.

References


Programs for Educational Opportunity Equity Coalition, Volume IV, Number 1, Spring 1996, Abolishing Harassment
Checklist and Survey

Is Harassment a Problem in Your School?

by Marta Larson

This assessment has two parts: a checklist and a survey. The checklist is intended to help school personnel assess their school or district's effort to prevent harassment from occurring. The survey is intended to help school personnel assess the level of harassment actually occurring in their building. The survey does not ask the actual number of harassment events that occur but rather assesses general awareness of harassment events.

The checklist and survey can be used separately or together. They apply to harassment of both students and staff. You may want to include a definition of harassment (see page 14-16) when circulating these materials, along with an explanation of how the results will be used and reassurance that individual responses will be kept confidential. The checklist and survey are updated versions of my checklist and survey originally published in Title IX Line, Vol. IV, No. 1, Fall, 1983, by our office.

Checklist:

What Has Been Done to Prevent Harassment in Your School?

Check each action that has been taken in your school or district, count the number of check marks, and turn to "Scoring the Checklist" to see how your district rates.

1. Do you have a specific policy against harassment and a written code of conduct that publicizes it?
   - Do you have such a policy?
   - Does the policy address sexual, racial/ethnic, sexual orientation, and differently-abled harassment?
   - Does the policy contain the minimum elements of a definition, procedures, sanctions, and prescribed method for notifying people?
   - Is there a procedure to inform new employees and new students of the policy?
   - Is there any reference to harassment in the student discipline code?
   - Does the student handbook contain policy language regarding harassment?
   - Does the employee handbook contain policy language regarding harassment?

2. Do you have a grievance procedure to handle complaints about harassment and to monitor its effectiveness? (This may or may not be the same as other grievance procedures.)
   - Do you have a grievance procedure for harassment?
   - Does the grievance procedure provide an opportunity for informal consultation and, where appropriate, informal resolution before moving into formal procedures?
   - Does the grievance procedure provide for impartial investigation that includes fact finding, careful review, due process, and opportunity for appeal?
   - Does the grievance procedure include an appropriate remedy based on the severity of offense and institutional corrective action where there is a finding of harassment?
   - Has information about this procedure been disseminated to employees and students?
   - Is a similar grievance procedure written into any union contracts?
   - Has this procedure been disseminated to vendors and salespersons visiting the district?

3. Are you prepared to receive and respond to complaints?
   - Is there at least one complaint manager in every building in the district, including non-instructional sites such as the bus garage or district administration building?
   - Are there complaint managers of both genders, and is the group balanced by ethnicity, race, and linguistic group?
   - Do all students and staff know the name and location of at least two complaint managers?
Are those wishing to file a complaint allowed to go to any complaint manager they feel comfortable with, rather than being required to see the one in their building?

Have the complaint managers and investigators received regular yearly training?

Do the complaint managers meet on a regular basis to engage in group problem solving and to identify their needs for further training and support?

Are the complaint managers given released time from their regular duties to attend to complaint management and record keeping tasks?

Do the complaint managers have access to training and legal advice regarding the proper processing of complaints and potential legal liability?

Do administrators work cooperatively with complaint managers, i.e., are sanctions and remedies actually applied?

Does the administration and school board receive regular statistical reports by building and district regarding the number and type of formal and informal complaints filed and their disposition?

Do you foster an atmosphere of prevention by sensitizing students and staff to the issue of harassment?

Does the definition of harassment make it clear that sexual, racial/ethnic, sexual orientation, and differently-abled harassment are included?

Does the district mission statement reflect a commitment to mutual respect for all people?

Has there been a training program for district administrators in the past two years?

Has there been a training program for district employees including job training supervisors in the past two years?

Has there been a training program for students in the past two years?

Do staff members model the use of appropriate language and behavior at all times?

Are pamphlets and/or posters advising students and employees about the nature of harassment and its legal implications easily found around the school?

Has a school-wide conference or speakout been held to sensitize the school community to the issue of harassment?

Is information about preventing harassment and what to do if it occurs a routine part of the K-12 curriculum?

Do staff members promptly intervene in situations where they observe harassment?

Is offensive graffiti that violates the harassment policy promptly removed?

Do student leaders take an active role in the effort to prevent harassment?

Have events where harassment flourishes, such as “flip up” days and pep rally cross-dressing skits, been eliminated?

Have past incidents of harassment been resolved fairly and appropriately?

Do students and staff members feel comfortable talking openly about harassing incidents, problematic areas, and attitudes?

Have you reached out to populations of students known to be particularly vulnerable to harassment?

Have support groups been established for students enrolled in vocational or academic classes that are nontraditional for their gender, race, or ethnicity?

Are students who drop vocational or academic classes that are nontraditional for their gender, race, or ethnicity routinely surveyed to establish the reason for dropping and to determine whether harassment played any role in their decision?

Are student placement work sites routinely visited and evaluated for freedom from harassment?

SCORING THE CHECKLIST

37-44 points: Your district has obviously embarked upon a well-planned and determined effort to eliminate harassment.

27-36 points: Although your district has many good points in its efforts to prevent harassment, there are still a few areas where improvements should be made. Locate the points on the checklist that you didn’t check off, and consider how you can improve the situation in those areas.

17-35 points: While you are making some efforts to prevent harassment in your district, you need to supplement that effort in many areas. Consider administering the survey to determine the level of harassment in your district, and use the results of the survey to begin identifying areas to concentrate on.

0-16 points: Your district should examine this issue from the standpoint of legal liability. Assess district policies and work toward better awareness of the problem within the district. Set specific deadlines for completing each phase of the effort. Consider asking for assistance from an outside agency such as the Programs for Educational Opportunity.
Survey: Is Harassment a Problem in Your Building?
by Marta Larson

Please answer these questions as best you can.

1. Do you know of instances of harassment that have happened in your building?
   - yes    - no.

   If yes, what kind of harassment was it? (Check all that apply):
   - sexual    - racial/ethnic
   - sexual orientation    - differently abled

   If yes, was the harassment between:
   - students/students    - students/staff
   - staff/staff

   How many instances have you heard of in the past year?
   - one    - two to five    - six or more

2. Do you know of students who have dropped a class or had their grades affected because of harassment?
   - yes    - no.

   How many instances have you heard of in the past year?
   - one    - two to five    - six or more

3. Do you know of staff members who were denied promotions, were fired, or who quit because someone harassed them?
   - yes    - no.

   How many instances have you heard of in the past year?
   - one    - two to five    - six or more

4. In cases of harassment that you know about, what did the victim do? (Check all that apply)
   - ignored it
   - complained to school authorities
   - told harasser to stop
   - complained to someone outside the school
   - went along with it

5. What happened in cases of harassment which you know were reported to school authorities? (Check all that apply)
   - the charge was found to be true
   - nothing happened
   - the charge was found to be false
   - the charge is still being processed
   - action was taken against the harasser
   - do not know what happened
   - action was taken against the victim

6. In cases of harassment which you know of, if the victim did nothing, why do you think she/he did nothing? (Check all that apply)
   - did not know what to do
   - did not want to hurt the harasser
   - didn’t think it was necessary to report
   - was too embarrassed
   - didn’t think anything would be done
   - didn’t know it was against policy
   - was afraid the harasser would get even
   - thought it would make him/her uncomfortable with her/him in the building

7. How widespread do you think harassment is in this building?
   - it goes on all the time
   - it only happens to a few people
   - it happens to a fair number of people
   - it doesn’t happen

Please check the categories that best apply to you:
- male    - female
- your race/ethnicity?
- main language you speak?
- are you a student    - staff member    - other?
   (If other, please specify)
On Preventing Harassment: Tips for Parents and Community Members

Marta Larson

MANY ADULTS can think back to their youth and recall incidents of racial, ethnic and/or sexual harassment. They can sometimes remember ways in which adults tried to help, but in many cases they were “on their own” in dealing with these incidents. Unfortunately, many adults do not realize how painful harassment can be. Sometimes they are not fully aware of their own power to do something about it. They may rationalize that they lived through it and children will just have to do the same, or they may feel that they do not have the skills and/or knowledge to cause changes in the system.

This article explores strategies to prevent harassment and to help children who experience it. The strategies represent a wide variety of approaches, ranging from highly individual to community-wide, for parents and community members at all levels of skill and self-confidence.

Examine Your Own Behavior

Get to know people who are from other cultures or who speak a language different from your own. This is particularly important for those who live where all or many of the other people are very similar to themselves. It is human nature to seek similarity, so we must push ourselves to find opportunities to interact in meaningful and positive ways with others who are different from ourselves. Both adults and children can look for ways to do this. Be sure that this effort goes beyond eating in ethnic restaurants or attending ethnic festivals to include meaningful contact with people from other cultures and language groups.

Refuse to participate in, or laugh at, biased jokes and innuendoes. The day of the dirty joke or ethnically biased/racist joke is gone, and many workplaces have begun to recognize that such jokes make some groups of people feel uncomfortable. If you tell these jokes or laugh at them, you are contributing to an uncomfortable atmosphere. Even if you are a member of the group being insulted, you cannot be sure that everyone listening is enjoying the “humor.”

Speak up in the victim’s defense when you witness others harassing someone. All too often we watch as someone says or does something that makes us wonder if it doesn’t make the victim uncomfortable. Being a silent witness may allow the harasser to believe that others agree with what is occurring. We must each get involved in these situations, either to confront the harassment directly or to deflect the interaction away from the victim. If someone comes to you and describes a harassment situation, do not press them to “laugh it off” or “try not to let it bother” them. Support the victims in their efforts to stop the harassment.

Demonstrate bias-free behavior by using all-inclusive, nonsexist language. Many of us grew up using words that indicated that certain (most) jobs were assumed to be held by males, or that suggested that the entire world was white, Christian, etc. It can be a lifelong effort to recognize and remove this from our language, but it is well worth while.

Refuse to accept harassment toward yourself, particularly when children are present. They need to see
others who demonstrate appropriate methods for stopping unacceptable behavior. Ignoring harassing behavior rarely causes the harasser to cease; it encourages the continuation of the behavior.

**Work with Your Children**

Begin at preschool age to teach your children about similarities and differences between people, and help them to appreciate diversity. Create an environment at home that contrasts with gender and culturally biased messages of the wider society. Choose books, dolls, toys, wall decorations, TV programs, and music that reflect diverse images that children may not see in their immediate community. We should make sure that all children have these experiences that prepare them to interact appropriately with others as adults.

Do not make stereotype-based assumptions about your child's skills, interests, or abilities, and do not allow others to do so. Discuss stereotypes with your child so they can recognize them. If you find your child pointing out stereotypes that you express, you are on the right track. Support your child's efforts.

Teach your children that they are worthy of making choices and decisions by allowing them plenty of safe opportunities to make choices and learn from their mistakes. Help them to study the choices they make, and the results of their choices, whether the outcome is good or bad. Teach your children problem-solving skills, so that they can cope with the results of their choices and decisions, and so that they can decide what strategies to use if they experience harassment.

Talk with your children about harassment and what they can do if it happens to them. Provide plenty of chances to practice methods for stopping harassment. Be sure that your child knows who at the school is responsible for protecting them from harassment (usually called a complaint manager) and how to make a complaint. Teach your children to tell you about harassment when it happens, so you can help. Read stories about harassment with your children and try to figure out together what the person could have done to stop the harassment.

If your children experience harassment, help them to do something about it. Do not allow it to be "swept under the rug." Depending upon your child's age and maturity, either talk with the person designated as complaint manager yourself, go with your child when they talk to the complaint manager, or have your child tell you about the visit to the complaint manager if they wish to go alone. If necessary, find another adult to help you deal with the situation calmly and effectively.

**Investigate the School's Prevention Efforts**

Check to see that the school has a policy on harassment, make sure that all needed components (found elsewhere in this newsletter) are included, and verify that the method for filing a complaint is clear. Check to see that the harassment policy is clearly stated in staff and student handbooks.

Request a copy of the school's plan for preventing harassment. Check the plan to assure that the district has measures for prevention as well as efforts to handle complaints. Verify that the school's prevention efforts are sincere by checking to see that the elements of the plan have been carried out.

Look around the school buildings for signs that notify staff and students that harassment is prohibited. Be sure that the signs include the names and locations of the complaint managers. Do a small survey by asking students if they know the policy on harassment and who to talk to if they have a complaint.

Check the school discipline policy to see that harassment is included as a prohibited behavior, and determine whether penalties for confirmed harassment are adequate and comparable to penalties for similarly serious behavior. Ask about how many students have been charged with harassment, and what happened to those found to be guilty.

Check to see that all school personnel have received training in harassment prevention and know their responsibilities if they receive a complaint or observe harassment taking place. Ask about how the school plans to be sure that new employees receive the same information.

Ask to see curriculum materials that teach students about harassment. Check to be sure that the school policy is included. See that the materials cover the definition of harassment, steps to follow if a student is harassed, discussion of the difference between harassment and flirting, information about student rights, and practice exercises to help students feel comfortable in responding to and reporting harassment.

Watch for potentially offensive signs, skits, posters, actions, etc., in school-sponsored events such as pep rallies, student newspapers, spirit week, and parent newsletters. Some examples include exaggerating and mocking physical attributes of any group, satire that is cruel, and racial or sexual slurs. These things should be brought to the attention of the school administration. Do this in a calm, nonthreatening manner, but follow up on it if the offensive materials or actions are not corrected.
Help the School in Prevention Efforts

Volunteer to serve on committees that work toward creating a harassment-free environment. Help recruit others. Ask the school to provide the committee with a written charge so that the mission is clear. Obtain training in harassment prevention for the entire committee before it begins to make plans for the school.

Provide students with materials like Tune In to Your Rights (Morris et al., 1985). Contact youth groups in the community, and volunteer to work with small groups of students to help them learn about harassment and what they can do to prevent it.

Volunteer to help administer a survey to learn about what types of harassment are occurring in the school or district. Present the results of the survey at a school board meeting.

Encourage the high school newspaper to write articles about harassment incidents and harassment prevention. You may need to give them some sample articles or ideas from other places first; then stand back and let them do the writing.

Volunteer to help a teacher to work with students on peer training in harassment prevention. Help them to develop realistic goals for their activities, and encourage them to consider how they can reach out to all segments of the student population.

Organize a group of parents and community members who will personally contact school board members about preventing harassment in the schools. If board members do not hear from community members, they may believe that the community is not concerned about harassment and ignore the problem or downgrade its importance.

Encourage the School to Work with the Community

Arrange for school representatives to make presentations to the PTO/PTA, civic groups, and church groups about harassment and how the schools are trying to prevent it. Urge the district to communicate with parents about harassment prevention. Offer to write or gain permission to reprint articles of parent interest. Offer to organize parent groups to receive training on the subject from the school staff.

The more parents participate in school activities, the more likely it is that the quality of the school environment will improve. In the case of preventing harassment, this is extremely true. Parents and community members can cause a lot of change in the school climate simply by pressing the school to address this single issue.

References


Derman-Sparks, Louise, Maria Gutierrez, and Carol B. Phillips. (1989). Teaching Young Children to Resist Bias: What Parents Can Do. Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children. This brochure is available for $3.50 per copy or $10 per 100 copies, prepaid, from NAEYC, 1509 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036; telephone: (202) 232-8777.


The World Wide Web is becoming a useful method of outreach. Our web site is located at: http://www.umich.edu/~eqtyriet.
Complaint Investigation: The Basics

by Marta Larson

This article provides basic information for complaint managers on methods for investigating complaints. There is no intent or pretense that the reader of this article will become a skilled complaint investigator. However, this article provides an outline of needed skills and a discussion of investigative techniques pertaining to all kinds of harassment encountered in school, particularly harassment that may be a violation of civil rights, a criminal offense, or a serious violation of the school’s behavior code. Further information is available in the reference materials listed at the end of this article.

Complaint Investigator
Role and Responsibilities

The complaint investigator is usually a district administrator, but if not, must at least be quasi-administrative. The complaint investigator should have full authority to consult the district’s legal counsel and to review reports, files, confidential documents, and any other needed materials. The investigator should report directly to the superintendent on harassment complaints, regardless of who is designated as her/his official supervisor. The investigator must also be completely independent in the conduct of the investigation to avoid suspicion of a biased result.

The investigator must be knowledgeable.

The complaint investigator should have written materials to assist her/him in investigating cases and receive training in investigation techniques. She/he should especially know the content of the district harassment policy, related state and/or federal laws, procedures for investigating cases, due process issues, methods for minimizing district legal liability, and requirements of the Freedom of Information Act. The complaint investigator should also know how to protect her/himself against charges of defamation, malicious interference with employment, and invasion of privacy charges arising from the investigation.

The investigator must be culturally sensitive.

"If the complainant [or alleged harasser] is someone whose background might include culturally different ideas about teaching others, the proper amount of physical space between individuals in the workplace, eye contact, or other aspects of physical relationships between relative strangers... the investigator should learn what baseline assumptions or ideas play a part" (Wagner, 1992, p. 54, emphasis added).

The investigator must also be sure she/he is communicating with the complainant, alleged harasser, and witnesses effectively. If there is a communication difficulty due to language differences, lack of speech, or developmental disabilities, an interpreter who is a neutral party and not a family member should be utilized.

The investigator should use a developmentally as well as culturally appropriate approach. When interviewing children, it is especially important to avoid leading them to make statements. This is similar to concerns encountered by those investigating child abuse cases. Additionally, when interviewing students, the investigator should give them more time at the onset to become comfortable, so that they are able to tell their story as freely as possible.

The investigator is a neutral fact-finder.

The investigator must keep her/his opinions private, even when hearing details of alleged behavior that are personally repugnant or seemingly unbelievable. Expressions of distaste or disbelief cause the appearance of prejudice and should be avoided. This can be particularly difficult when interviewing distraught persons where there is a strong urge to be sympathetic. The investigator should be sensitive without expressing conclusions and maintain a clear presumption of the accused harasser’s innocence, balanced with concern for the alleged victim.

The investigator must make a complete and careful investigation. A complete investigation identifies instances of harassment, protects the district from being sued over incidents they should have known about, intercepts false charges, protects the district from liability for erroneous discipline, reduces or eliminates the amount of any damages that may be obtained by the complainant, protects possible future victims, and retains local control by avoiding court ordered remedies. The investigator must realize that a court appearance may result from the complaint investigation process and be prepared to testify regarding the preparation, objectivity, and thoroughness of the investigation.

It is not necessary to receive a formal complaint. The investigator must investigate all complaints. Even if a fearful complainant requests that the district not investigate, or is unwilling to file a formal complaint, the courts have found that districts are responsible for knowing about harassment through effective utilization of their...
complaint procedures and have held them responsible. However, this responsibility should not be used to elevate a relatively minor situation to the full investigation level if the problem can be solved by a simple intervention. For example, the complaint manager can go and look at graffiti in a restroom, determine whether it is offensive, and if so, have it promptly removed. In this specific situation, it is not necessary to open a file and investigate, although the situation should be monitored.

When a complaint is brought to the complaint manager’s attention, she/he should first attempt to resolve it at the informal level. It is often better for the person who receives the complaint to pursue the possibilities of informal resolution. If the problem can not be resolved by informal means, it can be referred to a different person to investigate the complaint.

In complaints related to students, the investigator must determine whether there could be a violation of child welfare laws. If the complaint is regarding any incident that must be reported to the police, that report should be made immediately and the investigation placed on hold. In that case, the complaint manager should monitor the situation to ascertain whether the alleged harassment continues or escalates to a point requiring immediate intervention. If that should occur, the complaint manager should consult the district’s legal counsel regarding how to proceed.

It is important to conduct an investigation of all allegations, whether or not there is a criminal case being developed on the same situation. A criminal case does not relieve the district of the responsibility for conducting an internal investigation and determining whether there is probable cause for any district discipline. It may be that the completed internal investigation will be sealed until the criminal case is concluded so that there is no danger of prejudicing the results of the criminal case. Discipline may then be rendered following the completion of the criminal case.

Many times the complainant (and/or witnesses) will request assurances of confidentiality as they provide information about the case. The investigator should inform all parties that to the extent possible their privacy will be protected, but they should also be informed that there is no way to conduct an investigation without interviewing the accused party or parties and witnesses.

The investigator has a responsibility to assure confidentiality in areas that she/he can control. This includes not disclosing facts about the investigation to others, warning those interviewed against discussing the case with others, keeping records of the investigation in locked files, and limiting information dissemination to those who absolutely must receive it. This is even more urgent when the investigator considers the necessity of protecting her/himself against charges of defamation by the accused harasser.

The complainant and witnesses should also be protected by district policy against retribution from accused harassers or their supporters. The investigator has the duty to inform them of this and to monitor the situation during and following the investigation.

Key Steps in Conducting an Investigation

Complaint investigations should be done both promptly and thoroughly. The investigator should begin within a very few days after learning of a harassment situation and should finish with as much speed as possible, usually within a few weeks.

The investigator should plan all interviews carefully. She/he should prepare a list of detailed questions designed to gain information that might prove or disprove the complaint. The investigator should never attempt to rely on memory. She/he should avoid wasted time by determining in advance exactly what information is wanted from each person being interviewed. The inves-
The investigator should be prepared for answers that lead into another angle of inquiry by predicting what the possible answers may be and planning how to pursue those issues. For further ideas on planning interviews, investigators may refer to the sample list of questions in Wagner (1992, pp. 133-138).

**Review the complainant's statement.** Try to determine the basis for the complaint and gain an understanding of the issues presented (Pearman & Lebrato, 1984, p. 7). Keep notes regarding questions that arise when reviewing the statement so that they can be pursued during the investigation.

The complainant should be interviewed first to clarify the details of the complaint. As a part of the interview, the complainant should be informed about the process that the investigation will follow. This includes the complainant's legal rights, what the investigator will do, what will happen and when, the content and process of the investigation, and who will determine remedies following the investigation. Additionally, the investigator should ascertain whether the complainant has any immediate needs, such as fear, that might need to be addressed at once.

While maintaining a businesslike manner, the investigator should treat the complainant considerately and respectfully. The complainant should be encouraged to be as specific as possible in clarifying his or her statement including names, dates, frequency, places, and specific behavior (what happened, the complainant's response, and the outcome) along with the names and location of any witness(es). The investigator should make careful notes during the interview, both of questions that she/he asks, as well as the complainant's responses. A thorough written version of what is alleged to have happened, based on the interview with the complainant, should be prepared and signed by the complainant and placed in the file. This list of allegations will later form the outline for part of the investigator's report.

An important part of the investigation is determining the effect of the harassment on the victim. The investigator should document whether the harassment is alleged to have had any negative effect on the complainant's job or academic performance, or whether the harassment is alleged to have created a hostile climate.

The investigator should identify as specifically as possible the part or parts of the district policy or state/federal law that are alleged to have been violated. All interviews and efforts to obtain evidence should be aimed at proving whether the specified policy or law has been violated.

**Assemble an investigative file and keep it in a secured location.** The file should be organized so that anyone opening it could determine the main issues involved in the case and the history of the investigation. Even while the investigation is underway, the file should be maintained so that if necessary another person could assist with or even assume responsibility for the investigation. The file can also serve as a memory device, enabling the investigator to ensure that no aspect of the investigation has been overlooked.

The investigator should keep a time line of what happened as part of the process. This "helps set the events in the sequence in which they occurred. You can analyze this time line in terms of what was happening in the workplace at the same time, looking at the big picture for possible motivating factors or triggering events" (Wagner, 1992, p. 52). Testimony of witnesses can be added to the time line as they are interviewed, adding a rich level of detail about what actually occurred.

**Define and further plan the investigation.** The plan for the investigation should include the determination of "who the alleged harassers were, when and where the incident took place, what was said or done by the parties, whether the incident was isolated or part of a continuing practice, the reaction of the complainant, how the complaint was effected, whether anyone else witnessed the incident, whether the complainant has talked to anyone else about the incident, whether there is any documentation of the incident, and whether the complainant has knowledge of any other target of harassment" (Lindemann & Kadue, 1992, p. 163, emphasis added).

The investigator should limit the scope of inquiry. Identify and exclude issues which are not disputed and/or have already been investigated. Screen out issues which are not relevant to district policy. Winnow the complaint down to the tightest possible list of issues for investigation.

It is helpful to prepare a step-by-step list of the investigation plan and check off each step as completed. This list should contain the names of all witnesses to be interviewed, as well as a list of all documentary evidence to be collected. Be sure to include everyone who may have information, especially the alleged harasser. Do not make the mistake of stopping the investigation once several witnesses or documents have been located that appear to substantiate or refute the allegations. This is especially true for the alleged harasser, as not interviewing this person could later be regarded as a weak point in the investigation.
The list of witnesses may be supplemented during the course of the investigation as various interviews provide leads to other useful information or persons to interview. Similarly, the list of documentary evidence may grow as witnesses are interviewed.

Gather supporting documents and evidence. Often, it is prudent to gather these documents quickly before there is an opportunity for them to be removed from the files. The investigator should consider making unannounced visits to offices or other sites to obtain copies of documents. Another approach is to request that witnesses bring certain documents with them when they come to be interviewed, without revealing the purpose for the request. Some documentary sources of evidence include personnel file(s), student file(s), performance evaluations, and discipline records.

Visit the site where the harassment is alleged to have taken place. Sometimes such a visit can reveal specific information that tends to support or raise doubts regarding the allegations, such as physical layouts that would conceal actions from potential witnesses or make certain actions less likely to have occurred because there is no place for them to take place without witnesses. Occasionally, it can be determined that a specific action is physically possible or impossible based on site characteristics.

Conduct interviews. When interviewing the alleged harasser, begin by briefing them on the process that the investigation will follow. Avoid using the term harassment to describe the complaint, but tell him/her that "a serious matter has been raised, that [she/he] has been connected to it, and that it involves unwelcome behavior on [his/her] part" (Wagner, 1992, p. 69). It is also a good idea to be sure that the alleged harasser understands that the ultimate aim of the investigation is to "end the illegal or inappropriate activity, if there is any, and take preventive measures to see that it does not recur" (Wagner, 1992, p. 70).

The investigator should be prepared to brief the alleged harasser on his or her due process rights. The alleged harasser should be advised that the investigation will be conducted in a neutral manner, cautioned regarding confidentiality, and warned against engaging in or organizing retaliation. The allegations should be reviewed with the alleged harasser, and he/she/his version of the events should be elicited in the same detail requested of the complainant. Assertions that the complainant had a motive to lie or that the conduct was welcome should be explored, and available documentation should be secured. After the interview has been completed, a signed, written statement detailing all events that took place related to the alleged harassment incident should be prepared and signed by the alleged harasser and placed in the file.

If anyone who is to be interviewed wishes to have another party including a union representative or legal counsel present, this must be allowed. The representative should not be a family member unless the person being interviewed is a minor. The role of the representative is NOT to speak for the person being interviewed, and they should not be allowed to interfere with questions that the investigator is certain are proper. However, legal counsel may advise the person being interviewed not to respond to some questions, and there is little the investigator can do at that moment to compel a response to those questions. If there is a disagreement on whether a question is proper, note that down and fight it out later (Gregg, 1992 and 1993) after consulting the district's legal counsel.

Elicit a description of what happened from the perspective of the complainant or alleged victim, alleged harasser, and witnesses. Whenever possible, information obtained in interviews should be substantiated by documentary evidence. As each person is interviewed, try to fill in chronological gaps in the timeline, clarify conflicting statements, examine inconsistencies in various witness statements, and clarify conflicts with information in documentary evidence. Pursue the facts upon which voiced opinions are based. If a person has difficulty remembering things, ask questions designed to refresh her or his memory such as "Was it before or after Spring Break?"

Witnesses can substantiate evidence, provide contradictory evidence, substantiate allegations, lead to other witnesses, direct you to other data, explain documents and other data, explain policies and procedures, and connect between policies and actual practice. Witnesses can include anyone who may have seen the alleged harassment occur and/or anyone who claims to have received the same treatment from the alleged harasser. Reliable witness information is firsthand knowledge, not something that someone else told them, unless witnesses are verifying that the complainant told them about the situation, which is a type of evidence.

It is important to realize that not all witnesses will want to be interviewed. If the initial contact is on the telephone, it is sometimes necessary to conduct the interview immediately, particularly if the witness seems reluctant. If an interview reveals that a witness may
also be a perpetrator, stop the interview and review their due process rights. Do not use group interviews, as each person's testimony will taint the other's recollections. After each interview is completed, a signed, written statement detailing their testimony regarding all events that took place related to the alleged harassment incident should be prepared and signed by the witness and placed in the file.

Once a preliminary round of interviews has taken place and documentary evidence has been perused, other questions or documents often come to mind, and the investigator should follow up on these in a systematic manner. Many experts recommend re-interviewing the complainant, the alleged harasser, and witnesses whose testimony is countered by other testimony or documentary evidence. Lindemann and Kadue (1992) suggest that,

All parties should have a full opportunity to rebut adverse statements. The investigator should consider sharing tentative determinations about the truth of a harassment claim with the alleged harasser in a final interview (p. 166, emphasis added).

This may facilitate the retrieval of additional information that might help to complete the investigation.

The investigator must be certain that the investigation is complete. The investigator must be sure that evidence has not been overlooked and that all witnesses are interviewed. The investigation should not be stopped until all useful information has been explored, even where it tends to duplicate other information already obtained. However, this duty to conduct a complete investigation should not be allowed to delay the prompt completion of the investigation.

Reaching a Conclusion

Analyze the information. Compare the facts and circumstances of the case with the definition of harassment on a point-by-point basis, noting any areas where questions remain unanswered. This analysis process can actually begin very early in the investigation, with facts and information obtained during the investigation fitted into the outline like pieces into a puzzle.

The versions of what happened are often different, so the investigator must decide which have more credence. Objective proof of the charges, such as the testimony of witnesses, is the most persuasive. Unfortunately, objective proof of harassment is rarely available. It is also necessary to determine whether any of the statements obtained could be false and whether any of those making statements have any motivation to be untruthful.

Careful consideration should be given to cases where it is the complainant's word against the alleged harasser's word. The investigator must determine to what extent the alleged conduct is likely to have occurred and whether it fits the district's definition of harassment. The investigator should be aware that the courts have been deciding many cases on the "reasonable person" standard, ruling that behavior that is considered offensive by a reasonable person of the same sex, age, cultural group, etc., will be considered harassment.

As the investigation nears completion, it is a good idea to confer with the district's legal counsel. Counsel should be shown all of the documents generated, including... interview notes, ... signed statements, and... records or other documents pertinent to the situation" (Wagner, 1992, p. 90-91).

The investigator and legal counsel must both be satisfied that they have arrived at a defensible recommendation for action and have a plan for addressing problematic issues that arise, especially if it is possible that the perpetrator will be fired or expelled from school.

If the investigator absolutely cannot ascertain who is telling the truth, and no documentation can be discovered, it may be necessary to end the investiga-
tion with no conclusion, educate all involved regarding the district policy, and monitor the situation to see if further problems arise.

Prepare and submit the investigator's report of findings. The report should contain an executive summary section that summarizes the determination, findings, and information contained in the case file. This section should be as brief as is practicable, but it should be written clearly enough so that the reader does not have any questions that are left unaddressed.

Following the executive summary, the findings should be listed and discussed individually. Each allegation must be listed in this section along with a finding. Each time a finding refers to documentary evidence, the item of evidence must be clearly referenced in the report, and copies of all documentary evidence should be included in the appendix to the report.

Another section of the report should include anything that is found that is not harassment but is inappropriate. This might include student disciplinary actions, personnel actions, supervisory practices, management decision making, and other actions that violate district policy, or state or federal law. Some of these actions may have been attempts to rectify the alleged harassment, or they may have been well-intentioned but incorrect behavior, and some may have been inappropriately motivated. Whatever the reasoning in undertaking these actions, they should be listed in the report and addressed by the proposed remedies.

The report should clearly state the investigator's proposed remedy or remedies if harassment has been proven or if other inappropriate actions are found. While the investigator is not always the person who sets the disciplinary action, she/he should provide a list of the potential courses of action for review by the administrator who will determine the final remedy. Care should be taken to assure that the remedy does not inadvertently punish the complainant.

The report should include a written follow-up plan as its final section to assure that no repetition of the harassment occurs and that no retaliation is taken. This follow-up plan should include regular contacts with both parties. Information about the follow-up plan should be given to both the complainant and the accused harasser, whether or not harassment is substantiated.

Once the report has been prepared, all parties to the complaint, both complainant and alleged harasser(s) should be informed of the results of the investigation. In cases that end with no formal conclusion, to avoid any misunderstandings it is important to be sure that all parties understand that the complaint is neither upheld nor dismissed.

The institution should take action immediately upon receiving the report of findings. If a progressive discipline code is in effect, it should help to determine the appropriate disciplinary action. If disciplinary action is found to be appropriate, the action should be taken as soon as is possible after due process requirements are met.

A final responsibility of the investigator is to keep records of the complaints investigated and to provide the superintendent and school board with periodic reports (once or twice a year) on the number and types of complaints investigated and their disposition. This is necessary even if the superintendent and board have been privy to some or all of the details of any of the investigations, as they should be monitoring the overall statistical picture to determine whether adjustments are necessary in any district policies and procedures.

References


Successful Harassment Prevention Programs

by Tasila Leborn

It is true that an ounce of prevention is worth more than a pound of cure certainly applies to harassment and prejudice reduction programs in schools. Instituting prevention strategies insures the most effective use of school time and resources by defusing conflicts before they escalate into serious incidents. The educational process is so intricately connected to the social experience that efforts to improve interaction patterns of staff and students greatly affect how well children learn.

Anti-harassment work must reduce prejudice and build understanding between diverse groups. Confronting the vestiges of discrimination, racism, sexism, and bias can greatly improve the school experience by reducing incidents of violence, increasing participation of historically under-represented groups, and improving student achievement.

In our society and among our youth, violence has reached epidemic levels. Harassment is a close relative and often an equal player in contemporary violence. Increasing reports of harassment in work settings, in the military, and on college campuses require increased attention to prevention strategies. Employers report that more people are now reprimanded or fired from their jobs for interpersonal reasons than for reasons related to work skills. Racist or sexist insults are often components of fights and are regularly touted as "fighting words." Violence and conflict resolution programs in schools develop new anti-harassment skills essential for young people. Outstanding academic schooling will prove useless to a person who cannot live and work compatibly with others.

Developing students' interpersonal skills and fostering acceptance of others are basic to student success in classrooms and in the wider world. To be effective, prevention strategies must be diverse, comprehensive, coordinated and infused throughout the school experience. What follows is a basic template for designing an effective program to improve school climate and to prevent harassment incidents. While these suggestions are not all inclusive, they are intended to describe strategies that help construct a school climate and culture with a high level of mutual tolerance and a reduced level of harassment.

Implement a Strong Anti-Harassment Policy and Disseminate It Widely

The first step is to issue an emphatically worded policy that details procedures, processes, and key personnel for investigation and resolution of harassment complaints. Policies and procedures must be communicated in clear, concise language that is easily understood by the anticipated audience. Avoid legal jargon and reword the policy for younger students to focus on mutual respect, courtesy, fairness and kindness. Provide formal translations of policies for nonnative English speakers.

The most effective policy will include:

- examples of harassing behaviors that are unacceptable;
- delineation of complaint procedures, including information for contacting the district's complaint managers;
- descriptions of possible sanctions brought against harassers for varying levels of offenses;
- identification of a complaint manager—someone who is knowledgeable of the issues, accessible, compassionate, and nonthreatening;
- dissemination methods and procedures for informing staff, students, and parents of the policy.

A routine plan for informing new students and employees of this and other crucial policies should also be in place.

The strongest policies will include protection for complainants against reprisals or retaliations by accused harassers. While school districts cannot entirely prevent reprisals or retaliations, they can discourage them by issuing strong warnings against them, stating consequences for such behavior, and following through when they occur.

Programs for Educational Opportunity
University of Michigan School of Education
Equity Coalition, Volume IV, Number 1, Spring 1996, Abolishing Harassment
Establish Zero Tolerance for Harassment
Maintain high expectations for tolerance and understanding among all students and staff members. Everyone should feel compelled to take action quickly because “trivial” racist and sexist incidents (like telling derogatory jokes or using offensive “playful” teasing) can escalate if not confronted swiftly and strongly. Observers of such incidents need to feel and act upon their own responsibility as passive participants. The role of an inactive bystander is not neutral. Inaction and silence in the presence of prejudiced comments or actions actually help legitimize the behavior. Most likely the behavior then escalates, making the silent bystander a contributor to the negative pattern. These events can become useful “teachable moments” for examining archaic stereotypes, cultural values, or biased messages not clearly understood by all.

Implement High Quality Multicultural, Gender-Fair Education
Prejudice is the child of ignorance. Education by its very definition should impart knowledge that works to defuse prejudice and bias. When schools implement comprehensive multicultural/gender-fair curriculum that recognizes and celebrates the contributions of all cultural groups, students’ understanding and appreciation—both of their personal history and of our collective American experience—are greatly enhanced. This understanding leads to higher levels of tolerance and respect by building an accurate, inclusive picture of who we are as a society.

But some “multicultural” programs can actually work against this goal. To build real understanding of cultural similarities and differences a contextual framework about the complex and universal nature of culture must be in place. Regardless of how engaging they may seem, trivial or token multicultural activities that are not connected to a larger context present incomplete and distorted representations of cultural groups. This “tourist approach” to multicultural education and activities counters the goal of multicultural understanding, as Louise Derman-Sparks explains in the Anti-Bias Curriculum (1989). It can reduce rich and complex cultures to singular events, crafts, or customs and emphasize the “otherness” of the group being studied.

Both process and content must be addressed to produce quality multicultural programs. Admittedly, the content of multicultural education is substantial. Establishing a contextual framework for the events, activities, and stories of multicultural education is worth the investment in planning as it greatly improves the meaning and learning potential. The work of Derman-Sparks (1989), Sonia Nieto (1992), Hilda Hernández (1989), James Banks and Cherry McGee Banks (1933), and others can help articulate the key factors that can transform a string of disconnected though interesting activities into a solid body of study that connects students to their own personal identities and to the larger world.

Work to Build an Inclusive School Culture
The school culture should demonstrate recognition of and appreciation for all people. Some harassing behaviors observed in schools mimic the humiliation of others that children see in the media or in their communities. In fact, in the 1994 AAUW study of sexual harassment among students, the most frequent response to, “Why do students engage in sexual harassment?” was, “It’s just a part of school life; a lot of people do it.”

Institutions that maintain traditional male-centric culture, such as the military and male-only clubs and work sites, are more likely to have incidents of sexual harassment. Likewise, in schools where messages about performance, behavior, and expectation all reinforce male dominance, incidents of harassment towards girls are likely to be commonplace. Similarly, schools that have Anglo-preference/dominance are likely to experience racist incidents in which student act out the power differentials they view as the prerogative of the powerful.

Breaking historic patterns of mistreatment and disrespect supports universal goals of quality education. Educators strive to help students think critically and develop strong communication skills. These skills should alleviate their need to fall back on archaic stereotypes and prejudice. Coupled with assertiveness skills, communication skills improve students’ abilities to speak up when harassment is threatened, or to intervene in a harassing incident. A confident, strong individual is much less likely to be a harasser, and if harassed, is less likely to feel lasting negative effects from the incident.

Prevention strategies must fulfill our responsibility to those students who are most likely to be the tar-
31

UNTIL THE LIONS HAVE THEIR HISTORIANS, TALES OF HUNTING WILL ALWAYS GLORIFY THE HUNTER.

An African Proverb

geters of harassment. We must work to strengthen their self concept and provide them with an arsenal of skills for their own self protection. Helping students of color, girls, and students with disabilities develop a strong sense of themselves that celebrates their heritage and personal identity will help them deflect the negative messages sent by society and some individuals. Empowering them with knowledge of their rights and avenues of recourse, such as civil rights law and other vehicles for mediation of complaints, are essential for their self defense. Because cultural variables impact so strongly on communication style and content, program designers should be attentive to the cultural relevance of such program components to ensure greatest effectiveness.

Establish In-Depth Diversity Programs

Diversity programs can support staff members who are studying diversity content and working through the complex personal and professional issues. The most effective definition of diversity is one that is the most inclusive. There is a place for everyone within the framework of diversity awareness, as all people have cultural identities. Defining the benefits of diversity awareness so that everyone is included can disarm much initial hesitation to embrace the issues. The overall goal of any diversity awareness program is to build the perspective and knowledge that will help individuals celebrate the many ways we are similar, and to successfully negotiate the ways we are different. Difference must no longer be perceived as "less than" or "worse than." Learning to suspend the automatic, often unconscious biases and value judgments related to difference that haunt many of us is one of the most critical, but most challenging pieces of building diversity awareness.

Essential to this goal is developing an effective process for ongoing dialogue between individuals and groups. Developing a climate of trust and honesty and a new, common language and process is essential for coming to terms with diversity issues and our own biases. We can all benefit from a nonthreatening, trusting environment in which to ask questions, reveal personal issues, and talk through complex personal and professional questions. Long-term, small study groups, task forces, or diversity teams of interested and concerned staff members are, in the long run, more effective than mandatory, one-shot programs. A diversity study group can become a valuable sounding board for staff members to examine local school issues, to share questions and to brainstorm possible solutions. It can provide a safe place to address local or personal questions relating to diversity. Such groups often develop effective strategies that are recognized by the wider population as progressing in a favorable direction. Other staff members often will turn to such a group for assistance and leadership once it is recognized as a force for positive professional and personal growth.

It is important, though, that all staff members receive information on diversity issues. The message must be broadcast to all staff members, including part-time paraprofessionals, parents, and community members. Infusing diversity awareness into broad agendas with regularity is more effective than one focused program. Reinforcing this message by fostering opportunities for individuals to become involved with voluntary, organized groups or activities will produce the optimum outcome.

Involve Student Leaders in Developing Diversity Programs for Students

Student leadership can have the twofold outcome of helping individuals develop their own understanding and knowledge and helping to identify problems and strategies that will work with the general student population. Student leaders have a natural sense of how to communicate controversial messages to their peers. If, for example, student leaders rewrite anti-harassment policies into plain, age-appropriate language for dissemination, it is likely to be communicated more effectively to the student body. Inviting key student leaders to participate in diversity programs can strengthen the message and help ward off potential problems. Athletic events—and other interscholastic competitions—that bring students into contact with teams from other communities, are also, unfortunately, potential occasions for harassment or expressions of prejudice. Inviting students who participate in athletics, debate,
and other competitive activities in diversity programs can help prevent such undesirable interactions. Involving students who are popular and strong influencers on their peers and who are potential role models can also contribute to the overall program.

Closely Monitor Potential Trouble Spots

The history of harassment complaints, lawsuits, and other kinds of grievances offers useful guidance for identifying potential trouble spots in schools. Here are a few examples of spots to watch.

When students who drop out of nontraditional vocational or advanced math and science courses are asked about the reason for withdrawing, they frequently report negative class climate and student harassment as the causes. We are still in an era where courses that have been traditionally disproportionate by race, ethnicity or gender are potential sources of harassment for those pioneering students or staff members who integrate them. Hostility may be extremely subtle or frighteningly forceful. Teachers and program designers in these areas have a legal and moral responsibility to protect students from incidents of exclusion and expressions of prejudice. Instructional strategies that emphasize teamwork and minimize student competition can greatly improve classroom dynamics. Aggressive recruiting programs to interest more nontraditional students can increase their participation, so that individual students are less vulnerable. Organizing support groups of pioneering students (even when they are participating in radically different programs) can reduce their feelings of isolation and can act as useful sounding-boards for them as they develop coping skills for nontraditional settings.

Often, attempts at humor or lighthearted “fun” can result in painful, preventable incidents of prejudice or harassment. What might be defined as “unintentional harassment” can occur typically in student skits, satires, April Fool’s Day publications, and other humorous attempts that may try to mock gender or ethnic stereotypes, individuals, or events. These “jokes” can result in intense insult, pain and complaint for members of the targeted group. These behaviors detract from school climate, especially for those groups targeted in joking attacks. Certainly there is still room for fun and humor in school life, but it is critical for everyone to understand that humor often has a very personal reference point. The intent of the prankster might be harmless, but the impact of the message on the target person or group must remain in focus. Jokes that ridicule a group, or are funny at someone’s personal expense must not be tolerated. School officials are wise to closely monitor (and intervene when necessary) to avoid potentially offensive expressions.

Providing Opportunities for Students Who Are Different from Each Other to Interact

Direct, positive experience with someone perceived as different can effectively disassemble stereotypes and prejudice. Cooperative learning and inclusive, interactive instruction improve student interaction. Schools that have worked to reduce tracking so students of heterogeneous backgrounds and abilities can interact report positive new relationships among students with little previous contact.

In homogeneous communities, it is necessary to develop external linkages to broaden students’ experiences with those who are different. While simple exchange programs, pen-pal relationships, or computer
Establish Dispute Resolution Programs to Intervene before Problems Escalate

As a society, we have failed to model and teach peaceful resolution of disagreements, a skill expected in any culture. The epidemic of conflict and violence in schools parallels the frightening escalation of violence in our society. Programs that build the self-esteem, problem solving, and communication skills described above can have significant impact on defusing potentially dangerous situations. In addition to these skills, effective dispute resolution programs teach conflict resolution techniques. They build understanding of interpersonal conflict by developing alternative forms of expression and techniques for peaceful resolution of differences. Specific curriculum models with age-appropriate strands for all grades are increasingly available.

Many schools have taken further action to diminish student-to-student conflicts by implementing programs that train peer mediators. The peer mediators are recognized student leaders who have the interpersonal skills and the "take-action style" to help arguing students come to mutually agreed-upon solutions before the dispute escalates to violence. When selecting student mediators, it is not necessary to recruit only students who demonstrate such skills. The training will greatly develop these skills. Selection criteria should seek to balance the team to represent all groups in the school, including race, ethnicity, gender, etc. Involving nontraditional student leaders such as peer-group leaders who are members of major student cliques or subgroups can strengthen the program's effectiveness.

The student mediators receive in-depth training in effective communication skills and mediation strategies, and they have opportunities to work closely with staff members. Because racist or prejudiced speech and actions frequently occur in student disputes, such programs are wise to give peer mediators specific training related to prejudice, harassment, racism, and sexism. Such programs have the dual benefits of reducing the numbers of violent incidents in schools while building outstanding interpersonal skills and leadership potential of the student mediators. Students who have direct experience in the peaceful resolution of conflict through thoughtful, creative problem solving have developed lifetime skills.

Involve Parents and Community Leaders in School Harassment Policy and Process

Schools can not do it all. Achieving real diversity awareness and tolerance is a lifetime project that involves all of us working together. Fortunately, most work places, communities, and the popular media have recently embraced goals of building cross-cultural awareness and understanding. Partnership projects between schools and civic and community groups are now increasing, and the potential returns are most promising.

Because prejudice is learned, schools must sometimes confront intolerant student attitudes and behaviors that are reinforced at home. Schools have the power to establish rules and expectations for behavior that may be in conflict with those set at home. Parallel to this is every school's need to set no-fighting rules when some children are taught at home to hit back if hit. Most schools have found ways to successfully communicate their policy and expectations to families. That process can be very instructive in helping us do the same about anti-harassment policies and expectations.

Through community partnerships in diversity awareness programs, schools can help educate for better understanding and reinforce expectations of a higher standard of behavior. Developing community-based groups that include civic leaders, clergy, business leaders, educators, and social service agencies, is the most effective demonstration of full community involvement. Getting local media attention for diversity events and issues always helps build awareness, interest, and additional support.

References


Programs for Educational Opportunity

Equity Coalition, Volume IV, Number 1, Spring 1996, Abolishing Harassment
Recommended Resources for Abolishing Harassment

by Eleanor Linn and Ted Wilson

Many excellent resources are cited elsewhere in this publication. Materials listed here are our selection, taking into consideration the needs and preferences of administrators, teachers, and a wide variety of students.

For Your Own Understanding


Klamm, Intelligence Report. A project of the Southern Poverty Law Center. P.O. Box 548, Montgomery, AL 36101.

A monthly report of racial, ethnic, and religious-related hate violence. Many incidents involve teens and children.


Most educators believe they have positive attitudes about homosexuality, but prejudice, ignorance, and fear keep them from providing the support that students need in a hostile environment.

Administering an Effective Program


A 57-page legal review of statutes, cases, and criteria, with a brief sample policy and procedure document.


Set of three videotapes, investigator's handbook, newsletter, and other materials for administrators, teachers, and students. Telephone: (828) 733-1635. Price: $55.00.


Reports on successful comprehensive efforts to eradicate bullying in Scandinavia and England.


"At the very least, any school system can ... strongly oppose any epithets of hate and enact policies against harassment," says the author. Very good chapters entitled "Gay Straight Alliances" and "Making Our Schools Safe for Sissies."

Student Materials — Adolescents


Dramatization of the Omahah (NE) case of Katie Lyle's ordeal with sexually offensive graffiti on the bathroom wall. Sensitive portrayal of the pain she experienced and her empowerment she felt as a result of pursuing litigation.


Sensitve development video widely liked by teenagers that interviews teen victims and perpetrators and explains the cycle of abuse, healthy relationships, and where to get help.

Facing History and Ourselves Program, 16 Hard Road, Brookline, MA 02445. Telephone: (617) 232-1595.

Engaging students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism, prejudice, and anti-Semitism through study of the Holocaust and other examples of genocide to help them take moral choices in their own lives.

Programs for Educational Opportunity University of Michigan School of Education Equity Coalition, Volume IV, Number 1, Spring 1996, Abolishing Harassment

Multicultural, photo-cartoon pamphlets with credible characters. Large orders can have organization’s name, address, and logo printed on the pamphlet.


Practical and detailed lesson plans for use in intermediate and high school classrooms. Themes include conflict resolution, ageism, sexism, racism, poverty, and handicapsim.


Over 200,000 copies of our 20-page booklet have been used successfully in schools around the world.

Sexual Harassment: It’s Hurting People. (1994). Columbus, OH: Middle Schools Association; telephone: (800) 528-NMSA; video (20 min.). $176.

Older teenagers tell younger teens why these behaviors are so hurtful and uncool.


A teacher’s guide on student-to-student sexual harassment in schools (grades 6 through 12). Six core lessons using writing and critical thinking skills with supplemental activities and thoughtful advice on implementation.

Student Materials — Younger Children

Are You a Buddy? Harassment Prevention Poster. (1993). Mid-Atlantic Center, 5454 Wisconsin Ave., #655, Chevy Chase, MD 20815; telephone: (301) 657-7741; FAX: (301) 657-8782. Price: $5.00 plus shipping and handling. Bulk order discount available.

Easy-to-understand graphics help students compare behaviors of buddies and bullies.


Read the sensitive and informative introduction before using any of these books with students. How books are discussed may well be more important than their content.


Written and illustrated by disabled children, about their hopes, challenges, triumphs, and what they’d like from others.


Activities to promote the full range of skills and interests for boys and girls. Boys are encouraged to express and develop their nurturing, expressive skills, and girls are encouraged to develop their physical, spatial, and exploratory sides.


Developed by teachers, includes both short and long class activities for building multicultural understanding, healthy human relationships, and self-concepts.


Includes activities for appreciating the strength of self and others, eliminating put-downs, and working together.


Curriculum for 4th and 5th grades distinguishes teasing from bullying to help younger students understand the precursor of sexual harassment. Eleven lessons include class discussions, role play, case studies, and student research and writing.


A detailed framework to help children develop sound roots in their culture and the strength to soar beyond prejudice. Many activities are adaptable for older students.

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University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1259

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Publications Available from Programs for Educational Opportunity

Back issues of Equity Coalition:
- Working Together toward Equity for All Students
- Parents and Schools: Partners for Equity
- Building an Equitable School Culture
- Beyond Tracking
- Poverty and Schools
- Science Education and Equity

Back issues of Breakthrough:
- Equity and the Change Agent
- Equity and Educational Finance
- Student Discipline and Desegregation
- The Challenge of At-Risk Students
- Teaching Children to Be Test Wise

Back issues of Title IX Line:
- Comparable Worth in School Employment
- Promoting Flexibility in Male Roles
- The History of American Women and Work
- Women in Literature: Historical Images of Work
- Fostering Sex Equity in Math
- Sex Equity and Vocational Education
- Sexual Harassment
- Women and Sports

Books, Booklets, and Posters:
- America's Hispanic Heritage ($4.00)
- Hispanic Americans in the U.S.: Bibliography ($4.00)
- Effective Schools: Education of Black Children ($7.00)
- Jump Street: A Story of Black Music, A Secondary Teaching Guide ($4.00)
- Remember the Ladies!: A Handbook of Women in American History ($5.00)
- Tune In to Your Rights: A Guide for Teenagers about Turning Off Sexual Harassment ($4.00/copy)
- Agarra La Onda de tus Derechos: Una guia para jovenes de como combatir el acoso sexual, a culturally sensitive Spanish translation of Tune In to Your Rights ($4.00)
- 'Trif Hroogak, an Arabic test-market translation of Tune In to Your Rights ($3.00)
- Women, Math and Science: A Resource Manual ($3.00)
- A Yearbook of Holidays & Observances ($8.00)
- Bibliography for Yearbook of Holidays ($8.00)
- Ten Commandments for Black Educators (laminated poster, 5-1/2" wide X 17" high)

Single copies of PEO newsletters are free. Time In and Agarra La Onda are available in bulk at $400/box of 200 copies. Books and booklets are sold at the cost of printing and mailing. Make checks payable to the University of Michigan and send this order form to the address below.

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