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Conspiracy of Silence. The Loneliness of Victims of Gender-Based Peer Violence in Polish Junior High Schools. Research Paper

ABSTRACT: This research report is an integral part of a larger research project focused on analyzing peer violence which is driven by gender stereotypes and prejudices (including sexual harassment) and which is experienced by female and male students of Polish junior high schools. The present qualitative research results are the effect of eight interviews and group discussions carried out in the first half of 2013. The interviewees and discussion participants were students of four different junior high schools in different towns and villages. The discussions focused on the following issues: girls' and boys' strategies of enduring, resisting or confronting gender-based violence and harassment; their reactions and coping mechanisms as victims and/or witnesses of gender-based violence or harassment; how adolescents perceived the roles of adults (that is teachers, parents, professionals) in their experiences of violence.

KEYWORDS: gender and education, gender stereotypes, gender-based peer violence, sexual harassment in school.

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“Weird, huh? When someone at school yells at you across the hall: hey, bitch! And everybody laughs, nobody cares. But when mom asks me about school it makes me cry and I feel so ashamed. I prefer not to talk about this at home. I have to deal with it on my own” (Girl. Interview 3)

This research report is an integral part of a larger research project focused on analyzing peer violence which is driven by gender stereotypes and prejudices (including sexual harassment) and which is experienced by female and male students of Polish junior high schools¹. The research is designed to identify the forms, range and specificity of the problem which belongs to the “grey zone” of school reality. In a broader perspective, however, the research is an attempt at establishing the impact of internalized culture-specific gender stereotypes and beliefs on adolescents’ experience of everyday school reality, including situations of harassment and violence (Chmura-Rutkowska, 2012). Another key objective of the research is eliciting and publicizing students’ own opinions on gender-based peer violence since students’ experience and critical perspective are often ignored by teachers and parents and frequently overlooked in public debate carried out by specialists and commentators. No matter how comprehensive, the available studies based on quantitative research still allow certain categories of violence and cases of harassment to pass unnoticed, especially due to researchers’ own gender stereotypes and prejudices, while new forms of harassment and those related to taboos are deliberately omitted. Such are cases of violence related to gender, sexual orientation, sexual harassment and cyber-bullying, which is arguably the most dynamically growing form of peer violence. The present qualitative research results are the effect of eight interviews and group discussions carried out in the first half of 2013. The interviewees and discussion participants were students of four different junior high schools in different towns and villages. The discussions focused on the following issues: girls’ and boys’ strategies of enduring, resisting or confronting gender-based violence and harassment; their reactions and coping mechanisms as victims and/or witnesses of gender-based violence or harassment; how adolescents perceived the roles of adults (that is teachers, parents, professionals) in their experiences of violence.

WHY JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL?

School reality theoreticians and practitioners convincingly argue that junior high school education is connected with a number of difficult tasks and complex problems faced by both students and educators. In Poland, junior high school education coincides with growth stage defined as “early adolescence” (age range of 11-16 years). It is generally assumed that adolescence is a difficult transitory stage of individuation in which the child reaches maturity in the physical, intellectual and emotional dimensions. However, given the fact that the beginning of this maturing stage coincides with the child’s entrance into a new phase of formal school education, we are dealing with an accumulation of risk factors resulting both from young people’s growth stage (puberty, individuation and experimenting with roles, higher dependency on peers, emotional lability, the need to test oneself in various spheres of adult life, etc.) and from their need to find and establish their position among peers in a new social situation and conditions. Sexual identity development is a dynamic life-long process. In accordance with developmental stage theories, in the stage of developing sexual interest in the other sex, adolescents confront with reality their beliefs concerning gender roles and gender stereotypes, which they internalized in the process of socialization and upbringing (Bardziejewska, 2005; Bem, 2000; Brannon, 2002; Brzezińska, 2000; Chomczyńska-Miliszkiwicz, 2002; Kaschack, 1996; Miluska, 1996; Ziółkowska, 2005). They also test the viability of dominant patterns of behavior culturally assigned as typical of men and women. Intensified development of sexual identity in adolescence means intensification of problems, difficulties, risks of failure and violent behavior. Biological, psychological and cultural factors interlock and cumulatively generate specific problems. For example, research in the fields of interpersonal relations and moral reasoning has demonstrated that at the time girls reach conformity stage, which means they value interpersonal relations and display care for others, boys are still in preconventional stage (of individualism and instrumental exchange), which means they are egocentric and focus on their own interests irrespective of the needs and expectations of others. Having internalized masculinity patterns based on denial and avoidance of anything that is associated with femininity, early adolescent boys experience ambivalent feelings about their growing interest in girls, their need for contact and their identification with “truly masculine” peer groups to which they belong (Salisbury & Jackson, 1996). This dissonance is often reduced by means of various forms of violence towards girls: degrading, sexist comments, instrumental treatment of girls (Arriaga & Foshee, 2004). In general, girls who are ready to establish partner relations with boys hit a wall of sexism built by their less mature male peers, who as a result of socialization in an androcentric culture (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) have learned to devalue femininity and display dominance over girls (Askew & Ross, 1988; Badinter, 1993; Connell, 1995; Frosh, Pheonix, & Pattman, 2002; Gilligan, 2001; Katz, 2012). At the same time, girls who want to look attractive for boys focus on aspects which are particularly valued by culture. Paradoxically, their “sexy” and “feminine” look and appearance make them vulnerable to charges of “us-

ing the body” and “provoking” violence and harassment (Connell, 1989; Jones, 1985; Kopciwicz, 2011; Wójtewicz, 2009). Biology does not answer the question why boys comment on such signals from girls in a vulgar way, degrading and harmful to their female friends.

STEREOTYPES AND VIOLENCE

Social sciences concede that gender stereotypes are a psychological fact, a type of a cognitive and orientation tool affecting individual behaviors; they are also a social fact, that is an element of culture which determines ritualized forms of social life. As such, stereotypes constitute a source of guidelines as well as developmental barriers; they profile and limit a person’s experiences; they can be harmful and detrimental to interpersonal relations; moreover, they can inhibit self-realization, reduce life chances; finally, they may also be used to manipulate people and—in a wider context—contribute to social conflicts. What is particularly important in the context of the analyzed problem, stereotypes are instrumental in adopting negative attitudes, i.e. prejudices. This also means they trigger and justify discriminatory practices and all forms of violence against members of a given gender group (Mahony, 1998; Deaux & Kite, 2002; Kehily, 2002; Mandal, 2000; Nelson, 2003).

In peer school environment girls as much as boys are subject to conflicting pressures. On the one hand, they are expected to follow norms and rules of proper behavior at school. On the other hand, they want to achieve and maintain a high position among peers. Studies show that in case of adolescent boys and girls the quality of their everyday school life is determined by the ability to adjust to masculine and feminine gender stereotypes. The most crucial factor impacting on adolescent girls’ popularity with peers is their body, especially its weight and looks. Other contributing factors include fashionable clothes, maturity and responsibility, seamless functioning at school, a “nice friend” label and socializing with popular boys or, to be more general, “being attractive to boys.” As far as adolescent boys are concerned, qualities that matter most include not only physical attributes such as height, physical fitness and strength, but also independence from other people, manifested detachment from rules and questioning school norms, ostentatious depreciation of school requirements and achievements, and a carefree and cheerful attitude. Boys are also expected to emphasize their heterosexuality and dominating position over girls, which is achieved by “having” girlfriends and maintaining relations with girls highly listed in the “male” ranking of attractiveness. Boys and girls who for some reason fail to fit these stereotypes or question them receive negative labels and become victims of harassment from their peers (Begany & Millbrum, 2002; Duncan, 1999; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Jones, 1985; Mac an Ghail, 1994; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2005; Wołosik & Majewska, 2010).

For the purposes of the project, the Author adapted a wide definition of violence, which is understood as abuse or use of one’s physical, emotional or situational advantage over another person to obtain an important goal (Brzezińska & Hornowska, 2007). Gender-based violence is in fact violence driven by gender stereotypes and

prejudices. In a wider perspective, it derives from ideas of femininity and masculinity prevalent in a given society or culture. This type of violence is an extreme form of sex/gender discrimination. Sex discrimination (sexism) manifests itself in various forms of depreciation and violence which is directed at a victim who belongs to a gender group or social category against which the harasser feels resentment. The system of gender stereotypes and prejudices leads to unequal and wrongful treatment of women or men, girls or boys, in different spheres of their life activities (Deaux & Kite, 2002; Unger & Saundra, 2002). In case of gender-based violence, a victim is harassed simply because they belong to a particular sex or possess certain features which constitute or represent this sex. Bearing in mind that young people as well as adults often find it difficult to identify gender discrimination and violence, specialists suggest that each time the situation should be defined from the point of view of the victim. Violence, therefore, is defined as a behavior which is considered unwanted, unacceptable or despicable for a person to whom this behavior was addressed.

Theorists and socialization researchers prove that there is a strong influence of gender stereotypes and gender socialization which teaches adolescents how to express aggression and use violence in “legal” forms and to an “acceptable” extent. This socialization begins at early stages of development and is life-long. Violence is linked with gender roles and unequal distribution of power between men and women, which comes down to hierarchy and power, and consequently social acquiescence to certain violent practices (Kenway & Fitzclarence, 1997; Pankowska, 2005; Zilbergeld, 2000). This explains huge differences in defining various aspects of aggressive and violent behaviors in girls and boys or men and women. The aspects include characteristics of aggressive and violent behaviors, social tolerance and consent to different forms and frequency of such behaviors. Broadly speaking, internalized features culturally considered as masculine features strongly correlate with increased readiness to behave aggressively or use violence. There are multiple arguments which corroborate the thesis that violent behavior in young and adult males is a result of what they learned as boys within “normal” gender socialization (Biddulph, 2004; Chmura-Rutkowska & Ostrouch, 2007; Connell, 1989; Goldberg, 2000; Kopciwicz, 2007; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Martino & Meyen, 2001; Szczepanik, 2007; Thorne, 1993; Katz, 2012). Violence is often treated as a “normal” boyish strategy to attract attention, obtain a high position in a group, “court” girls and emphasize masculinity. As Sandy Watson put it, “We reap what we sow” (Watson, 2007, p. 729) at school and in society. Undoubtedly, school is the arena for students to show what they have acquired in the process of socialization and upbringing, followed by peer education, preschool education, religious education or media education. Nevertheless, teachers themselves, with their views, expectations, attitudes and behaviors, operating in schooling systems, with school curricula and course books create a mechanism which produces and maintains unequal positions of women and men in society and culture. This mechanism allows for dominance and acquiescence to many forms of violence perpetrated by boys and men while they aspire to the role model of hegemonic masculinity (Chomczyńska-Rubacha, 2011; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Gromkowska-Melosik, 2011).

Gender discrimination and gender-based violence manifest themselves in all known forms of abuse: physical, verbal, psychic, with the use of tools, sexual—both in real and virtual life (cyber-bullying). Various types of violence usually permeate and cumulate, with its source in symbolic and structural violence. Fragmentary research carried out in Poland and foreign studies show that daily school situations include diverse behaviors which involve the sexual sphere, for instance peeping; taking off and pulling clothes; taking and publicizing unwanted photos in intimate situations; using vulgar expressions (e.g., *shorty, bitch, ass, wuss, faggot, dyke*), making gestures and sounds (e.g., *whistles, smacks, animal sounds*) with sexual references; publicly commenting on someone's body/looks, body movements, its intimate parts; stigmatizing; leering; stalking; harassing by sending obnoxious text messages or emails; homophobic attacks, distributing or showing materials with sexual or pornographic context; spreading lies about someone's behaviors in an intimate situation; simulating sexual acts; flashing; unwelcome touching; publicly commenting on someone's intellectual inferiority (Wołosik & Majewska, 2010).

Numerous foreign studies and meta-analyses of international research suggest that although gender discrimination concerns both genders, the most notorious cases of stereotype-driven violence and sexual harassment are those done by boys against girls and boys against boys (Ackard & Neumark-Sztainer, 2002; Barter, 2009; Begany & Millbrum, 2002; Blair, Holland, & Sheldon, 1995; Duncan, 1999; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Herbert, 1989; Jones, 1985; Kimmel, 1999; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2005; Smith, 2003; Stein, 1995; Thorne, 1993; Williams, Ghandour, & Kub, 2008; Zespół Badawczy Koła Naukowego Studentów Socjologii UJ, 2008). Like any other form of violence, it is an act of dominance and a manifestation of power. The studies show that boys who turn to violence are driven by a desire to behave according to the norms of "masculinity," to maintain a high position in a group, and control and dominate over girls and "wimps," i.e. boys who do not fit or do not aspire to the model of hegemonic masculinity (Bourdieu, 2004; Connell, 1995; Katz, 2012; Melosik, 2002; Pollack, 1998).

STEREOTYPES AND TABOO

In Poland, school peer violence and gender discrimination and sexual harassment still remain taboo subjects or their existence is even denied. This is evidenced by the fact that despite findings available in foreign research studies, numerous alarming signals from students and school professionals, and dramatic cases occasionally reported by the media, the issue of peer violence driven by gender stereotypes and prejudices seen from the point of view of Polish high school students still remains to be diagnosed and examined.

European literature on the subject suggests that on average 5-10% of students fall victim to constant long-term harassment from a peer or a group of peers. However, this is only the tip of the iceberg of daily school conflicts and difficulties experienced by every child (Czapiński, 2009; Olweus, 2007; Ostrowska & Surzykiewicz, 2005; Smith et al., 1999). School violence is specific because victims are forced to meet and

interact with their harassers almost on a daily basis. They belong to one social group and are treated as such by adults, which exacerbates the position of an already bullied student. A child deprived of a choice whether or not to go to school is in fact deprived of a basic form of protection, namely isolation from their tormentor. More to the point, all major decisions at school are taken solely by adults. In theory, the fact that harassment occurs in the public sphere would imply that the victim should feel more secure. Unfortunately, Polish research has proved a shockingly low level of trust put in adults, both parents and school professionals, and an almost total lack of conviction that they will want to and will be able to help, which has led to a conspiracy of silence at all stages of education regarding violent acts, abusers and victims of violence. The more tabooed and mythologized the sphere of social interaction, the greater the silence. Such is the reaction to violence driven by gender stereotypes, including sexual harassment, in relations between teenagers.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research project was divided into stages during which various methods and procedures were applied. The Author used a triangular (data and methodological triangulation) combination of five methods including 1) a questionnaire with standardized open questions focusing on the problem; 2) in-depth group interviews, and 3) group discussions, coupled in four cases with a biographic photo documentation; 4) in-depth individual interviews, and 5) a qualitative analysis of forum discussions on social network websites for teenagers. The Author hopes this will allow her to gain insight into the subjective world of junior high school students, their social interactions, behaviors and conflict areas. Another purpose is to obtain a critical analysis of everyday school life and to examine gender stereotypes and prejudices among boys and girls in early stage of adolescence and establish how these stereotypes and prejudices affect the quality of life at school and outside school. It is crucial as well to detect and record specificities of peer relations among junior high school students and mechanisms of violence resulting from gender stereotypes and prejudices (forms, motives, emotions, reactions, consequences and coping strategies, etc.).

Following the processual model of qualitative research, instead of formulating hypotheses in advance, a precise subject area was established, which in turn determined the research procedure. The theory was developed concurrently with collecting and interpreting data, which resulted in accruing knowledge on the subject. Moreover, the qualitative method allowed to discover previously unseen matters and aspects of the analyzed problem which were addressed by the students in their narratives.

The discussions focused on the following issues: girls' and boys' strategies of enduring, resisting or confronting gender-based violence and harassment; their reactions and coping mechanisms as victims and/or witnesses of gender-based violence or harassment; how adolescents perceived the roles of adults (that is teachers, parents, professionals) in their experiences of violence.

RESEARCH GROUP PROFILE

The interviews were conducted with 13- and 14-year-olds attending second and third grade in one of four junior high schools:

- » school no. 1 in a city of approximately 500 thousand inhabitants in Greater Poland Province,
- » school no. 2 in a city of approximately 200 thousand inhabitants in Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province,
- » school no. 3 in a village of approximately 5000 inhabitants in Greater Poland Province
- » school no. 4 in a village of approximately 1000 inhabitants in West Pomeranian Province.

In total, eight group interviews were conducted (three with girls, three with boys and two with mixed groups) involving 28 girls and 26 boys. All the interviews were moderated by experienced researchers.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The interviews were carried out successively from March to June 2013. To participate in the research, all the students had to obtain consent from their parents, school principals and school boards. All the groups were informed in writing and/or verbally about the subject matter and main purposes of the research as well as method and ways in which the research findings might be used. Depending on the situation and parental consent, the interviews were conducted in classrooms (school no. 1 and no. 4), school gyms (school no. 1), a school library (school no. 3), and outside school in a professionally prepared room at a company which carries out qualitative research (school no. 2). The researchers were authorized to record and later transcribe all the interviews with the students.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

During the interviews the moderator presented the participants with frequently encountered forms of gender-based violence as well as a list of situations and offensive epithets describing girls and boys which appeared in the questionnaires from the first part of the research project. The opening question in every discussion was how to deal with gender-based violence as a victim and as a witness. The follow-up question concerned reactions and messages received from peers and adults.

In the majority of cases, regardless of the type of school, the boys and girls equally agreed that “there was no point” in informing adults about this type of violence. The respondents pointed primarily at their peer friends, usually of the same sex, as people to whom they would turn in order to talk about problems, seek help or advice. All the respondents shared the opinion that having good friends is crucial as friends protect you against violence and intervene when a situation of violence occurs. As followed

from previous studies, girls are particularly subject to gender-based violence, which explains why the girls in the research were more inclined to adopt passive strategies, such as total withdrawal and avoiding the harasser. The boys, on the other hand, although reluctant to letting adults know about various problems, are more willing to accept and promote more active reactions when boundaries are violated. Nevertheless, such strategies almost always entail some form of vengeance and . . . violence.

WHY NOT PARENTS AND TEACHERS?

Almost one-third of the participants in each interview declared that they had made or they still made attempts to talk about school violence with one of the parents, usually the mother. Yet, only one or two teenagers admitted that they always received actual support. The rest of the adolescents offered examples of disappointing, ineffective or even detrimental—in their opinion—parental behaviors. It is worth highlighting that of all the people the teenagers said they would turn to for help while experiencing gender-based violence, the father was always the least favorite choice. The participants believed that parents should be involved only in situations of violence which are particularly vicious or pose threat to life and health. Among the most often quoted reasons why teenagers refrain from sharing thoughts on and experiences of gender-based violence and gender harassment are:

- » shame before parents caused by lack of positive, if any, experience in talking about intimate issues,
- » negative parental attitude and atmosphere around the subject of sexuality,
- » poor emotional contact with the mother/father; a permanent conflict,
- » conviction that parents have “real” and “serious” problems which trump teenagers’ problems, fear of instigating quarrel or conflict between the child and the parent(s) or between the mother and the father,
- » fear of misunderstanding situations and problems,
- » fear of violating privacy, excessive parental interference and revealing so far undisclosed facts concerning for instance intimate relations or sex,
- » fear of inadequate reaction from one or both parents, including
 - » *ignoring the problem* (“these are just jokes,” “kids this age,” “boys are primitive, what can you do”),
 - » *transferring the blame* (“it’s your fault,” “you shouldn’t have talked to them,” “you looked provocative”),
 - » *finding the problem with the teenager* (“you are oversensitive,” “you don’t understand jokes”),
 - » *tightening control, multiplying do’s and don’ts regarding contacts with peers,*
 - » *blaming members of school staff* (“making a scene at school,” “beef with the supervising teacher”), which has negative consequences (“she is finished”),
 - » *publicizing the problem in the environment* (neighborhood, school) which leads to stigmatizing, exclusion, vengeance.

The girls as well as the boys participating in the research agreed that even though sometimes it is worth talking to parents about school problems, no teacher should find out about this under any circumstances. The idea of notifying teachers and educator of cases of gender-based violence raised in the respondents the same concerns as in the case of parents, that is no authentic bond or trust, feeling ashamed (both sides) to discuss gender- and sexuality-related problems, fear of psychological exposure, expected escalation of the problem due to unprofessional actions undertaken by adults focusing on the victim, blaming the victim, negative labeling of the victim and/or ignoring the problem. Moreover, the participants expressed the belief that it is difficult to treat teachers as their allies since

- » teachers are highly critical of their students,
- » they show no interest in their students' private lives or well-being, they never talk and know very little about it,
- » they cannot keep a secret,
- » they always take parents' and other teachers' side,
- » they "are cold," they don't sympathize or show compassion or care,
- » they are afraid or support "stronger" students who perpetrate violence but who at the same time enjoy a high social position and popularity at school,
- » they do want any troubles, thus sexual harassment is considered to be a "private," "embarrassing" and highly controversial subject,
- » many teachers believe in boys' "natural" aggression and adolescent "vulgarity," which translates into their acceptance for or ignoring of many forms of violent behaviors referred to as "silly jokes" or "cocksure advances," etc.
- » many teachers concentrate on the issue of girls' "immodest" appearance, which is used as a weapon against female victims of sexual harassment and often becomes a scathing comment.

The interviews clearly demonstrate that when teenagers seek help from adults by telling them about harmful peer behaviors, the advice they most often receive is to stay away from the harasser and adopt a passive attitude including taking attacks in silence, ignoring, avoiding or, if necessary, running away from the tormentor. In teenagers' view, both parents and teachers encourage them to involve adults in the school reality only when the situation is unbearable and starts to be "really" dangerous. If is hard for them to define what those qualifiers mean because the vague message which students receive results from the fact that schools have no protocols and procedures connected with sexual harassment.

CONCLUSION

The presented research clearly suggests that teenagers' "conspiracy of silence" over the problems of gender-based violence is the answer to attitudes presented by adults and the cultural climate surrounding gender identity, gender roles and sexuality.

Still, contrary to research findings proving a significant formal role of education in reproducing unequal positions of men and women in society, the majority

of professionals working in the schooling systems is unaware of or denies the existence of gender-based discrimination and violence as well as life-long multifaceted consequences thereof (Chomczyńska-Rubacha, 2011; Gromkowska-Melosik, 2011; Kopciewicz, 2007).

The fact that adults turn gender and sexuality issues in teenage relations into a taboo subject, together with lack of competent preparation of teachers to solve this kind of problems, further combined with low culture, absence of sexual education, and highly internalized gender stereotypes and prejudices cause that victims are ashamed and afraid of being stigmatized. Thus, they rarely share their problems with adults or seek help. Parents of victims and harassers are often unaware of the problem and they hardly ever discuss it with their children. Polish society, with its traditional views on gender roles, still believes in many myths about “natural” male and female features, needs and sexual behaviors. What is more, many forms of men’s and boys’ acts of violence against women and girls are considered an inherent element of a man-woman or boy-girl relation. Adolescents are perfectly familiar with these norms and choose not to break them lest they should face negative sanctions.

In case of gender-based violence we undoubtedly deal with a “gray zone” of school reality. Due to adults’ ignorance, gender stereotypes and turning a blind eye we know little about forms, consequences and coping strategies adopted by teenagers who experience gender-based violence although such knowledge is necessary for us to be able to provide care and effective help and assistance to silent victims.

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**ZMOWA MILCZENIA. PROBLEM SAMOTNOŚCI OFIAR RÓWIEŚNICZEJ
PRZEMOCY ZE WZGLĘDU NA PŁEĆ W POLSKICH GIMNAZJACH. RAPORT Z
BADAŃ**

ABSTRAKT: Raport z badań stanowi integralną część większego, aktualnie realizowanego projektu badawczego, którego problemem zasadniczym jest przemoc rówieśnicza motywowana stereotypami i uprzedzeniami związanymi z płcią (w tym przemoc o podtekście seksualnym), doświadczana przez uczniów i uczennice polskich gimnazjów. Prezentowane tu wyniki badań własnych o charakterze jakościowym są efektem przeprowadzonych w pierwszej połowie 2013 roku ośmiu wywiadów i dyskusji grupowych, w których uczestniczyli gimnazjaliści i gimnazjalistki z czterech różnych szkół i miejscowości. Problemem, na którym skoncentrowały się dyskusje były dziewczęce i chłopięce strategie przetrwania, oporu czy też przeciwstawiania się rówieśniczej przemocy ze względu na płeć; reakcje i sposoby radzenia sobie w roli ofiary i/lub świadka oraz postrzeganej przez adolescentów roli dorosłych (nauczycieli, rodziców, profesjonalistów) w sytuacji doświadczania sytuacji przemocowych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: gender i edukacja, przemoc rówieśnicza ze względu na płeć, przemoc seksualna w szkole, rodzaj i edukacja, stereotypy związane z płcią.



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