Gender, Schooling, and Antisocial Behaviour: Perspectives of School Personnel

by

Allison Chenier

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Sociology

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2019

Examining Committee Membership

The following served on the Examining Committee for this thesis. The decision of the Examining Committee is by majority vote.

Supervisor   Dr. Jennifer L. Schulenberg
                                    Associate Professor

Internal Member   Dr. Janice Aurini
                                    Associate Professor

Internal Member   Dr. Owen Gallupe
                                    Associate Professor

Internal-External Member   Dr. Shannon Dea
                                    Professor
                                    Department of Philosophy

External Examiner   Dr. Michael Adorjan
                                    Associate Professor
                                    Department of Sociology
                                    University of Calgary

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This thesis examines gender, schooling, and antisocial behaviour and aims to shed light on how gender contextualizes the interpretations and reactions by personnel working in secondary schools. Drawing on data from 49 semi-structured interviews with school personnel working in a public school board in Southwestern Ontario collected in 2011 and 2016, I examine the ways that gender shapes the interpretation of female antisocial behaviour in schools and consider the specific ways that personnel respond to that behaviour. First, I use Milner's (2004) theory of status relations as an analytic framework to examine common adolescent antisocial behaviour such as theft, relational aggression, and sexualized social media use. The theory of status relations posits that since youth are unable to achieve political and economic power due to their age, they gain status through peer group status systems. Thus, while behaviours are interpreted by those working in schools as antisocial, the behaviours can also be understood as attempts on the part of adolescents to gain status. Through a grounded theory analysis, I argue that those working in schools interpret the status behaviours of male and female students differently, perceiving the behaviour of girls to be more problematic and aberrant than boys. As well, I suggest that the proliferation of technology and social media adds a new dimension to status behaviours, as many of the status behaviours involve access to technology or occur via social media. Next, I draw on feminist criminology and gender-responsive programming literature to examine how school resource officers (SROs) interpret and make sense of their interactions with female students, especially as it compares to the interpretations of other school personnel. I suggest that SROs are both similar and distinct from other school personnel in their perceptions of female students, and particularly dissimilar in their perceptions of risk of gender-based violence. SROs in this study suggest that responding to gender-based violence is a common part of their role, whereas other school personnel view it as uncommon. I then argue that the SRO program in schools contains elements deemed important in the gender-based programming literature, especially compared to officers working on patrol. SROs suggest that working in schools affords them the time necessary to build trust with youth, ultimately improving youth-police relations. I argue further that the studies of school safety should be expanded beyond victimization in the form of bullying, fighting, and extreme cases of school violence to include gender-based victimization. Finally, I examine how the organization of schools intersects with girls' antisocial behaviour in schools. Drawing on concepts from organization deviance derived inductively from the data, I argue that the loosely coupled nature of secondary schools has gendered implications, particularly in the case of vulnerability to victimization in human trafficking. Elements of the organization of schools such as structural secrecy can lead to missed opportunities for school personnel to intervene with students at-risk for involvement in human trafficking, as personnel may not share vital information on warning signs. The implication of the results is that all loosely coupled organizations, such as the police, may be unwittingly failing to intervene on behalf of vulnerable girls. The thesis concludes with areas for future research and recommendations in the areas of policy and training.

Acknowledgements

Finishing this degree has definitely been a lesson in perseverance and so many people have helped me (finally!) make it to the finish line. I am indebted to my advisory committee, Drs. Schulenberg, Aurini, and Gallupe, whose guidance, moral support, and academic insights helped strengthen my thesis and take it in directions I could never have gone on my own. I am a better thinker and scholar as a result of your feedback and tireless support. I am also indebted to Superintendent John Goodman of the Waterloo Regional Police Service. John, your support of this project not only opened doors for me, but you consistently model what positive leadership looks like. I am so appreciative of all your help!

The best thing resulting from this journey has been the friendships that I have built along the way, especially with my school family. Christine, Damian, and Dr. Sonya, what would I do without you? Christine, we never spiral at the same time, and we couldn't have planned that better! Thank you for all the times you talked me off the ledge. Damian, you have an uncanny knack to know when I need a laugh or a sympathetic ear. Thank you for both. Dr. Sonya Buffone, you led the pack and showed us all that success is possible. Thank you for always believing that I could do it too.

Dr. Jessica Pulis, my academic big sister, I cannot thank you enough for the advice, the laughs, the professional support, and for taking my love of Jersey Shore with the seriousness it deserves. My girls, Erin, Johanna, and Michelle, were always there with a supportive ear, and an enthusiasm to submit to the couch duvet and bad tv. I love you! Dr. Rory Sommers, thank you for being the first of us to finish and inspiring me that I can do it too.

Thank you to the school and police personnel that participated in this study. This literally would not be possible without your willingness to share your experiences with me.

And most importantly, I would not have made it through the process without the support and encouragement of my family. Mom, Dad, Roshelle, Rob, Big Cat, Abby, Colin and Marty, I could go on and on about how grateful I am but I'm already asking you to read this long thesis so I will keep it brief (or as brief as an academic can): thank you and I love you.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

The chapters in this thesis explore the ways that gender contextualizes interpretations and reactions to antisocial behaviour and crime in schools. Specifically, they shed light on how those working with youth in schools, such as teachers, child and youth workers, and school resource police officers, make sense of antisocial behaviour in schools and their responses to it. I argue that gender remains an important factor in understanding antisocial behaviour and crime among adolescents.

Scholars have tackled the issue from a number of vantage points, identifying factors that can be linked to an increased likelihood that youth will engage in antisocial behaviour and crime. Individual-level factors that have been shown to increase the likelihood of antisocial behaviour include antisocial attitudes and antisocial personality (Hubbard & Pratt, 2002), substance abuse and mental health (Erickson & Butters, 2005), and the peer group (Giordano, 2009; Warr, 2002). Family factors such as parental monitoring, family structure, and family dynamics have also been linked to antisocial behaviour (Kruttschnitt & Giordano, 2009). School factors can be broken down in terms of student-level influences and school-level influences. Payne & Welch (2015) summarize studies highlighting student-level considerations, such as academic performance, truancy and dropping out, frequent school transitions, and attachment and commitment to school as linked to antisocial behaviour. School-level factors important in the study of antisocial behaviour include school enrollment, teacher/student ratios, and general school disorder (Payne & Welch, 2015).

It is important to note, however, that the study of delinquency has long been the study of male offending which is why the objective of this research is to examine how those working with youth in schools perceive female behaviour. Early theories and research efforts aimed at

explaining and predicting juvenile delinquency were based on samples of boys and rarely, if ever, considered the nature, extent, and causes of girls' offending (see, for example, Hirschi, 1969). Since the 1970s this has changed, and as the result of the rising influence of feminism more generally, criminologists have turned their attention to explaining and predicting girls' patterns of offending.

Official reports of delinquency consistently show gaps in offending between boys and girls. Boys are much more likely to be included in official statistics than females, in both Canada and the United States (Allen & Superle, 2016; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2014; Tanner, 2015). In light of this, criminologists note that gender is an important variable in the study of juvenile delinquency (Steffensmeier & Schwartz, 2009). However, this does not mean that girls' offending has been ignored entirely. In the study of girls and delinquency, research has investigated many facets of girls' lives, such as mental health (Yan & Dannerbeck, 2011), homelessness (O'Grady & Gaetz, 2004), family relations (Davis, 2013), and peer relations (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Miller, 1998; Miller, 2001). There is a considerable volume of in-depth, qualitative work in the area of female offending (e.g., Artz, 1998; Belknap, Holsinger, & Dunn, 1997; Bloom, Owen, Rosenbaum, & Deschenes, 2003; Bond-Maupin, Maupin, & Leisenring, 2002; Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Gaarder & Belknap, 2002; Garcia & Lane, 2013; Leitz, 2003; Miller, 2001; Miller & Brunson, 2000). Research consistently finds both similarities and differences with respect to the nature and extent of girls' and boys' offending.

When examining the correlates to antisocial behaviour and youth crime, girls and boys may be influenced by similar factors. Yet many scholars point out that some of these individual, family, and school factors may be gendered (Bridges Whaley, Hayes-Smith, & Hayes-Smith, 2010; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2014; Park, Morash, & Stevens, 2010). Individual factors such

2

as victimization and mental health histories may affect girls differently than boys (Belknap &

Holsinger, 2013) and research indicates that boys and girls suffer from different types of mental

illnesses (Street, 2005). Girls are more likely to exhibit internalizing mental health behaviours,

such as depression, and boys are more likely to exhibit externalizing behaviours, such as

aggression. The different mental health risks may influence the nature and extent of the

antisocial behaviours of boys compared to girls. Furthermore, early pubertal maturation is more

important in the study of girls' antisocial behaviour than boys', as is a history of sexual abuse

(Fishbein, Miller, Winn, & Dakof, 2009; Kruttschnitt & Giordano, 2009).

Research also examines the different ways that antisocial behaviour is likely to manifest,

both in the community and in schools. Young women are more likely to experience depression,

eating disorders, and self-harming behaviours, which are linked to antisocial behaviour (Street,

2005). On the other hand, young men are more likely to show alcohol and drug abuse behaviours

and to take their own lives (Street 2005). Examples of antisocial behaviours occurring at school

include physical fights and drug offences, such as possession of marijuana (Allen & Superle,

2016; Payne, Gottfredson, & Kruttschnitt, 2009). Research on bullying and relational aggression

indicate that both male and female students engage in these behaviours at school (Lehman,

2018).

In light of studies showing both similarities and differences between male and female

antisocial behaviour and youth crime, the broad goal of the current research is to increase

scholarly knowledge of the gendered nature of antisocial behaviour in a single social milieu:

school. Building on the rich tradition of qualitative studies examining gender differences in

antisocial behaviour and on studies examining student-level and school-level correlates of

offending, I focus on the antisocial behaviour of Canadian adolescents aged 12-17 in secondary

schools. However, instead of examining the behaviours of the adolescents themselves, I focus on the school agents of social control tasked with responding to those behaviours, shedding light on what shapes both formal and informal reactions in schools. This study is guided by the view of that how we respond to particular behaviour is as important to examine as the behaviour itself. Thus, the following chapters investigate how school personnel such as teachers, principals, child and youth workers, and school resource police officers interpret, make sense of, and respond to the antisocial and criminal behaviours of the adolescents with whom they work in schools. It is important to understand what shapes these responses, which can include potentially serious implications such as suspensions, expulsions, and criminal charges. There is little scholarly research on the perspectives of those working with youth, despite the potential implications for youth and the school climate. The analyses are guided by participant definitions, conceptualizations, and understandings of what constitutes antisocial behaviour, both in and out of school.

Methods

Research Site and Sample

The data for this study are drawn from two sets of semi-structured interviews with personnel working in a large public school board in Southwestern Ontario, conducted at an interval of five years apart (2011 and 2016). This local school board (the Board) was chosen for participation due to its convenience as well as due to its size, as it is made up of over 100 schools, providing the potential for a variety and diversity of perspectives and experiences by those working in the Board. Within this Board are 105 elementary schools, 16 secondary schools, four alternative education schools, and four continuing education schools. In addition, the school board covers a large geographic region, with schools in urban and suburban settings as

well as in more rural areas (communities within the Board range from 5,000 people to 250,000 people), contributing to the diversity in perspectives of those working within the different school settings. Since the goal of the studies was to understand the perceptions of and responses to youth antisocial and criminal behaviour, the sample was limited to those working in the 16 secondary schools and the four alternative education schools in the Board, as only youth aged 12-17 fall under the jurisdiction of Canadian youth criminal justice legislation. In 2017, the population in the study's location was over 500,000 residents (Statistics Canada, 2019).

Interviews were also conducted with police officers from the same police service and schools in their jurisdiction. Like most police services, this one highlights youth investigations and relations as a priority in their strategic plan and as such, there are multiple youth programs delivered by the service. Most of the police sample is made up of school resource officers (SROs), which is just one type of youth program offered in the region. The SRO program is made up of 10 officers that work in the elementary and secondary schools in the Board. These officers are responsible for a variety of tasks as part of the SRO role; they respond to calls for service, provide information on law-related topics such as crime prevention, and they can serve as a liaison between the school and parent community and other community agencies. As indicated in the Police School Board Protocol, the schools work in partnership with the police service to ensure a safe working environment for students and as such the SROs are not simply responsible for responding to and investigating crimes, but also for assisting victims and acting as a resource in the development of student citizenship. The SROs are assigned to more than one school, providing coverage to all the schools in the Board[1]. Interviews were also conducted with

---

[1] SROs working in secondary schools were responsible for an average of 5 schools, while those working in elementary schools were responsible for many more (one 2016 participant was responsible for 53 elementary schools).

police personnel in the service that work directly with youth, such as youth detectives and youth sergeants (see Table 1 for a breakdown of participant roles and Table 3 for average length of time in SRO role).

Table 1: Interviews conducted in 2011 and 2016

	Role	2011	2016	Total
Police	School resource officer	5	9	14
	Youth sergeant	3	0	3
	Youth detective	0	1	1
School	Child and youth worker	6	3	9
	Educational assistant	2	0	2
	Guidance counsellor	4	0	4
	Intake coordinator	2	0	2
	Principal	0	1	1
	Social worker	2	0	2
	Supervision monitor[2]	0	1	1
	Teacher	5	1	6
	Vice-principal	2	2	4
Total:		31	18	49

Sample Recruitment

The first set of interviews were conducted in 2011 and are part of a larger study examining responses to youth antisocial behaviour by various system actors. The larger project is made up of a sample of not just school and police personnel but also of personnel working in probation, adolescent mental health, and open and secure custody facilities. This project aimed to build localized knowledge of youth antisocial and criminal behaviour, including risk and protective factors for antisocial behaviour, as well as responses to that behaviour by actors in the various system components (Schulenberg, 2013). The data for this chapter are taken from school and police personnel only and include a total of 31 interviews conducted in 2011. I worked as a member of the research team on this project.

---

[2] The role of supervision monitor entails monitoring student activity in the school and on school property.

For both studies in 2011 and 2016, upon receiving ethics clearance by the university Office of Research Ethics, access was granted by both the local public school board and the local police service[3]. Gaining permission involved submitting a research proposal to the Board and a recruitment letter to the Chief of Police. Once permission was granted by the Board and the Chief, recruitment letters were sent out to the principals in all 16 secondary schools and four alternative schools in the region, outlining the goals of the project and detailing what participation would entail, including assurances of confidentiality and informed consent (see Appendix C for a sample of a recruitment letter sent to school principals in 2011 and Appendix D for recruitment letter sent in 2016). As per the Board research policy, it was up to the school principals to pass on the study information to their staff, who then contacted the researcher for participation. Participants in the 2011 interviews included personnel working as guidance counselors, attendance social workers, vice-principals, teachers, child and youth workers, and behavioural education assistants. Since some participants referred their colleagues for participation, the result was a snowball sample of personnel working in mainstream and alternative schools. For the police interviews, once permission was granted by the Chief of Police, participants were given details of the goals of the study and contacted the researcher for participation. All interviews were conducted by the principal investigator of that study although as part of the research team I attended many of the interviews (see Appendix A for more information on the participants and their occupational roles).

Due to the broader research focus, the findings from the 2011 study provided in-depth information but were largely gender-neutral. In other words, participatns spoke primarily of their perceptions of the antisocial and criminal behaviour of boys, leaving many unanswered questions

___

[3] Study in 2011 had ORE clearance # 16197 and study in 2016 had ORE clearance # 20683.

as to how these perceptions may differ with girls and how gender contextualizes these perceptions. As a result, the interviews conducted in 2016 were designed to build on the unanswered questions, and 10 out of 18 questions overlap between the two sets of interviews. Furthermore, since five years had passed since the first set of interviews, the 2016 interviews were designed to tease out changes in antisocial behaviour over that time, particularly as it related to the (mis)use of technology and social media. As the research procedure is set out by school board policy, the same recruitment procedures were followed in 2016 as 2011. A total of 18 interviews make up this sample and all interviews were conducted by the author[4].

The participants from the 2011 and 2016 interviews were drawn from a total of six secondary schools, and only one school was the same in both waves. However, it is possible that there are more schools that overlap between the two time periods as can change schools within the Board. The estimated total student enrolment is over 6000 students, which is based on enrolment estimates posted on the schools' websites (2019). However, since enrolment figures were unavailable for two of the participating schools, the total student enrolment for the participating schools is greater than that estimate. While six out 20 means fewer than half of possible secondary schools in the Board are included in the sample, these schools are located in both urban and rural settings and include mainstream and alternative schools; as such the sample represents a diversity of personnel experiences. Since schools had to agree to participate, it was impossible to ensure that all schools are represented or that the same schools participated in 2011 and in 2016. Additionally, the SROs making up the police sample are responsible for all schools

---

[4] I encountered many challenges over the course of data collection in 2016. The recruitment letters were not as successful as I had hoped, as a number of principals refuse participation outright or ignore the letters. Despite repeated attempts at recruitment, the efforts were not yielding many participants. In order to work around the problem I submitted research applications to three other school boards in Southwestern Ontario but was denied approval in all three boards.

in the Board, not just those included in the participating school personnel schools, and thus

provide even greater diversity in experiences. Tables 2 and 3 provide more information on the

genders of the participants as well as the length of time the police officers worked in the SRO

role.

Table 2: Gender breakdown of participants, 2011 and 2016

	2011			2016	
	Police	School		Police	School
Male	7	10		9	1
Female	1	13		1	7
Total	8	23		10	8

Table 3: Average length of time in years working in occupational role.

	2011	2016
Police	14	11.4
Police (SRO)[5]	2.5	1.7
School	10.1	13.4

Interviews

The interviews in 2011 and 2016 followed a similar procedure and were conducted at a

time and location convenient to the participants, such as in their office, in a meeting room, or in a

coffee shop. The participants were first given a copy of the informed consent form and the

researcher outlined how confidentiality would be ensured throughout the research process.

Participants were also given the option of reviewing their transcript to verify their experiences

and thoughts were accurately reflected, serving as a form of member checking. Since the second

set of interviews were designed to build on the first, approximately half of the questions asked

overlap and the 2016 interviews probed for perceptions of gender differences (see Appendix B

for copies of the interview schedules for 2011 and 2016). The interviews lasted roughly 45-60

---

[5] Police participants provided both the length of time working as officers as well as length of time working in the SRO role. As not all police participants worked in the SRO role, a subset of 5 officers in 2011 and 9 officers in 2016 are included in this number.

minutes, although some were as long as 90 minutes. All interviews in 2011 and all interviews but one in 2016 were audio-recorded[6]. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and discrete analyses were undertaken for each chapter, which was facilitated with the software program NVivo (QSR 10).

Analysis: Chapter 2

The analysis for chapter two was based on grounded theory principles whereby the data undergo constant comparison as coding progresses through two stages (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The first stage of open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) occurred as the transcripts of both 2011 and 2016 interviews were analyzed line-by-line to get at patterns, such as similarity, difference, and frequency (Saldaña, 2013). This initial stage of coding resulted in broad categories, such as risk factors for antisocial behaviour (e.g., peer group, substance abuse, family dynamics), types of antisocial behaviour (e.g., theft, fighting, bullying), and common characteristics among the youth (e.g., drug use, low self-esteem). The second stage of axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) occurred as concepts were cemented and dimensions in the categories were revealed. It was during the second stage of coding that differences between male and female youth as well as among female youth became more evident. It was during the second stage of coding as well that changes over time were revealed in the data. In this second stage of coding dimensions within the concepts were fine-tuned; for example, concepts such as "sexualization of girls" and "social media bullying" were delineated from the open code of "use of technology". While the goal of this study is not to develop theory, the two stages of coding allowed for emergent themes to be crystallized.

Analysis: Chapter 3

---

[6] One participant in 2016 did not agree to have the interview audio-recorded so detailed notes were taken both during and immediately following the interview.

For chapter three, the interview transcripts were coded in two phases, using both a deductive and inductive strategy. The first stage of coding produced deductive provisional codes, such as "risk factors", "protective factors", "common characteristics" and "responses" that were based on questions in the interview guides (Saldaña, 2013). For instance, participants were asked directly about common characteristics among youth that engage in antisocial behaviour, which was given a provisional code. The code "responses" included data on not only strategies used in responding to antisocial behaviour but also the types of situations that demand a response. These codes were then subcoded (Saldaña, 2013) to include nodes such as "responses-crime", "responses-things to consider" and "responses-extenuating circumstances". The subcodes indicated the dimensions of responses that can occur in the course of working with youth in schools. In order to tease out the gender differences, many of the deductive nodes were subcoded for gender-specificity. In the case of common characteristics among youth that engage in antisocial behaviour, the node "common characteristics" was subcoded "common characteristics-girls" and included things such as low self-esteem and romantic relationships. There were several instances of subcoding during the first stage of data analysis. The first stage of analysis resulted in 18 codes and 104 subcodes.

The first stage of coding also produced structure codes indicating a particular topic of interest (Saldaña, 2013), many of which were also based on gender differences in the data. The structure code "sexual assault" grouped together all participant perceptions on examples of sexual assault and ways they deal with sexual assault in schools. This structure code emerged inductively, as while the interview guide asked general questions about challenges facing girls, the participants revealed their views that concerns around sexual assault were a significant part of girls' lives. The emergent nature of this code was especially evident in the 2011 interview

transcripts as direct questions about gender differences were not posed and thus information about gender differences was embedded in responses to other questions. For example, when asking participants about examples of antisocial behaviour, it was revealed that female students may go to a party on the weekend, engage in drug and/or alcohol use, and there may be sexual contact to which they did not consent. This was coded in the structure code "sexual assault". The response was indicating drug and/or alcohol use as an example of antisocial behaviour yet also indicated the possibility of non-consensual sexual activity.

Finally, the first stage of coding involved in vivo coding of phrases that were repeatedly used by participants themselves (Saldaña, 2013). The in vivo code of "girl drama" was evident in both sets of interviews as participants described situations at school involving girls. This first stage code also was subcoded to flesh out the dimensions and situations that those working with youth interpret as "drama". These subcodes included dimensions such as "girl drama-cyberbullying", and "girl drama-social media", providing an overview of what participants see as driving the interpersonal conflict among female students. Neither the 2011 or 2016 interviews asked specifically about "girl drama" and yet it was a phrase used repeatedly by participants in both sets of interviews.

The second stage of coding involved reorganizing and combining the first stage codes in order to elucidate how the school resource officers and other school personnel make sense of their interactions with girls. The code "gender-based violence" captures structure codes dealing with sexual assault and sexual harassment that were identified as impacting girls at school. This code outlines not only personnel perspectives on the frequency of gender-based violence but also the manner in which personnel respond to disclosures by students, which encompassed provisional codes related to responses. As well, the code "blurred boundaries" is drawn from the

12

same concept in feminist criminology (Miller & Mullins, 2009; Sharpe, 2013), and captures the perception that in many situations, girls can be both victims and perpetrators of antisocial behaviour. The participants talked about how in many situations at school, such as instances of cyberbullying, it can be murky to delineate a clear perpetrator and victim, which complicates their responses. This second stage of coding cemented the elements that are unique to interacting with and responding to female students. While this study explores and emphasizes the perceptions and experiences of those working as SROs, the perspectives of all school personnel are included in the analysis and findings in order to examine how perspectives differ according to occupational role.

It was also during the second stage of coding that changes over time emerged. The transcripts from 2016 were analyzed first, followed by those in 2011. In order to capture the changes in personnel perspectives over time, the codes from 2016 were compared to those in 2011. Not only were some codes much more prevalent in the 2016 data, such as those relating to social media and technology, but the dimensions of some codes and subcodes were different between the two data sets, providing evidence for changes in perceptions over time.

Analysis: Chapter 4

The research process was inductive and therefore the applicability of the theoretical concepts related to loose coupling emerged from the data analysis, as opposed to being part of the original research design (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Data were coded in two rounds: open and axial (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The first round of open coding allowed the data to be broken down into discrete categories, and the categories were examined for similarity, difference, and causation (Saldaña, 2013). It was during this round of coding that broad categories were made in the data, such as risk factors for antisocial behaviour (e.g., mental health), and common

characteristics among youth (e.g., family instability, poverty). The second round of axial coding allowed for relationships to be made between categories and relationships to be made among the open codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). It was during this stage of coding that differences between male and female antisocial behaviour were identified.

The five-year interval between the two sets of interviews as well 10 out of the 18 questions overlapping allows for an examination of change over time for two reasons and this is important for research on human trafficking as it relates to loose coupling in schools. One, the problem of human trafficking has only recently entered the public consciousness (Carville, 2015) and therefore the interviews in 2011 made no reference to the recruitment and involvement of youth in the region. This was not the case with the second set of interviews in 2016. Two, the speed with which technology advances makes it so that an interval of five years provided ample time for both the technology and how it is used in schools to change. In the first set of interviews, participants noted the role of technology in a cursory way and suggested the use of social media as limited primarily to Facebook. In the second set of interviews, however, access to and use of social media exploded such that it was the main focus of almost every interview. This too relates to the examination of human trafficking as many traffickers recruit victims via technology and social media (Kortla, 2010; Sapiro, Johnson, Postmus, & Simmel, 2016; Tidball, Zheng, & Creswell, 2016).

Trustworthiness

Given that this study is based on qualitative data, the typical tests of scientific rigor of reliability and validity are inappropriate (Goodwin & Horowitz, 2002). Instead, rigor in qualitative research is determined through trustworthiness (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Trustworthiness was ensured through assessing credibility by conducting member checks

(Lincoln & Guba, 1985). All participants in both sets of interviews were given the opportunity to review the transcript of their interview in order to verify that their thoughts were accurately reflected[7]. This provided participants with the ability to amend or take back any idea or statement in the transcript they felt was not reflective of their perceptions and views. Furthermore, credibility was ensured through triangulation, in this case through the "wide use of informants" (Shenten, 2004, p. 44). While the participants include a wide range of professional roles and reflect experiences over two periods of time, the sample is drawn from the same local school board and police service and many of the same questions were asked. This allowed the viewpoints of the participants to be verified against each other.

The perspectives of those working in schools forms the basis for the three chapters in the thesis. Chapter two adopts the theoretical lens of Milner's (2004) theory of status relations to better understand the nature of antisocial behaviour in secondary schools. The theory of status relations is a useful analytic lens to make sense of how youth antisocial behaviour in schools, such as theft, relational aggression, and sexualized social media use, can be understood as attempts on the part of students to gain much-valued status. I argue that school personnel interpret the status behaviours of male and female students differently such that male behaviours are more normalized than female behaviours, as the interpretation of male and female behaviours is based on normative understandings of appropriate femininity. The findings highlight how access to technology and social media adds a new dimension to the concept of status behaviours.

Chapter three suggests that the school resource police officer program in secondary schools has unique benefits for responding to the needs of female students. In this chapter I draw on insights from feminist criminological theory and the gender-responsive programming

---

[7] Only one interview in the 2011 sample provided feedback on the transcript and it was to provide additional information on contextual information and documents. No transcripts in the 2016 sample were reviewed.

literature to add a dimension to the scholarly examination of the school resource officer role, suggesting that these police officers have the potential to provide female students with a trusted confidante to report their experiences of sexual victimization. Further, the findings highlight how school resource officers interpret their interactions with female students differently than they do male students, and at times differently than other school personnel.

Finally, chapter four examines how the organization of school intersects with girls' antisocial behaviour. Drawing on research in the field of organizational deviance (e.g., Fox & Harding, 2004; Vaughan, 1998), I argue that there are gendered implications to the loosely coupled structure and organization in the school. In particular, I focus on female students' vulnerability to recruitment into and victimization in the form of human trafficking, and the findings illustrate how elements of the organization of the school, such as structural secrecy, can lead to missed opportunities for those working with youth in schools to intervene on behalf of at-risk students. Since female students are much more likely to be recruited into and victimized by human trafficking, the structural secrecy and loose coupling may unwittingly contribute to this gendered victimization.

What unites these studies is an emphasis on the importance of understanding how gender shapes adolescents' experiences at school, both prosocial and antisocial, as well as a focus on participant-defined views on what constitutes antisocial behaviour in schools. These studies contribute to the scholarly literature in several key ways. First, by emphasizing the role of technology in antisocial behaviour that occurs schools, suggesting that more research attention needs to be paid to technology. Second, by suggesting the limitations that come from the school resource officer studies that consider students as a homogenous group. Third, by drawing attention to the often-overlooked vulnerabilities of students to recruitment into human

trafficking, especially as it relates to schools. Finally, the findings provide evidence that gender continues to be an important contextual factor in preventing and responding to youth antisocial behaviour and crime in schools.

Chapter 2: Status relations, social media, and gender: Perceptions of antisocial behaviour in schools

Abstract

School has long been identified as an important factor in the study of antisocial behaviour and youth crime. While much research is either centred on male deviance or is gender-neutral, this chapter puts gender at the centre of the analysis by examining girls' antisocial behaviour in schools. Milner's (1994, 2004) theory of status relations provides a useful lens for understanding the nature and motivation for youth antisocial behaviour, such as fighting, relational aggression, and sexualized social media use. Drawing on 49 semi-structured interviews with secondary school personnel, such as teachers, vice-principals, child and youth workers, and school resource police officers, I argue that many of the behaviours perceived as antisocial by those working with adolescents in secondary school are attempts at gaining status among peers. Second, school personnel view girls' behaviour as more aberrant, problematic, and misaligned with normative conceptions of appropriate femininity. Third, technology and social media have added a new dimension to status behaviours and are linked to behaviours deemed antisocial in schools. The results challenge whether formal interventions are the most effective response to student attempts at gaining status.

Introduction

This paper examines school personnel perspectives on girls' school experiences as it relates to perceptions of antisocial behaviour. Antisocial behaviour is a bucket term and can refer to "a wide spectrum of behaviors that violate societal norms and laws" (Smith & Farrington, 2004, p. 234), ranging from those seen as simply deviant to formally sanctioned by the youth criminal justice system as criminal (see also Deuchar & Ellis, 2013; Morizot & Kazemian, 2015), including fighting, theft, and forms of relational aggression and bullying. Researchers note that school can play an important role in explaining and contributing to youth crime (Curtis, 2014; Hirschi, 1969). However, far less scholarly focus has been on the gendered nature of school life (e.g., Brown, Chesney-Lind, & Stein, 2013; Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Morris & Perry, 2017). There is a dearth of information, particularly in a Canadian context, which would help enhance understanding of girls' experiences with antisocial behaviour as an indirect or direct result of the school environment. While older Canadian research does exist (see, for

example, Artz, 1998), more current research is needed as there are important differences in legal, social, and educational contexts between Canada and the United States that potentially shape antisocial behaviour (e.g., Bradbury, Corak, Waldfogel, & Washbrook, 2015). As well, current research is needed to examine the added dimension of the ubiquity of technology and social media in the lives of adolescents and adults. Technology, social media sites, and instant messaging offer many gratifications to users which can help explain their importance to adolescents and adults. Gratifications from social networking platforms such as Facebook include entertainment, social connections, and keeping up with social events (Quan-Haase & Young, 2010). Social media can offer users added benefits, such as feelings of belonging and citizenship but also offer negatives, such as the potential for online bullying and harassment (Beran, Mishna, McInroy, & Shariff, 2015; McCay-Peet & Quan-Haase, 2016). Technology and social media are an increasingly substantial component of our social experiences, at home, at work, and at school.

Schools are meaningful, as they are an important agent of socialization for youth; they are also where criminal offending and victimization can occur. For example, in Canada in 2014, 10% of police-reported crimes involving a youth occurred on school property (Allen & Superle, 2016, p. 12). As well, violent youth crime and youth drug violations are more likely than other types of crime to occur at school (Allen & Superle, 2016; Taylor-Butts, 2010). Increasing media attention to violence in schools, particularly in the wake of high-profile cases of school shootings in the United States, has led to academic and public interest in the relationship between school, antisocial behaviour, and youth crime (e.g., Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Fox & Harding, 2005; Payne, Gottfredson & Kruttschnitt, 2009).

The research objective is to add to the scholarly discourse on school and antisocial behaviour by examining gender differences in antisocial behaviour, particularly in light of the widespread use of social media. Drawing on Milner's (1994, 2004, 2013) theory of status relations, this paper addresses two research questions: (1) In the age of technology and social media, what role does status relations have in the nature and extent of antisocial behaviour in school? (2) How do school personnel perceive the antisocial behaviours of male and female students? Milner (2004) contributes to our understanding of status concerns among high school students by using status to explain adolescent behaviour, such as consumerism and meanness. Milner argues that rather than 'immaturity', teenagers' disruptive, and at times cruel, behaviour can be attributed to attempts by adolescents to gain status in a world where many other avenues to status are blocked due to their age. Their lack of household power, economic power, political power, and power at school make it so that status power given by peers is of increased importance.

While Milner extends our understanding of the intersection of status and schooling, much has changed in the adolescent landscape since the early- to mid-2000s when Milner was conducting research in high schools. Most notable are changes in the types and accessibility to technology and social media platforms. Like their counterparts in the rest of the world, Canadian adolescents spend considerable time online, particularly as they move from early to late adolescence. In a sample of Canadian youth in grades 4 to 11, 99% of students have access to the Internet outside of school (Steeves, 2014a, p. 7). For these students surveyed in 2013, the most common way of connecting to the Internet is through portable devices such as laptops, tablets, and cell phones. As Steeves (2014a) points out, students increasingly are moving away from

supervised online activities taking place on the home desktop computer, and instead conduct their online activities with more privacy and independence on personal devices:

- Cell phones: 85% of grade 11 students surveyed have personal cell phones, up from 46% in 2005 (p. 10).

- Online access is linked to social media use: 52% of students note that their most frequent online activity is reading or posting on someone else's social media account and 41% note that their most frequent online activity is posting on their own social media account, such as on Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat (p. 17).

This paper builds on previous research that examines the perspectives of those working in schools. Tatar and Bekerman (2009) suggest that teachers and counsellors are "significant professionals" as they are "intensively involved in their students' lives inside and outside schools" and as such examine their perceptions on student problems and how they respond to those problems (p. 187). Francis (2012) examines teacher perceptions of student behaviour as it relates to student placement in advanced courses. Finley (2008) argues that it is problematic that teachers' views have not been included in the literature on school violence. Studies examining bullying consider teacher perceptions of and responses to those behaviours (Rosen, Scott, & DeOrnellas, 2017; Yoon, Sulkowski, & Bauman, 2016). The second research question draws on this tradition by exploring the perceptions of various school personnel about their views on gender, schooling, and antisocial behaviour, and to shed light on what shapes their understanding of and responses to antisocial behaviour.

Literature Review

Antisocial Behaviour and Gender: The Nature and Extent of Female Offending

Researchers and scholars have argued that for many years the public has feared that the female youth crime rate is sky-rocketing, ushering in a new era of out-of-control and violent girls (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Males, 2010; Sprott & Doob, 2009). While this panic over violent girls was fueled primarily through the media (Artz, 1998; Brown, Chesney-Lind & Stein, 2013; Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Corrado, Odgers & Cohen, 2000; Males, 2010), there is evidence that more girls are in contact with the youth justice system. In the United States, girls continue to be the fastest growing population in the juvenile justice system (Bloom, Owen, Rosenbaum & Deschenes, 2003; Bond-Maupin, Maupin & Leisenring, 2002). However, Chesney-Lind and Shelden (2014) point out that the move to deinstitutionalize status offenders[8], offences with which girls are more likely to be charged, has not consistently lowered the rates of female juvenile incarceration. Zahn, Agnew and Browne (2009) note that in 1980, 18% of juvenile arrests were for index crimes involving girls compared to 29% in 2009 (examples of index crimes are homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson). Despite the increase in police-reported female youth crime, boys continue to make up the majority of juvenile offenders (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2004). Data in 2017 indicate that females accounted for 29% of all juvenile arrests in the United States (Puzzanchura, 2019).

In Canada, prior research tells a similar story. Youth court data from 2014/2015 show only 23% of youth court cases involve a female (Miladinovic, 2016). Data from official police reports show a similar trend regarding girls compared to boys. Looking at the 2014 rate of police-reported incidents of youth crime, males are 2.5 times more likely to be accused by police

---

[8] Status offences are defined as offences with which only juveniles can be charged due to their status as underage. Examples of status offences include running away from home, truancy, and incorrigibility (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2014, p. 9). In Canada, status offences were decriminalized with the introduction of the *Young Offenders Act* in 1984.

than females (Allen & Superle, 2016, p. 17). Like their U.S. counterparts, Canadian girls are officially in contact with the police much less than Canadian boys. Furthermore, female youth commit more crimes than female adults. Data from 2015 indicate that females aged 12-24 are accused by police more often than women aged 25 and older (Mahony, Jacob, & Hobson, 2017, p. 28). Females aged 12-17 are more likely than their older counterparts to be accused of property crimes such as theft of $5000 or under and uttering threats (Mahony, Jacob, & Hobson, 2017). School life is important to consider since Canadian data indicate that 1 in 10 incidents reported to police involve a youth engaged in criminal behaviour on school property (Allen & Superle, 2016).

Studies based on self-reports of young people's offending suggest that the gap between male and female offending is not as acute as official police and court statistics would indicate. For example, Chesney-Lind and Shelden (2004, 2014) show that according to self-reports, female offending is much more prevalent than what is reflected in the official statistics. They also argue that there are more similarities than differences between male and female delinquency, except when it comes to serious, violent delinquency. The differences in official rates in the United States, then, may be more of a reflection of changing police behaviour, a tendency to charge boys and not girls for some offences, or policies such as zero tolerance policies in schools (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2014). Canadian police-reported data from 2014 show that girls are less likely to be charged by police than boys, and that is the case for both violent and non-violent offences (Allen & Superle, 2016).

While current self-report data is lacking in Canada, results from a 2006 self-report survey of Toronto youth in grades 7 to 9 suggest a difference in the number of criminal acts reported by boys and girls (Savoie, 2007), but not as large as reflected in the official statistics. For instance,

37% of students reported having engaged in one or more delinquent acts in their lifetimes but the lifetime prevalence among boys is 41% compared to 32% of girls, which is less of a gap than indicated by the official youth crime rate (Savoie, 2007, p. 2). Female offending in Canada is both "more common and less distinctive than routinely believed", compared to the picture drawn by both Canadian and American official police-reported crime data (Tanner, 2015, p. 239).

When considering the types of crimes young people commit, there is evidence that boys and girls primarily commit minor offences, and in Canada, the three most common crimes for which youth were charged in 2014 are theft of $5000 or under, mischief, and common assault (Allen & Superle, 2016; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2014; Steffensmeier & Schwartz, 2009). Though boys commit more violent offences than girls (National Crime Prevention Centre, 2012), there are certain crimes that bring large numbers of girls into contact with the criminal justice system. In Canada in 2014, data indicate that the involvement of female youth in certain crimes is higher than among the youth population more generally. For instance, the crimes of common assault, criminal harassment, and disturbing the peace are more likely to involve female youth than their male or adult counterparts (Allen & Superle, 2016). Not entirely surprising, girls are also more likely than boys to be charged with prostitution (Allen & Superle, 2016).

There is evidence that girls' encounters and experiences with the criminal justice system vary by race and ethnicity. For example, in the United States, there is an overrepresentation of Black youth of both genders in the criminal justice system (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2014). Yet, evidence lack consensus to show that there are significant racial differences in the types of crimes committed. As Chesney-Lind & Shelden (2014) point out, "especially questionable are notions that black girls are far more delinquent than their white counterparts and that their delinquency is far more 'masculine' in content" as Black girls (like their White counterparts) are

still most likely to be arrested for "traditionally female offenses" (p. 29). In Canada, there is a similar trend of racial and ethnic overrepresentation among Aboriginal female youth in custody. In 2016/2017, Aboriginal female youth account for 60% of admissions to secure and open custody, comprising a greater proportion compared to their male counterparts (Malakieh, 2018, p. 6). Overall, Aboriginal youth account for 46% of admissions to correctional services while making up only 8% of the Canadian youth population (Malakieh, 2018, p. 6). While there is an overrepresentation of Aboriginal youth more generally in custody, it is especially acute for females.

Girls and Aggression

Part of the moral panic around female youth crime is centred on the notion that girls are becoming more violent and more like boys since they account for more of the recorded serious and violent delinquency (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2008; Steffensmeier & Schwartz, 2009). However, there is a lack of empirical evidence to support the idea that girls are becoming more violent than they were in the past. The gender gap in violent offending is not narrowing in the way that the media would suggest. In both the United States and Canada there had been no indication of increased involvement in violence by girls, yet more recent data are needed to examine if this is still the case (Chesney-Lind, 2010; Sprott & Doob, 2009). Data do show that the rate of violent youth crime overall continues to decline (National Crime Prevention Centre, 2012). At the same time, there is still a gender gap. For example, the self-report study of Toronto students previously cited finds that "the proportion of boys who reported engaging in violent delinquent behaviours during [2005] was more than twice that of girls—18% compared to 8%" (Savoie, 2007, p. 4). Canada does participate in the International Health Behavior of School-Age Children (HBSC), yet there are limited measures for physical aggression, asking only whether or

not participants had been in a physical fight in the past 12 months. Data from 2010 indicate that 15% of 15-year-old Canadian boys and 5% of 15-year-old Canadian girls had been in three or more fights in the previous 12 months (HBSC, n.d.). That current, comprehensive data are lacking illustrates a gap in Canadian knowledge on the gender differences in offending, a gap which this study aims to fill.

In concert with the popular view that girls are becoming more violent, much academic research focusses on examining girls, violence, and aggression (Artz, 1998; Chesney-Lind, 2010; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2004; Jones, 2010; Miller, 2001; Waldron, 2011). Despite inconsistent data supporting rising levels of girls' violent crimes, prior research examined the experiences of girls who do get in fights. These scholars argue that girls' experiences with violence, aggression, and fights are complicated and influenced by a number of factors; not just their gender, but also their race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and age. Therefore, knowledge gleaned about boys and aggression may not be applicable to understanding girls and aggression. Research in this vein argues for nuanced understandings of how girls' lived experiences are linked to violence, examining how our traditional and changing views on appropriate gendered behaviour intersect with violent behaviours.

For example, Jones (2010) examines how race, gender, and socioeconomic status influence female violence in her study of African American girls' experiences in Philadelphia's inner-city. She suggests that girls are subject to a set of gendered expectations of normative behaviour, which typically does not include violence and aggression and instead emphasizes stereotypical femininity in the form of obedience and passivity. However, her research illustrates that the experiences of poverty and inner-city living expose girls to violence on a daily basis and often committing violence themselves is a way of survival in such conditions. Thus, the girls in

her study face a "gendered dilemma", where they must balance the threats to their interpersonal safety (which are often responded to with violence) and the demands to adhere to more traditional, normative definitions of femininity (p. 9). The influence of unsafe public spaces and witnessing violence is consistent with other studies of girls and violence (e.g., Brown, 2005; Hermann & Silverstein, 2012).

Traditional notions of appropriate femininity and (hetero) sexuality are useful to consider when it comes to understanding female youth violence. Waldron's (2011) study of girls who fight echoes the importance of considering race, while also highlighting other ways of framing girls' violence and aggression in different ways. In one way, girls who get in fights are considered to express "typical" female traits of being overly emotional and dramatic; the "drama queens". However, her results show that girls who fight were also considered to transgress the typical female traits of passivity and gentility whereby they were viewed as "tomboys" or butch girls. Thus, the caricature and perspectives on girls who get in fights is more complicated than simply adhering to traditional notions of femininity or transgressing those notions. Further, race and social class are important, as connections are made to poverty and violence among the "ghetto" girls who fight.

Adams' (2005) study of cheerleaders and fighters stresses the importance of race and socioeconomic status in the understanding of girl fights. She argues that the notion of "Girl Power" that was popularized in the 1990s had unequal benefits depending on the girls' race and socioeconomic status. As an ideology, "Girl Power" suggests that girls can do anything boys can do and that previously masculine behaviours are now available to girls, such as aggression, risk taking, and competition. But here we see race and socioeconomic status contextualize our understandings of appropriate behaviours, as cheerleaders (primarily White and middle-class)

27

have much more latitude in their non-traditional gendered behaviours. Their athleticism and competition were viewed as the perfect embodiment of the Girl Power ideology. However, girls who were deemed fighters (primarily non-White, and lower-class) were viewed as taking Girl Power and the imitation of men "too far" (p. 111).

In addition, research indicates that gendered expectations around heterosexual romantic relationships are important to consider. In their study of urban African American youth and violence, Miller and Mullins (2006) find that "a common source of conflict for young women was their interaction with one another's boyfriends" (p. 54). Their results also show fights being started and centred on issues of personal style, like dress and hair. These findings are consistent with other studies of girls and fighting (e.g., Adams, 2005; Waldron, 2011). Traditional understandings of female behaviour and priorities are expressed and upheld through the decidedly non-traditional behaviour of fighting.

Yet, while girls have unique experiences from those of their male counterparts, it is important to understand the ways that girls' experiences with violence and fighting are overlapping with those of boys. Miller and Mullins (2006) point out that along with uniquely female concerns, girls' fights are also indicative of some of the same concerns of boys, such as status, reputation, and power. For the girls in their study, issues of reputation and (dis)respect were at the centre of many fights. Furthermore, girl fights are often attempts to secure power (Brown & Tappan, 2008). In these areas, the goals of girl fights and boy fights are very similar, whether it is to secure power and status or defend their reputation.

Antisocial Behaviour and Victimization in Schools

Instances of physical aggression in school are important to consider not only as examples of antisocial behaviour but also due to the consequences for victims. Victimization in schools is

related to higher levels of delinquency overall (Payne, Gottfredson & Kruttschnitt, 2009), but victimization experiences are not solely a problem for girls. Gendered bullying is defined as "any behaviour, verbal, physical, or psychological, that polices boundaries of traditional heterosexual gender norms" (Meyer, 2008, p. 556) and is identified as a problem regardless of gender and is linked to victimization experiences. For young people, any deviation from traditional, heterosexual gender performance leads to bullying from their peers (Messerschmidt, 2012). For the boys, this meant that being overweight and non-athletic (characteristics counter to hegemonic masculinity) subjected the participants to bullying and derision. For the girls, not displaying appropriate feminine appearances (e.g., wearing baggy clothes) or being sexually promiscuous led to bullying and violence. While these young people responded with violence, the results show that the constructions of appropriate gendered appearances and behaviours are strongly upheld and reinforced in schools.

Other studies looking at the gendered experiences of bullying show that for boys, verbal abuse and victimization often take the form of homophobic slurs and put-downs. Duncan (1999) finds that boys were subject to "sexualized verbal abuse", where other boys denigrate them through the use of homophobic slurs (p. 38). Issues of sexuality and sexual experience are at the core of many instances of bullying. The gendered and sexualized elements of these bullying experiences are "usually misrecognized by teachers or played down as an unnecessary complication" (p. 19). This illustrates the pervasive nature of gender hierarchies in the school environment.

When it comes to the experiences of girls, some of the types of sexual bullying behaviours are similar to those of the boys (Duncan, 1999). Girls are also victims of sexualized verbal abuse, yet instead of homophobic name-calling it is mostly related to sexual behaviours

and impropriety. However, "clearer forms of sexual harassment were evident against girls—particularly, boys making frequent unwanted sexual remarks or physical forays against them" (p. 60-61). Duncan points out, too, that the girls in the study had little confidence in the school discipline system to combat the sexual harassment, which was compounded if the victim was non-White. There is evidence that bullying in the form of sexual harassment is more prevalent among older students in grades 9-12, rather than among younger students in grades 6-8 (Public Safety Canada, 2016).

Theory of Status Relations

The research cited above outlines that there are both similarities and differences in male and female adolescent antisocial behaviour, and that school experiences are an important element to consider. Gender contextualizes experiences of aggression and victimization, both in and out of school. Studies of youth behaviour highlight the many ways that youth concerns are different from adult concerns. For example, during adolescence peers assume a highly influential role, often surpassing parents as agents of socialization, yet peer influence tends to wane in adulthood (Milner, 2004; Warr, 2002). Fashion, popularity, consumerism, and who is dating whom are particularly salient during this time of development (Milner, 2004, 2013; Pomerantz, 2008). These concerns are baffling to parents, teachers or other adults; they often see these seemingly trivial issues that are of such importance to students as illogical. Also illogical to adults is the adolescent concern with gossip and the propensity for teenage cruelty in the form of spreading rumors and bullying. These concerns and behaviours typically decrease as students enter early adulthood in their late teens and early twenties (Orpinas, McNicholas, & Nahapetyan, 2015).

Rather than arguing that these actions are rooted in immaturity or that students simply "grow out of" these practices, Milner (1994, 2004) applies a theory of status relations to shed

light on adolescent behaviour, and argues that in order to understand teenage behaviour we need to understand their lives as teenagers. Teenagers have often reached physical maturity and have gained autonomy in their lives; they may be able to drive cars and go to large high schools where the supervision by teachers and other adults is diminished compared to middle and elementary school. Because of the decreased supervision, teenagers spend the majority of their time with their peers. The proliferation of technology and social media has likely only increased this access as adolescents spend the majority of the day at school together and then leave school while often continuing to communicate through text messages and social media (Bailey, 2015).

Yet despite this autonomy, teenagers are not fully independent. They may have low-paying part-time jobs, but overall, they have very little power compared to adults. For instance, teenagers cannot vote, they have no control over what they learn in school, they cannot buy alcohol, and typically are under the control of various adults in positions of authority, such as parents, teachers, and police officers (Milner, 2004, p. 22). Furthermore, schooling itself is mandatory and students have little choice over where they attend, and changing schools can be a difficult, if not impossible, task. However, teenagers and adolescents do have one type of power: status. In other words, they have "the power to create their own status systems based on their own criteria" (Milner, 2004, p. 23). Since youth spend the majority of their time at school and with similar-aged peers, they are able to create this status system as their classmates are also devoid of economic and political power; this view of adolescent status is in concert with Cohen's (1955) subcultural theory of deliquency.

Milner's (2004) work draws on earlier contributions by Max Weber (1978). Weber's (1978) analysis of class and status distinguishes between power which is derived from economic success and power more broadly. People may seek power as an end in itself or for other reasons,

such as for the social honour or status that it brings (Kurzman, Anderson, Key, Lee, Moloney, Silver, & Van Ryn, 2007; Weber, 1978). While being of a privileged economic class can confer status to a particular group, this is not deterministic. In fact, Weber sees that "status honor is normally expressed by…a particular *style of life*" that is expected from all those who wish to be part of the status group (Weber, 1978, p. 932, emphasis in original). For adolescents in high school, there is a particular style of life or set of behaviours that either lead to status or protects status positions, what is termed status relations by Milner (2004).

Therefore, in order to understand teenage behaviour, it needs to be understood in the context of status relations. Status is the "accumulated approval and disapproval that people express toward an actor or an object" (Milner, 2004, p. 26). While people can benefit from economic power or political power, they can also benefit from status power (Weber, 1978). In particular situations and contexts, status power can supersede the other types of power, especially when the other types of power are unavailable due to age. Here we see the link to the nature of teenage life described above; teens and adolescents are typically wholly removed from economic and political power and therefore status power can take on extreme importance. Thus, an argument is made that adolescents gain influence through the status systems that are independent of the adult systems of political and economic power. Their behaviour can be understood as attempts at gaining and maintaining status.

There are several key features to the theory of status relations (Milner, 1994, 2004, 2013). First, status is located in peoples' minds and thus is "inalienable" (Milner, 2004, p. 29). Because status is located in others' minds, in order to change your status you must change the way people view and evaluate you. Unlike political and economic power which can be bought or usurped, status is not easily transmitted from one person to another, or from one group to another (Weber,

1978). This means that for teenagers, the views and opinions of their peers and classmates are vital as they evaluate each other in terms of status. Second, status is a finite resource; if everyone had the same high status it would be meaningless. In order for a person to move up in terms of status someone else has to move down the status hierarchy. In other words, status is "inexpansible" (Milner, 2004, p. 29). Status in this sense can be compared to consumer products that move from being exclusive to attainable: once everyone has access to the product it stops being valuable as a status symbol. Status is valuable because few people have it.

There are two other features of the theory of status relations that are important in the examination of youth antisocial behaviour and these are the sources of status. Milner (2004) suggests that one source of status is "conformity to the norms of the group" (p. 27). For adolescents, this can mean conformity to the norms of dress, leisure activities, even sexual behaviour, and is comparable to the "style of life" suggested by Weber (1978). However, those with high status are motivated to not only maintain their high status but due to its inexpansibility they are motivated to keep others from gaining status. In this sense, status overlaps with popularity. To keep others from gaining popularity, they are likely to change the norms of the group or make them overly complicated so that it is difficult for others to adhere to them, thus protecting their status power. The other source of status is "social associations" (Milner, 2004, p. 28). If your associations are of high status, your status is likely to also be high. Conversely, if your associations are of low status, your status is not likely to be high. Furthermore, in social arrangements where status is paramount, such as among adolescents, associations such as friendships and intimate relations affect status and therefore are incredibly important. It is imperative to be friends with and date others with high status in order to maintain your own

status. Since norms of the group are likely to change and status is inexpansible, it is much easier

for a youth to go from high to low status rather than the other way around.

The theory of status relations is a helpful analytical tool for examining adolescent

behaviour, as that behaviour is often interpreted by adults as either nonsensical, ridiculous, or

even antisocial. While Milner's (2004, 2013) analysis of status and high school life is decidedly

gender-neutral, this paper puts gender at the centre of the analysis and considers how the

behaviours are interpreted differently depending on whether male or female students are

engaging in that behaviour. Also important in the current examination of status and antisocial

behaviour in schools is a consideration of what has changed since Milner's work. Specifically,

violence among girls and technology and social media have changed adolescent educational and

social worlds. Any examination of antisocial behaviour needs to account for social media's

impact on behaviour, and assess "how widespread use of social media alters dynamics of

aggression and conflict" (Marwick & boyd, 2014, p. 1188).

Social Media and Antisocial Behaviour

Research into the negative implications of increased online access has focused on areas

such as cyberbullying and sexting. Compared to traditional bullying, which is typically

understood as either physical (e.g., punches or slaps) or relational (e.g., exclusion or starting

rumors), cyberbullying occurs through the use of the Internet (Mirsky & Omar, 2015; Olweus,

1978). While both traditional bullying and cyberbullying involve "the exchange of hurtful words

or threats from a bully to a victim", what is notable about cyberbullying is the bully could remain

anonymous should they choose, as the activities take place online, usually through text

messaging or social media accounts (Burnett, Yozwiak, & Omar, 2013, p. 466). Research into

cyberbullying supports that victimization of this nature can lead to detrimental effects for

students, such as loneliness, social anxiety, and the development of depression (Hinjuda &

Patchin, 2013; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Olenik-Shamesh & Heiman, 2014; Reed, Cooper,

Nugent, & Russell, 2016).

Sexting refers to "the sending and receiving of sexually explicit imagery via some form

of virtual messaging" (Anastassiou, 2017, p. 2231). In Canada, data from a survey of students in

grades 7 to 11 with access to a cell phone show that 8% report having sent a sext and 24% report

having received a sext (Steeves, 2014b, p. 24). The same data show that older students (in grade

11) are more likely to both send and receive sexts, as well as forward sexts they received to

others (Steeves, 2014b, p. 24). There is evidence, as well, that this behaviour is highly gendered;

while the data indicate that male and female students are equally likely to send a sext, boys are

more likely to receive a sext and more likely to forward a sext to others (Ricciardelli & Adorjan,

2019; Steeves, 2014b, p. 25). Research into sexting finds that such behaviour can and does cause

disturbances in school despite some adolescents finding the behaviour harmless and even

enjoyable (Anastassiou, 2017; Lee, Crofts, McGovern, & Milivojevic, 2015; Powell, 2016). In

Canada, the typical legal response to cases of sexting is through child pornography laws, which

outline that youth under the age of 18 cannot "freely consent to participating in photographic

sexual expression" even if they are above the legal age of sexual consent[9] (Slane, 2013, p. 118-

119).

Research examining the gender dynamics of sexting behaviour is contested. Ringrose,

Harvey, Gill, and Livingstone (2013) find that girls who engage in sexting experience the sexual

double standard whereby they feel pressure to send sexually explicit images to boys, but

experience slut shaming[10] when they do. Yet other research finds that most sexting activities

---

[9] In Canada, the age of consent is 16 years of age (Criminal Code of Canada, SC 1985, c. C-46, s. 150.1).

[10] Slut shaming involves stigmatizing a person for engaging in behaviour deemed promiscuous or too sexual.

among youth are consensual and occur within the context of committed or dating relationships (Lee et al., 2015). Furthermore, despite media panic surrounding sexting activities, increasing efforts to criminalize sexting behaviours (for example through child pornography laws[11] as is typical in Canada) may lead to young people being more likely to engage in sexting or may fail to parse out the difference between consensual sexual exchanges and situations of exploitation (Lee et al., 2015; Slane, 2013). In light of previous research in this vein, this study seeks to shed light on how those working with youth in schools perceive the role of social media and technology, including in behaviours such as sexting, in male and female antisocial behaviour.

Results

Antisocial Behaviour as Status Behaviours

The results of this study indicate that behaviours such as theft, drinking, social media use, and fighting can be understood through the interpretive lens of status relations and student attempts at gaining much-valued status (Milner, 2004). While these behaviours are interpreted as antisocial and even nonsensical by school and police personnel, they do make sense from a status relations perspective. Milner (2004) argues that in order to gain status or to maintain their status, students conform to a set of norms. These norms include behavioural norms (such as athletics and parties), clothing norms, and consumption norms (Weber, 1978). Clothing and consumption in particular have been linked to gaining popularity in adolescent boys, as means to establish their status among their peers and the student body at large (Harvey, Ringrose, & Gill, 2013; Phillips, 2005).

Many of the antisocial behaviours at school can be linked to these status concerns, as indicated in the interviews from both 2011 and 2016. When asked about the nature of antisocial

---

[11] Canadian child pornography laws can be found in section 163.1 of the Criminal Code (Criminal Code of Canada, SC 1985, c. C-46, s. 163.1).

behaviour in their schools, participants perceived that boys and girls engage in mostly minor antisocial behaviour such as theft, petty fights, drinking, and drug use, although also included are behaviours such as swearing, spitting, and disrespect for school authorities and infrastructure. For example, Dax, a school resource officer, outlines in 2016 that theft is common: "Theft is big. And I think that's just the nature of having electronic devices…I mean, you go to the, we have thefts at the YMCA, we have thefts at GoodLife, we have, everywhere, every gym, everything like that where you have people who have electronic devices or anything of value, it's always going to get stolen". Having the latest electronics is a norm for adolescent life, leaving some students who cannot afford the electronic status symbols motivated to engage in theft behaviour. Thomas, head of guidance in 2011, indicates the importance of technology for fitting in:

> Sometimes I look back at when I was in high school and the years around there were if you wanted to fit in sometimes people smoked. So you smoked cigarettes to fit in. Now if you're a kid here in this building, no matter what your income is, no matter what kind of family income you come from, everybody has to have a cell phone. You're not someone without a cell phone.

Since technology has become even more ubiquitous since 2011, access to that technology is increasingly important for student status.

Along with the importance of access to technology for fitting in, child and youth worker Celeste argues in 2011 for the importance of the right clothing to boost status: "I think kids want things to fit in. If their parents can't get them nice clothes, or the nice Reeboks, or the designer this, kids still [want it]". In other words, adolescent status is linked to consumption and access to cell phones, the "right clothes", and other products.

Similarly, drinking and drug use may ne an element of their social lives, and some students will adhere to those behavioural norms. Attending parties with alcohol is a source of

status, particularly among older adolescents (Allen, 2015). Seth, a teacher in 2011, describes the importance of parties, drugs, and alcohol to high school students:

> [Students are] dealing with it's not cool to go to a party and not do drugs or not drink. You know, it's almost become an expectation that if you're a youth and you're going to a party that's what you're going to be doing. And so it makes it very hard for them if they don't want to, to stand up to that.

Alcohol and drug use as a behavioural norm among adolescents can very clearly be linked to antisocial behaviour and youth crime not simply because it is illegal but also because research finds that youth under the influence of drugs/alcohol engage in more antisocial behaviour (e.g., White & Hansell, 1996).

Another source of status is through social associations and for adolescents this often means through dating and romantic relationships; teenagers are invested in dating, especially another person of high status to either raise their status or protect their status position (Milner, 2004). This creates a situation where romantic concerns are of utmost importance to adolescents (Harvey, Ringrose, & Gill, 2013; Phillips, 2005). Here too we see how antisocial behaviour can be framed as a way to secure or protect status, as dating relationships have been shown to reinforce delinquent behaviour for both male and female youth (Rebellon & Manasse, 2004). However, the results indicate that the proliferation of technology, social media, and hookup culture[12] has led to a corresponding shift in how students negotiate their romantic associations, and their status. The virtual absence of this issue in interviews conducted in 2011 compared to 2016 illustrates that the nature of adolescent courtship and relationships may be changing.

For example, participants in both sets of interviews suggested that the manner in which many students use social media is antisocial, but the interviews in 2016 emphasized that it is

---

[12] Hookup culture is defined as "a social environment that encourages sexual contact free from the binds of commitment or emotional intimacy" (Reling, Barton, Becker, & Valasik, 2018, p. 502).

antisocial because it is used to send sexualized images, or "nudes" and for sexting. Vice-principal Cheryl outlines in 2016: "Sex texting is something that five years ago you wouldn't hear. Now it's very common place". Much like previous research looking at the exchange of sexualized images (e.g., Ringrose et al., 2013), results from this study are inconsistent on whether or not the social media sexting behaviours among male and female students are consensual. School resource officer Joe notes in 2016 that the behavior is consensual, but that there are implications for the school, suggesting: "Yeah. It will be consensual, you know, sending each other photos and then send it to your friends and then it just spreads like wildfire. And then it explodes [at school]". Joe goes on to say: "Oh back and forth, you show you mine if I should you yours type of thing". While Joe perceives this as a consensual activity, it is unclear if the photos are sent to friends with or without the consent of the other person. Cathy, a child and youth worker in 2016, puts forth a similar view that girls are engaging consensually in sexualized behaviour, including sexting:

> Even when it comes down to sexual behaviour and stuff like that right? Like, they're okay with sending nudes. They call it sending nudes right? Sending nude pictures. You know, being asked and participating in a threesome, like that's no big deal for them, you know. Just guys being degrading and talking down to them, like they're okay with that. To them they think that that's just normal.

It is important to note that data on student attitudes towards these activities are unavailable and therefore it is unknown whether Cathy's perception that it is normalized is in fact shared by students. It is possible that Cathy's perception is incorrect. Sexualized social media behaviour may seem illogical to school personnel, but it does make sense within the status relations perspective as it can be a means to secure romantic relationships that are important to students for status.

There also appears to be a gender dynamic to associations as a source of status, as Milner (2004) notes that "adolescent women usually show more concern about expressive relationships than men" (p. 71). Girls and women are socialized to be more concerned with their relationships and thus would be more motivated to engage in behaviours that secure these relationships, such as sexualized use of technology and social media. In fact, girls may engage in the exchange of sexual images even when it is not fully consensual (Bailey, 2015; Burkell & Saginur, 2015; Lippman & Campbell, 2014). When asked if girls ask boys to send them naked pictures or if boys send girls nudes, Carly notes in 2016:

> No. (laughs). No. I think, I think, no. Yeah, I think it's more girls to boys. And I've even seen it where it's been used to create drama. Where like, so say two friends will be hanging out and so, say another girl has a boyfriend and one of them is interested in the boyfriend so she'll say, "Oh" or they'll take pictures and send it to the boyfriend to create an issue between the boyfriend and the girlfriend. To, like, precipitate a break up. They're very calculating. It's very calculated.

Participants indicate that it is far more unlikely that girls solicit nudes from boys. Furthermore, Dax (2016) perceives that the sexting activities are attempts by girls to please boys:

> D: Also when it comes to naked pictures. I, I still for the life of me cannot figure out why young women feel the need to please young men and, and, and cave to these requests for naked pictures and pornographic images. And very graphic things too, sometimes…But, with girls…often it will start with pictures and then get with the, after that starts, "what a slut", like, "She's a whore" and it starts with the shaming and the name calling and all that kind of stuff.
> A: Girls amongst each other?
> D: Yeah. And really, it's just ultimately a lot of, it seems like trying to get the approval of these boys that they care so much what they think about them, whether or not they're accepted.

Dax draws attention to the possibility of differential interpretation of sexting behaviours when performed by boys compared to girls. For boys, receiving sexualized images and messages from girls is a source of status and that can explain their likelihood of asking for these messages (Walker, Sanci, & Temple-Smith, 2013). However, there is a sexual double standard whereby if

girls send them, as a means of securing status through romantic relationships, they are slut shamed by both boys and other girls (Lippman & Campbell, 2014; Ringrose et al., 2013). Boys are immune from the negative peer consequences of sexting, as receiving sexualized messages bolsters their status, particularly among their male peers (Harvey, Ringrose, & Gill, 2013; Ringrose et al., 2013). The fact that the images are "controversial" means they are likely to be a "greater commodity" for those who receive them (Anastassiou, 2017, p. 2236).

Building on the notion that girls use sexting as a means to please their boyfriends, there can be sometimes-toxic relationship dynamics that can play into sexting behaviours, such as boys getting angry when not receiving these images and messages (Ringrose et al., 2013). Here too the results show that there may be a change from 2011 to 2016 as there is no mention of technology and social media in the understanding of dating and relationship violence in the first set of interviews, however this may be a result of the fact that no direct question on dating violence was asked. Cathy describes an incident at school:

> But, you know, the girls it's like "Well try telling my boyfriend that you don't want to have sex. Like that just doesn't happen." You know? One day we had a boy down here that, like, kicked a hole in, or kicked in a couple of lockers and, like, broke his hand because he was asking his girlfriend to send him nudes and she said no. And he said "Okay well then give me your iPad because I'm going to watch porn." And she said "No you're not." So he took the computer and he threw it. And then he kicked in the locker and, you know, broke his hand. Because that's the toxic stuff that happens in their relationship. And again it's normal.

Here too it is unclear whether Cathy's perception of normalized behaviour is shared by students. More research is needed to unpack student perceptions on similar situations. Barb, in 2016, discusses the problem of boys asking for sexualized images and the possible motivations for girls sending them:

> So we've had a big problem with that at our school over the last couple of years, where the boys have coaxed the young ladies into taking nudies of themselves and sending to them promising that they will never be shared with anybody. Well the

second they hit the boys' phone they have now shared it to the universe and men over in Europe are now looking at them, right? When you ask the girls why, "Well, you know, they told me that it was fun and, you know, that they liked me and that it would be private".

Participants emphasize and problematize the sexualized social media behaviour of all students in (and outside of) school, yet the focus is on the fact that girls send the photos.

Yet these behaviours are linked to expressive and romantic relationships, since these relationships are so highly valued among teens. Even if both participants are not fully on board with exchanging sexualized images, maintaining the romantic relationship is key to status power in adolescence and therefore this behaviour has some payoff for the teens, even if only in theory. Since "being involved in a romantic relationship tended to increase [one's] status within a group", there is incentive to please romantic partners, even if it is outside a person's comfort zone (Milner, 2004, p. 72). Thus, while the adults in school may not understand why youth engage in these behaviours, the behaviours can be seen as a means to increase their status power in schools.

This study adds a new dimension to our understanding of romantic relationships as they relate to status behaviours. Milner (2004) notes that dating is important as it is a source of status, although teenagers are more likely to "hang out", rather than go on formalized dates. His treatment of sexualized behaviour is limited to suggesting that who adolescents "hook up with" is important for status concerns and "hooking up" is a deliberately vague term that encompasses myriad sexual behaviours which may or may not include sexual intercourse (Milner, 2014, p. 61). But with the proliferation of technology and social media, the dynamics of romantic relationships as a source of status have changed and there is evidence that they may differ for males and females. For males, receiving sexualized images is a source of status especially if it involves someone they know. As SRO Nick articulates in 2016: "I mean, a lot of these kids, you

have access to the internet with tons of porn so I think the neat part is having somebody you know. And that's when a face [in the sext] is important. There must be some draw for that". Yet for girls, the fact that they are far less likely to solicit these images from boys suggests that the manner in which romantic relationships lead to status may be different than for boys. Nick goes on to say: "I think guys throw [nudes] around all the time, they send them dick pics everywhere. But girls don't care, obviously. They'll delete it. It's of no use. It's just the animals that we both are boys like to see pictures of girls. So it's much more valued". While Nick appears to be overestimating the prevalence of male sexting (Steeves, 2014b, p. 24, shows that only 9% of boys in grades 7-11 have ever sent a sext), this suggests a need to unpack the different ways males and females boost status through romantic relationships in an increasingly technological world.

Protecting Status: Relational and Physical Aggression

The theory of status relations argues that a fundamental feature of status is that it is a relatively finite resource (Milner, 2004). Status cannot be bought or sold and not everyone can have high status otherwise it would be meaningless. This motivates and encourages students who have high status to protect their status position. One of the most common ways for students to protect their status is by putting others down, either through verbal or relational aggression or through physical means (Brown & Tappan, 2008; Miller & Mullins, 2006; Phillips, 2005, 2007).

The interview data collected at two different time periods demonstrate that school personnel and police officers perceive aggression as a form of antisocial behaviour that is not only common in schools but is engaged in by both male and female students. Chris explains in 2011that aggression is a source of status: "What disturbs me is how quick they are to fight now. And it's if you don't fight you're basically…[it's] social suicide". Interview data indicate that

participants in this study typically share the view that girls are more likely to engage in relational aggression and online bullying (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Green, Johnston, Mattioni, Prior, Harcourt, & Lynch, 2017; Marwick & boyd, 2014). Participants note that girls are more likely to engage in verbal aggression compared to the physical aggression of boys, as exemplified by Marty in 2016: "I would reflect on the stuff I've seen, a little more physical assault with boys, and more social media bullying with girls". Similarly, Nick states in 2016:

> Well girls, and we talk about antisocial but there's a lot of social. It's a group and maybe one person or another group, they're bashing. And how they deal with that is, often it will be online. And it makes it easier. They're not the type to go out and get in a big rumble in the school yard.

However, it is not the case that boys do not engage in any online or relational aggression (Beran et al., 2015; Orpinas et al., 2015). Sue notes in 2016 that the content of the relational aggression may be different between boys and girls: "And boys, boys are more likely, in my experience, to make a video or cut and paste quotes or YouTube pieces or make something nasty about something kind of in this creative piece of, you know, the digital world. And girls aren't about that as much. It's more chat based". Sarah, a teacher in 2016, finds: "There might be a little bit more sort of talking behind the back of girls but what I've noticed is the guys kind of get involved in that here too and that they can be more of the, the thing that triggers it but the girls will continue. Yeah, they're playing off the boys, type of thing". Despite the different format, boys and girls are both engaging in relational aggression and bullying, which is emphasized in the 2016 interviews.

For adolescents, the approval of their peers is paramount as their peers are the ones who assess and assign status (Milner, 2004; Phillips, 2005, 2007). Therefore, engaging in relational and physical aggression has the effect of not only protecting one's status position (for example, pointing out the ways one is superior) but also of displaying that status power. By publicly

displaying status power, in either a physical fight the whole school sees or through a group chat denigrating others, it could ensure that peers continue to view the aggressor as someone worthy of the status power (Allen, 2015; Marwick & boyd, 2014; Phillips, 2005). As with sexualized social media behaviour, physical and relational aggression is interpreted as antisocial by school personnel yet can also be interpreted as means of gaining or protecting the valuable resource of status power.

Differences in Male and Female Status Behaviour

The data suggest that behaviours such as theft, drinking, sexualized social media use, and relational and physical aggression are interpreted as antisocial by school personnel, regardless of occupational position within the school. However, within these behaviours, participants indicate that their perceptions of males and females engaging in that behaviour are different. In particular, the results indicate that many of the antisocial behaviours are normalized when they involve boys but problematized when they involve girls (Ringrose, 2006). These perceptions are influenced by stereotypical views of normative gendered behaviours, as the behaviours that go against "appropriate" femininity, such as fighting and sexual behaviour, are seen as highly antisocial.

Participants remark that not only do girls use social media more than boys, but their use of social media is qualitatively different than how boys use it. Specifically, participants find that girls' use of social media is much more problematic, drawing on stereotypical views of girls and women as nasty and mean (see Barron and Lacombe, 2005; Marwick & boyd, 2014). Explaining the gender difference in social media use, Barb finds in 2016: "The boys, the boys can get silly. Not, sometimes harmful but just silly because they'll see videos on, you know, Facebook and stuff of like Jackass type of stuff. And they do it at school. Drives me crazy". Joe echoes this perception in 2016, finding that girls use social media more than boys:

45

In terms of social media, you know, they both participate in it. I think the females use it more, just in my experience. The females will have five or six Facebook accounts, trying to be different people, trying to get information about who's dating their ex-boyfriends and just the whole drama…

School and police personnel, then, suggest that while male and female students use social media, they perceive that female students use it more and differently. The notion of "girl drama" is a component of both sets of interviews but it seems the concept may be defined differently by the participants over the five years. In 2011, girl drama is much more trivialized and dismissed; in 2016 girl drama is more likely to be pathologized.

Social media use is also understood by respondents as much more problematic for adolescent girls than the boys. It is suggested that girls use social media in a way that is more unkind than the boys. Barb explains in 2016:

I mean, the boys just do goofy, goofy things. The girls are mean. Like, because they'll see stuff and they will pick on somebody because you have a birth mark on your arm or you're not the weight they think you should be, either one way or the other. Your boobs aren't big enough, or your hair is, like they nit pick.

Participants also make the connection between girls' problematic use of social media and bullying, often suggesting that girls are more likely to engage in online bullying through social media. For example, Carly finds in 2016 that:

[Girls' use of social media is] very calculated. And they can be very mean-spirited right? Like they'll use it to really be hurtful. So, like, you know I think you'd see exclusion as a form of bullying is like female and now I feel like it's almost more like they use social to be way more hurtful than, than they use exclusion.

Dax, in 2016, supports the idea of a gender difference in the use of social media, noting that: "So there's definitely a lot, and it's very one-sided, very one-sided when it comes to inappropriate use of social media. You have a few boys who occasionally, and will, you know, be a bully on social media or something like that, but it's usually a one-off". Thus, online bullying through social media is seen to be much more of a concern among girls than boys.

Yet, when probed about these gender differences, participants explain that upon further reflection the boys were perhaps more involved than initially perceived. For instance, Sue suggests in 2016: "Boys in those situations love to stir the pot. They're often the ones who will throw the initial comment out and then the girls will [react]". Carly suggests a similar dynamic in 2016:

> Right, so they're the guys, you know, behind them pulling all the strings and they sit back and they watch the show. Or they're the ones who show up and video tape the fights, right? And they keep it going. But they're more of that hands off. And a lot of those guys, they're good at it and they don't get in trouble. But they like to egg the girls on.

Thus, boys' problematic use of social media may be obscured behind the view that it is a primarily female phenomenon (Green et al., 2017).

Discussions of school violence and fights further illustrate the perceived differences between boys' and girls' antisocial behaviour. Participants noted that boys and girls get into fights, but male fighting is much more normalized (Ringrose, 2006). For example, Dax finds in 2016: "Fighting is very common, especially among boys, right? You're going to have your occasional fights between girls but I've definitely not seen, you don't see that many fist fights. Boys will get into fist fights in auto class over a wrench". Joe notes in 2016: "Like everybody knows fights happen, they always have and they always will". Participants note that occasionally the fights take place on school property but more often they occur off campus (e.g., across the street at a coffee shop during lunch or at an adjacent park).

At the same time, there is a disagreement among police and school participants as to whether or not female violence in the form of physical aggression is becoming more common than it was in the past, as is suggested by the moral panic surrounding female violence. For

instance, some participants argue that while boys tend to be more likely to get into fights, there are cases of female physical aggression. As Nick explains in 2016:

> Like I took as many calls probably this year as I did with guys. It might be, yeah, apparently guys fight more. But there was a lot of girl fights. There was a lot of violent girl things that happened. There's not a lot of injuries, I think the guys fight until the end more. The girls just pull their hair and smack each other around and then, like, back off and continue tomorrow.

For many participants, then, their perception is that boys are still more likely to engage in physical aggression.

For many others, there is a perceived increase in both the number of physical fights among girls, but also the severity of the fights, with severity being understood as the extent of injuries resulting from the fight. This finding is interesting in light of the lack of official data on whether female violence is increasing. Both school and police participants in 2016 suggest that female violence has increased. Barb articulates the difference:

> B: Yes, we do get fights. God, I hate those. The girls are the worst.
> A: Really? Physical fights?
> B: Give me a guy fight any day. A good old fashioned, drop your gloves hockey fight. But the girls are horrendous. It's the clawing, it's the yanking the weave out, it's the, you know, kicking and the scratching. But the girls are more violent, they do a lot of stomping. So they will have the person on the ground and they will just-
> A: Go to town.
> B: Take their foot and just stomp, usually the head is the target, that type of thing.
> A: So the damage is worse.
> B: Oh yeah. Girls are way worse than the guys.

Cathy echoes this notion, saying:

> C: Like with this generation, the girls are, and guys will tell you the same thing, the girls are just as bad as the guys, if not worse?
> A: For the fighting and for the drug use?
> C: For the fighting, for the drug use.

Mikayla, a school resource officer in 2016, describes that female violence may be increasing:

> I find there was a lot of female fights this year. And the end of the year there was a video taken where there was, they went, one of my schools is like right near a plaza and behind the plaza there is a big, open parking lot. And this [is on] videotape and there's three different fights in a row, all girls. And other girls jumping in, getting out. And they agree to fight and the next day someone gets hurt, then they want to come complain about it. That they've agreed to fight in the first place.

The perception by these participants is such that girls are engaging in more violence and that violence is more antisocial on the part of girls than of boys.

Along with relational and physical aggression being problematized on the part of girls but not boys, participants indicate that girls' sexualized use of technology and social media was more aberrant than boys'. Respondents made it clear that more often than not, boys are asking girls for sexualized images and girls are providing them. However, the fact that boys want to see the pictures goes unexamined. It is taken for granted that boys would want to see the pictures and is problematized that girls would want to and do send them. The participants perceive it as antisocial that girls would want to please their boyfriends, rather than as a means of gaining or protecting their status power. This discrepancy in perceptions on the part of those working in schools may create a situation where female students are subject to more disapproval and sanctions for behaviours that go unnoticed or unpunished in boys.

Discussion and Conclusion

Male and female students engage in behaviours at school that can be understood as means of building and protecting their status power. These behaviours, such as theft, fighting and social media use, are interpreted by those working in schools as being antisocial, and in some cases can lead to school disciplinary or police action. While the theory of status relations put forth by Milner (1994, 2004, 2013) is framed in a gender-neutral way, the results from this study show that these behaviours are not viewed the same way by those working in schools as the behaviours are much more maligned when girls are involved rather than boys. Specifically, girls' behaviours

that go against normative conceptions of femininity, such as fighting and sexualized behaviour, are deemed more aberrant than the similar behaviours of boys. Boys getting into fights and wanting to see sexualized images of girls is taken for granted as part of adolescence and part of normative conceptions of masculinity; girls getting into fights and sending sexualized images to please boyfriends is seen as antisocial and implicitly against what girls "should" do (Miller, 2016).

The results of this study echo other studies that show that the behaviours of girls are interpreted differently from those of boys and differently depending on factors such as gender as well as race and class (e.g., Adams, 2005; Green et al., 2017; Morris & Perry, 2017). For instance, Morris and Perry (2017) find that African American girls are subject to more school disciplinary actions than their male and White counterparts as their behaviour is "inconsistent with normative femininity" (p. 144). The behaviours are similar to those outlined in this study; physical aggression and disobedience are examples of behaviours that lead to sanctions for female students, whether formally through school disciplinary procedures such as suspensions, police actions, or informally through school personnel disapproval. This response indicates that there continues to be a gender (and racial) bias operating in schools. Since the focus of this research was on gender, the impact of race on status relations is left unexplored; more Canadian research is needed to examine the impact of factors such as race and class on perceptions of antisocial behaviour.

Canadian rates of cyberbullying indicate that one in seven children between the ages of 10 and 17 is victimized and one in 13 children perpetrates cyberbullying behaviours (Beran et al., 2015). The data further reveal that more boys report cyberbullying others than girls (Beran et al., 2015). This aligns with other research that finds the gender breakdown of relational and

cyberbullying behaviours is such that male and female youth engage in equal amounts or that

boys engage at higher rates than girls (Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010; Connell,

Schell-Busey, Pearce, & Negro, 2014; Orpinas et al., 2015). Yet the results from this study show

that those working with youth in school continue to see relational aggression and cyberbullying

as an exclusively female behaviour. This suggests that much of the relational and cyberbullying

behaviours by male students may be unseen or ignored by the school and police personnel

responding to the behaviours, perpetuating the stereotypical views of girls as mean and nasty

(Mishna, Schwan, Birze, Van Wert, Lacombe-Duncan, McInroy, Attar-Schwarts, 2018).

The theory of status relations not only helps to explain teenage behaviours that are seen

as antisocial but it also helps contextualize the relationship between age, antisocial, and criminal

behaviour that is consistently found in empirical research (e.g., Allen & Superle, 2016 for

Canadian data on the age/crime relationship). One of the most robust relationships in

criminology is that young people between the ages of 12 and 24 commit the bulk of criminal

offences, and the rates of offending decrease as one gets older (e.g., Moffitt, 1993). In Canada,

data from 2016 indicate that criminal offending peaks at age 17 and decreases thereafter (Allen

& Superle, 2016).

There are many suggested reasons for this as scholars working in the developmental

tradition point out that offending tends to taper off rather quickly post-adolescence (see Morizot

& Kazemian, 2015 for an overview). Factors such as increased stakes in conformity acting as

turning points (Sampson & Laub, 1993) through employment and marriage and parenthood have

been linked to the decreasing rates of offending post-adolescence, noting that offending is more

or less likely during particular developmental stages (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Although the

majority of youth crime is not committed in a school environment, the link to Milner's (1994,

2004, 2013) theory of status relations can be made by considering the lack of political and economic resources and power that are characteristic of adolescent life. Lacking these resources makes status power (and the resulting emphasis on securing and maintaining it) a hallmark of adolescent life, setting the stage for antisocial and criminal behaviour. As adolescents move into adulthood, presumably their economic and political power increases which would reduce the need for status power. This is illustrated by research showing that relational aggression and cyberbullying decreases as youth age into post-adolescence after grade 12 (Moffitt, 1993; Moffitt & Caspi, 2001; Orpinas et al., 2015).

Limitations and Future Research

Since this study is based on a small, qualitative sample of personnel from a single community, the results are not generalizable to the status behaviours and perceptions of school personnel in Canada more broadly. It is possible, even likely, that localized school climates and cultures would influence the nature and extent of antisocial behaviours in schools as well as the responses to them. However, this study adds to our understanding of how status concerns among adolescents are linked to antisocial behaviours, particularly in light of the increased access to and importance of technology and social media in the lives of high school students. It answers Marwick and boyd's (2014) call for a greater understanding of how social media shapes the dynamics of teen behaviours, including physical and relational aggression.

Furthermore, this study is limited to an examination of the perceptions of behaviour by those working with youth in schools without any corresponding data from the study's location to show the actual rates of behaviours. As pointed out earlier, there lacks recent Canadian self-report data on adolescent antisocial behaviour as well as on youth perceptions of these behaviours. Data in this vein would help contextualize the perceptions and responses by those

dealing with youth. There is evidence that youth view the status behaviours of relational aggression and cyberbullying differently than the adults working with them. For example, while the results of this study indicate that relational aggression and cyberbullying get lumped into a single conception of "mean girl behaviour" by those working in schools, studies examining youth perceptions of behaviours show that youth distinguish between bullying and "drama", with drama being much less important and consequential (Marwick & boyd, 2014). In addition, studies have also shown that females who engage in behaviours such as relational aggression, cyberbullying, and slut shaming can do so for more prosocial and instrumental reasons, such as making sense of gendered sexuality (Miller, 2016) or performing acceptable femininity (Bailey, 2015; Koskela, 2004; Wilkins & Miller, 2017). A more nuanced understanding of these status behaviours would help intervention efforts by those working in schools.

Future research should focus on the congruence, or incongruence, between how youth understand status behaviors and how those working with youth understand them, especially as there are indications that youth sometimes consider the behaviours to be no more than a form of entertainment (Allen, 2015). A keen understanding of what exactly is problematic about the status behaviours will help intervention efforts be more effective, rather than trying to curb behaviours that cause discomfort to adults but that will taper off post-adolescence.

Future research should also unpack how various groups within the student population engage in status behaviours. The findings suggest that perceptions by those working in schools have a heterosexist orientation; for example, it is assumed that boys want to impress and date girls and vice versa. Milner's (2004) work on status relations is based on the same view. However, much less is known about how status behaviours and concerns influence adolescents

from LGBTQ2[13] groups and future research should examine if Milner's theory of status relations is equally applicable to non-heterosexual groups of students. Interviews and self-report data from youth that do not identify as heterosexual would add to our understanding of the lived experiences of these students and how they negotiate status concerns.

The results of this chapter suggest that curriculum and intervention efforts in school could be adapted, especially those that are aimed at reducing cyberbullying. These efforts should consider the fact that these behaviours are interpreted differently by those working in schools and account for the fact that the cyberbullying behaviours of boys may be hidden, overlooked, and ignored. Intervention efforts should focus on the behaviours of both male and female students.

The findings highlight that social institutions such as schools and those working within them continue to be influenced by stereotypical ideas of gender roles and appropriate behaviour, therefore perpetuating a gender bias. The behaviour that is outlined as antisocial by school personnel have the potential to lead to a higher likelihood of involvement in formal disciplinary processes, including police involvement, which could shape future outcomes for students. Yet given that these behaviours could indicate a desire for status rather than an underlying pathology, the results question whether formal intervention through disciplinary or police processes are the best approach as students will likely cease engaging in antisocial and criminal behaviour as they acquire other forms of resources.

---

[13] This acronym stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Transsexual, Queer, Two-Spirit.

Chapter 3: 'The girls are more emotional': An exploration of school resource officers' perceptions of interactions with female students

Abstract

Many studies of school resource officers (SROs) focus on students as a homogenous group, with less attention given to specific populations of students. Drawing on 49 semi-structured interviews with school and police personnel working in a community in Southwestern Ontario, this study aims to explore the perceptions of SROs when interacting with and responding to female students. Two key findings emerge from this qualitative analysis. First, when it comes to female students, perceptions of SROs are both in line with and divergent from the perceptions of other school personnel. Specifically, SROs suggest complicated and nuanced understandings of the unique characteristics and needs of female students that are not always echoed by those working in other roles in schools. This divergence is particularly pronounced in the case of female students' experiences of gender-based violence. Second, the findings indicate that elements deemed important in the feminist criminological gender-based programming literature, such as trust, are being implemented by SROs, though there is room to strengthen and build upon these elements to further serve the female student population. An important implication of the findings is that the definitions of school safety should be expanded to include measures of gender-based victimization such as sexual harassment and assault that are prevalent among female adolescents.

Introduction

The issue of school safety in Ontario heightened on May 23, 2007, when 15-year-old Jordan Manners was shot and killed in the hallway of his Toronto high school during school hours. In the wake of this tragedy and the ensuing media storm, strategies were implemented to respond to the perceived lack of safety in schools. For example, in 2008 police officers were deployed on a full-time basis to a selection of high schools in Toronto (Madan, 2016) and a School Community Safety Advisory Panel (the Panel) was assembled to investigate safety in Toronto-area schools, suggesting that there was a "community-wide crisis in confidence in the ability of the Toronto and District School Board (TDSB) to ensure violence-free and weapons-free environments in all of its schools" (Falconer, 2008, p. 1). Among many findings, the Panel emphasized building a culture of equity in schools and suggested less intrusive safety measures such as cameras rather than more intrusive measures such as metal detectors. The Panel's report

also highlighted the issue of gender-based violence, noting that "violence against girls is a pervasive problem in TDSB schools" and that current TDSB anti-bullying strategies do little to protect girls against gender-based violence (Falconer, 2008, p. 10). This study explores how gender contextualizes the perceptions of SROs in secondary schools in Ontario.

There has been a multitude of shifts in how school safety has been addressed in Ontario through provincial education policy and legislation. In 2000, the Progressive Conservative government at the time implemented what was called a "common sense revolution" to education policy and amended the *Education Act* to include the *Safe Schools Act (SSA)*, which came into force in 2001 (Bailey, 2017). The *SSA* was considered a "get-tough" strategy, mandating mandatory suspensions, expulsions, and police involvement[14] for infractions (Falconer, 2008). This era of education policy is often termed "zero-tolerance", although there was variation in how the legislation was applied from school board to school board (Bailey, 2017; Levinsky, 2016). However, concerns about the effects of the *SSA* were raised almost immediately and the Ministry of Education launched a review of the policy in 2004; in 2008 a new education policy was tabled called *Progressive Discipline and School Safety*, repealing mandatory suspensions and expulsions and replacing it with discretion on the part of school administration (Bailey, 2017; Winton, 2012). Progressive discipline remains the provincial policy for school discipline, mandating escalating sanctions such as in-school suspensions, particularly for less serious school infractions such as skipping classes. Despite the shift in approach to progressive school discipline, school police officers remain part of many school board jurisdictions.

Research examining SROs tends to focus on main themes, such as feelings of safety at school (Theriot & Orme, 2016), student and administration perceptions of SRO effectiveness

---

[14] The *Safe Schools Act* allowed for mandatory suspensions for behaviours such as swearing at a teacher and mandatory expulsions for infractions such as giving alcohol to a minor and possessing a weapon.

(Duxbury & Bennell, 2018; Wolfe, Chrusciel, Rojek, Hensen, & Kaminski, 2017), the role and activities of SROs in schools (Broll & Huey, 2015; Coon & Travis III, 2012; Lynch, Gainey, & Chappell, 2016; May & Higgins, 2011), and the school-to-prison pipeline (Pigott, Stearns, & Khey, 2018). Some of this research examines particular subpopulations of students, such as racialized minorities and low-income students (e.g., Pentek & Eisenberg, 2018). An added controversy to the school safety debate in Ontario has been questions raised about the impact of police officers in schools, leading activist groups such as Black Lives Matter to advocate for the removal of police officers from Toronto schools[15] (Germano, 2017; Nasser, 2017). These groups argue that police officers in schools create an atmosphere of intimidation for students from racialized minorities and therefore should be removed. However, the impact on female students has been left out of the conversation and there is a gap in our understanding of how school resource officers interact with and respond to female students. This study aims to start addressing that gap by focussing on a particular group of students: girls between the ages of 12 and 17. The Panel's 2008 findings related to the risks of gender-based victimization serve as a starting point to explore how school resource officers perceive their interactions with female students and how gender contextualizes issues of school safety. Despite the many school safety studies, much is left unaddressed in terms of how SROs make sense of female students and gender-based victimization, especially within the Canadian context. As public and policy debates continue around the presence of police officers in Ontario, this study suggests a consideration of implications for female students.

---

[15] The TDSB ended their SRO program in 2017 and activist groups have called for the removal of the program in all of Ontario, where in many jurisdictions SRO programs remain in place (Germano, 2017). Data from the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police indicate that 21 out of 65 police services in Ontario have a full-time SRO program (OACP, 2019).

This chapter will begin with a review of the literature in four broad thematic research areas: feminist theory as it relates to pathways to offending, gender-based violence, gender-responsive programming, and school resource officers. It will then outline the methods of data collection and analysis before moving on to the findings and a discussion of the implications for school resource officer programs in Ontario and for the study of SROs more generally. The results from this study suggest that SROs perceive their interactions with female students in both similar and divergent ways from other school personnel and although SROs are not deliberately engaging in gender-responsive programming, they engage in strategies consistent with it. The findings also suggest expanding on the definitions of school safety to include not just extreme cases of violence and bullying but also gender-based crimes such as sexual assault and harassment.

Literature Review

Pathways to Offending

Feminist theories of offending criticize prior research for relying on theoretical explanations embedded with stereotypical views of men and women. For example, in attempts to theorize the gender gap in offending, theorists rely on notions of "essential differences" between men and women, which often are no more than repackaging old stereotypes, such as men are rational and women are emotional (Miller & Mullins, 2006). For feminist criminologists, if we are to understand criminal behaviour, gender cannot be overlooked. Studies in this tradition turn to conceptualizations of gender that emphasize the social nature of gender, instead of seeing it as based on "natural" sex differences between men and women (Bottcher, 2001; Miller & Mullins, 2009).

An important area of feminist criminological scholarship is the gendered pathways perspective (e.g, Belknap & Holsinger, 2013; Daly, 1994; Davis, 2013; Miller & Mullins, 2009). The pathways view of girls' offending sees gender as highly influential in shaping girls' lives and experiences. It suggests that if we are to understand girls' offending, we need to understand their lives as *girls*. Research in this tradition "considers the factors that influence the initiation (and the termination) of male and female offending and the ways in which it might be gendered" (Kruttchnitt, 2013, p. 297). This approach to studying offending highlights the "blurred boundaries" (Miller & Mullins, 2009; Sharpe, 2013) between victim and offender for many young women in contact with the criminal justice system. The notion of a young woman being both a victim and offender is evident in research on aggression and violence. In her study of young girls exhibiting violent behaviour in schools, Artz (1998) notes that compared to girls not involved in school violence, violent girls (termed "hitting girls"[16]) are more likely to experience physical and sexual abuse and thus are both victims and offenders. Morash and Chesney-Lind (2009) suggest that girls' experiences with family violence can be linked to their (gendered) victimization in the family, therefore young women's victimization experiences can be related to their criminal offending, so an examination of one without the other is incomplete. The gendered pathways perspective is traditionally focused on the offenders themselves; this study attempts to expand on this to focus on how the offending trajectories are perceived and responded to by school agents of social control.

The notion of distinct pathways to offending is shared by developmental and life course criminologists, who suggest that the risks for criminal offending and criminal trajectories vary over a person's life (e.g., Sampson & Laub, 1993; Moffitt & Caspi, 2001; Odgers et al., 2008).

---

[16] For the purposes of her study, Artz (1998) defines violence as "beating up another kid" (p.27).

Research suggests that among the different criminal trajectories, males are much more likely to be included in the offending group who continue their behaviours into adulthood. The implications of this body of research for this study are that those that respond to offending in adolescence may be able to sway desistance and interrupt criminal trajectories, especially among those whose pathway to antisocial and criminal behaviour begins only in adolescence. Sampson and Laub (1993) refer to this process as a "turning point", indicating an event that changes a life trajectory. Events such as marriage, getting a job, or joining the military can serve as a turning point. One of the goals of this study is to unpack how SROs perceive their interactions with female students in light of the possibility of interrupting a criminal trajectory, with a consideration of experiences of victimization.

Gender-Based Violence

As feminist criminologists point out, girls experience certain types of victimization at higher rates than their male counterparts. In Canada, police-reported data show that males and females are approximately equally likely to be victims of violent crime, as 53% of victims are female (Conroy, 2018, p. 5). However, when considering girls and young women under the age of 24, there are gaps in the victimization rates for females compared to males. In 2017, for those aged 11 and younger, the rates of all violent victimization were 12% higher for girls than boys; girls aged 12 to 17 had rates of victimization that were 42% higher than boys; and young women aged 18 to 24 had victimization rates that were 38% higher than young men (Conroy, 2018, p. 5). These high rates of victimization can be compared with police-reported rates of offending, which show that those aged 18-24 have the highest rates of offending, followed by those aged 12-17, indicating that adolescents offend and are victimized at higher rates than other age groups (Allen, 2016; Allen & Superle, 2016). When examining the types of violent crime experienced by young

men and women, the rates of physical assault were similar among those aged 24 and younger, yet the rates of sexual offences among females aged 24 and younger were seven times higher than those of their male counterparts (Conroy, 2018). Perhaps most strikingly, while the overall rate of violent crime against girls and young women in Canada declined from 2009 to 2017, the rates of sexual violence increased by 31% during that same time period[17] (Conroy, 2018). Certain subpopulations of young women are more at risk, as data on Canadians overall indicate that Indigenous women are more likely to be victimized than their non-Indigenous counterparts (Perreault, 2015).

There is also evidence that much of this victimization is not reported to police immediately, or that it is not reported at all (Conroy, 2018; DuMont, Miller, Myhr, 2003; Johnson, 2017; Vopni, 2006). Research examining the reasons female victims of sexual violence may be unlikely to report their victimization highlight several issues. Among the reasons identified in the literature are: victims blaming themselves for their victimization (Thompson, Sitterle, Clay, & Kingree, 2007), victims feeling that their experiences of sexual assault vary from stereotypical conceptions of sexual assault, such as a being assaulted by a stranger (Patterson, Greeson, & Campbell, 2009), victims being under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol at the time of the assault[18] (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003; Spencer, Mallory, Toews, Stith, & Wood, 2017), the nature of the relationship between the victim and offender

---

[17] Since these data are based on police-reports, it is possible that it is an increase in the reporting of sexual victimization from 2009 to 2017 rather than an increase in incidents that accounts for the change. Victimization surveys are conducted by Statistics Canada every five years, so comparable data are unavailable. The next victimization survey is set for 2019 (Statistics Canada, 2019).

[18] Section 152.1 outlines the legal requirements of consent (Criminal Code of Canada, SC 1985, c. C-46). These requirements include: consent must be present at the time of sexual activity; consent cannot be given by anyone other than the person involved in sexual activity; consent cannot be given if the person is unconscious; the sexual activity is the result of the abuse of a position of trust or authority; the person expresses a lack of consent; or the person expresses a lack of agreement to continue with the sexual activity after it is initiated (Criminal Code of Canada, SC 1985, c. C-46).

(Chon, 2014), and feelings of shame and threats by the perpetrator (Ceelen, Dorn, van Huis, Reijinders, 2016; Münzer, Fegert, Ganser, Loos, Witt, & Goldbeck, 2016; Patterson, Greeson, & Campbell, 2009).

However, when looking closer at adolescent females in particular, studies show that victims may not report their victimization to police as they instead disclose to other sources. For example, adolescent victims may tell their parents or their friends about their sexual violence victimization (Smith & Cook, 2008; Stein & Nofziger, 2008). Other research finds that there are distinct pathways to disclosure by adolescent females: the first pathway has parents or friends encourage victims to report to police; the second pathway has friends tell other adults, such as their parents or teachers, without the victim's consent; and the third pathway has friends tell police on the victim's behalf if the victim was unconscious at the time of the assault (Campbell, Greeson, Fehler-Cabral, Kennedy, 2015; Vopni, 2006). Adolescent victims' willingness to report to police and get involved in the formal justice system may be dependent on their feelings of control and the influence of their families (Fehler-Cabral & Campbell, 2013). As such, much goes into adolescent victims' decisions to disclose their victimization and potentially involve the police and criminal justice system and therefore police-reported sexual victimization is an underestimate of the prevalence. This study builds on this literature by examining the perceptions of SROs as it relates to the response to instances of gender-based violence among female students.

Gender-Responsive Programming

Since the pathways to offending may be different for females compared to males, feminist criminologists argue criminal justice system programming that is based on male samples and designed for interventions with males are inadequate for females (Chesney-Lind &

Okamoto, 2001; Lanctôt, 2018). Thus, there is a need for gender-responsive programming (GRP) that is grounded in the knowledge of not only different pathways to offending, but also different experiences of victimization among females compared to males. Females and males may also experience different career trajectories and pathways to desistance (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2003; Day, Zahn, & Tichavsky, 2015; Odgers et al., 2008). Being gender-responsive in criminal justice programming for women involves "an acknowledgement of the realities of women's lives, including the pathways they travel to criminal offending and the relationships that shape their lives…and to acknowledge that gender makes a difference" (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2003, p. 75-76). To be gender-responsive means training those that work with criminalized girls and women in key areas: cultural sensitivity; developing and enforcing professional boundaries; the importance of relationships and communication; and knowledge on substance abuse, trauma, and mental health (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2003). Identified elements of GRP include emotionally and physically safe spaces for treatment and programming, opportunities for girls to develop trusting relationships, the presence of mentors, and education on health and healthy relationships (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2003; Cusworth Walker, Muno, Sullivan-Colglazier, 2015; Girls Action Foundation, 2013; Smith, 2017). In addition, GRPs should focus on girls' developmental needs as well as the importance girls place on relationships and sexuality (Garcia & Lane, 2013). These elements are in line with those outlined as key areas of training for those working with girls and women.

Furthermore, to be considered gender-responsive, "a program must address the realities of girls' lives, including race, class, and gender inequality. It should emphasize self-efficacy and a strength-based approach to treatment" (Gaarder & Hesselton, 2012, p. 242). GRP elements attempt to foster resilience and research identifies common characteristics among those that are

able to be resilient against the pressures of a high-stress environment (Hartman, Turner, Daigle, Lyn Exum, & Cullen, 2009). What fosters resilience can be different for males and females, as girls are more likely to build resilience through positive school environments than boys (Hartman et al., 2009). This finding connects with the study's focus on SROs and their interactions with girls at school, as positive interactions have the potential to help foster resilience.

The bulk of the GRP literature focuses on girls once they have come into contact with the criminal justice system, and therefore once a criminal trajectory is initiated. As well, the strategies suggested for GRP typically apply to those working with girls and women in carceral institutions (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2003). However, much less is known about how elements of GRP may be in place in other settings that are important for the study of female offending. For example, little if any data exist on the role of SROs and other school personnel in promoting GRP in non-carceral settings[19]. This study shifts the focus to the beginning of the criminal trajectory by examining elements of GRP by SROs in secondary schools.

School Resource Officers (SROs)

Police officers in schools have long been considered an effective violence prevention program and are found in jurisdictions all over the United States and Canada. Despite the focus on violence prevention, these programs are part of a community-policing trend that seeks to build relationships and cooperation between the community and police (Barnes, 2016). In Canada, youth aged 12-17 make up a significant portion of criminal offenders, and despite constituting only 7% of the Canadian population, they account for 13% of those accused of

---

[19] Duxbury and Bennell (2018)'s study of SROs in Peel Region highlights skills that are useful for working in this role but their analysis is gender-neutral.

crimes[20] (Allen & Superle, 2016, p.3). In many jurisdictions, responding to and reducing youth

crime is a key strategic priority for the police and occurs through programs such as SROs.

Research examining the nature of SRO roles and activities indicates that there are a

variety of tasks under their purview and that SROs take on both proactive and reactive roles. For

example, SROs are not only responsible for law enforcement on school campuses but also for

education-related activities, such as giving lectures and presentations on crime prevention

(Duxbury & Bennell, 2018; Lynch, Gainey, & Chappell, 2016). There is the potential for SROs

to experience role conflict as they may be called upon to respond to school events that are not

against the law, such as cyberbullying or to respond to school disciplinary matters (Barnes, 2016;

Broll & Huey, 2015). According to the Police School Board Protocol (the Protocol) in the

study's region, police must be notified for criminal incidents such as possessing a weapon,

trafficking in illegal drugs, or cases of physical or sexual assault. Schools may, but are not

required to, notify police for less serious incidents, such as vandalism and trespassing. There is

no requirement in the Protocol to notify police in instances of student disciplinary problems as

identified in provincial legislation. In the case of non-criminal school events such as

cyberbullying, there may not be much police can do via formal social control, either by issuing

provincial offence notices/citations or laying criminal charges (Broll & Huey, 2015).

The presence of SROs in schools has been defended based on the belief that it would

increase student feelings of safety yet research findings are inconsistent. A study of SROs in Peel

Region, Ontario finds that the presence of SROs leads to increased feelings of student safety

(Duxbury & Bennell, 2018), whereas other research finds that SRO presence has little effect on

student feelings of safety (Theriot & Orme, 2016). Feelings of safety may vary by student group,

---

[20] Canadian youth are subject to separate criminal legislation, the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA, SC, 2002, c.1).

as females, African American students, and students that have been victimized may be more likely to feel unsafe at school compared to other groups of students (Theriot & Orme, 2016). The simple presence of SROs may not be enough to help with feelings of safety, but positive interactions between SROs and students has been linked to increased feelings of safety (Pentek & Eisenberg, 2018).

One of the limitations of prior school safety research is the use of gender-neutral measures that may not capture specific fears related to gender-based victimization (see Falconer, 2008, for an exception). For example, in their study of student feelings of safety, Duxbury and Bennell (2018) ask students about fears of being bullied or physically harmed, either at school or on their way home from school. Perceptions of safety also include questions about school locations, such as in the hallways, washrooms, and parking lot. Theriot and Orme (2016) define perceptions of school safety in a similarly gender-neutral matter, asking about perceptions of safety overall as well as in various school locations. Other research defines perceptions of safety more simply, such as with a dichotomous measure of feeling safe or not (Pentek & Eisenberg, 2017). The manner in which school safety is defined leaves much unaddressed in terms of how gender (and other factors) may contextualize and shape feelings of safety at school, on which SROs may or may not have an impact.

Other studies examining SROs have been more critical, as many scholars have examined whether the presence of police at school leads to increased student involvement in the justice system. This is often referred to as the school-to-prison pipeline whereby "young people are arrested at school for behavior that would not normally be considered dangerous" (May et al., 2018, p. 121). For example, some researchers argue that having SROs in schools can lead to the criminalization of students, especially if more minor student misbehaviour is handled by police

rather than by school personnel, and as such respond through legal mechanisms such as laying charges (Ryan, Katsiyannis, Counts, & Shelnut, 2018). As mentioned, activist groups in Toronto have been critical of the potential criminalization of racialized minority students by the TDSB SRO program, although empirical data supporting or refuting that claim are scarce (Germano, 2017). Yet, SRO presence at school is associated with increases in reporting of property, weapons, and drug crimes compared to schools without an SRO presence, and more arrests for disorderly conduct, providing support for the criminalization view (Devlin & Gottfredson, 2018; Theriot, 2009). Other researchers, though, suggest that concerns with the criminalization of students are misguided, as studies show that SROs are not more likely to formally charge rather than use extrajudicial measures[21] than their patrol counterparts, and the pattern holds for new officers (those with fewer than 2.5 years' experience) and veteran officers (those with more than 2.5 years' experience) (May & Higgins, 2011; May et al., 2018). Other studies indicate that the effect of SRO presence is not uniform and that SROs in schools may lead to decreases in arrests for certain crimes, such as assaults and weapons charges, suggesting a deterrent effect (Theriot, 2009; Zhang, 2019). The support, then, for SROs and the school-to-prison pipeline is contested (Pigott, Stearns, & Khey, 2018).

The Current Study

While the research on SROs is focused on students as a gender-neutral group, some studies examine the impact on particular groups of students, such as racialized minorities (Theriot & Orme, 2016) and students attending schools with social and educational disadvantage (Lynch, Gainey, & Chappell, 2016). The current study builds on previous research by examining

---

[21] Sections 4 (c) (d) outline that extrajudicial measures, such as warnings, are an effective and appropriate way to respond to youth crime and that police should consider using extrajudicial measures to respond to the particular offence, even if the youth has engaged in prior offending behaviour (YCJA, S.C. 2002, c. 1).

SROs with a specific focus on their interactions with female students. Building on our knowledge of the rates of gender-based violence among adolescent females, and through comparisons with the perceptions of other school personnel, this study aims to answer two exploratory research questions. First, what do school resource officers perceive to be unique about working with female students and how do those perceptions compare to other school personnel? Second, how do school resource officers contribute to gender-responsive programming that has found to be effective? I argue that SROs are both similar and distinct in relation to other school personnel in their perceptions of interactions with female students. In addition, the elements of gender-responsive programming are being applied by SROs in schools, emphasizing their potential to respond to incidents both in and outside of school in a manner consistent with the specific needs of female students. The implications of this study suggest that research examining SROs and school violence should broaden the conceptualization of violence in order to include gender-based victimization such as sexual assault and harassment.

Findings

Perceptions on Responding to Female Students: SROs and School Personnel

The perceptions of school and police participants in this study suggest that there are some meaningful differences when interacting with and responding to female compared to male students, specifically in terms of demeanor, emotionality, and self-esteem. The feminist criminological literature emphasizes that there may be developmental differences between males and females, and that it is important to recognize that adolescent female socialization experiences at home and at school stress behaviours in line with normative conceptions of femininity, such as being nice, gentle, and attractive (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2014). Girls are also often perceived to be more emotional than boys, which can shape how parents, school, and police personnel

interpret and respond to their behaviours. The perceptions of those working in schools indicate that to at least some extent, girls are understood to conform to this normative femininity.

When asked to explain differences in dealing with male and female students, school and police participants describe their perceptions of female students in complex ways. For example, SRO Dax outlines the gender differences among students to highlight how he finds girls to be nicer and to have a different demeanor than boys. He notes: "I do find girls tend to be a little bit nicer to deal with. Like, even the girls, like, even the really bad attitude ones they tend to be a little sweeter than the worst boy". Sweetness comes up again with SRO Joe when he describes a situation involving a girl at school: "I can think of this one girl, she's so sweet but her choices and she never learns from her choices". Along with perhaps being sweeter than the boys, some participants perceive differences in the level of emotion displayed by females compared to males, suggesting that girls are more emotional than boys, or at the very least more willing to display those emotions by crying when interacting with police personnel. SRO Mikayla discusses that she tends to spend more time in her interactions with girls because there are more emotions involved. She says:

> Girls are more emotional…But you just need to respect their feelings on everything right? Because your feeling is a feeling and it's sometimes just a lack of understanding. So I think girls are a lot, like, very emotional compared to guys. And even just the way that they respond to me…There have been some other, like, emotional boys, but the girls 8 times out of 10 they're crying when I'm talking to them…I think for me, I take a lot more, whether I should or I shouldn't, I take a lot more time when I'm dealing with females because I feel like I'm able to build a better relationship and maybe have that impact that they need.

Dax and Mikayla's quotes indicate their perception that they are able to make different connections with female students compared to males, much of it due to their attitudes, demeanors, and emotionality.

The views of Dax, Joe, and Mikayla are contrasted with perceptions of other school personnel, whose interactions are both similar and distinct from the perceptions of some SROs. However, like with the SROs, these perceptions indicate a complicated view of female students. For example, behavioural education assistant Renee suggests that: "Girls are more emotional" but her perceptions do not necessarily echo the SRO view that girls are nicer than boys, as she goes on to say "and girls hold grudges longer". For Renee, the fact that she sees girls as more emotional than boys influences how she responds to female compared to male students. She goes on to say:

> I tend to be a bit softer with girls than I am with boys. Boys I'm harsher, because they respond to that better. I joke with both of them, but I find it easier working with boys, because they're always verbal and they'll get it out, and it's done. Girls, there's always a follow up the next day, couple of days after.

Renee's perspective is similar to Mikayla's view that interactions with female students may be more prolonged than with male students, and it is echoed by other school participants, although the possibility of female students' facing difficult life situations complicates interactions and responses (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2014; Conroy, 2018). This may pose a challenge for personnel as described by child and youth worker Carly. Her view is that sometimes girls are more difficult to build relationships and rapport with than boys, thus requiring more time in their interactions:

> I find sometimes with girls who have had really negative experiences it's really hard to build a relationship with them right? Some girls just don't want to engage…But girls tend to be, some girls can be just harder to crack. And I find you really have to have a buy-in with some girls. Like you have to actually get, like they need to get a return…So where boys tend to just be like, you know, maybe one meeting they get it all out, they're good, off they go. Where girls tend to be like 'I'm going to test the waters a little bit more, I'm actually going to see what you can do for me.'

These participants are suggesting that meaningful interactions with girls may take longer in order to build trust than those with boys, especially with girls dealing with adverse life experiences. These results highlight that for many girls, interacting with caring adults and building trusting relationships is valued and therefore takes time (Garcia & Lane, 2013).

Child and youth worker Cathy's perceptions of the differences in dealing with male and female students is in line with the views articulated by Renee and Carly. In her view: "Boys will just kind of fight and get it over with. Girls hold the grudges and they are nasty. Like they are nasty. They'll, oh I can't even begin to tell you some of the things that they do". Here we see understandings that are unlike those of SROs Dax and Joe, who talk about female niceness and sweetness. Cathy's perception is also that girls may be more emotional than boys, which similarly to Mikayla is interpreted as girls being more likely to cry during interactions. She goes on to say:

> I find girls are different than boys in the sense that girls are more passive aggressive, so they'll be all tough and talk the talk when they're with their friends, but then when we bring them together to try to mediate then it always ends up in tears.

When explaining this divergent view of female niceness and demeanour between SROs and other school personnel, it is possible that girls are perceived to be nicer to those in authority, such as school and police personnel, than boys, but are not necessarily nicer to each other, as indicated by views that girls hold more grudges and are more passive aggressive than boys. More research is needed to unpack potential differences in student reactions and interactions with SROs compared to other school personnel.

Along with differences in demeanour and emotionality, another common perception among participants is that female students experience lower self-esteem than their male counterparts, which influences student behaviour, consistent with previous research on the

71

perceptions of gender differences in risk factors (Sharpe, 2009). This theme was revealed indirectly in the 2011 interviews, by both school and police personnel. For example, SRO Katie suggests: "The self-esteem is huge, huge, huge, especially with girls". Child and youth worker Lynn describes how she focuses resources at girls with low self-esteem: "I run…social emotional groups, so I do one that's for grade nine girls that present with low self-esteem. I will meet with them once a week for one hour and do different kinds of workshops with them to kind of increase their self-esteem". Similar to Lynn, child and youth worker Julie perceives low self-esteem to be an issue with female students, and draws a connection between that low self-esteem and engaging in antisocial behaviour: "So these girls are going out, and they have no confidence, they have no self-esteem, they're going out having sex unprotected, because they think that all of these things are okay". Thus, while the 2011 interviews did not directly ask about self-esteem, participants outlined their perceptions that it is a problem among female students.

The perception that female students are more likely to suffer low self-esteem is prevalent in the 2016 interviews, as well, again by both school personnel and SROs. Yet this question was not directly asked in the 2016 interviews either. Supervision monitor Barb describes her perceptions: "I think the girls just sometimes a lot of them just have no self-worth, no self-esteem and it falls from many different things in their lives". When describing girls that engage in antisocial behaviour, vice-principal Cheryl suggests: "Their self-esteem is really quite low". These quotes are illustrations of a common perception by school personnel that girls, especially those that engage in antisocial behaviour, have low self-esteem. This perception continues as it is prevalent in 2016 data as well.

Much like the efforts of Lynn to raise girls' self-esteem, when asked what are some common problems facing girls, SRO Dax highlights his perception that low self-esteem is not unusual among girls. He outlines:

> Self-esteem. I constantly am talking to these young girls and every single year I do a presentation to a girls' grade 10 health class and I talk to them about self-esteem and self-worth and realizing that you don't have to do anything, you know, for anybody else. But yet no matter how many times these girls are told this by their parents, by their teachers, by society, they feel like they have to prove something…And I think that's the biggest problem that plagues young women today is this self-esteem.

Like Dax, SRO Charlie identifies self-esteem as a problem for adolescent females, making a connection between societal pressure and low self-esteem: "I mean, for guys obviously we have our own self-esteem issues and everything else but I think it's got to be worse for girls. Obviously I know from school and everything else it's worse for girls and the expectations put on girls and it's not fair". Similar to Julie, Charlie's perception is that there is a connection between low self-esteem and sexualized behaviours: "I think that it's one of those things that kind of leads to some of the sexting there as well is maybe you don't have the best self-esteem there and you don't want to lose the interest of that person". These quotes illustrate the perception by those working in both school and police roles perceive that girls are more likely to suffer from low self-esteem. As indicated by Dax, this perception can shape the interactions SROs have with female students, such as deliberate attempts at raising self-esteem.

Blurred Boundaries

School resource officers are tasked with responding to a variety of incidents in schools, and not all of them are necessarily criminal in nature (Broll & Huey, 2015). In this study, participants describe some challenges with dealing with female antisocial behaviour, and these challenges can be linked to the feminist criminological concept of blurred boundaries (Sharpe,

2013). Originally used to contextualize the experiences of girls and women involved in formal criminal offending by drawing attention to histories of victimization among those in conflict with the law, the concept of blurred boundaries is useful in this setting to shed light on a complicating factor for SROs responding to antisocial behaviour in the form of cyberbullying, which overwhelmingly is understood as primarily a female phenomenon (see chapter two for an in-depth discussion of perceptions of social media use).

Participants in both sets of interviews outline their perceptions that female students are more likely to engage in cyberbullying than male students. For example, teacher Jimmy outlines his perceptions of gender differences in antisocial behaviour: "More from what I hear, my perception is that the online stuff, the nasty comments and the rumors and that kind of thing I think that's more the girls". While Jimmy draws attention to cyberbullying in particular, other participants in 2011 discuss their perception that girls are engaging in verbal bullying as described by attendance social worker Patty: "The verbal bullying like I mentioned with the girls before…you know, like nasty, nasty rumors. Like saying somebody has an STD when they don't right? Or this whole slut thing. 'You slept with my boyfriend. You did this, you did that'". While it is unclear from many participants in 2011 if the bullying they describe is taking place via social media or in-person or both, the perception among some school participants is that girls are more likely to engage in that behaviour than boys.

The perception that girls are more likely to engage in cyberbullying, particularly through social media, was most prominent in the 2016 interviews as participants were specifically asked about social media. When prompted for examples of female antisocial behaviour both police and school participants described instances of cyberbullying. Child and youth worker Carly describes her perception that girls use social media to cyberbully: "It's shocking and very calculated. And

they can be very mean-spirited right? Like they'll use it to be really hurtful. I think you'd see

exclusion as a form of bullying is like female". This view is also shared by police personnel, as

SRO Marty succinctly outlines his perception: "Girls cyberbully more, for sure". SRO Charlie

shares Marty's perception: "The social media is more with girls". SRO Dax illustrates his view

that there are differences between male and female students in the use of social media: "It's very

one-sided, very one-sided when it comes to inappropriate use of social media. You have a few

boys who occasionally, and will be a bully on social media or something like that but usually it's

a one-off". What Dax's quote implies is that girls' inappropriate use of social media is much

more common, and definitions of inappropriate include not just social media bullying but also

sexualized behaviour. These quotes further illustrate the perception that cyberbullying is a

common form of female antisocial behaviour and the interactions were framed by some

participants as "drama".

While much of the antisocial and criminal behaviours SROs respond to in schools have a

clear victim and offender, such as thefts of electronics, for some of the behaviours involving

female students that distinction is muddled. Using cyberbullying as an example, participants in

this study propose that it can be difficult to respond to these incidents as there are blurred

boundaries between the victim and the offender, or between the instigator and the victim. This

perception is shared by some school personnel, as explained by child and youth worker Cathy:

> God, we've done mediations where the kid's, like, crying victim and stuff like that.
> But then you bring in the other girl and then you hear 'She started this on social
> media by calling me a whore and we just started back and back and back'. And then
> you start reading through it and it's like 'Wait a second, you're not a victim. You
> started this. And look at the things that you're saying to her' you know? And she's
> crying the blues like 'They're all after me'. It's just like 'But you started it'.

This notion of a blurred boundary between victim and offending in cases of

cyberbullying is shared by police personnel. SRO Marty describes incidents of cyberbullying

that come to a head at school and how his traditional views as a police officer are challenged through the interactions. He says:

> It's not a black and white situation…because we as police officers tend to do victim and offender right? Especially in schools that's not necessarily the case right? There could be a lot of back and forth that led to that and a lot of bad decisions by both. So I think a big challenge is focussing on both [sides].

Although the concept of blurred boundaries is typically used to understand girls' histories of abuse and victimization and later criminal offending, it does highlight how for SROs (and other school personnel), interactions with female students can be complicated by this lack of clear victim and offender.

SRO Charlie also draws attention to this notion of blurred boundaries when responding to incidents of cyberbullying. He tells the story of an incident involving female students at one of his schools:

> I had a kid last year with some ongoing issues. She used to be friends with a certain group and they had a falling out. And because of that there was some, we'll say [talking] back and forth. This girl would come to the vice-principal and say 'These girls are bullying me, they're targeting me.' And they would look through the video and see where she's had things happen and things didn't really go the way she said they went…[and] it made things challenging. To the point where she was coming very, very frequently saying 'They're harassing me, they're harassing me'…And the mother of this girl called me numerous times 'I want these girls charged, I want these girls charged.' The hard part is, is if they're engaging in this behaviour but your daughter is equally seeking these people out and being just as vicious and just as nasty, she's not innocent in this.

Charlie's story illustrates how difficult it can be to respond to these incidents and responding to instances of cyberbullying is a different challenge for SROs than for non-police school personnel. Not only are police officers potentially urged by parents to respond formally (i.e., through criminal charges) to these incidents despite no laws being broken (Broll & Huey, 2015), things are further complicated by everyone involved engaging in the antisocial behaviours, creating blurred boundaries.

Gender-Based Victimization

As outlined earlier, girls and young women are much more likely to experience gender-based violence, such as sexual abuse and assault (Conway, 2018; Fineran & Bennett, 1999; Girls Action Foundation, 2013). Considering girls in school, they are more likely to experience sexual harassment than boys and are more likely to perceive that harassment as threatening (Fineran & Bennett, 1999; Girls Action Foundation, 2013). While specific school-level data in the study region are lacking, the 2008 School Community Safety Panel findings show that in two Toronto-area schools 7% of female respondents had been a victim of a major sexual assault at school in the previous two years and 21% of respondents reported knowing at least one person that was sexually assaulted at school in the previous two years (Falconer, 2008).

The perceptions of participants in this study are in line with previous research, explaining how these are issues facing girls today and are examples of gender-specific challenges when dealing with female students. These perceptions are borne most explicitly out of the 2016 interviews, although not exclusively. However, it is with examples of gender-based violence where the views of school and police personnel are most divergent, whereby school personnel perceptions are such that experiences of gender-based violence are rare and police perceptions are such that they are much more common.

For instance, when asked about sexual violence, many school participants in 2016 perceive it to be a rare phenomenon. Teacher Sarah's perception is: "Yeah, some have experienced it. I wouldn't say that it's a common thing. It's more a one-off". Principal Sue also perceives sexual violence among female students to be unlikely: "Very small percentage of the population". Child and youth worker Carly echoes Sue, saying: "Very rare. There has been a couple of incidences. I'd say maybe two or three a year". Supervision monitor Barb's perception

is that: "I'm not so sure it happens a lot". These quotes illustrate the perception that female

students are not experiencing much sexual violence.

These school personnel perceptions are contrasted with those of police officers working

in schools, who suggest that being called to respond to gender-based victimization and violence

is not uncommon. For instance, SRO Dax describes his view that responding to gender-based

victimization in the form of sexual assault is a significant component of his role as an SRO. He

notes:

> We get tons, that is probably one of our number one calls for service within the school is sexual assault. Not because they happen within the schools, I don't want to say because school, very rarely will there be any incident that happens in the schools. And even then usually it's, like, after schools and it's like a make out session that went too far and the girl freaks out and tells somebody the next day.

In this quote, Dax makes sure to say that most of the incidents of gender-based violence occur

off campus, although the SROs may still respond. He goes on to say:

> But what we see is there's been an incident on the weekend that's transpired at a party within the community somehow, and that comes into the school the next day. On that Monday morning they come in and the safe place is the school and who do they go see? They go see a child and youth worker, they go see a guidance counsellor, they go see a vice-principal, they tell a teacher, they start telling their friends[22].

Dax provides support, as well, for the notion that girls may not report their victimization

immediately, or that they may be likely to tell friends and other adults before telling the police

(Conroy, 2018; Smith & Cook, 2008; Stein & Nofziger, 2008).

SRO Nick's experiences support those of Dax, as he describes the likelihood of

responding to sexual assaults that occur after school hours and on the weekends. He suggests:

---

[22] If a victim calls 911 to report an incident, a patrol officer would respond. SROs are afforded the opportunity to delve into the situation in greater detail as they typically have more time in interactions to investigate than patrol officers.

> We do get reports of things happening outside of school. The weekends. And they don't want to tell their parents, they'll talk to people they trust, they come into the school, talk to them and it trickles to me.

Similar to Dax's quote above, Nick's views suggest that students are not reporting directly to the police but that the information eventually gets to them. This perception is supported by SRO Joe, as he describes a common situation leading to him finding out about the assault: "Or they go to parties on the weekend, have too much to consume and then give the information to their guidance counsellor and then they'll call us and we've got to go in and deal with it right?" Thus, while it is not necessarily the case that SROs are responding to in-school gender-based violence, they do find out and are called to help. SRO Charlie's perceptions are in line with the SROs quoted above:

> I do get reports of alleged sexual assault but most of those seem to be out of school, at a party, that sort of thing…The only sexual assaults I've dealt with through the school have either been historical allegations or things that have happened over a weekend and because they're at school now they report it to us.

While Charlie does not indicate whether or not the reports come to him directly or via third parties, his perceptions that responding to sexual assault victimization is part of the job are consistent with those of Nick, Dax, and Joe.

Mikayla's views are slightly different than those of Nick, Dax, and Charlie, as she points out that sexual assaults indeed occur on campus:

> No, there's been sexual assaults in school, as well. Yeah, like in staircases and, I find a lot of the time it's people who have previously been in a relationship and then they're either trying to get back together or not and then the guy forces himself upon her. Most often it's not, like, vaginal but it's, you know, oral.

Dax and the other SROs quoted above draw attention to the fact that not only are girls in their schools experiencing forms of gender-based violence such as sexual assault, but that they may not hear about it first hand as victims disclose to friends, teachers, or other trusted adults first.

Participants also indicate that female students do experience gender-based victimization in the form of sexual harassment, which was defined as behaviours like derogatory name calling and non-consensual touching[23], although they are less likely to respond than with cases of sexual assault, perhaps because it is not reported. For instance, to child and youth worker Carly:

> I think it happens. I think it happens too that girls almost think it's okay to get, they accept it. There's a lot of behaviour that goes on that's not reported or not caught by staff…And I think a lot of girls will tolerate, especially young girls like grade 9 and grade 10 girls will tolerate a lot from the male population because it's attention.

SRO Nick echoes Carly's perception that this type of behaviour goes unreported: "Usually in a school, it's, you know, 'So and so grabbed my ass' or whatever…And even the girls under report it by a lot because, oh slap her in the butt who cares…They wouldn't even think of that as [sexual harassment], especially on the butt". Yet the perception for both police and school personnel seems to be that this occurs less than sexual assault, although whether it is due to a lack of reporting or because it occurs less frequently is unclear. SRO Charlie does suggest that this could be occurring less because school policies restrict behaviour that other participants have described as sexual harassment. When asked if he sees a lot of grabbing and slapping, he notes: "Luckily, no. The schools are pretty tight on their no tolerance for that". Thus, students may know to not engage in harassment behaviour due to school policies and the climate of each school may be more or less tolerant of it. These results are consistent with research showing girls do experience gender-based victimization in schools (Falconer, 2008; Girls Action Foundation, 2013; Hlavka, 2014).

Responding to Female Students: Harnessing Elements of Gender-Responsive Programming

---

[23] Unwanted sexual touching would be considered a sexual assault (level 1) (Criminal Code of Canada, RSC, 1985, s. 271). Participants did not necessarily interpret non-consensual touching as an assault but rather as a form of sexual harassment. Only one participant made a clear distinction that non-consensual touching is a sexual assault. The Police School Board Protocol in the study's region defines a sexual assault as "any type of unwanted sexual act done by one person to another person that violates the sexual integrity of the victim".

It is clear that SROs find some aspects of interacting with and responding to female students to be unique from responding to male students. Female students may have needs unlike their male counterparts, such as requiring longer interactions to build trust or responding to experiences with gender-based violence. Insights from the gender-responsive programming literature are helpful for understanding that the SRO program in schools is well-suited to respond to the needs of female students; SROs in schools provides the opportunity to build trusting relationships with students and provides a safe avenue for disclosing experiences of sexual violence. In fact, the results show that many of the elements of gender-responsive programming are already in place through the SRO program, although the SROs do not necessarily interpret their strategies and actions as deliberately gender-responsive. Instead they perceive it as a taken for granted part of the SRO culture and role.

The GRP literature emphasizes the importance of having caring staff willing to build relationships with girls and to listen to them (Chesney-Lind, Morash, & Stevens, 2008; Garcia & Lane, 2013). The perceptions of SRO participants in this study illustrate how their roles and duties in schools are already well-suited for building relationships with youth, both male and female. This potential for building trusting relationships was highlighted especially in comparison to their roles as patrol officers.

For example, SRO Joe describes what he likes best about working as an SRO and draws attention to his ability to not only build relationships with youth but also how his views on youth have changed compared to his time on patrol. He notes:

> [My favourite part of the job is] building relationships with the kids and dealing with them in their environment and having them come to you as opposed to me going to them…[Working as an SRO] changed, no it changed my perspective on the outlook of youth in the community. Dealing with them in a different situation than what I normally did.

By saying he likes dealing with them in their own environment, Joe is pointing out how valuable

it is to interact with youth in schools where so much of their time is spent. He goes on to say:

> When I went there and I dealt with the youths before I was an [SRO], you just kind
> of thought, like, 'Okay, you're not making any sense here and you're all over the
> place.' And then once I got the role and I understood and dealt with them in their
> environment, a light bulb kind of comes on.

Joe's two quotes indicate that the interactions between SROs and youth can be more meaningful

than those that occur between patrol officers and youth, since working closely with youth in

schools leads to greater understanding of youth incidents and experiences.

SRO Dax shares a similar view as Joe, suggesting his favourite part of working as a

school resource officer is potentially improving police-youth relations:

> I think my favourite part is the connections that I develop with youth…I meet a lot
> of kids who have had negative interactions with police officers on patrol. And most
> of the people that I work with [at police service] are fantastic…But I see more and
> more kids that have these negative interactions on the weekend and stuff with police
> officers where they're treated very poorly. And just simply because they're youth,
> they're pushed aside and they're not treated with the respect they necessarily should
> be.

Compared to working on patrol, Dax's view is that the SRO role allows for greater respect

between officer and youth.

Charlie agrees that a benefit to working as a SRO is that they are afforded more time to

interact and work with the youth than they would on patrol, and this extra time is better for the

youth. He says:

> You don't get sideways glances if you divert somebody and you have a little more
> time to actually get into asking more questions. It's not that 'There's calls waiting,
> I've got to go.' You have more time to actually sit and talk and come up with some
> options, whether it be with parents, with the kid, with the school, to say, 'Yeah, you
> know what? We're not going to lay a charge but here's what we're going to do
> instead.' And you have a lot more time to actually come up with a plan than you
> would on patrol.

These results are consistent with previous research that finds that dedicated youth officers are more likely than their patrol counterparts to refer youth to outside agencies and more likely to consider diversion for minor offences, strategies which are considered an offender-oriented approach (Schulenberg & Warren, 2009). The value of extra time for a SRO is reinforced by Katie, as she outlines her perception that patrol officers are too busy to spend the necessary time with youth in schools:

> I mean I know patrol is taxed. I worked patrol. I know that they get very disgruntled when they have to take a call for us in schools. I get it because they're taking all their calls. I don't think their calls well I shouldn't say that, I will take their calls on the road. But for the most part they're busy so they have to take a call at my school they don't want to take it. It's dealt with very quickly so they can get back to the road. So ideally, and this sounds ridiculous until I actually came to schools, I can see why but ideally there would be a school resource officer for each school.

Joe, Dax, and Charlie's views that the SRO role allows for greater time spent with youth, allows for connections and relationships to be built between officers and youth, and allows for youth to be treated with respect are all elements identified as important for gender-responsive programming and indicate that the SRO program in schools is set up to respond to the needs of female students (Garcia & Lane, 2013). These views also indicate that perceptions on responding to youth crime differs between patrol and school resource officers. When interacting with female students, that extra time afforded to officers may be needed to build the relationships of trust. Yet in addition to these elements, the SRO program is also well-suited to respond to the gender-based victimization experiences described in the previous section because it allows police officers the time to investigate.

In order for a program to be gender-responsive, elements should provide girls with a voice within a safe and trusting relationship (Chesney-Lind, Morash, & Stevens, 2008; Garcia & Lane, 2013). When it comes to disclosing sexual victimization, research indicates that validation

of the seriousness of the experience and encouragement from police officers to report are very important for adolescent victims since an identified barrier to disclosure is fear that police will not believe the victim (Campbell et al., 2015; Johnson, 2017). The perception that SROs are better able to build trusting relationships with youth, especially compared to their patrol counterparts, make it more likely that female students victimized in this manner would feel comfortable disclosing to these officers. Joe describes how trusting relationships between students and SROs can lead to disclosures: "Yeah, because they trust the officer, right? That's there because you've built a relationship with them and they've had the time to speak to the parents who said, 'Okay talk to the police' and then they tell the school officer". The relationships of trust that SROs build can also empower victims to disclose their victimization. Furthermore, as outlined above, SROs are more likely than other school participants to acknowledge the risk of gender-based violence and therefore are well-suited to hear disclosures and reports of victimization. Since the SRO program is already established in many jurisdictions, the program can be harnessed to develop and enhance these elements of gender-responsive programming.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study examines school resource officers' perceptions of their interactions with female students and there are unique challenges when responding to this group of students. SROs report that female students may be more emotional than male students and may require more time to build trusting and effective relationships than their male counterparts, views that are both consistent with and divergent from other school personnel. The results also indicate that when SROs respond to behaviours in schools involving female students such as cyberbullying, it can be complicated by blurred boundaries between victim and offender or between instigator and

84

offender. Thus, responding to these events can be more challenging than responding to other, more typical events with a clear victim and offender, such as theft. However, working in the SRO role allows officers to gain a different, more positive understanding of youth they encounter, ultimately leading to better relationships and more respect. Implications of the positive and trusting relationships are the potential to interrupt criminal trajectories and the ability to better respond to gender-based victimization.

These findings offer support that elements deemed important in the gender-responsive literature, such as caring staff and trusting relationships between girls and staff, are in place through the SRO program. Although the officers were not necessarily deliberately engaging in these strategies, the findings suggest these elements are part of the taken for granted SRO culture. Previous research finds that victims may be reluctant to report their experiences of sexual violence to the police if they feel the encounter does not match stereotypical understandings of sexual assault, like involving stranger assailants and the use of weapons in the assault (DuMont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003; Patterson, Greeson, & Campbell, 2009). Police officers may be influenced by the same views of "real" sexual assaults and be influenced by ideas of how "real" victims behave (Quinlan, 2016; Shaw, Campbell, & Cain, 2016; Venema, 2016). For adolescent victims of sexual assault, these stereotypical elements of assault may not occur, as Canadian girls aged 12-17 are most likely to be victimized by a casual acquaintance rather than a stranger or a family member (Conroy, 2018). Having police officers in schools equipped with knowledge of the nuances of sexual assault victimization and investigation techniques can break down the barriers associated with common misunderstandings of the crime and foster an environment of disclosure. This also allows for police to provide information on outside

resources, provide referrals, and follow up with victims, SRO tasks outlined in the Police School Board Protocol.

The gendered pathways and developmental perspectives emphasize not only that pathways to offending may be different for males and females but that the likelihood of engaging in antisocial and criminal offending varies throughout the life course and that criminal trajectories in adolescence may be interrupted and redirected towards desistance (Davis, 2013; Miller & Mullins, 2009; Moffitt & Caspi, 2001; Sampson & Laub, 1993). The findings suggest that SROs have the potential to spend more time with youth compared to those on patrol, potentially building stronger and more trusting relationships with youth. This could afford the SROs with the opportunity to redirect antisocial youth towards desistance through diversions from formal criminal justice processing or through referrals to outside agencies even if charged with a criminal offence, acting as a turning point in the possible criminal trajectory. In addition, the fact that SROs are called upon to respond to instances of gender-based violence has implications from a blurred boundaries standpoint. As research shows that experiences of victimization can lead to later criminal offending, SROs are in a unique position to respond to females' victimization in a manner that would protect against later antisocial and criminal behaviour.

Furthermore, the interactions SROs have with students in their school environment can help them to gain a greater understanding of the circumstances of their lives, for example the use of drugs and alcohol in social situations. Research finds that victims of sexual assault that were under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time of the incident are less likely to report their victimization (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003; Spencer, et al., 2017). If SROs have a greater understanding of the nature of adolescent development, relationships, and peer influences

through their specific occupational role they will be better equipped to respond to disclosure in a way that is sensitive to the dynamics of peer associations and better able to contextualize the incidents, such as those occurring on the weekend or at parties (Theriot, 2016). In this sense, SROs would be acting in a trusting and caring manner as proposed by gender-responsive programming (Garcia & Lane, 2013). Having positive interactions with police has been found to influence the well-being of sexual assault survivors (Greeson, Campbell, & Fehler-Cabral, 2016).

Limitations and Future Research

There are some limitations to this study that need to be considered when interpreting the results. The data for this study were taken from a larger project examining gender and antisocial behaviour in schools more generally and the concepts drawn from feminist criminology and gender responsive programming were revealed through the inductive data analysis phase. As such, the participants were not asked direct questions about, for example, their experiences with building trusting relationships and mentoring, but instead this is an emergent theme revealed during the analysis phase. Future research examining SRO roles and duties should examine how SROs make sense of their mentorship roles and specific techniques for fostering respectful dynamics with students, leading to evidence-based practices for responding to female students.

In addition, this study is based on the perceptions of SROs and other school personnel and not the views and experiences of students, leaving out an important stakeholder voice. Data from SROs in Peel Region, Ontario indicate that student interactions with SROs increase feelings of safety and the results from this study lend support for these findings (Duxbury & Bennell, 2018). The results of this study indicate the positive potential for female students with SROs in secondary schools but future research should examine how female students make sense of their

experiences with SROs. Responding to gender-based violence is perceived to be a significant part of their roles as SROs yet little academic research has examined how SROs and victims make sense of the process of disclosure. Building on these results of this study, future research should examine how police and students view and understand disclosures and how SROs can better serve female students in that respect.

Along with sexual assault, research indicates that students experience other gender-based victimization, such as sexual harassment and that it is rarely reported (Falconer, 2008; Girls Action Foundation, 2013; Hlavka, 2014). Typically, research examining feelings of safety at school consider incidents such as fighting, bullying, and extreme cases of violence (Duxbury & Bennell, 2018). Research reveals that males are less likely to be afraid at school, which may be explained by the decreased risk of male students to experiences of gender-based violence compared to female students (Theriot & Orme, 2016). The results of this study indicate that the definitions of school violence in studies of student perceptions of safety should be expanded to include categories such as sexual assault and sexual harassment, as argued by the School Community Safety Advisory Panel (Falconer, 2008).

This research has several implications for SRO programs in Ontario. The gender-responsive literature highlights that it is important for girls involved in the criminal justice system to have female mentors and have staff that can understand their life circumstances (Garcia & Lane, 2010). Drawing on this idea, female and male SROs are in a good position to act as mentors to female students, especially as often their duties involve both law enforcement responses to non-criminal behaviour and education/mentoring components (NASRO, 2019). SRO Dax, for example, described how one of his responsibilities as a SRO was to deliver a workshop for grade 10 girls in addition to responding to calls for service. The results from this

study lend support to increasing the diversity in policing generally and among those working as SROs specifically such that officers from a variety of gender, racial, and socioeconomic backgrounds are interacting with students and can understand their individual circumstances. Furthermore, since trusting relationships and positive interactions with SROs are so important, this study suggests that police services carefully consider the officers that are put in that role such that these opportunities for positive relationships and trust are maximized (Coon & Travis III, 2012). Given the likelihood of responding to gender-based violence, SRO programs should also make it a priority to train officers to foster an environment of disclosure, one that is based on trusting and caring relationships with students.

However, in order to maximize the opportunities to build effective relationships with youth, SROs must have a deep understanding of the population they serve, and an understanding of their social worlds. This includes training on diverse populations of students; for example, boys, girls, racialized minorities, LGBTQ2 students, gender non-binary students, and newcomers to Canada. This also includes training on social media and other technological applications that are increasingly part of adolescent lives. The SRO program is well-suited to respond to the unique needs of female students, with elements deemed important for gender-based programming already in place. These elements should be strengthened in order to effectively serve the female student population, particularly in terms of the risk of gender-based violence.

Chapter 4: Implications of loose coupling in schools: The case of human trafficking

Abstract

Human trafficking is a growing area of scholarly interest and public concern. Schools in particular can be a key component in identifying students' potential recruitment and involvement in human trafficking. Findings from a grounded theory analysis of 49 qualitative interviews with secondary school personnel in Ontario, including school resource police officers, suggests that the "loosely coupled" organizational structure of schools creates an environment where warning signs for recruitment and participation in human trafficking are concealed, overlooked, or not communicated, representing a lost opportunity to intervene on behalf of at-risk youth. The results from this study can be applied to similar organizations that work with youth and that (sometimes unwittingly) contribute to this type of victimization. Furthermore, the implications of the loose coupling are gendered, as girls are much more likely to be victims of human trafficking than boys.

Introduction

Human trafficking is an umbrella term that refers to activities involving the recruitment, transportation, or exercising of control over a person for the purposes of exploitation (Ibrahim, 2018). The broad definition includes trafficking for the purposes of labour, sex, or human organs (Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). This paper specifically focuses on a specific type of trafficking: the trafficking of minors for the purposes of sexual exploitation. A variety of terms in the literature have been used to describe this, including sex trafficking (Miccio-Fonseca, 2017), domestic minor sex trafficking (Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz, 2014; Kortla, 2010), child sexual exploitation (Halter, 2010), and the commercial sexual exploitation of girls (Rand, 2009). The common thread that runs through these definitions is a focus on how youth, primarily girls, under the age of 18 are exploited by traffickers for the purposes of sex. Activities that are subsumed under this umbrella term include child pornography (e.g., the selling of images, videos, and web broadcasts of minors) and prostitution of minors (Reid, Huard, & Haskell, 2015).

Canadian research investigating the sex trafficking of minors is nascent. In Canada, laws against human trafficking are relatively recent, with sections added in 2002 to the *Immigration*

and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) and in 2005 to the *Criminal Code of Canada*[24] thereby

criminalizing exploitation (Royal Canadian Mounted Police [RCMP], 2012). The laws as part of

the *IRPA* refer to international trafficking, whereby people are brought into Canada for the

purposes of exploitation and the laws as part of the *Criminal Code* refer to domestic trafficking,

whereby no international borders are crossed in the exploitation. As well, Canada is party to

many international laws and standards relating to human trafficking, such as the *UN Trafficking*

Protocol, also known as the Palermo Protocol (Barrett & Shaw, 2013). The international

standards ensure that cooperating countries respond to the exploitation and coercion of

trafficking victims. As Canada's legislation refers to these exploitation activities as human

trafficking, that is the term that will be used throughout this study, although the focus is on

human trafficking in the form of domestic sexual exploitation of youth under the age of 18.

The RCMP (2013) notes that there are many potential ways for minors to be recruited

into human trafficking, such as on the street or at the mall. This study examines the school as it

relates to recruitment, involvement, and responding to human trafficking. There is little empirical

research examining what may in fact be a very important contextual factor to this crime, as the

RCMP (2013) finds that "traffickers sometimes recruit victims from within schools, which may

also be an emerging trend" (p. 17). This study draws on both human trafficking and

organizational literature; specifically, this study examines the loose coupling of secondary

schools as it relates to human trafficking.

Loose coupling is a term used to describe when the structure of an organization is made

up of interdependent parts that work together, but that remain autonomous (Sharp, 2009).

Schools as organizations are loosely coupled in that the goals are indeterminate and there exists a

---

[24] Sections 279.01 to 279.04 cover domestic human trafficking in Canada. Section 279.011 refers specifically to
trafficking of minors under the age of 18 (Criminal Code of Canada, SC 1985, c. C-46; RCMP, 2013).

fairly large degree of flexibility in meeting the educational mandates (Weick, 1982). This paper investigates two research questions. First, how do school personnel identify and intervene with students at risk for human trafficking recruitment and participation? Understanding how the problem of human trafficking is manifesting in Canada is important, as the laws and broader system responses are different than in the United States. This challenges the unquestioned applicability of American research to the Canadian context. The aim of this study is to answer Rand's (2009) call to increase our understanding of "the context in which sexual exploitation occurs" (p. 145).

Second, how does the organizational structure of schooling shape these processes? Previous research examines loose coupling in school organizations (e.g., Fox & Harding, 2005; Hallett, 2010; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) but the educational landscape has changed rapidly in many ways, for example with respect to recent technological advancements, with classrooms and schools incorporating social media platforms and other technologies to learning (Halverson & Smith, 2009; Wang, 2013). This study adds a dimension to the educational literature on loose coupling by drawing attention to its relevance for research on antisocial behaviour[25] in schools, specifically in terms of human trafficking. Further, this study sheds light on the ways that loosely coupled systems fail to intervene in students' risk for victimization and involvement in human trafficking in particular, while providing a much-needed Canadian perspective.

This chapter is organized by first providing an overview of the research on human trafficking, such as the prevalence and correlates to recruitment and involvement. The review then turns to how both schools and the criminal justice system can be understood as loosely coupled organizations, indicating that at-risk youth and those involved in antisocial behaviour

---

[25] Antisocial behaviour is defined as behaviour that violates "societal norms and laws" (Smith & Farrington, 2004, p. 234).

can be part of more than one loosely coupled system. After outlining the methods and analysis, the chapter presents the results of how the elements of loose coupling are linked to student risk for involvement in human trafficking. This chapter argues that the loosely coupled nature of schools creates an environment where warning signs for recruitment and participation in human trafficking can be overlooked, missed, or not adequately communicated, which in turn allows for significant lost opportunities to intervene on behalf of at-risk youth. Given that girls are much more likely to be recruited and involved in human trafficking (Canadian Women's Foundation [CWF], 2014; RCMP, 2012), the results from this study show that the impacts of the loose coupling in schools are gendered, affecting female students differently than male students.

Literature Review

Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is a crime that involves both forced labour and the commercial exploitation of sex (Ibrahim, 2016). Given the hidden nature of human trafficking activities, it is difficult to get accurate measures of the prevalence of recruitment and participation (Ibrahim, 2016; Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017; Rand, 2009). Reasons that are identified to explain why human trafficking remains such an underreported crime include the social vulnerability of the victims, the involvement of victims in other potentially criminal actions, and language barriers (Ibrahim, 2016; Reid, 2016). Human trafficking is distinguished from prostitution on the basis of the victim's coercion and lack of agency (CAW, 2014). In this sense, human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation should be considered as distinct from, and not conflated with, other types of sex work, as despite victims potentially giving consent to these activities, the consent is irrelevant[26] (CAW, 2014; Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz, 2017). This is due to the deception, fraud,

_____

[26] Human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation is distinct from the crime of sexual exploitation (Criminal Code of Canada, SC 1985, c. C-46, s. 153), the latter which "deals with sexual conduct towards a young person

force, violence or threats of violence that accompany this victimization (CAW, 2014; Ibrahim, 2016). In order to be considered trafficking, the victim must experience coercion from a third party (CAW, 2014; Reid, Huard, & Haskell, 2015).

In Canada, the number of human trafficking violations reported to police have been rising since 2010 and police-reported data reveal that between 2009 and 2016 there were 865 victims[27] of human trafficking (Ibrahim, 2016). Women and girls are vastly overrepresented in the data on victims of human trafficking, as 95% of the victims between 2009 and 2016 were women, and especially women under the age of 25 (Ibrahim, 2016). Different data sources find different groups at risk. For instance, the RCMP (2013, p. 2) suggest that victims of human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation are "female, Canadian citizens, between the ages of 14 and 22 years, and are typically Caucasian" (RCMP, 2013, p. 2). CAW (2014) data indicate that Indigenous girls and women are particularly at risk. While human trafficking may be associated with foreign-born girls and women coming to Canada and then exploited, the majority of cases involve victims that are recruited domestically (RCMP, 2013). Furthermore, there is evidence that victims of family-facilitated trafficking (where the trafficker is a family member or close family friend of the victim) are younger than those trafficked by non-family members (Reid, Huard, & Haskell, 2015). Given the demographics of the typical victim of human trafficking, the concentration in this study is on adolescents aged 12-18.

As victims of trafficking tend to be young and female, those involved in the trafficking tend to be young and male (CAW, 2014). The RCMP (2013) finds that the "majority of

---

committed by a person who is in a position of trust, authority or dependency, or who is in a relationship with the young person" (RCMP, 2013, p. 7). Human trafficking is an "offence committed against a person of any age for the purpose of exploiting them or facilitating their exploitation" (RCMP, 2013, p. 7).

[27] Police-reported data from 2009-2016 do not distinguish the number of victims involved in the sexual exploitation side compared to the forced labour side of human trafficking (Ibrahim, 2016).

traffickers are male, Canadian citizens, between the ages of 19 and 32 years, and of various ethnicities and races" (RCMP, 2013, p. 1) and men were accused in 81% of incidents of human trafficking between 2009 and 2016 (Ibrahim, 2016). One of the main motivations for engaging in the criminal activity may be financial (Reid, Huard, & Haskell, 2015); it is estimated that traffickers earn between $500 and $1000 per day, or an annual amount of $280 000 per victim, as those being trafficked must surrender all their earnings to their traffickers (CAW, 2014; RCMP, 2013). According to the Canadian Women's Foundation (2014), worldwide data show that forced sexual exploitation accounts for profits estimating $99 billion (US), which is more than twice the profit generated from forced labour and other forms of exploitation. Even less is known about those who purchase the sexual services of minors, but demand remains high, which is how these activities continue to be profitable for the traffickers (Tidball, Zheng, & Creswell, 2016).

Research identifies risk factors and areas of recruitment for victims of human trafficking. Risk factors for this type of victimization include a childhood history of parental abuse or neglect, parental substance abuse, poverty, involvement with social service agencies and police in childhood, low levels of education, a desire for love and affection, and mental health and substance abuse challenges (CAW, 2014; Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz, 2017; McMahon-Howard, 2017; O'Brien, White, & Rizo, 2017; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; RCMP, 2013; Sapiro, Johnson, Postmus, & Simmel, 2016; Tidball, Zheng, & Creswell, 2016). Yet, the "greatest risk factor is being a girl" (CAW, 2014, p. 27). Furthermore, victims are recruited into human trafficking in a number of different places, such as group homes, the mall, bars and clubs, hotels, and within schools (Hickle & Roe-Sipowitz, 2017; McMahon-Howard, 2017; RCMP, 2013).

Highly vulnerable girls and women may have multiple risk factors for recruitment and involvement with human trafficking.

Tactics that traffickers use to recruit victims into these activities are varied, as well. Traffickers may publish a "legitimate-appearing advertisement for employment" to lure victims into what turns out to be work in the sex industry (Kortla, 2010, p. 183). The proliferation of technology and social media aids trafficker results, as social media sites are used to recruit and contact victims (Sapiro, Johnson, Postmus, & Simmel, 2016). Victims can also be recruited into sex work by family members, typically mothers (Hickel & Roe-Sipowitz, 2014; Reid, Huard, & Haskell, 2015). However, the most common recruitment tactic is through romance and spending money, what is often referred to as the "Romeo pimp" (Reid, 2016). Traffickers can assume the role of the victim's boyfriend, and begin with buying gifts and other romantic gestures (Kortla, 2010; Reid, 2016; Williams, 2015). Typically the trafficker begins to coerce the victim into participating in the sex trade, either as a means to contribute to the household or through force (Hickle and Roe-Sipowitz, 2017). In the case of Romeo pimps, victims often report being in love with their trafficker and considering him family (Reid, 2016). As reported by Tidball, Zheng, and Creswell (2016):

> An experienced pimp approaches a vulnerable girl and unsupervised girl when she is out and about. This pimp acts as a caring male at first, and takes her out for a dinner, buys her clothes, and has sex with her as her boyfriend. Eventually, this girl is brainwashed and ends up being trafficked (p. 62).

This method can be particularly successful with victims that have a history of neglect and thus are craving love and affection, and with those that experience poverty and severe socio-economic marginalization, such as girls living in group homes.

Loose Coupling

Organizational scholars point out that organizations typically have tight coupling or loose coupling (e.g., Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Perrow, 1984). In a tightly coupled organization, the parts are interdependent and a change in one part causes a change in the other (Perrow, 1984). In a loosely coupled system, there is a gap between official programs or mandates and the behaviours of those working in the system (Perrow, 1984). Schools as organizations, particularly public schools, have been characterized by loose coupling (Davies & Guppy, 2014; Fox & Harding, 2005; Hallet, 2010; Meyer & Rowan, 2006; Perrow, 1984; Weick, 1976). For example, while there certainly may be a detailed curriculum in place, teachers and other instructors have autonomy in their classrooms. What is covered in classrooms may be far removed from the official curriculum in place. To say a school is loosely coupled is not to suggest that there are no connections at all among the various system parts, such as the administration, allocation of students to individual programs, and how budget funds are spent. But these connections are loose, allowing "certain parts of the system to express themselves according to their own logic and interest" (Perrow, 1984, p.92).

More recent studies of organizations have challenged the notion that schools are exclusively loosely coupled systems (Aurini, 2012; Meyer & Rowan, 2006; Spillane & Burch, 2006). Advancements in new institutionalism theory and changes to the forms of education have brought a corresponding debate around how schools are coupled (Meyer & Rowan, 2006). For example, schools are becoming more specific in their educational mandates. Perhaps as a response to market changes and demands, there are private schools, theme schools, and charter schools (Davies & Guppy, 2014). Furthermore, the for-profit education industry has grown (Aurini, 2012; Meyer & Rowan, 2006). There has been an emphasis on math and science curriculum with a simultaneous move away from an emphasis on music and physical education

(Government of Ontario, 2019). Standardized tests have become a pervasive metric of student learning. In light of these educational changes and complexities, studies in this vein do not argue that the concept of loose coupling is no longer applicable to schools but rather argue that schools can be characterized by both elements of tight and loose coupling. Further, these studies suggest that coupling is dynamic and nuanced (Hallet, 2010; Spillane & Burch, 2006). This examination of human trafficking and schools draws on this tradition and argues for the implications of loose coupling in schools, while noting that some schools are more loosely coupled than others. While the focus is on the potentially negative implications of schools as loosely coupled systems, it is important to note that there are positives associated with loosely coupled organizations, such as teacher autonomy, self-determination and control, improved morale, and an ability to accomplish myriad organizational goals (Alarid, Sims, & Ruiz, 2011; Singer, 1998; Weick, 1976).

Research in the field of organizational deviance uses the concept of loose coupling to examine how the "normal" operations and structure of organizations can lead to deviance, emphasizing the role of loose coupling and elements such as structural secrecy, specialized knowledge, and task segregation. For example, Vaughan's (1998; 1999) seminal examination of organizational deviance and the NASA *Challenger* explosion highlights how an organization's culture resulted in the decision to launch the (doomed) space shuttle. In particular, this case study argues that the culture of NASA was such that elements of organizational deviance were normalized, meaning that structural secrecy and specialized knowledge were not seen as deviant and were built into the system. In the case of NASA, Vaughan (1998) argues that structural secrecy "refers to the way that the structure of organizations and their regulatory relations impedes knowledge and understanding of activities in the workplace" (p.41-42). In large organizations, it is almost certain that information and knowledge are segmented, especially if

the organization is characterized by hierarchies. Those at the top of the hierarchy inevitably have different knowledge and information than those at the bottom. Specialized knowledge further emphasizes this disjuncture of information: there are task-specific vocabularies that cannot necessarily be understood by all members of the organization. Furthermore, efforts to make sure all members are informed can backfire as it results in too much paperwork for members of the organization to absorb (Vaughan, 1998). This case study illustrates that the *Challenger* disaster cannot be understood as simply the result of deliberate deviant actions of NASA employees.

Fox and Harding (2005) draw on Vaughan's (1998; 1999) work and argue that school shootings can be understood as examples of organizational deviance. This case study of two school shootings outlines how elements such as structural secrecy and task segregation inform how the perpetrators were able to commit their crimes undetected. The authors argue that due to a lack of shared information on the shooters' disciplinary history and mental health, for instance, those working in the schools remained unaware of the potential threat the shooters posed to the school. Since those working in the schools tended to have segregated tasks, whereby each actor stuck to his or her distinct role, the informational flow was further impeded. That the tasks were segregated is a consequence of the loosely coupled nature of schools. Guidance counsellors were privy to much more information that would alert the school to the threats posed by the shooters, yet this information was not shared with all members of the organization, due to school policies and cuture. While loose coupling does not necessarily lead to such severe consequences as a school shooting, these are valuable ideas for analyzing how loosely coupled schools can fail to intervene in cases of recruitment and involvement in human trafficking.

The concept of loose coupling has applicability to other organizations beyond schools (Alarid, Sims, & Ruiz, 2011). Researchers in the field of criminal justice argue that justice

organizations, both adult and juvenile, display a loosely coupled structure, although like with schools these organizations typically have elements that are both loosely and tightly coupled. In an analysis of data from King County in the United States, Hagan, Hewitt, and Alwin (1979) argue that the system of punishment is loosely coupled, and that this is important for how justice organizations can take on new priorities and demands, such as the demand for individualized responses while maintaining system efficiency. Sharp (2009) examines the connection between Florida's criminal justice agencies and outside, but related, agencies, such as mental health. While justice agencies typically are understood as loosely coupled whereby there is little interagency cooperation, the findings suggest that the agency relationship in Florida is not as fragmented as feared (Sharp, 2009). Studying juvenile justice systems in particular, Singer (1998) argues that American teen courts are in fact loosely coupled organizations, keeping in line with criminal justice organizations more broadly. Since the different elements of the youth criminal justice system, such as courts, corrections, and probation, have different goals and mandates, the various parts are only loosely connected to each other. The implication of this loose coupling is a lack of accountability for the various system parts, especially when dealing with the most serious juvenile offenders (Singer, 1998). These studies bring to light the way youth can be part of more than one loosely coupled system via both school and justice systems. Further, that they are American studies reveals a gap in Canadian knowledge in this area.

Results

Human Trafficking in Schools: Identification and Intervention

The concept of loose coupling in organizations is helpful for understanding the challenges school personnel face in identifying and intervening with students at risk for recruitment and participation in human trafficking. Girls are much more likely to be recruited

100

into and participating in trafficking activities (CAW, 2014), and this may be why school personnel are more likely to identify female students as vulnerable to recruitment and involved in trafficking activities. Both school and police participants discuss the ways that girls are vulnerable for recruitment and involvement in human trafficking, outlining that girls in their schools are becoming involved in this victimization. Cheryl, a school participant in 2016, describes how victimization in trafficking is a burgeoning issue in their school:

> I think we're also seeing a lot of girls, a lot of promiscuity that we have a few girls that got into human trafficking in the last couple of years. And, of course they're the victims but they're in a situation where they don't see it yet. They think they've just got a nice boyfriend who's buying them all these things and really he's just procuring them to be, you know, their pimp, he's the pimp.

Cheryl notes that there is a difference between promiscuity and involvement in trafficking and goes on to illustrate how female students are vulnerable to the recruitment tactics of the Romeo pimp (Kortla, 2010; Reid, 2016). She explains: "The girls don't realize [the tactics] then he'll say 'Oh, I owe this guy money, can you do a favour for me? And I bought you all that stuff, and now I need you to help me'". Cheryl's example shows how girls may begin by believing they are in a romantic relationship that ends up a situation of victimization.

Barb provides a similar example of student involvement in human trafficking, suggesting that recruitment is indeed a problem among female students:

> We just recently had two girls that got scooped up by a guy named Ricky Hollywood, who has his name tattooed on his face. Ricky Hollywood is a pimp and he works out of [name of city] and he got our two girls involved, so they are now, you know, into the meth and the cook and they hook for him and all that kind of stuff. And we've had other girls that have gotten into that stuff, too.

Barb's quote helps shed light on how girls can be involved not only in sexual exploitation but in the drug trade, as well, leading to multiple vulnerabilities for recruitment into human trafficking.

Mikayla, a police officer, explains that due to the tactics of the recruiters and pimps, girls may not realize they are being recruited and may believe they are using their agency: "They're tricked into thinking they want to do this. The twelve-year-olds, a lot of the time, right? They think that it's their idea". As Mikayla points out, girls as young as 12 may be vulnerable to recruitment into human trafficking. Sarah outlines how girls involved in the sex trade can negotiate both a student role and a sex worker role and echoes Mikayla's view that girls may not realize they are being trafficked:

> I think some of them are probably involved in it more in the summertime. And then they come and they try to have a good school year and back in the summer they go. Others will, you know, [participant] might have mentioned this. We have students who, unbeknownst to them, thinking they're doing a favour for somebody, are involved in the sex trade. They're being manipulated. And either they're not seeing it or they're seeing it and shoving it down and denying it.

In this example, Sarah points out again that girls may not be fully aware that they are being trafficked, despite engaging in sexual activity for payment, which complicates efforts to extract girls from these exploitative situations (McMahon-Howard, 2017; Rand, 2009). Furthermore, students spend a considerable amount of time away from school, such as on the weekends and during the summer months, and school personnel have no control over what happens during that time.

These behaviours can come to the attention of school and police personnel not just through admission or confession by the girls themselves, but also through warning signs at school. These warnings signs include: girls having more expensive clothes, handbags, and jewelry than they did before; and spending time with older men. Carly explains other warning signs that are evident at school:

> Or where all of a sudden these fancy cars will be picking up these girls at lunch, right, and they'll be hopping in the car at lunch and going out and getting food with,

right? It's a whole grooming process. Some of the girls are so vulnerable that they'll fall for it and then end up in hotels, doing things like that.

While it may seem like only the most at-risk girls in major cities that are vulnerable to participation in human trafficking activities, participants note that it is happening with the girls in their schools and community. As Carly further explains: "You would think 'Oh guys, people are bringing in girls from [major city] and they're doing it, because they're not known in our community or whatever'. But no, it's happening with our own girls". The results of this study suggest that human traffickers operate not only in major cities, but in smaller communities as well.

The results also show that schools and police have the opportunity to work together to notice and respond to human trafficking. Police officer Dax explains the role of the school in detecting and responding to human trafficking situations:

> And so, we have an officer who works in our Human Trafficking/vice unit and him and I work very closely together and he works very closely with all the school resource officers because there's always, there's a pattern, you can kind of tell all of a sudden this fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen year old girl all of sudden stops coming to school and there's all sorts of behaviours. And you can start to notice them, and sometimes it comes to the attention of the school first before it even comes to the attention of anybody else in the community.

But in order for the problem to be addressed, school personnel need to communicate with other personnel (school and police) as to what is happening and what they are seeing. They also need to be aware of the warning signs for recruitment, which ideally would be shared via communication among team members. Dax goes on to outline yet more warning signs for recruitment in human trafficking that can be identified by those working in schools:

> Such as all of a sudden they stop attending. Their attendance becomes very sporadic. When they do attend, they sleep in class. Like, they're very tired. All of a sudden they've got a whole bunch of new things, like they've got a brand new high end purse or they've got a lot of gold and things like that. They're, you're noticing that they're, you know, leaving at weird hours. So like at lunch time they're

> leaving and then they're not coming back after, things along those lines. Definitely, you know, school work is, is not getting done. Things like that.

Furthermore, police officers in 2016 support the notion that pimps and traffickers are recruiting from local schools (RCMP, 2013). For example, Mikayla notes: "I've spoken with the person who works in human trafficking and he's like 'It's happening in schools'. And I've had those few occurrences where girls have come up to me and said, or actually told a teacher they trust about it". Charlie agrees with Mikayla, noting the risk in area high schools: "But in the high schools, I know it's happening. I know there's recruiting going on". Therefore, the school is an important contextual factor for understanding both the warning signs for participation in human trafficking as well as a possible site for recruitment. Yet due to the organization of the school, namely the loose coupling, there can be lost opportunities to respond to and intervene with students at risk for that recruitment.

Loose Coupling in Schools

Loosely coupled organizations are characterized by elements that are unique and separated, which is illustrated by the various roles within schools (Weick, 1976). They are understood as organizations with "component parts…loosely linked and minimally dependent on one another for functioning" (Fox & Harding, 2005: p.71). Fox and Harding (2005) suggest that while aspects of schools can be considered tightly coupled (for example in decisions regarding grade level allocation), there are aspects of loose coupling in schools, as well, and these aspects can be applied to vulnerability to and involvement in human trafficking. In a loosely coupled school, teachers are autonomous professionals that have control over how their classroom is run, provided they maintain order and cover the curriculum requirements. But part of being a loosely coupled system means that there does not have to be much communication between personnel for the school to remain a functioning organization (p. 72).

The results from this study provide evidence for the loosely coupled nature of secondary schools (Davies & Guppy, 2014; Fox & Harding, 2005; Hallet, 2010; Meyer & Rowan, 2006; Perrow, 1984; Weick, 1976). Schools are made up of roles that focus on administration, such as principals and vice-principals, roles that focus on learning, such as teachers and guidance counselors, and roles that focus on socio-emotional health, such as child and youth workers. Furthermore, the schools in this study have an additional role: school resource police officer. In a loosely coupled system, these roles are not guaranteed to have effective or even required communication, as each role theoretically targets a specific student or school need. The results of this study indicate that secondary schools continue to be loosely coupled, as illustrated through identified challenges to open communication. Borrowing from the field of organizational deviance (e.g., Fox & Harding, 2005; Vaughan, 1998, 1999), the lack of communication is understood as a form of structural secrecy.

Loose Coupling as Structural Secrecy

Structural secrecy occurs when there is a loss of information resulting from "structural aspects of the organization, such as divisions of labor, hierarchy, or specialization of tasks and goals" (Fox & Harding, 2005, p. 73). Fox and Harding (2005) outline the many ways that information can be interrupted in schools, such as a lack of communication among faculty members and concerns about students' privacy. In this study, there is evidence that structural secrecy occurs among administration, staff, and police officers.

Participants in both 2011 and 2016 note that one of the challenges they face in their roles as school and police personnel working in schools is a breakdown of communication, or, in other words, structural secrecy. In many schools, the perception is that there is a hierarchy of positions whereby the roles responsible for the curriculum delivery and administration, such as teachers,

105

vice-principals and principals, are at the top of the hierarchy and the roles responsible for socio-

emotional development, such as social workers and child and youth workers, are lower on the

hierarchy (Vaughan, 1998). This perceived difference can translate into halted or stymied

communication among school personnel and ultimately a lack of respect for the various roles.

Lynn, a participant in 2011, explains the challenges with the lack of communication at her

school:

> They're a very closed school, they don't communicate with each other. We have,
> like, school-based team meetings, we're all supposed to get around, the CYW,
> behaviour EA, social worker, VPs and guidance and we talk about cases, what we
> can do to best serve this student. We don't do that at that school, we talk about other
> stuff. So it's a waste of time for me.

Barb, a school participant in 2016 shares a similar sentiment as Lynn. When asked about whether

there is good communication among all staff members, she notes: "No. No. VPs are often quite

neglectful in communicating either with us or CYWs or both of us." Barb elaborates further,

hinting that relevant student information can be kept from those working outside the classroom:

> So the communication does not happen the way it should. Absolutely not. And
> there's no excuse for it. I think sometimes they think it's not important or it's none
> of our business but at the end of the day we all work together. And if we don't know
> who's doing what, where, and when, it has an impact on the kids.

In this case, "they" refers to the administration of the school.

It is not the case, however, that all schools are characterized by a lack of communication

among personnel, suggesting that coupling in schools is more complicated than simply being

either open or closed (Spillane & Burch, 2006). In 2011, Emma provides an example of effective

communication, finding that it is possible for team members to share information in order to help

students:

> This is the point where [students] come down to see one of the four of us and say
> this is what happened on the weekend. And then we might a call to a teacher and

106

say, you know, "This kid had a bad weekend. If you see any kind of acceleration in behaviour then can you send them down because we know what's going on".

Of course, there are privacy protections put in place to ensure that student information stays confidential, presumably to avoid stigmatizing labels being applied to students. However many participants argue that more information should be exchanged among staff members. This is especially an issue for those working outside the classroom, as participants note that teachers ought to be more open to information outside of academics. For example, in a 2011 interview Emma suggests that the privacy and confidentiality can be detrimental: "There is no communication because of all of the restrictions on our privacy that we are not supposed to talk about what really goes on in their lives, in the kids' lives". Here, Emma implies that by keeping information secret, school personnel are turning a blind eye to what is really happening in students' lives, things outside their academics.

Lauren suggests that the lack of communication works both ways, in that information can be kept from those working in the academic sphere too. She provides an illustration of important information that fails to get to teachers:

> So, got kicked out of school because I got kicked out of home last night. Or mom beat me again. Or I was out at a party and my friend OD'd. That's the reality they come to school, so they're upset, they're acting out, and the teacher just sees them as a defiant kid: "You're out of the room again".

Lauren highlights things that may be occurring in students' lives that will have an impact on their school behaviour but that are kept from the teachers making it unlikely they will understand the context to that behaviour. Cathy describes a similar lack of communication and information sharing among school roles. Like Lauren, Cathy also feels that teachers are left unaware of important details that could contextualize (problematic) student behaviour:

> Like, I always say, because teachers don't understand, they see a different side of kids than we do. So it's very easy for them to say, "Well little Johnny is an asshole."

"Well, you don't know what little Johnny dealt with before he even stepped out of the house in the morning." Do you know what I mean? You don't know the domestic abuse that he just saw last night with his mom getting the crap beaten out of her, or, you know, he walked in on his dad ODing. Like you don't know all that stuff. There's a reason why people do what they do and there's a reason why people behave the way that they behave.

These instances of structural secrecy illustrate participants' perception that the emphasis on academics can block communication about concerns that fall outside of the purely academic realm, but which nonetheless could impact student success. Furthermore, the lack of communication is interpreted by some participants as an indication of a hierarchy of roles and respect for those roles within the school (Vaughan, 1998). As Carly explains:

I think there's definitely a stigma. Like I feel like there's maybe a lack of respect for some roles. Like I feel like our EAs aren't respected as well as they could be. Some of our CYWs, definitely financially it doesn't show (chuckles). Like that respect piece is a big challenge…Because you can't just have teachers to run our schools. You need everybody.

When it comes to actual criminal behaviour in schools, the communication breakdown can occur between the school administration and the police officers. Police officers suggest that sometimes schools fail to involve the police as much as they should, preferring to handle situations in-house. Walt, a police officer in 2011, explains that police need to be kept informed of what is occurring on school campuses:

There are still times where [the administration] need to understand that even if this is something that they're completely capable of dealing with on their own, that we appreciate being informed of it if it's an ongoing issue but they can continue to deal with it.

Will, a police officer in 2011, shares a similar idea as Walt. Will notes that there can be very serious implications when information is kept from police officers:

I had an assault cause bodily harm a couple of years ago where, and it was actually a gang incident, and it was about, they had a kid in the office with a broken nose and I just happened to stop by the school about two hours after it had occurred and they were interviewing witnesses and the victim and running their school

investigation, where immediately they should have been involving the police, like right up front, because you, you're compromising a criminal investigation by tainting these witnesses and obtaining witness statements.

The challenges around structural secrecy are illustrated by Mark, a police officer in 2011, as he indicates the possible ripple effect of behaviours occurring among students:

> So a VP won't, they won't report certain things to us that we want reported to us because the pushing match in the hallway that resulted in the fight on the weekend that resulted in the threats on Tuesday, there's gaps in all that.

The perceived structural secrecy between the school and the police is evident in the 2016 interviews, as well. Joe indicates that there needs to be open communication between school administrators and police but that some school administrators may be reticent to involve the police in order to avoid the potential taint of a police presence:

> You've also got to have full participation with your administration, as well. I've found in some situations they want to deal with it internally to kind of keep their school, I guess for lack of a better word, it's clean right? As opposed to letting me investigate it. So it doesn't put a cloud over the school and you know police are making drug arrests or whatever.

Charlie, another police officer in 2016, shares Will's sentiments and notes that while not all schools have closed communication, the effects of closed communication can be serious:

> I do have another school where communication is terrible. Talk about open versus closed systems where you feel welcome and you don't. There's one school where they don't really seem to want us there and I won't get into too much detail about what happened but they dropped the ball on something without, because they wanted to deal with it in-house, they dropped the ball on something that was a, we'll say, a child abuse situation. Where I probably should have been notified of it, and they didn't.

Structural secrecy has many implications for students, staff, and police as outlined in the quotes above. There are often serious situations that are mishandled due to the interrupted flow of information. As articulated by Vaughan (1999), "segregated knowledge minimizes the ability to detect and stave off activities that deviate from normative standards and expectations" (p.277).

For the study of school shootings, the results of these activities were fatal (Fox & Harding, 2005). For the participants in this study, the results of the secrecy can be a failure to respond to the vulnerability for, and participation in, human trafficking. Those working in schools may notice girls being recruited into human trafficking activities, as indicated by the quotes in the previous section, but may not be communicating to other members of the team. The structural secrecy could result in lost opportunities for personnel, such as police officers, to intervene and respond to this victimization.

The Role of Technology

A further complicating factor is the ubiquity of technology in schools and in the lives of students (Halverson & Smith, 2009; Rosen & Cheever, 2010; see chapter two for a further discussion on technology, social media and students). Schools increasingly are incorporating technology and social media into lessons while students spend large quantities of time online and on social media (Steeves, 2014a). This emphasis requires at least minimal understanding and proficiency on the part of school personnel working with that technology. Vaughan (1998) argues that changing technology "interferes with knowing, for assessing information requires keeping pace with these changes" (p.42). This can be a great challenge for those working and interacting with youth in schools.

Technology in general, and the social media world of youth in particular, changes at a rapid pace. It is difficult to prevent and respond to social media-based vulnerabilities without having some knowledge and proficiency with the applications. Therefore, it can exacerbate the loose coupling and structural secrecy that are characteristic of the school as so much information is available only through technology and social media applications. Moreover, in the case of human trafficking, social media and technology are often used by traffickers to recruit victims

110

(Sapiro, Johnson, Postmus, & Simmel, 2016; Tidball, Zheng, & Creswell, 2016). Cheryl explains how girls can be recruited through social media and dating websites: "I know the human trafficking police that I speak to say that that's, there's often people on those websites [social media and dating sites] that are looking, recruiting, yeah, yeah". When asked about social media, police officer Mikayla confirms the role of technology and social media in recruitment: "Yeah I think a lot of the girls are being potentially pulled into the sex trade".

Johnny shares the view of the other police officers, noting the importance of understanding social media applications in order to respond to recruitment: "There's a lot of responsibility there [dealing with social media] and whether we talk about predators who are looking to manipulate or, you know, engage, you know, victims into human trafficking, because I see that". Explaining how police officers are trying to target human trafficking, Nick seconds Johnny's ideas, noting that monitoring social media and other websites is an important enforcement strategy:

> N: Yeah, and I think, I think as we get better at social media, we see it too. Because that Craigslist stuff was going on five, six years ago.
> A: And now Backpage[28] and all that stuff.
> N: Backpage, all that. And I don't know what we did about it back then. But now we're getting more proactive because we see the problem. And I don't doubt the problem's always been there, like at the hotels on wherever. Because that's always been a hot spot for us.

Since much of the recruitment can occur online, in order to intervene in an effective manner, those working with youth need to understand the online platforms and applications, given the role of technology. Dax illustrates the importance of communication among school and police:

> Most of the time you'll get a teacher who will bring [a suspicion] to the attention of a vice-principal…and they will look at the kid's attendance and [we try] to track down the kid. Sometimes we'll find them on Backpage, it's always just a big working together.

---

[28] Backpage.com was a U.S.-based website also operating in Canada that advertised sexual services. It was shut down by the U.S. federal government in 2018 (Thompson, 2018).

Dax pinpoints the importance of school personnel and police coming together to share information while noting the role of technology and social media in responding to victimization.

As schools are complex organizations, not all schools are characterized by completely blocked communication and participants acknowledge the positive results that come with sharing information. As Dax outlined above, school administration and police need to work together to respond to victimization. Mikayla shares a similar idea as Dax and outlines the positive possibilities that result from communication between schools and police:

> I'm always very careful about how I talk to them [the girls]. I get the teacher to say to them "Do you want to speak to the police officer?" And so there's a couple of times it's worked out and the girls have actually come and talk to me.

These examples highlight the importance of breaking down the structural secrecy among school personnel members in order to respond to human trafficking. If school personnel can share knowledge and information with police officers, all parties are better able to identify and respond to involvement in human trafficking.

Discussion and Conclusion

When schools are loosely coupled organizations, this can result in halted or stymied communication among various personnel working in the schools, such as among the administration, teachers, and police. I argue that the loose coupling and resulting structural secrecy can impede on the ability of those within schools to become aware of and respond to student recruitment and involvement in human trafficking. The results from this study indicate that there is a gender dynamic to loose coupling and structural secrecy, as the implications of the organization of school can be different for male and female students. Since there is a gender component to human trafficking, with girls being much more likely to be recruited into human trafficking activities than boys (CAW, 2014; RCMP, 2013), the implications of loose coupling

and structural secrecy can be different for male and female students, as well. Participants speak exclusively of the vulnerability and involvement of female students and not male students. As such, the organization of the school vis a vis the loose coupling and structural secrecy impact female students in a different way than male students.

The results of this study can be applied to other loosely coupled systems that target youth more generally, and at-risk youth specifically. Juvenile justice organizations have been characterized as loosely coupled (e.g., Alarid, Sims, & Ruiz, 2011; Singer, 1998), whereby there may be loose connections among the various system parts. The results of this study suggest that increased communication between, for example, probation and other juvenile justice system components as to the warning signs for involvement in human trafficking would lead to more effective responses. Since research finds that many victims of human trafficking are reluctant to admit they are victims, communication among system components as to what to look for would help target services and responses (Reid, Huard, & Haskell, 2015). As well, girls involved in human trafficking are not likely to report their involvement to the police and therefore it is important that actors in other youth systems are aware of potential involvement in order to respond (Williams, 2015). There is also evidence that girls involved in human trafficking are more likely to also be involved in child welfare systems (O'Brien, White, & Rizo, 2017). In order to target these highly vulnerable girls, communication among juvenile justice, child welfare agencies, schools, and police needs to be open.

This study finds that schools can be important sites for understanding both the recruitment into human trafficking as well as ways to identify victims. There is much potential for cooperation built into many school systems as so many roles are involved in student success, including those focusing on academics and well as socio-emotional health, and the police. As

pimps do recruit from schools (RCMP, 2013) and victims may continue to attend classes, those working within schools can be considered "first responders" to the victims of human trafficking (O'Brien, White, & Rizo, 2017, p. 271). The various school and police personnel need to have a "specialized understanding of the indicators and signs" of human trafficking (O'Brien, White, & Rizo, 2017, p.271; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016). For example, the results of this study are in line with research showing that school may be a source of strain for those involved in human trafficking and their attendance may suffer (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016). By emphasizing cooperation and communication among various roles that are already working together, schools are well suited to share knowledge, such as information on attendance, and best practices among personnel in order to identify potential victims. Increasing the knowledge of those in schools on recruitment tactics would also help identify potential recruitment taking place on school campuses (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016).

Furthermore, schools have great potential to provide education to potential victims to increase awareness of this crime. As indicated earlier, many victims of human trafficking do not identify as victims, particularly when involved in a romantic relationship with their trafficker (Rand, 2009). Schools can intervene on pathways to recruitment through strategies that help girls identify healthy and unhealthy relationship patterns (Tidball, Zheng, & Creswell, 2016). While the tactics of the Romeo pimp may seem healthy at first, research indicates that victims quickly are exposed to violence, threats, and even kidnapping (Hickle & Roe-Sipowitz, 2017). Girls and boys would benefit from increased education in the area of relationship dynamics in order to recognize signs that they may be recruited into human trafficking, a key component for prevention and detection. That police officers are already part of the school community is useful in order to provide information to students, as well as to other school personnel.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations to this research that should be considered when applying the results to other contexts. First, this study is based on a qualitative sample and the results should not be generalized to other locations with different socio-cultural and political contexts. Future research should examine the conceptual applicability of loose coupling and structural secrecy to other jurisdictions in Canada to add to our knowledge in the Canadian context as education is under provincial jurisdiction. It is possible that local school climates and cultures vary and therefore some schools may be more tightly coupled than others, with correspondingly differing degrees of hierarchies and communication and differing implications for male and female students.

Second, the focus of the interviews is on how the loosely coupled nature of schools can impede on the identification and response to victims of human trafficking and reflect the perspectives of those working in schools. While the results indicate that human trafficking is a growing concern in the study region, there are no Canadian data as to the prevalence and incidence of this type of victimization in the area. Future research should aim to fill the significant gap in Canadian research in the area of human trafficking, examining how much of it is happening and to whom (cf. Perrin, 2010). More research is also needed to understand the experiences and perspectives of those that have been trafficked as the bulk of research in this area examines the problem from the perspective of service providers and police (see Williams, 2015 for an exception). Along with the gap in knowledge in our understanding of victims of this crime, there is also a gap in research examining the buyers of sexual services of trafficking victims. The scant research in this area indicates that the purchasing of sex from minors is facilitated by the internet but more research is needed to understand how buyers make sense of

their actions (Bach & Litam, 2017; Tidball, Zheng, & Creswell, 2016). Building knowledge in the those key areas would help tailor strategies that aim to reduce the demand for human trafficking be more effective.

A final, practical limitation to the study is that the results need to be understood in the context of the many responsibilities and tasks expected of the public education system. For example, the elements that generate structural secrecy also allow for student protection. The privacy and confidentiality concerns that participants argue overly limit information sharing are also a way to allow students to have a clean slate following a bad experience with a teacher, administrator, or police officer, and to protect their personal information. Those working in the labeling tradition have long argued that being given a label can lead to further detrimental treatment (Becker, 1963), and thus having strategies in place to impede the application of labels is a valuable part of the organization of schools. Furthermore, there is evidence of goal ambiguity in schools (Weick, 1982), with the traditional goals being to socialize and teach students academics. Yet increasingly schools are called upon to develop socio-emotional health and participants in this study suggest this is equally important as academics. It is certainly another responsibility added to schools to also identify and intervene in human trafficking, along with the responsibilities already in place. However, the results of this study indicate that it is possible to share information on possible recruitment and participation in human trafficking among personnel that are already a part of the school community.

Human trafficking is a growing problem both in Canada and worldwide. Girls are much more likely to be recruited into human trafficking and this study argues that schools are not only a possible location for the recruitment into human trafficking but also a site where prevention and intervention efforts would be effective. The results indicate that the loosely coupled nature

of schools is such that there can be a breakdown in communication among the various school roles, such as administrators, teachers, child and youth workers, and police. The implication of this loose coupling is a structural secrecy whereby valuable information about female students' vulnerabilities to and involvement in human trafficking are not communicated among personnel, resulting in missed opportunities to intervene and alter the pathways to victimization. As such, the implications of the loose coupling are gendered, as girls are more affected than boys.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Gender has long been considered an important correlate for understanding youth antisocial behaviour. The studies in this thesis are all united by an emphasis on gender as a key contextual factor for understanding the interpretation of, and response to, antisocial behaviour. While research continues to examine various social contexts in the study of youth antisocial behaviour, such as the family, the peer group, and neighbourhoods, these studies focus exclusively on school. They shed light on the ways various school personnel understand the gender differences in antisocial behaviour, explore how the school personnel respond to that antisocial behaviour, and how the structure of the school can be linked to gendered risk for victimization.

Chapter two argues that a theory of status relations (Milner, 2004) is a useful analytic lens to understand the types of antisocial behaviour commonly occurring in schools, such as theft, minor fighting, and sexualized social media use. This chapter suggests that male and female students engage in similar types of antisocial behaviour in schools. However, those tasked with responding to that behaviour such as school staff, administration, and school resource police officers, interpret these behaviours differently by drawing on normative conceptions of appropriate male and female behaviours. The results call into question whether formal disciplinary actions such as in-school and out-of-school suspensions are the best way to respond to the status behaviours of male and female students.

The third chapter draws on concepts from organizational theory and organizational deviance research and applies these ideas to the particular problem of human trafficking. This chapter argues that the loosely coupled structure of the school leads to elements of organizational deviance such as structural secrecy whereby various school personnel do not share information

with other team members. The implications of this structural secrecy are gendered, as the warning signs of participation in human trafficking may be overlooked, leading to missed opportunities to intervene on behalf of students at risk for recruitment and participation, a problem overwhelmingly facing female rather than male students.

The fourth chapter examines how school resource police officers make sense of their interactions with female students and investigates how their perceptions overlap with and differ from other school personnel. The results suggest that building trust with female students is an especially important component to their roles in the schools. This chapter draws insights from feminist criminological theory and gender-responsive programming to argue that female students have unique needs, and that the SRO program is well-suited to provide a trusted avenue for female students to report their experiences with gender-based violence. This chapter also suggests that the study of school safety include gender-based victimization in the form of sexual harassment and sexual assault.

These three chapters offer distinct arguments on the ways that gender contextualizes experiences with antisocial behaviour, yet all three situate gender at the centre of the analyses. The three studies in this thesis offer insights into what feminist criminologists term the gendered lives perspective (Miller & Mullins, 2006); that is, the studies examine how the behaviours of boys and girls are interpreted and, at times, responded to differently. These chapters highlight that gender inequality continues to be a factor in the lives of female adolescents, and that this inequality can be perpetuated, wittingly or not, in schools. Specifically, female adolescents are more likely to experience gender-based violence and to be recruited into human trafficking as victims.

There are a number of ways that the three chapters add to our scholarly knowledge and contribute to the broader feminist discourse on youth crime. The first chapter adds a dimension to previous studies on Milner's (2004) theory of status relations by considering the impact of gender, suggesting status concerns are experienced differently for male and female students (e.g. Milner, 2013). While previous research has considered gender as it relates to status (e.g., Michalski, 2017), this chapter also adds to our understanding of the role of technology and social media in shaping how adolescents gain status, examining the ways gender and technology together shape antisocial behaviour in schools. In particular, the results of this study shed light on how technology and social media shape student interpersonal conflict, and explore how those tasked with responding to antisocial behaviour in schools make sense of the gender differences in the use of that technology (Marwick & boyd, 2014). As technology continues to be ubiquitous in virtually all social realms, it is important to gain a better understanding of how it shapes dynamics both in and out of schools.

In addition, the chapters in this thesis contribute to the growing body of literature examining the problem of human trafficking and the sexual exploitation of minors. Recruitment and participation in human trafficking continues to be identified as a growing concern in Ontario and Canada more generally (RCMP, 2013), yet academic research is nascent, particularly in Canada. The results of chapter three contribute to the scholarly knowledge by illuminating how school is an important social context in the study of human trafficking. Specifically, the results add to our understanding of how recruitment may take place unnoticed on school campuses and suggest that other loosely coupled organizations, such as the police, may be failing to intervene on the part of female adolescents at risk. There are many other organizations that are characterized by specialized knowledge and structural secrecy, and vital information sharing may

not be occurring. The findings also highlight the types of indicators of participation that are evident in the school environment, which contributes to a growing knowledge base on the sexual exploitation of minors.

The findings also suggest that status as an analytical framework can be applied to the case of human trafficking. For example, girls have unique vulnerabilities to recruitment into this type victimization, especially via the efforts of the Romeo Pimp that are focused on material possessions and romantic relationships. Having the "right" clothes and accessories and technology, as well as having a boyfriend are all argued to be important sources of status of adolescents. Thus, the way status relations shape adolescent social dynamics may contribute to the vulnerabilities to sexual exploitation.

The results of chapter four contribute to the body of literature examining the roles of school resource police officers. Specifically, the results of chapter four examine students not as a gender-neutral group, but instead contribute to a deeper understanding of challenges faced by SROs when dealing with female students compared to other groups of students. Moreover, the results of this chapter contribute to a more nuanced understanding of school safety compared to what is typically defined in studies on SROs. By examining the experiences of female students, the concept of school safety should be expanded to consider gender-based safety concerns, such as fear of sexual harassment, assault, and cyberbullying. Previous research indicates that male students are less likely to be afraid in schools (Theriot & Orme, 2016) and by expanding the way safety is conceptualized will help tease out the nature of that relationship.

Finally, the findings in these chapters suggest that there continues to be a difference in the interpretation of and response to male and female behaviours on the part of various school personnel. In the case of gender-based violence, for example, school personnel in this study are

less likely to view it as a problem facing female students, whereas police personnel highlight that it is a common reason they are called to respond. It stands to reason that these differences in perceptions have implications for how the various personnel interact with students, including the supports that are offered as well as the informal and formal discplinary actions taken.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several important limitations that must be considered when interpreting the results presented in these studies. Since the results are drawn from data collected in a single community in Southwestern Ontario, caution must be used when generalizing the results to other communities in Ontario and in Canada more broadly. Certainly there are local school and police cultures and priorities that influence the way school personnel interact with students, and as such the conclusions cannot necessarily be generalized to other jurisdictions. Furthermore, the results of these studies are based on the perceptions of school personnel; the participants in the study explained their perceptions of student antisocial behaviour, their perceptions of gender differences in antisocial behaviour, and their perceptions of problems facing adolescents in their schools. However, without accompanying data indicating student perceptions of these same issues as well as accompanying data indicating the nature and extent of adolescent antisocial behaviour in the study's location, the conclusions should be interpreted with an understanding that the perceptions of adolescents may be very different and that these perceptions may or may not match rates of offending.

In light of these limitations, the results of these studies highlight several key areas for future research. As outlined above, there is a lack of current, rigorous Canadian self-report data on the nature and extent of adolescent antisocial behaviour and crime. Savoie's (2007) data on adolescent offending in Toronto are now over ten years old, revealing a significant gap in our

knowledge of the landscape of adolescent offending. Canada does participate in the International Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children survey, conducted every four years, but there are limited measures concerning antisocial and criminal behaviours. As indicated in chapter two, there remains a gap between official and self-report measures of adolescent offending, and it is vital that the scholarship on perceptions of antisocial behaviour, such as what makes up the chapters in this thesis, be complemented with information on actual offending. As it stands, there are only current police-reported Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data.

Along the same lines, there is also a gap in current Canadian knowledge of the rates of female violence and aggression. Much like the Canadian adolescent self-report data being outdated, the Canadian data on adolescent female aggression is outdated (Sprott & Doob, 2009). The results in chapter two suggest that the views of some school personnel are that female aggression and fights are becoming more common. However, without corresponding data on the rates of female violence beyond what is recorded in UCR data (Allen & Superle, 2016), it is unclear whether those perceptions reflect actual changes in female violence. More research is needed to unpack the nature and extent of adolescent female violence in Canada.

The results from these studies also highlight the vulnerabilities of female adolescents to recruitment and involvement in human trafficking. Future research should examine how the victims and survivors make sense of their recruitment and participation, as there are indications that poverty can play a role in vulnerabilities (CWF, 2014). Changes to provincial governments and fiscal priorities have the potential to increase vulnerabilities to victimization, as times of fiscal restraint typically result in changes and reductions in social assistance. Future research should examine not only the mechanisms for recruitment in the Canadian context, but also

should examine how larger, structural decisions decisions can impact potential involvement in this type of victimization.

A final limitation of this research concerns the heterosexist and cissexist nature of the data. Overwhelmingly, the results are framed in a way that suggests students are exclusively heterosexual, as participants discuss male/female romantic relationships and female vulnerabilities to the male Romeo Pimp. However, much less is known about how status behaviours, victimization vulnerabilities, and interactions with SROs are understood with members of LGBTQ2 adolescents. In fact, there have been criticisms leveled against the gender-reponsive programming literature for its binary view of gender, suggesting that it is overly simplistic to frame male vs female needs (Irvine-Baker, Jones, & Canfield, 2019). In order to effectively intervene with all adolescents, it is vital that research examines non-heterosexual and non-cis-gender students as it relates to antisocial behaviour in schools.

Policy Implications

The results from these studies highlight potential educational and social policy changes that would address some of these gender-based challenges. For example, chapter two argued that the proliferation and ubiquity of social media and technology shape status behaviours and contribute to behaviour that is deemed antisocial by those working in schools, such as cyberbullying and the exchange of sexualized images. The schools in this project did not have a specific mandate limiting cell phone and technology use in schools, yet this has been hotly debated in Ontario. In fact, on March 12, 2019 it was announced that the Conservative provincial government in Ontario plans to institute a ban on cell phones in schools during instructional time, starting in the 2019-2020 school year (Government of Ontario, 2019; Jones, 2019). Whether this will reduce the perceived problems that accompany technology and social media

remains to be seen, yet given the emphasis placed by participants in this study on cell phones and social media in contributing to and perpetuating antisocial behaviour, this policy change may help reduce that antisocial behaviour.

The content of the sex education curriculum has also been hotly debated in the province of Ontario, as the newly-elected Conservative government repealed the sex education curriculum implemented by the previous Liberal government in 2015 (Teotonio, 2019). The 2015 curriculum included content related to consent among other things, and the results from these studies suggest this is important for students to learn. For example, the results from chapter four along with official data show that students do experience sexual assault and harassment and that those working in schools may underestimate the degree to which it is a problem, especially since it is likely to go unreported by victims. In light of this, students could benefit from greater knowledge on what it means to consent to sexual activity, and equally importantly, what it means to not have consent for sexual activity. Hirsch, Khan, Wamboldt, and Mellins' (2019) ethnographic study of consent among cisgender and heterosexual college students in the United States reveals a complicated and nuanced understanding of consent on the part of young adults. For example, despite affirmative consent laws (i.e., the absence of no is not yes), students in their study referred to instances where consent was assumed, such as when sending texts after midnight or going to someone's dorm room late at night. Undoubtedly, adolescents in high school experience similar complications around what constitutes providing consent to sexual activity. Future research should examine what these changes to sex education mean for what students learn in schools and sex education policy should build on evidence-based strategies that encompass not just legal understandings of consent but also take the contexts of adolescents'

lives, such as gender identity and sexual orientation, into account. Much is left to learn about how these identities and experiences shape life in and out of school.

Furthermore, the results indicate that students would benefit from increased knowledge and understanding on healthy relationships. The results of chapter three point out the various ways that female adolescents can be lured by the tactics of the Romeo pimp, interpreting gifts and other displays as indications of genuine romantic feelings. As argued in the chapter, though, these relationships can quickly turn exploitative and violent. In order to address the vulnerabilities to human trafficking, students should be given instruction on what constitutes a healthy romantic relationship and how to navigate issues of autonomy and self-esteem.

The results from chapter three also suggest a need for schools to adopt either overt policies or informal strategies to share information among the various members of the team. It is argued that there can be gaps in the flow of information, particularly between the school and police or between teachers and the administration on the one hand and those working in more socio-emotional roles such as child and youth workers on the other. It is important to take concerns regarding student privacy seriously, but allowing avenues for school personnel to share information and concerns about students has the potential to intervene on students at-risk for involvement in human trafficking.

Finally, the results from these studies should be considered in the broader conversation around the utility of school resource officers in schools. This too is a highly debated topic in Ontario, with activist groups urging local school boards to end their SRO programs, such as with what occurred in the Toronto District School Board in 2017 (Nasser, 2017). This conversation typically involves considerations on how the presence of SROs impacts racialized students. These are important concerns, yet chapter four argues that the conversation around SROs in

schools should include the impact on female students specifically. It is suggested in this chapter that the SRO program has the potential to serve as gender-responsive programming, providing female students with a trusted source to disclose their experiences with gender-based violence. When assessing whether the SRO programs are worth the expenses, an important consideration is the impact of SRO presence on student feelings of safety (e.g., Duxbury & Bennell, 2018). Yet these conceptions of student safety rarely include instances of gender-based violence. As chapter four highlights, these make up a significant portion of the calls to which SROs respond.

The chapters in this thesis are aimed at exploring the ways that gender contextualize experiences of antisocial behaviour and crime by those who work with youth in schools, particularly on how school administration, such as teachers, child and youth workers, and school resource police officers, make sense of antisocial behaviour in schools and their responses to it. As articulated by Irwin and Chesney-Lind (2011), "what we think about girls translates into how we control girls", so unpacking personnel perspectives of girls' antisocial behaviour at school is a vital element in understanding youth antisocial behaviour and crime.

References

Adams, N. G. (2005). Fighters and cheerleaders: Disrupting the discourse of "Girl Power" in the new millenium. In P. J. Betts & N. G. Adams (Eds.), *Geographies of Girlhood Identities In-Between* (pp. 101-113). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Alarid, L. F., Sims, B. A., & Ruiz, J. (2011). Juvenile probation and police partnerships as loosely coupled systems: A qualitative analysis. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, *9*, 79-95. doi: 10.1177/1541204010374298

Allen, K. P. (2015). "We don't have bullying, but we have drama": Understandings of bullying and related constructs within the social milieu of A U.S. high school. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, *25*, 159-181. doi: 10.1080/10911359.2014.893857

Allen, M. K. (2016). *Young Adult Offenders in Canada, 2014*. (Catalogue no. 85-002-X). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Juristat. Accessed May 29, 2019 from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-002-x/2016001/article/14561-eng.pdf?st=wl6ykYyq.

Allen, M. K., & Superle, T. (2016). *Youth Crime in Canada, 2014*. (Catalogue no. 85-002-X). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Juristat. Accessed April 20, 2018 from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2016001/article/14309-eng.htm.

Anastassiou, A. (2017). Sexting and young people: A review of qualitative literature. *The Qualitative Report*, *22*(8), 2231-2239.

Artz, S. (1998). *Sex, Power, & the Violence School Girl*. Toronto: Trifolium Books Inc.

Aurini, J. D. (2012). Patterns of tight and loose coupling in a competitive marketplace: The case of learning center franchises. *Sociology of Education*, *85*, 373-387.

Bach, J. E., & Litam, S. D. A. (2017). "Kind regards": An examination of one buyer's attempt to

    purchase a trafficked child for sex. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, *23*, 222-233. doi:

    10.1080/13552600.2017.1323124

Bailey, J. (2015). A Perfect Storm: How the Online Environment, Social Norms, and Law Shape

    Girls' Lives. In J. Bailey and V. Steeves (Eds.) *eGirls, eCitizens* (pp. 21-54). Ottawa,

    ON: University of Ottawa Press.

Bailey, J. (2017). From "zero tolerance" to "safe and accepting": Surveillance and equality in the

    evolution of Ontario Education Law and Policy. *Education Law Journal*, *26*, 147-180.

Barnes, L. M. (2016). Keeping the peace and controlling the crime: What school resource

    officers want school personnel to know. *The Clearing House*, *89*, 197-201. doi:

    10.1080/00098655.2016.1206428

Barrett, N. A., & Shaw, M. A. (2013). "Laws to combat sex trafficking: An overview of

    international, national, provincial, and municipal laws and their enforcement". Canadian

    Women's Foundation. Accessed on December 11, 2018 from

    https://www.canadianwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/NBs-Nov-14-FINAL-

    REPORT-Laws-to-Combat-Sex-Trafficking.pdf.

Barron, C., & Lacombe, D. (2005). Moral panic and the nasty girl. *Canadian Review of

    Sociology*, *42*(1), 51-69.

Becker, H. S. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York, NY: The Free

    Press.

Belknap, J., & Holsinger, K. (2013). The Gendered Nature of Risk Factors for Delinquency. In

    M. Chesney-Lind and L. Pasko (Eds.), *Girls, Women, and Crime: Selected Readings*

    (pp.101-118). Thousand Oaks: CA, SAGE Publications, Inc.

Belknap, J., Holsinger, K., & Dunn, M. (1997). Understanding incarcerated girls: The results of a focus group study. *The Prison Journal*, *77*, 381-404.

Beran, T., Mishna, F., McInroy, L.B., & Shariff, S. (2015). Children's experiences of cyberbulliyng: A canadian national study. *Children & Schools*, *37*(4), 207-214. doi: 10.1093/cs/cdv024.

Bloom, B., Owen, B., & Covington, S. (2003). *Gender-Responsive Strategies: Research, Practice, and Guiding Principles for Women Offenders*. Washington, DC: Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections.

Bloom, B., Owen, B., Rosenbaum, J., & Deschenes, E. P. (2003). Focusing on girls and young women: A gendered perspective on female delinquency. *Women & Criminal Justice*, *14*(2/3), 117-136.

Bond-Maupin, L., Maupin, J.R., & Leisenring, A. (2002). Girls' delinquency and the justice implications of intake workers' perspective. *Women & Criminal Justice*, *13*(2/3), 51-77.

Bottcher, J. (2001). Social practices of gender: How gender relates to delinquency in the everyday lives of high-risk youths. *Criminology*, *39*, 893-932.

Bradbury, B., Corak, M., Waldfogel, J., & Washbrook, E. (2015). *Too Many Children Left Behind: The U.S. Achievement Gap In Comparative Perspective*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bridges Whaley, R., Hayes-Smith, J., & Hayes-Smith, R. (2010). Gendered pathways? Gender, mediating factors, and the gap in boys' and girls' substance use. *Crime & Delinquency*, *59*, 651-669.

Broll, R., & Huey, L. (2015). "Just being mean to somebody isn't a police matter": Police

    perspectives on policing cyberbullying. *Journal of School Violence*, *14*, 155-176. doi:

    10.1080/15388220.2013.879367

Brown, J. (2005). 'Violent girls': Same or different from 'other' girls? In G. Lloyd (Ed.),

    Problem Girls Understanding and supporting troubled and troublesome girls and young

    women (pp. 63-75). New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer.

Brown, L. M., Chesney-Lind, M., & Stein, N. (2013). Patriarchy matters: Toward a gendered

    theory of teen violence and victimization. In M. Chesney-Lind and L. Pasko (Eds.), *Girls,*

    Women, and Crime: Selected Readings (pp. 21-38). Thousand Oaks: California, SAGE

    Publications, Inc.

Brown, L. M., & Tappan, M. B. (2008). Fighting like a girl fighting like a guy: Gender identity

    ideology, ideology, and girls at early adolescence. In M. Azmitia, M. Syed, & K.

    Radmacher (Eds.), *The intersections of personal and social identities, New Directions for*

    Child and Adolescent Development (pp. 47-59), San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass.

Burkell, J., & Saginur, M. (2015). "She's Just a Small Town Girl, Living in an Online World":

    Differences and Similarities between Urban and Rural Girls' Use of and Views about

    Online Social Networking. In J. Bailey & V. Steeves (Eds.) *eGirls, eCitizens* (pp. 129-

    152). Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.

Burnett, A. L., Yozwiak, J. A., & Omar, H. A. (2013). Cyberbullying: A brief review.

    International Journal of Child and Adolescent Health, *6*(4), 465-468.

Campbell, R., Greeson, M. R., Fehler-Cabral, G., & Kennedy, A. C. (2015). Pathways to help:

    Adolescent sexual assault victims' disclosure and help-seeking experiences. *Violence*

    Against Women, *21*, 824-847. doi: 10.1177/1077801215584071

Canadian Women's Foundation. (2014). "'No More': Ending Sex-Trafficking in Canada."

    Report of the National Task Force on Sex Trafficking of Women and Girls in Canada.

    Accessed on December 11, 2018 from http://www.mamawi.com/wp-

    content/uploads/2016/02/National-Task-Force-FINAL-Report-NO-MORE.pdf.

Carbone-Lopez, K., Esbensen, F., & Brick, B. T. (2010). Correlates and consequences of peer

    victimization: Gender differences in direct and indirect forms of bullying. *Youth Violence*

    and Juvenile Justice, *8*(4), 332-350. doi: 10.1177/1541204010362954

Carville, O. (2015, December 14). Beaten, branded, bought, and sold: A Toronto Star

    investigation into the dark underbelly of domestic sex trafficking in Ontario. *The Toronto*

    Star. Accessed on December 10, 2018 from http://projects.thestar.com/human-sex-

    trafficking-ontario-canada/.

Ceelen, M., Dorn, T., van Huis, F. S., & Reijinders, U. J. L. (2016). Characteristics and post-

    decision attitudes of non-reporting sexual violence victims. *Journal of Interpersonal*

    Violence, 1-17. doi: 10.1177/0886260516658756

Chesney-Lind, M. (2010). Jailing "bad" girls: Girls' violence and trends in female incarceration.

    In Meda Chesney-Lind and Nikki Jones (Eds.), *Fighting for Girls New Perspectives on*

    Gender and Violence, (pp. 57-79). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Chesney-Lind, M. & Irwin, K. (2008). *Beyond Bad Girls: Gender, Violence, and Hype*. New

    York, NY: Routledge.

Chesney-Lind, M., Morash, M., & Stevens, T. (2008). Girls' troubles, girls' delinquency, and

    gender responsive programming: A review. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of*

    Criminology, *41*, 162-189.

Chesney-Lind, M., & Okamoto, S. K. (2001). Gender matters: Patterns in girls' delinquency and gender responsive programming. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice, 1*, 1-30. doi: 10.1300.J158v01n03_01

Chesney-Lind, M., & Shelden, R. G. (2004). *Girls, Delinquency, and Juvenile Justice* (3rd ed.). Toronto: Nelson Wadsworth.

Chesney-Lind, M., Shelden, R. G. (2014). *Girls, Delinquency, and Juvenile Justice* (4th ed.). Malden, MA: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Chon, D. S. (2014). Police reporting by sexual assault victims in Western and non-Western countries. *Journal of Family Violence*, *29*, 859-868. doi: 10.1007/s10896-014-9644-z

Cohen, A. (1955). *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.

Connell, N. M., Schell-Busey, N. M., Pearce, A. N., & Negro, P. (2014). Badgrlz? Exploring sex differences in cyberbullying behaviors. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, *12*(3), 209-228. doi: 10.1177/1541204013503889

Conroy, S. (2018). *Police-reported Violence Against Girls and Young Women in Canada, 2017*. (Catalogue no. 85-002-X). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Juristat. Accessed February 27, 2019 from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2018001/article/54981-eng.pdf.

Coon, J. K., Travis III, L. F. (2012). The role of police in public schools: a comparison of principal reports of activities in schools. *Police Practice and Research*, *13*, 15-30. doi: 10.1080/15614263.2011.589570

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, *13*, 3-21.

Corrado, R. R., Odgers, C., & Cohen, I. M. (2000). The incarceration of female young offenders: Protection for whom? *Canadian Journal of Criminology, 42,* 189-207.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory Into Practice*, *39*(3), 124-130.

Crick, N. R., & Grotpeter, J. K. (1995). Relational aggression, gender, and social-psychological adjustment. *Child Development*, *66*(3), 710-722.

Curtis, A. J. (2014). Tracing the school-to-prison pipeline from zero-tolerance policies to juvenile justice dispositions. *Georgetown Law Journal*, *102*(4), 1251-1277.

Cusworth Walker, S., Muno, A., & Sullivan-Colglazier, C. (2015). Principles in practice: A multistate study of gender-responsive reforms in the juvenile justice system. *Crime & Delinquency*, *61*, 742-766. doi: 10.1177/0011128712449712

Daly, K. (1994). *Gender, Crime, and Punishment*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Davies, S., & Guppy, N. (2014). *The Schooled Society* (3rd ed.). Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Davis, C. P. (2013). At-Risk Girls and Delinquency: Career Pathways. In M. Chesney-Lind and L. Pasko (Eds.), *Girls, Women, and Crime: Selected Readings* (pp.69-85). Thousand Oaks: CA, SAGE Publications, Inc.

Day, J. C., Zahn, M. A., & Tichavksy, L. P. (2015). What works for whom? The effects of gender responsive programming on girls and boys in secure detention. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 52*, 93-129. doi: 10.1177/002242781458033

Deuchar, R. & Ellis, J. (2013). 'It's helped me with my anger and I'm realizing where I go in life': The impact of Scottish youth work/schools intervention on young people's

responses to social strain and engagement with anti-social behaviour and gang culture. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, *18*, 98-114.

Devlin, D. N., & Gottfredson, D. C. (2018). The roles of police officers in schools: Effects on the recording and reporting of crime. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, *16*, 208-223. doi: 10.1177/1541204016680405

DuMont, J., Miller, K., & Myhr, T. L. (2003). The role of "real rape" and "real victim" stereotypes in the police reporting practices of sexually assaulted women. *Violence Against Women*, *9*, 466-486. doi: 10.1177/1077801202250960

Duncan, N. (1999). *Sexual Bullying: Gender conflict and pupil culture in secondary schools*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Duxbury, L., & Bennell, C. (2018). Assigning Value to Peel Regional Police's School Resource Officer Program. Carleton University. Accessed on February 25, 2019 from https://ir.library.carleton.ca/pub/17310/sprott-peel-full-study.pdf.

Erickson, P. G., & Butters, J. E. (2005). How does the Canadian juvenile justice system respond to detained youth with substance use associated problems? Gaps, challenges, and emerging issues. *Substance Use & Misuse, 40,* 953-973.

Falconer, J. (2008). The Road to Health: A Final Report on School Safety. *School Community Safety Advisory Panel*. Accessed on May 29, 2019 from https://www.falconerschoolsafetyreport.com/finalReport.html.

Fehler-Cabral, G., & Campbell, R. (2013). Adolescent sexual assault disclosure: The impact of peers, families, and schools. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *52*, 73-83. doi: 10.1007/s10464-013-9577-3

Fineran, S., & Bennett, L. (1999). Gender and power issues of peer sexual harassment among

    teenagers. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 14, 626-641.

Finley, L. L. (2008). Teachers' perceptions of school violence issues. *Journal of School*

    Violence. *2*(2), 51-66.

Fishbein, D., Miller, S., Winn, D. M., & Dakof, G. (2009). Biopsychological Factors, Gender,

    and Delinquency. In M.A. Zahn (Ed.) *The Delinquent Girl* (pp.84-106). Philadelphia, PA:

    Temple University Press.

Fisher, B. S., Daigle, L. E., Cullen, F. T., & Turner, M. G. (2003). Reporting sexual

    victimization to the police and others: Results from a national-level study of college

    women. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *30*, 6-38. doi: 10.1177/0093854802239161

Fox, C., & Harding, D. J. (2005). School shootings as organizational deviance. *Sociology of*

    Education, *78*, 69-97.

Francis, D. V. (2012). Sugar and spice and everything nice? Teacher perceptions of black girls in

    the classroom. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, *39*(3), 311-320. doi:

    10.1007/s12113-011-9098y

Gaarder, E., & Belkap, J. (2002). Tenuous borders: Girls transferred to adult court. *Criminology*,

    40, 481-518.

Gaarder, E., & Hesselton, D. (2012). Connecting restorative justice with gender-responsive

    programming. *Contemporary Justice Review, 15*, 239-264. doi:

    10.1080/10282580.2012.707418

Garcia, C. A., & Lane, J. (2010). Looking in the rearview mirror: What incarcerated women

    think girls need from the system. *Feminist Criminology*, 5, 227-243. doi:

    10.1177/1557085110376341

Garcia, C. A., & Lane, J. (2013). What a girl wants, what a girl needs: Findings from a gender-specific focus group study. *Crime & Delinquency*, *59*, 536-561. doi: 10.1177/0011128709331790

Germano, D. (2017, November 23). Activists applaud decision to remove police officers from Toronto schools. *The Globe and Mail*. Accessed on May 30, 2019 from https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/activists-applaud-decision-to-remove-police-officers-from-toronto-schools/article37066737/.

Girls Action Foundation, Juniper Glass and Lee Tunstall. (2013). *Issue brief on the main issues facing girls in Canada*. Prepared for Status of Women Canada. Montreal: Girls Action Foundation.

Giordano, P. (2009). Peer Influences on Girls' Delinquency. In M.A. Zahn (Ed.) *The Delinquent Girl* (pp.127-145). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Goodwin, J., & Horowitz, R. (2002). Introduction: The methodological strengths and dilemmas of qualitative sociology. *Qualitative Sociology, 25,* 33-47.

Government of Ontario. (2019). 'Back to Basics Math Curriculum, Renewed Focus on Skilled Trades and Cellphone Ban in the Classroom Coming Soon to Ontario. Accessed on May 30, 2019 from https://news.ontario.ca/edu/en/2019/03/back-to-basics-math-curriculum-renewed-focus-on-skilled-trades-and-cellphone-ban-in-the-classroom-co.html.

Green, V. A., Johnston, M., Mattioni, L., Harcourt, S., & Lynch, T. (2017). Who is responsible for addressing cyberbullying? Perspectives from teachers and senior managers.

International Journal of School and Educational Psychology, *5*(2), 100-114. doi:

    10.1080/21683603.2016.1194240

Greeson, M. R., Campbell, R., & Fehler-Cabral, G. (2016). "Nobody deserves this": Adolescent

    sexual assault victims' perceptions of disbelief and victim blame from police. *Journal of*

    Community Psychology, 44, 90-110. doi: 10.1002/jcop.21744

Hagan, J., Hewitt, J. D., Alwin, D. F. (1979). Ceremonial justice: Crime and punishment in a

    loosely coupled system. *Social Forces*, 58, 506-527.

Hallet, T. (2010). The myth incarnate: Recoupling processes, turmoil, and inhabited institutions

    in an urban elementary school. *American Sociological Review, 75*, 52-74.

Halter, S. (2010). Factors that influence police conceptualizations of girls involved in

    prostitution in six U.S. cities: Child sexual exploitation victims or delinquents? *Child*

    Maltreatment, *15*, 152-160. doi: 10.1177/1077559509355315

Halverson, R., & Smith, A. (2009). How new technologies have (and have not) changed teaching

    and learning in schools. *Journal of Computing in Teacher Education*, *26*(2), 49-54.

Hartman, J. L., Turner, M. G., Daigle, L. E., Lyn Exum, M., & Cullen, F. T. (2009). Exploring

    the gender differences in protective factors: Implications for understanding resiliency.

    International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, *53*, 249-277.

    doi: 10.1177/0306624X08326910

Harvey, L., Ringrose, J., & Gill, R. (2013). Swagger, ratings, and masculinity: Theorising the

    circulation of social and cultural value in teenage boys' digital peer networks.

    Sociological Research Online, *18*(4) 9. Accessed on September 27, 2018 from

    www.socresonline.org.uk/18/4/9.html.

Health Behavior in School-Aged Children. (n.d.). Data visualisations: Physical Fights. Accessed on May 31, 2019 from http://www.hbsc.org/publications/datavisualisations/physical_fights.html.

Hermann, J.W., & Silverstein, J. (2012). Girls' perceptions of violence and prevention. *Journal of Community Health Nursing*, *29*(2), 75-90.

Hickle, K. E., & Roe-Sepowitz, D. E. (2014). Putting the pieces back together: A group intervention for sexually exploited adolescent girls. *Social Work with Groups*, *37*, 99-113. Doi: 10.1080/01609513.2013.823838

Hickle, K., & Roe-Sepowitz, D. (2017). "Curiosity and a pimp": Exploring sex trafficking victimization experiences of entering sex trade industry work among participants in a prostitution diversion program. *Women & Criminal Justice*, *27*, 122-138. doi: 10.1080/08974454.2015.1128376

Hinduja, S., & Patchin, J. W. (2013). Social influences on cyberbullying behaviors among middle and high school students. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *42*, 711-722.

Hirsch, J. S., Khan, S. R., Wamboldt, A., & Mellins, C. A. (2019). Social dimensions of sexual consent among cisgender heterosexual college students: Insights from ethnographic research. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *64*, 26-35.

Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of delinquency*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hlavka, H. R. (2014). Normalizing sexual violence: Young women account for harassment and abuse. *Gender & Society*, 28, 337-358. doi: 10.1177/0891243214526468

Hubbard, D. J., & Pratt, T.cC. (2002). A meta-analysis of the predictors of delinquency among girls. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, *34* (3), 1-13.

Ibrahim, D. (2018). *Trafficking in Persons in Canada.* (Catalogue no. 85-005-X). Ottawa, ON:

    Statistics Canada. Juristat Bulletin-Quick Fact. Accessed on December 11, 2018 from

    https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-005-x/2018001/article/54979-

    eng.pdf?st=2wJifS0X.

Irvine-Baker, A., Jones, N., & Canfield, A. (2019). Taking the 'girl' out of gender-rresponsive

    programming in the juvenile justice system. *Annual Review of Criminology*, *2*, 321-326.

    doi: 10.1146/annure-criminol-032317-091922

Irwin, K., & Chesney-Lind, M. (2011). Girls' violence: Beyond dangerous masculinity. In M.

    Chesney-Lind and M. Morash (Eds.), Feminist Theories of Crime (pp. 153-171).

    Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Johnson, H. (2017). Why doesn't she just report it: Apprehensions and contradictions for women

    who report sexual violence to the police. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, *29*,

    36-59. doi: 10.3138/cjwl.29.1.36

Jones, A. (2019, March 12). Ontario to ban cellphones in classroom next school year. *The*

    Canadian Press. Accessed on March 25, 2019 from

    https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ontario-school-classroom-cellphone-ban-

    1.5052564.

Jones, N. (2010). *Between good and ghetto African American girls and inner-city violence*. New

    Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Juvonen, J., & Gross, E. F. (2008). Extending the school grounds?—Bullying experiences in

    cyberspace. *Journal of School Health*, *78*, 496-505.

Kortla, K. (2010). Domestic minor sex trafficking in the United States. *Social Work*, *55*, 181-

    187.

Koskela, H. (2004). Webcams, TV shows and mobile phones: Empowering exhibitionism. *Surveillance & Society*, *2*, 199-215.

Kruttschnitt, C. (2013). Gender and crime. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *39*, 291-308.

Kruttshnitt, C., & Giordano, P. (2009). Family Influences in Girls' Delinquency. In M.A. Zahn (Ed.) *The Delinquent Girl* (pp.107-126). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Kurzman, C., Anderson, C., Key, C., Lee, Y.O., Moloney, M., Silver, A., & Van Ryn, M.W. (2007). Celebrity status. *Sociological Theory*, *25*, 347-367.

Lanctôt, N. (2018). Gender-responsive programs and services for girls in residential centers. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 45, 101-120. doi: 10.1177/0093854817733495

Lee, M., Crofts, T., McGovern, A., & Milivojevic, S. (2015). Sexting among young people: Perceptions and practices. *Trends & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, *508*, 1-9.

Lehman, B. (2018). Good grades and a bad reputation: Gender, academics, and relational aggression. *Youth & Society*, 1-20.

Leitz, L. (2003). Girl fights: Exploring females' resistance to educational structures. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *23*, 15-46.

Levinksy, Z. (2016). "Not bad kids, just bad choices": Governing school safety through choice. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, *31*, 359-381. doi: 10.1017/cls.2016.11

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry.* Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.

Lippman, J. R., & Campbell, S. W. (2014). Damned if you do, damned if you don't…if you're a girl: Relational and normative contexts of adolescent sexting in the United States. *Journal of Children and Media*, *8*(4), 371-386. doi: 10.1080/17482798.2014.923009

Lynch, C. G., Gainey, R. R., & Chappell, A. T. (2016). The effects of social and educational disadvantage on the roles and functions of school resource officers. *Policing: An*

International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, *39*, 521-535. doi: 10.1108/PIJPSM-02-2016-0021

Madan, G. R. (2016). *Policing in Toronto schools: Race-in the conversation* (Unpublished M.A. thesis). University of Toronto, Toronto, ON.

Mahony, T. H., Jacob, J., & Hobson, H. (2017). *Women and the Criminal Justice System*. (Catalogue no. 89-503-x). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Women in Canada: A Gender-Based Statistical Report (7th Ed). Accessed on April 24, 2018 from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2015001/article/14785-eng.pdf.

Malakieh, J. (2018). *Adult and Youth Correctional Statistics in Canada, 2016/2017*. (Catalogue no. 85-002-x). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Accessed on October 2, 2018 from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2018001/article/54972-eng.pdf.

Males, M. (2010). Have "Girls Gone Wild"?. In Meda Chesney-Lind and Nikki Jones (Eds.), *Fighting for Girls New Perspectives on Gender and Violence* (pp. 13-32). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Marwick, A., & boyd, d. (2014). 'It's just drama': Teen perspectives on conflict and aggression in a networked era. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *17*(9), 1187-1204. doi: 10.1080.13676261.2014.901493

May, D. C., Barranco, R., Stokes, E., Robertson, A. A., & Haynes, S. H. (2018). Do school resource officers really refer juveniles to the juvenile justice system for less serious offenses? *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, *29*, 89-105. doi: 10.1177/0887403415610167

May, D. C., & Higgins, G. E. (2011). The characteristics and activities of school resource officers: Are newbies different than veterans? *Journal of Police Crisis Negotiations*, *11*, 96-108. doi: 10.1080/15332586.2011.581510

McCay-Peet, L., & Quan-Haase, A. (2016). A model of social media engagement: User profiles, gratifications, and experiences. In H. O'Brien & M. Lalmas (Eds.), *Why engagement matters: Cross-disciplinary perspectives and innovations on user engagement with digital media* (pp. 199-217). Heidelberg: Springer Verlag.

McMahon-Howard, J. (2017). Youth involved in prostitution (YIP): Exploring possible changes in interactions with police and social service agencies and narratives of victimization. *Criminal Justice Review*, *42*, 119-145. doi: 10.1177/0734016817702194

Messerschmidt, J. W. (2012). *Gender, Heterosexuality, and Youth Violence: The Struggle for Recognition*. Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Meyer, E. J. (2008). Gendered harassment in secondary schools: Understanding teachers' (non) interventions. *Gender and Education*, *20*(6), 555-570.

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, *83*, 340-363.

Meyer, H. D., & Rowan, B. (2006). Institutional Analysis and the Study of Education. In H. D. Meyer & B. Rowan (Eds.), *The New Institutionalism in Education* (pp. 1-14). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Miccio-Fonseca, L. C. (2017). The anomaly among sexually abusive youth: The juvenile sex trafficker. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, *26*, 558-572. doi: 10.1080/10926771.2017.1304476

Michalski, J. H. (2017). Status hierarchies and hegemonic masculinity: A general theory of prison violence. *British Journal of Criminology*, *57*, 40-60. doi: 10.1093/bjc/azv098

Miladinovic, Z. (2016). *Youth Court Statistics in Canada, 2014/2015*. (Catalogue no. 85-002-X). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Juristat. Accessed April 24, 2018 from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2016001/article/14656-eng.pdf.

Miller, J. (1998). Gender and victimization risk among young women in gangs. *Journal of Research on Crime and Delinquency*. *35*, 429-453.

Miller, J. (2001). *One of the guys: Girls, gangs, and gender.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Miller, J. & Brunson, R. K. (2000). Gender dynamics in youth gangs: A comparison of males' and females' accounts. *Justice Quarterly*. *17*, 419-448.

Miller, J., & Mullins, C. W. (2006). Stuck up, telling lies, and talking too much: The gendered context of young women's violence. In K. Heimer & C. Kruttschnitt (Eds.), *Gender and Crime: Patterns in Victimization and Offending* (pp. 41-66). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Miller, J., & Mullins, C. W. (2009). Feminist Theories of Girls' Delinquency. In Margaret A. Zahn (Ed.), *The Delinquent Girl* (pp.30-49). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Miller, S. A. (2016). "How you bully a girl": Sexual drama and the negotiation of gendered sexuality in high school. *Gender & Society*, *30*(5), 721-744. doi: 10.1177/0891243216664723

Miller-Perrin, C., & Wurtele, S. K. (2017). Sex trafficking and the commercial sexual exploitation of children. *Women & Therapy*, *40*(1-2), 123-151. doi: 10.1080/02703149.2016.1210963

Milner, M. J. (1994). *Status and Sacredness: A General Theory of Status Relations and an Analysis of Indian Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Milner, M. J. (2004). *Freaks, Geeks, and Cool Kids: American Teenagers, Schools, and the Culture of Consumption*. New York: Routledge.

Milner, M. J. (2013). Paradoxical inequalities: Adolescent peer relations in indian secondary schools. *Sociology of Education, 86*, 253-267.

Mirsky, E. L., & Omar, H. A. (2015). Cyberbullying in adolescents: The prevalence of mental disorders and suicide behavior. *International Journal of Child and Adolescent Health*, *8*(1), 37-42.

Mishna, F., Schwan, K. J., Birze, A., Van Wert, M., Lacombe-Duncan, A., McInroy, L., Attar-Schwartz, A. (2108). Gendered and sexualized bullying and cyber bullying: Spotlighting girls and making boys invisible. *Youth & Society*, 1-24. doi: 10.1177/0044118X18757150

Moffitt, T. E. (1993). Adolescence-limited and life-course-persistent antisocial behavior: A developmental taxonomy. *Psychological Review*, *100*, 674-701.

Moffitt, T. E., & Caspi, A. (2001). Childhood predictors differentiate life-course persistent and adolescence-limited antisocial pathways among males and females. *Development and Psychopathology*, 13, 355-375.

Morash, M., & Chesney-Lind, M. (2009). The Context of Girls' Violence: Peer Groups, Families, Schools, and Communities. In Margaret A. Zahn (Ed.), *The Delinquent Girl* (pp.182-207). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Morizot, J. & Kazemian, L. (2015). Introduction: Understanding criminal and antisocial behavior within a developmental and multidisciplinary perspective. In J. Morizot and L. Kazemian (Eds.), *The Development of Criminal and Antisocial Behavior Theory, Research and Practical Applications* (pp. 1-18). New York, NY: Springer Publishing.

Morris, E. W., & Perry, B. L. (2017). Girls behaving badly? Race, gender, and subjective

    evaluation in the discipline of African American girls. *Sociology of Education*, *90*, 127-

    148.

Münzer, A., Fegert, J. M., Ganser, H. G., Loos, S., Witt, A., & Goldbeck, L. Please tell! Barriers

    to disclosing sexual victimization and subsequent social support perceived by children

    and adolescents. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *31*, 355-377. doi:

    10.1177/0886260514555371

Nasser, S. (2017, November 22). Canada's largest school board votes to end armed police

    presence in schools. *CBC News*. Accessed on March 25, 2019 from

    https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/school-resource-officers-toronto-board-police-

    1.4415064.

National Association of School Resource Officers. (2019). FAQ. Accessed on February 21, 2019

    from https://nasro.org/frequently-asked-questions/.

National Crime Prevention Centre. (2012) "A statistical snapshot of youth at risk and youth

    offending in Canada". (Catalogue no. PS4-126/2012E-PDF). Ottawa, ON: Public Safety

    Canada. Accessed on April 24, 2018 from

    https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/ststclsnpsht-yth/ssyr-eng.pdf.

O'Brien, J. E., White, K., & Rizo, C. F. (2017). Domestic minor sex trafficking among child

    welfare-involved youth: An exploratory study of correlates. *Child Maltreatment*, *22*, 265-

    274. doi: 10.1177/1077559517709995

O'Grady, B., & Gaetz, S. (2004). Homelessness, gender and subsistence: The case of Toronto

    street youth. *Journal of Youth Studies, 7,* 397-415.

Odgers, C. L., Moffitt, T. E., Broadbent, J. M., Dickson, N., Hancox, R. J., Harrington,

H…Caspi, A. (2008). Female and male antisocial trajectories: From childhood origins to

adult outcomes. *Development and Psychopathology*, *20*, 673-716. doi:

10.1017/S0954579408000333

Olenik-Shamesh, D., & Heiman, T. (2014). Exploring cyberbullying among primary children in

relation to social support, loneliness, self-efficacy, and well-being. *Child Welfare*, *93*(5),

27-46.

Olweus, D. (1978). *Aggression in the schools: Bullies and whipping boys*. Oxford, England:

Hemisphere.

Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police. (2019). School Resource Officers: The Facts. Accessed

on July 9, 2019 from http://www.oacp.on.ca/news-events/news-releases/school-resource-

officers-the-facts.

Orpinas, P., McNicholas, C., & Nahapetyan, L. (2015). Gender differences in trajectories on

relational aggression and victimization from middle to high school. *Aggressive Behavior*,

41, 401-412.

Park, S., Morash, M., & Stevens, T. (2010). Gender differences in predictors of assaultive

behavior in late adolescence. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Delinquency*, *8*, 314-331. doi:

10.1177/1541204009361173

Pasko, L., & Chesney-Lind, M. (2016). Running the gauntlet: Understanding commercial sexual

exploitation and the pathways perspective to female offending. *Journal of Developmental

and Life Course Criminology*, *2*, 275-295. doi: 10.1007/s40865-016-0041-6

Patterson, D., Greeson, M., & Campbell, R. (2009). Understanding rape survivors' decisions not

to seek help from formal social systems. *Health & Social Work*, *34*, 127-136.

Payne, A. A., Gottfredson, D.C., & Kruttschnitt, C. (2009). Girls, schooling, and delinquency. In M.A. Zahn (Ed.) *The Delinquent Girl* (pp. 146-163). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Payne, A. A., & Welch, K. (2015). How School and Education Impact the Development of Criminal and Antisocial Behavior. In J. Marizot and L. Kazemian (Eds.) *The Development of Criminal and Antisocial Behavior Theory, Research and Practical Applications* (pp.237-252). New York: Springer Press.

Pentek, C., & Eisenberg, M. E. (2018). School resource officers, safety, and discipline: Perceptions across racial/ethnic groups in Minnesota secondary schools. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *88*, 141-148. doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.03.008

Perreault, S. (2015). *Criminal Victimization in Canada, 2014*. (Catalogue no. 85-002-X). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Juristat. Accessed on May 29, 2019 from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2015001/article/14241-eng.pdf.

Perrin, B. (2010). *Invisible chains: Canada's underground world of human trafficking*. Toronto, ON: Penguin Group.

Perrow, C. (1984). *Normal Accidents Living with High-Risk Technologies*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.

Phillips, D. A. (2005). Reproducing normative and marginalized masculinities: Adolescent male popularity and the outcast. *Nursing Inquiry*, *12*(3), 219-230.

Phillips, D. A. (2007). Punking and bullying strategies in middle school, high school, and beyond. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *22*(2), 158-178. doi: 10.1177/0886260506295341

Pigott, C., Stearns, A. E., Khey, D. N. (2018). School resource officers and the school to prison

pipeline: Discovering trends of expulsions in public schools. *American Journal of*

Criminal Justice, 43, 120-138. doi: 10.1007/s12103-017-9412-8

Pomerantz, S. (2008). *Girls, Style, and School Identities Dressing the Part*. New York, NY:

Palgrave MacMillan.

Powell, A. (2016). The sexting epidemic: What can teachers do to prevent disruptions in school

caused by sexting. *Journal of Law and Education*, *4*, 605-612.

Public Safety Canada. (2016). "First steps to stop bullying and harassment: Adults helping youth

aged 12 to 17." Accessed on October 3, 2018 from

https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrcs/pblctns/stp-blng-yth/index-en.aspx.

Puzzanchura, C. (2019). "Juvenile Arrests, 2017". National Institute of Justice. Juvenile Justice

Statistics National Report Series Bulletin. Accessed on October 9, 2019 from

https://ojjdp.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh176/files/pubs/252713.pdf.

Quan-Haase, A., & Young, A. L. (2010). Uses and gratifications of social media: A comparison

of Facebook and instant messaging. *Bulletin of Science and Technology*, *30*(5), 350-361.

doi: 10.1177/0270467610380009

Quinlan, A. (2016). Suspect survivors: Police investigation practices in sexual assault cases in

Ontario, Canada. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 26, 301-318. doi:

10.1080/08974454.2015.1124823

Rand, A. (2009). It can't happen in my backyard: The commercial sexual exploitation of girls in

the United States. *Child & Youth Services*, *31*, 138-156. doi:

10.1080/0145935X.2009.524480

Rebellon, C. J., & Manasse, M. (2004). Do "bad boys" really get the girls? Delinquency as a

    cause and consequence of dating behavior among adolescents. *Justice Quarterly*, *21*, 355-

    389. doi: 10.1080/07418820400095841

Reed, K. P., Cooper, R. L., Nugent, W.R., & Russell, K. (2016). Cyberbullying: A literature

    review of its relationship to adolescent depression and current intervention strategies.

    Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, *26*(1), 37-45. doi:

    10.1080/10911359.2015.1059165

Reid, J. A. (2016). Entrapment and enmeshment schemes used by sex traffickers. *Sexual Abuse:*

    A Journal of Research and Treatment, *28*, 491-511. doi: 10.1177/1079063214544334

Reid, J. A., Huard, J., & Haskell, R. A. (2015). Family-facilitated juvenile sex trafficking.

    Journal of Crime and Justice, *38*, 361-376. doi: 10.1080/0735648X.2014.967965

Reling, T. T., Barton, M. S., Becker, S., & Valasik, M. A. (2018). Rape myths and hookup

    culture: An exploratory study of U.S. college students' perceptions. *Sex Roles*, *78*, 501-

    514. doi: 10.1007/11199-017-0813-4

Ricciardelli, R., & Adorjan, M. (2019). 'If a girl's photo gets sent around, that's a way bigger

    deal than if a guy's photo gets sent around': gender, sexting and the teenage years.

    Journal of Gender Studies, *28*, 563-577. doi: 10.1080/09589236.2018.1560245

Ringrose, J. (2006). A new universal mean girl: Examining the discursive construction and social

    regulation of a new feminine pathology. *Feminism & Psychology*, *16*(4), 405-424. doi:

    10.1177/0959353506068747

Ringrose, J., Harvey, L., Gill, R., & Livingstone, S. (2013). Teen girls, sexual double standards

    and 'sexting': Gendered value in digital image exchange. *Feminist Theory*, *14*(3), 305-

    323.

Rosen, L. D., Carrier, L. M., & Cheever, N. A. (2010). *Rewired: Understanding the iGeneration and the Way They Learn*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Rosen, L. H., Scott, S. R., & DeOrnellas, K. (2017). Teachers' perceptions of bullying: A focus group approach. *Journal of School Violence*, *16*, 119-139. doi: 10.1080/15388220.2015.1124340

Royal Canadian Mounted Police. (2012). "RCMP National Strategy to Combat Human Trafficking". Accessed on December 11, 2018 from http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2014/grc-rcmp/PS64-104-2012-eng.pdf.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police. (2013). "Domestic Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Canada". Access on December 11, 2018 from http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2014/grc-rcmp/PS64-114-2014-eng.pdf.

Ryan J. B., Katsiyannis, A., Counts, J. A., & Shelnut, J. C. (2018). The growing concerns regarding school resource officers. *Intervention in School and Clinic*, *53*, 188-192. doi: 10.1177/1053451217702108

Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. (1993). *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sapiro, B., Johnson, L., Postmus, J. L., & Simmel, C. (2016). Supporting youth involved in domestic minor sex trafficking: Divergent perspectives on youth agency. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *58*, 99-110. doi: 10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.06.019

Savoie, J. (2007). *Youth Self-Reported Delinquency, 2006*. (Catalogue 85-002-XPE). Ottawa,

ON: Statistics Canada. Juristat. Accessed April 24, 2018 from

http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/85-002-x2007006-eng.pdf.

Schulenberg, J. L. (2013). *A view from the streets: Preliminary findings*. Prepared for Chief

Matthew Torigian, Waterloo Reginal Police Service. [120 pp.]

Schulenberg, J. L., & Warren, D. (2009). Police discretion with apprehended youth: assessing the

impact of juvenile specialization. *Police Practice and Research*, *10*, 3-16.

Sharp, C. R. (2009). Theoretical and practical application of loose coupling: A study of criminal

justice agencies in the state of Florida. *Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice*, *6*(1), 45-

58.

Sharpe, G. (2009). The trouble with girls today: Professional perspectives on young women's

offending. *Youth Justice*, *9*, 254-269.

Sharpe, G. (2013). Re-imagining justice for girls: A new agenda for research. *Youth Justice*, *16*,

3-17. doi: 10.1177/1473225415570358

Shaw, J., Campbell, R., & Cain, D. (2016). The view from inside the system: How police explain

their response to sexual assault. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 58, 446-

462. doi: 10.1002/ajcp.12096

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects.

Education for Information, *22*, 63-75.

Singer, S. I. (1998). Criminal and teen courts as loosely coupled systems of juvenile justice.

Wake Forest Law Review, *33*, 509-532.

Slane, A. (2013). Sexting and the law in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality*, *22*(3),

117-122. doi: 10.3138/cjhs.22.3.C01

Smith, C. A. & Farrington, D. P. (2004). Continuities in antisocial behaviour and parenting across three generations. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *45*, 230-247.

Smith, P. (2017). Girls in traditional and gender-responsive juvenile justice placements. *Women & Criminal Justice*, *27*, 302-326. doi: 10.1080/08974454.2016.1250699

Smith, S. G., & Cook, S. L. (2008). Disclosing sexual assault to parents: The influence of parental messages about sex. *Violence Against Women*, *14*, 1326-1348. doi: 10.1177/107780128325086

Spencer, C., Mallory, A., Toews, M., Stith, S., & Wood, L. (2017). Why sexual assault survivors do not report to universities: A feminist analysis. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies*, 66, 166-179. doi: 10.1111/fare.12241

Spillane, J., & Burch, P. (2006). The institutional environment and instructional practice: Changing patterns of guidance and control in public education. In H. D. Meyer & B. Rowan (Eds.), *The New Institutionalism in Education* (pp. 87-102). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Sprott, J. B., & Doob, A. N. (2009). *Justice for girls? Stability and change in the youth justice systems of the United States and Canada.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Statistics Canada. (2019). *Canada at a Glance 2018.* Ottawa: ON. Accessed on May 27, 2019 from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/12-581-x/2018000/pop-eng.htm?HPA=1.

Steeves, V. (2014a). *Young Canadians in a Wired World, Phase III: Life Online*. Ottawa: MediaSmarts. Accessed September 5, 2018 from http://mediasmarts.ca/ycww.

Steeves, V. (2014b). *Young Canadians in a Wired World, Phase III: Sexuality and Romantic Relationships in the Digital Age*. Ottawa: MediaSmarts. Accessed September 27, 2018

from http://mediasmarts.ca/sites/mediasmarts/files/pdfs/publication-

report/full/YCWWIII_Sexuality_Romantic_Relationships_Digital_Age_FullReport.pdf.

Steffensmeier, D., & Schwartz, J. (2009). Trends in girls' delinquency and the gender gap. In

Margaret A. Zahn (Ed.), *The Delinquent Girl* (pp. 50-83). Philadelphia, PA: Temple

University Press.

Stein, R. E., & Nofziger, S. D. (2008). Adolescent sexual victimization: Choice of confidant and

the failure of authorities. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, *6*, 158-177. doi:

10.1177/154204007312291

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for

developing grounded theory* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Street, C. (2005). Girls' mental health problems. In G. Lloyd (Ed.), *Problem Girls

Understanding and supporting troubled and troublesome girls and young women* (37-

50).New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer

Tanner, J. (2015). *Teenage troubles: Youth and deviance in Canada* (4th Ed.). Toronto, ON:

Oxford University Press.

Tatar, M., & Bekerman, Z. (2009). School counsellors' and teachers' perceptions of their

students' problems: Shared and divergent views. *Counselling and Psychotherapy

Research*, *9*(3), 187-192.

Taylor-Butts, A. (2010). Where and when youth commit police-reported crimes. (Catalogue no

85-002-X). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Juristat. Accessed April 24, 2018 from

http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2010002/article/11241-eng.pdf.

Teotonio, I. (2019, January 10). Teachers can still use 2015 sex-ed curriculum in Ontario as a

resource, province's lawyer tells court. *The Toronto Star*. Accessed on March 25, 2019

from https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2019/01/10/teachers-can-still-use-2015-sex-ed-curriculum-in-ontario-as-a-resource-provinces-lawyer-tells-court.html.

Theriot, M. T. (2009). School resource officers and the criminalization of student behavior. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *37*, 280-287. doi: 10.1016/j.crimjus.2009.04.008

Theriot, M. T. (2016). The impact of school resource officer interaction on feelings about school and school police. *Crime & Delinquency*, *62*, 446-469. doi: 10.1177/0011128713503526

Theriot, M. T., & Orme, J. G. (2016). School resource officers and students' feelings of safety at school. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, *14*, 130-146. doi: 10.1177/1541204014564472

Thompson, D. (2018, April 12). Backpage.com CEO pleads guilty after site dubbed as 'online brothel' gets shut down. *The Associated Press*. Accessed on January 30, 2019 from https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2018/04/12/backpagecom-ceo-pleads-guilty-after-site-dubbed-as-online-brothel-gets-shutdown.html.

Thompson, M., Sitterle, D., Clay, G., & Kingree, J. (2007). Reasons for not reporting victimizations to the police: Do they vary for physical and sexual incidents? *Journal of American College Health*, *55*, 277-282.

Tidball, S., Zheng, M., Creswell, J. W. (2016). Buying sex on-line from girls: NGO representatives, law enforcement officials, and public officials speak out about human trafficking—A qualitative analysis. *Gender Issues*, *33*, 53-68. doi: 10.1007/s12147-015-9146-1

Vaughan, D. (1998). Rational choice, situated action, and social control. *Law & Society Review*, *32*, 23-61.

Vaughan, D. (1999). The dark side of organizations: Mistake, misconduct, and disaster. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *25*, 271-305.

Venema, R. M. (2016). Police officer schema of sexual assault reports: Real rape, ambiguous cases, and false reports. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 31, 872-899. doi: 10.1177/0886260514556765

Vopni, V. (2006). Young women's experiences with reporting sexual assault to police. *Canadian Woman Studies*, *25*, 107-114.

Waldron, L.M. (2011). "Girls are worse": Drama queens, ghetto girls, tomboys, and the meaning of girl fights. *Youth & Society*, *43*, 1298-1334.

Walker, S., Sanci, L., & Temple-Smith, M. (2013). Sexting: Young women's and men's views on its nature and origins. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *52*, 697-701. doi: 10.1016/j.jadohealth.2013.01.026

Wang, Y. (2013). Social media in schools: A treasure trove or hot potato? *Journal of Cases in Educational Leadership*, *16*(1), 56-64.

Warr, M. (2002). *Companions in crime.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. G. Roth & C. Wittich (Eds.) Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Weick, K. E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *21*(1), 1-19.

Weick, K. E. (1982). Administering education in loosely coupled schools. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, *63*, 673-676.

White, H. R., & Hansell, S. (1996). The moderating effects of gender and hostility on the alcohol-aggression relationship. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 33, 450-470.

Wilkins, A. C., & Miller, S. A. (2017). Secure girls: Class, sexuality, and self-esteem. *Sexualities*, *20*, 815-834. doi: 10.1177/1363460716658422

Williams, L. M. (2015). Police and domestic sex trafficking of youth: what teens tells us that can aid prevention and interdiction. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, *38*, 297-314. doi: 10.1080/0735648X.2015.1034970

Winton, S. (2012). From zero tolerance to student success in Ontario, Canada. *Educational Policy*, *27*, 467-498. doi: 10.1177/0895904812453994

Wolfe, S. E., Chrusciel, M. M., Rojek, J., Hansen, J. A., & Kaminski, R. J. (2017). Procedural justice, legitimacy, and school principals' evaluations of school resource officers: Support, perceived effectiveness, trust, and satisfaction. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, *28*, 107-138. doi: 10.1077/0887403415573565

Yan, J., & Dannerbeck, A. (2011). Exploring the relationship between gender, mental health needs, and treatment orders in a metropolitan juvenile court. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 20,* 9-22.

Yoon, J., Sulkowski, M. L., & Bauman, S. A. (2016). Teachers' responses to bullying incidents: Effects of teacher characteristics and contexts. *Journal of School Violence*, *15*, 91-113. doi: 10.1080/15388220.2014.963592.

Zahn, M. A., Agnew, R., & Browne, A. (2009). Introduction. In Margaret A. Zahn (Ed.), *The Delinquent Girl* (pp. 1-6). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Zhang, G. (2019). The effects of a school policing program on crime, discipline, and disorder: A

   quasi-experimental evaluation. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 44, 45-62. doi:

   10.1007/s12103-018-9440-z

Legislation Cited

Criminal Code of Canada, R.S.C., 1985, c. C-46

Education Act, R.S.O. 1990, c.E.2

Immigration Refugee Protection Act, S.C. 2001, c. 27

Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and

Children, of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000)

Youth Criminal Justice Act, S.C. 2002. c 1

Appendix A: List of Interviews

Table A: Participants in 2011

	Occupational Role[29]	Length of career (years)[30]	Pseudonym
SA1	Guidance counselor	5	Delilah
SA2	Attendance social worker	18	Patty
SA3	Vice-principal	7	Brian
SA4	Guidance counselor	15	Emma
SA7	Child and youth worker (CYW)	20	Julie
SA8	Teacher	27	Richard
SA9	Behavioural education assistant	13	Renee
SA10	Child and youth worker	5	Lynn
SB1	Head of guidance	18	Thomas
SB2	Child and youth worker	12	Danielle
SB3	Guidance counselor	1	Lorraine
SB4	Vice-principal	3	Derek
SB5	Behavioural education assistant	13	Lauren
SC1	Intake facilitator	10	Craig
SC2	Teacher	9	Greg
SC3	Teacher	1	Seth
SC4	Intake facilitator	22	Dennis
SC5	Teacher	1	Claire
SC6	Child and youth worker	5	Celeste
SC7	Child and youth worker	4	Joanne
SD1	Child and youth worker	1	Summer
SD2	Teacher	20	Jimmy
SD3	Social worker	3	Joshua
P01	School resource officer (SRO)	5 (5)	Blake
P02	Youth sergeant	31	Ryan
P03	School resource officer	1 (5.5)	Walt
P05	School resource officer	3 (6)	Will
P06	School resource officer	2.5 (7.5)	Mark
P07	Youth sergeant	27	Chris
P11	Youth sergeant	24	Stuart
P12	School resource officer	1 (7)	Katie
	Total: 31		

---

[29] The participants in both sets of interviews were drawn from school personnel at 6 schools, with a total estimated student enrolment of over 6000 students. This estimate is based on available enrolment rates posted on the school websites, although student enrolment was unavailable for two participating schools, therefore the actual number of students is higher than 6000. All secondary schools were invited to participate (N=16).

[30] Participants were asked during the interviews how long they have worked in their current role. For the school resource officers, two figures are provided. First, the total time working in their current role. The numbers in brackets indicate the length of time working as a sworn officer, not specifically in the SRO role. In the police service where the study was located, there are informal limits to how long an officer can work as an SRO (typically 3-5 years).

Table B: Participants in 2016

	Occupational Role	Length of career (years)	Pseudonym
A1	Vice-principal	15	Cheryl
A2	Teacher	10	Sarah
A3	Principal	13	Sue
A4	Supervision monitor	15	Barb
A5	Child and youth worker (CYW)	18	Carly
A6	Child and youth worker	16	Cathy
A7	Child and youth worker	10	Ellen
A8	Vice-principal	10	Bob
B1	School resource officer (SRO)	0.5 (8)	Joe
B2	School resource officer	3 (7)	Dax
B3	School resource officer	1 (5)	Marty
B4	School resource officer	1 (5)	Mikayla
B5	School resource officer	2 (10)	Nick
B6	School resource officer	1 (9)	Charlie
B7	Youth detective	26	Scott
B8	School resource officer	1 (6)	Johnny
B9	School resource officer	1 (11)	Brad
B10	School resource officer	5 (27)	Dan
	Total: 18		

Appendix B: Interview guides

<u>2011</u>

<u>Preliminary</u>
Informational Letter
Respond to any questions about the study or their participation in the interview
Sign Informed Consent Form
Provide research participant with a copy of the signed Informed Consent Form
<u>Background Information</u>
1) How long have you been a teacher/counsellor?
2) Have you worked in this position for the WRDSB/WCDSB throughout your career?
3) What motivated you to become a teacher/counsellor?
4) Have you received any specific training on responding to antisocial behaviour in the classroom?
   a. If so, did you find it relevant to the everyday reality of your work with youth?
   b. Is there any specific type of training you think would help you better respond to antisocial behaviour?
<u>Perceptions of antisocial behaviour</u>
5) If you had to define antisocial behaviour, what would you say?
   a. Do you think antisocial behaviour is defined differently by police officers or other system actors?
   b. How do you think youth would define antisocial behaviour?
   c. What types of behaviour do you see in your classroom or around the school that you would consider inappropriate or antisocial?
6) What do you see as the current problems that face our youth today?
   a. Can you give me an example from your own experiences?
   b. Do you think the types of problems kids face today are different from even five years ago?
7) Do you think these teenagers have any common characteristics such as academic performance, peer groups, and so forth?
8) Do you think there are any factors that increase the likelihood of a youth graduating from minor antisocial behaviour to more serious such as youth crime?
9) What would you say are the top three factors that increase the likelihood for:
   a. Antisocial behaviour?
   b. Youth crime?

<u>Responses to antisocial behaviour</u>
10) What tactics do you use to respond to various types of antisocial behaviour?
11) What types of resources do you have available to you?
   a. What factors do you take into account when deciding how you want to handle the behaviour?
   b. Are there levels of responses (e.g., minor to major) when you respond?
12) Are your responses to these behaviours based on other factors you know about the youth (e.g., situation at home, friends, etc.)?

13) Do you feel you receive support from parents if you have to respond to inappropriate behaviour in the classroom or around the school?
14) Do you think there are adequate resources available to you when dealing with these types of behaviours?
    a. What types of resources do you feel would help you prevent and respond to antisocial behaviour?

Summary questions
15) In an ideal world, what are your thoughts on the best way to respond to antisocial behaviour including youth crime?
16) Is there anything else you would like to add that we haven't talked about?
17) Do you have any additional questions that I can answer for you now that we have finished the interview?

Thank you for agreeing to participate.

2016

Preliminary
Review the content of the Letter of Information
Respond to any questions about the study or their participation in the interview
Sign Informed Consent form
Provide participant with copy of the Informed Consent form

Background Questions:
1. How long have you been a teacher/counsellor/vice-principal?
2. What motivated you to become a teacher/counsellor/vice-principal?
3. What do you like best about your job?

Antisocial behaviour in school:
4. What types of behaviour do you see in your classroom and/or school that you would consider inappropriate or antisocial behaviour?
5. In what ways is that behaviour different for boys and girls?
6. What do you see as the biggest problems that face girls today?
    a. How is it different than five years ago?
7. What role do you see social media currently playing in respect to antisocial behaviour?
8. What are the common characteristics among girls getting in trouble at school?

Risk and protective factors:
9. What do you see as the main risk factors for antisocial behaviour?
    a. What ways are they unique for girls?
10. How can we protect against these risk factors?
    a. In what ways do you think these factors should be different for girls?

Responses to antisocial behaviour:
11. What types of behaviour do you typically respond to?
    a. Are the behaviours typically the same for boys and girls?
12. What factors do you take into account when responding to antisocial behaviour?
    a. Are those considerations different for girls than for boys?
    b. Are these considerations different if the behaviour is against the law versus a violation of social norms?
    c. Under what circumstances do you choose not to respond?

13. What do you see as the best ways for the school to respond to antisocial behaviour in girls?
    a. What tactics do you use when responding to antisocial behaviour?
14. What challenges do you have in responding to antisocial behaviour?
    a. In what ways are these challenges different when responding to girls as compared to boys?
15. Do you feel there are adequate resources available to respond to antisocial behaviour in school?
16. Outside of school, what do you think are the best ways to respond to antisocial behaviour in girls?

Summary Questions:
17. Is there anything we haven't covered today that you think is important?
18. Are there any questions I can answer for you?

Thank you for your participation. Your input and perspective is important to ensure the voices of all individuals who work with you are incorporated to further enhance and improve responses to girls' antisocial behaviour.

Appendix C: Sample Recruitment Letter, 2011

UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO LETTERHEAD

Call for Participants in Research on Responses to Antisocial Behaviour and Youth Crime

[Date]

Dear [name of principal],

I am a faculty member in the Department of Sociology at the University of Waterloo conducting a research study entitled "The dynamics of antisocial behaviour: An investigation of responses to youth crime by schools, the police, and treatment providers". The research objective is to capture the perspectives of those working in secondary schools, law enforcement, and as treatment providers regarding definitions of, and responses to, antisocial behaviour and youth crime in the Region of Waterloo. Data will be collected to understand the official and unofficial definitions of antisocial behaviour; the perceptions of what factors can affect the likelihood of youth crime; and to investigate prevention efforts and current responses available to individuals working in schools, law enforcement, and as treatment providers.

The results from this research will assist individuals in direct contact with youth by creating localized knowledge within the Region of Waterloo to facilitate collaborative responses by schools, the police, and treatment providers to increase the effectiveness of current and future prevention and intervention strategies that address instances of antisocial behaviour, including youth crime.

I am contacting you to inquire into your willingness to allow a few of the teachers and counsellors working in your school to be interviewed. In addition, I would ask for your input and consent in respect to which employees would be approached to consider participation in this study. The interview would be conducted at a mutually agreeable day, time, and place and would last no longer than 45-60 minutes. To minimize any risks associated to yourself or your organization, no information will be collected or published that could identify any participant in the research. Participation is completely voluntary and all interviewees will have the opportunity to withdraw during or after the interview without any negative repercussions or penalty to you or your organization.

I hope to use this information to formulate a number of academic publications, articles in appropriate trade publications (for teachers, counsellors, police officers, and treatment providers), and in conference presentations to provide guidance on the allocation of limited resources that can foster collaborative responses to reach today's youth, reduce, and more effectively prevent, these types of behaviours. As a participant you will receive an executive summary of the results. In addition, you can also request a full copy of the final report.
If you have any questions or would like further information about participation in this research, please contact Dr. Jennifer Schulenberg at (519) 888-4567, ext. 38639 or by email at jlschule@uwaterloo.ca. This study has been given approval by the school board and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. If you have

any questions, comments, or concerns resulting from participation in this study, please contact the Director, Dr. Susan Sykes, at (519) 888-4567, ext. 36005 or at ssykes@uwaterloo.ca. I request to schedule a meeting with you at a mutually agreeable time to discuss the possibility of [name of the secondary school] participating in this research endeavour.

Yours sincerely,

Jennifer L. Schulenberg, Ph.D.

Appendix D: Sample Recruitment Letter, 2016

UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO LETTERHEAD

Dear [name of principal],

I would like to invite your school to participate in a study I am conducting as part of my doctoral degree in the Department of Sociology and Legal Studies at the University of Waterloo. This project is under the supervision of Dr. Jennifer L. Schulenberg. Below I will explain the project and what involvement would entail for members of your team if you permit participation in this project.

The purpose of the project is to examine female antisocial behaviour. In particular, this project aims to examine the unique experiences of girls in school as it relates to antisocial behaviour and youth crime. The research study consists of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with school personnel, including vice-principals, teachers, social workers, guidance counsellors, child and youth workers, and educational assistants. These interviews will focus on the perspectives of personnel on the risk factors and nature of girls' antisocial behaviour in schools, as well as responses to antisocial behaviour.

Participation from your school is voluntary. In addition, if you permit members of your team to participate in the research, participation on behalf of the staff is voluntary. I have included a sample recruitment email to be sent to staff members which outlines the study. Participants may decline to participate in the interviews or decline to answer any questions asked during the interview process. Participants may also advise the researcher that they wish to withdraw from the study at any time, without any negative consequences for the participant or your school. The interviews will take approximately 45-60 minutes and will take place at a time and place convenient for the participant. With permission of the participant, the interviews will be audio recorded to ensure accurate data collection and to facilitate data analysis. All information about participants and your school will remain completely confidential. In order for participation to remain confidential from you and from the school board, staff members who wish to participate are encouraged to communicate directly with me. Schools' and participants' names will not appear in transcripts, feedback reports, academic publications, or the final dissertation. Finally, only with the permission of participants will anonymous quotes be included in the written results. All data collected in this study will remain in a locked cabinet in my home for a period of no longer than 10 years. Only I will have access to the data. There are no known risks to participating in the study. I have attached a copy of the interview guide to this email.
In addition, in accordance with the research policy of the [school board] I will provide the [the school board], you, and participants a summary of the results of the study. Participants may also choose to receive an executive summary of the results once the study is complete. If you would like more information about the study or would like to receive an executive summary of the results, please let me know by providing me with your email address. When the study is finished I will send you the requested information. I expect to complete it by April, 2016.

As with all University of Waterloo research projects involving human participants, this project has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation is yours. Participants who

have concerns or questions about their involvement in the project may contact the Chief Ethics Officer, Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or
maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca
You may also contact my supervisor Dr. Jennifer L. Schulenberg at 519-888-4567, Ext. 38639 or by email at jlschule@uwaterloo.ca.

I want to thank you in advance for your interest in this study. Please advise me if your school is interested in participating. I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.
Sincerely,

Allison Chenier, PhD Candidate
University of Waterloo
Email: achenier@uwaterloo.ca
1-519-362-1830