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Using a Social Norms Framework to Study Latino Youth Beliefs about Sexual Harassment in High Schools

Maria Lorena Levano Gavidia

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Abstract

Sexual harassment, defined as making an unwelcome behavior of a sexual nature, is highly prevalent all over the world. In this study sexual harassment in high schools is studied as this is one of the places where it has the highest prevalence and a time in life where an intervention can have the highest impact. Even though there are studies about sexual harassment preventive programs in schools, few of them consider the cultural differences, beliefs, and expectations of specific communities. This study fills that gap by focusing on the social norms around the behavior. Mixed methods were used, combining quantitative and qualitative techniques. Focus groups were done and a questionnaire was applied to identify the most common sexual harassment behaviors, as well as the existence or absence of personal normative beliefs, empirical expectations, and normative expectations around the phenomenon. Results evidenced that there are different normative and empirical expectations for girls and for boys that also vary depending on the specific type of harassment. Subtle types of sexual harassment for boys can be classified as a social norms; in other words, their motivations are not independent but socially conditioned. Furthermore, students expressed different factual beliefs about victims and perpetrators depending on their gender. The findings provide diverse evidence about how individual and interpersonal beliefs and expectations are related to sexual harassment in schools. Understanding these social processes is useful for designing culturally and socially grounded interventions for sexual harassment prevention in high schools.

Disciplines

Social and Behavioral Sciences

Comments

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Maria Lorena Levano Gavidia

Summer 2019

Cristina Bicchieri, PhD

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Sexual harassment, defined as making an unwelcome behavior of a sexual nature, is highly prevalent all over the world. In this study sexual harassment in high schools is studied as this is one of the places where it has the highest prevalence and a time in life where an intervention can have the highest impact. Even though there are studies about sexual harassment preventive programs in schools, few of them consider the cultural differences, beliefs, and expectations of specific communities. This study fills that gap by focusing on the social norms around the behavior. Mixed methods were used, combining quantitative and qualitative techniques. Focus groups were done and a questionnaire was applied to identify the most common sexual harassment behaviors, as well as the existence or absence of personal normative beliefs, empirical expectations, and normative expectations around the phenomenon. Results evidenced that there are different normative and empirical expectations for girls and for boys that also vary depending on the specific type of harassment. Subtle types of sexual harassment for boys can be classified as a social norms; in other words, their motivations are not independent but socially conditioned. Furthermore, students expressed different factual beliefs about victims and perpetrators depending on their gender. The findings provide diverse evidence about how individual and interpersonal beliefs and expectations are related to sexual harassment in schools. Understanding these social processes is useful for designing culturally and socially grounded interventions for sexual harassment prevention in high schools.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Worldwide phenomena such as Me Too have revealed the magnitude of sexual assault and harassment in various fields. Although most of the discussions tend to be about the problem at work, respondents indicated that it occurs in all areas and many stages of life. Once non-adult populations are considered, the statistics are worse. For instance, one study revealed that 80% of minors had experienced sexual harassment in schools (Sandler, 2005: 2).

Consequently, it is important to study the problem in schools due to its prevalence and the various negative effects that it possesses in this critical and formative space. Students who have been harassed often have several psycho-emotional reactions that affect their performance in school. Furthermore, these experiences in school have an impact in socialization in later periods of life, and because girls are more likely to be targeted, sexual harassment reinforces the idea that women have to endure this type of abuse (Strauss, 2012: 134-137).

It is worth mentioning that according to previous studies, social and cultural contexts have an impact on sexual harassment trends. This is related to historical sexual stereotypes in the United States where, in contrast to White women, African American women are classified as sexual and aggressive, Latinas as provocative and hypersexual and Asians as submissive (Garcia, 2012: 5). In particular, this study will put special emphasis in the Latino population given that the stereotypes associated with this ethnicity (provocative and hypersexual) are also associated with sexual harassment justification (Strauss, 2012: 124-133).

Given that previous researchers of this topic often study universal patterns of behavior and ignore how processes occur in context and culturally specific ways, not enough research has been done around sexual harassment in schools from a social norms' perspective for this specific group. To fill this gap, the study will analyze sexual harassment with a focus on peer norms around the behavior in a high school with a predominantly Latino population.

The Behavior

Due to the wide use of the term in different contexts, it is important to clarify the definition of sexual harassment. For the purposes of this study, sexual harassment in schools is presented as an “*unwanted and unwelcome behavior of a sexual nature that interferes with the right to receive an equal educational opportunity.*” (Stein, 2000: 3). It is important to point out that sexual harassment comprises different types: visual, that includes the display of naked pictures, sex-related objects or obscene gestures; verbal, that involves comments about one's body, spreading of sexual rumors, sexual remarks or accusations, and crude jokes or stories; and physical that can be diverse types of corporal contact that can vary in intermediate stages from grabbing to sexual assault and rape (Equal Rights Advocates, 2003: 1).

Also, it is important to explain that in a school setting sexual harassment can be from superiors (e.g., teachers, principals, etc.) to students, from students to someone in higher status, or can happen between peers (Brandenburg, 1997: 4). In this case, only the last type will be considered for the analysis.

Sexual harassment in schools interacts with various individual characteristics, immediate environment, indirect environment, and social and cultural values. (Wetzel, 2000; Brandenburg, 1997; Rivers & Duncan, 2013; Strauss, 2012)

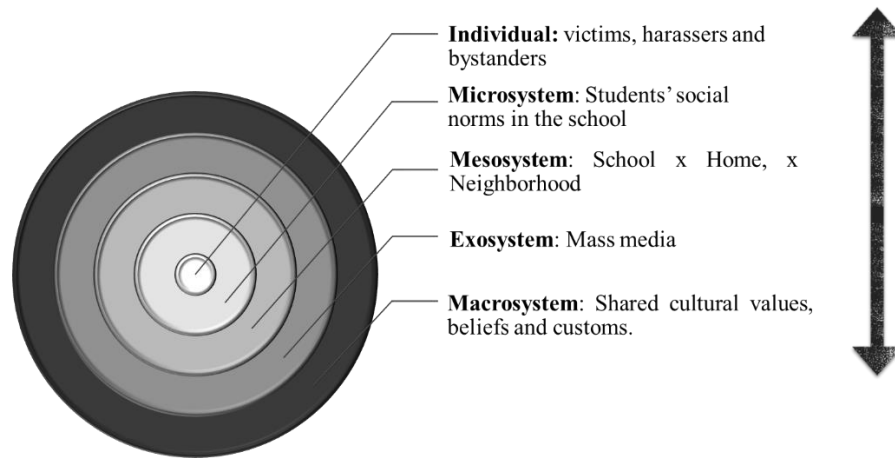


Figure 1. Ecological systems theory approach. Source: Own elaboration, based on the Ecological Systems Theory Approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979)

Students will be analyzed individually, but the focus will be on the microsystem: the high school, in which their individual beliefs and expectations interact. Given that social norms do not exist in isolation and they are rooted in a web of beliefs, values and other norms (Bicchieri, 2017:160), the analysis considers other mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem factors as home and neighborhood interactions, patriarchy, sexualization of girls and cultural notions of masculinity and femininity (Strauss, 2012: 130-134) that can be affecting the microsystem.

It should be emphasized that the ecological systems theory has a transactional component that suggests that the mechanisms of one system affect the others simultaneously. Therefore, this perspective does not understand culture as an independent or distant system that is only present in the macrosystem. On the contrary, culture provides a common structure that organizes the interactions between systems providing them with shared activities and meanings (Super & Harkness, 1986: 271; Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003: 462).

II.IMPORTANCE

As mentioned in the introduction, it is crucial to study sexual harassment in schools since it is a problem of high prevalence. Eight in ten students had been victims of sexual harassment at some point in their schools (Sandler, 2005: 2). The results regarding sexual harassment between peers vary depending on the specific action; consequently, there is no agreement on the prevalence of specific types of harassment. For instance, 34% of male students reported unwelcomed sexual comments and jokes, but only 14% reported having been affected by the spreading of sexual rumors (AAUW, 2001: 22).

In addition to its quantifiable significance, the problem is worrisome because it is related to serious consequences in the short and long terms. The short-term consequences can be classified into three types. First, in the psychosocial and behavioral domains, all the types of sexual harassment can lead to dropping courses, transferring from another school, lowering of academic status, decreasing self-evaluation of academic ability, and lowering motivation to complete school. Second, the psycho-emotional consequences include feelings of vulnerability, fear, anger, embarrassment, fear of intimacy, increased acting out behaviors (e.g., use of alcohol, drugs, and cigarettes), decreased self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem. Third, sexual harassment is also related to physical symptoms as headaches, nausea, and other stress-related disorders. (Wetzel, 2000: 5-6; Strauss, 2012: 101)

Besides the immediate effects, the different forms of sexual harassment are related to serious long-term consequences. It can affect individuals by leading them to depression, poor self-concept (ugly, impure, unworthy of love or self-respect), self-destructiveness, suicidal feelings or beliefs that sex is the only aspect of the self that is valued by others. Also, it can affect their social skills by disabling their capacity to trust others, producing inability to get along with parents or siblings, generating hostile reactions, and making the affected person to use seductiveness to initiate relationships. Furthermore, long-term sequels include sexually related problems such as an inability to have sexually satisfying relationships, dislike of sex, frigidity, pedophilia, and promiscuity (Wetzel, 2000: 8).

As presented above, sexual harassment affects several aspects of life at the individual and social levels. Therefore, the analysis of its causes must consider the complexity of the problem. Indeed, as seen in the previous section, sexual harassment in schools interacts with various individual characteristics, indirect environment, and social and cultural values. (Wetzel, 2000; Brandenburg, 1997; Rivers & Duncan, 2013; Strauss, 2012). Of all these factors this study will give special attention to the role of social norms. Although prior studies found a relationship between attitudes toward sexual harassment and values regarding gender roles (Wetzel, 2000; Strauss, 2012; Rivers & Duncan, 2013; Zins, Elias, & Maher, 2007), none of them address the issue analyzing social norms in the way that this study does.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

The social norms' framework

This study will use a novel framework of social norms. The referred framework was developed by Christina Bicchieri. In her book *Norms in the Wild* (2017), Bicchieri offers a typology of preferences that serves to understand the reasons for choosing a behavior. To explain how different patterns of behavior result from distinct types of preferences, the author presents three key ideas. First, preferences have a direct relationship with the selection of a behavior. Unlike attitudes that may or may not be related to conforming to specific behaviors, preferring implies a willingness to act in a specific way in a particular situation (Bicchieri, 2017: 7-9). Second, preferences can be individual or social, depending on whether it involves other people or not. Third, social preferences may vary depending on whether they are conditional or unconditional (Bicchieri, 2017: 7-11). It is worth noting the difference between the second and third ideas. An unconditional social preference implies that one considers others as a reference but does not depend on what others think or do (e.g., I want more apples than you do). On the other hand, socially conditional preferences are interdependent actions that are conditioned to the behavior and approval of others (Bicchieri, 2017: 10-11).

Following that logic, the conditionality that matters to us is social. In other words, if actors engage in a behavior independently, they are acting with socially unconditional preferences, whereas if other people influence them through their behaviors or approval, they have socially conditional preferences. These types of preferences are conditioned on social expectations that may be about other people's behaviors (empirical expectations) or about others' personal normative beliefs (normative expectations) (Bicchieri, 2017: 12-13).

Bicchieri's approach is useful because it offers a practical way to diagnose different types of collective patterns of behaviors that can be operationalizable. She divides them by their principal motivations resulting in four categories that can be classified into two groups. The first group, the socially unconditional includes (1) *Customs*: pattern of behaviors which are done because they meet a need (Bicchieri, 2017: 16), and (2) *Moral norms*: behaviors which are motivated by the presence of internal normative beliefs (Bicchieri, 2017: 32). The second group, the socially conditional patterns of behavior consist of (3) *Descriptive norms*: patterns of behaviors which are conditional on the belief that others are conforming to a behavior (Bicchieri, 2017: 20), and (4) *Social norms*: rules of behaviors which are conditional on the beliefs about what others do (empirical expectations) and the beliefs about what others think someone should do (normative expectations) (Bicchieri, 2017:36).

It should be noted that for the second group, social conditionality is given based on what the author calls '*reference network*'; that is, relevant people on which expectations are set for a specific behavior (Bicchieri, 2017: 15).

The framework that Bicchieri proposes for diagnosing norms is especially important in this study since understanding the underlying reasons for behavioral patterns such as sexual harassment allows a better design of preventive interventions based on the specific characteristics of the beneficiary population. It is crucial to understand socially conditional preferences because in real scenarios, like high schools, choices tend to occur within social life and in interdependence. This type of preferences is especially important in collective behaviors because in these cases people tend to choose a particular way of acting due to what others do and the social approval or disapproval that it generates (Bicchieri, 2017: 11). In that case, interventions should not be confined to isolated individuals but should promote collective and coordinated change.

Beliefs and expectations

Although there is no study that analyzes and measures the mentioned categories precisely, some of them present some relevant conclusions. Regarding students' beliefs and expectations, the reviewed studies indicate that adolescents share values, ethical, and moral principles that can explain why different types of sexual harassment occur, persist, and are tolerated (Wetzel 2000: 55). These studies explain that beliefs and expectations about this topic are related to a male dominated, male identified, and male center reality rooted in traditional gender roles (Strauss, 2012: 123-128).

Social conditionality of the preferences that motivate sexual harassment

About the social conditionality of the behavior, one study concluded that there is a strong link between sexual harassment and conforming to peer norms (Rivers & Duncan, 2013: 38). This perspective is essential for adolescence since with aging there is greater autonomy of the individuals and adult influence loses strength allowing other types of influence between peers (Chen, 2012: 31).

This study highlights adolescence since high school students are precisely in this stage of life. According to the previous information, during this phase compliance with the traditional roles of masculinity and femininity is important due to the peer pressure. (Rivers & Duncan, 2013: 36). Especially during this period, group pressure is a crucial factor because individuals are predominantly seeking for acceptance and peer's approval (Wetzel, 2000: 51 -52, Zins, Elias, & Maher, 2007: 165).

Despite the valuable insights of previous literature, it is important to develop measurements that fit the specific categories of the chosen social norms' framework. This will be presented in more detail in the methodological section.

IV. OBJECTIVES

Main objective:

Understand Latino youth beliefs about sexual harassment in high schools using a social norms framework.

Specific objectives:

- (i) Identify the main types of sexual harassment in high schools with predominantly Latino population.
- (ii) Understand youth factual and personal normative beliefs around sexual harassment.
- (iii) Identify empirical and normative expectations that students have around sexual harassment through a social norms' framework.

V. HYPOTHESES

Regarding the types of sexual harassment that are predominant in the high school, based on previous research the first hypothesis is that

H1: The most popular behaviors are verbal harassment and other subtle types of sexual harassment.

About youth beliefs around sexual harassment, following precedent research that focus on gender the second hypothesis is that

H2: Students have different factual and personal normative beliefs about victims and perpetrators depending on their gender

Based on what was found in previous studies, the main hypothesis in this study is that sexual harassment in high schools with Latino population is motivated by socially conditional preferences. In other words, it depends on the beliefs about what others do (empirical expectations) and the beliefs about what others think someone should do (normative expectations).

H3: Students have empirical expectations around sexual harassment —→ Students believe that “*Most students harass other students.*”

H4: Students have normative expectations around sexual harassment —→ Students believe that “*Other students believe that it is not bad to harass their peers*” (*it is cool, is what boys do, etc.*)

Based on the characteristics that motivate the collective pattern of behavior, sexual harassment in high schools with Latino population can be typified as a social norm.

It should be noted that the previous reasoning does not mean that there are no other motivational profiles; however, it is considered that a predominant group presents social conditional (e.g., empirical and normative) motives.

Another important part regarding the preliminary diagnosis is that this study hypothesizes that norms, both descriptive and normative, are different for boys and girls.

H5: Students have different empirical and normative expectations around sexual harassment depending on their gender

VI. METHODOLOGY

As mentioned in a previous section, the reviewed studies do not gather the necessary information to identify the motivational profile. Therefore, following Bicchieri's measurement recommendations, in addition to estimate the prevalence of the behavior it is required to measure factual beliefs, empirical expectations, personal normative beliefs, and normative expectations (Bicchieri, 2017: 94-98). For this purpose, mixed methods were used, combining quantitative and qualitative methods to provide a broader perspective of the problem.

a. Focus groups

Given the exploratory nature of the research, it is essential to start the analysis from a qualitative perspective. For that, exploratory focus groups were carried out to identify the prevalence of sexual harassment in its different types, identify and understand scripts and schemas around the behavior, explore who they recognize as “relevant others” (i.e., reference network), and understand in a preliminary way some factual beliefs, personal normative beliefs, empirical expectations, and normative expectations. The results of this first instrument were a crucial input to develop a questionnaire well-tailored to the school's behaviors.

b. Survey

Based on the results generated from the focus groups, the quantitative instrument was written. The purpose of this questionnaire was to identify the prevalence of various types of sexual harassment, as well as the existence or absence of relevant factual beliefs, empirical expectations, personal normative beliefs, and normative expectations. The instrument was piloted in a small group (8 students) and adjusted according

to the preliminary results to ensure the clarity, the adequacy of the sections and the order of the questionnaire, and the relevance of the questions for the studied population.

c. Target population

The target population were Latino adolescents from urban areas in economically disadvantaged high schools with 75% Latino population. The focus is on high school students due to the structure of the education system in the United States. This school stage often consist of students from many different middle schools, creating a kluge of new social norms that start in the 9th grade.

Also, as explained in previous sections, this study analyzes the Latino culture particularly because this group present shared beliefs, attitudes, and values related to traditional gender roles of machismo. Additionally, previous research has found that Latinos who have grown up in the United States find a conflict between the American norms and those they observe in their families or groups of friends that act out traditional norms.

Finally, this study was carried out in Central Falls High School in Rhode Island since it met the selection criteria. The sample size for quantitative part the was estimated in order to achieve a 8% margin of error and a 90% confidence level. The survey was applied to 74 students, given a population of 650. For the qualitative part, 3 focus groups were done with 6 students each. For both purposes, the work was done with a partner organization, Young Voices that conducted the survey and focus groups.

d. Demographics

The survey was conducted on 54% girls and 46% boys between 14 and 18 years old that predominantly described themselves as Latinos (67.5%). The average number of years students attended the school is 3.8 and the average number of years students lived in their current neighborhood is 5.8 years. Additionally, the majority of primary caregivers have only completed high school (67.5%)

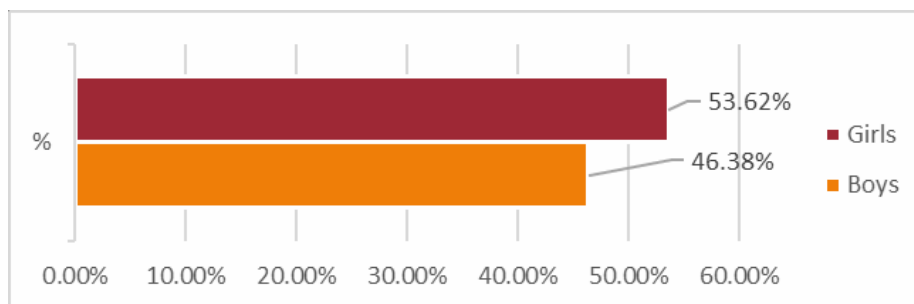


Figure 2. Sex distribution. Source: Own elaboration

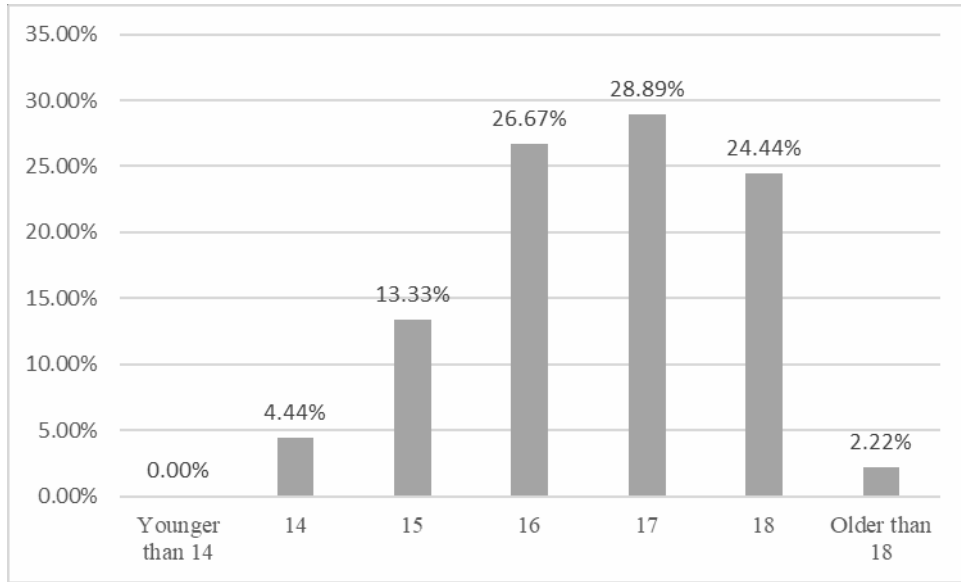


Figure 3. Age distribution. Source: Own elaboration

Table 1. Years in school and neighborhood. Source: Own elaboration

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
How many years have you attend this school?	1	6	3.8	1.26	1.58
How many years have you lived in your current neighborhood?	1	6	5.79	0.82	0.68

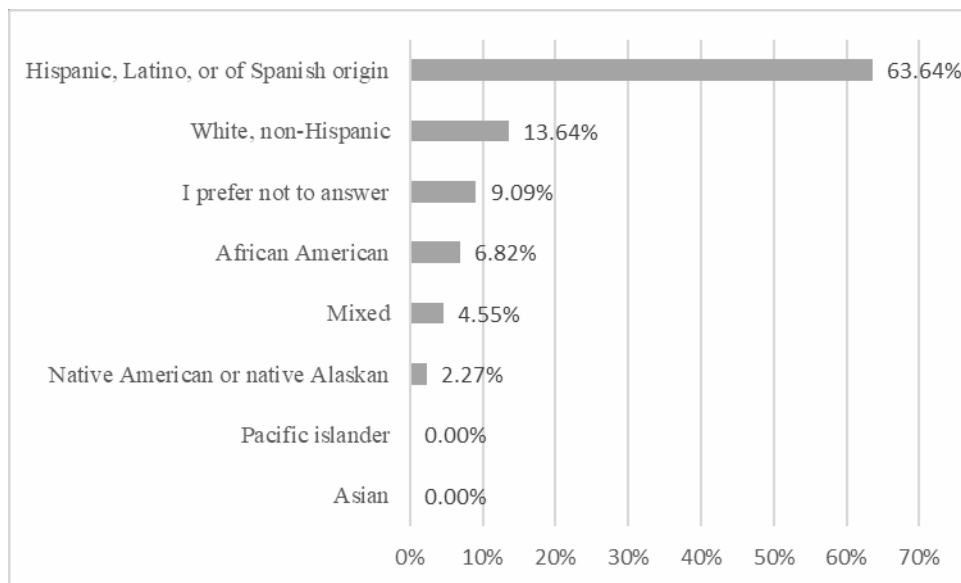


Figure 4. Race / ethnicity distribution. Source: Own elaboration

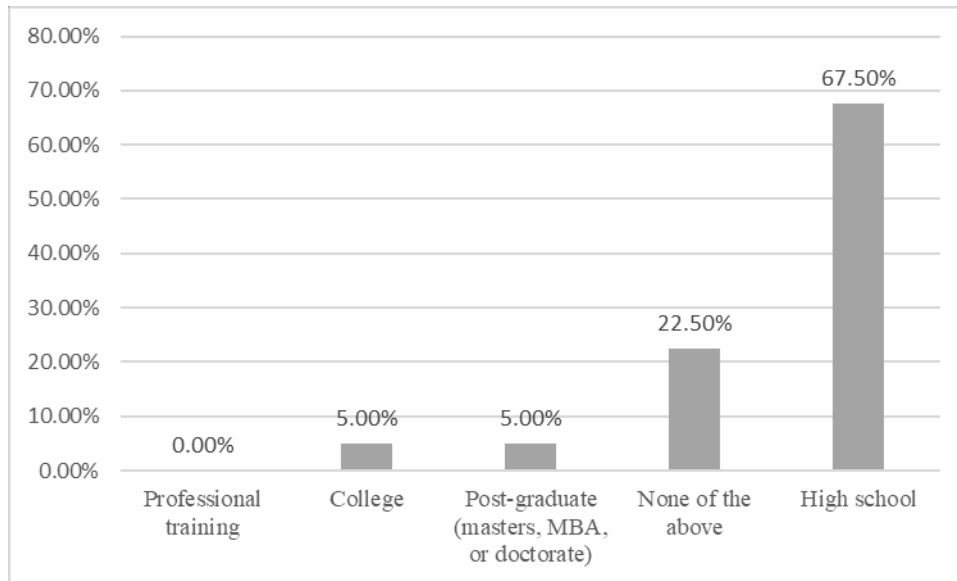


Figure 5. What is the highest level of education completed by either of your primary caregivers?
Source: Own elaboration

VII. RESULTS

1. FOCUS GROUPS

1.1. Mixed Gender

1.1.1. Analysis

The mixed gender group was asked about the different situations that make them feel uncomfortable in school. The most common behaviors they identified were name calling towards opposite genders using sexually related words, showing inappropriate sexual content about the girls of the school, stabbing others in the back, and making homophobic comments.

In fact, when students were asked about behaviors they had experienced, they answer that it is common to being cat-called, to be touched without their consent, to have their private lives exposed, and to hear rude comments in the hallways. Curiously, when asked about the behaviors that they perform, the students identified that touching others without consent is usually the most common problem. The students recognized that the behavior was considered aggressive. Despite the attitude is recognized as morally disapproved it is perceived as a normal behavior between peers.

Regarding gender differences, non-consensual touching between boys was described as the most frequent behavior for the male-identifying youth. Boys also stated that this conduct is justified as a game, but it is uncomfortable for them. In addition, they talked about making homophobic comments between boys to make others feel uncomfortable when they do not act according to the expected gender roles established for men, labeling them as homosexuals because they do not want to drink alcohol or feel

uncomfortable when they see pictures of girls that other boys show them. One of them stated that "*if they feel like you do not exactly follow the norms that society has for guys then they will be like you are so gay for that*". Boys stated that they are usually afraid to say something different from their peers' opinions because there is a strong pressure to act following others. In a similar way, when girls were asked about their behaviors toward other girls, they pointed out exposing them, sharing personal information to others, talking behind their backs, as well as making aggressive comments about physical attributes of other girls.

In addition, students were asked about whether the above-mentioned attitudes are also common in their families or within their neighborhoods. They answered that some of the physical and verbal types of sexual harassment are common in their neighborhood. Moreover, they stated that their actions were judged in a severe way and that their relatives expect them to act following strict gender roles (e.g., having different expectations about what a man or woman should do within the family context). One of the girls affirmed "*they expect a woman to always be smiling and happy which is annoying*".

Furthermore, at the end the students did an exercise to choose the most common sexual harassment types that they have experienced or witnessed in their school having the following list:

1.1.2. Final behaviors

Behaviors in bold occur "most often" in school according to focus group participants

- **Name calling***
- Spreading videos/ photos without permission
- **Talking behind each other's back***
- Being judgmental
- **Making homophobic comments like you're gay***
- Staring you up and down
- **Showing aggressive behavior (especially when someone is turned down)***
- Exposing private information about someone
- Expecting things from someone
- Touching another person's butt
- Kicking in private area
- Touching
- **Peer pressure to do things you don't want to do***
- Cultural differences
- Body shaming
- Manipulating
- **Catcalling***
- Fighting
- Forming cliques

1.2. All-Female

1.2.1. Analysis

Regarding the all-female group, almost all the girls agreed that the situations that make them to feel

uncomfortable were being touched in a sexual way without their consent by other students and sexual or racist comments about them. Also, when they were asked about attitudes observed among their peers that make them feel uncomfortable, the students point out that they feel annoyed when others speak behind their backs or made rumors (including those of a sexual type) about them.

In addition, they point out that it is common to see people act in a certain way when they are alone and have a different attitude when being with their group of friends. Referring to this point, one of the girls stated, "*monkey see monkey do*". In this case, the existence of an interdependent behavior can be identified based on empirical expectations because what others expect them to do is important for them and has a great influence on the decision to act in a specific way, that is, they want to conform with the rules of their group of friends (which can be identified as the reference network). Although, the girls recognized that sometimes these behaviors are wrong and it interferes with their own beliefs.

When girls were asked about behaviors that boys do to make them feel uncomfortable there was a consensus about being touched without their consent. About attitudes that are made by girls to make boys feel uncomfortable, they stated that their female peers invade boys' personal space, or dress in a way that makes them feel uncomfortable. Also, girls talk about having specific expectations about the attitude that boys should have with them (normative expectations of how to be a man).

Furthermore, girls talked about the attitudes that boys have in order to make them uncomfortable. They point out that the boys "*play*" with them and "*touch each other's ass*". Regarding boys to boys' behaviors, they said that boys are usually competitive among them and call each other "gay" in order to offend their male peers for not behaving in a manly way. In this case, the presence of both empirical and normative expectations is observed. Regarding the attitudes made by girls to girls, the students expressed that they talk about each other's back making judgmental comments, invent rumors, and compete between each other. About that, they expressed feeling annoyed about these types of behaviors.

Complementary, when girls were asked about similar behaviors in other contexts, they mentioned that they are common both in their family environment and in their community. For instance, girls stated that in her families and neighborhood it is common to invent rumors about others, make racist comments that can be much more aggressive than in school, or judge the attitudes of people based on traditional gender roles. One of the students pointed out that at home they have expectations about how men or women act "*like what you are supplying and what you're supposed to do and that stuff*". Likewise, they stated that within their community, it is common to take and send pictures of people without their consent, generating a sense of insecurity when walking in the streets "*just like a girl doesn't feel comfortable walking by a whole group of boys*".

Consistently, when the selection of the most common behaviors was done, girls selected "spread rumors" and "harass others". When they were asked about adjectives they would use to describe a girl that harasses others they mention a fighter, mean, insecure and attention seeker. Regarding adjectives they would use for a boy who have the same attitude they define also with negative ones as disgusting, sexual, pedophile, irritating, and weird. Interestingly, the adjectives given by girls for boys tend to be more severe.

About their behavior towards boys, one of them said that she had "*played too much with a boy*". She explained that she sent text messages with sexual content to a boy and recognized that it was wrong because it made him uncomfortable. This shows that the student identify that her behavior was not right, nevertheless the girl said that she and her peers continue to do this kind of things because it is believed to be socially accepted, facing pluralist ignorance.

Regarding possible reasons why students would behave in the presented ways, the students described the girls who do such behaviors as wannabe, jealous, super mad, no life, insecure, and boring. About their male peers, they described boys that harass as "rejected and annoying". Also, when girls were asked about why they believe that the girls do the most common behaviors (invent rumors and harass), they said that they do it mainly out of jealousy when comparing with other girls, to feel satisfied, or to feel that they have power over others. That shows a high level of competitiveness between girls and a desire to feel superior within the female group. In contrast, they consider that boys behave in this way because they feel alone and want to feel popular among the other kids in the school.

1.2.2. Final behaviors

Behaviors in bold occur "most often" in school according to focus group participants

- **Touching***
- **Cat Calling***
- Talking behind each other's back
- **Staring***
- Making fun of each other
- Judging others
- Excluding others
- Making racist comments
- Making homophobic comments
- Making unwanted sexual comments
- Bullying
- **Spreading rumors***
- **Acting fake***
- Following others
- **Cursing***
- Exposing/ sharing personal information without consent
- Getting too close
- **Harassing (physical and verbal)***
- **Disrespecting***
- Showing off
- Taking personal items of others
- Playing or joking around too much
- Competing
- Manipulating

1.3. All-Male

1.3.1. Analysis

In the all-male group, when the students were asked about the things that happen in their school that make them feel uncomfortable, the most common opinion was receiving discriminatory comments that are usually used to refer to classmates that are from another race. They also pointed out they don't like seeing their schoolmates going out with older or having public display of affection in the corridors of the school because they would consider it as a competitive attitude that make some students to feel superior or more popular based on their romantic or sexual life.

About the behaviors that are more common among their peers within the school, they said they felt annoyed mainly because of the people who talk about others behind their backs and that in spite of the fact that the behavior is often described as wrong, they continue to do it. Regarding boys to girls actions, they think that their male peers make girls feel uncomfortable by touching them without their consent, referring to them in disrespecting ways "*slut shaming*" or justifying their actions under the belief that "*the girls must accept it because that's what girls should do*". This shows negative empirical expectations and normative expectations that are related to sexual harassment justification. About girl to boy behaviors, they express being annoyed with the girls that touch them without their consent. Also, they said that some of the girls make fun of them when they show their emotions. In this case, gender roles are assumed again on how boys should or should not express their emotions in front of others (empirical and normative expectations).

Differently, boy to boy actions were mainly calling each other with aggressive nicknames, "*playing*" very roughly between them, getting recorded in private situations and being exposed afterwards, and generating fights with boys in vulnerable situations. On the other hand, when talking about behaviors among girls, they explained that it is common for them to be exposed or to have hostile behaviors among each other making themselves feel insecure, in addition to judging behaviors and excluding the girls who not follow the popular group.

Furthermore, when boys were asked about their families and neighborhood, they pointed out that it is also common to see the former behaviors reinforced in their families by lying and shaming others about their actions and interests. The students also talk about their relatives talking down to them. Regarding their neighborhoods, they stated that this attitudes are also common, and they usually see people talking behind each other's back frequently. Finally, in the selection of the most comment behaviors, the students chose talking behind someone's back and constantly lying including sexual topics and gossiping. They considered it bad but said "*it just happened around here*" for the both genders.

1.3.2. Final behaviors

Behaviors in bold occur "most often" in school according to focus group participants

- Discriminating against others
- **Name calling***
- Bullying
- Being arrogant
- Being ignorant
- Public displays of affection
- **Touching***
- **Showing off***
- Controlling
- **Talking behind each other's back***
- **Public shaming***
- Excluding
- **Sharing personal information without permission***
- Forcing
- **Lying***
- Cheating
- Stealing
- Initiating fights
- Playing around too much

1.4. Comparative table

The following table shows the main findings of the focus groups in a comparative format. The main results were sorted by topic, which allows to see the similarities and differences between the different types of focus group (by gender composition).

Table 2. Focus group comparative table. Source: Own elaboration

	ALL-FEMALE	AL- MALE FG	MIXED GENDER
<i>Things happening in school with their peers</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Touching people / being touched • People talking behind others back • Looking “up and down” to them • Racist comments • People make fun of each other's • Unwanted sexual comments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use the “R” word (retarded) • Racial discrimination • Calling each other names in different languages • Being arrogant • Being ignorant • Public displays of affection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Calling names towards opposite genders • Spread inappropriate videos (sexual videos)

<p><i>Things that they have seen in school between peers</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bullying • Spreading rumors • Acting fake • Talking behind others back 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talking behind each other's back • Public Shaming • Excluding • Fighting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stab in the back • Homophobic comments
<p><i>Things that boys do to girls</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Touching them • Exposing them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talking about their secrets • Forcing girls to do things they don't want • Touching them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cat calling • Touching without permission • Staring them up and down • Making loud comments • Exposing them
<p><i>Things that girls do to boys</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acting provocative • Touching them • Getting to close making them uncomfortable • Take people's things • Expecting things for being a boy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Touching them • Make fun about their emotions • Sharing personal information • Exposing them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Touching
<p><i>Things that boys do to boys</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Touching without permission. • Being aggressive • Being in a competition • Call gay to each other's 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Touching • Recording each other • Fighting • Name calling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Touching • Name calling (homophobic names) • Expecting things because they are boys
<p><i>Things that girls do to girls</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spread rumors • Talking behind each other's backs • Judging • Be jealous of each other • Being two faced • Manipulating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exposing each other • Making other girls feel insecure • Being competitive • Talking behind each other's backs • Show themselves 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exposing • Body shaming • Talking behind each other's backs • Manipulative behavior • Judge each other's

<p><i>Things that happen in their homes or neighborhood</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Touching • Racist comments • Spreading rumors • Acting fake • Joking to much • Exposing • Having genders expectations • Unwanted sexual comments • Taking pictures without permission 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lying • Talking behind each other's back • Shaming • Stealing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Body shame • Judgmental comments • Traditional gender expectations • Homophobic comments
<p><i>Describe a girl that...</i></p>	<p>Harasses someone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attention seeker • Fighter • Mean • Insecure • Evil 	<p>Talks behind other's back</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fake 	<p>Talks behind other's back</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two faced • Annoying • Insecure • Childish • Attention seeker • Aggressive • Jealous
	<p>Spreads rumors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jealous • Mad • Bored • No life • Insecure • Hater • They want to feel good • They want to have power 	<p>Lies a lot</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not reliable • Make for an habit 	<p>Makes homophobic comments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ignorant • Closed-minded
<p><i>Describe a boy that....</i></p>	<p>Harasses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disgusting • Pedophile • Weird • Irritating 	<p>Talks behind other's back</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immature • Want attention 	<p>Talks behind other's back</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insecure • Jealous

	<p>Spreads rumors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feels rejection • Wants attention 	<p>Lies a lot</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immature 	<p>Makes homophobic comments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immature • Ignorant • There are nor secure about their sexuality
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2. SURVEY

2.1. Section 1: Behaviors

As mentioned in the methodological section, the focus groups’ results to create the survey with the behaviors that the students found more prevalent in their school. In order to have a better understanding of sexual harassment it was decided to triangulate the results by using multiple measures (victimization, perpetration and bystander). The results of each question are in the following pages.

2.1.1. Victimization

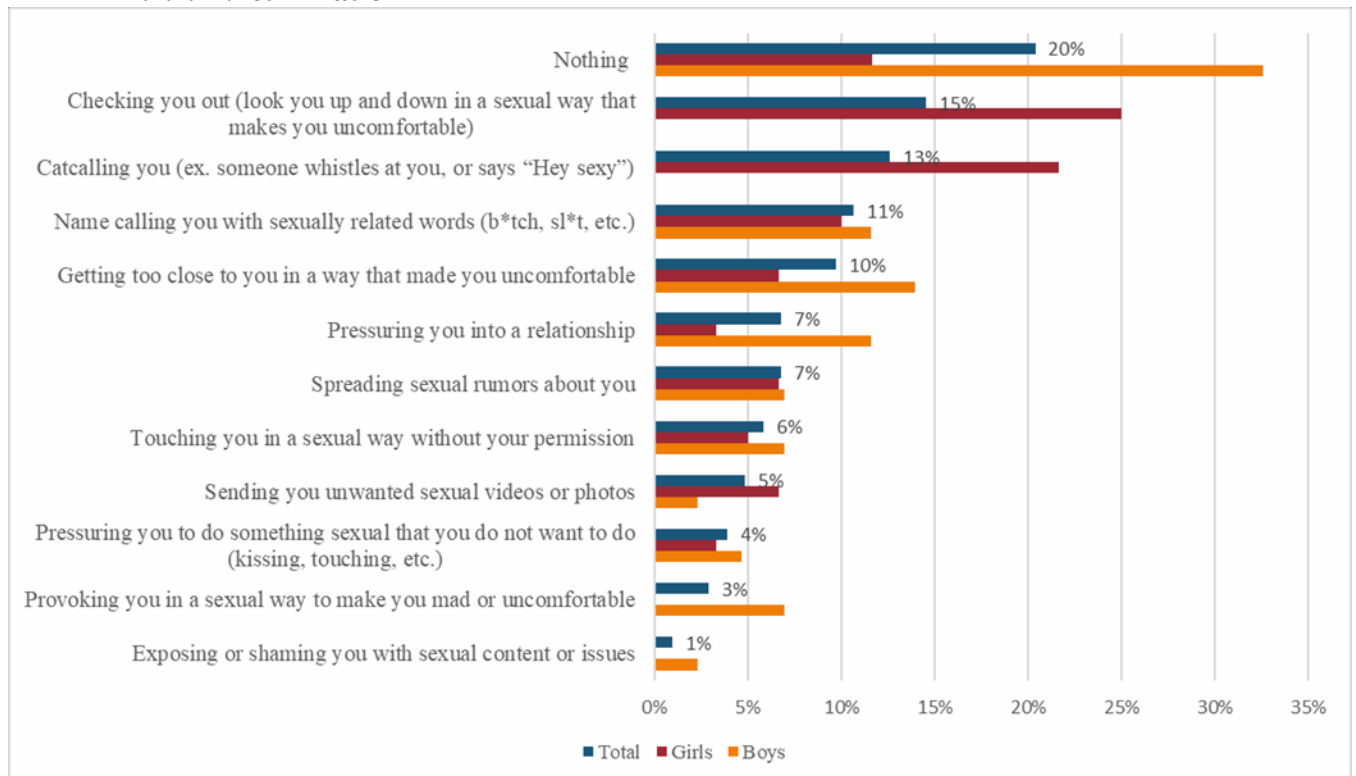


Figure 6. Have other students done any of the following behaviors to you at your school?
Source: Own elaboration

In terms of being a victim of various kinds of sexual harassment at their school, nearly one third of the

boys stated that they had not experienced any kind of sexual harassment, while only about 12% of girls answered with this option. Among female respondents, being “checked out” (being looked at in a sexual way that makes them uncomfortable) and being “catcalled” (e.g. someone whistling at you) were the most common experiences of sexual harassment, with nearly a quarter of girls reporting these experiences. Being name called with sexually related words (11% of all respondents), having sexual rumors spread about them (7% of all respondents), and feeling pressured to do something sexual that they did not want to do (4% of all respondents) were nearly equal between girls and boys. Someone getting too close in a way that caused discomfort and feeling pressured to be in a relationship, were experiences that were more prevalent among boys than girls, while girls were about two times more likely to receive unwanted sexual videos or photos. Finally, only boys reported being provoked in a sexual way that made them mad or uncomfortable (nearly 7% of respondents) and being exposed or shamed with sexual content or issues (nearly 3% of respondents).

2.1.2. Perpetration

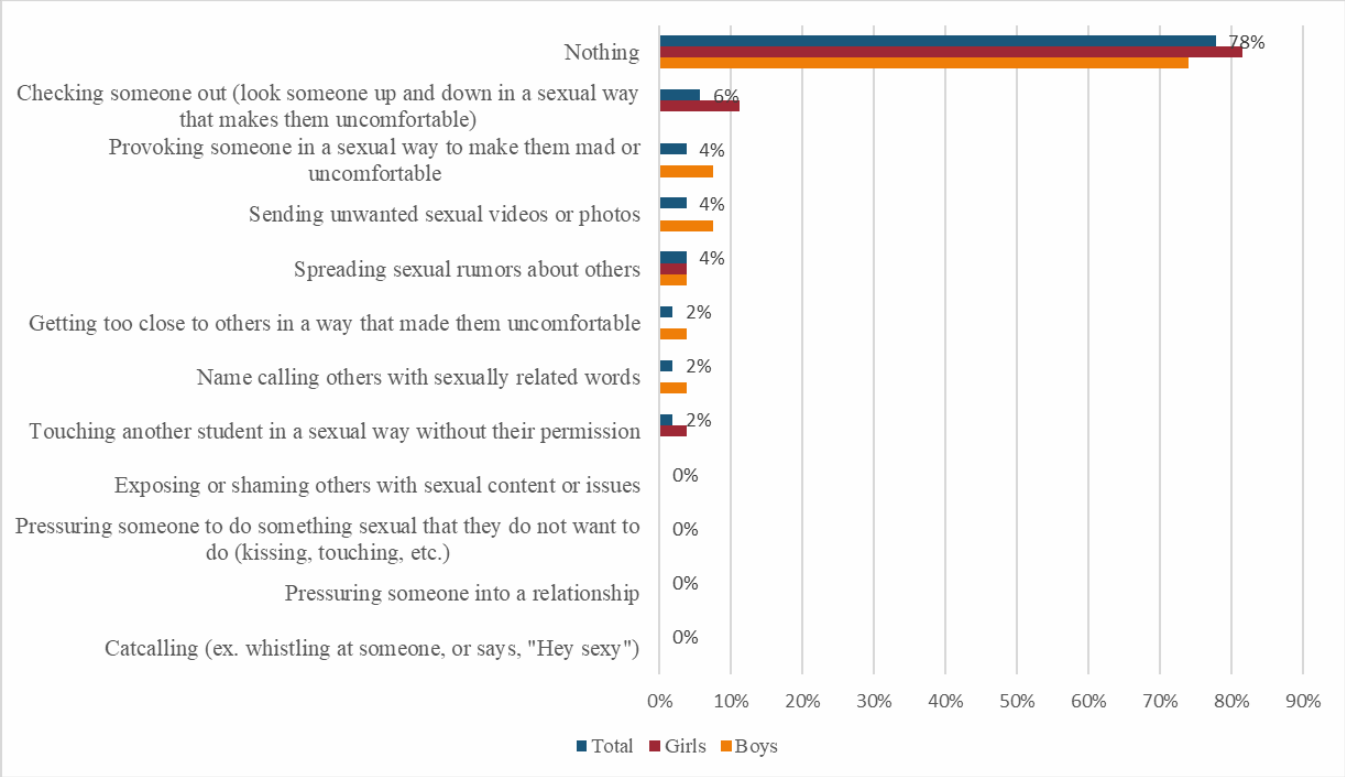


Figure 7. Have you done any of the following behaviors to other students at your school?
 Source: Own elaboration

Regarding being perpetrators of various kinds of sexual harassment at their school, just over 70% of male respondents stated that they had not perpetrated any kind of sexual harassment, while over 80% of girls stated that they had not acted as a perpetrator. Only boys admitted provoking someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable (about 8%) and sending unwanted sexual videos or photos (also about 8%). Furthermore, about 4% of boys admitted getting too close to others in a way that made them feel uncomfortable and name calling others with sexually related words, while no girls admitted to do these behaviors. Only girls stated they have checked someone out (around 10% of girls) and that they have

touched another student in a sexual way without their permission (nearly 5% of girls). Boys and girls were equally as likely to admit to spreading sexual rumors about others (4% of respondents). Finally, no students stated that they were perpetrators for the remaining four behaviors: catcalling, pressuring someone into a relationship, pressuring someone to do something sexual that they do not want to do, and exposing or shaming others with sexual content or issues.

2.1.3. Bystanders

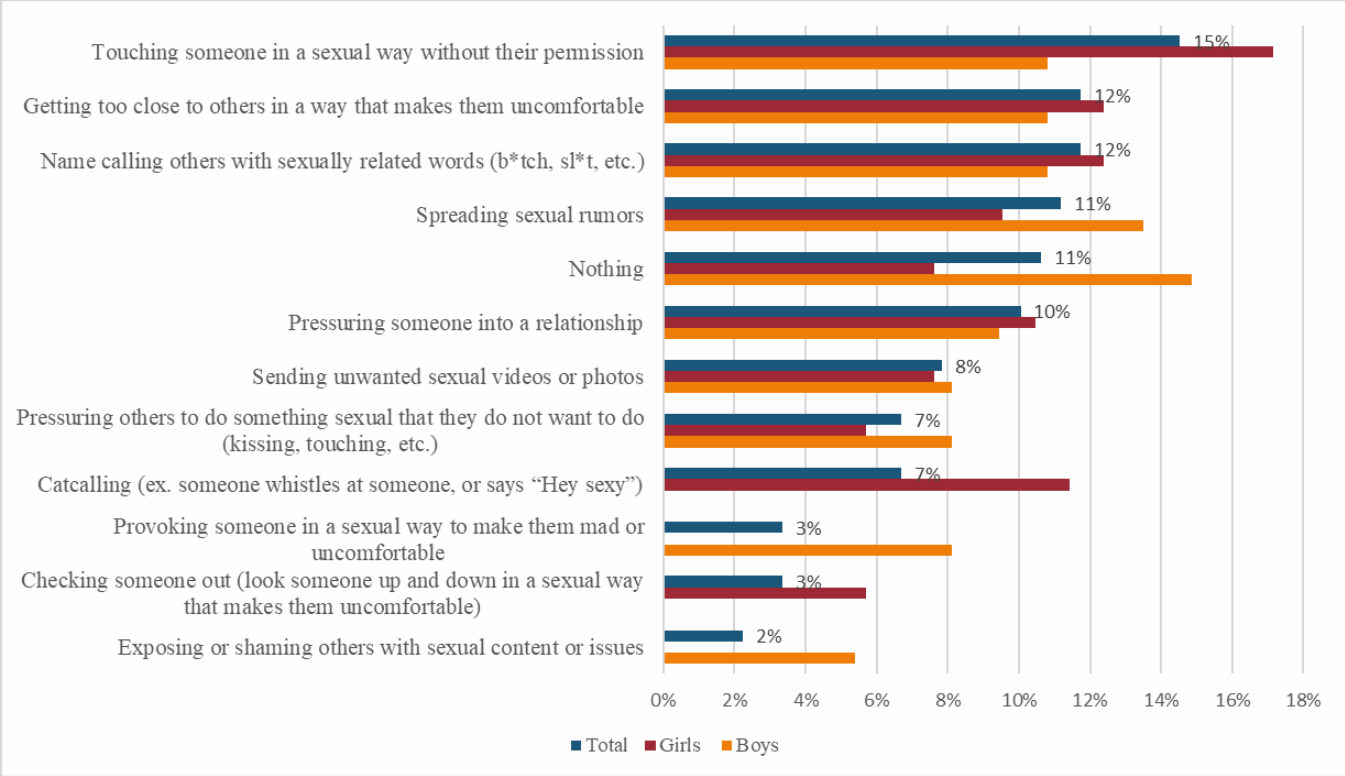


Figure 8. Have you seen any of your fellow students doing any of the following behaviors to other student at your school? Source: Own elaboration

Despite the majority of respondents stating that they had not perpetrated various kinds of sexual harassment, when asked if they had witnessed sexual harassment, only about 15% of boys and 8% of girls stated that they had not witnessed any kind of sexual harassment at their school. Someone being touched without their permission was the most common form of sexual harassment reported by students, with 17% of girls and just over 10% of boys reporting witnessing this behavior. Boys and girls were nearly as likely to report witnessing other students getting too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable and name calling others with sexually related words, with 12% of respondents reporting these behaviors. They were also nearly as likely to witness students pressuring someone into a relationship (10% of total respondents), sending unwanted sexual videos or photos (8% of respondents), and witnessing others pressuring someone to do something sexual that they do not want to do (7% of total respondents). Boys were slightly more likely to report witnessing other students spreading sexual rumors (nearly 14% of boys versus just under 10% of girls). Only girls reported witnessing catcalling (nearly 12% of girls) and others checking someone out (nearly 6% of girls). Only boys reported that they have seen other students provoking someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable (8% of boys) and exposing or shaming others

with sexual content or issues (nearly 6% of boys).

In addition to the individual analysis of each behavior, three summary measures were created: victimization index, perpetration index, and bystander index. Each student could have a score between 0 and 9 on the victimization and perpetration scales differentiated by gender. Differently, the bystander scale goes from 0 to 11 since it includes general behaviors towards boys and girls. The indices were created depending on the number of affirmative answers that the students made on each question.

As can be seen in the following table, the results about sexual harassment vary according the type of question. For instance, on average students mentioned having witnessed three behaviors, experienced between one and two as victims, and the majority does not recognize themselves as perpetrators (mean: 0.22). For a more complete visualization, a density plot was added comparing the distribution of each index.

Table 3. Indexes descriptives. Source: Own elaboration

	Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
Victimization index	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.61	2.50	9.00
Perpetration index	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.22	0.00	2.00
Bystander index	0.00	0.00	2.00	3.12	5.00	11.00

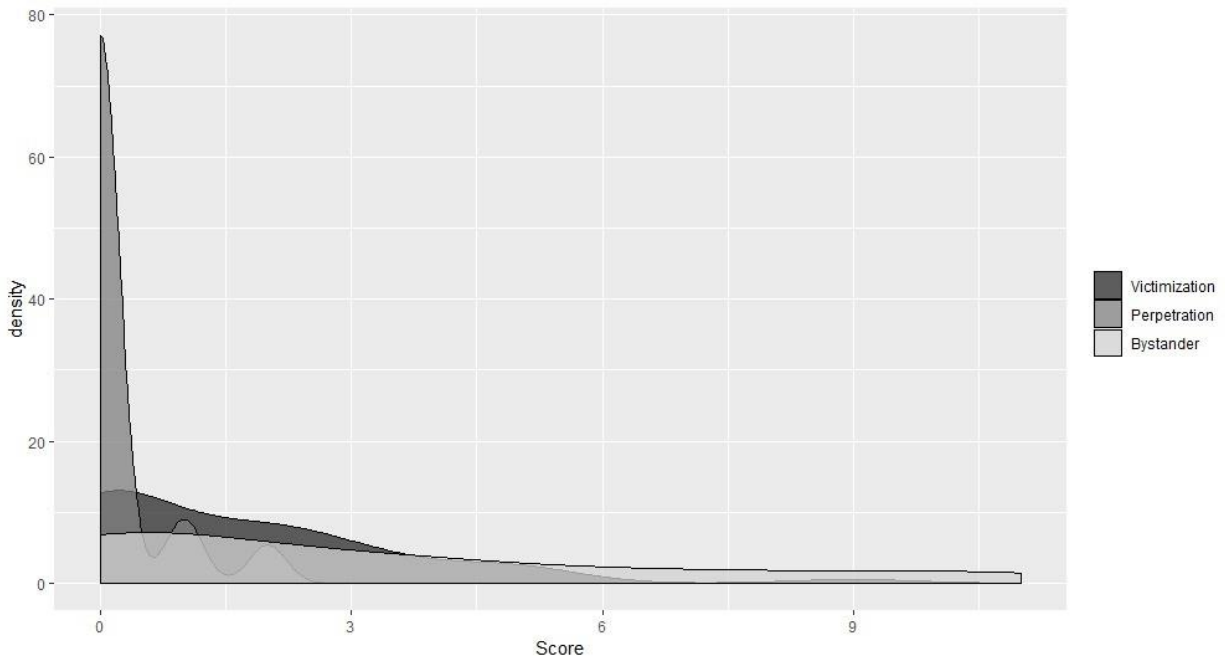


Figure 9. Density plot about victimization, perpetration, and bystander indices of sexual harassment. Source: Own elaboration

2.2. Section 2: Factual beliefs

In this section the main goal is explaining the students' beliefs about sexual harassment and their opinions about perpetrators and victims. It also helps to understand the differences of these beliefs and opinions by gender; thus, the results are separated by this.

2.2.1. Perpetrators:

2.2.1.1. Consequences for the perpetrators

a. Physical harassment:

- Alejandro grabbed a girl's butt without her permission in the school. What do you think are possible consequences?
- Cecilia grabbed a boy's butt without his permission in the school. What do you think are possible consequences for her behavior?

Table 4. Consequences for male perpetrator (physical type). Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Conversation with the principal	63.64	67.86	66.00
The school will call his parents	54.55	82.14	70.00
He would be suspended / expelled	45.45	53.57	50.00
He would get detention	22.73	25.00	24.00
Nothing	4.55	3.57	4.00
Other	9.09	7.14	8.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 5. Consequences for female perpetrator (physical type). Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Conversation with the principal	47.62	38.46	42.55
The school will call her parents	28.57	42.31	36.17
She would be suspended / expelled	23.81	23.08	23.40
She would get detention	23.81	11.54	17.02
Nothing	28.57	30.77	29.79
Other	14.29	11.54	12.77
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

In the focus groups the students pointed out that one of the similar behaviors from girls to boys as well as from boys to girls was grabbing others' butts without their permission. When compared this type of physical harassment with a boy and girl names, different results for possible consequences were found. As can be seen in the above tables, at a general level, students reported that when a boy is the perpetrator, he will face more sanctioning consequences. For instance, on average only 4% mentions that there will be no consequences for the case of Alejandro (boy) but 29.79% think the same for the case of Cecilia (girl).

Another interesting point is that for the case where the boy was the perpetrator there is a difference in the answers between boys and girls. Girls responded in greater proportion about possible sanctioning consequences for Alejandro. This difference is especially noticeable in the option "The school will call his parents" (27.59% of difference). For the case where the girl was the perpetrator, the differences of answers between gender can be observed but in an inconsistent way. Boys answered higher rates for "Conversation with the principal" and "She would get detention" but in smaller proportion in the other categories.

b. Other types:

- Juan saw a girl he thought was cute and whistled at her as she walked by in the hall. What do you think are possible consequences for his behavior?

Table 6. Consequences for male perpetrator (subtle type).

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Conversation with the principal	57.14	34.62	44.68
The school will call his parents	19.05	19.23	19.15
He would be suspended / expelled	4.76	7.69	6.38
He would get detention	23.81	19.23	21.28
Nothing	33.33	46.15	40.43
Other	4.76	11.54	8.51
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Own elaboration

- Marta spread a false rumor that a girl in the school had sex with her boyfriend. What do you think are possible consequences for her behavior?

Table 7. Consequences for female perpetrator (subtle type). Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Conversation with the principal	63.64	57.69	60.42
The school will call her parents	50.00	57.69	54.17
She would be suspended / expelled	36.36	38.46	37.50
She would get detention	18.18	26.92	22.92
Nothing	18.18	11.54	14.58
Other	4.55	7.69	6.25
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

- Javier sent a sexual picture to a girl during a class. What do you think are possible consequences for his behavior?

Table 8. Consequences for male perpetrator (Visual type).Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Conversation with the principal	63.64	60.00	61.70
The school will call his parents	50.00	68.00	59.57
He would be suspended / expelled	63.64	60.00	61.70
He would get detention	18.18	16.00	17.02
Nothing	9.09	4.00	6.38
Other	18.18	8.00	12.77
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

- Victoria provoked a boy in class by making sexual comments that made him uncomfortable. What do you think are possible consequences for her behavior?

Table 9. Consequences for female perpetrator (Verbal type). Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Conversation with the principal	63.64	61.54	62.50
The school will call her parents	45.45	46.15	45.83
She would be suspended / expelled	27.27	30.77	29.17
She would get detention	40.91	34.62	37.50
Nothing	9.09	23.08	16.67
Other	9.09	3.85	6.25
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

The four previous tables present scenarios for possible consequences for different behaviors done by boys and girls. The boys (Juan and Javier) were presented in scenarios catcalling and sending a sexual picture. For the case of catcalling, the majority of students mentioned that this type of behavior would have no consequence (40.43%). Differently, regarding sending a sexual picture, only 6.38% mentioned that nothing would happen. The possible consequences with the greatest magnitude of response for this action were "Conversation with the principal" and "He would be suspended / expelled" with 61.7%.

About the behaviors done by girls (Marta and Victoria) the behaviors of spreading sexual rumors and making sexual comments that make other uncomfortable were presented. The results for both behaviors were similar. The majority of students answered that the two main consequences for the behaviors are "Conversation with the principal" and "The school will call her parents". It is worth mentioning that there is a gender difference when responding that the behavior will not have any consequence. Girls think that spreading rumors does not have consequences in greater proportion than boys (6.64% of difference). On the other hand, regarding making sexual comments the boys think in greater proportion than this type of action has no sanctioning consequences (13.99% of difference).

2.2.1.2. Description of the perpetrators

- Alejandro grabbed a girl's butt without her permission in the school. How would you describe Alejandro?

- Cecilia grabbed a boy's butt without his permission in the school. How would you describe Cecilia?

Table 10. Description of male perpetrator.
Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Funny	17.39	3.57	9.80
Annoying or Immature	69.57	57.14	62.75
Mean	8.70	7.14	7.84
Affectionate	4.35	3.57	3.92
Friendly	13.04	3.57	7.84
Disgusting	73.91	92.86	84.31
Other	13.04	10.71	11.76
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 11. Description of female the perpetrator.
Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boy	Girl	Total
Funny	9.09	7.69	8.33
Annoying or immature	86.36	69.23	77.08
Mean	9.09	15.38	12.50
Affectionate	9.09	0.00	4.17
Friendly	9.09	3.85	6.25
Disgusting	40.91	61.54	52.08
Other	9.09	7.69	8.33
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Recurring to the example about grabbing another person's butt, we asked the students how they would describe the people who performed that behavior. When comparing the general results, there are some interesting differences. For instance, a girl who performs this behavior is considered primarily annoying or immature (77.08%), while a boy who performs the same behavior is considered disgusting (84.31%). It is also important to differentiate the results by gender of the respondent. Boys think that it's funny when the behavior is from a boy to a girl but less funny when the victim is a boy. The opposite happens in the case of girls, it is less funny if the victim is a girl. Another point that is worth mentioning is that 3.57% of girls describe as affectionate a boy who performs this action, but none describes with that adjective a girl who does it.

2.2.2. Victims

2.2.2.1. Feelings of the victims

- In your opinion, how might a girl who had her butt grabbed without her permission feel?

Table 12. Feelings of female victim.
Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Angry	77.27	73.08	75.00
Scared or vulnerable	54.55	73.08	64.58
Embarrassed	54.55	69.23	62.50
Annoyed	63.64	53.85	58.33
Sad	22.73	34.62	29.17
Stressed	18.18	34.62	27.08
Guilty	0	19.23	10.42
Other	9.09	7.69	8.33
Popular or attractive	4.55	3.85	4.17
Normal (not affected)	4.55	0	2.08
Total	100	100	100

- In your opinion, how might a boy who had his butt grabbed without his permission feel?

Table 13. Feelings of male victim. Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Angry	54.55	53.85	54.17
Annoyed	63.64	42.31	52.08
Embarrassed	40.91	50	45.83
Normal (not affected)	27.27	30.77	29.17
Popular / attractive	13.64	19.23	16.67
Scared or vulnerable	13.64	15.38	14.58
Sad	13.64	0	6.25
Other	9.09	3.85	6.25
Stressed	4.55	3.85	4.17
Guilty	4.55	0	2.08
Total	100	100	100

Based on the comparison between the two previous tables, we can see that at a general level the feeling that is considered as the most common for both male and female victims when facing unwelcome touching is being angry. However, by separating the results by gender of the victim the second expected reaction in the case of girls is being scared or feeling vulnerable (64.6%) that only reaches 14.6% when the victim is a boy. Another interesting result is the gender differences of feeling guilty. Students of the opposite sex do not mention this option as a possible feeling. That is, boys don't think girls will feel guilty for being victimized and vice versa. Although 19.23% of girls believe that another girl would feel guilty for receiving this type of offense, they do not consider that a boy would feel this in the same situation. Finally, we also found differences about having positive feelings or not having them at all after facing this type of offense. When the action happens to girls, only 4.2% of the students mentioned that the victim would feel popular or attractive, while this option reached 16.7% when the victim is a boy. Regarding the option of feeling normal (not affected), interestingly no girl opted for this category when one of her female peers is the victim, but 30.8% of them responded with this option when the victim is a boy.

2.2.2.2. Responses of the victims

- In your opinion, how might a girl respond after having her butt grabbed without her permission?

Table 14. Responses of female victim.
Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Avoid the person who did it	63.64	69.23	66.67
Ask for help or tell on the person who did the behavior	54.55	46.15	50.00
Confront them personally	50.00	46.15	47.92
Nothing	9.09	15.38	12.50
Transfer to another school	9.09	11.54	10.42
Other	0	7.69	4.17
Total	100	100	100

- In your opinion, how might a boy respond after having his butt grabbed without his permission?

Table 15. Responses of male victim. Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Confront them personally	59.09	36	46.81
Nothing	31.82	48	40.43
Avoid the person who did it	31.82	24	27.66
Ask for help or tell on the person who did the behavior	27.27	24	25.53
Transfer to another school	4.55	0	2.13
Other	0	4	2.13
Total	100	100	100

Continuing with the victims, from the previous tables it can be concluded that the possible responses of the victims after suffering sexual harassment differ depending on the sex of the victim. The most common answers for girls are avoid the harasser (66.7%) and ask for help (50%). Differently, for boys the most common reaction is to confront the harasser personally (46.81%). Interestingly, only 12.5% of the students mentioned doing nothing as an option when the victim is a girl, but 40.4% respond with this option when the affected is a boy. This is preoccupying because it reveals that boys have difficulty in responding after facing sexual harassment.

2.2.3. Perception of accountability

In your opinion are students held accountable by the school for not following school rules?

Table 16. Perception of accountability. Source: Own elaboration

	%		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Students are always held accountable	31.82	3.85	16.67
Students and mostly held accountable	36.36	61.54	50.00
Students are rarely held accountable	27.27	34.62	31.25
Students are almost never held accountable	4.55	0.00	2.08
Total	100	100	100

Finally, another important factual belief is the students' perceived accountability related to following or not following school rules. As can be seen in the table above, the first two categories (always and mostly) contain 66.7% of the students, which indicates that the majority of them perceive that they are held accountable. However, it is important to highlight the gender differences. For instance, almost 32% of boys perceived that they are always held accountable while just 3.9% of the girls have this perception. On the other extreme, no girl responded with the option of never held accountable, while almost 5% of boys opted for this answer.

2.3. Section 3: Empirical expectations

2.3.1. Girls

- Out of ten girls from your school, how many do you think have done the following things?

Table 17. Empirical expectations for girls. Source: Own elaboration

Behavior	Mean	Median
Name calling others with sexually related words (b*tch, sl*t, etc.)	6.85	7.5
Spreading sexual rumors about others	4.69	5
Exposing or shaming others with sexual content or issues	4.53	4
Touching another student in a sexual way without their permission	4.03	3
Provoking someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable	3.78	3
Getting too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable	3.29	2.5
Sending unwanted sexual videos or photos	3.21	2
Pressuring someone into a relationship	3.13	3
Pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do (kissing, touching, etc.)	2.89	2

Results show that the distribution of responses varies depending on the specific behavior, meaning that the empirical expectations among girls' actions are different depending on the type of harassment. On average, the behavior that presents the highest empirical expectations, that is, the behavior that is expected to be performed by the greatest number of girls (around 7 of 10) is name calling others with sexually related words. This result is also validated through the median, at least 50% of the students think that 75% of the girls in that school does that behavior. The action with the lowest empirical expectation is girls pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do. On average, students think that almost 3 out of 10 the girls on their school pressure others to do something sexual that they do not want to do.

From these results, two points can be highlighted. First, although the last behavior is not perceived as frequent as the others shown on the table, the proportion is still noticeable, so it should not be misperceived. Second, the behaviors that have not been mentioned are close in proportions: even though the one with the highest empirical expectations is name calling (6.85), it should be understood that students expect that between 4 and 5 of 10 girls (almost half of them) spread sexual rumors (4.69), expose or shame others with sexual content or issues (4.53), and touch other students in a sexual way without their permission (4.03), which implies that the probability of these events could be sustained or increased in the future if the students base their behaviors on these expectations.

2.3.2. Boys

- Out of ten boys from your school, how many do you think have done the following things?

Table 18. Empirical expectations for boys. Source: Own elaboration

Behavior	Mean	Median
Checking someone out (look someone up and down in a sexual way that make them uncomfortable)	6.48	7
Catcalling (ex. someone whistles at someone, or says "Hey sexy"•)	6.08	7
Name calling others with sexually related words (b*tch, sl*t, etc.)	6.00	6
Touching another student in a sexual way without their permission	4.87	4
Spreading sexual rumors	4.79	4
Getting too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable	4.54	4
Pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do (kissing, touching, etc.)	4.49	5
Sending unwanted sexual videos or photos	4.45	3.5
Pressuring someone into a relationship	3.74	3

Similarly to the previous results, the distribution of responses of students' expectations about boys' behaviors depends on the specific type of harassment. On average, the behaviors that present the highest empirical expectations (expecting around 6 out of 10 boys) are: checking someone out, catcalling, and name calling. On the other hand, the less expected behavior is boys pressuring someone into a relationship. Students think that 37% of boys pressure others to do something sexual that they do not want to do.

From these results, similar conclusions to those obtained for the empirical expectations about girls' behaviors can be done. First, although the least expected behavior is not as frequent as the others shown on the table, the proportion is still noticeable (4 out of 10), so it should not be misperceived. Second, the actions that have not been mentioned in the previous paragraph are similar in proportions. Students expect that almost half of their male peers (between 4 and 5 touch others without their permission, spread sexual rumors, get too close to others, pressure others to do something sexual, and send unwanted sexual videos or photos. This implies that not only the most frequent ones should be taken into consideration, but the whole list of behaviors should be considered instead.

For more detailed comparisons of answers between gender for each behavior see [Annex A](#).

2.4. Section 4: Personal Normative Beliefs

Juan grabbed a girl's butt without her permission in the school. Do you think it is right, neither right nor wrong, or wrong?

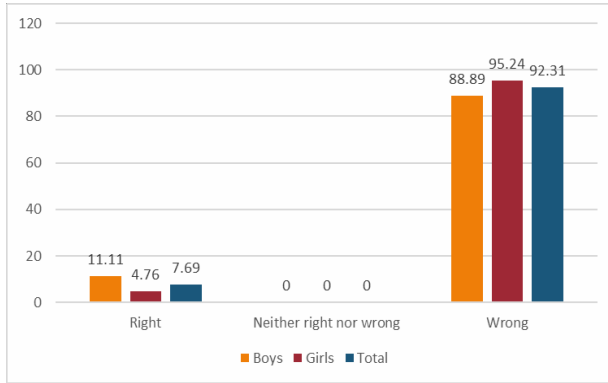


Figure 10. Personal Normative Beliefs about males (physical type). Source: Own elaboration

Maria grabbed a boy's butt without his permission in the school. Do you think it is right, neither right nor wrong, or wrong?

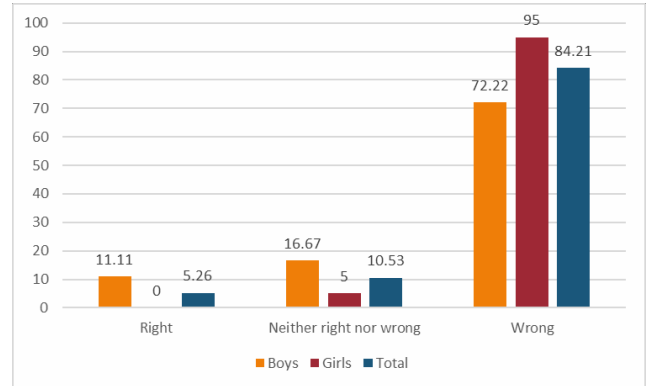


Figure 11. Personal Normative Beliefs about females (physical type). Source: Own elaboration

Regarding the personal normative beliefs, we asked about physical harassment with two scenarios that vary from the gender of the perpetrator. On the one hand, when the aggressor is a boy at a general level, 92.3% of students consider this behavior as wrong. It should be mentioned that when differentiating this answer by the respondent's sex it can be seen that boys tend to think that this action is right in a greater proportion (11%) compared to 4% of girls that respond with that opinion.

On the other hand, when the aggressor is a girl, 84.2% think that doing this is wrong. As in the previous case, the proportion of girls that consider this as wrong is greater. In addition, interestingly, 10.5% of students consider that this is neither right nor wrong, answer that obtains a higher percentage in boys (16.7%) than in girls (5%).

Based on the comparison between the two previous tables, it can be seen that at a general level the behavior is considered as wrong by more students when the aggressor is a boy. Additionally, it is interesting to find that no student responded with the neutral alternative in the case presented when a male peer was the harasser, but that this answer is used when the action is perpetrated by a girl.

- Oscar saw a girl he thought was cute and whistled at her as she walked by in the hall. Do you think it is right, neither right nor wrong, or wrong?

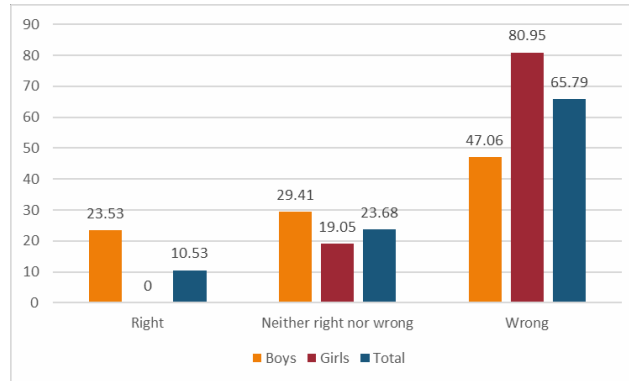


Figure 12. Personal Normative Beliefs about males (subtle type).
Source: Own elaboration

When asking about more subtle forms of harassing as catcalling, only 65.7% of the students recognized the behavior as wrong and almost a quarter consider it to be neither right nor wrong. When dividing the results by gender of the respondent it is interesting to see that no girl considers this behavior as right but 23.5% of the boys thinks that.

- Laura provoked a boy in class by making sexual comments that made him uncomfortable. Do you think it is right, neither right nor wrong, or wrong?

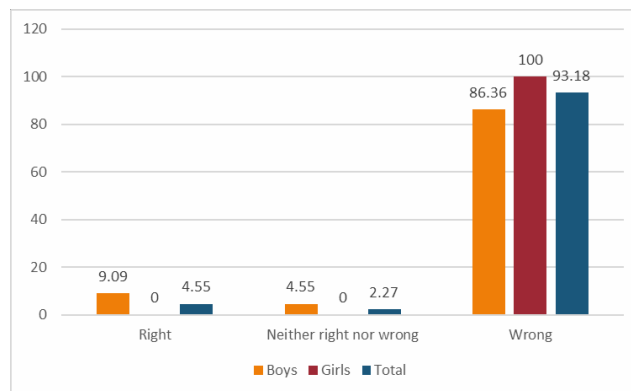


Figure 13. Personal Normative Beliefs about female (subtle type). Source: Own elaboration

Regarding verbal harassment, 93.2% of respondents considered the behavior as wrong. Interestingly, all the girls answered with this option. As can be seen, the boys present a higher percentage of acceptance of the behavior either considering it right (9%) or with a neutral response (4.6%).

2.5. Section 5: Normative expectations

2.5.1. Girls

- Out of ten girls from your school, how many do you think believe that it is wrong to do the following behaviors?

Table 19. Normative expectations for girls. Source: Own elaboration

Behavior	Mean	Median
Provoking someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable	7.22	7.5
Exposing or shaming others with sexual content or issues	7.13	7.5
Sending unwanted sexual videos or photos	6.82	8
Pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do (kissing, touching, etc.)	6.78	7.5
Pressuring someone into a relationship	6.61	7
Touching another student in a sexual way without their permission	6.53	7
Spreading sexual rumors about others	6.29	6
Getting too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable	6.18	7
Name calling others with sexually related words (b*tch, sl*t, etc.)	5.71	6.5

Normative expectations for girls were consistent regardless specific behaviors with slightly differences depending on the specific type of harassment. Thus, the mean and median in general are similar, and that could be understood as a trend of identifying misbehaviors by students. On average, the behavior that presents the highest negative normative expectations, that is, the behavior that is expected to be thought as wrong by the greatest number of girls (around 7 of 10) is provoking someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable. This result is also validated through the median, at least 50% of the students believe that 75% of the girls in that school think doing that behavior is wrong. The action with the lowest negative normative expectation is name calling others with sexually related words. On average, students think that almost 6 out of 10 girls believe that is wrong to name call others with sexually related words.

From these results, it can be highlighted that the behaviors that have not been mentioned are close in proportions to the one that presents the highest negative normative expectations: exposing or shaming others with sexual content or issues (7.13), sending unwanted sexual videos or photos (6.82) or pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do (6.78). According to these results, students believe that most of the girls think that the doing the discussed behaviors is wrong.

2.5.2. Boys

- Out of ten boys from your school, how many do you think believe that it is wrong to do the following behaviors?

Table 20. Normative expectations for boys. Source: Own elaboration

Behavior	Mean	Median
Pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do (kissing, touching, etc.)	6.26	7
Touching another student in a sexual way without their permission	6.09	6
Pressuring someone into a relationship	6	6
Getting too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable	5.9	6
Sending unwanted sexual videos or photos	5.87	6
Spreading sexual rumors	5.48	6
Name calling others with sexually related words (b*tch, sl*t, etc.)	4.84	5
Catcalling (ex. someone whistles at someone, or says "Hey sexy")	4.31	4
Checking someone out (look someone up and down in a sexual way that makes them uncomfortable)	3.35	3

As in the previous analysis, these results show that the distribution of responses varies depending on the specific behavior, meaning that the normative expectations among boys' actions are different depending on the type of harassment. On average, the behavior that presents the highest negative normative expectations, that is, the behavior that is expected to be thought as wrong by the greatest number of boys (around 6 of 10) is pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do. This result is also validated through the median, at least 50% of the students think that 70% of the boys in that school think that behavior is wrong. The action with the lowest negative normative expectation is checking someone out. On average, students think that almost 3 out of 10 boys believe that is wrong to check someone out.

The actions that have not been mentioned in the previous paragraph are similar in proportions. Students think that almost half of their male peers (between 4 and 5) believe catcalling, name calling others with sexually related words, or spreading sexual rumors is wrong. The results imply that an important subgroup, the other half of the students, does not consider this type of behaviors as negative, which can lead them to behave like that as they considered the behaviors neutral or positive.

For more detailed comparisons of answers between genders for each behavior see [Annex B](#).

IX. CONCLUSIONS

- **The behaviors**

The collected evidence proves the first hypothesis in which it was anticipated that the most popular behaviors would be verbal harassment and other subtle types of sexual harassment. The behaviors recognized as most common regarding victimization were: ‘checking someone out in a sexual way making the other person uncomfortable’, ‘catcalling’, and ‘calling someone a name with sexually related words’. Regarding the perpetration question, it was found that the students had difficulty recognizing themselves as perpetrators. All the actions resulted with percentages lower than 7%. In contrast, the question regarding having seen other students get harassed obtained the highest results, that is; the students responded that they had witnessed sexual harassment in a greater proportion. The behaviors most often witnessed were different from those identified in the question of victimization. In this case the behaviors with the highest prevalence were: ‘unwelcome touching in a sexual way’, ‘getting too close to others making them uncomfortable’, ‘name calling’, and ‘spreading sexual rumors’.

- **Factual beliefs**

Regarding the factual beliefs about sexual harassment, the students were asked about what they considered as possible consequences for both the aggressors and the victims. In addition, they were asked about how they would describe them. Different scenarios were presented involving individuals with traditionally masculine or feminine names who engaged in or experienced certain behaviors.

As expected in the second hypothesis, students have different factual beliefs about victims and perpetrators depending on their gender. To begin with, students believe that there are different consequences for boys and girls. It is perceived that the boys have a greater probability of receiving sanctions than girls even when performing the same behavior. In addition, there are differences depending on the specific behavior. In addition, students perceive that some actions, such as catcalling, have no consequences. Other actions (such as sending sexual pictures, spreading false rumors, and making sexual comments) will result in sanctions such as a conversation with the principal or calling the students' parents. The possible consequences also vary depending on the sex of the respondent. For example, a higher proportion of girls think that spreading rumors does not have consequences and a higher proportion of boys think that making unwelcome sexual comments has no sanctioning consequences.

Also, students have different ways of describing harassers depending on their gender. For example, a girl who harasses is considered primarily annoying or immature while a boy who performs the same behavior is considered disgusting. When splitting the results by gender of the respondent, boys think that it is funny when the behavior is done by a boy to a girl but less funny when the victim is a boy. The opposite happens in the case of girls, it is considered less funny if the victim is a girl.

Finally, the students also understand victims' feelings differently depending on the gender of

the victim. At a general level, students believe that both boys and girls feel angry after facing physical sexual harassment. However, other possible reactions depend on the gender of the victims. Girls are expected to feel scared, vulnerable, or guilty after receiving unwelcome touching. On the other hand, in general, students give a higher proportion of positive feelings or feeling normal (not affected) to boys affected by the same situation.

- **Personal normative beliefs**

To understand the students' personal normative beliefs, scenarios of various behaviors were presented and students were asked about their opinions around the behavior. As stated in the second hypothesis, students have different personal normative beliefs about sexual harassment depending on the gender of those involved. Regarding physical harassment almost all the students consider the behavior as wrong. Nevertheless, when differentiating this answer by the respondent's sex it was found that boys tend to think that this action is right in a greater proportion. It is worth mentioning that the normative beliefs about physical harassment varies according to the gender of the perpetrator. When the aggressor is a girl, a smaller number of students identify the behavior as wrong.

Concerning verbal harassment (provoking others with sexual comments), almost all the students considered it wrong. Yet, when splitting the results by gender of the respondents, boys present a higher percentage of acceptance of the behavior either considering it right or with a neutral response (neither right nor wrong). Furthermore, when asking about more subtle forms of harassing as catcalling, only 65.7% of the students recognized the behavior as wrong. Interestingly, when we divided the results by gender of the respondent no girl considered the behavior as right.

- **Empirical expectations**

The third hypothesis predicted that students would have empirical expectations around sexual harassment (e.g., Students believe that "*Most students harass other students.*"). This idea was partially corroborated. The empirical expectations for girls' behaviors vary depending on the specific type of harassment. On average, students think that the behavior that is most common to girls (approximately 7 out of 10 girls) is to 'name call others using sexually related words'. The action with the lowest expectation (approximately 3 out of 10 the girls) is 'pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do'. Although the last behavior is not perceived as being as frequent as the others, the proportion is still noticeable, so it should not be discounted by any means. Furthermore, other behaviors (e.g., spread sexual rumors, expose or shame others with sexual content or issues, and touch other students in a sexual way without their permission) present high empirical expectations that vary between 4 and 6 out of 10 girls.

Similar to the girls' results, the range of responses regarding how many boys engage in certain behaviors depended on the type of harassment. On average, the behaviors that present the highest empirical expectations for this group (approximately 6 out of 10 boys) are: 'checking someone out', 'catcalling', and 'name calling'. On the other hand, the least expected behavior is boys pressuring someone into a relationship. When considered together and on average, boys and girls think that approximately 37% of boys pressure others to do something sexual that they do not want to do. In

addition, it is worth mentioning that students expect that almost half of their male peers (between 4 and 5) ‘touch others without their permission’, ‘spread sexual rumors’, ‘get too close to others’, ‘pressure others to do something sexual’, and ‘send unwanted sexual videos or photos’.

- **Normative expectations**

The fourth hypothesis predicted that students would have normative expectations around sexual harassment (e.g., Students believe that “*Other students believe that it is not bad to harass their peers*” (*it is cool, is what boys do, etc.*)). As in the previous analysis, this idea was partially corroborated. Normative expectations for girls’ were consistent regarding specific behaviors with slight variation depending on the specific type of harassment. On average, the behavior that is expected to be thought of as wrong by the greatest proportion of girls (approximately 7 of 10) is ‘provoking someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable’. The action with the lowest negative normative expectation is ‘name calling others with sexually related words’. It should be mentioned that the behaviors that have not been mentioned are close in proportion to the one that presents the highest negative normative expectations. According to these results, students believe that most of the girls think that every type of sexual harassment is wrong.

In contrast, normative expectations for boys vary depending on the type of harassment. On one hand, the behavior that presents the highest negative normative expectations, that is, the behavior that is expected to be thought as wrong by the greatest number of boys (around 6 of 10) is pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do. On the other hand, the action with the lowest negative normative expectation is checking someone out. On average, students think that almost 3 out of 10 boys believe that is wrong to check someone out in such a way that makes the individual uncomfortable. The actions that have not been mentioned in the previous paragraph are similar in proportions. Students think that almost half of their male peers (between 4 and 5) believe ‘catcalling’, ‘name calling others with sexually related words’, or ‘spreading sexual rumors’ is wrong. Since students believe that such a large proportion of students do not condemn the behavior, this may lead the students to do behavior they would not do otherwise, and personally find distasteful.

- **Motivational profile**

Regarding students’ motivational profiles, it can be concluded that there are different normative and empirical expectations for girls and boys that also vary depending on the specific type of harassment. This corroborated the final hypothesis in which it was anticipated that students would present different empirical and normative expectations around sexual harassment depending on their gender.

Specifically, subtle types of sexual harassment for boys (e.g., checking someone out, catcalling, and name calling) can be classified as a social norms because they have both positive empirical and normative expectations. In contrast, girls do not present any social norm because they identify the behaviors as “wrong” and just have descriptive norms for name calling others with sexually related words.

IX. DISCUSSION

The results show that students have some socially interdependent behaviors. It can be seen from the diagnosis that there are different descriptive and social norms for high school students depending on their gender. Specifically, male students have social norms that endorse subtle forms of sexual harassment, while female students only present descriptive norms around name calling and recognize sexual harassment behaviors as normatively negative.

Understanding these social processes is useful for designing culturally and socially grounded interventions for sexual harassment prevention in high schools. Particularly, the results of this study can be used to design preventive interventions for sexual harassment in the partner high school to modify the preconceived ideas, beliefs, and expectations related to this behavior in order to reduce the prevalence of the problem.

Based on the findings, one of the most important recommendations is that interventions should not be confined to isolated individuals but should promote collective and coordinated change. In addition, the strategies should be directed to the whole community but with different mechanisms for girls and boys since their motivational profiles are different.

Additionally, to achieve the social change and reduce the levels of sexual harassment in high schools it is necessary to focus on changing beliefs and expectations. This can be done through group deliberation and public commitment. Also, it is essential that negative behaviors are not publicized because it could perpetuate bad behaviors showing how normal are unpunished they are (Bicchieri, 2017).

Regarding the challenges, although the positive aspects of this methodology, there are inherent difficulties to work with cultural and social rooted problems. Since changes of this type take a long time to achieve, it would be important to complement the initial diagnose with analysis with medium and long-term evaluations to see the progress and the sustainability of the interventions.

Furthermore, given that the intervention addresses a sensitive related to adolescents' sexuality, it can be difficult to find more partner schools. Additionally, special care must be taken with ethical procedures and to complete the requirements of child assent and parent/guardian permission.

About the future directions, the results may be interesting from a research perspective given that the problem has been understudied from a social norms perspective that can be used in a practical way. This study provides empirical evidence about the social conditionality of the studied behaviors to the existing literature.

In addition, the study can be replicated in other high schools in order to diagnose students' motivational profiles in different contexts. This methodology can also be adapted to study similar problems (e.g., sexual harassment in the workplace, other types of violence in schools, etc.). It is worth mentioning that since one of the main advantages of this model is its contextual appropriateness, in order to extend the analysis, as a previous step, the diagnosis of the motivational profile and the measuring of norms must be made by adapting the proposed instruments to each specific context.

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APPENDIX A. Empirical Expectations - Comparison of Answers Between Gender



GIRLS

- Out of ten girls from your school, how many do you think have done the following things?

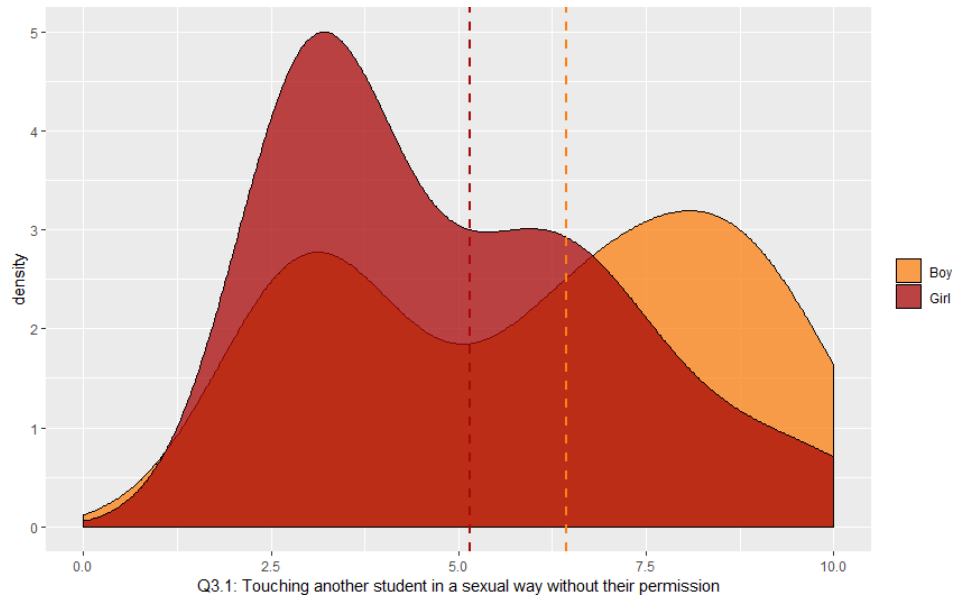


Figure 14. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of girls that touch another student in a sexual way without their permission. Source: Own elaboration

In the previous chart it was found that most of the girls think that there is a little number of girls in their school (around 25%) that touch other students in a sexual way without their permission. Although, there is a group that think a higher proportion behaves like this (right part of the chart). Regarding boys' expectations, we found a bimodal distribution. There are two types of students with similar amount of population. The first one thinks the behavior is popular (done by approximately 80% of girls) and the second that think that this behavior is done by around 25%. On average, boys expected girls to behave like this in a higher magnitude.

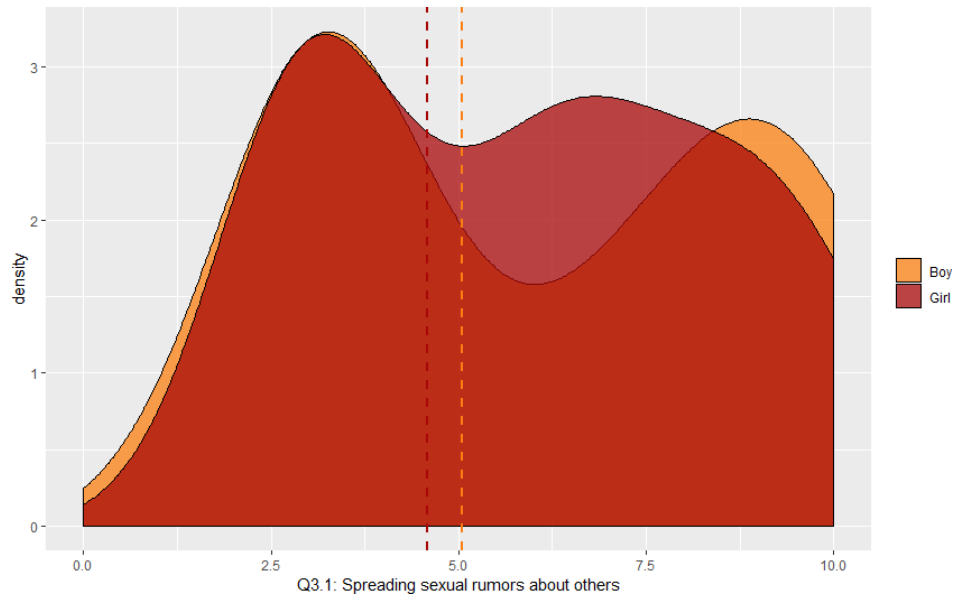


Figure 15. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of girls that spreads sexual rumors about others. Source: Own elaboration

Results about this behavior are mixed. The density plot reveals that girls have different opinions about the behavior, the distribution doesn't have a clear trend. This shows that they are different groups of girls scattered within two ends (think that they do not spread sexual rumors about others and think almost every girl does it). About boys' results, they present a clearer tendency (two groups). The first one thinks that around 25% of the girls does the behavior. On the other hand, the second group thinks that almost every girl spread sexual rumors of others.

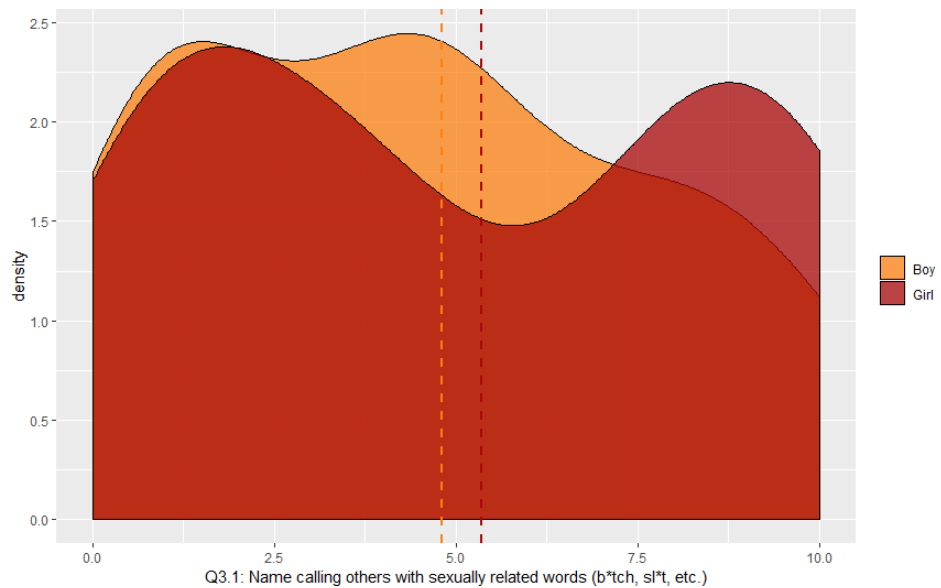


Figure 16. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of girls that name call others with sexually related words (b*tch, sl*t, etc.). Source: Own elaboration

Female students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that thinks that almost no girls (1 out of 10) name call others with sexually related words. Inversely, the other large group of girls expect 8 out of 10 of their peers to behave in this way. On average, girls expect a larger number of their female peers to name call others versus the boys' expectations about them. About male students' answers, the distribution is very scattered. Nevertheless, the two main popular answers within this group were that 1 out of 10 and 5 out of 10 girls will name call others with sexually related words.

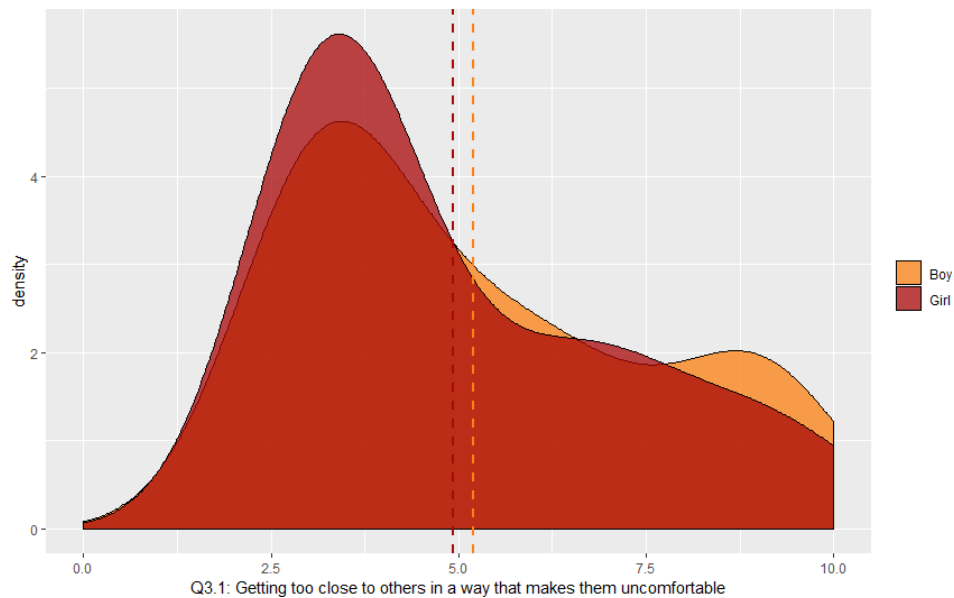


Figure 17. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of girls that get too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable. Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the previous chart, girls' and boys' answers are very similar. On average, both groups expected 5 out of 10 girls getting too close to others in a way that make others uncomfortable. However, is worth mentioning that the greater proportion of students (both boys and girls) responded that they expect that 3 out of 10 girls perform this behavior as can be seen with the distribution skewed to the right.

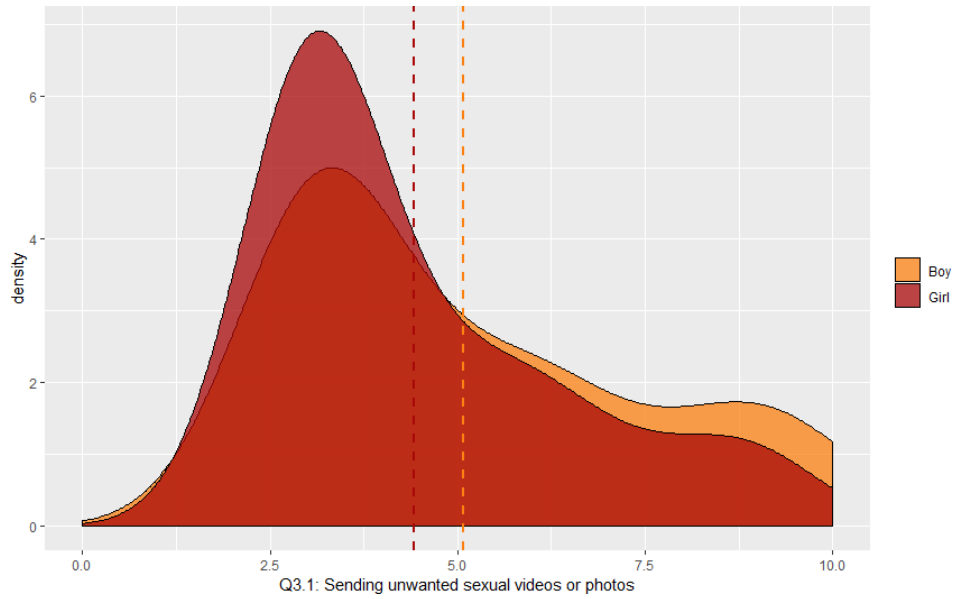


Figure 18. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of girls that send unwanted sexual videos or photos. Source: Own elaboration

Likewise the previous graph, girls' and boys' answers present similar distributions. However, on average girls think that a smaller number of their female peers send unwanted sexual videos or photos.

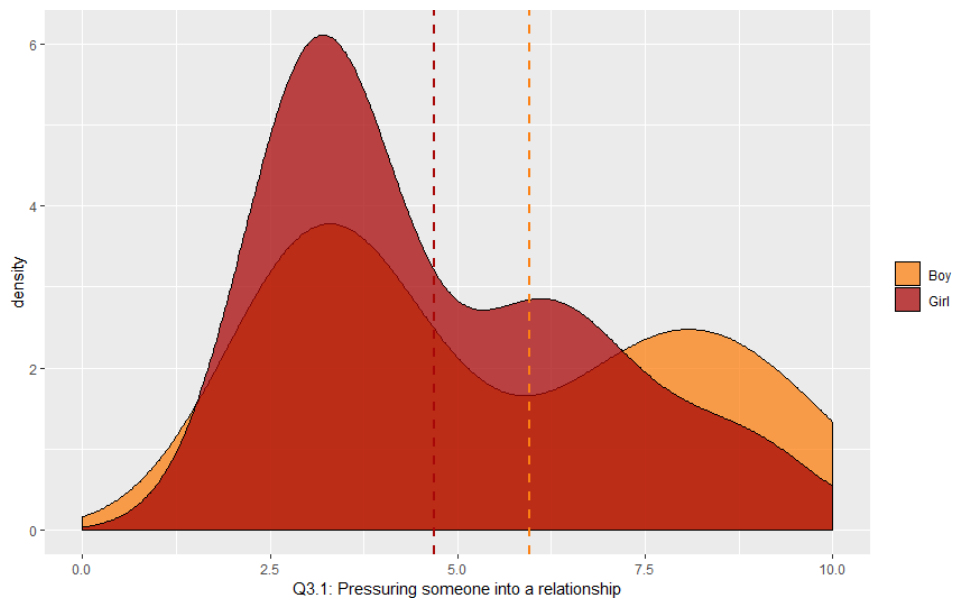


Figure 19. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of girls that pressure someone into a relationship. Source: Own elaboration

The previous graph presents interesting differences between boys' and girls' answers. On one hand, most of the girls think that just 3 out of 10 of their female peers pressure someone into a relationship. On the other hand, the boys' perception is polarized. The first group (with the highest

proportion) thinks that only a small number of girls (around 30%) pressure others into a relationship, while the second one thinks most of them (around 80%) do it.

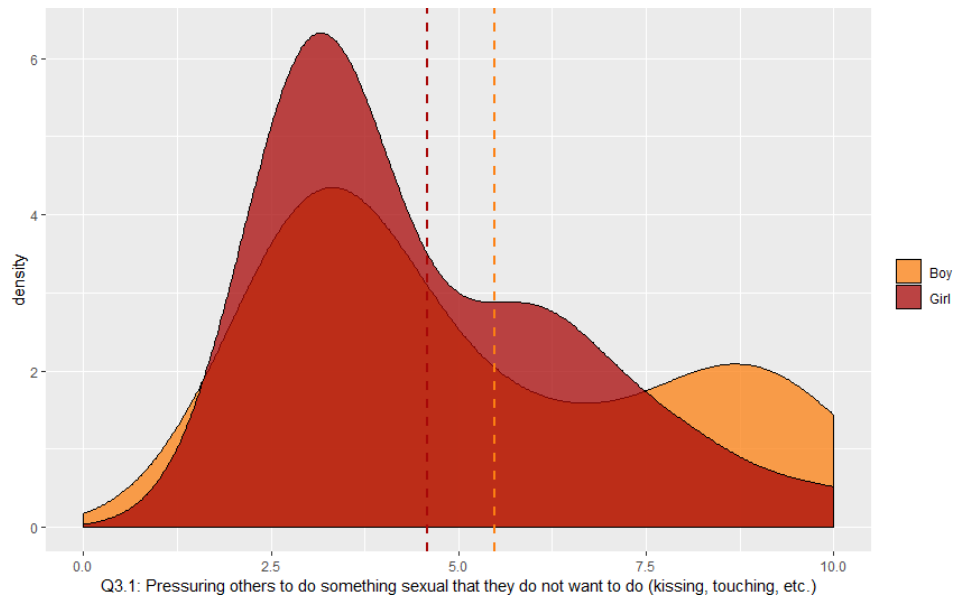


Figure 20. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of girls that pressure others to do something sexual that they do not want to do. Source: Own elaboration

Similarly to the previous behavior, most of the girls think that just a small number of girls pressure others to do something sexual that they do not want to do. Regarding boys' expectations, we find again two groups with different opinions. One that considers that around 3 out of 10 girls perform this behavior and the other that expects around 8 out of 10 girls to do it.

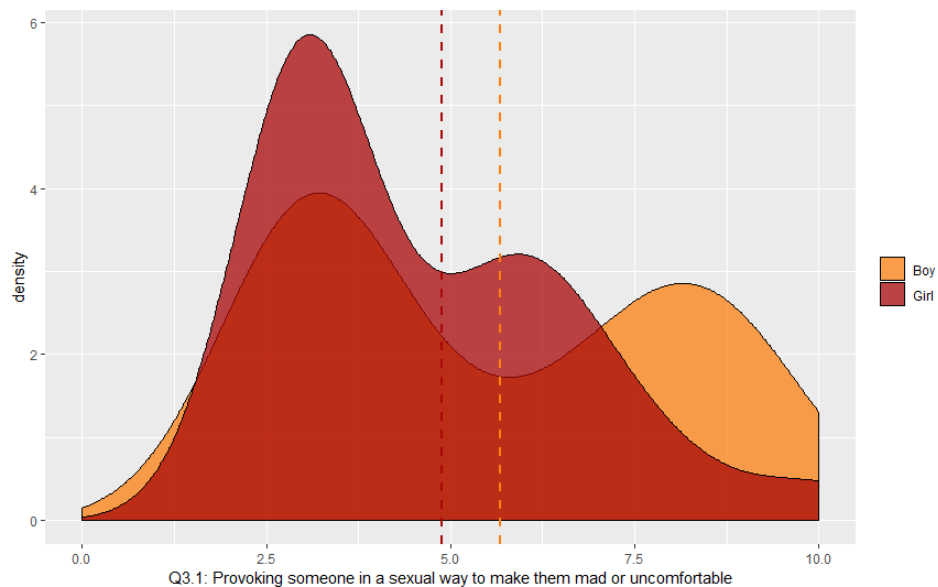


Figure 21. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of girls that provoke

someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable. Source: Own elaboration

The previous chart shows that most of the girls think that girls do not provoke someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable, although there is another group (small proportion) that think that around 6 out of 10 girls do that behavior. About the boys' expectations, again the results present two groups. The first one thinks that around 30% of girls provoke others in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable, while the other one thinks most of them (around 8 out of 10) do it.

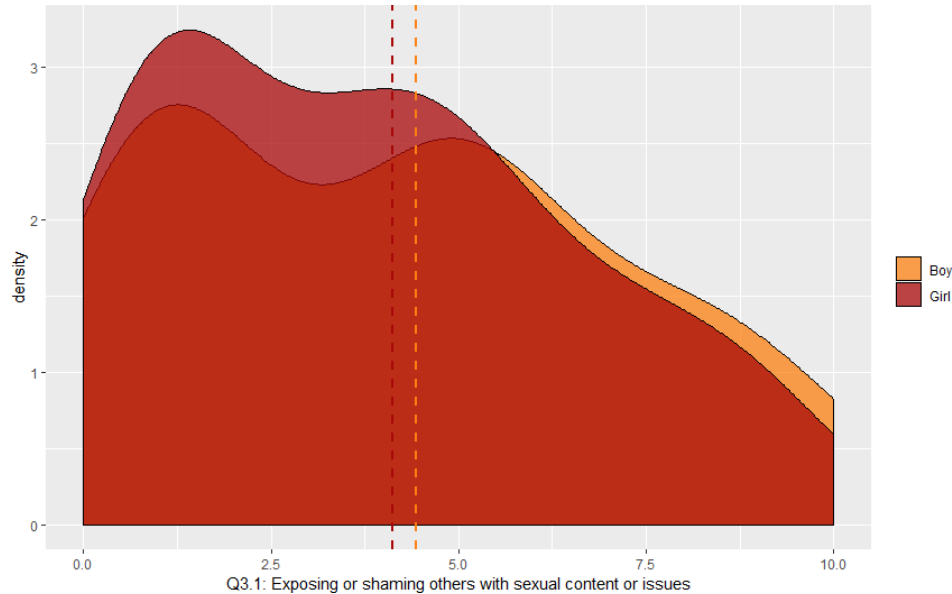


Figure 22. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of girls that expose or shame others with sexual content or issues. Source: Own elaboration

For this behavior the trends for boys and girls are similar and most answers for both genders are between 1 and 5; that is, both groups expect between 1 and 5 out of 10 girls to expose or shame others with sexual content or issues. It should be noted that on average, expectations about the number of girls performing the behavior are slightly lower for girls than for boys.



BOYS

- Out of ten boys from your school, how many do you think have done the following things?

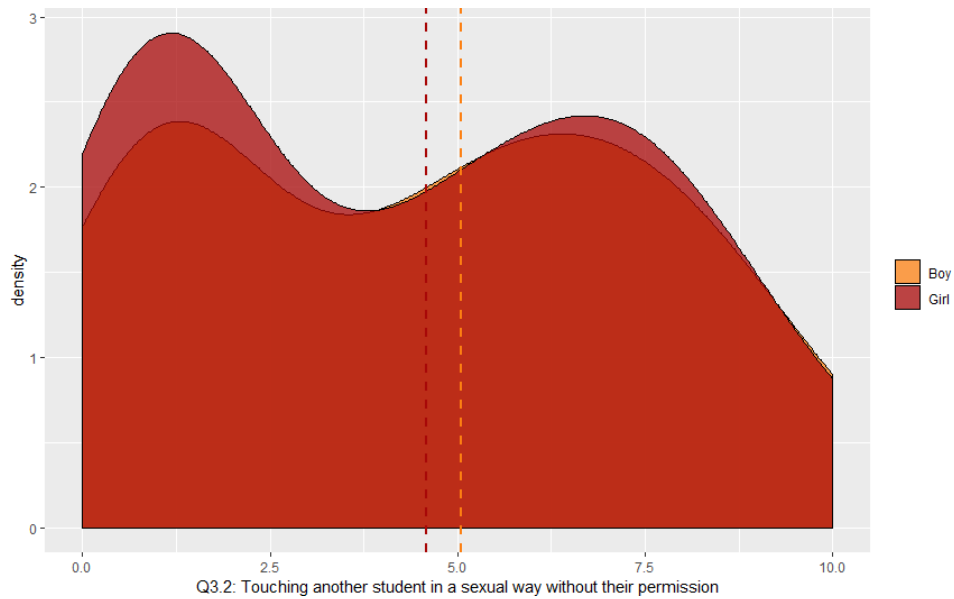


Figure 23. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of boys that touch another student in a sexual way without their permission. Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the previous chart, girls' and boys' answers are very similar. On average, both groups expected around 5 out of 10 boys to touch other students in a sexual way without their permission, although it is worth mentioning that the average number of boys expected to perform this behavior is lower among female students, that is girls have lower empirical expectations about this boys' behavior. In addition, both girls' and boys' can be subdivided in two groups: one that thinks that almost none of boys do it (around 1 out of 10), while there is another group that, think that around 7 out of 10 boys do it. For both groups, the trend is the same but with slightly different densities.

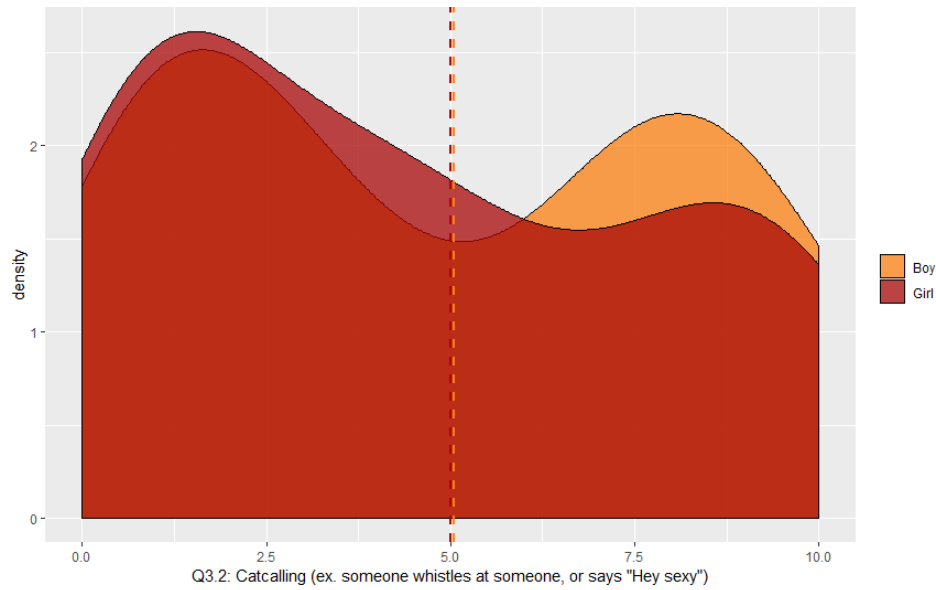


Figure 24. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of boys that catcall (ex. someone whistles at someone, or says "Hey sexy"). Source: Own elaboration

Likewise the previous behavior, girls' and boys' results are alike. On average, both groups expected around 5 out of 10 boys catcall other students. Moreover, both girls' and boys' can be subdivided in two groups: one that thinks that almost none of boys do it (around 2 out of 10), while there is another group that, think that around 8 out of 10 boys do it. It is worth mentioning that the boys' density is higher for this second group with higher empirical expectations.

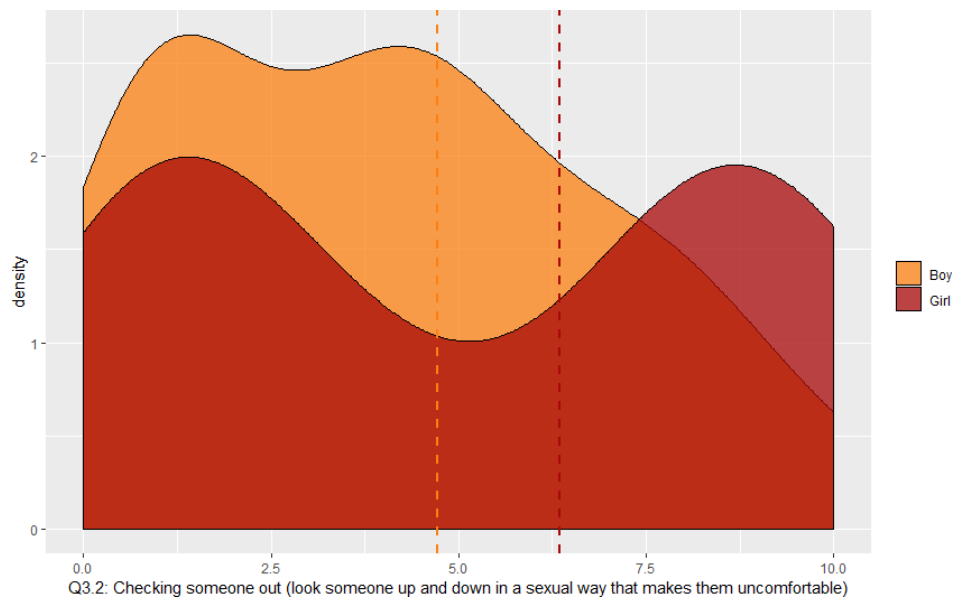


Figure 25. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of boys that check someone out (look someone up and down in a sexual way that makes them uncomfortable). Source: Own elaboration

Interestingly, most of the boys think that around 1 and 4 out of 10 of their male peers check someone out. On the contrary, the perception of the girls is polarized: a group thinks that around 1 out of 10 boys do it, while the other thinks that around 9 of them do it.

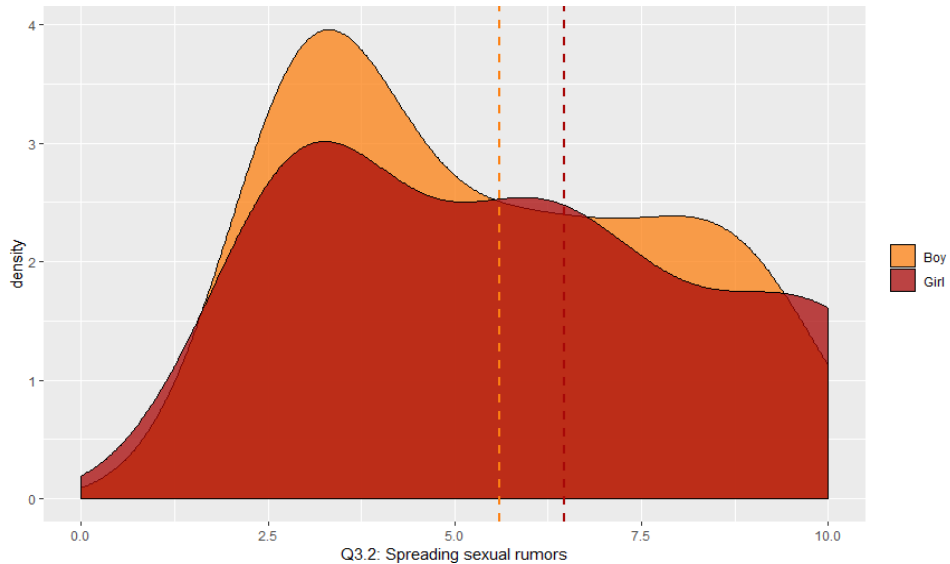


Figure 26. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of boys that spread sexual rumors about others. Source: Own elaboration

On average, girls expect a larger number of boys (7 out of 10) to spread sexual rumors about others when compared to the boys' expectations about their male peers (6 out of 10). Como se puede ver los resultados para girls are very scattered, por lo que no hay tendencias predominantes. Por otro lado, male students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that thinks that almost 3 out of 10 boys spread sexual rumors and the other that expects 8 out of 10 of their peers to behave in this way.

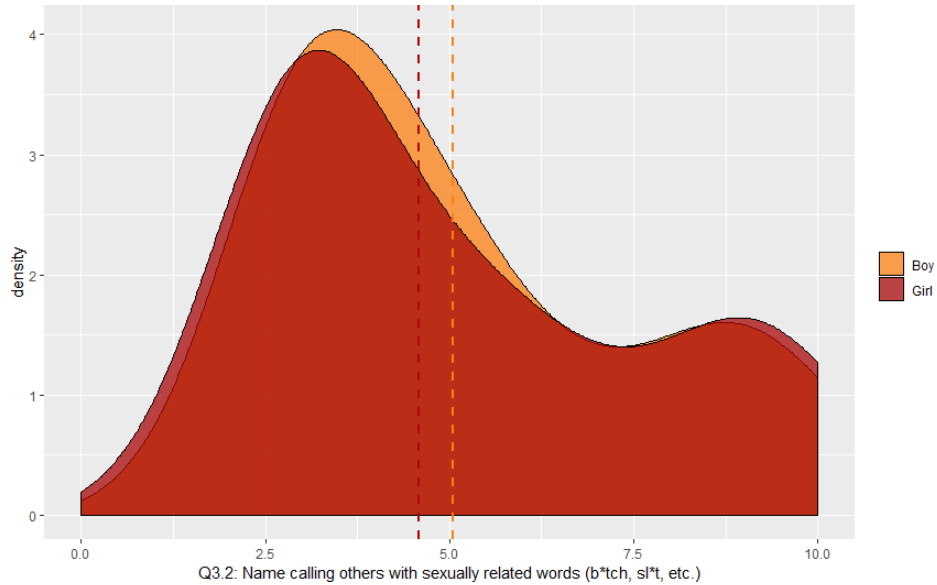


Figure 27. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of boys that name call others with sexually related words (b*tch, sl*t, etc.). Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the previous chart, girls' and boys' answers are very similar. Although, on average, boys expect a larger number of their male peers to name call others (around 5 out of 10) versus the girls' expectations about them (around 4 out of 10). In addition, it is worth mentioning that the greater proportion of students (both boys and girls) responded that they expect around 3 out of 10 boys perform this behavior as can be seen with the distribution skewed to the right.

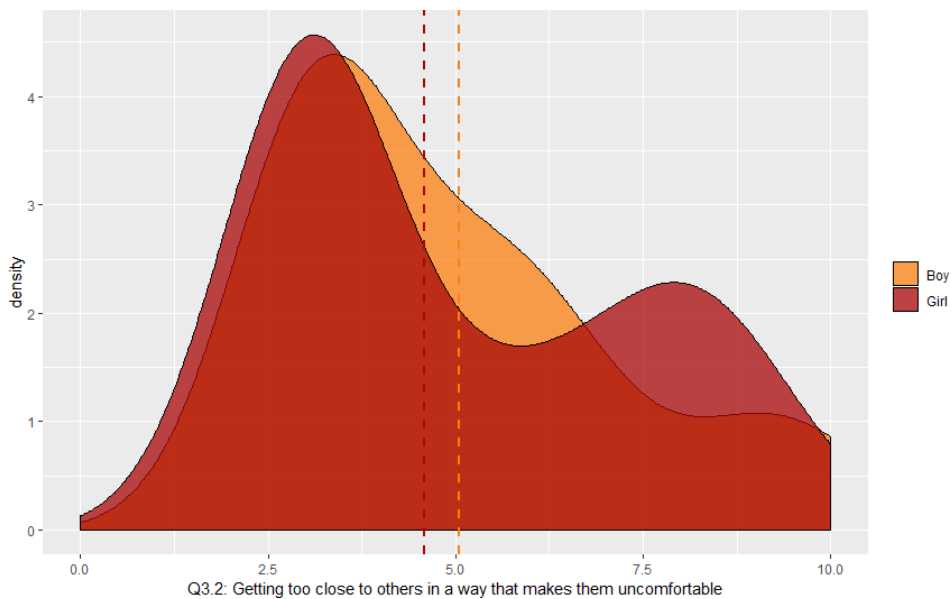


Figure 28. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of boys that get too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable. Source: Own elaboration

The results of the former chart show that girls' and boys' answers are different. For instance, on average, boys expect a larger number of their male peers to get close to others making them uncomfortable (around 5 out of 10) versus the girls' expectations about them (around 4 out of 10). Another interesting difference is that there is a group of girls that think that around 80% of boys do this behavior. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that despite the differences most of students (both boys and girls) responded that they expect around 3 out of 10 boys to perpetrate this type of harassment.

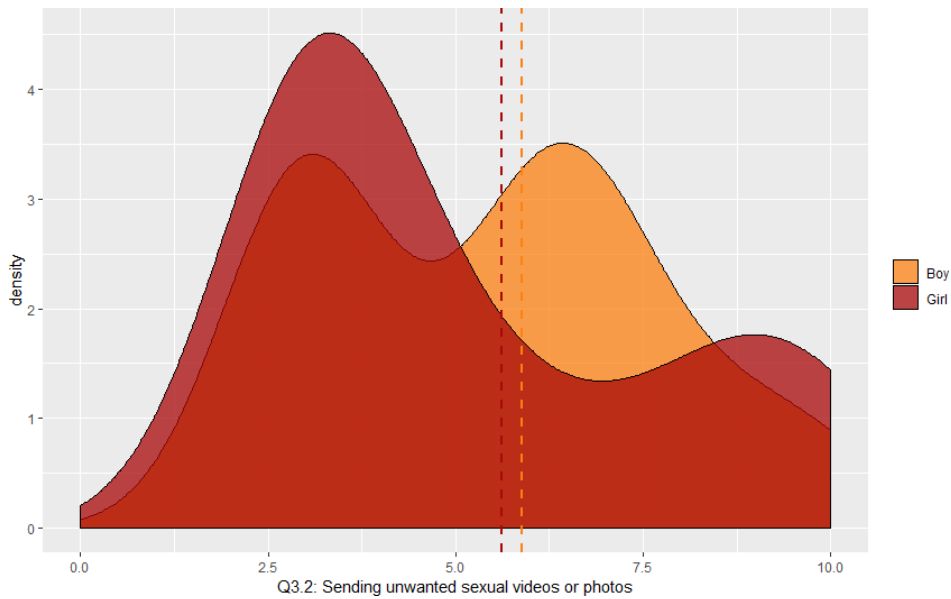


Figure 29. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of boys that send unwanted sexual videos or photos. Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the graph, most of the girls think that around 3 out of 10 boys send unwanted sexual videos or photos, although there is another group (small proportion) that think that around 9 out of 10 boys do that behavior. About the boys' expectations, again the results present two groups. The first one thinks that around 30% of boys act like this, while the other one thinks around 6 out of 10 do it.

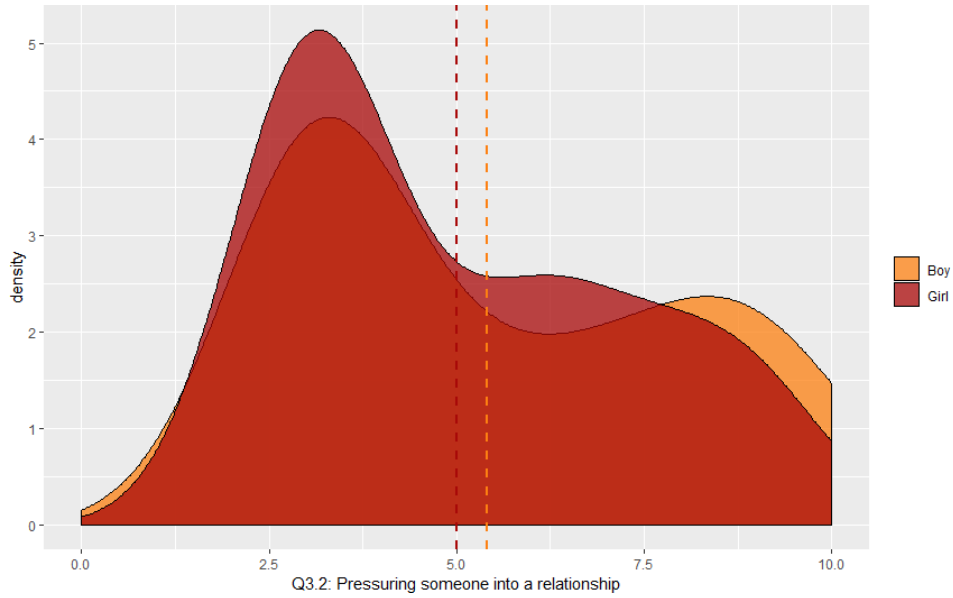


Figure 30. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of boys that pressure someone into a relationship. Source: Own elaboration

The preceding chart shows that, girls' and boys' answers are very similar. Although, on average, boys expect a larger number of their male peers to pressure someone into a relationship. In addition, it is worth mentioning that the greater proportion of students (both boys and girls) responded that they expect around 3 out of 10 boys perform this behavior as can be seen with the distribution skewed to the right.

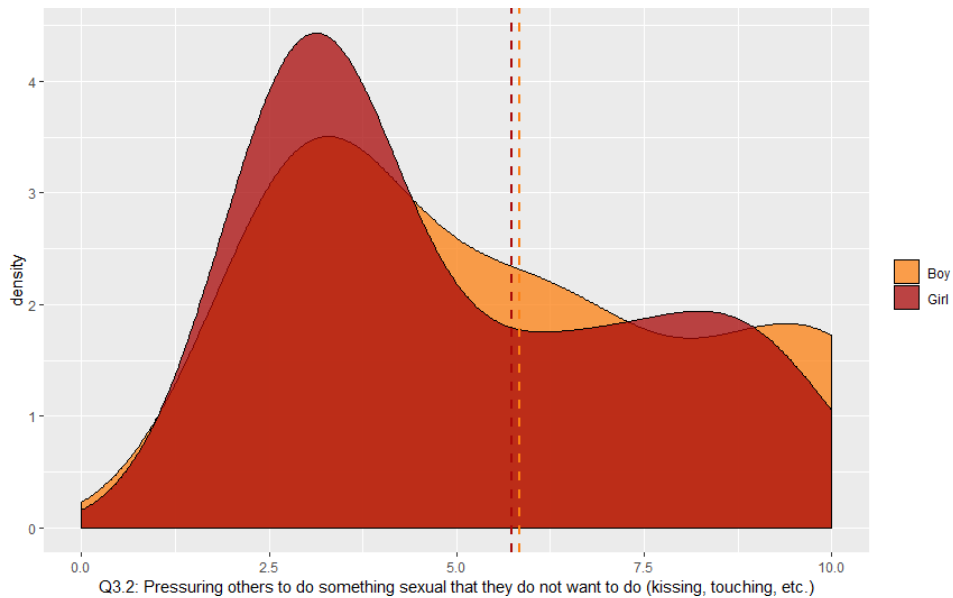


Figure 31. Comparison of answers between genders about expected number of boys that pressure others to do something sexual that they do not want to do. Source: Own elaboration

In a similar way to the previous chart, for this behavior girls' and boys' answers are alike. On average, boys and girls expect that around 6 out of 10 boys pressure others to do something sexual they don't want to do. Regardless, it is worth mentioning that the greater proportion of students (both boys and girls) responded that they expect around 3 out of 10 boys to act in this way.

APPENDIX B. Normative Expectations - Comparison of Answers Between Gender



GIRLS

- Out of ten girls from your school, how many do you think believe that it is wrong to do the following behaviors?

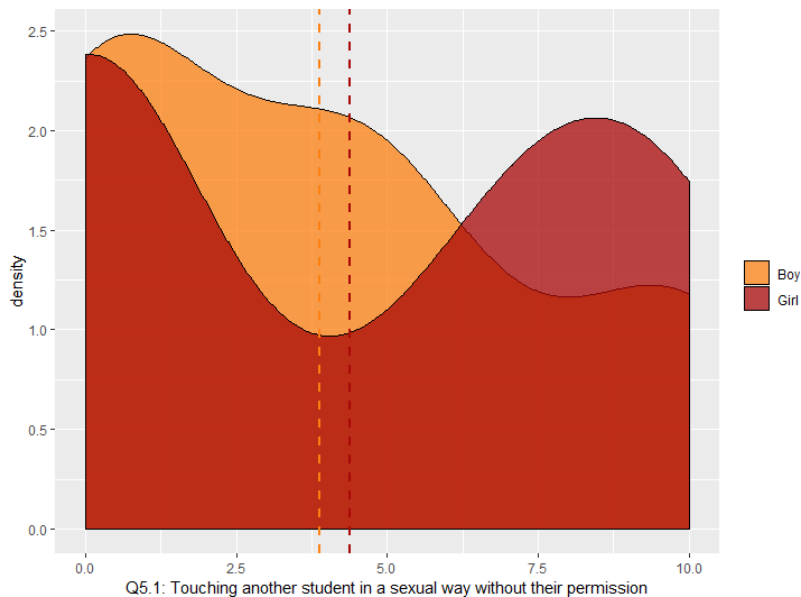


Figure 32. Comparison of answers between genders about girls that believe that it is wrong to touch another student in a sexual way without their permission. Source: Own elaboration

Female students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that believes that almost no girls (1 out of 10) think touching another student in a sexual way without their permission is wrong. Inversely, the other large group of girls believe 8 out of 10 of their peers think it is wrong. On average, girls believe that a larger number of their female peers think touching another student is wrong versus the boys' normative behavior about them. About male students' answers, the distribution is very scattered. Nevertheless, the two main popular answers within this group were that 1 out of 10 and 5 out of 10 girls will think touching another student is wrong.

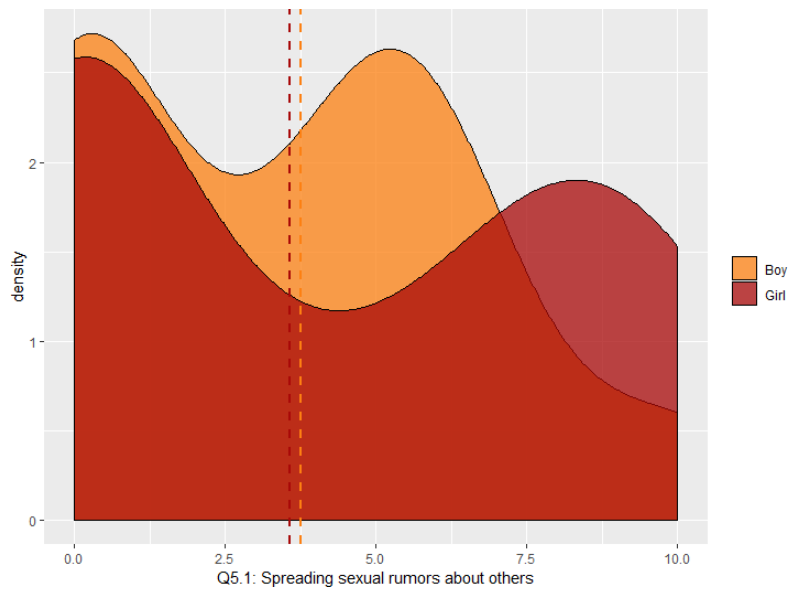


Figure 33. Comparison of answers between genders about girls that believe that it is wrong to spread sexual rumors about others. Source: Own elaboration

Female students can also be divided in this behavior mainly in two groups. The first one that believes that almost no girls (1 out of 10) think spreading sexual rumors about others is wrong. Inversely, the other large group of girls believe 9 out of 10 of their peers think this is wrong. On average, boys believe that a larger number of their female peers think spreading sexual rumors about others is wrong versus the boys' normative behavior about them. About male students' answers, the distribution is also divided in two groups. Nevertheless, the two main popular answers within this group were that 1 out of 10 and 5 out of 10 girls will think spreading sexual rumors about others is wrong.

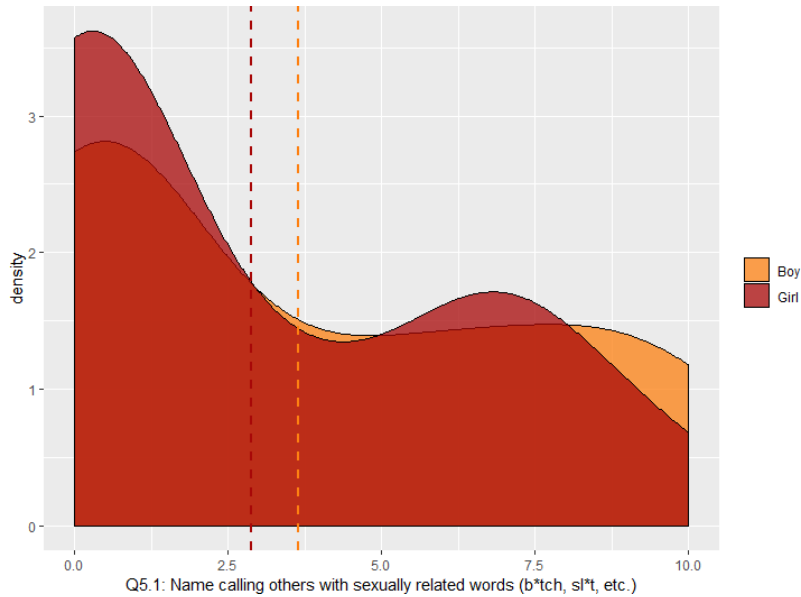


Figure 34. Comparison of answers between genders about girls that believe that it is wrong to name call others with sexually related words (b*tch, sl*t, etc.). Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the previous chart, girls' and boys' answers are very similar. On average, they divide in two groups. One believes that 1 out of 10 girls think name calling others with sexually related words is wrong and the other group thinks 5 out of 10 do. It is worth mentioning that the greater proportion of students (both boys and girls) responded that they expect that 1 out of 10 girls think this behavior is wrong as can be seen with the distribution skewed to the left.

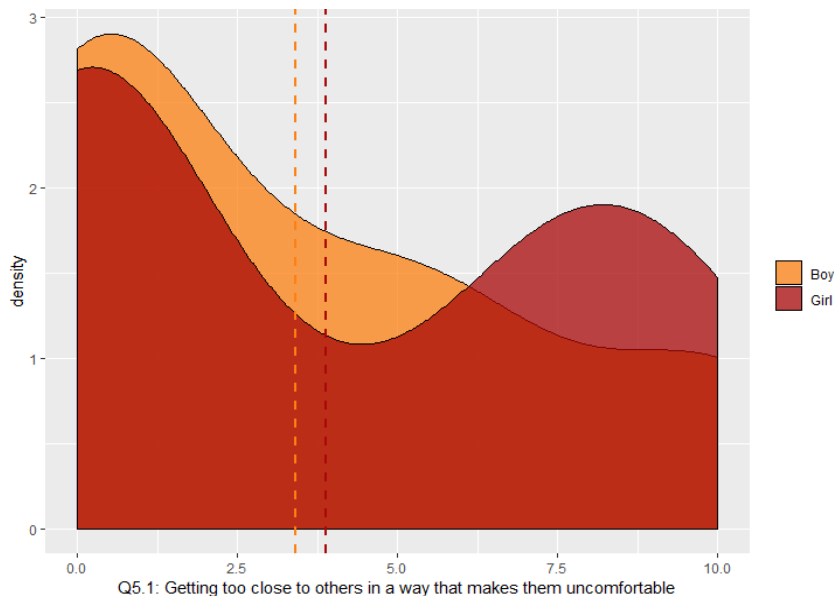


Figure 35. Comparison of answers between genders about girls that believe that it is wrong to get close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable. Source: Own elaboration

Female students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that believes that almost no girls (1 out of 10) think getting too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable is wrong. Inversely, the

other large group of girls believe 8 out of 10 of their peers think this is wrong. On average, girls believe that a larger number of their female peers think getting too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable is wrong. About male students' answers, most of them believe only few girls think getting to close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable is wrong (1 out of 10).

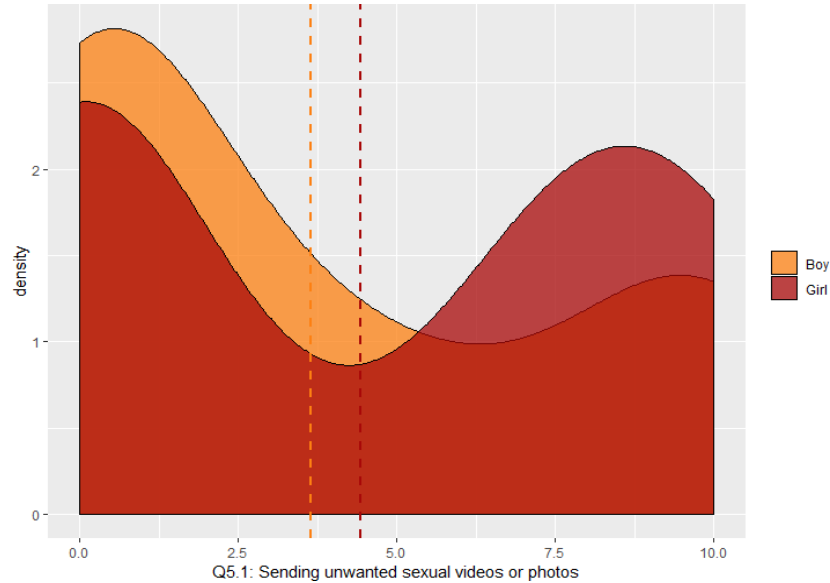


Figure 36. Comparison of answers between genders about girls that believe that it is wrong to send unwanted sexual videos or photos. Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the previous chart, girls' and boys' answers have similar trends. On average, they divide in two groups. One that believes that 1 out of 10 girls think sending unwanted sexual videos or photos is wrong and the other group believes 8 out of 10 girls think this behavior is wrong. However, is worth mentioning that the greater proportion of students on boys responded that they expect that 1 out of 10 girls think this behavior is wrong.

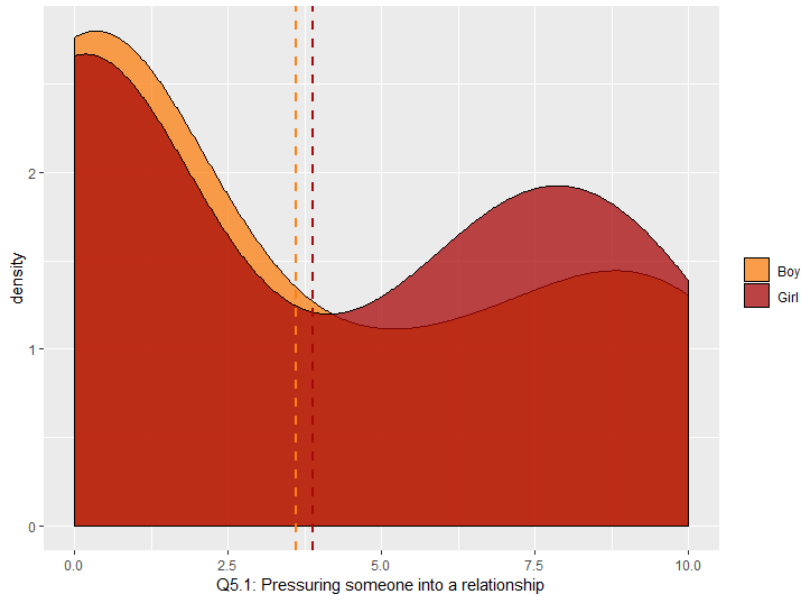


Figure 37. Comparison of answers between genders about girls that believe that it is wrong to pressure someone into a relationship. Source: Own elaboration

Female students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that believes that almost no girls (1 out of 10) think pressuring someone into a relationship is wrong. Inversely, the other large group of girls believe 8 out of 10 of their peers think this is wrong. On average, girls believe that a larger number of their female peers think pressuring someone into a relationship is wrong when comparing with their male peers. About male students' answers, most of them believe only few girls think pressuring someone into a relationship is wrong (1 out of 10).



Figure 38. . Comparison of answers between genders about girls that believe that it is wrong to pressure others to do something sexual that they do not want to do. Source: Own elaboration

Similar to the last chart, female students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that believes that almost no girls (1 out of 10) think pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do is wrong. Inversely, the other large group of girls believe 7.5 out of 10 of their peers think this is wrong. On average, girls believe that a larger number of their female peers think pressuring someone into a relationship is wrong versus the boys' normative behavior about them. About male students' answers, most of them believe only few girls think pressuring others to do something is wrong (1 out of 10), but there is also another group that believes almost every girl think pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do is wrong.

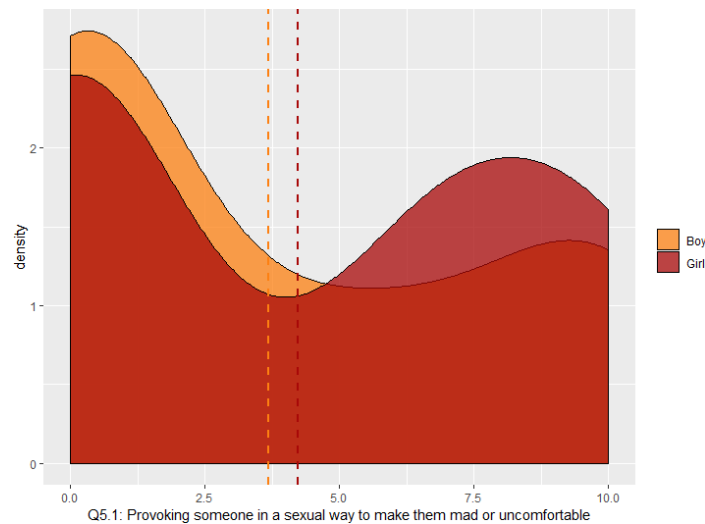


Figure 39. Comparison of answers between genders about girls that believe that it is wrong to provoke someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable. Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the previous chart, girls' and boys' answers are very similar. On average, they divide in two groups. One that believes that 1 out of 10 girls think provoking someone in a sexual way to make them mad or uncomfortable is wrong and the other one believes 8 out of 10 do. However, is worth mentioning that the greater proportion of students of boys responded that they expect that 1 out of 10 girls think this behavior is wrong as can be seen with the distribution skewed to the left.

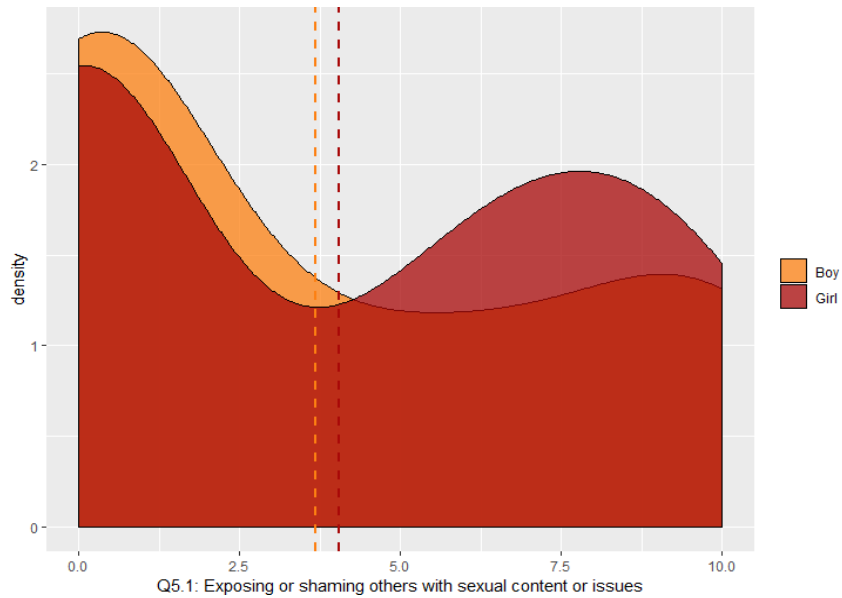


Figure 40. Comparison of answers between genders about girls that believe that it is wrong to expose or shame others with sexual content or issues. Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the graph, girls' beliefs divide in two groups. The first one believes 1 out of 10 girls think that exposing or shaming others with sexual content or issues is wrong. The other one believes 8 out of 10 think this behavior is wrong. About the boys' expectations, the greater proportion of students believe that only few girls (1 out of 10) think doing this behavior is wrong.



BOYS

- Out of ten boys from your school, how many do you think believe that it is wrong to do the following behaviors?

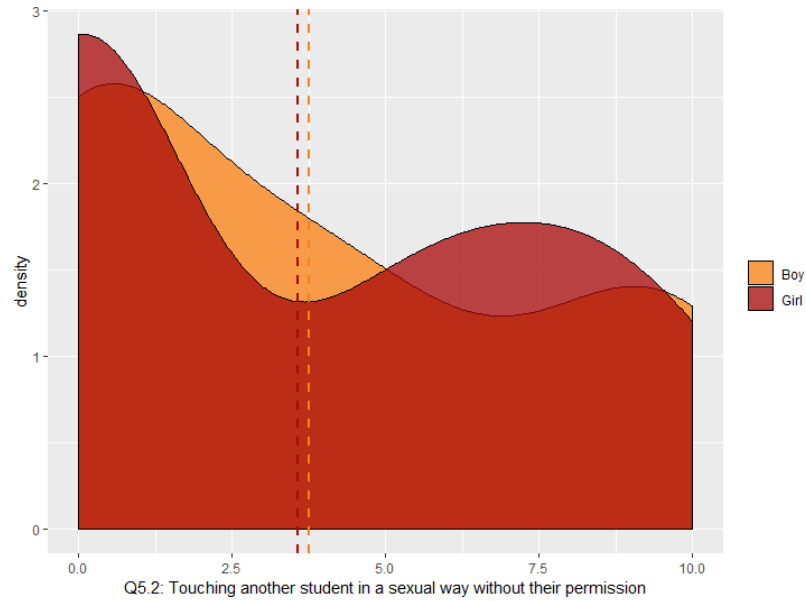


Figure 41. Comparison of answers between genders about boys that believe it is wrong to touch another student in a sexual way without their permission. Source: Own elaboration

Female students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that believes that almost no boys (1 out of 10) think touching another student in a sexual way without their permission is wrong. Inversely, the other large group of girls believes 7.5 out of 10 of boys think this is wrong. About male students' answers, most of them believe only few boys think touching another student in a sexual way without their permission is wrong (1 out of 10).

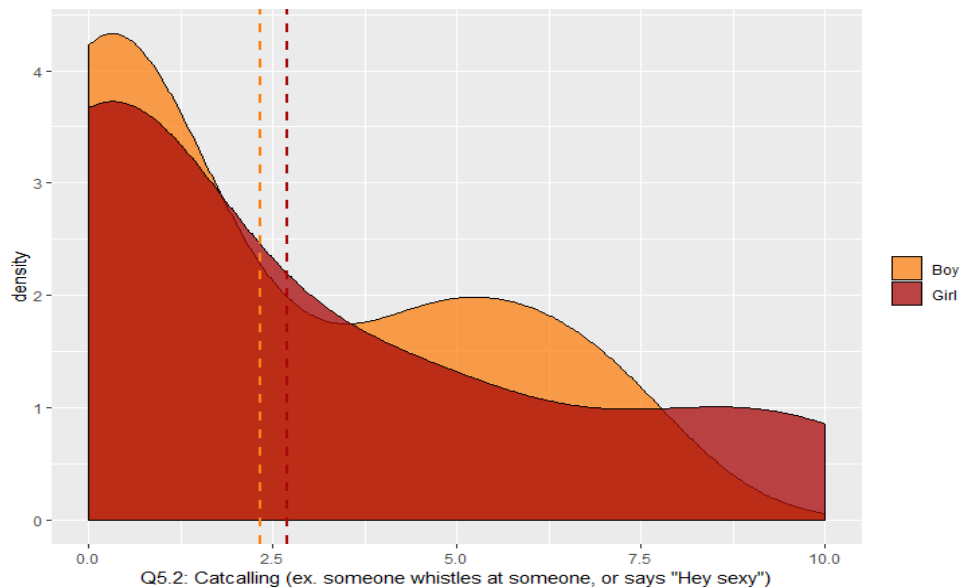


Figure 42. Comparison of answers between genders about boys that that it is wrong to catcall (ex. someone whistles at someone, or says "Hey sexy"). Source: Own elaboration

Most of the female students' answer stated that only few boys think catcalling is wrong. On the other hand, male students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that believes that almost no boys (1 out of 10) think cat calling is wrong. Inversely, the other group of boys, which is smaller in proportion, believe 5 out of 10 of boys think this is wrong.

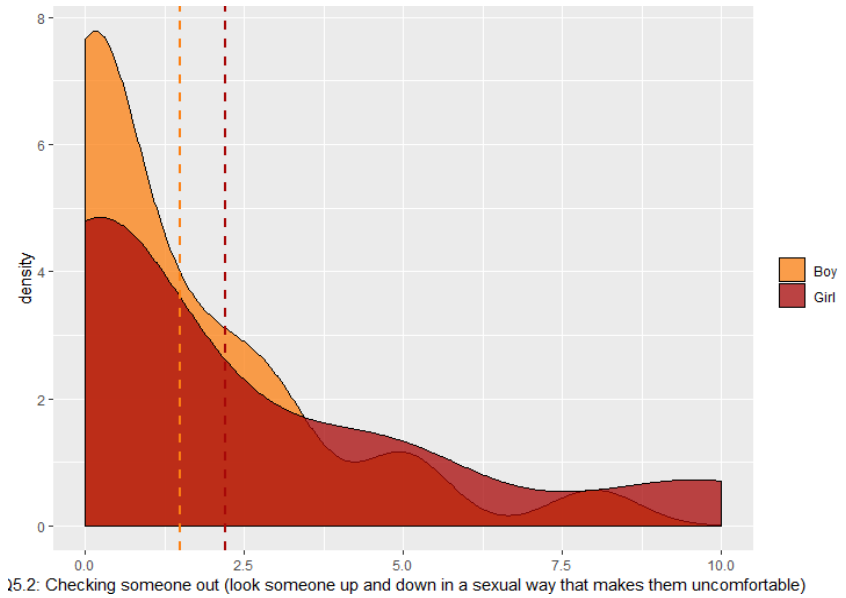


Figure 43. Comparison of answers between genders about boys that believe that it is wrong to check someone out (look someone up and down in a sexual way that makes them uncomfortable). Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the previous chart, girls' and boys' answers are very similar. On average, most of them believe only few boys think checking someone out is wrong. It is worth mentioning that male students, in a greater proportion, believe that few boys think checking someone out is wrong, compared to their female peers.

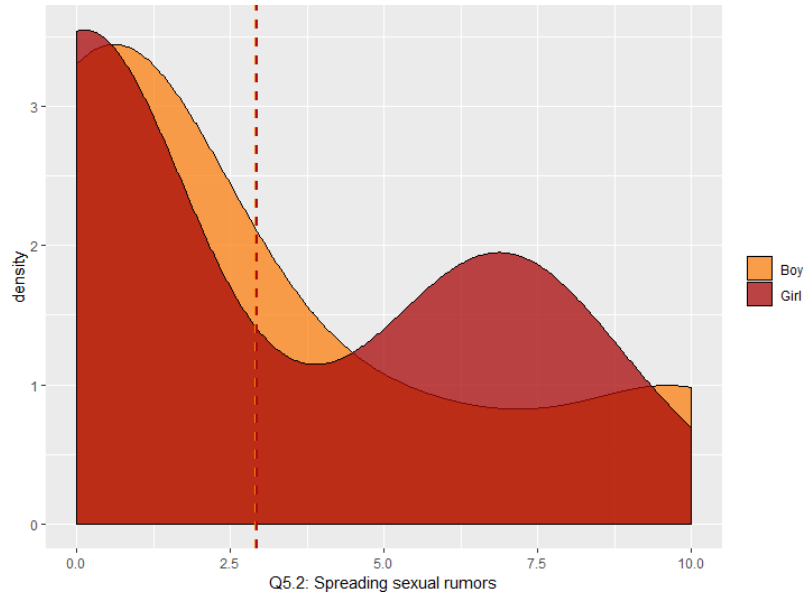


Figure 44. Comparison of answers between genders about boys that believe that it is wrong to spread sexual rumors about others. Source: Own elaboration

Female students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that believes that almost no boys (1 out of 10) think spreading sexual rumors about others is wrong. Inversely, the other large group of girls believe 7 out of 10 of boys think this is wrong. About male students' answers, most of them believe only few boys think spreading sexual rumors about others is wrong (1 out of 10).

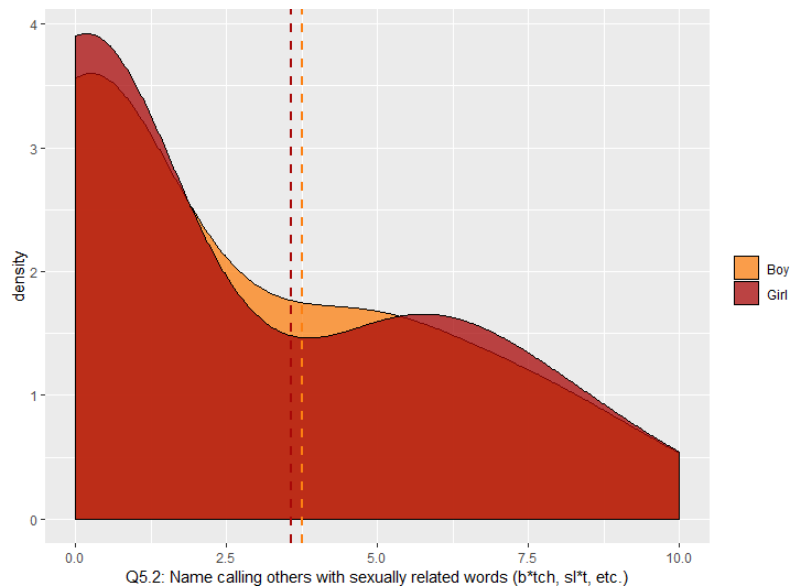


Figure 45. Comparison of answers between genders about boys that believe that it is wrong to name call others with sexually related words (b*tch, sl*t, etc.). Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the previous chart, girls' and boys' answers are very similar. On average, they divide in two groups. One that believes that 1 out of 10 boys think name calling others with sexually related words is wrong, and the other one believes 7 out of 10 do. However, it is worth mentioning that the greater proportion of students (of both sexes) responded that they expect that 1 out of 10 boys think this behavior is wrong as can be seen with the distribution skewed to the right.

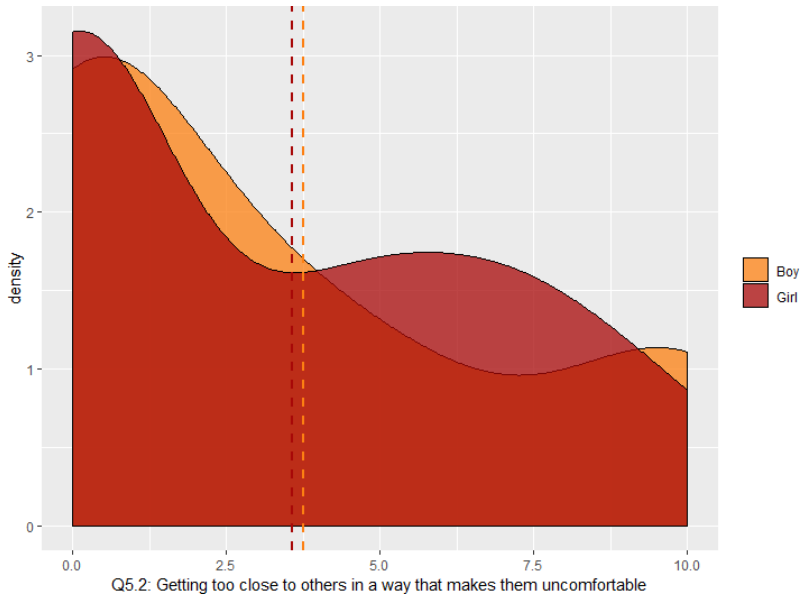


Figure 46. Comparison of answers between genders about boys that believe that it is wrong to get too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable. Source: Own elaboration

Female students can be divided mainly in two groups. The first one that believes that almost no boys (1 out of 10) think getting too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable is wrong. Inversely, the other large group of girls believe 7 out of 10 of boys think this is wrong. About male students' answers, most of them believe only few boys think getting too close to others in a way that makes them uncomfortable is wrong (1 out of 10). Source: Own elaboration

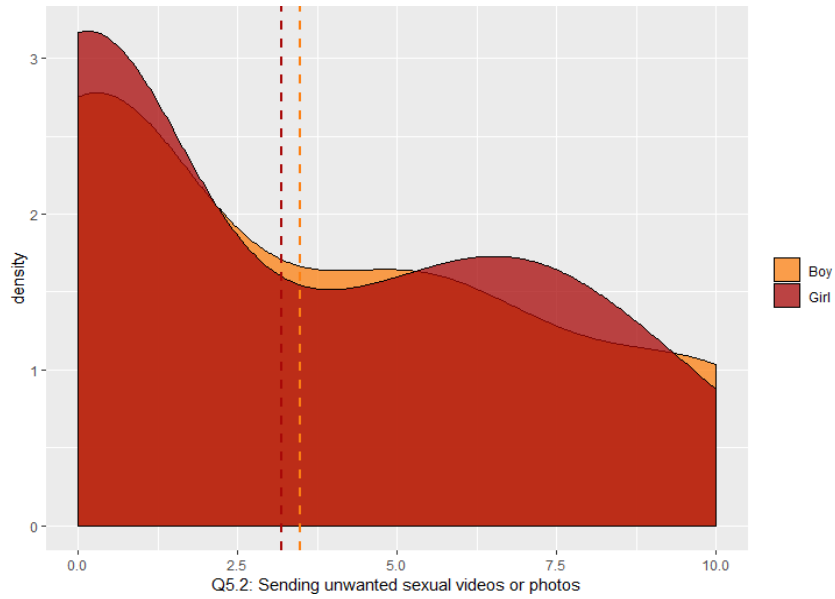


Figure 47. Comparison of answers between genders about boys that believe that it is wrong to send unwanted sexual videos or photos. Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the previous chart, girls' and boys' answers are very similar. On average, they divide in two groups. One that believes that 1 out of 10 boys think sending unwanted sexual videos or photos is wrong and the other one believes 7 out of 10 do. However, it is worth mentioning that the greater proportion of students of both sexes responded that they expect that 1 out of 10 boys think this behavior is wrong as can be seen with the distribution skewed to the left.

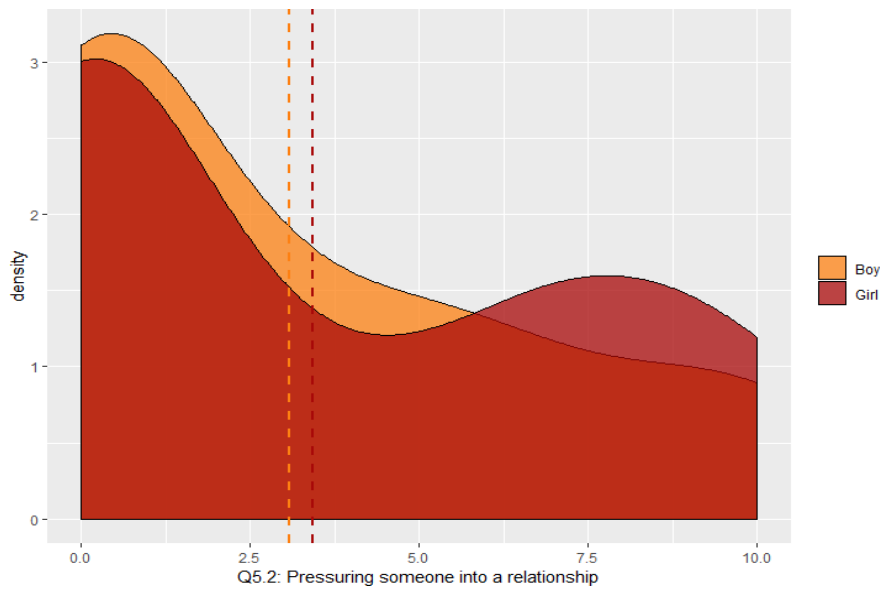


Figure 48. Comparison of answers between genders about boys that believe that it is wrong to pressure someone into a relationship. Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the graph, girls' beliefs divide in two groups. The first one believes 1 out of 10 boys think that pressuring someone into a relationship is wrong. The other one believes 7.5 out of 10 think this behavior is wrong. About the boys' expectations, the greater proportion of students believe that only few boys (1 out of 10) think doing this behavior is wrong.

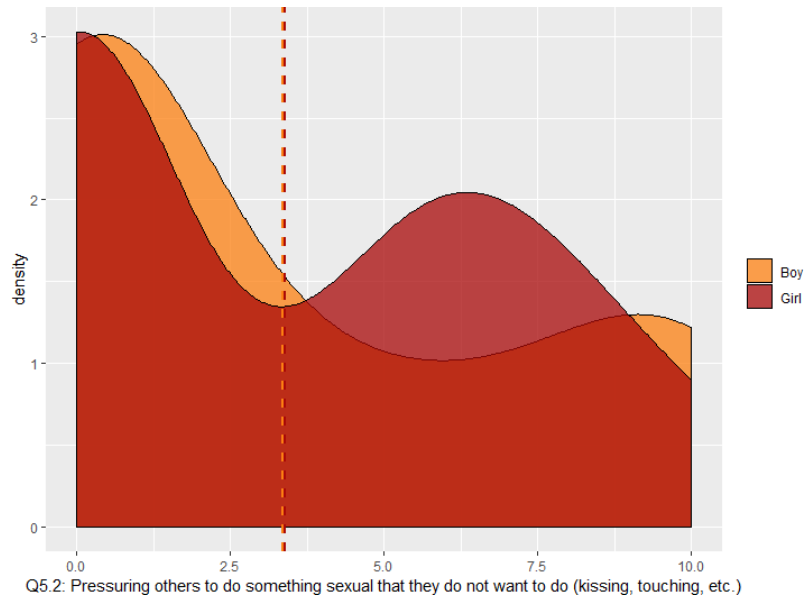


Figure 49. Comparison of answers between genders about boys that believe that it is wrong to pressure others to do something sexual that they do not want to do. Source: Own elaboration

As can be seen in the graph, girls' beliefs divide in two groups. The first one believes 1 out of 10 boys think that pressuring others to do something sexual that they do not want to do is wrong. The other one believes 7 out of 10 think this behavior is wrong. About the boys' expectations, the greater proportion of students believe that only few boys (1 out of 10) think doing this behavior is wrong.